UNITY AND MULTIPLICITY: CASTIGLIONE'S VIEWS ON ARCHITECTURE IN THE "CORTEGIANO"

by Olga Zorzi Pugliese

The discussion of painting, sculpture, music and even dance in Baldassare Castiglione's wide-ranging "Il libro del cortegiano" has attracted considerable scholarly attention and the debate on the relative merits of painting and sculpture near the end of Book I is a well-known *paragone* that forms part of the theoretical reflection on art in the Renaissance.[1] By contrast the references made in this monumental literary work[2] to another of the fine arts, namely architecture, have hardly been investigated at all, and for good reason: they do not represent any of the major topics examined by the characters and, scattered as they are throughout the text, do not appear to amount to a very full treatment of the subject. Yet, a careful reading of the definitive version of the "Cortegiano" published in 1528 reveals a good number of observations that suggest some fundamental convictions — and readings — on architecture by the author. Moreover, a collation of the printed text and the manuscripts of the earlier redactions brings to light interesting changes in the author's thoughts on "the art of building", as it was often called in his day (witness the title of Leon Battista Alberti's treatise on architecture "De re aedificatoria"). As he continued to compose and revise his masterpiece for a period of at least fifteen years from 1513 (or earlier) to 1528, making major alterations to its content and structure[3], Castiglione also modified some of his remarks on the work of architects.

In addition to reviewing Castiglione's general views on architecture presented in the "Cortegiano", considering also his description of the Montefeltro palace in Urbino and the analogies about architects and architecture that he uses to explain other matters, it is essential to discuss how the author added, revised, or even deleted outright some of his earlier comments; why he might have made the changes; and the relevance of his evolving views to the theory of architecture and Renaissance aesthetics in general. The findings illustrate, moreover, the sort of data that may be obtained from a digital search through the five "Cortegiano" manuscripts, these being the autograph fragments owned by the Castiglione descendants, known as manuscript A, the three Vatican manuscripts B, C and D, and the Laurenziana manuscript L used for the printed edition.[4] The digitized transcriptions of these manuscripts, prepared with the assistance of a group of graduate students over the course of some years, as part of a research project originally funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and soon to be published online, have been a most useful tool for various projects and publications.[5] They produce interesting results, as will be demonstrated, for the topic of architecture too.

Readers of "Il libro del cortegiano" are usually struck by a passage in the prefatory letter to Bishop Michel de Silva written just the year before publication. In it Castiglione compares his text to a painted portrait and, naming the leading artists of the day, refers to the basic elements of painting: design, colour and perspective — features that he modestly claims his work lacks. He writes as follows: "mandovi questo libro come un ritratto di pittura della corte d'Urbino, non di mano di Rafaello o Michel Angelo, ma di pittor ignobile e che solamente sappia tirare le linee principali, senza adornar la verità de vaghi colori o far parer per arte di prospettiva quello che non è" (I, 1: 6).[6] It is in the body of Book I (Chapters 49–53), though, that art becomes the focus of attention as the characters in the dialogue discuss the attributes required of the perfect courtier, the type of education he must receive, and the value of the different disciplines he is to master.

At this point, the chief interlocutor, Count Ludovico da Canossa, insists that a knowledge of art will equip the courtier to assess all areas of the fine arts including sculpture, architecture and the minor arts, or, in his words, to "saper giudicar la eccellenzia delle statue antiche e moderne, di vasi, d'edifici, di medaglie" (I, 52: 108) and so on, the key word in this statement being the noun *edifici* (buildings). Even if there is some disagreement with the argument that painting is superior to sculpture, the fundamental belief in the value of art remains undisputed. The first appearance of this comment is in manuscript B dated 1514–1515, a period when the author was in Rome, probably in the company of Raphael. In this passage, which remained constant throughout the various redactions of the text, the speaker goes on to stress that a background preparation in art is essential as well in appreciating the proportion of all human beings and animals. As he states, "fa conoscere ancor la bellezza dei corpi vivi, non solamente nella delicatura de' volti, ma nella proporzion di tutto il resto, così degli omini come di ogni altro animale" (I, 52: 108). Although no authorities are cited in connection with this utterance, the concept of architecture corresponding to the human body may well recall the theories of Leon Battista Alberti and Vitruvius (whose treatise "De architectura" was in fact listed in the inventory of the Castiglione family library).[7]

