

Italian Casinos from Genoa to Rome as Models for Joseph Furtttenbach's *palazzotto*. A Common Thread between Villa Saluzzo Bombrini, Villa Lante in Bagnaia and Villa Borghese in Rome

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Among the authors of the early modern age, Joseph Furtttenbach the Elder (1591–1667) was one of the most influential with regard to small garden palaces and other leisure structures. Although Furtttenbach is well documented, there has been little research on his work. The only extensive monographic study, an unpublished dissertation, was written in 1952.¹ Apart from this, work on Furtttenbach has been limited to smaller studies focused on individual aspects of his career. The most important publications for this paper include the Ulm catalogue;² a dissertation from 1928 on his garden projects;³ the critical edition of part of his diary with commentary and essays from the University of Basel;⁴ and an article about Furtttenbach's use of Italian terms in his treatises.⁵

Furtttenbach was noteworthy for his productivity as both an author and artist and was accomplished in a number of fields. A richly illustrated portrait engraving from 1635 depicts the author, then aged forty-four, as a polymath, with allegorical figures and symbols, emphasizing his wide knowledge in architecture and engineering.⁶ [Fig. 1] The ship in the centre of the lower portion of the image probably refers to his writing on naval architecture,⁷ which was completed in 1635, while on the left the figure of Mars represents his book on military engineering.⁸ Opposite Mars on the right, the female allegorical figure of Lady Science ('*Dama Scienza*') is seated on a building. This figure is often mistaken for an allegory of architecture, although Furtttenbach explained the allegory on a number of occasions, notably in the treatise on his own house.⁹ Lady Science represents certain arts, including design, that fall between the *Artes Mechanicae* and the *Artes Liberales*; these sciences are indicated by her attributes. She gazes directly at the motto in the cartouche under Furtttenbach's portrait, 'Science is acquired with patience' ('*Con la Patienza S'acquista Scienza*'). The most important attribute for this paper is the building on which Lady Science sits. It is one of the small palaces attached to Italian Villas, which particularly impressed Furtttenbach and to which he applied the term *palazzotto*. Further references to Italian architecture are included in this engraving. Behind the figure of Lady Science, two sheets from Furtttenbach's treatise are clearly recognizable: the ground-floor plan of the first princely palace,¹⁰ which resembles the floor plan of Palazzo Pitti; and behind this a sheet with the reproduction

1 Margot Berthold, *Joseph Furtttenbach (1591–1667). Architektur-Theoretiker und Stadtbaumeister in Ulm*, Munich 1951. Published in a reduced form in: Eadem, *Joseph Furtttenbach von Leutkirch, Architekt und Ratsherr in Ulm (1591–1667)*, *Ulm und Oberschwaben. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 1953, No. 33, pp. 119–179.

2 Max Stemshorn (ed.), *Der Kunst-Garten: Gartenentwürfe von Joseph Furtttenbach (1591–1667)* (exh. cat.), Ulm 1999.

3 Senta Dienzel, *Die Gartenentwürfe Furtttenbachs d. Ä.*, Nuremberg 1928.

4 Joseph Furtttenbach, *Lebenslauff 1652–1664*, edited by Kaspar von Greyerz – Kim Siebenhüner – Roberto Zaugg, Basel 2013.

5 Anna Jahr, Transfer von Architektursprache: Joseph Furtttenbach d. Ä. (1591–1667) als Kulturvermittler zwischen Deutschland und Italien, in: Sabine Frommel – Eckhard Leuschner et. al., *Architektur- und Ornamentgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit: Migrationsprozesse in Europa*, Rome 2014, pp. 219–227. Jahr's dissertation at the University of Trier, which commenced in 2011, should shed more light on this topic.

6 Published as illustration for the front cover in Joseph Furtttenbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640 as well as in Joseph Furtttenbach, *Architectura Privata*, Augsburg 1641.

7 Joseph Furtttenbach, *Architectura Navalis*, Ulm 1635.

8 Joseph Furtttenbach, *Architectura Martialis*, Ulm 1630.

9 Furtttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 50f. Unless otherwise noted, all translations to English are my own. For the misleading interpretations of the figure compare Ulrich Schütte, "Architectura alla Moderna" und die „Teutsche „Teutsche Manier“. Rubens' Palazzi di Genova und die Neuorientierung der Deutschen Architektur bei Joseph Furtttenbach der Ä., in: Piet Lombaerde (ed.), *The reception of P. P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova During the 17th Century in Europe: Questions and Problems*, Turnhout 2002, p. 155.

10 Joseph Furtttenbach, *Architectura Civilis*, Ulm 1628, pl. 2.

of Vignola's classical order. Furttenbach admired the architect Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–1573) and mentioned him on several occasions in his books.¹¹

In the engraving Furttenbach is presented as a nobleman, as he is also depicted in another engraved portrait in 1562, where he is called '*Reipubl. Ulm Senatoris et Architecti Ingeniosissimi*'.¹² The inscription describes him not only as a senator (councillor) of the free imperial city of Ulm, but also as a versatile architect. This is a reference to Furttenbach's lifelong pursuit of and accomplishments in different arts. Architecture was not, in fact, Furttenbach's primary occupation; he was first of all a merchant, who had to work hard to survive and only after his induction into the merchant's guild of Ulm in 1623 and later in the town council in 1631, was he able to dedicate time to his leisure activity, writing architectural treatises.¹³ Born in 1591 in Leutkirch, a small Protestant town in Swabia, into an aristocratic Protestant family of imperial chief foresters (*Forstmeistern*), aldermen and merchants, he completed a commercial apprenticeship when he was sixteen and spent the following twelve years, from the end of 1607 to January 1620, travelling as a journeyman in Italy.¹⁴ Such Italian travels were common for young men from similar backgrounds in this period; the tour was popular amongst merchants and intellectuals, who looked to Italian cities as primary role models. Furttenbach stayed the first two years in Milan, where, among other pursuits, he learned Italian. He spent most of his 'Italian period' in Genoa, where over the course of seven years he accumulated not only professional experience as a merchant, but also a profound knowledge of architecture and engineering. Furttenbach was able to use his family's connections in those two cities as he was involved in their trade activities. His two half brothers and an older cousin, Christoph Furttenbach (1552–1643), who was one of the most influential German merchants in the international trading centre of Genoa, assisted him.¹⁵ Furttenbach travelled, driven not least by a profound curiosity, throughout northern and central Italy, including a formative trip to Rome and almost two years in Florence. As in Genoa, he was connected with Italian scholars in Florence, who aided him in his many studies.¹⁶ Some of his most important relationships were with the otherwise unknown engineer and architect '*Signor Paolo Rizio (Riccio or Ritz?)*, *Ingenier maggior del' Re di Spagna, & Architecto della Serenissima Republica di Genova*' and in Florence the Medici polymaths Giulio Parigi (1571–1635) and Galileo Galilei (1564–1642).¹⁷ Furttenbach's interests were primarily focused on engineering and architecture, with an emphasis on leisure structures, like theatres, grottoes and gardens.¹⁸ Furttenbach used the experience and knowledge acquired during his years in Italy as the foundation for his many books and treatises, which he wrote throughout his life after returning to Germany. His first book, the *Newes Itinerarium Italiae (The New Itinerary Trough Italy)*, was published after his establishment and naturalization in Ulm.¹⁹ After the success of this book, there followed, in addition to some works on engineering, seven major and eleven minor architectural treatises, which he organized according to different construction tasks. The first of these major treatises dealt with civil buildings,²⁰ which were divided, as in his subsequent books, by class: citizens, aristocrats, earls and princes. The publication of further works was delayed by the troubles of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) as well as by his main responsibilities to his family and to his mercantile and town council duties.²¹ In 1640 he published the *Architectura Recreationis*, which discusses varieties of pleasure gardens (*Lustgärten*), and in 1641 he produced the *Architectura Privata*, describing in meticulous detail his own house in Ulm, which was already famous for its *Kunstkammer*, private garden with a fountain, and *salotto*, a small garden pavilion

11 Ibidem, p. 15. – Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 49.

12 Melchior Küssell, Portrait of Joseph Furttenbach the Elder, 1652, engraving, 23,5x15,5, Deutsche Fotothek der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek, Dresden. Printed in Jahr, 2014 (see note 5), pl. 1.

13 For further details of his life, see: Berthold 1951 (see note 1), pp. 1–30. – Jahr (see note 5), pp. 219–221.

14 For Furttenbach's network and the contacts with family members and compatriots during his Italian years as well as a discussion of the exact dates of individual journeys and residences, see: Berthold 1951 (see note 1), pp. 6–10 – Roberto Zaugg, "bey den Italienern recht sinnreiche Gedanken gespürt". Joseph Furttenbach als kultureller Vermittler, in: Furttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4), pp. 25–29.

