

THE COMMUNAL BUILDINGS OF PARMA

For Walter Horn on his 75th birthday

by Juergen Schulz

As one of the leading communes of northern Italy, Parma figures in every treatment of Italian medieval history. Its communal buildings, on the other hand, are hardly ever mentioned in accounts of Italian medieval architecture. Most of them are gone today or radically altered. Worse still, there is such disagreement in the local literature about their dates, locations and functions, that the more one reads about these buildings, the less one seems to know for certain. Yet, they are of more than local interest, and the clues to unsharpen the confusion exist. The group includes edifices that enrich our knowledge of medieval building types and shed light on secular architecture elsewhere on the peninsula. It grew in a way that gives insight into medieval urban planning. And what remains of medieval construction is still impressive for scale and quality.

The same interest does not attach to the group's later history. In the fourteenth century the Commune of Parma passed into the hands of a series of foreign lords, and *ad hoc* modifications began to be practiced on the various communal buildings as each new tenant brought new needs. The period of the *signori* is a period of decomposition rather than purposive development in the history of these buildings. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, under the new Dukes of Parma, more sweeping changes, inspired by a more unified vision, were made, but this work belongs to a different story altogether, namely the architecture of absolutist courts. Thus, the limits of my inquiry are fixed by the limits in time of the Commune itself. Later texts are called to witness only when they document facts of an earlier time, and later transformations of the various buildings are explained no further than will enable the reader to recognize yesterday's palaces in today's structures.

Like the other communes of northern Italy, the Commune of Parma came into being slowly, by small steps, most of which are lost from view today. By the mid twelfth century a communal government was clearly in existence, as we can tell from a draft treaty of peace of 1149 between Parma and Piacenza, in which the collectivity of Parma is for the first time styled a "commune", and its leaders "consuls".¹ But a proper seat of communal government existed neither then nor for the next three quarters of a century.

Generally, the Italian communes were slow to develop the constitutional complexity and independence that called for independent civic structures.² Beginning in the late eleventh century they had appropriated to themselves greater and greater autonomy in local affairs, usurping regalian rights of the Empire (election of magistrates, imposition of imposts, declarations of war and peace, etc.). During the long reign of Frederick Barbarossa they acquired a sense of identity as well. In a bitter and endlessly shifting struggle that lasted from the mid 1150's to the mid 1180's, Barbarossa sought to reverse the development and reimpose an effective control on the communes. He failed, and by the Peace of Constance (1183) conceded the rights he had not been able to repossess by force. The treaty did not grant, and the communes did not seek, an absolute independence. Indeed, Barbarossa and



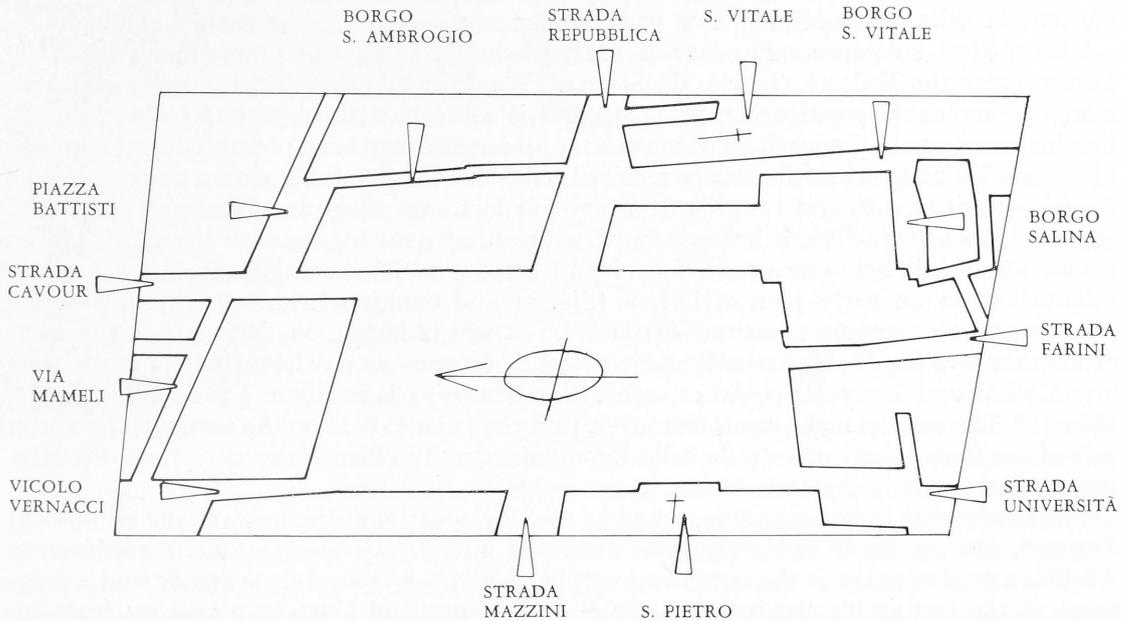
1 Parma, Piazza Garibaldi, air view.

his successor, Henry VI, continued thereafter to assert, and the communes to recognize, the legal sovereignty of the Imperial crown. But the communes had gained a *de facto* independence and a general sense of achievement and strength. During the long hiatus between the death in 1197 of Henry VI and the return to Italy in 1221 of Frederick II, no German emperor concerned himself with Italian affairs, and in the vacuum communal independence only grew. Nor was Frederick in twenty years of cunning diplomacy and harsh warfare able to unmake it. His attempts to divide the communes from one another, and his and the popes' enlistment of now one and now another in their own feuds, sowed internal faction, encouraged the rise of *signori* and the *popolo*, and transformed communal institutions. But Frederick also was unable to prevail; indeed, his ultimate failure came at Parma, which he was unable to destroy in the bitter siege of 1247-48.

The history of communal architecture follows this parabola of political development. Between the late eleventh and late twelfth century, the communes had been content to use traditional sites of government for their transactions. Assemblies and executive councils met in churches and in the palaces of pre-communal authorities; officers were lodged and executed acts in private houses, either rented, bought or acquired by gift.³ Here and there the medieval records cast up notices of a "communal house" or "portico", but only a few seem to have been publicly owned and none, as far as we can tell, were palaces proper.⁴

A "palace" in medieval parlance was defined more by function than by appearance. The term derives from the name of the place where the Roman Emperors had their seat — the Palatine Hill at Rome — and down to the late Middle Ages signified the seat of a secular or ecclesiastical lord.⁵ It is after the Peace of Constance that communal "palaces" began to be built. After the death of Henry VI the pace of construction quickened. In many cities a second palace was begun, a phenomenon that became general in the mid thirteenth century as constitutional reforms hastened the multiplication of communal councils and officers.⁶

The Commune of Parma followed this pattern closely. The judges appointed for the Commune by Barbarossa, during a brief period of imperial supremacy in the 1160's, heard disputes and pronounced judgment in the church of S. Stefano, the Episcopal Palace, and



2 Key to air view Fig. 1.

the Emperor's own palace at Parma, the palazzo dell'Arena.⁷ After the communes leagued against him and war began (1167), the judges — now appointees of Parma's consuls and communal Podestà — continued to sit in such places. There survive acts from the years 1179 and after done by them in the Episcopal Palace, the Cathedral, and the monastery of S. Giovanni Evangelista.⁸ We do hear, in 1181, of a "palace where pleas are heard in full council", and in 1088 of a "palace of Parma".⁹ However, the reference in both cases seems to be to the Episcopal Palace and not a communal building, as we gather from fuller versions of these formulas. E.g., a royal arbitration of a dispute by Henry IV (then King of the Romans) held in 1081 in the presence of numerous notables, took place "within the palace of the city of Parma of the Royal Lord and the Bishop of Parma, which is by the episcopal precinct".¹⁰ An exchange of feudal properties in 1198 by the Bishop of Parma and a secular lord was solemnized in the former's "palace of Parma in full council of Parma ... gathered together and the bell sounded at the advice and request of ... the Podestà".¹¹ The acts of 1181 and 1198 teach, furthermore, that at the end of the twelfth century councils of the Commune met in the Episcopal Palace.¹²

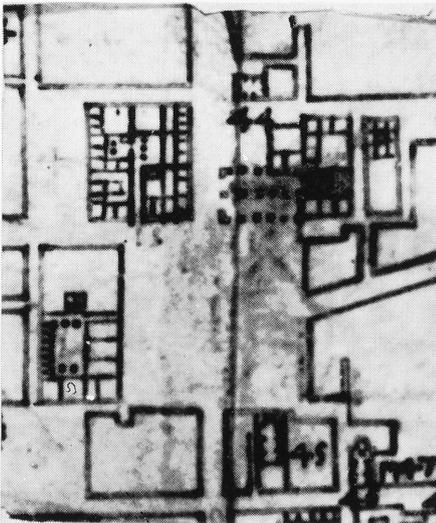
None of the early acts mentions a palace of the Podestà or of any other communal officer. Elsewhere — in Bergamo and Florence, for instance — communal officers long did without official residences, but lived in private houses, rented by the communes or by them.¹³ It must have been so at Parma too.

The only civic building properly so called of which we hear in Parma during these years is a "portico of the Commune where pleas (disputes) are heard", mentioned repeatedly from 1181 onwards.¹⁴ Its location is not reported, but acts of later years mention communal

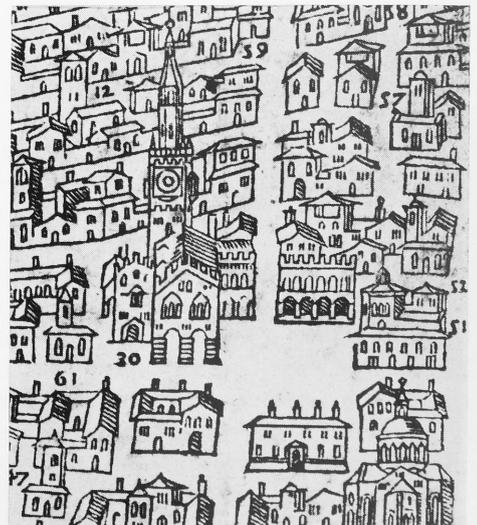
porticoes near the churches of S. Pietro and S. Vitale, on, respectively, piazza Garibaldi and strada della Repubblica.¹⁵ One or the other may have been the portico of judgment.

This modest structure sufficed until 1221, when the city's first Communal Palace was begun under the Podestà, Torello da Strada. We do not know what local circumstances made the moment propitious for this step, but it was late with respect to palace building in other communes. Competition as much as anything else may have prompted the Commune of Parma. By 1223, when the Palace received its exterior stairs, the building was complete.¹⁶ A series of nineteenth and twentieth century scholars have identified Torello's Palace with an arcaded and crenellated three-storey structure that used to stand on the south side of piazza Garibaldi, between strada Farini and strada dell'Università.¹⁷ However, its representation on an early plan of Parma (Fig. 3) and the circumstances of its demolition suggest that this structure was not a palace, but a sort of loggia, one bay deep, set in front of another building.¹⁸ Eighteenth and nineteenth century views show that its forms were late Gothic and early Renaissance, some two centuries later than Torello's Communal Palace.¹⁹ The sources make clear, moreover, that the Palace stood on the east, not the south, side of the Piazza, between strada della Repubblica and the Piazza's corner, where the later palazzo del Municipio stands today (Figs. 1-2).²⁰

The Communal Palace was demolished in 1606 by collapse of the neighboring Communal Tower²¹, and we know relatively little about its interior lay-out or exterior appearance. All that remains today is the southwest corner pier of the ground-floor arcade and a fragment of the last arch's archivolt (Fig. 7).²² Thirteenth and fourteenth century texts report benches for tribunals and stalls for the notaries on the ground floor, presumably located beneath the building's open arcades.²³ On the first floor the texts mention contemporaneous meetings of large and small assemblies, implying that there were both a large and a small council hall.²⁴ After the Scaligers took possession of Parma in 1335, becoming the first of Parma's foreign *signori*, most of the city's courts were consolidated in the Pa-



3 Smeraldo Smeraldi, Ichnographic plan of Parma, 1589-91. Detail of city center. (Formerly) Parma, Biblioteca Palatina.



4 Paolo Ponzoni, Bird's eye view of Parma, 1572. Detail of city center. AS Parma.

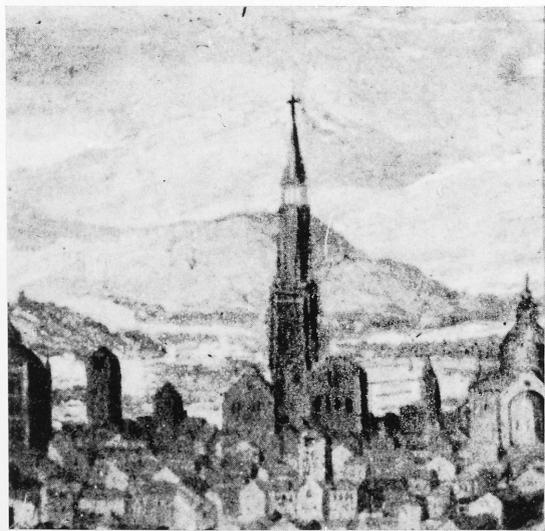
lace, in a move that occasioned still further reports of rooms and locations.²⁵ However, by this time a connecting New Communal Palace had been built, adjoining the old Palace on the east and south, so that one cannot tell whether the rooms mentioned in the later texts belonged to one or the other.

Early views and plans of Parma include much simplified representations of Torello's building (Figs. 3-6).²⁶ They leave uncertain whether the Palace was relatively short and high in proportion, or long and low, or whether the roof was gabled or flat. But they all agree that it was a rectangular block of two principal floors, facing the Piazza with one of its long sides. We see an open arcade below, windows with multiple lights above, and a corbel table supporting crenellation on top. There are two arches and three windows on the end, five arches on the side.

Most of the features attested by the early texts and views can be duplicated in other north Italian communal palaces of the end of the twelfth and the early thirteenth century. An open ground floor, arcaded to the exterior and divided into two aisles within, can be found in the Broletti of Como (1215), Milan (1233) and Novara (1208), the palazzo della Ragione of Bergamo (?1198), and the palazzo Comunale of Cremona (1206). Two upstairs meeting rooms, one large, the other small, are found in the palazzo della Ragione of Verona (1218), the Broletto at Pavia (1198) and the palazzo del Podestà of Faenza (?1232); in the Broletto of Novara a second room was added in an early extension; in the Broletti of Brescia (ca. 1227) and Como, family towers coopted into the new buildings furnished the space for a second room next to the main hall.²⁷ Clearly, the Communal Palace of Parma was not novel in its lay out. Indeed, the building type of the early communal palaces as a group is an extremely old one in Western Europe. Developed in the Carolingian period as the central building of an imperial residence, or *Pfalz*, it was generalized in the High Middle Ages as a palace for ecclesiastical and secular lords.²⁸ In pre-communal Italy the type was represented by imperial palaces at Pavia, Ravenna and elsewhere, and by numerous episcopal



5 Pietro Sottili, Bird's eye view of Parma, 1873, after a destroyed drawing of 1572 or later. Detail of city center. Parma, Banca del Monte.



6 Jacopo Bertoja, View of Parma from the North, 1572, after a drawing of 1570 by Paolo Ponzoni. Detail of city center. Caprarola, Villa Farnese.

and abbatial residences. Not least among these forbears of the communal palace as a building type were the twelfth century Episcopal and Imperial Palaces of Parma.²⁹

Of the details shown on the early views, some inspire confidence, others do not. Windows divided into several lights beneath a common relieving arch are an ubiquitous motive in Romanesque, Gothic and early Renaissance architecture. Colonnets would separate their individual lights, and window colonnettes are actually mentioned in some texts.³⁰ The shape of the windows is Classical in one view (Fig. 5) and Gothic in the other (Fig. 4). Both forms are anachronistic for the 1220's and we may prefer round, Romanesque windows, such as appear in other Parmesan buildings of the period. A corbel table beneath the roof eaves is once more a common motive of medieval construction. Crenellation, on the other hand, is otherwise a characteristic of communal buildings somewhat later than Torello's Palace and may have been an addition in its case.³¹

A monumental staircase for the Palace was built in 1223³², following an unusual plan that gave it two entrances, one on strada Farini and another on the Piazza. Curiously, the stairway does not appear on any of the early views, but the ascending line of its main ramp can still be traced in the windows of the later House of the Capitano del Popolo (Fig. 26). Rising to the left and passing beneath the Communal Tower³³, this ramp terminated at the Piazza facade of the Communal Palace and entered the latter's large hall.³⁴ On the right a landing gave on to two access ramps. They are visible on an anonymous, late sixteenth century study for widening the beginning of strada Farini (Fig. 8).³⁵ One continued the axis of the main ramp and descended into strada Farini³⁶; the other, perpendicular to the main ramp, descended into piazza Garibaldi. Since the city's town criers made procla-

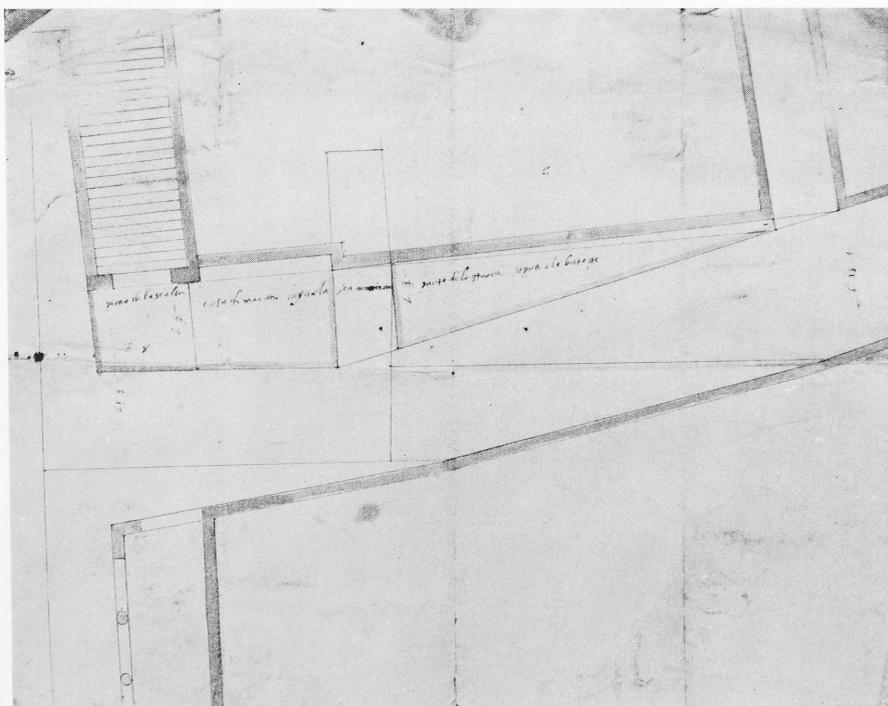


7 Parma, Pier of former Communal Palace.

mations from these stairs, and since a small bell tower stood upon them³⁷, they must have been outside stairs.³⁸ In fact, exterior stairs had been a regular feature of the seigneurial palace type from which communal palaces descended and were a normal part of the latter as well.³⁹ Such stairs were seldom free-standing, and it is probably the configuration of the older houses on the Piazza, against and around which the Parmesan staircase was built, that determined its unusual plan. No trace of the stairs remains today. Presumably, what was spared by the fall of the Tower was cleared away when the new Municipio was built.

A second staircase is recorded in the fourteenth century on the opposite side of the Palace.⁴⁰ It too was used by the town criers and was therefore an exterior stair.⁴¹

Pictured in the mind's eye, the Communal Palace of Parma appears little different from the other *arenghi*, *broletti* and *palazzi comunali* of northern Italy: a plain block of a building, dressed only by serviceable forms, like windows and arches. But such buildings met a need, not only for space, but also for symbols. By the connotations of their basic form, and by the way they stood out upon the medieval skyline of church tops, *campanili*, and family towers, they bore witness to a commune's achieved stability and power. It is in this role that Torello's palace figured in a silver model of Parma, made in 1247 as a votive offering to the Virgin Mary, whose protection the city implored in the dark days of Frederick's II siege. The model showed the "major and leading buildings of the city, all made in silver, like the main church, called the Duomo ... Also the Baptistry ... and the Episcopal Palace and Communal Palace and many other buildings were there, that they might call up the city's semblance".⁴²



8 Anonymous, Project for widening Strada Farini, before 1606. Parma, Biblioteca Civica Comunale.



9 Parma, Palazzo Fainardi.

Quick and far-reaching urban change followed the construction of the Palace. The civic center of high medieval Parma had been the piazza del Duomo, where the Episcopal Palace, Baptistery and Cathedral stood.⁴³ Now, in the short space of two decades, a new civic center was created around Torello's building by construction of a public square in front of it, a Communal Tower and Podestà's Residence adjacent to it, and a flying bridge between it and the Residence.

Of the square — the southern half of piazza Garibaldi — we know that its land was acquired by the Commune and cleared a short time before 1228.⁴⁴ The exact date is unrecorded, but if the L-shaped plan of the Palace's main stairway was indeed dictated in part by the need to skirt buildings standing in its way, the time the square was laid out would be fixed between 1223 and 1228.