Another passing reference to architecture occurs in the "Cortegiano" in connection with the contribution made to culture in various periods of history. At the beginning of Book II of the 1528 edition (the vulgate), the narrator contrasts the present age to the preceding one, that is, the Middle Ages. Reflecting the views of Castiglione who, as a theorist, favoured the vernacular tongue of his day over older forms of Tuscan, he maintains the superiority of modern culture including architecture: "E che gli ingegni di que' tempi [i.e. the Middle Ages] fossero generalmente molto inferiori a que' che son ora, assai si po conoscere da tutto quello che d'essi si vede, così nelle lettere, come nelle pitture, statue, *edifici* ed ogni altra cosa" (II, 3: 122; emphasis mine). In the earlier formulations of this passage — which did not yet include a reference to buildings, however — he had expressed great pride in the achievements of his time and had scornfully condemned Gothic painting and sculpture and also mediaeval Latin poetry, asking in rhetorical fashion, "Chi non si ride delle pitture et statue di mano de quegli maestri? Qual più sciocca cosa può essere che gli versi latini che allhor si faceano?" (B 94v; C 76v–77r; D 102r[8]). Only in the last manuscript (L 69r), that is, by 1524, does the definitive version appear with the condemnation softened and the reference to architecture introduced.

Castiglione's belief in the fundamental importance of architecture is evident at another point in the text too. In Book II, in a statement first added after 1515 as an interlinear annotation to the original text (on B 127r), the character Federico Fregoso, who leads the conversation on the impact of appearances, contrasts ephemeral things that do not last ("non restano") to those deeds that are lasting ("alcune operazioni che, poi che son fatte, restano ancora") and among the latter he lists "l'edificare, scrivere ed altre simili" (II, 28: 161). Here Castiglione praises architecture for its durability, a characteristic it shares with written texts.

The significance of architecture for politicians in particular is another of Castiglione's basic tenets deriving perhaps from the classical source Vitruvius.[9] It is stressed even in what appear to be unusual contexts. At the beginning of the discussion about the human need to laugh and amuse oneself in the second half of the second book, the spokesman Bernardo Bibbiena alludes to ancient kings (Roman, Greek etc.) who, aiming to win over the people, not only provided games, but also, in order to gain esteem, erected grandiose public buildings ("magni teatri ed altri publici edifizi"; II, 45: 187). Of this phrase only the first part referring to "great theatres" is found in the earlier redaction (B 148v–149r), the words "and other public buildings" having been added as a very late marginal revision in the Laurenziana manuscript (on L 106v). Similarly, in the printed version of the third book about the lady of the palace, the defender of women acknowledges that some queens from ancient times had equalled their male counterparts in building "magni edifici, piramidi e citta" (III, 36: 307), Semiramis, the author of monuments and the gardens of Babylon,

being one of the examples cited. This statement was introduced in manuscript C (in the text found on fol. 256r) when Castiglione was working on the book dedicated to women. Although Giuliano de' Medici was to replace the original speaker, Camillo Paleotto, in the last redaction of the book represented by the Laurenziana manuscript, his utterance remained unchanged on L 174v. It is significant that in these cases Castiglione repeatedly describes architectural structures as being "magni", large and very imposing, indeed grandiose and monumental.

The first half of Book IV of the "Cortegiano", which deals in large part with political matters, contains similar high praise of architecture and its role in governing states. In a long comment on the deeds required of a good prince, Cesare Gonzaga declares that, among other actions, such as showing valour in arms and humanity towards one's subjects, princes must "far magni edifici" (IV, 36: 406) in order both to win honour during their lifetime and also to leave a lasting memory of themselves for posterity, as Vitruvius, it may be observed, had advocated in ancient times. The recent and contemporary examples signalled by Castiglione for special mention are Duke Federigo of Montefeltro, who had the noble palace of Urbino built[10], and pope Julius II who, at the time, was commissioning work "nel tempio di san Pietro, e quella strada che va da Palazzo al diporto di Belvedere e molti altri edifici". When mentioning the pope's projects in the draft of the text on A 99r, Castiglione had originally specified that Julius II had prepared the foundations for St. Peter's, perhaps acknowledging that the pope had been responsible for the early stage of the construction only, but the author then deleted the phrase "le basi" referring specifically to the foundations.[11] By changing "nel fare le basi" to "nel tempio", he chose to refer in more general terms to Julius II's work on the church. The revision may have been introduced with the purpose of maintaining narrative consistency, given that the conversations in "Il libro del cortegiano" purportedly took place in 1508, decades before other papal patrons and architects were to contribute to the Vatican project.[12] It is also possible, though, that Castiglione wished to eliminate the very idea of a group of patrons and a variety of designers working on the same structure, since it might have contradicted the ideals of unity and harmony propounded, as it will be shown, at other points in the text. This passage mentioning St. Peter's continues with praise of the construction activities and civilizing influences achieved in ancient times by the Romans and also by Alexander the Great, who excelled at having magnificent works erected. By juxtaposing these modern and ancient examples, but glossing over the Middle Ages, as might be expected, Castiglione here underscores the perennial value of architecture.