15 For the importance and history of his relatives in this two cities see especially Zaugg (see note 14), p. 27f.

16 See: Berthold 1951 (see note 1), p. 6, and more recently Zaugg (see note 14), p. 29.

17 Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 37. For the exchange with Parigi and Galileo see: Berthold 1951 (see note 1), p. 9.

18 See: Berthold 1951 (see note 1), p. 9; and more recently: Zaugg (see note 14), p. 29. – Jahr (see note 5), p. 219. On Genoese grottoes, see: Stephanie Hanke, *Zwischen Fels und Wasser. Grottenanlagen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in Genua*, Münster 2008.

19 Joseph Furttenbach, *Newes Itinerarium Italiae*, Ulm 1627. This practical travel handbook became a popular guide among German travellers in the seventeenth century, a kind of Baedeker or Murray's Hand Book of the period; Berthold 1951 (see note 1), p. 32. – Hans Koepf, Furttenbach, Joseph von, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* V, Berlin 1961, p. 736.

20 Furttenbach, *Civilis* (see note 10).

21 His diary offers a vivid description of his daily life. Furttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4), pp. 88–327.

devoted to leisure.²² As documented by his guest books, his house was visited by more than 700 people, including 1653 the Elector Palatine Charles I Louis (1617–1680) in 1653. The elector was so impressed with Furtttenbach's house that he asked the merchant on at least two occasions, in 1653 and 1658, to join his court in Heidelberg as garden architect.²³ The *Kunstkammer* was dispersed after Furtttenbach's death, with part of the collection going to the landgrave Ludwig VI of Hesse-Darmstadt, an admirer of Furtttenbach's work.²⁴ With the exception of the 1663 *Mannhaffter Kunstspiegel (The Mirror of the Manly Arts)*,²⁵ which summarizes his works on mathematics, geometry, geography, architecture, mechanics and other subjects, Furtttenbach's later publications were brief texts on specific buildings and decorations. He collaborated on these with his talented but physically disabled son, Joseph Furtttenbach the Younger (1632–1655). These included the *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu (Small Garden Buildings)*.²⁶ Additionally, Furtttenbach kept a diary and at the time of his death he was preparing an Ulm city chronicle; neither was published.²⁷

Furtttenbach presents himself as an erudite cultural mediator throughout his works. To this end he frequently employed Latin and Italian terms in his text or created German derivatives thereof. These are emphasized throughout the texts in Antiqua typeface, whereas the majority of the text is in Fraktur, as described by Jahr.²⁸ One loan word that appears frequently in Furtttenbach's treatises is *palazzotto*. The appearance of *palazzotto* in the various books demonstrates how the different texts are related to each other, even if the author's use of this term changed over time. As Jahr has observed for other words too, it is apparent that Furtttenbach does not favour any single spelling; the word sometimes occurs with two 'l's, sometimes with only one 'z' or even only one 't'.²⁹ Such orthographic variety was common for him or for the responsible letterpress printer, even in German. For the purposes of this paper, I will use the modern Italian spelling, *palazzotto*.

Furtttenbach used the term with its modern spelling at least once. [Fig. 2] In the caption for the illustration of a palace facade in the *Architectura Civilis*, he writes: 'Palazzotto for noble people... in my previously mentioned travel book, on page 223, I described a Palazzotto (which is not to be regarded as insignificant, all people of high rank should have good leisure), which I find worthy of esteem.'³⁰

Furtttenbach thus describes this palace as a retreat, even for persons of higher rank such as earls and princes; the term *palazzotto*, the diminutive of palace (*palazzo*), therefore refers specifically to buildings belonging to the aristocracy. But what is the model for Furtttenbach's concept of the *palazzotto*? Some scholars have sought to identify the palace in this illustration as well as others in Furtttenbach's works with Genoese palaces, especially those illustrated in Peter Paul Rubens's *I Palazzi di Genova* (1622).³¹ These comparisons with Rubens's illustrations have not produced satisfactory results, as most of Furtttenbach's examples are palaces from suburban villas, which Rubens ignores almost entirely. The Flemish artist's studies of Genoa, which were probably made after his stay in the city in the summer of 1607, some years before Furtttenbach's arrival, focused on the urban palaces of the Strada Nuova.³² Furtttenbach does not at any point mention Rubens, whose book he likely knew but deliberately ignored, preferring instead to direct readers to his own travel guide for further information. Throughout his books, Furtttenbach occasionally gives an indication as to his sources.

22 On the importance and arrangement of Furtttenbach's house in Ulm, see: Kim Siebenhüner, Entwerfen, Modelle bauen, ausstellen: Joseph Furtttenbach und seine Rüst- und Kunstkammer, in: Furtttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4), pp. 45–65.

23 Furtttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4), pp. 25, 204–208. He was even invited by Leopold I in 1656 to serve at the imperial court in Vienna. Ibidem (see note 4), p. 140f. – Zaugg (see note 14), p. 25. Approximately 700 visitors are recorded between 1626 and 1656 indicating that many more viewed the house before his death in 1667. Siebenhüner (see note 22), p. 61.

24 Siebenhüner (see note 22), p. 53.

25 Joseph Furtttenbach, *Mannhaffter Kunstspiegel*, Augsburg 1663.

26 Joseph Furtttenbach, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu*, Augsburg 1667.

27 Parts of the diary are published in Furtttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4). Furtttenbach's unpublished texts are held by the Stadtarchiv Ulm, Nachlass Joseph Furtttenbach d. Ä., No. 1–12.

28 The most complete study of Furtttenbach's use of Italian words and his role as a cultural mediator, see: Jahr (see note 5), pp. 219–227, esp. p. 223.

29 Ibidem. But it should be added that apart from Furtttenbach's variable spelling, there were no clear orthographic rules in the Italian either. See below for more specifics.

30 'Palazzotto für Adelige Personen... in meinem obangedeutem Raißbuch am. 223. Blat beschriebenen Palazzotto (der nit für den geringsten zu achten: Als in welchem noch höhers Standts Personen gute gelegenheit haben sollten) zu gedencken habe ich denselbigen wol würdig geachtet...'. Furtttenbach, *Civilis* (see note 10), p. 6, pl. N° 6.

31 Lombaerde and Schütte tried to identify this palace through a comparison with the palaces illustrated in Rubens's book. Piet Lombaerde, Introduction, in: Lombaerde (see note 9), p. 10, fig. 7. – Schütte (see note 9), p. 148f, pl. 4.

32 Compare with: Lombaerde, ibidem, p. 2.

On the page of the travel guide indicated by the author in the *Architectura Civilis* he states that the illustration is of the Villa of Giacomo Saluzzo. Today it is known as the Villa Saluzzo Bombrini, Il Paradiso or Il Belvedere, because it stands overlooking the city surrounded by gardens on a hilltop in Albaro, a prominent suburb east of Genoa.³³ Albaro was at that time one of the most popular sites for the Genovese nobility to build their country palaces and houses. One of the most famous examples of the early seventeenth century was the Villa Saluzzo Bombrini, which remains in good condition today and which is still in private hands. It is mainly owned by the Remondini family and not open to the public.³⁴ Erected during Furttenbach's stay in Genoa, the villa is attributed to the architect Andrea Ceresola (il Vannone), the most famous architect of the city at that time, and was decorated by Lazzaro Tavarone, Bernardo Castello and Andrea Ansaldo for the wealthy nobleman and senator of the Republic of Genoa Giacomo Saluzzo (ca. 1570–ca. 1640), who also served as ambassador to the imperial court in Vienna from 1612–1613.³⁵ He belonged to a family that was rising in importance in this period, and therefore should not to be underestimated as mediator for cultural, political and economic exchange between Genoa and Germany, particularly with regard to German merchants such as the Furttenbachs, who were very prominent in North Italy at that time.³⁶ Saluzzo was married to Giovanna Maria Brignole Sale (1575–1602), sister of Giò(vanni) Francesco (1573–1635), who became later doge of Genoa from 1635–1637, and who made Giacomo Saluzzo ambassador to Vienna in his place. Like the Saluzzo, the Brignole family were involved in commercial affairs in the Habsburg lands. They also built villas in the same style in Albaro, similar to the Villa Brignole Sale and the Villa Brignole 'Don Guanella'.³⁷ Furttenbach seems to have known Villa Saluzzo well. The villa's names, Il Belvedere and Il Paradiso, emphasize its function as an escape from urban life designed for leisure, thus making it a perfect model for an ideal *Lustgarten* with a *palazzotto*, a central theme in Furttenbach's treatises on architecture. Furttenbach's illustration of the *palazzotto* [Fig. 2] is a faithful reproduction of Villa Saluzzo's facade. [Fig. 3]

In the travel guide of 1627 this residential building of the villa is not yet called a *palazzotto*, but simply a *Pallast*.³⁸ In the *Architectura Privata*, included in the house inventory is an indication of how Furttenbach produced such an exact reproduction. Here the author stated that he owned six framed elevations of Genoese villas, which were 'made by the excellent Italian architect in his own hand'.³⁹ For Rott, 'Furttenbach did not own original plans of any of the buildings', but 'probably [had] copies made in the early seventeenth century, similar to those used by Rubens for the [Palazzi di Genova]'.⁴⁰ Thus Furttenbach seems to have collected them during his stay in Italy. Afterwards he had them framed and displayed in his house and included them in a well planned didactic tour of his *Kunstkammer*. These and other printed reproductions of important Italian architectural works served Furttenbach as models and inspiration for his architectural treatises.⁴¹ The Genoese elevations illustrate the facades of the city's suburban villas but not the urban palaces, with perhaps one particular exception.

