Magnificence, Dignity, and the Sociopolitical Function of Architectural Ornament: Cortesi's Discussion of the Cardinal's Architectural Patronage

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By concentrating on Paolo Cortesi's discussion of the cardinal's architectural patronage in "De Cardinalatu Libri Tres" (1510), this article shows how Cortesi considered the construction of a sumptuous residence not as a sign of "magnificence" ("magnificentia") but as a necessary operation to establish "dignity" ("dignitas"). Cortesi thus distinguished between the ethical and political-aesthetic dimension of magnificence, defining virtuous patronage in terms of honoring God and being of service, and sumptuous display as a means to acquire authority. This distinction also sheds new light on Cortesi's treatment of the exterior architectural ornament that should be applied to the cardinal's residence.

INTRODUCTION

IT IS WELL known that in the early sixteenth century Paolo Cortesi (1465–1510) recommended to the cardinal in Rome that he build an elaborate urban residence for himself and his family.[1] In *De Cardinalatu Libri Tres* (On cardinalship in three books) (published postmortem, in 1510), Cortesi

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[1] The chapter on "De Domo," in which Cortesi discusses the cardinal's residence, came to scholarly attention in 1980, when Kathleen Weil-Garris and John D'Amico published an English translation of the chapter, together with an extensive introduction and footnotes: Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a. Shortly thereafter, both scholars published the article again, indicating some errata in the first edition: Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980b. For the original publication, see Cortesi.

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presented an extensive discussion on how best to design such a residence. He specified where this dwelling should be located in the city, how it should be oriented in respect to the sun and the directions of the wind, how the internal spaces should be distributed, and what ornamentation to provide, both inside and outside the building. In his text, Cortesi makes it clear that the cardinal may be ambitious in his building plans. The urban residence should be grand in scale, layout, and decoration. The point is to design a residence appropriate for an important representative of the Roman Church.

Contrary to what one might assume, however, building the cardinal's residence, according to Cortesi, is not part of the social virtue of magnificence. *Magnificentia* (magnificence), the virtue of making appropriate expenditures on a large scale to create great works, was often cited as a legitimation and duty when the construction of urban residences was discussed in Italy during the Renaissance.[2] But according to Cortesi, the cardinal's construction of an elaborate urban residence had nothing to do with virtuous architectural patronage. The purpose of the residence was, rather, to physically reinforce the cardinal's *dignitas* (dignity), as appropriate to his office. This distinction has several important implications. Not only does it lead to a better and more nuanced understanding of what could be considered appropriate large-scale expenditure for a specific kind of patron in early sixteenth-century Rome (namely, the cardinal), but it also provides clearer insight into the sociopolitical function that Cortesi assigned to sumptuous display. In doing so, Cortesi distinguished between the ethical and the political-aesthetic dimensions of *magnificentia*. For Cortesi, the ethical dimension of magnificence concentrates on architectural patronage that honors God and prioritizes the utility of the building to the community. The political-aesthetic dimension concerns the ability of grand works to evoke admiration in the beholder and to influence his behavior. It is the political-aesthetic dimension that is projected onto the dwelling (and detached from the term *magnificentia*). The urban residence, through its visual appearance, must evoke admiration, generate respect, and contribute to the cardinal's dignity. Cortesi formulates this advice in view of the hostile social-political climate in which the cardinal must operate on a daily basis. The residence's architecture must first and foremost help the cardinal to exude power and protect himself from the scorn and violence of the mob.

[2] The literature on magnificence in the Italian Renaissance is extensive and cited throughout this article. With regard to magnificence and the urban residence, see Cantatore; Lingohr; Lindow; Welch; Kent, 215–38. With regard to magnificence and the cardinal, see, among others, Schirg; Hermant and Toscano; Hollingsworth and Richardson; Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a.

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By naming Cortesi's distinction between the ethical and political-aesthetic dimension of magnificence, it becomes possible to demonstrate the sociopolitical function Cortesi attributed to the architectural design of the urban residence in general (the dwelling as a contribution to status), and to its visual appearance in particular (intended to act on the mind of the beholder and to influence his behavior toward the building). Highlighting this distinction also makes it possible to discuss Cortesi's contribution to architectural design theories on ornament in the Italian Renaissance. A reconstruction of the sources that Cortesi employed in formulating his design rules for the exterior ornament of the urban residence, as well as a brief contextualization of these design rules within the architectural theory of the Italian Renaissance, makes his contribution concrete.

MAGNIFICENTIA IN CORTESI'S *DE CARDINALATU LIBRI TRES* (1510)

Paolo Cortesi wrote his treatise on the cardinal in the last years of the fifteenth and the first years of the sixteenth century.[3] At that time, he had completed a long career in the Roman Curia.[4] For years he had circulated within Rome's elite and frequented numerous cardinal courts. In 1503, for reasons that remain unclear, he retreated to his native region, around San Gimignano. There, he finished his treatise on the cardinal. Interestingly, in the introductory letter to the treatise, the monk Severo Piacentino disclosed that Cortesi had not originally intended to write on the cardinal; rather, he had conceived a work "de instituendo Principe" ("on the education of the prince").[5] After a conversation with Cardinal Ascanio Sforza (1455–1505), Cortesi changed his focus, deciding to write on the ecclesiastical, rather than the secular, prince.

The genesis of *De Cardinalatu Libri Tres* sheds light on the structure of the treatise, as well as the discussion of *magnificentia* it contains. The treatise is composed of three books: *Liber Ethicus et Contemplativus*, *Liber Oeconomicus*, and *Liber Politicus* (Book on ethics and contemplation; Book on household management; Book on politics) (see appendix). It thus follows the threefold structure that had become common for a *De Regimine Principum* (On the governance of princes) since the eponymous work of Giles of Rome (ca. 1243–1316).[6]

[3] On the date of the treatise, see especially Bausi, 1996; Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a, 64–67.

[4] On Cortesi, see Bausi, 1994; D'Amico, 72–81; Ricciardi; Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a, 47–52; Paschini, 26–48.

[5] Cortesi, introductory letter by Severo Piacentino.

[6] Lambertini; Perret; Hubert; Briggs, 1999.

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In three separate books, Cortesi's treatise describes how the cardinal should act as an individual, as the head of a household, and as a public figure. The subject of *magnificentia* appears twice: once in the first book, on the individual, and once in the second book, on the household.

The concept of *magnificentia*, the virtue of making appropriate expenditures on a large scale for the creation of great works, appears for the first time in chapter 1 of the first book, in which Cortesi discusses the virtues that a cardinal must fulfill.[7] In addition to *magnificentia*, the virtues discussed include prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, liberality, magnanimity, mildness, and affability.[8] While Cortesi devotes one or more pages to each of these virtues, he only briefly touches on *magnificentia*, but signals that he will return to the virtue in "a most proper place for discussion."[9] This place appears in the last chapter of the second book.[10] In the second book, *Liber Oeconomicus*, Cortesi discusses every aspect of household management: the cardinal's income, the urban residence, his family, friends, daily meals, health care, control of the passions, giving audiences, speech, the metaphors to use in speech, and, finally, how to spend the money that remains after all the previous household tasks have been accomplished. It is under this last chapter that *magnificentia* as a social virtue is discussed.