It should be recalled that the emphasis on the durability of architecture and on its commemorative function underlies the famous letter addressed to Pope Leo X on the ruins of Rome that Castiglione, while still engaged in writing his literary masterpiece, co-authored in 1519 together with his friend Raphael.[13] The technical discussions in it are clearly to be attributed to the artist, but the introductory observations on *tempus edax* that destroys civilizations, and the regret expressed over the destruction caused by barbarians, are sentiments that often emerge from Castiglione's pen (in the approximately contemporaneous sonnet "Superbi colli" too[14]). In order to combat time and keep the past alive, the collaborating authors of the letter exhort the pope to build "magni aedificii"[15] — a phrase that echoes in the "Cortegiano". In the literary masterwork, dominated as it is from beginning to end by a preoccupation with time, literature too is hailed as a vehicle for eternalizing persons and events. The character Pietro Bembo advances this argument in the debate over arms and letters in Book I, Chapters 43 and 45. The author, through his narrator, implements it himself, as he explains his personal goal in writing the "Cortegiano". In the proem to the third book, he states that his aim is to immortalize and preserve the memory of a splendid period in the life of the Urbino court: "Io mi tengo obligato, per quanto posso, di sforzarmi con ogni studio vendicar dalla mortal oblivione questa chiara memoria e scrivendo farla vivere negli animi dei posteri" (III, 1: 260). It is not surprising, therefore, that literature and architecture are often paired together and singled out for praise on the basis of their essential properties.

But Castiglione's admiration for monumental structures did not mean that he approved of all architectural styles. In one particular passage in the fourth book, inspired perhaps by Alberti[16], the interlocutor Ottaviano Fregoso declares that architecture may be seen as an exaggerated form of luxury if the buildings are too ornate. The ideal prince, it is declared, must govern in such a way as to render the city unified, harmonious, and moderately wealthy, like a private home ("far che la città fosse tutta unita e concorde in amicizia, come una casa privata; populosa, non povera, quieta, piena di boni artìfici") and, accordingly, rulers must curb excesses and limit the overly sumptuous houses of private citizens ("temperar tutte le superfluità" and "ponga meta [= limite] ai troppo suntuosi edifici dei privati"; IV, 41: 413). While the text of the earlier draft had recommended truncating all harmful superfluities ("tronchare tutte le superfluitati dannose", A 102r), the qualifier "dannose" was omitted on C 223r, and the final version in the Laurenziana manuscript (on L 239v), which is repeated in the printed text, suggested tempering the excesses only. But since the phrase about setting limits on overly luxurious private buildings instead remained unchanged, one deduces that even for architecture, the discriminating criteria were (as for Alberti, I, 9) moderation, decorum, and what Castiglione termed *sprezzatura*.

One example of architecture that the author certainly approved of was the Montefeltro palace of Urbino (fig. 1). It was here that he attended court during the happiest years of his life and, indeed, it was a durable, stately, and not overly ornate building. In the very last chapter of the "Cortegiano", when the interlocutors suddenly realize that they have conversed right through the night, there are references to the windows of the palace that are now opened, allowing the light of the dawn to stream in — an important detail[17] that highlights one of the finer features of the palace admired for its elegant airiness.

