

# FILARETE'S BODY:

Unpacking the Pregnancy analogy in the Renaissance Patronage  
Context

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### ABSTRACT

Fifteenth century Florentine architect Il Filarete authored the first illustrated book on architecture, with a distinct pedagogical agenda to teach his patron to build nobly. Written as a dialogical narrative, taking place between a patron and his architect, the treatise's pedagogical tone unfolds as a form of storytelling about the design and construction of an ideal city. Despite its miscellaneous aspects embedded in the book, which differentiates it significantly from the architectural treatises belonging to the Western canon, the author stresses his role as an architect, and proposes an unprecedented analogy to define the role of the architect (his profession) in regards to building practice [*edificare*]. Extending the Vitruvian body *topos* under the influence of Civic Humanism to an organic anthropomorphism, Filarete bases the generation of a building on similar grounds to human generation, through which he defines gender-specific roles to the patron (male agent) as the father of the building, and the architect (female agent) as its mother. This generally known analogy, although it has been frequently mentioned, was not taken as a clue that can pertain to the essence of architectural production in the Renaissance patronage context. In this dissertation, I propose to contextualize his unprecedented proposal within the larger framework of the production agency of building in the early modern period, and how architecture as a profession is defined within that.

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### GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, I have offered an in-depth analysis of Filarete's "generation" analogy for building production in the quattrocento Renaissance context. Filarete is a fifteenth century Florentine sculptor turned architect, who owns his fame to the extraordinary book he wrote – *Libro Architetonico* – in which he could demonstrate the wonders he can build with the aid of a devoted patron. Targeting at the ideology of the patron's fame to be established through the noble edifices he builds, Filarete signifies the temporal nature of buildings which ends in ruins –as the Roman antiquity is perceived in the Renaissance –. Relying on ancient "body" metaphor for architecture, Filarete offers an analogy to his patron to perceive buildings similar to "a living man," that eventually dies. Accordingly, the generation of buildings is introduced as similar to generation of man. Based on a sexual metaphor Filarete coins here, the patron takes the role of the father, to generate "his" building together with an architect – mother–. Similar to a pregnant mother, the architect develops the design in his realm to deliver in the form of a scaled artifact (whether a drawing or a wooden model). Filarete suggests the architect – mother– to be the wet-nurse, signifying the ongoing process of design during construction and the architect's role to ensure its integrity to the building. This unprecedented analogy, although was never studied in depth, carries many connotations when examined in Renaissance patronage context and reflects significant nuances regarding the production of such noble building. The patron's influence in design is recognized with the father role, which has a long and prominent history in comparison to the emerging individuality of the Renaissance artist. In this well-established scheme, Filarete relies on the creative faculties of an artist, as associated with female attributes since the antiquity, yet extends it

further to motherhood to define “architect” as a professional title. This unique interpretation parallels the emerging notions of family during the Renaissance, as perpetuated by Civic Humanism. A comparative study of the family treatises of the fifteenth century shows that the emphasis on the mother in the growth of a child parallels Filarete’s intentions to convince his patron to rely on his architect for the good of his building. In the overall pedagogical tone of the *Libro*, Filarete is educating the patron to build nobly, which is offered as a stylistic choice to build in the ancient manner, and introduces the architect as an equal agent of the design process, distinguishing its role from a mason.

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Nine-year long journey of this dissertation was quite like a nine-turn (seven ring) Cretan labyrinth... The straight path convolutes with opposite turns, and walking in the same direction (with no turning back) allows you to reach to its core, however without ever knowing your orientation.

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## INTRODUCTION

### i) Conception

*In those days, the world of mirrors and the world of men were not, as they say now, separate and unconnected. They were, moreover, quite different from one another; neither the creatures nor the colors nor the shapes of the two worlds were the same. The two kingdoms—the specular and the human—lived in peace, and one could pass back and forth through mirrors. One night, however, the people of the mirror invaded this world. Their strength was great but after many bloody battles, the magic of the Yellow Emperor prevailed. The Emperor pushed back the invaders, imprisoned them within the mirrors, and punished them by making them repeat, as though in a kind of dream, all the actions of their human victors. He stripped them of their strength and their own shape and reduced them to mere servile reflections.<sup>1</sup>*

The journey of this dissertation started with a deep enthusiasm on the role of representation in architecture, wondering if there was any dimension in the practice that belongs to that past era, as Borges describes, before the Yellow Emperor punished the people of mirror to repeat the actions of their human victors. In today's profession where, technological efforts are being poured into creating realistic renderings, or virtual reality platforms being utilized for immersing the clients or future users into the space where they expect the future building to 'mirror' the image they are presented, what is the role of representation in architectural practice was the greater question I embarked upon to conduct my research. The gap that mitigates the representation and the built work, which traditionally defined architecture as a profession with Vitruvius, had new interpretations under the influence of Renaissance humanism for which the revival of the ancient authority brought forward new means to revive the profession as well.

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<sup>1</sup> Jorge Luis Borges, *The Book of Imaginary Beings* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 67.

During the early modern period, as treatises on architecture had redefined and codified the status of the architect in relation to building practice, particularly for defining the profession of the architect as a distinct practice from a *capo-maestro* (building master), the subject of drawing and model making had emerged as an integral discussion topic. The particular relation of these material artifacts to the building itself has actually been interpreted in quite different ways, rather than a 'translation', as one may recall Robin Evans' articulation of the distance particular to architectural practice.<sup>2</sup> While our modern attitude sees this distance as an obstacle in controlling the outcome of building practice, and all of our technological efforts aim to overpass this distance, fifteenth-century Florentine architect Il Filarete had proposed a theory that encompassed this distance as a part of the nature of the practice.

In his narrative composition of *Libro Architetonico*, Filarete proposes to read buildings, not through the body *topos*, but by interpreting Vitruvian *body* under the influence of Renaissance Humanism, as "a living man" [*uno uomo vivo*].<sup>3</sup> This, I will call 'organic anthropomorphism' throughout this dissertation, following Finoli and Grassi's terminology in their introduction to the 1972 (first) printed edition of the manuscript. Through this formulation, Filarete actually presents a cohesive framework to understand architecture as a discourse integrating both *disegno* (with its double meaning of both design and drawing/model making) and building. In Filarete's interpretation the 'body' metaphor not only signifies physical attributions of a building, but also responds to a temporal dimension that corresponds to a life-span of a man, with explicit references to the material nature of the built product. Within this, his theory of architectural representation constitutes the first stage of building practice, which implicitly suggests to be studied in anthropomorphic terms as well. Demonstrated based on a pregnancy metaphor, Filarete defines three distinct moments for the design practice; the invisible part, which belongs to the womb, to be performed in mental and physical images, the visible part, which is can be understood in this context as a 'baby,' delivered in the form of a scaled relief drawing, or wooden model, and the growth of the baby with the milk of the wet-nurse (which Filarete specifies is the mother—architect—taking that role in the ideal scenario of the completion of the building). Accordingly, from conception to construction, Filarete proposes a trajectory of 'growth' where each step is still open to imagination in the ongoing process of design even during construction.

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<sup>2</sup> Robin Evans, "Translations from Drawing to Buildings," *AA Files* 12 (Summer 1986): 3-18.

<sup>3</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 6r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 29, *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 12.

Marsilio Ficino (1433-99), a Florentine neoplatonist philosopher, completed writing *Platonic Theology on the Immortality of the Soul* in the 1470s. Near the end of the book, shortly after identifying the creative God as an architect, describes this craftsman of things as containing “within Himself a fetus that in terms of life is equal [to Him], but produce later an offspring outside Himself, so that eternity might be no less wanting ... .”<sup>4</sup> His source for this thought may have been Plato’s *Symposium*, which he translated into Latin and on which he wrote a commentary, wherein Diotima explains to Socrates that “All of us are pregnant, both in body and in soul, and, as soon as we come to a certain age, we naturally desire to give birth.”<sup>5</sup> Perhaps it is not a coincidence that Socrates claimed his mother was a midwife and his father an architect. Italian architect Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548-1616), who names Filarete’s treatise in his introduction among others as a precedent in the subject, would define the drawings and models as “inanimate bodies” that ask to be given soul and speech through the voice of the Architect.<sup>6</sup> Filarete would claim the model, or the drawing, as the baby building, needs the mother’s nurturing to grow into its built form. The Renaissance interpretation of the wet-nurse, reminiscent of ancient traditions, would consider a direct effect of the wet-nurse’s character affecting the baby’s soul, which would be transmitted through the milk, and Filarete’s insistence for the mother to be wet-nurse, would signify the architect’s continuous role until the completion of the building. Such interpretations deliberately target the gap between the designed artifact and its built form by introducing ‘anima’ as the way to facilitate the process. My interest in Filarete’s treatise begins with the architect’s ambitious attempt to explain the design process as organic anthropomorphism, a three–part schema of conception, gestation, and nursing, where all three parts are integrated, ambiguously, into the concept of soul.

While my intention was to uncover Filarete’s motive behind proposing his scheme in order to argue for alternative readings that were inherent in the Renaissance to address the role of the architect in the process of building, my research took a different direction. At some point, I found myself asking this extraordinary book to ‘mirror’ my expectations of it, and yet, it was more appropriate to address what was actually happening in the mirror itself. There was an author, writing in a particular time, in a particular context, proposing a unique theory of organic

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<sup>4</sup> Marsilio Ficino, *Platonic Theology* (2010) XVIII, I; vol. 6, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Plato, *Symposium* 206C.

<sup>6</sup> Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L’Idea Della Architettura Universale* (Venice, 1615), I. XV. 52.

anthropomorphism to define his profession, and within which he could signal his role as the 'mother' of the building. Why?

Filarete's unique interpretation on anthropomorphism, which led to his proposal for the analogy of human generation for the generation of a building, has been the most frequently mentioned aspect of Filarete's legacy, if we can talk about a legacy even for his manuscript which had been studied through constant negotiation of its marginalized position. In order to explain 'generation' of a building, Filarete clearly identified a father position or role, which inarguably was assigned to the patron, and a 'mother' position to be defined as the architect, through which the creation of a building could be explained. Although the analogy has attracted much attention in architecture history / theory scholarship,<sup>7</sup> the gender-based distinctions, the extent of its resonance in the Early Modern context and particularly the author's intention with proposing an analogy on this front, has not been fully studied. The analogy is actually very complex, and the curiosity it awakens is understandable given Filarete's weak or missing justification for it. Due to its complexity, it is very hard to find an angle to approach it. Its naivety and its cohesiveness actually make Filarete's argument no more than an unusual analogy. However, this necessarily still leaves this most frequently mentioned quote a mere anecdote, with not enough ambition to understand its significance.<sup>8</sup>

The analogy of course received much attention and explanation in recent Filarete scholarship. Any research that tackles Filarete's 'architect' side and reads it through the *Libro* proposes an elaborate analysis of the author's intentions. Particularly Mia Genoni Renioso's and Jonathan Powers' dissertations<sup>9</sup> on Filarete had rightly highlighted the influence of the patron for the excellence of the architectural practice, and Filarete's emphasis on this dimension with the pedagogical agenda pursued in the *Libro*, reinforced his proposed analogy. Especially Genoni's extensive research across the surviving manuscripts, carefully highlighting the

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<sup>7</sup> From a gender-based perspective, the most intriguing article comparing Filarete's anthropomorphism in conjunction with the canon with the body-building metaphor was authored by Diana Agrest. Agrest well addresses Filarete's anthropomorphism through first excluding woman "by making architecture an image of man as an analogue to man's body... to the point of turning it into a living organism." Then, she proposes Filarete's take on the feminized figure of the architect as "architectural transsexuality" for which, she claims: "her repression is essential" in order for the architect to possess the "female attributes necessary for conception and reproduction." Diana Agrest, "Architecture from without: Body, Logic, and Sex." *Assemblage*, no. 7 (1988): 29–41.

<sup>8</sup> For example, Mark Jarzombek, "Architecture and Sexuality in the Words of Filarete," *Thresholds*, 37 (2010): 6–7.

<sup>9</sup> Mia Genoni Reinos, "Filarete in Word and Image: Persuasion and Invention in the 'Architettonico Libro'" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2007); Jonathan Powers, "The Virtù of Architectural Invention: Rhetoric, *Ingegno* and Imagination in Filarete's *Libro Architettonico*" (PhD diss., McGill University, Montreal, 2014).

author's changing language and adaptation of visual agenda for its particular audience (initially dedicated to Sforza, then to the Medici) brought forward the main dimension in the production of a work in the Renaissance context, namely patronage. In accordance with these studies, my research goes further than reading Filarete as a historical figure who produced his *Libro* in a patronage context. Rather, I propose to look at Filarete's narrative as a reflection of his historical context, which was studied without attention to its surreal nuances. Taking Filarete's 'surrealism' seriously, one can realize that, although he is deliberately grounding his analogy in the patronage context, aiming to show to the patron the significance and value of employing an architect—an emerging 'intellectual figure' in the early modern period—the *mother–nurse* dyad remains an enigmatic function, carrying over nuances of femininity from the Middle Ages into the humanism of the Renaissance into a more complex patron–artist relationship.

Although there were associations of the gender-based distinctions in the lexicon employed by the artists during the Renaissance (since ancient Greece, the understanding of the male creative activity was often defined through female creative faculties), the cohesive approach Filarete presented, particular to architectural practice, was unique. Deliberate naming of the 'architect' as the 'mother' is also a notion that surpasses the gender distinction and demands to be studied to address the more complex sense in which motherhood was understood in the Renaissance, particularly in the fifteenth century. Family treatises being published during the Renaissance explicitly defined the role of the mother in the household and, more importantly, her responsibility towards the child. These popular texts would have influenced the first readers of Filarete's *Libro Architetonico*. But a literal interpretation of Filarete's metaphor as a mere reflection of contemporary attitudes toward conception, gestation, and nursing would be limiting. While family treatises were undoubtedly involved in Filarete's contribution to the evolving Renaissance idea of the profession of the architect, Filarete was unique in deploying them. What would a "control"—a comparison to the canonical views of the profession in the 15<sup>th</sup> century—say about this uniqueness? This requires me to contextualize the significance of the work in the first place.

While Filarete's analogy was frequently mentioned and even analyzed (to an extent) in art and architecture history–theory circles, these analyses never succeeded in placing Filarete's statement in the patronage context. Patronage was the dominant form of production of the Early Modern period, and patrons are actually the more eminent figures of art/architecture

production, unlike our modern notion of seeing the artist as the solely responsible author of the work. Interestingly, critical studies conducted in patronage scholarship, while aiming to bring the discussion to the socio-economic ground of art production, and significantly highlighting the complex dynamics involved in the process, including the high influence of the patron in the first place, often single out the complex relationship that had to take place between the patron (which is the primary agent) and the artist/architect he works with. For instance, in regards to the scholarship that would primarily focus on the individuality of the patron, that is to be constituted (and revealed) by the objects he purchases, Jill Burke refers to Filarete, writing:

The idea of generation, almost in a biological sense, is replicated in a way reminiscent of Filarete's dictum that the patron is the father of the building and the architect the mother. The actual maker of these objects is a vessel for the impulses poured into him by a patron and (implicitly) by the society that shaped this patron's wishes.<sup>10</sup>

Looking at Filarete's analogy for pregnancy as a mere vessel would be oversimplifying a critical approach to the complexity of the relationship, which is the basis of the creation of an artwork that questions the role of authorship. In many of these studies, a critical tone is emphasized, for individual works, patrons and artists, in order to reveal complex relationships, often involving humanist doctrines. As Evelyn Welch stated, the dynamic is a constantly changing one, and the degree of authorship is subject to change depending on the continuing relationship between patron and artist. Some patrons preferred to be involved more with the work they commission, while some willingly allowed their artist to exercise greater creativity.<sup>11</sup> General attitudes may have been adjusted for individual instances. Hence, in signifying this pendulum of authorship in an artwork in the Renaissance patronage scheme, interestingly, many of these studies can't help but mention Filarete's analogy — but only the part which pertains to pregnancy — to introduce their reader to their subject matter. In Ludwig Heydenreich's article on Federico da Montefeltro's castle, where the cohesiveness of the work was challenged by three architects taking up different parts along the way, he writes: '[I]f that is the case the result must be considered—using Filarete's terms — as a true fruit of the

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<sup>10</sup> Jill Burke, *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence* (University Park, PA; Pennsylvania State University, 2004), 7.

<sup>11</sup> Evelyn Welch, *Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 114.

“marriage” between architect and patron who together “generate” the building as their “child.”<sup>12</sup>

For these studies, Filarete’s metaphor served as a great idiom to explain the non-clear-cut condition of assigning authorship, mostly attributing to the invisible realm of the womb where the contribution of the patron or the artist can be various depending on the project or significant cases. While many studies have acknowledged the value of this analogy to be employed in the Renaissance patronage context, none of these took Filarete as their historical object of study, and therefore none went deeper to question Filarete’s intentions in employing this analogy. It should be noted that Filarete is particularly using this analogy to define the profession of the architect as an equally important agent – to the patron – for building [*edificare*]. In that regard, these two circles of scholarship create a *vesica-piscis* that has been left as a gap and has not been fully studied. I look directly at how Filarete’s analogy was specifically proposed to define architecture as a profession, within which the role of the architect could emerge only through the analogy he proposes, to fit it within the context of a literally and metaphorically *paternal* patronage.

## ii) Filarete and his *Libro*

Filarete—which is Greek for “lover (or friend) of virtue”—is the self-proclaimed pseudonym of sculptor and architect Antonio Averlino (1400–1469).<sup>13</sup> Not much is known about his early life, other than that he was proud of his Florentine origin. Filarete, probably trained as a sculptor, became known for designing the bronze doors of the Old Saint Peter’s Basilica (1445). After this prestigious work, his involvement with building projects took place under Francesco Sforza’s patronage, beginning around 1451 with his employment in the construction of the Castello Sforzesco and the Duomo of Milan. Sforza’s high esteem for Filarete, however, could

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<sup>12</sup> Ludwig H. Heydenreich, “Federico da Montefeltro as a Building Patron: Some Remarks on the Ducal Palace of Urbino,” in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt* (London: Phaidon, 1967), 3.

<sup>13</sup> The name is adapted during Filarete’s career, appearing in adjective form in his dedication to Piero de’ Medici. The Greek origin of the name fits into the cultural perspective of Filarete’s historicism which is likely an influence of his close friend, the humanist Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481). Both Filarete and Filelfo appropriate the adjective form, while later the pseudonym takes the form of a name. In the memoirs of Lorenzo de’ Medici in 1482 he is mentioned as “maestro Antonio Philarete,” and Vasari titles his entry in the *Lives* (both 1550 and 1568) as “Antonio Filarete, sculptor of Florence.” See *Trattato di Architettura*, eds. Anna Maria Finoli and Liliana Grassi (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1972), 5, 1, Jonathon Powers, “The Virtù of Architectural Invention,” 47-52.

not deter his marginalization by the local Lombardy masons. Filarete ultimately found himself to be the spectator of the execution of his main architecture commission in Milan—the Ospedale Maggiore. Around this time, Filarete was commissioned by the bishop of Bergamo to design that city's Cathedral.

The original composition of the *Libro* consists of twenty-four books, dedicated to his Milanese patron Francesco Sforza. Seeking new patronage, Filarete later re-works the manuscript to present it to his potential new patron Florentine Piero de Medici. The main distinguishing feature of this new version is the re-written dedication addressed to Piero, and addition of the twenty-fifth book, praising the works of the Medici family; as outcomes of their patronage of architecture. Yet, as Genoni thoroughly argues in her dissertation, Filarete also makes "slight but significant alterations to the language and the content of the *Libro* for his new audience."<sup>14</sup> Accordingly, these two manuscript families should be considered as interrelated yet divergent. Filarete's original, as well as the presentation copies to both Sforza and Medici families are lost. The limited number of surviving copies descended from these two families. The most intact copy available today is a Medici variant: *Codex Magliabechianus* (II, I, 140) retained in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.<sup>15</sup>

Composed towards the end of his tenure at the Sforza court, between 1460 and 1466, *Libro Architetonico* can be considered Filarete's main edifice.<sup>16</sup> In this book, he demonstrates the wonders that can be built with the support of a devoted patron. The book is written in *volgare* as a dialogical narrative between an architect and his patron, along with other members of the courtly setting, who correspond to the real characters of his immediate context. The story revolves around the design and construction of an ideal city Sforzinda, named after his patron, and a port city Plusiapolis (Rich City). The complex narrative demonstrates Filarete's intention to teach his patron how to build in the ancient manner, which is further reinforced within the fictional setting through the discovery of an ancient codex during the excavations for the port city.

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<sup>14</sup> Genoni "Filarete in Word and Image," 5. The differences in two manuscript families, according to its adjustment to different patrons, has been very convincingly studied and analyzed in Mio Genoni's dissertation. This will be mentioned when necessary.

<sup>15</sup> For more information, see "Nota al Testo" by Anna Maria Finoli in *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), cvii-cxxix; John Spencer's Introduction, xvii-xviii in *Treatise*.

<sup>16</sup> Filarete refers his book as *Libro Architetonico* in the dedication to Piero de Medici. For a discussion of the title, see Genoni, "Filarete in Word and Image," 8-22; Indra Kagis McEwen, "The Architectonic Book," in *Vitruvianism*, ed. Paolo Sanvito (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015): 101-112.

Overall, the strategy of imagining a book within a book displays various examples of architectural *fantasies* designed according to the ancient manner, as he stresses.<sup>17</sup> The rich portfolio of projects displays inspiration from ancient sources, showing archetypes transformed into building programs, which would be beyond realization in the fifteenth-century context. On the other hand, it re-appropriates the actual built work of Filarete's architectural commissions fit into the fictional context of the proposed city.

The *Libro* is unique in terms of form and content compared to other architectural treatises in the Western canon.<sup>18</sup> Yet it is also the first to bring forward modern premises expected from a text related to architecture, demonstrating an interdependence between the explanatory material and the image.<sup>19</sup> This interdependence is extensively demonstrated via the complex visual program of the *Libro*. Among more than 200 hundred illustrations that primarily occupy the margins of the Magliabechianus manuscript,<sup>20</sup> the images can be classified in many ways, from illustrations of landscape views to detail elements. Yet the main illustration program is constituted of the geometrical construction of architectural drawings. They are often stressed to be drawn to scale, accompanied with dimensions and descriptions in the body of the narrative. The *Libro* includes façade visualizations, which are hard to classify as scaled drawings by contemporary criteria due to perspective foreshortenings depicting the sides of the buildings. The drawings in the margins of the manuscript are conceived coincidentally with the text, hence constituting the intertwined visual-verbal program of the *Libro*.<sup>21</sup> Accordingly, the author associates the two words *vedere* and *intendere*—to see and to understand—emphasizing the book's pedagogical aspirations.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> I will discuss Filarete's appropriation of the term in Part II, section 3.

<sup>18</sup> For an excellent analysis of this, see: Genoni, "Filarete in Word and Image," 1-63.

<sup>19</sup> Mario Carpo, *Architecture in the Age of Printing: Orality, Writing, Typography, and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory*, trans. Sarah Benson (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2001), 131-139.

<sup>20</sup> In her doctoral work, Mia Genoni Reniosa argues for the production of the original drawings from Filarete's own hand (her only reference is to Vasari's entry with no reason to discredit the statement). Although the presentation copies of both (family) manuscripts are lost, she argues for a faithful job on the scribe's end, and her comparative study of the visual program across the four remaining codices convincingly proves her point. Moreover, she highlights the significance of the quality of the images, in terms of use of color, in specific reference to the original of Magliabechianus manuscript, which employs four colors of inkwash, and the use of color is also identified in the body of the text.

<sup>21</sup> Maria Beltramini, "Le illustrazioni del Trattato d'architettura di Filarete: storia, analisi e fortuna," *Annali di architettura* 13 (2001): 25-52. See also, Genoni, 140-144, 77-79, 43-56.

<sup>22</sup> The words "to understand," "to hear," "to comprehend" (*intendere*, *comprendere*, *capire*) are used 974 times in the treatise. Keywords relating to building activity in Quattrocento Renaissance, like *edificare* ("to build") appears 577 times, *murare* ("to wall up") appears 347 times. See, Powers, "The Virtù of Architectural Invention," chapter 3.

To understand, and especially to see and to understand, is a unique feature of Filarete's treatise. Especially being the first illustrated architectural treatise after Alberti, the author presents an intentional method for architectural pedagogy with an intertwined verbal and visual program. Within that, to see [*vedere*] and to understand [*intendere*] are coupled most of the time to persuade the patron via equally weighted drawings, rather than merely with words.<sup>23</sup> Hence, the overarching pedagogical theme of the treatise, manifests itself with the over-use of the word *intendere*. A word count and *index verborum* of the entire treatise, prepared by Jonathan Powers, already demonstrates the equally important value for understanding, in relation to the rest of the architectural matters, which is the subject matter of the book in the first place.<sup>24</sup> A further study of the combined rubric of *intendere* with seeing, or directly referring to *disegno* are used variously as well. There are instances where the author refers directly to the immediate reader to see and understand, with the pronoun *tu*. Instances of explaining ancient architecture details to the young lord directly in person, or other times, the coupled expression also takes place in the review of a *disegno* on the patron's end, whether he receives with letters or any other way. The expression is also used while explaining the construction details to be left for the execution by the masons. After the discovery of the Golden Book, with the involvement of the humanist in the design process, the alliance is adapted into 'seeing' and 'understanding' the works depicted in the ancient source. Just as the text reflects ongoing conversation, so the illustrations often stand for drawings created and examined by the *dramatis personae*. The other important usage of the coupled expression takes place also for the encounters with the built work as well. Throughout the treatise almost all the works are visited by the patron after they are completed and during this first encounter with the finished built work, the expression of *vedere* and *intendere* are used (which is always followed with an expression of appreciation). In these cases, the illustrations represent the presence of the actual building.

In that regard, although it has usually been assumed that the dream-world Filarete displayed in his treatise, where the patron always accepts the plans of the architect with no interference,

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<sup>23</sup> Genoni, 140-144; 77-79; 43-56.

<sup>24</sup> The words that can be translated as "to understand" in English; *intendere* ("to understand," "to hear"), *comprendere*, ("to understand," "to comprehend") and *capire* ("to understand," "to catch," "to grasp") are used in total of 974 times in the treatise. To provide a relative scale, the same study shows that keywords relating to building activity in Quattrocento Renaissance, like *edificare* ("to build") appears 577 times, *murare* ("to wall up") appears 347 times. See, Jonathon Powers, chapter 3.

is not fully the case. There are various building projects undertaken simultaneously in the narrative with overlaps between one's design phase and the other's construction, and in the combination of all the episodes, we see a variety of interactions taking place, as Welch has clearly put it, like a continuum between the direct instructions of the patron and the independence of the architect. Certainly, the positive interaction taking place between the patron and the architect is never jeopardized through-out the 'romance' of the treatise and nevertheless the patron is very rarely assigned to a passive role of merely accepting the design as presented by the architect. Even the mere assertion that constantly takes place, where, no matter how much the patron is pleased with the *disegno*, the architect confirms that the actual building will be much better, which signifies the architect's primary role in the construction of the building as well. This pedagogical agenda that is grounded on *vedere* and *intendere*, therefore still embodies an oral dimension, sustained by the dialogical narrative, where we read echoes of a patron's remarks that are likely to be found in the fifteenth century context. In this sense, design emerges through interchange between patron and architect.

On the other hand, the pedagogical agenda Filarete pursues is systematically more complex than is often acknowledged. Filarete clearly states his aim at the outset to teach modes and measures of building to educate his patron to build in ancient style,<sup>25</sup> identifying *disegno* as an essential component.<sup>26</sup> However, at the end of Book VI, he develops an intimate pedagogical relation with the patron's son, who falls in love with the "virtue of building" and wants to learn *disegno*. His intention is to foster ideal patronage, as Filarete stresses, when he writes: "[I]f he [the patron's son] ever desired to build something, he would be able to know and understand" by learning *disegno*.<sup>27</sup> The ideal patron image is further reinforced with the examples of the Roman emperors, such as Hadrian and Nero, who were knowledgeable in this *scienza* (of *disegno*)<sup>28</sup> and, more importantly, it is embedded in the discovery of the Golden Book. Placed in the foundations of an ancient city that no longer exists even in its ruinous form, the Golden Book is explained as a *memoria*, intentionally composed to describe all the buildings that were

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<sup>25</sup> See Spencer's introduction in *Filarete's Treatise on Architecture: Being the Treatise by Antonio di Piero Averlino, Known as Filarete*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965): xvii-xxxvii.

<sup>26</sup> The emphasis on architect as the one who utilizes *disegno* is found throughout the book, as the main distinguishing feature from a *capomaestro*. The patron is portrayed as changing his preferences throughout the book; in the beginning appreciating modern buildings, in the middle developing an appreciation for ancient style, and towards the end fully converting to build only in ancient style. See Berthold Hub, "Filarete and the East: The Renaissance of a *Prisca Architectura*," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 70, 1 (March 2011): n.7

<sup>27</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 45v.

<sup>28</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 47r.

once erected, in addition to other important deeds of the king and his family. Both the name of the ancient city, Galisforma, and the name of the King writing the book, Zogalia, serve as an anagram for Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the future lord of Milan, whom Filarete envisions as an ideal patron understanding *disegno*. Alluding to his own early remarks in the beginning of the Libro and during the foundation ceremonies of Sforzinda, in the guise of an authoritative record left from antiquity, the Golden Book serves to prove Filarete's point to his patron. Giving enough attention to the split pedagogical agenda reveals further the importance of patronage in Renaissance building enterprises.

Lastly, Filarete self-identifies as *architetto* in the dedication of the book and through-out his *Libro* he maintains his role as the architect, through a demonstration of his interaction with the patron and also with patron's son. Intermittently, the dialogue by patron and patron's son refer to Filarete as "our architect." While the use of the word generally appears along the course of the narrative, the key chapters where a cluster of the word *architetto* are used appear in Book II and Book XV, and they both aim to give a definition regarding the profession, in two distinct ways. The first one is a description of the role itself that is only explained in a metaphor to suggest a parallel role in maintaining its status. It is a way of gaining/claiming a place that was long believed to be relevant yet not necessarily required. In order to ground this, the famous metaphor is given and explained in which specifically the word *architetto* is being described along with the "family" relation it portrays with the architect and the father, in the roles of mother and father, respectively. In Book XV, it again appears after the discovery of the Golden Book, in one of the scenes where the education of the architect is explained, quite in concurrent fashion with Vitruvius' teachings in the beginning of Book I in *De Architectura*.

### iii) Gestation

The following study is organized on the two primary agents Filarete defines for building practice, the patron (father) and the architect (mother). The first part, which is titled as "PATRON: *Padre*" starts with a detailed reading of the beginning of the treatise, explaining the dinner scene in which Filarete introduces his argument and clearly states his intention to differentiate and elevate the architect's role from that of a *capo-maestro*. The second section looks at Filarete's background in his path to become an architect, which runs parallel with his

Florentine colleagues. Importantly, Filarete is, historically, the first architect with a workshop background to write a treatise about architecture as a profession to be supported by patrons. Therefore, he had a very different perspective on patronage (and its effect on building practice) than Alberti. Filarete's treatise also signifies the general path to become an architect in the early modern period, which fully depended on a patron, whose involvement elevated the artisan to the architect. Section three, through the lens of patronage studies, provides a framework against which Filarete's intentions can be contextualized. Section four looks at his pedagogical agenda towards the patron, which ideologically associates *disegno* with ancient architecture, and simultaneously runs a parallel agenda with the patron's son directly to teach him *disegno*, in order to better equip him to become an ideal patron. This attempt further signifies the role of the patron in the building process. Section five proposes a detailed look at a particular episode in the *Libro* where we actually read the patron taking charge of the design of his castle. This episode, although it seems contrary to the tone of the treatise, actually finds a ground in the patronage context of the era, which I reinforce with other references that echo the "conventional" relationship taking place between architect and patron. The sixth section expands into a general discussion on the social affiliation of the patron with his design through the etymological connection and social conventions. In the midst of such contextual ground, I believe Filarete's definition of who an architect is, in regards to *edificare*, becomes more comprehensible.

The second part titled as "ARCHITECT: *La Madre & Balia*" directly focuses on Filarete's definition of an architect, which is mainly structured through the analogy he proposes to be studied as a family structure. Accordingly, in the first section of part two, I discuss his motive in proposing an organic anthropomorphism for the body-building analogy, which very much centers on securing the patron's attention through the fame they would establish by building nobly. As it unfolds in the *Libro*, this becomes the reason for him to define *edificare* in a structure that resembles human generation, where he presents his famous analogy. Looking carefully at the rhetoric of this proposal, I analyze his means to employ *generare* for the building process in the second section. This section unfolds in reading the associations of mainly Aristotelian generation theories in respect to the four causes, grounded in sixteenth century discussions on patronage. A close reading of the terminologies Filarete employs for the architect-agent begins first with the "woman" generating the design with the patron during the time period which corresponds to pregnancy. The close reading continues in the third section, analyzing the lexicon used during the Renaissance where creative activity of a (male)

artist is subject to a gender-based distinction that defines their activity through cognitive faculties which are traditionally understood as female. Filarete's clear intention to conceive the architect as the "mother" of a building, defined by presenting the scaled *disegno* artifact to the patron and specifying his "motherly" duty to nurse the *disegno* through the completion of the building, is studied in the fourth section through Renaissance family treatises, primarily Francesco Barbaro's 1415 *De Re Uxorìa*. The emphasis of the mother's role in the rearing of a child displays parallels with Filarete's definition for the role of the architect. Both are notions emerging with the influence of Civic Humanism, a revival of doctrines from antiquity. Interestingly, they involve reminding the 'male' agent of his dependence on the female to complete his legacy. Based on this rhetorical framework, the last section of this part completes the circle of Filarete's anthropomorphism, where buildings achieve social value through their presence in an urban structure that directly reflects the patron's standing. Filarete explains this through the notion of *qualità* and here I offer a reading of his conversion of the Bergamo Cathedral model to the Hermit's church design in Book XVI along that line.

The conclusion discusses Filarete's intentions with the reception of his book, which serves as a pseudo-archive that leaves his name to posterity as an architect.

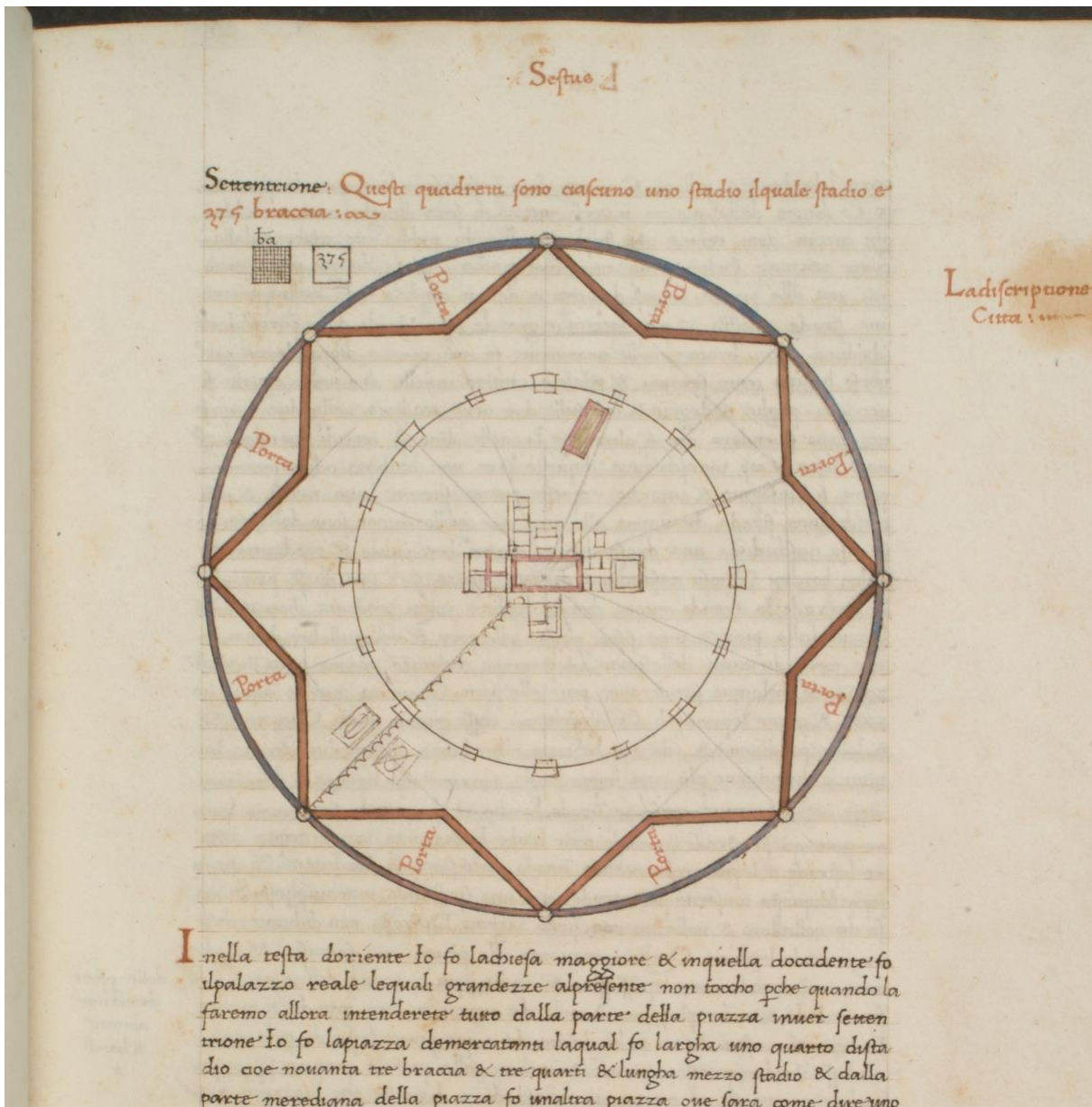


Figure 1.1 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 43r, detail, Sforzinda

**PART I: PATRON / Padre**

**Patronage in architecture and architecture as an emerging profession**

**i) Dinner scene – *murare / edificare***

“I was in a place where a lord and many others were eating, and within many and various arguments, they entered on building [*edificare*].”<sup>1</sup>

With these words, Filarete transitions from dedicatory introductions of his *Libro*, which are carefully curated and addressed to specific patrons, to the dialogical narrative that is to become the body of his treatise.<sup>2</sup> Starting at a banquet scene, Filarete first sets the stage that will require him to step in and compose his talk, which will become the basis of his treatise. The curated scene is based on Filarete’s narration of a conversation between two men he overhears, concerning the matter of building [*edificare*]. The first one voices the opinion of custom, expressing a hostile reaction to the newly emerging attitude towards building. In his view, this newly emerging attitude has wrongly required the knowledge of “geometry” [*ragioni di gematria*], “drawing” [*disegni*], and other irrelevant things in order to build. He applies his skepticism to the ancient sources on the subject, Vitruvius and Archimedes, whose writings on ‘building’ [*edificare*], ‘measure’ [*misura*] and many other novel terms that the architect should now know, have recently come to light. The end of this first

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<sup>1</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 1v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 8; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 4. *Istando io una fiata in uno luogo dove uno signore con più altri mangiava, e intra molti e varii ragionamenti entrarono in sullo edificare.*

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the two manuscript families addressed to two different patrons, see section ii of the Introduction.

monologue concludes with the argument that, when he needs to do anything to ‘wall up’ [*murare*], he doesn’t go for researching any measures [*misure*], principles of geometry [*geumetria*], or other new ideas, and yet the building turns out fine.<sup>3</sup>

The second voice, which Filarete describes as belonging to someone whose speech seems to have more gravity<sup>4</sup> [*il quale pareve di più gravità nel suo parlare*], exhibits the contrary opinion. He claims that “anybody who wants to make a building [*volere fare uno edificio*] needs to understand well measure [*misure*] and also drawing [*disegno*] ... to layout [*compartire*] a house, a church or any other sort of building.” Undoubtedly, he esteems that, “otherwise it cannot turn out that good, without design [*disegno*] and measure [*misure*].” As one can notice, he opposes the first voice by stressing the same areas of knowledge required for the subject matter of *edificare*. Yet, this second voice admits that he is unable to carry the argument further. He states that “it is not his profession to know enough, yet, if it happens with reasoning, he would pay well to find someone who makes him understand [*intendere*] how and what measure [*misure*] one wants to make a proportionate building [*uno edificio proporzionato*], and where these measures are derived from and for what reasons [*ragioni*]; and so buildings are still highly [*caro*] to be known of their origins.”<sup>5</sup> The second voice expresses the desire to learn more about the ways to be able to build proportionately, along with the reasons for doing so. This segues into Filarete’s entry into the conversation, his voice being the third to step into the dinner scene.

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<sup>3</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 1v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 8-9 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 4: *Per certo pare facciate grande stima di questo edificare, e a me non pare tanta cosa quanta molti la fanno che dicono bisogna sapere tante ragioni di gematria e di disegni e molte altre cose. Parvemi intendere a questi di passata da uno che diceva di non so che Vetruvio e d’un altro, che pare che lo chiamasse Archimede, i quali avevano scritto di questo edificare e di misure e di molte altre novella che dicono bisogna sapere. Io non cerco tante misure né tante cose, quando fo fare alcuna cosa di murare, e non vo per tanti punti di geumetria quanti dicono costoro, e pure stanno bene.*

<sup>4</sup> Attributes of gravity, along with solemnity and decisiveness was a common expression of authority. See, Bruce Lincoln, *Authority: Construction and Corrosion* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 7. In visual arts, physical expression of gravity would be employed to convey a sense of goodness or virtue. See, Joseph Manca, “Moral Stance in Italian Renaissance Art: Image, Text, and Meaning,” in *Artibus et Historiae*, vol.22, no.44, 2001: 51-76. Gravity was also described as one of the moral qualities for governing. See, Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York, NY: Academic Press, 1980), 367.

<sup>5</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 1v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 8-9; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 4. *Non dite così, ché a volere fare uno edificio credo bisogna bene intendere le misure e anche el disegno; come a volere compartire uno casamento o chiesa o altra ragione d’edificio, senza dubbio stimo che altrimenti non lo possa fare che bene stia, se non ha il disegno e misure. E altre parti ancora credo che gli bisogni d’intendere a uno che si metta a volere edificare. Sì che non dite così, ché io, che non è mio mestieri se non per sapere, quando accadesse, a ragionare, pagherei bene assai a trovare uno che mi desse a ’ntendere come e che misure si vuole per fare uno edificio proporzionato, e donde queste misure si dirivano e per che ragioni; e così edificii ancora arei caro di sapere donde ebbono origine.*

The brief *mise-en-scène* given in the opening pages of the treatise, contains some clues about understanding the context he is composing his treatise in and the pedagogical intentions it pursues. The two voices Filarete introduces represent not only two contrary opinions, but also two different constituents of building enterprise. The first one, after refuting the validity of the newly emerging attitudes towards building, ends his speech with the verification of an experienced action: “when he needs to do anything to ‘wall-up’ [*murare*]...” The significant word choice here may suggest that the first person is someone involved in the building trade. Based on his use of the verb, one could likely assume that he is a “wall-maker” [*muratore*] or a mason [*maestro*]<sup>6</sup>. It is easier to identify the second person. Described as having more gravity in his speech, this character is portrayed more as a nobleman whose involvement in building trade is, as expected, significantly different. Accordingly, he targets a crowd holding a similar position to his when saying: “anybody who wants to make a building” [*volere fare uno edificio*]. Accordingly, the second speaker’s words do not include the word *murare*. Instead he focuses on measure [*misura*] and drawing [*disegno*] as necessary means to compartmentalize any sort of building, and in order to execute it in proportion. The emphasis is on “edifice”<sup>7</sup> and the means to be able to conceive and convey an edifice via these notions are prominent. This second voice is the target audience of the treatise. His interest is not to “wall-up.” He directly seeks to employ someone to be in charge of these aspects of *edificare*, meaning constructing both buildings and knowledge. Moreover, he wants to be taught reasons behind building. This conversation sets up the pedagogical framework of Filarete’s discourse on edification, unfolded in his treatise.

The pre-requisite of “measure” and “drawing” in order to “make a building” can sound like directly and solely belonging to architect’s domain, however, the expression *fare*—to make—used in relation to art and architecture commissions in the early Renaissance, signals out the role of the patron actually, which is quite contrary to our modern understanding.<sup>8</sup> In the

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<sup>6</sup> The term is used according to the glossary provided by Richard A. Goldthwaite in his *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), xiv-xv.

<sup>7</sup> The Oxford English Dictionary gives Latin *aedificium* as the root of the word “edifice” which is a combination of the words *aedis* (temple, house) and *ficium* (making). “edifice, n.”. OED Online. March 2021. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed-com.libproxy.clemson.edu/view/Entry/59535?redirectedFrom=edifice> (accessed May 12, 2021).

<sup>8</sup> For architecture, buildings are associated with their patrons still although in architectural pedagogy we completely miss this dimension. Often the myth of the modern architect, as the omnipotent creator of a new order / society shadows the reality of the practice in which architects are agents operating within the given circumstances, based on the political and socio-economical dimensions that present itself in different forms of patronage. Although the

medieval tradition of building where it was more profound in the North, the verbs ‘fecit’ or ‘construxit’ and nouns such as ‘aedificator’ or ‘fabricator’ would always refer to the patron, regardless of his involvement in the project.<sup>9</sup> While in some Italian inscriptions, a differentiation between the use of ‘fecit’ (made) for the artists and ‘fieri fecit’ (had made) for those who commission the work was evident, the mix of the usage was still fairly common.<sup>10</sup> Filarete also makes this distinction very clear towards the end of his dedication to Piero de’ Medici. A brief account of all the contents he will be reading or hearing in this book is concluded with what the architect [*architetto*] should know and what the patron (he who “makes build” [*che fa edificare*]) should know. By learning these, Filarete believes that the patron (he who “makes build”) will not err in [the course of] his building [*nel suo edificare*].<sup>11</sup> The dedication to Francesco Sforza, also runs along the same lines with a slight difference. There, it says “what belongs to the architect [*architetto*], or as we want to say to the engineer [*ingegneri*] so that those who want to observe these ways and measures will not err in his buildings [*suoi edificii*].”<sup>12</sup> Again, the statement “his buildings” pertains to the authorship of the patron. The two roles are clearly defined at the end of the dedications: the architect (or engineer, as it is usually called in Milanese tradition) and “the one who wants to build.” These are the main parties of the dialogical narrative. And, following that distinction, one can realize that the second interlocutor of the dinner scene is signaling out and referring to those who “want to make a building,” or as he reframes his words: those who “want to build.”<sup>13</sup>

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conventions of patronage fundamentally changed in the modern world, I argue that architecture’s role in its operability did not exactly. For art, on the other hand, we are witnessing a bigger shift in the mechanisms of artistic production. Unlike in the Renaissance (and before) modern art had produced its exemplary work as independent interventions of the artist, with minimal to no influence of patrons.

<sup>9</sup> Here, one should be also aware of the patrons’ interest in planning and design of their buildings, which is not uncommon. However, the title associated with “making” was independent of this aspect and merely related to the patron’s charge in the production.

<sup>10</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, “The Term ‘Architect’ in Middle Ages,” in *Speculum*, vol.17, n.4, 1942: 553 & 558. Throughout Filarete’s treatise, a similar mix of use is also evident along with specific differentiated uses that clearly signifies *fa edificare* for patron specifically. Also, E. H. Gombrich refers to the unfinished inscription “*iste perfecit opus*” in Filippo Lippi’s *Coronation of the Virgin*, which was believed to be missing the portrait of the painter, however it is more evident that who is referred with the inscription was in fact the patron. See, “The Early Medici as The Patrons of Art” in *Norm and Form: Studies in the art of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 40.

<sup>11</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 1v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 8 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 4: *e poi quello che appartiene all’architetto di sapere e così a quello che fa edificare. E così facendo credo che non piglierà errore nel suo edificare.*

<sup>12</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 1v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 8, n.1; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 4, n.5: *e poi quello appartiene all’architetto, o vogliamo dire ingegneri sì che non dubito chi vorrà osservare questi modi e misure non errerà a’ suoi edificii.*

<sup>13</sup> Spencer’s English translation is confusing here. The first expression *volere fare uno edificio* he translates as “who wants to construct a building” and the second expression *si metta a volere edificare* he translates as “anyone who commissions a building.” As I argue, both of these expressions apply to the patron, and an arbitrary

As I will elaborate in the following sections of this chapter, the authorship of a work being identified with the patron suggests a complicated relation in the basis of production that needs further investigation. For which I argue that Filarete's use of the pregnancy analogy aims to differentiate and identify this role in the emerging profession of architecture. In that respect, a patron is invited to require a certain understanding of the "making" of a building, to an extent that can allow him to communicate with the architect. As Filarete relentlessly argues for and elaborately demonstrates in his *Libro, disegno* is not only employed by the architect to devise a building, but it is required to be appreciated, studied and even practiced by the patrons as well. If a patron hasn't developed an interest in the subject so far, then his treatise would ignite the desire to do so.

To return to my initial point, it now becomes clearer how Filarete creates a threefold entrance. Each party is allowed to make their statements first, then he arrives as the third who resolves the conflict. "On hearing their conversation," Filarete narrates, "I stepped forward because it belonged to my 'exercise' [*esercizio*] and in that place there was no other who was in this 'exercise' [*esercizio*]." <sup>14</sup> Before he gives more clues about his "exercise," we already understand that it is a particular skill or knowledge that no one else but Filarete has in that setting. Hence, he raises his voice: "Perhaps it seems presumptuous of me to want to narrate similar modes and measures [*narrare simili modi e misure*], considering other very capable men, have written very elegant works on this subject, ancient and modern..." <sup>15</sup> The sentence continues with equal praise for Vitruvius, who wrote a worthy treatise on the subject, and Alberti, in those days a recognized expert in many disciplines. Among the many disciplines Alberti excelled in, Filarete singles out *disegno* and geometry [*geometria*], expanding the key words of the preceding conversation. He concludes his praise for Alberti by mentioning that he has written the most elegant work in Latin on the subject, clearly referring to *De re Aedificatoria*. For this reason—and also since he was not much trained in letters or public speaking [*non mi sono esercitato troppo in lettere né in dire*]<sup>15</sup>—Filarete is careful to

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differentiation of "construct" and "commission" - faintly suggesting the role of an architect for the former, and the role of a patron for the latter - doesn't apply.

<sup>14</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 1v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 9 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 5: *Io, udendo tali ragionamenti, perché s'appartenevano al mio esercizio, e in quello luogo altri nogli era che a questo esercizio attendesse, mi feci innanzi e dissi: « Parrà forse la mia prosunzione a volervi narrare simili modi e misure, considerato che altri valentissimi uomini abbino scritto opere elegantissime sopra questa facultà, antichi e moderni...*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

acknowledge his inferiority and invoke a rhetorical *topos* of humility. Within the nine lines of *Magliabechianus* manuscript, he underscores his humility: “he may seem bold and presumptuous to want to narrate modes and measures of building.” The expression he uses in the preceding lines for letters—*sono esercitato*—is the same that he uses in the following lines to address to his own training this time, which is in *disegno*, sculpture [*isculpire*] and building [*edificare*] in addition to other investigations.<sup>16</sup> Hence, this becomes his justification for writing in *volgare*, along with other practical considerations. He is not much trained in letters. Hence, his explanation of the modes and measures of building will not depend on eloquent argumentation, which was the case of Alberti’s treatise, but rather will be based on the knowledge he has acquired through his humble *esercizii*. One can even realize how Filarete reinforces this by embedding *disegno* within the composition of his manuscript and articulate his words around it. The rich visual agenda of the *Libro* is conceived as an integral part of its content,<sup>17</sup> although Filarete doesn’t explicitly state it in his introduction. Yet, through this he actually further demonstrates his authority on the role and purpose of *disegno*. His vulgate text, he argues, will please those who, like him, have little or no Latin learning.

Therefore, as Filarete already states in the dedications to both patrons, we shouldn’t be taking his work as if written by Vitruvius or other worthy architects, but by the “virtue-loving”<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Magl.*, fol 1v-2r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 9-11 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 5: *come fu Vetruvio, il quale un degno trattato intra li altri ne fece, e Battista Alberti, il quale a questi nostri tempi uomo dottissimo in più facultà è in questa molto perito, massime nel disegno, il quale è fondamento e via d'ogni arte che di mano si faccia, e questo lui intende ottimamente, e in geometria e d'altre scienze è intendentissimo; lui ancora ha fatto in latino opera elegantissima. Sì che per questo, e ancora perché non mi sono esercitato troppo in lettere né in dire, ma in altro più che in questo ho dato opera, per queste ragioni parrà la mia più presto temerità e prosunzione a volere narrare modi e misure dello edificare. Ma secondo volgare, e perché in questi esercizii mi sono diletato ed esercitato, come in disegno e in isculpire ed edificare e in alcune altre cose e invistigare...*

<sup>17</sup> Mia Reinoso Genoni, “Vedere e 'Ntendere: Word and Image as Persuasion in Filarete’s ‘Architettonico Libro,’” in *Arte Lombarda*, no. 155 (1), 2009: 23–38; Also see: “Filarete in Word and Image,” 145-204.

<sup>18</sup> The expression *tuo filareto architeto* is present in the *Magliabechianus* manuscript, in the dedication to Piero de’ Medici. In the Palatinus manuscript, the dedication to Francesco Sforza omits the adjective *filareto*. According to Peter Tigler (*Die Architekturtheorie des Filarete*, Berlin 1963, p.2), the adjective is found in Trivulziano (which was destroyed during the second World War) and Valenciano manuscripts, both are not consultable today. It is assumed that Filarete adopted this nickname in recent years, due to the lack of work signed with this name prior to the writing of the treatise. The adjectival use of the name rules out the hypothesis of its being a family name, also. The choice of a Greek pseudonym responded to the cultural fashion of the time, which has close ties to his friendship with Francesco Filelfo, which I will elaborate on in the coming sections. The transformation of the adjectival use into an attribute of last name is evident as early as 1482, in the “memories” of Lorenzo de Medici, the artist is named as “maestro Antonio Philarete.” (K, Frey, *Michelagniolos Jugendjahre*, Berlin 1907, p. 59). The pseudonym also appears as the signature of a poetic composition, perhaps addressed to Galeazzo Sforza, which Beltrami considered attributable to Averlino (L. Beltrami, *Il Castello di Milano sotto il dominio dei Visconti e degli Sforza*, Milano 1894, p. 149). See the introduction of Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, ed.), 5, note 1. The most

architect, Antonio Averlino, who made the bronze doors of Saint Peter's in Rome and the glorious shelter for the poor in Milan and planned the principal church of Bergamo [*ordinai*].<sup>19</sup> He deliberately cites one bronze-sculpted and two building scale works, in chronological order, to present himself to his audience; all three are worthy commissions in which Filarete takes pride. These three works appear in the same fashion in Book IV as a part of the foundation ceremony of Sforzinda, to be carved on the outside of the marble box, to illustrate the name of the architect of the city.<sup>20</sup> All three (in addition to other worthy things) are said to be ordered [*ordinate*] and also made [*fatte*] by him. Filarete employs the same expression in referring to his execution of both sculpture and building scale work. This signals out an important aspect of the Renaissance architects who were actually trained in different arts in their path to become an architect and continued maintaining a dialogue between their use of different materials in differently scaled works.<sup>21</sup> As I will elaborate in the next section, *disegno* becomes the critical component of an architect's training, on which Filarete capitalizes. He frames *disegno* as the foundation of every art that is "made by hand," which serves as *the* basis for conception of various scale artworks, including architecture.<sup>22</sup>

*Disegno* is a complex term in the quattrocento context. Its double-edged meaning, as a physical drawing as well as the ambivalent notion of "design," was understood by "architects" of the time as a crucial prerequisite of the building project. What should be emphasized here is the sum of Filarete's portfolio allows him to name himself an architect, which is important to unfold in the quattrocento context. This unfolding needs to be done on two ends, both contextually and internally within the premises of the treatise. In terms of the contextual, architecture is not a fully developed profession in the quattrocento. The word appeared before

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*influential* adaptation of the nickname as his last name was Vasari's entry for Filarete in his *Lives*, where he called him "Antonio Filarete." See the next section for a thorough discussion of Vasari's entry on Filarete.

<sup>19</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 1r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 5-7 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 3: *Come si sia, pigliata, non come da Vitruvio, né dalli altri degni architetti, ma come dal tuo filareto architetto Antonio Averlino fiorentino, il quale fece le porte di San Piero di Roma di bronzo, scolpite di degne memorie di Ugenio Quarto, sommo pontefice, sotto il quale le fabbricai; e nella città di Milano il glorioso albergo de' poveri di Dio, sotto Francesco Sforza, duca quarto di Milano, el quale colla sua mano la prima pietra nel fondamento collocò; e altre cose per me in essa ordinate; la Chiesa Maggiore di Bergamo ancora ordinai.*

<sup>20</sup> *Magl.*, fol 25r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 103; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 44.

<sup>21</sup> Alina Payne, "Materiality, Crafting, and Scale in Renaissance Architecture," *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 32, no. 3, (2009): 365–386.

<sup>22</sup> See, n. 16. For a discussion of Filarete's *disegno* as a form of knowledge derived from manual work, see: Jonathan Powers, "The Virtù of Architectural Invention: Rhetoric, *Ingegno* and Imagination in Filarete's *Libro Architetonico*" (PhD diss., McGill University, Montreal, 2014), 194-198; Jonathan Foote, "The Rhetorical Hands of Filarete: A Vitruvian Interpretation of 15th Century *Disegno*," Jul 16, 2012, accessed through <<https://www.scribd.com/document/100253462/The-rhetorical-hands-of-Filarete>>

practical demonstrations of its actual functioning. It was an emerging profession, midwived by treatises written after the discovery of Vitruvius. Filarete, the second to write a treatise on architecture in this context, engaged pedagogical concerns directly. His dialogical narrative portrayed a conversation about *edificare*, deprived of any common ground that would have afforded the interlocutors a way to resolve the differences between the works of the hand (as represented by the *muratore* who doesn't need any measure or geometry to "wall-up") with the "words of the mind," a ground that can be realized within the realm of *disegno*'s double-edge meaning. Hence, Filarete steps into the middle of this difference, literally addressing the concerns of the patron, who wants to learn more on the subject. As he clearly states as the premise of the book in the dedications to both patrons,<sup>23</sup> and as he repeats it twice within the framework of the opening narrative, to teach the modes and measures of building, [*modi e misure dello edificare*], is something he can do based on his own training in *disegno*, sculpture and building [*edificare*]. Furthermore, in the absence of Vitruvius and Alberti, no one else can.

## ii) Filarete's route – Workshop background in becoming an architect

*I would like to be a good draftsman  
and I would like to become a good architect...*<sup>24</sup> (figure 2.1)

Identification of Filarete as an architect, along with other architects of the quattrocento, cannot be based on an *a priori* definition. "Architect" as a professional title, is yet an emerging one to distinguish its position from a medieval *capomeastro* and define its role along the lines of the ancient tradition. Following the humanists' revival of the classical models in literature, quattrocento Renaissance witnesses a recovery of the ancient forms applied to contemporary buildings. With the humanist Poggio Bracciolini's discovery of the ninth century manuscript of Vitruvius' at St. Gall in 1414,<sup>25</sup> such inspiration for ancient architecture gets intensified now

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<sup>23</sup> The expression of *modi e misure dello edificare* is apparent in both dedications, with the edition of *proportioni* in Sforza dedication. Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 3; 8, n.1 and Filarete, *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 4, n.5.

<sup>24</sup> Translation of the inscription of Maso Finiguerra's "Apprentice Drawing" which is conserved in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence 115: *Vo essere uno buono disegnatore . e . do/ventare uno buono architetto*, See Carmen Bambach, *Leonardo Da Vinci Master Draftsman* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 7 and n.5 in 28.

<sup>25</sup> Indra Kagis McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003), 1.

with the definition (which also ties to the status) of the architect.<sup>26</sup> As the only source of its kind, what Vitruvius portrayed around fifteen hundred years earlier, was an architect whose knowledge consists in both *fabrica* and *ratiocinatione*. The former is “the continuous and routine practice of the activity the hands accomplish out of matter; its offspring is a work whose form is in keeping with its intended purpose.” The latter is explained as “what can show how, and explain to what degree, things have been made with skill and calculation.”<sup>27</sup> They are held equally essential for the architect’s achievement of his goals speedily and with authority. *Ratiocinatione* is to explain what is fabricated, and although it doesn’t necessarily mean writing, it nevertheless suggests writing as an essential component of such explanation.<sup>28</sup> Hence, when Vitruvius unfolds this union of practical and intellectual knowledge into nine disciplines, he starts with writing, then lists drafting, geometry, arithmetic, history, philosophy, music, medicine and astronomy, illustrating the level of expertise required for each, in order to have a well-rounded [*encycliōs*] education: “put together like one body from its members.”<sup>29</sup> The education required is a reflection of the worthiness of the person who wants to participate in “so great a profession,”<sup>30</sup> as Vitruvius notes.

While the echoes of this passage define a role that exceeds the capabilities of a *capomaestro* might be fascinating for the humanists and the humanist-aspiring artists of the quattrocento, the means to achieve it in a systematic manner where one’s training grants the title of “architect” is not the case. From the standpoint of an established profession, there is no guild organization for architecture that can offer the proposed education via such training, nor can harbor architects. Within the quattrocento context, it wouldn’t be possible to apprentice in order to become an architect.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, one can assume “architecture” as an identified profession like painting and sculpture by simply looking at Vasari’s famous three-fold title for the second edition of his *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*.<sup>32</sup> A study of the entries from Cimabue to Raphael is presented by Leopold D. Ettlinger shows that there are

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<sup>26</sup> Leopold D. Ettlinger, “The Emergence of the Italian Architect during the Fifteenth Century,” in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977): 96-123.

<sup>27</sup> Vitruvius, *De Architectura* I. I. i. For the English translation here see; McEwen, *Vitruvius*, 32.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>29</sup> Vitruvius, *De Architectura* I. I. xii (trans. Frank Gagner, Loeb Classical Library, 2 volumes– Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), vol. 1, 17.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, I. I. xi.

<sup>31</sup> James Ackerman, “Architectural Practice in the Italian Renaissance,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol.13, no.3 (1954): 3-11.

<sup>32</sup> Secondary literature rarely notes that Vasari’s first edition title of 1550 lists architects first while the 1568 edition puts architects at the end of the title.

only seven entries with the solo title of “architect” and only two of them is from the period before the mid quattrocento. The first one Arnolfo di Cambio, makes an appearance as the first “architect” of Santa Maria del Fiore, yet this distinction may have been for rhetorical reasons, as the apocryphal “father” who begins architecture’s “story” of emergence from the Middle Ages – what Cimabue is for painting and Nicola Pisano for sculpture.<sup>33</sup> But it is well-known that Arnolfo di Cambio was already an accomplished sculptor, in charge of his own shop before he was called to undertake a building project.<sup>34</sup> No other solo “architect” title is issued until Alberti, who is already distinguished from the rest with his humanist education, who holds a keen interest for architecture. With the Vitruvian definition of an architect as the one that combines theoretical and practical knowledge, Alberti demonstrates the one that can transition from the former to the latter, not the other way around. For the rest of Vasari’s quattrocento entries, hybrid titles demonstrated that, in practice, the architect was indeed educated from “the other way around” — it was just that his “practice” was in a different field.