33 '[...] besser hinauß wirdt detz Sigr. Giacomo Saluzo Pallast gefunden / der von Ziegelsteinen aber sehr zierlich auffgeführt unnd gelb gemahlt / darinnen trefflich schöne gantz durchauß gemahlte Zimmer / so sauber und zierlich gehalten / daß ein fürstliche Person hie zu logieren alle gelegenheit gehaben kann / darneben ist auch ein schöner Garten sampt ein Wäldlein von Zipressen und Lorberbäumen besetzt / in welchem ein über die massen köstliche Capellen / und auff der rchten Seiten ein Vogelhaus / darinnen mancherley Vögel zu sehen / In dieser gegent stehn noch ein grosse Anzahl Palläst und Häuser [...]' Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 223f.

34 Michela Bompani, Remondini compra il 'Paradiso' Supervilla e non hotel a cinque stelle, la Repubblica, 2007, 28. 6., <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2007/06/28/remondini-compra-il-paradiso-supervilla-non-hotel.html>, 12. 3. 2014. I am grateful to the architect Guido Di Bagno, one of the owners, for allowing me to visit the villa.

35 For further details, see: Giovanna Rotondi Terminello, Il "Paradiso" di Genova. Un palazzo di villeggiatura della fine del Cinquecento, *Dimore Storiche*, Anno 16, No. 3, 2001, pp. 9–17. – Giancarlo Pinto, Villa Saluzzo Bombrini "Il Paradiso", in: Maura Boffito – Vittorio Garroni Carbonara et al., *Le ville del Genovesato, Albaro*, Genoa 1984, pp. 31–34.

36 Giacomo Saluzzo's son, Agostino Saluzzo (1631–1701) was later made Duke of Corigliano and served as doge of Genoa from 1673–1675. On the importance of the Furttenbachs as merchants between Germany and Genoa, see: Zaugg (see note 14), p. 47.

37 Andreina Ivaldi and Franco Reami, Villa Brignole Sale: Istituto Marcelline Genova – Albaro, Genoa 2002, pp. 3–11.

38 Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 223. – This usage also occurs in the later *Architectura Privata*. Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 47.

39 'Architectonische Handriss... An Handrissen so auch auff Rhamen aufgezogen seynd. / Signor Gio: Carlo D'oria, nella Cità / Signor Gio: Giacomo Imperiali, nella Villa / Signor Fabricio Parauicino, in Villa / Signor Giacomo Saluzo, in Villa / Signor Gio: Francesco Saluzo, in Villa / Signor Balbi, in Villa, à, Arba' / Adelige sehr schön erbawte Palläste so in: und ausserhalb der Statt Genoua stehn und von bester Architectur, auch meist theils von roth, weiß und schwarzem Marmorstein aussgeführt seynd, jeder aber ist besonder auff ein grossen Regalbogen Papier und von den vortrefflichsten Italienischen Architectis, derselben Fazien sehr fleissig und durch ihr eigen Hand auffgerissen worden daher dann ihres gleichen anderstwo wenig gesehen werden.' Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 47f.

40 Herbert W. Rott, *Palazzi di Genova. Architectural Drawings and Engravings*, London – Turnhout 2002, vol. 1, p. 82.

41 Ibidem. On the connection between Furttenbach's architectural treatises, his *Kunstkammer* and the visitors, see: Siebenhüner (see note 22).

Rott first attempted to find the models for these six elevations. He correctly identified the facades of the Villa Imperiale Scassi and Villa Saluzzo Bombrini as models in the *Architectura Civilis*.⁴² He then turned to Genoa's urban palaces, forgetting that Furttenbach explicitly stated that all elevations are from villas, including that of Carlo Doria, which is probably not the Palazzo Doria Tursi in the city centre as Rott suggested, but rather the Villa Doria at Fassolo, which was a suburban villa until its territory came to be encompassed within the new city walls in the early seventeenth century.⁴³ Rott's attributions should therefore be partly revisited. Three of these suburban villas appear prominently in the front cover of the *Mannhaffter Kunstspiegel*, indicating the extent to which Furttenbach valued Genoese examples.⁴⁴ In an illustration accompanying the book's dedication to the city of Genoa, the city's skyline features next to the city in Sampierdarena the Villa Imperiale Scassi and the Villa Doria Pavese (delle Franzoniane) and on the left the Villa Doria (Centurione) in Pegli, build 1592 by Vannone and used with its almost seven-bay facade flanked in the piano nobile by side loggias as model for the Villa Saluzzo Bombrini.⁴⁵ [Fig. 4] Furttenbach included short descriptions of these villas in the earlier travel book.⁴⁶ Albaro, lying to the east of the city, may have been included for symmetrical reasons in an original, wider drawing but was left out in the engraving.

This engraving is indicative of Furttenbach's preference for suburban villas and their garden palaces. It is probably one of these Genoese *palazzotti* that is depicted in the travel guide in illustrations ten and eleven, showing the facade and plan of the piano nobile. In this case, Furttenbach explains the term *palazzotto* as, '[The reader] will be amused by the image of a Genovese Palazzotto, which I have delineated in engraving N° 10. Thereon can one safely [recognize] the position and facade of a small palace or a considerable house.'⁴⁷ [Fig. 5]

Furttenbach's intention is probably not to show the reader a specific example of a Genovese building but rather to indicate the features of this type of building. The building in this illustration has sometimes been confused with one of the urban palaces of the Balbi family whose description precedes the passage above in the travel handbook. However, it is not one of the Balbi palaces, but it may be the palace of a 'Signor Balbi, in Villa, à Arba' (Albaro?) mentioned in the *Architectura Privata* inventory.⁴⁸ Rott has suggested the Villa (Balbi, Durazzo,) Gropallo dello Zerbino (1599–1603), which belonged at the time of Furttenbach's stay to the wealthy brothers Giovanni Battista and Stefano Balbi; both were merchants and Stefano was the Genoese ambassador to Milan.⁴⁹ However, this palace cannot be the model for Furttenbach's illustration as the facade's articulation differs on several points. Other scholars have suggested that it is a paraphrase of the Palazzo Tobia Pallavicini (today Careggi Cataldo) or other, similar examples from Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova*.⁵⁰ A close examination shows a number of differences between the facade's articulation and decoration. The building's proportions, its seven-bay facade, and two floors with a mezzanine, attic and double vaulted cornice are common features of Genoese villas. Examples of this include Villa Cattaneo Adorno in Albaro, built in the early seventeenth century, possibly by the Saluzzo family, the Villa Pallavicino Giardino and the Villa Negrone-Moro.⁵¹ The last two, both in the western suburb of Sampierdarena, have the same facade features as Furttenbach's example. But the most fitting match seems to be the Villa Giò Battista Brignole (1616) in Albaro, today called Villa 'Don Guanella', erected by the nobleman Giò Battista Brignole, brother-in-law of Giacomo Saluzzo.⁵² This villa is representative of Genoese

42 Rott (see note 40), p. 82.

43 The use of these prints as models is mentioned in: Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 190f.

44 Furttenbach, *Kunstspiegel* (see note 25), pl. 1.

45 Ibidem, p. 8. – For the Villa Centurione Doria see: Guido Guidano, Villa Centurione Doria, in: Maura Boffito – Vittorio Garroni Carbonara et al., *Le ville del Genovesato, Ponente*, Genova 1986, pp. 277–281. The villa's second building next to the see is probably the Villa Doria 'alla Marina'. See: Ibidem, Villa Doria 'alla Marina', in: ibidem, pp. 281–282.