It should be noted that Cortesi discusses *magnificentia* only after a full chapter has already been devoted to the cardinal's residence. The actual construction of the residence is considered a separate task. Only after the residence has been completed (and the other household tasks have been accomplished), can money be spent to fulfill the social virtue of magnificence. What this social virtue entails is discussed in that final chapter. Magnificence is discussed there alongside two other virtues related to the appropriate spending of money: "liberality" ("liberalitas") and "giving alms" ("donatio" or "elemosyna").[11] Yet, while liberality and giving alms both relate to the giving of money, magnificence refers to spending money on architectural commissions. The liberal cardinal gives money to relatives, theologians, philosophers, those professing the liberal arts, orators, poets, and virtuous and learned friends.[12] Almsgiving, on the other

[7] Cortesi, I^{r}–XII^{r} (Liber 1, Capitulum [Cap.] 1).

[8] The Latin terms are *prudentia*, *iustitia*, *fortitudo*, *temperantia*, *liberalitas*, *magnanimitas*, *mansuetudo*, and *affabilitas*. For a detailed discussion of these virtues in Cortesi's treatise, see Quondam.

[9] "Maxime proprius disputandi locus": Cortesi, VIIII^{r} (Liber 1, Cap. 1). All translations are the author's except where otherwise noted.

[10] Cortesi, C^{r}–CVIIII^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 11). The chapter is titled "De Erogatione Pecuniarum quae Supersunt."

[11] Cortesi, C^{r} (Liber 2, Cap. 11).

[12] Cortesi, C^{r}–CII^{r} (Liber 2, Cap. 11).

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hand, is done out of "pity" ("misericordia").[13] Cortesi advises the cardinal to give money to the old, the learned, those with old fathers or poor sons, and those having met with calamity, among others.[14] In regard to magnificent spending on architectural commissions, Cortesi is very specific about what kinds of buildings the cardinal should fund. He mentions churches and sanctuaries (mainly titular churches); hospitals for travelers, lepers, children, and the sick; convents for mendicant brothers; and, more generally, buildings that serve the public good, such as libraries, public auditoriums, and houses for the learned.

Virtuous architectural commissioning thus focuses on buildings that honor God and serve others. By identifying such buildings as appropriate objects of architectural patronage, Cortesi emphasizes the cardinal's ecclesiastical role—the cardinal praises God and provides what is necessary for the subjects entrusted to his care. Cortesi probably drew inspiration from the Florentine archbishop Antoninus (1389–1459), who wrote about magnificence in his *Summa Theologica*.[15] In this work, Antoninus emphasizes the caring responsibility of the rich and powerful, "to whom, says Ambrose, superabundance has been given by God, so that they acquire the merit of good stewardship."[16] Since God gave the rich and powerful responsibility over the poor, it was obvious to Antoninus that they would invest their wealth in buildings that would benefit these individuals: hospitals, chapels, and public churches. This advice "applies most to leading citizens (*principes*) and prelates, who especially ought to aim at great things above all for the honour of God and the benefit of others who are assigned to their care."[17] Cortesi appears to have followed Antoninus's advice in defining magnificence as a virtue that specifically aimed to make buildings honoring God and benefitting the Christian community. Magnificence as a social virtue is thus formulated quite specifically in the *De Cardinalatu*. It is about financing buildings, and about honoring God and being of service.

The specificity of Cortesi's formulations becomes even more apparent when comparison is made with Giovanni Pontano's treatise *De Magnificentia*

[13] Cortesi, CIIII^{v}–CVIIII^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 11).

[14] Cortesi, CII^{r}–CIIII^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 11).

[15] Antoninus's discussion of *magnificentia* appears in the *Summa Theologica* 4.3.6: see edition with translation in Howard, 117–21.

[16] "Quibus, ut dicit Ambrosius, superabundantia datur a Deo, ut meritum bonae dispensationis acquirant": Howard, 118 (Latin), 121 (English).

[17] "Quod maxime pertinet ad principes & praelatos, qui praecipue debent intendere magnum in ordine ad honorem Dei & utilitatem eorum, qui ejus cultui deputantur": Howard, 118 (Latin), 121 (English).

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(On magnificence), written in the late fifteenth century for the Neapolitan elite.[18] Here, Pontano (1429–1503) gives a freer interpretation of what could be considered magnificent patronage.[19] To begin, he does not limit the objects on which the magnificent man spends money to buildings. Although buildings are a substantial part of his discussion, Pontano also cites public games, weddings, and the reception of guests as appropriate objects of expenditure.[20] Moreover, unlike the liberal man, who spends "with a view to utility" ("propter solam utilitatem"), the magnificent man also spends "with a view to pleasure" ("propter uoluptatem").[21] Both aspects are irreconcilable with Cortesi's definition of magnificence as a social virtue for the cardinal. In performing the virtue of magnificence, the ecclesiastical prince honors God and provides what is necessary for the subjects assigned to his care—specifically, in financing the construction of buildings.

DIGNITAS AND WEALTH

The construction of an urban residence does not fit into Cortesi's ethical dimension of magnificence. In *De Cardinalatu*, constructing a residence is separate from *magnificentia* as a social virtue. The residence rather aims to contribute to the cardinal's *dignitas*. According to Cortesi, this dignity depended primarily on the display of wealth. In the early modern period, the cardinal's *dignitas* played a crucial role in determining his elevated position in the Church's hierarchy, which was based on his nomination as cardinal by the pope.[22] It was the dignity of the cardinal's office, related to juridical power (*potestas jurisdictionis*), and not clerical order (*potestas ordinis*), that placed him at the very top of the ecclesiastical ladder, just beneath the pope. Although this dignity necessarily came with the appointment to the office, Cortesi suggests that its recognition within the sociopolitical reality of Rome was not a foregone conclusion. The cardinal needed to display wealth in order for his dignity to be recognized. For "without the power of wealth, dignity stands

[18] Pontano wrote five treatises related to the expenditure of wealth during the 1490s. They were published together in one volume in 1498. On these treatises, see Roick; Shepherd; Canfora; Welch.

[19] I therefore do not agree with Weil-Garris and D'Amico, who saw parallels rather than distinctions between both works: Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a, 56.

[20] Although Pontano almost exclusively mentions buildings in the prologue when celebrating the magnificent patronage of Pope Innocent VIII, he includes other objects of magnificent expenditure throughout the treatise: Pontano.

[21] Pontano explains this difference in the first chapter of the part on magnificence, entitled "In quibus magnificentia cum liberalitate conveniat inquibus etiam ab ea differat": Pontano, i–v.

[22] Richardson, 101–12; Harvey; Ullmann.

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naked."[23] Wealth can contribute to the recognition of the cardinal's dignity because of the admiration it evokes. This admiration prevents the cardinal from being met with offense and contempt.[24]

Cortesi's position is important because it relates to the political-aesthetic dimension of *magnificentia*. From the thirteenth century onward, a textual tradition emerged that linked magnificence to authority.[25] This tradition, based on translations and commentaries of Aristotle's *Politics*, postulated that magnificent objects evoke admiration in the beholder and compel him toward submission and respect. The tradition gave rise to an entire body of work addressing the political benefits of magnificent patronage, in which the ethical and political-aesthetic dimensions of magnificence were often taken together.[26] A famous example is Giannozzo Manetti's biography of Pope Nicholas V (1397–1455), written around 1455, which presents the pope's architectural patronage as a sign of his virtue, but also as a means to strengthen the authority of the church. Cortesi, however, completely separates the two. He treats *magnificentia* as a social virtue as something separate and suggests utilizing the sociopolitical advantage of magnificent objects (and, thus, of sumptuous display) to shape the cardinal's dignity.