To establish this point, Filarete’s architectural contemporaries Brunelleschi and Michelozzo, began their careers as, respectively, a sculptor and a goldsmith. Brunelleschi matriculated in the *Arte di Seta* (the Silk Manufacturer’s Guild) in 1398, and Michelozzo was a member of *Arte di Maestri di Pietra and Legname*, serving as one of its councils in 1430.<sup>35</sup> The former guild also included goldsmiths and bronze sculptors, the latter included sculptors that worked in stone and wood. Accordingly, both Brunelleschi and Michelozzo were identified as “sculptor and architect” in Vasari’s *Lives*, almost a hundred years later. In his lifetime, Michelozzo was known to be *primarily* as sculptor; his name bearing the title *intagliatore*.<sup>36</sup> And while the early secondary literature on Brunelleschi would already call him an architect with great pride,<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Ettliger, “The Emergence of the Italian Architect during the Fifteenth Century,” 96-97.

<sup>34</sup> Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 356.

<sup>35</sup> Harriet McNeal Caplow, *Michelozzo* 2vols (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), vol1, 26.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 49-51.

<sup>37</sup> Manetti’s opening pages of the *Vita di Brunelleschi* starts with calling him an architect. See: Howard Saalman, *The Life of Brunelleschi by Antonio di Tuccio Manetti* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1970), 36-37. Another important secondary source in this context is Filarete’s *Libro*. In various places of the *Libro* Filarete employs his contemporaries for the execution of various art-work the fictional building setting. Although his list includes sculptors who are also actively engaged in building, he doesn’t name them as “architects.” In Book VI, he names Michelozzo among other artists whom are employed for the sculptural work of the castle and in Book XXV, while praising Cosimo de Medici’s patronage activities, Filarete doesn’t mention Michelozzo as his architect, nor the architect of the specific buildings listed there. This is not surprising, since this twenty-fifth book is panegyric in essence and in this practice, humanists often present the patron as the builder of their edifices with no mention of their architects. See: Gombrich, “The Early Medici as Patrons of Art.” It is important to note, Filarete only names Brunelleschi as an “architect” in Book VI, and in Book VIII he emphasizes it with praise, as the reviver of the ancient practice and the follower of Daedalus. On Brunelleschi and Daedalus *topos*, among many sources, see: E.

(considering that he was imprisoned by the head of the *Arte di Maestri di Pietra and Legname* for not paying his dues to the guild at the peak of his career in the shop of the Cathedral), his status as an architect was subject to various tensions and not without controversy.<sup>38</sup>

For Filarete, on the other hand, we have little documentation of his early life and training.<sup>39</sup> His chronological life indicates his birth year as 1400. From then to 1433, the time he went to Rome to execute the bronze doors of the Old Saint Peter's Basilica, there is nothing recorded.<sup>40</sup> Vasari mentions his name in his entry for Lorenzo Ghiberti as one of the assistants who helped with the bronze work of the Gates of Paradise,<sup>41</sup> which allows us to assume that he may have been trained in Lorenzo Ghiberti's workshop, although Vasari offers no proof as concrete as he provided in the case of Michelozzo. It is important to remember that the bronze doors of Saint Peter's were an extremely prestigious commission and the artist who was hired to execute it, probably had to demonstrate his ability to undertake such a grandiose work. Accordingly, we should rightly assume that Filarete had already proven himself and enjoyed some degree of recognition. It is likely that by that time he was running his own shop and directing a team of assistants.

In this context, identification of Filarete as an architect is even more paradoxical than cases of his contemporaries, which can be credited again to Vasari's inadequate recognition. In the first edition of his *Lives* (1550) Vasari includes an entry for Filarete (with the name "Antonio Filarete") along with a certain Simone, who he identifies as Donatello's brother. While each entry is commonly titled as a painter, sculptor, architect, or a combination of the two or three

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H. Gombrich, "A Classical Topos in the Introduction to Alberti's *Della Pittura*", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 20, no:1/2, 1957: 173.

<sup>38</sup> Foote, "The Rhetorical hands of Filarete," 2, n. 4. The anecdote also alludes to the fact that the stonemason's guild may have situated itself closest to the profession of architecture. See: Martin Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, trans. Alison Luchs (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 301-2.

<sup>39</sup> The most comprehensive research to reveal any information about Filarete's life before his commission of the bronze doors of the Old Saint Peter's Basilica is conducted by Robert Glass. In his exquisite research, Glass provides a detailed account of the records he went through in Florence and Rome archives, searching through the tax records with various (potential) last names Filarete might be named under. His thorough research concludes with the *possibility* of Filarete's arrival to Rome earlier than 1433. See: "Filarete at the Papal Court: Sculpture, Ceremony and the Antique in Early Renaissance Rome" (PhD diss., Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, 2011). Most extensive study of Filarete's monograph is recently published, which also agrees with Glass' conclusion in his undertake of Filarete's early life. See: Berthold Hub, *Filarete: Der Architekt der Renaissance als Demiurg und Pädagoge* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2020).

<sup>40</sup> See "Nota Cronologica" in Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), lxxviii.

<sup>41</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the most eminent painters, sculptors & architects*, 10 vols, trans. Gaston Du C. De Vere (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1912-14), vol.2, 159. From here on, English translations will be cited from this edition, unless it is noted otherwise.

according to the versatility of the artist's oeuvre,<sup>42</sup> in Filarete and Simone's case they are both only titled as sculptors (figure 2.2). It is not surprising, since the entry following the title only gives place to sculptural work of both. More than half of it is devoted to their shared work of bronze doors of Old St. Peter's, with almost nothing good to say about. A marble *sepoltura* in San Clemente they built together is mentioned. And for Filarete only, Vasari does not mention any other significant work while saying that during his stay in Rome, he carried out some metal work and made marble tombs for Popes and Cardinals, which were "thrown to the ground" while building the new church.

In the second edition of *Lives* (1568), which includes more developed content for almost every artist's entry, Vasari adds Filarete's architectural works along with his book. The beginning of the new entry maintains the despising tone for the doors with interestingly substantial tweaks, which I will elaborate on below. This time it is followed with Filarete's departure to Milan under Duke Francesco Sforza, "to the end that there might be made with his design, as it afterwards was, the Albergo de' poveri di Dio."<sup>43</sup> Vasari highly praises the layout of Ospedale Maggiore. He highlights its design by referring to its specific measures and features, which allows him to approve the work as commodious [*commodi*] and useful [*utili*]. He ends his remark with a confirmation that the hospital is so well made [*fatto*] and ordered [*ordinato*] that there is no other like it in all of Europe.<sup>44</sup> The information he gives on the foundation of the building is based on Filarete's own account in Book XI, fol. 83v, which demonstrates Vasari's reliance on Filarete's drawings and descriptions in the *Libro* to a high extent. Afterwards Vasari mentions the principal church of Bergamo as another work made by him [*fatta da lui*] with no more lack of diligence and judgement than in the hospital.<sup>45</sup> Although Vasari speaks highly of Filarete's building achievements in contrast to his former sculptural work, he fails to expand the title of his entry to "Sculptor and Architect" which is the title of the entries of his contemporaries. In

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<sup>42</sup> A study of this was presented by Martin S. Briggs where he mentions Vasari's 32 entries on artists who practiced architecture, in which 11 were titled as solely 'architect,' 11 as 'sculptor and architect,' 6 as 'painter and architect,' 3 in all three arts and 1 as 'architect and engineer.' Following this list, for instance, Briggs does not include Filarete as an architect figure in the Renaissance Italy. See, *The Architect in History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927): 130-190.

<sup>43</sup> Vasari, *Le vite*, 1568 (*Edizione Giuntina*, public domain, accessed through <https://archive.org/details/levitedepiveccel01vasa/page/346/mode/2up>): *Dopo queste opere fu condotto Antonio a Milano dal duca Francesco Sforza, gonfalonier allora di Santa Chiesa, per aver egli vedute l'opere sue in Roma, per fare, come fece, col disegno suo, l'albergo de' poveri di Dio,*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*: *E per dirlo brevemente, è questo luogo tanto ben fatto et ordinato, che per simile non credo ne sia un altro in tutta Europa.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*: *Fu opera ancora del medesimo Antonio la chiesa maggior di Bergamo fatta da lui con non manco diligenza e giudizio, che il sopra detto spedale.*

the 1568 edition of the *Lives*, one reads the architectural accomplishments of “Antonio Filarete, sculptor of Florence.” In figure 2.3, one can see the title of Filarete’s entry, following Michelozzo’s which ends with the inscription of his hybrid title.

### Filarete in Vasari’s *Vite*

Vasari’s appreciation of Filarete’s architectural works, in the order that Filarete presents in his portfolio in the dedications of his *Libro*, is quite clear. What is more obscure and needs to be addressed, however, are Vasari’s revisions to the entry on the bronze doors and Filarete’s involvement in them. As is well known, Vasari has a very negative perception of the doors, and his entry starts addressing directly to the patron:

If Pope Eugenius IV, when he resolved to make the bronze door for S. Pietro in Rome, had used diligence in seeking for men of excellence to execute that work (and he would easily have been able to find them at that time, when Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, Donatello, and other rare craftsmen were alive), it would not have been carried out in the deplorable manner [*così sciaurata maniera*] which it reveals to us in our own day. But perchance the same thing happened to him that is very often wont to happen to the great number of Princes, who either have no understanding of such works or take very little delight in them. Now, if they were to consider how important it is to show preference to men of excellent in public works, by reason of the fame that comes from these, it is certain that neither they nor their ministers would be so negligent; for the reason that he who encumbers himself with poor and inept craftsmen ensures but a short life to his works or his fame, not to mention that injury is done to the public interest and to the age in which he was born, for it is firmly believed by all who come after, that, if there had been better masters to be found in that age, the Prince would have availed himself rather of them than of the inept [*inetti*] and vulgar [*plebei*].<sup>46</sup>

This beginning in both the 1550 and 1568 editions can be followed almost word for word (with the addition of last adjective *plebei* in 1568 edition). Vasari holds the patron responsible for not being competent to select and hire excellent artists to execute such an important work. He

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<sup>46</sup> For the English translation of Vasari’s 1568 *Vite*: Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the most eminent painters, sculptors & architects*, 10 vols, trans. Gaston Du C. De Vere (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1912-14), vol.3, 3.

For Italian of Vasari’s 1568 *Vite* (*Edizione Giuntina*): *Se papa Eugenio Quarto, quando deliberò far di bronzo la porta di S. Piero di Roma, avesse fatto diligenza in cercare d’aver uomini eccellenti per quel lavoro, sì come ne’ tempi suoi avrebbe agevolmente potuto fare, essendo vivi Filippo di ser Brunellesco, Donatello et altri artefici rari, non sarebbe stata condotta quell’opera in così sciaurata maniera, come ella si vede ne’ tempi nostril.*

For Vasari’s 1550 *Vite* (*Edizione Torrentiniana*, public domain, accessed through

[https://archive.org/details/gri\\_vitedepivecc01vasa/page/n359/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/gri_vitedepivecc01vasa/page/n359/mode/2up)): *Se papa Eugenio VIII, nel tempo che e’ deliberò fare di bronzo la porta di S. Piero di Roma, avesse fatto diligenza in cercare di avere uomini eccellenti a questo lavoro, sì come ne’ tempi suoi agevolmente poteva fare essendo pur vivi Filippo di ser Brunellesco, Donatello et altri artefici molto rari, non sarebbe condotta quella opera in così sciagurata maniera come ella si vede ne’ tempi nostri.*

advises that the negligence of the patron not only results in a short life of his fame, but also damages the public interest and the perception of the age. Therefore, if an age has better masters, the patrons should commission them rather than the inept. Building on this directly in 1550 edition Vasari continues:

And nevertheless, knowing the excellence of the rare geniuses of the said century, as witness of the truths we certainly say that Antonio Filarete, having a much more resolute way of melting bronzes than him being a good inventor of figures or an excellent designer of them, he led the said door in the company of Simone the sculptor, Donato's brother. Which Simone, with all his wits [*ingegno*], tried to imitate Donato's manner, although nature did not grant him to reach such perfection. Simone made really excessive efforts in the two stories [*istorie*] of S. Peter [*San Piero*] and S. Paul [*San Paulo*] of the said door; and Antonio in the band inside, at the foot, made a little scene [*storietta*] in which he portrayed himself and his disciples, having loaded an ass with things to enjoy, they go for a walk to the vineyard.<sup>47</sup>

The quotation given above is the entirety of Vasari's mention of the bronze doors in 1550 edition. Via a comparison to other rare geniuses of the fifteenth century, Vasari very confidently despises Filarete's attributes that could be classified within the realm of *ingegno*. His ability to invent figures and design are negatively judged and the only good criticism for Filarete was given to his manual labor of the work.<sup>48</sup> Among six panels of the whole work (and many other stories along the borders)<sup>49</sup> Vasari mentions only two of them; the panel with Saint Paul and Saint Peter by giving credit to the efforts of Simone. The only full credit Filarete gets here is the little scene of the self-portrait along with his disciples. From this short and inadequate account, beyond Vasari's stylistic bias,<sup>50</sup> one can derive the conclusion that both artists fail to demonstrate worthy skills for undertaking this work.

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<sup>47</sup> Author's translation, In Vasari's 1550 *Vite (Edizione Torrentiniana): E nientedimanco sapendo noi la eccellenzia de' rari ingegni del secol detto, per testimonio delle verità sicuramente diciamo che Antonio Filarete, avendo molto più risoluto il modo del fondere i bronzi che lo essere buono inventore di figure od ottimo disegnatore di quelle, condusse la detta porta in compagnia di Simone scultore, fratello di Donato. Il quale Simone cercò con ogni suo ingegno di imitare la maniera di esso Donato, quantunque non gli fusse concesso da la natura il venire a tanta perfezzione. Fece Simone fatiche veramente eccessive nelle due istorie di San Piero e di San Paulo della detta porta; et Antonio nella banda di dentro, appiè della medesima, fece una storietta nella quale ritrasse sé et i discepoli suoi che, avendo carico uno asino di cose da godere, vanno a spasso a la vigna.*

<sup>48</sup> Here, one should be reminded of Filarete's discussion of *ingegno*, complementary to his agenda of *disegno*. As Jonathan Powers deliberately analyzes in his dissertation, Filarete's unfolding of his pedagogical agenda presents parallels with rhetoric. Through which, Filarete emphasizes *ingegno* as the basis of invention. See "The Virtù of Architectural Invention."

<sup>49</sup> For the stories taking place on the borders, See; Helen Roeder, "The Borders of Filarete's Bronze Doors to St. Peter's," In *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 10, 1947:150-153.

<sup>50</sup> For an extensive analysis of the reception of Filarete's bronze doors in the papal court (contrary to Vasari's negative review), see: Glass, "Filarete at the Papal Court," 48-102.

In the 1568 edition, we are still introduced with the negative reception of the overall work, but the description of the doors is completely re-written with a different insight regarding Filarete's skills and his involvement in the design. In 1568, Vasari continues:

Now, after being created Pontiff in the year 1431, Pope Eugenius IV, hearing that the Florentines were having the doors of S. Giovanni made by Lorenzo Ghiberti, conceived a wish to try to make one of the doors of S. Pietro in like manner bronze. But since he had no knowledge of such works, he entrusted the matter to his ministers, with whom Antonio Filarete, then a youth, and Simone, the brother of Donatello, both sculptors of Florence, had so much interest, that the work was allotted to them. Putting their hands to this, therefore, they toiled for twelve years to complete it; ...Filarete, then, wrought that door in low-relief, making a simple division, with two upright figures in each part – namely, the Saviour and the Madonna above, and S. Peter [*San Piero*] and S. Paul [*San Paulo*] below; and at the foot of S. Peter [*San Piero*] is that Pope on his knees, portrayed from life [*ritratto di naturale*]. Beneath each figure, likewise, there is a little scene from the life of the Saint that is above; below S. Peter [*San Piero*], his crucifixion, and below S. Paul [*San Paulo*], his beheading; and beneath the Saviour and the Madonna, also, some events from their lives.<sup>51</sup>

The quote ends with the same description of Filarete's portrait signature, adding the artist's intention "to amuse himself [*per suo capriccio*]". As can be clearly seen in this revised version, Vasari adds that Filarete was a youth at the time he received this commission (although he was 33 years old), which could perhaps justify the level of his ineptness and the fact that he was not at the level of the excellent artists who could have done a better job with the work. Along these lines, both Filarete and Simone's enthusiasm is underlined, which also alludes to their struggle to undertake the work which lasted twelve years [*penarono dodici anni a finirla*]. There is no direct judgment, nor any mention of Filarete's skills as an inventor of figures or design. Quite the contrary to his first remarks, this time Vasari gives full credit to Filarete as the one who made the doors, divided into two upright parts and laid out in six panels with their

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<sup>51</sup> English translation of Vasari's 1568 *Vite* from: Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the most eminent painters, sculptors & architects*, 10 vols, trans. Gaston Du C. De Vere (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1912-14), vol.3, 3-4.

For Italian of Vasari's 1568 *Vite* (*Edizione Giuntina*): *Essendo dunque creato pontefice l'anno 1431 papa Eugenio Quarto, poi che intese che i Fiorentini facevano fare le porte di S. Giovanni a Lorenzo Ghiberti, venne in pensiero di voler fare similmente di bronzo una di quelle di S. Piero; ma perché non s'intendeva di così fatte cose, ne diede cura a' suoi ministri, appresso ai quali ebbono tanto favore Antonio Filareto, allora giovane, e Simone fratello di Donato, ambi scultori fiorentini, che quell'opera fu allogata loro.*

*Laonde messovi mano, penarono dodici anni a finirla; e se bene papa Eugenio si fuggì di Roma e fu molto travagliato per rispetto de' Concilii, coloro nondimeno che avevano la cura di S. Piero fecero di maniera che non fu quell'opera tralasciata. Fece dunque il Filarete in questa opera uno spartimento semplice e di basso rilievo, cioè in ciascuna parte due figure ritte: di sopra il Salvatore e la Madonna, e disotto San Piero e San Paulo; et a piè del San Piero, inginocchiato quel Papa ritratto di naturale. Parimente sotto ciascuna figura è una storietta del Santo che è di sopra: sotto San Piero è la sua crucifixione, e sotto San Paulo la decollazione; e così sotto il Salvatore e la Madonna alcune azzioni della vita loro.*

specific stories. The final compliment he gives to Filarete on the end of *disegno* is for portraying the Pope on his knees, with the words *ritratto di naturale*.<sup>52</sup>

The differences between the two entries, with such important adjustments to justify and elevate Filarete's involvement with the doors are evident. These however, should not be considered as isolated gestures with regard to the doors only. Within the overall updated entry, this section now precedes the introduction to Filarete's architectural works, and therefore it holds a substantial role in order to segue to the next section for praising his accomplishments in building. In order to be able to speak highly of Filarete's ability as an architect, Vasari had to first articulate his criticism on Filarete's involvement on the doors in a way that he can better situate his accomplishments in *disegno* within the overall context of his oeuvre.

Vasari's revisions demonstrate significant aspects of the education of the architect, which starts with training in other professions like sculptor, goldsmith or painter. Among these professions, although belonging to different guild organizations due to the correspondence of materials and tools, the artists who specialized in production of sculptural and painting work maintained similar work environments. The *bottega* (workshops) were physical sites where artistic production occurred almost in the form of an industrial enterprise.<sup>53</sup> Coming from the *artigiani* (craftsmen) tradition, they would be established by the *maestro del bottega* (workshop master) who would be the artist himself, responsible to provide his stamp as the "author" of the work, in addition to running the enterprise by securing commissions and managing finances.<sup>54</sup> Under the master, there would be assistants and apprentices helping with production<sup>55</sup> and the extent of their involvement with the work would be reflective of their

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<sup>52</sup> Erwin Panofsky highlights this as a novel conviction (yet trivial) conviction, quoting Leonardo: "that picture is the most praiseworthy which most closely resembles the thing to be imitated." See: *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York, NY: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), 162. On the triviality of the *natura naturata*: *Perpective as Symbolic Form* (New York, NY: Zone Books, 1991). Among many other sources on the subject, see: Joanna Woods-Marsden, "Ritratto al Naturale": Questions of Realism and Idealism in Early Renaissance Portraits," in *Art Journal*, vol. 46, no. 3, 1987: 209-216; Hans Blumenberg, "Imitation of Nature: Toward a Prehistory of the Idea of the Creative Being," in *Qui Parle*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2000: 17-54.

<sup>53</sup> Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 356-7.

<sup>54</sup> Patricia L. Reilly, "Artists' Workshop," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Michael Wyatt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014): 84-99. Also, see Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, 308-313.

<sup>55</sup> The number of assistants and their wages would usually be included in the contracts. 1403 and 1407 contracts surviving for the bronze doors show that Ghiberti initially had 11 assistants and, in the latter, increased the number to 20. See Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, 310.

level of experience and skill. Contrary to the modern idea of an artist working solely on his individual work (which is often misleading), many Renaissance artworks were products of collaborative efforts.<sup>56</sup> The lexicon of Renaissance art history is recently taking the pseudo-systematic production of art into account by attributing the work to the artist's 'shop' rather than solely to his name, as if an individual entity.<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, the shop was also the place where an apprentice can learn the trade of his art and later become a master himself. As Vasari notes in Ghiberti's entry regarding the Gates of Paradise, he was "assisted in finishing and polishing this work, after it was cast, by many men, then youths, who afterwards became excellent masters, namely by Filippo Brunelleschi, Masolino da Panicale, and Niccolò Lamberti, goldsmiths; and by Parri Spinelli, Antonio Filarete, Paolo Ucello, Antonio del Pollaiuolo..."<sup>58</sup>

An apprentice would usually start his training in a shop after primary education, around the age of thirteen. Starting with mundane tasks like preparing materials for ongoing projects, which would already form the foundation of his training, he would undertake *disegno*. The value of this aspect of workshop training was highlighted for Brunelleschi's education where Vasari alludes to the fact that, despite his family lineage's occupation with notary, his continual investigation of ingenious problems of art and mechanics made his father decide to apprentice him "to the goldsmith's art with one of his friends, to the end that he might learn design [*disegno*]."<sup>59</sup> Or the other way around, as Manetti (who was closer in time to Brunelleschi than Vasari) tells the story, since "he had a natural interest in *disegno* and painting... he elected to become a goldsmith when his father, as was the custom, apprenticed him to a trade."<sup>60</sup> A similar account is given for Michelozzo as well by Vasari, saying that he "applied himself in his youth to sculpture under Donatello, and also to design [*disegno*]."<sup>61</sup> In his *Libro Filarete* explicitly states his background training in *disegno* as well as sculpture and building.

In the sense of the word being physical drawing, *disegno* education consisted in learning to draw via hands-on practice. For all the arts produced in a shop environment, its apprentices

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<sup>56</sup> One important outlier would be Michelangelo himself. Although he had apprentices working for him in various works, he is well known for many times asking them to leave the shop and undertaking some of the large-scale projects by himself alone. *Ibid.*, 311-12.

<sup>57</sup> Charles Seymour, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture 1400-1500* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

<sup>58</sup> Vasari, *Lives*, vol.2, 159.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

<sup>60</sup> *Vita di Brunelleschi*, 38-40.

<sup>61</sup> Vasari, *Lives*, vol.2, 259.

were required to learn how to draw in order to train their hands and eyes. One did not necessarily need to be skilled to apprentice in a shop, but those with skills would distinguish themselves via *disegno* and become assistants, undertaking higher responsibilities.<sup>62</sup> *Disegno* education started with imitation, first imitating the hand of the master via re-drawing his drawings, or other work that was present at the shop along with pattern books, and would continue with imitating other important works that were present in the city. Along these lines, the brief *mise-en-scène* Filarete gives with the patron's son, when the young prince shows interest in learning *disegno* draws parallels with the customs of quattrocento workshops. After several visits to Filarete's shop and asking him questions regarding the design of the main church of Sforzinda, Filarete advises the young lord to learn drawing.<sup>63</sup> The prince wants to start immediately, and Filarete gives him a gessoed tablet and stylus, directing him to draw the head's outline first, based on the measures and proportions of heads stated in the beginning of the treatise.<sup>64</sup> Drawing with stylus, known today as "silverpoint drawing," was recommended by Cennino Cennini as the first to be mastered, which was a technique that required a lot of control and discipline, hence benefitted the early training of the apprentice.<sup>65</sup> Although the role of the young prince cannot be equated to an ordinary quattrocento shop apprentice, Filarete's early recommendations to him as his pupil, for keeping a book and writing down the things he learns, and also kindly asking him to read the first six books he has written so far on the subject (within the narrative framework the conversation itself taking place in Book VII), can suggest that acquiring a theoretical knowledge on the subject, regarding the geometric relations within the figures would equip one better to understand *disegno*.

A master coming from a workshop background often would start as an apprentice, advancing enough in using specific tools of the art to the extent that he could bring forward his *disegno*. In order for one to be elevated from an assistant to a master level, he had to present a masterpiece in which he demonstrated these skills to the guild to be matriculated.<sup>66</sup> A master

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<sup>62</sup> Reilly, "Artists' Workshop," Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, 328-337.

<sup>63</sup> The episode of Filarete teaching the young lord *disegno* unfolds in 11 days. For a systematic reading of the episode, see Jonathan Foote, "Drawing Lessons with Filarete: geometry between mind and hand," Jul 10, 2012, accessed through < <https://www.scribd.com/document/99747904/Drawing-Lessons-with-Filarete> >

<sup>64</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 48v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 189 = *Treatise* (Spencer trans. and ed.), 84: *Tenete questa tavoletta, la quale è innossata come che vuole essere, e quello stile. Fate <per> prima volta solamente questo dintorno di questa testa, come vedete qua disegnata in questa tavoletta. Avete potuto intendere <dove> dico delle misure che la testa si parte in prima in tre parti principali.*

<sup>65</sup> Francis Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981), 35.

<sup>66</sup> Reilly, "Artists' Workshop," 96.

then would be in a position to be commissioned for a particular work and hire apprentices and assistants, hence he would establish his own small enterprise where he provides his name as the author. As it has been mentioned, many of the artworks which have been associated with individual artists were actually undertaken within such collaborative structures. Yet, the way that a master is engaged with the work itself does not necessarily suggest a top-down approach in the production where he only provides the design, and the assistants execute it. It was a more lateral work-flow from *disegno* to manual execution. To what degree the master's hand should be involved in the manual execution of the work was something determined by the patrons and sometimes explicitly stated in the contract. A clause most often stressed in artists' contracts: *fatto di sua mano*, despite its straightforward meaning that translates as "to be made by his hand," would actually stand for the moral responsibility of the master, almost equivalent to a notary's "hand" when he draws up a contract.<sup>67</sup> In the hierarchical organization of a workshop, this responsibility towards the patron was where the master would stand in relation to others in the production of the work. Such a role of responsibility was one of the major constituents that could be translated to the profession of architecture.<sup>68</sup> In addition to that, however, the requirement of manual labor from the master himself was often stated with clear explanations. While some contracts would clearly state that no other will touch the work

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<sup>67</sup> This argument is made by Charles Seymour, based on his thorough analysis of Fonte Gaia drawings (1409, and the revised version from 1416). These drawings were attributed to sculptor Jacopo della Quercia, based on the statement found in the contract, which indicates that the drawing is to be "designed and made by his hand" (*manu dicti magistri Jacobi designata et facta*). Based on visual evidence, however, it is not likely that the referred artist could be the one who literally drew it. Given the legislative document the drawings belonged to, Seymour's study places the argument to a larger context of the early quattrocento, where the expression could refer to the artist's active participation in the devising the design and defining the details for someone else (a painter, usually or a goldsmith) to draw it for him. Through this, the sculptor could grant a finer result in the faithful execution of the sculpture, as agreed upon in the submitted drawing. See; "Fatto di Sua Mano': Another Look at the Fonte Gaia Drawing Fragments in London and New York," in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1968): 93-105.

<sup>68</sup> Although quattrocento figures like Brunelleschi, Michelozzo and Ghiberti are often stressed for this trajectory, Florence has already been an avant-garde in practice of elevating traditional sculptors, painters to the status of an architect in the trecento. Sculptors like Arnolfo di Cambio and Andrea Pisano were incorporated in the workshop of the Florence Cathedral at the critical stages of the project. Giotto, who was a painter with no architectural experience except interior decorations, was called in to be in charge of the new Campanile. Although these figures did not come from a building craft, by the time they were hired for such 'architect' positions they were already accomplished and had established reputations via running their own relatively large shops. In addition to their artistic skills, their abilities for managing labor work taking place in their shops, would render them as responsible and capable of undertaking a building scale work. See; Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 356-7. On a similar note, even later in the Renaissance, when Raphael was appointed as the organizer of the work at St. Peter's, rather than Bramente, one of the main reasons was the organization of his painting shop, which Catherine Wilkinson even found it closer to the organization of a modern architectural office. This was a remarkable attribute, that can surpass any other architectural practiced known from the Renaissance, despite Raphael's inexperience in building before. See; Wilkinson, "The New Professionalism in the Renaissance," in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977): 124-160.

other than the master himself, some would more likely acknowledge the essence of the practice and sort out the particular details that should be executed by master's own hands, or allow assistants to do so only under his supervision.<sup>69</sup> The master then was primarily in charge of the design of the work and also executing the important details where his skillful touch would be recognized for its value. Although a collaborative effort, it was the master's *disegno* and "designed involvement" in it that would justify his name as the author of the work. Therefore, the "hand" that had evolved into being a master would show itself both in the literal work itself but also on the design of the undertaking of the work that would allow such gestures to be present.

### **Bronze Doors**

One can certainly assume that Filarete was trained in this kind of setting, and became a master himself before he was commissioned for the bronze doors of the Old Saint Peter's. To my knowledge, the contract for the bronze doors has not been discovered, nor have we any record regarding his matriculation. In the absence of any kind of official material that can give a light about his background, what one can do is to trace his position retrospectively based on his self-representation, which he demonstrated via his unique signature at the back of the left leaf of the doors (figure 2.4).<sup>70</sup> The production of this signature comes towards the end of the completion of the doors, and it shows a festive event celebrating the completion of the work either in the form of a dance or a procession.<sup>71</sup> The remarks of the festivity come from the two figures at the two ends, the one on the left sitting on a donkey and raising a jar of wine which

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<sup>69</sup> For further analysis and other meanings associated with *mano*: Richard E. Spear, "Di Sua Mano," in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes*, vol. 1, 2002: 79-98.

<sup>70</sup> In the front of the doors Filarete places two self-portraits and three signatures already. See the following footnote.

<sup>71</sup> For Filarete's signature on the door, see; Robert Glass, "Filarete's Hilaritas: Claiming Authorship and Status on the Doors of St. Peter's," in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 94, no. 4, 2012, 548-571; Catherine King, "Filarete's Portrait Signature on the Bronze Doors of St Peter's and the Dance of Bathykles and His Assistants," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 53 (1990), 296-99; Catherine King, "Italian Self-Portraits and the Reward of Virtue," in *Autobiographie und Selbstportrait in der Renaissance*, ed. Gunter Schweikhart (Cologne: König, 1998), 69-71; John R. Spencer, "Filarete's bronze doors at St. Peter's: A Cooperative Project with Complications of Chronology and Technique," in *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art*, eds. Wendy Stedman Shread and John T. Paoletti (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978), 33-58; Charles Seymour, "Some Reflections on Filarete's Use of Antique Visual Sources," in *Arte Lombarda*, vol. 18, no. 38/39, 1973: 36-37. From here on, I heavily rely on Robert Glass' article which presents a thorough analysis of the existing evidence based on bronze execution techniques. His reading of the iconography and the inscriptions very closely and critically follow the contemporary events that were happening around the time. Accordingly, his argument to read the signature as a procession (along with a dance) is based off of the ceremonial gestures of the papal court, which is convincing regarding Filarete's appeal as a court artist, which will further unfold in his *Libro*.

alludes to the journey toward the vineyard, and the one on the right sitting on a camel is playing pipes to provide the music of this festive setting. In the middle portion, we see Filarete on the right, holding a compass with his left hand, pointing upwards on the foreground. On the background of the compass, a perfect circle is depicted, almost situated with one leg to be based on its center, and the other is at its tangent. Holding his tool upwards in a guiding manner of this procession, Filarete distinguishes his role from the rest of his crew, signifying his intellectual abilities as the designer of the doors (figure 2.5).<sup>72</sup> Accordingly, on two sides of his legs, are inscribed “ANTONIVS ET DISCIPVLI MEI” (Antonio and my disciples). The superiority of his intellectual ability over manual work, is further highlighted in the way that he represents himself with his clothing. Unlike his disciples, Filarete is dressed with fine garments and not wearing an apron. With his right hand he is holding the hand of his assistant and looking backwards to the procession following him.

The three figures following Filarete can be identified as his assistants, each depicted with holding specific tools upwards, continuing the processional feel, and wearing the adult berretta.<sup>73</sup> The first one, his name given as “Varrus Florenti(a)e” is likely the main assistant of his shop organization, regarding his place immediately behind Filarete, and that his inscription also including his origin. Another important figure of the shop can be pointed out which is the third assistant, Pasquino. Reading the procession not only as a left to right composition, but also studying it in the background and foreground planes show that Pasquino, just like Filarete inhabits the foreground; both of their feet extending below the line created with the linear depiction of the names.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, Pasquino holds the hand of the shop boy allowing him to pass under his extended arm, where the essence of procession turns more into a dance. Similar to the direction of Filarete’s gaze, Pasquino is looking to his left, at the three *garzoni* (shop boys) and leading them.<sup>75</sup> Among the three shop boys, only the last one is holding a rather rough tool, that can signify its use in the early phases, rather than in refining details. Unique in its way of depiction as an artist’s signature, the image well represents the

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<sup>72</sup> Marco Frascari provides an excellent analysis of the iconography of compasses in architecture: its legs facing upward for symbolizing theory and placed down to symbolize practice, as found in various frontispieces of the treatises during the renaissance. His study starts with Cesare Ripa’s depictions of “Theoria” and personification of practice, from his 1611, *Iconologia overo descrizioni d’imagini e virt, vitij, affetti e passioni humane, corpi celesti*. See: “Maidens ‘Theory’ and ‘Practice’ at the Sides of Lady Architecture,” in *Assemblage*, no. 7, 1988: 14-27.

<sup>73</sup> Spencer, “Filarete’s bronze doors at St. Peter’s,” 39.

<sup>74</sup> Glass, “Filarete’s Hilaritas,” 559-563.

<sup>75</sup> Spencer reads the first two as the main assistants of Filarete based on the order in the linear procession, while Glass points out the foreground and background relation to give higher status of Pasquino’s place.

collaborative effort required to undertake a massive work like this one, with certain hyperboles to define Filarete's place among the elite as being the 'author' of the work, and while reflecting the shop environment on similar grounds with the courtly environment of the subject matter on the front of the doors.<sup>76</sup> Yet, the hierarchy of the assistants as given is resourceful considering that they later became known for their independent commissions. After their involvement with the doors, Varrone made other works in the papal court in Rome, and Pasquino undertook works in Florence, Urbino and Prato.<sup>77</sup>

Holding the compass with its legs pointing upwards, on one hand, Filarete represents himself as one who belongs to the practice of liberal arts. In *De Pictura*, when Alberti aims to elevate the status of painting from a craft-based profession, he does so by requiring the painter to be educated in all liberal arts, with a primary emphasis on geometry. He says: "Our rudiments, from which the complete and perfect art of painting may be drawn, can easily be understood by a geometer, whereas I think that neither the rudiments nor any principles of painting can be understood by those who are ignorant of geometry."<sup>78</sup> Constituting the drawing in a geometric manner that corresponds to the observation of nature was the underlying premise, which was the same basis for other arts as well. Whereas Alberti's remarks belong to early quattrocento, one can still find examples of such practice in the trecento, for instance the illustration of the goldsmith Matteo di Ser Cambio, in the manuscript depicts him with a compass<sup>79</sup> (figure 2.6). While the employment of the compass -geometry in general-, in other arts was more of an exception rather than a rule before the Renaissance, architecture has been dependent on math and geometry since the ancient times, therefore traditionally was closer to liberal arts.<sup>80</sup> Compasses were long been employed by the master-masons and they were widely associated with the practice of architecture in the middle ages<sup>81</sup> (figure 2.7, 2.8 and 2.9), although Filarete is aiming to paint a different picture in the *Libro*. In order to amplify his

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<sup>76</sup> Glass, "Filarete's Hilaritas."

<sup>77</sup> In Book VI, Filarete names Varrone, among many other established artists to be invited for the sculptural work of the castle, reiterating that he had apprenticed for him in Rome. Varrone is identified as Varrone d'Angolo di Belferdino (known as Varro or Varrone), and Pasquino as Pasquino da Montepulciano. See Glass, "Filarete's Hilaritas," 570, n. 72. Wackernagel mentions one of Pasquino's bronze sculpture work around the Cingolo altar in Prato. Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, 89.

<sup>78</sup> Alberti, *De Pictura*, III., 53., trans. Cecil Grayson, *On Painting and On Sculpture* (London: Phaidon, 1972), 95.

<sup>79</sup> King, "Filarete's Portrait Signature," 297, n.9. In addition, Glass mentions the compass depiction in the tomb monument of the sculptor Andrea Bregno (d. 1503), see Glass, "Filarete's Hilaritas," 567, n.2.

<sup>80</sup> Wilkinson, "The New Professionalism in the Renaissance," 126.

<sup>81</sup> L. R. Shelby, "Medieval Masons' Tools. II. Compass and Square," in *Technology and Culture*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1965: 236–248.

expertise on these *scienza*, Filarete hyperbolically diminishes the use of geometry and *disegno* in the master-masons' practice, which I will discuss further in the following sections. In lieu of establishing architecture as a profession, this new status of the artist, which is not based on the quality of their art or industry but their upright posture that could handle a courtly relation based on liberal education,<sup>82</sup> would allow them to be considered for undertaking the design of a building scale work. Having this opportunity at the later stages of their career, if an artist was not a gentleman before this point, he would become one with the social weight of the "architect" title he carries.<sup>83</sup>

On the other hand, compass is the physical tool Filarete employs in the making of the doors, and similar to the way that his assistants hold their chisels and sculpting tools, he does the same in order to display his contribution to this collaborative effort. Filarete's emphasis on *disegno* enhances its physical aspects, which are to be learned and developed via hands-on exercise.<sup>84</sup> Even with the pedagogical agenda Filarete pursues with the young prince, the knowledge of *disegno* is described to be acquired through physically drawing, and strengthened through *lettere*. Hence, Filarete suggests the young prince to incorporate his *disegno* practice while taking breaks from his other studies.<sup>85</sup> Accordingly, his employment of drawing tools also demonstrates his sensitivity on the physical procedure of making of a drawing. Writing his *Libro* as a 'virtue loving architect,' (not a goldsmith or sculptor), Filarete explicitly demonstrates the various ways that architects employ compasses in their practice. Based on the work-shop jargon, he calls compass in vulgar 'sesto', translates as "the sixth" which comes from the relation of the radius to the circumference as roughly being calculated as one sixth of it.<sup>86</sup> The definition is given in the last three books which are on *disegno*, followed by the statement before that "nothing can be done without it", as it is a tool to measure [*misurano*] and construct [*fanno*] bodies<sup>87</sup> (figure 2.10). In the body of the narrative of

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<sup>82</sup> Alberti, *De Pictura*, III., 52.

<sup>83</sup> Ackerman, "Architectural Practice in the Italian Renaissance."

<sup>84</sup> David Summers points out that the Florentine notion of *disegno* was very much based on the idea of practice generating theory. Renaissance expressions of *giudizio dell'occhio* and *seste dell'occhio* shows that, the artist would primarily adjust the proportions that were 'theoretically' established to be followed. And this judgment could be gained through relentless practice only. As Cennino Cennini already noted in his *Libro dell'arte* (c. 1400), reading his book day and night would not help the aspiring painter unless they practiced this art under a good master. See: *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (New Jersey, NY: Princeton University Press, 1981), 255 & 272.

<sup>85</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 54v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 93-4:

<sup>86</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 177r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 650, n.i = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 302. In Filarete's words: *Perché sei volte va d'intorno al circolo da lui fatto, non ristignendolo né allargandolo.*

<sup>87</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 174r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 641 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 297.

the *Libro*, as it unfolds the design of every single building within the ongoing construction in the city, the references to drawing tools are apparent. Book VI, for instance, starts with the order of the patron to find him a pair of compasses or two and a ruler so that he [Francesco Sforza] can draw the foundations for him [Filarete] on a sheet of paper<sup>88</sup>, which is in other words, the plan of the walls of the building. In Book VIII he employs the compass to explain the design of the acute arches (with a warning that he does not advice anyone to practice it)<sup>89</sup> and his praise for the ancient arches (in Book VII), are highlighted with their seeming nature that they are made with compasses.<sup>90</sup> In Book VII, explaining the design of the dome of the cathedral, the compass is employed within the simultaneous narration of the drawing in order to measure and mark the actual height for the tip of the structure in relation to the base plan.<sup>91</sup> Compass then, was more than a mere symbol for demonstrating his intellectual ability, but was a device of his craft, which he literally employed in devising his works in an engagement of a physical activity.<sup>92</sup> Imperative for constructing proportional relations, the compass was common for *disegno* of different scale works. Therefore, Filarete's representation of himself in the portrait signature, although not associated with any architectural activity at the time of the completion of the doors, was in fact signifying that he was also equipped to become an architect, which was his next step.

Again, Vasari does not reduce his negative criticism of the doors at all. However, he omits the part where before he certainly admitted that Filarete was not a good inventor of figures or an excellent designer of them. If Vasari continued with his statement that alludes to his only appreciation of Filarete based on of his physical manual skill (melting bronze), he would have a harder time to transition to his achievements in building, let alone speak highly of them.

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<sup>88</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 37v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 148 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 65: *Truovami un paio di seste o due e una riga, ché te lo voglio disegnare in sun un foglio tutto il fondamento,..* I will elaborate on the changing roles of the patron and architect in the following sections.

<sup>89</sup> Mainly employed in Gothic structures, as Filarete condemns them as "modern style," in contrast to antique he advocates. One sees Filarete's awareness of use of compass in constructing a "modern" arch despite his hyperbolic reading of masons' lack of use of geometry. *Magl.*, fol. 59v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 231 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 103.

<sup>90</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 50v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 196 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 87.

<sup>91</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 52v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 202-3 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 90: *e quello che la fo più alta che 'l suo sesto, il quale sarà venticinque braccia, io innalzerò col sesto tanto che verrà all'altezza delle trenta due braccia.*

<sup>92</sup> Marco Frascari, "The Compass and the Crafty Art of Architecture," in *Modulus*, vol. 22, 1993: 1-14. For an excellent account of the mediator essence of the tool between the scale of drawing and building in imagination, see: Paul Emmons, "Size Matters: Virtual Scale and Bodily Imagination in Architectural Drawing," in *ARQ*, vol. 9, no. ¾, 2005: 227-35.

Because, within the trajectory of becoming an architect with a workshop background, the evident connection that ties a small-scale work that can suggest to have the direct hand of the artist on the work (which is not the exact case as I mentioned) to a building-scale work is not based on the manual work itself, but in *disegno*.

### iii) Patronage and becoming an architect

The definition of patronage, as stated by Werner L. Gundersheimer—taken from Oxford dictionary— broadly covers “the action of a patron in supporting, encouraging, or countenancing a person, institution, work, art, etc.,” and it is known to be one of the most dominant social structures of pre-industrial Europe.<sup>93</sup> The English term “patronage,” as commonly used, is overloaded with meanings that mainly targets at the socio-political dimension in the influence of a ruling family, which can be characterized as the urbanized version of old feudal structures,<sup>94</sup> and art patronage also should be considered as belonging to that domain. In Italian literature, there is a rather distinction in the naming of ‘patronage’— that is not clearly identified in English, where the political dimension is named as *clientelismo*, and the part where art patronage can also be named under would be called *mecenatismo*. Although, the intersections of both can also be assumed given the overall social context in the production of an artwork and cultural impact on its perception within the society. While the patronage scholarship constituted by art historians can provide a limited view on the subject, due to their analytical objective, Gundersheimer reminds that “individual acts of patronage of all kinds and degrees... may be subsumed within a more encompassing theory concerning systematic effects of patronage in European social and intellectual history.”<sup>95</sup> In Renaissance literature, whether it depicts courtly settings or more republican (in essence) aristocracies, patron-client relations can fairly be noticed as the driving social thought. Referring one (client)

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<sup>93</sup> “Patronage in the Renaissance: An Explanatory Approach,” in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, eds. Guy Fitch Lytle, Stephen Orgel (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981): 3-26.

<sup>94</sup> Richard Goldthwaite, “The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy,” in *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, eds. F. W. Kent and Patricia Simons (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987): 157. A generally accepted term for this model is “bastard feudalism.” Based on a less rigid framework than of feudal bond of land tenure, this system of relationships was a product of a more fluid society where land was more accessible and exchange of ownership was easier. With decrease of monarchical power, landowners started forming ‘affinities’ of ‘alliances’ around their common interest, and sought for the protection and patronage of a local reliable figure. See also, Christine Carpenter, “The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work,” in *The English Historical Review*, vol. 95, no. 376, 1980: 514–532.

<sup>95</sup> “Patronage in the Renaissance,” 4.

to the other, accepting or requesting protection from a superior (patron), are common norms of this system.<sup>96</sup> As well-known, Medici family held and sustained its role as the de facto leader of Florence through patronage, and was keen to extend his influence to other of Italian cities. Placing many Florentine artists at the principal courts, which led to the notion of 'Renaissance artist' we know today,<sup>97</sup> was a means to that end. Filarete's tenure at the Sforza court was not an exception. In a December 20, 1451 letter addressed to Piero de Medici, Filarete would show his gratitude for his *clientelismo* with these words: "for your recommendation the lord [Francesco Sforza] shows me much love."<sup>98</sup>

In its simplest form, as D. S. Chambers favors, 'patron' and 'artist' should be understood as the former who is responsible for commissioning and paying for the work produced by the artist.<sup>99</sup> This simple interaction is further laid out by Peter Burke in five main types, which the first three applies for the quattrocento Renaissance. First consists of a house-hold system, consists of a long-time relationship where the patron provides lodging, presents, etc. with an expectation for the artist to produce works for him. The second type would be based on the commission of the work only where the artist and the patron (where Burke prefers to name it in modern terms as a 'client' more so) would be affiliated in the course of one project. And the third would consist of a market system, where the art-work is already made to be sold to a patron either directly or through a dealer.<sup>100</sup> The third has probably never been the case for architecture, and during the quattrocento many other art-works (which has usually been the inquiry of art-historical studies) were also produced under the first two systems. In Filarete's narrative, the architect is clearly portrayed as a member of the court. As a part of the courtly

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid. For a study on the nuances of the language employed in the letters for *clientelismo* purposes: Paul D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

<sup>97</sup> Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the ancestry of the Modern Artist*, trans. David McLintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 46.

<sup>98</sup> *e per vostra ricomandatione il signore mi mostra assai amore*. The letter is transcribed in Michele Lazzaroni & Antonio Muñoz, *Filarete: scultore e architetto del secolo XV* (Roma: W. Modes, 1908), 164. Unless otherwise mentioned, all the letters are going to be cited from the same source.

<sup>99</sup> D. S. Chambers, *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), xxiv. In modern use as well, the term "patron" both encompasses the role of a financier, providing the capital since the beginning throughout the development of a work, and a customer, providing capital for a finished work -likely compensating the material and labor costs of production.

<sup>100</sup> Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture & Society in Italy*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 94.

setting, we see the architect is engaged with the household,<sup>101</sup> and is employed to undertake every project in the city design, according to the fulfillment of the various needs and desires of the patron-s, including but not limited to the members of the patron's immediate family. Obvious examples of these are the Casa Regia, with its alternative proposals presented to the patron's son in Book VIII, and the Hermit's church (three miles away from the newly built Sforzinda) designed at the request of the patron's wife in Book XVI. These take place in addition to the architect's own projects to be undertaken in the city layout.

The artworks that fill the interiors of museums today with attributions to the artists (or the artists' workshop), rather being perceived as autonomous aesthetic pieces, should actually be realized as products of luxury consumption within the parameters of a demand created in a society, and like every other consumption work, they do require a study of the context of its production.<sup>102</sup> "The one general point to be insisted on is that in the fifteenth century painting was still too important to be left to the painters"<sup>103</sup> says Michael Baxandall, and there is no reason not to extend this statement for other arts and especially for architecture, which I will talk about in a bit. The framework of these studies, allows one to more critically approach to and differentiate between the individuality of the artist and the demand of the patron, while crediting the "the generating nature of that patronage," in addition to understanding "the productive role [of the artist] in the genesis of a work of art." Thus, the material result is "embedded within the *interaction* of patron and artist."<sup>104</sup> Within this interaction, assigning roles for creativity with certainty is not likely. Based on various contracts drafted for agreement, one can see a range from where the patron's interest is preeminent to more freedom allowed to an artist to test out his own ideas independently. The interaction itself then should be seen as a continuum which shifts and alters from patron to patron, as well as from commission to commission.<sup>105</sup> In that regard, Filarete directly places production of architecture

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<sup>101</sup> I use 'household' here to imply that members of courtly setting were considered as an extension of family. For example, Warnke gives examples of paintings from the Renaissance, depicting court artists next to family members. See, *The Court Artist*.

<sup>102</sup> Richard Goldthwaite, "The Empire of Things," 154.

<sup>103</sup> Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in the Fifteenth Century Italy*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3.

<sup>104</sup> Tracey E. Cooper, "Mecenatismo or Clientelismo? The Character of Renaissance Patronage," in *The Search for a Patron in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* eds. David G. Wilkins and Rebecca L. Wilkins (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), 31. Her article is a great resource to track down the patronage studies in general in addition to the introductory essay provided by F. W. Kent and Patricia Simmons in their edited volume *Patronage, art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, 1-21.

<sup>105</sup> Evelyn Welch, *Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 114.

in this very relation by employing the pregnancy analogy,<sup>106</sup> where the examples through-out the treatise display a variety in the shifting essence of the independence of the architect and the interest of the patron.

Accordingly, one should consider architectural production during the Renaissance (at least for the quattrocento) within the same framework, in which the social dimension of patronage itself occupying a greater role in the manifestation of the patron's prestige and pride that culminated in their pleasure. Regarding the motives behind his expenditure on building, Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai (the patron of Leon Battista Alberti's well-known commissions) would say that buildings give him "the greatest contentment and the greatest pleasure because they serve the glory of God, the honor of the city and the commemoration of myself."<sup>107</sup> The significance of the building enterprise in comparison to other art patronage, as highlighted by Richard Goldthwaite, was due to its eminent impact on the public realm which was being shaped through a civic spirit. Building enterprise was both a private activity, with an immediate aim to respond to the patron's needs and taste, and also a public one with its place and perception in the civic context. In addition to the economic growth and socio-political context, one key factor in the perpetuation of the building boom (with bringing forward the new notion of 'architect') in the fifteenth century in Florence, was the changing values of humanist doctrine. Fourteenth century humanism distinguished itself from its trecento fore-fathers by abandoning the Franciscan values of poverty which dominated the discourse for gaining virtue in moral life, and by bringing forward the earthly living. With the participation of the citizens in the intellectual life, the civic humanism advocated the accumulation of wealth and its use for the good of the city so that a patron would manifest his magnificence which was accepted as a virtue.<sup>108</sup> It is important to highlight that this transition overlaps with the transitioning of building practice from "the medieval guild system in the sphere of Humanism," as James Ackerman notes as the first phase of the emergence of architecture as a profession during the Renaissance.<sup>109</sup> Filarete, without doubt belongs to this period as well.

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<sup>106</sup> Alberti also acknowledges this reality by targeting enlightened patrons with his *De Re Aedificatoria*, Goldthwaite implies that Filarete is being more practical minded by suggesting his naïve yet effective theory, which is a spot-on observation considering that such lineage can be claimed for most of the buildings constructed in Florence. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 97.

<sup>107</sup> Quoted from Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, 2.

<sup>108</sup> A. D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 33 (1970): 162-170.

<sup>109</sup> Ackerman suggests to divide the period into at least three parts, the first one as noted above, marked by Brunelleschi and Alberti. He situates the second part around the first half of the sixteenth century where there is less interest in theory but is more likely marked by rugged individualism, and the third part is the late sixteenth

The interest of the patron in the building program, as a measure to manifest his own virtue, was a driving force. Patrons had political and social reasons for choosing particular designs, mainly sustained by the desire to display their status in addition to utilitarian reasons like an obligation of hospitality which can still be considered as the means to the patronage image they wanted to portray. Accordingly, some patrons were already showing intellectual interests on the subject, where we know of Alfonso of Aragon, asking for a copy of Vitruvius during the discussion of the plans for a triumphal arch at Naples. Similarly, Francesco di Giorgio Martini presented his treatise on architecture to Federigo de Montefeltro of Urbino. Before deciding how to build his palace, Ercole d'Este borrowed Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria* from Lorenzo de' Medici.<sup>110</sup> The latter's affection for Alberti's treatise is also well known. In 1484 Lorenzo agreed to loan the manuscript to Borso d'Este under the condition of receiving it back soon since "he is very fond of it and reads it often."<sup>111</sup>

While these examples are mainly from the second half of the fifteenth century, in its first half we know of Cosimo de Medici as the eminent figure that associated the 'virtue of magnificence' with building enterprise. A. D. Fraser Jenkins very clearly lays out the maneuvers of Cosimo's defenders in changing the perception of his patronage from the powerful image constructed with the wealth gained from usury and riches to the abstract notion of Magnificence, displayed gloriously by a man who spends his wealth in a noble, honorable way.<sup>112</sup> The defenders of this view of course would be the ones who in some sense benefit from his patronage. It was primarily humanists, who reconstructed magnificence as a virtue from Aristotle's Ethics.<sup>113</sup> The public perception of the image of the patron, however, was bounded within the dilemma of the changing values of humanism. As Pius II notes in his

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century with the establishment of academies where architects begin to write directly about their practice. At that end he claims that the profession is finally reaching the distinction since the antiquity. While his main focus is on the second period, his remarks on the first period are valuable to my research. See, Ackerman, "Architectural Practice in the Italian Renaissance," 3.

<sup>110</sup> Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014-third edition -1986, 1999), 118.

<sup>111</sup> Quoted from Joseph Rykwert's introduction to *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988), xviii.

<sup>112</sup> Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture..."

<sup>113</sup> Peter Howard, "Preaching Magnificence in Renaissance Florence." In *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2008: 325–369. Filarete's close friend and his main source for the humanist aspirations of his *Libro*, Francesco Filelfo extensively wrote on magnificence. In his 1443 *Convivia Mediolanensia*, dedicated to Filippo Maria Visconti, he included a translation of Aristotle's *megaloprepeia* to argue for magnificence as a virtue of the rich. Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture..." 166.

*Commentaries* Cosimo's expenditure on building "hurled insults at him for appearing too powerful." Machiavelli in the *Istorie Fiorentine* pointed out that although Cosimo's actions were those of a king, he was nevertheless careful to avoid appearing grander than an ordinary citizen due to fear of attracting envy.<sup>114</sup> These were evident concerns in his choice for the design of his Palazzo Medici, as we read the story from Vasari. As narrated in the entry for Brunelleschi, Cosimo shared his intention to build a palace to Brunelleschi. Thrilled with the opportunity, for he has desired to build such a worthy house, but did not have a patron who would wish for and afford it, Brunelleschi left aside everything else and demonstrated his excellence in his art and "made him a great and very beautiful model for the said palace." Brunelleschi's proposal, however, revealed itself "too sumptuous" for Cosimo that he reasoned his concern about the envy that it can generate, and therefore he refrained from the execution of it. Getting upset with this result, Brunelleschi broke his model into thousand pieces.<sup>115</sup> Later, Vasari highlights that Cosimo has recognized the genius of Michelozzo and "caused him to make the model for the house and palace at the corner of the Via Larga," which Cosimo was pleased with. Accordingly, Cosimo "had the building brought to completion under his [Michelozzo's] direction."<sup>116</sup>

The Palazzo Medici story displays the role of the patron as the one who is ultimately responsible for the image he portrays, therefore exercises his authority in choosing the design for his building. In this particular case, the patron extends this for the selection of the architect he wants to work with. This should be emphasized, because as I will discuss in the next chapter, Filarete capitalizes his pregnancy analogy primarily on the patron's selection of the architect, similar to a man exercising his judgement for selecting a wife. In contextualizing the works of architecture, Ackerman notes that it is important to take into account the needs and desires of the patrons which are primarily shaped in the context of the group to which they belong in addition to "the responses of an architect selected by the client."<sup>117</sup> He clearly re-articulates what would be seen as sole products of the creative inspiration of the designers, as 'responses' that are generated for the desires and needs of the patron, which are in return shaped according the socio-cultural dimension of their patronage. Like any response generated in the mind and hands of another agent, it can never be perceived as a mere

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>115</sup> Vasari, life of Brunelleschi pg. 226-7.

<sup>116</sup> Vasari, life of Michelozzo, pg. 260.

<sup>117</sup> James Ackerman, "The Geopolitics of Venetan Architecture in the Time of Titian," reprinted in *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture* (The MIT Press, 1991), 453.

outcome. The role of the agent is also subjecting to a creative dimension, which is nevertheless being initiated with the circumstances portrayed in his working conditions. This is also one of the important aspects of the pregnancy analogy Filarete employs; the architect becomes the subject of creative faculties which have long been associated with female attributes in gender-based terms.<sup>118</sup> This I will discuss more on the third section of Part II. Here I want to highlight that although Filarete portrays the architect as almost of an equivalent agent to the patron in bringing forward a design – as a plural act of the two together – nevertheless he emphasizes that it is the patron’s responsibility to choose the architect he wants to work with.

Even though Filarete’s narrative setting can be read as a utopia which directly emerged out of his immediate frustrations brought about during his tenure at the Sforza court,<sup>119</sup> it should be pointed out that Filarete carries through some remarks relating to the quattrocento context of patronage that wouldn’t exceed the limits of his imagination. Even the dream-setting for the ideal relation to take place between the patron and the architect, Filarete structures it through the patron’s initiation. Along these lines, in his article Gundersheimer also provides a counter-opinion to Luigi Firpo’s reading of Filarete as the innovator of the ideas relating to the city design and claiming him as the first Renaissance Utopist. Gundersheimer underlines the fact that even in its narrative setting, “for Filarete there could be no Sforzinda without the Sforza, no ideal city without a precisely articulated social hierarchy.” And he adds: “While modifying and rationalizing them considerably, Filarete accepted the terms of social and political organization, and of cultural sponsorship, that he observed in the Italian urban world.”<sup>120</sup> Although Sforzinda (as Plusiapolis as well) display certain characteristics of a utopia, with its

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<sup>118</sup> Berrin Terim, “Dreaming the Body: Filarete’s *disegno*,” in *Ceilings and Dreams: The Architecture of Levity*, eds. Paul Emmons, Federica Goffi, Jodi La Coe (London: Routledge, 2020): 49-59.

<sup>119</sup> Genoni, “Filarete in Word and Image,” 99-117.

<sup>120</sup> Gundersheimer, 1981: 4-5. Luigi Firpo, “La Citta Ideale del Filarete,” in *Studi in Memoria di Gioele Solari* (Turin, 1954). For a discussion of ‘idea’ and ‘ideal city’ in Filarete’s treatise, see, Jonathan Powers, “Building Utopia: The Status of the Ideal in Filarete’s *Trattato*,” in *Imagining and Making the World: Reconsidering Architecture and Utopia*, ed. Nathaniel Coleman (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011): 29-56; “The Virtù of Architectural Invention,” 59-75. Powers’ analysis shows that Filarete never uses the term “idea,” or any derivative of it to imply “ideal” for his architectural program nor city design. Françoise Choay, emphasizes on the narrative aspect of the *Libro*, through which we listen to how he [the architect] undertakes to build a city for his patron. Hence, Sforzinda is not being described as a model to be replicated. There is a gradual construction taking place, and the design proposal doesn’t hold a premise to transform social practices. *The Rule and The Model: On the Theory of Architecture and Urbanism*, trans. Denise Bratton (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997), 175 & 373n16.

location,<sup>121</sup> geometric layout,<sup>122</sup> society (with its projected institutions)<sup>123</sup> living in harmony along these constituents, Filarete's positioning himself as an agent that can only operate within a patronage system (or an extension of it) is reflective of the architectural practices of his time. Looking at the *Libro* in general, there is nothing 'utopic' about Filarete's pedagogical agenda. Within the overly romanticized relationship of the patron and the architect, the patron agrees with his architect's designs (which are supposedly in antique style), nevertheless he is also portrayed as slowly accepting and appreciating the antique style over modern.<sup>124</sup>

Continuing looking through the lens of patronage studies, the emergence of architecture as a profession and architect as a distinct title from a master-mason cannot be considered autonomous. Goldthwaite convincingly suggests the socio-economic context of Florence during the quattrocento, along with the values asserted with civic humanism, as the reasons for the elaborate building program taking place.<sup>125</sup> These conditions created a market force for innovative designs, following the Roman ruins as models according to humanists' doctrine for the magnificence of building. The patrons' interest in the ancient forms, as constituting the visual manifestation of their ideological agenda, was being sustained with the influence of the discovered erudite texts, which were being translated / interpreted by the humanists.<sup>126</sup> The suggestion for the artist to work in close relation with a humanist was already suggested by Alberti, in his words: "Literary men, who are full of information about many subjects, will be of great assistance in preparing the composition of a 'historia', and the great virtue of this consists primarily in its invention [*inventione*]."<sup>127</sup> In Filarete's treatise, after the discovery of the Golden Book, we see episodes for design interventions being conceived with the heavy involvement of the court humanist as well. Since the ancient codex is written in Greek, the rest

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<sup>121</sup> Berthold Hub, "Filarete and the East: The Renaissance of a Prisca Architectura," *JSAH*, 70, 1 (2011): 18-37.

<sup>122</sup> S. Lang, "The Ideal City from Plato to Howard." *Architectural Review*, 668 (1952): 90-101. For a thorough reading of Sforzinda's geometry as a cosmography and the parallels between its foundation ceremony and *Thema Mundi* representations, see Berthold Hub, "La Planimetria Di Sforzinda: Un'interpretazione," *Arte Lombarda*, 155, 1 (2009): 81-96; "Founding an Ideal City in Filarete's *Libro Architetonico* (C. 1460)," in *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe* eds. Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven (Boston: Brill, 2012): 17-57.

<sup>123</sup> Hubertus Günther, "Society in Filarete's 'Libro Architetonico' between Realism, Ideal, Science Fiction and Utopia." *Arte Lombarda*, 155, 1, (2009): 56-80.

<sup>124</sup> Hub, "Filarete and the East," 33n7.

<sup>125</sup> Whereas a similar upheaval takes place in Rome and Venice in the sixteenth century. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 355.

