



«*Ser hechura de*»: engineering, loyalty and
power networks in the Sixteenth and
Seventeenth Centuries

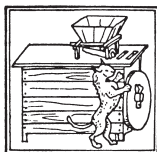
Alicia Cámara Muñoz and Margarita Ana Vázquez Manassero (eds.)



JUANELO TURRIANO LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF ENGINEERING

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loyalty and power networks in the
Sixteenth and Seventeenth
Centuries

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FUNDACIÓN JUANELO TURRIANO



**«SER HECHURA DE»: ENGINEERING, LOYALTY AND
POWER NETWORKS IN THE SIXTEENTH
AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES**

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I say not engineers but men: the Toledo family and Sixteenth Century fortification policy

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IN CASTRO COLOCATAM

The armoury square in the citadel at Antwerp was the venue, on 19 May 1571, for the unveiling of a statue of the third Duke of Alba. Sculptor Jaques Jonghelinck, a disciple of Milanese Leone Leoni, may have been inspired by the latter's *Charles V restraining fury*. The duke's statue, forged from cannons taken from the rebels at the battle of Jengum in 1568, portrayed him dressed in modern armour standing on a pedestal bearing reliefs alluding to the compassionate governance of the Good Pastor, restraining sedition (represented as a two-headed monster) and bringing peace, sword held behind him and hand outstretched in a Marcus Aurelius-like gesture. That political message, attributed to Benito Arias Montano and further disseminated in an engraving by Philipp Galle with the legend *STATUAM AENEAM ALBAE DUCI PACIFICATORIS HABITU ANTWER-*



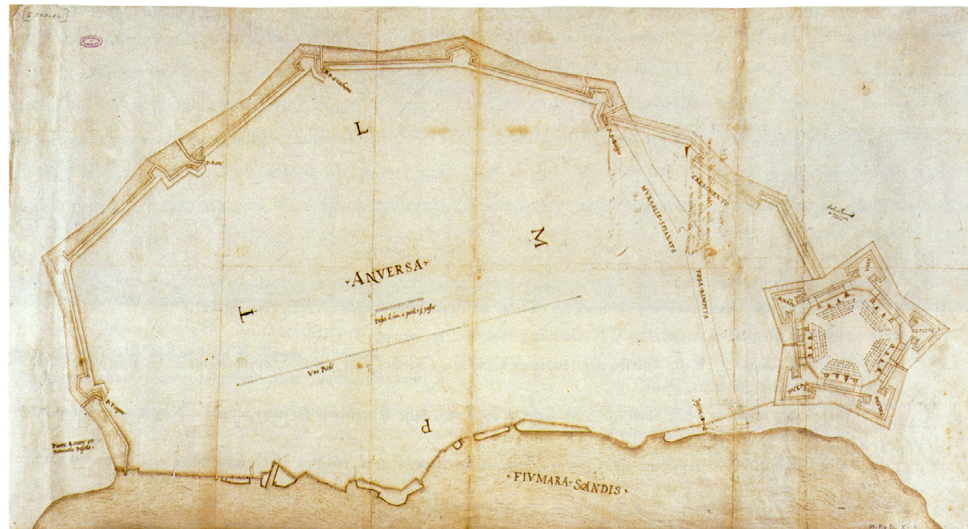
FIG. 1 PHILIPP GALLE, *Statue of the third Duke of Alba at Antwerp citadel*, engraving. British Museum.

PIAE IN CASTRO COLOCATAM [bronze statue of Alba in peace-keeping garb sited at Antwerp castle] was quickly critiqued in the court by the governor's enemies as a symbol of presumed royal ambitions. Despite its peace-making intentions, imbued as it was with the belligerent notion of *auctoritas*, the statue was identified as a token of tyranny and satirised in prints circulated by the Flemish rebels. With a change of factions in the court and Alba's replacement by Luis de Requesens as governor of the Low Countries, the statue was discreetly removed on June 1574 on the king's orders, albeit over the protestations of Sancho Dávila, citadel commander and military adviser loyal to Alba¹ [FIG. 1].

The symbolic appropriation of military space, emulating Italian precedents such as the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza at Milan castle (designed by Leonardo for Ludovico il Moro, whose clay model was destroyed by French troops), was the culmination of the controversy around the political aim of urban fortresses, mirrored in the institutional complexities and patronage relationships to which construction was subject. The Antwerp citadel was built against that backdrop, based on the Duke of Alba's proposal to the secret Council convened by Philip II in Madrid on 25 November 1566, in which the by then veteran soldier and politician managed to impose his opinion (founded on sound precedents in both Italy and Flanders) that urban fortresses were needed to suppress rebellious populations. Further to that programme, governess Margarita de Parma undertook works in several cities and sent local engineer Jacques Van Noyen and her court engineer Francesco de Marchi to Antwerp to choose the site and draft the initial design. Alba's arrival in the summer of 1567 altered the patronage and governmental relationships surrounding construction. He cancelled the agreements made by Margarita with the local authorities and urged Francesco Paciotto, another of the former governess's court architect-engineers, to draw a design better suited to the needs of surveillance and dissuasion. Rather than Marchi's idea to site the citadel outside the city to assuage local opposition, the new governor opted for Paciotto's proposal to build it at one end of the city wall, despite the criticism voiced by other experts such as Chiappino Vitelli or Gabrio Serbelloni in connection with inadaptation of the terrain and the flaws in the layout itself². The design authored by Paciotto (who soon returned to Italy) followed a standard pentagonal ground plan enclosed in a circle he had applied at Torino. That approach was the object of further criticism that ultimately led to changes, although the site chosen on the grounds of political criteria was retained³. The Duke of Alba was to intervene decisively in the process, as clearly inferred from a well-known letter dated in Brussels on 23 July 1569, in which the governor described works progress to Philip II:

«On the 27th of last month I went to Antwerp to decide about new parapets the engineer wants to build on the five cavaliers that I found with the cordon and curtain walls already in place [...]. I can ensure Y.M. that this is the world's most handsome square. I was not happy about the parapets; the ditches are dug, but not as deeply as they should be in some areas, although little needs to be added width-wise, around twenty feet or less. I also ordered the entrances be roofed and moats dug parallel to the counterscarp. The square inside is the most cheerful thing I have ever seen. I had five new outlets to the moat built and the height of the casemates raised, which have enhanced it generally. Very short stones had been placed on the bastions, barely corbelling over the curtain wall, with the smaller

FIG. 2
DOMENICO
DA FANO,
Anversa,
[1568]. Map
of Antwerp
wall and
citadel.
España,
Ministerio de
Cultura y De-
porte. Archivo
General de
Simancas,
MPD, 10, 3.



below and the larger above: I had all the lower ones lengthened and staggered inward up to the cordon, to quite a pleasing result» [FIG. 2].

The duke's detailed instructions attest to the breadth of his knowledge and architectural dynamics per se, in keeping with his opinion of engineers:

«Allow me to say, Y.M., that you are most fortunate to have Captain Bartholomeo Campi, specifically because he is a soldier and skilled, although less than Pachote, but well trained and with gifted conversation; and he is the most honourable man with whom I have dealt of all those I have known, and I say not engineers but men of whatsoever talent, and he is very candid and works cheerfully [...]»⁴.

The career of Francesco Paciotto, author of the initial design for the fortress, reveals the influence of patronage in architectural controversies. Trained at the Urbino court, a famous centre for military architecture⁵, his subsequent association with the Farnese family positioned him in the Spanish court in the faction coalescing around the Prince of Eboli, the Duke of Alba's arch-adversary⁶. In 1562 Paciotto went to Naples as a military engineer in the service of Viceroy Pedro Afán de Ribera, first Duke of Alcalá and prominent member of the Ebolist faction⁷. His critique of the first design for the Escorial authored by Juan Bautista de Toledo can be read against that backdrop, for the latter was associated with the Naples of Viceroy Pedro de Toledo⁸. Bartolomeo Campi, in turn, a member of the Pesaro nobility, was a renowned goldsmith, scenographer and civil engineer from a very early stage in his career, likewise spent in the Delle Rovere court at Urbino. In 1553 he travelled to France where he continued to engage in these and other soldierly activities that earned him fame until he was hired (along with his son Scipione, also an engineer) by the Duke of Alba in 1568⁹. Unlike Paciotto, «inherited» from Farnesian rivals, Campi could be presented as a valuable trophy seized from the French enemy and consequently in a certain sense, the «making» of the head of the Toledan faction. No praise was spared to emphasise the importance of such a prized acquisition.



FIG. 3 FRANS HOGENBERG, *Destruction of Antwerp citadel*, 23 September 1577. The Picture Art Collection / Alamy stock photo.

For the Duke of Alba, Campi's worth, together with his «candour» and «cheerful» work, was a value above and beyond «whatsoever talent» and of higher priority than his (in itself) hallowed soldierly status and skill, acknowledged to be of less merit than his predecessor's. Despite Paccioto's prestige, as reflected in the use of his name to designate one of the five bastions on the Antwerp fortress (pairing it with the duke's own, by which the other four were known: Fernando, Duke, Toledo and Alba), he was not immune to criticism by experts such as Campi or the concomitant changes to a structure imbued with symbolic substance that ultimately led to the ritual demolition of its urban flank in 1577¹⁰ [FIG. 3].

Symbols, resources and conceits such as used by the Duke of Alba attest to engineers' professional promotion, wrought through military and technical careers, defensive options and constructional layouts that conditioned the exercise of power and were indivisible from the patronage afforded by the nobility and the court. Several members of the Castilian branch of the Toledo family, such as the second Marquis of Villafranca Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples from 1532 until his death in 1553¹¹, and his nephew the third Duke of Alba¹², played leading roles in that context. Their actions conditioned the theory and practice of a type of knowledge that formed part of courtier culture¹³, as

illustrated by the architectural references in their correspondence¹⁴ and the academy founded by the third Duke of Alba in Madrid to discuss architecture and mathematics with other Spanish aristocrats and even cultivate drawing and building design¹⁵. The Toledo family's relationship with fortification was also influenced by political attitudes that determined a preference for citadels, culminating at Antwerp. Further to contemporary military and political treatises, the Spanish monarchy stood at the core of the controversy around the domestic use of fortresses introduced by Machiavelli as one of the challenges of the ongoing exercise of power¹⁶.