The importance Cortesi places on wealth, which, through sumptuous display, should be used to acquire dignity, is strongly expressed in the first chapter of *Liber Oeconomicus*. This is devoted entirely to the discussion of cardinals' income, which must not only be equal for all but, above all, sufficiently high.[27] This wealth must be used toward sumptuous display in numerous areas. Each of these aspects is addressed in the second book, which concerns the construction of an urban residence, the maintenance of friendships, appropriate dress, and, in general, the adoption of a sumptuous lifestyle. This lifestyle fits the elevated position of the cardinal within society and aims to arouse admiration and respect among the people of Rome. In doing so, it helps to secure the cardinal's position in the sociopolitical realm.

[23] "Sit nuda sine opum potestate dignitas": Cortesi, XLVI^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 1).

[24] The passage in which Cortesi makes the connection between dignity, wealth, and admiration most explicit reads: "For, since men are usually more moved by admiration of riches than by the majesty of dignity, they easily scorn at those, in whom dignity is naked without the power of riches." ("Nam cum homines diuitiarum magis admiratione moueri quam dignitatis maiestate soleant, facile eos irridendo spernunt, in quibus sit nuda sine opum potestate dignitas"): Cortesi, XLVI^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 1).

[25] Smith and O'Connor, 247–54; Spilner, 458n28; Green.

[26] Manetti. For a detailed discussion on the relation between magnificence and authority in this biography, see Smith and O'Connor, 247–54.

[27] Cortesi, XXXXIII^{r}–XLVIII^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 1). On the broader context of the cardinal's income, to which Cortesi relates, see Hollingsworth, Pattenden, and Witte; Hollingsworth and Richardson; Hurtubise; Fragnito; Chambers, 1966, 1976, and 1992; Lowe.

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In drawing a clear distinction between the ethical and political-aesthetic dimensions of magnificence—treating the latter as an independent element and separated from the term *magnificentia*—Cortesi indicates that sumptuous display has essentially a sociopolitical function. The cardinal must uphold a sumptuous lifestyle if he is to ensure his own position and safety. In addition, Cortesi shows his understanding that the dignity following from this sumptuous display depends on the visual. The mechanisms by which display leads to respect and submission are entirely dependent on how admiration is generated in the visual encounter with the sumptuous. It is what is seen that evokes admiration and initiates a particular behavior. In what follows, Cortesi's discussion of the exterior ornament for the cardinal's residence is taken up to illustrate this awareness. At the same time, this topic allows for a discussion of the broader implications of Cortesi's distinction between magnificence's ethical and political-aesthetic dimensions for contemporary architectural design theory.

SUMPTUOUSNESS AND DIGNITY IN CORTESI'S ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN THEORY

Cortesi advises on the exterior ornament of the cardinal's residence at the end of the chapter entitled "De Domo" (On the house).[28] This passage is very rich in content and references, and therefore worth quoting in its entirety. Cortesi writes:

> such [external] decorations of palaces [*ornamentora genera*] which make them appear attractively designed and sumptuously executed are also to be recommended for reasons of prudence. Thus the ignorant mob will be deterred from threatening the cardinals with harm and from plundering their goods by the mightiness of the building and through admiration of its opulence. Since it is clear that the uneducated multitude is usually led by its sense[s] rather than by rational reflection, we can see why the sight of the sumptuous cardinals' palaces easily restrains the admiring multitude from doing harm; for since the multitude is guided by the feeble [judgment] of the sense[s], it believes the cardinal's power to be so great as to prevent the mob from expelling the cardinals or from plundering their goods. On the other hand, when men see cardinals housed modestly, they immediately believe that the palaces are vulnerable to attack and so they think readily of overturning and destroying the cardinals' position in the hope of loot and from [the desire] for perverse liberty.

[28] In their critical edition of the chapter on the cardinal's palace, Weil-Garris and D'Amico translate *ornamentum* as "decoration." In this article, I prefer to stay closer to the Latin original, especially since Cortesi contributes—as I will demonstrate in a moment—to theories of architectural ornament in the Italian Renaissance. Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a, 86–97.

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> We read that this happened to Eugenius IV in our fathers' time when he was living in his palace in Trastevere. Not only was he thrown out of his house by the people because of their contempt for him, but he was also driven from Rome by a revolt of the municipal officials. If even a Pontifex Maximus could be struck by such misfortunes because of the people's contempt for him, how easily might still worse things befall cardinals who are unable to inspire fear due to a higher authority and who live unattended by armed guards. And so we conclude that, in choosing the manner of exterior decoration of the cardinals' palaces, that type should be chosen which will dazzle the eyes of the people by its dignified splendor, rather than one which will tend to inspire contempt by its modest appearance.[29]

Cortesi thus advises the cardinal to provide exterior ornament for the urban residence that is not only attractively designed but also sumptuously executed. It is the mightiness of the building and the admiration generated by its opulence that will deter the ignorant crowd. Because the unlearned man is usually guided by the judgment of the senses and not by rational reflection, he will—upon seeing the exterior ornament—be deterred from violence. In ornamenting the cardinal's residence, therefore, it is better to opt for a mode of ornament that will awe the people in its dignified splendor, rather than one that will evoke contempt by its modest appearance.

One of Cortesi's principal sources for this passage seems to have been Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* (ca. 1280). As previously mentioned, Cortesi had originally intended to write on the governance of the prince, and at the

[29] "Quare haec ornamentorum genera ad eam sunt prudentiae terminationem reuocanda, in qua non modo quidam insit descriptioni lepos sed etiam is sumptus in aedificando fiat qui imperitam multitudinem, quae ad senatorum caedem aut ad eorum bona diripienda imminere uideantur, potentiae magnitudine opumque admiratione deterreat. Nam cum perspicuum sit indoctam hominum multitudinem sensu solere magis quam ratione meditata duci, satis sciri potest eam cum sumptuosas senatorum aedes spectando admiratur perfacile solere ab iniuria inferenda reuocari, cum senatoriam potentiam estimet sensus imbecillitate tanti, ut nullo modo locum sibi putet ad eos pellendos aut ad eorum bona diripienda dari. At uero cum hominus a senatorum genere cernunt modicas habitari aedes, easque subito credunt oppugnatum & disturbatum iri posse, facile praedae peruersaeque libertatis spe de eorum statu conuellendo & labefactando cogitant ; Ut patrum memoria Eugenio Quarto contigisse legimus, qui, cum in domo transtyberina habitaret, propter contemptum non modo est ex domo deiectus a plebe, sed etiam ex urbe est tribunitia seditione pulsus. Quod si hoc Pont. Maximo plebis aspernatione contigit, quid putandum est senatorum generi euenturum, qui sine fascium metu sineque stipatorum custodia armata uiuant? Itaque si in alterutrum incidendum est, dubitari nullo modo debet quin sit magis optanda in senatoria domo ornanda ratio, quae dignitate sit oculos praestrinctura plebis quam quae contemptum mediocritate paritura uideatur": Cortesi, LIII^{v}–LIII^{r} (Liber 2, Cap. 2). English translation cited from Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a, 89.