Of the famous Communal Tower, which was to be the Palace's undoing, we know that it had been begun by 1246, when its first bell was hung, and that its forefront, or show facade, on the Piazza had been built by 1262.⁴⁵ In 1287 a new superstructure of wood was added and a new bell hung. After having been repeatedly struck and damaged by lightning the superstructure was rebuilt in masonry during the Renaissance in the form of a huge octagonal spire, articulated by multiple galleries, orders and pinnacles, and equipped with an ingenious automaton that marked the hours by appearances of trumpet-sounding angels



10 Parma, Palazzo Fainardi. Photograph of before 1893. Parma, Collection Amoretti.

and adoring Magi.⁴⁶ Marvel that it was, the spire collapsed in 1606, burying 27 persons in the ruins of the demolished Communal Palace at its feet. All that remains of the Tower today are remnants of its base and a part of its forefront on the Piazza. The latter — a great archway surmounted by a gallery of Romanesque windows and crowned originally by some sort of arch or pediment — was rebuilt during the seventeenth century to become the offices of the Mint.⁴⁷ The crowning arch was replaced by a full second floor and the rest of the structure was walled up, turning the edifice into a prosaic, three-storey, rectangular block. A modern restoration has reopened the archway and gallery, but left the added top floor, substituting a pair of false Romanesque windows for the windows put there in the seventeenth century (Fig. 26).⁴⁸

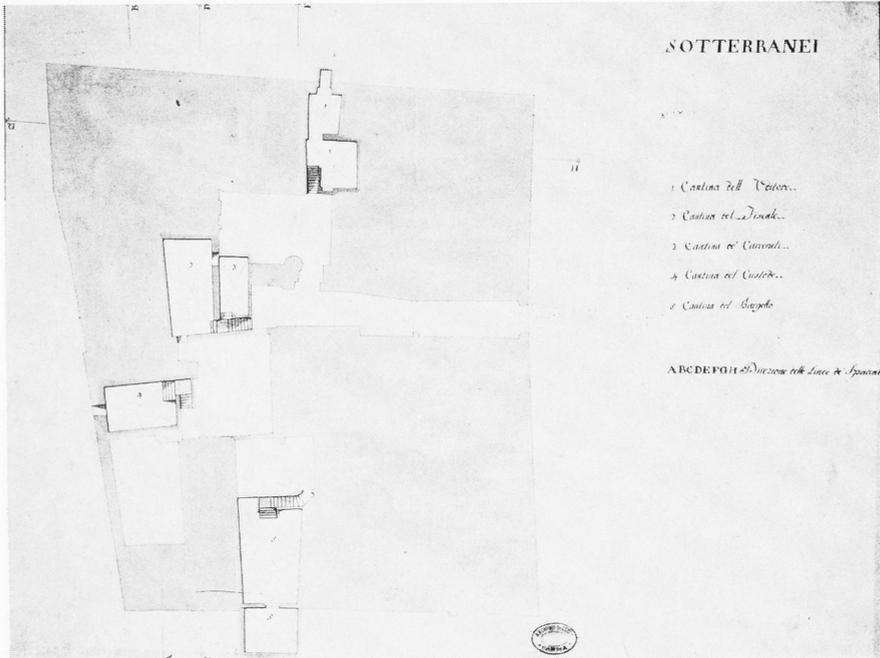
The Residence of the Podestà was probably older than the Tower. It is first mentioned in 1243⁴⁹, but by that time the Commune had been appointing Podestà for over half a century⁵⁰ and a seat for them must have been in existence some time. The building housed not only the Podestà, but also the officers and courts in his charge, like his *Vicario* and the criminal court.⁵¹ In 1338 some of these officials were moved to the old Communal Palace.⁵² By 1395 the Podestà himself had moved out and the Residence was now referred to as the “old residential palace of the Lord Podestà”.⁵³ In the mid sixteenth century soldiers were quartered in it, presumably a guard maintained by the Farnese, the new Dukes of Parma and Piacenza, to protect their hold upon the city.⁵⁴

Modern scholars have identified this “house”, “residence”, or “habitation” of the Podestà, as it was variously called, with the Capitano’s House on the Piazza, in the mistaken belief that one and the same building served first the Podestà and then the Capitano del Popolo.⁵⁵ As a result, no one was prepared to recognize the Podestà’s Residence when it

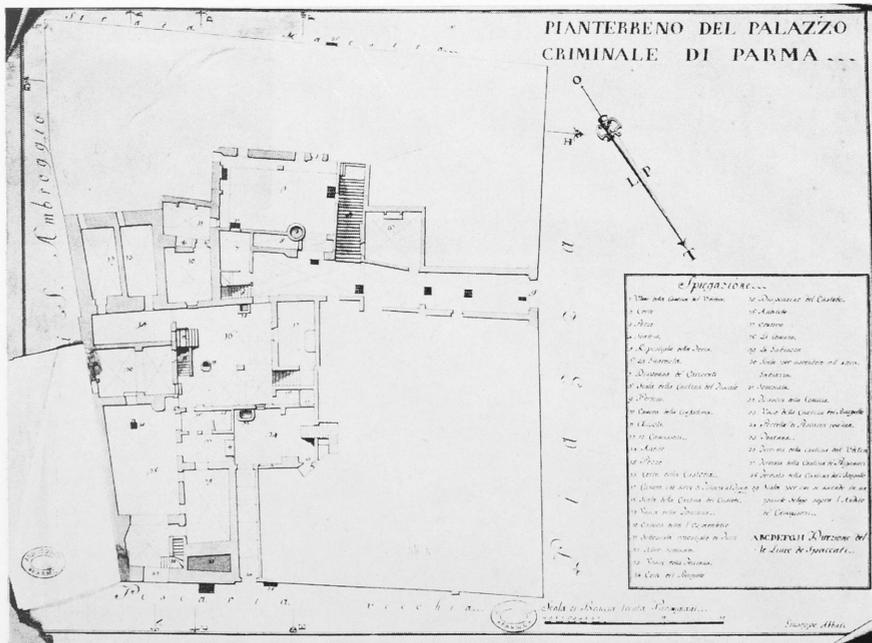
suddenly reappeared in another location some twenty years ago. The building in question is palazzo Fainardi, on the corner of the Piazza and strada della Repubblica (Fig. 9). Revealed as a medieval fabric when the eighteenth and nineteenth century stucco facing of its upper storeys was removed in 1960, the palazzo has been in search of an identity ever since. It has been called the former palace of the criminal court⁵⁶, the medieval palace of the notaries⁵⁷, and the original communal palace of Parma.⁵⁸ Instead it is the Residence of the Podestà, which all early texts concur in placing on the east of the Piazza, south of piazza Cesare Battisti, in the exact site occupied by palazzo Fainardi.⁵⁹

Three sets of plans of the building survive, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They show that the Residence was not a unitary structure, but an assembly of five or more properties, distinct in origin and, probably, in date (Figs. 11-17).⁶⁰ Differences of floor heights, multiple street entrances and interior courts, and the existence here and there within the fabric of massive towers, are the clues that allow one to fix the approximate boundaries of the different properties. One, at the corner of borgo di S. Ambrogio and piazza Battisti, was entered from piazza Battisti; it had two towers on the corner and a court behind a high wall along the borgo. Another, in the middle of borgo di S. Ambrogio, was entered from the latter; it had a very large tower on the borgo and a good-sized court within. A third property, extending along strada della Repubblica and around the corner into piazza Garibaldi, was entered through a corridor from the Piazza that led to its own court, the largest of all. An unknown number of further properties filled the rest of the block, on strada Cavour and piazza Battisti. The plans leave most of this section blank because it was already then in private hands, but they do indicate a street entrance from piazza Battisti leading to a small, separate court. Clearly these are appurtenances of what was still another property, the fourth parcel on the block. An early view of the west side of the Residence helps to fill the gap in the plans (Fig. 21). Here we see two separate roofs adjoining the roof of what in the above list was the third parcel. One, on the left, may be co-extensive with the fourth property that is entered from piazza Battisti, in which case the north-west corner of the building contained a total of two parcels, the fourth and fifth. Alternatively, the roofs mark parcels additional to the fourth, and there were six in all.

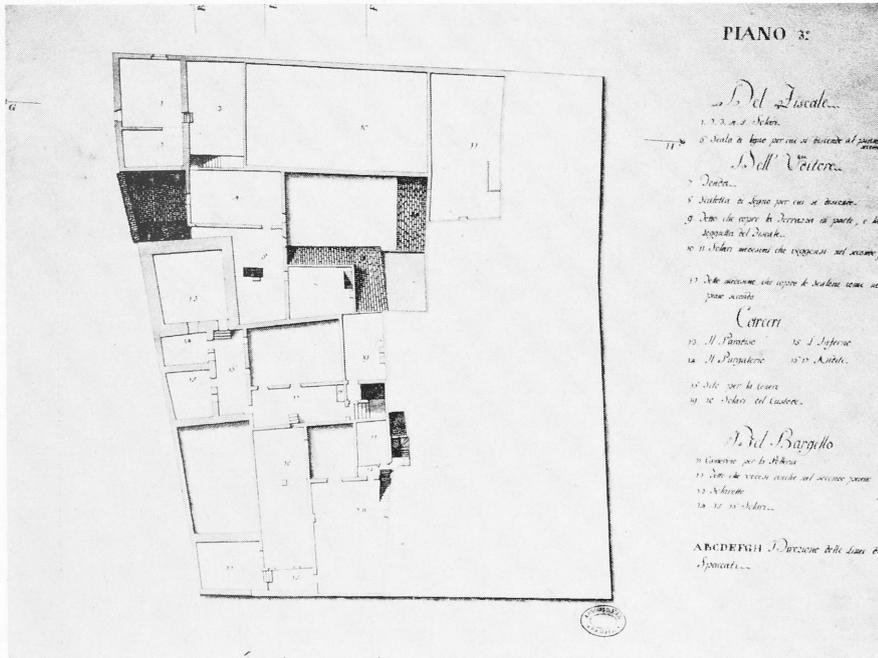
With their massive walls and vaults and the cramped scale of their rooms, the parcels on borgo di S. Ambrogio and piazza Battisti have the structural character of early or high medieval buildings. They seem to have been conceived as complete in themselves, each with its own courtyard and ancillary spaces. Originally they were probably private family palaces, coopted into the Podestà's Residence when that was built, or joined to it afterwards as extensions.⁶¹ On the seventeenth and eighteenth century plans they are identified as prisons and barracks, a use for which their heavy walls and labyrinthine lay-out suited them excellently, and for which they were probably destined from the moment the Commune took them over. By contrast, the large tract on strada della Repubblica and piazza Garibaldi bespeaks rather later standards of planning and construction, and suggests a different building type. Its rooms are ampler and its walls thinner than those of the other parcels, and vaulting is not used. The larger of the two main rooms, overlooking strada della Repubblica, had the scale of a public hall, not a private reception room.⁶² Tower-like elements at either end of the main facade show up on plan as simple rooms rather than defensible perimeters; they are symbolic rather than military features. The building seems to be later in date than the other parcels, and must have been conceived *ab initio* as a public edifice. It is this tract which must have been the Residence of the Podestà properly speaking, where the Podestà lived and transacted business. Whether in 1243, when it is first mentioned, the complex had already been extended to include all the older family palaces on the north, we do not know.



11 Giuseppe Abbati, Basement plan of Palazzo Fainardi. AS Parma.



12 Giuseppe Abbati, Ground-floor plan of Palazzo Fainardi. AS Parma.



15 Giuseppe Abbati, Third-floor plan of Palazzo Fainardi. AS Parma.

The parts recovered in the restoration of 1960 are the upper floors of the two exterior sides of the Residence proper. Removal of modern stucco brought to light significant remains of the Romanesque fenestration on the side towards strada della Repubblica (Figs. 18-19), and traces at least of early windows on the side towards piazza Garibaldi. Untouched by the restoration were the modern roof cornice and facing of the mezzanine and ground floors. However, the seventeenth and eighteenth century plans, a painting of ca. 1717-20 (Fig. 20), the many engraved views (Fig. 21), and an early photograph (Fig. 10)⁶³ give a good idea of what was in their place before.

We can reconstruct the two facades as follows. On the ground floor there was a portal on both sides, beneath the right-hand tower on strada della Repubblica and somewhat left of center on piazza Garibaldi. The remainder of the ground floor was given over to shops, probably eleven on strada della Repubblica and certainly eight on piazza Garibaldi.⁶⁴ An equal number of windows, one above each shop, lighted the mezzanine, the rooms of which served as habitations for the keepers of the shops below.⁶⁵ Until modern times the shop openings had segmental arches and the mezzanine windows were oblong, both common shapes in medieval construction and met again in one of the New Palaces of the 1280's (Fig. 28).

On the first floor, the side towards strada della Repubblica is articulated by seven three-light windows beneath half-round relieving arches (Fig. 19). Their colonnettes bear simple crocket capitals and stand on rather classical bases, both of which can be duplicated in Romanesque churches of Parma and nearby cities.⁶⁶ Beneath the windows runs a limestone sill, continued between windows to form a string course. The regular rhythm of the fenestration and the string course are interrupted between the fourth and fifth windows (counting from the left), where there is a broad stretch of wall with no medieval articulation.

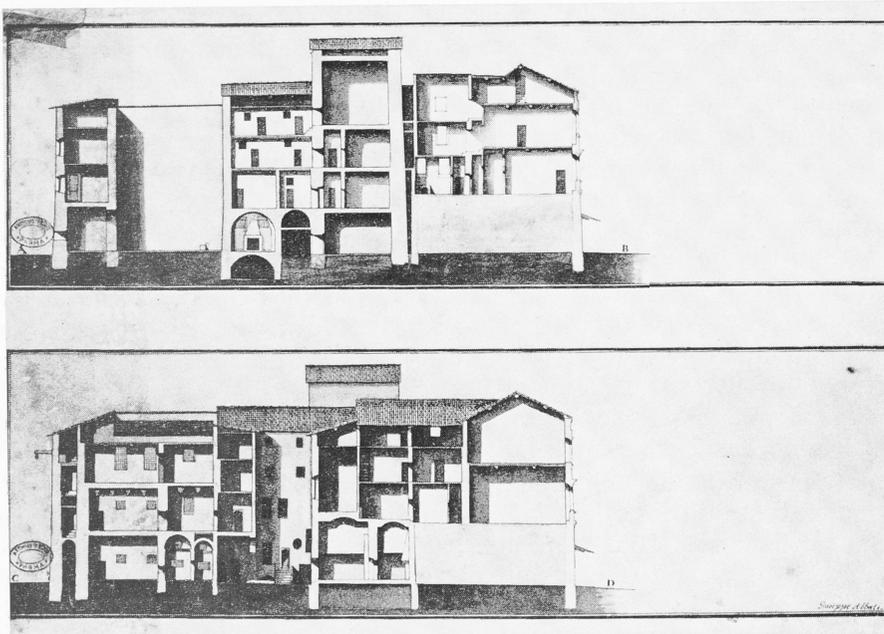
Here a bridge to the Communal Palace probably entered the building, a feature that is discussed below. On the side towards the Piazza there are visible fragmentary outlines of the extradoi of six more windows, four overlooking the Piazza itself and two, come to light only in 1982, overlooking strada Cavour.

On the second floor there are fewer remains. The Piazza side retains traces of the tops of just three windows. On the side towards strada della Repubblica one sole window of two lights exists at the extreme right. Otherwise this facade shows only a discontinuous line of small, blind, arcuated openings. Nine were exposed during the restoration of 1960, two remain walled up, and four more are dimly distinguishable in disturbed brickwork on the middle of the facade. Their repetitive rhythm suggests that originally they extended across the whole facade. (The window on the right breaches their line; it may have been built that way, but it may also have been inserted at an early date).

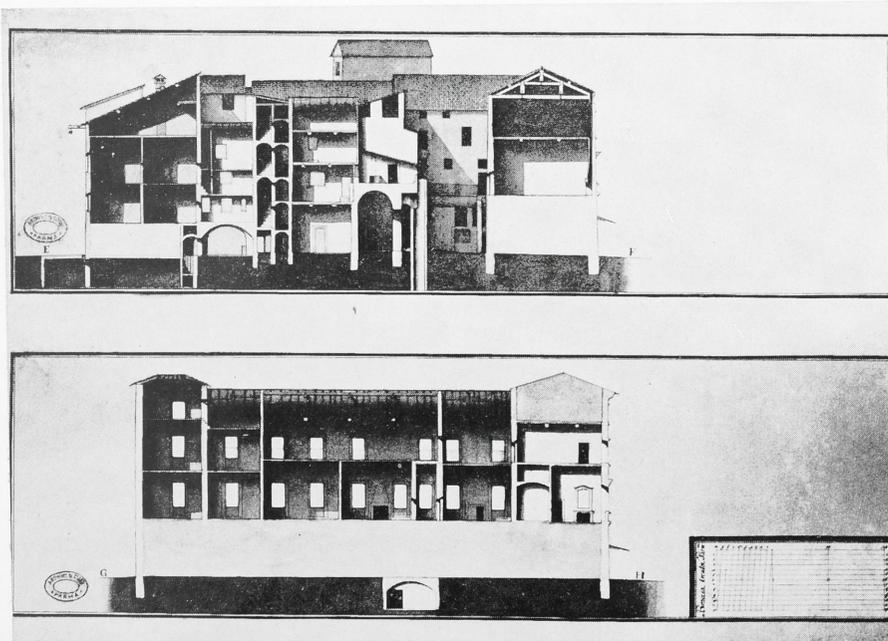
The tops of a continuous row of similar openings, overlaid by a classical cornice that is plainly a later addition, are visible immediately beneath the crenellation in the view of the building's Piazza side painted in ca. 1717-20 (Fig. 20). In fact, such openings are regularly found beneath the crenellation of Romanesque and Gothic buildings; early examples are the palazzo di Cittanuova at Cremona of 1256 (Fig. 22) and the palazzo Pretorio at Trent of before 1255. Where the roofs descend towards them, the openings form outlets for rain water; where there are solid structures behind them they are blind. The openings of the Podestà's Residence are another instance of the motive. Beneath the two towers they must have been blind always; in the middle they must have been open. Today they lie far beneath the roof of the Residence's central portion, and a full second floor is installed behind them. However, this second floor is clearly an addition. A longitudinal section of this side of the building contained among the eighteenth century plans (Fig. 17) shows that the floor was inserted into the Residence's two main halls, and a band of meanly stuccoed wall on the exterior shows that the roof was raised. Since such a system of spouts presupposes a superior crenellation, we may infer that the central tract of the facade was crenellated.

The third floor exhibits no medieval remnants on the Piazza side. As we heard, the painted view ca. 1717-20 attests that this side was once topped by crenellation. Since the roof on the Piazza side is also the roof of the left-hand tower on strada della Repubblica, it seems likely that the crenellation turned the corner and continued on the tower; presumably its mate, on the other end of strada della Repubblica, was crenellated as well. Of the two towers, the left-hand one retains three two-light windows beneath relieving arches. They have no sills. The right-hand tower, by contrast, shows no traces of medieval windows but still retains their limestone sill, continued across the face of the tower to form a string course. This tower is narrower than its pendant; if its lost windows were the same size as those of the latter — which is likely — then there was room for only two of them.

Features of the Residence no longer visible but described by the sources include a staircase, a cage for exhibiting miscreants, and a *balatorium* leading to the Communal Palace. The staircase must have been on the outside of the building because, like the stairs of the Communal Palace, it was one of the regular stations from which town criers made proclamations to the accompaniment of trumpet calls.⁶⁷ The cage was built in 1322 atop the left-hand tower; an instance of its use is reported in 1330.⁶⁸ The *balatorium*, which not only linked the Residence of the Podestà and the Communal Palace, but also served to exhibit captured trophies and the bodies of hanged men, was built in 1246 and entirely rebuilt in 1323-24.⁶⁹ In modern Italian, the word, "ballatoio", signifies a projecting gallery of some, sort set high on the wall of a larger structure. Probably something similar is intended by the term *balatorium*: a gallery spanning the strada della Repubblica to link the two



16 Giuseppe Abbati, North-south sections "AB" and "CD" of Palazzo Fainardi. AS Parma.



17 Giuseppe Abbati, North-south section "EF" and east-west section "GH" of Palazzo Fainardi. AS Parma.

palaces. We can picture what it looked like before its fourteenth century renovation from a similar bridge that still survives at Mantua, the so-called Arengario, spanning via Ardigo (Fig. 23).⁷⁰ Supported upon four powerful arches, it consists of two floors, the lower one lit by windows, the upper one by a gallery of small arches. At Parma there was room for only a single floor, but otherwise the original *balatorium* must have looked quite similar, attaching to the Podestà's Residence at that point of the facade on strada della Repubblica where the Romanesque fenestration leaves a broad gap.

Despite the losses of time enough remains for us to reconstruct the Residence's long side on strada della Repubblica in its original form (Fig. 24).⁷¹ This side of the building far outranked the other in quality of design: the one, a studied composition of different window sizes, a course of arcuated openings, and projecting towers; the other, a plain rising wall with identical apertures. The former must have been the Residence's principal facade, as its situation — facing the Communal Palace, on the major east-west artery of the city, the ancient via Aemilia — argues as well. (The other side was hidden in a narrow street until extension of the Piazza in 1282).