The palace provides the setting for the courtly conversations recorded in Castiglione's work. The lengthy and somewhat stylized description of it in the introduction has been analyzed in depth by modern scholars. Beginning from afar the narrator points out that Urbino is circled by mountains and located — strategically, it would seem — at the virtual centre of the Italian peninsula ("quasi al mezzo della Italia"; I, 2: 17), its name 'Urbino' suggesting, as Wayne Rebhorn has observed, that this "piccola città d'Urbino" (*ibidem*) is a small *urbs*, or diminutive version of Rome.[18] The description of the fertile countryside outside the city indicates, moreover, that Urbino is a microcosm possessing all the necessities for human life ("abundantissima d'ogni cosa che fa mestieri per lo vivere umano"[19]; *ibidem*), including excellent rule by the Montefeltros. Castiglione clearly connects architecture to politics, since the narrator first speaks of the palace at the end of a list of military conquests by Duke Federigo who "tra l'altre cose sue lodevoli, nell'aspero sito d'Urbino edificò un palazzo, secondo la opinione di molti, il più bello che in tutta Italia si ritrovi; e d'ogni oportuna cosa sì ben lo fornì, che non un palazzo, ma una città in forma de palazzo esser pareva" (I, 2: 18). In addition to presenting this work of architecture as a sign of the ability of the prince, and therefore worthy of praise, Castiglione, in describing what he calls the most beautiful palace in Italy, also states that it appears to be a city in itself, probably adopting the classical analogies used by Alberti that stressed correspondences between the palace and the city.[20] Antonio Stäuble has observed how Castiglione follows Quintilian's criteria for the description of cities so as to include not just their locations and the names of their great citizens, but also the public monuments erected in them[21], the main structure dominating Urbino's skyline being, of course, the palace.

In a cinematic-like manner, the reader/viewer is brought closer and indeed inside the superb palace, whose interior is described in Castiglione's text with ringing rhetorical superlatives. The lavish furnishings listed by the narrator include not only the customary precious objects (silver vases and rich golden and silk tapestries), but also more intellectual articles, namely, ancient statues of marble and bronze, extraordinary paintings, all sorts of musical instruments, and finally, the library. As the narrator reports, "con grandissima spesa [Federigo] adunò un gran numero di

1 Urbino, Palazzo Ducale, façade.

eccellentissimi e rarissimi libri greci, latini ed ebraici, quali tutti ornò d'oro e d'argento, estimando che questa fusse la suprema eccellenzia del suo magno palazzo" (I, 2: 19). That the library's richly bound volumes should represent the climax of the enumeration is quite significant, since books, as indicated elsewhere in the text, share a close affinity with architecture, fulfilling as they do the function of immortalizing human deeds and therefore overcoming time.

The richly elaborated description contains another noteworthy aspect too: the palace, it is pointed out, was built on rough uneven terrain ("aspero sito"; I, 2: 18) — an observation that may illustrate the idea that art dominates nature in architecture as it does in the overall education of the

courtier, whereby intrinsic potential, though indispensable, must be activated through study and refinement.[22] The palace is cited, moreover, in a humorous context (in Book II, Chapter 51) in the joke about the ingenuous abbot who, seeing that the builders were perplexed as to where to put the earth being excavated for the foundations, had innocently suggested that the duke simply dig another much bigger pit to hold all the excess material. As incidental as this *facetia* may seem, it serves to underscore the impressive size of the structure that Federigo had commissioned, just as the witticism about the haughty prelate (II, 70), often seen lowering his head when passing under the architrave of the doorway of St. Peter's, similarly alludes to its huge dimensions.[23]

Although the humorous anecdote told in relation to the building of the Montefeltro palace did not undergo changes in the various phases of composition of "Il libro del cortegiano", the grandeur of the architectural gem in Urbino representing a constant in the eyes of the author, a few details in its main description were altered by Castiglione as he revised his text. Comparing the various versions of the text, one notes that only in the last manuscript (on L 3r) and in the printed text was the palace compared to a city. At first (on B 14r and C 7v) it had instead been likened to a kingdom ("un regno") — perhaps when, as he began writing, Castiglione still had in mind as a model for his work Boccaccio's "Decameron" with its narrating characters who act as king or queen during each of the ten days of their retreat.[24] Subsequently in the second major redaction (dated 1520–1521), on D 4r, the author had deleted the word for kingdom and, with an interlinear correction, inserted an analogy with *ten* palaces. It appears thus in the manuscript: "d'ogni opportuna cosa sì ben lo fornì, che non ad un palagio, ma [*del.* ad un regno] a dieci sarebbe stato bastante", given the abundant furnishings gracing the Urbino residence. But this too gave way to the comparison with a city, perhaps as Castiglione came to be more influenced by the writings of theorists and philosophers like Alberti and Plato.