ERECTORI JUSTITIAE

Like his nephew whose statue was removed from Antwerp, Viceroy Pedro de Toledo of Naples was accused of ambitioning the throne, in this case on the grounds of a medal in which he was described as *OPTIMO PRINCIPI ERECTORI JUSTITIAE* [optimal ruler and erector of justice] to commemorate another architectural endeavour: the 1540 reform of the former royal residence at Castel Capuano to house all the Parthenopean city's courts¹⁷ [FIG. 4]. In 1548 the viceroy commissioned frescoes highlighting justice for the chapel forming part of the new courts' committal proceedings bench (on which funding for fortifications depended) from Pedro de Rubiales, a painter from Extremadura. The viewer's attention is drawn to the Pietà on the high altar and to the admonitory reference behind the cross to the 1547 revolt against the vicerealty in the form of the new fortress at Sant'Elmo, from which the rebellious city had been bombarded¹⁸ [FIGS. 5 and 6].

In the Naples of Pedro de Toledo civil and (always «political») military architecture was the vehicle for the conversion of unprecedented swathes of public and private space that led to urban development and the staging of power in Europe's second-largest city after Paris¹⁹. Construction was in fact the endeavour that best depicted the «iron viceroy's» government, in keeping with recent family history (enriched by his membership in the Order of Santiago and in the case of other kinsmen, in the Order of St John, famous for its poliorcetic tradition²⁰). In that respect Don Pedro followed in the footsteps of his father Fadrique Álvarez de Toledo, second Duke of Alba who combined a political and military career with the conversion of the Alba de Tormes family's former fortress into a palace in keeping with the Catholic Monarchs' courtier taste. In 1503 Fadrique commanded the defence of Rosellón and the new fortress at Salsas against an attack by Louis XII of France to counter the advance of the Grand Captain at Naples and in 1512 he, to-



FIG. 4 ANONYMOUS, *Medal with the effigy of Viceroy Pedro de Toledo*, 1540. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, n° inv. 0001027. © Archivo Fotográfico Museo Nacional del Prado.



FIG. 5 PEDRO DE RUBIALES, *Sumaria Chapel with the Pietà*, 1548. Naples, Castel Capuano.



FIG. 6 PEDRO DE RUBIALES, *Pietà (detail of Sant'Elmo Castle)*, 1548. Naples, Castel Capuano.

gether with his second son Pedro de Toledo, conquered Navarre²¹. During the younger Toledo's viceroyalty of Naples, its European, Italian and Mediterranean coordinates led to its conversion into a fortified kingdom, attested to by its massive urban and coastal structures and its status as the venue for the first Spanish treatise on fortification ever written, dated in 1538 and dedicated to the viceroy. Its author, Pedro Luis Escrivà, knight commander of the Order of St John, had governed urban fortresses such as at Sant'Elmo and the castle as L'Aquila²².

In his treatise Escrivà simulated a dialogue with the lower orders to respond to the criticism voiced, under

the guise of technical discrepancy, by the viceroy's political adversaries. The opposition to urban fortresses expressed by one of the most prominent, Marquis del Vasto Alfonso de Ávalos y Aquino²³, would be explicitly set out in a treatise written by Mario Galeota at Naples in the fifteen fifties. Along with Escrivá and officers such as Hernando de Alarcón, first Marquis de la Valle Siciliana (who died in 1540), other engineer-architects including Baron Gian Giacomo dell'Acaia culminated the defensive transformation of the kingdom and enlarged its capital to both military and political criteria²⁴. In 1545, don Pedro appointed architect Ferdinando Manlio «engineer of the royal court» to supervise all the civil and military works conducted in the city. Its enlargement would tend to separate the military zone from the quarters inhabited by the upper and lower classes²⁵. The major civil works and the reform of the bastioned belt around Castel Nuovo and Capua Castle were also commissioned from Manlio. His military experience was to bear on his palatial endeavours, such as the vice-royal residence in Naples or don Pedro's villa at Pozzuoli²⁶. A new villa and garden culture drew from the technical and human resources of civil (inseparable from military) engineering²⁷, as well as the intense patronage²⁸ likewise engaged in by other *pro reges* such as Ferrante Gonzaga, Juan de Vega²⁹, the third Duke of Alba (the driving force behind the garden at Abadia from 1555) and don Pedro's second son, García de Toledo, whose governmental proclamations were to be identified with the Astraeon myth of the restoration of justice that sought rebirth through construction.