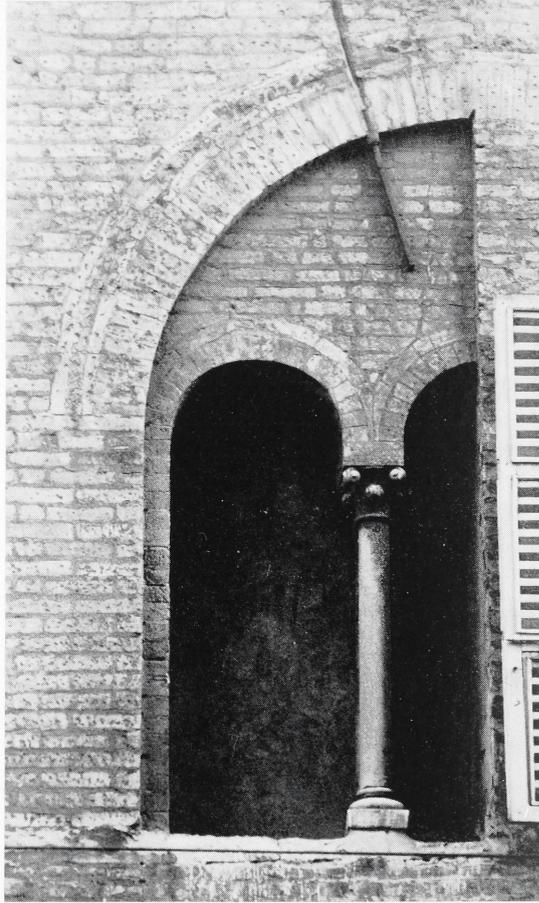
It is a most unusual facade, unlike any other encountered in the architecture of the north Italian communes. Details like the windows and roof spouts, to be sure, have parallels in other communal buildings. But the composition as a whole does not, and can be found otherwise only in the earliest residential palaces of Venice.⁷² The facade system of the Venetian buildings is usually considered unique to that city and is always traced to late-antique and Byzantine sources, a theory comforted by the byzantinism of their details.⁷³ This is not the place to enter into the difficulties of the proposed filiation (late-antique or Byzantine buildings quite like the Venetian ones have not been found, and the avenues by which their putative influence reached Venice remain unexplained). But the Podestà's Residence of Parma shows that the system was more widely known. It shows furthermore that the composition befitted tenants of high estate. A Podestà, although the appointed officer of a commune, was an equal of secular lords by rank and power. Like the type of the communal palaces discussed above, the type of the twin-towered residence, on the evidence of the Parmesan Residence, must have had seignorial connotations to men of the time.

New growth of the government enclave around S. Vitale began in the third quarter of the century and seems to have been connected with the rise of the *popolo*. At Parma, as elsewhere in communal Italy, the *popolo* — a coalition of classes and interest groups that felt excluded from the Commune — began to organize politically during the thirteenth century, forming sodalities and other bodies that functioned parallel to, and were to some extent modelled on, communal institutions. Gradually the *popolo* established itself beside the various communes as their equal, then began to merge with them, and, in the end, gained control of them.⁷⁴ The process was untidy everywhere, in that such coalitions continually reformed in their search for political advantage, and the gains of one day were erased by setbacks the next. Throughout communal Italy the emergence of the *popolo* is difficult to follow precisely, and also at Parma the landmarks are few. Appointment in 1244 of a temporary Capitano del Popolo shows that the movement was then underway.⁷⁵ It was gaining strength at the turn from the 1250's to the 1260's, when Consigli degli Anziani and di Credenza were instituted (recurrent features of *popolano* governments in the Italian communes), and again in 1266, when a Capitano del Popolo began to be regularly appointed and the holding of office in the Commune was restricted to those enrolled in an armed society of Guelphs, the Società dei Crociati.⁷⁶ It triumphed in 1280, when a popular tumult precipitated by a magnate family's violence led to constitutional reforms that legalized the primacy of the *popolo*.⁷⁷

Throughout communal Italy the rise of the *popolo* brought an enormous growth of government, and this was true at Parma too. Not only were Consigli degli Anziani and di Credenza and a Capitanato del Popolo instituted, but also staffs of officials and servants were authorized for each. Various officers of the Società dei Crociati and representatives of the city's neighborhoods, guilds, and professional and religious organizations were coopted into the Commune, swelling its councils. New judicial institutions were established for trade and professional groups.⁷⁸ Such reforms, in turn, brought new demands for space. Records of communal deliberations that would inform us how these demands were debated and satisfied do not survive, but there is a close chronological parallel between the expansion of Parma's government enclave and the rising power of the *popolo*. New construction was first contemplated in the middle of the 1250's, first ordered at the end of that decade, begun in a small way during the early 1260's, expanded around 1270, and concluded on a grand scale in the early 1280's. Even the many changes of mind that attended the first years of the expansion seem to reflect the politics of the time, in that the contest for control of the Commune clearly progressed unevenly, with alternating adoption and repudiation of policies and reforms according to the see-saw of political strife.



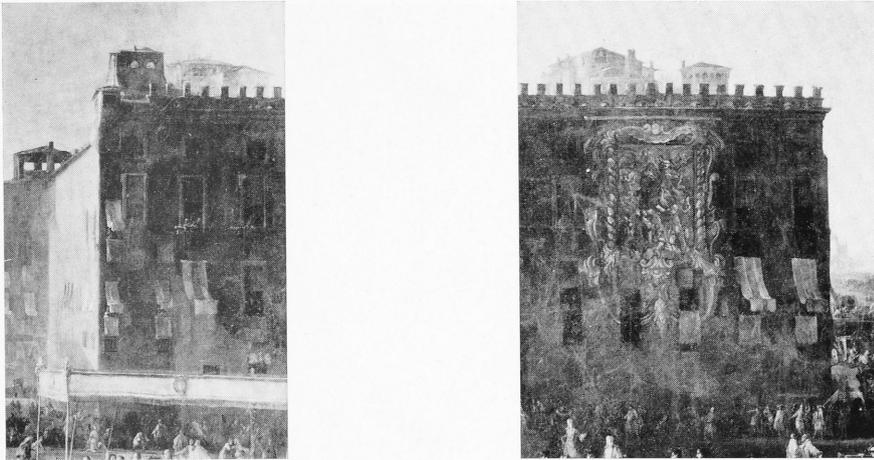
18 Parma, Palazzo Fainardi, side towards Strada della Repubblica.



19 Palazzo Fainardi, First-floor window.

The story begins shortly before 1253, when the Commune decided to purchase two lots of private houses, situated to the south and west of the communal buildings then standing; a third parcel, lying between the Communal Palace and S. Vitale was ordered bought in 1253.⁷⁹ Sometime before 1259 it was voted that a portion of the total area be developed as a public portico for the money changers, whose stalls adjoining the Podestà's Residence and the Communal Palace were declared an inconvenience for the congregation and intercourse of citizens. By 1259, however, this project had fallen through and the *cambiatori* were allowed to return to the side of the Podestà's Residence.⁸⁰ Indeed, a new statute adopted in 1262 shows that only the site of the abandoned portico had actually been purchased thus far. It was now ordered that the acquisition of the whole area designated in 1253 be consummated, and that two prisons be built within the area, one for debtors, the other for criminals, with rental shops for the benefit of the Commune at each end of the edifice.⁸¹

Also this statute was not given full execution. The land acquisitions were completed, but only one of the two prisons was built, namely the criminal prison, nicknamed "the shackles" ("la Camusina", "le Camusine"), and completed in 1263.⁸² The building took



20 Ilario Spolverini, Entry of Cardinal Ulisse Gozzadini into Parma, ca. 1717-20. Detail of Palazzo Fainardi. Piacenza, Museo Civico.

the form of a tower, which suggests that it may have been an adaptation of an older family tower. Below were stout cells, in which condemned men languished as if “buried alive”; above was a room used for communal business.⁸³ The building stood south of the Communal Palace, on borgo della Salina, near the corner with borgo di S. Vitale.⁸⁴

The debtors’ prison and shops had to wait another twenty years. They were built in 1281-82 as part of a whole New Communal Palace, the chief function of which was to house the Anziani. A year later still another New Communal Palace was begun, which the Anziani occupied early the next century. Not surprisingly, the two palaces with similar names and functions have often been confused. I shall call them by the names of the churches they adjoined in order to keep them apart, respectively, the New Palace of S. Vitale and the New Palace of S. Giorgio.⁸⁵

The New Palace of S. Vitale is the building that was put up now. We are told that it was erected, decorated and put into use all within the space of one year, in 1281-82⁸⁶, which suggests that it too may have incorporated earlier structures and not been new construction throughout. Early sources locate it opposite S. Vitale and “towards” the Camusina prison. It must have abutted against the long rear (i.e., east) side of Torello’s Communal Palace and run due south from strada della Repubblica towards borgo della Salina.⁸⁷ The Anziani were its chief tenants until they left for the other New Palace; thereafter it was often called the “former palace of the Anziani”.⁸⁸ The Primiceri (officers of the Società dei Crociati) and Podestà and Capitano also used it to transact business. On the ground floor of the side facing S. Vitale were the shops, and somewhere within was the debtors’ prison, first ordered twenty years before.⁸⁹ After departure of the Anziani the building was used for lesser magistratures, newly instituted or crowded out of their original quarters.⁹⁰ The Palace must have been severely damaged in 1606, when the Communal Tower fell down, and much of it rebuilt thereafter, when the new Municipio was put up. Whatever remained was gradually absorbed in successive extensions of the Municipio, the last of which was built in the 1930’s. Today, all that can be seen are four Romanesque windows on an interior court abutting the south side of the seventeenth century Municipio (Fig. 25).⁹¹



21 Anonymous, View of Piazza Garibaldi, before 1778. Milan, Raccolta Bertarelli.

No texts are known that describe the Palace's lay-out or elevation. Smeraldi's ichnographic plan of Parma of 1589-91 (Fig. 3) shows an L-shaped building with cell-like shops strung across two ends and, puzzlingly, right through the middle. A circular feature appears encased within the fabric and must be the Communal Tower. No less than the building's swift completion, this curious plan suggests that it was a medley of old and new construction. In the sixteenth century views we see only its north end, articulated by a central portal, one or more large windows on the first floor, smaller openings on the attic level, and a crenellated gable on top (Figs. 4-6).⁹² The representations are too incomplete to allow a reconstruction of the Palace's plan or elevation, or to hazard an identification of its architectural type.

Still another building put up in these years is the Dwelling or House of the Capitano del Popolo, on the south side of piazza Garibaldi (Fig. 26).⁹³ The exact date of its construction is not recorded, but the chronicler Salimbene lists it among civic improvements made in the decades between the early 1260's and early 1280's.⁹⁴ Somewhere in the middle of these years, ca. 1270, seems the likeliest date if we consider that the regular appointment of a Capitano began in 1266, and that by the 1280's the Romanesque forms of the surviving facade were beginning to be out of date.

Originally the House of the Capitano was a shallow block, with only stables and minor structures and, possibly, a court at its rear, towards borgo della Salina.⁹⁵ At the front, on the Piazza, shops were tucked behind and beneath the great, two-branched staircase of



22 Cremona, Palazzo di Cittanuova.

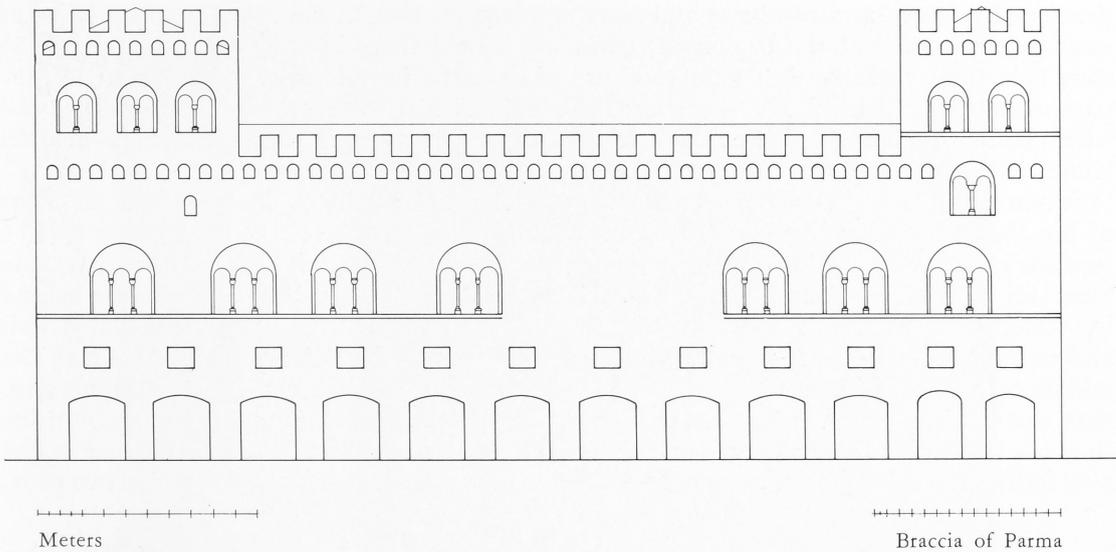
the Communal Palace, and there stood a *ringhiera* or speaker's platform.⁹⁶ Today only the facade survives, as restored early in our century. The restoration reintegrated the Romanesque fenestration of the upper floors on the basis of original remains, and added Ghibelline crenellation on top. Shops and mezzanine windows on the lower floors were recut, but with one exception their placement was left as it was already in the eighteenth century (Fig. 21), and the interior was not touched.⁹⁷ Three three-light windows beneath half-round relieving arches were reopened on the first and second floors. Those of the first floor follow a rising line because they had to clear the pre-existing staircase of the Communal Palace. Behind them must have lain a high hall, a standard feature of an upper-class residence in the Middle Ages. Given the shallowness of the original building, the axis of the hall must have been aligned with the front. The room was later divided vertically to produce the mezzanine and low first floor that the building has had at least since the eighteenth century, and each of these floors was partitioned into many minor spaces. Originally there cannot have been any mezzanine at all, since one of the four mezzanine windows recorded



23 Mantua, Arengario.

in pre-restoration views had to be sacrificed by the restorers for the lowest of the Romanesque first-floor windows. Whether the original shop openings were built out beneath the stairs of the Communal Palace, or recessed beneath them and flush with the House's front, we do not know.

Aside from an odd arrangement of windows and, possibly, shops, due to the obstacle of the stairs, neither the facade nor the lay-out of the Capitano's House was unusual. Two upper floors superimposed directly on a ground floor of shops, without a mediating mezzanine, and a hall lying parallel to the front, are common features of private city residences of the thirteenth century and later throughout western Europe.⁹⁸ By architectural status the building was a great house rather than a palace; only its monumental scale and details marked it as special.



24 Parma, Main facade of the Residence of the Podestà (Palazzo Fainardi). Reconstruction.

Stuttering progress, changes of plan, and the frugal reuse of earlier structures had marked the whole of this campaign of expansion. Then, in 1282, the pace and character of construction changed dramatically. Agreement was found for an integrated urbanistic scheme, and it was pursued unfalteringly and swiftly, so that within the short span of five years it was nearly complete. It comprised a doubling in size of the Piazza and erection of a second New Communal Palace, the one I have dubbed the New Palace of S. Giorgio.

Up to this time the Piazza had reached from the line of the Capitano's House on the south to a line continuous with strada della Repubblica on the north. Now, in 1282, private properties further to the north were bought up and cleared, extending the Piazza to the dimensions it has today (Fig. 1).⁹⁹ The enlarged Piazza discovered the previously hidden, lateral facade of the Podestà's Residence on the east side, while its north side was reserved for the New Palace of S. Giorgio. In 1294 the extension was finished off with paving, and in 1318 chains were placed across all streets leading into the enlarged square¹⁰⁰, presumably to mark it as publicly owned space and to prevent squatting tradesmen, with their movements of animals and goods, from installing themselves there. In a still later phase of its existence the Piazza and all the government buildings around it were fortified. Crenellated walls linking the backs of the various buildings and gates on the four streets entering the square were erected in 1345 at the order of the Lord, Lucchino Visconti.¹⁰¹ The enclosure was restored in 1478-79 for reasons that must have applied equally to its initial construction: all rebellions against the *signori* of Parma, we are told, had aimed at possession of the Piazza, control of which assured control of the city.¹⁰² The walling of the square, thus, was a visible symbol of the Commune's fall and turned the Piazza into a castle.

The New Communal Palace of S. Giorgio was begun the same year as the square, in 1282. By 1285 it was substantially complete; the next year a part of one end fell in (the end towards piazza Battisti), damage that was made good in 1287.¹⁰³ Its ground floor, like the ground floors of the Podestà's Residence and the New Palace of S. Vitale, was developed for commercial use.¹⁰⁴ The mezzanine floor, on analogy with that of the Podestà's Residence, must have housed the keepers of the shops downstairs. The west of the *piano nobile* was

developed to serve as a residence and meeting place for the Anziani.¹⁰⁵ The other end was used as a magazine at the beginning; grain was stored there in 1287 and 1317; prisoners were held there in 1289.¹⁰⁶ The original use of the attic floor is unknown. When the city passed under the control of foreign lords the Anziani had to move out.¹⁰⁷ Thereafter the whole Palace became the seat of the lord's regent, or governor, to whom it owes its modern name, palazzo del Governatore.

Seventeenth and eighteenth century renovations and additions have effaced all signs of the Palace's medieval origin (Fig. 27). However, some of the original features can be reconstructed with the aid of early texts and a modernization project of 1598 by Smeraldo Smeraldi (Fig. 28).¹⁰⁸ The building was a long, shallow block with houses directly behind it. (One of the latter was demolished in 1323 to make a rear court with a crenellated wall and an exterior staircase for the Anziani's part of the Palace).¹⁰⁹ A passage led through the middle to a street in back; it was called vicolo di S. Marco for a church, now suppressed, that stood in the street.¹¹⁰ The entrance may have been marked by a large portal, to distinguish it from the shops on each side. Smeraldi shows six shops and a small door in the west half of the front (i.e. on the left), seven shops on the east, and four each on the two ends.



25 Parma, Window of former New Communal Palace of S. Vitale.



26 Parma, Forefront of Communal Tower and House of the Capitano del Popolo.

An unknown number lined the sides of vicolo di S. Marco.¹¹¹ A portico protected the shops on the front, but it seems to have been a superimposed, insubstantial structure, perhaps made of wood, considering the ease with which in the short span of a dozen years it was pulled down, reerected, and pulled down again.¹¹² In Smeraldi's drawing the shop openings have segmental arches set within rectangular frames, a form one meets in the ground-floor shops on piazza Broletto of the Communal Palace of Mantua and in other thirteenth century buildings.¹¹³ Two- or three-light windows illuminated the *piano nobile* according to one modern writer, but on what evidence, and whether Romanesque or Gothic in style, he does not say.¹¹⁴ The interior of this floor was, and is still, divided into many rooms rather than forming one vast hall, or a hall and a chamber, as in other communal palaces of the time. An attic floor is mentioned in the legend of Smeraldi's drawing; we do not know whether it was expressed on the exterior by windows.¹¹⁵ At roof level there was crenellation.¹¹⁶ No structure rose above the roof, save a modest bell tower of wood over the Anziani's west end of the Palace.¹¹⁷

The original building can be visualized clearly enough from this description. It was a huge block of rooms, i.e. without a hall. Hemmed in on three sides by other buildings and



27 Parma, Palazzo del Governatore. Photograph of before 1893. Parma, Collection Amoretti.

streets, it had only a front view, a serial composition of repeating shop fronts and windows, with perhaps a discreet central accent in the form of a portal over vicolo di S. Marco. In its impressive scale, emphasis of the front, and development of the ground floor for commercial use, it resembled the palazzo del Podestà of Bologna (begun in 1200). However, the latter's shops are recessed within a one-aisled portico, and its upstairs is one vast hall. Shops flush with the front are found in a wing of Mantua's Communal Palace built in 1227, but there too the main floor is a hall.¹¹⁸ Flush shop fronts seem to originate in medieval developments of row housing, recognizably preserved examples of which are the fourteenth century housing rows at the east end of piazza del Duomo in Florence, and on the salizzade S. Lio and S. Luca at Venice.¹¹⁹ Such buildings lack halls within, have no rear elevations, and are serial compositions of repetitive openings on the front. Rows like these seem to have been the forbears of the New Palace of S. Giorgio, conceived as a block of multiple dwellings — as a large part of it was, since eight Anziani lived there — rather than a hall palace. It aped the latter only in the monumentality of its exterior forms.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Palace's original surface was covered with stucco, all apertures were forced into a classical rectangularity, and a large central tower was added. Of the Palace's original effect, nothing remains but the sheer scale of the building, by virtue of which it dominates the Piazza today. As conceived, however, it was a pendant to the other palaces on the square, and the focus of the Piazza as a whole lay at its opposite end, in the Communal Tower and Torello's Palace with its huge stair-

case. We can catch a last glimpse of the whole composition in a description of the Piazza written between 1554 and 1558 by the notary of the Episcopal Chancellery, Cristoforo Dalla Torre.

This city has a large rectangular square, paved in brick and ornamented all around with palaces. In one of these — towards the north — the Magnificent Lord Governor of the city resides with his court. Another, towards the east, once housed the Podestà and his officers. Now, more's the pity, because this city stands bereft of the praetorian office soldiers are quartered there. Also, in the same eastern palace, separated from the aforesaid only by a street, the Parmesan notaries and attorneys practice their trade or office. It is called the Palace of the Notaries, and they carry on work at the bottom, that is at the foot of that Palace. Upstairs, however, in these times of war, grain is kept to provision the soldiers. In another palace, towards the south, near the Tower, the wardens of the Republic of Parma meet and live. Still other palaces enclosing the square, in which various businesses are carried on, have been sold to different citizens.