Yet another revision, crucial to the present discussion about Castiglione's views about architecture, is of special interest. In the first extant formulation of the description of the locale, after declaring Urbino's to be the most beautiful palace in Italy, the author had written, and then crossed out in the copyist's text, the statement that the duke had engaged all the most eminent architects of the time to work on it ("nel quale [palazzo] [il duca] operò [= adoperò, impiegò] tutti gli excellenti architetti che a' suoi tempi si ritrovorno"; B 14r). Although the architects involved are not named, several had in fact been commissioned in succession over a period of thirty years to transform what was originally a fortress into an elegant palace: first Pasquino da Montepulciano and Maso di Bartolomeo Fiorentino and later the Dalmatian Luciano Laurana, who worked on it from 1468 to 1472, the palace eventually being completed by the Sienese Francesco di Giorgio Martini, with additions much later, after Castiglione's time, by Girolamo Genga. As a result, the structure came to have a composite eclectic style, described by Janez Höfler as follows: "[…] il palazzo urbinate mostra volti diversi. Non è una fortezza, ma nemmeno un palazzo urbano […], bensì un complesso architettonico in forma di palazzo che incorpora entrambe le concezioni."[25] Significantly, though, Castiglione eliminated the reference to the various hands that had contributed to the design and the fact is not mentioned anywhere in the definitive version of the text.

In order to understand the reason for this change (and perhaps for the other modification concerning the multiple designers of St. Peter's too) it is necessary to examine some of the further references made in the "Libro del cortegiano" to architecture, architects, and buildings. These are found in the analogies devised by the author, at different stages during the composition of the work, in order to explain a number of concepts pertaining to other subjects.

Several of the analogies, some of which were to be deleted while others remained intact, relate directly to ethical questions. In an earlier redaction of a passage in the fourth book dealing with the virtues that can be acquired by practising them ("prima operiamo le virtù […], poi siam virtuosi"; IV, 12: 378), that is, first we act virtuously and then we become virtuous, Castiglione had cited the proverb "fabricando se fanno li fabri" (A 101r), literally, builders[26] are formed as

they build, or one learns by doing, or practice makes perfect; but subsequently (on C 191v) he cancelled it. Another statement in the reworked passage on C 191v is preserved but with modifications. It has to do with the comparison between princes who are not all virtuous, just as not all builders are good architects, and urges caution in the choice of models to imitate.[27] In the vulgate it reads as follows: "quegli che edificano non sono tutti boni architetti" (IV, 39: 410). What is noteworthy, among other things, in the evolution of this passage on morality and politics is the fact that the more cerebral designation *architetti* was introduced late in the Laurenziana manuscript (on L 238r[28]) as a substitution for the original term *edificatori*, since the passage on C 191v had read instead: "quelli che edificano già non divengono buoni edificatori ma solamente quelli che edificano bene". Indeed in many of these instances, it may be deduced that, in spite of the fact that Castiglione was certainly one of those thinkers who believed in a lofty intellectual status for artists, the double meaning of *edificare* (to build and to edify, according to its literal and figurative senses — in Latin too), often made this lexical choice irresistibly appealing to him.

The term *architetti* appears in another simile, instead, right from its first formulation in manuscript C (on folio 203r) through to the vulgate. Remaining unchanged in substance too, it concerns a tool said to be used by architects, that is, the square (called *squadra* in modern Italian). Applying it to the upright prince as an exemplary figure of moral rectitude, Ottaviano declares that the prince must be good himself and make others good too, just as the square is at a right angle and helps to make other things straight too. The Italian text reads as follows: "[…] deve il principe non solamente esser bono, ma ancora far boni gli altri; come quel squadro che adoprano gli architetti, che non solamente in sé è dritto e giusto, ma ancor indrizza e fa giuste tutte le cose a che viene accostato" (IV, 23: 390–391).

In a draft for a passage from the last book of the "Cortegiano" devoted to the discussion of virtues and whether they are innate or can be acquired, one of the skeptics, Gasparo Pallavicino, had declared that, while all persons think they have the requisite virtues to be a just ruler, in every field it is necessary to consult experts, as for example, when constructing a building, advice is sought from architects and no one else ("quando se consulta di fare un edificio non si adimanda consilio o parere ad altri che alli architecti"; A 88r). But this reference to architects, who are to be consulted on building matters, was eliminated as the author re-elaborated the passage (on C 189r) and it does not appear in any of the later redactions or in the vulgate (Book IV, Chapter 11).