46 Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 219–222. The elevation of Fabricio Paravicini mentioned above, which Rott says is derived from the Palazzo Cambiaso in Genoa, is more likely the Villa Pallavicini in Sampierdarena, called in the *Itinerarium* 'Fabricio Paravicini Pallazio', ibidem, p. 222.

47 '[Damit der Leser] mit einem vor Augen stehenden Genovesischen Pallazioto visierunglin erlustiget werde habe demselbigen ich zu gefallen das Kupferstück Nro. 10. delinirt daran ungefährlich die Stellung und Faziata eines kleinen Pallasts oder ansehnlichen Hauses [erkennbar].' Furttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 192, pl. 10.

48 Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 47.

49 Rott (see note 40), p. 82. On Villa Balbi, see: Gianni Robba, Villa Balbi, Durazzo, Gropallo, in: *Albaro* (see note 35), pp. 265–272.

50 Schütte (see note 9), p. 146; Rott suggests the Palazzo Cambiaso as a possible model. Rott (see note 40), p. 181, ill 32. He also identifies the Palazzo Fabricio Paravicino as a possibility. Rott (see note 40), p. 82.

51 Garroni Carbonara, Villa Cattaneo Adorno, in: *Albaro* (see note 35), pp. 149–152. – Patrizia Falzone, Villa Pallavicino Giardino, in: *Ponente* (see note 45), pp. 88–90. – Ibidem, Villa Negrone-Moro, in: ibidem, p. 23–26.

52 See: Giancarlo Pinto, Villa Brignole Don Guanella, in: *Albaro* (see note 35), p. 95f.

suburban palaces from the period of Furttenbach's residence in Genoa, and although a limited restoration of the lower portion of the facade has made the comparison to the illustration in the travel book difficult, it is still possible to see the connection to the plate in question. [Fig. 6] If compared with Furttenbach's inventory in the *Architectura Privata* mentioned previously, this villa could be the one that belonged to 'Gio Francesco Saluzo', probably a close relative of the senator Giacomo Saluzzo or perhaps a confusion of names with his brother-in-law Giò Francesco Brignole Sale. That would mean that the elevation could belong to a villa of the Saluzzo or Brignole family; both families seem to have been close to the Furttenbachs, who probably saw them as his peers.⁵³ A closer study of Genoese villas might shed more light onto the matter than a comparison to Rubens's book and the urban palaces.

An unusual feature of the illustrated palace is how few rooms occupy the piano nobile; a broad central hall (*sala*), a small staircase and three small rooms (*camere*) make up the entire plan. [Fig. 7] An exact match has not been identified, but part of the main floor of the Palazzo Tobia Pallavicini offers a close comparison.⁵⁴ By excluding the lower portion of the ground plan, the proportions and arrangement of the remaining rooms of the palazzo resemble the illustrated plan. [Fig. 8] These similarities can also be found, despite later alterations, in the piano nobile floor plan of the Villa Brignole 'Don Guanella'.⁵⁵ Both these palaces follow the Genoese model established by the architect Galeazzo Alessi (1512–1572) in using the proportions of a square and rectangle to design a central hall flanked by smaller rooms on the piano nobile.⁵⁶ It appears that Furttenbach created a simplified model of a Genoese palace in the Alessian tradition.

But Furttenbach does not use the term *palazzotto* only for aristocratic garden palaces around Genoa. The next and most frequent application of the term can be found in the context of the *Lust- und Tiergarten*. This is one of his favourite subjects and he had previously devoted an entire chapter to it in the *Architectura Civile*.⁵⁷ Therein he presents in illustration thirteen a bird's-eye view of a composed princely pleasure garden with various features of the gardens he had seen in Italy. [Fig. 9] The illustrated garden shows a similar structural design with the engravings of pleasure gardens in Vredeman De Vries's garden treatise.⁵⁸

The chapter in the *Architectura Civile* describes an ideal princely palace and its gardens. The gardens themselves lie to the rear of the palace. The perspective of the print is that of a person standing on the middle of the villa's roof looking out over the gardens. The garden is divided into two parts: first a formal garden near the palace, and then a park and animal preserve beyond. The *palazzotto* is located on the right, divided from the formal garden by a broad wall. This animal preserve is itself divided into two halves by a canal running across the middle. The canal is crossed by a single wooden bridge. The formal garden is symmetrically arranged with an aviary on the right, balanced by a fish pond with an island on the left, with bowers and four parterres for walks. The most important aspect of the garden for this paper is the intermediate space between pleasure garden and animal park, which in later plans is labelled 'grotto garden' (*Grottengarten*). The grotto itself is built into the dividing wall on the central garden axis, and on either side stands a little chapel on the left, designated for the prince's private worship and a house for the prince's body guards on the right adjacent to a small but prominent garden palace, the *palazzotto*, which lies between the garden wall and the canal. The building's visible side elevation shows two floors articulated with columns and a mezzanine crowned by a hipped roof with a central

53 Rott has already suggested that Giò Francesco's villa was next to that of the other Saluzzo at Albaro. Rott (see note 40), p. 82. It could also be the Villa Saluzzo Caregga Cataldi. See: Maura Boffito, Villa Saluzzo Caregga Cataldi, in: *Albaro* (see note 35), pp. 41–44. A less likely candidate is the altered Villa Saluzzo Mongiardino, built by Giacomo Saluzzo before Il Paradiso. See: Giancarlo Pinto, Villa Mongiardino, in: *Albaro* (see note 35), pp. 35–40. Even the sequence of the chosen elevation would indicate this.

54 Piano Nobile of the Palazzo (Tobia Pallavicini) Carrega Cataldi, in Peter Paul Rubens, *Palazzi di Genova*, Antwerpen 1622, pl. 3. The same patron also built Villa delle Peschiere, of which Furttenbach also had an engraving.

55 See the floor plan in: Pinto (see note 49), p. 95.

56 On Alessi's villas, see: Gianni Robbia, La villa Alessiana, in: Maura Boffito – Giampiero Buffoni et al., *Le ville del Genovesato*, Centro, Genova 1985, pp. 39–44. This architectural language 'reflect[s] the influence of Alessi, but [are] also linked to local formal traditions', after Rott (see note 40), p. 119.

57 Furttenbach, *Civilis* (see note 10), pp. 30–35, pl. N° 13. For this pleasure garden see the article of Max Stemshorn, Der fürstliche Lustgarten aus Joseph Furttenbachs *Architectura civilis* – ein provisorisches Paradies in der Wildnis der Welt, in: Idem (see note 2), pp. 72–79. For Furttenbach princely pleasure gardens see also in extend Dienzel (see note 3), pp. 47–60. – Ursula Quecke, Die Gartenentwürfe Joseph Furttenbachs, in: Stemshorn (see note 2), pp. 30–51. – Bechtold 1951 (see note 1), pp. 163–176.

58 See Hans Vredeman De Vries, *Hortorum Viridariosumque*, Antwerp 1583. Some scholars mentions apart of De Vries also Jacques Androuet de Cerceau as a model for Furttenbach's garden design. Dienzel (see note 3), p. 12. – Bertold, 1951, (see note 1), p. 167. A coloured version of this *Lustgarten*, painted with oil on canvas by Jonas Arnold around 1645, today in the Ulmer Museum, shows the popularity of this specific motive. Printed in: Stemshorn (see note 2), p 73.

belvedere tower marked by a Palladian window. It bears a strong resemblance, even if somewhat modified, to the facade of the twin casinos in the Villa Lante at Bagnaia near Viterbo north of Rome.⁵⁹ [Fig. 10] The central part of the villa itself was first built around 1512 by Bishop Ottaviano Riario (1479–1523) as a hunting lodge, and after 1568 the grounds were extended by Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Gambara (1533–1587) to include a pleasure garden with the first casino. After 1587 Cardinal Alessandro Damasceni Peretti di Montalto (1571–1623), to whom this engraving is dedicated, purchased the property and enriched it with other gardens and the second, twin casino.⁶⁰ The first casino is dated around 1578 and attributed to Vignola or his circle, while the second, ascribed to Carlo Maderno (1556–1629), built around 1596 and finished at least before 1612.⁶¹ In this engraving, made around 1596 by Tarquinio Ligustri (1564–c.1621), the casinos are called *Palazzotto dipinto* (small painted palace). Furttenbach did not pass through Bagnaia during his Italian journey, but he seems to know the prominent site very well as all the sketches of his garden strongly resemble this villa. He very likely owned one of Ligustri's accurate engravings and displayed it in his home in Ulm as it is described in his inventory.⁶² Prints of this villa were published after 1584 and commonly sold as souvenirs to travellers. It is not clear if Furttenbach knew of the relationship between this example and his esteemed Vignola, but if so, it would have been an additional reason for him to take this *palazzotto* as the model for his own.