Close by the eastern palace stands the grandest and loftiest Tower, built of brick, remarkable in the whole of Emilia, miraculous in skill and construction. At its foot or base various other offices of the city operate ...

... This square is surrounded by strong walls and closed by iron doors on the streets to the east, west, south and north, so that it can be closed and turned into a strong point ...¹²⁰

Already the composition had been defaced by construction of the precinct wall and gates, and by the privatization of many buildings. A note of nostalgia runs through Dalla Torre's account; the unity of purpose that once spoke from a unity of appearances had passed. Only in the eighteenth century did the Piazza once more come to express a clear ideal of government, but that, as we said, is part of another story.

NOTES

For my research on Italian medieval urbanism and architecture I have enjoyed support over the years from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the National Endowment of the Humanities, the Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton), and Brown University (Providence), whose help I gratefully acknowledge. For this particular paper I am much indebted to the friendly interest and assistance given at Parma by Ing. Vincenzo Banzola, Chief Engineer of the Cassa di Risparmio, Dr. Francesco Barocelli, Ordinatore del Patrimonio Artistico del Comune, Dr. Sonia Fineschi, Director of the Archivio di Stato, and Col. Antonio Nanni. Professors Reinhold Schumann of Boston University and Marvin Trachtenberg of the Institute of Fine Arts (New York) generously gave of their time to read and comment upon the manuscript. To all of them I offer heartfelt thanks.

- ¹ The treaty guarantees that the Parmesans "per commune eis" will do no harm to the Piacentines, and that they will not seek variations from its terms "sine parabola consulum Parme data campana sonata, et concione facta"; *G. Drei*, *Le carte degli archivi parmensi del secolo XII*, Parma 1950, n° 194. Also the phrase, "campana sonata, et concione facta", is a tell-tale mark of a communal government. The "concio" or "concilio", in which all members of the commune gathered at the ringing of the town bell, was the ultimate authority for communal acts.

The standard works for the history of the Commune of Parma, still unsurpassed for their wealth of detail and documentation, are the sustained narratives of *I. Affò*, *Storia della città di Parma*, 4 vols., Parma 1792-95 (repr. Bologna 1956, Parma 1956-57) and *A. Pezzana*, *La storia della città di Parma continuata*, 5 vols., Parma, 1837-59 (repr. Bologna 1956), and the historical introductions by *A. Ronchini* to the several volumes of the Commune's statutes, *Statuta Communis Parmae* (Monumenta historica ad provincias parmensem et placentinam pertinentia), 4 vols., Parma 1856-60. (These volumes are not numbered, but for simplicity's sake are cited throughout these notes as if they were, in the following manner: I = Statuta Communis Parmae digesta Anno MCCLV; II = Statuta Communis Parmae ab Anno MCCLXVI ad Annum circiter MCCCIV; III = Statuta Communis Parmae ab Anno MCCCXVI ad MCCCXXV; IV = Statuta Communis Parmae Anni MCCCXLVII).

The genesis of the Commune is studied by *R. Schumann*, *Authority and the Commune*, Parma 833-1033 (Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province Parmensi, Fonti e Studi, ser. 2^a, VIII), Parma 1973. A succinct but unannotated account of the medieval period as a whole is offered by *F. Bernini*, *Storia di Parma*, Parma 2^a 1976.

- ² Good introductions to the history of, and bibliographies of the immense literature on, the Italian communes are offered by: *J. K. Hyde*, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy. The Evolution of the Civil Life, 1000-1350*, London/New York 1973; *Y. Renouard*, *Les villes d'Italie de la fin du X^e siècle au début du XIV^e siècle*, *P. Braunstein* ed., 2 vols., Paris 1969; *L. Salvatorelli*, *L'Italia comunale dal secolo XI alla metà del secolo XIV* (Storia d'Italia, IV), Milan 1940; and *D. Waley*, *The Italian City-Republics*, London/New York/Toronto 1969.
- ³ *J. Paul*, *Die mittelalterlichen Kommunalpaläste in Italien* (Diss. Freiburg i.Br.), Cologne 1963, pp. 35-40.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*; *G. M. Tabarelli*, *Palazzi pubblici d'Italia. Nascita e trasformazione del palazzo pubblico in Italia fino al XVI secolo*, Busto Arsizio 1978, does not concern itself with the prehistory of the communal palace.
- ⁵ *C. R. Brühl*, *Il 'palazzo' nelle città italiane*, in: *La coscienza cittadina nei comuni italiani del Duecento* (Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale [Todi], Convegni, XI), Todi 1972, pp. 265-269.
- ⁶ Cf. *Paul* (n. 3), pp. 35-40, and under the histories of individual palaces compiled by him in his catalogue, pp. 123-278. *Tabarelli's* catalogue (n. 4) is more hurried, less exact, and lacks any references for the information reported.
- ⁷ *Drei* (n. 1), nos 268 (1160), 278 (1162), 279 (1162), 289 (1163), 315 (1164), 347 (1167), and 357 (1167). Two other acts, both done by the Emperor himself, are dated simply, "Parme in palatio", and one cannot tell whether the Episcopal or Imperial Palace is meant; *ibid.*, Nos 281 (1162) and 347 (1167). The latter seems the likelier place. For the two buildings, see *L. Gambarà*, *M. Pellegrini* and *M. de Grazia*, *Palazzi e casate di Parma*, Parma 1971, resp., pp. 511-521, 727-733, and more particularly the works not cited there: *N. Pelicelli*, *Il Vescovado di Parma*, Parma 1922; *A. Minardi*, *Il Vescovado di Parma dopo gli ultimi restauri*, in: *Crisopoli*, III, 1925, pp. 553-560; *G. Parmeggiano*, *Sulla consistenza e caratteristiche architettoniche del Palazzo dell'Arena in Parma*, in: *Aurea Parma*, XLVIII 1964, pp. 65-73.
- ⁸ *Drei* (n. 1), nos 500 (1179; here the words are particularly explicit: "Act. Parme in palacio episcopi in lobia ubi fiunt placita"), 707 (1191), and Appendix, n° 78 (1188). *Affò* (n. 1), III, 316, Document n° XX (1200).
- ⁹ *Drei* (n. 1), Appendix, n° 37 (1181: "Act. Parme in palatio in quo fiunt placita in pleno consilio Parme facto pro hoc consilio ad campanam sonatam"). *Affò* (n. 1), II, p. 400, Document n° CII (1189: "In palacio Parme. Pleno consilio ad campanam sonatam facto ..."). Another formula that occurs in judicial decisions of this period, "Act. Parme, in concistorio consulari", seems to refer to a meeting and not a place; *Drei* (n. 1), Appendix, nos 23 (1179), 40 (1181).

- ¹⁰ C. Manaresi, I placiti del 'Regnum Italiae' (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, XCII, XCVI, XCVII), Rome 1955-60, III, Appendix ("Compositiones"), n° 9 ("infra palacium civitatis Parmensem domini regis et episcopii Parmensis, quod est prope domum ipsius sancte Parmensis ecclesie"). The term, "domus", here signifies the episcopal precinct, the *curtis regia* of Lombard days, a manorial compound, perhaps even surrounded by its own walls; cf. Schumann [n. 1], pp. 284-293. Two centuries later, when memories of the episcopal precinct were dim, the term was construed to mean the Cathedral alone; Salimbene de Adam, Cronica, G. Scalia ed. [Scrittori d'Italia, CCXXXII/CCXXXIII], Bari 1966, I, p. 283, quoted n. 42 below). Earlier pleas in the same corpus leave no doubt that the palace in question was that of the Bishop; Manaresi, I, n° 135 (935), II, n° 256 (1000), III, n°s 367 (1046), 370 (1046), 392 (1055), and 458 (1081).
- ¹¹ Drei (n. 1), n° 836 ("Dominus Opizo episcopus Parm. cum esset in palatio suo Parmense in pleno consilio Parme ibi facto et coadunato ac campana sonata consilio et precibus d. Angelerii de Burgo potestatis Parme et totius consilii ibi coadunati ut dictum est concessit et dedit ...", etc.), Reference to a city's episcopal palace *tout court* as the "city palace" or "city house" is encountered outside Parma as well. The example of Cremona is illustrated by H. Keller, Der Gerichtsort in oberitalienischen und toskanischen Städten, in: Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XLIX, 1969, pp. 56-57. I imagine that other instances could be found.
- ¹² The councils referred to were assemblies of the Commune. Assemblies of all the people, the "conventus" of pre-communal times, were held in the Cathedral: Schumann (n. 1), p. 226. In the 13th century, after creation of a communal square (piazza Garibaldi) equivalent gatherings took place there; *Chronicon parmense*, G. Bonazzi ed. (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, n.s. IX, ix), Città di Castello 1902-04, p. 51 (1287).
- ¹³ See, resp., G. Secco Suardo, Il Palazzo della Ragione in Bergamo ed edifici ad esso adiacenti, Bergamo 1901, pp. 18-19, and G. Rohault de Fleury, La Toscane au Moyen Age. Lettres sur l'architecture civile et militaire ..., Paris 1874, I, p. 368.
- ¹⁴ It is called variously, "porticus communis", "porticus communis ubi fiunt cause", and "porticus comunis Parme ubi placita fiunt"; Drei (n. 1), n°s 797 (1196), 914 (1199), 950-951 (1200), 954 (1200), Appendix, n°s 39-40 (1181), 42 (1181), 74 (1187), 102 (1192), 121 (1193), 136 (1194), 152 (1196), 154 (1196), 163 (1196).
- ¹⁵ A "porticus militum sancti Petri" is mentioned in 1228 as exempt from statutory provisions against structures built out into the new Piazza; Statuta (n. 1), I, p. 182. A "porticus sancti Vitalis", where money changers kept their tables until the 1250's, is mentioned shortly before 1259 and again in 1276, 1277 and 1303; *ibid.*, I, p. 398, and *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), pp. 31, 33, 85.
- ¹⁶ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 9: "Dominus Torellus de Strata de Papiia fuit Potestas Parme in millesimo ccxxj. Et illo anno inceptum fuit palacium communis hedificari". Similarly: Salimbene (n. 10), II, p. 851; B. Angeli, La historia della città di Parma, Parma 1591 (repr. Bologna 1969), p. III. For the stairs, see n. 32 below.
- ¹⁷ The structure is usually called palazzo Bondani, after its 19th century owners. Its facade was torn down in 1857 and the block behind refaced in a nostalgic, Renaissance style; G. Adorni, Palazzo Bondani, in: L'Annotatore, II, 1858, n° 46 (13 Nov.), p. 176. The refaced edifice, in turn, was destroyed during World War II and replaced by the modernistic offices of the Banca Commerciale Italiana which stand on the site today. Identification of palazzo Bondani with Torello's *palatium Communis* is represented by Pezzana (n. 1) several times over as an accepted fact, e.g., I, note on p. 9, III, p. 19, n. 1, V, p. 26, n. 2. Authors who adopt the same view include: A. R. [Romani], Avanzo medievale, in: Gazzetta di Parma, 1887, n°s 165 (17 June) and 188 (10 July); G. Melli, La Piazza Maggiore di Parma nel Medio Evo, in: Aurea Parma, I, 1912, p. 27; G. Sitti, Parma nel nome delle sue strade, Parma 1929 (repr. Parma 1979), p. 6; L. Dodi, Le formazioni urbane del parmense, Parma 1965, p. 36; P. Betta, Parma e il suo contado nel XIII secolo, in: Aurea Parma, LVII, 1973, p. 30; and M. Pellegrini, writing in V. Banzola ed., Parma. La città storica, Parma 1978, p. 107. One scholar, recognizing that Torello's Palace stood elsewhere, has proposed that palazzo Bondani was a communal palace earlier even than Torello's; M. Corradi-Cervi, Evoluzione topografica della Piazza Grande di Parma dall'epoca romana alla fine del secolo XIII, in: Archivio storico per le province parmensi, ser. 4^a, XIV, 1962, pp. 40-41. However, he adduces no evidence in support of this view, and none, so far as I know, exists.
- ¹⁸ The drawing is Smeraldo Smeraldi's ichnographic plan of Parma, prepared in 1589-91 and presented to Duke Ranuccio Farnese in 1601. The original, formerly in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, was destroyed in World War II. A negative of it has been identified by Bruno Adorni in the archives of the Ente Provinciale del Turismo, Parma, and is reproduced here by the Ente's kind permission. Early copies of Smeraldi's plan at AS Parma (Mappe e disegni, II, n° 15, III, n° 61) and the Museo di Antichità, Parma (on loan to the Deputazione di Storia Patria, Parma), have sometimes been mistaken for autograph drawings of the artist's; e.g. Fr. Felice da Mareto, Parma e Piacenza nei secoli. Piante e vedute cittadine, Parma 1975, n°s 41-44. The confusion is laid to rest by Adorni's full entry in the exhibition catalogue of the Comune di Parma, Assessorato alle attività culturali, "Io Smeraldo Smeraldi ingegnere et perito della Congregazione dei Cavamenti ...": Territorio, città, officio nel Ducato di Parma, 1582-1634, Parma 1980, pp. 33-38.

Smeraldi distinguishes public and private buildings in his drawings by showing the first in a complete, albeit simplified, ground plan, and the second in a bare outline. He represents palazzo Bondani in a combination of the two conventions; the loggia on the Piazza is given in plan, the block behind it in outline.

In 1857 the loggia was threatening ruin. When the Bondani family found that renovating it would be expensive, they had the loggia pulled down and the building behind it refaced; *Adorni* (n. 17). The story confirms that the loggia was structurally separate from the block behind it. (I have not been able to find the pamphlet on the same episode by *E. Armani*, *Parere ed apprezzamento intorno l'area del portico demolito Bondani*, Parma 1871).

¹⁹ The loggia is represented in numerous views of piazza Garibaldi, albeit in a variety of ways. The views fall into five groups.

(A) The Piazza seen in bird's eye view from the north. This view occurs as a detail in the woodcut bird's eye view of Parma as a whole, signed by Paolo Ponzoni and dated 1572 (Fig. 4); *Felice* (n. 18), n° 32. It recurs without change in the numerous copies of Ponzoni's cut published in Italy and Holland during the 16th and 17th centuries; e.g. *Felice*, n°s 38-39, 52-53, 57, 59, 61, 76. It recurs with variants in a large drawing of Parma in bird's eye view, surrounded by an ample landscape. Formerly in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, the original was destroyed in World War II and is known today from a full-size, lithographic copy, signed by Pietro Sottili and dated 1873 (Fig. 5); *Felice*, n° 28 (the lithograph here misdescribed as a drawing). The lost original is commonly regarded as Ponzoni's source and dated ca. 1570, i.e. before Ponzoni's woodcut. However, as Ing. Banzola has pointed out to me, the relationship is surely the other way around, and the unidentified draftsman imitated Ponzoni's print. The drawing should therefore be dated after 1572. Still a third copy of Ponzoni's rendering of the Piazza that takes note of the destruction in 1606 of the Communal Tower and Palace, but that reproduces palazzo Bondani essentially in the form given it by Ponzoni, is the anonymous, bird's eye view of Parma, contained in an album of city views assembled by a certain Alessandro Spacci, owned by the Biblioteca Palatina, MS Parm. 3711; *Felice*, n° 74; exhibited at the Biblioteca Palatina, *Mostra storico-documentaria. Il territorio rappresentato, M. Dall'Acqua and V. A. Vecchiavelli* eds., Parma 1979, n° 34. Ponzoni's woodcut and the Spacci drawing show palazzo Bondani as a two-storey, crenellated structure, with a four-bay arcade of round arches below and, respectively, six or four round-headed windows above. The lost drawing of after 1572 shows a two-storey, crenellated facade with an added crenellated tower in the middle, a five-bay arcade of round arches below, five pedimented, rectangular windows above, and four round-headed windows in the tower.

(The earliest bird's eye view of Parma, a wash drawing on parchment of ca. 1460 in AS Parma also shows the Piazza, but in so crudely simplified a fashion that its evidentiary value for the precise appearance of individual buildings is nil; *Felice*, n° 14. The numerous bird's eye views of the city published in 16th- and 17th-century city books follow a convention unrelated to Ponzoni's woodcut and do not show the Piazza at all; cf. *Felice* n°s 24, 26, 30-31, 33-34, 47-48, 60, 62).

(B) The Piazza seen from beneath palazzo Bondani, with palazzo del Governatore *en face*. There are two, almost identical wash drawings of this view by the Parmesan painter, Giacomo Giacopelli (1808-93), both owned by the Cassa di Risparmio, Parma; one is illustrated by *Gambara* (n. 7), p. 96, and *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 115. The view shows the end bay of the loggia's ground-floor arcade from inside. We see tall, slender columns without entasis, bases with foliate spurs, and schematic, unwrought Corinthian capitals. The last column is applied against a corner pier; arches are tall and pointed; vaults are quadripartite.

(C) The Piazza seen from palazzo del Governatore, with palazzo Bondani *en face*. This view is represented in a print signed by P[ietro] M[azza] and dated 1825, and in an anonymous, undated print, both owned by the Cassa di Risparmio, Parma, and unpublished, and in a 19th-century painting reproduced without artist's or owner's names by *E. Monti*, *L'architetto Petitot. Uno spiraglio d'arte francese in Italia*, in: *Boll. d'arte*, XVIII (= ser. 2^a, IV), 1924/25, p. 272, fig. 24. In these representations the ground-floor arcade is eight bays long and consists of round arches on slender columns without entasis, applied against piers at the corners. The form of the capitals cannot be distinguished. The first floor has two rectangular windows on each end and a gallery of four round arches in the center. The second floor is lit by eight rectangular windows.

(D) The Piazza seen from S. Pietro, with palazzo Fainardi and the Municipio *en face*. This view is the subject of eight prints in all. The earliest are two crude and malproportioned views engraved in the mid 18th century as parts of two identical suites of four views of Parma. One suite was published at Bassano by the firm of Remondini (Fig. 21); *Catalogo delle stampe in rame, in legno ec. ... le quali si lavorano a Bassano presso la ditta di Giuseppe Remondini e figli in Venezia*, n. p., 1778, p. XXVIII, n°s 364-365, and subsequent editions. The other suite was published at Augsburg by the printer, engraver and miniaturist, Johann Gottfried Böck (recorded in 1748 and 1762; cf. *Thieme-Böcker*, IV, p. 177; *Bénézit*, II, p. 109); I have not found originals of Böck's prints, but seen only reproductions produced by the Antiquariato Oliva, Parma, from impressions that once passed through their hands. The two engravings differ only in their staffage figures; it is impossible to establish which was first in time.

Drawn and proportioned more accurately, the same prospect reappears in numerous 19th-century lithographs. The dated examples, in chronological order, are: anon. (*F. Gandini*, Viaggi in Italia, Cremona 1832, IV, oppos. p. 41; Felice, n° 125); by Pierre Eugène Aubert (*L. E. Audot*, L'Italie, la Sicile, les Iles Eoliennes ... Sites, monumens, scènes et costumes, Paris 1834-37, IV, oppos. p. 100, n° 248); by a certain Pernié (in: L'Album. Giornale letterario e di belle arti, IV, 1837/38, fasc. xxi, p. 165); anon. (in: Cosmorama pittorico, IV, 1838, p. 45); and by L. and P. Giarré (*A. Zuccagni-Orlandini*, Atlante illustrativo ossia raccolta dei principali monumenti italiani ... per servire di corredo alla Corografia fisica, storica e statistica dell'Italia [di M. Fabi], Florence 1844-45, I, s.v. "Parma", pl. II, fig. 2). Undated examples are: by Pietro Romagnoli (an impression at Raccolta Bertarelli, Milan, cart. p-25, n° 38); by Costantino Zamboni (on a sheet of twelve views, titled, "Vedute della città di Parma. A Sua Maestà ... Maria Luigia ..."; *Felice*, n° 132); and by Pietro Mazza (on a plan of Parma framed by views, titled, "Città di Parma"; *Felice*, n° 129).

Böck's and the Remondini's prints show continuous galleries of round arches on the ground and first floors, supported on paper-thin piers, a row of round-headed, two-light windows on the second floor, and crenellation on top. In the 19th century prints the ground-floor arcade is gothic in form and is carried by straight, slender columns, applied against piers at the corners, with unadorned Corinthian capitals. The last two bays at each end of the first-floor gallery are enclosed and lit by rectangular windows. The second-floor windows are rectangular in shape and the building is topped by a classical cornice.

(E) The Piazza seen from beneath palazzo Bondani, with S. Pietro *en face*. This view is the subject of a 19th-century painting of a night-time gathering under the loggia; illustrated without artist's or owner's names by *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 114. We see quadripartite vaults, heavy columns with entasis and with Doric capitals.