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time, Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* was the leading example of this genre. Giles of Rome established the genre's threefold structure and introduced a more educational tone. More than 350 manuscript copies exist today, and already in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the text was extensively translated, with editions in Italian, Castilian, Catalan, English, Flemish, French, and Hebrew, among other languages.[30] The work was among the first books to be printed in Italy, with a Roman edition in 1482, followed by Venetian editions in 1498 and 1502.[31] Cortesi most probably had access to it on a daily basis while he was living in Rome. The 1447 inventory of the Vatican library lists the presence of at least two manuscripts in the collection.[32] Today the Vatican library also has printed editions in Latin from 1473, 1482, and 1498.[33]

In his *De regimine principum*, Giles of Rome discusses the social virtue of magnificence in the first book on the prince as an individual.[34] Magnificence is again addressed in the second book, in the context of the prince's residence.[35] This residence, the author writes, should be a "wondrous house, built with subtle craftsmanship" ("mirabiles & subtili industria constructas").[36] The word "industria" ("industry" or "craftsmanship") comes from Palladius's *De re rustica* (On agriculture), in which it is used to refer to the only nonnatural element of agriculture. *Industria* depends on human "possibility and will" ("facultas et voluntas"), and thus refers to human activity and craft.[37] In the Old English translation of *De regimine principum*, by John Trevisa (ca. 1342–1402), "mirabiles & subtili industria constructas" is translated as "wonder house and craftiliche imaad."[38] In a thirteenth-century French translation, this phrase is rendered as "granz et biaux soutivement fez."[39]

Giles of Rome advances three reasons why a prince should build a wondrous, subtly crafted residence: to exercise the virtue of *magnificentia*, to protect the

[30] Perret; Briggs, 1999 and 1993.

[31] Romanus, 1482, 1498, and 1502.

[32] Müntz, 107–12.

[33] https://opac.vatlib.it/all/?ling=it. The three printed editions in the collection predating *De Cardinalatu* are Romanus, 1473, 1482, and 1498. It is, however, difficult, based on the information in the catalogue, to determine precisely when these editions came into the possession of the Vatican.

[34] Romanus, 1498, Liber 1, Pars 1, Capitulum [Cap.] 19–21.

[35] Romanus, 1498, Liber 2, Pars 3, Cap. 3.

[36] Romanus, 1498, Liber 2, Pars 3, Cap. 3.

[37] Palladius, Titulus ii and vi.

[38] Fowler, Briggs, and Remley, 256.

[39] Molenaer, 232–33.

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prince from attack, and to house his administration and family.[40] The specific words he uses in regard to the second function read as follows:

> A second way to investigate this subject arises from the object itself: The philosopher touches on this subject in book 6 of *Politics*, in which he says that the prince should make magnificence and construct such buildings so that the people, when seeing them, have—as it were—their mind suspended through vehement admiration: Thus, the people rise less up against the prince on seeing that he is so magnificent. Truly, anyone from the people believes, after seeing this, that the prince is so great that it is almost impossible to strike at him. The magnitude of the buildings is allowed, as it is not made for ostentation or vainglory. It suits kings and princes not to be held in contempt by the people, [which is why] they make magnificent buildings as is required by the decent status in which they exist.[41]

In Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, the ethical and political-aesthetic dimensions of magnificence appear side by side, and taken together they legitimate why a prince should build a wondrous residence constructed with subtle craftsmanship. Cortesi adopts the second element of magnificence in his discussion of the residence's exterior ornament, but disconnects it from the actual term. Cortesi follows closely on the vocabulary employed by Giles of Rome. Based on this comparison—as well as on the structure of the treatises, the treatment of the residence therein, and the availability of the text to Cortesi—*De regimine principum* can be put forward as the main source for Cortesi's formulations on the deterrent effect of architectural ornament, as well as for his conscious decision to omit the word *magnificence*.

But there is more. Cortesi not only adopts Giles's advice but also describes in more specific terms the reflective mechanisms that underlie the deterrent effect of the ornament. According to Cortesi, the deterrent effect is based on the visual perception of the ornament, and the fact that the uneducated mass is moved more by sensory perception than by rational reflection. Apart from the emotional impact of admiration itself, the ornament deters by the associations it evokes through its form and richness. The ignorant

[40] Romanus, 1498, Liber 2, Pars 3, Cap. 3.

[41] "Secunda uia ad inuestigandum hoc idem sumitur ex parte ipsius proprii: & hanc tangit philosophus 6. Politicus ubi ait quod principes decet sic magnifica facere & talia aedificia construere quod populus ea uidens quasi sit mente suspensus propter uehaementem admirationem: nam populus minus insurgit contra principem uidens ipsum sic magnificum quilibet enim de populo hoc uiso oppinatur principem esse tantum quod quasi impossibile sit ipsum inuadere. Magnitudo enim aedificiorum licet non sit fienda ad ostentatione & inanem gloriam. Decet enim reges & principes ne in contemptum habeantur a populo facere aedificia magnifica prout requirit decentia status in quo existunt": Romanus, 1498, Liber 2, Pars 3, Cap. 3.

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people "see" ("spectando") the ornament, and with the estimative faculty of the mind, they "judge" ("aestimet") that the cardinal's power must be too large for him to be overthrown.[42] Cortesi's vocabulary here mirrors that used in contemporary theories of sense perception and human behavior.[43] He is aware that the terrifying effect of the residence depends specifically on its visual qualities.

The prominence given to the aesthetic dimension in Cortesi's theory is also reflected in a second adaptation he makes to the prescription of Giles of Rome. Giles of Rome interprets the term *magnificence* not only in terms of wealth and craftsmanship but also in terms of size. The "size" ("magnitudo") of the buildings, he instructs the reader, is not aimed at ostentation or vainglory; it should ensure that the people do not hold the prince in contempt.[44] Cortesi, however, speaks not of size but of ornament—specifically, the ornament applied to the exterior of the building. Cortesi thus advises the cardinal to rely on the deterrent effect of architectural design where it is really needed: on the building's outer surface, which is most visible to the crowd from the street. His theory of architectural ornament, therefore, is one of surface treatment that, through its visual properties, is capable of influencing the behavior of the viewer. Because this ornament is attractively designed and sumptuously executed, it will move the beholder toward submission and respect.

What Cortesi means by an "attractively designed" ("descriptioni lepos") and "sumptuously executed" ("sumptus in aedificando") ornament becomes clear from the contemporary residences he cites. Through these examples, as will be discussed shortly, Cortesi proposes a formal architectural language, based on exempla from classical antiquity, as a design system.[45] Speaking on potential construction materials, he lists travertine, a combination of brick and travertine, as well as incised stucco. Cortesi does not seem to have a specific preference for one material over others.[46] Yet, whatever material the cardinal chooses, he emphasizes, the execution must be sumptuous.

[42] Cortesi, LIII^{r} (Liber 2, Cap. 2).

[43] De Raedt, 2021.

[44] Romanus, 1498, Liber 2, Pars 3, Cap. 3.

[45] Cortesi uses the words "priscorum symmetriae": Cortesi, LIII^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 2). For Cortesi's use of these words, see Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a, 102n28.

[46] Cortesi, LIII^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 2). For a detailed discussion of these materials, see Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a, 111–12nn84–88.

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THE DETERRENT EFFECT OF ORNAMENT VERSUS THE CALMING EFFECT OF BEAUTY

Cortesi was not the only author to write on the potential deterrent or protective effect of architectural design. His design prescriptions for the exterior ornament of the cardinal's residence can be related to Leon Battista Alberti (1404–. In his architectural treatise *De Re Aedificatoria* (On the art of building) (written 1455–72, published 1486), Alberti writes that beauty can calm an enemy's anger and protect a building from human violence. Still, Alberti and Cortesi differ greatly in their positions on the visual appearance of architecture and the emotional and behavioral response it evokes. As argued here, Alberti's theory was more of an exception in the tradition that considers the effect of a building's visual appearance on the beholder. His position seems to fit within the specific context of his architectural treatise, which seeks to capture the essence of beauty and ornament and to translate it into design rules for architecture. Cortesi's position, in contrast, relates more to a parallel tradition that developed within the literary genre of the mirrors of princes.