In the text of the *Architectura Civilis* where Furttenbach's building is identified as a *palazzotto*, the description of the building is more concerned with its use than its architectural characteristics: '...a small Palazzotto, which stands in the woods. There placed, so that the Prince and Lord after the long endured burden of governance could find a quiet place for the evening in summertime and so have a secluded dwelling, where he could relax and recover his disposition and his thoughts while hearing the birdsong and observing or shooting several deer, so that on the next day he could be again prepared and willing to endure the governance assigned to him by God'.⁶³

The *palazzotto* is an ideal retreat in a *locus amoenus*, created for the prince's recreation and leisure and part of a centuries-long tradition of pleasure gardens. Furttenbach's description of the *palazzotto* echoes clearly the 'viridario palatium', a small garden palace used for escape from cares, in Petrus de Crescentii's (c.1230–c.1320) gardening treatise (book VIII, chapter 3).⁶⁴

In his list of the garden's features, Furttenbach's next point, number thirty, refers to the tower of the *palazzotto*, which is barely visible in the illustration as it stands on the side of the building facing the canal. From this tower it is possible to shoot deer drinking from the canal and the rabbits on hare island 'whenever the whim takes the prince' ('nach dem Herrn belieben'). The tower also offered an attractive view of the deer park and its surroundings. Twelve years later Furttenbach published a floor plan of the *palazzotto* in the *Architectura Recreationis* as illustration fourteen. [Fig. 11] Between the supplementary floor plan and the information in the legend of the garden view, Furttenbach's idea of the *palazzotto* becomes clear. Within the *Architectura Recreationis* Furttenbach divided gardens into categories organized by status so that the princely pleasure garden is ranked as his fifth example. The floor plan differs from the *palazzotto* in the areal view of 1628 on several points. However, from the plan we can determine the building's measurements and structure; it measures 80 by 40 palmi (20 x 10 meters = 200m²), and the facade is divided into seven bays, similar to that of the Genoese *palazzotto* example discussed above. Yet, the interior arrangement of the rooms is entirely different from the Genoese *palazzotto*. A long corridor (*Gang*) running along the side of the facade leads to a toilet (*secretum*) and to the stairs (*stiegen*). The ground floor is occupied moreover by two small rooms (*camere*) and a hall running along the canal side of the building. The tower, which is called an *Egger* (*Erker* = oriel), is centred on the canal facade and projects

59 Already noted by Dienzel (see note 3), p. 51, n. 73.

60 See: Fritz Barth, *Die Villa Lante in Bagnaia*, Stuttgart – London 2001, pp. 43–52.

61 See: Ibidem, p. 48–50. – Claudia Lazzaro-Bruno, The Villa Lante at Bagnaia: An Allegory of the Art and Nature, *The Art Bulletin* 59, 4, Dec. 1977, pp. 553–560. – Bruno Adorni, Legami documentari di Vignola con la villa del cardinale Francesco Gambara a Bagnaia e con la Villa catena di Torquato Conti duca di Poli, in: Sabine Frommel (ed.), *Villa Lante di Bagnaia*, Milan 2005, pp. 94–96.

62 'Auff Tafeln aufgezogene Kupferstück...Ein Lustgarten il Barco di Bagnia'. ['On boards stretched copperplate print...A pleasure garden, the park in Bagnaia.'] Furttenbach, *Privata* (see note 6), p. 48f.

63 '... ein kleiner Pallazotto, so in der wildnuß steht dahin angesehen daß nach lang getragenen last deß Regiments ein Fürst und Herr Sommerszeit allda zu Abends ein stillen ort und absonderliche Wohnung habe sein gemüth durch hörung deß Vogelgesangs und besichtigung mancherley gewilds oder auch in fellung desselbigen die gedanken also zu erquicken dz sie deß andern Tags desto beraiter und williger widerumben die ihr von Gott aufgetragene Regierung erdulden könden'. Furttenbach, *Civilis* (see note 10), p. 34, pl. N° 27.

64 Compare this description and the one following with: Petrus de Crescentii, *Ruralia commoda. Das Wissen des vollkommenen Landwirts um 1300*, ed. by Reinhilt Richter-Bergmeier – Will Richter, Heidelberg 1998, part. 3, book VII–XII, p. 14f.

into the canal itself. This was a common architectural feature of German secular building in this period but was not often found in Italy. The legend of the areal view states that the plan of the upper floor is the same as the ground floor. The floor plans are derived from German models, which Furttentbach had already described in his *Architectura Civilis*, wherein he outlines a second version of a noble house.⁶⁵ [Fig. 12] Almost the whole right section of the piano nobile (*Der Ander Grundriss*), which is here marked with a rectangle, reflects the floor plan of the *palazzotto* in this pleasure garden, just as it does for part of the floor plan of the Palazzo Tobia Pallavicino, the example of a Genovese *palazzotto*. Thus Furttentbach combined an Italian style facade with a German floor plan.⁶⁶ He plays freely with pieces of known structures, using them for his own purpose and building tasks.

However, in the illustrated floor plan the building is not called a *palazzotto*, but rather ‘*Il Palatio nel Giardino*’ (‘The Palace in the Garden’). The small palace, which is elsewhere designated for the aristocracy, is here appropriate for a prince’s garden and a worthy summer accommodation for him, where he can escape the cares of governance and indulge in pleasurable pursuits and relaxation.

The *palazzotto* is a central architectural garden element, recurring in various aristocratic pleasure gardens described in the *Architectura Recreationis*. It appears already in the fourth pleasure garden, which is dedicated to earls and in the sixth pleasure garden, which is a variation of the fifth. The plan of the nearly square *palazzotto* in the fourth garden (60 x 45 palmi = 15 x 11,25 m) imitates the ground floor of the Genovese *palazzotto* and other Italian models characterized by a central hall (‘*sala*’). [Fig. 13] Yet on the other side, the *palazzotto* in the sixth pleasure garden (75 x 50 palmi = 18,75 x 12,5 m) is a reduction of the one illustrated in the fifth garden and therefore depends on German models with their preference for a long corridor. [Fig. 14] Furttentbach depicts the *palazzotto* in the fourth garden areal view in a manner similar to a citizen’s urban houses illustrated in the same treatise.⁶⁷ The areal views of the fourth and the sixth pleasure gardens show some details of the *palazzotti*’s facades. The *palazzotto* of the fourth pleasure garden [Fig. 15] resembles the casino of the Villa Lante in Bagnaia, while the one from the sixth pleasure garden [Fig. 16] has some similarities with the Furttentbach’s house and a particularly palace of a nobleman (see below).

Furttentbach’s plans often seem, according to Berthold, not to be completely new creations, but rather a playful paraphrasing of existing architectural knowledge and models.⁶⁸ The *palazzotto* in the pleasure garden indicated in the German legend of the *Architectura Recreationis* is also described as a ‘small garden palace’ (‘*Garten Pallästlin*’) and a ‘tiny palace’ (‘*kleines Pallästlin*’).⁶⁹ Furttentbach uses this term later in 1652 for a small *palazzotto*, described in a short, but detailed and richly illustrated treatise, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu*.⁷⁰ [Fig. 17] In the title page he explains that the task of the treatise is to treat in detail ‘a pleasure, summer or Villa (country) house, which lies in the open field’ and which is ‘comparable to a small garden palace’.⁷¹ The floor plan of this small country palace is similar to the example of the Genoese *palazzotto* floor plan in his travel handbook and also to the *palazzotto* in the fourth pleasure garden, where rooms are arrayed on both sides of a central ‘*sala*’. [Fig. 18] The fact that he describes this last *palazzotto* so much in detail, shows that it was probably built or at least planed, perhaps for a peer nobleman, perhaps the two lords Frantzen, to whom the small treatise is dedicated, or even for Furttentbach himself and his family as a noble country house in the surrounding of Ulm.⁷² This is a possibility, as the only other building that Furttentbach described and illustrated in such detail was his own house. Besides, this small garden palace would have been a perfect addition to his city house and a building task worthy of a noble councillor of a free imperial city, particularly as the end of the Thirty Years War made it safe to enjoy in freedom the countryside.