<sup>126</sup> For the patron's development of the artistic program with the aid of the humanists: See, Charles Hope, "Artist, Patrons and Advisers in the Italian Renaissance," in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, eds. Guy Fitch Lytle, Stephen Orgel (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981): 3-26.

<sup>127</sup> *On Painting*, III, 53.

of the episode depends on ‘translating’ the magnificent buildings as well as other novel aspects pertaining to antiquity. Considering the reciprocal relation of the Golden Book to the *Libro*, one can easily see that Filarete’s architectural “inventions” are indebted to his learning of the antiquity.

In order to find an “architect,” patrons were interested in changing their outlook away from master-masons which would perfectly accomplish any sort of building project, however without any sort of deviation from the technique they were accustomed to perform based on their training.<sup>128</sup> Hence, it is not a coincidence that Florence became the birth-place for the profession. As Federigo di Montelfeltro, Count (later Duke) of Urbino called Tuscany: “the fountain of architects.”<sup>129</sup> Considering the political division of Italy into many city-states, the rivalry in patronage further increased the demand to hire artists with a Florentine origin, to respond to their needs and desires within this new emerged vocabulary at which they were gaining practice. The demand for innovation, coupled with the interest in the ancient forms created a new conception of taste, and the Florentines were the ones to deliver that.<sup>130</sup> As a factual note, the episode where Lodovico Gonzaga visits the newly built port city (according to the designs found in the ancient codex, the Golden Book), he does talk about his architect Luca Fancelli and he directly highlights his origin from Florence for which he needed to hire him in order to build in the antique manner.<sup>131</sup>

For the patrons to turn to goldsmiths and sculptors to elevate them to the status of architects was evidently due to their *disegno* background in which they were already familiar with

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<sup>128</sup> Goldthwaite, 1980: 354-355.

<sup>129</sup> Patent of Federigo di Montelfeltro, Count (later Duke) of Urbino, on behalf of Luciano Laurana, 10 June 1468 in Chambers, 1971: 165.

<sup>130</sup> John Spencer’s reading of Filarete’s treatise overly emphasizes this, as the overarching spirit of the work. Filarete’s pride in his Florentine origin is evident, even the name of the architect of the Golden Book, is an anagram that combines his name with his origin city. The reason for my statement for ‘over-emphasis’ was along with Genoni’s comments in her dissertation, whom I agree with. Spencer stresses on Filarete’s artistic aspirations to an extent that it shadows the patronage reality Filarete is operating in. While the strong ‘Florentine’ architectural agenda of the work cannot be dismissed, the *Libro* nevertheless presents a more complex dynamic of architectural production during the Renaissance. See, “Filarete in Word and Image.”

<sup>131</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 100r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 381 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 175. The architect mentioned here can likely be Alberti as well, considering that Alberti worked for Gonzaga in Mantua after 1459 and among other things, he delivered a wooden model of the church of San Sebastiano (which is mentioned in the text). However, the architect is described as a man of few words, who is not able to show his knowledge in words. The way Filarete talks highly of Alberti in Book I, doesn’t align with this description. This architect, mentioned as *valente* is more reflective of Filarete’s status, who is coming from a shop background and elevated to architect status in the Gonzaga court. Please see Finoli & Grassi’s and Spencer’s notes on the same pages.

devising the vocabulary of ancient forms. To become an architect, first-hand study of Roman antiquity, via drawing with proper measurement and analysis in order to employ them in their own vocabulary, is known since the first 'architect' of the Renaissance - Brunelleschi. Both Vasari and Manetti narrates the fact, though none of his drawings reached to today, which could be attributed to their architectural, rather than archeological purposes.<sup>132</sup> Alberti in *De re Aedificatoria* noted that he had carefully studied the Roman ruins, and more importantly he actually created a map of the ruins in Rome, titled *Descriptio Urbis Romae* around 1432-34 (which is a rather limited study in an antiquarian sense).<sup>133</sup> Yet the most concrete evidence of the undertaking was probably Giuliano de Sangallo's *Codex Barberini* in the Vatican, although his little *taccuino* should also be noted which is now conserved in the Biblioteca Comunale of Siena. The format of these books has been suggested to be similar in tradition to 'pattern books,' employed in the shops during the middle ages, and apparently made their way into the quattrocento with *exempla* of ancient architectural details in addition to human and animal figures.<sup>134</sup> Sangallo started the *Codex Barberini* in 1465 (although its oldest drawing is likely dated 1480) and continued to add to it through-out his lifetime. In addition to his own studies, four folios of Sangallo's *Codex* include copies of Hagia Sophia, Parthenon and other monuments from Cyriaca d'Ancona's *Commentarie*, which he recast into his own norms of Roman antiquity.<sup>135</sup> Copies from other sources are also evident, which pointed to the same source with *Codex Escorialensis* which was produced in Domenico Ghirlandaios' workshop.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, this observation should be contextualized in a complex traffic of copying taking place between codices that were circulating in and around artists' workshops.<sup>137</sup> Filarete's dependence of this tradition was evident. Accordingly, in the execution of his bronze doors, on the bottom right panel of the martyrdom of Saint Peter, the source of Filarete's depiction of the

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<sup>132</sup> Ettliger, "The Emergence of the Italian Architect," 99.

<sup>133</sup> Peter Murray, "The Italian Renaissance Architect," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 114, 5119 (1966): 589-607; *Delineation of the City of Rome*, Mario Carpo and Francesco Furlan, eds (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007).

<sup>134</sup> Villard De Honnecourt's famous codex, made before 1235 is the obvious example (in addition to others) that also belong to this tradition until the fourteenth century. See Charles de Tolnay, *History and Technique of Old Master Drawings* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1972), 30.

<sup>135</sup> Beverly Louise Brown and Diana E. E. Kleiner, "Giuliano da Sangallo's Drawings after Ciriaco d'Ancona: Transformations of Greek and Roman Antiquities in Athens," *JSAH*, 42, 4 (1983): 321-335.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 323n20.

<sup>137</sup> A codex from the early fifteenth century attributed to Andreas Coner in the Soane Museum, also falls into this tradition. See, Thomas Ashby, "A Sketchbook of Ancient Rome (of the School of Domenico Ghirlandaio)," *The Classical Quarterly*, 3, 2 (1909): 146-149.

Castel S'Angelo (figure 2.11) is also related to (and interpreted from) a copy from Cyriaca d'Ancona's *Commentarie* as the figure 2.12 suggests.<sup>138</sup>

An artist who is trained in a different craft would find the figures he needs to incorporate in his work in these pattern books, his education preparing him by studying and re-drawing them.<sup>139</sup> Architectural representation, mostly consisting of elevation and perspective views of the buildings, were also included in this practice, because the decorum of the scene represented often required an architectural setting. Alina Payne proposes the term "micro-architectures" for classifying small scale "architecture-related objects" where the transition between scales only remain in the domain of representation. Payne's list consists of "representations of architecture on Papal and Episcopal crosiers, or in the form of reliquaries, caskets, *cassoni*, *torche`res*, and candelabra, collector's cabinets (furniture)," including "representations of architecture on medals and other material worked in relief (cameos, gems, pottery, etc.)."<sup>140</sup> This wide array suggests that the artists practicing these crafts, would develop a familiarity with architectural drawing.

With *De Pictura*, Alberti aimed to elevate painting from its craft-based tradition to the level of liberal arts was asserted. And doing so, Alberti would not refer to the pattern-books but recommend the artist to apply his analytical look to the study of the figures from the nature.<sup>141</sup> Alberti's famous veil,<sup>142</sup> to be held as an apparatus between the eye of the artist and the nature he would depict in his painting/drawing, was the means to do so. Although it is questionable to what extent Alberti's aspirations found a direct response in shop practice, for which we know that it didn't in Filarete's depiction of Castel S'Angelo, nevertheless these suggest the means and mediums in which an artist, who was not yet an architect, would be trained in and already got exposed to ancient architecture via the required program of their art work.

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<sup>138</sup> F. Saxl, "The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics: Bartholomaeus Fontius: *Libermonumentorum Romanae urbis et aliorum locorum*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 4, 1 (1940): 19-46.

<sup>139</sup> Charles de Tolnay, *History and Technique of Old Master Drawings* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1972), 32.

<sup>140</sup> Payne, "Materiality, Crafting and Scale," 373.

<sup>141</sup> Leonardo also particularly advises that primarily rather than copying the *maniere* of the master or others hands, the apprentice should study the nature.

<sup>142</sup> "a veil loosely woven of fine thread, dyed whatever color you please, divided up by thicker threads into as many parallel square sections as you like, and stretched on a frame." Alberti, *De Pictura* trans. Cecil Grayson (London: Phaidon Press, 1972), 67-71.

Goldthwaite suggests that the advantage of the goldsmiths was that they were already strong in devising their work in drawing, and also many of the objects they made, like shrines, reliquaries and tabernacles, which are known as *Kleinarchitektur* (small architecture)<sup>143</sup> were already given architectural forms. Accordingly, in the Sienese tradition, the wood-workers, not in the sense of carpenters who were already involved in building trades from the mere craftsmen perspective, but furniture makers had a practice of realizing architectonic forms and classical details within furniture design. More importantly, wood-workers were in charge of executing the architectural models, hence they had a direct correlation to architectural practice from *disegno* side.<sup>144</sup> In his school for the artisans, Filarete says that the head of the school, should be picked from one of the three [major] crafts, naming a either a painter, goldsmith or a sculptor. His fourth option is a wood worker, which he proposes with a condition: as long as they have *disegno* and practiced it in many ways.<sup>145</sup>

As noted in the previous section, due to their ability to undertake a large-scale work, and run a craft-based enterprise with the involvement of others, a master who is accomplished in his field, would be considered to be eligible to be able to undertake an on-site work. In Filarete's route to become an architect, Robert Glass highlights the grandeur of the bronze doors of the old Saint Peter's as a mark of his successful accomplishment, very-well received by its patron, for which the artist himself also took great pride in. He was even identified with the doors, as two letters in 1456 addressed to Sforza, Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici refers to Filarete as "Antonio dalla porta."<sup>146</sup> After this project, in his return to Florence, it only makes sense to assume that Filarete would aspire to continue working on equally large or bigger programs. Glass disputes the credits given to Filarete for small scale works during this period, and highly favors Filarete's intentions to favor a patronage for a bigger scale undertake.<sup>147</sup> After leaving Florence and before his arrival to Milan in 1451, Filarete was in northern Italy, undertaking some sculptural work in Venice, and his aspirations about this city as well, found its aura in his *Libro*.

I mentioned the letter dated December 20, 1451, Filarete wrote to Piero de Medici, expressing his gratitude to him for his reference to be hired in the Sforza Court. In the same letter we also

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<sup>143</sup> Payne, "Materiality, Crafting and Scale."

<sup>144</sup> Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 386.

<sup>145</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 138v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 516 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 239.

<sup>146</sup> Glass, "Filarete at the Papal Court," 50n5.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

read that, Filarete was incorporated into the already started construction (in 1450) of the Castello, where there is no clear evidence of who its architect was. Here, Filarete was in charge of the ornamentation of the “front of the castle,” for which he made drawings for the two towers facing the city and a drawbridge [*battipontè*], which are mentioned to be included in the letter, but did not survive to day.<sup>148</sup> Employing Filarete for the sculptural work of the front of the castle was an ideological move on Francesco Sforza’s end. As Machiavelli’s famous assertion in *The Prince* exemplifies,<sup>149</sup> Sforza was a leader who was not accepted by his subjects and therefore aimed to demonstrate his power by turning the fortifications of his castle towards the city.<sup>150</sup> Sforza’s fresh and unstable political position at the time, however, led him to be more discreet with his agenda, which explains his enthusiasm to employ a Florentine artist (Filarete) for the ornamentations of its front façade.<sup>151</sup> Again in the same letter, Filarete clearly states that Sforza is fond of him and planning to elevate his status to become the *capomaestro* of the Duomo, despite his negative reception by the local masons, because he is a foreigner.<sup>152</sup> Filarete signs his letter as “Antonius ischultor,” yet starting from 1452, he changes his title to *architectus*, as evident in the correspondence shown in figure 2.13.

From 1452 to 54 Filarete supervises the *Fabbrica Del Duomo* (with Giovanni Solari) and an October 1452 document registers him to deliver a wooden model for the lantern, which was not adopted. The antagonism of local builders eventually pushed Filarete aside from this *fabbrica* as well. From 1455 to 57, Filarete is engaged with the design of the Bergamo Cathedral. According to his account in Book XVI, the bishop (and others involved) selects Filarete’s design among other proposals, and accordingly, Filarete is asked to deliver a wooden model of his design, as recorded in fol. 123r.<sup>153</sup> During this time Filarete is also

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<sup>148</sup> Lazzaroni & Muñoz, *Filarete*, 164.

<sup>149</sup> “... if a ruler is more afraid of his subjects than of foreigners, he should build fortresses; but a ruler who is more afraid of foreigners than of his own subjects should not build them. The castle of Milan, built by Francesco Sforza, has been and will be a source of more trouble to the Sforza family than any other disorder of that state.” *Machiavelli: The Prince*, ed. Quentin Skinner and Russell Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 75-6. See also, Kenneth L. Hayes, “Machiavelli’s Architect: Filarete and the Archē,” (Master thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1993), 34-50.

<sup>150</sup> Genoni, “Filarete in Word and Image,” 79-96.

<sup>151</sup> Lazzaroni & Muñoz, *Filarete*, 164.

<sup>152</sup> *Avisandovi chellui vuole che sia capomaestro nel duomo ben è vero che perchè sono forestieri loro ci fano ripulsa*, *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> The exact date of Filarete’s departure to Bergamo is not known; however, in a letter dated from April 26, 1457, Filarete states that Duke Sforza allowed for a six-day extension of his stay in Bergamo under the disposal of the bishop. In another letter dated fourteen days later, Sforza demands Filarete’s return to Milan urgently. Lazzaroni &

working on his design for Ospedale Maggiore. On April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1456, Sforza declares that he will build a centralized hospital, and on April 12<sup>th</sup> the corner-stone of the building is laid, claiming Filarete as the head engineer during the ceremony. Filarete continues to have conflicts with the local masons and deputies. While Filarete is still referred as the “inginerius,” (figure 2.14) “architectum,” “fabricatorem,” “directorem et ingenierum tanti operis,” he becomes subject to a decrease in his salary, and eventual marginalization from the project. By 1461, Sforza no longer effectively operates to maintain Filarete’s elevated status. One can observe the power shift as the hospital deputies interfering with the design, and completely altering the architect’s proposals (to an extent that Filarete finds himself providing models in Lombard style Gothic for the altered design).<sup>154</sup>

It is around this time, 1460-1, Filarete heavily focuses on writing his *Libro*, including his revisions to be addressed to Piero de Medici, since we know that he dedicated his work to Medici in 1464. Although his marginalization from the *fabbrica* of Ospedale Maggiore eventually turned him into a spectator of his (once) own design,<sup>155</sup> Filarete nevertheless held

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Muñoz, *Filarete*. Before Filarete departed for his return to Milan, he had already left the model (probably along with other drawings) at the fabrication site of the cathedral in the hands of the masons. After his return to Milan, we do not know if Filarete could pay another visit to Bergamo to oversee the maturation of his *disegno*. During the short period of his involvement with the construction, assuming that he was operating remotely from the construction site at least towards the end of the period, the growth of the design could only reach to the partial raising of the foundation walls. Due to the refurbishing of the whole structure by Carlo Fontana in 1689, not much of the design of the Cathedral, particularly its façade and further details can be credited to Filarete, although the plan layout is intact with the way it was conceived in his model, as explained and presented in the *Libro*. Further evidence on the presence of the physical model (among other related drawings) at the fabrication site of the cathedral is suggested by scholar Richard Schofield in his thorough study of the Colloeni Chapel, which started construction in 1471 and is located around the corner from the piazza where the Cathedral stands. The chapel is the first architectural commission of the sculptor Amadeo, who was documented to be employed for a period of time for the construction of Ospedale Maggiore in 1466, after Filarete completely left the project. For essence *all’antica* of Amadeo’s design Schofield credits the general influence of Filarete. In particular, he points to certain derivations in vaulting techniques in the Chapel that were not common among Lombardy masons and argues that Amadeo probably conducted a direct study of these elements based on Filarete’s physical model already present in the Cathedral site. The wooden model did not survive today; however, Filarete’s drawing of the model in his *Libro* still constitutes a sound reference for Schofield’s study. See, “Avoiding Rome: An Introduction to Lombard Sculptors and the Antique,” *Arte Lombarda*, 100, 1 (1992): 34-38; “The Colleoni Chapel and the Creation of a Local *all’antica* Architectural Style,” in *Bramante milanese e l’architettura del Rinascimento lombardo*, eds. C. L. Frommel, L. Giordano e R. Schofield (Venezia: Marsilio, 2002): 170-174.

<sup>154</sup> Genoni, “Filarete in Word and Image,” 82-4. Evelyn Welch, *Art and Authority in Renaissance Milan* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 156.

<sup>155</sup> Glass notices that Francesco Filelfo doesn’t mention Ospedale Maggiore in his epigram he composed for Filarete in 1465, while mentioning his other appointments in building projects. This, he suggests, even reflects further how Filarete lost his authority over the design of the hospital. See, “Filarete at the Papal Court,” 55. For the full text of Filelfo’s epigram, Maria Beltramini, “Francesco Filelfo e il Filarete: nuovi contributi alla storia dell’amicizia fra il letterato e l’architetto della Milano sforzesca,” *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia: Quaderni 4th ser. 1/2* (1996): 121-2.

on to his architect title, by composing his main edifice, since the *Libro* should be considered as. Despite his engagement with any built work at the time, while writing his twenty-fifth book, in a letter asking about the measurements of the Medici palace to incorporate into his manuscript, he would continue signing his name as “Antonius architectus.”<sup>156</sup>

#### iv) Educating the patron – *disegno* in relation to antiquity

Filarete’s architectural work in comparison to his sculptural work was shadowed under the unfortunate circumstances he had to work in. Not only he was pushed from the *fabbrica* of the ongoing constructions, he even had to be marginalized in his own project of Ospedale Maggiore, and had to watch its building progress from outside. His involvement in the Bergamo cathedral also was limited after he brought forward the design. None of these scenarios fit into his ideal definition for the role of the architect, who is also supposed to be in charge after the design is completed, for which he extends the role of the mother to the wet-nurse. Yet, these circumstances gave Filarete the leisure time towards the end of his tenure to compose his *Libro*, and demonstrate how the architect would be able to satisfy his patron if only the patron would pursue the initiative he started with the architect in the first place. The effect of Filarete’s real life experience has a symptomatic essence through-out the treatise, yet the pedagogical intention is more reflective of the interest a patron should have in the first place for the “noble” way of building.<sup>157</sup> Filarete writes the book as an ‘architect,’ but more specifically a Florentine one.<sup>158</sup> He clearly asserts the pedagogical motive of his writing which is to teach modes and measures of building, as if it is his mission to bring the practice that is flourishing in Florence to northern Italy. Filarete did not practice as an architect in Florence, but this shouldn’t rule out the influence he got in the atmosphere where his peers were elevated to this status. The new ‘style’ emerged in Florence, with its profound cultural

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<sup>156</sup> Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 696 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 325n10.

<sup>157</sup> The emphasis on building nobly is exclusively associated with ancient style in Filarete’s doctrine. From Filarete’s frustrations, we understand that Sforza cannot yet distinguish such nobility and solely uses architecture for his political agenda. Mary Hollingsworth gives a brief account of Sforza’s projects outside of Milan which he took close interest in. In addition, she interprets the trip Filarete took to visit Ospedale Santa Maria Nuova in Florence as the patron’s initiative, demonstrating his interest for his new hospital. *Patronage in Renaissance Italy: From 1400 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 169. For Sforza’s activities as art / architecture patrons, see Evelyn Samuels Welch, “The Process of Sforza Patronage.” *Renaissance Studies*, 3, 4 (1989):370–386.

<sup>158</sup> Although he is very-well versed in techniques of bronze casting and sculpture, we do not read anything pertaining to that in his treatise. Glass, “Filarete at the Papal Court.”

meanings, would elevate a building to the level of architecture,<sup>159</sup> and the person in charge of its drafting to the level of architect.

It should be noted here that this style emerging in Florence was associated with the revival of the Roman forms, as Manetti proudly asserted in his biography of Brunelleschi crediting him for that. However, what essence of Roman architecture Brunelleschi ‘truly revived,’ is more of an ambiguity rather than certainty.<sup>160</sup> When Brunelleschi’s loggia of *Ospedale degli Innocenti* in Florence (figure 2.15) is juxtaposed with another example from the same period with close geographical proximity; for instance, the loggia of the Hospital at Lastra a Signa (figure 2.16), one can see that the difference is more of a “kind” rather than “degree.” Both of these layouts display an identical solution to the same problem: “both consist of a covered passage with the covering vaults supported on one side by a continuous wall and on the other side by columns open to the street”- but their difference rely in the formal language. Brunelleschi’s design suggests a more likeness to the vocabulary of Roman architecture; maybe through a more rigorous application of mathematical rules and proportions, but it cannot be taken for granted as a Roman structure. Writing in the second half of the fifteenth century, it is more suggestive to read Manetti’s words in the epoch of his time, where the idea of the revival of Roman antiquity in architecture is more profoundly established after Alberti’s *De Re Aedificatoria*, which is also published after Brunelleschi’s works.<sup>161</sup> Joan Onians points to this direction by differentiating Brunelleschi’s practice from Alberti’s writings in recovering the immediate influences that were at stake before the words fully haunted the image.<sup>162</sup> Along the same lines, Onians’ critical studies on Filarete reveals and reinforces the Greek aspect of the work in contradiction to Alberti’s Latin,<sup>163</sup> where Berthold Hub goes even further deep into the influence of east in Filarete’s work with the Egyptian references, to suggest a *Prisca Architectura*.<sup>164</sup>

Accordingly, the complex form of Filarete’s *Libro*, along with various design proposals that are derived from the imagination of the architect based on literary sources and eastern influences,

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<sup>159</sup> Goldthwaite, “The Empire of Things,” 166.

<sup>160</sup> Murray, “The Italian Renaissance Architect,” 590.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 130-6.

<sup>163</sup> John Onians, “Alberti and ΦΙΛΑΡΕΤΗ. A Study in Their Sources,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 34 (1971): 96–114.

<sup>164</sup> Hub, “Filarete and the East.”

do not render a clear approach Filarete takes towards the Roman architecture either. It has been convincingly argued that the design portfolio of the *Libro* is rather weak in terms of its demonstration of archeological study of the ruins, nor very clear in designating the incorporation of the vocabulary in his designs.<sup>165</sup> Nevertheless, Filarete's 'Florentine architect' etiquette is very clear and my impression is that it should be identified with the innovative role in the use of the ancient vocabulary (not necessarily limited to Roman antiquity) with their means of *disegno*. His almost superficial advocacy for building in the ancient manner should be understood as a mere choice of "style," -yet an elevated one- emphasizing its association with patronage and what the building signifies, rather than a thorough study of explanatory and technical details of it.<sup>166</sup>

In order to do so, Filarete guides his patron to raise an awareness and to develop a taste for ancient style (again in its broad scope) which is defined mainly in opposition to "modern." His approach is spread to the almost entirety of the narrative, demonstrated as a successive process where the patron first starts with his appreciation of the modern buildings, and then being on fence for both styles, and towards the end completely rejecting the modern style. The first one is immediately given after a short digression from the dinner scene with an introduction to the content and organization of the book, that ends with assuring that, at the end of the treatise, one will understand that in the ancient times they were building more noble buildings than they are done now.<sup>167</sup> The *signori* interrupts to ask for a clarification about the beautiful buildings built around the time, like the cathedral of Florence and Milan. Filarete parallels the grandiose effect of these buildings with beauty, but he leaves aside to talk about

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> The question of style, not only for his *Libro* but in Filarete's *oeuvre*, is a more complex one, especially when perceived through the lens of Vasari. Vasari's harsh criticism of the doors, and also his *Libro* (added in the second edition) are a direct indication of the development of "taste" between 1450 and 1550, but not necessarily before then or around that time. As Peter Murray notes, from Vasari's "omissions and suppressions, no less than his inclusions" we perceive a certain understanding of taste, but this is nevertheless limiting. See, "the Italian Renaissance architect," 590. Evidently, not all the patrons are on the favor of the newly emerging vocabulary derived from ancient forms, but have preferences for other stylistic choices that is much closer to medieval taste. Robert Glass' research on Filarete's doors, very convincingly shows the high appreciation of the work and the artist by the patron and the humanists affiliated with that patronage. Despite Vasari's criticism, what is really at stake here is a different sort of taste that is favored by the patrons, and certain artists -due to their courtly aspirations- willing to provide that service for them. This directly correlates with Filarete's representation of the architect, in the same courtly manner, with an 'seemingly' passive role to produce his work according to his patron's *voluntá* which I will elaborate in the next part. For a discussion of the reception of Filarete's doors at the time, See Glass, "Filarete at the Papal Court."

<sup>167</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 2r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 12 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 5: *E per ragioni s'intenderà che anticamente si facevano più degni edifizii che ora non si fanno.*

the pitfalls of these modern churches. He claims that it is the “universal opinion of those who make anything that belongs to this building exercise to be seem to be a good architect... those who know how to put a stone in lime and daub it with mortar and they seem to be excellent masters of architecture; if Archimedes or Daedelus, who made the labyrinth, are resurrected, to them they seem worthier. If these masters do anything, they do with *pratica* rather than *scienza* of drawing or letters or measure, as he matches.”<sup>168</sup>

Filarete’s anxiety with the master-masons is founded on a rather true fact, which he frames as a ‘universal belief’ that what they can offer is still a design of a building. Among many other duties relating to building trade, first and foremost the master-masons had the role of the “architect,” in the sense of the term as the designer of the buildings. While the extent quality and variety of these drawings may differ from our modern expectations, nevertheless they demonstrate the master-masons’ role for crafting the design of a building in drawing and model form.<sup>169</sup> Some of these drawings were even suggested as presentation drawings for patrons to discuss the future design.<sup>170</sup> Yet these were, like in every building practice, was a response that has been mainly shaped with the program provided by the patrons, and in the means of providing the program the role of drawing was not the only medium for communication. Based on the partial English translation of the 1398 contract for the construction of the Monk’s dormitory at Durham, one can draw out many other parameters verbally assessed in addition to a drawing.

The contract names the mason John de Middleton in charge of the construction of the walls of the Dormitory and explains the mode and form for the mason to build the wall accordingly. This explanation is based on many clauses where a drawing is one of them. For instance, the length and height of the wall are given and the decision whether a parapet is necessary is left

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<sup>168</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 2r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 12-3 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 6: *Signore, se queste sono di grande spesa. Ma lasciamo stare al presente dire di queste chiese moderne loro mancamenti, i quali sono proceduti quasi da una oppinione universale di chi fa fare alcuna cosa che appartenga a questo esercizio d'edificare, e a ognuno gli pare essere buono architetto. E per questo è più maestri di questa arte che di niuna altra, ma meno se ne truova buoni che dell'altre; e massime di questi, come sanno mettere una pietra in calcina e imbrattarla di malta, pare loro essere ottimi maestri d'architettura; e se risucitasse Archimede o Dedalo, che fece il laberinto, pare a loro essere più degni. E quello che fanno, se pure alcuna cosa fanno, è più per una loro pratica che per scienza di disegno o di lettere o di misure che abbino.*

<sup>169</sup> For examples of masons’ working drawings for design, see Mark Girouard, “Three Gothic Drawings in Smithson Collection,” in *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 64, 1 (1956): 35-36.

<sup>170</sup> John Harvey, “Early Tudor Draughtsmen,” in *The Connoisseur Coronation Book*, ed. L.G.G. Ramsey (London, 1953).

“according to the wishes of the Prior and Convent.” The materials for the exterior and the interior walls are specified. For the description of the base of this planar wall, a drawing is referred to: “according to the form of the exemplar attached to this present contract.” The contract follows with the number of doors and windows, and it specifies for five of the windows to “be carved similarly to, or better than, the middle window located in the Commoner’s room.” The other four windows are mentioned to be suitable and of good work, “to be selected according to the wish of the said Prior and Convent.” In further descriptions of the program, we also read that the placement and form of the stairway is left to the discretion of the mason.<sup>171</sup> These partial anecdotes are exemplary of the methods of communication that forms the design of a building where drawing is one of the constituents in addition to precedents to take as reference, and open clauses left to be determined mainly by the patron in the course of the construction, but also leaving room for the masons to exercise their choice.

Along the same lines, when looking at the building contracts from before the fifteenth century Florence, -for example the contracts of the hospital of San Matteo<sup>172</sup> as studied by Goldthwaite- one can see that it is drawn between the patron and the masons directly, with no involvement of an architect. The patron directly communicates with the mason for the construction of a building, based on three things; available materials and the amount of use and labor required to finish the job, the precedents of same type buildings for the masons to follow and the third was oral communication directly where the patron instructs how to install certain elements like doors, windows frames and other stone elements that he purchased. While no specific drawings are mentioned to follow for the construction, mainly for the financial reasons, a plan would be drafted by the mason with specific details of the walls, and its measurements to calculate the need for materials and labor.<sup>173</sup>

These observations on the building practice exemplifies Filarete’s anxiety against the masons, as he already showed in the dinner scene, where a mason is present on the dinner with

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<sup>171</sup> Lon R. Shelby, “Monastic Patrons and Their Architects: A Case Study of the Contract for the Monks’ Dormitory at Durham,” in *Gesta*, vol.15, no.1/2 Essays in Honor of Sumner McKnight Crosby (1976): 91-96.

<sup>172</sup> Current building of Accademia delle Belle Arti. It was founded in 1385 by a banker Guglielmo (Lemmo) Balducci from Montecatini. There were a series of contracts let out from 1385-1400 for the construction of the building, and there were agreements with other masons, however the two masons carried out the initial and majority of the work were Romolo di Bandino and Sandro del Vinta. See Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 130, 143, & 367-9. See also Donatella Tombaccini, *Florence and Its Hospitals: A History of Health Care in the Florentine Area* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2008), 72-73.

<sup>173</sup> Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 367-9.

*signori*. The bias Filarete has for a *muratore* is not necessarily on the level of a worker, which is the primary workforces of building trade, along with stonecutters, etc. Along the course of the narrative, in the ongoing constructions of Sforzinda and Plusiapolis, there are constant references to 'masters' to be gathered, organized and assigned the required work. Filarete's bias, as exhibited with the first interlocutor is the type of *muratore* who does not necessarily respect the certain kind of knowledge that can only be provided by an architect, and who believes that his practice-based experience is sufficient enough to build. This outspoken opinion suggests the role of a *muratore* who was already in close contact with the patron, and who was accustomed to deliver patron's intentions for a building program and project (communicating the form based on other precedents).

In that respect, the architect Filarete portrays in his *Libro* with the full submission to the patron's *voluntà* is actually not different in terms of prioritizing the patron's dominance over the design. However, he insists the patron to pick an architect, rather than a *muratore* to build together and the main reason for this is the architect's *scienza*, which is often stressed as rare and should be esteemed, in which *scienza di disegno* is the main constituent, following the explication of measure and letters. Although with the prominent dictation of the patrons, masons would nevertheless could take the role of the architect, as L. R. Shelby reminds us: "Mediaeval master masons were just what the phrase implies: master of the mason's craft; men who had risen from the ranks of to a position within the craft wherein they could be entrusted with the design and supervision of work that was to be executed by others."<sup>174</sup> Hence, an architect trained in the *scienza di disegno*,<sup>175</sup> rather than building craft, could offer the craft for *disegno* to be executed by the others. And this craft of the architect is something Filarete portrays with his mother role, which I will elaborate in the next chapter. Here, it is important to emphasize that distinguishing the architect from the mason, based on *scienza di disegno*, runs parallel with the differentiation of the ancient and modern styles.

The 'architect' of the *Libro* is associated with the 'ancient style', and the builders of the modern structures, are not even referred as *capomaestro*, which is the highest title for one to get in

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<sup>174</sup> "The Role of The Master Mason in English Mediaeval Building," *Speculum*, 39, 3 (1964): 387-403, 388.

<sup>175</sup> Filarete's *scienza* should be differentiated from the modern use of the word as "science." On the discussion of Filarete's affiliation of the term closer to *ars* and *practica*, see, Powers, "The Virtù of Architectural Invention," 58 & 173-9.

medieval tradition, but it is argued as if they were picked from the mere craft tradition.<sup>176</sup> It is interesting to note that the term *capomaestro* is only used once, and not in relation to modern building practice, but as one who works under the architect in the construction of Sforzinda. The main difference between these two building styles is based mainly on the *scienza* of *disegno* which is also argued as an ancient *scienza* that was forgotten. Hence, Filarete directly relates the practice of building in the vocabulary of the ancient forms with ‘designing / drawing’ them in the same vocabulary. This is important to stress in educating his patron, because the convincing role of the architect here is further reinforced through the ideological role of *disegno*. Not only for the architect to know this science, but also the insistence for the patron to know as well is rather important. Along these lines, Filarete splits his pedagogical agenda into two parallel grounds in the narrative, demonstrating the superiority of ancient style over the modern to the patron, and continuing doing the same while teaching how to design (by drawing) in the ancient style to the patron’s son. This split agenda should be contextualized from the angle of patronage, and should be argued within the emerging interest of the patrons in their buildings. This would rather suggest Filarete’s “Florentine architect” etiquette in relation to his desire to work for a “Florentine patron” in fact, acknowledging patron’s dominant role in the formation of the design.

Accordingly, the second episode where we see the patron is on the fence admitting his taste for both modern and ancient styles, takes place during the visit of Ludovico Gonzaga – who is not a Florentine patron but esteems to demonstrate such characteristics through the way he builds. Here, Filarete puts the words in the ‘more enlightened’ patron’s mouth. Gonzaga follows on Sforza’s words claiming that once he was also pleased by the modern buildings but he grew to despise them as he started developing a taste for the ancient ones.<sup>177</sup> To Sforza’s curious question of how he found out about it, Gonzaga admits that he already had the desire to change the form (of buildings) to something more differentiated, which resonates with the Florentine patrons’ interest in the more innovative forms to signal out their magnificence.

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<sup>176</sup> *Capomaeastro* is the highest title given to someone in charge of building construction, and the highest level a mason, who is trained in building tradition can reach during the quattrocento. The title was also given to Renaissance artists, when they were hired for overseeing the execution of their design in the *fabbrica*. Brunelleschi became the *capomaestro* of the cathedral of Florence for instance, and Filarete took this role for Milan cathedral for a short while. His intention with not using this word while talking about the builders of modern style structures suggests his acknowledgement of the value of this title and aiming to differentiate the role of the architect further from it.

<sup>177</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 100r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 380 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 175: *Ancora a me solevano piacere questi moderni, ma poi ch'io cominciai a gustare questi antichi, mi sono venuti in odio quelli moderni.*

Gonzaga associates his already existing intention for something differentiated with the ancient manner which was already flourishing in Florence, and therefore claims that he was determined to have one of those who was named. And he says, while “practicing with them” (Spencer translates as ‘bargaining’) he was woken up so that at the present he wouldn’t do one little thing if it was not done in ancient manner.<sup>178</sup> Presenting his thoughts through the words of another patron, Filarete demonstrates the interest the patron should have in the first place to work with an architect to build nobly, and the interaction with the architect is signaled out as an exchange of knowledge that fulfills the initial intention of the patron. This is explicitly stated when Gonzaga mentions his architect, and Sforza says: “I would be dear to know him and any learned [*valente*] man, and for sure I would hold him dear: when a *signore* happens to meet someone who is *intendente* he does him good because his *scienza* is of great intellect and not acquired without grand study.”<sup>179</sup>

The episode continues with another reasoning why the ancient manner of building was lost, and why it should be returned to now. Again, we are hearing this from Ludovico Gonzaga, who ties the decline of the ancient style in architecture with the loss of ancient letters,<sup>180</sup> but also, to the economic conditions. The ruins of Italy were due to the wars of the barbarians who have repeatedly desolate and disgusted her, and since Italy was poor these great buildings were not made and men couldn’t exercise in these things. Due to the lack of exercise, they couldn’t sharpen the knowledge and the *scienza* of these things were lost. In this contextualization Filarete (through Gonzaga) justifies those who wanted to build to turn to goldsmiths<sup>181</sup>, painters or *muratori*,<sup>182</sup> although some aspects of their exercise have some commonalities, they are also much different. These performed (building) in the mode that they

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid.: *Signore, egli è vero che pure io ho desiderato di mutare qualche foggia che fusse differenziata; e ancora udendo dire che a Firenze si usava d'edificare a questi modi antichi, io d'eterminai di avere uno di quegli i quali fussino nominati; sì che praticando così con loro, m'hanno svegliato in modo che al presente io non farei fare una minima cosa che non la facessi al modo antico,*

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.: *Io arei caro cognoscere lui e ogni valente uomo, e sono per certo d'avergli cari: quando uno signore s'abatte a uno che sia intendente, e fargli del bene, perché egli è scienza di grande intelletto, e né senza grande studio si acquista. . .*

<sup>180</sup> Powers' dissertation heavily focuses on this parallel, and studies Filarete's text through the lens of rhetoric. Reflecting back on the argument of *modernus*, which medieval artists proudly incorporated it as a distinction from the ancients, Ernst Robert Curtius brings forward a similar argument for the case of literature. He gives Matthew of Vendôme, as one that consciously wants to be “modern,” since he “considers that the ancients had loaded down their poetic narratives with a superfluity of similes, rhetorical figures and digressions.” *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 490.

<sup>181</sup> François Bucher, "Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Theory and Style," *Gesta*, 15, 1-2 (1976): 71-89.

<sup>182</sup> Filarete deliberately avoids the word *capomaestro* here for his purposes.

knew which was related to their craft in the modern tradition, where he gives the example of goldsmiths making buildings in resemblance and form of tabernacles and thuribles in the way they were accustomed to make.<sup>183</sup> These customs brought from the other side of the mountains, were culminated of each of these profession's craft-based approach, and their dominance over the building practice is further noted for contributing the loss of this *scienza*. It is important to note here that Filarete is also coming from a goldsmith background, and we are already talking about a context where 'architect' as a professional title is yet to be emerging. In that regard the closest 'title' for an architect would be a *capomaestro* but Filarete doesn't refer to those in charge of the modern building constructions as *capomaestri* but he prefers to use mere craft titles without any signification of rank as a master. This is a deliberate choice on Filarete's end to further despise the modern style, as lacking any sort of professional knowledge (which would be something a *capomaestro* would have) and to reinforce this opinion that they could only perform based on practice, with whatever the practice the craftsman was trained in, he would deliver a building within the norms that they were already accustomed to. Filarete instead is aiming to assert a *scienza* that belongs to architect's domain without which, buildings may still be built but they would never be noble ones.

Disguised in Gonzaga's response, one reads the custom for patrons to build grandiose buildings, but the nuance is given for picking one style over the other. Gonzaga also admits that he was once pleased by the modern buildings, but as he developed his taste for the ancient ones, he understood the difference between them as day and night. Sforza, on the other hand still admits that he enjoys both styles. One should ask here, what is the difference from the patron's perspective that makes these two styles as complete opposites and his gradual appreciation of the ancient makes one equally despise the modern? From Filarete's

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<sup>183</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 100r-v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 382 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 176: *Egli è stato per questo: che come le lettere mancorono in Italia, cioè che s'ingrossorono nel dire e nel latino e venne una grossezza, che se non fusse da cinquanta o forse da sessanta anni in qua che si sono assottigliati e isvegliati gl'ingegni, egli era, come ho detto, una grossa cosa; e così è stata questa arte, che per le ruine d'Italia che sono state e per le guerre di questi barbari che più volte l'hanno disolata e soggiogata. Poi è accaduto che pure oltramonti è venuto molte usanze e ' loro riti, e perché di questi grandi edifizii non si facevano, per cagione che Italia era povera, gl'uomini ancora non si esercitavano troppo in simili cose. E non essendo gli uomini esercitati, non si assottigliavano di sapere, e così le scienze di queste cose si perdono. E venuto poi quando per Italia s'è voluto fare alcuno edificio, sono ricorsi quegli che hanno voluto far fare a orefici e dipintori, e questi muratori i quali, benché appartenga in parte al loro esercizio pure è molta differenza, e che hanno dato quegli modi che hanno saputo e che è paruto a loro, secondo i loro lavori moderni. Gli orefici fanno loro a quella somilitudine e forma de' tabernacoli e de' turibili da dare incenso; e a quella somilitudine e forma hanno fatti i dificii, perché a quegli lavori paiono begli, e anche più si confanno ne' loro lavori che non fanno ne' dificii; e questo uso e modo hanno avuto, come ho detto, da' tramontani, cioè da Todeschi e da Francesi; e per queste cagioni si sono perdute.*

words, the immediate answer is the *scienza* of drawing or measure or proportion, which he claims to be missing in modern building tradition, however one cannot simply take Filarete's words as the true reflection of it. The *scienza* he proposes for building in opposition to the *practica* describes a form of knowledge that should be learned also by the patrons. Indeed, it is a part of his teaching agenda in his defined role as an architect.

Unlike Filarete's generalized disgust, the ongoing studies reveal that the techniques of masons did actually incorporate complex practices of geometry and they designed and built structures based on its own merits of proportional rules.<sup>184</sup> These were not necessarily inferior to the ancient forms, and the masons and artists would actually take pride in that. The use of the term *modernus* was common in the signatures of the medieval artists, which implied a comparison, or more likely a victory over the art of antiquity.<sup>185</sup> On that note, Filarete's observation on their pride was already echoed in a twelfth century chronicle of the building of a house in the Castle of Ardres: "A certain craftsman of carpentry in Bourbourg (near Dunkirk), Louis by name, not much inferior to Daedalus in his skill in this art, fashioned and wrought it."<sup>186</sup> The revival of the ancient practices for building, which was even further codified with the 'discovery' of Vitruvius' treatise is a motivation of Filarete's of course. While an awareness of Vitruvius was likely present in the medieval tradition, the disuse of the Vitruvian principles of proportion was not due to mere neglect or ignorance, but succeeding it with a differently developed set of principles. These highly complex geometrical figurations would require years of apprenticeship and / or technical education in order to master them, on the masons' end. And, unlike a transparent system of education (which would consist of books, mathematical formulations, architectural drawings and pictures) they were transmitted orally ("direct

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<sup>184</sup> Lon R. Shelby, "The Geometrical Knowledge of Mediaeval Master Masons." *Speculum*, 47, 3 (1972):395–421; *Gothic design techniques: the fifteenth-century design booklets of Mathes Roriczer and Hanns Schmuttermayer* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977).

<sup>185</sup> David Boffa, "Sculptors' Signatures and the Construction of Identity in the Italian Renaissance," in *A Scarlet Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Sarah Blake McHam*, ed. Arnold Victor Coonin (New York: Italica Press Studies in Art & History, 2013), 47. In other instances, where the artists compared themselves to Daedalus -the inventor of sculptor and architecture- they employed expressions indicating superiority to the ancient predecessor. Regarding the Daedalus topoi, Boffa mainly refers to: Albert Dietl, "In arte peritus: Zur Topik mittelalterlicher Künstlerinschriften in Italien bis zur Zeit Giovanni Pisanos," *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 29 (1987): 75-125. Filarete employs *Daedalus* topos only for Brunelleschi. Filelfo praises Filarete's bronze doors in his epigram with these words: "You yourself restore, with Daedalean skill, the temple of Peter..." Glass's translation in "Filarete at the Papal Court," 51.

<sup>186</sup> "Louis de Bourbourg Builds a House in the Castle of Ardres for Arnold, Steward of Eustace Count of Boulogne" (from *Chronique de Lambert d'Adres*, ed. Heller, in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, XXIV, 1879, 624; Mortet 1911, 183-5). Quoted from John Harvey, *The Medieval Architect*, 207-8.

teaching of the younger masons by the masters experienced in the craft.”)<sup>187</sup> More importantly, it remained as a secret of their own,<sup>188</sup> which was not allowed to be shared with anybody else, including the patron as well. Therefore, returning to Vitruvian precepts, and adapting the classical rules for building, was not necessarily a succession of the mediaeval building practice, but was a stylistic choice, which however opened a new dimension in its production mechanism. *Disegno* as employed for designing in antique style, would allow a more engaged communication between the patron and the architect.<sup>189</sup> A design based on these classical principles would not only be easier to follow by patrons; bishops, princes and the nobility, but would also allow them try their hand in design.<sup>190</sup>

This is important to stress in order to understand Filarete’s pedagogical agenda further, which ties the appreciation for ancient style in accordance with an appreciation of the *scienza di disegno* as he gives examples from the ancient patrons who had a strong interest in it.<sup>191</sup> It is the lack of context for patrons to demand which eventually led to the flourishing of the modern building practice, as Filarete said through Gonzaga in the *Libro*. Yet quattrocento Florence was allowing for this new patronage to emerge where the significant cultural aspect of building should be acquainted with the ancient forms. In doing so, the patrons’ interest in the ancient ruins, as much as ancient texts for the revival of the ancient forms should be underlined. Not only the architects’ study and familiarity with the ancient forms but significant patrons, like Rucellai was known to visit the ruins when he took a trip to Rome,<sup>192</sup> for instance. Patrons’ initiation for a building and their heavy influence on the building program with certain choices to be made according their wishes were already evident, as we have seen in earlier contracts. However, a taste emerged via their observations of the ancient ruins, was gradually growing in their interest for the formal decisions of the building. As Goldthwaite observes architecture was becoming an amateur interest on the part of the patrons. This was likely the fundamental reason for the architects to achieve a higher and securer social status earlier than the other kinds of artists.<sup>193</sup> Especially in the second half of the fifteenth century, we read of the patrons,

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<sup>187</sup> L. R. Shelby, “The Master Mason in English Building,” in *Speculum*, vol. 39, no. 3, 1964: 387-403. (pg. 388)

<sup>188</sup> Paul Frankl, “The Secret of Mediaeval Masons,” in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 27, no. 1, 1945: 46-60.

<sup>189</sup> Anthony Gerbino, *Compass and Rule: Architecture as Mathematical Practice in England, 1500-1750* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 11.

<sup>190</sup> John Harvey, *The Medieval Architect* (London: Wayland, 1972), 31.

<sup>191</sup> Especially in Book VII and Book VIII we read the association of *disegno* with antiquity, as Filarete is teaching the young prince *disegno*, and through which he answers young prince’s curiosity on the nobility of these forms.

<sup>192</sup> Carroll William Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447–55* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), 174.

<sup>193</sup> Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 98.

who were very engaged with the design process of their buildings. Ercole d' Este was remarked as taking 'great pleasure in building and making designs [*fare disegni*]' and Ludovico Gonzaga's claims to be "principe architetto" finds further ground in recent scholarship.<sup>194</sup> Also in Gonzaga's exchange with Alberti, he claims to have his own 'fantasy' to discuss with him, which is an expression Filarete uses often to refer to his designs.<sup>195</sup> Lorenzo de Medici himself entered the competition for the façade of Florence cathedral with the wooden model he made, which he also held a position in its competition jury.<sup>196</sup> In contrast to these examples, Filarete portrays Sforza as one who is not yet there to appreciate the ancient style, because he doesn't thoroughly know how much he can be involved in the formal decisions of and innovative forms he can build based off of *scienza*. The oral communication he pursues with the patron to understand the difference, finds a ground with his *disegno* based communication in his teaching agenda to the patron's son.

Filarete specifically focuses on his relationship with the patron's son, Galeazzo Maria Sforza on the basis of *scienza di disegno*, almost as his pupil. Towards the end of book VI, after hearing the narration of the foundation of the city and how it is built along with the design and construction of the *Rocca*, the patron's son "fell in love" with the subject matter, which leads to his visits to the architect's workshop to learn about *disegno* the following folios in Book VII. This passage which introduces the next episode is misleading in Spencer's translation which unfortunately diminishes the patronly interest the son holds for learning *disegno*. In order to contextualize Filarete's agenda in the quattrocento patronage, the passage needs full attention. In Spencer's translation:

He [the patron's son] was so pleased by our conversation that he fell in love with this science of architecture [*virtù dello edificare*]. For this reason he begged his father to grant him to leave to come see and understand everything that had been done and to stay and see the other buildings that were to be built. In this way he could understand some of the [rules]. If he ever desired to build something [*far fare*], he would be able to know and understand them.

A better translation of the passage would be:

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<sup>194</sup> F. W. Kent, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 88-9.

<sup>195</sup> Robert Tavernor, *On Alberti and the Art of Building* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

<sup>196</sup> Philip Foster, "Lorenzo de' Medici and the Florence Cathedral Facade," *The Art Bulletin*, 13, no. 3 (1981): 495–500.

and because he liked these reasonings [*ragionamenti*], that he fell in love with the virtue of building [*virtù dello edificare*], so that he asked his father for grace to grant him permission that he would come to see [*vedere*] and understand [*intendere*] all that was done, and stay to see [*vedere*] the other buildings that had to be done. So that, he could understand some rules [*qualche ragione*], because if he ever wanted to have something made [*far fare*], he could be able to know and understand [*intendere*].<sup>197</sup>

Spencer's motivation to translate *virtù dello edificare* as "science of architecture," is beyond comprehension. Not only the expression "science of architecture" has no ground in the context of the *Libro* but it also alters the meaning of the passage completely. The Italian word *scienza* is commonly used in the *Libro* and Spencer often translates it as "science," while sometimes calling it "knowledge," and rarely "art." Such variation in vocabulary seems to accommodate the meaning of the text to a modern audience, yet many times the reader witnesses the word choices as arbitrary. Apart from the larger discussion of the meaning of *scienza* in the quattrocento Italian context in contrast to the modern application of its immediate translation as "science," the way Filarete employs the term in regards to his profession is critical. Often times *disegno* is described as a *scienza* among other eight (of nine) *scienza* an architect is advised to be participating in. The word refers to the specific field of study where liberal arts are also named as so. In a similar understanding, architecture is mentioned only once as a *scienza* in Book XVIII in the description of the House of Virtue, in describing its place in the allegorical building structure among other liberal arts which should be represented there, but not in the course of the narrative as a part of the pedagogical program. In a total of three times the word *architettura* (or *architettura*) is mentioned,<sup>198</sup> the second one takes place in the *I Libri del disegno*, in reference to preceding twenty-one books and the last one is given in the title of book XXV, introducing the buildings of Medici family.

The false translation further implies an introduction for the drawing lessons, where the reader almost gets conditioned to perceive the patron's son's interest in a truly professional sense for learning architecture, which sounds a-contextual. In fact, the young prince's intentions here

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<sup>197</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 45v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 177; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 79. ...e perché gli piacquono questi ragionamenti, che s'inamorò di questa virtù dello edificare, in modo che chiese di grazia a suo padre che gli volesse concedere licenzia che lui venisse a vedere e intendere tutto quello che era fatto, e di stare a vedere gli altri edificii che s'avevano a fare, acciò che ne potesse intendere qualche ragione, perché, se a lui venisse mai voglia di far fare qualche cosa, che potesse e sapesse anche intendere.

<sup>198</sup> Powers also points out that *architetto* as the professional title has been used more than the words implying manual-labors. In the same context, however *architettura* as a profession is named far less than *edificare*. He mentions that *architettura* is mentioned five times in the overall *Libro*, yet my study revealed only three to me. See, "The Virtù of Architectural Invention," 64.

are very much described in a patronly fashion. Filarete signals out the virtue in edification, which parallels the premise of the pedagogical content of the book crafted for the patrons who want to build [*edificare*], with bringing forward the virtue associated with it, as being legitimized in Florentine context. Moreover, the ending of the passage gives the reasoning for young prince's intention to "see" and "understand." It is not: "if he ever desired to build something," which would still confirm to the lexicon associated with the patron, but Filarete doesn't use this expression here (as he uses elsewhere). He employs the verb *far fare* – 'to make' in imperative form – which signifies further the patron's role in the process of *fare*.

In the following episode of the drawing lessons, one reads the premise for embracing the ancient style, in accordance with the appreciation of the ideal patrons of the antiquity.<sup>199</sup> Continuing his reference to *disegno* as a *scienza*, Filarete says that it is "an unknown and little appreciated *scienza* which was not like that in the ancient times, because very great *signori* wanted to know it. Within others, Emperors Nero and Hadrian were early painters..."<sup>200</sup> The painter attributes to Nero and Hadrian are probably the result of an extension due to the fact that the former was known for his passion for games, music and poetry, while the latter was, in addition to being literate and musician, notoriously devoted to architecture.<sup>201</sup> Although Filarete does not highlight Hadrian's thorough involvement with building design, he nevertheless uses him as the *signore* figure to inspire the young lord on learning this noble *scienza*.

In Book VIII, where the drawing lessons with the young lord extends to architectural components, Filarete directly ties the developing appreciation of the ancient forms to come

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<sup>199</sup> On the ideological parallels of revival of ancient architecture with the endorsement of political leaders of the antiquity, see Indra Kagis McEwen "Virtù-vicious: Roman Architecture, Renaissance Virtue," *Cahiers des études anciennes* XLVIII (2011): 255–282. The author discusses the political context in which Vitruvius wrote his treatise, highlighting the patronage relation he had with Julius Caesar and Augustus. The tight connection of patronage with building in the ancient manner was something that inspired interest in Vitruvius, whose work had a far more celebrated afterlife during the quattrocento than during his own time. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that while we know of 38 fifteenth century Italian manuscripts of Vitruvius' *De architectura*, the number of manuscript copies of Caesar's commentaries circulating around the same time was 220.

<sup>200</sup> Filarete, *Trattato di Architettura*, fol 47r (Finoli and Grassi 1972: 183) and Spencer 1966: 82 : *ell'è una scienza non conosciuta e poco apprezzata, ma non era già anticamente, perché grandissimi signori vollono sapere questa scienza, intra gli altri Nerone imperadore e Adriano furono de' primi pittori*;

<sup>201</sup> Filarete, (Finoli and Grassi 1972: 183, n. 1) For instance, it is known that Hadrian devised the plans for the Temple of Venus and Roma himself, since Dio Cassius narrates that: "He sent him [Apollodorus] the plan of the temple of Venus and Roma by way of showing him that a great work could be accomplished without his aid, and asked Apollodorus whether the proposed structure was satisfactory." *Roman History*, lxi. 4.

directly from understanding *disegno*. The episode starts with praising Brunelleschi, as the subtlest imitator of Daedalus, for reviving the ancient way of building in Florence, and gives the examples of Rucellai palace and Gonzaga's house built on the Po river. The former is a private citizen, and the latter comes from the same background with Sforza and yet appreciated to build like the private citizens of Florence. With these examples, the conversation leads to a parallel between the revival of the ancient letters and architecture, the former serves for a justification of appreciation for the latter. When the reasoning is not further clarified it is brought to the value of *disegno*: "I am quite certain that as you will understand *disegno* a little better you will see what I say is true."<sup>202</sup> And the connection for appreciating the ancient manner because of drawing is again emphasized while teaching the ancient forms in the direct pedagogical setting of simultaneously drawing them (figure 2.17 & 2.18). All those that are explained in drawing conforms to the ancient style and any that are not explained in the manner of constructed drawings are claimed to be modern. The affirmation for modern to be beautiful is again asserted but only to those who do not understand drawing. Not only in architecture but also in other arts, which are supposed to follow the ancient manner, "if one gives himself [to understand through the means of drawing], then -for themselves- they can enjoy the delicacy ancient things have and [realize] how gross the modern things are."<sup>203</sup>

There is a clear emphasis Filarete pursues *disegno* which is almost synonymous with *antique*. If one understands drawing, one can understand the ancient buildings, ancient ornamentation detailing, etc. Such pedagogical intentions are not necessarily in terms of teaching an architect the premises of the profession, but the intention to establish architecture as a profession, by teaching those who would financially pursue the cause. The education of the patron, in that regard, has a multi-faceted form in Filarete's treatise. Within that, Filarete's motive for the role of the patron is very much defined within the communicative relation it has to sustain with his architect. The basis of a mason's education, in the way that Filarete alludes to, is founded on "mixing stone with mortar," which is not a common ground on the education basis that a patron would share with the builder. A mutual understanding that 'should' take place between the patron and the mason regarding the design and building process would be limited. A space of communication, that is to take place between an architect and the patron,

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<sup>202</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 59v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 229 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 102: *Io sono ben certo che come voi intenderete un poco meglio il disegno, voi vedrete questo ch'io vi dico essere vero.*

<sup>203</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 60v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 234 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 104: *se v'attenderete voi poi, per voi medesimo le 'ntenderete, e gusterete che soavità hanno le cose antiche e che grossezza è nelle moderne.*

based on a common language, -*scienza* of drawing and measure- would allow the patron to refine his active role in the building process with a developed taste due to his understanding. Through the demonstration of an ongoing design and building process of his city along these premises, Filarete achieves leading his patron to finally understand and appreciate the ancient style.

### **Golden Book**

Filarete's pedagogical agenda is more complex than it is often acknowledged, considering that on one level he aims to educate his patron to build in the ancient style, identifying *disegno* as its essential component, and on the other, he pursues an intimate relation with the patron's son to teach him *disegno* so that he can be an ideal patron when he desires to build in the future. These two separate pedagogical agendas are running parallel in the same narrative setting, with important literary maneuvers taking place to further reinforce Filarete's intentions. The main maneuver takes place with the discovery of an ancient codex – The Golden Book – during the excavations of the port city. The codex is described as an intentionally composed piece of writing, deliberately named as a *memoria*, describing all the buildings that were once erected, in addition to other important deeds of the ancient king and his family. In the book, the name of the ancient city -Galisforma- and the name of the king writing the book -Zogalia-, both together serve as an anagram for Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the future lord of Milan, whom Filarete engages in teaching *disegno* in the narrative setting, to prepare him in accordance to his vision to become an ideal patron. The parallels between the Golden Book and the Bronze Book Filarete places in the foundations of Sforzinda during the foundation ceremonies, had already been pointed out.<sup>204</sup> Especially the iconography employed in the letterhead of the (now lost) Trivulziano manuscript (figure 2.19), and the same iconography enlarged on the frontispiece of the Golden Book -personifications of 'memory,' 'intellect,' and 'ingenuity' (figure 2.20) suggest a direct correlation Filarete proposes for his *Libro*, to be perceived on a similar ground with The Golden Book,<sup>205</sup> as an authoritative source. The Vitruvian passages narrated in the Golden Book in relation to the education of the architect, further reinforces the tone of authority.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Hub, "Filarete and the The East."

<sup>205</sup> Ulrich Pfisterer, "I Libri Di Filarete." *Arte Lombarda*, 155, 1 (2009): 97–110.

<sup>206</sup> In the nine disciplines an architect should be educated in, Filarete narrates them in the same order with the same premises as given by Vitruvius, except translating 'graphidos' to *disegno*. For a discussion of this nuance, see Foote, "Drawing Lessons"

The mirroring of the Bronze Book (which is to be understood as the *Libro* describing the design and building of Sforzinda with its individual buildings) and the Golden Book (the *memoria* of the ancient city Galisforma) reveals some correlations regarding the split pedagogical agenda taking place in the overall composition of the work. First of all, the ideal patron image expected to be fulfilled in the patron's son, finds its ultimate reflection in the guise of an ancient patron, who had built nobly in the way that the contemporary patrons are expected to build. Before this ingenious episode of introducing the *book within a book*, we witness the young prince's ongoing education in *disegno*, started in Book VII with basic drawing practices that are common in the workshop tradition, and continues with theoretical discussions on the origins of ancient forms in Book VIII. Towards the end of Book VII, we see the young prince actually wants to design his own Casa Regia, where Filarete prepares the two braccia wide board which would accommodate the scale. Filarete asks the young prince to draw the foundations on the tablet and he says that he will build the model in wood on top of it, as it should be.<sup>207</sup> In this conversation, the young prince is pleased since he wants to see and understand, how to 'ordinare' anything himself,<sup>208</sup> and Filarete replies: "You can perhaps do it, but if you knew how to draw, you could do it much more easily."<sup>209</sup>

The word "ordinare" is the exact same word Filarete employs for explaining his accomplishments as an architect, as mentioned above while discussing the three main projects he states as the extension of his title. In Spencer's translation, the word is often translated as "to plan" as it is also suggested for this episode. In the modern sense of the word plan means "to device," "to plot" and the drawing type which has been often associated with this planning act is also named plan. Filarete's suggestion to the young prince to draw the foundations, as Filarete employs the term for his plan drawings in the treatise, can suggest that Spencer's translation is not off. However, Filarete's reply to the prince is important to highlight regarding the patron's involvement in design. The desire for the young prince to *ordinare* is given as a fact, whether he knows how to draw or not, yet the patron's knowledge of drawing can allow him to *ordinare* with ease. Another important episode regarding the

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<sup>207</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 53v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 207 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 92: *e su questa tavola la voglio disegnare il suo fondamento, e poi farvi su il disegno rilevato di legname e come arà a essere proprio*

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid*: *Or questo dico bene che ho caro di vedere, e arei caro questo intendere, per ordinare ancora io qualche cosa.*

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid*: *Potretelo fare, ma se voi sapessi disegnare vi saria molto più facile.*

patron's desire to *ordinare* actually takes place at the beginning of Book VI, when the patron himself takes the initiative to design the castle, on which I will elaborate in a bit.

The episode of the design of Casa Regia, does not conclude as it started, expecting the young prince to actually draw the foundations on the tablet. In the following folio, where a slight gap is left in their lesson, the young prince shows up to see the foundations laid out for his Casa by the architect, where the architect refers to two different *congetti* (concepts) he came up with, following that he will draw both and present to the young prince and his father to pick from. Again, we witness that although the patron is not the one to bring forward the design for his building, he is the ultimate authority to decide on the design proposal among those brought forward by the architect. Meanwhile, the intellectual stimulation of the young prince caused by ongoing understanding of the ancient forms through *disegno*, fosters his initiatives to propose some significant structures to be built in Sforzinda. In the beginning of Book XII, the young prince clearly states that he wants to (together with the architect) order the construction of a building in the antique style, without specifying what sort. The quote is followed: "And still, there are other things came to my *fantasia* for certain sites and places where I have seen while riding around these days."<sup>210</sup> If we recall Gonzaga's quote about 'his *fantasia*' to be discussed with Alberti,<sup>211</sup> we even see further how the ongoing education of the young prince is already flourishing in his initiatives to build after the ruins of the antiquity, for the newly built Sforzinda. Later in Book XII, he re-states his intention to build in the antique style, now referring to it as 'something noble' -*cosa degna*. First, he asks to build a place for jousting, where people can watch without disturbing each other, and second, he wants to build a venue for festivals, games with ships and naval battles, as he clearly signals out "as they did

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<sup>210</sup> Spencer's translation here is very misleading. When Filarete employs the term *fantasia*, he often translates it directly, however for the patron's employment of the term he takes liberty to use relatively closer words that alter the meaning completely. His lack of recognition of the patronage influence in *disegno* is probably an inevitable outcome of his applying modern assumptions to the Renaissance context, and also his forced reading of Filarete's "architect" identity along those lines. *Magl.*, fol. 85r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 327 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 148: *Perché io vorrei che noi dessimo ordine a quello che dissi, cioè di fare qualche edificio antico. E ancora m'è venuto in fantasia d'alcun'altra cosa per certo sito e luoghi ch'io ho veduti in questo cavalcare che io ho fatto questi di.*

<sup>211</sup> In Part II, I will discuss the etymological root and further connotations of *fantasia* and why it is assigned to female agent in Filarete's pregnancy metaphor. Accordingly, the architect is described to have the creative faculty to meet further the patron's desires. However, patronage studies clearly show that these expressions are often employed by the patrons as well, making it really hard for the historian to have a clear understating of the involvement of both agents in the process. In the *Libro*, although Filarete portrays the architect as the main agent in engaging in these activities, we also read that the patron refers to his design intentions as *pensiero* (Book VI, fol 40r.). This I will discuss more in the following section.

in Rome.”<sup>212</sup> This conversation leads Filarete’s explanation of the ancient theaters of Rome, namely Colosseum, accompanied with premature drawings (that cannot sustain as archeological studies) to explain the young prince further design features. The interesting conversation shows the exchange between the (future) patron and the architect in the light of architect as being the agent providing judgement for what is suitable.