García, who forged a brilliant military and political career as commander of the Naples galleys, was also well versed in fortification, on which grounds his father entrusted him with inspecting Capua Castle in 1552. Two years earlier he had been one of the architects of the taking of Mahdia on the North African coast from the corsair Dragut in an operation characterised by technical innovations authored by engineers such as Andronico Spinosa. García himself is attributed with devising a system to strengthen naval batteries by building a platform on the deck of two galleys, inspired by a stage setting for a play authored by Luigi Tansillo, vice-royal court poet, performed at Messina harbour twelve years earlier³⁰. Spinosa worked at Naples, where in 1552 he appears as «engineer of the royal court» «overseeing the forging of the royal artillery and other things of engineering», and participating in the War of Siena under the orders of Viceroy Pedro de Toledo³¹. That campaign, undertaken to quench opposition to the erection of an imperial fortress in 1550, was one of the primary scenarios for experiments in military engineering³². Experts from all across Italy were enlisted to ward off the rebels and their French allies. From Florence, Don Pedro asked Spanish Ambassador Francisco de Vargas to send him an engineer from Venice, a kingdom deemed to stand at the avant-garde of fortification. Tommaso Scala was ultimately entrusted with the commission³³. Giambattista Bellucci da San Marino, renowned fortification engineer and theorist, disciple and kin of Girolamo Genga who had also served Cosimo de' Medici³⁴, likewise worked with García, who took command of the Spanish troops after the death of his father and inspired a complex combination of mines and artillery during the siege of Montalcino [FIG. 7].

Under the rule of the third Duke of Alba as viceroy of Naples and governor of Milan (1555-1558), the Duke of Guisa's French invasion and the war against Pope Paul IV (Giovanni Pietro Carafa, 1556-1557) revitalised the Toledo family's positions in Italy.



FIG. 7 GIROLAMO MAGGI and IACOMO CASTRIOTTO, *Della Fortificatione delle città*, Libro Terzo, Chap. XXII, 1583, Venice, Camillo Borgominiero. Siege of Montalcino by García de Toledo's troops during the War of Siena in 1553.

García supervised the fortifications at Nola, Ariano and other cities in the Kingdom of Naples as general of the Spanish infantry and in March 1557 was appointed Alba's Deputy General, whilst one of his wife Vittoria Colonna's relatives, Vespasiano Gonzaga Colonna Duke of Sabionetta, a leading expert in military architecture, commanded the Italian infantry³⁵.

As viceroy of Catalonia from 1558 to 1564, García applied his Neapolitan experience in fortification in works such as the reformation of Perpiñán Castle. It was during his term as viceroy of Sicily, however, from 1564 to 1567, when he culminated his architectural patronage, geared primarily to coastal defence. He patterned urban reform in Palermo to the Neapolitan model, including a new thoroughfare running in a straight line between the harbour and the vice-royal palace, additions to the walls and a new harbour³⁶. Such endeavours substantiate the viceroy's preference for the capital over the rival Messina and his intention to make Palermo harbour the hub of an ambitious Mediterranean strategy. After the successful defence of Malta in 1565, García fortified major Sicilian harbours such as Augusta and in 1565 and 1566 supervised the fortification of Malta and La Goletta, where he sent engineer Gabrio Cervelloni³⁷. Throughout those years and until his death in 1578, García relentlessly advised on new harbour projects and fortifications at Naples from his villa at Pozzuoli, where, along with his younger brother Luis de Toledo, he also oversaw the adornment of its gardens³⁸.

«[...] *only of honourable and noble men*»

Pedro and García de Toledo's and the third Duke of Alba's architectural careers were conditioned by the alliance between the Toledo and Medici families after Don Pedro's youngest daughter Leonor married Cosimo I in 1539. A political, cultural and also largely architectural and mutually influential partnership was formed between Florence and Naples³⁹, where the presence of military experts, soldiers and «men of whatsoever talent» prevailed in the service of the two families⁴⁰. Of particular prominence was the Aldana dynasty, a family from Extremadura transplanted to the Parthenopean kingdom. Antonio de Aldana came to Florence with Leonor de Toledo and was appointed governor of the Tuscan fortresses at Livorno (1546-1554) and San Miniato (1554-1570), possession of which had been returned to Cosimo I by Charles V on the advice of Viceroy Toledo and his lineage. Antonio's brother Bernardo had fought in Hungary in 1548⁴¹ and in the fifties served in Naples as field marshal under the command of the Duke of Alba. On 1 January 1559 Bernardo de Aldana sent Philip II a list of «this kingdom's lands and seacoasts» that he had inspected the year before in two voyages from Naples, one by order of Fadrique de Toledo, who had succeeded his father the Duke of Alba as Lieutenant General, and the other under the successor of the latter, Juan Manrique de Lara. The list began with the castle on Brindisi Island, the frontier on the Adriatic coast most openly exposed, as «the most important thing in this kingdom, because it is the harbour defence from the island to the city, where countless vessels and galleys could gather [...]». Whilst the integration between fortified and naval power, highlighted by the proximity of the Turks, concurred with one of Pedro and García de Toledo's priorities, the description of the construction system illustrates the routine collaboration between captains and engineers and the circulation of drawings between the court and a frontier where the pressure borne required constant revision of defence layouts:

«Don Fadrique de Toledo sent me there to remedy what I could, together with Antonio Conde, whose design for a fort, sent to Your Majesty, suffices to ensure that no-one could land on the island and to protect the castle from any battery, but since I was later sent to other areas, those works progressed so little that when the [Turkish] armada arrived, it was just beginning to be built. Don Fadrique then ordered me to return and defend it and I had the fortification strengthened and with it in its new state and with some repairs on the cladding I awaited the armada [...] which sailed by most safely without attacking [...]».