In the sixth book of his architectural treatise, Alberti writes that

> there is one particular quality that may greatly increase the convenience and even the life of a building. Who would not claim to dwell more comfortably between walls that are ornate, rather than neglected? What other human art might sufficiently protect a building to save it from human attack? Beauty may even influence an enemy, by restraining his anger and so preventing the work from being violated. Thus I might be so bold as to state: No other means is as effective in protecting a work from damage and human injury as is dignity and grace of form.[47]

According to Alberti, beauty can thus soothe the anger of an enemy, thereby ensuring that a building will not be attacked. He defines this "beauty" ("pulchritudo") as an inherent quality of the object, based on its form.[48] Alberti's beauty is a reasoned harmony of all the parts within a body, so that nothing

[47] "Accedit quod haec una, de qua loquimur, commoditati atque etiam perennitati plurimum affert adiumenti. Quis enim non secum agi commodius affirmabit, ubi sese inter ornatos, quam si neglectos intra parietes receperit? Aut quid alioquin tam obfirmatum effici ulla hominum arte poterit, quod ab hominum iniuria satis munitum sit? At pulchritudo etiam ab infestis hostibus impetrabit, ut iras temperent atque inviolatam se esse patiantur; ut hoc audeam dicere: nulla re tutum aeque ab hominum iniuria atque illesum futurum opus, quam formae dignitate ac venustate": Alberti, 1966, 2:447; English translation from Alberti, 1988, 156.

[48] Alberti explains his definitions of beauty and ornament in book 6, chapter 2 and further expounds upon the philosophical basis of his aesthetic theory in book 9, chapters 5–7: Alberti, 1988, 155–57, 301–10; Alberti, 1966, 2:445–51, 811–39. For Alberti's aesthetic theory, and specifically his treatment of "form," see Mitrovic.

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may be added, taken away, or altered, but for the worse. Together with "ornament" ("ornamentum"), which Alberti defines as something added, "a form of auxiliary light and complement to beauty," it lends dignity and grace to a building.[49] It is in the visual perception of this "dignity and grace of form" ("formae dignitate ac venustate"), and through the presence of beauty in it, that an enemy's fury is soothed.

Alberti gives his readers few indications for understanding how and why beauty has this effect, and scholars have presented various explanations—variably based on (a combination of) Aristotelian and Platonic elements—to make sense of Alberti's belief in the effect of beauty.[50] A key seems to lie with the concept of *concinnitas*, the laws that underlie nature's creations and lend them their beauty. Either way, Alberti declares that the mind's recognition of beauty—and its calming effect on anger—is universal and immediate.

From this brief review, it is possible to delineate a number of important differences between Alberti's and Cortesi's theories on the effect a building's visual appearance has on its beholder. First, it is notable that Alberti writes about the calming effect of beauty, while Cortesi focuses on the deterrent. Although the final result is essentially the same for both authors (the building is protected from attack), the attitude toward what the building does and the emotions the beholder undergoes is very different. Second, for Alberti, the calming effect of beauty is universal and instantaneous: it applies to everyone, and it goes to work immediately on the beholder's mind. For Cortesi, the deterrent effect is audience dependent (it applies to the "ignorant masses," who are guided more by the "judgment of the senses than by reasoned reflection") and indirect (a building's ornament deters through the admiration it evokes and the associations that the viewer makes between visual opulence and power). Finally, for Alberti, the calming effect is based on a property inherent in the architectural object as a whole. Beauty, in Alberti's treatise, relates to the design of the building as a body. For Cortesi, the building's deterrent effect lies in the exterior ornament, which he considers a surface treatment, specifically applied to the building's outer shell.

These differences are essential to understanding the specificity of Alberti's discussion of the protective power of beauty. Alberti's reflections fit within the specific context of his architectural treatise, in which he attempts to define beauty and ornament, as well as their interrelationship, and to prescribe how they are obtained in building.[51] Cortesi's design rules for the exterior ornament of the cardinal's residence are of a more practical nature, in that they are formulated with

[49] "Ornamentum quasi subsidiaria quaedam lux pulchritudinis atque veluti complementum": Alberti, 1966, 2:449; English translation from Alberti, 1988, 156.

[50] De Raedt, 2018; Hills; Westfall; Bialostocki.

[51] Especially Van Eck; Biermann, 604–17.

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a specific purpose in mind: to ensure the stability of the cardinal's sociopolitical position in Rome. Alberti's discussion of the calming effect of beauty as an important source for Cortesi's design prescriptions for ornament must, therefore, be nuanced. This becomes even clearer when Cortesi's treatise is placed in relation to the mirrors of princes genre.

DE CARDINALATU LIBRI TRES, MIRRORS OF PRINCES, AND A THEORY OF ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENT

Over the course of the fifteenth century, multiple *De Regimine Principum* were written for Italian princes.[52] The genre became especially popular in the second half of the fifteenth century, when more and more *signori* came to power in diverse city-states and employed humanists in their courts. The advice books written by these humanists took various forms, from short letters to elaborate treatises. Bartolomeo Sacchi's *De Regimine Principum* (1471) is an interesting example to compare with Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu*. In this work too, the author puts forth a theory of architectural ornament that places its utility in strengthening the sociopolitical position of the prince; and whose power is directly dependent upon the associative nature of architectural ornament.

Bartolomeo Sacchi "Platina" (1421–81) dedicated his *De Regimine Principum* in 1471 to Federico Gonzaga.[53] In this work, Platina too includes a short chapter on the prince's residence and specifically discusses what kind of ornament was best provided. In formulating his advice, Platina refers to Homer. "According to Homer," the author writes, "the prince's residence should not be adorned with gold, ivory, or silver, but with spolia of his enemies." The former are full of "the delights and lasciviousness of women," which the prince should avoid at all times.[54] Homer used the description of houses to impart the personality of his characters. Therefore, the prince's residence should be "so magnificent and splendid, so that it contains nothing effeminate or feminine."[55]

Platina's discussion of architectural ornament is based on the idea that ornament connotes strong visual and social associations. He argues that the associations evoked by gold, ivory, and silver weaken, rather than strengthen, the position of the prince. If the prince wants to strengthen his sociopolitical position, it is better to provide ornament that suggests skill in warfare. Spolia

[52] Lambertini; Stacey; Skinner, 1978, 1988, and 2002.

[53] Platina.

[54] "Regiae domus ornatus, secundum Homerum, non ex auro, ebore argentove, sed ex hostium spoliis peti debet. Illa enim ornamenta delitiarum et muliebris lasciviae plena sunt": Platina, 94.

[55] "Sint igitur aedes tuae ita magnificae et splendidae ut nil effeminatum, nil muliebre prae se ferrant": Platina, 94–95.

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of enemies seem especially appropriate. Although Platina does not make explicit the protective effect of architectural ornament (as did Cortesi), it is clear that he has a similar purpose in mind. Architectural ornament should reinforce the prince's sociopolitical position within society through the associations it evokes.