Lastly, and importantly, the young prince mentions the beautiful site he discovered which he envisions to be suitable to build a port city. Bringing this news to the architect, the architect gets excited with the idea, yet the initiative fully comes from the young prince. As this is discussed with young prince’s father who approves the building of a port city, and the pedagogical tie which began with *diseño* lessons in the architect’s *bottega*, now evolves into a collaboration for undertaking the design of the port city together (architect and the young prince), as it is stated that the patron gives the commission to both of them. This is important to stress. The young prince’s discovery of the site and intention to build a port city is what Filarete would have expected from an ideal patron, whereas Sforzinda was proposed by the architect. Filarete proudly claims Sforzinda as his own invention, and the location for the city, the Inca Valley, is also already discovered by the architect and proposed to the patron. This was on Filarete’s end an almost a-contextual proposal considering that no architect would find a circumstance to realize his interventions without the support of a patron in the fifteenth century context. Even the fictional narrative setting doesn’t allow the Renaissance architect to consider a scenario where he can design buildings to be built with no initiative force or a final cause, which is the patron for whom it is built.<sup>213</sup> In that regard, Filarete negates the patron’s role by reducing his activity in the building of his own Sforzinda to the mere means of cost, through which he can lure him into appreciating the wonders built in ancient style.

While building the port city, the initiative of the patron’s son goes further which affects the whole decision for the design of the city. Before the discovery of the Golden Book (during the excavations to lay the foundations), the geometric layout for the port city is faintly given in the

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<sup>212</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 86v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 331 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 150: *Vediamo pure noi di fare qualche cosa degna. Io ti voglio dire quello voglio che noi facciamo. In prima io voglio si faccia uno luogo dove si possa giostrare, e che le persone stiano a vedere senza fare rincrescimento l'uno a l'altro. E fatto questo, voglio ne facciamo un altro dove che per acqua si possa ancora fare feste e giuochi con nave e battaglie come si facevano a Roma.*

<sup>213</sup> Gundersheimer, “Patronage in the Renaissance.” I will discuss further Aristotelian four causes in relation to architectural practice in the Renaissance context in Part II, section 2.

text, accompanied with an illustration of the site (unlike the design of Sforzinda, carefully described and drawn to scale in the manuscript). In the early construction phase, the city walls are described to be fashioned after the design of the walls of Sforzinda. Apart from these, not much description pertaining specifically to the port city design is given. We soon understand the reason for it, because with the discovery of the Golden Book, the *memoria* of the ancient city which used to exist in the exact territory, becomes the ultimate source to build from. The book within a book only takes place within the textual realm, where the form of the manuscript does not reflect any change in transitioning from the *Libro* to the Golden Book. An illustration of the ancient codex accompanies the text at the moment of the discovery of the book. Although the ancient codex is described to be written in Greek, the narrative continues in *volgare* through the translation of the court humanist. More critically, an important remark which has not been emphasized enough is that the Golden Book is also illustrated, and this pleasantly surprises the architect and the young prince. The court humanist explains that all the buildings mentioned are engraved or drawn “from the originals in exactly the form in which they should be built.”<sup>214</sup> Hearing this, the young prince asks everything to be built in the port city based on the drawings. The descriptions intertwined with the drawings, which were recorded to give an account of the ancient buildings, are now proposed to be taken as the *disegno* to re-construct the beauty of the antiquity. And this proposal is not suggested by the architect but the young prince, who has developed a taste for antiquity, sooner than his father did, since he was already acquainted with *disegno*. Accordingly, the architect actually follows the young prince’s desire in asking to look at these drawings, to re-draw them to understand them better, in order to possibly use these copies in the construction of the buildings.

#### v) **‘Mio modo’ – actors in the design process**

The journey of the patron’s son I briefly stated above, is to illustrate only one dimension of the dynamic patronage components that are taking place in the treatise, which are often dismissed in the general framework Filarete sets in the beginning of the *Libro*. For instance, while building of the hermit’s church in response to the Lady’s order, which is the Bergamo Cathedral project Filarete re-appropriates for the narrative context, we hear the Lady’s

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<sup>214</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 104v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 397-8 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 183: *quello castello e ancora tutto questo porto con quello ponte nella propria forma che doveva essere scolpito ho fatti ritrarre da quegli proprii: eccogli qui.*

intervention in the design as well, to make it different than what the architect has proposed in the beginning. I will elaborate further on that chapter in Part II, in regards to the *qualitá* discussion Filarete pertains to further investigate his intentions for the proposal of an organic anthropomorphism for building structures. Given these facts, we are actually being invited to perceive Filarete's intentions as an architect, that is directly bounded to the patronage reality of the fifteenth century context. Of course, as the author of the overall book and the drawings accompanying its margins, we don't have any reason to doubt that all the authorship of the proposals Filarete gives in his *Libro* are true reflections of his portfolio. However, the narrative setting which he presents them in is to illustrate the reality of the patronage context, within which he would never have the solo voice for building his proposals.

Accordingly, Sforzinda is the most a-contextual proposal happens to take place in the *Libro*. In regards to Filarete's pregnancy analogy, which I will discuss in length in Part II, the terminologies Filarete uses for the design of Sforzinda, still follows the female faculty he employs in his gender-based distinction for defining an architect, however it doesn't suggest the patron as the first agent to initiate the process, which his pregnancy metaphor clearly indicates. In fol. 11r, Filarete clearly states that he had his thought [*un mio pensiero*] "about undertaking to construct a city" and hoping that his *fantasia* will please his patron as the one Zenocrates did for Alexander the Great.<sup>215</sup> In this moment, he only refers to the patron as a passive agent (almost) only to bear the expense. As the design unfolds, Filarete first asks the patron to allow him to build a church at the location of the hermitage they discover on the site in his own fashion, [*mio modo*].<sup>216</sup> This turns into the project ordered by the Lady in Book XVI, which starts based on Filarete's Bergamo Cathedral model, yet the Lady's voice getting involved in the process for alterations of the proposed church is important to emphasize. In the layout of the city, while explaining the design of the piazza with the buildings defining it, Filarete proposes to build a tower in the center, again made in his fashion [*mio modo*].<sup>217</sup> The construction of the tower takes place in Book VI, where the architect explains his intriguing proposal to the patron with 365 windows to symbolize the days in a year, some partly barred and some partly open to symbolize day and night, and with four different shapes to signify four seasons. It is likely that the concept of the tower is derived from Diodorus Siculus's account of

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<sup>215</sup> Filarete's reference to this ancient story demonstrates a similar a-contextuality. Dinocrates also proposes his city design, not at the request of Alexander the Great, but to impress him to be employed under his patronage.

<sup>216</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 12v-13r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 59 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 24

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 14r

Osymandyas' tomb with a gold border divided into 365 cubits in circumference with rising and settings of the stars inscribed on it.<sup>218</sup> This cosmological structure (figure 2.21), just like his proposal with the geometry of Sforzinda,<sup>219</sup> is alluding to the theoretical ground an architect, as a court artist brings forward for the glory of his patron, that meets the patrons expectations on the intellectual level.<sup>220</sup> However, even in this episode Filarete gives his reasoning to design the tower in this manner due to the patron's initial request, apparently who requested the tower to be 365 braccia tall in the first place,<sup>221</sup> and the architect was accommodating the Patron's voice in the way he designed the tower in his fashion.

The expression "*mio modo*" finds its ultimate echo from the patron's end in the beginning of Book VI. Book V ends with the completion of the city walls, gates and towers, and projects the next steps in the lay out of the city as the architect gives an update to the lord. The lord intervenes and says that he wants to "order" the fortress in his own manner [*mio modo*]. He claims that the architect can well "order" the other buildings better than himself, except this particular one. He exerts his certain expertise on this particular building type, as he claims that he had to take down some other fortresses by force, which is a clear indication of his past career as a *condottiero*. Therefore, highlighting the utilitarian aspects of the military architecture on the foreground, the lord positions himself as the one who can better order this building, - "a little in his fashion."<sup>222</sup>

The assertive tone given to patron in this episode was suggested to be an *amplificato* of the actual experience Filarete went through in his first appointment when he was employed in the Sforza court, which was to be incorporated into the ongoing construction of the Castello. Due to its political aspect, Francesco Sforza's interest in this project was evident, and his employment of Filarete for the ornaments facing the city was a conscious choice to bring the Florentine architect's humanist values helping constituting Sforza's image in the city he recently conquered (by force). Based on the remaining accounts of the letters from that

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<sup>218</sup> Filarete, *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 72n6.

<sup>219</sup> Hub, "La Planimetria Di Sforzinda"

<sup>220</sup> Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 35.

<sup>221</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 41v-42r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 161-2 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 72: *In prima perché ho fatto tante finestre si è perché, da poi che la Signoria vostra la volle alta trecento sessanta cinque braccia,*

<sup>222</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 37v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 147 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 65: *io voglio ordinare la rocca a mio modo, perché e' potrebbe bene essere che questi altri edifici tu gli ordinerai meglio di me, ma questo, perché mi sono pure ritrovato a pigliare e per forza e per altre vie, si che lo voglio ordinare un poco a mio modo.*

period, we see Sforza's continuous interest in the project and his involvement in resolving the disputes between the masons by asserting his own authority in the decision-making process. Hence, Finoli and Grassi suggests the episode's direct involvement around the patron could allude to his involvement in the actual Castello project.<sup>223</sup> Considering the more than often correlations Filarete makes between his first-hand experience in the Sforza court, and the 'utopia' he envisions with his *Libro* that is born out of those frustrations,<sup>224</sup> Finoli and Grassi's remark is very much relatable. However, I want to argue that this episode still pertains to the fifteenth century Florentine patronage dimension, where the patron's desire to build according to his own fashion is also highly attainable. In lieu of educating his patron to build in the antique style, Filarete may have been the ventriloquist in portraying his dialogical exchange with his patron, yet bringing forward the pedagogical aspect to a patron, who is not yet that knowledgeable in building in ancient style. However, by assigning the proposal for the military structure to his *condottiero* patron, which we often witness Filarete's references to Sforza's achievements in battlefield as a way to engage him in his discussion for architecture,<sup>225</sup> Filarete actually portrays a level of engagement that is expected from the patron for all of his building activity.

In this episode, the lord uses the word "ordinare," and as mentioned above, it is no prerequisite for a lord to know *disegno* in order to "design" his building. Filarete invokes the young prince that him knowing *disegno* will allow him to design his buildings with more ease. Here, we read the exchange taking place between the patron and the architect, where the former is dictating how he wants his building to be laid out (in his fashion) and the latter becomes the agent to draw that. On one level we can assume that the patron takes the role of the architect, -at least in the modern convention of our understanding of an architect's role in the building enterprise-. Affirming the patron's intentions, the architect responses: "Therefore your lordship will give me to understand, and I will make according to your will."<sup>226</sup> Filarete's response, to some extent relates to the exchange of the roles, because the architect receives

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<sup>223</sup> Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 147n1. Francesco Sforza paid a lot of attention to the construction of the castle. In many letters, we see Sforza is settling disputes between engineers, by bringing forward his own decisive opinion.

<sup>224</sup> Genoni, "Filarete in Word and Image."

<sup>225</sup> In Book I, Filarete asks his patron to be attentive while listening to his arguments on building, "to the same extent that he would if he had ordered his troops to reconquer or defend one of his dearest possessions, and as if letters had been sent from them to him telling that... had enjoyed a victory over the enemy." *Magl.*, fol. 2r = Filarete, *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 5.

<sup>226</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 37v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 147 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 65: *Adunque la vostra Signoria mi darà ad intendere, e io farò secondo la vostra volontà.*

[something] to understand. What is it that he actually receives, is not stated properly and the dialogue I will quote below also leaves it quite ambiguous. However, looking back at one of the key aspects of the treatise, which is culminated in the over-use of “to see [vedere]” and “to understand [intendere]” vocabulary, it is mainly the *disegno* component provided by the architect that is expected to be seen by the patron, in order for him to understand. These are often the physical drawings illustrated at the margins of the manuscript, which are simultaneously referred to in the narrative, revealing the intertwined nature of the visual and verbal program of the *Libro*. Therefore, as Filarete places the architect in a position who will “understand,” we should only assume that he should also be given a *disegno* from the patron. But this doesn’t necessarily mean that it is a physical drawing that the patron provides to the architect (which is also not implausible).

Book VI starts with Patron’s order to the architect, to find him “a pair of compasses or two, and a ruler” because he wants to “draw the all the foundation” for him (the architect) on a sheet of paper. And then the architect will follow as the patron tells him, for which the architect should keep a book for everything the patron tells about measures and ways [*modi*]. If the architect forgets anything, he can turn to the writings in the book to restore.<sup>227</sup> In the following line, we see that the patron’s adamant intention to draw himself is transformed into him dictating his architect to draw according to his words. The architect almost serving as the extension of the patron’s arm, possibly starts drawing out the dictated measures in the given order, and also takes notes in his book. The patron starts with giving an overall geometric layout with precise measurements, and continues to explain a step by step procedure, scarcely following an order to take place during construction for giving the measures for the walls to be placed is its offsetting inwards with the distances in between. Complex explanation for the layout ends with Patron’s expression for his inadequateness to be able to “draw” what he is intending, in the way that the architect can understand. From here on, we see the active engagement of the architect, in the process of following the patron’s instructions, which needs to be discussed in length. I’ll give the exchange here:

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<sup>227</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 37v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 148 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 65: *Truovami un paio di seste o due e una riga, ché te lo voglio disegnare in sun un foglio tutto il fondamento, e poi seguiterai secondo ti dirò; e truova uno libro, e scriverai tutte queste cose, misure e modi ch'io ti dirò, a ciò che se pure t'uscisse di mente, che tu possa ricorre alla scrittura del libro per riavella.*

- Patron: "I do not know if I can draw [*disegno*] this in the way that you understand. I want for the first ditch to be perfectly straight as I told you, but the second will require continual turnings."
- Filarete: "I believe I have understood you. You want it to be like the turning of the labyrinth that Daedalus built to imprison the Minotaur."
- Patron: "Certainly, you understand me. Have you ever seen one drawn or described so that you could make one?"
- Filarete: "Yes, my lord. I will draw you one here on this page."
- Patron: "Now since you understand this I will explain everything about the castle."
- Filarete: "So you can see that I understand, here it is drawn out roughly [*disegnato così digrosso*]."
- Patron: "Roughly speaking, that is all right. I see that you understand me. I am certain that in making the walls and moats you will refine everything and by your planning make it better."
- Filarete: "You may believe that I want it to turn out thus. I should like to do it the way they say Porsenna's was."
- Patron: "In the name of God, some such thing will be done. Very well, I will leave the thinking [*pensiero*] of this to you."<sup>228</sup>

I mostly followed Spencer's translation here however had to make minor tweaks which are essential. In the first line Spencer translates *disegno* as "design," which I interpret that term as a mental projection rather than a physical drawing. And given the dialogue, it is quite clear that the patron has a very clear projection of the design in his mind, but he is lacking the means to communicate it with his architect, which would make sense to assume that he won't be able to draw. Moreover, as he verbally starts describing to the architect the layout of the fortress, the moment of mis-conduct due to a lack of vision, is assisted by the architect by bringing forward his own creative faculty to draw what the patron is likely asking for. Although not explicitly referred to, this exchange directly addresses the architect's memory here. The portfolio of the architect is expected to meet the desires of the patron, where a reference to the ancient architecture is already recalled in the architect's memory. More importantly, the architect's answer finds a direct correspondence in patron's desire. Therefore, it is likely to assume that

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<sup>228</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 38r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 149 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 66: *E terrai bene a mente, perché queste fosse e queste mura vanno molto variate, io non so se tel saprò disegnare in modo che tu m'intenda. Il primo fosso, come t'ho detto, voglio bene che vada speditamente, ma il secondo bisogna che faccia nuova volta.*» «*Io credo avervi inteso che vogliono andare come dire quelle volte di quello Laberinto che fece Dedalo per inchiudere il Minotauro.*» «*Maisi, tu m'hai inteso. Ha'ne tu mai veduto nessuno o disegnato o discritto, che ti dessi il cuore di saperlo fare?*» «*Signore sì. Io ve ne disegnerò uno in questo foglio.*» «*Or così se intendi questo, del castello ti darò io poi bene a 'ntendere ogni cosa.*» «*Acciò che paia ch'io abbia inteso, eccovelo qui disegnato così digrosso.*» «*Stà bene, io veggio che m'hai inteso. Son certo nel fare del muro e de' fossi tu t'assottiglierai di mandare queste cose per ordine in modo staranno bene.*» «*Non dubitate, ché vorrei <vi> venisse voglia di farlo come dice che era quello di Porsenna.*» «*In nome di Dio, qualche cosa si farà. Ben, di questo te ne lascio il pensiero a te.*»

the patron here already had a mental projection for his building, which signifies his affiliation with “design” but nevertheless cannot “draw.” This episode actually most reflects Filarete’s intentions with his pregnancy metaphor, considering the patron’s initiation for his building, and the architect’s employment of his creative faculty to the service of the patron’s desire. Particularly the association of the female body with the creative faculty is demonstrated with the architect’s recalling the labyrinth design from his memory, and being in charge of further thinking [*pensiero*] on the initial prompt. I will elaborate on this further in Part II, section 3.

As the episode unfolds, the patron continues explaining how he wants the castle to be laid out with dimensions, and asks the architect to draw for him in order to check if the architect follows the patron’s words and understand his desires. The drawing accompanying the text in fol. 38r, accordingly, demonstrates the architect’s understanding of what the patron envisions for his castle. Further details regarding the openings and the stairs are also drawn by the architect to confirm his understanding of the patron’s explanations for design. I will not narrate the whole description the patron provides over a length of two folios. However, it should be highlighted that the precise descriptions are showing a lot of similarities with the contracts drawn between the master-masons and the patrons of the medieval times, with clauses left open that are left for the master mason to decide on certain things, and certain descriptions to hold as an exemplar for the determination of other elements. Also, the patron seems to like to only dictate the design – drawn by the architect, but leaves the additions as “whatever seems best to you” to the architect, including decorating the exterior pleasantly. In the building phase, we read the architect conforming to the process, exercising his own authority as well, saying: “Even though he had arranged these walls in his own fashion still I added things that I thought would be useful.”<sup>229</sup>

In the overall tone of the treatise, while this episode sounds significantly different, I argue that it is likely the most reflective of the fifteenth century building practice dominated by patronage. I already pointed out the similarities it had with the building contracts where the patron dictates the building program, materials and to a certain extent design, in reference to the existing structures. However, this direct interaction taking place between the patron and the architect, where the architect is *ille quidem doctus* (to give Gombrich’s expression) has an echo in the way Cosimo de Medici (may) have dictated the design of his Badia de Fiesole. This we read in

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<sup>229</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 41r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 160; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 71. *benché lui l'avesse ordinate a suo modo, niente di meno quelle cose che mi parve d'agiugnere le quali fussono utili l'agiunsi,*

a panegyric poem written in praise of Cosimo by Giovanni Avogrado, narrating Cosimo's direct involvement in the design of his Badia de Fiesole. The passage reads almost along the same lines Filarete portrays his patron in Book VI. It says:

Cosimo now 'wants speedy and skilled masters who should erect the church and the house in his manner [*more suo*]. Such a skilled master notes it all down on his papers; he marks the house, here will be the porphyry gates, let there be a wide portico here, and here the first step of marble stairway. He traces the cloisters, to be so many steps long; in the centre there will be a tree, but it must be a cypress. He wants the cloisters to be vaulted and supported by twin columns, the one to be coloured and the companion of snow-white marble. "Let there be a tailor's workshop here and there the chapter, here the ward for the sick. Turn round; here I want a cookhouse worthy of a duke."...'<sup>230</sup>

Considering Filarete's pedagogical agenda with Sforza to persuade him to build in ancient style, I do not suggest that Filarete was aiming to flatter his patron with this episode, as the author of the panegyric poem was trying to do for Cosimo. In this account Cosimo is presented as the "architect" of his building, and yet Filarete was still aiming to place his architect role as the exchange took place. As I stressed, his mere role in drawing and taking notes was actually sustained with the creative faculty he brought into the equation, with further choices to be determined on his end. When it comes to the written accounts devoted to patrons, which heavily talk about their buildings, it is commonly acknowledged that they rarely mention the name of the artists that were involved in the process, and attributes the authorship of the work to the patron. This convention, descending from the middle ages, however, was gaining further embellishments with certain attributes to the patron to suggest that his interest in building could be extending his simple donor role. For instance, as Vespasiano de Bisticci noted in his memoir for Cosimo: "He had good knowledge of architecture, as may be seen from the buildings he left, none of which were built without consulting him; moreover, all those who were about to build would go to him for advice."<sup>231</sup> Cosimo's knowledge on architecture was apparent in the buildings he erected, and this does not necessarily suggest that Cosimo was his own architect, but if anything he certainly maintained a higher status than his architect in the judgement of the work, as he was portrayed as being consulted. Such attributes can be rather bold, and maybe more of an exercise of

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<sup>230</sup> Quoted from Gombrich, "The Early Medici," 46.

<sup>231</sup> Vespasiano, *Renaissance Princes, Popes & Prelates: The Vespasiano Memoirs Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, trans. William George and Emily Waters (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 224.

rhetorical trope of *amplificato*,<sup>232</sup> rather than having the ambition of narrating the events as they are. However, as Ernst Gombrich points out, one should also give credit to a certain style observed in the patron's oeuvre despite the involvement of different architects. In his words: "It is hardly fanciful to feel something of Cosimo's spirit in the buildings he founded, something of his reticence and lucidity, his seriousness and his restraint."<sup>233</sup>

The same argument is also valid for Federigo de Montefeltre, about whom Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote:

As to architecture it may be said that no one of his age, high or low, knew it so thoroughly. We may see in all buildings he had constructed the grand style and proper measurements, as he had observed them, particularly in this palace, which had no superior in the buildings of the age, none so well considered, or so full of fine things. Though he had his architects about him, he first always realized the design, and then explained in the proportions and all else. Indeed to hear him argue it would seem that the art which he had really made his own was architecture, so well did he know how to expound and carry out his plans. He built not only palaces and the like, but many fortresses in his dominions of a construction much stronger than those of old time."<sup>234</sup>

Ettlinger rightly notes that this account is too circumstantial to be dismissed as mere flattery.<sup>235</sup> And particularly Ludwig H. Heydenreich's shows the legitimacy of the case through his thorough reading of his ducal palace's design despite the changing architects he had employed along the way.<sup>236</sup> Again, Filarete is writing to educate his patron, in the context where he is highly aware of the patrons who are already in the level where he expects his patron to be. The authority of the patron in building, is a reality that cannot be escaped from, and since the middle ages, the affiliation of the patron with his design is an ongoing theme into the Renaissance as well. The key is, however, the patron's intentions in the first place to favor ancient architecture, and accordingly employ an 'architect' rather than a master-mason, is the ultimate target Filarete is aiming with his pedagogical agenda. It is not to build only, but to build nobly is what a patron should seek for, and therefore should have an architect to work with. As I will unfold in Part II, the whole rhetoric Filarete sets up with his pregnancy metaphor, only is to touch upon that patronage dimension.

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<sup>232</sup> Curtius, *European Literature*, 490ff.

<sup>233</sup> Gombrich, "The Early Medici," 40; Ettlinger, "The Emergence of the Italian Architect," 117.

<sup>234</sup> Vespasiano, *Renaissance Princes*, 100.

<sup>235</sup> "The Emergence of the Italian Renaissance Architect."

<sup>236</sup> "Federico da Montefeltro as a Building Patron: Some Remarks on the Ducal Palace of Urbino," in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt* (London: Phaidon, 1967): 1-6.

## vi) *Padrone – Padre*

In the *Libro* Filarete uses the word “padrone” ten times in total, and six of them are specific to the architectural context of the book. I will analyze them, accordingly. First, in the pregnancy analogy, he refers to the conception [*generamento*] of the architect as made with the (1) patron [*padrone*]. As he builds on the analogy, he refers to the architect’s task in a family structure and accordingly assigns father [*padre*] characteristics to the patron, and signals out (2) *padrone* in relation to the role of the architect and other constituents of building enterprise.<sup>237</sup> While introducing the *disegno* of Sforzinda, he refers to the thinly veiled personification of Francesco Sforza as his (3) *padrone* whom he already showed the line drawing of the city.<sup>238</sup> In Book VI, and XIII (4-5) *padrone* is mentioned for his use of a defense strategy in the castle design.<sup>239</sup> In Book VII, while Filarete is explaining *qualità* (which heavily resembles Renaissance notion of *decorum*), he refers to adornment of the building in relation to the adornment of its (6) owner [*padrone*.]<sup>240</sup> Filarete’s *volgare* is subject to unveil other common usages of the word in the quattrocento context, and we read one of those in Book XI. In the gentleman’s palace design, Filarete describes a side courtyard for service means of the house, where the storerooms, the kitchen and the servants’ quarters are organized adjacent. In the configuration, Filarete assigns the front part (of the house) as the *padrone*’s quadrant, and its opposite side for women’s inhabitation.<sup>241</sup> I will elaborate on this domestic structure of a household, and particularly the wife / mother’s role in this, in the fourth section of Part II. Here, I want to highlight the interchangeable use of the word from household<sup>242</sup> to more politically affiliated state structure<sup>243</sup> to indicate the figure who extends his auspice and

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<sup>237</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 7v-8r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 40-1 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 15-6.

<sup>238</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 13r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 60 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 25.

<sup>239</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 42v & 98v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 164 & 376 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 73 & 172.

<sup>240</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 48v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 189 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 84.

<sup>241</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 84r-v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 324 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 146-7.

<sup>242</sup> Thomas Kuehn, *Family and Gender in Renaissance Italy, 1300–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 41.

<sup>243</sup> Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 29, 141 & 501; Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, family, and ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1987), 15.

protection (male figure) in return of service (which was in parallel with Aristotelian accounts of civil society).<sup>244</sup>

The affiliation of the word patron [*padrone*] and father [*padre*] is socio-culturally evident in the Renaissance society, and the etymological connection of both words also support this argument.<sup>245</sup> This direct relation is also acknowledged in recent scholarship, through replacement of the word as “matronage” to refer to a female figure who holds the role of the political and cultural leadership as exhibited through patronage,<sup>246</sup> although I have not found any study that argues for the employment of the term beyond the simple gender attribution to the patron. In other words, the *padrone* and *padre* connection established through various socio-cultural affiliations don’t exactly apply for *madre*. As I will unfold in Part II, especially Filarete’s distinction of *madre* is a complementary notion to patronage, emerging as a counterpart yet by no means replacing it. In the case of female patrons, I argue that this would still hold true as long as we see the female patron figure fulfilling that “male” role assigned, which I believe is the case for these well-known women patrons, like Isabelle d’Este, and Medici women like Eleonora di Toledo, Marie de Medici, etc.<sup>247</sup>

In addition to the etymological connection of the patron and father, I want to argue that there is a more intimate connection Filarete pursues with his analogy, which is particularly regarding architectural patronage. In the *Libro*, Filarete employs the term “patron” solely for building activity when he proposes it to be understood through the analogy to a “father.” Accordingly,

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<sup>244</sup> Dale V. Kent, “Illegitimate and Legitimizing Passions in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Political Discourses,” in *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 2, no. 1, 50.

<sup>245</sup> Oxford English Dictionary gives the root of the Italian word *padre* as Latin *patr-* (for *pater* = father), and for *padrone*, as *patrōnus* in classical Latin, and *patron* or *patro* in post-classical Latin. < <https://www-oed-com.libproxy.clemson.edu/view/Entry/135946>>. The word “patron” also named a stencil for cutting material to the specified form.

<sup>246</sup> Sheryl E. Reiss, “A Taxonomy of Art Patronage in Renaissance Italy,” in *A Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Art*, eds. Babette Bohn & James M. Saslow (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013): 21-43. A Symposium delivered on the topic in April 20, 1990 at Temple University (sponsored by the department of Art History) was titled “Matronage: Women as Patrons and Collectors of Art, 1300-1800.” The anthology related to the symposium: Cynthia Lawrence, *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1998). See also, Kirsten Swinth, “Cultural Leadership in America: Art Matronage and Patronage,” *American Studies International*, 37, 2 (1999):108-9. In addition to these there are remarkable studies on female patrons of the Renaissance that are published recently. However, I was being selective to include only the works that incorporated the word “matronage” in this context.

<sup>247</sup> Natalie Tomas, *The Medici Women: Gender and Power in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Routledge, 2017); *Beyond Isabella: secular women patrons of art in Renaissance Italy*, eds. Sheryl E. Reiss and David G. Wilkins (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001); Catherine King, *Renaissance women patrons: wives and widows in Italy c. 1300-c. 1550* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998).

what a patron to his building is a father to his son. Here, one cannot help but recall the famous words of the eminent quattrocento patron Giovanni Rucellai. In his *Zibaldone*, Rucellai boldly states: “Men do two important things in this life: the first is to procreate, the second is to build.”<sup>248</sup> Rucellai doesn’t propose an analogical relation here. He gives both of these notions as the main constituents of a man’s civic duty; the former is to become a father and the latter is to become a patron of architecture. Francesco Datini’s extensive monumental building programs were described as an attempt to secure his earthly immortality that he wasn’t able to achieve due to his lack of legitimate children. In a 1392 letter, it was noted as: “you said to me that he has no children, he has [by buildings] given himself a child and a posthumous memorial.”<sup>249</sup> These show the intertwined relation of sustaining family lineage through both building and generation, or one is replacing the role of the other.

When it comes to Renaissance family, the currency of the use of the term, and the meanings associated with it are complex to decipher. F. W. Kent’s brings forward the contradicting views of the historians on the subject. On one hand, scholars’ opinion is shaped around the “individuality” of the Renaissance man, and his family as a small / nuclear group<sup>250</sup> isolated and introverted; on the other, scholars project the Renaissance family as a transformed but yet still a derivative version of medieval big family structures based on lineage.<sup>251</sup> Goldthwaite, being inclined towards the former opinion, would read the emerging Renaissance palace design as a reflection of this social change for instance, with its central courtyard and distinctive façade, contrary to the interconnected houses and towers of medieval clan arrangements. Again, two well-known patrons who built their Renaissance palaces were Cosimo de Medici (as discussed earlier in regards to his selection of an architect) and Giovanni Rucellai. Yet other important Renaissance families also gave tremendous importance to their house structure to be associated with their family. The lineage of family, as

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<sup>248</sup> *Due cose principali sono quelle che gl’uomini fanno in questo mondo: La prima lo ‘ngienerare: La seconda l’edificare.* Quoted from F. W. Kent, “The Making of a Renaissance Patron of the Arts.” In *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone, II: A Florentine Patrician and his Palace*, eds. F. W. Kent, Alessandro Perosa, Brenda Preyer, Piero Sanpaolesi, Roberto Salvini and Nicolai Rubinstein (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1981): 9–95.

<sup>249</sup> Quoted from Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410-1536* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1990), 36-7.

<sup>250</sup> Richard Goldthwaite, *Private wealth in Renaissance Florence: a study of four families* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 266.

<sup>251</sup> F. W. Kent, *Household and lineage in Renaissance Florence: the family life of the Capponi, Ginori, and Rucellai* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 1-5; “Palaces, Politics and Society in Fifteenth-Century Florence.” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 (1987): 41–70.

being effective in socio-political life of the city, was closely associated with its place in the urban fabric, manifested through these structures.

The motive behind such patronage was obviously to make a public statement of status. “To leave no doubt about the matter” Goldthwaite says “some builders [patrons] displayed the signs of ownership in the very fabric of the building for all to see.”<sup>252</sup> Reminding that the practice was not common in antiquity, he gives Cosimo de Medici as the forerunner of incorporating the Medici family coat of arms in the building fabric (figure 2.22) such as decorative elements incorporated into capitals. Medici was not alone in this practice. Rucellai’s personal insignias appear along the friezes and also are incorporated into window details in his palace. Strozzi palace also displays the family crescent in various details. In addition to these, clear inscriptions would be placed on the façades of the buildings, clearly (and proudly) announcing the patronage activity to the public. The most obvious example of this can be seen on the façade of Santa Maria Novella in Florence,<sup>253</sup> where we read “I, GIOVANNI RUCELLAI, SON OF PAOLO, MADE THIS IN THE YEAR 1470” yet we already know that the architect who designed this façade was Alberti (figure 2.23).<sup>254</sup> Famous portrait of the patron, painted after his death, ideologically presents him against the background of his four main patronage activity<sup>255</sup> through which he left his name to posterity (figure 2.24).<sup>256</sup> These inscriptions directly give the *auctor* of the work as the patron, whose direct involvement with the work is primarily financial. However, as I argued in the previous sections, the presence of these statements, along with *amplificatio* exercised in the panegyrics of the notable patron, leave the issue as an open question, especially when one considers that there were also patrons actively engaged in the design process, some of them already known to be taking delight in *disegno*.

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<sup>252</sup> Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 216.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> On the incorrectness of the construction year in the inscription, Tavernor, *On Alberti and the Art of Building*, 99-106.

<sup>255</sup> It is argued that Giovanni Rucellai did not receive much recognition at his time, since in the writings of his contemporaries he is rarely mentioned. Howard Saalman, also mentions that Rucellai is only well-known through his architectural patronage, however he didn’t extend his remark on other arts; his family commissioned some domestic scale minor arts, and larger art-work was ordered to mediocre artists of the time. Accordingly, he is also very skeptical on Rucellai patronage’s power to employ Alberti for such a significant work. See his book review of *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone, II*, in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 471 (1988): 82–90.

<sup>256</sup> Louis A. Waldman and Brenda Preyer. “The Rise of The Patronage Portrait in Late Renaissance Florence: An Enigmatic Portrait of Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai and its Role in Family Commemoration.” *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 54, 1 (2010): 133–154.

Lastly, Filarete’s analogical proposal, projected through a nuclear family conjecture, can also be seen in the intersections of Alberti’s *De Re Aedificatoria* with his other humanist writings. Laurie Shneider summarizes couple of these links in a convincing way.<sup>257</sup> In *Della Famiglia*, Alberti specifically focuses on his *casa* (in its figurative sense to refer to his larger family) and highlights the means for the family name to “achieve everlasting glory and immortality.”<sup>258</sup> In *De Re Aedificatoria*, the notions of fame and glory are emphasized through the architect’s role in building.<sup>259</sup> In *De Re*, Alberti transitions between house and city scale by proposing the analogy he takes from the philosophers: “the city is like some large house, and the house in turn like some small city.” Referring to this anecdote as a part of his discussion on compartition, he further argues whether the units that compose a house, such as “atria, *xysti*, dining rooms, porticoes, and so on – be considered miniature building?”<sup>260</sup> Such transitional thinking is evident in Alberti’s tackling the issue of *famiglia*, which encompasses the larger clan of family including relatives that bear the name, as well as the nucleus group consists of the children, wife and the servants.<sup>261</sup> Alberti’s use of the term for both is congruent with the *catasti* lexicon of the quattrocento Florence, which suggests a more fluid transition taking place from the nuclear family to a larger extension.<sup>262</sup> Accordingly the family palaces of the quattrocento Renaissance were subject to various compartitions to accommodate the extending family within the same building as well.<sup>263</sup>

In *Opere Volgari*, Alberti says “family is like a little city,” and in *Della Famiglia*, we read his expansion on this metaphor by claiming the father actually acts like an architect. In Book I, Alberti says:

There are also architects who want to build... first they look for signs... They apply their minds to see on the earth’s surface what lies underneath... Not without some clues do they begin to establish a structure. They build, moreover, in a way that may best suit the conditions they have been led to expect.

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<sup>257</sup> “Leon Battista Alberti: Some Biographical Implications of the Winged Eye,” *The Art Bulletin*, 72, 2 (1990): 261-70.

<sup>258</sup> *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, trans. Renée Neu Watkins (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 31.

<sup>259</sup> Carroll William Westfall, “Society, Beauty, and the Humanist Architect in Alberti’s *De Re Aedificatoria*,” *Studies in the Renaissance*, 16 (1969): 61–79.

<sup>260</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988), 23.

<sup>261</sup> Kent, *Household and lineage*.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>263</sup> Kent, “Palaces, Politics and Society,” 45.

Let the father act in much the same way. Let him note from day to day the ways his son adopts, the desires that persist or recur in him, what he does with most zeal and what he must be persuaded to do against his will.<sup>264</sup>

I propose these examples from Alberti's writings to provide a context where Filarete is likely familiar with as well. The key factor here, however, while Filarete diligently applies gender-based distinctions to the patron and the architect, emphasizing the latter being the "mother" of a building, Alberti proposes the father as an architect figure. As striking as this discrepancy is in the gendered role of the Renaissance architect, it requires a larger framework to tackle the question, let alone bring a comparison between Filarete and Alberti. It is beyond the scope of my research to unfold Alberti's activities as an architect to support or argue about his claim. However, some anecdotal notes I gathered along the way allow me to hypothesize about his conceptualization of the architect as the "male" counterpart.

First of all, both Alberti and Filarete give the definition of an architect in regards to another agent, however completely differ in their reference. Alberti defines who an architect is in regards to a carpenter, while Filarete defines who an architect is (through the pregnancy analogy) in regards to a patron. As I will elaborate further in the next chapter, Alberti defines the architect as the instrumental (efficient) cause, in charge of activating the carpenter, and Filarete gives former role to the patron, activating the architect. Interestingly, in Alberti's activities as an architect, we have documentation of the letters he exchanged with the foreman on site, in charge of construction (figure 2.25). Whereas Filarete's surviving letters are only addressed to the patron/s explaining (or complaining about) his working conditions. This doesn't necessarily rule out the possibility that Filarete was also corresponding in a similar fashion as Alberti was, but it nevertheless shows that they were not archived. Lastly, and more ambiguously, Alberti's role as an architect in many of the building projects he was involved in, still ignites a fruitful discussion among art-historians in regards to his authorship.<sup>265</sup> Having well-known architects of the quattrocento, like Bernardo Rossellino,

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<sup>264</sup> *The Family*, 60.

<sup>265</sup> One of the most complex discussions about the extent of Alberti's role whether as the one who only provides architectural advice as a humanist, or literally designs the buildings themselves as an architect, revolved around his affiliation with the papal court, at the time Nicholas V was undertaking a major urban renewal program for Rome. Nicholas V's aspiration to renew Rome was very ambitious in its scope that reflects the magnitude of its political agenda, that would signify his status and the Christianity through the building program. Alberti, is a papal secretary at the time, in close connection with the pope himself, and writing his book on architecture within the context and the resources that are available through its library, and even dedicating his treatise to him in 1452. By third parties, Alberti is referred as "a scholar... showed the pope the learned books on architecture, which he had written." See, Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Renaissance* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 303.

Matteo de' Pasti and Luca Fancelli, incorporated in the *fabbrica* of his building designs, Alberti's "male" architect definition, perhaps operates in a patronal fashion. Alberti's Neoplatonic distinction of lineaments and materials,<sup>266</sup> and his classification of quattrocento *disegno* practices including wooden models under the latter,<sup>267</sup> suggests that *disegno* is not in its theoretical art criticism format as the father of the three sister arts as described by Vasari.<sup>268</sup> A century before Vasari, Filarete places *disegno* in the midst of his gendered distinction, where he retrospectively unfolds it as a female agent in regards to building.<sup>269</sup>

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In praising Pope's building activity, Bernardo Rossellino is referred as the one in charge of all the building operations, while Nicholas is credited with the conception and design. Carroll William Westfall paraphrases as follow: "Nicholas claimed that he had conceived the buildings himself, and Manetti stated that the pope had designed them. He designed them in his mind and spirit (*mente animoque*), and the products of his intelligence surpassed those of his *exemplum*, King Solomon." See, *In this most perfect paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the invention of conscious urban planning in Rome, 1447-55* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), 180. Westfall's reading of the sources, is highly sustained with his hypothesis that the close relation Alberti and the pope had during this time, should have been more likely in the direction of Alberti's involvement with the design of the buildings themselves. And the reason for his name being consciously omitted could be due to the social association of design with the patron, particularly in this context, as a manifest of his governing skills being solidified with his building program.

<sup>266</sup> Liisa Kanerva, *Between Science and Drawings: Renaissance Architects on Vitruvius's Educational Ideas* (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2006), 156-175; Paul Emmons, "Architectural Encounters between Material and Idea," in *The Material Imagination: Reveries on Architecture and Matter*, ed. Matthew Mindrup (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015): 89-106; Branko, Mitrović, "Aesthetic Formalism in Renaissance Architectural Theory," *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte*, 66, 3 (2003): 321–339. Especially 322n5 gives a brief review of scholars' different interpretations of Alberti's lineaments. Also see, John S.Hendrix, "Leon Battista Alberti and the Concept of Lineament," *School of Architecture, Art, and Historic Preservation Faculty Publications*, Paper30 (2011). Accessed through <[http://docs.rwu.edu/saahp\\_fp/30](http://docs.rwu.edu/saahp_fp/30)>

<sup>267</sup> Paul Emmons and Jonathan Foote, "Making Plans: Alberti's ichnography as cultural artefact," in *Reading architecture and culture: researching buildings, spaces, and documents*, ed. Adam Sharr (London: Routledge, 2012): 197-210.

<sup>268</sup> In the preface of the *Lives*, Vasari prophetically says: *Dico adunque che la scultura e la pittura per il vero sono sorelle, nate di un padre, che è il disegno*. Quoted from, Patricia Lee Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 2n3.

<sup>269</sup> Renzo Baldasso mentions how Filarete's conception of *disegno*, combining both theoretical and practical aspects, is often dismissed by the scholars to maintain a narrative towards Vasari's assertion. See, "Filarete's *disegno*", *Arte Lombarda*, 155, 1 (2009): 39–46. His careful analysis of the last three books of the *Libro*, dedicated to the subject, brings forward the essential nuances of Filarete's definition which are remarkably different than Alberti's in *Della Pittura*, although it was often assumed that Filarete was merely copying Alberti's work here.

PART I :: FIGURES



Figure 2.1 Maso Finiguerra, *Apprentice Drawing*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence 115 F: Vo essere uno buono disegnatore .e. do/ventare uno buono architetto. Excerpted from Carmen Bambach, *Leonardo Da Vinci Master Draftsman* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 7.

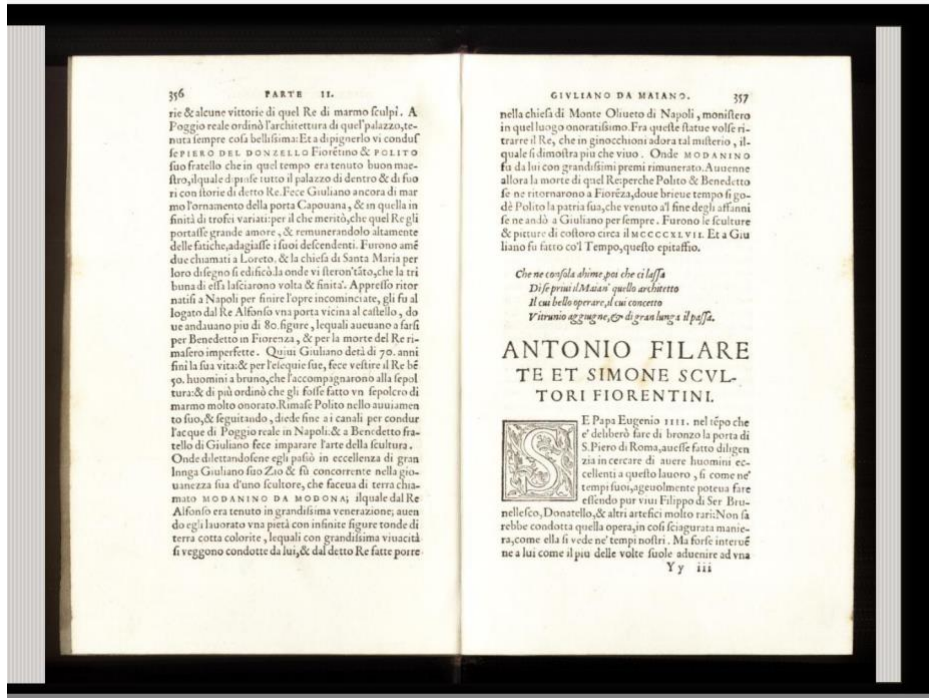


Figure 2.2 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani : da Cimabve in sino à tempi nostri*, 1550. Accessed through [https://archive.org/details/gri\\_vitedepivecc01vasa/page/n359/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/gri_vitedepivecc01vasa/page/n359/mode/2up)

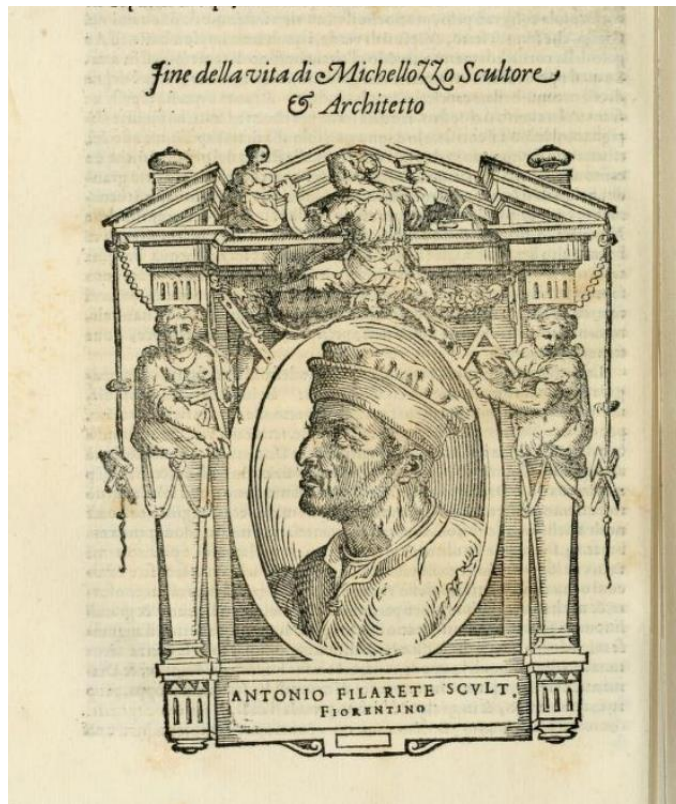


Figure 2.3 Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, et architettori*, 1568. Accessed through <https://archive.org/details/levitedepiveccel01vasa/page/346/mode/2up>



Figure 2.4 Filarete, *Self-Portrait with Assistants*, reverse of the left door, central portal, St. Peter's. Excerpted from Robert Glass, "Filarete's Hilaritas: Claiming Authorship and Status on the Doors of St. Peter's," in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 94, no. 4 (2012), 550.



Figure 2.5 Detail of figure 2.4 showing the inscription "ANTONIVS ET DISCIPLI MEI"



Figure 2.6 Matteo di Ser Cambio, *Self-Portrait* holding a pair of compasses, 1377  
Detail of fol. 1r, Perugia, Collegio del Cambio.

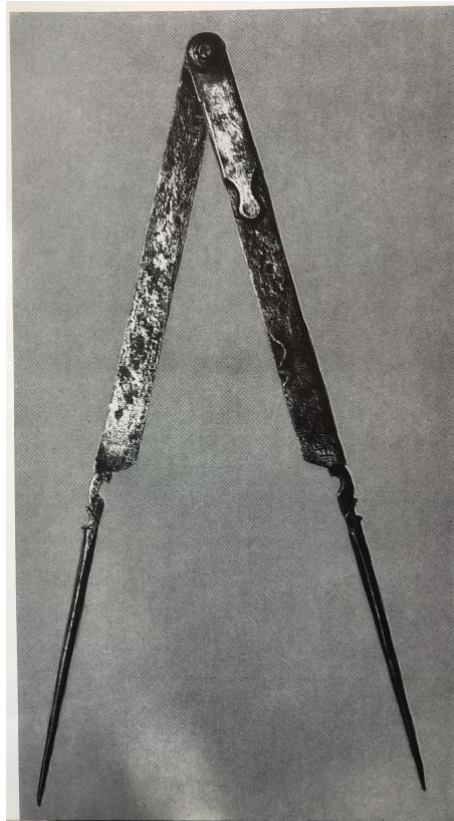


Figure 2.7 A pair of compasses preserved at York. Excerpted from John Harvey, "The Mason's Skill: The Development of Architecture," in *The Flowering of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joan Evans (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 85.

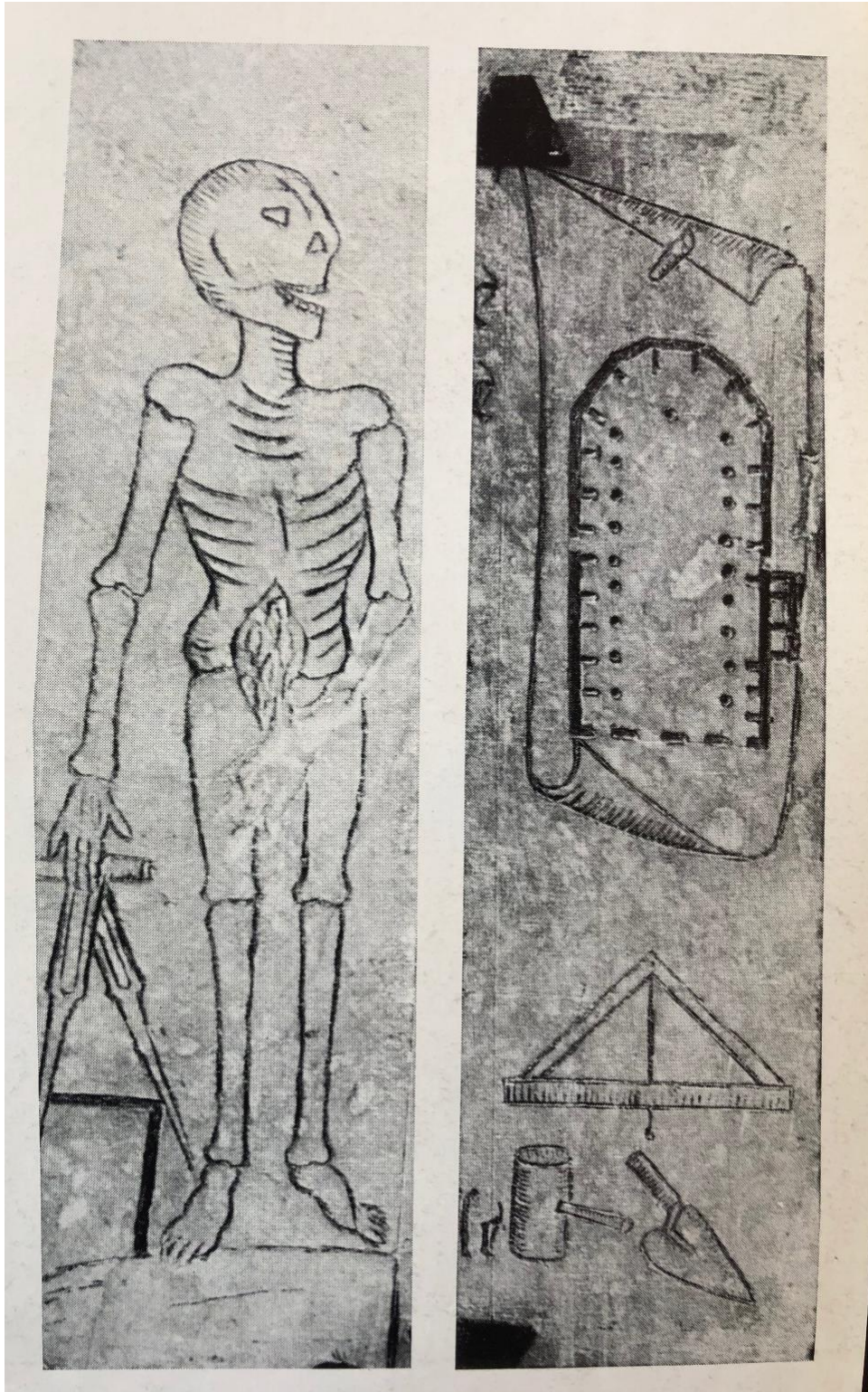


Figure 2.8 On the gravestone of the architect of Notre-Dame at Caudebec, Guillaume Letellier's skeleton holding a pair of compasses, and the plan of the church, with an image of a mallet, level and trowel carved. Excerpted from John Harvey, "The Mason's Skill: The Development of Architecture," in *The Flowering of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joan Evans (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 85.



Figure 2.9 Master mason at a drawing table, Rodericus Zamorensis, *Speculum vitae humanae*, fol. 73 (Augsberg 1477). Excerpted from Günther Binding, *Medieval building techniques* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004),



Figure 2.10 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 178r, detail, illustration of a compass.



Figure 2.11 Filarete, bottom panel of the right wing of the Bronze Doors of the Old St. Peter's Basilica, detail. Excerpted from Robert Glass, "Filarete's renovation of the Porta Argentea at Old Saint Peter's," in *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*, eds. Rosamond Mckitterick, John Osborne, Carol M. Richardson and Joanna Story (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 362.



Figure 2.12 Re-construction of Hadrian's Tomb. Bodleian Library MS. Lat. misc. d. 85, fol. 63r  
 < <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/059a858f-000e-4c51-bb00-82fb807d840e/surfaces/418a88fd-bcf3-4eb5-941f-93ec7649c513/>>

Also published in

F. Saxl, "The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics: Bartholomaeus Fontius: *Liber monumentorum Romanae urbis et aliorum locorum*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 4, 1 (1940): 19-46.





Figure 2.15 Brunelleschi, *Ospedale degli Innocenti: Loggia*, Florence, 1419-27. Image reference <[https://www.wga.hu/html\\_m/b/brunelle/ospedal3.html](https://www.wga.hu/html_m/b/brunelle/ospedal3.html)>



Figure 2.16 *Lo Spedale di Sant'Antonio*, Lastra a Signa, 1411-24. Image reference [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lastra\\_a\\_signa,\\_spedale\\_di\\_sant%27antonio\\_05.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lastra_a_signa,_spedale_di_sant%27antonio_05.JPG)



Figure 2.17 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 60r, detail, illustration of openings in ancient style



Figure 2.18 Filarete, *Codex Marcianus*, unknown fol., reproduced from the screen view (corresponding image to fol. 50r of *Magl.*)



Figure 2.19 Filarete, Codex Trivulzianus (ca. 1465, lost), title page, detail, incorporating two self-representation of the author in letter E, with allegories of 'memory', 'ingenuity', 'intellect'. Excerpted from Michele Lazzaroni and Antonio Muñoz, *Filarete, scultore e architetto del secolo XV* (Rome: Modes, 1908), 238.



Figure 2.20 Filarete, Codex Magliabechianus, fol. 108v, detail, illustration of the Golden Book, with allegories of 'memory', 'ingenuity' and 'intellect' with the Italian inscription on two sides.



somma & anche altre acque che ho bisogno & necessita s'adopano in tutti gli  
 luoghi sotterranei come sono conoue & anche quelle ue segrete & cosi per  
 sopra terra tutte quelle compartioni che erano hordinate tanto sporchi qua  
 to laltre compartioni plu hordinate & ancora alle torri tonde delle porte  
 compacte con quegli modi & ue che a quelle torri anno bisogno tanto den  
 tro quanto di fuori. Et fatte tutte queste mura d'altrezza di trenta braccia  
 come era hordinato & merlati tutti intorno & letori braccia dieci da  
 questa altrezza delle trenta braccia infino aloro beccatagli & cosi dispor  
 to tanto beccatagli delle torri quanto quogli delle muraglie: cioe di ba  
 due fatto antipetto & merli sopra diciaocheduna uolte uno torriano de  
 uenti braccia alto u'diametro solo di dodici braccia & di braccia due grosso  
 solamente il loro muro & cosi haueuano disparto dintorno di braccia otto  
 & dentro in questi torriano emdaua la scala con due uolte l'una sopra de  
 ll'altra & nella somita una capoletta acuta con una palla nella somita de  
 lla palla una bandiera consua diuisa & cosi fornite tutte queste porte co  
 le cadute & ponte leuatoio & pionchete & ferrate & bombardiere & la  
 lestriere fare in quel luoghi ch'erano deputati da lui. Et anche in que luoghi  
 che amo parue difare alcune cose buali feci Sicche formo tutto prima  
 piano lato ue dimozzo delle sexanta braccia & auuto il fesso & murato  
 lo secondo che era d'eterminato & comparati in maestri pche il luogo era  
 stretto atanta moltitudine con quelli ch'erano parue che fusino abbastanza a  
 latorre fu dato l'ordine il modo & fatto la scala tanto dentro quanto di  
 fuori con quegli modi & compartioni dalui dati fano come e detto tutta  
 la scala il primo imbascamento intorno alla fine della scala al piano ter  
 reno lo gise uno sporto di due braccia comerti & cosi andaua circondato  
 alla torre questo andito & poi come o detto disopra al piano incaschedanti  
 facciata sei finestre di quattro braccia di mano l'una l'altra & loro alta & qui  
 tro braccia di mano l'una l'altra el pilastro di due braccia largo & uno  
 terzo in fuori & in su cantoni uno pilastro di braccia sei di larghezza & mezzo  
 disparto & alti braccia quattordici & alle quattordici braccia una cornice la  
 quale questi pilastri pare che tenghino la qual cornice porta un braccio & mezzo  
 per parapetto a certi fermi grossi & sufficienti quando bisogno fusse mererli man  
 tellem di potere andare intorno di fuori modo sono hordinati & cosi dignato  
 in grado di trenta braccia in trenta braccia ua questa cornice queste fine  
 stre sono tante quante braccia elle alta cioe trecento sexanta ogni braccia  
 Vedendo questa torre in quella forma disti mi piace assai Ma pche ai tu fa  
 te tante finestre & anche datole quelle uane forme cioe quadra tonda  
 & affacciata cioe otto facce & poi adodici & assegnuagli la ragione inprimi  
 pche o fatto tante finestre sic pche dopo dela Signoria nostra lauolle alta  
 trecento sexanta ogni braccia lo lo uoluto fare anche tante finestre p  
 che o che come fanno e tanti di cosi o fatto tante finestre & come e di & nodia  
 cosi come uedete sono mezzo ferrate & mezzo aperte & queste quattro uaria  
 te forme ch'olo date lo glieno date pche come fanno a questo tempi cioe  
 Qua dallato fara disognata la torre alta 265 braccia la quale e tonda & affacciata

Figure 2.21 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 41v, the central tower illustrated in the left margin

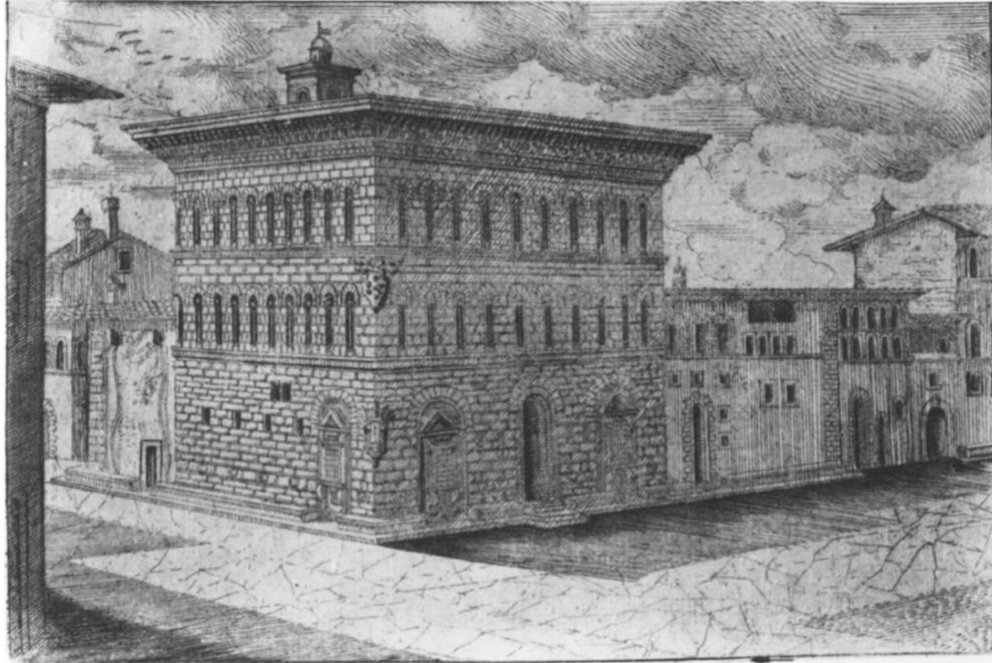


Figure 2.22 View of Medici Palace, Leopoldo del Migliore, *Firenze Città Nobilissima*, Florence, 1684. Excerpted from Howard Saalman and Philip Mattox, "The First Medici Palace," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 44, 4 (1985): 329–345.



Figure 2.23 Façade of Santa Maria Novella, detail. Excerpted from Sheryl E. Reiss, "A Taxonomy of Art Patronage in Renaissance Italy," in *A Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Art*, eds. Babette Bohn & James M. Saslow (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013): 21-43.



Figure 2.24 Portrait of Giovanni Rucellai with an ideal view of his buildings. Francesco Salviati (attributed) or Follower of Domenico Cresti da Passignano, c. 1600, Palazzo Rucellai. Excerpted from Louis A. Waldman and Brenda Preyer. "The Rise of The Patronage Portrait in Late Renaissance Florence: An Enigmatic Portrait of Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai and its Role in Family Commemoration." *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 54, 1 (2010): 133–154.