A close comparison for this Ulm *palazzotto* is the upper floor designed but never built for the north garden tower (palace) of the Hortus Palatinus in Heidelberg, the garden of the main residence of the Elector Palatine Frederick V (1596–1632).⁷³ [Fig. 19] Salomon de Caus (1576–1626), the prince’s garden architect and designer, was

65 Furttentbach, *Civilis* (see note 10), pl. 25.

66 For the discussion of the Italian and German manners in Furttentbach, see: Schütte (see note 9).

67 Compare the *palazzotto* in pl. N° 11 with pl. N° 1 and 2 in: Furttentbach, *Recreationis* (see note 6).

68 Berthold is highly crucial of Furttentbach’s designs. Berthold, 1951 (see note 1), p. 176, 226–229.

69 ‘*Ein Palazzotto / oder ein Garten Pallästlin*’ see pl. 11. Ibidem, p. 27.

70 Furttentbach, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu* (see note 26).

71 ‘... ein Lust-, Sommer- oder Villa-Haus im freyen Feld dastehend, einem Garten-Pallästlin zu vergleichen...’ Ibidem, title page.

72 Furttentbach, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu* (see note 26).

73 Salomon De Caus, *Hortus Palatinus*, Frankfurt 1620, pl. 13. The tower’s situation bares some close resemblance to the placement of the Belvedere of the

unable to complete the enlargement and modernisation of the Palatine gardens. The Thirty Years War and the election of Frederick V to the Bohemian throne brought the project to a sudden end in 1619.⁷⁴ De Caus described the abrupt end of the project when he published the plans in 1620. It is probable that Furtttenbach either owned or had read this book due to his contact with the Palatine court; he had been invited twice by the elector's son and successor Charles I Louis (1617–1680) to join the court at Heidelberg as garden architect.⁷⁵ The elector had probably seen during his visit to Furtttenbach's house 1653 the plans of various pleasure gardens, including the plans of this *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu*, which were made one year before by Furtttenbach and his son. This meant that Furtttenbach would have more likely inherited De Caus's Palatine garden project and been able to complete it according to his own designs and ideas. This, along with the invitation to work at the Vienna court in a similar capacity, was Furtttenbach's most significant opportunity to be directly involved in the execution of princely garden projects. However, he turned down all of these invitations because of family and professional obligations and his age.⁷⁶ He appears to have been satisfied in his role as a connoisseur and writer.

Furtttenbach's earliest definition of *palazzotto* persists throughout his work, even as the term was adapted to new uses. The illustration of the third pleasure garden in the *Architectura Recreationis* shows how an older castle could be remade as a modern *palazzotto*. [Fig. 20] According to Furtttenbach, it is necessary to remodel both the interior and exterior in the Italian manner (*'nuova maniera'*). The illustrated building strongly resembles the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, which Furtttenbach greatly admired and from which he adapted the ground plan of the first princely palace in the *Architecura civilis*.⁷⁷

Another important palace known by him personally and which he admired is the Casino Nobile of the Villa Borghese, the first building to which Furtttenbach applied the term *palazzotto*. The Casino Nobile was one of the most famous buildings of the period. The '*palazzotto Borghese*' was built between 1606 and 1633 by Flaminio Ponzio (1560–1613) and Giovanni Vasanzio (Jan van Santen, c. 1550–1621) for Cardinal Scipione Caffarelli-Borghese (1577–1633), cardinal-nephew of pope Paul V (1552–1621). Like Cardinal Damasceni Peretti, who was also a nephew and protégé of a pope, Sixtus V (1521–1590), Caffarelli-Borghese came from an uprising noble family of mercantile origins. The cardinal and his relations only attained higher status through the influence of the pope.⁷⁸ Furtttenbach greatly admired the Casino Nobile and even included an idealized illustration of the ground plan in his travel book, which is the earliest published version of this building's floor plan. [Fig. 21] The *palazzotto* was still under construction while Furtttenbach was in Rome, but in the margin of his travel hand book he described it with great enthusiasm as 'a well ordered Palace' (*'wol ordinarter Pallast'*), and remarked: 'The Cardinal Borghese's garden near the city is worth seeing. In it is a palazzotto, executed by the princely architect Johann van Xanten... the corners of the building are bold, strong and solidly enclosed;... there is a perspectival view through the whole building and it receives fresh air, which does not only please visitors... Therefore it can be called a beautiful princely estate'.⁷⁹

A comparison with the true floor plan, like the one published by Falda in 1659, shows the differences and adaptations made by Furtttenbach. His idealised Villa Borghese floor plan more closely resembles Alessian villas in Genoa.⁸⁰

The proportions of the *palazzotto*, which Furtttenbach emphasized in the description and noted in the floor plan, correspond to the golden ratio, which he also addressed on other occasions. Furtttenbach's repeated

Villa Medici in Fiesole.

74 'Behind the described garden there is initiated a great squared tower 88 feet long and 70 feet wide which is unfinished yet, because of the fallen in of the bohemian war.' (*'Hinden an gemeldtem Garten ist ein grosser Gevierter Thurn angefangen 88. Schuch lang und 70. Breit welcher der eingefallenen Böhmischen Krieg wegen noch nicht gar fertig worden.'*) Ibidem, p. 5.

75 See above note 23.

76 Furtttenbach, *Lebenslauff* (see note 4), p. 257–259.

77 Furtttenbach, *Civilis* (see note 10), pl 2. This is the ground plan illustrated on the title page. See pl. 1. The plan of the piano nobile and the facade in this treatise are modelled on the Palazzo Pitti. Ibidem, pl. 1, pl. 3. See also the description of the Palazzo Pitti in Furtttenbach's travel book: Furtttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), pp. 78–83.

78 On the Casino Nobile, see especially: Alberta Campitelli, *Villa Borghese. Da giardino del principe a parco dei romani*, Rome 2003.

79 'Deß Cardinal Borgese Garten vor der Statt ist wol zu sehe darinnen ein Palazioto, so vom fürstlichen Architecto Giovann von Santi auffgeführt... dass fürs erste die Eck deß Gebäws sein dapffer starck und wolgeschlosssen... durch das ganze gebäu hinaus Prospectivischer weiß sehen und den frischen Luft empfahen möge welches dem Menschen nicht allein erföhlich... Also dass es ein schön Fürstlich Wesen mag genennet werden'. Furtttenbach, *Itinerarium* (see note 19), p. 133.

80 See: Robbia (see note 56), pp. 39–44 and compare especially the floor plan of the piano nobile in p. 40.

discussion of the concept of the *palazzotto* in his writing indicates his particular interest in this type of building. In discussing this building type, the author attempted to bring an awareness of architectural style and decor to the residences not only of aristocrats but also his own peers; the *palazzotto* is a worthy retreat for both classes.

But what are the origins of the term *palazzotto* and where did Furttenbach first encounter it? Most likely he took the word from Ligustri's engraving of the Villa Lante in Bagnaia, but he may have also adopted it much earlier, during the long Italian sojourn of his youth. As with *palazzotto* Furttenbach borrowed many Italian words, and he often used these in his works to demonstrate his erudition.⁸¹

However, it is unusual to use *palazzotto* as a diminutive of *palazzo*. Today it is rarely used and sounds antiquated as words such as *palazzina* or *palazzetto* are more common. *Casino*, the diminutive of *casa*, may also describe a small garden palace. These are generally preferred as the *-otto* ending endows *palazzotto* with a kind of clumsy gravity. Further, *palazzotto* does not appear in any architectural dictionary. Although studies of this term are rare, etymological research offers some interesting suggestions. And indeed the term, as a diminutive of *palazzo*, is defined as 'a palace not of large dimensions, but with a solid, massive and severe look'.⁸² This is close to Furttenbach's description of the Casino Borghese as well as the other examples discussed here, the elevations and structures of which were all described in detail according to Mannerist taste. The earliest known use of this term occurs in Guiccardini's *La Historia d'Italia* of 1561.⁸³ Here *palazzotto* describes a building inside the Livorno harbour fortifications that was destroyed during a siege in 1496. Consequently it was used to describe a small, fortified building similar to later examples. Indeed the most frequent use of the word from Guiccardini to Manzoni is as a synonym for a fortified noble residence or castle.⁸⁴ An exception to this rule is Piero Cattaneo, who used the term in his architectural treatise of 1569.⁸⁵ There *palazzotto* refers to representative public buildings, such as those in the main city square, which were used 'to lodge foreign personalities and as embassies of allied or friendly provinces'. In Genoa it was customary to accommodate such visitors in the *Palazzi dei Rolli*, the annually selected urban palaces of the nobility.⁸⁶

Other influential authors used terms similar to *palazzotto*. Vasari used a similar word, *palazzetto*, on two occasions in his *Vite*, once to refer to the Casino of Pio IV in the Vatican gardens and once for a small palace in Parma, probably the Palazzetto Eucherio Sanvitale in the ducal park.⁸⁷ Furttenbach's *palazzotto* is very similar to Vasari's *palazzetto*; both refer to a small garden palace used for rest and leisure.