Cortesi's design requirements for the exterior ornament of the cardinal's residence clearly relate to this tradition. It is within the mirrors of princes genre that a theory of architectural ornament seems to develop over the course of the second half of the fifteenth century, one that relies on ornament's associative nature, and specifically places its utility within a sociopolitical context of power and authority acquisition. That this tradition developed specifically within the mirror of princes genre—and specifically in relation to the princely residence—should not be surprising. How to acquire power and authority, and what contribution outward appearance could make to that end, was an important issue for secular and ecclesiastical princes in Renaissance Italy.[56] Furthermore, the question of how to protect oneself from physical violence was very real. There are countless examples of political intrigues and conspiracies at the time. Cortesi made clear—through the examples he cites—what kind of violence he specifically feared for the cardinal: that resulting from political sedition and rebellion (as befell Pope Eugenius IV in the mid-fifteenth century) and that taking place during the vacant see (when Rome temporarily became the scene for numerous acts of violence, with the residence of the cardinal-elected pope also sacked as part of ritual actions).[57] In his chapter on the cardinal's palace, Cortesi thus developed an architectural design theory on ornament that could contribute to protect the cardinal from this kind of harm. In addition to the exterior ornament, he included more physical means of protection. For example, he recommended that the cardinal provide an armory at the entrance so that weapons would be ready at any time.[58] He also advocated for a continuous walkway on the upper floor of the residence, from which the building could be defended.[59]

[56] See, among others, Cole; Beltramo; Black and Law; De Jong; Smith and O'Connor; Weddigen, De Blaauw, and Kempers; Kerscher; Clarke, 1999. For a possible interpretation of Platina's use of *ex hostium spoliis*, see Thomas. I would like to thank Jérémie Koering for pointing out this reference to me.

[57] Cortesi, LIII^{v}–LIII^{r} (Liber 2, Cap. 2). For the most complete contemporary account of Eugenius IV's flight from Rome, see Biondo, Liber 26. On rituals of violence during the Vacant See, see Visceglia; Rollo-Koster; Bertelli; Nussdorfer.

[58] Cortesi, L^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 2).

[59] Cortesi, LIII^{r}–LIII^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 2).

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THEORY AND PRACTICE: THE INTERPRETATION OF ORNAMENTAL FORMS

The prescriptions of architectural ornament for the princely residence, as written down by Platina and Cortesi, illustrate both authors' belief in the emotional and behavioral effect of a building's visual appearance on the beholder. Both Platina and Cortesi made explicit that certain architectural ornaments, through the associations they evoke, can contribute to the prince's sociopolitical position. Cortesi went even further by stating that this ornament can even protect the building from attack. Both authors also gave very specific examples of what kind of ornament can have such an effect. For Platina it is an ornament consisting of *spolia* of enemies. For Cortesi it is an architectural ornament, based on the formal language of classical antiquity and executed in travertine, a combination of brick and travertine, or incised stucco. That Cortesi specifically had this kind of ornament in mind can be deduced from the design prescriptions he includes and the contemporary examples of buildings he quotes. In the following, these examples are studied in detail, in order to individuate even more specifically which ornamental forms, as well as which materials, Cortesi found especially appropriate for the process of power acquisition through architectural design. After all, as the ever-growing body of studies on *all'antica* architecture of the Italian Renaissance has shown (and continues to show), this was a style that could take up many forms. The examples cited in the treatise, however, show that Cortesi had specific ornamental features in mind. He specifically considered a rusticated facade or a facade covered with pilasters, capitals, and friezes, framing smoothly squared blocks (executed in travertine, travertine in combination with brick, or incised stucco), as the most appropriate to protect oneself from harm.

Cortesi builds his argument for the exterior ornament of the cardinal's residence by addressing two aspects of it: its design and its materiality.[60] For each of these two aspects, he provides contemporary examples of buildings. The discussion of the ornament's design, furthermore, takes the form of an architectural evolution, which reconstructs the emergence of a contemporary *all'antica* language, whose origins Cortesi situates in Florence. Thus, Cortesi writes how Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464) was the first to revive the "design system of classical antiquity" ("symmetria priscorum"), when he provided Palazzo Medici with a rusticated facade.[61] Federico da Montefeltro (1422–82) built upon these first attempts when "financing his buildings [in Urbino] with the revenues of wars."[62] Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84), in turn, made his

[60] Cortesi, LIII^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 2).

[61] Cortesi, LIII^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 2).

[62] "Ex manubiis bellorum multa sunt renouata solertius": Cortesi, LIII^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 2).

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own contribution to the evolution of a contemporary *all'antica* language when he commissioned a new building for the Curia in the Vatican. Roberto Sanseverino (1485–1508) followed with his urban residence in Naples. The apotheosis of this evolutionary story is placed in Rome. Reflecting on the design of ornament within the Vatican—most probably referring to Bramante's Cortile del Belvedere, which was then under construction—Cortesi praises the singularly "refined manner" ("artifitiosius") of architecture commissioned by Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13). Once this evolutionary story of a contemporary *all'antica* language is made, Cortesi shifts to a discussion of the ornament's materiality. Here, he cites three possible materials to use: brick, a combination of brick and travertine, and incised stucco. As contemporary examples he cites three cardinals' residences in Rome. He celebrates the Palazzo della Cancelleria (figs. 1 and 2) and the Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia (fig. 3) for their use of travertine (and brick) and the Palazzo dei Penitenzieri (fig. 4) for its application of incised stucco.

It may first be noted that Cortesi's exemplary patrons are all princes (secular or ecclesiastical)—with the notable exception of Cosimo de' Medici. This selection emphasizes the link between his theory of ornament for the cardinal's residence and the mirrors of princes genre. Furthermore, that Cortesi includes Cosimo in this list of princely patrons, especially in a section that introduces the potential of architectural ornament to bestow power and authority, deserves closer scrutiny. It is well known that Cosimo's architectural patronage in Florence, and particularly that of his urban residence, came under fire from contemporaries.[63] A frequent comment voiced in relation to Palazzo Medici was that it was a residence "fit for a prince" (or even a king).[64] It is often difficult to determine whether this remark was intended as praise or as veiled criticism. After all, Cosimo, despite his wealth and prestige, was a private citizen, not a prince. By building a residence "fit for a prince," he was contributing to the splendor and beauty of Florence, to be sure. But he was also breaking the social rules of decorum and might have been hoping—as contemporaries might have inferred from knowing the politico-aesthetic tradition of magnificence—to take advantage of the power and authority this magnificence might provide him. Timothei Maffei's letter of 1454, in which the friar defended Cosimo's patronage based on a discussion of *magnificentia*, might, I suggest, be read in

[63] Timothei Maffei's treatise, entitled *In magnificentiae Cosmi Medicei Florentini detractores*, written ca. 1454–56, has been interpreted by multiple scholars as a defense against the criticism Cosimo received for his architectural patronage: see Howard; Kent, 36, 161–238; Jenkins. Criticism was voiced by, for example, Giovanni Cavalcanti in his *Nuova Opera*. On Cosimo's urban residence, he specifically wrote how Cosimo had started to build a structure, "next to which the Coliseum would seem useless": Cavalcanti, 120.

[64] See, for example, the commentaries of Pius II, in which the pope wrote that Cosimo built a residence in the city of Florence "fit for a king" (*palatium rege dignum*): Pius II, 316–17.

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Figure 1. Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome. Ornamental detail in travertine. © Flavia Rossi.

this context: as an attempt to detach Cosimo's patronage from the politico-aesthetic dimension of magnificence and to firmly root it within the tradition that deals with its ethical dimension. One of the purposes of the text might have been to show that Cosimo acted as a virtuous citizen, not as a princely ruler, seeking authority and prestige. By including Cosimo in his list of princely patrons, Cortesi confirms that contemporaries continued to look upon Cosimo's patronage in terms of power and authority acquisition. His patronage—specifically, the application of certain ornamental forms—remained connected to that of princely rulers.