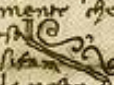
Salut molto misignate le let tue ppiu rispeti et fann gratissimo el signor mio facere  
 chomo io desiderava cioe che pigliassi ottimo chonfiglio chon tuoi. Ma quanto tu midio choli  
 manesso afferma chole supole deuo esser due larghe et alte. Io vedo piu archi fecer thomme  
 a pauca et tutte queste choi maxime che alij. Et molro piu alla ragia che apena. Et  
 se lui s'ingio appinione non mi marauigliero se gli errera spore. Quanto al fatto del pilastro  
 nel mio modello Ramentar, chio tedi questa faccia choniuo chesia opa dappo po che  
 queste larghe et alte delle chappelle mi turbano Richardson et ponui mento che nel  
 modello sui chanto del tetto aman ritta a aman mancha ue una simile chosa.  edesi  
 questo pocho io qui chio priu quella parte del tetto idot del choio quel sita  
 entro la chappella poche questa larghe et dentro non puo moderare chon la nostra facceta  
 euuolli autran quel che fatto eno gustare quello che sabbia afare. Le misure et propor  
 tioni de pilastri tu uedi onde esse natiuono: eochi tu muti si discorda tutta quella misura  
 Et ragionamo dichio priu la chappella di choi leggiera. Non ui fidati suq pilastri ad ar  
 loro chario. Et p questo cupara chella uolta in botte fatta di legname fuisse piu utile.  
 hora quel nost pilastro se non risponde legato chon quello della chappella non monta po  
 che quello della chappella non hauea bisogno di aiuto. Adonq se choli palto uipar se gliuor  
 ello e succino equa legato che lara molto aiuto. Del fatto delli ochi. uorrei che fa p fissiono  
 el d'obio quale amio uiderio sta bene. Del fatto delli ochi. uorrei che fa p fissiono  
 intendere el mestier suo. Desiam p che si squara el muro et indebolisce lo edificio in  
 far fenore. pecessa dellume. stum pui chomen indebolire hauere piu lume non  
 sei tu possone farui quel incomodo. Da man dretta aman mancha delloccio rima squar  
 rato et tanto archi quanto el soniarolo soffere el po d'obio. d'otto a nulla piu  
 forte el lauro p pocio et e obturato quello che debba darsi ellume seno malora  
 gioni aquito p pocio. ma se la questa mibati che mai in edificio lodato p pocio archi uor  
 quello che nuno intende oggi. mai. mai. uederai factum ochio seno alle supole in lau  
 gho della chappella equito s'ita acerrimempij. aoue a p'cho. quali sono parroni della  
 luce et hano certa ragione in la sua larghe et. Questo d'isti p mostrari onde ch'ita  
 eluero. Sequi uera p'ona quanto s'ira in me d'oro ogni modo di st'istare al signor mio  
 Tu p'ghe examina et odi molti et restancum. forse qualche cosa d'ira ch'ita da st'istare  
 Raccomandami Giulio d'ostrii al signor mio adui desidero in qualunq modo u'grato. Ra  
 al mag' h'et et amon'io e' g'ho et atui quelli archi tuoi ch'ome amio. Se h'oro  
 Adato uimando ed'atomp'io et al'io. Volo Roma xvij 1454 Baptista alb.

Figure 2.25 Leon Battista Alberti's 18 November 1454 dated letter to Matteo de' Pasti. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. MA 1734r. Excerpted from Robert Tavernor, *On Alberti and the Art of Building* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 60.

## PART II: ARCHITECT / *La Madre & Balia*

### i) *Similitudine to a man*

“... the building has to live and to die, and to be helped to die and live for the duration man grants, or [which is as] true as it really is for man, or you mean the body of man.”<sup>1</sup>

In the first part, I showed the contextual framework within which Filarete presented his pedagogical agenda for his Lombardy patron. The patron-centric evolution of Filarete's treatise, aimed directly at educating the patron, constitutes the premise for the excellence of architecture to be bound to the excellence in patronage, expected to be performed by an individual who wants to build nobly. This was already pointed out in former Filarete studies,<sup>2</sup> which is further reinforced when considering patronage as the primary form of production and the role of the patron as the author of the work. Accordingly, when Filarete presents his famous metaphor for explaining building production, he would assign the role of the *padre* to the *padrone*, who needs to have an architect in order to build. Starting with that, the primordial triangle he creates of the father, mother and child, adopted to the building practice, as the main constituents of the process: patron and the architect, with the building as the outcome of this process, is a complex metaphor, which is neither preceded before Filarete nor repeated after him. Although it is a common *topos* since ancient Greece to associate artists' creativity with the female body,<sup>3</sup> as considering the process akin to pregnancy, its association

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<sup>1</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 7r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 38; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 15. *Basti questo a dovere intendere l'edificio vivere e morire ed essere aiutato a morire e a vivere quanto il tempo porta a l'uomo, o vero come avviene proprio a l'uomo, o vuoi dire al corpo de l'uomo.*

<sup>2</sup> Powers, "The Virtù of Architectural Invention," 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> Martianus Capella was one of the earliest figures in systematization of the seven liberal arts. In his didactic allegory, *On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, among the wedding gifts Philology received, there were seven female figures, identified as personifications of the seven liberal arts; grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and music. Two additional arts, architecture and medicine, were not included in the seven

with architecture, in the way that Filarete defines it, is unique. Filarete doesn't simply present a female figure for an architect, but defines the profession of the architect through the female roles of wife, "mother" and "wet-nurse" – the last two of which are notions defined only through their relation to the child. Hence, who an architect is, and what pertains to his practice is only defined through its relation to the building.

In order to teach modes and measures of building within which he can demonstrate the ideal interaction supposed to take place between the patron and the architect, Filarete places the metaphorical child, the city Sforzinda, in the center of his narrative. Discursive in its premise to signify nothing other than its own narrative existence, the book accommodates the temporal dimension of simultaneous design and construction of the city with its individual buildings. Each episode pertaining to individual building designs (and construction) introduce more complex schemes for design processes where other constituents of the courtly setting are involved (like humanists) and different patrons (thinly-veiled personages from Sforza's immediate household) portrayed as commissioning individual buildings. Yet the city itself, Sforzinda, is presented as the child of the patron Sforza and the architect. The city is named after its father, and the drawing of the city is named after the mother, Averliano.<sup>4</sup> This is a key detail to further understand the gender attributes in relation to artistic creation and authorship. The *mis-en-scene* where the architect presents his *fantasia* of the city design to his patron is immediately followed by distinct gender roles that directly pertain to building practice, which I will discuss further in the following sections.

### Theorizing Organic Anthropomorphism

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gifts but they were also present at the feast, again as female figures. See, William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

For all the arts and the sciences, notions for a continuous line of development were derived through maternal aspects; conception, gestation, delivery, etc. As Claudio Sgarbi says: "The fertile womb of a woman, her nurturing breasts, and her domesticated surroundings are the archetypal metaphor for letting something in, nourishing it, presenting in good shape, and then raising it in good manner." However, for the case of architecture, the allegory assigned through the female figure becomes reveal deeper associations, since "the womb is not just an archetype of inner space, and the mother's body not simply a representation of the first house; rather they are inner space and first house in themselves." See his article, "Architects' Bellies: Reflection on the Plumbing of Masculine Conceptions," in *Plumbing: Sounding Modern Architecture*, eds. Nadir Lahiji and D. S. Friedman (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 185. Hub also argues on similar terms in *Filarete*, 95

<sup>4</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 11v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 53; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 22. ... *il quale disegno appellerò «Averliano» e la città appelleremo «Sforzinda»...*

The metaphor of pregnancy for architectural design (given in Book II) is presented as a consequence of the anthropomorphism he presents in Book I, through which Filarete aims to demonstrate a well-rounded argument. This is important to emphasize because Filarete's unique metaphor to describe building practice is very much a consequence of his particular approach to the 'body-building' analogy, for which he painstakingly argues that it should be understood well beyond the Vitruvian framework of measure, proportion and geometry. Filarete asserts anthropomorphism as almost a naïve but yet foundational and complex argument to explain every aspect of *edificare* in general, which eventually leads to his description of the architect as a mother. Although Filarete doesn't name it as such, or doesn't claim it to be, I want to propose Filarete's take on anthropomorphism as his "theory" of *edificare*. Here, I'm indebted to Mark Wigley's problematization of the "theory of architecture" due to architecture serving as the quintessential metaphor for theory in Western tradition. Building from Martin Heidegger's account on the subject, Wigley writes:

*thesis* from the Greek for "placing," a "position," a "proposition," "laid down," to be "maintained against attack," to "make a stand." This figure of standing in a place organizes the Western philosophical tradition in which theory is understood as the construction of arguments that can be defended, theses that stand up. Theory has always described itself as a kind of building. The philosopher is a kind of architect who pays attention first to the ground, establishing secure foundations, and then applies structural principles in order to construct a sound thesis, a solid structure standing in a place, or, more precisely, a structure that places, a standing that defines place."<sup>5</sup>

Apart from the discussions of architecture being the metaphor for theory, what I want to focus on is the structural notion that defines theory, its existence via resistance to forces in order to define a place. This is sustained with the soundness of the structure, which is measured with the resistance from the attack of other arguments. A theory then is demolished – literally - when an argument attacks its structural stability, and the place it used to define becomes a vacancy to be built on with a new, stronger theory. I cannot help but picture Filarete's argument for *his* anthropomorphism along these lines. Reading Book I carefully, one can realize that the way Filarete sets up his argument for anthropomorphism gradually grows into his unique living, organic approach.<sup>6</sup> Filarete's starting point is no different from his predecessors Vitruvius and Alberti (in folio 2v), only referring to the proportional relations that

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<sup>5</sup> "The Prosthetic Theory: The Disciplining of Architecture," in *Assemblage*, 15 (1991), 9; Mark Wigley, "The Translation of Architecture, The Production of Babel," in *Assemblage*, 8 (1989), 9.

<sup>6</sup> The term "organic" for Filarete's anthropomorphism is proposed by Finoli and Grassi, in the introduction to their 1972 edition of his treatise.

should be maintained in a building through the proportional relations (of the measures) of its members, where these relations should be derived from a “finely shaped human body.” This, although placed within his Christian context, is a reiteration in its simplest sense, but apparently falls short to encompass the larger proposition Filarete is seeking to achieve with his *Libro*. He then proposes that the building should also be understood in the temporal dimension of its existence, with the argument that buildings also live and die. This claim eventually leads him to his theorizing a temporal dimension for the design and construction process of *edificare* where the role of the architect is deliberately introduced in its gender-specific terms.

These seemingly unimportant transitions are the underlying reasonings that allow Filarete to arrive at an organic, living structure for his anthropomorphism. Almost picturing Wigley’s interpretation of architectural metaphor for theory, Filarete uses these transitions to strengthen his argument to establish a sound theory, which retrospectively becomes the framework for him to explain anything regarding edifices and *edificare* in anthropomorphic terms. This being said, even though he promises to explain everything pertaining to building practice based on this organic approach, within the course of the narrative there are some aspects of building which end up being dismissed and not revisited. A general analysis of these are important to understand his intention with proposing an organic anthropomorphism. In that regard, the parts that are missed actually give more clues to follow his line of thought.

Filarete starts the discussion of anthropomorphism in Book I, fol. 2v, and he expands his reasoning to show the building in terms of a “truly living human” in fol. 6r. Starting with Christian teachings in appropriating the ‘body-building’ analogy, Filarete says: “As everyone knows, man was created by God; the body, the soul, the intellect, the *ingegno*, and everything was produced in perfection by Him, and so was the body organized and measured and all its members proportioned according to their *qualità* and measure, and allowed him to produce each other, as seen in nature.”<sup>7</sup> Continuing his argument, Filarete takes the properties of man that pertain to the body only by saying: “being made with measure, as it is said above, he took these measures, members, proportions and *qualità* from himself and the devised them to

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<sup>7</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 2v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 13 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 6: *Come è noto a ciascheduno, l'uomo fu creato da Dio: il corpo, l'anima, l'intelletto, lo ingegno e tutto in perfezione da lui fu prodotto, e così il corpo organizzato e misurato e tutti i suoi membri proporzionati secondo le loro qualità e misure, e concessegli produrre l'uno l'altro secondo naturalmente si vede.*

these ways of building.”<sup>8</sup> The trilogy Filarete gives of the measure, proportion and member, coupled with the ambiguous term *qualità*, nevertheless allows Filarete to align his argument along the lines of the Vitruvian “body-building” analogy. Vitruvius explained in *De Architectura*, III. I: “For without symmetry and proportion no temple can have a regular plan; that is, it must have an exact proportion worked out after the fashion of the members of a finely-shaped human body.”<sup>9</sup> He presents this before he gives the proportional relationships of the measures of the body members that forms the perfect geometries of the circle and the square. Filarete follows the structure of the dictum given by Vitruvius, adapted to the *volgare* vocabulary assumed to be in common usage in workshop practice.<sup>10</sup> Yet, he bases the canon within the precepts of his Christian perspective by claiming Adam’s body to be the “best-formed” large man, since he was directly created by God (in a demiurgic fashion). Without the historical certainty of the discoverers of these measures ability to take them directly from Adam’s body, Filarete asserts the most perfect origin for the source of measure, and accordingly most reasonable origin for building.

Following his intuitive assumptions in theorizing the practices related to measures that may have been common in shop practice, Filarete claims Adam’s head, the locus of reason, as the unit measure and by giving the proportional relations found in (Adam’s) body in “heads,” Filarete arrives at the 9-head height for the overall height of the body, and 9-head width to be measure of the arms extended. This sustains the bodily geometry for a perfect square and a perfect circle, where Filarete references Vitruvius for the navel (the body’s generative center) to be the center for the circle derived from this figure of man, however he does not clarify or articulate the center of the square, in relation to the center of the circle.

The guiding idea of the human body, which becomes the starting point for envisioning an organic structure for the architectural work in Filarete’s treatise, has been the basis of the anthropomorphic foundation of the Renaissance architectural treatises. In that regard, Filarete’s contribution in disseminating this theme cannot be dismissed.<sup>11</sup> But there are some

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.: *essendo fatto colla misura, come di sopra è detto, da esso medesimo volse pigliare queste misure e membri e proporzioni e qualità, e divisegli poi a questi modi dello edificare.*

<sup>9</sup> Trans. Frank Geger (Loeb Classical Library edition): The latin text: “Namque non potest aedis ulla sine symmetria atque proportione rationem habere compositionis, nisi uti ad hominis bene figurati membrorum habuerit exactam rationem.” 158-159.

<sup>10</sup> *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 8-9 n.11.

<sup>11</sup> *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 16 n. 2.

curiosities that should be underlined here. Unlike his immediate predecessor Alberti, Filarete's treatise is illustrated. The rich illustrative program<sup>12</sup> consists of some representations of the human body, or the members of the human body, but not in the way that we are accustomed to see in architectural treatises after Filarete. In the *Libro*, regarding the representation of the body with respect to / or in relation to architecture, I tentatively propose two categories. First is where the body is represented as a literal human figure who is either inhabiting the scenery to further convey the imagery of the setting, or more actively defining the scene. The human figures inhabiting the landscape (figure 3.1), or feasting at the dinner table (figure 3.2) can be an example for the former, while the depiction of Adam's fall from Paradise (figure 3.3 & 3.4), Adam and Eve building the first hut (figure 3.5 & 3.6) and the human figures in the following images of construction (figure 3.7) portray the body as the main actor of the scene, defining the human body in action in regards to building. The second category consists of the images of the body in employment as the members of the building (figure 3.8). In these illustrations, either the human figure is portrayed as a sculpture placed at the very top of the building, or, again envisioned to be a sculpted human figure taking the structural role of columns, with arms stretching upwards to accommodate the transference of the lateral loads. This is reminiscent of Caryatid illustrations, as Vitruvius gives the account of its origins.<sup>13</sup> None of these human figures are drawn, or discussed in regards to measure.<sup>14</sup>

The passage where Filarete reiterates the proportions of the canon is not accompanied with any illustration. While Adam's body is given as the source of measure, two illustrations of Adam are employed to depict the scenery described for the origin of architecture, where Adam's body is depicted in action, rather than being passive to be measured. In order to introduce measure, which Filarete emphasizes that he will be using those common in contemporary shop practice, he verbally explains the length of a *braccia* as three heads, equal to one third of the overall length of the body, and he doesn't ask the reader "to see" and "to understand" these with a clear illustration, as he often does with his architectural projects. The

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<sup>12</sup> This has been tentatively classified under four categories by Mia Genoni Renioso in "Filarete in Word and Image," with her main focus on the "hybrid images," juxtaposed views of architectural drawings *in situ* landscapes.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Rykwert, *The Dancing Column* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996), 133-138.

<sup>14</sup> There is no reference of proportional marks in the manuscript in the construction of these bodies, and obviously they don't follow the proportional relation of the columns given in his terms. Although Filarete often stresses that he is drawing with measure and proportion and to scale his architectural features, and in the construction of these images, traces of drawing instruments can be found (almost all the plan drawings still have marks for measure and determining proportional relations), in these architectural drawings, the bodies employed as a part of the geometry of the building, are exempt to this precision.

only illustration of the part of a body in regards to measure is given in fol. 4r, while describing the measure 'foot' as the common manuped (hand-foot). Filarete says: "This foot is measuring two tight hands, or you mean gathered four fingers [and] the fifth is stretched and pointed to each other: this is said to be a foot."<sup>15</sup> The illustration in the recto of the same folio (figure. 3.9 & 3.10) literally shows these two hands as described, however without any reference to actual measure or scale. It is an illustration of how to measure, rather than a measured and proportioned drawing.

The quintessential Renaissance image of the man drawn based on the proportions given by Vitruvius and positioned accordingly to sustain the perfect forms of the circle and the square, is rightly argued by Ingra Kagis McEwen to be a product of Renaissance humanism rather than a Vitruvian precept.<sup>16</sup> In Vitruvius' text, the narrative of the chapter was not accompanied with an illustration, and there was no reference to imagine a construction of that body from the given measures either.<sup>17</sup> Body, by no means is a physical one that can be represented but should be envisioned as more of a *templum* for laying out the primordial order to sustain the expected proportions. Therefore, it was not to be understood as a geometric construction, but it should have been understood as the source of geometry.<sup>18</sup> Did Filarete really realize this nuance in Vitruvius' text, despite the dominant humanist perspective, and intentionally avoided including a representation of the body as a proportionally constructed image? Composing the first illustrated text on architecture, where anthropomorphism is placed at the very center for generating the theoretical ground for the subject matter, the dismissal of this and any other sort of body-geometry construction image, can only suggest that Filarete's interest in anthropomorphism surpasses the means to represent the metaphorical relation of the body to

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<sup>15</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 4v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 23; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 10. *e questo piè è di misura di due mani strette, o vuoi dire raccolte le quattro dita e 'l quinto disteso e agiugnerlo di punta l'uno a l'altro: questo si dice essere un piè.*

<sup>16</sup> McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture*, 156. As these constitute our understanding of the power of the body metaphor in architecture, for which Joseph Rykwert would stress that it is always a threefold one: architecture is a metaphorical body because the body is a microcosm. Rykwert, *The Dancing Column*, 373. The harmonic proportions in its geometrical construction is the confirmation of reconciliation of the microcosm with the macrocosm. Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (London: Academy, 1973), 7-8. It is very likely to envision Filarete's reiteration of the canon within the perspective of Renaissance humanism, where this complex description of the body proportions from Vitruvius is envisioned to sustain an actual image of a male body Filarete introduces his anthropomorphic theory on architecture in the first book.

<sup>17</sup> Although none of the illustrations survive, Vitruvius referred to ten images in the text to be included at the end. This famous passage which is now haunted in our imagination with the Renaissance imagery of it, was not one of those. For a thorough study on the subject, see McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture*, 32.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 157-160.

the building. Although geometry, measure and proportion are often stressed in the text, as the prerequisite to sustain the formal language for the ancient style he is advocating, it is not demonstrated via the image of the body,<sup>19</sup> it is only implied. Filarete gives the living body, rather than the geometric body, the pride of place among representations in his treatise.

### Fall of Adam

In the origin of architecture story, one can see that Filarete is again drawing upon Vitruvius' narration on the first form of building, however, he significantly alters its conditions to adapt it to his Christian beliefs. While Vitruvius suggests a horizontal organization; mankind living like beasts gathered around fire, eventually gaining an upright posture and inventing language to communicate with each other as *a priori* for building,<sup>20</sup> Filarete, on the other hand, gives a vertical line of descent with Adam's fall into an environment that he was not born into. Hence, Filarete credits Adam as the "inventor" of architecture,<sup>21</sup> by dint of his emphasis on the necessity to adapt and survive in an inhospitable world. He describes the immediate urge for building as a need for shelter, in order to protect his body from the storm's rain and the sun's heat. In Filarete's shift from Vitruvius's theoretical *a priori* to a theological one, there is an important nuance. Filarete clearly states: "It was believed that when Adam was driven out of Paradise, it was raining.<sup>22</sup> Since he had nothing else at hand to cover [himself], he put his hands over his head to protect himself from the rain."<sup>23</sup> A few lines later, he explains Adam's

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<sup>19</sup> Here, one can easily be reminded of the anthropomorphic representation of architecture in various scales in Francesco di Giorgio Martini's treatise. Almost two decades after Filarete, the visual employment of the body in understanding the geometrical relation of architecture is thoroughly exercised in Francesco di Giorgio Martini's treatise, which dominated the perception of anthropomorphism in architecture ever since. See, Pari Riahi, "Ars et ingenium: The embodiment of imagination in the architectural drawings of Francesco di Giorgio Martini," (PhD diss., McGill University, Montreal, 2010), 111-120. Such correspondence is not studied nor proposed in Filarete's visual agenda. As I will argue, Filarete's anthropomorphism superficially covers the formal and geometrical aspects pertaining to ancient style of architecture. His intentions are more grounded on the civic aspect of building, and that is the virtue he aims to re-enact from the antiquity.

On the metaphorical and metonymical aspects of anthropomorphism in architecture: Marco Frascari, *Monsters of Architecture: anthropomorphism in architectural theory* (Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1991). Particularly for a reading of Francesco di Giorgio Martini's anthropomorphic representations in that angle, see, "The body and architecture in the drawings of Carlo Scarpa," in *RES*, 14 (1987): 123-142.

<sup>20</sup> *De Architectura*, II., I.

<sup>21</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 4v.

<sup>22</sup> Commentators proposed that it never rained in Eden. Plants were watered with morning dew. The rain Adam and Eve confronted was thus part of their punishment for sinning. Filarete acknowledges these comments yet he doesn't associate the rain with their primordial sin.

<sup>23</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 4v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 23 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 10: *ma è da credere che subito che Adamo fu cacciato dal Paradiso, e piovendo e non avendo altro più presto ricovero, si misse le mani in capo per difendersi dall'acqua...*

action as “had made a roof of his hands.”<sup>24</sup> There is a slight discrepancy between Filarete’s words about Adam’s fall, and his depiction of the fall on the left margin. In *Codex Magliabechianus*, as we see in figure 3.3 (fol. 4v), Adam is forming a rather triangular structure but not to cover his head under it exactly. The head is serving as the upper point of the triangulation with the elbows on two sides, completing the structure. In *Codex Marcianus*, the same scene is depicted closer to the description in the text, one hand protecting Adam’s head from the rain (figure 3.4). Yet both of the images can be regarded as falling part way between demonstrating the triangulation for the archetypal roof structure, which is rather than protecting the head as claimed, conveying more the expression of “Woe is me,”<sup>25</sup> the tragedy associated with the scene. The archetypal structure Filarete proposes, again, is not depicted as a geometry, where the body is serving as a backdrop for means of its construction. The body is drawn in action, where triangulation is more of an inevitable outcome or reaction rather than a rigorous aspect of the body’s form, which is to be translated into the pitched roof in the following folio (figure 3.5 & 3.6). However, going back to his hypothesis on the perfect body of Adam (since it was directly created by God in the Garden of Eden), his assertion of the body as an archetype for building is evident in the notion of architecture as a microcosm which continues with Adam’s body.

## Cosmology

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.: *che avendo Adamo fattosi tetto delle mani...*

<sup>25</sup> Quoted from Richard Wesley’ presentation at *Joseph Rykwert Symposium* in Victoria and Albert Museum, Feb 22, 2104 - as narrated in the blog post by Linda Bleijenberg, “Critical Juncture: part III, what next?” *Origins of Architecture* (blog), WordPress, March 7, 2014, <https://originsofarchitecture.wordpress.com/2014/03/07/critical-juncture-part-iii-what-next/>

The iconography of the Fall of Adam and Eve, usually inserts fig leaves over their genitals, as given in Genesis, hence the traditional depiction incorporating the hands and arms to cover the genitals. In the early fifteenth century, Masaccio painted the expulsion of Adam and Eve on the wall of S. Marco in Florence, which Filarete would know. Masaccio depicted them as naked, using their hands and arms to cover the shame (without any leaves in the original). Masaccio’s painting suggests distinct gender roles in the emotions depicted. Eve expresses sexual shame, covering her body with her hands while Adam shows intellectual shame by covering his face and head while looking down. See, Moshe, Barasch, *Gestures of despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1976); James Clifton, “Gender and Shame in Massacio’s Expulsion from the Garden of Eden,” *Art History*, 22,5 (1999): 637-655. As Michael Baxandall explains, Eve’s pain is only grief while Adam’s figure expresses shame. See, Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 61-63. The male gendered aspect of the expulsion contemplates the divine while suffering in body. Filarete’s image in the *Magliabechianus* manuscript shows only Adam in the expulsion. Although the text’s narrative claims he is protecting his head from rain, the illustration shows Adam is looking up, which is an expression of grief, as was indicated by Massaccio’s painting. Looking up while falling, Filarete’s image of Adam more likely suggests architecture’s origin not only in the practical need of keeping out the rain, but also rooted in the tragedy of the human condition. Northrop Frye, *Creation and Recreation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 31-33.

The body as microcosm was connected to the theory of the four humors, and in the twelfth century interpreted through the Fall. To quote St. Hildegarde of Bingen: “had man remained in Paradise he would not have noxious fluids in his body.”<sup>26</sup> Such expressions as sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic, which we still use to express certain personalities and moods, allude to the imperfect balance of the material flows in the body. Adam, created by God, in the Garden of Eden had a perfectly balanced constitution and was immortal and sinless. Humanity’s destruction of the original equilibrium, led to illness and death, as well as subjecting the human soul to vices – “despair and avarice being engendered by the black gall, pride and wrath by choler, gluttony and sloth by phlegm, and lechery by the blood.”<sup>27</sup> In this regard, we should remember Filarete’s city design, mimicking the form of equilibrium in an effort to return to the perfection before the fall, and his emphasis on buildings, like bodies, being subject in this world to sickness and death. Following Filarete’s line of thinking, the measures to create a house like the perfection of paradise is already embodied in Adam’s form and brought to earth with Adam’s fall. Only after the fall, would men need to have shelter and the urge to build.<sup>28</sup> This parallels the end of human immortality that is only to be sustained through the means of procreation. As Rebelais would remark in the sixteenth century, “children were the partial compensation that God provided Man after the Fall for the loss of bodily immortality.”<sup>29</sup>

The imagery which will become the design of the city is first introduced in a diagram form in fol. 11v (figure 3.11 & 3.12). The perfect geometry, constructed with straight edge and compass, is juxtaposed on a landscape scene, which is described as the site where the city will be established. The juxtaposed geometric diagram is not mentioned in any form in this explanation. As pointed out by Alberto Pérez-Gómez and Louise Pelletier, the image cannot be argued as the plan of the city, projected as a line drawing that marks the site to be built on accordingly. It is rather “reflecting the geometry of the cosmos in the city.”<sup>30</sup> Looking further into it, the diagram is neither placed on the ground following the foreshortening of the primitive

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<sup>26</sup> Quoted from Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 85.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Joseph Rykwert’s reading of the description of the Garden of Eden suggests an implied house yet the Scripture never mention. See: *On Adam’s House in Paradise: The idea of primitive hut in architectural history* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1981), 13.

<sup>29</sup> As Philip Gavitt mentions in *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence*, 34.

<sup>30</sup> *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2000), 28-9.

construction of the almost perspectival scene, nor is it suggesting a fairly understandable relation with its immediate surrounding through scale. A small hut depicted on the right-hand side of the river with its front and side view is almost half the size of the area defined by the diagram, which will become the city. When Filarete repeats the same image in fol. 13v (figure 3.13) with an intense explanation of how it is drawn to scale, he describes it as: “the basic form will be two squares on top of the other, without the corners meeting together, but one corner will be equally distant from the other two corners.”<sup>31</sup> The star shape created with the two squares, is of great antiquity, and corresponds with the imagery represented in astronomical treatises dating back at least to the thirteenth century. Two sources, which were also in the Sforza library at the time: Gossouin de Metz’s *Image du Monde* (figure 3.14) and Ludovicus de Angulo’s *Liber de figura seu imagine mundi* (figure 3.15), show the same diagram as a cosmography. Lang stresses the description of the image in Gossouin de Metz’s *Image du Monde* has a similar pattern of thought with Filarete’s explanation.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, in numerous other manuscripts of astronomy, astrology and cosmography, and in encyclopedic and alchemical writings, the scheme is described in full, although not always accompanied with an image. An example of this is the widespread manual of astronomy and cosmography in the fifteenth century was *Liber de Sphaera del Sacrobosco*, in which the printed first edition of 1570, Christophorus Clavius explains the scheme as a diagram of the four prime elements and the four fundamental qualities (figure 3.16). The four fundamental qualities are distributed to form a square that diagonally arranges the opposite qualities: hot - cold, dry - humid. The four elements which contribute to these qualities form another square that is diagonally placed on top, also arranged in quadrateral oppositions: fire – water, earth – air. The result is an equilibrium, a balanced system of harmonious unity that is symbolized by the circle, encompassing the whole.<sup>33</sup>

Berthold Hub’s remarkable studies on Filarete’s *Libro* reveals further references to the harmony of the cosmos that are maintained through main individual building designs, floor patterns and decorations, the theme is far more exhausted through-out the treatise. Not only is the geometry of the city derived from this image, but the tradition of the *Thema Mundi*

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<sup>31</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 13r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 60 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 25: *la prima forma sarà due quadri a dosso l'uno all'altro, non iscontrando gli angoli insieme, ma l'uno angolo verrà equalmente distante intra due angoli.*

<sup>32</sup> S. Lang, “Sforzinda, Filarete and Filelfo,” in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* vol. 35 (1972): 391-397. See also, “The Ideal City: From Plato to Howard.”

<sup>33</sup> Hub, “La planimetria di Sforzinda,” 83.

representation is carried further with the foundation date of the city. On 15 April 1460, at 10:20 – the precise moment when the sun enters the sign of Aries according to the calculation then credited – the foundation of the city coincides with the arrangement of the planets at the very moment when God created the world. Thus, for the foundation ceremony of the city, Filarete does not use the then well-known Etruscan and Roman rites as a basis, but prefers to refer to the myths of the Creation of the World, which are much older and more universal in scope.<sup>34</sup> With this kind of a complex agenda, Hub underlines what is at stake here: The Renaissance architect's conception of himself as endowed with a universal culture. By employing this particular scheme, on one hand, the architect aspires to universal value and the total affirmation of his own architectural inventions. On the other hand, he offers his honored patrons Francesco (and Galeazzo Maria) Sforza the possibility of reading this figure in the sense of the universality and eternity of their dominion, in which the ruling structure – their Castello – is placed in the center of this harmonious unity.<sup>35</sup>

### **Building for memory**

Building on this thorough observation, we should come back to the first part of the book where Filarete introduces his organic anthropomorphism, because Sforzinda is the demonstration of this theory, being the child of the patron and the architect. We read this, before the laying out of the scheme for the design of the city in fol. 11r, where Filarete says:

But because I told you that it belongs to the architect to initially generate [*prima generare*] the building together with the one who wants to build, I have already generated this city with my *Signore*, and with whom I examined it more and more times, thought [*pensata*] by me and determined [*determinata*] by him. And then I gave birth [*partoriata*] to it, that is I made him a drawing in line [*uno disegno in liniamento*] according to where the foundations will be placed.<sup>36</sup>

As I will discuss further in the next section, the expressions Filarete employs here for introducing the patron-architect relation in regards to the design and construction of the city Sforzinda, are exactly the same ones for his adaptation, or in other words, extension of his

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<sup>34</sup> "Founding an Ideal City," 17-33.

<sup>35</sup> Hub, "La planimetria di Sforzinda," 88.

<sup>36</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 11r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 53; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 22. *Ma perché t'ho detto che all'architetto s'appartiene prima generare l'edificio insieme con quello che vuole edificare, io ho già generate questa città col mio Signore, e insieme collui l'ho esaminata più e più volte, e da me pensata e collui dterminata. E poi io l'ho partorita, cioè glie n'ho fatto uno disegno in liniamento secondo che vanno i fondamenti.*

organic anthropomorphism to the design process. What I'd like to draw attention to here, while the highly-charged cosmological image of Sforzinda with further references to the Creation of the World signifies an eternal dominion for the patron, there is also a *Memento Mori* implication. This is reinforced with the "Ubi Sunt" expressions following right after Filarete's assertion that he will demonstrate how the building is actually a "truly living man."<sup>37</sup> Filarete proposes the organic component of his anthropomorphism with this phrase, after reiterating the Vitruvian canon as appropriated to the Christian system. Along these lines, his proposal for the origin of architecture with Adam's fall and the origin of measure within Adam's body, makes a full circle with also considering the punishment Adam suffers with mortality in a new environment that he is not born into. Adapting this to buildings, Filarete says:

You will see what it [the building] must eat in order to live, exactly as it is with man. It sickens and dies or sometimes is cured of its sickness by a good doctor. Sometimes, like man, it becomes ill again because it neglected its health. Many times, through [the care] of a good doctor, it returns to health and lives a long while and finally dies in its own time. There are some that are never ill and then at the end die [suddenly]; others are killed by other people for one reason or another.<sup>38</sup>

Filarete stresses on the material nature of the building, which eventually has a life span, although this life span can be altered with human aid,<sup>39</sup> and yet the temporal dimension is solely what he is concerned about. Although the material dimension of architectural reality is, of course, an inevitable feature of the built environment, and his suggestions to improve the physical condition of the building for lasting long resonates with his attempt for analogizing it in regards to his organic anthropomorphism, Filarete doesn't provide any further perspective on

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<sup>37</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 6r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 29; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 12. *Io ti mosterrò l'edificio essere proprio uno uomo vivo...*

<sup>38</sup> Spencer's translation. *Magl.*, fol. 6r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 29 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 12: *e vedrai che così bisogna a lui mangiare per vivere, come fa proprio l'uomo: e così s'amala e muore, e così an<che> nello amalare guarisce molte volte per lo buono medico, e anche molte volte come l'uomo si ramala per lo disordine di non avere buona avvertenza alla sua sanità, e anche pure molte volte per lo buono medico ritorna in sanità, e vive gran tempo, e così vivendo poi pure per lo tempo suo si muore; e alcuno sarà che non arà mai male e poi alla fine muore, e alcuni sono morti da altre persone, chi per una cagione e chi per un'altra.*

<sup>39</sup> Falling right into the dichotomy proposed in Christian faith in the fifteenth century, between the will and reason, the life-span of a man is already dictated with the constellation of the stars but also subject to his own actions. Ernst Cassirer, in *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy*, explains this at the heart of the debate. For Filarete's image and discussion of Will (*Voluntà*) and Reason (*Ragione*), see Powers, "The virtù of architectural invention," 97-99. Filarete applies the same understanding for buildings, where their natural life-span ("even if a man continues to eat he dies") can be subject to his sudden or eventual deaths due to wars and attacks of the barbarians.

that side of building condition.<sup>40</sup> He promises to show what the building should eat in order to long last, or how it can be cured when falling sick, however throughout the treatise, there is no episode that incorporates this into his pedagogical agenda. The narrative revolves around the design and construction of the two new cities, and the temporal dimension provided by the narrative does not encompass the time of the decay and ruinous forms of the buildings.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, in the romanticized setting of an 'ideal' building scenario, there is also no incident of a health problem for any building, where the original designer is subjugated to an architect / doctor [*medico*] to provide the cure for the building. There is no episode that a remedy for an existing building is suggested either, or any discussion about translation of 'spoils' which was a common practice throughout architectural history.<sup>42</sup> The only reference he gives for his 'theory' is to his own accomplishment for the court of the Signoria in Milan, which Filarete doesn't give any further detail on how and what he actually did.<sup>43</sup> A thorough discussion on

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<sup>40</sup> On "looking awry" to the deterioration and decay of buildings in order to develop an alternative discourse on the new ways of existing in the world: Stephen Cairns and Jane M. Jacobs, *Buildings Must Die: a perverse view of architecture* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014), 2-5.

<sup>41</sup> The port city construction, which coincides with the discovery of the Golden Book, of course presents a more complex case. The project starts as a new city design, mostly to be followed after Sforzinda's building decisions, but then evolves into re-building of the ancient city (Galisforma) which once existed there. However, quite contrary to what one would expect, the reminiscent of architectural antiquities of Galisforma is not found in ruin forms, above or below ground. The narrative description of the site only mentions its suitable location for a port. Until the Golden Book is discovered, there is no understanding of the rich history of the site. Only through the book do they understand the historic aspect of the site, and even then, their encounter with the ruins from the former city are minor. As we see in Book XIV, the realization of the existing castle in the port city is learned via the golden book, and the names carved there are only noticed after (*Magl.* fol. 109v). All the noble buildings of the ancient city can only be read about as given in the *memoria* and be visualized with the *disegno* of the buildings, accompanying the text. I will elaborate on the significance of *disegno* in the Golden Book, in the conclusion. Here, I want to emphasize that, the reconstruction project taking place with building the Port City, is articulated to depend solely on *disegno*. No existing structure is being vitalized, sustained, or incorporated as "spoils." In that regard, we see an idealized temporal dimension for construction here as well, which leaves no room for discussion of remedy and re-pair of the buildings.

<sup>42</sup> Federica Goffi, "Translations and dislocations of architectural media at the Fabric of St Peter's, the Vatican," *ARQ* 22, 4 (2018), 328

<sup>43</sup> According to Finoli and Grassi, the reference can be either to the repair of the palace of the Visconti ducal court (currently Palazzo Reale, located on the south side of the Duomo), or the work Filarete had done on the Castle of Porta Giovia. The authors favor the second hypothesis more, while Spencer only suggests the first hypothesis as a likely reference, although admitting the work is undocumented. See, Spencer, *Treatise*, n.16, pg 12. It is known in every way that the palace of the Visconti court had undergone mutilations for the construction of the Duomo and these mutilations were the reason for the abandonment in which it was left. The Visconti lived there until 1412, and then the court was moved to the Castle of Porta Giovia. In 1447, in the midst of the political turbulence, people partially destroyed the castle which was considered a symbol of power. And when Sforza entered the city in 1450, he had to temporarily stay in the old court building, where he seems to have ordered some repair work, which could have been undertaken by either Filarete or a local architect. Sforza's intention was to provoke an immediate resolution for the reconstruction of the Castle of Porta Giovia as an ornament of the city, security against its enemies and the seat of the court. In 1452 Filarete was entrusted with the decoration of the front façade of the Castle towards the city. Yet, Filarete is known to be in Milan around 1450-1451 as a ducal proposal indicates his and Giovanni Solario's appointment at the Fabbrica del Duomo in Milan. This could suggest a possible work to be

the repair of the buildings could well be integrated into his anthropomorphism, and it would be congruent with the subject matter of the architectural treatises, considering that Alberti devoted the final chapter of *De re aedificatoria* on this matter.<sup>44</sup> However, Filarete only treats the subject in monetary terms. In Book XX, a law is suggested to collect money from every man on the anniversary of the foundation of the city to be collected every ten years to be spent on the repairs of the city, which may be necessary due to war damages or other needs. In the absence of such needs, the money is suggested to be used for ornamentations.<sup>45</sup> Filarete's acknowledgment of such maintenance, closely parallels the wealth of the city, demonstrated and maintained through its beauty, still for the ideological reasons of fame. Direct treatment of any building illness in his story would overshadow the idealized representation of the enlightened work of the patron and the architect. Filarete's omission of this material aspect of building suggests that one consider his metaphor solely within the terms that he contextualizes it.

He adds the organic component to his anthropomorphism right before his rhetorical intervention, in accordance with lamentations of the *Ubi sunt* tradition,<sup>46</sup> where he shows to his patron that all the famous buildings of Rome, once built with the premise of eternity have fallen into ruins. "Where is Palazzo Maggiore, where is the Capitoline that, as we still read was a marvelous thing? Where is the palace of Nero which had doors of sculpted bronze, according to the engravings we still see on his medals?"<sup>47</sup> The list goes on with the edifices of Rome, that are either known through their ruinous forms or written accounts. The bronze book he places in the foundation of Sforzinda, which is a reference to the *Libro* he is simultaneously

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undertaken by Filarete in the close by Visconti palace. See, Finoli and Grassi, n. 2, pg. 29-30. For a clear analysis of Sforza's intentions with the building program in response to the political turmoil he finds himself in and responds to, see Part I, section iv & v.

<sup>44</sup> Interestingly, at the very end of the intended body of the *Libro* (if one excludes the last three books on *disegno* from the narrative construction), in Book XXI, Filarete extends his discussion on baths solely on its effects on the human health. He refers to a noble man (whom Spencer hypothesizes as Francesco Sforza) who "from a body half dead with illness, he was brought back to perfect health." Spencer's translation in *Treatise*, 295, see also 295n8. Filarete concludes: "Thus God has given and granted the remedy to all our needs; however, it is up to man to know how to use them." Considering that the composition of his *Libro* parallels the conception, gestation and growth of the city Sforzinda, the end of the book may be implying the eventual death for this city as well, which yet can be delayed. In that regard, his concluding remark could be taken as an analogy for building, and therefore be placed in his birth-growth-death trajectory. *Magl.* fol. 173r.

<sup>45</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 168r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 620-1; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 287.

<sup>46</sup> Peter Fane-Saunders, "Filarete's 'Libro Architettonico' and Pliny the Elder's Account of Ancient Architecture," *Arte Lombarda*, 155, 1, (2009), 112n20.

<sup>47</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 6v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 31-3; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 13. *Dove è il palazzo maggiore? Dove è il Campidoglio che ancora si legge che era così mirabile con quattro cavalli nella sommità dorati? Dove è il palazzo di Nerone, che aveva le porte di bronzo intagliate, secondo che per le sue medaglie ancora scolpito si vede?*

writing, as well as, and more importantly the Golden Book discovered during the excavations of the port city of Plusiapolis, are already reinforcing Filarete's projection of the life-time of every edifice, which has to maintain its fame to posterity, if not through its ruin form, then through their written accounts.<sup>48</sup> The edifice and writing of the edifice is intertwined to amplify the fame of the patron.<sup>49</sup> Filarete closes his discussion here by providing the analogy of man and building, ultimately on the grounds for achieving such fame. The reason for the patron to build buildings with dignity is not only to reflect their fame on the building itself, but vice-versa, the fame of the building also reflects the eternal image of its patron. He says:

As I have said above about valiant men and great lords who have died, so there are great buildings known that have declined. Through writings, we know of many worthy men of great fame because of the great things they have accomplished, such as the great buildings erected by these men. The fame of the building is such that because of its magnitude and beauty, the fame of men endures [...]. The same applies to buildings [...]. Even when they are in ruins, and no physical trace remains, we still know about them [...] [as they are found in the records [*memoria*] of many authors] [...]<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> The significance of the written account was already emphasized by Vitruvius, and as Indra Kagic McEwen argues, it shows parallels with the rich culture of writing of the Roman antiquity in relation to memory. See, *Writing the Body of Architecture*, 16-22.

<sup>49</sup> My emphasis on the fame of the patron is based on Filarete's words, which targets the patron for didactic reasons. In the narrative context where such pedagogical monologues take place, Filarete strategically brings forward the architect's fame next to the patron's. The stress on the fame that these art or architecture works bring to the patron further indicates the subordinate position of the artist to the patron. However, on the artist's end, fame is the most necessary and most fundamental feature. While the patron's fame can be articulated in more symbolic derivations, the artist's fame is directly bounded to his immediate work conditions. Since the court artist is presented as an (almost) equal of a prince, he is expected to be indifferent to money, and labor work. Yet, his distinguishing feature becomes his fame, gained through his work. Despite all the other aspects, an artist's fame was the only guarantee of his placement in a court, and sustaining his position there. See, Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 164-5. In the narrative setting of the *Libro*, the architect's fame is also at stake and Filarete is certainly aware of that. I already mentioned of his three self-portraits and three signatures in the bronze doors of the Old Saint Peter's. In the treatise, we see the architect claiming "equal" authorship of the buildings with the patron, although the reflection of this as the inscription of the architect's name next to the patron's, is more clearly indicated in some places than others. For instance, in Book XI, Filarete mentions the epigram of the hospital, indicating the date, the author [*l'auttore*] and the founder of this building [*chi è stato fondatore d'esso*] (*Magl.* fol. 80v). Here, "the author" may be proposed as the architect, although I'm more in favor of reading "the author" as the patron, same as the founder of the building. On the other hand, in Book XIV, the expression used for the inscription of the bridge of the port city is clearer (*Magl.* fol. 109v). The patron says that he wants to have letters inscribing who built the bridge [*l'ha fatto*], and who had it built [*fatto fare*]. This combined expression distinguishes the patron's role, and equally identifies the architect with him. In Book XXI, there is a clear reference to the architect's fame as distinct from the patron's fame. While describing the moving tower from the Golden Book, Onitoan Nolievra (the architect of the ancient city) is solely credited as the "inventor" [*inventore*] (*Magl.* fol. 171v).

<sup>50</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 7r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 36; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 14. *Si che, com'io ho detto di sopra de' valenti uomini e gran signori che sono morti, così è notizia ancora delli edificii grandi che sono venuti meno. E come de' grandi signori è fama, così ha quasi uno effetto lo edificio: in suo grado l'uno pell'altro rende lunga fama a noi di loro, come per lettere noi abbiamo notizia di molti uomini degni di grande fama per le*

This and further references one encounter throughout the *Libro* highlight the influence of civic humanism in Filarete's proposal for an organic anthropomorphism. The building should be understood in similitude to a man, because it is made by man, reflecting his own image and with the same expectation; to leave his name to eternity. Further sociological distinction of Filarete's architectural concept *qualità*, which I will explore further in the following sections, supports his intention with understanding the buildings as immediate prodigies of their patrons. For a Lord or a leading private citizen (as Filarete names Agrippa along with Rucellai later) to leave his name to eternity, he should build noble buildings.

Filarete aims to take this analogy starting from the geometrical essence to a further level in order to accommodate buildings who do not perfectly fit into this given structure. This is not due to their design in terms of ill-conceived proportional relations which would be an attribute for his perception of "modern" buildings. It is due instead to the condition that they are found in many years after their initial construction, a direct reference to the ruins to be incorporated into the anthropomorphic scheme as well. In that regard, he brings forward the temporal dimension of building into the discussion by asserting the organic nature of building, which should be considered through materiality. This consistent effort to be able to define any sort of building (either ancient or built in ancient style) on the same ground within the Vitruvian precepts, is what I emphasize as his 'theory' for *edificare*. In that regard, anthropomorphism actually becomes the theory Filarete uses to explain everything pertaining to building practice, and in order to do so, takes it much further than his predecessors Vitruvius and Alberti.

## ii) **Generare**

"You could perhaps say: you told me that the building resembles a man; therefore, if that is so, it needs [to be] generated and then given birth to like a man."<sup>51</sup>

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*grandi cose da loro fatte, cioè li edificii grandi fatti da essi uomini; la fama dello edificio è per la sua magnitudine e bellezza, così de l'uomo per le belle e grandi cose che ha fatte è rimasta fama.*

<sup>51</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 7v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 39; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 15. *Tu forse potresti dire: tu m'hai detto che lo edificio si rasomiglia a l'uomo; adunque se così è, è bisogno generare e poi partorire come l'uomo.*

This quotation is the reason for us to understand the limits of Filarete's anthropomorphism and how we should approach it. Because, as the interlocutor suggests, if we want to understand buildings as men, then we want to know the premise in their coming into being in the first place. The famous metaphor Filarete presents, where he places the design process of the building into his anthropomorphic approach, is in fact an extension of his organic anthropomorphism, which started with encompassing the *memento mori* essence of buildings with reference to the ancient ruins in the *Ubi sunt* tradition. Since his organic approach is not necessarily to suggest a biological or directly physical connotation for the edifice, but highlights its status in temporal dimension within its premise for "eternity," the design process as incorporated into this metaphor should also be understood on similar grounds as well.

First of all, Filarete underlines that he is proposing this similitude, for allowing his reader to "understand." In his words: "the building is first generated, as the similitude you can understand, and so it is born as the mother gives birth to a son at the end of nine months, or any time after seven months, and with good order and care [the mother] makes him grow."<sup>52</sup> Within the overarching tone of the treatise, which intertwines "to see" and "to understand," this aspect of the use of *similitudine* to also understand should be underlined where the pedagogical aspect of the treatise is surpassing the visual agenda. While the business of *edificare* is emphasized to be difficult if not impossible without first seeing it in *disegno*, and understanding *disegno* is judged to be harder than actually practicing *disegno*, the pedagogical intention towards the patron is emphasized, in regards to developing his interest in the ancient manner of building. Accordingly, understanding the role of the architect in this practice of building in the ancient manner is equally important. In order to emphasize that aspect, Filarete invites his reader to this *similitudine* where the role of *disegno* now will be introduced in regards to the exchange that has to take place between the patron and the architect.

Book II, where Filarete carefully employs his organic anthropomorphism to describe the design process, starting with conception, gestation and giving birth, is implicitly curated to provide the definition of an architect. This definition, in the first glance suggests the role of the architect in relation to *disegno*, however in the complex unfolding of the metaphor, it further argues for the architect's duty (and authority) in the larger scope of building production. I will

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.: *l'edificio prima si genera, per similitudine lo potrai intendere, e così nasce sì come la madre partorisce il figliuolo in capo di nove mesi, o alcuna volta di sette mesi, e con buono ordine e sollecitudine farlo crescere.*

explain these more in depth in the following chapters in regards to the gender-based distinction Filarete proposes. Here, one should pay attention to the fact that the mother metaphor, encompassing all these dimensions, is the way for Filarete to elaborate on what an architect as a professional title is. A search for the word “architect” in the treatise reveals that in the dialogical narrative composition, since the architect of the story (Filarete) dominates the conversation, we rarely encounter the word. However, there are two parts of the *Libro* where the word is used in clusters. The first is in this same Book II, where the word “architect” is invoked in relation to the pregnancy / motherhood metaphor. The second is in Book XV, while reading the Golden Book, the portion of the ancient codex pertaining to the education of an architect, perfectly mimicking the tone and authority of Vitruvius. In these two moments, Filarete is stepping outside of his protagonist position to explain the nature of his profession and what pertains to it. Regarding the education of the architect or what the architect should have experience in / knowledge of, Filarete mentions the phrase before going further into the architect’s ‘motherly’ duty in relation to building process, only for it to be treated elsewhere (as it appears in Book XV). This divide is important, because regardless of the abilities one should have to become an architect, Filarete first proposes that the title of architect is bounded by the three-fold relation it establishes with the patron, building and designer.

I will analyze the lengthy statement in parts, based on the timeline it suggests in the linear evolution from design to building, through the conception – gestation – birth – growth processes. First of all, Filarete starts by introducing the patron as the agent who wishes to initiate the building process and introduces who an architect is in relation to this agent:

The building is generated in this form: just as no one on his own can generate another without a woman, so a similitude as well for the building, [which] cannot be created by one only, and how it cannot be made without a woman, so he who wants to build needs to have an architect and together with him to generate it [*ingenerarlo*]. And then, the architect gives birth to it, having given birth to it, the architect comes to be the mother [*la madre*] of the building [*edificio*].<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 7v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 40; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 15. *Il generare dello edificio si è in questa forma: che si come niuno per sé solo non può generare senza la donna un altro, così eziandio a similitudine lo edificio per uno solo non può essere creato, e come senza la donna non si può fare, così colui che vuole edificare bisogna che abbia l'architetto e insieme collui ingenerarlo, e poi l'architetto partorirlo e poi, partorito che l'ha, l'architetto viene a essere la madre d'esso edificio.*

The statement starts from the patron's perspective, the male agent who is to generate "another."<sup>54</sup> We will begin by considering it in the context of ideas about conception at the time. During the Renaissance, descended from the debates of the Middle Ages, there were two main positions regarding the generation theory: Aristotelian and Galenic. Although in the secondary literature, these were presented as opposing views, their opposition never dismissed the contribution of the male agent to generation, namely the semen ejaculated during sexual intercourse.<sup>55</sup> Semen was regarded with the main agency of generation, and while Aristotle observed semen only coming from the male, Galen proposed that the female also produced seed which combined with the male's seed to generate the offspring together. Although Galen's egalitarian proposal has been considered as more elaborate due to its proximity to the outcomes of modern scientific studies, and has perceived more favor due to its more "feminist" perspective, in Galen's view as well the male's semen was acknowledged to have spiritual qualities and therefore was held higher than the female's contribution of the ovum or semen.

#### Four Causes

On the other hand, in Aristotle's theory, which should be analyzed in relation to Aristotle's general philosophical framework set out in his *Physics* and *Metaphysics*, the contribution of the male and the female were placed in a binary opposition. Aristotle's approach reasoned that if the female also had a form of seed to contribute to generation, then she would not require a male agent with which to conceive. Following the binary opposition, Aristotle proposes that male and female contribute to the generation, one may say "equally," however by providing completely opposite things:

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<sup>54</sup> In his dedication to Piero de' Medici, Filarete refers to Cosimo de' Medici, Piero's father, as *tuo genitore*. In anthropology, *pater* can stand for social kinship whereas *genitor* implies physical kinship, although the second aspect could never be evidence-based due to cultural norms of copulation. J. A. Barnes, "Physical and Social Kinship," *Philosophy of Science*, 28, 3 (1961): 296–299.

<sup>55</sup> For a general account of the sources on this topic: Sophia M. Connell, "Aristotle and Galen on sex difference and reproduction: a new approach to an ancient rivalry," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 31, 3 (2000): 405-427; Anthony Preus, "Galen's Criticism of Aristotle's Conception Theory," *Journal of the History of Biology*, 10, 1 (1977): 65-85; Roberto Lo Presti, "Informing Matter and Enmattered Forms: Aristotle and Galen on the 'Power' of the Seed," *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, 22, 5 (2014): 929-950; Michael Boylan, "The Galenic and Hippocratic Challenges to Aristotle's Conception Theory," *Journal of the History of Biology*, 17, 1 (1984): 83-112; Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 13-39; Joseph Needham, *A History of Embriology* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1959) pp. 37-56.

...That, then, the female does not contribute semen to generation, but does contribute something, and that is the matter of the catamenia, or that which is analogous to it in bloodless animals... For there must needs be that which generates and that from which it generates; even if these be one, still they must be distinct in form and their essence must be different; and in those animals that have these powers separate in two sexes the body and nature of the active and the passive sex must also differ. If, then, the male stands for the effective and active, and the female, considered as female, for the passive, it follows that what the female would contribute to the semen of the male would not be semen but material for the semen to work upon.<sup>56</sup>

The distinction between the agent which “generates and that from which it generates” clearly participates in the larger framework Aristotle presents with his doctrine on the four causes. Through a carpenter analogy, he brings natural generation on the same ground with artificial generation. Here, Aristotle distinguishes the opposite natures of the active and the passive, underlining that the active agent doesn’t exist “in that which is made” as it is the one thing that moves (while the passive agent is the one moved) and therefore “the moving thing does not exist in that which is moved.” It is the male that provides this movement on the female’s contribution which is passive. To further explain the opposite natures of both, Aristotle provides the analogy:

Therefore, if we take the highest genera under which they each fall, the one being active and motive and the other passive and moved, the one thing which is produced comes from them only in the sense in which a bed comes into being from the carpenter and the wood, or in which a ball comes into being from the wax and the form.<sup>57</sup>

Aristotle’s use of craft (*technē*) as an analogy for explaining his conception of nature (*physis*) is not as its general sense or cosmos, but the essence and inner principles, behaviors and organization of individual substances, serves his teleological perspective. Although the carpenter is named, Aristotle provides the analogy not on the basis of the artisan but on the basis of the art / *technē* itself, to separate it from the human condition which would require further analysis on the complex process of production involving desire and intention, etc.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Aristotle, *Physics*, Translation by Arthur Platt, 729a-b, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle* ed. Richard McKeon, pg. 675-6.

<sup>57</sup> Aristotle, *Physics*, Translation by Arthur Platt, 729b10-20, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle* ed. Richard McKeon, pg. 676.

<sup>58</sup> Sarah Broadie, “Nature, Craft and *Phronesis* in Aristotle,” in *Philosophical Topics*, vol. 15, no. 2 (1987): 35-50.

The analogy is to serve as a model to explain nature, the “why” of “coming to be and passing away and every kind of physical change.”<sup>59</sup>

In *Physics*, II, 3 and in *Metaphysics*, V, 2 Aristotle lays out the basic premise of his four causes, in the well-known order: (1) material cause, (2) formal cause, (3) efficient and (4) final cause. In order to articulate all four in relation to each other, we can follow the *techne* analogy that Aristotle employs. For a given statue, the material cause would be bronze, the material it is made of; the formal cause would be its organization principle or shape (Aristotle gives an example of proportional relations given in numbers in an octave); the efficient cause would be the artist which is the agent to apply the movement on the material; and the final cause would be “the sake of which” the whole process is undertaken. While the statue analogy allows us to articulate all four causes in the nature of one single object, it is worthwhile to remember that Aristotle gives further examples for each cause (the same examples both in *Physics* and *Metaphysics*) without necessarily explaining them at length in relation to each other. Especially for explaining the efficient cause, Aristotle relates it to the premise of his generation theory: “That from which the change or the resting from change first begins; e.g. the adviser is a cause of the action, and the father a cause of the child, and in general the maker a cause of the thing made and the change-producing of the changing.”<sup>60</sup>

Based on this, the father is described as the efficient cause of the son, and the son is the final cause. Following the analogy, the material cause is the passive agent which would be provided by the female, as Aristotle did not shy away to admit. Yet in such vis-à-vis application of the analogy, where would the formal cause lie? Because the efficient cause is the agent that provides movement, the movement applied on the material also provides the form. The male parent transfers the form (*eidos*) and the soul to offspring.<sup>61</sup> Within this rigid framework, the male agent doesn't contribute materially and the female agent doesn't provide movement. Going back to the carpenter analogy, just as the bed comes from the carpenter because he provides movement to the material but he does not materially participate in that which is produced, it would be understood in the same terms for the offspring. This lack of material participation also shows that, while the carpenter can make many beds out of different

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<sup>59</sup> Aristotle, *Physics*, Translation by R. P. Hardie and R. K. Gaye, *Physics*, II, 3 194b20, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle* ed. Richard McKeon.

<sup>60</sup> Translation by W. D. Ross, 1103a25-35, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle* ed. Richard McKeon, pg. 752.

<sup>61</sup> Anthony Preus, “Science and Philosophy in Aristotle's ‘Generation of Animals,’” *Journal of the History of Biology*, 3, 1 (1970), 4.

materials, from one bit of material there cannot be made many beds. The same applies to generation in Aristotle's sense, since a male can produce many offspring from different females. However, this simple conclusion creates its own impasse in explaining the resemblance of the offspring to both parents, and also explaining the generation of female offspring.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, although mense is defined as the passive agent, mense is also a natural product and its coming into being should also consist of some source of movement within itself. Yet in comparison to the movement provided by the semen, this would be comparably less effective on the offspring. The binary opposition, with supporting statements from Aristotle, places the male, associated with form (*eidōs*), active source and movement, to a higher rank, associated with the divine.<sup>63</sup> Accordingly the female belongs to a lower rank, however the matter provided by the female is essential for the generation to take place. As Anthony Preus' remarkable article on Aristotle's theory of generation synthesizes: "The female contribution might be passive, but it is conditionally necessary. It is worked up to the point that it is *almost* a new individual, lacking only something of a push, some formation by the power of soul."<sup>64</sup>

In its teleological framework, the craft / *technē* analogy serves as a model for Aristotle to explain human generation, but it is not the other way around. Even when the father is given as an example for the efficient cause of the son, it is not to propose it as an analogy to relate back to *technē*. Aristotle employs artificial production as a means to relate his audience to the unknowns in the natural production, but doesn't propose by any means that the premises of natural production should be understood in terms of artistic production as well. This is important to emphasize, because Filarete is proposing the exact opposite. Through his

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<sup>62</sup> Book IV of *Generation of Animals* holds the remarks on the subject, where Aristotle explains the premise for generation in perfect regards to patriarchy, the regulatory principle within nature to be sustained as long as the offspring resemble the father. Derivations from this, in the first place, the generation of female offspring would be defined as the first form of monstrosity, although necessitated by nature. In accordance, resemblance to grandparents rather than immediate father would be credited to similar irregular balance of forces in action. Defected or irregular formed bodies, that do not fit into these scheme of resemblance, as further form of monstrosity would be considered a travesty of nature. On the belief of mother's role in the formation of monstrosities, see, Marie-Hélène Huet, *Monstrous Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 1-103.

<sup>63</sup> There are two specific references to the heavenly bodies in the role of generation, running parallel with man's contribution. In *Physics*, II, 2 194b13 Aristotle says "Man is begotten by man and by the sun as well." (pp. 240) In *Metaphysics*, XII, 5 1071a15 "the cause of man is (i) the elements in man (viz. fire and earth as matter, and the peculiar form), and further (2) something else outside, i.e. the father, and (3) besides these the sun and its oblique course, which are neither matter nor form nor privation of man nor the same species with him, but moving causes." (pp.876)

<sup>64</sup> Preus, "Science and Philosophy in Aristotle's 'Generation of Animals,'" 45.

organic anthropomorphism, to some extent (not fully, and I will elaborate on these extents) he is proposing nature as a model to explain architectural production specifically and not generally artistic production. As I will explain in the next section, there is a substantial portion of his proposal for this similitude that relates to artistic production, which is given in the time frame he associates with pregnancy, however that is not the full extent of what he aims to propose with the agency of motherhood in relation to architectural production as a whole. Simply applying Aristotle's *technē* analogy to Filarete's theory on building generation would not lead to any fruitful result, since the layers of production involved in the building process, and the contribution of each agent in the material transformations taking place are far more complex to be explained in the simple scheme of the four causes. Moreover, Filarete's analogy remarkably considers physiological concepts, such as desire and intention of the architect, and in Aristotle's employment of *technē* for the efficient cause rather than the artisan (who manifests the knowledge of the *technē*) avoids this dimension.<sup>65</sup> Yet, even considering merely *technē*, there would be many other steps involved in bronze casting, that pertains to the *technē* where many other sub-operations occur, from melting the bronze and creating a mold to pour the bronze into it. While each of these steps would require intermediary distinctions in terms of their material and formal causes, the efficient cause embedded in the *technē* itself and the final cause which is the statue would remain the same. Therefore, we should be cautious about the limits of Filarete's employment of nature as an analogy for architecture. However, we should not completely rule out the ramifications of Aristotle's generation theory in regards to the four causes, because there is a contextual ground for that, which is directly related to patronage in the Renaissance. While Filarete was unique in his analogy for motherhood and architecture, analysis of architectural production according to Aristotelian doctrine had a wider reception in the discussions about artistic production, as cinquecento sources and anecdotes show.