In his report on the Taranto fortress, Bernardo de Aldana identified the need to strengthen the bastions and widen the ditch, noting that changes in the person of the viceroy obstructed works progress, which had acquired a good pace in recent years: «but with the change in viceroy the Tarantanos asked me for an order from the new one and before they were heard and it was issued time lapsed up to now, and danger is ever near [...]». The description of the works for Pescara castle on the Abruzzo coast nonetheless holds the greatest historical interest, for it afforded Aldana the opportunity to criticise Venetian engineer Giovanni Tommaso Scala, hired by Viceroy Pedro de Toledo at the beginning of the War of Siena:

«Juan Tomas has arrived and begun to build the foundations less deep than I saw them initially and a thinner the wall, on the pretext of saving the court half of the thickness formerly used on the wall and by provincial masters generally. And those who know anything about walls say the foundations are unsafe and that loading the embankment walls they must support will not cover the fortress, so that this attempt to save will lead to greater thickness. Juan Tomas's design is fine but for its construction he would do well to follow the advice of our builders. And Juan Tomas should always be escorted by someone knowledgeable of certain things, primarily because a stronghold of such importance that might be said to border Venice should not be wholly entrusted to a foreigner and Venetian. Furthermore, all Juan Tomas's designs for these works have had to be amended. And he is a man who when most needed takes his leave and goes wherever he pleases with no other licence, as he has done now [...] going to Venice. God bid him return for we have none other than he unless someone else is sent from there [...]»⁴².

Acknowledgement of the paucity of design engineers did not lessen the mistrust heaped on Scala due to his Venetian origin, reinforced by constructional discrepancies in a constant symbiosis of political and technical critique particularly characteristic of the Duke of Alba's entourage. That criticism is especially revealing because it was levelled against an engineer of the repute of Scala, famous for authoring treatises that discredited fortress construction by conventional architects whom he deemed to be overly theoretical⁴³. To continue to attend to the pressing need for defence Aldana asked to be officially confirmed as «head of artillery and works»⁴⁴. One month later the Duke of Alba, who was at Cateau Cambresis negotiating peace with France, wrote an extensive «Opinion in response to the report of Field Marshal Aldana on the maritime coasts of the Kingdom of Naples». Alba supported Aldana's proposal referring, for instance, to his own intention to make the fortress at Civitella del Tronto, damaged during the recent French invasion, «as handsome as I designed it, for finished it is a fort that no soldier would be idle in [...]» About Capua he insisted on the need to avoid any risk of espionage, for «the castle is in ruins and in the worst and most dangerous area of those lands and that is why I protected it behind two curtains and two bastions: and yet another is needed. I gave oral instructions on how and where that should be done because as this is to be a [defensive] site, it cannot be set down in writing or drawings»⁴⁵.

After Bernardo de Aldana met his death in 1560 when taken prisoner by the Turks in the attack on Djerba, his achievements as Captain General of Naples Artillery were most aptly perpetuated in his nephew Francisco's military and poetic career. The «divine captain» was another archetypal «man of whatsoever talent» extolled by the Duke of Alba, with whom he went to Flanders. Born in Naples and trained in Florence with his father (Antonio the Castilian⁴⁶), Francisco arrived in Madrid from the Low Countries some time before October 1576 (and was appointed governor of the castle at San Sebastián in the Basque country shortly thereafter) when he wrote his *Octavas a Felipe II*, with a dedication in which he exhorted the king to improve the defence of a threatened monarchy⁴⁷. The heroic tone of the poems befits their clear view of the political and military situation that made Spanish power, given its geographic dimensions, vulnerable to attack from land and sea. As Tiburzio Spannochi wrote, the same realistic outlook that was accus-

tomed to measuring the terrain and carrying arms was the one that guided the eyes of viceroys and generals peering over engineers' drawings⁴⁸. Its horizon was power that rested on networks of friends and relatives that fed elites, consolidated loyalties and wove interests. Captain Aldana, used to inspecting fortifications with the gaze of someone who grew up in the shadow of majestic works in Naples and Florence, combined the elevated universality of his *Octavas* with a secret hope of reclusion in his *Epístola a Arias Montano*, synthesis of neo-Platonic thinking that he, like Benedetto Varchi, assimilated in the court of Cosimo I de' Medici and Leonor de Toledo. Aldana, poet of war and peace, who observed the firmament the same way he assessed defences on land, was knowledgeable about fortification, an imperative in someone who wielded both sword and pen, in keeping with a family tradition forged under the protection of the Toledo family. Proof of that expertise lies in his inspection of the defences in northern Africa in 1577, one year before his death at Alcazarquivir. In that battle he fell prisoner to Bolognese engineer Filippo Terzi (like Campi and Paciotto, trained in the court of the Dukes of Urbino), who a few years later would assume responsibility for the major civil and military works in Lisbon after it was taken by the Duke of Alba⁴⁹.