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Figure 2. Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome. Ornamental detail in travertine and brick. © Flavia Rossi.

The Palazzo Medici and the princely residence of Roberto Sanseverino are the two examples that put rustication to the fore as an ideal ornamental feature to evoke power and authority (figs. 5 and 6).[65] According to Cortesi, Cosimo applied a rustication to the Palazzo Medici based on a module of Trajan's Forum (although scholars have suggested that he probably meant the Forum of Augustus).[66] In the Italian Renaissance, the Forum of Augustus contained

[65] Cortesi, LIII[v] (Liber 2, Cap. 2).
[66] Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a, 110n78.

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Figure 3. Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia, Rome. Facade in travertine. © Flavia Rossi.

the remains of what was considered by contemporaries to be an imperial palace.[67] Thus, an ornamentation consisting of a roughly rusticated facade had associations not only with antiquity but also with imperial power and prestige. The urban residence of Roberto Sanseverino applied a more purified geometrical form of such rustication.[68] The entire facade—now included in the Chiesa di Gesù Nuovo—is covered with an ornament consisting of so-called

[67] Kantor-Kazovsky; Clarke, 2003, 167–73; Tönnesmann.
[68] Frede.

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Figure 4. Palazzo dei Penitenzieri, Rome. Detail of facade, showing fragment of original incised stucco. © Flavia Rossi.

punta di diamante, square stones whose outer surfaces are sculpted into sharp, protruding geometric points.[69] That two examples of rustication are cited in a discussion that highlights the potentially deterring effect of architectural ornament demonstrates (and confirms) the connotations attached to this ornamental form

[69] The most famous example of a palace applying this decoration in the Italian Renaissance is the Palazzo dei Diamanti in Ferrara (ca. 1493–1503). In Rome, the Palazzo a Punta di Diamante, built by the Santacroce family (ca. 1498), serves as another contemporary example. This kind of ornamentation was also executed in fresco or incised stucco: Serraglio; Ghisetti; Bevilacqua.

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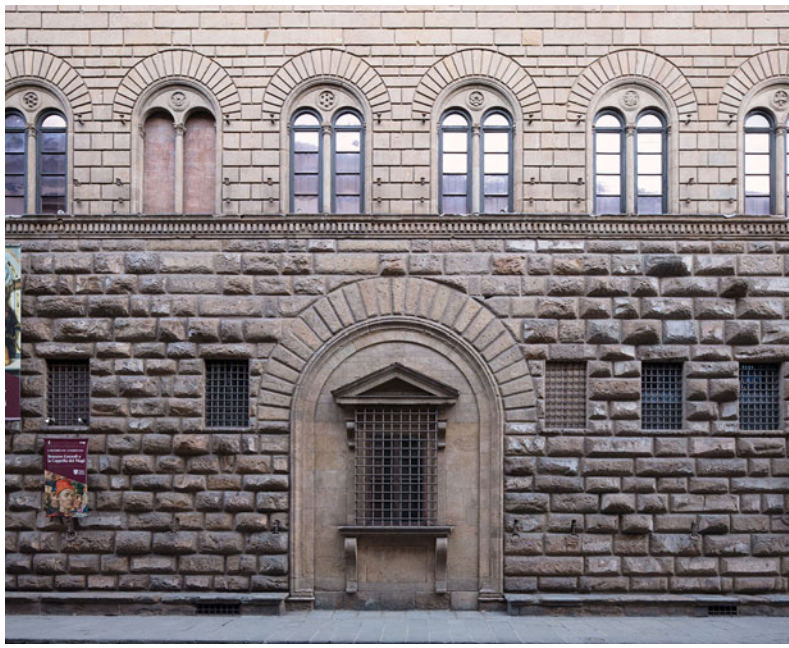

Figure 5. Palazzo Medici, Florence. Detail of facade, showing rough rustication of the ground floor. © Flavia Rossi.

Figure 6. Chiesa di Gesù Nuovo. © su concessione del Ministero della Cultura, Soprintendenza archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio per il comune di Napoli.

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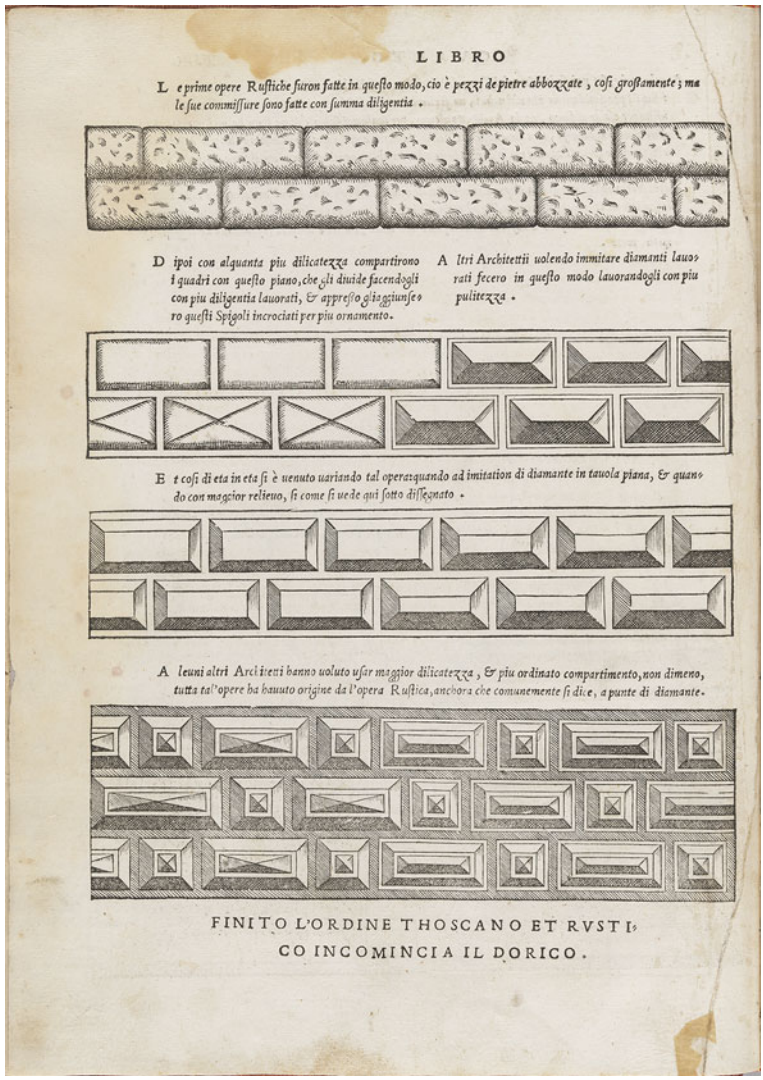

Figure 7. Page from Sebastiano Serlio's *Regole generali di architettura sopra le cinque maniere de gliedifici: Cioe, thoscano, dorico, ionico, corinthio, et composito, con gliessempi dell'antiquita, che per la magior parte concordano con la dottrina di Vitruuio* (Venice: Per Francesco Marcolini da Forli, 1537) showing different forms of rustication to be applied on walls designed following the Tuscan order. © Avery Classics, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University.

in the early sixteenth century. As is well known, these connotations are taken up and further developed in Sebastiano Serlio's treatise, where the Tuscan order is put forward as the most appropriate for fortifications and other defense structures. In