The last two analogies based on architectural matters deal instead with the question of unity and lead back to the conundrum of the deleted reference to the multiple architects of the Urbino palace and of St. Peter's too. In one instance where the ideal form of government is being debated — and this part of the fourth book was composed quite late, it should be noted —, the first formulation of the argument in favour of monarchy is based on correspondences: there should be a single ruler, it is argued, just as a single God governs the whole world, a single organ controls the human body, and a single architect oversees a building: "le [*del.* altre] cose [*del.* humane] che se fanno con arte humana, come li exerciti [*del.* ne le guerre], li gran navigii, [*del.* li architetti ne] li edificii, et altre [*del.* tali] simili, ne le quali il tutto se referisse ad uno solo ad arbitrio del quale ogni cosa si governa, vedete nel corpo nostro tutte le membra che se affatichano et adopransi, piedi e mani, li nervi e l'ossa, tutti però alla obedientia di quella voluntà che ellecta è da l'iudicio, […] el qual ha la sede sua nel capo" (A 91r). And although the word *architetti* was cancelled in the draft itself, the comparison with buildings survived, whereby in the printed text one person is said to be in charge in all contexts: "vedete che in ciò che si fa con arte umana, come gli eserciti, i gran navigi, gli edifici ed altre cose simili, il tutto si riferisce ad un solo, che a modo suo governa" (IV, 19: 386).[29] The stress is on a single builder, so that, while on other subjects Castiglione boasted of the varied origins of the noble courtiers at Urbino, and advocated a courtly vernacular language that borrowed the best from multiple sources, he may indeed have felt obliged to remove the somewhat contradictory earlier references to a series of designers involved in the Montefeltro

palace of Urbino and also in the building of the papal seat in Rome. An explanation for this shift from multiplicity to unity may lie in the notions of architectural unity and harmony presented near the conclusion of the text.

Toward the end of the fourth and last book, at the point where the Neoplatonic theory of love is expounded by Bembo, there is an allusion to God who built a well-ordered complex in the great "machina" of the universe (IV, 58: 435). A similar harmony of parts, it is declared, is found in man the microcosm. In both cases each part fulfills a particular useful function and also represents beauty. So too, the analogy goes, in architectural structures the columns, architraves, and other components, like the middle drainage ridge ("colmo di mezzo"; IV, 58: 436), have specific practical roles. Yet they constitute the beauty of the edifices as well. In this, the most technical discussion pertaining to architecture found in the text[30], formulated in the later stages of composition and first found on D 338v–339r, the concept of beauty as consisting of the harmony of the parts stands out. Convinced of this aesthetic principle, likely deriving from Alberti's treatise on architecture (I, 9; VI, 2 and *passim*) and its classical sources (including Vitruvius, VI, 2 and *passim*, for example), Castiglione may have wished to modify earlier statements about the multiple architects involved in the two great building projects he highlights, for fear that pointing to the composite nature of the structures might have suggested heterogeneity and thus contradicted his theories of harmony and beauty. The tension between unity on the one hand, and multiplicity on the other, is, of course, evident in the overall structure of Castiglione's multifaceted literary masterpiece, constructed as it was through the aggregation of various components on different topics. It was a problem of which the author must have been very conscious and that determined his definitive comments on architecture.

On the basis of this examination of both the statements found in the printed text and also the revisions they underwent in earlier redactions, as documented in the manuscripts, it may be concluded that Castiglione's neglected views on the theory and practice of architecture in the "Libro del cortegiano" are much more important than they may appear to be on the surface. Linked as they are to moral questions, the ideal of good government, and also the belief in the divine order and beauty of the world and its human inhabitants, they demonstrate emblematically, and in a typically unobtrusive fashion — with unfailing *sprezzatura* —, how Castiglione assimilated important aspects of Renaissance thought (including philosophy and aesthetics) always adapting them discreetly in a personal manner in the masterful literary edifice that he was constructing.

NOTES

[1] The following are some sample studies: *Paolo Carpeggiani*, B. Castiglione: l'arte e gli artisti, in: Baldassarre Castiglione, V centenario della nascita 1478–1978, Viadana 1978, pp. 43–66; *John White*, Paragone: Aspects of the relationship between sculpture and painting, in: Art, science, and history in the Renaissance, ed. *Charles S. Singleton*, Baltimore 1967, pp. 43–108; *Bianca Becherini*, Il "Cortegiano" e la musica, in: La bibliofilia, XLV, 1943, pp. 84–96; *James Haar*, The courtier as musician: Castiglione's view of the science and art of music, in: Castiglione: The ideal and the real in Renaissance culture, ed. *Robert W. Hanning/David Rosand*, New Haven/London 1983, pp. 165–189; and *Stephen Kolsky*, Graceful performances: The social and political context of music and dance in the "Cortegiano", in: Italian studies, LIII, 1998, pp. 1–19.