It is not possible to know exactly how important Vasari, Cattaneo, Guiccardini and other authors were for the diffusion of *palazzotto* and its related forms. However, it is clear that the term could be applied to a wide variety of building types in the period, although it usually described structures that were made for a noble patron in the new manner and were free-standing, frequently in a garden or in a suburb.

Furttenbach remains a model for cultural transfer and the appropriation and adaptation of Italian terms and concepts.⁸⁸ As almost none of Furttenbach's projects were realized, the author's influence, of which the spread and use of the term *palazzotto* was only one example, was, as described by Berthold, 'in the preservation – and in its way – the improvement of the impressions and suggestions he incorporated [from his years in Italy and] in his importance as a reliable theoretical interpreter of his time'.⁸⁹ Thus Furttenbach's wide range of examples gives us an overview of

81 On this subject, see above and Jahr (see note 5), pp. 219–227.

82 '...palazzo di non grandi dimensioni, ma di aspetto solido, massiccio e severo'. Grande Dizionario Della Lingua Italiana, Turin 1984, tome 12, p. 388.

An other comprehensive entry for *palazzotto* is found in: Il Dizionario della lingua Italiana, Rome 1871, tome 3, p. 723.

83 '...vedere porre il campo da quella parte. Il Palazzotto, e la Torre dal lato di mare...'. Francesco Guiccardini, *L'Historia d'Italia*, Florence 1561, p. 234.

84 See the examples in: *Il Grande Dizionario Della Lingua Italiana* XII, Turin 1984, p. 388.

85 'D'altri palazzotti pubblici da farsi nel principale piazza...nel contorno similmente di detta piazza si potrà far un o duo palazzotti, pubblici per ricetta di molti personaggi forestieri, & per l'imbascierie delle provincie confederate o amiche.' Pietro Cattaneo, *I quattro libri di architettura*, Venezia 1569, book 1, p. 9.

86 The term *palazzotto* was still in use in the context of noble palaces in northern Italy, like in Mantua, during the seventeenth century. Oral communication from Roberta Piccinelli (University of Teramo) in 2014.

87 '...il palazzetto, che è nel bosco di Belvedere, cominciato al tempo di Papa Paolo Quarto...' Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, Florence 1568, book III, part 2, p. 694. – '... ha dipinto a fresco molte storie in un palazzetto, che ha fatto fare il detto Signor Duca nel castello di Parma, dove sono alcune fontane state condotte con bella grazia...' Ibidem, part 3, p. 804. On the last building, see the contribution of Michele Danielli in this volume.

88 Further Jahr (see note 5).

89 'Sein grösstes Verdienst liegt auch hier in der Bewahrung und – auf seine Weise – Vervollkommnung der von ihm aufgenommenen Eindrücke und Anregungen. Das ist die Unzulänglichkeit als frei schaffender Künstler, und es ist für uns seine Bedeutung als zuverlässiger theoretischer Interpret seiner Zeit.' Berthold 1951 (see note 1), p. 176. – For the importance of Furttenbach for the history of architecture theory see: Hanno-Walter Kruft, *Geschichte der Architektur-Theorie*, Munich 1985, p. 193–196.

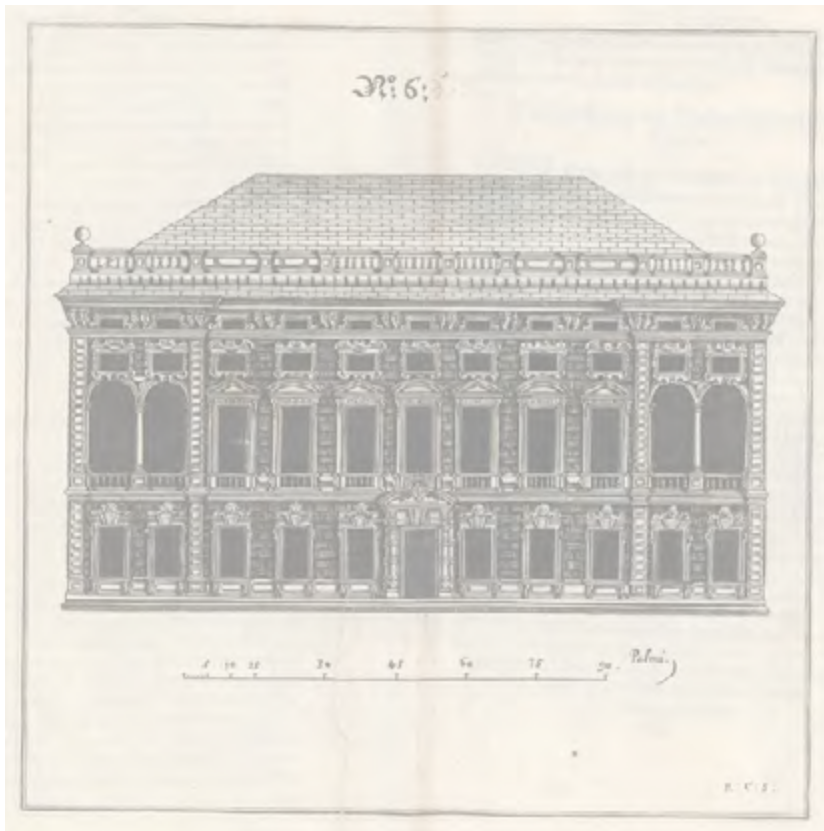
the possible *palazzotti* models that his contemporaries used for their leisure palaces, which were especially sought north of the Alps after the Thirty Years' War as a place to relax from cares and find new freedom and hope.

Furtttenbach chose examples of small garden palaces, which he himself could use as models for his own home. His position in society as a prominent merchant and council member of a free imperial city placed him on almost the same level as the republican noble families in Genoa, like the Saluzzo, to whom he clearly looked as a model, as well as to other new aristocratic families in Italy. It is significant that he mainly selected structures belonging to noblemen, who were also recently awarded titles or to families who came from a *cursus honorum* close to his. The *palazzotto* is presented in his treatise above all as a small building for the retreat and leisure of the prince in his gardens, but it could also be the main small garden or country palace, built or rebuilt in the modern manner for the use of a nobleman such as Saluzzo or Furtttenbach himself. In selecting these specific examples of leisure places, Furtttenbach brought together the highest ranks of the aristocracy with the upwardly mobile minor nobility in the *palazzotto*, showing both groups the modern manner of building a recreational 'small palace or considerable house'.