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Figure 8. Palazzo Ducale in Urbino. Detail of facade toward Piazza Duca Federico. Autorizzazione MiC, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino. © Flavia Rossi.

his discussion of the Tuscan order, Serlio (1475–1554) included a page showing different forms of rusticated walls, consisting of rough as well as more geometrically shaped blocks (fig. 7).[70]

The other examples cited by Cortesi, such as the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino (fig. 8) and Julius II's interventions in the Vatican (fig. 9), employ a form of ornamentation in which pilasters, friezes, and other classical elements frame smoothly squared travertine blocks or brickwork (also found in the Palazzo della Cancelleria and the Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia). In addition to strongly rusticated facades, Cortesi puts forward these features as especially capable of expressing wealth, power, and authority. In the case of the Palazzo Ducale, it can be noted that the bench incorporated into the facade facing the cathedral contains bas-reliefs that strongly correspond to the design advice that Bartolomeo Sacchi had formulated for the princely residence (figs. 10, 11, and 12).[71] There are no *spolia* of enemies, but there are representations of

[70] Serlio, VII^{r}–XVIII^{v}. See also Kantor-Kazovsky.

[71] On Palazzo Ducale, see Frommel, 2004; Höfler. On the frieze in specific, see Baratin, Giuliano, and Checcucci. For the ducal palace within Montefeltro patronage, see Hollingsworth.

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Figure 9. Detail of Cortile del Belvedere by Donato Bramante. © Flavia Rossi.

war devices sculpted into the bench. These devices certainly created associations with Federico da Montefeltro's military strength and valor. Cortesi mentions in his text that Federico's buildings were financed with the proceeds of wars (*ex manubiis bellorum*).[72] In this way, he, too, makes a subtle connection between Federico's architectural commissioning and his military strength.

In addition to the aforementioned examples, Cortesi cited the wing built by Pope Sixtus IV for the Roman Curia in the Vatican. The wing was located where the northern arm of the quadriporticus of the original St. Peter's Basilica

[72] Cortesi, LIII^{v} (Liber 2, Cap. 2).

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Figure 10. Panels of the Frieze of the Art of War, displayed inside the Palazzo Ducale. Autorizzazione MiC—Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino. © Flavia Rossi.

once stood. Unfortunately, little can be said about the exterior ornamentation applied to this building. Built toward the end of Sixtus IV's pontificate—construction began in 1483—and finished by Pope Innocent VIII (r. 1484–92), the building was subsequently lost during the expansion of the St. Peter's complex.[73] The few images of the building that remain today provide little information about its external ornamentation. The most detailed image

[73] Initiated under Sixtus IV, but finished by Innocent VIII, the building became known to contemporaries as the Palazzo di Innocentius VIII. Greenlee, 214; Kuntz; Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a, 110n80; Picard; Frommel, 1964; Buddensieg.

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Figure 11. Detail of Frieze of the Art of War. Autorizzazione MiC—Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino. © Flavia Rossi.

(a print based on a drawing by Antonio Dosio, ca. 1575) shows few ornamental details (fig. 13).[74] From the fifteenth-century diarist Antonio de Vasco, it is

[74] Justin Greenlee included the drawing by Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1609), formerly in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Dis. Arch. 2555/A (now lost), in his master's dissertation. The print based on this drawing was made by G. B. de'Cavalieri in 1575. The bird's-eye view of the Vatican Palace, made by Etienne Dupérac around 1577, shows the building from its least public side and in shadow. The building should in theory be visible on Tempesta's map of 1593, but it is unrecognizable due to shortening. When the Maggi Mascardi's view of the Vatican complex was printed, in 1615, the building had already been demolished.

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Figure 12. Detail of Frieze of the Art of War. Autorizzazione MiC—Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino. © Flavia Rossi.

known that travertine was transported from Piazza Giudea to the Vatican for the building's construction.[75] This travertine might have been reworked to create a facade design whose form and execution were similar to other cited examples, such as the Palazzo Ducale, the Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia, the Palazzo della Cancelleria, and the Cortile del Belvedere.

[75] Vascho, 506. See also Weil-Garris and D'Amico, 1980a, 110n80.

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Figure 13. Engraving showing the palace of Innocent VIII on the right. Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri. *The ceremony of the opening of the Porta Santa for the Jubilee of 1575, with crowds of pilgrims standing in the Piazza San Pietro with the new cathedral rising behind the old one*, 1575. © Trustees of the British Museum.

From these examples we learn what type of ornament Cortesi found most appropriate for expressing power and authority, and for protecting the cardinal from physical violence: a facade covered with rustication or pilasters, friezes, and capitals, framing smoothly squared blocks, executed either in travertine (with or without brick) or in incised stucco. Bartolomeo Sacchi, it may be recalled, had another kind of ornament in mind. To him, an

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ornament consisting of spoils of enemies seemed best suited to evoke associations of power.

Should it therefore be concluded that patrons, applying these forms of architectural ornament in their urban residences, necessarily sought to acquire wealth and prestige, or hoped to deter ignorant mobs? Not necessarily. The motivation behind specific architectural choices is difficult to determine. Not only do numerous factors come together in the design process—the architect's expertise, the available materials, the techniques employed at the worksite, the available funds—but the question of what motivated someone more generally is highly problematic in historical research. It may, however, be inferred from the theories discussed in this article that the application of such ornaments could be interpreted by contemporaries as an attempt, or at least a hope, on the part of the patron to establish power and prestige. As the inclusion of the Palazzo Medici in Cortesi's list of examples illustrates, the connotations of certain ornaments were hard to cast off.

APPENDIX

Table of contents of *Pauli Cortesii Protonotarii Apostolici De Cardinalatu Libri Tres*. In Castra Cortesio, Symeon Nicolai Nardi senensis, alias Rufus Calchographus, 1510. Translation by author.

Book 1: "On Ethics and Contemplation"
Chapter 1: On the Moral Virtues
Chapter 2: On the Knowledge of the Cardinals
Chapter 3: On Rhetorics
Chapter 4: Against Astrological Divination
Chapter 5: On Philosophy
Chapter 6: On Canon Law
Chapter 7: On Cardinals Who Have Left Something Written
Chapter 8: On Mass

Book 2: "On Household Management"
Chapter 1: On the Cardinal's Income
Chapter 2: On the House
Chapter 3: On the Cardinal's Family
Chapter 4: On Friendship
Chapter 5: On Daily Meals
Chapter 6: On Health Care
Chapter 7: On Passions To Be Avoided
Chapter 8: On Audiences

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Chapter 9: On Speech
Chapter 10: On Metaphors To Be Used in Speech
Chapter 11: On the Distribution of Surplus Money

Book 3: "On Politics"
Chapter 1: That the Pope with College Is a More Perfect and Durable Form of Government Than All Those Invented by Men
Chapter 2: On the Cardinal's Power
Chapter 3: On Ceremonies
Chapter 4: On Papal Election
Chapter 5: On Consistory
Chapter 6: On Urban Matters That Belong to the Consistory
Chapter 7: On the Higher Prelates and Ecclesiastical Matters That Belong to the Consistory
Chapter 8: On Simony
Chapter 9: On the Creation of Cardinals
Chapter 10: On the Protection Of Religious Orders
Chapter 11: On Admonition Given to the Pope [by the Cardinals]
Chapter 12: On the Councils
Chapter 13: On the Schism
Chapter 14: On Heresy
Chapter 15: On Beatitude

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