[2] *Carlo Cordié*, Introduzione, in: Opere di Baldassarre Castiglione […], Milan/Naples 1960, p. X, described the work as "un affresco grandioso della vita italiana del Rinascimento".

[3] On the development of the text, see *Ghino Ghinassi*, Fasi dell'elaborazione del "Cortegiano", in: Studi di filologia italiana, XXVI, 1967, pp. 155–196; *Amedeo Quondam*, "Questo povero Cortegiano": Castiglione, il libro, la storia, Rome 2000; and *Olga Zorzi Pugliese*, Castiglione's "The Book of the Courtier" ("Il libro del cortegiano"): A classic in the making, Naples 2008.

[4] The manuscripts are usually cited as A (Mantua, AS, Castiglioni family archive, ms. II 3 b), B (BAVR, Vat. lat. 8204), C (BAVR, Vat. lat. 8205), D (BAVR, Vat. lat. 8206) and L (BMLF, ms. Ashburnham 409). Manuscript A is usually dated 1508–1513 but some fragments are later; B dates from 1514–1515, C from 1515–1516 with revisions in 1518–1520, and D from 1520–1521 (manuscript D was published as: La seconda redazione del "Cortegiano", ed. *Ghino Ghinassi*, Florence 1968). L bears the scribe's date, 1524, and contains later revisions. Thanks go to the Vaticana and Laurenziana librarians for their assistance, and to the Counts Baldassarre and Ludovico Castiglioni for permission granted to view the autograph fragments in person. Quotations from the definitive printed text are taken from *Il libro del cortegiano*, introduction by *Amedeo Quondam*, notes by *Nicola Longo*, Milan 1981. The references to the book, chapter, and page numbers are given in parenthesis in the body of the article.

[5] On the basis of this digital tool, the evolution of the themes of humour, women, and national cultures, and also the development of the dialogue form of the text are traced in *Pugliese* (n. 3). Subsequently the following have also appeared: *Olga Zorzi Pugliese*, Il riferimento agli Ungari e al re Mattia Corvino nella lunga composizione del "Libro del cortegiano", in: Nuova Corvina, XX, 2008, pp. 44–53; Il Bembo 'minore', Sannazaro e altri personaggi napoletani nel "Libro del cortegiano": dagli abbozzi autografi all'edizione a stampa, in: Iacopo Sannazaro. La cultura napoletana nell'Europa del Rinascimento, ed. *Pasquale Sabbatino*, Florence 2009, pp. 273–285.

[6] Castiglione's use of corresponding literary technique is discussed in *Olga Zorzi Pugliese*, La scrittura dell'arte nel "Libro del cortegiano", in: Letteratura & arte: rivista annuale, III, 2005, pp. 23–33, esp. p. 25.

[7] The Vitruvius copy was probably the Rome 1486–1487 edition; cf. *Guido Rebecchini*, The book collection and other possessions of Baldassarre Castiglione, in: Warburg Journal, LXI, 1998, p. 39. Although Alberti's treatise does not appear in the inventories, its influence on Castiglione is evident.

[8] See also the printed version of D: La seconda redazione del "Cortegiano" (n. 4), p. 83.

[9] Vitruvius dedicates his treatise "De architectura" to Caesar and in the preface refers to the glory achieved by rulers through their architectural endeavours.

[10] For a detailed analysis of the history and construction of the palace begun actually in the late fourteenth century see *Janez Höfler*, Il palazzo ducale di Urbino sotto i Montefeltro (1376–1508): nuove ricerche sulla storia dell'edificio e delle sue decorazioni interne, transl. *Franco Bevilacqua*, Urbino ²2010.

[11] According to *Salvatore Battaglia*, Grande dizionario della lingua italiana, II, Turin 1962, p. 84, the term *basi*, in the plural as in this case, can mean foundations. The example cited in the dictionary is taken from the printed text of the "Cortegiano", IV, 7; it refers to the colossi tottering on uneven foundations that, like evil princes, eventually fall.

[12] On the building of St. Peter's see *Sandro Benedetti*, The fabric of St Peter's, in: The Basilica of St Peter in the Vatican, I: Essays, Modena 2000, pp. 53–127; *Christof Thoenes*, Renaissance St. Peter's, in: St. Peter's in the Vatican, ed. *William Tronzo*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 64–92; *Francesco Divenuto,* Architetture del Rinascimento, Naples 2006, pp. 142–155.