The five series of views cannot be reconciled to form a composite image of the loggia's elevation unless we assume that their differences on points of detail are due, in part to errors, simplifications and even inventions attributable to their authors, and in part to modifications practised on the building itself. In fact, the details of the 16th-century bird's eye views (series A), given their miniature scale, are no doubt simplified and may be discounted as untrustworthy. The fantastical character of the painting (E) gives leave to think that the whole scene was invented in the studio rather than transcribed from reality. The fact that some views show the ground-floor arches as round and others as pointed must be due to error on one side or the other. The correct form must be the pointed not only because it occurs most often, but also because it is shown in Giacopelli's drawings (series B), which place the arcade in the foreground as the principal, and hence most circumstantially described, motive. The rendering of the orders as piers in the 18th-century engravings of series (D) is contradicted by all other views and must be another error. Still unexplained is the discrepant rendering of the loggia's upper floors in the 18th- and 19th-century members of series (D). In this case the differences may be due to a refacing of the loggia during the interval, with enclosure of the last two bays on each side of the first-floor gallery, substitution of rectangular for round-headed windows on the second floor, and removal of the crenellation on top.

The elevation that emerges from this review can be assigned an approximate date. The high, pointed arches, skeletal, Corinthian capitals and straight, slender columns of the ground-floor arcade are late gothic in style. One meets similar capitals, for instance, in the Trecento, exterior arcades of S. Croce and the Ospedale di S. Matteo, at Florence. Since the superior floors could not have been earlier than the ground floor supporting them, the former's round-headed openings must have been early Renaissance in style. Thus, the facade was of a transitional character, combining late medieval and early Renaissance forms, which suggests a date in the mid 15th century. To be sure, the Quattrocento loggia may have been built to replace an even earlier one. As we heard, a "porticus militum sancti Petri" stood in this neighborhood in 1228, and a "porticus ubi fiunt cause" existed somewhere in the city during the 12th century; see, resp., n. 15 and 14 above. But whether there is, in fact, a connection between all these edifices we have no way of knowing.

²⁰ *N. Pelicelli*, Palazzo vecchio del Comune e Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo di Parma, Parma 1927, pp. 3-6; *Corradi-Cervi* (n. 17), pp. 40-41. According to *Pellegrini*, writing in *Banzola* (n. 17), pp. 114-115, and *L. Farinelli* and *P. P. Mendogni*, Guida di Parma, Parma 1981, p. 115, the site of the Municipio was previously occupied by the House of the Capitano del Popolo, but this is a confusion; see n. 88 and 93 below.

²¹ *G. Drei*, L'antica torre del Comune di Parma, in: Aurea Parma, III, 1923, pp. 203-208. What little escaped destruction was sacrificed for, or incorporated in, the new palazzo del Municipio.

²² Pier and archivolt are visible just inside the archway beneath the forefront of the Communal Tower, adjacent to the southwest corner of the Municipio (for the Tower, see below). The archivolt alone is illustrated in *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 117, fig. 119, and identified, mistakenly, as a fragment of the Capitano's House.

From the dimensions of these remnants one can infer the dimensions of the ground-floor arcade. The pier is 116 cm. wide. The archivolt, composed of a quirked bead and broad, flat band that are 18 cm. wide together, has been crudely chiselled away on the inside to make way for the great jamb of the archway, applied against it. It is only the outer ring of the original archivolt, some two thirds of which are lost. The full width of the archivolt will therefore have been ca. 54 cm. (= 1 braccia

of Parma; cf. *A. Martini*, *Manuale di metrologia*, Turin 1883, p. 507) and that of the pier ca. 152 cm. ($2\frac{3}{4}$ br.). The diameter of the archivolt's perimeter can be calculated from the curve of the surviving segment at approximately 625 cm., meaning that the clear span of the arch will have been approximately 571 cm. ($10\frac{1}{2}$ br.). The arch springs 352 cm. above the present pavement. This has risen some 100 cm. since the 13th century, as the following considerations will show. Further south, on the same side of the archway, survives a blocked-up, Romanesque doorway, half buried in the ground. The visible opening is 93.5 cm. high and 96 cm. wide. Plain, small doors of this type are generally at least twice as high as wide. At the minimum, therefore, the door was 192 cm. high and the ground level has risen ca. 100 cm. As a consequence, the original height of the springing of the arch was approximately 450 cm. ($8\frac{1}{4}$ br.).

Five bays are attested for the ground-floor arcade (see below). Two corner piers of 152 cm. each, five arches of a clear span of 571 cm., and four intermediate piers of an approximate width of 110 cm. (2 br.) would yield a total length of 3599 cm. (66 br.), slightly shorter than the Piazza facade of the Municipio (3700 cm., or 68 br.). The inside height of the arches would have been approximately 690 cm. ($12\frac{2}{3}$ br.) above ground level.

²³ *Statua* (n. 1), I, pp. 425 and 461, of, resp., 1259 and 1264, localize beneath the palace a "locus archebanorum ... pro iudicibus sedendis" and a bench where "homines rationem petentes" could appear "coram consulibus et advocatis". *Ibid.*, III, p. 29, from between 1316 and 1325, speaks more generally of "palacium Communis, sub quo morantur officiales Communis ad iura reddenda et notarii ad scribendum". *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 251, recounts the ejection from beneath the palace of the notaries in 1335, with all their stalls, tables and chests. Their place was taken by soldiers of the city's new Scaliger lords who, to make the building safe, "fecit murari omnes portas palacij ... preter illam de medio".

In the event, the expulsion of the notaries was short lived. In 1427 we hear of them being expelled anew; in 1451 they were back again and for good; *Pezzana* (n. 1), II, p. 284, III, p. 53. The building now acquired its identity from them and began to be called the "palace of the notaries", as we learn from an act of 1447 done "super palatio notariorum Parmae nuncupato Palatio veteri Communis Parmae"; *ibid.*, IV, p. 124, n. 2.

²⁴ The text of *Statuta* (n. 1), I, p. 441, of 1261, preserves the stages by which the statute was adopted. It was proposed "conclamante Consilio Communis et populi toto et Credencia, quae congregata fuerunt in palatio Communis more solito". It was then brought for ratification to the "Antiani, reducti in camera palacii Communis, cum [consilio de] Credencia". Of the two gatherings, the former would have numbered well over 700, the latter 108; see *A. Ronchini's* account of the Commune's constitution, *Statuta* (n. 1), I, pp. xxvi-xxvii. Of the two halls, the larger one could hold as many as 1,000 persons if we are to believe the report of a meeting of 1335; *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 248.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 251 (1335) and p. 258 (1338). Later in the 14th century the Podestà was also moved to the Communal Palace; see n. 53 below. An inventory of his rooms and the chambers of two of his dependent officers, the Vicario and Giudice del Maleficio, was made in 1487, after the move. It lists thirteen rooms in all, but not in a manner that one can visualize their plan; *Pezzana* (n. 1), V, Appendix, pp. 9-10, n° viii.

²⁶ The building is represented in plan on Smeraldi's drawing of 1589-91 (Fig. 3), described in n. 18 above. Its short north side and gabled roof are visible in the two bird's eye views of Parma (Figs. 4-5), described under (A) in n. 19 above. Finally, the building's outline can be glimpsed in the profile view of Parma in the Sala d'Ercole at Caprarola (Fig. 6), frescoed in 1572 by Jacopo Bertoia from a drawing supplied two years earlier by Paolo Ponzoni. For this last view, traditionally attributed to Vignola, see: *G. Mariotti*, *Le mura e le porte di Parma*, III: *Dipinti nel palazzo Farnese di Caprarola relativi alla topografia di Parma nel secolo XVI*, in: *Parma [later: Crisopoli]*, I, 1933, pp. 203-216; and *L. Partridge*, *The Sala d'Ercole in the Villa Farnese at Caprarola*, in: *Art Bull.*, LIII, 1971, pp. 472, 476-480, LIV, 1972, pp. 50-62. (The objection of *P. Conforti*, *Le mura di Parma*, Parma 1979-80, II, p. 93, n. 23, that the Caprarola view cannot be assigned to Ponzoni because it does not resemble the latter's woodcut of 1572, is misguided because the documentation cited by Partridge states that Ponzoni sent Caprarola's owner something else, *viz.* a drawn view, and that he sent it two years earlier *viz.* in 1570; Ponzoni's letters are preserved in AS Parma, Epistolario scelto, Pittori, busta 23, s.v. "Ponzoni").

²⁷ For dates, descriptions and references, see *Paul* (n. 3), pp. 44-68, and s.v. locations; for illustrations, see *Tabarelli* (n. 4), s.v. locations.

²⁸ *Paul* (n. 3), pp. 68-73, with further references.

²⁹ See n. 7 above.

³⁰ The colonnettes of the windows overlooking the Piazza were used for hangings in the 15th century; *Cronica gestorum in partibus Lombardie et reliquis Italiae (AA. 1476-1482)*, *G. Bonazzi* ed. (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, n.s. XXII, iii), Città di Castello 1904-11, pp. 6, 15, 17 (all of 1477), 24, 34 (both of 1478). From the desperate gestures of one unhappy victim, *ibid.*, p. 17 (1477), we also learn that the windows had hinged closures: "... et ductus ad fenestras dicti pallatij [communis] nolluit confiteri peccata sua, sed dum velet proici a fenestris dicti pallatij com una manu male ligata se cepit ad rodelum fenestre et posuit unum pedem in foramine muri et nullo pacto volebat mori, sed fortiter clamabat ...".

- ³¹ Brief surveys of the use of crenellation in medieval Italy appear in: *J. Paul*, *Der Palazzo Vecchio in Florenz*, Florence 1969, pp. 72-74, and *St. von Moos*, *Turm und Bollwerk*, Zürich/Freiburg i. Br. 1974, pp. 25-28. Unfortunately, neither author deals more than cursorily with the history of crenellation in communal architecture. From what I can tell, the earliest communal palaces were with out it: e.g. Bergamo, Brescia, Bologna, Como, Cremona, Faenza, Mantua, Milan, Novara, Trent, Treviso, Verona; cf. *Paul* (n. 3), pp. 44-68 and s.v. locations. About half of the above are crenellated today, but in each case the feature is a later addition. In some it is due to a 13th century renovation (Bologna, Mantua, Trent), in others to the romantic notions of a modern restorer (Bergamo, Cremona, Faenza, Treviso). The first communal buildings crenellated *ab initio* seem to have been of the mid and later 13th century: Residence of the Podestà, Parma (before 1243; see below), Bargello, Florence (1255-60), palazzo di Cittanuova, Cremona (1256), palazzo di S. Giorgio, Genoa (1260). All four were built to house either a *podestà* or a *capitano del popolo*, officers who, with their attributes of lordship, qualified indeed for residences distinguished by the trademark of noble palaces and fortresses.
- ³² *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 9: "Et in illo tempore [1223] facte fuerunt scale palacij communis versus portam Pediculosam et versus sanctum Petrum". (Porta Pediculosa, or Nuova, lay at the south end of via Farini; *Sitti* [n. 19], p. 79. S. Pietro stands on the west side of piazza Garibaldi). Some writers have understood the *Chronicon* to mean that there were two separate stairs: e.g. *Angeli* (n. 16), p. 111; *Affò* (n. 1), III, p. 115; *Melli* (n. 17), p. 27; *Sitti* (n. 19), p. 3; *V. Banzola*, *Il Centro storico di Parma, sue origini e suo sviluppo* (Centro Studi Urbanistici di Parma, Quaderni, II), Parma 1967, p. 29. Such an interpretation is convincingly refuted by *Corradi-Cervi* (n. 17), pp. 41-43.
- ³³ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 26, reports the installation in 1268 of the "campana populi, que est super campanile super scalis palacij communis". The Communal Tower was sandwiched between the Communal Palace and the Capitano's House; see below.
- ³⁴ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 27, recording the disastrous end of a council meeting in 1268, shows that the hall let out upon the stairs: "... in sero propter leticiam, in separacione consilij, super scalis palacij fuit ita maxima strica, quod multi in ipsa necati et mortui fuerunt".
- ³⁵ Biblioteca Civica Comunale, Parma, Disegni, cassetta VII, n° 25 (marked "dal fascicolo acque, strade e fabbricati"), item C: pen and brown ink and wash; 425 × 539 mm.; inscribed, "piano de la scalla" and "casa di la quala sia a ruinar parte de la sturia [= stuoia] sopra a le boteghe", and annotated with dimensions (19 *braccia* from foot of stairs to opposite side of street; 7 *br.*, depth of landing; 8 *br.*, width of landing; 7 *br.*, maximum depth of fabric to be demolished; 13 *br.* 4 *on.*, width of street at intersection). The verso is covered with computations. There is no watermark.
- ³⁶ In the 14th century this ramp was styled the "stairs on the south", and the "Lord Capitano's stairs"; cf. *Statuta* (n. 1), II, pp. 289, 292 (1301-04), IV, p. 74 (1347). Somewhere beneath the stairs there were shops, as we learn from the last of these statutes: "Notarii tascarum ad eorum officium exercendum debeant stare in illis quatuor stacionibus quae sunt inter scalas domini Capitanei et palacium vetus Communis ...".
- ³⁷ For the town criers, see *Statuta* (n. 1), III, p. 142: "Capitulum quod tubatores Communis Parmae et quilibet eorum teneantur et debeant facere omnia cridamenta et bandimenta cum tuba, sono tubae praemisso, publice et alta voce equites in infrascriptis locis: primo videlicet super scalis palacii ab utraque parte palacii praedicti ..." [1316]. An instance of the practice here prescribed is reported for 1315; *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 142. The bell tower is mentioned in the *Chronicon*, p. 253 (passages in Italian derive from a 16th century paraphrase of passages now missing from the earliest manuscript; cf. Bonazzi's remarks, pp. v-vi, xiv-xv, and 2): "Cum quedam ex campanis communis existentibus super turi communis dicto tempore [1336] rupta fuisset, cioè quela che e con quale sonava le hore del dì, et anco sonava ogni mattina e dopo nona convocando gli ufficiali al pallazo a modo solito, quale campana del comune già più di fu et stete sopra il torisino del comune qual è sopra le scale del palazzo comune dal lato del capitano, tolta fu dal detto toresino e portata seu condotta sopra la torre comune, e posta ivi in loco dicte campane prioris pro eodem officio exequendo".
- ³⁸ *Pelicelli* (n. 20), p. 5, *Banzola* (n. 32), p. 29, and *Corrado-Cervi* (n. 17), p. 43, assume that they were interior stairs. Aside from the above evidence to the contrary, the sheer monumentality of the windows on the Capitano's House speaks against this assumption. The use of large windows to mark an interior stairs on the outside, and to flood it with light on the inside, was an invention of the Renaissance.
- ³⁹ *Paul* (n. 3), p. 68.
- ⁴⁰ Cf. *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 103, recounting the arrival in 1307 of a new Podestà who walked "ab hospitio in quo erat ad palatium communis pedes, associatus a pluribus bonis hominibus civitatis Parme, et ascendit palatium per scalas palatij ante domum potestatis ...". The Podestà's Residence, as will be seen, stood opposite the north end of the Communal Palace, on strada della Repubblica.
- ⁴¹ See n. 37 above.
- ⁴² *Salimbene* (n. 10), I, p. 283: "Et ut melius exaudirentur ab ipsa [Virgine], fecerunt fieri unam civitatem totam argenteam, quam vidi, atque beate Virgini obtulerunt et donaverunt. Et erant ibi

maiora et precipua edificia civitatis fabrefacta totaliter de argento, ut maior ecclesia, que appellatur domus, licet non talis, qualis illa fuit de qua dixit David, I Paralip. XXII: ... [omissis] ... Baptistarium similiter erat ibi et palatium episcopi et communis palatium et alia edificia quam plura, que civitatis effigiem presentarent”.

For the tradition of emblematic city views, of which this model was a particularly precious instance, see *J. Schulz*, *Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500*, in: *Art Bull.*, LVIII, 1978, pp. 446-467, esp. 461-462.

⁴³ Piazza del Duomo is called “platea veteris” in both, an early 13th-century statue forbidding lawless behavior there, and a reminiscence of Salimbene’s concerning his family’s house on the square; resp., *Statuta* (n. 1), I, p. 286, and *Salimbene* (n. 10), I, p. 76. See also *Affò* (n. 1), pp. 114-115.

⁴⁴ A statute concerning maintenance of this first increment of the Piazza is entitled: “De platea nova expedienda, et expedita tenenda”; *Statuta* (n. 1), I, p. 182. The statute begins: “Capitulum quod Potestas teneatur facere plateam et expeditam tenere, sicuti est empta pro Comuni ...”. Thus, the area had been newly purchased and cleared when the statute was written. The statute is undated but was adopted before 1228, the date of its first amendment. In another amendment, of 1238, the area is still styled “platea nova”; *ibid.*, I, p. 184. A statute of 1255, forbidding lawless behavior within the “platea nova”, carefully spells out the latter’s confines, but unfortunately defines them by reference to neighboring property owners, whose possessions we can no longer identify; *ibid.*, I, p. 295. The new square was paved from early on, as we gather from a statute of 1264 ordering the pavement to be relaid; *ibid.*, I, p. 458.

Extension of the square northwards to its present limits was undertaken in 1282; see below.

⁴⁵ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 13 (1246), mentions hanging of the bell. *Statuta* (n. 1), I, 444 (1262), mentions the “pes turris super quo est aedificatum archevoltum” (the text in full is quoted n. 81 below). *Melli* (n. 17), p. 30, mistakenly dates the Tower’s construction to 1281.

⁴⁶ Construction of the superstructure and its damage by lightning in 1299 and 1317 are recorded in *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), pp. 54, 79, and 153. *Drei* (n. 21), pp. 205-208, mentions still another bolt of lightning in 1385 and describes the Renaissance reconstruction of the spire.

The most detailed representation of the Tower before its collapse is Ponzoni’s bird’s eye view of Parma of 1572 (Fig. 4; see under [A] in n. 19 above). We see a rectangular base with six small, round-headed windows and a colossal, square clock face. It is topped by finials at the corners and an octagonal spire in the middle. The ponderous base and the windows may well have been built in the Middle Ages, but the remaining features are all Renaissance in style.

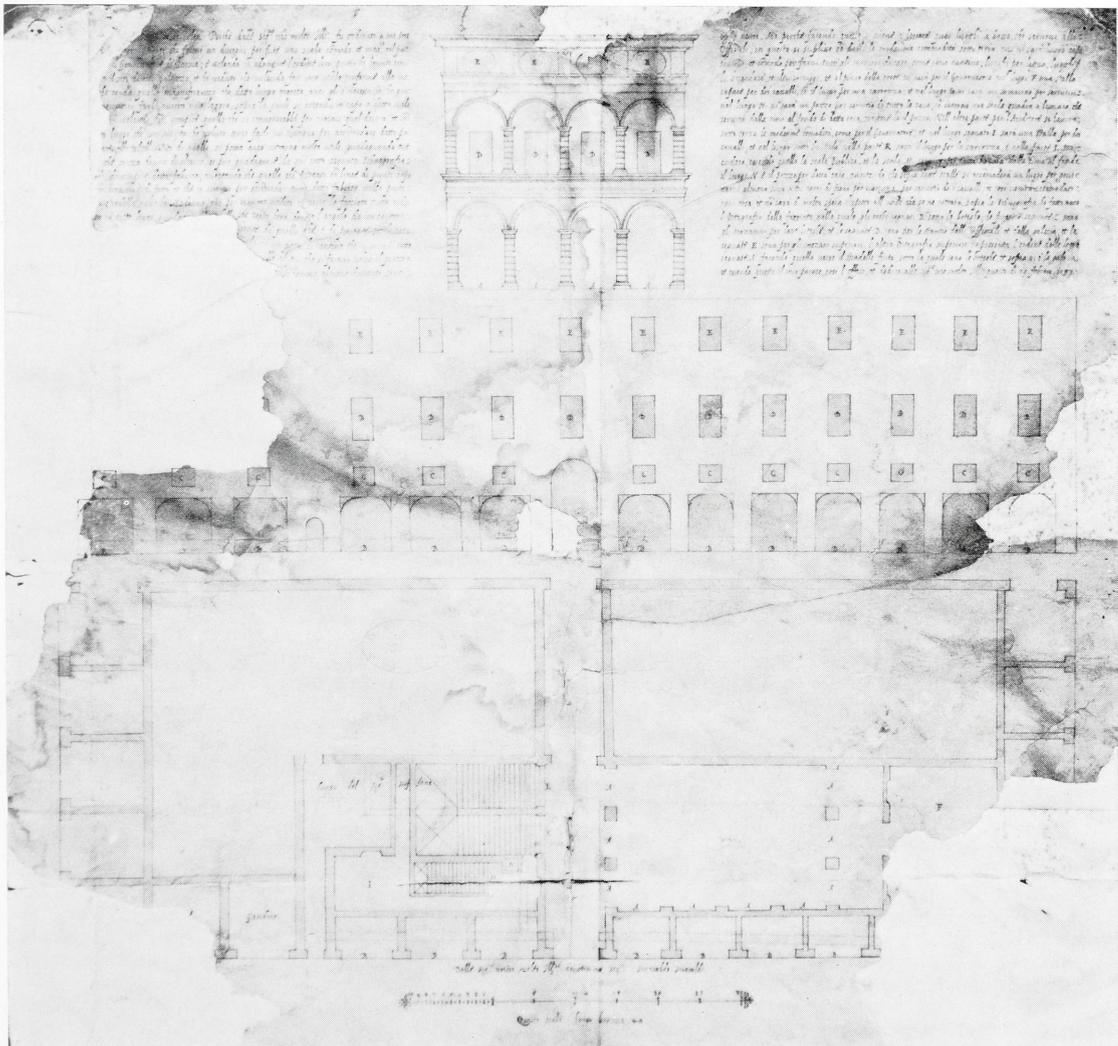
Four drawings of the Tower are preserved at AS Parma, *Mappe e disegni*, III, nos 73 (signed by Paolo Gozzi and dated 1736), 74 A (signed by Angelo Repetto and dated 1689), 74 B (anon., undated) and 76 (anon., undated). The first three are cast in a classical-Baroque idiom, the fourth is neo-classic in style. They seem to be reconstructions made from written descriptions; the fourth may have been made in connection with the Duchess Maria Luisa’s proposal in the early 19th century to re-erect the vanished Tower.