### **Cinquecento echoes of four causes in art production**

The reason to discuss Aristotle's generation theory at length is not to suggest that Filarete had a thorough understanding of both Galenistic and Aristotelian perspectives to favor one over the other for his conception theory. If anything, Filarete was not a physician or a natural philosopher, able to develop an informed critical interest in the subject matter. His inquiry was

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<sup>65</sup> Broadie, "Nature, Craft and *Phronesis* in Aristotle," 36.

most likely based on common knowledge<sup>66</sup> and particularly how this knowledge disseminated in the shop environment, regarding artistic production. Keeping in mind that Filarete's use of analogy for specifically architectural production (building design and construction) intends to have a more comprehensive account in its gender-based distinction, still, identifying the patron as the "father" figure of any artwork was evident in the Renaissance. During the Middle Ages, the term 'made' (*fecit*) was associated with the patron, and this tradition continued into the Renaissance. The patron would be credited as the "maker" of the artwork, and while in Italian usage a subtle distinction emerged, identifying the role of the artist with 'make' (*fare*), that was only to imply the subordinate role of the artist to the patron again, in which the patron would "make him make" (*fatto fare*). Even within that context, if there was only "make" (*fare*) mentioned, that would be attributed to the patron.<sup>67</sup> How would the patron be credited as the author of his artwork, the one who made it without actually having his own hands on and being physically involving in the process, could only be explained with his contribution in the sense of the efficient cause.

Accordingly, terminology used for signifying a patron's role in the production of an artwork runs parallel with the common understanding of the father's (and the female agent's) role in the creation of an offspring. In a letter of April, 1, 1518 addressed to the duke of Ferrara, Alfonso d'Este, regarding the commission he received for painting *The Feast of Venus*, Titian would write: "And nonetheless in this painting, I shall have contributed only the body (*corpo*), and Your Excellency shall have contributed the soul (*anima*), which is the most worthy part that there is in a painting."<sup>68</sup> The referred painting was commissioned as one of the six paintings around the same theme to decorate *camerino d'alabastro* of Alfonso d'Este's estate. For conceiving the *invenzioni* of these six paintings, Alfonso employed his sister Isabella d'Este of Mantua's court humanist Mario Equicola. According to the evidence gained from the correspondence of Alfonso d'Este's Venetian agent Giacomo Tebaldi, the humanist Equicola's invention was communicated to the artist (Titian) in the form of written instructions, which apparently occasionally involved drawings as well. In the same letter to Alfonso d'Este, Titian

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<sup>66</sup> As Carlo Ginzburg showed in *The Cheese and the Worms*, "common knowledge" can be quite sophisticated.

<sup>67</sup> Filarete's employment of the terms are also along these lines in his treatise.

<sup>68</sup> *Et niente di meno in questo io li haverò dato solum il corpo et la Excellentia Vostra l'anima che è la più degna parte che sia in una picture.* Quoted from, Anthony Colantuono, "Dies Alcyoniae: The Invention of Bellini's Feast of the Gods," in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 73, no. 2 (1991): 239. The Italian is also quoted from the same source, see 239n12.

also confirms that he received the instructions for the work.<sup>69</sup> The anecdote reveals the complex structure of the collaboration dynamic taking place between the patron, court humanist and the artist in the production of an artwork.<sup>70</sup> Here, we see that the court humanist devised the *istoria*, for which Alberti also mentions as the most important part of the painting. Titan's metaphorical distinction of the soul (*anima*) and the body (*corpo*) is very likely associating the former with the *invenzione* provided for him to execute the latter - the painting. In a similar sense, the same terms were actually employed in the later sixteenth century treatises on *imprese*, "where the visual image is referred to as its *corpo*, and the motto is referred to as its *anima*."<sup>71</sup> Although the invention was communicated to the artist by the court humanist, nevertheless, Titian credits the patron for contributing the soul to this painting.

Of course, there is a dimension to perceive Titian's words as a means to flatter the Duke, but as Peter Burke points out, the form of the flattery signifies certain distinctions for the social historians to investigate.<sup>72</sup> In the translation Burke provides (of the same quote), he includes an earlier part of the letter where Titian's remark on the contribution of the patron is contextualized within the patron-artist relationship in the antiquity, in order to highlight the flattery component further. Titian says that he was:

convinced that the greatness of art amongst the ancients was due to the assistance they received from great princes content to leave to the painter the credit and renown derived from their own ingenuity in commissioning pictures... I shall, after all, have done no more than give shape to that which received its spirit - the most essential part - from Your Excellency.<sup>73</sup>

While claiming that 'the most worthy part' is provided by the patron, Titian nevertheless associates what the patron provides with the soul (*anima*), again based on Aristotle's generation theory, which would be associated with the efficient cause provided by the father. In the translation Burke gives the artist's role as to contribute the 'body' is translated as 'giving shape,' which would be interchangeably used in most of the texts written on artistic practices

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> In his article, Charles Hope highlights one of the most celebrated documents of the Renaissance patronage subject which was the program provided by Isabelle d'Este for Perugino for a painting she commissioned for her *studiolo* (currently in the Louvre Museum, the *Combat of Love and Chastity*). See, "Artist, Patrons and Advisers..."

<sup>71</sup> Colantuono, "Dies Alcyoniae," 239n13.

<sup>72</sup> Burke, *The Italian Renaissance*, 107.

<sup>73</sup> Quoted from Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture & Society in Italy*, third edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 107. Burke references Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle and Joseph Archer Crowe's *The Life and Times of Titian: With Some Accounts of His Family*, as his sources.

during the Renaissance. Here if we are to understand the expression in the literal sense of giving shape as assigning the form of the figure, then, it would perfectly raise the question of the formal cause in the practice of artistic production. Earlier in the discussion, I already pointed out why the formal cause should also be held on the same side with the efficient cause, and in the explanation of the generation theory then, both had to be associated with the father. However, in the explanation of the Aristotelian four causes in relation to artistic practice in the Renaissance, we are witnessing an important nuance.

### **Automoton & Tuchē**

I briefly mentioned the impasse Aristotle's generation theory creates due to the polarity it is built on.<sup>74</sup> In order for the role of male and female to correspond to the binary oppositions of his larger philosophical framework, the former had to be associated with form and the latter with matter, as boldly put. However, this would always assume for the offspring's appearance to be looking like the father, and any derivation from that immediate connection would be considered a gradual travesty of the nature, which also includes the creation of female offspring. According to Aristotle, "the female appears as the result of a material mishap – there may be too much bulk and coldness at the scene of conception because of innumerable factors..."<sup>75</sup> The degree of such deviations ranks the offspring from the creation of a female (which is still a necessity for nature) to creation of monsters. In her magnificent analysis, Emanuela Bianchi highlights the two supplementary (and accidental) causes; *kata sumbebēkos* in addition to the four (essential) causes; *kath' auto* that actually hold this ambiguous position for Aristotle that simultaneously work for nature, as well as against nature. The notion of female exactly resides there.<sup>76</sup>

These two accidental causes (as much as incidental) are *tuchē*, which is bound to chance or luck in regards to the human world of choice; and *automaton*, which signify unexpected and spontaneous occurrences in nature. Both of them are inseparable from the process, considering that *tuchē* is directly related to the human's physiological agency, and *automaton*

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<sup>74</sup> For the history of "oppositions" in the Greek thought, see: G.E.R. Lloyd, *Polarity and analogy: the two types of argumentation in early Greek thought* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1966). Especially, 17-26, 56-85.

<sup>75</sup> Emanuela Bianchi, *The Feminine Symptom: Aleatory Matter in Aristotelian Cosmos* (University of Virginia Press, 2014), 3.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

of nature's. Yet *automaton* acts contrary to the efficient cause,<sup>77</sup> and these two accidental causes aligned with the female agent, alters the teleological assumption of the given scheme.

When Filarete employs his analogy, to what extent does he bring this aspect of female nature in his generation theory forward? It is likely that he is exactly incorporating *tuchē* and *automaton*, by *not* incorporating it into his reasoning. Filarete's pedagogical agenda is based on "reasons" as he overly emphasizes in his treatise, and "reasoning" is a male faculty that expects the unfolding of the four causes.

Accordingly, when Filarete starts his argument: "just as no one on his own can generate another without a woman, so a similitude as well for the building, [which] cannot be created by one only," I argue that he is emphasizing the "conditionally necessary" nature of the female. And this necessity is the primary means of distinguishing his profession, as Filarete continues: "and how it cannot be made without a woman, so he who wants to build needs to have the architect and together with him to generate [*ingerarlo*] it." The father is the source of generation, as the patron should be understood as the source for a building to be erected, yet although he is the active agent, the mover, his contribution is insufficient as long as it does not act on a passive agent. This what Filarete is presenting to his patron, within the limits of reason.

Therefore, as Preus argues about Aristotle's theory, the passive agent might be the lower faculty here, but Aristotle builds up his argument in a way that the passive agent *almost* embodies the individual within and only lacking some sort of push to be ignited by the power of the soul, initiation by the father, and hence his contribution. Therefore, whatever the 'material' the architect is providing for building conception, based on this explanation, it already exists in him as a potential, and the transformation of the potential to actual is orchestrated by the patron. Reflecting on my earlier discussion in Part I, section 2, one may

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<sup>77</sup> In Seminar XI, Lacan unfolds *tuchē* and *automaton* on the basis of repetition, where the former is argued as concealed behind the appearance of the latter. While repetition can be considered as *automatism* of habits, as they are expressed as conditioned reflexes, Lacan argues that these are not derived from experience that are consciously mastered. Repetitions actually are governed by the experiences that often escape the conscious, and when the *automaton* appears, therefore it more like resembles *tuchē*, as luck. See, Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis (Book XI)*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York W. W. Norton & Company), 53-66. Also, Cormac Gallagher, "Lacan's Summary of Seminar XI," 2010 <<http://www.lacaninireland.com/web/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/S-SUMMARY-OF-SEMINAR-XI-Cormac-Gallagher-1.pdf>> I'm grateful to Dr. Donald Kunze for reminding me to look into the two accidental causes.

argue that such potential relies on the architect's acquaintance with the ancient forms, thoroughly developed as a language of forms to be realized through *disegno*. Such background, culminated with inspirations from humanists' readings of antiquity, also render the architect as a "potential" agent who has enough vocabulary to develop innovative design proposals. These proposals, *almost* shaped as a building, are the potential an architect keeps in his memory, and there are attributes to architect's memory taking place in the *Libro*, as I will show later in this section.

However, such "potential" is also subject to courses of action that is not bound to reasoning. What is more fundamental than the male's association with form / active/ rational, is the alignment of the feminine (matter / passive / irrational) with the two accidental causes. This creates "a lability and unpredictability *in matter* that is opaque to reason and at odds with natural teleology."<sup>78</sup> Particularly in *Generation of Animals*, Aristotle addresses *automaton* as the source of the indeterminacy of matter, and such indeterminacy can occur due to an external or an internal impact.<sup>79</sup> Although Filarete doesn't explicitly state this in addressing the patron, by proposing a generation theory for architecture, Filarete implicitly encompasses these dimensions. A most obvious example is Filarete's articulation of the process from *disegno* to building as growth. For growth, Filarete doesn't give technical details regarding construction, but always guarantees to his patron that the building will always be more beautiful than it is presented to him in *disegno*. Filarete's assertion of the wet-nurse role for the architect is to suggest design as a continuous process, which I will further elaborate on in the fourth section. Here, I want to emphasize that, during Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the regulations of the practice show that, wet-nurses would be selected based on their external appearance, mental condition, and other factors that can be qualified as external. Yet, these were believed to be signs of the internal and affect the growth of the baby through her milk.<sup>80</sup> Such causes that leads to material mishap is one of such factors of

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>79</sup> *Automaton*, in this context, signifies random occurrences taking place in nature, which is the same word referring to puppets, or moving sculptures with aids of pulleys and strings. These mechanical objects, as they were also called "wonders" (*thaumata*), suggests a connection with the spontaneous acts of nature that also effect the teleological structure of generation. Ibid., 67.

<sup>80</sup> As a cultural practice, the rules that regulate the profession between the employers and wet-nurse were even already coded in the first written code, Hammurabi. Octavius, Nero, Caligula and Tiberius were all breast-fed by hired nurses, and Caligula's cruelty and Emperor Nero's drunkenness were believed to be derived from the characters of their wet-nurses, since it was a common Roman belief that the virtues and vices of the nurse would be transmitted to the child via her milk. Due to the strong belief in such material effect, in *De Medicina* (c.A.D. 50) Celsus would suggest that in order to treat the child's fever, the nurse –not the child- should drink a lot of water.

*automaton* Filarete applies to his analogy for architecture. Filarete's emphasis on the well-being of the architect that has to be sustained by the patron, addresses the *opaque* aspect *automaton*, required but not articulated in terms of reason for the well-being of the building.<sup>81</sup>

*Automaton* is also acknowledged in Filarete's pregnancy analogy. Filarete's presentation of the architect is as an active agent, engaged in "thinking," "fantasizing" and working through his "memory" which are to take place during his pregnancy. As Marie-Hélène Huet deliberately states, maternal imagination was believed to be the main reason in deviating from the teleological consequence of the similarity of appearance in the father-son image, and this was a doctrine that descended to the Renaissance from Antiquity. In his 1573 *Des Monstres et prodiges*, Ambroise Paré wrote: "The ancients who sought out the secrets of Nature (i.e., Aristotle, Hippocrates, Empedocles), have taught of other causes for monstrous children and have referred them to the ardent and obstinate imagination that the mother might receive at the moment of conception – through some object, or fantastic dream – of certain nocturnal visions."<sup>82</sup> These factors would qualify for *automaton*, that is necessarily aligning with the

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Soranus (A.D. 98-117) was on the same note, when suggesting the treatment of the diseases the suckling baby has, has to be via prescribing remedies to the nurse. Same suggestion was echoed in the Middle Ages in the writings of Bartholomeus Anglicus between 1220-1250. For the health of the baby, the diet of the nurse was controlled. During the middle ages, the association of the magical quality with breast milk was still pursued, regarding that it would transmit both physical and psychological character of the nurse. Francesco Barberini (late sixteenth century) would caution that the wet nurse should not be "haughty, irascible, melancholic, mad, or too lazy; most of all, however, she must not be a red-head. For a brief and remarkable account on the subject: M. Livia Osborn, "The rent breasts: a brief history of wet-nursing," *Midwife, health visitor & community nurse*, 15, 8 (1979 august): 302-306.

The mother's milk in relation to language particularly was common. Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, wrote in a letter to Pietro Bembo, entitled "On Imitation" said: "Surely Celsus, Ceacilius, Pliny, Quintilian and others who lived in the period just after Cicero's could easily have imitated him, since there survived still inviolate the remnants, as it were, of pure Roman speech, and they sucked that pure Latinity with their nurse's milk." *Ciceronian Controversies*, Joann DellaNeva, ed., Brian Duvick, trans. The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA and London 2007), 24-25. For a brief account on the subject, see also: Michael Sherberg, "The Accademia Fiorentina and the Question of the Language: The Politics of Theory in Ducal Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003): 26-55.

Maybe as a casual joke, Michelangelo would reason his delight in the use of the chisel, being due to the fact that he was suckled by a wet-nurse who had been the wife of a stone mason. William E. Wallace, "Michelangelo's Wet Nurse." *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*, 17, 2 (2009): 51–55.

<sup>81</sup> In the Trattato the chapters that include Filarete's dining, one cannot help but wonder, whether as being the wet-nurse of the future city Sforzinda, he should have eaten properly. In book VII when he is asked what he has done the previous day, with an expectation to pursue the duties as an architect, Filarete responds as "he did nothing but dined." Along with the emphasis Filarete gives to the dinner culture, with the elaborated diversions occur with the feast scenes in the book as Ayse Sevil Enginsoy points out in her dissertation, it can be suggested that diet of the wet-nurse for the child's well-being is being incorporated into Filarete's portrayal of the architect's well-bring to be reflected in the building. "The Visuality/Orality/Aurality of Filarete's Treatise on Architecture" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2002).

<sup>82</sup> Quoted from, Huet, *Monstrous Imagination*, 13.

female agent. Although Filarete's articulation of his imagination in action during pregnancy doesn't explicitly state this dimension, it nevertheless brings forward the architect's agency in the process.

Filarete's analogy, although implicitly, allows him to incorporate the accidental causes in his design theory. The architect is a primary source of accidental causes in building. As an architect, in his articulation of building process in regards to motherhood, we see his emphasis on the architect's imagination through his affiliation of design activity with fantasizing, which I will elaborate on this in the next section.

### **Final and Efficient cause in Renaissance building**

In his studies of the humanist Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* (1479),<sup>83</sup> Michael Baxandall points to the notion of authorship in the Renaissance as it has been critically assessed in light of patronage studies as a more ambivalent notion than often assumed. While it is hard to distinguish between either patron's or artist's authorship / contribution in a specific work of art, it is nevertheless not an equivocation. Along these lines, Baxandall proposes to critically look at Agricola's work in order to gain a perspective on the human cause of this paradigm. Agricola's was one of the most interesting Renaissance books, adapting Aristotle's logic and dialectic to more informal needs of everyday reasoning. In simpler terms, he would exemplify the doctrine of the four causes, not to understand nature (as Aristotle proposed), but to propose dialectic interventions for everyday reasoning. The example Agricola employed was for building, for which we should rightly assume that he was trying to place this everyday reality in the scheme of the four causes, and accordingly Baxandall found it valuable to extend Agricola's building example to painting and sculpture as well, since they were all produced under the same patronage framework. With this account, we are getting one step closer to Filarete's analogy, since Agricola is also doing the opposite of Aristotle by removing *techné*

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<sup>83</sup> Agricola (1444-85) has long been considered the first northern European humanist producing work in the Italian pattern. He received an orthodox Aristotelian education at the universities of Erfurt and Louvain; traveled to Italy several times, first in 1469 to the University of Pavia, and in 1475 to Ferrara. Towards the end of his stay at Ferrara, where he had a position as a musical organist at Ercole d'Este's court, he started writing his *De inventione dialectica*. See Michael Baxandall, "Rudolph Agricola on Patrons Efficient and Patrons Final: A Renaissance Discrimination," in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 124, no. 952 (1982): 424-425 and "Rudolph Agricola On Art and Patrons," in *Words for Pictures: Seven Papers on Renaissance Art and Criticism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003): 69-83. Here on I mainly depend on these two sources.

from its “model” status (to explain nature) and treating it as the primary subject of his investigation.

Agricola presents his argument only on the grounds of Efficient and Final causes. Based on Baxandall’s reading, the reason why Agricola focuses on these two is that they have an immediate relevance in explaining causal relations of everyday reasoning, since the material and formal causes had long posed difficulties to be understood as causes proper due to their remoteness from everyday senses of cause. Accordingly, Agricola reduces matter and form to “aspects of substance.” Matter is defined as substance that is perceptible through sense, while form is substance that is accessible to the mind. I believe this resonates with Aristotle’s four causes falling short to explain how the intermediary processes pertain to the *technē* model he gives, where the material and formal causes go through different stages to be retained in the final cause, where the efficient cause (as the *technē* itself but not the artist) and the final cause remain the same. Therefore, placing it back in the causal relationship, substance as a whole is attributed as the causally passive agent in the production / generation framework for art objects.

Baxandall narrates: “Efficient Causes produce Effects, and Final Causes give rise to *destinata*, things or persons as put to use in the course of attaining an end... *destinata* are more specifically acquired for a purpose.” The term *destinata* is not radically different than any plain means in the process that lead to an end, and often things which are called as *destinata* are also introduced as the efficient causes, however specific to the particulars in the dialectic related. Prior to modern references to a building’s use as “function,” it was generally referred to as the building’s “destination.”<sup>84</sup> Considering the processes taking place in building, Agricola presents many layers of efficient causes that pertain to an end, which are also given in a hierarchy. Baxandall’s narration: “an architect can be seen (I.xiv) as the principle efficient cause of a building, the workmen and such tools as axes, drills and mallets as ancillary efficient causes, respectively assistant and instrumental efficient.” Since efficient causes (principal and ancillary) produce effects, and final causes give rise to *destinatum* (or dedicated means), within the process of building, all these roles gain a causal definition in regards to its immediate relation to the final cause, and Agricola’s concern is that each person or thing in as

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<sup>84</sup> “Destination” was commonly employed in English and French texts on architecture to imply the “intended use” of a building. Lily Chi, “On the Use of Architecture: The Destination of Buildings Revisited.” *CHORA: Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture*. Vol. 2 (1996) 17-36.

many of the roles as they will bear should be considered. At this point it is helpful to quote Agricola's statement (I.xvi) regarding the patron's role as the efficient and as the final cause in full:

...very often the same things are ends and efficient causes and effects and *destinata*. For instance, in the case of building, the man for whom a house is built is efficient cause of it in the first instance, and the house is the ultimate end. However, those things that come between the first efficient and the ultimate end – architect, craftsmen and tools – are, if we take the house as an effect, efficient causes. But in relation to the patron (*dominus*) they have the status of effects. If however we take the house as end, then they have the status of *destinata*; but then again in relation to the patron, because he took pains to procure them, they are means to the end.

There is nothing against the same man being both efficient and final cause, not just of different things but of the same thing, if only he is related to it in different ways. For instance, a man who builds a house for his own use is efficient cause of it to the extent that he builds it, and final cause of it to the extent that it is for himself, for his own occupancy, he procures it.

Thus form and end can be the same thing, for form is the immediate end of almost all action. But matter and end, matter and form, efficient cause and matter, efficient cause and form can by no means combine in the same thing... .

I must also make the point that there is just one cause of any one outcome, in its kind; and conversely that for any one cause there is just one consequence, immediate and *per se* ... The one and only end for the man who builds is the house, and when he has attained it, he ceases.

What he seeks for his pains beyond the house – money or some other thing – he does not seek in his role as a man who builds, but because he is a poor or greedy man. So too he may perhaps hope for glory from the work, yet not in his capacity as its builder but because he thinks that glory will benefit him in some way. A man can build in such a way that money or glory does not follow: he cannot build in such a way that there will be no building.<sup>85</sup>

Explained based on four causes, Agricola also starts the dialectic relations in building with the patron (the same as Filarete's starting point, basing his explanation on generation). "The man for whom the house is built" is given as the efficient cause, and the house is the ultimate end. Starting with this direct relation, in order to address the agents in between, Agricola distinguishes the patron's role as the "first efficient" where hierarchically architect, craftsmen and tools can become *second, third, fourth*, etc. efficient instrumental causes if we take each of their product along the way as an effect that leads to the final cause, the house. As efficient causes what they produce is considered as effects, but their role in relation to the patron

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<sup>85</sup> Baxandall's translation, quoted from 2003, "Rudolph Agricola On Art and Patrons," in *Words for Pictures: Seven Papers on Renaissance Art and Criticism*, 79-80.

should still be considered as effects because patron is the first efficient cause, causing these agents in a way to take the roles of secondary and tertiary efficient causes. The first paragraph ends with emphasizing the patron's role as the primary efficient cause since he is the one who takes pains to procure all the steps involved in between. In the second paragraph where Agricola presents the case for the patron to be both efficient (patron in the role of the client) and final cause (patron in the role of inhabitant), the efficient cause is considered as the intermediary step as the one who builds (for his own use) without giving any specifics of which part of building he is involved in. Nevertheless, the statement justifies the intermediary steps as efficient causes within the scheme that the patron is the first efficient cause, again since he is the one who initiates [taking pains] to procure. Baxandall's discussion closely follows Agricola's words however fails to elaborate on the sufficient importance of the patron's role, and the complex dynamic taking place between the hierarchical efficient causes stated by Agricola.

The last paragraph of Agricola's statement is important to mention, regarding the final cause to be the mere entity of the house, deprived from any suggestive final causes can be achieved through it, like money and glory. If these were considered in the equation of the dialectic relation, then one would need to consider other dimensions of efficient and final causes in building. Here, I argue that Agricola is pertaining to the teleological framework Aristotle established with the four causes, however Filarete's employment of the generation theory for building, exceeds that mere entity dimension. For Filarete, the *principal* intermediary efficient cause, which is the architect, is distinctly required for the fame and glory of the patron, and also the architect. The architect's role in the process is not a means to the end of the final cause as a mere building. This is often practiced without the involvement of an architect in the modern tradition, which Filarete criticizes at every opportunity in the *Libro*. However, for a patron to build nobly, which is to build in the ancient style, the patron has to have an architect. Moreover, the conditionally necessary role of the architect, which is first defined as 'a woman' is extended to be regarded as the 'mother' of the building. Based on Agricola's reading, while this 'woman' agent could be considered as the passive agent –substance - (combining both material and formal causes within), it wouldn't be possible to understand what Filarete aims for with his 'mother' analogy in relation to the four causes. For that, we need to look at the Renaissance treatises on family, particularly signaling out the role of the mother within that structure, which I will elaborate on in the fourth section.

## **Sforzinda & Averliano**

Here, there is one more nuance Filarete makes, which needs to be discussed in relation to Agricola's explanation of efficient cause/s in building process, and how Filarete interprets the four-causes in a pseudo-generation scheme. That is the rhetorical distinction Filarete assigns to the edifice and to the drawing of the edifice. The edifice, which is the entire city the architect builds with his patron, is named after his father, *Sforzinda*. However, the scaled drawing of the city is named *Averliano*, which goes without saying that is also named after his father. In Agricola's explanation of the intermediary efficient causes, Filarete momentarily takes the architect out of the dialectic relation in regards to building, and highlights the architect as the first efficient cause in lieu of the final cause which is the scaled drawing (or the model) of the building. Accordingly, Antonio Averlino is the father of the drawing and he re-appropriates the role of the architect as the mother of the edifice. Here on one hand, we can assume a similar generative faculty taking place, where the singular father-ship essence is directly transmitted to the product, where the author of the work is associated as the father. This lineage signifies the relation of the agent to the product, or in Agricola's terms the efficient cause to the ultimate end, where what a building is to its patron parallels to what a *disegno* is to the architect. This distinction does not suggest two separate entities that can be argued as siblings, of the same generation process.<sup>86</sup> The naming difference, I argue, does not de-signify the status of the physical artifact of *disegno* being perceived as the baby-form of the building in Filarete's understanding. Just like the architect is the mother of the building, therefore the *disegno* is the new-born form of the building. Again, these notions are very much defined according to their distinct association with the building process and product. However, Filarete here opens up a niche for the discursive aspect of the *disegno* as well. If we read the architect's task as only

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<sup>86</sup> This reading was suggested by Jonathan Powers, based on the same premise that I also argue in my dissertation. I certainly agree with him in emphasizing the clear distinction in Filarete's view between the physical artifact of *disegno* and the building, however he claims that these two entities are "obviously related" but "ultimately independent" and that's how he justifies Filarete's reasoning for naming them separately. He talks about two separate development trajectories based on their ultimately different materialization as the end product, which tentatively makes him suggest them as siblings. See Powers, "The Virtù of Architectural Invention," 131. This suggestion however doesn't fully fit into Filarete's view-point. Here, again I aim to be cautious with understanding the limits of Filarete's metaphor and to what extent he pushes to explain things in relation to the "generation" of a human being, and where he falls short. The naming of the *disegno* and building differently is a moment that actually escapes from the boundaries of the metaphor. In what manner the pregnancy period takes place, Filarete claims the authorship of the *disegno* to the architect independent from the discussion of the patron's *voluntà*. Patron's *voluntà* is in action for the building itself, and is only to be partially realized in the *disegno* stage. Because as it is always discussed throughout the treatise, Filarete intentionally never fully satisfies his patron with the *disegno*, always reassuring him that the building will always exceed what he can envision through the model or the drawing.

until this moment, as subjected to be terminated with the delivery of the *disegno*, which is apparently plausible but highly disputed in Filarete's view, then the architect claims the authorship of his product, which is a physical entity (although always inferior to the building) that can stand on its own. Therefore, the authorship of the architect in the building design process holds these two-sides simultaneously.

Another way of reading this may be suggested from very literal analogical thinking Filarete could be applying to his own work environment as an "architect." As I wrote in the first part, the contingencies of becoming an architect during the Renaissance coming from the 'workshop' background consisted of not only an expertise on *disegno*, but also in the management skills of a shop environment. Many of the architects (as we name them today) did start their profession being trained in and practicing other arts that are all based on *disegno*, and they were quite likely elevated to the status of an architect with the initiative of a patron. At this stage, the artist was already the master of his bottega,<sup>87</sup> and was in charge of the work undertaken under his supervision. Collegiality of the shop environment, which Filarete proudly described with his signature in his bronze doors, should be considered for the working conditions of the architect in his shop as well. Although in the treatise we are not being invited into this setting, we are witnessing in between the lines that the architect is doing his job of 'fantasizing' and 'measuring' in his shop, in the presence of others working for him.<sup>88</sup> What they are busy with is not clear, but we can rightly assume that it is related to manual work. And regarding the manual work of *disegno*, the wooden models made to scale to be presented to the patron were not handiwork of the architect directly either. It requires the craft for working with wood, and therefore wood-workers would be in charge for undertaking such tasks for the architects.<sup>89</sup> In his gender-based distinction, then, Filarete rightly perceives himself as the father of the scaled *disegno* artifact, where he is the efficient cause, embedded

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<sup>87</sup> The same expression has been used for Lorenzo de Medici [*maestro della bottega*], which literally indicates he was the "political boss," hence affirming his position as the unofficial ruler of the republican Florence. See, Kent, *Lorenzo De Medici*, 2-3.

<sup>88</sup> The episode where the Lord's son visits Filarete in his workshop, Filarete says that he didn't notice him until one of his "boys" [*uno mio garzone*] did. See, *Magl.*, fol. 46v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 180; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 81.

<sup>89</sup> In that path to become an architect, Goldthwaite would also name the wood-workers, since they would get familiar with the language of ancient architecture based on their hands-on experience in crafting it in the physical models they were commissioned to deliver. Moreover, when Filarete mentions assigning a "head" for the school, he would emphasize that it should be from a background of 'painting,' 'sculpture' or 'wood-worker' with the condition if the wood-worker was acquainted with *disegno*. For more information on Renaissance practice of wooden models, Henry A. Millon, "Models in Renaissance Architecture," in *Italian Renaissance Architecture from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, eds. Henry A. Millon and Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani (New York: Rizzoli, 1994): 19-74.

with the formal cause, being the active agent applying movement on the passive agent (culmination of the woodworkers and material). To this practice, Alberti actually more clearly speaks to in his *De Re Aedificatoria*, when he gives his statement about how 'presentation models' should be:

the presentation models that have been colored and lewdly dressed with the allurements of painting is the mark of no architect intent on conveying the facts; rather it is that of a conceited one, striving to attract and seduce the eye of the beholder, and to divert his attention from a proper examination of the parts to be considered, toward admiration of himself. Better than that the models are not accurately finished, refined, and highly decorated, but plain and simple, so that they demonstrate the ingenuity of him who conceived the idea, and not the skill of the one who fabricated the model.<sup>90</sup>

Remembering that Alberti's primary audience are also patrons, the passage aims to develop a level of understanding on the patron's end when he/she examines a presentation model. Accordingly, through explaining how the presentation models should be, Alberti points at the protagonists of this production model; the architect - who conceives the idea - and the woodworker - who fabricates the model. Accordingly, the architect is the first efficient cause, where the woodworker and his tools would hold the roles of intermediary efficient causes, following Agricola's statement. Probably referring to examples he had observed, Alberti points out the pitfalls that can result from the fabrication of an over-decorated model on the discretion of the woodworker, but continuing that, by no means he suggests that the architect should be making his own presentation models. In insisting on these models to be executed *intentionally unfinished* (my interpretation for "not accurately finished") to reflect the ingenuity of the architect, Alberti rather suggests the architect to be fully in charge of the execution process. Also, the intentionally unfinished remarks to the ongoing design process proposed by Filarete with the insistence of the mother to be the wet-nurse. In other words, he asks the architect to have the authority, hence the authorship of the product, as it is supposed to be formed based on his (conceived) 'idea.' This goes back to Alberti's very definition of the architect in the preface: "whom I mean by an architect; for it is no carpenter that I would have you compare to the greatest exponents of other disciplines: the carpenter is but an instrument in the hands of the architect."<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria*, II.i., p. 34.

<sup>91</sup> *De Re Aedificatoria*, I,i,p. 3.

Alberti's continuing remark on the definition of the architect, is independent from a patron: "Him I consider the architect, who by sure and wonderful reason and method, know both how to devise through his own mind and energy, and to realize by construction, whatever can be most beautifully fitted out for noble needs of man ... ." <sup>92</sup> This remark is less stressed in Filarete's case. Filarete defines who an architect is directly based on a pregnancy metaphor, which is constituted with the active presence of the patron for the process. On the other hand, Alberti's articulate and elaborate language allow him to define who an architect is, not in relation to the patron he is supposed to work for / with, but in relation to the manual labor which he will be directing. As mentioned before, Alberti's education and humanist background already places him in a different level, considerably a little more remote to the patronage dynamic, considering that his involvement in building activity came later than his writing on the subject. On the other hand, Filarete's naïve anthropomorphism was directly proposed to define the role of the architect in relation to patron and building. In that regard, we are not limited here only with pregnancy analogy, but a larger dynamic of motherhood defined in a family structure, which displays the influence of family treatises written in the early quattrocento. This angle suggests another tangent to look at the influence of emerging civic humanism on architectural practice, and Filarete as one of the pioneers celebrating it openly.

Filarete says that the architect becomes the mother of the building with giving birth to the gestated version of the *generamento*, by delivering the scaled *disegno* artifact. Before this process, the architect is not yet the mother of the building, but he is the 'woman,' with whom a patron needs to generate a building together. The process taking place inside the womb, which can be associated with the 'design phase' in the modern sense of architectural practice also has a gender-based distinction. Accordingly, it should be explained in regards to the lexicon employed by Renaissance artists as connotations of pregnancy in order to associate their creative faculty.

### iii) Pregnant Dreams of *Disegno*

Before giving birth to it, just like the woman [*la donna*] carries it nine or seven months in [her] body, as I said above, so the architect owes nine or seven months to fantasize [*fantasticare*] and to think [*pensare*] and to turn it around in memory in many modes, and make various designs in his mind [*disegni nella sua mente*] above the *generamento* that he made with his patron, according to his *voluntà*. And just as the

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

woman still without the man does nothing, so the architect is the mother to carry this *ingeneramento*, and according to his [patron's] *voluntà*, when he has ruminated and considered it well and thought [*pensato*] in many ways, he should then elect what seems to him to be more suitable [*comodo*] and more beautiful according to the termination of the *generante*; and done this, [the architect] gives birth to, that is, make it a small raised design [made of] wood [*disegno piccolo rilevato di legname*], measured and proportioned as it has to be done, and show it to the father.<sup>93</sup>

This fascinating passage is where we are provided a glimpse inside the womb [of the architect] where the process engaging the patron's *voluntà* with the architect's creative faculty for the future of his building is defined. The passage is not very easy to translate, and mistakes are solely mine if there are any for the reading I provide through giving more credit to the patron. While I have tried my best to stay true to the text in translation, the (intentional) confusion of the pronoun "he," in the second half of the quote whether referring to the architect or the patron is not entirely clear. And we should be honest about this uncertainty and be cautious in reading it in two ways. As the patronage studies of the Renaissance clearly show, it is very hard to dismiss the role of the patron in that production model in the first place. Autonomy of the artist or the architect is not as esteemed as it was projected in Alberti's initiatives. Particularly through this lens, Spencer's translation of this part sounds even more problematic. He reads the passage more in favor of the autonomy of the architect in the process of design, as he writes: "As the woman can do nothing without the man, so the architect is the mother to carry this conception. When he has pondered and considered and thought [about it] in many ways, he then ought to choose, [according to his own desires], what seems most suitable and most beautiful to him according to the terms of the patron." Jonathan Powers calls out Spencer's translation for *voluntà sua* and rightly argues that this cannot be considered as the architect's own desire in any means, by pointing out the several other references to the expression and contextual setting of the treatise. However, Powers follows Spencer while translating the second part of the quote, by giving sole responsibility of the

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<sup>93</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 7v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 40; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 15. *Ma innanzi che lo partorisca, come proprio la donna che nove o sette mesi in corpo lo porta, come di sopra t'ho detto, così l'architetto debba nove o sette mesi fantasticare e pensare e rivoltarselo per la memoria in più modi, e fare varii disegni nella sua mente sopra al generamento che lui ha fatto col padrone, secondo la volontà sua. E così come la donna ancora senza l'uomo niente fa, così l'architetto è madre a portare questo ingeneramento, e secondo la sua volontà, quando l'ha bene ruminato e considerato e in molti modi pensato, debbe poi eleggere quello gli pare che sia più comodo e più bello secondo la terminazione del generante; e fatto questo, partorirlo, cioè farne uno disegno piccolo rilevato di legname, misurato e proporzionato come che ha a essere fatto poi, e mostrarlo al padre.*

design to the architect, including choosing what is most suitable and beautiful, but according to the patron's *voluntà*.

Within the boundaries of the pregnancy metaphor, it only makes sense to assume that the architect is having a solo journey during this period.<sup>94</sup> But I want to argue that, Filarete breaks the edges of the metaphor by including another clause relating to the subordinate position of the woman: "And just as the woman still without man does nothing, so the architect is the mother to carry this *ingeramento*." This statement is followed by a "he" agent doing further consideration and thinking in many ways, but more importantly holding a decision-making authority in terms of what is best suitable and beautiful. If Filarete is still referring to the architect here, it would rather be a wishful thinking for the autonomy of the architect to have all the capacity for design where the only guiding agent provided by the patron is his *voluntà*. While this is not an implausible scenario, I would rather refrain from reading the process like that only because the biological realities of pregnancy would somehow suggest so. While it is still hard to imagine a patron being actively engaged in the design process, I cannot help but wonder the significance of the pedagogical agenda Filarete actively pursues with the patron's son throughout the treatise. Berthold Hub argues that there is no proof of such an engagement taking place between Filarete and Galeazzo Maria Sforza, during his tenure at the Sforza court. My research is not extended to cover the ground for Filarete's direct experience in Milan with Sforza entourage, so I do not have any aim to argue in dispute or favor of his claim. However, I find it valuable to read the profound interaction Filarete engages with the patron's son in the treatise, to literally get his hands on *disegno* to learn it thoroughly in order to become a better patron himself when it comes to *edificare*. This, although it may not have a real ground in Filarete's actual experience, doesn't rule out his portrayal of the ideal (future) patron, who is equipped to be more engaged with the process within the initial premise of his *voluntà*.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> According to the generation theories, which are known to be defending different positions in the contributing role of the father and the mother, the role of the father is limited to the time of the conception, and it is the nature of the 'seed' that further acts in the body. The father is not a part of the discussion on the growth of the embryo, but it is the nature of the sperm that is dictating the process with the soul. Within this, it would not be likely to assume the father getting involved in the process during the pregnancy. However, we should be reminded of the fact that this is an invisible process, and the invisibility here is to be understood as indeterminacy of one agent or the other in the formation of the building. Based on the context Filarete is writing in, it is only hard to assume that the patron, more importantly a patron interested in building dignified buildings and because of that definitely needs an architect, is only introduced again at the end of the process, when the 'baby' is being shown to him.

<sup>95</sup> Hub, *Filarete*, 107. An article Hub doesn't reference in his book, shows Galeazzo Maria Sforza's experience in Medici palace, in which his letter is mostly focused on describing the building in detail, along with the hospitality he

Moreover, looking at the language Filarete uses in describing the exchange that (supposedly) took place between him and the patron for the design of Sforzinda, one can notice Filarete drawing on the same concepts by using similar terminology that he employed in the pregnancy metaphor, although Sforzinda was the most a-contextual proposal Filarete had in the overall treatise. Here, despite the passivity of the patron, where Filarete even likens his initiative to Dinocrates' presentation of himself (with his city design) to Alexander the Great, the process of design within the same framework of the pregnancy metaphor is clearly stated. Filarete says: "I have already generated this city with my Lord, and together with him I examined it many and many times, thought by me and determined with him."<sup>96</sup> The quote is immediately followed with: "Then I gave birth to it [*E poi io l'ho partorita*]," which clarifies with no doubt that Filarete is demonstrating the very condition he theorizes into the context of his narrative. Using the same terminology for referring to his "labor," which is the delivery of the scaled line drawing of the city, he clearly signals out the pregnancy period before for which he already names the process as *generare*. Yet again, his clear reference to the patron during this period reminds us one more time that, Filarete is not suggesting us to read his pregnancy metaphor solely on biological terms as we understand them today.

This collaborative aspect, in terms of the roles of the patron and the architect, is both easy and hard to decipher through-out the treatise. In its very rich reflection of the courtly setting, we encounter many episodes with various interactions that unfold into building design that surpasses the naïve metaphor for generation that only happens between the architect and his patron. Although Sforza is the father of the city, he is not necessarily the father of each individual building, if one were to suggest so based on Filarete's own metaphor. As discussed earlier, after the drawing lessons, the Lord's son's initiatives to build noble buildings after the ruins of Rome, and his primordial role in discovering the site and proposal to build a port city are remarkable. In addition to that, the Lady is also given a role to directly work with the architect for building certain edifices according to her *voluntà*.<sup>97</sup> However, unlike this initial

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received there. Rab Hatfield, "Some Unknown Descriptions of the Medici Palace in 1459," in *The Art Bulletin*, 52, 3 (1970): 232-249.

<sup>96</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 11r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 53; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 22. *io ho già generate questa città col mio Signore, e insieme collui l'ho esaminata più e più volte, e da me pensata e collui d'eterminata.*

<sup>97</sup> There is one more thing that should be highlighted in terms of the limits of the metaphor. In the *Libro*, the complexity of interactions during the design phase also introduces other actors into the process that were not mentioned within the intimate coupling of the 'man' and the 'woman' only to generate a design. For instance, the

episode, for the other design episodes we read a dialogical exchange, rather than Filarete's narration of a supposed interaction. And although it will be hard to cover all of these episodes here, it should be mentioned that unlike the common assumption of Filarete's use of dialogue on almost similar terms with Platonic dialogue, where the patron is only a passive participant who is always agreeing and appreciating the architect's work, a closer look actually highlights that the patron (whether Sforza himself or other courtly figures who also take the role of patron) are engaged in the design phase, and they are quite vocal as well. As I showed in the first part, through-out the treatise, there are actually few architectural projects related directly to the city that is solely undertaken by the architect. The patron's voice, although always echoed in the appreciation to his architect's proposals, nevertheless doesn't restrain from requesting some changes to the dimensions and adaptations especially to the projects that he is portrayed to be commissioning for himself. These of course perfectly blend into the romanticized setting of the interaction taking place, and there is no moment where the patron disagrees with the architect, or suggests something that would put the architect in a difficult situation. Nevertheless, this doesn't mean that the patron doesn't say a word about the measures, or materials while the architect describes the design to him. These exchanges, although they may seem minor while hearing the architect's dominant voice, signify that the patron's voice is also supposed to be present during the design phase. While the degree of the patron's participation in the process may vary, the level of engagement is never absent that he only sees what the architect designed when it is presented to him in a scaled drawing or a wooden model. At the very least, the patron instructs the architect at the outset as to the sort of building he wants designed.

Prior to twentieth century, knowledge of when a woman is pregnant, let alone identifying with certainty a specific date of conception, was very uncertain. Late fifteenth century medical lore describes a pregnancy test of placing a door latch into a basin with the woman's urine for several hours and after it is removed, if the latch leaves an impression in the basin, the woman is pregnant.<sup>98</sup> Knowledge of the precise bodily processes of pregnancy was also

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discovery of the Golden Book and the involvement of the humanist translator should be considered as reflective of such complex interaction, which is likely to take place in the courtly setting for an 'ideal' way of building. The article about Isabelle d'Este was portraying the complex relationship taking place between the court humanist, artist and the patron in the formation of the painting. The episode shows how the patron's taste is being developed with the teachings of the humanist, and their collaboration in particular is being transmitted to the artist to execute the work. See Hope, "Artist, Patrons and Advisers..."

<sup>98</sup> Madeleine Jeay and Kathleen Garay, translators. 2006. *The Distaff Gospels: A First Modern English Edition of Les Évangiles des Quenouilles*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.

limited. Filarete reports the generation of giants resulting from the large woman receiving large quantities of sperm from multiple instances of sexual intercourse; becoming “pregnant with much seed.”<sup>99</sup> We can similarly interpret Filarete’s analogy of pregnancy as design with the repeated input of the patron/father primarily at the outset of design work, but not necessarily limited to a single conversation. Later in the pregnancy, before a woman was due, common Renaissance practice was for her to would go into confinement in her own room known as “laying in,” which would continue for some time after she delivers the baby.<sup>100</sup> Windows were shut to keep out “bad humours” and to protect the pregnant woman’s eyes from distraction. These highly decorated birth-chambers was the mother’s domain, and only other women were allowed to be in which actually suggest to read the art-work associated with the ritual of childbirth<sup>101</sup> to be subject to gendered perspective particularly.<sup>102</sup> If Filarete was thinking of these practices for his metaphor, then the architect would begin design with significant input from the patron but in preparing the final work, would sequester himself in his studio to resolve and bring the final design to completion. The presentation of the baby to the father was another special event after the birth and the baby would be tightly wrapped to prevent any possible deformities of his limbs. The presentation of a building design and model to its patron was a similarly significant event. In these ways, traditional practices around pregnancy and birth may illuminate the sort of interactions between architect and patron that Filarete was proposing through his metaphor.

Although the echo of the generation theories descended from the medieval sources has an influence in Filarete’s proposal, we should be reminded that as Barbara Duden points out, until the discovery of ultrasound in the 1960s, what is taking place inside the womb was never subject to empirical observation that would project a more complete understanding of gestation.<sup>103</sup> When we are talking about the womb, we are referring to a domain which has

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<sup>99</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 2v-3r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 15 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 7.

<sup>100</sup> In Book II of *Della Famiglia*, Alberti refers to this practice with these words: “Once she has given birth, she should not go out in the cold and wind until all her limbs have fully regained their strength.”

<sup>101</sup> I mainly consulted Jacqueline Marie Musacchio’s work on the subject. Particularly: *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); “The Medici-Tornabuoni Desco Da Parto in Context,” *Metropolitan Museum journal* 33 (1998): 137–151; “Weasels and Pregnancy in Renaissance Italy,” *Renaissance studies* 15.2 (2001): 172–187.

<sup>102</sup> Adrian W.B. Randolph, “Gendering the Period Eye: Deschi da Parto and Renaissance Visual Culture,” *Art history* 27, 4 (2004): 538–562.

<sup>103</sup> In the fifteenth century, before our visual memory is dominated with the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci that gives most accurate imagery for a baby’s form and position inside the womb, the illustrations that accompanied medical treatises would depict a miniature of an actual adult form of human body. The growth of the baby inside the womb, if there is no chance for even a mediated view that shows its evolution as a transformative biological

always been invisible to the eye. What was happening in the womb was not regarded as a fact, but could only remain as a state of hope. Duden refers to this as *non-dum* (not yet).<sup>104</sup> As intriguing as Filarete's passage is to suggest a reading through a biological lens in order to decipher the role of the man and the woman particularly during and after the intercourse to determine their contribution to the offspring, it is not really fruitful to pursue that angle. I would argue that the architect's womb here primarily signifies the indeterminate (as well as unknown) nature of the gestation due to undecipherable contributions of each agent, which is often raised as a dilemma to be acknowledged in the patronage studies. As I argued in the previous section, Filarete's reasoning for offering an organic anthropomorphism is not necessarily to draw a biological connection between building and bodies but to emphasize the impasse between the intention to build for eternity and the inevitable end that every building along with its ideological agenda is subject. Through that, he is aiming to define what the role of the architect is, in order for the patron to build nobly so that the patron can leave his name and fame to posterity. In that regard, what Filarete proposes for inside the womb serves as a pretext for Filarete to define what an architect is in relation to building practice as the mother. Therefore, despite the biological realities of pregnancy, we should consider the patronage reality of the fifteenth century context. Accordingly, the architect becomes the mother of the building, once he delivers the scaled *disegno* artifact, which is the transformation of the 'unborn' to the 'born,' agreed upon design not to be fundamentally altered from that moment on, but only to be raised with ongoing involvement of the mother. Filarete's emphasis for the mother to also be the wet-nurse of the building, highlights more the role of the architect not inside but outside of the womb, which I will elaborate on in the next section.

Regarding the invisible and indeterminate realm of the womb, the episode of Book VI which I discussed in the first part, can be proposed to be read, not necessarily as a direct exchange of the roles where the patron takes the role of the architect (and of course the architect is not taking role of the patron), but within this understanding of the collaborative process, only

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process, then the representation of the invisible fetus would be subject to interpretation. As such, Medieval manuscripts, descendants of Soranus of Ephesus's *Gynecology*, included illustrations of the disposition of the fetus in the uterus drawn in various several different positions, including the possibility of multiples. In all these images, the fetus was drawn as a diminutive adult, in other words, with the proportions of an adult human. From these and other representations, Philip Ariès concluded in his *Centuries of Childhood* that childhood was a social construction of modernity, since, in its earlier depiction, a child, let alone a developing fetus, would not be envisioned in a different form than a miniature adult. See, also Lloyd DeMause, *The history of childhood* (New York: Psychohistory Press, 1974).

<sup>104</sup> *Disembodying Women: Perspectives on Pregnancy and the Unborn*, trans. Lee Hoinacki (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 9-10.

where the scale of contribution is higher on the patron's end. By no means am I ignoring the very assertive change in the tone of the patron, and this episode sounding significantly different than the others in the *Libro*. Leading the way to Book VI, when the patron claims that he wants to *ordinare* the fortress in his own fashion, Filarete's reply: "Therefore your lordship will give me to understand and I will do according to your *voluntà*"<sup>105</sup> definitely portrays a more subordinate role than presented in any other episode.

The reason I suggest to read this episode still within Filarete's pregnancy theory, where we don't fully talk about an exchange of the roles, but within the same roles, only mitigating the contribution of each party to the *disegno* is because the cognitive faculty which is ascribed to the female agent is still active here as well. The patron clearly leaves the further thinking [*pensiero*] to the architect and he expects him to provide the drawing at the end of the process. This is important to emphasize because the association of the cognitive faculty within the gender-based framework, where creativity of the brain is exemplified through a similar process of the procreativity of the female body is not unique to Filarete. Through such a lexicon, Filarete participates in the tradition of artists' association of their creative faculties with the reproductive capability of the female body. The architect, at this point of the pregnancy is not the mother yet, but is given in a similitude to a female body; "the woman" [*la donna*]. Projected as a nine to seven-month pregnancy period, that is associated with *fantasticare*, *pensare* and further cognitive faculties that encompass memory, is clearly described as the artist's domain, through which the architect develops 'mental' projections of the design of the *generamento* according to the patron's *voluntà*. What is unique about Filarete's metaphor is to define this process in specific terms for architectural production where the gender-based distinction of 'creativity' is extended to the longer contribution of the female agent that is associated with motherhood. It should be emphasized that Filarete describes the architect as the "mother" of the building, which is a status he assigns with the delivery of the scaled model or drawing, while at the beginning of the process, he refers to a "woman" with whom the patron (anybody who wants to build) should generate his prodigy. In that regard, with his generation theory for architecture, I argue that Filarete sustains the gender-based distinction in the lexicon of artistic creativity which takes place inside the womb, in the first place. Then he emphasizes the social distinction and status of the architect by defining his profession through the lens of motherhood.

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<sup>105</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 37v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 147; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 65. *Adunque la vostra Signoria mi darà ad intendere, e io farò secondo la vostra volontà.*

## Renaissance “concepts” of art

Implicit references to gender attributions of artistic creativity were evident in Renaissance artists’ subtle preferences for certain expressions. Michelangelo, for instance, intentionally uses “*concetto*” for referring to the inner notion of his artistic effort, which in Scholastic tradition would suggest “the free, creative notion that constitutes its own object,” when it did not simply stand for thought, concept or plan. Although to some extent *concetto* was interchangeably used with the term *idea*, it did imply the generative capacity for creating *forma agens*, rather than *forma acta*.<sup>106</sup> Derived from the Latin *concipire* (to conceive), the particular expression carried an imagery of material absorption; “to absorb” (as liquid), “to catch” (as a fire), “to conceive” (as a child). For the design of the Casa Regia, Filarete came up with two proposals for the young prince and the patron to choose from, which he also named as *congetti*.<sup>107</sup> In that sense, it reminds one of a biological metaphor as if the imagination is a matrix or womb.<sup>108</sup> The biological connection is even more apparent since the terminology for the brain shares common roots with womb. In Renaissance medical terminology, ‘ventricles’ are the name for the cavities of the brain where spirits were thought to perform cognitive functions, which was a diminutive literally from “little belly” or “little womb.”<sup>109</sup> In that regard, metaphors of sexual reproduction played a significant role for attributing creativity with its outcome designated as “children.”<sup>110</sup> Sixteenth century physician Scipione Mercurio would speak of the “great mutual sympathy” between the human capacity to generate and the human imagination with these words: “It is evident and clear that imagination and generation are actions depending on the same animal faculty [...]; and since they are originating (*nascendo*) from the same source, they have a great mutual sympathy, and correlation (*convenienza*)...”<sup>111</sup>

Filarete’s identification of the architect’s design with the female generation of a building, in an invisible realm for seven to nine months should be understood in this perspective. Before the

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<sup>106</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), 119.

<sup>107</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 54r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 208; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans. and ed.), 93.

<sup>108</sup> David Summers, “Form and Gender,” *New Literary History*, 24 (1993): 243-271.

<sup>109</sup> Elizabeth Sacks, *Shakespeare’s Images of Pregnancy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1980), 4.

<sup>110</sup> Maria Ruvoldt, *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration: Metaphors of Sex, Sleep, and Dreams* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 71.

<sup>111</sup> Mercurio, *La commare o raccogliatrice*, 57. Quoted from Lionel Devlieger, “Benedetto Varchi: On the Birth of Artifacts: Architecture, Alchemy and Power in Late-Renaissance Florence” (PhD. Diss. Universität Gent, 2005), 102.

birth, during the architect's pregnancy with the design, Filarete expects certain actions to be undertaken that are similar to an expectant mother. Filarete explains:

...just as the woman carries the child in her body for nine to seven months, as I have said above, so too the architect must for nine or seven months imagine it (*fantasticare*), and think about it (*pensare*) and turn it over in his mind (*rivoltarselo per la memoria*) in many *modi*, and make various *disegni* in his mind in addition to the creation he has made with the patron, according to his will (*voluntà*).<sup>112</sup>

Based on a long tradition of gendered implications, these particular mental activities are acquainted with the lower faculties, closer to sensory impressions, therefore they are at least implicitly regarded as feminine, while the intellect is considered masculine.<sup>113</sup>

*Fantasia* (or *phantasia*) is a phonetic transcription from Greek that is commonly translated as "imagination" (*imaginativa* or *immaginazione*).<sup>114</sup> As Aristotle explains, *phantasia* shares the same root with *phaos* (light), hence it is associated with the image-forming faculty of the mind, and is distinguished from the external senses. Senses function as either a faculty or an activity; for instance, sight and seeing, whereas imagination takes place in the absence of both, as in the case of dreams.<sup>115</sup> Filarete locates the activity of *fantasticare* in an invisible realm where a certain faculty of image-forming capacity is at play, and he refers to the design products of this mental faculty as *fantasia*. Defined as taking place inside the ventricles of the architect's mind, the act of fantasizing as an inspirational and productive activity is associated with a similar passivity of dreams that appear during sleep.

### **Dreams of the woman**

Continuing ancient practices, in the Renaissance artistic inspiration is described as transferred through dreams. *Hypnos* (sleep) and *Thanatos* (death), brothers in Greek mythology, suggest the separation of soul from body when the soul is fully united with the divine in death.

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Summers, "Form and Gender," 245. Summers elsewhere refers to the tradition of Eve associated with *scientia*, a kind of reason lower than the *sapientia* of Adam which would be further associated with *prudential*, magic, astrology, alchemy and physics. David Summers, *The Judgement of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 205, n. 20. See also, Ivan Illich, *Gender* (Berkeley: Heyday, 1982), 105-139.

<sup>114</sup> Martin Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia': The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977): 347-398.

<sup>115</sup> Aristotle, *De Anima*, III, 3, *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, edited by Richard McKeon (New York: The Modern Library, 2001), 589.

Similarly, in sleep, the soul can depart the body to be partially joined with spirits. As interpreted by Renaissance poets and artists, the phantasms encountered during sleep manifest their own imagination through the divine. The imagery depicting artists as dreaming during sleep, like a shamanic flight, suggest the artist's reclining body is the passive recipient of the divine intellect, and in that respect as Maria Ruvoldt suggests, is a feminized posture.

Renaissance notions about the nature of woman reveal that the female body could mirror the function of sleep as a sign of inspiration, and that inspiration and creation, regardless of the value placed on them, were understood as gendered terms.<sup>116</sup>

Once embodied in the female, the separate realms of dream inspiration and waking rational activity are united in one allegorical explanation of creativity.<sup>117</sup>

While dreams of inspiration as communication with the divine for artistic creativity were widely described, dreaming by women was more of an intrinsic assumption in Renaissance dream theory. Florentine neoplatonic philosopher Marsilio Ficino in the 1470s links prophecy and pregnancy by the soul dominating the body through the fantasy's emotions. The dreams of pregnant women held an especially important theoretical ground. A pregnant woman's *phantasma* were said to have a direct effect on the physical formation of the baby. Birthmarks, which are described as a minor deformity, had been believed to be caused by the mother's imagination. By strongly cherishing or desiring something while pregnant, it would be imprinted on her child's body. Deep red birthmarks on a baby's skin were explained as caused by the pregnant mother's desire for red fruit or red wine, which is still remembered in contemporary language. In French, the word *envie*, which literally means desire, was incorporated in both medical and popular texts to designate birthmarks since the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>118</sup> In English, vascular anomalies on the skin from birth are still called "port-wine stains."

The impact of the fantasy on the physical appearance of a child begins at conception. Leon Battista Alberti, in *De re aedificatoria* while discussing the ornaments of private houses, recommends: "Wherever man and wife come together, it is advisable only to hang portraits of men of dignity and handsome appearance; for they say that this may have a great influence

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<sup>116</sup> Ruvoldt, *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration*, 64.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>118</sup> Huet, *Monstrous Imagination*, 16-7.

on the fertility of the mother and the appearance of future offspring.<sup>119</sup> Ficino, who cites Alberti's treatise, explains: "Look at the various gestures and signs parents impress upon their children (howsoever unlike they are to themselves) and that come from the vehemence of their *phantasizing* about the various things that happen to affect them when they are mating!"<sup>120</sup> Ficino elaborates that the strong emotion of desire in the fantasy can impact the physical body as an accidental cause, explaining in part why children do not necessarily look like their fathers. Within Filarete's metaphor, this clarifies how the patron is influential during the design of a building, especially at the outset of the architect's design effort. Just as drawings are signs that impact the building's future appearance, so do the fantasy's signs influence the child's future appearance. Furthermore, the importance of the powerful emotion of desire adds another dimension to Filarete's insistence on love between patron and architect.

The scope of the mother's imagination for "generation" of an offspring, however, was held higher than the father's. In 1616, Fortunii Liceti explained that although "the father's imagination can affect during the sexual act, the woman's is always at work, after copulation and during conception, when the fetus is formed."<sup>121</sup> Yet, as I mentioned in the previous section, the role of the woman's imagination was aligned with the passive matter she bears, and this force that was able to work for or against nature, was subject to *automaton*. Accordingly, practices to guide the mother's imagination, could be subject to creating opportunities with accidental causes. Since ancient times, the women's imagination was thought subject to be influenced by images. Empedocles suggested that paintings and statues gazed upon by the mother during pregnancy had the power to penetrate to the mother's imagination and therefore could modify the shape of the progeny.<sup>122</sup> In his 1638 *The Painting of the Ancients*, Franciscus Junius would confirm the account as: "The Lacedemonians ... were also most desirous to beget handsome children, representing unto their great bellied wives, the images of Apollo and Bacchus, the fairest among the gods, as also the pictures of Castor and Pollux, Nireus, Narcissus, Hyacinthus, young men of perfect beauty."<sup>123</sup> Ficino

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<sup>119</sup> Book IX, 4, 299.

<sup>120</sup> Ficino, *Platonic Theology*, XIII, I; vol. 4, p. 111. Farndell, *All Things Natural: Ficino on Plato's Timaeus*, 93. My emphasis in Italics.

<sup>121</sup> Quoted from Huet, 15

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>123</sup> Quoted from Frances Gage, *Painting as Medicine in early modern Rome* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2016), 87.

critically acknowledges the female fantasy's significant influence, writing: "How obviously does the greed of a pregnant woman affect the tender fetus with the stamp of what is on her mind!"

Since tradition held that the father contributes the child's form while the mother provides its matter, deviations from the father's appearance were considered to result primarily from the mother's fantasies and she was responsible for creating monsters.<sup>124</sup> Similarly, the artistic application of the term *fantasia* connotes deviant figures of marginal imagery. References to fantasies in the quattrocento, as documented in contracts between patrons and artists, specify the primary composition and allow the artist to exercise his *fantasia* on minor details, such as ornaments or other secondary decorative elements. The 1502 contract for Pinturicchio's frescos on the Piccolomini library ceiling states the painter is "obliged to render the ceiling of the library with *fantasie* and colors and small panels as lovely, sumptuous and beautiful as he judges best" in the style "known today as grotesque."<sup>125</sup>

Filarete's use of the term *fantasia*, on the other hand, does not imply any sort of marginality. As a cohesive theory of design, in terms of both the subject matter and its execution, as Martin Kemp suggests, Filarete's use of architectural fantasy has a Neoplatonic basis, where his fantasies are acting as vehicles of truth and beauty.<sup>126</sup> In applying the pregnancy theory to the book's story, at the outset Filarete identifies the characters of this metaphor with himself and Francesco Sforza, later explaining he gives birth to the city design. He refers to the initial concept of the city as his *fantasia*, hoping it will please his patron, like the one Dinocrates presented to Alexander the Great.<sup>127</sup> Vitruvius records the story that Dinocrates proposes carving an entire mountain into the appearance of Alexander. Filarete's city is named for the patron, Sforzinda, and its design reflects the divine order of the cosmos.

Filarete unfolds his *fantasia* as the geometric construction of the layout of the city; two squares at forty-five-degree angles and inscribed in a circle. As had been widely discussed, the image is in perfect balance, defined with the four elements in one square and four humors on the diagonal, as has been depicted in manuscripts.<sup>128</sup> The city's birthday, 14 March 1450, according to *thema mundi* representational tradition is the day of the year when the sun enters

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<sup>124</sup> Huet, *Monstrous Imagination*, 1-36.

<sup>125</sup> Translated in Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia'," 373-4.

<sup>126</sup> Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia,'" 375.

<sup>127</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 11r.

<sup>128</sup> Lang, "Sforzinda, Filarete and Filelfo" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 391-397, Berthold Hub, "La planimetri di Sforzinda: un'interpretazione," *Arte Lombarda* 155,1 (2009): 81-96.

the sign of Aries, said to be the day of the creation of the world.<sup>129</sup> One of the extensive images of the subject is in Milan Cathedral's stained-glass windows made between 1417-24,<sup>130</sup> which Filarete would have seen while working on the Cathedral a few decades later. In its anthropomorphic interpretation, Filarete's fantasy can also be taken as a living human body, its form related to the macrocosmic circle and square, as later Renaissance humanists will interpret in numerous visual representations, following the template described by Vitruvius.