In the third Duke of Alba's last military episode, the Portuguese endeavour, he was advised by military experts in fortifications such as his son Hernando de Toledo⁵⁰, Sancho Dávila⁵¹ and Francés de Álava (Captain General of Artillery), and by Italian engineers Giovanni Giacomo Fratin and Giovanni Battista Antonelli⁵². Once the occupation was consummated, Alba was again confronted with the controversy aroused by citadels on the occasion of the possible establishment of a permanent force in Lisbon and the construction of new fortresses. As in Italy and Flanders, the duke alternated appeals to harmony with threats of reprisal, although true to practice, he called on his engineers for both technical and political advice. In December 1580 Antonelli, who initially advised Alba to establish a Castilian regiment in San Jorge Castle, recommended against treating the Portuguese capital any differently to other Spanish kingdoms (unlike in Milan, Naples or Antwerp), for construction of a new urban fortress would entail an unacceptable burden for the population, who would feel it like «the malaise of an unusually harsh bit»⁵³.

The third Duke of Alba, who was to die at Lisbon without implementing his fortification policy there, had seen his leading role in that essential dimension of modern power acknowledged in *Dialogo tra il Re di Spagna et il Duca d'Alva, descritto da Bernardo Giustig^o Ribasso Genovese. Trattasi se sia bene et riuscibile al detto Rè impadronirsi della Città di Genova o almeno farsi una Fortezza, et altre particolarità*⁵⁴. That text, composed against the backdrop of the Genovese revolts of 1574, is one of the most thorough descriptions of the purpose of urban military architecture in monarchical government. Alba was depicted as an expert politician familiar with the history of the founding, institutions and factional struggles of the Ligurian Republic, arguments pivotal to the debate on the advisability of building fortresses. The art of governance, the command of information, the ability to maintain and tighten consensus were wielded as the ultimate fundamentals of defence and the conservation of power complementary or, as appropriate, alternative to citadels.

The controversy pursued Viceroy Pedro de Toledo in the Neapolitan fortress at Sant'Elmo (where his coat of arms on the shields of the seated warriors still proudly flanks



FIG. 8 Charles V's coat of arms flanked by warriors bearing the coats of arms of Pedro de Toledo. Naples, Castel San Telmo.

the imperial eagle over the portal) and the less fortunate Duke of Alba at Antwerp and Lisbon, where his projects never materialised or were destroyed [FIG. 8]. Their descendants in the two major branches of the Toledo lineage continued to advocate for aggressive attitudes in the defence of the monarchy and their own political premises. Pedro de Toledo, fifth Marquis of Villafranca (grandson of the eponymous viceroy of Naples), alternated his knowledge of fortifications (applied during his rule in Milan and during the First Monferrato War) with the palatial reform of the family's castle at Villafranca del Bierzo, built by his grandfather⁵⁵. Architects and engineers (in the end, just men, in the court or on the frontier) continued to bring their designs to life and depict their dreams together with military captains. Drawing plans and reconnoitring ditches, they sought to orbit around that great Castilian lineage, trying their luck in the theatre of power and war played out in fortresses in Italy, Flanders and the Mediterranean. Striving to prove their worth in the practice of arms, even in the cold cruelty of artillery portrayed in stone with a draughtman's precision, they were, as Francisco de Aldana wrote, «only honourable and noble men»⁵⁶.