⁴⁷ The original elevation and its 17th-century conversion are described by Giulio Sicuri, in the legend of his plan of the Piazza of 1698: “Sito dov’era parte della Torre antica che diroccò, e faceua facciata alla Piazza, con sotto nel mezzo un portone, e sopra un uoltone, qual è stato ultimamente murato, è [sic] ui hanno fatto de luoghi che seruano per la Zecca”; AS Parma, *Mappe e disegni* III, n° 57 (pencil, pen and brown ink and brown and pink wash, 858 × 631 mm.; signed and dated; exhibited at Parma, Palazzo della Pilotta, *L’arte a Parma dai Farnese ai Borboni* [Bologna, *Biennali d’arte antica*, X, section I], Bologna 1979, n° 594; a reduced copy in pen and brown ink and wash, signed by Giacinto Sicuri and repeating the same legend, is owned by the Biblioteca Civica Comunale, Parma, *Disegni*, cassetta IX, n° 13). In the “uoltone” of Sicuri’s legend we recognize the “archevoltus” mentioned in 1262; see n. 45 above.

Since, by its very function, the forestructure must have adjoined the Tower, the latter must have stood immediately behind or beside it. In fact, adjoining the forestructure on the left (i.e., east) there survive extraordinarily massive walls defining a quadrilateral within which are housed the stairs of the 17th-century Municipio. These walls must be remnants of the Tower’s base. A large, rampant arch applied against the exterior west-side of the quadrilateral, inside the passage beneath the forefront, must be a remnant of the staircase that led into the Tower.

The Tower thus stood at the south-west corner of Torello’s Palace. *Melli* (n. 17), p. 30, *Drei* (n. 21), p. 203, and *Corradi-Cervi* (n. 17), p. 44, place the Tower further east, separated from the forestructure and flanking borgo S. Vitale. They have been misled by Ponzoni’s views of Parma (Figs. 4, 6; see n. 26 and under [A] in n. 19 above), which show the Tower between Torello’s Palace and the New Communal Palace, built in 1281-82 on borgo di S. Vitale. Given Ponzoni’s many simplifications and resultant mistakes of siting and proportions, we may discount his testimony.

⁴⁸ The structure appears in its 17th-century guise in the 18th- and 19th-century views of piazza Garibaldi, e.g. Fig. 21, for which see under (D) in n. 19 above. Its restoration, which embraced also the neighboring House of the Capitano del Popolo and took place shortly after World War I, was never documented in a restoration report. A photograph of the work in progress is reproduced in *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 116; cf. also n. 97 below.



28 Smeraldo Smeraldi, Modernization project for Palazzo del Governatore, 1598. Parma, Biblioteca Civica Comunale.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 12, reporting that the Podestà of 1243, Princivalle Doria, had the houses of the Portonari destroyed, “et hoc quia dicti de Portonariis acceperant de domo sua [viz., de domo Potestatis] de palacio communis de fortia communis et potestatis, qui inculpabantur de morte Soçi Guidonis Amici”. Three years later the Residence is mentioned again, in connection with construction of the *balatorium* that linked it to the Communal Palace, for which see below.

⁵⁰ The first Podestà of the Commune, Negro Grasso of Milan, served from 1175 to his death in 1178; *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 6. After a lapse of four years the office was revived with Rolando Rossi of Parma, who served the fixed term of one year; *ibid.* Thereafter the office continued to be filled regularly until long past the end of the Commune.

⁵¹ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), resp. pp. 255 (1336) and 258 (1338; quoted n. 52 below).

⁵² *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 258: “1338. Di genaro il tribunale, seu la banca del giudice de la reformatione che ancora si dicea vicario del potestà, qual semper ab antiquo fu et stete in la casa del potestà, dove si dicea la camera de la reformatione, remosa fu e traslata seu trasportata in palazzo vecchio del comune et ordinata al banco qual decean de gli judici de la ragione: et il tribunale, over banca de detti judici de la ragione trasportata fu ivi apreso la predetta verso mezodì, e la banca del giudice del maleficio posta fu ivi al lato verso di sotto, mediante porta; banca vero judicis de lupo stetit ubi ab antiquo solita erat esse ad angulum pallacij”.

- ⁵³ Thus an act quoted by *Pelicelli* (n. 20), p. 11: "Actum sub lobia veteris pallacci abitationis domini potestatis" (not. Paolo Palazzi, 25 April, 1395). From 1426 onwards the Podestà is found living in the old Communal Palace; *Pezzana* (n. 1), II, pp. 266, n. 3, 487 (1443), 645-646 (1448), IV, p. 36 (1477); see also n. 25 above. How long before 1395 he removed from the Podestà's Residence I do not know. *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 119 (1311), reports the entry into the Residence of a newly appointed imperial governor of Parma, but does not say he stayed on to live there. *Statuti* (n. 1), IV, p. 7, of 1348, regulating the number and pay of the Podestà's foot soldiers, orders: "Qui beroarii debeant stare in palacio Communis, in quo habitat dictus dominus Potestas". This could be interpreted to mean, either the Communal Palace, or the (communally owned) Podestà's Residence.
- ⁵⁴ See Cristoforo Dalla Torre's description of the Piazza, written in 1554-58, and quoted at the end of this paper. Pierluigi Farnese was created Duke of Parma and Piacenza in 1545; *G. Drei*, I Farnese. Grandezza e decadenza di una dinastia italiana, Rome 1954, pp. 31-39.
- ⁵⁵ Thus *Pelicelli* (n. 20), pp. 6-9; *Banzola* (n. 32), p. 29; *Gambara* (n. 7), pp. 74-75; and *Pellegrini*, writing in *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 110. That the belief is mistaken can be seen from early 14th century texts which speak of the two palaces as separate buildings. *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 105, recounts how both the Capitano's House and the Podestà's Residence were sacked in 1308. *Statuta* (n. 1), III, pp. 317-319, also of 1308, assumes fiscal responsibility for the upkeep of all Communal buildings, viz., "omnia palacia et domos Communis tam illas, in quibus stant Potestas et Capitaneus, quam alias omnes, ubicumque sint, in civitate Parmae". Ibid., III, p. 254, of 1316, prohibits abusive language "in palacio Communis, nec in hospicio Potestatis, nec eciam in hospicio domini Capitanei".
- ⁵⁶ Restauri al Palazzo dell'Auditor Criminale, in: Parma per l'arte, X, 1960, p. 39, *Gambara* (n. 7), p. 101, and *Farinelli* (n. 20), p. 122. The identification is correct in so far as the criminal court did sit here before 1338; cf. n. 51-52 above. However, the medieval criminal court was a podestarial, not an independent magistrature; its presence in the building was incidental to the latter's main function as seat of the Podestà.
- ⁵⁷ *M. Corradi-Cervi*, Nuova guida di Parma, Parma 1951, p. 79; Touring Club Italiano, Emilia-Romagna (Guida d'Italia, X), Milan ⁹1971, p. 333. The Notaries' Palace is a later building that stood elsewhere. It was put up in 1287 and decorated in 1302; *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), pp. 54, 82. It was located opposite the Dogana del Sal and Camusina prison, on borgo della Salina; *Statuta* (n. 1), IV, p. 278 (1347).
- ⁵⁸ *Pellegrini*, writing in *Banzola* (n. 17), pp. 95-96, suggests that palazzo Fainardi was Parma's first communal palace, earlier even than Torello's Palace of 1221-23. He claims that such a building is mentioned by the *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12) and by acts of communal assemblies and the Consiglio di Credenza, but offers no citations. I have been unable to find these texts. However, a Consiglio di Credenza is first mentioned, so far as I am aware, in 1261; *Statuta* (n. 1), I, p. 441 (quoted n. 24 above). In 1291, when the Credenza and the Savi passed on new members in the Società dei Crociati, the former were styled "consilium credencie populi"; *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 63. Thus, in the constitutional history of Parma, the Credenza was an institution of the *popolo* and not the early Comune; acts mentioning it are much later than even Torello's Palace. As for communal assemblies, perhaps Pellegrini had in mind acts such as those of 1181 and 1189 cited n. 9 above, which refer to the Episcopal Palace. *Pellegrini* goes on to argue, op. cit., 116, that palazzo Fainardi was rebuilt in 1286, producing its present facade, and causing it thereafter to be called the *palatium communis novum*. This is a confusion; Parma acquired two *palatia nova* in the 1280's, and both stood elsewhere; see below.
- ⁵⁹ The Residence's location is described by four texts:
- (1) *Statuta* (n. 1), I, p. 134, n. **, of 1254-55 or before, amends a statute fixing the rents of stalls on the Piazza by adding that these rents shall apply, "similiter ab angulo domus Potestatis, qui est in via quae vadit versus sanctum Jeorium, usque ad Pescariam ...". (S. Giorgio stood in piazza Battisti; *Pezzana* [n. 1] IV, p. 180. The fish market was there too; see the third text. The street is the modern strada Cavour, created in 1264 and 1281-89 by widening older streets; *Statuta*, I, p. 462, II, p. 287; *Chronicon parmense* [n. 12] p. 37. It extended one block further south before the Piazza was enlarged in 1282; *Chronicon*, p. 41).
 - (2) *Statuta*, II, p. 287, of 1301-04, orders upkeep of the modern strada Cavour in the following terms: "Capitulum quod strata, quae est apud hospicium Potestatis, et quae tenet capud ad plateam Communis, et per quam itur a sancto Georgio usque ad sanctum Paulum, debeat expediri et expedita teneri ...". (The former convent of S. Paolo is in via Melloni, at the north end of strada Cavour).
 - (3) *Statuta*, I, p. 184, of 1253, fixes the site of the fish market in the following terms: "Additum est huic capitulum quod piscatores et venditores piscium debeant stare et vendere pisces casamentum quod fuit domini Alberti de Cassio retro domum Potestatis, et non in platea Communis ...". Ibid., I, p. 434, of 1261, orders improved drainage for the market and the Podestà's Residence: "Capitulum quod Potestas teneatur facere aptari et planellari casamentum quod fuit domini Alberti de Cassio, super quo morantur piscatores, ita quod aqua habeat discursum in canale Communis, quod labitur per subtus domum Potestatis. Et seclarium domus Potestatis similiter aptetur, ita quod habeat discursum in dicto canale...". Ibid., I, p. 416 and n. **, respectively a statute of 1259 and its amend-

ment of 1264, order the drain cleaned and describe its location more precisely: “Capitulum quod Potestas teneatur facere remundari canale Communis ... expensis illorum omnium, qui habent molendina in dicto canali, ... praeter quam sub palacio Communis et subter domos Potestatis, quod remundari debeat pro Comuni. In M. CC. LVIII. ... Additum est huic capitulo quod a bucca ipsius canalis, quae est ad ecclesiam sancti Georgii usque ad cantonem Bixoli, debeat remundare ipsum canale quilibet per medium suum suis expensis, aliquo capitulo non obstante. M. CC. LXIII”. (A detail of Parma’s 19th century cadastral plan, reproduced by *Banzola* [n. 17], p. 119, shows the drain mentioned in these acts. It was a spur from the main sewer in strada Farini, leaving the latter at via Sauro whence it headed north on a sinuous course that took it across borgo del Carbone and borgo della Salina, to the east side of the Communal Palace, then beneath the latter, across strada della Repubblica, beneath the Podestà’s Residence, and into piazza Battisti).

(*Pellegrini*, writing in *Banzola*, p. 117, asserts that until 1277 the fish market was held in borgo della Salina, after which it moved to piazza Battisti. If true, this history would controvert my interpretation of the texts quoted above. However, the facts can be shown to have been otherwise. Borgo della Salina was not laid out until 1272; *Chronicon parmense*, p. 29. The fish market moved there some time after, by order of an undated statute collected in 1301-02; *Statuta*, II, p. 204. The order was reiterated in 1316 and 1347, in decrees that give fuller descriptions of the site than the first statute; *Statuta*, III, pp. 183-84, IV, pp. 278-279. In the 16th century, finally, after demolition of S. Giorgio, the market was returned to piazza Battisti; *Pezzana*, IV, p. 180, n. 1).

(4) Cristoforo Dalla Torre, in a description of the Piazza written in 1554-58 and quoted at the end of this paper, states: “... versus orientem, olim dominus Potestas cum officialibus suis hospitabatur”.

⁶⁰ All three sets are mounted in the miscellaneous album, AS Parma, Mappe e disegni, vol. III. There is no record of why they were drawn, or which archival *fondo* they were taken from. (For the origin of the series, Mappe, see *E. Falconi*, La collezione di mappe e disegni nell’Archivio di Stato di Parma, in: *Parma per l’arte*, VI, 1956, pp. 84-88, 119-124). The sets are as follows.

(I) Mappe, III, nos 62-a, 62-b, 62-c: plans of the south east corner of the first floor of palazzo Fainardi (pen and brown ink over pencil; resp., 488 × 325, 373 × 246, 462 × 336 mm.). Nos 62-a and 62-c are, resp., partial and full clean copies of n° 62-b. The last is an outline sketch titled, “Abbozzo preso del Criminale il di 2 Lug°. 1636/per comando di S.A.S.”. It is labelled with names of rooms and dimensions (in *braccia* of Parma) and bears a legend beneath describing the ground-floor and mezzanine spaces.

(II) Mappe, III, nos 63-a, 63-b, 64-top, 64-bottom, 65-a, 65-b, 65-c: plans and sections of palazzo Fainardi (pen and brown ink over pencil; 65-c is also washed in grey; resp., 440 × 456, 442 × 439, 438 × 425, 450 × 430, 472 × 517, 238 × 550, 215 × 550 mm.). Clean drawings of resp., first-floor plan (titled, “Piano 1°.”), second-floor plan (“Piano 2°.”), third-floor plan (“Piano 3°.”), basement plan, ground-floor plan, section CD, and section AB. On the plans rooms are indicated by letters, and a key is supplied beneath. N° 65-a indicates compass points and axes of sections, and supplies a scale of 30 *braccia* of Parma (= 115 mm.). The set is missing sections EF and GH.

(III) Mappe, III, nos 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72: plans and sections of palazzo Fainardi, being finished copies of the drawings in set II. Signed by Giuseppe Abbati on nos 67 and 71 (pen and black and red ink, washed in grey and pink; bordered with green wash; resp., 472 × 619, 437 × 584, 470 × 616, 473 × 624, 473 × 624, 434 × 633, 442 × 645 mm.). In the order mounted they are: basement plan (titled, “SOTTERRANEI”; our Fig. 11); ground-floor plan (“PIANTERRENO DEL PALAZZO / CRIMINALE DI PARMA”; Fig. 12); first-floor plan (“PIANO 1°.”; Fig. 13); second-floor plan (“PIANO 2°.”; Fig. 14); third-floor plan (“PIANO 3°.”; Fig. 15); section AB with section CD (untitled; Fig. 16); section EF with section GH (untitled; Fig. 17). All plans identify rooms by letters (a key appears on each sheet) and indicate axes of sections. N° 67 indicates compass points and supplies a scale of 30 *braccia* of Parma (= 115 mm.; repeated on n° 72). A flap pasted to the lower left corner of n° 67 offers a project for rebuilding the prison, “la Gabbiazza”.

⁶¹ Similar adaptations of private houses for public use are recorded in the mid and later 13th century, when the Comune fashioned a fish market from a house on piazza Battisti, and a New Communal Palace, two prisons and other structures from properties near Torello’s Palace. For the fish market see n. 59 above, item (3); for the others see below.

The assembled character of the Podestà’s Residence may be the reason why it was sometimes referred to in the plural, as “the houses of the Podestà”; e.g. *Statuta* (n. 1), I, p. 416; *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), pp. 145, 185, 207, 255.

⁶² On the 18th century plans it is divided in two vertically, and into three rooms below; see section GH of the third set of plans (Fig. 17). Today it has been divided further.

⁶³ The painting shows the festive procession of 1714 by which the Papal Legate, Cardinal Ulisse Gozzadini, and the proxy of Philipp V of Spain, Cardinal Francesco Acquaviva, entered Parma in the company of Duke Francesco Farnese, to celebrate the marriage of Philipp and Elisabetta Farnese. Painted by Ilario Spolverini between 1717 and 1720 for palazzo Farnese in Piacenza, the painting is now mutilated and divided between the Museo Civico in Piacenza, and the Municipio of Parma;

R. Arisi Ricciardi, Ilario Spolverini pittore di battaglie e ceremonie (catalogue of the exhibition in Piacenza, Palazzo Farnese, Società e cultura nella Piacenza del Settecento), Piacenza 1979, nos 57 and 60 respectively. The portion that interests us is the one in Piacenza, showing the side of palazzo Fainardi towards piazza Garibaldi. Some 70 cm were cut out of the middle of this portion when it was made into two separate pictures, with the loss of $4\frac{1}{2}$ bays in the middle of the represented facade. (The colossal fresco on the facade, now destroyed, is the so-called *Madonna di Piazza* of 1688. Its figures were painted by Giambattista Merano and the frame by Francesco Galli Bibbiena). The engraved views are those listed under (D) in n. 19 above.

There also survives a large watercolor by an unknown artist, showing the same view as the engravings. It is now owned by the Banca del Monte di Parma; exhibited, *L'arte a Parma dai Farnese ai Borboni*, cited n. 47 above, n° 566 (as oil on canvas), fig. 257; also illus., *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 218. Although generally considered an 18th century painting, perhaps because it fails to show the *Ara Amicitiae* erected in 1769 in front of palazzo del Governatore, its staffage figures are dressed in mid 19th century fashions, and palazzo Bondani (on the far right) has already undergone the alterations practiced in 1857 (see n. 17 above). The painting seems to be based on the engravings and has no independent evidentiary value.

⁶⁴ The existing shops on strada della Repubblica are plainly modern and have suffered much rebuilding of interior partitions. Only three fixed points for a reconstruction of the original arrangement can be found today: (1) the portal on the right; (2-3) the walls that support the inside faces of the two towers which, being load-bearing walls, must always have descended all the way to the ground. The position of these features can best be reconciled with a sequence of eleven shops, each ca. 255 cm. ($4\frac{3}{4}$ br.) wide, separated by piers each ca. 135 cm. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ br.) wide. Admittedly, such a reconstruction presumes that the shops were all of equal width, which may be mistaken. Smeraldi's plan of 1589-91 (Fig. 3) shows ten shops. But his rendering of the building's interior divisions is schematic and simplified, omitting the portal on strada della Repubblica and two of the initial five shops on the Piazza, so that his testimony may be set aside.

It is likely that the ground has risen also here, but perhaps not as much as in front of the Municipio. Sections of the 18th century plans (e.g., Fig. 17) show that the ground-floor shops were sheltered by little shed roofs projecting over the street.

⁶⁵ The mezzanine windows over the five right-hand shops on piazza Garibaldi have been closed today, but are still visible on an early photograph (Fig. 10).

For rental purposes each shop and superior mezzanine were treated as a single unit, a "casa con bottega"; cf. the descriptions of ground-floor leases on the plan of 1636; AS Parma, Mappe, n° 62-b, listed under (I) in n. 60 above.

⁶⁶ Similar capitals decorate the interior clerestory shafts and exterior orders of the east end of Fidenza Cathedral, built probably in the first quarter of the 13th century; R. Wagner-Rieger, *Die italienische Baukunst zum Beginn der Gotik* (Österreichisches Kulturinstitut in Rom, Abteilung für historische Studien, Abhandlungen, II), Cologne/Graz 1956-57, I, pp. 134-142; illus., *ibid.*, figs. 47-48, and more clearly in S. Bottari et al., *Fidenza Duomo* (Tesori d'Arte Cristiana, XXX), Bologna 1966, pp. 270, 275, 277-278. Similar bases are found in the 12th century nave galleries of Parma Cathedral; A. C. Quintavalle, *La cattedrale di Parma e il romanico europeo*, Parma 1974, pp. 39-51, figs. 649, 657, 666-670.

⁶⁷ *Statuta* (n. 1), III, p. 142 (1316); an instance of the practice is reported in *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 142.

⁶⁸ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), pp. 168-169, 207.

⁶⁹ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 13: "Et [eodem anno millesimo cxxlvj] ambulatorium quod est in [recte: inter] domum domini potestatis et palatium communis factum fuit". *Ibid.*, p. 172: "Di novembre [1323] inceptum fuit reaptari et de novo fieri balatorium, quod est inter palacium vetus communis et domum potestatis, com illud quod ibi erat ab antiquo minaret ruinam, sed dicto anno non fuit completum; et factum fuit per quemdam bonum magistrum cremonensem nomine magistrum Zanonum". Other mentions of the "balatorium communis, quod est inter domum potestatis et palacium vetus communis", occur *ibid.*, pp. 54 (1287), 80 (1300), 102 (1307), and 202 (1329).