### Inhabiting the drawing

With his *uno uomo vivo* metaphor, Filarete incorporates the newly emerging discourse of *disegno* into the practice of architecture, and he employs *fantasticare* with a two-fold meaning, an activity both inside and outside of the mind, at the same time dreaming and drawing.<sup>131</sup> As such, Filarete explains his preoccupation as 'fantasizing' when his lord's son arrives at his workshop to learn "*un poco a disegnare*" (a little design).<sup>132</sup> The episode taking place in Book VII where Filarete teaches *disegno* opens up the realm which was once associated with invisibility. The scene is physically set in the artist's workshop, a place with other Renaissance associations of inferiority and interiority. Filarete's continuing pregnancy metaphor stresses that the baby-building emerging from the architect's body is a miniature scale that must be "raised" into its full-grown building form. The story's eleven-days of instruction in design<sup>133</sup> coincides with the design of the cathedral, portraying Filarete as "following his fantasies" – the jargon Filarete uses to describe his workshop activity. Coupling *fantasticare* with *mesurare*, he implies an immediate articulation of an inspirational component tied to the metrics of representation.

The Prince's *disegno* lessons start with a demonstration of scale in drawing practice, a dialogue swinging between the actual dimensions of the proposed cathedral, and its represented form on the plan drawing, divided into a square grid. Each square represents ten

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<sup>129</sup> Berthold Hub, "Founding an Ideal City in Filarete's *Libro Architetonico* (C. 1460)," *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe* edited by Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven (Boston: Brill, 2012): 17-57.

<sup>130</sup> Kristen Lippincott, "Giovanni di Paolo's 'Creation of the World' and the Tradition of the 'Thema Mundi' in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art," *The Burlington Magazine* 132:1048 (July 1990): 460-468.

<sup>131</sup> Finoli and Grassi argues that Filarete implies *disegno* both as a mental activity and also physical drawing. See, I, 40, note i.

<sup>132</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 46v.

<sup>133</sup> Jonathan Foote, "Drawing Lessons with Filarete: Geometry Between Mind and Hand," [www.academia.edu](http://www.academia.edu), accessed 07.23.2018

*braccia* (Florentine cubits), expected to be further visualized in ten parts for the unit measure. In order to better understand the diminution of measure in scale, Filarete explains erecting a figure with a compass, three times the unit measure. This three *braccia*-tall body defines the representation in its own realm where all the measures are derived from the human body. The scalar diminution of the body becomes the mediator in which the architect inhabits the drawing through the figure. He is demonstrating the active form of imagining in design through simultaneous inhabitation of the drawing's design while executing the drawing. In the complex interplay of levels of reality in the narrative, the beginning of *disegno* lessons starts with a pause for the lord's son to read Filarete's first six books written on the theory and origins of measure, proportion etc., before starting the seventh. This reminder of his external writing from inside the book is suggestive of Filarete's fluid transitions between frames of realities that are congruent with his transitioning between scales. Through fantasizing and measuring, the architect transfers his body into the drawing, where he designs from within. Like in a dream, the architect projects himself into the dream-world, walking on the cathedral pavement to be designed. In this particular case, the cathedral's ceiling is supposed to be painted blue (*azzurro*) with golden dots to be the stars. Below, the floor is divided into four parts for the four seasons, and twelve months for the signs of the zodiac, linking the earthly with the heavenly.

One should be reminded here that architectural design drawing is a cognitive practice of visualizing a place that does not yet exist. Borrowing Richard Wollheim's distinction, they evoke *seeing-in*, rather than *seen-as*. Seeing-in a design drawing requires the mind's eye to make things present within the existing elements, for which Wollheim describe it as akin to the processes of daydreaming and hallucinations.<sup>134</sup> Hence, they serve as catalysts for dreaming up a building, as Marco Frascari often writes.<sup>135</sup> An architecture that is not yet executed, finds its first form of embodiment in the act of design drawing. In that respect, architectural imagination at stake here is not a distant realm (despite its dimensionality, medium, etc.) where the created image is expected to mirror the future built form. Rather, the representation is already the first form of architecture that needs to open up that spatial realm for architects to inhabit. Therefore, Filarete's suggestion of an oneiric act for *disegno*, tells that the architect can transcend his body into drawing. Interestingly, Filarete applies the same approach to the spatial realm of his narrative, by transcending his body into the book as simultaneously author

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<sup>134</sup> Richard Wollheim, "Seeing-as, Seeing-in, and Pictorial Representation," in *Art and Its Objects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 145.

<sup>135</sup> Marco Frascari, *Marco Frascari's Dream House: A theory of imagination*, edited by Federica Goffi (London: Routledge, 2017), 60.

and character. Filarete is writing an architect who is writing and drawing a book on architecture. His *Libro Architetonico* – a cohesive body of word and image- demonstrate the cosmo-poetic essence of architectural representation, imagined via storytelling at the horizon of the drafting/writing table.<sup>136</sup>

#### iv) **Edificare in a family structure**

Filarete's explanation of architectural practice through an analogy of human generation, has been overly mentioned in Filarete studies, and art / architecture history literature in general. However, the contextual structure for this act to take place to generate a building together is not emphasized enough, or studied in depth. There is an important remark that has to be made here. Filarete is not talking about any sort of building to be generated in this manner, given that it is the generative faculty of the patron as the first / efficient cause for every building to be erected without the involvement of an architect. Yet, it is the noble buildings, which in the Renaissance context would be esteemed to be fashioned after the antique, what a patron should seek for in order to leave his fame to posterity. In order to sustain his fame, he should only generate noble buildings with an architect. Moreover, inside the womb, the architect engages with his patron in the design process. Following Filarete's early remarks, the architect is the one having his mind and his hands on *disegno* as his craft, rather than the manual labor<sup>137</sup> of working with mortar (as would be the case for the mason). Yet with

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<sup>136</sup> Marco Frascari, "Horizons at the Drafting Table: Filarete and Steinberg," *Chora 5: Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture*, edited by Alberto Pérez-Gómez and Stephen Parcell (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007): 179-200.

<sup>137</sup> In associating the fine arts with the liberal arts, theorists would highlight the intellectual status of the former, claiming that they share the scholarly, poetic and rhetorical standards of the liberal arts, to which only a 'free-man' would practice, therefore a gentleman only would aspire. Yet, elevating the fine arts to liberal arts status would highlight the artist's creativity but it could not divert attention from the obvious manual component of this type of work. While *ingenium* and *inventio* components raised drawing to the status of the intellectual activity that can be practiced by noble-men, manual aspects of the profession as well was needed to be justified to be accepted for that elevated status. Yet, as long as it is done for pleasure and personal honor and not for gain, there was nothing to prevent a nobleman's engagement in physical labor and practicing an art. Within this conjecture, craftsmanly skill could be acknowledged with a good conscience. By justifying the manual work as a part of nobleman's activity, it became possible to rescue artistic practice from its traditional ties with craftsmanship. See, Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 164-5.

The exchange Filarete proposes to take place inside the womb, then, is more of the intellectual activity with manual component of physical drawing that both the architect and the patron can work with. Filarete's engaging the young prince in the manual aspect of *disegno* in order to become a better patron speaks to this aspect.

delivering the scaled *disegno* artifact, the architect becomes the mother of the building. What does it mean to become the mother of the building and how does that necessarily define the role of the architect? The rest of the quote gives us clues to re-constitute the contextual structure Filarete is proposing for the buildings to be 'generated':

And because I have likened the architect to the mother (for you), therefore he [also] needs to be the wet-nurse. He is thus both mother and wet-nurse. And as the mother is loving of the child, so that he with that love and diligence raise him and [cause him to] grow and provide for him if possible, if not, leave it ordered in a way so that he does not perish for his lacking [anything essential]. As the good mother loves her child, and through the support [*l'aiuto*] and knowledge of the father, [the mother] strives that it [turns out] well and that is beautiful and give him a good master, so that he may be valiant and praised. So, the good architect should strive to make his building beautiful and good; and as the mother strives to find good masters for her child, so the architect should find good masters, such as those of [building] walls and all the others [who are] needed for the work, if already the patron doesn't impede him. Without the will [*voluntá*] (of the patron), he would be like the woman that against her husband's will [*la voluntá del marito*] she cannot do anything; so is exact similarity [*similitudine*] to the architect.<sup>138</sup>

The last part of this quote clearly portrays that the sexual metaphor that is employed for the generation theory, actually needs to be perceived in a family structure. Although Filarete doesn't literally say that the architect is similar to a "wife," he nevertheless states that the *voluntá* of the patron in regards to the architect's role in the building process, has to be considered similar to the *voluntá* of a "husband" without which a woman cannot do anything. This is important to emphasize, because the rest of the description pertaining to the role of the architect and the responsibility of the patron (towards his architect) in the building process follows the doctrines stated in the family treatises in the early quattrocento.

For after the delivery of the model, Filarete adamantly states that the architect's job is not over. As he is the mother of the building, he should also be the wet-nurse [*balia*]. The quote

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<sup>138</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 7v - 8r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 40-1; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 16. *E perché t'ho asomigliato l'architetto alla madre, così è bisogno che sia balia, e così bisogna che sia madre e balia. E sì come la madre è amorevole del figliuolo, così lui con quello amore e diligenza alevarlo e acrescerlo e fornirlo, se è possibile, se non lasciarlo ordinato, per modo che non perisca per suo mancamento. Sì come la buona madre vuole bene al suo figliuolo, e mediante l'aiuto e sapere del padre s'ingegna che sia da bene e che sia bello e d'elli buono maestro, perché venga valente e che sia laudato, così il buono architetto si debba ingegnare di fare il suo edificio bello e buono; e come la madre s'ingegna di trovare buoni maestri al figliuolo, così l'architetto debba trovare buoni maestri, come son quelli da muro e tutti gli altri che hanno a lavorare, se già il padrone non gl'impedisce, senza la volontà del quale lui sarebbe come la donna che contra la volontà del marito non può fare alcuna cosa; così è proprio a similitudine l'architetto.*

doesn't accommodate any nuance that can suggest different responsibilities for the mother and the wet-nurse. It states that the mother also has to take that role, by diligently portraying the love a mother bears for her child as the primary cause for raising the child, causing him to grow and to provide for him in the first place. What should be highlighted here is the emphasis on the mother's love for her child, which actually makes her the ideal candidate to raise her own child. This nuance is important because it aligns the perfect scenario for building not only to the design process, described to take place inside the womb and terminated with the delivery of the scaled *disegno* artifact or baby building, but extends it further which allows us to read the gender-based distinction given to the architect in relation to motherhood (as a whole), that involves the responsibility for the growth of the child. This doctrine, as unique as it may sound in an architectural treatise, can be almost followed word by word in the fifteenth-century treatises on family, which are reviving the authority of the ancients on the subject.<sup>139</sup> This advice is in contrast to the common practice taking place since the Middle Ages and well into the quattrocento Renaissance.<sup>140</sup> In *I Libri Della Famiglia*, Alberti says:

...if I had children, I should not take on myself the trouble of finding any other nurse for them than their own mother. I am reminded of Favorinus, the philosopher mentioned by Aulus Gellius, and of the other ancient writers who praise the milk of the mother above any other's... It is probably not by coincidence, but for excellent reasons, that pregnancy is accompanied by the springing up and increase of an abundance of milk, as though nature herself were preparing us for the need and telling us how much we may expect the mother to do for the children.<sup>141</sup>

Although when it comes to family treatises of the Renaissance, Alberti's work is more known in recent historical studies, Francesco Barbaro's *De Re Uxoriam* was a more popular manual belonging to the quattrocento. Written by the Venetian humanist as a wedding gift for Lorenzo de Medici (Cosimo's brother) in 1415, the treatise had circulated over 100 manuscript versions, five printed editions and was translated into four languages. In comparison, Alberti's treatise had sixteen manuscript versions and not printed in its full extent until 1843.<sup>142</sup> While analyzing Filarete's pregnancy analogy, I presented a skeptical view on his knowledge of the

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<sup>139</sup> My main references from here on: Francesco Barbaro, *The Wealth of Wives: A Fifteenth-Century Marriage Manual*, ed. and trans. by Margaret L. King (Toronto, ON: The Iter Academic Press, 2015), 38 & 79; Leon Battista Alberti, *I Libri Della Famiglia*, trans. Renée Neu Watkins (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1969). 50-51.

<sup>140</sup> Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual*, 132-135.

<sup>141</sup> Trans. Watkins, *Della Famiglia*, 53.

<sup>142</sup> Introduction by King, *The Wealth of Wives*, 53.

main-stream generation theories considering that Filarete was no physician. I can pursue the same skepticism for his knowledge of this treatise, however the chances of him being familiar with this source, or the general knowledge it infused in the humanist circles through which Filarete could glean his ideas are higher. Not only did *De Re Uxoribus* enjoy “extraordinary popularity”<sup>143</sup> but also Francesco Filelfo, to whose friendship Filarete is indebted for his many humanist aspirations, was connected to Barbaro.<sup>144</sup> And as I will show in more in-depth analysis, one can better contextualize how Filarete’s definition of an architect sustains the rising understanding of the role of the woman in a family structure. The changing political, social and economic factors that perpetuated Civic Humanism, were also the main causes in the change that took place in the notion of women where humanist activity and scientific enquiry further reinforced the establishment of this change.<sup>145</sup> As Margaret L. King profoundly argues, Francesco Barbaro’s work, in that regard was revolutionary because Barbaro identified “the mother – a woman, not a man; an interloper in the household, not its patriarch – as the critical figure for the rearing of the young and, consequently, for the social and cultural reproduction of the noble family.”<sup>146</sup>

Barbaro also claims that the mother should be the wet nurse for her own child, and he explains his reasons based on a more biological perspective. In the second part of the treatise where he unfolds the responsibilities of a wife in the household, he leaves the discussion for child-bearing to the last, emphasizing that it is the most important duty of the wife. Barbaro’s words are exceptionally rich in the way that it touches the same points Filarete makes with his analogy for the architect to his building, so I will quote it in its full length:

The blood that women otherwise expel in their monthly effusions is retained at nature’s command precisely at that time when it is needed to surround and nourish the fetus while it grows for the appointed time until birth. Later, in all animals that give birth, once the fetus is born, nature supplies milk as nourishment, and fills the breasts from which, as from welling fountains, the infant drinks, so that gradually his members grow and he thrives. Two breasts, moreover, are supplied, which are beneficial if the mother has given birth to twins, so both may suck and feed at the same time. While these things are arranged in this manner by divine providence, it would have been done in vain, if nature had not also instilled in the mother an exceptional love and warmth towards

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Diana Robin, *Filelfo in Milan: Writings 1451-1477*, Filelfo brought back books from his visit to Constantinople and sent it to two patrons in Venice for safekeeping, one of them being Francesco Barbaro in 1428 (pg. 25, n. 44)

<sup>145</sup> Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 4.

<sup>146</sup> Barbaro, *The Wealth of Wives*, trans. King, 1.

those she has brought into the world. The particular care and diligence of nature can be observed also in this, that while in other species she has placed the nipples under the belly, she has instead affixed them to the breasts of the human mother, who may thereby at the same time nourish the babe with milk and enfold it in a warm embrace, easily and conveniently kiss it, and, as it is said, receive it wholly to her bosom. So nature has assigned to mothers the office of birthing and educating their children not only as a necessary burden, but as an expression of exceptional love and kindness. A fine example of maternal duty. If we care to attend to it, can be observed in that stern and savage beast, the bear. The bear is wholly devoted to the rearing of her young: for as soon as the unformed fetus is born, she grooms the newborn with her tongue as if it were a kind of tool, and so shapes it, that she properly could be called not only the mother of her cub, but indeed its sculptor. Let them [mothers] feed them offering their breasts, so that those whom they nourished with their own blood when they were yet unknown, now that they have come forth into the light, now that they are human, now that they are known, now that they are loved, let them rear those who now cry out for them, performing in every way they can the role not merely of nurse, but the office of mother.<sup>147</sup>

Francesco Barbaro was the most faithful student of Aristotle, for which we can highly assume that he had an adequate understanding of his writings, including his theory on generation. In the beginning, describing the menstrual blood as the female contribution in charge of nourishing the fetus follows Aristotle's teachings, where Aristotle justifies the break in the expulsion of the blood out of the body during pregnancy. Barbaro continues with pointing to the commonalities in all animals, that after the fetus is born, milk takes the role (of menstrual blood) to continue nourishing. Milk is stated as the required nourishment here for the members of the body to grow. The distinction between human generation and animal generation is provided by introducing an "exceptional love and warmth" the mother bears for her child, for which nature has amplified this distinction with disposition of the nipples. While for animals' nipples are placed under their belly, for the human mother they are placed at the edge of the breasts, so that the human mother can also provide a warm embrace for her infant and can occasionally kiss him, expressing the love as the main motive in her contribution for his growth. Barbaro's next example is interesting in the light of the analogy he gives, which is quite reminiscent of the Aristotle's employment of *technē* as a model to explain nature. He talks about how a mother bear grooms her "unformed fetus" with her tongue in a way that the tongue becomes her tool, to shape her cub. Hence, she could be called not only a mother, but indeed the sculptor, Barbaro says. Bears were said to be born without form that was later imparted by the mother through grooming. If we return to Aristotle's *technē* analogy, we

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 120-1.

remember that the art of sculpting was considered as the efficient cause, hence was associated with 'male' contribution to generation, along with formal cause (implicitly yet directly tied). Yet, Aristotle's doctrine was critical to employ the craft rather than the craftsman in order to extract the physiological dimension of the process. Here, similar to Filarete, Barbaro is actually bringing forward this dimension by relating the analogy to the 'love' the mother has to bear in the first place. A mother is moved by the love she has for her child so that her rearing, 'forms' him well and in the most beautiful way, if I return to Filarete's description for the mother.

Despite different generation theories echoed in the Renaissance, we cannot dismiss the fact that the whole of Greco-Roman thought, encompassing social, legal and medical dimensions which is in the foundation of European civilization, supported the argument that nobility is transmitted by the male to his descendants. Seed, which is the same word in Latin, *semen* was associated with the male generative agent; for in English the sperm-bearing fluid is still called semen. A simple reading of Aristotle's theory would directly suggest the female womb as a passive agent, and Galen's theory was not strong enough to overcome this social understanding. However, Barbaro's perspective was utterly different, because the whole treatise is shaped as advice for a man to carefully pick their wife to generate their offspring together with, because the nobility of their child was more dependent on the contribution of the female agent than the male. In King's conclusion, in Barbaro's proposal there is actually no role for the male in the raising of his child. Accordingly, the father's role as the efficient cause is very much bounded in the initial act for selecting a virtuous wife,<sup>148</sup> for her to take the secondary roles of efficient causes in the process of rearing the child, to raise him worthy to inherit the family name and fortune. Based on these reasonings, Barbaro clearly states that

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<sup>148</sup> King very elaborately analyzes the title of the treatise, *De Re Uxoriam*. Latin noun *res* would mean "thing" or "matter" and *uxor* means "wife." On the first glance it can be translated as "On the Wifely Matter," or "On the Matter of Wives." However, based on her critical reading King finds the most suitable title for the English translation as *On the Wealth of Wives*, since the treatise is directly concerned with the contribution of the wife to her family. Accordingly, the first part is named *De delectu uxoris* (On the Selection of a Wife) and the second part is titled as *De officio uxoris* (On the Duties of a Wife) in the earlier manuscripts, which corresponds to the well-ordered structure of the text. In the literal sense of the word, the wealth a wife is expected to bring into the family, is her dowry. However, Barbaro suggests a critical perspective here, by calling out his noble friends who would consider marrying someone based on the amount of the dowry she would bring. What Barbaro means here is not that kind of material wealth, but a wealth consists of the moral and intellectual qualities of the wife. It is these qualities that will enrich the family and not the conventional dowry measured in ducats. These qualities Barbaro sums up in one heavily loaded term, that is *virtue*. And the main reason for the wife to have *virtue* is bounded to her responsibility in securing the continuation of the family lineage by ensuring the potent physical, spiritual and mental qualities of her child. See, *The Wealth of Wives*, 15-17.

the role mother had for inside the womb is a continuous process for outside of it as well. Rearing of the child should not even be considered with a different title, since it still belongs to the office of the mother. This statement should be read in parallel to Filarete's definition for the architect, as he asserts that it is still the office of the architect to be in charge of the raising of his scaled *disegno* artifact into a full-grown building.

Continuing his point, Barbaro gives further biological correlations between the menstrual blood and the milk, and more importantly, he argues about the nature of the milk on the same ground with semen:

...the infant should also be fed by her in whose womb, and from whose blood, it was conceived. For there exists no more suitable or salutary nourishment to be offered to the infant as a familiar and trusted food than that very blood, aglow with natural warmth and vigor. The potency of the maternal milk is nearly as great as that of semen in forming the qualities of mind and soul, as is clearly evident in many things. The hair of goats suckled on sheep's milk gradually becomes softer, for instance, while the pelts of lambs who are suckled by goats are visibly coarsened. In trees, similarly, as is well-known, the sap and soul have greater potency than the seed: when strong and vital plants are transplanted to an alien soil, their sap deteriorates and they grow inferior shoots.<sup>149</sup>

There are two important things that need to be analyzed here. First, Barbaro argues for the best food for the infant to be the mother's milk, because it is a continuation of the nutrition he received in utero from the mother (via menstrual blood). Once the baby is born, it is therefore the mother's milk which would be the most familiar and therefore more trusted. This suggests understanding both the blood and the milk as having similar natures, if not the same, in the effect they have in nourishing the fetus (and later the infant). Filarete restates the same belief in the narrative during the foundation ceremony of the city walls. Among with the ingredients picked and placed in the foundation, complying with sympathetic magic to secure the prosperity of the new-born city,<sup>150</sup> Filarete adds milk, which according to him possesses the qualities of "distilled blood."<sup>151</sup> Thus, a mother's milk carries the same efficacious powers as her blood.

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<sup>149</sup> Barbaro, *The Wealth of Wives*, trans. King, 121.

<sup>150</sup> Berthold Hub, "Founding an Ideal City," 17-57.

<sup>151</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 25v; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 105; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 45. *Che il latte, come ogni uomo sa, è sangue stillato*

Secondly, Barbaro explains the nature of the milk, not merely as an entity for nutrition that sustains the physical growth. He clearly states that the power of maternal milk is, not fully, but almost as great as that of semen in forming the qualities of mind and soul. According to this reading, the Aristotelian distinction between active and passive agents assigned to male and female respectively are largely blurred. Still acknowledging the male contribution in the formation of the mind and soul as the main source, Barbaro suggests that the female's nutritive contribution also has the same effect, even if considered to a lesser degree. By pointing at "forming the qualities of mind and soul," Barbaro probably refers to Aristotle's rational soul which consist of power of reason and thought, which would be believed to be transmitted through semen, and now also through milk. In Aristotle's explanation of the three degrees of the soul, the rational soul is distinct for humans, while sensitive soul is found common in all animals and the nutritive soul is shared in all organic beings (including plants) that simply undergo growth.<sup>152</sup> Although Barbaro clearly speaks to the nature of the mother's milk affecting the formation of the mind of the infant, the following two examples he gives detour from this. Both speaking to the formation of the hair of the goat, the pelts of the lamb and the growth of a tree, he is providing empirical examples that directly suggests a considerable alteration taking place from the initial expectation that consists in the male agent's generative action. Barbaro actually states a more elaborate version of his last example earlier:

Let us start in this matter by looking to nature itself. A flourishing pasture, planted and sown, is a strong argument to us that for the sake of our offspring we should marry women of noble birth. For seeds are better or worse according to their origins; and the best seed bears the finest fruits. And we know that many, and indeed the finest kind of berries, nuts and fruits, if they are not planted in proper and suitable soil, will not bear fruit; and if they are transplanted to an ignoble field, they lose their noble spirit, and "forgetting the sap they once had, the fruits wither,"<sup>153</sup> while fine young shoots, if they are grafted to weak branches, yield inferior buds.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> While I'm mainly analyzing Filarete's intentions for the growth of the building through his lens for the role of the architect as the wet-nurse, it should be noted that the analogy for buildings to grow, similar to the growth of other organic beings (sharing nutritive soul) are evident in the Renaissance writings. In Renaissance England, architectural plans were also referred as "plants" whereas the Italian word *pianta* is interchangeable used for "plan" and "plant." In the sixteenth century, Daniele Barbaro would suggest raising of elevations along the same lines with growing plants and animals being raised from the ground on their feet. Moreover, independent of the analogy, Filarete employs the term *crescere* (to grow) Sforzinda's city walls in Book IV (*Magl.* fol. 26r), in the same way he uses it for the growth of the plant from a vase in Book VIII (*Magl.* fol. 55r) –suggesting an alternative story of Callimachus' invention of the Corinthian Capital. For a thorough study of the subject, Paul Emmons, *Drawing Imagining Building: Embodiment in Architectural Design Practices* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019), 54-5.

<sup>153</sup> Virgil, *Georgics*, 2.59.

<sup>154</sup> Barbaro, *The Wealth of Wives*, trans. King, 78.

Before proposing his argument of likening the nature of the milk to the semen, even simply following the Greek tradition of the analogizing the passive nature of the female agent to a pastor, or field where the generative capacity is inherent in the seed, Barbaro provides an excellent perspective based on empirical observation. Even if one were to insist on the passivity of the female agent, then it should be considered, how the same seed can yield superior or inferior buds based on the soil it was planted in. Therefore: “All this is true also of humans, who can anticipate worthier offspring from women of greater worth...”<sup>155</sup>

My intention with reading Barbaro’s treatise in relation to Filarete’s theory is not to raise any questions regarding, “what exactly the architect contributes to the building?” Neither generation theories nor Barbaro’s ground breaking treatise on the structure of a family can give us any distinct answer for the complex process of design and building of an edifice in the complex patronage structure of the quattrocento Renaissance. Nor was that question Filarete’s primary concern either. Filarete is not writing for other architects or craftsmen to teach them the techniques of the profession, but he is writing for the patrons. To be even more specific, initially he is writing for a patron who is not yet knowledgeable on the prestige his patronage can provide for him. After seizing the political power in Milan, Sforza of course, had an agenda for building, heavily concentrated on constituting his image in the city. Many of the significant projects, especially the Ospedale Maggiore had symbolic connotations for the revival of the city.<sup>156</sup> Hiring Filarete was a strong component of this agenda as well. However, due to many other factors in the political dynamics and also considering that the Lombardy building tradition in the ‘modern’ style was more intact in northern Italy, compared to Florence and other city states where building in the antique style did not face the same degree of resistance, Sforza could not pursue the ideals associated with that new kind of patronage. The echoes of Filarete’s frustration in the process can be read in between the lines of the *Libro* and these were already revealed and studied in Filarete scholarship. Yet, the fact that Filarete employed a family structure, in order to demonstrate to his patron, the value of the architect he has to work with, as the utmost condition to build nobly, was not truly grasped. Since the way Filarete represented himself with his signature at the back of his bronze doors, his aspirations to define himself as a true courtier never faded. As a court artist, interestingly

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>156</sup> See Part I, section 3 & 4.

whom would be considered in the same circle with the patron's family,<sup>157</sup> Filarete highly regards his elevated position to be ranked as near to the patron. Yet he is in search for means to explain this to his patron.

In that regard, I argue that Filarete is employing the family analogy to better demonstrate to his patron the value of his profession. The whole extent of an architect's involvement in *edificare* should be regarded as important as a wife's role in the rearing of a child. The parallel is also evident in the almost utilitarian aspect expected from a family in the quattrocento. In the first paragraph of his treatise, Barbaro defines marriage as: "the perpetual conjunction of man and wife, lawfully instituted for the procreation of offspring...".<sup>158</sup> The rest, accordingly, unfolds the expectations from a wife in lieu of achieving this premise. If this is the prevalent approach for the noble marriages, then Filarete's employment of the analogy to propose the union of an architect and a patron doesn't seem out of context, since their relationship is also constituted on the premise of bringing forward a building for which the subjugated role of the architect needs a more elaborate definition. Within the social structure, the building is still associated with the patron, just as the child is seen as a descendant of the father. Without breaking this *status-quo* Barbaro assigns the physical, as well as intellectual shaping of the child to the mother, where the father's role is restricted to initiate the process only to pick his wife. Hence, Filarete also wants his patron to perceive the building process in similar terms; once being trusted to serve as an "architect," he should be given the authority in the physical growth of the building. This, Filarete clearly states in explaining the exchange that has to take place between the patron and the architect. This quote is quite complex and Spencer rightly takes liberty in his translation in order to make his text read well. However, I want to first give a direct translation of Filarete's words and then interpret them accordingly. The Italian text literally translates as:

Now we will say what must be done towards him, that is towards the architect: mainly he must be honored and loved by those (who do not otherwise) wish [*disidera*] his building to go well, neither with any love and diligence that is the opposite of that without which man cannot be generated, neither without an architect one cannot generate, nor dedicate a building that is well, for the aforementioned reasons. And because these sciences are still rare, and for this it must be esteemed, because that man is called noble [*gentile*] as far as he has virtue, and also because have elected him

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<sup>157</sup> As seen in Renaissance paintings where the artists are included in the household of the family portraits. Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 123.

<sup>158</sup> Barbaro, *The Wealth of Wives*, trans. King, 67.

as maker [*fattore*] and organizer [*ordinatore*], and your soul in him and his in yours is out in following your appetite; with that love that is said above (he) serves you and conducts [*conduce*] that thing which you love so much, and spend so much treasure on it only for the desire you have to see it provided [*fornito*]...<sup>159</sup>

Filarete continues the analogy of *generare* and *edificare* very clearly here, however the early remark on the mere necessity for an architect to build nobly is now extended to the relationship the patron should have with his architect. What was said before: “for a man to generate, he needs to have a woman,” is being placed in the conjecture that pertains to the quality of the relationship that should exist between the two, which is founded on “love” and “honor.” Here again, “love” (with “diligence”) is first given as a pre-requisite in the generation of a man, and accordingly Filarete suggests it to be considered in the same terms, for the generation of a building. What kind of love Filarete refers to here is not easy to decipher, because, even in the way that I propose to read his words in the family structure where he draws the whole framework around, the question of marital love is itself a complex topic. Recent studies critically provide a different perspective in the long-established readings of the fifteenth-sixteenth century marriages as an alliance of a political and socio-economic sort that highlights the patriarchal line by employing language and attributes of kinship. These critical studies bring forward more anthropological inquiry to reveal the affective bonds and subjective experience are also a part of this structure. The definition of friendship (*amicitia*), established through Plato in Greek philosophy and Cicero particularly in the Roman application, often consisted on the same-sex (primarily) male exchange in the form of a social contract. In the quattrocento, we see some Renaissance thinkers like Bernardino of Siena and Alberti, expanding this definition of friendship to heterosexual exchange as well, encompassing erotic relations as well as social. In this expansion, *amicitia* as social contract and *amicitia* as mutual affection allows friendship to serve as a model for spousal relationships as well.<sup>160</sup> Reading Barbaro’s treatise carefully also reveals the same aspect, which I will quote below.

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<sup>159</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 9r; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 44-5; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 18. *Ora diremo quello che si dee fare verso di lui, cioè verso l'architetto: principalmente dee essere onorato e amato da chi fa fare non altrimenti che lui desidera che 'l suo dificio vadia bene, né con altro amore e diligenza che s'ha inverso di quella senza la quale generare uomo non si può, neanche senza l'architetto non si pu generare, né dedicare edificio che stia bene, per le ragioni antedette. E perché ancora sono in rari queste scienze, e per questo ne dee essere fatto stima, però che l'uomo è detto gentile tanto quanto egli ha virtù, e anche perché, avendolo eletto per fattore e ordinatore, e l'animo tuo nel suo e lui el suo ha messo in seguitare il tuo appetito; con quello amore che detto è di sopra ti serve e conduce quella cosa la quale tu tanto ami, e spendici tanto tesoro solo per lo desiderio che hai di vederlo fornito...*

<sup>160</sup> Amyrose Joy McCue Gill, “*Vera amicitia: Conjugal Friendship in the Italian Renaissance*,” PhD. Dissertation (University of California, Berkeley, 2008), Section 1, 2-3.

Accordingly, reading Filarete's intentions in purely sexual terms would be problematic, and I agree with the perspective presented in recent Filarete studies in that regard.<sup>161</sup> However, reducing the polysemous dimension of the conjugal love portrayed in the Renaissance to mere sexual reproduction is also out of context. Without speaking to the nature of this "love" one source that comes very close to define conjugal love in relation to procreation is twelfth century Christian mystic, Hildegard de Bingen. In her writings, consensual love between the partners is the main condition in the conception of and for bringing forward a virtuous and prudent child. It is neither physical nor intellectual attributes of the individual that allow these qualities to transmit to the offspring, but the consensual love that leads to ultimate expectations from the offspring.<sup>162</sup> Although there is no direct formulation of this in Barbaro's treatise, the emphasis on a virtuous wife as the primary agent shaping the characteristic of the offspring is the premise of the whole treatise. Within that Barbaro definitely highlights the component of love between the husband and wife, however this reads very close to the *amicitia* notion and in a way that Barbaro frames, quite deprived of any immediate sexual connotation. The family, in the way that it is portrayed, is a social structure, and within that love is defined in the most a-sexual terms possible. For instance, Barbaro reflects on the benefits of having a virtuous wife as:

And to be wed to a prudent wife who in both good and bad is partner, companion, and friend? To whom you may confide your innermost thoughts about things that lie within her province, to whom you may entrust the little children that you bear together? To whom in sweet conversation you may unburden your cares and sorrows? Whom you so love, that your own hope of happiness depends in some measure on her well-being?<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Neither Genoni or Powers argue on this quote, although they discuss in length Filarete's language regarding *voluntà* and desire.

<sup>162</sup> For the offspring to be male, the only condition is for the father to have a strong semen, but the characteristics expected from the son is a product of the consensual love, the father has for the mother and vice versa. On the same ground, if the father's semen is weak the result would be a female offspring, yet it would still be a virtuous one, if there is consensual love between the partners. On the contrary, in the lack of consensual love, whether the offspring is a male or female (determined with the father's sperm), it will have bitter temperament. Bingen's doctrine reads virtue and prudence as inherent qualities to be assigned to the offspring at the time of the conception. Accordingly, this reading also portrays even the sexual dimension of love in relation to the consequence expected from such union which is to bring forward a child. See, *Hildegard de Bingen Causes and Cures: the complete English translation of Hildegardis Causae et Curae Libri VI*, trans. Priscilla Throop (printed from lulu, 2006), 30.

<sup>163</sup> Barbaro, *The Wealth of Wives*, trans. King, 69.

Although the definition of marriage is structured around “procreation of offspring,” the love Barbaro defines is not utilitarian. Recalling that Barbaro was an avid Aristotelian scholar, I will mention the three types of friendship Aristotle outlines in Book VIII of *Nicomachean Ethics*. The least appreciated form of friendship is founded on utility, which is evanescent due to its contractually-based mutual usefulness. The second sort is based on pleasure which is subject to vanish as tastes change. This kind of friendship is associated with youth, and the erotic love. The most valued friendship is founded on the good or the excellent; the most elaborate notion of Aristotelian doctrine on the subject *arête*. At this point, noting Filarete’s adaptation of the Greek root of the word to his pseudonym that eventually became more than his name, would be re-iterating the already evident aspirations he was holding as a court artist. Yet this highest form of friendship which is enduring and requires mutual trust, intimacy and love of the other unconditionally, I suspect, what Barbaro defines as the love that is shared between a husband and a wife, as well. In the first glance, Barbaro conditions the selection of a wife in regards to the lineage a man expects to have, however the qualities (of a wife) that pertain for this correct selection inevitably sustains the highest form of friendship that can be/ and should be established between the spouses. The end of the quote suggests that the wife’s well-being retrospectively constitutes the husband’s individual happiness, that is sustained by husband’s love for his wife.

In the second part of the quote from Filarete, we read about the quality of the architect, which is associated with the rare science that he is acquainted with, and for which he should be esteemed. Due to his knowledge of this science, or likely in addition to that, he has virtue and therefore he should be worthy of being called “noble.” The court architect aspired to be treated as a representative of the *artes liberales*, not the *artes mechanicae*. Art could be considered ‘free’ (*liberalis*) if it was worthy to be practiced by a free man. On one level the definition of liberal arts suggests no physical labor is involved, in contrast to the mechanical arts, however arts that involved *disegno* had some limited sort of physical execution. For the artists who esteemed their art as a *liberalis* one, this physical execution could be regarded as still a ‘worthy’ aspect that can be practiced by a free man, as long as it was not practiced for gain. Such disinterested pleasure was what many patrons and nobles could have delight in being involved in this art, during the Renaissance. Accordingly, for the court artist, even the physical dimension of his labor was esteemed as a noble activity because it was undertaken for pleasure; disinterested pleasure of the patron and retrospectively of the artist himself. Within this conjecture, such an art was considered as a product of ‘virtue’, and expression of

the *ingenium* that was inherent in the artist, conferred by God or Nature. The real product of virtue was immeasurable and could not be remunerated, unlike the physical undertaking that can have a price put on it. The virtue of an artist could not be 'bought' but could only be 'promoted' and 'encouraged.'<sup>164</sup>

Filarete already emphasized this dimension of his artistic aspirations in the signature he placed on the back of the bronze doors. I already talked about how Filarete's representation of himself in contrast to the apprentices and shop-boys distinguishes his position as a courtier. And he reinforces the virtuous dimension of his art further by placing a quote, intended to be perceived as coming out of his mouth: "CETERIS OPER(A)E PRETIVM FASTVS [??]MVS VE MIHI HILARITAS." Two question marks placed in the beginning of the fifth word illustrate the damage that occurred in the process of casting. Often the restoration of these letters was suggested as "[FV}MVS" which would lead to a possible translation of the quote: "For others, the reward of the work [is] pride or smoke; for me [it's] joyfulness."<sup>165</sup> However, Robert Glass's thorough study on the doors, including the analysis on bronze casting techniques applied, reveal that the first letter involved a diagonal that more likely suggest reading it as "N" which would translate the word as "NVMVS", "num(m)us" which translates as "money."<sup>166</sup> Although the new translation does not drastically change the intention of Filarete's quote, it further emphasizes the immeasurability of the reward for his work, because it is not produced for gain but for "joy" which can be rightly regarded as a disinterested pleasure with no utilitarian sense.

Filarete's amplification of his virtue doesn't find the same echo as we hear of his complaints about the compensation he was promised to receive during his tenure at the Sforza court. Francesco Sforza's lack of diligence in keeping his promise on paying the full amount he initially agreed on, or paying on time, was evident not only in Filarete's case but Francesco Filelfo also suffered from it. In the romanticized setting Filarete gives in the *Libro*, his own experience with his salary being reduced to one sixth of the amount, is reiterated as a negative anecdote that happened "to a friend of his" which all patrons should refrain from. Filarete's bitter tone regarding finances still demonstrates a certain economic value that is attached with virtue. These artists were not noble by blood, but should be considered so due to having virtue, and accordingly they would expect to live by higher standards. Accordingly, a

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<sup>164</sup> Warnke, *The Court Artist*, 34.

<sup>165</sup> Glass, "Filarete's Hilaritas," 550.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 554.

court artist would expect to receive a fixed salary, or another form of provision to be able to maintain the standard. This would be regarded as a reward for his virtue, not for the services he rendered. Filarete also elaborates on this, after suggesting “love” and “honor” (by the patron for the architect) as the first condition to generate a building:

I say that the architect must be honored and rewarded with a worthy salary suitable to such science [*scienza*], because seeing (himself) the architect being treated well, he always thinks [*pensa*] of doing things that are useful [*utile*] and prestigious [*onore*] to the building. And (he) thinks of the advantages that in one day surpass his noted salary; and so, for the opposite, it can still do great damage that will not be (done by those) who have it. This happens to every person: that if he sees not being merited according to (what) he sees he deserves, he can't have love at work, nor think of things that are more than useful. And yet, with all that is paid, cherish him, so that he looks like he has pleasure in his service, and once again in turn offer him something.<sup>167</sup>

This quote was not easy to translate and Spenser had inserted more liberated conjunctions in his translation that alter the meaning slightly. Yet, my emphasis, for which I believe I am true to Filarete's words, is almost the 'job description' provided in relation to the overall economic value. First of all, the monetary value is presented to “honor” the architect; it is a reward not a wage that is defined to match a specific task or labor. In that regard, what determines the range of the salary is to match the *scienza* the architect has (not necessarily provides). It is the appreciation of the *scienza* that is defined as treating the architect well, and as long as this is sustained, the architect can think for the good of the building, both in terms of utility and “honor” which I translated here as ‘prestigious.’ Here, ‘think’ [*pensa*] is suggested in the most abstract sense possible in order to separate that intellectual activity from a direct application. The coupling of the term utility with other adjectives that directly pertain to the prestige and fame of the patron particularly have been used elsewhere, and I will discuss them in regards to the role of the architect to sustain this dimension in the concluding part. The following part was hard to translate but relying on my research on the notion of the Renaissance court artist and Spenser's translation, what I can interpret is that, this fixed salary is to reward the

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<sup>167</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 9v ; Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 46-7; *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 19. *Dico che l'architetto dee essere onorato e premiato di degno salario conveniente di tale scienza, perché vedendosi l'architetto essere trattato bene, sempre pensa di fare cose le quali sieno utile e onore dello edificio e pensa de' vantaggi, che in uno di megliora il suo salario a uno aviso; e così per lo opposto ancora può fare di grandi danni che non sarà chi se n'avegga. Questo a ogni persona avviene: che se vede non essere meritato secondo vede che lui merita, non può avere amore all'opera, né pensare cosa che sia troppo utile; e ancora, con tutto che sia pagato, accarezzarlo, acciò che paia che abbia a grado il suo servire, e ancora alcuna volta donargli qualche cosa.*

*scienza*, but the measurable outcomes of it can even surpass the salary amount. The former is immeasurable in terms of wage, yet the benefits of applying the *scienza* in the process can lead the measurable outcome of the final product to be worthier than the fixed salary. This supports the argument that the artist should only have enough resources to live like a noble, so that he can be indifferent to money, to the extent that in exercising his *scienza*, he no longer thinks about gain, but only practices for pleasure. As this salary is perceived as a guarantee of his life standard, Filarete would even expect additional offerings that demonstrates further the patron's appreciation of the architect's work, and in return the architect's pleasure in serving for his patron.

Yet, a clearer definition of how a patron can truly honor and reward his architect's virtue is given in Book XV, through King Zogali's words in the Golden Book. This part takes place right after reading the nine disciplines the architect has to be acquainted with, as stated in this Golden Book, repeating Vitruvius's doctrine in the same order. It starts with letters, but importantly, follows with *disegno*, adapting Vitruvian *graphidos* to the fourteenth century context of shop-practice, hence translating it to *volgare*.<sup>168</sup> As the rest unfolds in the way Vitruvius suggests the utility of these branches of *scienza* for the practice of the architect, which ends with a requirement of his knowledge in the civil law. This part takes an elaborate interpretation in Filarete's end, where he associates his role in the civic side of building with four important qualities expected from the architect which are directly derived from the four cardinal virtues descended from the Middle Ages, and also three theological virtues. He says:

He needs this (to know civil law), for he is chosen [to settle] some difference, he will know how to judge justly. He should be just and not lean more to one side than another. He should be prudent and provide in advance for the things necessary to the buildings so that it is not harmed through any shortage... He should have fortitude as well, because his craft is a public one. Public things stand before the judgement of every person, the most ignorant as well as the understanding. Some would want it boiled, some roasted; some high, others low... For this reason he should be firm in his purpose and not be disturbed or cast down by this prattle... The architect should also have temperance, for frequently, in building, things are done that are not right. He should not become angry at everything that is not done right but correct it with pleasant

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<sup>168</sup> Jonathan Foote's article on "Drawing Lessons." One of the most striking aspects of this episode is Filarete's association of *disegno* to be practiced by those who know how to make things with his own hands [*fatto di suo mano*]. I already talked about the use of this term, in quattrocento practice as a way to "sign" the work, almost like a notary sense, rather than implying the actual involvement of the artist's hands -mechanical execution- in the work. However, as Foote's in-depth analysis shows, in Filarete's text especially in this chapter, Filarete is making a direct connection with the use of the hands (the artist's hands) and the *disegno* process.

words. If these words are not successful, he should be more severe. If this person does not then desist, he should be sent away, whether he be master [*maestro*], laborer [*lavorante*], or overseer [*soprastante*]. Faith – this is needed above all, for if he does not have faith, he will not have love. This is of the greatest importance, for if he does not possess faith or love in this matter, then he will have no interest at all. He will never try to save expenses; if he sees damage being done, he will never care about it... If he does have faith, he will always be eager to save and to think of useful and fine things for the work. If he does not do his duty, neither will the others. He should have charity because everyone working for him is not equal in wit, skill, or strength. If when this occurs it does not do any damage to the building, he will charitably set them to the things they are best suited [to do].<sup>169</sup>

Although a lot has been written on Filarete's ambition in representing all these virtues in one figure, the fact that he analyzes them individually as direct qualities expected in the practice of an architect, was not noticed, or thoroughly studied. All these virtues pertain not directly to the creativity of the architect expected in the design phase, but they embody that dimension by pointing out the architect's role in the process of building. Especially temperance, is targeted at the agents the architect is in charge of, regarding the construction of the building.<sup>170</sup> In her clear analysis of the use of the term, Indra Kagis McEwen, deliberately points out that Vitruvius claims that his knowledge ties him to the virtue of Ceaser, however in various employments of the term in *De Architectura*, he never claims that the architect has virtue. In the Renaissance this notion drastically changes as we read Alberti putting it in bold letters,

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<sup>169</sup> Spencer's translation. *Magl.*, fol. 113v-114r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 430 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 199: *Questo ancora gli bisogna, perché quando fusse eletto a qualche differenza che lui sappia giudicare giustamente, e che sia giusto, che non penda più da una parte che da un'altra. Bisogna avere prudenzia, acciò provega anzi al tempo alle cose che fanno bisogno all'edificio, acciò non per questo mancamento venga a ricevere danno, che solo in quello bisogna la cosa s'abbia a provederla, innanzi tempo sia preparata. Fortezza ancora gli bisogna, perché il suo esercizio è publico; le cose publiche stanno al giudicio d'ogni persona e più degl'ignoranti che di quegli che 'ntendono: e chi la vorrebbe lessa e chi arrosto, e chi alta e chi bassa, chi in uno modo ciancia e chi in uno altro, sì che a lui bisogna pure star forte in sul proposito e non per ciance di questi romperti né conturbarti. Pure, se alcuno troppo cianciasse, assegnagli le ragioni, se non le intende e nolle voglia intendere, rispondigli poi per altre rime, perché, come dice santo Ieronimo, nimium patientia est asinina. Rispondigli come e' merita, e lascialo stare nella sua bestialitate. Bisognagli ancora avere temperanza, perché molte volte nello edificio si farà delle cose che non staranno bene, non per ogni cosa malfatta corrucchiarsi, ma con buone parole riprendere; poi, se pur per questa via non giovasse, con altre parole più severe, e se non se ne volesse astenere, mandal via, o maestro o lavorante o soprastante che sia. Fede, questa soprattutto gli bisogna, perché se non ha fede non ha amore, e questo è il miglior peso che sia, perché se non sarà fedele né amoroso in questa parte, non è altro se non che, chi questa parte non avesse, non si curerà mai né di risparmiare spesa, neanche se vedesse fare danno ad altri, mai n'arà cura, in modo lui piglierà della roba senza coscienza; se questa parte ha, lui sempre sarà curioso e avido di rispiarmare e di pensare cose utili e vantaggio dell'opera, e così, quando per lui non fa, ancora guarda che altri nolle faccia.*

<sup>170</sup> For a thorough analysis of *temperanza* in the building process, particularly in regards to the production of *Modani*, See Jonathan Foote's dissertation, "Well-Tempered Building: Michelangelo's full-scale template drawings at San Lorenzo" (PhD. Diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Alexandria, VA, 2013).

and Filarete is fully embracing it.<sup>171</sup> Yet, as Filarete gives explanations for each virtue, one notices that all these are related to ‘house-keeping’ concerns, essential for a great harmony to take place in the daily course of the construction. Filarete defines this as a “dance”<sup>172</sup> where all the workers are involved in their individual trade, yet their harmonious work that is directed by the architect, leads to the completion of the building in the expected manner. The patron’s involvement in the overall process here is only conditioned to the financial dimension, which Filarete likens to music, which allows for the dance to go on. This aspect, which is related to the growth of the building, also has connotations to the role expected from a wife as Barbaro writes. Accordingly, while the most important role of the mother is to raise her child, her second responsibility is to be in charge of the household economics, and maintain the authority among the household workers so that everything runs smoothly. Based on the parts derived from Xenophon’s *Oeconomicus* and Aristotle’s *Economics*, Barbaro says:

I would like wives to imitate queen bees, who allow none of their company to be lazy or negligent. Wives should consider it their pressing duty to teach skills to ignorant handmaidens, and to promote any who has proved dependably faithful and diligent to the custody of the cellar... They should provide the servants the food they need so that they can thrive and perform the constant labor required of them, and adequate clothing befitting the climate, the setting, and the season. In dealing with servants, it will be very useful if they be assigned specific tasks – just like legates, tribunes, and centurions in military affairs, and praetors, censors, treasurers, and other kind of magistrates in the governance of cities – so that being responsible for a few specified things they may perform their responsibilities well. Likewise, if wives wish to manage well the business of their household, they will distinguish between the different functions of overseers and workers, so that whatever should be done by each person, and what is expected of them, is perfectly clear... Heaven itself, the domicile that we await, we know to be composed of a series of parts each joined to the other, and all smoothly interconnected. In playing the harp, diverse tones struck at the same time come together in harmony, then which there is nothing sweeter or lovelier to be heard. Likewise, if servants and provisions are all given a due place and purpose, they will work together for the splendor and utility and delight of the household. Therefore, as I have said before, wives should receive, protect, and distribute all that is in the house with care, prudence, and grace.<sup>173</sup>

It is meaningful that on the reverse of Filarete’s personal medal, bees are prominently shown. In its romanticized, even utopic, setting of narrating the construction of Sforzinda, one of the

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<sup>171</sup> McEwen, “Virtù-Vious : Roman Architecture, Renaissance Virtue,” 255-65.

<sup>172</sup> The geometric order performed in a dance was congruent with Renaissance architecture theories. See, Jennifer Nevile, *The Eloquent Body: Dance and Humanist Culture in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 119-130.

<sup>173</sup> Barbaro, *The Wealth of Wives*, trans. King, 117-9.

unprecedented aspects is the emphasis Filarete gives to distribution of the construction laborers and their payment. In addition to all the idealized setting created with finding a suitable site, where all the materials are available or easy to transport, it is the facile coordination by the architect of all the labor that further leads to well and rapid construction of the city, even faster than the patron expected. A bet the architect and the patron had in Book V on this topic, of course ends with the patron's losing (his fine clothes) where the architect proves that he is capable of managing all these matters, due to his *scienza*, which does not only consist of *disegno* but also *arithmetic* since he is able to do all the different calculations required in the building process. During the construction of the city walls, we read two folio-long multiplications in explaining the work process regarding the material, labor and speed of production. These aspects, still confined in the virtue architect possesses, are described as the quintessential trade for the architect, which connotes the role of the wife in the household.

Another way of reading the management of the 'growth' of the building is again possible in regards to the role of the wife. In addition to nourishing the infant with her own breast, Barbaro also holds the mother responsible for the further education of the child, by finding the right masters to teach her child. The education of the children is described as the most rewarding of a wife's responsibilities because the household wealth she is in charge of is only being kept or accumulated to descend to the lineage which will be carried by the children.<sup>174</sup> Filarete identifies the master or teacher in his analogy as the builder, who leads the child into adulthood. Since Filarete identifies the mother / architect as providing milk and sustenance, the material cause is not entirely given over to the builder, but remains at least in part within the architect's responsibilities during construction. The architect, of course is not in charge of the household wealth of a courtly entourage, however regarding the pseudo-family structure of building, he is in charge of managing the significant investment of wealth so that the building finishes in the best way. Filarete doesn't refrain from expenses, and he gives examples from antiquity for the great amounts spent on building. Yet in those episodes, he clearly states that the patron is to trust his architect while placing this wealth in his control. The end of the quote regarding the love and honor for the architect directly ties that dimension to the financial aspect.

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<sup>174</sup> Barbaro, *The Wealth of Wives*, trans. King, 119.

After we read of the nine disciplines the architect should be acquainted with, and including an elaborate explanation of the cardinal and theological virtues in regards to his profession, the Golden Book continues with a clear explanation of how the ancient King rewarded not the architect, but his virtue [*la sua virtù*]. First, he iterates that he was given a good salary in addition to other worthy things, because, on one hand, he knew how to work with all the physical aspects of the things that pertained to *disegno*, on the other, he continued his education in letters “to create [*s’ingegnava*] and understand new fantasies and various moralities and virtues investigated (that leads to) various modes of building.” The buildings in the Golden Book can be seen as testimony to this. While the physical labor that Filarete highlights with emphasizing, “work with his own hands” is added to the part of the virtue of the architect, we should be reminded that there is no ‘wage’ expectation to meet this manual dimension. Moreover, the virtue of the architect is associated with the various modes in which he can bring forward buildings. This depends on his *ingegno*, hence, as the Golden Book says, even the slightest virtue here cannot be bought with money.

While Filarete is employing the metaphor for building, can we necessarily argue about a gender, or quality assigned to the building similar to an offspring? In other words, can we suggest a “virtuous” building? In his various employments of the term “virtù,” similar to the way Vitruvius writes about materials, Filarete refers to precious stones as having virtue. In the same context, he provides a simile between the Pope and a diamond, claiming the former ought to reflect his virtue like the latter. In addition, there are two - almost identical - moments regarding the use of the phrase “virtue of building” [*virtù della edificare*]; first in Book VI when the patron’s son is described as “fell in love [*s’inamorò*]” with it, and the second in Book XIV when King Zogalia is describing his experience in the Golden Book as “taking delight [*dilettandomi*] in it (same phrase repeated). I also already discussed the episodes that particularly highlights the virtue of the architect directly. In this overall scheme, Filarete doesn’t mention buildings per se as virtuous, or possessing virtue. However, there is an important nuance that should be highlighted here. While virtue was acknowledged as the most important quality for the Renaissance nobles to have, patrons and highly esteemed artists alike, the notion was revived by the fourteenth century humanists as the utmost quality of the ancients. The alleged father of humanism, Petrarch, “was among the first to idealize the quality of *uirtus* in his *De Uiris Illustribus* written in Latin in the 1350’s.” In this work, including lives of the 24 famous Romans, starting with Romulus and ending with Julius Caesar, it was *Virtus* - not their

wealth or power - that was highlighted as the only authentic source of their fame.<sup>175</sup> Fame is actually the main motive Filarete proposes in *edificare*, and where he claims the extent of his profession lies. It is the fame of the patron which the architect guarantees through his innovative buildings in the ancient style. Giving his trust to the architect, the one who possess virtue, the patron can ensure that 'his' building is going to be completed in a way that it is going to bring him fame. In the first section of this chapter, I already elaborated on Filarete's motive for implying an organic anthropomorphism primarily for this aspect. And accordingly, Filarete defines the role of the architect as the mother (and the nurse) for this 'organic' being to be built in a worthy manner, so that it can sustain the fame of the patron to posterity. In that regard while the desired dimension of the virtue of building [*virtu della edificare*] is emphasized already, Filarete elaborates on the action of building in this sense as following:

To build is nothing other than a voluntary [*voluntario*] pleasure, as when a man is in love, and whoever has tried it himself knows, because in building there is so much pleasure and desire that the more man does the more he would like to do, and if it is at all possible, he never considers the expense, and every day he feels the experience. Just like a man when he is in love gladly goes to see his beloved, and when she is someplace he might be able to see her he does not regret and he does not get bored with the time (spent), so he who builds gladly goes to see his building, and the more he sees him, the more he would like to see it, and the more his soul [*animo*] grows, and that time passes he never regrets either, nor having thought [*ragionarne*] of the building nor having watched it, just exactly as is the man in love thinking [*ragionare*] of his beloved. And so he enjoys when it is praised, and his soul [*animo*] grows more; and so, when he is absent and that one forms an opinion [*ragion*] about it (the building), he is very much pleased and desires to go and see it, and always with the soul of *d'agiugnere* he desires things that he thinks are (for) its well-being, just exactly as the man in love does, and if (this is) not half love for it, and makes it useful and honorable. And this only for two purposes: one for utility and the other for fame, so that it may be said: so-and-so makes [*fa fare*] a so beautiful building; so that, by making himself the architect in the midst of it, [the architect] should be loved and honored...<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> McEwen, "Virtù-vious: Roman Architecture, Renaissance Virtue," 255-56.

<sup>176</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 8r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 41-2 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 16: *Non è altro lo edificare se none un piacere voluntario, come quando l'uomo è innamorato, e chi l'ha provato il sa, ché nello edificare c'è tanto piacere e desiderio che quanto più l'uomo fa più vorrebbe fare e, pure che egli possa, mai non guarda a spesa, e di questo tutto di si vede la speranza. Così come uno quando è innamorato volentieri va a vedere la sua amorosa, e quando ella è in lugo che egli la vegga non gli rincresce e non gli viene a noia il tempo, così colui che fa edificare va volentieri a vedere il suo edificio, e quanto più lo vede più lo vorrebbe vedere, e più gli cresce l'animo, e quel tempo passa e non gli rincresce mai o di ragionarne o di guardarlo, come lo innamorato proprio di ragionare dell'amorosa. E così si gode quando gli è lodato e crescegli più l'animo; e così, quando è assente e che uno glie ne ragioni, molto gli piace e desidera d'andarlo a vedere, e sempre coll'animo d'agiugnere desidera cose che creda che stiano bene, come proprio fa lo 'nnamorato, e se niuno mezzo glie l'ama e fagli utile e onore. E questo solo a due fini: uno pella utilità e l'altro per fama, perché si dica: il tale fa fare così bello edificio; sì che, facendosi per mezzanità di quello architetto, debbe essere amato e onorato...*

In its multivalent dimensions of employing love in *edificare*, this section directly targets the patron. The active form of the word, as Genoni argues to translate it as “to build” (rather than “building”) no doubt belongs to the patron’s domain.<sup>177</sup> As we read about the young prince falling in love with the “virtue of building,” this passage to an extent helps us elaborate on that dimension, with many notes of desire and passion. In the first part of the quote, the desire of *edificare* is actually explained beyond the social framework of a family structure. It is associated with a more physical sense of love. Unlike the love and honor the architect expects to receive from the patron, which is defined within the highest form of friendship found between spouses in a marriage, this love can be perceived as Platonic. It is the patron’s affection for the building he is creating, and it is only sustained in one dimension. It is the expected growth of a building taking place, with the patron’s resources, however almost as an automaton,<sup>178</sup> the patron is described to fall in love with it even more and more, as we read in the quote his *animo* is growing, and then growing more. We should also not dismiss the fact that, in the family structure Filarete gave, the building is described to have a father-son relation, where the architect sustains the mother role. Given the amorous emphasis of the passage, it is quite hard to reconcile the love described here with paternal love a father would have towards his child. Genoni rightly tackled this issue, and to do justice to the actual meaning of the passage, she proposed to break away from the tangled familial relationships.<sup>179</sup> Although I agree with her reading, there is also an implicit dimension revealed at the end of the quote which suggests and sustains a possible paternal connection. This actually relies in the purpose of his building; utility and fame. When the building is praised, the patron’s *animo* grows more. The praise for the building to create more affection on the patron’s end suggests that there is a part of the patron reflected in the building that subjects him to take pride in and that pride could be read similar to a father’s relation to a son. Alberti in *Della Famiglia* elaborates on that particularly, and unlike the romanticized setting of Filarete,

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<sup>177</sup> Genoni, “Filarete in Word and Image,” 320-21.

<sup>178</sup> I briefly recall E.T.A Hoffman’s short story, “The Sand-Man,” and Freud’s analysis of the relationship between Nathaniel and Olympia. Olympia is a beautiful young woman, who actually is a doll, an automaton, and Nathaniel is deeply in love with this relatively silent and reserved figure. Being an automaton, Olympia’s movements are mechanic, her her vocabulary is limited to short expressions, however in a strange way it is actually Nathaniel’s reactions in the repetitive actions of expressing his love turns out to be mechanical. Sigmund Freud, “The ‘Uncanny,’” First published in *Imago*, Bd. V., 1919; reprinted in *Sammlung*, Fünfte Folge. [Translated by Alix Strachey.

Also, Mladen Dolar, “‘I Shall Be with You on Your Wedding-Night’: Lacan and the Uncanny,” in *October*, 58 (1991): 5–23.

<sup>179</sup> Genoni, “Filarete in Word and Image,” 321ff.

Alberti also talks about the dark side of this love which also involves a greater responsibility attached to anxiety, in addition to pleasure and satisfaction in the raising of offspring. Here, Alberti directly ties generation with artistic creation and draws the paternal line of 'authorship' accordingly. He writes:

There is no doubt in my mind about the labor involved, but I think that this is itself the cause of the love you fathers bear your children. I have noticed that by nature almost everyone loves his own works. The painter, the writer, the poet all do. The father, I suppose, feels even more so, since the labor demanded of him is long and drawn out. All try to make their works widely pleasing, to win praise, and to gain as much immortality as they can.<sup>180</sup>

Immortality is described as the drive for man's procreation, continuing his lineage through offspring. The same is also given for the work of artists. Hence it is the connection of immortality, which can be assured by fame, that is the emphasis Filarete makes throughout his *Libro*. More so, depositing a Bronze Book in the foundation ceremonies of Sforzinda (a clear reference to the *Libro* Filarete is simultaneously writing), and the discovered Golden Book during the excavations of the port city, his emphasis on letters more so than the built work, were to demonstrate this dimension of *edificare* that is to sustain 'fame.' Not only for the life-time of the patron, nor the building, but to eternity by ensuring that such edifices are worthy to be written about.<sup>181</sup> Within this framework, Filarete reconstitutes the "architect" title as the figure that shares the fame of the patron, as he demonstrates from the examples from the antiquity. The fame of the edifice actually depends on its design and execution and in that regard, it is similar to the role the mother should have in regards to the raising of a child.

In the way Filarete defines his profession through the analogy, one thing remains clear to his understanding of the design process in regards to building. The architect is the mother of the building, and it is her motherly duty to be the wet-nurse as well. These two roles can be fulfilled by two separate agents. It was common practice among the wealthy to hire a professional wet-nurse to raise their children.<sup>182</sup> Just as neither Barbaro nor Alberti recommend the mother to be her children's wet-nurse, so Filarete doesn't recommend it for *edificare*, either. Because, unlike our modern assumption of the role of the architect as the one in charge of 'designing' a building with the expectation of the building to mirror the image

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<sup>180</sup> Alberti, *Della Famiglia*, trans. Watkins, 47.