NOTES

1. See *Declaración de la estatua de metal de a estatua del duque de Alba y de otros que se han puesto en el castillo de Amberes*, Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), *Estado*, leg. 549-153; HÄNSEL, 1990 and HÄNSEL, 1999.
2. DE GROOF and BERTINI, 2000, p. 409.
3. VAN DEN HEUVEL and ROOSENS, 2000.
4. The original reads: «A los 27 del pasado fui a Amberes para determinar unos parapetos nuevos que este ingeniero quiere hacer sobre los cinco caballeros que hallé ya al cordón y las cortinas hechas [...]. Puedo asegurar a V. M. que está la más hermosa plaza del mundo. No me contentó la invención de los parapetos; los fosos están abiertos, aunque no todo lo que se ha de abrir en algunas partes; pero falta muy poco en el ancho, como veinte pies o poco menos. Ordené también las entradas cubiertas y contrafosos. Está la plaza de dentro la más alegre cosa que he visto. Héle ordenado de nuevo cinco salidas al foso y crecidole las casas matas, que le ha venido muy bien. Habíanme puesto en los sperones de los baluartes las piedras muy cortas que entran poco en la cortina, y las menores abajo y las mayores arriba: hágole añadir todas las de abajo mucho y que vayan disminuyendo hasta parar al cordón, que parecerán muy bien»; and «Yo digo a V. M. que tiene gran cosa en el capitán Bartholomeo Campi, porque derechamente es soldado y tiene arte, aunque no tan fundada como el Pachote, pero muy fundado y muy gran plática, que se responde muy bien; y es el mejor hombre que he platicado después que conozco hombres, no digo aun ingenieros sino hombres de cualesquier cualidad, muy llano y muy alegre al trabajo [...]», *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España* (CODOIN) vol. XXXVIII, pp. 120-121.
5. COPPA, 2002.
6. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 1998; HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 1999.
7. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 2008.
8. RIVERA BLANCO, 1984, pp. 67-100; MARÍAS, 2001.
9. In a letter written on 1 February 1573 from «the field over Harlem», Scipione Campi reminded the Duke of Alba of «*con quant' amor et fede la buona memoria di mio padre et io habbiamo in ogni tempo et occasione carc[at]o di complire con ogni forza nostra al servizio di vostra Ecc^a, al qual venuti siamo per sua richiesta, lasciando per altra parte il servitio d'un re di Francia principiato venticinque anni inanzi*» [with how much affection and loyalty my fondly remembered father and I had at all times and occasions deployed all our strength to serve Your Excellency, to whom we came at your request, for which we abandoned the service of a king of France undertaken twenty-five years previous]. BERWICK and DE ALBA, 1952, p. 397; ÁLVAREZ DE TOLEDO, 1952, *ad indicem*.
10. VAN DEN HEUVEL, 1989; VAN DEN HEUVEL, 1994; CÁMARA MUÑOZ, 1998a, p. 166; CÁMARA MUÑOZ, 1998b.
11. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 1994.
12. MALTBY, 2007; DEL SER QUIJANO, 2008; EBBEN, LACY-BRUIJN, VAN HÖVELL TOT WESTERFLIER, 2013.
13. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 2003.
14. MARTÍNEZ HERNÁNDEZ, 2003; FERNÁNDEZ VÁZQUEZ, 2007.
15. MARTÍNEZ HERNÁNDEZ, 2004, pp. 85-90.
16. HALE, 1983, pp. 197-206; GIANNINI, 1998; ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO, 2000.
17. SCOGNAMIGLIO CESTARO, 2008-2009; LOFFREDO, 2011.
18. REDÍN MICHAUS, 2007, pp. 203-217.
19. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 2008.
20. MADRID Y MEDINA, 2008.
21. LADERO QUESADA, 2010; HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 2012.
22. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 2000a.
23. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 2000b.
24. BRUNETTI, 2006. Cfr. DI RESTA, 1988; RINALDI, 1997.
25. PESSOLANO, 1998.
26. STRAZZULLO, 1968, pp. 13-15; DE DOMINICI, 2003, pp. 610 s., 613-617.
27. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 2013.
28. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 2016; BRUNETTI, 2016.
29. GIANNINI, 1998; ARICÒ, 2016.
30. SALAZAR, 2015; BASKINS, 2017.
31. The original reads: «*Ingegnero della Regia Corte*» and «*attende in lo fondere de la regia arteglia et altre cose de Ingegniero*», Real Biblioteca de Palacio (RBP, Madrid), ms. II/1597, ff. 145, 195, 203v.-204, 245, 274v., 327v., 356 and 390.
32. See PEPPER and ADAMS, 1995, pp. 62-66; GIANNINI, 1998, pp. 463-464.
33. Archivo Ducal de Medina Sidonia, Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz) (ADMS), leg. 4336. Florence, 4 February 1553.
34. RBP, ms. II/138, f. 55v.
35. One example of this military and political process can be found in Alessandro Andrea's *Della Guerra di Campagna di Roma e del Regno di Napoli nel pontificato di Paolo IV l'anno 1556 e 1557*. It contains «*tre ragionamenti, nuovamente mandati in luce da Girolamo Ruscelli*» [three considerations, newly brought to light by Girolamo Ruscelli], dedicated to the new viceroy of Naples, Pedro Afán de Ribera, further to the Venetian edition dated 8 November 1559. A Spanish translation was published in Madrid in 1589. See SANTARELLI, 2008.
36. BERMEJO MALUMBRES, 2013; VESCO, 2017.
37. VIGANÒ, 2004, pp. 149-157.
38. BOSCH BALLBONA, 2016.
39. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 2007; HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, 2009.