⁷⁰ The Arengario connects the palazzo Nuovo del Comune with the former palaces of the Anziani and Massaro; Paul (n. 3), pp. 153-155; illus., A. Andreani, *I palazzi del Comune di Mantova*. Assaggi — rilievi — progetti e restauri (R. Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova, Pubblicazioni, ser. 1^a, Monumenta, V), Mantua 1942. Recent scholarship dates it to the second half of the 13th century, which means that it could have been modelled on the *balatorium* of Parma.

Also Pellegrini, writing in *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 110, interprets the *balatorium* as a flying bridge. However, since he locates the Communal Palace and Podestà's Residence in the wrong places, also the bridge is assigned by him to the wrong location.

⁷¹ The drawing completes all forms still partially preserved on the existing facade. Forms that have been reconstructed on the basis of other evidence or on supposition are as follows.

On the ground floor, I have assumed that the shops were equal in width and equally spaced, as explained in n. 64 above.

On the mezzanine, I have assumed that each shop had a superior mezzanine with window. The windows I have proportioned more squatly than the modern ones, on analogy with the mezzanine windows visible on a 16th century drawing of palazzo del Governatore (Fig. 28).

On the first floor, I have left unfilled the existing gap in the sequence of medieval windows and the stone string course. The gap is too narrow to accommodate comfortably two windows of the proportions of those that survive, and too wide for one. As suggested in the text, the bridge to the Communal Palace (*balatorium*) may have attached here.

On the second floor, the eccentrically placed window on the right and the peep-hole on the left have been shown, although one or both may be later, albeit still medieval, additions. The roof spouts have been extended across the whole front and crenellation has been reconstructed immediately above them, as explained in the text.

To the third floor towers I have added spouts and crenellation on a level, and continuous, with the spouts and crenellation attested for the Piazza side. I have reconstructed two windows atop the surviving stone sill of the right hand tower, as explained in the text.

I have reconstructed pyramid roofs on the towers and a gable roof parallel to the facade above the lower tract between them. Their slope is taken from the slope of the roof existing today.

⁷² Examples are the Fondaco dei Turchi (originally a palace of the Pesaro family) and Ca' Farsetti and Ca' Loredan (now joined together to form the city hall of Venice); *E. Arslan*, *Venezia gotica*, Milan 1970, pp. 13-35, with illus. and references. None of these buildings is dated, but they can be confidently assigned to the very beginning of the 13th century.

⁷³ Thus *K. M. Swoboda*, *Römische und romanische Paläste*, Vienna/Cologne/Graz 1969, pp. 191-195, 313, and a host of authors following him (Swoboda's book was first published in 1919), including *Arslan* (n. 72).

⁷⁴ For a general account of the role of the *popolo* in the communes, see the works cited n. 2 above, esp. *Hyde*, pp. 108-18.

⁷⁵ For three days in 1244 Ugo da San Vitale led the *popolo* as Capitano, at the end of which time the Commune deposed and fined him, and made restitution to those whose houses had been despoiled under his leadership; however, the *popolo* forced a remission of the fine and obtained inclusion in the government henceforth of neighborhood and guild representatives; *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 13. The story shows how closely matched in strength the *popolo* and the Commune were at this time.

⁷⁶ Participation of the Anziani and the Credenza in government acts is first attested by statutes of, resp., shortly before 1259 and 1261; *Statuta* (n. 1), I, pp. 398, 441 (quoted in, resp., n. 80 below and 24 above). For the advent of the Società dei Crociati and a permanent Capitano, see *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 25.

⁷⁷ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 36: "Item eodem anno [1280] dictus dominus potestas com capitaneo populi et com capitaneo societatum [Cruciatorum] et ancianis misteriorum et populo universo, com bandieris levatis et tubis cucurerunt ad domos illorum de Putaleis et ipsas diruerunt et destruserunt in totum; et hoc occasione mortis Peterçoli Restani calçolarij vicinie sancti Quintini, quem unus de Putaleis interfecerat. Et tunc statuta populi, facta in suum favorem contra nobiles et potentes offendentes illos de Societate, inceperunt fieri et servari".

⁷⁸ The constitutional development of the Commune is treated by Amadio Ronchini, in his introductions to *Statuta* (n. 1), I and II.

⁷⁹ *Statuta* (n. 1), I, pp. 103-104: "Capitulum quod Potestas teneatur per sacramentum auferre pro Communi D. Jacobo de Benezeto omnes domos quas habet a mane et a meridie Palacii Communis Parmae usque ad turrin ipsius D. Jacobi, et D. Jacobo Preiti eundo versus sero recta linea usque ad contrafortem Palacii, habendo quilibet, qui habet ibi domum, medium cupum extra murum versus viam, et non plus: facta extimatione dictarum domorum per quatuor bonos et legales homines que non sint de vicinia sancti Vitalis, et qui non sint propinqui D. Jacobini usque ad quartum gradum, necque D. Jacobi de Preitis. Et hoc fiat usque ad octavam Paschae resurrectionis".

"Additum est hoc capitulo quod idem observetur de casamentis omnibus dicti D. Jacobi de Benezeto quod dictum est de domibus, et secundum quod confines determinata sunt per vetus Statutum: et idem observetur in casamentis D. Hugonis de sancto Vitale et fratrum, quae sunt inter palacium et ecclesiam sancti Vitalis, cum Commune emerit partem ipsorum casamentorum contingentem Dominum Decimam de sancto Vitale, faciendo extimare ea secundum formam Statuti veteris hinc ad kalendas Februarii; et ex nunc sint Communis, et remaneant perpetuo in Communi. Et facta extimatione, teneatur Potestas eis satisfacere quam citius poterit. Et haec adjectio factua fuit M. CC. LIII. Indictione undecima".

For Giacomo da Beneceto, see n. 82 below.

⁸⁰ *Statuta* (n. 1), I, p. 398: "Capitulum quod Potestas teneatur facere fieri unam domum seu porticum super casamentum quondam domini Jacobi de Benezeto, vel super illud quod quondam fuit domini Hugonis de sancto Vitale et fratrum et domini Decimae, juxta palatium, secundum quod placuerit Potestati et Ancianis cum illis Sapientibus, quos ad hoc voluerint, et facere ibi fieri tabulas cambiatorum pro Communi ab uno latere et ab alio, ita quod via vadat per medium, vel aliter, secundum quod melius et utilius videbitur praedictis. Et teneatur Potestas ibi facere stare omnes cambiatores, ita quod omnes cambiatores ibi simul stare debeant et non alibi. Et teneatur Potestas facere auferri totam porticum cum tabulis positam et positas juxta domum Potestatis, et eciam facere auferri illas tabulas quae sunt a latere palatii, ita quod Anciani et populus Parmae possint ibi stare et congregare se et porticare [*sic*; this is surely a misreading by the 19th century editors, and the word

should be “practicare”] pro bono et honore et utilitate consorcii et populi parmensis, et ut semper sint prope domum Potestatis pro bono et honore ipsius Potestatis et Communis Parmae. Et Potestas teneatur dictum locum facere aptari ad voluntatem Ancianorum, prout eis melius et convenientius videbitur”.

“Additum est quod omnes tabulae, quae sunt super ipsa casamenta, et tabulae, quae sunt subter porticum sancti Vitalis, auferantur de ipsis locis et reducantur et reficiantur juxta murum domus Potestatis, secundum quod consueverunt esse. Et ex nunc habeat locum in auferendis illis tabulis quae sunt subter dictum porticum sancti Vitalis, solvendo quemlibet pensionem pro rata temporis; et si ultra ratam solvissent, restituatur eisdem. Et quaelibet tabula reficienda penes murum domus Potestatis debeat esse longa per tres pedes et dimidium. Haec adjectio facta fuit per dominos Hugonem Neffi et Johannem Arlotti et Ancianos, et per dominos Bernardum de Ghynnam et Bernardum de Benedictis et socios Statuarios in millesimo ducentesimo quinquagesimo nono Indictione secunda”.

⁸¹ *Statuta* (n. 1), I, p. 444 (one of the additions of 1262): “Capitulum quod Potestas teneatur facere et operam dare cum effectu quod casamentum domini Jacobini de Benegeto et filiorum cum omni jure quod habent in pede turris super quo est aedificatum archevoltum Communis, et domus Jacobi Preyti emanant pro Communi, facta prius extimatione per bonos homines electos per Potestatem et Ancianos privatim; qui homines non pertineant praedictis venditoribus, nec sint de vicineis eorum; et hoc pro faciendo fieri in medio ipsorum casamentorum duos carceres, unum pro malefactoribus, et alium pro debitoribus tenendis, et ut ibi melius custodiantur et convenientius pro Communi, et custodes melius habeantur, et ut turris palatii non teneatur ulterius pro aliquo carcere occupata. Et ostia dictorum carcerum fieri debeant versus palatium, ita quod non habeant exitum ad stratas quae sunt a mane et a sero dictorum casamentorum; et stationes possint fieri pro Communi ab utroque capite dictorum casamentorum pro utilitate Communis. Et fiat emptio praedicta usque ad carnisprivium proximum; et laboreria dictorum carcerum usque ad sanctum Petrum proximum, et sine tenore”.

⁸² *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 22: “Item eodem anno [1263] facta fuit domus seu carcer communis, que dicta fuit Camusina, super casamento condam domini Jacobi de Benegeto, in quo carcere carcerabantur latrones pessimi et alij malefactores”. *Ibid.*, 16, reports that in 1247 a murder by one Jacopo da Beneceto was punished by razing of his house. Modern scholars, unfamiliar with the statutes quoted above, have concluded that the Camusina was built on the ruins of this residence; e.g. *Bonazzi*, *ibid.*, p. 328, s.v. “Giacomo da Beneceto”; *Corradi-Cervi* (n. 17), pp. 45-46; and *Pellegrini*, in *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 114. The statutes show that this was not the case. Given the fact that a certain Jacobino da Beneceto figures (as a conspicuous wastrel!) in *Salimbene's Cronica* ([n. 10], II, pp. 889-90) as late as 1285, we may well doubt that the various men of this name appearing in the early texts were all one and the same.

The word “camuzoni” is encountered in a Milanese act of 1575, where it signifies shackles, and in another one of 1593, where it is the nickname of a local prison; *S. Biffi*, *Sulle antiche carceri di Milano*: in: *R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali, Memorie*, XVI (= ser. 3^a, VII), 1886, I, resp. pp. 24 and 22. By the 17th century a prison in the Podestà's Residence had also acquired this name; it is so labelled on the plans of palazzo Fainardi listed under (I) and (II) in n. 60 above.

⁸³ The cells are mentioned in a statute of 1301-04 concerning governance of the prison. *Statuta* (n. 1), II, p. 174: “Capitulum quod in aliqua parte domus seu turris Communis, ubi est carcer qui dicitur Camuxina, de cetero non ponatur nec custodiatur nec teneatur aliquis homo ex quacumque causa, ubi ibi esset positus vel possit poni, praeter solas personas malefactorum inculpatorum aliquod maleficium commisisse, et non aliquis alius, etiam obligatus Communi ex aliqua causa, cum illi, qui sunt in Carcere Camuxinae, sint vivendo sepulti: sed amodo omnes et singuli detinendi in carcere, si non sint banniti vel condempnati causa alicujus maleficii, vel inculpati aliquod maleficium commisisse, debeant custodiri in carcere facto sub palatio novo Communis aedificato in casamento Communis quod fuit illorum de Sancto Vitale et illorum de Benegeto. Et, si aliquis non bannitus vel condempnatus vel non detentus vel non inculpatus pro maleficio esset in carcere Camuxinae, ex ipso tollatur et ponantur in dicto carcere facto sub palatio novo”.

The upstairs room is the site of an act of sale, executed in December 1280 by the communal salt office; *E. Falconi*, *Liber communis Parmae iurium puteorum salis* (*Acta Italica*, X), Milan 1966, 78, n° 20: “Actum Parme in camara communis supra Camussinam ...”. A document of 1272, “Actum Parmae, in Domo nova Communis”, may also have been executed in this room; *N. Tacoli*, *Compendio delle discendenze dei fratelli ... de' Tacoli ...*, Reggio 1741 (being the first volume of his: *Memorie storiche della città di Reggio, Reggio/Carpi 1741-65*), pp. 357-58. As we have just seen, the building of the Camusina could be referred to as a “domus seu turris”, and I know of no other communal “domus nova” in Parma at this time.

⁸⁴ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 67 (cited by *Corradi-Cervi* [n. 17], p. 45) locates the Camusina “retro domos domini capitanei”. *Ibid.*, 148, is even more specific, stating that the stables of the Capitano's House lay “contra la casa della Camussina”. From the story of Michele Attendolo's escape from the Camusina in 1409 we learn that the building also adjoined the Dogana del Sale. Attendolo broke through a thick wall between the prison and the Dogana; *Pezzana* (n. 1), II, p. 111, n. 2. (The rear

of the Capitano's House faces towards borgo della Salina, near its intersection with borgo del Carbone. Statutes of 1263 and 1316 show that the Dogana del Sale stood at the corner of borgo della Salina and borgo S. Vitale; *Statuta* [n. 1], resp., I, p. 183, and III, p. 184).

- ⁸⁵ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 57, shows unambiguously that there were two New Palaces in 1289. Reggiani captured in that year were divided into three lots and imprisoned as follows: "una pars detenta fuit super Camusinam communis, et alia super palatio novo communis de sancto Vitale com feriis; populares vero fuerunt detenti super palatio novo de platea sine feriis tamen". New Palaces in the plural are mentioned again in 1308; *ibid.*, 105.
- ⁸⁶ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 37: "Item eodem anno [1281] fuit inceptum palatium novum communis ante ecclesiam sancti Vitalis, et carcer, dictus debitorum, factus sub ipso palatio, et stationes sub eodem a latere platee ...". (For the *platea* mentioned here, see n. 89 below). *Ibid.*, p. 39: "Item eodem anno [1281] completum fuit pallacium novum communis Parme, quod est ante ecclesiam sancti Vitalis, de muris, et exterius depicta arma potestatis, capitanei, et populi". *Loc. cit.*: "Item eodem anno et tempore [1281] palatium novum communis, quod est ante ecclesiam sancti Vitalis, intus fuit completum de sedibus et banchis, et fuit depictum intus per totum; et tunc potestas et capitaneus, ançiani et primiçerii et alij inceperunt se congregare in dicto palacio pro negociis communis".
- ⁸⁷ The site is circumscribed by the texts concerning the building's construction, quoted n. 86 above, and by the sad tale of the man who was too fat to escape from the debtor's prison, in *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 43: "Item eodem tempore [1282] Rolandis de Marzolaria com aliis carceratis, qui erant in carcere debitorum sub palatio novo communis, fracta ipsa carcere, furtive de ea auferunt et omnes exiverunt, nisi unus solus, qui non potuit exire per foramen muri factum ab eis; et hoc fuit a latere canalis communi". (The communal drain is the one described in n. 59, item [3], above. It ran from borgo della Salina to strada della Repubblica, flanking the east side of Torello's Palace for a certain distance, and then disappearing beneath it).
- ⁸⁸ For the Anziani's move, see n. 105 below. The locution, "former palace of the Anziani", appears in *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), pp. 216 (1331), 251 (1335), and most circumstantially, 188 (1328): "palacium communis, quod est ante ecclesiam sancti Vitalis, in quo anciani ab antiquo se congregare consueverant". *Melli* (n. 17), p. 30, *Drei* (n. 21), p. 203, *Pellegrini*, writing in *Banzola* (n. 17), pp. 114-115, and *Farinelli* (n. 20), p. 115, consider this building the House of the Capitano del Popolo, rather than the Anziani's Palace, which seems to be a misconstrual of *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 39, quoted n. 86 above.
- ⁸⁹ See the texts concerning its construction quoted n. 86 above. The location of the shops can be deduced from the first of these texts, which places them "a latere platee". The square in question is not piazza Garibaldi, but a smaller square that lay between Torello's Palace and S. Vitale. It is first mentioned in *Statuta* (n. 1), p. 183, n. **, of 1264, where it is ordered that "omnia bannia et statuta loquentia super expeditione plateae Communis, quae est a sero palatii [Communis], locum habeant et serventur in ... platea quae est a mane dicti palatii". Later texts distinguish it from the "piazza grande" by calling it the "piazzaola"; e.g. *Pezzana* (n. 1), II, p. 320, and V, Append. 5, N° III.
- ⁹⁰ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 251: "Eo tempore [1335] usque in adventu predicti Alberti de la Scala ab inicio pro eo deputati fuerunt certi officiales de suis Veronesibus ad standum in statione palacij communis condam ancianorum de sancto Vitale ad angulum, coram quibus presentabantur omnes forenses que veniebant Parmam ... D'ottobre lo tribunale de judici del malleficio, sive la banca del malleficio, qual era stata ab antiquo in palazzo vecchio del comune ne l'angolo di detto pallazo verso il Torello, remosa fu da deto loco e fata fu in la camera o sala qual è infra detto pallazo vecchio e l'altro palazzo de li condam anciani verso la Camusina...".
- ⁹¹ A three-light window without relieving arch survives on the second floor of the court's north side. On the first floor of the south side are a two-light window framed by a relieving arch and a one-light window. On the west side of the same floor the central column of another two-light window and a brief segment of its relieving arch are preserved next to a modern window (Fig. 25). One or another of these remains was uncovered during a renovation in 1887 but was then plastered over again; cf. *R. [Romani]* (n. 17). All four windows are exposed and much restored today; presumably this work was done when the modern extension was built.
- ⁹² For Smeraldi's plan, see n. 18 above; for the views, see n. 26 and under (A) in n. 19 above.
- ⁹³ Most modern authors write that this building was actually built for the Podestà and was taken over by the Capitano at some later, unspecified time. Before the move, they claim, the Capitano lived in the New Palace of S. Vitale. Cf. *Melli* (n. 17), p. 30, *Drei*, (n. 21), p. 203, *Pellegrini*, in *Banzola* (n. 17), pp. 114-115, and *Farinelli* (n. 20), p. 115 (the last calls the building the Podestà's Residence *tout court*). There is no basis for this belief. The Podestà's Residence and Capitano's House are mentioned as distinct buildings in 1308 and 1316; see n. 55 above. Of the two, the latter is always located by the great staircase of Torello's Palace; see n. 36 above. Eventually, the Podestà did leave his Residence, but that was not until sometime before 1395; see n. 53 above.
- ⁹⁴ *Salimbene* (n. 10), II, p. 759 [after narration of events of 1283]: "Item in precedentibus annis multa bona fecerant in civitate Parmenses. Compleverant eius baptisterium in superiori parte ... Item leones magnos fecerunt fieri et columnas in maioris porta maioris ecclesie ... Item tres magnas vias,

amplas et pulchras fecerunt: unam ab ecclesia Sancte Cristine usque ad Communis palatium; aliam a platea Nova, ubi concionatur a potestate, usque ad ecclesiam Sancti Thome Apostoli; tertiam a platea Communis usque ad ecclesiam Sancti Pauli ... Item fecerunt palatium capitanei valde pulcrum prope palatium vetus quod factum fuerat sub Torello sive Taurello de Strata, Papiensi cive at Parmensium potestate ...". (Of the works named by Salimbene, the upper part of the Baptistery was begun in 1260 and the porch of the Cathedral built in 1281; *Fr. Felice da Mareto*, *Chiese e conventi di Parma*, Parma 1978, resp., pp. 11, 64. Strada della Repubblica, a stretch of the ancient via Aemilia connecting S. Cristina and the Piazza, was widened in 1277; *Chronicon parmense* [n. 12], p. 33. Strada Farini, from the Piazza to S. Tommaso, was first widened in 1275; *ibid.*, p. 31. Strada Cavour, from the Piazza to S. Paolo, was rebuilt in two campaigns, in 1264 and 1281: resp., *Statuta* [n. 1], I, p. 462, and *Chronicon*, p. 37. Salimbene wrote during the last five years of his life; he died in 1288; see *Scalia's* account in *Salimbene* [n. 10], II, p. 961).

Sitti (n. 17), p. 3, dates the House 1281-82, citing *Angeli* (n. 16), but the latter (p. 111) puts its construction under the year 1223 in an economical paragraph that sweeps alot of buildings together into one account. *Pelicelli* (n. 20), p. 6, dates it in the 1240's, believing mistakenly that it was the Podestà's Residence and that texts concerning the latter therefore apply to it. In the same belief *Farinelli* (n. 20), p. 128, dates it 1221-40.

⁹⁵ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 148 (quoted n. 84 above) mentions the stables. *Ibid.*, 67, reports that a "house" was built behind the Capitano's House in 1294 for the Commune's captive lion. That the House itself is a very shallow building is clear from a view of its roof (Fig. 1). The structures behind it today occupy what may originally have been an open court, such as one would expect to find in association with stables.

⁹⁶ The *ringhiera* was the site of two notarial acts of the 15th century quoted by *Pelicelli* (n. 20), p. 9, who mistakenly connects them with the *balatorium* that linked the Podestà's Residence with the Communal Palace. One, dated 1487, records an act executed "super Arengheria communis parme", while the other, of 1454, uses a more detailed formula: "Actum Parme super arengheriam Communis parme apodiata pallatio olim domini Capitanei". *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 31, describes an execution carried out in 1276 "in platea communis in arengo more solito", which teaches that the structure existed already in the 13th century. Shops beneath the stairs are recorded in statutes of 1316 and 1347; *Statuta* (n. 1), III, pp. 270, 281, IV, p. 74 (the last quoted in n. 36 above).