[13] A critical edition of the letter is included in *Francesco P. Di Teodoro*, Raffaello, Baldassar Castiglione e la 'Lettera a Leone X', Bologna 2003. For the dating see pp. 44–57.

[14] *Baldesar Castiglione*, Il cortegiano con una scelta delle opere minori, ed. *Bruno Maier*, Turin 1955, pp. 589–590.

[15] *Di Teodoro* (n. 13), p. 66.

[16] *Leon Battista Alberti*, *De re aedificatoria*, VII, 13, and IX, 1, is critical of buildings that are too lavish.

[17] The detail is included in the passage on C 373v and in the subsequent redactions.

[18] *Wayne A. Rebhorn*, Courtly performances: Masking and festivity in Castiglione's "Book of the Courtier", Detroit 1978, p. 89.

[19] A fertile location is a necessary criterion in the selection of the site for a building according to *Alberti* (n. 16), IV, 2.

[20] *Ibidem*, I, 9. Cf. *Plato*, Laws, I, 628 d, and VI, 779 b, where the correspondences between the human body and the city, and the palace and the city, respectively, are mentioned.

[21] *Quintilian, Institutio oratoria*, III, vii, 26–28.

[22] In his "Theologia platonica" (III, 1 and XIII, 3, for example), Ficino, perhaps following Augustine, had contrasted animals who instinctively possess a single skill, acquired by imitation, to human beings who are versatile and utilize their many skills in a creative manner. See *Meredith J. Gill*, Augustine in the Italian Renaissance: Art and philosophy from Petrarch to Michelangelo, Cambridge 2005, p. 135. I am grateful to Dr. Steven Stowell of the University of Toronto for the reference.

[23] These two facetiae are first found on B 154v–155r and A 23r, respectively.

[24] A discussion of related changes to the original Boccaccian conception of his work is found in *Pugliese* (n. 3), pp. 89–91.

[25] *Höfler* (n. 10), p. 296.

[26] *Battaglia* (n. 11), V, Turin 1968, p. 546, gives "costruttore" (builder) as a definition for *fabbro* in a generic sense.
[27] On the question of imitation in Renaissance art and literature, see *Pasquale Sabbatino*, La bellezza di Elena: l'imitazione nella letteratura e nelle arti figurative del Rinascimento, Florence 1997.
[28] The phrase containing the analogy having been omitted by the scribe, Castiglione inserted it in a marginal gloss with the word change on L 238r.
[29] It is interesting to note the other changes too: the details about the feet and other parts of the body were eventually omitted in the text on C 199r, and the reference to the head ("capo") that controls the body was replaced by the heart ("core").
[30] The passage might have been inspired by Vitruvius, who (in "De architectura", IV, 2) describes the architectural elements pertaining to drainage.

RIASSUNTO

"Il libro del cortegiano", definito un "grandioso affresco" della cultura rinascimentale (Cordié), tratta anche argomenti attinenti all'arte figurativa. Mentre le discussioni proposte nel testo dialogato a proposito della pittura e della scultura (con un paragone fra queste ultime) e anche le osservazioni attinenti alla musica e alla danza sono state ampiamente studiate, il tema dell'architettura, trattato dal Castiglione nel suo capolavoro letterario in modo meno diretto e ovvio, è stato finora trascurato dalla critica. Una lettura attenta del testo e una collazione di questo con i cinque manoscritti — operazioni adiuvate da un'interrogazione digitale dei testi — rivelano dei cambiamenti fatti dall'autore durante la lunga gestazione dell'opera, iniziata nel 1513 e conclusa solo nel 1528 con la stampa della prima edizione. Tali revisioni riguardano i commenti sull'architettura, la descrizione della scena urbinate e l'uso di metafore su architettura e architetti, più volte ricorrenti nel testo. Fra i risultati della ricerca spicca in modo particolare la cancellazione di riferimenti ai molteplici architetti sia del palazzo di Urbino che di San Pietro a Roma. Le affermazioni di carattere estetico che appaiono verso la fine del "Cortegiano" indicano una tensione fra unità e molteplicità — questione di grande interesse per il Castiglione, che stava costruendo il suo capolavoro letterario tramite l'aggregazione di unità singole. Questa tensione si risolve con il predominio del concetto albertiano e vitruviano della bellezza come armonia delle parti — concetto che deve aver indotto l'autore ad apportare le suddette modifiche alla sua opera.

Photo credit:
Scala/Art Resource, New York: fig. 1.