<sup>181</sup> See conclusion.

<sup>182</sup> Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual*, 132-135.

given in the design, Filarete's definition of 'growth' implies an on-going design taking place until the building reaches to completion; that it has grown into an adult. Accordingly, it is the mother's responsibility to ensure that the building reaches that phase, by continuing to nourish the design after it is delivered (with the same faculty before its delivery). The architect takes responsibility to find the right masters and laborers for helping him in this growth process, exercising his virtue, in particular demonstrating 'temperance' to manage their work process including all the mistakes that can happen in the process.

Although the emphasis on architect's *scienza* of *disegno* stressed over and over again, there is not even one episode in the entire *Libro* where the *disegno* is esteemed higher than the completed building. For every proposal, the architect ensures the patron that the building will please him more than what he sees in *disegni*. If the material artifact of *disegno* is only a step in the life-time of a building process, starting with conception, then what is its relevance? Similar to the contracts drawn between the artists and the patrons, *disegno* is a certain liability stage,<sup>183</sup> an expectation where both parties can agree. Especially for building, as Filarete also stresses like many other Renaissance architects, the agreed upon design represented in a scaled material artifact should not be changed during the construction phase. This is a framework where the patron is expected to see more than what the *disegno* shows once its constructed, therefore a development which implies a change, but he is advised not to propose any change to the design after it is agreed on. This ambiguity is actually what Filarete most relies on. This ambiguity can only be overcome through the friendship the architect has with the patron, through the love and honor the patron has for the architect, which is his virtue and which already guarantees the result for the good of the building. At the beginning of the *Libro*, Filarete was drawing the design of the city for the readers, because his patron did not even need to see the drawing since he wanted to build this city already. That was a clear demonstration of the patron's trust in his architect, which was established through virtue.

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<sup>183</sup> As Charles Seymour have pointed out, the development of *disegno* in the quattrocento was not in its theoretical art criticism format as the father of the three arts as described by Vasari, but was simply to focus and develop the design drawing of the commissioned work in order to have a consensus and a common ground to meet the expectations of the both parties. Because unlike the myth of the perfect collaboration of the patron and the artist that allowed for the flourishing era, the tension often occurred between the artists and patrons were way more evident. See, "'Fatto di Sua Mano,' 95.

## v) Architect's agency on *Disegno*

Although serving as a cohesive theory to legitimize many aspects of the design/building relationship, Filarete's metaphor is not conclusive enough to literally explain the design process. The influence of fifteenth-century Humanism is evident in the conjugal relation Filarete portrays in disguise of a family structure for the conception of a building. His theory rather resonates with the re-shaping of family structures in the Renaissance and attunes with the social dimension of Renaissance patronage, which Filarete is deliberately targeting. As various building examples of the book show, the actors and processes involved during the design phase expand the given simplicity in taking the patron and the architect solely in the first and second phases of his metaphor. The hermit's church project in Book XVI, which is explicitly stated to be derived directly from the wooden model of the Bergamo cathedral,<sup>184</sup> would be the most obvious example of the limitation of the literal interpretation of Filarete's theory. However, the emphasis of buildings to be generated like human beings also signifies the singularity that is an outcome of descentance. In addition, the episode consists of many significant references to this aspect, where the drawing of the wooden model of an earlier project becomes the site for re-generation of a new one. The essence for the uniqueness of each building, even as dependent as Bergamo cathedral and the hermit's church are of the same origin, is further analyzed in Filarete's anthropomorphism.

### ***Generazioni & Qualità***

If the building is not only a 'body' but is an entity to be perceived as a living man, then its position in the physical structure of the city should be regarded in similar terms to the placement of men within the social structure of the society. Filarete's comprehensive anthropomorphism exceeds Vitruvius' and Alberti's take on the subject and invites the reader to apprehend it directly from the angle of perceiving a human being. While Filarete's starting point for the employment of the body is measure, his development of the concept that pertains to the physical, temporal and more importantly even the social dimension of building in regards to a human being.<sup>185</sup> From its conception to its execution and where it is exactly standing in the city structure, buildings then, should be understood in regards to the standing

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<sup>184</sup> See Part I, section iii, n152.

<sup>185</sup> John Onians, "Filarete and the "qualità" architectural and social," *Arte Lombarda*, 18, 38/39 (1973): 116-128; and *Bearers of Meaning*, 158-171.

of the patron in the social structure in the city. Along these lines, Filarete's interest in the beauty of the city as a microcosm corresponds to the greater beauty of the macrocosm. His reasoning is derived from the variety found in the *generazioni* and *qualità* of people. In Filarete's words, "[o]ne cannot deny that there are many and various *generazioni* of people and *qualità*: of beautiful, less beautiful, and of more beautiful; of rich, poor, poorer, and richer; old, young, and middle-aged; deformed, crippled; and many different manners, states, and forms."<sup>186</sup>

Filarete's explanation for various *generazioni* of people and their *qualità* consists of degrees of adjectives that attribute to the appearance of a human and their political and economic standing as a mark of their social status. Yet, it follows that there can be many other kinds and even more relative degrees to be found within the same category. *Qualità* is an ambiguous term that applies to all manner of distinguishing one from another. Writing the first architectural treatise in *volgare*, Filarete's employment of the term in this context does not have a precedent, and as advocated by John Onians, it should be regarded as reflective of the workshop practice in which he was trained.<sup>187</sup> Lacking a full explanation of his conceptual thoughts Filarete leaves the further depth into this conversation to the speculative.<sup>188</sup> Nevertheless, the general use of the word helps him to formulate the differences of each human being in one way or another, which should be applied to architecture.

The first discussion of *qualità* takes place in regards to the origin and source of measure. Filarete starts his anthropomorphism by explaining that the body is organized and measured with its members being "proportioned according to their *qualità* and measure."<sup>189</sup> This quote already signals out the proportional relationship of the body members to be respective of, not only measure, but also their *qualità*, which would highlight his understanding of the body beyond the rendering of mere geometric entities. Yet, he emphasizes a correlation taking place between measure and *qualità*, which he further explains in relation to the measures of man. Accordingly, Filarete describes five *qualità* of men, based on the proportional

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<sup>186</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 5r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 25 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 11: *Non si può negare che sono molte e varie generazioni di persone e qualità: e di belli e di men belli, di più belli, e di ricchi e di poveri, di più poveri e di più ricchi, di vecchi e di giovani e di mezzo tempo, e di contrafatti e di zoppi, e di molte varie maniere e stati e forme.*

<sup>187</sup> Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, 158. For Ficino, *qualità* is a form of being between body and soul where form is engaged within matter. Ficino, *Platonic theology*, I, iii; vol. 1, p. 29.

<sup>188</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 5v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 28 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 12.

<sup>189</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 2v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 13 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 6.

relationships that can be found in their bodies. He suggests using the proportions derived from the three that fall between the spectrum from *nani* to over-sized men, naming them as *uomini piccoli* (small), *mezzani* (medium) and *grandi* (large). From these three measures, he believes that the ancients derived three proportional relationships, or three *qualità*. Accordingly, Filarete identifies the Doric order as large, the Ionic order as small and the Corinthian order as medium, giving their proportions as 1:9, 1:7 and 1:8, respectively. Here his misreading of the Vitruvian canon is evident yet his reasoning is understandable within the scheme of his theory. These universal proportions combined with two other *qualità* are a result of various *generazioni*. In an attempt to argue for an origin of the perfect proportions given by Vitruvius, (and which was being studied by Alberti through measuring many to find a median), Filarete returns to his Christian beliefs. If a perfectly formed man is the source of measure, then it should be the first man, Adam, who should have the utmost perfection in his body because he is created by God himself. Since Vitruvius positions the Doric order as the first, Filarete proposes that these proportions should be directly coming from Adam's body. Following the premise of the beauty of the variety found in God's creation, accordingly other *qualità* are generated to further contribute to the greater beauty.

While Filarete identifies the three *qualità* of columns with the three *qualità* of men, as the universal estimate in the derivations of proportions in men's *generazioni*, he still argues beyond the norm of these universal proportional relations in the forthcoming of a building to have different *generazioni* in its form. Filarete says: "[of] all the generations of man that are and have been and will be, none is completely similar to another in every particular."<sup>190</sup> At this point of his discussion, he refers to Valerius who tells the story of the Roman citizen who resembles Pompey. He explains that form and face can be similar, but two persons cannot be completely alike in every particular. If buildings should be understood in *similitude* to humans, then variety in the generation of men should also apply to the buildings. The premise of his anthropomorphism establishes *a priori* for the various *modi* and measures that Filarete gives in his treatise for each particular building, in which there can be no buildings exactly the same. The last step of Filarete's argument consists of a case where he further identifies what those particulars might be through the case of two similar-looking men from Brescia that, apparently, he saw in Milan. Considering whether the men are twins, Filarete writes: "I do not wonder, because they came out from the same mold [*stampa*] but also there was some difference: if

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<sup>190</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 5r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 25 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 11: ...*tante generazioni d'uomini che sono e sono stati e saranno non si somigliano l'uno l'altro totalmente in ogni particolarità.*

none in the other, it was in clothing and the soul.”<sup>191</sup> Following the premises of his cohesive anthropomorphism, he then asserts that it should be the same thing for buildings.

His claim that they are coming from the same *stampa* suggests the same lexicon in reference to the womb and his correlation of the building to the *disegno*. Going back to the pregnancy metaphor, which constitutes the backbone of Filarete’s anthropomorphism, the given example of twins is rather curious. Although Filarete employs this example in his discussion for the body of the building, his reference to their origins implies the birth of that building, which Filarete identifies as the scaled wooden model (or the relief drawing).<sup>192</sup> The *stampa*, understood as a technique of creating a mark on a malleable surface, reveals the invisible through the negatively carved form impressed upon matter, the visible. The term *stampa* was employed by Aristotle as a metaphor for memory, as impressions made in a wax tablet. “...the affection, the lasting state of which we call memory – as a kind of pictures; for the stimulus produced impresses a sort of likeness of the percept, just as when men seal with signet rings.”<sup>193</sup> Filarete also described the role of memory in *disegno* at the time of conception and gestation, when the architect revolves the idea in his memory. In *Timeaus* Plato refers to the father as the ‘being’, the form-giver, and the child as ‘the ‘becoming’, formed through the matrix, womb, which receives the *stampa*.<sup>194</sup> Pregnancy connotes a receptive domain, as the term *conchetta* – concept – significantly reveals.<sup>195</sup> The passivity of the womb as something malleable enables it to materialize the image of the *stampa*; making visible. *Disegno*, which is the act of materialization of a geometric entity hence becomes the architect’s domain. Such materializations, whether it’s the artifact in a small scale to be agreed upon, or the edifice that

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<sup>191</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 5v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 26 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 12: *Non mi maraviglio, perché erano usciti d'una stampa, ma pure v'era qualche differenza: se none in altro, era ne' vestimenti e nell'animo.*

<sup>192</sup> The discussion of the same lineaments to be found in several different buildings is brought forward by Alberti, with the argument that “nor do lineaments have anything to do with material.” In his first book which Alberti devotes to lineaments, Alberti often stresses their immaterial nature, and in book II which is on materials, Alberti places the physical models. Alberti’s lexicon for the design practice does not find a clear distinction in Filarete’s pregnancy metaphor. While Alberti disassociates lineaments from the material nature of a physical model, Filarete’s metaphor, rather ambiguous with its clear reference to imagination as defined within the pregnancy process, still implies a material development in the form of drawings. And the linear process is terminated in a physical artifact of a scaled wooden model. Accordingly, the twin analogy rather can only apply to the physical artifact, considering that the case can be obvious only at the time of birth, following the invisible nature of the womb. Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria*, I, I.

<sup>193</sup> Aristotle, *De Anima*, “On the Memory and Recollection,” translation by W. S. Hett, 450a23-450b1, in *Aristotle: In Twenty-three Volumes*, VIII (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 293-5.

<sup>194</sup> Plato, *Timaeus*, translation by R. G. Bury, 50c-51a, in *Plato: In Twelve Volumes*, IX (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 117-9.

<sup>195</sup> Summers, “Form and Gender,” 245.

is expected to grow into its full scale, suggest a possibility of the two that can be the same, but will still differ “in clothing and the soul.”

The case of twins is brought forward at the very end of his argument, with the implication that it is rare. Everybody would differ at least in its particulars, which would be related to its *generazioni*. Accordingly, the *qualità* which would only be derived from measure would always have its own array of differences, while not in overall proportions, in the parts, details, etc. Yet, in the case for a conception of the identical building, and maybe even an argument for generating two buildings from the same design, Filarete asserts that these would then differ in clothing. Again, since what his architectural theory suggests is an analogy of *uno uomo vivo*, a living man with his social standing in the structure of the city, the clothing analogy suggests that the soul may be expressed through the clothing in quattrocento Renaissance society.<sup>196</sup>

Subsequently, Filarete’s use of a clothing/cladding analogy to express the social ranking of the person/patron is evident in his description of building materials. In Book III, which is the only section that he devotes particularly to building materials, Filarete explains the mineral quality of stones as precious, semi-precious and none, in direct reference to people who are worthy of their social status. More specifically in Book VII, during the drawing lessons determining the design of the Duomo of Sforzinda, Filarete hints at the materiality and ornamentation of the church through an analogy to the *qualità* of men, distinguishing one person from the other, being the same for a building. In Filarete’s view, some buildings should be more dignified than the others reflecting both the people who inhabit them and their use. Being the place of divine offices and clergy who adorn themselves with vestments covered with gold, silver, pearls, embroidery and noble precious things, the main church should be similarly clothed and adorned with beautiful stones.<sup>197</sup>

According to its *qualità*, the parallels between the adornment of men with precious materials and the adornment of buildings with sculptural and painting programs forms a conceptual framework for Filarete, a consistent theory evolved around *qualità* informing many design decisions pertaining to a building in respect to its use and also its inhabitant. The effect of *qualità* is determined in the conception of the building with his emphasis on measure,

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<sup>196</sup> Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and The Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-34.

<sup>197</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 48v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 189-90 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 84.

proportion and *qualità* together. Accordingly, expressed in the scaled building model as the growth of the baby into its adult form, *qualità* also determines further the adornment of the building. In that respect, the same building program and the same measures for a building can become further distinguished according to their *qualità* expressed in their clothing.

### The Hermit's Church and Bergamo Cathedral Model

The episode for the Hermit's church project takes place in Book XVI. Three miles away from the main city of Sforzinda and covered with laurel and olive trees, the Lady wants to build a church in the way that the hermit desires,<sup>198</sup> *suo modo* is the expression used for the hermit's "ordering." However, the hermit admits his lack of knowledge in the subject matter and only proposes the program which would be suitable for the given opportunity. What the hermit dictates is a church dedicated to St. Jerome with a place for the hermits who follow his order to live, and Filarete finds the opportunity to bring forward his already made design for the Bergamo cathedral. Filarete suggests: "[i]f you like it, I will make one in the way I ordered in Bergamo, that was beautiful. I will tell you how it was, I made a wooden model and measured according to the proportion of how it had to be."<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Within the narrative reality of the thinly veiled personifications of the Libro, the Lady's initiative to build a church outside the city, is a clear reference to the re-construction of San Sigismondo outside of Cremano, where Bianca Maria Visconti married to Francesco Sforza in 1441. The cornerstone of the (new) church was dedicated in 1463. Considering that Filarete started writing his treatise around 1460 until 1464, the starting date of the reconstruction of the church may even coincide with the exact time that Filarete is writing the sixteenth of his twenty-four book Libro. Although the general layout of San Sigismondo to some extent resembles the monastic church designs in Filarete's Libro which is also the layout for the hermit's church design, where a single nave system instead of a centrally planned layout is adapted, Filarete's direct involvement with San Sigismondo is not likely to be proposed. The probable architect of the project is the ducal engineer Bartolomeo Gadio, who belongs to the camp of the local masons, criticizing Filarete's work.<sup>198</sup> In chronologies produced by Filarete scholars, this time period is understood to be entirely dedicated to his composition of the Libro. If there was any explicit evidence of his involvement in San Sigismondo, it has not been documented or perhaps not yet discovered. Yet, the implicit connection developed in the fluid rhetorical threshold condition in the Libro's narrative line is evident. For a thorough study of the project, see; Jessica Gritti, "Filarete e la chiesa degli eremiti di san Girolamo: «...nel modo ch'io ordinai a Bergamo, che era bella»,” *Arte Lombarda* 155, 1 (2009): 139-159. For the church designs in Filarete's *Libro*, John R. Spencer, "Filarete and Central-Plan Architecture," in *JSAH*, 17, 3 (1958): 10-18, and Jens Niebaum, "Filarete's Designs for Centrally Planned Churches in Milan and Sforzinda," *Arte Lombarda*, 155, 1 (2009): 121-38. For the relation of the dates, Spencer, "La datazione del Trattato del Filarete desunta dal suo esame interno," *Rivista d'arte*, 31 (1956), 93-103.

<sup>199</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 123r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 460 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 213: *Se vi piace, io ne farò una nel modo ch'io ordinai a Bergamo, che era bella. Io vi dirò come stava: io feci uno disegno di legname rilevato e misurato alla proporzione secondo aveva a essere.*

Filarete follows his proposition to use the *disegno* of the Bergamo Cathedral to design the hermit's church with another reference to the wooden model, now as drawn "in the same form and measure" in the margin of the folio 123r (Figure 3.17).<sup>200</sup> The image is accompanied by a verbal statement of the actual dimensions of the Cathedral: 110 braccia on one side, and 60 braccia on the other, and from the center down 52 braccia. Hearing the dimensions, the Lady asks for how it looks in order to determine whether she likes it. Filarete starts explaining its 'form' again with direct reference to the way that he executed it in the wooden model. The target of reference is the front of the building seen from outside, at which point Filarete reminds her that the other sides were in other form. While this distinction would have likely been evident in the physical model, the physical limitation of the two-dimensional surface of manuscript folio only allows Filarete to communicate his intention via the upright image that is limited to the frontal view.

In further explanation Filarete draws the layout of the foundations, in his words in *un poco qui in digrosso* (Figure 3.18). The dimensions stated above in explaining the wooden model are restated in relation to the plan view this time. The placement of the main chapel and where the main façade falls accordingly were described in terms of orientation. The dimensions of the sacristies on each side of the altar are given; ten *braccia* on one side and sixteen on the other. The stairs, which are not drawn on the plan, are mentioned leading up to these sacristies. The former structure of the Cathedral was below ground and in order for a person to ascend rather than descend entering the church, the whole structure is raised three *braccia* above with the construction of vaults of the crypt. On each side of the steps to the high altar, two chapels of twelve *braccia* square are made as well as three chapels on each side of the nave which were each eleven *braccia*. For all these entrances, steps were to be utilized to accommodate the topographic differences of the site.

Pleased with what she hears along with what she sees, which has been a description of the Bergamo Cathedral so far, the Lady now proposes the drawing realm to be a site of generation for the building that she commissions. She says: "I am content that it be built in this form. However, I should like it to be altered in some things so that it would not seem to be

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

completely borrowed from the other.”<sup>201</sup> The alterations start from the foundation walls, increasing their width from four Bergamo *braccia* to five Milanese *braccia*.

In sixty consecutive lines of the *Magliabechianus* manuscript, between folios 123v and 124r, the descriptions of the further dimensions are discussed belonging to the realm of hermit’s church at this point. Determining and applying the dimensions of the interiors based on the changes in the foundation walls, while the heights for the side chapels are discussed more or less as a choice, the rest of the given dimensions still refer to the existing drawings, suggesting some of the alterations in measure not leading to major formal derivation from the Bergamo Cathedral design. Yet the purpose of the drawing is changed, as now being the ground for generation of the hermit’s church, undertaken together with the architect and his new patron – the Lady.

The next line confirms the end of the design process, where the architect’s role as wet-nurse begins in the process of construction, mentioned in only two lines in this episode. However, in confirming with the other episodes, where the architect demonstrates his skills to organize the preparations for the construction and instructs the masons on the design. His guidance as a nurse is revealed with a compliment to the masons’ great execution and completion in a timely manner. The construction ends in two lines of the narrative at which point the Lady comes to see her building and is highly pleased with everything she sees in the built form, placing emphasis on specific parts, which were discussed and explained in the design phase.

On the next page, we read that the Lady sees the finished building and is very much pleased with it. Now she employs the architect to continue his role by supervising the sculptural program of the church, arguably a continuation of his role in nursing the *disegno*, making sure of “everything necessary for the ornaments [*adornamenti*] of the church and for the regimen of the hermits.”<sup>202</sup> Further the details of the painting and sculptural program that the Lady provides is attuned to the program of the new church, which would bring forward its *qualità*, amplified further in the materials used for the decoration program.<sup>203</sup> The Lady asks Filarete to

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<sup>201</sup> Translation by Spencer. *Magl.*, fol. 123v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 462 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 214.

<sup>202</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 124v.

<sup>203</sup> Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, “The Relation of Sculpture and Architecture in the Renaissance,” in *Italian Renaissance Architecture from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, eds. Henry A. Millon and Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani (New York: Rizzoli, 1994): 75-101.

oversee the execution of the altarpieces, especially the high altar piece, which Filarete notes was completed by the hand of a very good master. Among other things, the central decoration program consists of a painting of the Virgin Mary with Christ in her arms and at either side standing figures representing Saints Jerome, Francis, Benedict, John the Baptist, Catherine, and Lucy. In the *predella*, the passions of the saints with the nativity of Christ in the middle were ordered with much gold around for decoration. The specific program given for the altarpiece, is further expanded into ornaments made for the rest of the church.

### **Clothing – Translation**

Robin Evans' addresses the distance between design and execution as a handicap particular to architectural practice,<sup>204</sup> that doesn't take place in other fine arts. He likens the architectural practices of design and building to a process of translation from one language to the other, in which he expresses his concern that "something on the way would inevitably get lost or bent or broken." Translation understood in negative terms, assuming an inferior relationship to an authentic original, is certainly a potential mirror of the relationship of classical rhetoric to its Renaissance transcriptions and translations. Since Cicero, the idea would be considered that the body has the figure of speech as its clothing. Extending this notion, for instance, when Petrarch received a copy of the Decameron, noting that it was written for "vulgus" he only glanced through it. The language of the text would define the audience it would be received by, intending the lowness of the intended audience who can only read in vulgar tongue. But he was still captivated and decided to translate it to Latin, thus directing it to a more elite audience. Petrarch announced in a letter to Boccaccio, having written in another style [*alio stilo*] he had, perhaps, "beautified it by changing its garment." Calling his translation a "re-clothing," the tale is all about a woman who occupies different social status with remarkable scenes of getting undressed and dressed in certain garments. In the Renaissance, one would know that the "clothes wear the body" rather than the body wearing clothes.<sup>205</sup>

Considering Petrarch's understanding of translation within Filarete's analogy of the living body/building, he establishes the role of the architect as the mother whose imagination materializes the 'soul' of the edifice through *generazioni* and *qualitá*, the latter taking on aspects of clothing and other adornments. Using all varieties of material artifacts, from scaled

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<sup>204</sup> Robin Evans, "Translations from Drawing to Buildings," in *AA Files* 12 (Summer 1986): 3-18.

<sup>205</sup> Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, 221-3.

models to template drawings, to guide the extended process of *disegno*, each artifact aims to be 're-clothed' in a process of maturation and for a different audience. In the case of the scaled model of Bergamo Cathedral, itself an incomplete realization, or a life interrupted, Filarete translated this *disegno* into his fantasy of the hermit's church, re-clothing his previous design to become another in his *Libro*, after engaging with a different patron. In this sense, the after-life of the scaled model, abandoned in Bergamo and then reimagined within the pages of the *Libro* when the architect/mother once again becomes the nurse of the building, fulfills the maturation process becoming a different building, a new life as the hermit's church.

## PART II :: FIGURES



Figure 3.1 Filarete, reproduced from *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 111r, detail, landscape illustration with shepherds.



Figure 3.2 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 137r, detail, illustration of a dinner scene.



Figure 3.3 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 4v, detail, Fall of Adam



Figure 3.4 Filarete, *Codex Marcianus*, unknown fol., reproduced from the screen view (corresponding image of fol. 4v of Magl.)



Figure 3.5 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 5r, detail, Adam and Eve building the first hut.

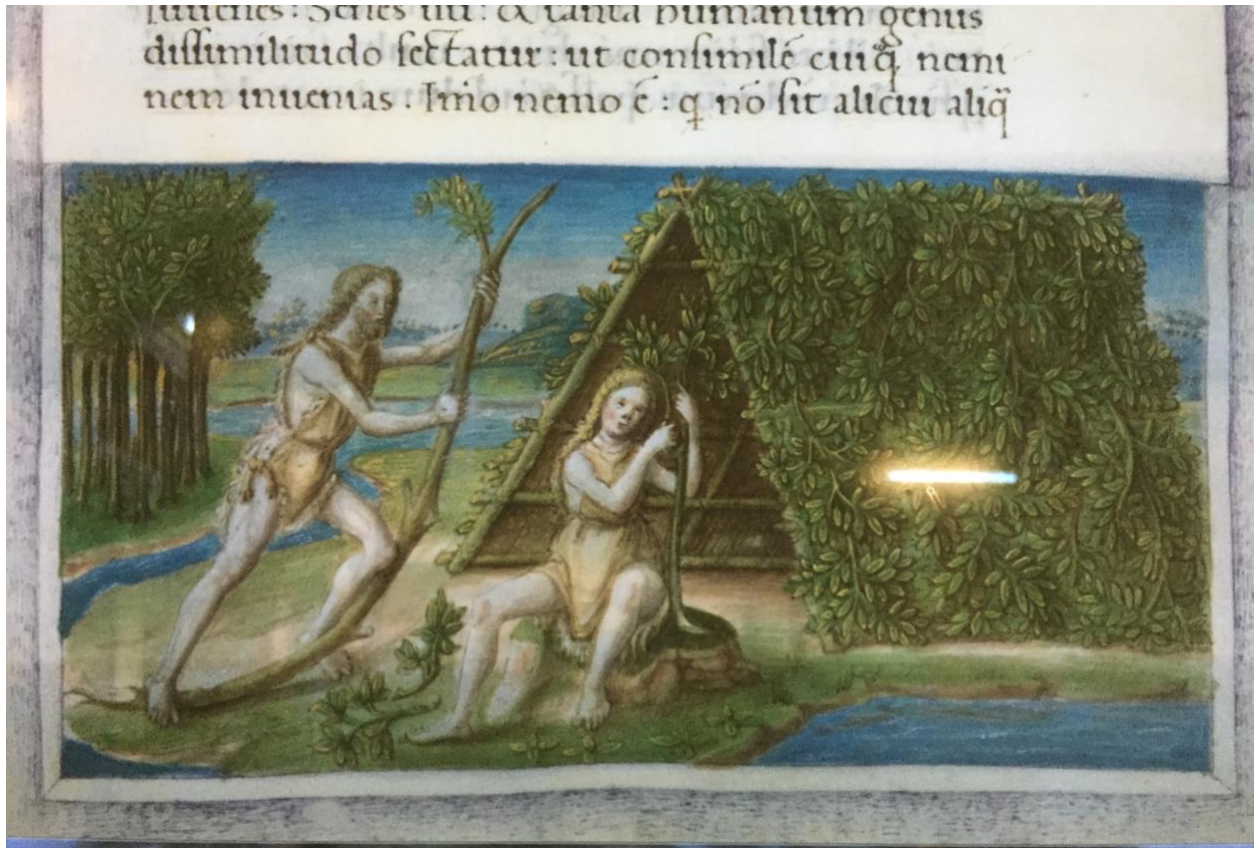
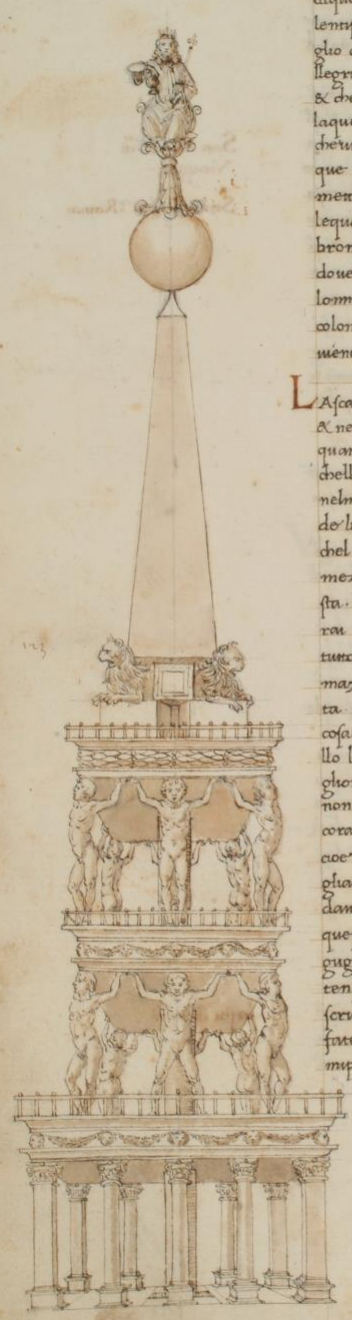


Figure 3.6 Filarete, *Codex Marcianus*, unknown fol., reproduced from the screen view (corresponding image of fol. 5r of *Magl.*)



Figure 3.7 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 5v, detail, building structures after the first hut.



di questo il quale secondo che queste scripture fanno mentione habiamo fu uno u  
 lenissimo Re e segna se uede siche di che pensi qualche degna cosa cheno  
 glio chesia asua memoria fana presto inteso utrenore della tna fimo a  
 legri. Tu intendi quello chel signore dice siche pensa qualche bella fantasia  
 & chesidia hordine a farla piu presto chesia possibile. Signore io lo pensata  
 la quale a me pare chesara delle piu degne cose chema fuisse fana. Dimi  
 che uoi fare fare uno quadro dibraccia quaranta al quale dimosterra cin  
 que colome altre uenti braccia daterra & poi disopra alle dette colome  
 metteremo pezzi dimarmo equali fara traluna coloma & laltra sono  
 lequali nesara poi una pmezco del diuino dire braccia questa fara di  
 bronzo fana imodo sipotra andare di dentro infino alla all sommita  
 doue poi io nescompartiro otto lequali teranno altri marmi traluna co  
 loma & laltra tralequali uene a essere braccia sono disopra tra questa  
 coloma dibronzo & laltre dimarmo. lauostra Signoria puo uedere come  
 uene a essere p questo disegno il quale qui apre sto suede: *immo e*

**L**ascala andra dentro a questa coloma dibronzo la quale e fana adriaccola  
 & nel tondo che fa questa scala coe quella coloma chel buomo uene imano  
 quando si sale andra lacqua messa & monterra p forza della caduta grade  
 della pnfino alla sommita della il quale come uedete il fondamento dose  
 nel modo sono scompartite. dimi queste figure chetu fai qui quanto fora qe  
 de luna fara luma daltrezza quanto le colome: Questo mi piace ma uolsi  
 chel Signore mio padre loueggha se allu piace a me piace assu in questo  
 mezzo sipotra dare hordine auere marmi & quello cose che bisogna p que  
 sta. Inteso la sua uolupta ancora a me parue scissi una lettera & nar  
 ra alla signoria sua tutte le misure come stana & lui nel disegno intese  
 tutto come haueua aruare risarisse indietro che sommamente gli piaceua &  
 maxime quella coloma dibronzo donde che essa si puo andare nella somi  
 ta. Così lacqua pessa ancora puo andare nella sommita p certo fara bella  
 cosa quello marmo doue tanto degno & caro che xoro fu trouato in que  
 llo luogho sta bene sotto alla piramida imizzo di quelli leoni equali uo  
 glieno essere dorati coe dibronzo dorati. Io gli farei fare doro senon che  
 non cheno uoni che partempo qualcano pararia gli guastasse & così an  
 cora la coloma senon che p questo rispetto lascio. Lafonte che uene disotto  
 coe al pari del piano della piazza mi piace. Voglio che quella coloma sia im  
 giata dicerte memorie lequali o trouate nel detto libro scritte siche fare a  
 danere buoni maestri & che faccino bene quelle figure del marmo & ancora  
 questa coloma & così eleom. Voglio ancora che insula sommita di questa a  
 gugia coe insul pomo dibronzo a sedere su una sedia il quale daua man  
 tengha uno uaso uolto sotto sopra & dallaltra mano uno libro el nome suo  
 scrino nel pomo con lettere grandi quanto maggiore si possono fare siche  
 fine chesia fana condiligenza & il piu presto chesia possibile. laltrezza su  
 mi piace dicento cinquanta braccia & poi ancora la figura uerra tanto

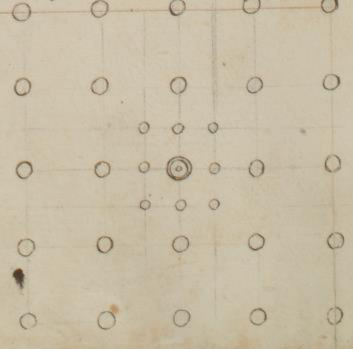


Figure 3.8 Filarete, Codex Magliabechianus, fol. 102v, Monument for King Zogaglia

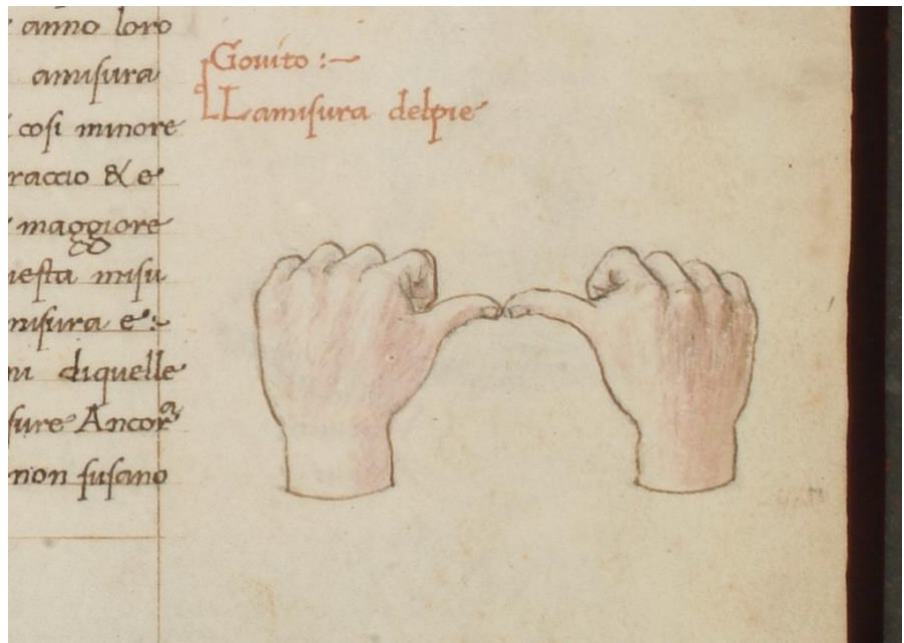


Figure 3.9 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 4r, illustrating how to measure a foot.

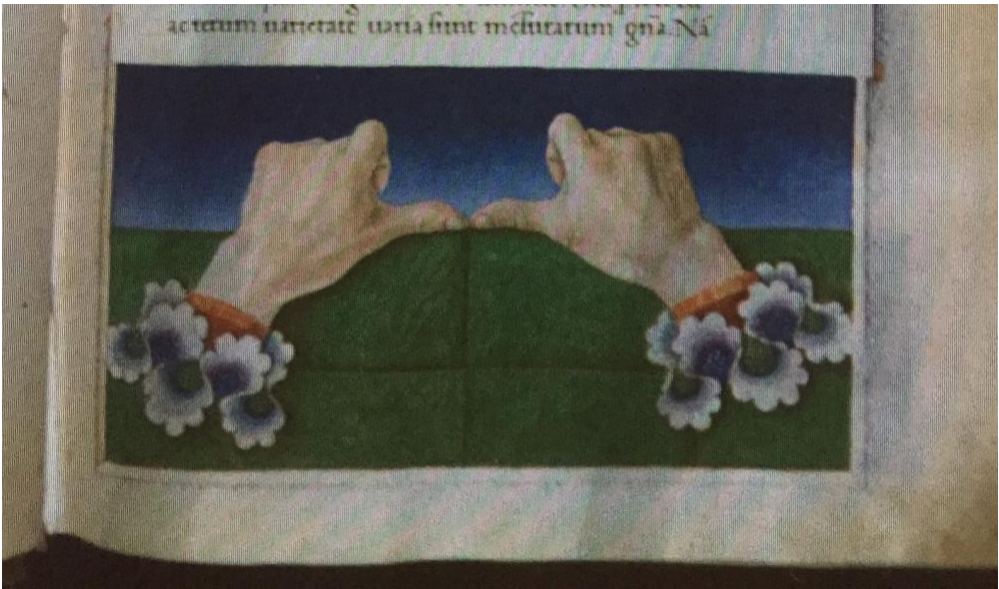


Figure 3.10 Filarete, *Codex Marcianus*, unknown fol., reproduced from the screen view (corresponding image of fol. 4r of *Magl.*)

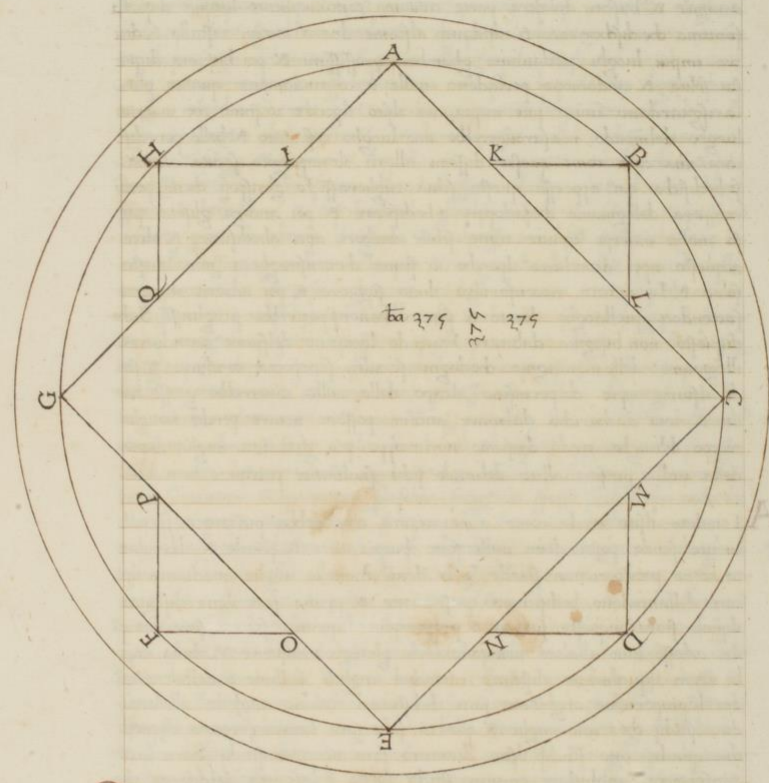


Figure 3.11 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 11v, detail, illustration of the Inda Valley with the cosmographic diagram of the city juxtaposed.



Figure 3.12 Filarete, *Codex Marcianus*, unknown fol., reproduced from the screen view (corresponding image of fol. 11v of *Magl.*)

uedra quadrato questo diquadri piccholi per questo potrai intendere  
le misure grandi proportionate da queste picchole innumerare



**C**ome to detto. Io intosterro questo plinamento il quale e riquadrato in  
quadri piccholi tu gli potresti intendere grandi & piccholi atuo semo maio  
glintendo di questa misura cioe di quattro stadij piccholo quadro che fare  
te al modo nostro mezzo miglio equadro. Siche uedendo questo tu puoi sa  
pere quanto uene a essere grande per lacura o uoi dire miglio, o uoi  
dire stadij o uoi dire braccia tu sai quanti stadij e uno miglio & sai  
quante braccia e lo stadio moltiplicata & saperai quanto ella circunda  
& quanto elle perogni uerso. Et cosi allaxatione di queste misure massim

Figure 3.13 Filarete, Codex Magliabechianus, fol. 13v, Geometric construction of Sforzinda layout.





Figure 3.17 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 123r, Drawing of the Bergamo Cathedral model, proposed for the Hermit's Church, detail.

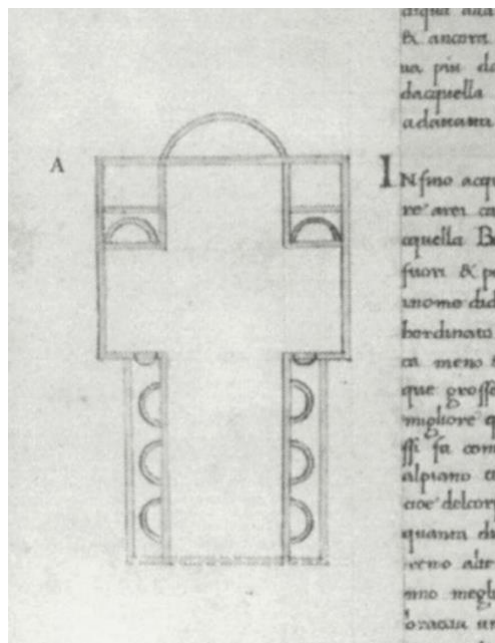


Figure 3.18 Filarete, *Codex Magliabechianus*, fol. 123v, plan drawing derived from the model, proposed for the Hermit's Church, detail.

## CONCLUSION:

### i) The archive within a book

Described as the main activity of the architect, which is to bring forward the physical artifact of *disegno*, Filarete demonstrates his architectural skills by embodying this agenda to the composition of his *Libro*. The visual agenda of the *Libro* is versatile and requires to be studied in the context of the literary maneuvers taking place in the course of the narrative.<sup>1</sup> The building designs' geometric constructions are relatable as the text guides the reader to observe and understand them properly. Such geometric constructions are drawn for the stake-holders of the fictional construction: firstly, as the tools of communication with the patron,<sup>2</sup> and secondly, to be transported to the construction site to generate the dialogue of the architect with the masons.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, these images not only visualize Filarete's words, describing architectural projects, but also use the pages of the *Libro* as a ground for the illustrations to be built upon in the fictional setting of the ongoing design and construction of the city. This metonymic relationship that Filarete employs for the drawings of the *Libro* is already hinted at in his description of drawing in Book XXIII when he explains how to lay the paper onto the desk, conceiving it as the ground

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<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of the narrative structure of Filarete's *Libro*, see; Marina Della Putta Johnston, "The Literary 'Cornice' of Architecture in Filarete's 'Libro Architetonico'" *Arte Lombarda, Nuova serie* 155, 1 (2009): 12-22.

<sup>2</sup> The emphasis on architectural drawings and models in the quattrocento context is directly associated with *all'antica* forms, as can be also observed in Filarete's *Libro*. The higher motivation behind this association relies on the communicative aspect of the tool for the patrons, even more so than for the builders. See, John Harvey, *The Medieval Architect* (London: Wayland, 1972), 31.

<sup>3</sup> Foote, "Well-Tempered Building," 40.

to build on, almost as if its surface is the ground waiting to be excavated to lay out the foundations.<sup>4</sup>

Yet, we come to realize another important aspect in the versatility of these illustrations. Once the Golden Book is discovered during the excavations of the port city, the *book within a book* opens a niche between the outside and the inside of the narrative, suggesting to approach the visual agenda neither as drawings to guide a building process, nor as illustrations of the architect's words, but as a record of buildings intentionally documented to be discovered and employed in the future like an *archive within a book*. Alluding to his own early remarks in the beginning of the *Libro* and during the foundation ceremonies of Sforzinda, in the guise of an authoritative record left from antiquity, the Golden Book serves to prove Filarete's point to his patron. The parallels between the *Libro* and the Golden Book show Filarete's intentions for how his own book should be perceived. Accordingly, a careful study of the narrative introducing the Golden Book, can help us to reveal the pseudo-*memoria* nature intended for the *Libro*, particularly due to its visual program.

While describing the buildings that were erected there, the intention to compile a book of this sort is explained as:

The court, like the temple, was so beautiful that I have described and drawn it so you can better understand how it looked. It was so noble I certainly would have preferred it to be eternal so that it could have been seen throughout all time. However, I doubt this [can be so], because there is nothing that is ever so durable or eternal that time does not consume and destroy it [...]. For these reasons I have made a record [*memoria*] in this book.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Magl.*, fol. 177r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 650 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 302. For a further study of this interpretation see, Emmons, *Drawing Imagining Building*, 32-33. For a general discussion on the role of metonymy in architectural representation, Marco Frascari, "A New Corporeality of Architecture," *JAE* 40, 2, 1987: 22-23.

<sup>5</sup> Trans. Spencer. *Magl.*, fol. 105r = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 398-9 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 184: *una notabile piazza in mezzo tra il tempio e la nostra corte, la quale, perché a me pareva bella, l'ho descritta e ancora fatta, acciò si possa bene intendere come stava, e così il tempio ancora, perché veramente era degno. Senza dubbio io arei desiderato che fusse stato eterno, acciò che per tutti e' tempi si fusse potuto vedere, sì che avendo io questa dubitazione, l'uno perché non è cosa alcuna che sia sì durabile e sì perpetua che il tempo non la consumi e finisca, e ancora perché io ho calculato e veduto quello che di questa <regione> aveva a essere, trovai che per guerre da gente barbere dovea per questo essere disfatto, sì che per questo io feci questa memoria in questo libro,*

In its multifaceted semantic spectrum of *memoria*, it was the preservation of memory that constituted history, according to Cicero (106 BC-42 BC). In its narrow sense, *memoria* is the text composed for funeral inscriptions, and more broadly it was the means to remember the dead.<sup>6</sup> In Roman poetry, which should also be considered akin to Roman historiography, *memoria*, is the fourth step in the production of a speech, which solidifies the composition in the memory before its delivery. Historical *memoria* would record the events of the past with the intention to secure the attention of the future audience.<sup>7</sup> In that regard, *memoria* is also witnessed as complementary to writing.<sup>8</sup> Filarete's use of the term for the ancient codex alludes to all these dimensions, considering 'death' as the *topos* for antiquity in the Renaissance. It would perhaps be too much of a leap to consider it as an archive in the modern sense. However, the skeptical approach developed in post-modern studies questions the objectiveness of a pre-existing historic content merely conserved under the roof of an archive, in regard to the political dimension of archiving in the first place. This critical perspective may suggest us to look at this intentionally curated 'record' of past buildings (both inside and outside of the narrative framework) with a similar skepticism.

In its simple definition: "the archive exists in and through text, as the written record of another time."<sup>9</sup> While recording the past, the archive also points to the future,<sup>10</sup> with the expectation to be discovered and revived, which is exactly how the Golden Book is employed in the course of the narrative. Yet, the premised connection to the future constitutes the ideological and political ground in determining what should be archived and what should not, along with its reasoning consisting in the formation of the identity. Within the dominant patronage theme throughout the treatise, this is what Filarete emphasizes. The intention to build nobly is a remark of the patron's fame, however only through leaving a written account of this noble activity, a patron can leave his fame to the posterity. Here, one should be reminded of the encounters of the humanists with the ancient texts, and the depth of inquiry they build through studying them. The alleged father of humanism Petrarch (1304-1374), a century earlier would point to the "writings which outstanding minds have left to the memory of posterity." Petrarch would emphasize the

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<sup>6</sup> Karl Galinsky's Introduction in *Memoria Romana: Memory in Rome and Rome in Memory*, 10, 2014: 1-13.

<sup>7</sup> Andrew Laird, "The Rhetoric of Roman Historiography," in *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Historians*, ed. Andrew Feldherr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 209-10.

<sup>8</sup> Galinsky, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Helen Freshwater, "The Allure of the Archive," in *Poetics Today* 24, 4 (2003), 733.

<sup>10</sup> Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 7.

“authority and majesty” of these writings, “so great that no one can fail to trust them.”<sup>11</sup> Favoring the written account as the more substantial link to antiquity, rather than its ruins, Filarete’s intention with the Golden Book is to establish an authoritative tone. Citations from Vitruvius whose doctrine was decisive in the emerging definition of an architect, further that intention.<sup>12</sup>

Considering the self-referential existence of an archive, that only exists through archiving, Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) points out the importance of the technical structure of *archiving* in service of the production of archival material. Signaling out the existence of an archive directly within the medium, following Derrida’s argument, technical structure is not necessarily a limitation in the transference of the information. On the contrary, it determines what information to be transferred in the first place.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, in order to further dive into Filarete’s intentions, we should look critically to the technical structure of the Golden Book, in how it records the buildings of the ancient city. How they are approached in the narrative, can better suggest Filarete’s intentions with regard to the visual agenda in his *Libro*.

The book within a book only takes place within the textual realm, where the form of the manuscript does not reflect any change in transitioning from the *Libro* to the Golden Book. An illustration of the ancient codex accompanies the text at the moment of the discovery of the book. Although the ancient codex is described to be written in Greek, the narrative continues in *volgare* through the translation of the court humanist. More critically, an important remark which has not been emphasized enough is that the Golden Book is also illustrated, and this pleasantly surprises the architect and the young prince. The court humanist explains that all the buildings mentioned are engraved or drawn “from the originals in exactly the form in which they should be built.”<sup>14</sup> Hearing this, the young prince asks everything to be built in the port city based on the drawings. The descriptions intertwined with the drawings, were recorded to give an account of the ancient buildings, taken as the *disegno* to re-construct the beauty of antiquity. Accordingly, the architect asks to look at these drawings, re-draws them to understand them better, possibly using these copies in the construction of the new versions of the buildings.

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<sup>11</sup> Quoted from Leonard Barkan, “The classical undead: Renaissance and antiquity face to face,” in *RES*, 34, 1998: 14.

<sup>12</sup> On education of an architect: *Magl.*, 113v-114r.

<sup>13</sup> “Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,” in *Diacritics* 25, 2 (1995): 17.

<sup>14</sup> Trans. Spencer. *Magl.*, fol. 104v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 397 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 183: *nella propria forma che doveva essere scolpito ho fatti ritrarre da quegli proprii: eccogli qui.*

Studying antiquity through drawing ruins and sculptures, in addition to learning *disegno* through copying masters' drawings were common elements of workshop education in the *quattrocento*. Yet, discovering drawings left from the ancients is a rare opportunity, considering the limitations of the manuscript tradition, and the misfortunes of illustrations in the process of scribing. The only source of its kind, Vitruvius' *De Architectura*, which Filarete thoroughly cites as an authority, reached the Renaissance in written form only, although Vitruvius mentioned that ten drawings were to be found at the end of the text, all were lost to time. Alberti proudly relied on his rhetorical skills in writing *De Re Aedificatoria*, with no intention to illustrate it. One should be reminded of the Renaissance efforts in translating and illustrating Vitruvius extensively, as only taking place later in the fifteenth century. Therefore, it is likely that by providing an extensive visual account, Filarete was envisioning a possible similar fascination with his own *Libro*. Accordingly, he demonstrates his visual program on *disegno* within the authority and the majesty of the ancient writings, expecting it to be approached with similar enthusiasm. Hence, in the Golden Book, the king credits his architect Onitoan Nolivera, a thinly veiled anagram for Antonio Averlino (Filarete) for keeping a record of all these buildings based on the knowledge he learned from him. He notes the architect's words: "if you look closely, you will find instructions in this book for building anything that I know how to build."<sup>15</sup> Therefore, Filarete extends the pedagogical agenda beyond the narrative one, imagining that his own drawings could be studied thoroughly via copying, and even built.

The Golden Book has been described to resemble the Bronze book that Filarete proposes to bury in the foundation of the city walls of Sforzinda. During the foundation ceremonies, Filarete describes a marble stone that inscribes the date, the name of the lordship, the Pope, and the architect, and then a marble box that should be placed over the cornerstone, in which a Bronze Book will be placed to record the age and deeds of the worthy men. But a further reference to the Bronze Book states that it will record Filarete's accomplishments: the bronze doors of the Old Saint Peter's, the Ospedale Maggiore, and the Bergamo Cathedral. Among other proposals populating the margins of the *Libro*, two of his architectural works were re-appropriated: the hospital of Sforzinda (Book XI) and the hermit's church built following the request of the Lady, a thinly veiled personification of Sforza's wife, Bianca Maria Visconti (1425–1468). Although Filarete was versed in sculpting and produced worthy sculptural pieces in bronze, in the *Libro*,

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<sup>15</sup> Trans. Spencer. *Magl.*, fol. 107v = Filarete, *Trattato* (Finoli and Grassi, eds.), 408 = *Treatise* (Spencer, trans and ed.), 188: *Se ben cercherete in questo libro, gli troverrete ricette di fare alcune cose che lui sapeva fare.*

he does not elaborate on any of this. Filarete writes his book as an architect and only stresses the accomplishments that pertain to this elevated status.<sup>16</sup>

## ii) Filarete – the author / architect

By describing the architect as the mother of the building, the female agent in the building process, Filarete legitimizes the labor of the architect in the fifteenth century context where art and architecture work is traditionally credited to the patron, not to the artisan.<sup>17</sup> This reflex for authorship is evident when Filarete names the city, Sforzinda, after his patron, but he names the *disegno* of the city after himself, Averliano.<sup>18</sup> Filarete claims the architect as the author of the material artifact, independent of the patron's contribution to the building enterprise. Hence, in the narrative plot of the *Libro*, Filarete proposes to build the hermit's church based on the design for Bergamo's Cathedral. He deliberately refers to the wooden model that he made for the bishop, stating that it is "proportioned to the measure of the place where it was to be built [...] in the [same] form and measure that you see drawn on this page." During the short period of Filarete's involvement, the construction of Bergamo's Cathedral only reached the partial raising of the foundation walls. Filarete's labor, as documented in the *Libro*, was to deliver a scaled wooden model, which he left at the fabrication site, presumably along with drawings, to guide the masons.<sup>19</sup> While none of these artifacts survived, Filarete's documentation of the physical model of the facade as a three-dimensional drawing did, as it was drawn on folio 123r of *Codex Magliabechianus* (Figure 3.17).

As the most extant copy surviving today, the manuscript demonstrates the complete archival nature of the *Libro* (*Codex Magliabechianus*), reflecting the role of the text and the drawings to represent the book to his renewed and more sophisticated patron, Piero de Medici. Currently archived at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, the book occasionally circulates for exhibition purposes. This "translation" of the archive,<sup>20</sup> moving the artifact from one place to

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<sup>16</sup> Glass, "Filarete at the Papal Court," 55n19.

<sup>17</sup> This has a direct reflection in the Renaissance context where artists' signatures appear widely. Individuality is arguably one of the main characteristics of the early modern period and Filarete's participation in this movement is also apparent considering the multiple signatures that he placed on his bronze doors, showing the pride he had for his work.

<sup>18</sup> *Magl.*, fol 11v.

<sup>19</sup> Schofield, "Avoiding Rome," 34-38.

<sup>20</sup> As Federica Goffi discusses alternative meanings for translations (based on Lat. *translatio*) for physical transpiration, "Translations and Dislocations of architectural media..." 326.

the other, suggests a different way of interacting with the book. While displayed at the 2015 Milan exhibition, the Libro laid open to folios 122v and 123r inside a vitrine, coincidentally reveals Filarete's drawing of the wooden model of Bergamo's Cathedral (Figure 4.1).

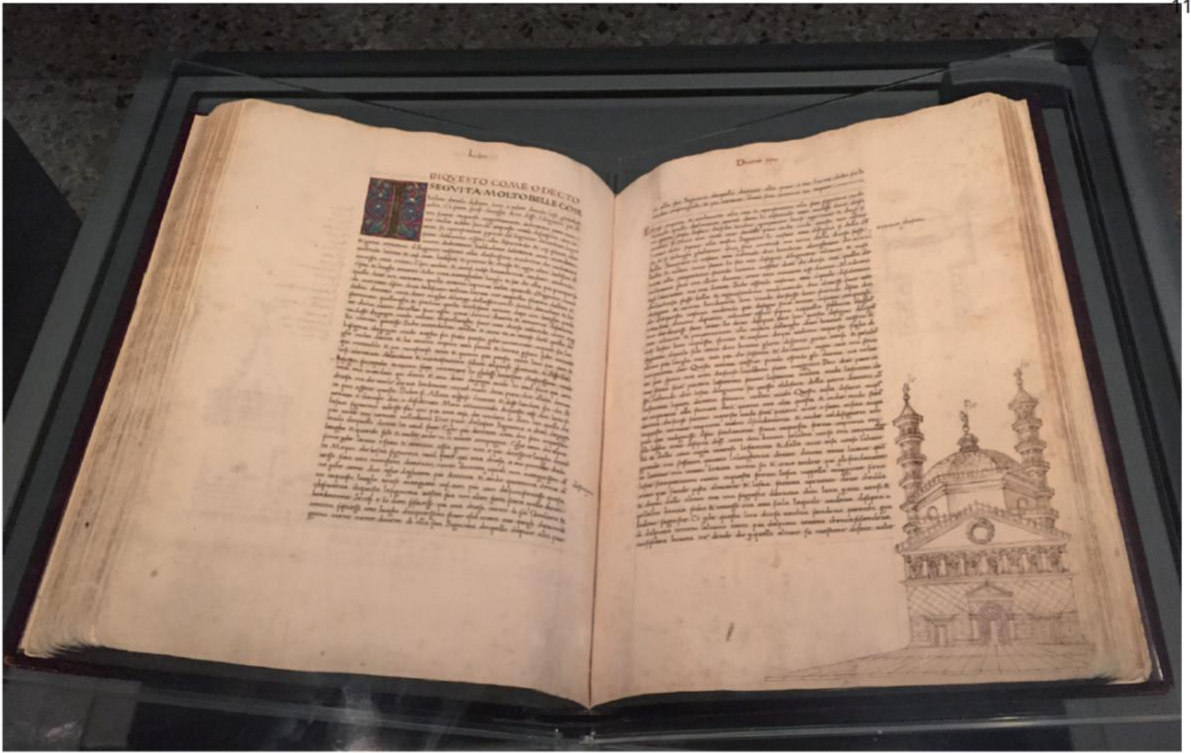


Figure 4.1 Filarete. 1460–1466. Libro architettonico. Codex Magliabechianus. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Manuscript. “Leonardo 1452–1519” exhibition, Palazzo Reale, Milan, 16 April–19 July 2015. © Photo by author

Filarete's *Libro* did not enjoy the fame that he envisioned for it in posterity, and the reason for its oblivion is usually credited to Vasari, who called it “mostly ridiculous, and perhaps the most stupid book that was ever written” in the 1568 edition of his *Lives*.<sup>21</sup> Although Vasari was harsh in his criticism, his entry holds valuable clues that confirm Filarete's intentions. In his 1550 edition, Vasari refers to Filarete as the “Florentine sculptor,” and speaks poorly of his design for the prestigious commission of the bronze doors of Old Saint Peter's, crediting

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<sup>21</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the most eminent painters, sculptors & architects*, 10 vols, trans. Gaston Du C. De Vere (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1912-14), vol.3, p. 5.

anything appreciative to Simone. In the 1568 edition, Vasari updates the entry, acknowledging Filarete's architectural accomplishments. He gives the full names for two building projects designed and built by Filarete: the Ospedale Maggiore and the Bergamo Cathedral. Vasari concludes his remark on the Ospedale stating that it was "so well built and ordered that I don't believe there is anything like that in Europe." There is no mention of the cathedral's design features, but he writes that "he built [it] with no less diligence and judgement than he had shown in the above-named hospital."<sup>22</sup> Vasari's sources in the compilation of his entries for the *Lives* have been various, including his first-hand experience. However, in the case of Filarete's work, he acknowledges that he got the information from Filarete's own account. Vasari's narration of the foundation ceremony of Ospedale Maggiore, can almost be followed almost word for word in the *Libro*. In this re-construction of the identity of Filarete, Vasari neglects to update the title of the entry to 'sculptor–architect' as he had done for many of Filarete's contemporaries. While pushing him towards oblivion, nevertheless the first attempt of approaching the *Libro* as an archive that allows a historian to construct the image of Filarete as an architect happens with Vasari.

### iii) Final Remarks

As a conclusion, what we witness in Filarete's *Libro* is an architect, who defines his profession through a subordinate position to the patron on the foreground. With his analogy of building conception to human generation, Filarete defined the patron as the father and the architect as the mother of a building. As I demonstrated mainly in Part I, the former's direct association with the building was an evident notion which descended from the antiquity, however the latter was subject to re-definition to differentiate its position from *capomaestro* in the early Renaissance context. Building upon the ideological aspects behind building on the patron's end – namely, leaving his fame to posterity – Filarete capitalizes on the role of the architect. In a similar fashion where marriage is defined for the sole reason of sustaining family lineage, Filarete suggests a similar interaction to take place between the patron and the architect for the building. Interestingly, although both sides of the analogy are given in a patriarchal system, both the way Barbaro's treatise and Filarete's *Libro* establishes the woman's agency, reduces the role of the man to a symbolic essence only.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

While the building is still associated with the patron, and the son is expected to reflect the father's image, the sole authority in the determination of these are given to the woman. For building, the primary condition is the financial resource which credits the patron for its ownership. However, the architect owns the realm that contains everything else that pertains to building. *Disegno*, the growth of *disegno*, all these are associated to an invisible realm that symptomatically appear in the final building. The former is retained in the invisibility of the womb, and the latter still sustains an invisible connection with the capacity of the mother's milk to alter /adjust the design during building. The architect holds the imagination.

Filarete proposed his analogy as the backbone of his design theory, and he aimed to demonstrate it through the narrative construction of Sforzinda. This is the foreground as he articulates his agenda and parts of the book in the very beginning. In the background, he showed how he is capable of changing the patron's opinion and eventually taught him how to build nobly, proving why he necessarily needs an architect. The family structure he proposed, while flattered the patron's ego, actually showed what the architect is capable of. While the humanists of the Renaissance often omitted the names of the architects of the buildings in their panegyrics to praise the noble patrons only through their buildings, Filarete managed to bring his name forward as an architect, in a way, by writing his own panegyric, praising the building activity of himself through an imaginary city. While the influence he had in his built projects during his tenure in Milan is limited, we can have no doubt that his sole edifice, where he can claim full authorship for its written and visual content, was his *Libro Architetonico*.

In that regard, the scope of this dissertation remained limited to contextualize Filarete's intentions in using an analogy of this sort in the early Renaissance. Given the main actors Filarete defines, this task could well find a position in patronage studies, and eventually allowed me to show the extents of Filarete's intentions that *make sense*. However, this study could only scratch the surface of a bigger question which is given as an overall definition of architecture as a feminized profession. The research I presented in Part II, could only cover the contextual ground for understanding the alliance of "female" agency with "creativity," and its extension to motherhood to define the whole scope of the profession in Filarete's terms. This aspect, still requires an in-depth analysis with psychoanalytic perspective in gender studies. Particularly in art and architecture history circles, many of such critical perspectives focus on individual female figures to expand the field against its male dominancy. Yet, the larger question of femininity and masculinity still stays open in understanding the agency of

the profession in the larger structure of building practices, that still encompasses distinct forms of patronage. Ultimately, Filarete's famous analogy may point to the inherent, hidden, yet eternal presence of the female at the heart of what has been claimed to be a male profession.

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