40. PLAZA, 2016.
41. Korpás, 2000; Escribano Martín, 2010.
42. The original reads: «Don Fadrique de Toledo me embio alla para dar el remedio que en ello se pudiesse, lleve conmigo Antonio Conde y designose un fuerte cuya traça se a embiado a su Magestad suficiente a defender que nadie pudiesse desembarcar en la isla con lo qual se aseguraba el castillo de bateria, pero como a mi me mandaron yr luego en otras partes, esta obra caminó tan poco que cuando venia el armada [turca] se comenzava a fabricar. Don Fadrique me mandó luego tornar allí, para defender aquello y hize dar una buena mano a la fortificación y con el ser en que se puso y con algunos reparos de faxina espere el armada {...} y lo mas seguro fue pasar sin que nos acometiesse [...]»; and «ha venido Juan Tomas y a comenzado a hacer los fundamentos en menos fondo que los que hallo comenzados y la muralla por medio mas delgada, diciendo que quiere ahorrar a la corte la mitad de la espessa que antes se hacia en la fabrica y generalmente los maestros de la provincia y los que algo se entienden de fabricas dicen que los fundamentos van falsos y que cargando los muros del terraplano que an de llevar no lo cubrirán, por donde pensando ahorrar se vendrá en mayor espessa; es bien que se siga el designo de Juan Tomás, pero en quanto a la fabrica también conviene que tome consejo de nuestros fabricadores y que aya siempre cerca de Juan Tomas alguna persona a quien el tenga respeto por algunas causas, principalmente que una fuerça de tanta importancia y que se puede decir frontera de Venecia no se a de confiar totalmente de un forastero y veneçiano. Anssi mesmo se a de considerar que en todos los designos que Juan Tomas ha hecho por aca han tenido necesidad de enmienda; es también hombre que en los tiempos mas neçessarios se parte y se va donde se le antoja, sin otra liçençia y ansi lo a hecho agora [...] se ha ydo a veneçia, quiera dios que vuelva, pues que ya no tenemos otro que a el si de allá no se embia alguno [...]», AGS. Estado, Nápoles, 1049-95.
43. «al soldato è necessario saper l'esperientia [...] [la fortificación] non s'impara ne in Bologna, ne in Padua, né in Perugia, né sopra i libri, ma si bene dove si combatte & conoscesi chiaramente che l'uomo d'arme quando abbassa la lancia non ricerca l'arte di Matematica, ne l'archibusciero di Geometria, né il Capitano quando ordina la battaglia per combattere in campagna o sforzare una fortezza cerca i termini di Cosmografia, però la parte dell'offese & le difese si devono considerare alle partid ella militia...» [the soldier must have experience [...]] [fortification] is not learnt in Bologna or Padua or Perugia or from books, but it must be argued and clearly understood that when men of arms launch their spears they need not mathematics any more than harquebus gunmen need geometry or captains the terms of cosmography when ordering a charge in battle or the siege of a nearby fortress, but rather all offense and defence should be deemed to stem from the military [...]], *Cose narrate da Gio. Tomasso da Venetia, ingegnere eccellentissimo, già di Carlo Imperatore & or dell'Illustrissimo Dominio, in materia di fortezze, difese & altri avvenimenti, appartenenti a cose della militia*, in Girolamo RUSCELLI, *Precetti della militia moderna, tanto per terra quanto per mare*, Venice, Heredi di Marchiò Sessa, 1578, pp. 39v-42v., quoted by BRUNETTI, 2006, p. 83.
44. The original reads: «el cargo del artillería y de las fabricas», AGS, Estado, Nápoles, 1049-92.
45. The original reads: «Paresçer en respuesta de la relación del maestro de campo Aldana sobre las costas marítimas del Reyno de Nápoles»; «hacer el castillo tan gallardo como yo le dexe designado, por que acabándose es plaça que ninguno que sea soldado holgara de ponerse sobrella [...]»; and «el castillo es ruyn y esta en mala parte y era lo mas peligroso que tenia aquella tierra y por esto le cubri yo con dos cortinas y dos baluartes, es menester hazerse otro. Yo dexe allí platicado y traçado donde y como se devia hacer, porque como esto consista en sitio, no se puede dar a entender por scripto ni por dessigno», AGS, Estado, Nápoles, 1049-94.
46. NIEVAS ROJAS, 2017; NIEVAS ROJAS, 2018.
47. MARTÍNEZ LÓPEZ, 1997, p. 34.
48. CÁMARA MUÑOZ, 2018.
49. ANTONUCCI, 2017; SOROMENHO and LUCAS BRANCO, 2017.
50. As viceroy of Catalonia from 1571 to 1580 he rebuilt the castle at Perpiñán and strengthened the one at Salsas and the watch-towers on the coast, building a new one at Los Alfaques. In Portugal he was entrusted with the defence of the northern part of the kingdom, where he requested the assistance of an engineer. See FERNÁNDEZ CONTI, 1998.
51. Dávila had been with Alba at Mühlberg. In 1550 he was with García de Toledo during the taking of Mahdia and again with Alba at Naples and in the war against Paul IV Carafa and later in the conquest of Portugal. See PANDO FERNÁNDEZ DE PINEDO, 1857; MARTÍNEZ RUIZ, 1968.
52. PORRAS GIL, 2002.
53. VALLADARES, 2008, pp. 160-177.
54. Biblioteca Casanatense (Rome), ms. 2953.
55. BOSCH BALBONA, 2013-2014.
56. The original reads: «solo de hombres digno y noble estado», ALDANA, 1966, sonnet XXX, p. 23.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADMS: Archivo Ducal de Medina Sidonia, Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz)

AGS: Archivo General de Simancas

RBP: Real Biblioteca de Palacio (Madrid)

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