⁹⁷ The 19th century views of piazza Garibaldi listed under (C) and (D) in n. 19 above record four shops and four windows on, respectively, the ground and mezzanine floors. They record four windows on each of three superior floors as well. Most of the latter and one of the mezzanine windows were suppressed during the restoration. The 18th century views of series (D) reproduce the original crenellation, which was rectangular rather than swallow-tailed in form (Fig. 21). By the time the 19th century views were made, the crenellation had vanished.

A restoration report was never published, but an old photograph of the building's facade after its surface had been stripped is reproduced in *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 116. Brief mention of the restoration is made by *Pelicelli* (n. 20; published to mark completion of the work), *Corradi-Cervi* (n. 17), p. 42, and *Banzola* (n. 32), p. 29.

⁹⁸ Numerous examples are illustrated (albeit, in rather too perfect a state) by *A. Verdier* and *F. Cattois*, *Architecture civile et domestique au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, Paris 1858, I, pls. 102, 104, 106, 107 (Cluny, St. Antonin, Sarlat, Cordes), II, pls. 20, 23, 31, 37 (Cluny, San Gimignano, Lucca). Adapted to the curious, local method of skeletal construction, the type reappears at Pisa; *A. Bartolini*, *L'architettura civile del Medioevo in Pisa*, Pisa 1937, pls. 3, 5, 11, 12, 13, 15. Florentine examples, where the principal floors are three rather than two, but where likewise there is no mezzanine, are palazzo Davanzati and the central section of the assembled building known as palazzo Spini-Feroni; resp., *L. C. Rosenberg*, *The Davanzati Palace*, Florence, New York 1922, and *G. Rohault de Fleury*, *La Toscane au Moyen Age*, Paris 1870-73, II, p. 15, pls. LXII-LXIII.

⁹⁹ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 41: "Item eo anno [1282] ampliata fuit platea communis a parte de subtus usque ad domum condam domini Prandonis Rubei, et a via nova beccariorum usque ad viaçolam de Ruffinis; et omnes domus tenentes caput ad plateam pro communi exstimate fuerunt, ut pro communis emerentur". The new street of the butchers is the modern strada Cavour; vicolo dei Ruffini is the modern vicolo dei Vernacci; *Sitti* (n. 17), resp., pp. 57, 3.

The properties purchased ran all the way to via Mameli, one block beyond the modern Piazza's north side and parallel with it, as we can tell by the mention in 1320 and 1323 of communally owned houses on this street; *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), pp. 162, 171.

¹⁰⁰ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), pp. 67, 154, 156. The chains were removed in 1326; *ibid.*, 185.

¹⁰¹ *Pezzana* (n. 1), I, p. 14; *Ronchini*, in *Statuta* (n. 1), IV, p. ix, n. 2. See also, *Melli* (n. 17), p. 35, and *Conforti* (n. 26), I, p. 97.

¹⁰² *Cronica gestorum* (n. 30), p. 28: "Circa principium dicti mensis jullij [1478] dominus gubernator Parme videns muraliam ab antiquo factam circum circa plateam communis Parme esse in multis locis dirruptam, ruinosam et veterem, ac portas eiusdem dirruptas, et non posse reserari, intelligentisque quod in tumultibus ortis hactenus in Parma semper platea ipsa capiebatur et capiens victor rimanebat et ut officiales intra eam existentes et amici status in omni adventu forent securiores, ordinavit et sic principiatum fuit, ipsam muraliam fortificari, alciari, reparari et portas cum portellis feratas fieri, adeo quod claudi poterant et reserari tam de die quam de nocte ...". Locks for the

gates were made in 1479; *ibid.*, 38. The walls still existed in the mid 16th century; see the description of the Piazza by Cristoforo Dalla Torre, quoted at the end of this paper.

¹⁰³ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 44: "Item eodem anno [1282] empte fuerunt per commune Parme domus, que tenebant capud ad plateam novam, a becaria parva usque ad viaçolam de Vernaciis, et inceptum est fieri fundamentum pro communi ante illas domos, ut palatium ibi fieret cum stationibus, pro mercatoribus". *Ibid.*, 48: "Item eodem anno [1285] facta est domus magna com stationibus mercatorum justa plateam communis a latere desubtus, silicet a viaçola de Ruffinis usque ad viam de becaria, et merlata atque depicta". *Ibid.*, 51: "Item eodem anno [1286] palatium novum communis, quod est desuptus in platea communis, fuit exspletum quasi totum, preterquam in angulo a latere becarie sancti Jeorgij, quod diruerat". *Ibid.*, 53: "Item eo anno [1287] palatium novum communis versus sanctum Jeorgium, silicet sponda que diruerat, relecta fuit et completa". For the locations of S. Giorgio, the *beccherie*, and vicolo de Bernacci, or dei Ruffini, see n. 59, item (1), and n. 99 above.

Two inscriptions, dated 1285 and 1286, were walled into the fabric on the end to piazza Battisti. They have been replaced by copies, while the originals are in the Museo di Antichità of Parma; *F. Bernini*, "Le due iscrizioni sul Palazzo del Governatore", in: *Aurea Parma*, XXII, 1938, pp. 3-6; *Gambara* (n. 7), p. 93.

¹⁰⁴ Writing in *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 115, *Pellegrini* calls the building a Palazzo dei Mercanti, but this sobriquet is plainly a misapplication of the phrases, "stationes pro mercatoribus" and "stationes mercatorum" in the texts quoted n. 103. The words refer to the shops, not to the entire building.

¹⁰⁵ *Statuta* (n. 1), III [compiled 1316], p. 36: "Capitulum, ut negocia Communis et populi Parmae et regimen et gubernacio dicti Communis et populi bonum et validum sumat incinium, quod Antiani populi stent et morentur reclusi die noctuque in Palacio novo Communis, quod est iuxta bechariam de sancto Georgio ...". *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 154: "[1317] ... et steterunt [anciani communis] in palacio novo communis, qui est a latere platee de subtus". *Ibid.*, p. 205 (1330), locates the Anziani's quarters in the end of the building "verso sera". *Gambara* (n. 7), p. 94, claims that the Capitano del Popolo lodged in this Palace, but cites no authority. Considering that the Capitano had a House of his own, his suggestion seems most unlikely.

¹⁰⁶ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), resp., pp. 53, 151, 57.

¹⁰⁷ In 1330 the Palace became the residence of the Marshal of the city's new protector, Emperor Louis the Bavarian. In 1335 it was taken over by Frignano Sesso, brother of, and troop leader for, Goffredo Sesso, the Podestà appointed for Parma by the city's new lords, Alberto and Mastino della Scala of Verona; *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 251. The Anziani, meanwhile, moved back to the New Palace of S. Vitale; *ibid.*, p. 216.

¹⁰⁸ Smeraldi's drawing is dated 19 February 1597, but since Parma began the new year on the Feast of the Incarnation (25 March), by our reckoning the year was 1598; cf. *A. Cappelli*, *Cronologia e calendario perpetuo*, Milan 1906, xvi. The drawing has been cited by *S. Lottici* and *G. Sitti*, *Bibliografia generale per la storia parmense*, Parma 1904, n° 4218, and is illustrated in *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 182, fig. 186, but escaped notice in the list of Smeraldi's writings and drawings appended to the exhibition catalogue of 1980, "Io Smeraldo Smeraldi", cited n. 18 above.

Formerly in the Archivio Comunale, the sheet is now kept in the Biblioteca Civica Comunale, Parma, Disegni, cassetta IX, n° 8; pen and brown ink and grey wash; 518 × 564 mm. It is badly mutilated and poorly preserved: missing the last one or two cm. of the entire left-hand margin, both lower corners, large portions of the middle left and right, and small portions of the upper corners and center top; folded once horizontally and vertically; laid down; stained across both folds and in the upper corners. There is no watermark.

Features and purpose of the drawing are explained in a long legend at the top left and right. The initial word or words of each line on the left have been lost, but for the most part can be inferred [bracketed in the transcription]. A scale of 40 braccia at the center bottom measures 16.65 mm. The legend reads as follows.

Left side: "[...]egni miei colendissimi. Poiche dalle signorie uostre Illustri fu ordinato a me Smeraldo Smeraldi i] giorni passati che facessi un disegno, per fare una scala commoda et magnifica nel pa[lazzo de] il Gouvernatore di Parma; e uolendo io adempire l'ordine loro, primo ho hauuto consi[glio sop]ra il sito di esso palazzo, et ho ueduto che uolendo far una scala conforme alla uo[lonta uost]ra] che renda quella magnificenza, che detto luogo merita, anzi gli è necessario, ho giu[dicato esser] necessario farli ancora una loggia, sopra la quale si ascendi in capo a detta scala [con ci]ò uolendo così compire quello che si conuenirebbe, per arecare quel decoro et co[mmodo a dett]o luogo che esso merita; ho uoluto anco farli un disegno per accomodare detto pa[lazzo ..] allo abbellimento di quello, si possa anco ritrarue molto utile, guadagnando tut[to an]che senza danno di alcuno, si può guadagnare. La qui sotto segnata Ichnografia [...]de di compire detta fabrica; auertendo che quello che è tocato con linee di punti rapre[senta quello] che hora ui è di fatto, et che io rimouo per accomodar tutta detta fabrica nella parte [...] a stradella uerso la Madonna, oue per maggior utilità rimouo la facciata tutta ridu[ciendo que]sta in retta linea, guada[gnando] che resta hora dentro l'angolo da un cantone [...]riente di quello, che è di presente su li canto[.] con un poco di cantina che ui si caui sotto [.]elli altre che si faranno uerso il piazza [.] si cauerà almeno ducento scuti"

Right side: “ogni anno. Ma perchè facendo questo si uiene a leuare quei luoghi a basso, che seruono alli Vfficiali; in questo si suplisse con darli le medesime commodità sotto terra, oue ui sarà luogo capacissimo, et comodo per farui tutti gli seruiggi di casa, come sono cantine, luoghi per legna, luoghi per le bugadare, et altri seruiggi, et al piano della corte ui sarà per il Governatore nel luogo .F. una stalla capace per doi caualli, con il luogo per una carrozza; et nel luogo .G. ui sarà un camarino per seruitori; nel luogo .H. ui sarà un pozzo per seruitio di tutta la casa, con intorno una scala quadra a lumaca, che seruirà dalla cima al fondo di detta casa, insieme con il pozzo. Nell'altra parte per l'Auditore si hauerà sotto terra le medesime commodità, come per il Governatore; et nel luogo segnato .I. sarà una stalla per doi caualli; et nel luogo sotto la scala nella parte .K. sarà il luogo per la carrozza, e nella parte .L. si ascenderà, essendo quella la scala publica, et la scala .M. seruirà per tutta la casa dalla cima al fondo. Il luogo .N. è il pozzo per detta casa, auertendo che sopra dette stalle si accomoderà un luogo per gouernarui almeno sino a tre carri di fieno per ciascuna, per seruitio de i caualli; et così uenirà accommodato ogni cosa, et non sarà di molta spesa rispetto all'utile che se ne ritrarà. Sopra la Ichonografia ho fatto anco l'Ortografia della facciata, nella quale gli occhi segnati .B. sono le boteghe, le finestre segnate .C. sono gli mezanini per dette boteghe; et le segnate .D. sono per le stantie delli Vfficiali et della galeria; et le segnate .E. sono per le mezani superiori. L'altra Ortografia superiore rapresenta l'ordine delle loggie segnate .A. facendo quello uerso il stradaello finto, sotto la quale sono le boteghe, et sopra ui è la galeria; et essendo questo il mio parere, così l'offerò et dedico alle Signorie uostre molto Illustri questo di .19. febraio 1595.:”

Signed, (bottom center, above the scale): “Delle Signorie uostre molto Illustri deuotissimo seruitore Smeraldo Smeraldi”.

- ¹⁰⁹ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 171: “Di julio [1323] la casa del comune qual era post palacium communis, in qual stava gli anziani, in Strada Levata, per il comune fu guasta e dirupata; et il muro alzato fu e dipinto et merlato a spese del comune; et in gli casamenti de dita casa fu fata una corte per più comodo de gli anziani, et ingressus et scalle per andare in palazo de diti anziani in esa corte fate furon, et antiquus ingresus hostij scale a latere platee clausus fuit”.
- ¹¹⁰ *Sitti* (n. 17), p. 3, *Banzola* (n. 32), p. 29, *Gambara* (n. 7), pp. 94-96, and *Pellegrini*, writing in *Banzola* (n. 17), p. 115, state that the Palace was originally two separate buildings, divided from one another by the vicolo, and that the two increments were joined in the 17th century, when the central tower was added. They cite no authority for this notion, which is disproven, besides, by Smeraldi's drawing.
- ¹¹¹ They are mentioned in a report of the works ordered by Frignano Sesso in 1335 to make the building secure; see the following note.
- ¹¹² It was first pulled down in 1322; *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 165: “Di magio [1322] clausa fuerunt ostia inferiora et fenestre de medio palacij communis, in quo stabant anciani communis, et porticus dicti palacij destrutus et remotus fuit de mandato dominorum ancianorum; et hoc pro securitate dictorum ancianorum et status presentis communis Parme ...”. In February 1323 these works were reversed; *ibid.*, p. 171. The latter report, it is true, mentions only reopening of the “ostia”, but that the portico was contemporaneously rebuilt emerges from the fact that in 1335 it was taken down a second time by order of Frignano Sesso, brother of, and troop leader for, the Scaliger Podestà of the city. *Ibid.*, p. 251: “Eodem tempore [1335] predictus Fregnanus stabat cum familia sua in palatio quondam antianorum, quod est in platea a parte desubtus et ipsum tenebat totum de super et desubtus et fecit destrui et amoveri porticum qui erat ad ipsum palacium versus plateam, et stationes omnes desubtus et per medium et versus becariam omnes habuit et evacuari fecit, et multa laboreria in eo fieri denno fecit, et portam unam magnam in ipso versus sanctum Matheum fieri fecit et portas per quas ingrediebatur versus plateam et in curiam adalzari et ampliari fecit”. (S. Matteo stood near the corner of strada Cavour and via Mameli; *Felice* [n. 94], p. 167).
- ¹¹³ Dated 1227; *Paul* (n. 3), pp. 152-154; *illus.*, *Andreani* (n. 70), and *P. Gazzola*, *Il Palazzo del Podestà a Mantova*, Verona 1973, pp. 31, 108. As we heard (n. 112 above), the openings were hurriedly walled up on two separate occasions during the 14th century. Very likely, rubble fill or some other makeshift form of construction was used, so that the shape shown by Smeraldi, in whose day the shops were open again, is the original one. The rectangular mezzanine windows he shows are probably original too.
- ¹¹⁴ *Gambara* (n. 7), p. 94. Considering that such windows were standard during the Middle Ages, the assertion cannot be far wrong.
- ¹¹⁵ Smeraldi's elevation offers two different forms for attic windows, oval and rectangular, and two different heights for the attic floor, as if he were offering alternatives for developing a previously undeveloped zone of the Palace.
- ¹¹⁶ *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 48, of 1285 (quoted n. 103 above).
- ¹¹⁷ The tower, called “battifolle”, was put up over the Anziani's residence in 1317: *Chronicon parmense* (n. 12), p. 154 (see also, 158). It burned down in 1330; *ibid.*, 205. After the fire it was rebuilt, for its bell is listed in a statute of 1360 that forbids the unauthorized ringing of civic bells; *Statuta* (n. 1), III, p. 216. *Sitti* (n. 17), p. 5, locates the “battifolle” on a building he calls the Podestà's Palace but does not otherwise identify. He cites *Angeli* (n. 16), but the latter (p. 163) correctly locates the bell, “susò il cantone del palazzo de gli Antiani verso strà leuà”.

- ¹¹⁸ *Paul* (n. 3), pp. 52-54, 127-129, 152-154; illus., *Tabarelli* (n. 4), resp., figs. 99, 36, and *Gazzola* (n. 113), pls. 65-67, 79, 83, 85. [The hall of the Mantuan palace has been subdivided both vertically and horizontally.]
- ¹¹⁹ For Florence, see *C. Guasti*, *S. Maria del Fiore. La costruzione della chiesa e del campanile secondo i documenti*, Florence 1887, pp. cv-cvii, and *P. Roselli*, ed., *Firenze. Studi e ricerche sul centro antico*, I, *L'ampliamento della cattedrale di S. Reparata; le conseguenze sullo sviluppo della città ...*, Pisa 1974, pp. 63-74, nos. 20-22, 27-29, 33, pls. XIII-XVI, XXI-XXIV. For Venice, see *E. Trinca-nato*, *Venezia minore*, Milan 1948, pp. 148-50 (grouped with 13th and 14th century buildings, but captioned as of the 15th century, which is too late), and *P. Maretto*, *L'edilizia gotica veneziana*, in: *Palladio*, n.s. X, 1960, p. 204 (separately, Rome 1960, Venice 1978, p. 114).
- ¹²⁰ The text is part of a description of the churches, monasteries and benefices of Parma, composed between 1554 and 1558 for Bishop Guido Ascanio Sforza, and preserved in the archive of the Curia Vescovile, Parma. The description of the Piazza (fols. 47-54) has been published in the original Latin by *A. Schiavo*, *La diocesi di Parma*, Parma 1925-40, II, p. 167, col. 2, n. 1. An Italian translation from the papers of *A. Ronchini*, now owned by AS Parma, was published by *Dyei* (n. 21), pp. 205-208. *E. Guerra* published his own translation of the first paragraph of the text in, *Il piano regolatore della piazza di Parma nel 1760*, in: *Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi*, ser. 3^a, V, 1940, pp. 195-196. Given the rarity of Schiavo's book, it is useful to reprint the original text here: "Civitas ipsa [Parma] magnam plateam quadratam, cum pavimento lateritio circumquaque Palacii ornamentam habet, in uno quorum, Aquilonem versus, Magnificus dominus Gubernator dictae Urbis cum eius curia residet; in alio quoque, versus orientem, olim dominus Potestas cum officialibus suis hospitabatur. Nunc autem, proh dolor, quia civitas ipsa praetoria dignitate privata extitit, milites in eo stativa habent. In eodem quoque Palatio orientali, a supradicto tantummodo a via separato, Notarii parmenses et Causidici, artem seu officium eorumdem exercent, vocaturque palatium notariorum, exercitiumque illud ad bases seu ad radices huiusmodi palatii exercent. Desuper autem, temporibus istis martialibus, blada pro munitione militum conservatur. In alio palatio, versus meridiem prope Turrim, Praesidentes Reipublicae parmensis convocantur, residentque, alia autem palatia dictam plateam claudendia diversis civibus vendita sunt, in quibus diversae mercimoniae exercentur. "Apud huiusmodi orientale palatium sublimis et altissima Turris lateritia aedificata extitit, mirabili arte et structura rarum quippe in tota Aemilia provincia opus. Ad pedes cuius seu bases officia nonnulla ipsius civitatis pro comunitate huiusmodi exercentur, ... "[Omissis] ... "Platea ipsa est muris validis circumdata et clauditur per portas lamineis ferreis cursatas videlicet in via orientali, in via occidentali, via meridionali et via septentrionali, ita quod in fortilitium clauditur reduciturque". Dalla Torre's "quoque Palatio orientali, a [palatio Potestatis] tantummodo a via separata" must be Torello's Communal Palace. The latter stood across strada della Repubblica from the Residence of the Podestà but was connected to it by the *balatorium*. Beneath it worked the notaries, for whom it was named since the 15th century; cf. n. 23 above. The "alio palatio, versus meridiem prope Turrim" must be the New Palace of S. Vitale, and the "Praesidentes Reipublicae parmensis", the Anziani, by this time much come down in power.

RIASSUNTO

È oggetto di studio il pregevole gruppo di edifici, oggi o distrutti o manomessi da alterazioni e restauri, inalzato dal medievale comune parmense intorno alla Piazza Garibaldi di Parma. Consultando gli statuti comunali, le cronache dell'epoca e le raffigurazioni architettoniche e topografiche antiche, l'autore rintraccia il sito, la funzione, la data di costruzione, ed il carattere distributivo di ogni struttura già facente parte del gruppo. L'argomento trattato cronologicamente permette l'identificazione delle varie fasi evolutive dell'insieme, nonché dell'area della piazza (1223-28; 1282-94), e la possibilità di porle in relazione con l'evoluzione del comune stesso. Gli edifici presi in esame sono sette (viene scartato, in quanto di epoca post-comunale, l'edificio demolito detto Palazzo Bondani): il primo Palazzo Comunale (1221-23) con la grande scala esterna (1223), la Torre Comunale (prima del 1246) con l'avancorpo sulla piazza (prima del 1262), la Residenza del Podestà (prima del 1243) con il cavalcavia che la collega con il Palazzo Comunale (1246), il carcere dei criminali, detto "la Camusina" (1263); la Casa del Capitano del Popolo (ca. 1270), il Nuovo Palazzo Comunale di S. Vitale (1281-82), e il Nuovo Palazzo Comunale di S. Giorgio (1282-87). Il corredo di note riporta per esteso le basi documentarie e fornisce notizie di altri edifici e località di Parma medievale, come il Palazzo ora perduto dei Notai, la Pescheria antica ed il sistema viario intorno alla piazza.

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