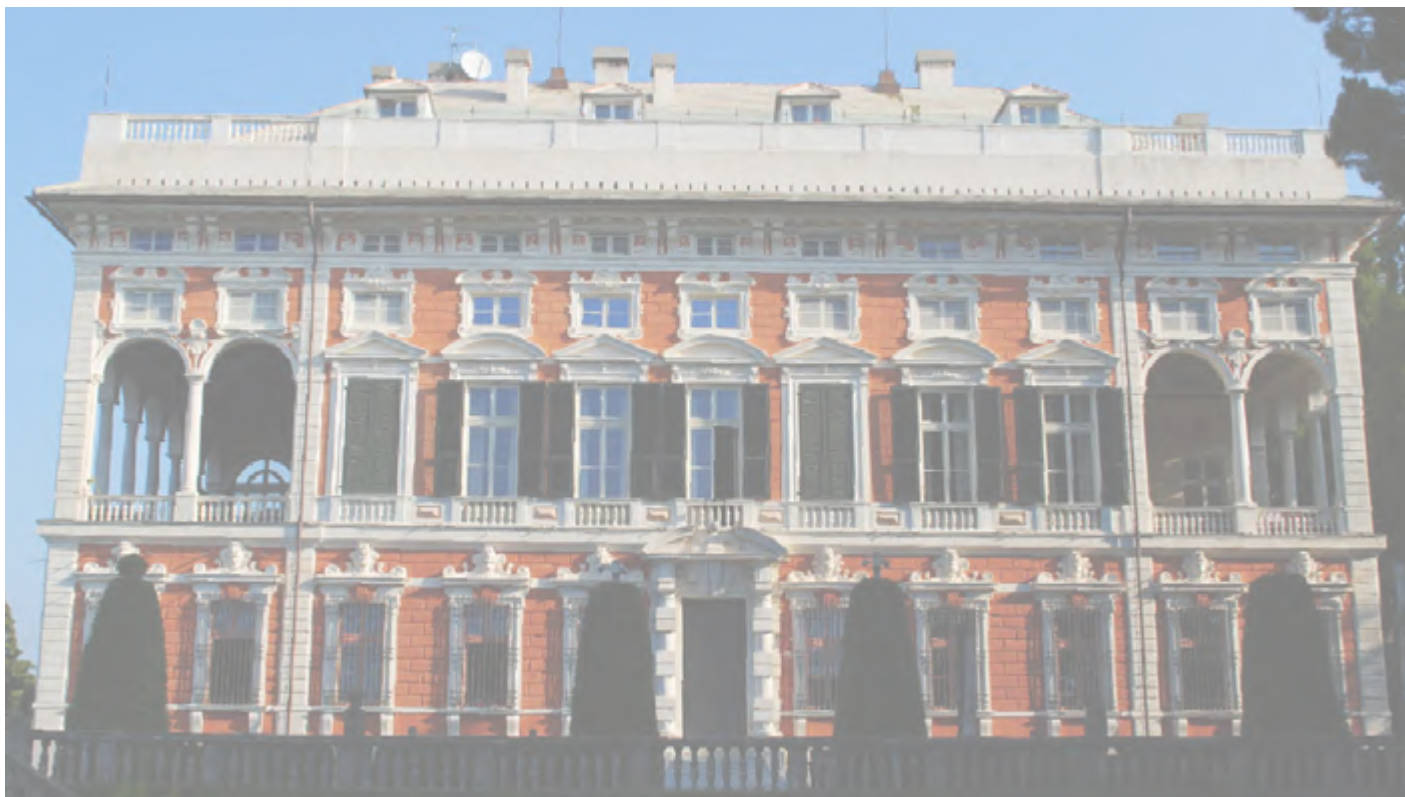
1. Johann Campan, Portrait of Joseph Furttentbach the Elder ('JOSEPHUS FURT(T)ENBACH • ANNO AETATIS XLIV • CHRI : M • DC • XXXV •'), engraving published in: Joseph Furttentbach, *Architectura Privata*, Augsburg 1635, front cover.

Photo: SLUB Dresden



2. Anonymous, Facade of the Villa Saluzzo Bombrini 'Il Paradiso', engraving published in: Joseph Furttentbach, *Architectura Civilis*, Ulm 1628, pl. N° 6.

Photo: ETH-Bibliothek Zürich



3. Andrea Ceresola (Il Vannone), Facade of the Villa Saluzzo Bombrini 'Il Paradiso', Genoa.

Photo: Antonio Russo 2014.



4. Joseph Furtttenbach the Elder (?), *Mannhafter Kunstspiegel* (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furtttenbach, *Mannhafter Kunstspiegel*, Augsburg 1663, cover picture.

Photo: SLUB Dresden



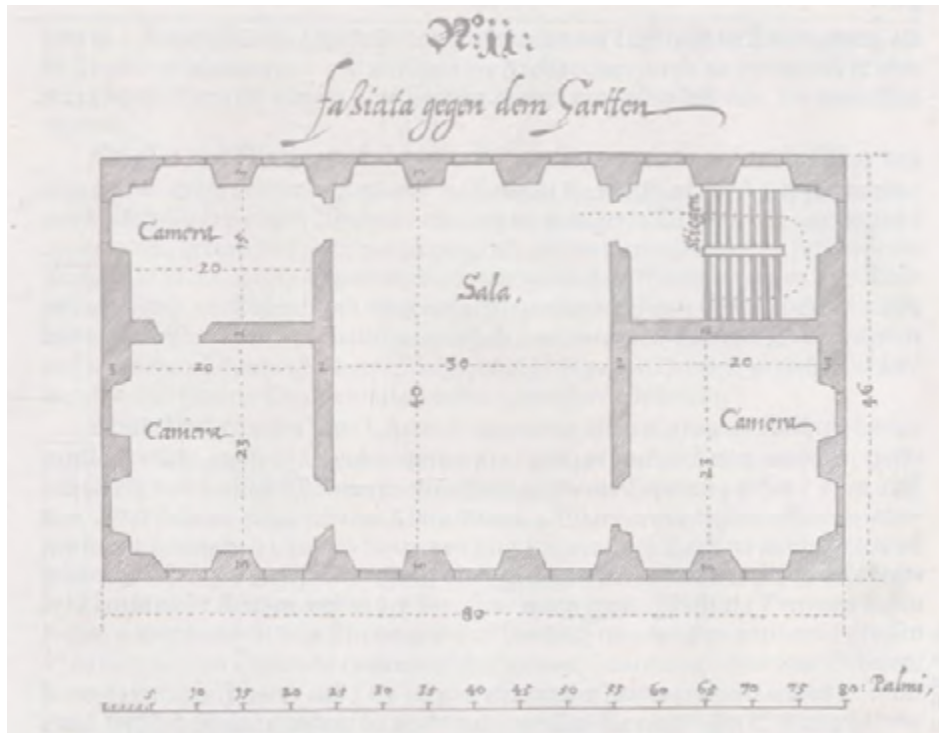
5. Anonymous, Facade of a Genoes Palazzotto (Villa Brignole 'Don Guanella?'), engraving published in: Joseph Furttentbach, *Newes Itinerarium Italiae*, Ulm 1627, pl. N° 10.

Photo: Zentralbibliothek Zürich



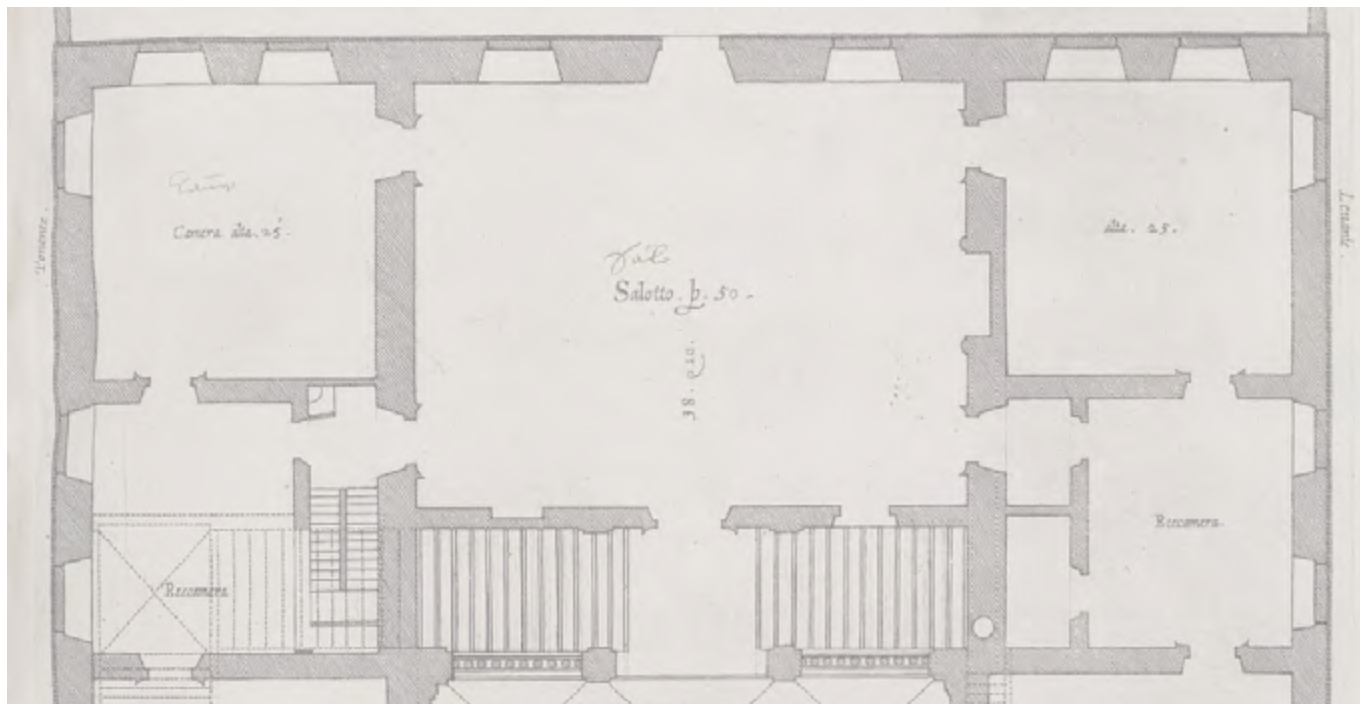
6. Bartolomeo Bianco, Facade of the Villa Brignole 'Don Guanella', Genoa, 2014.

Photo: Antonio Russo



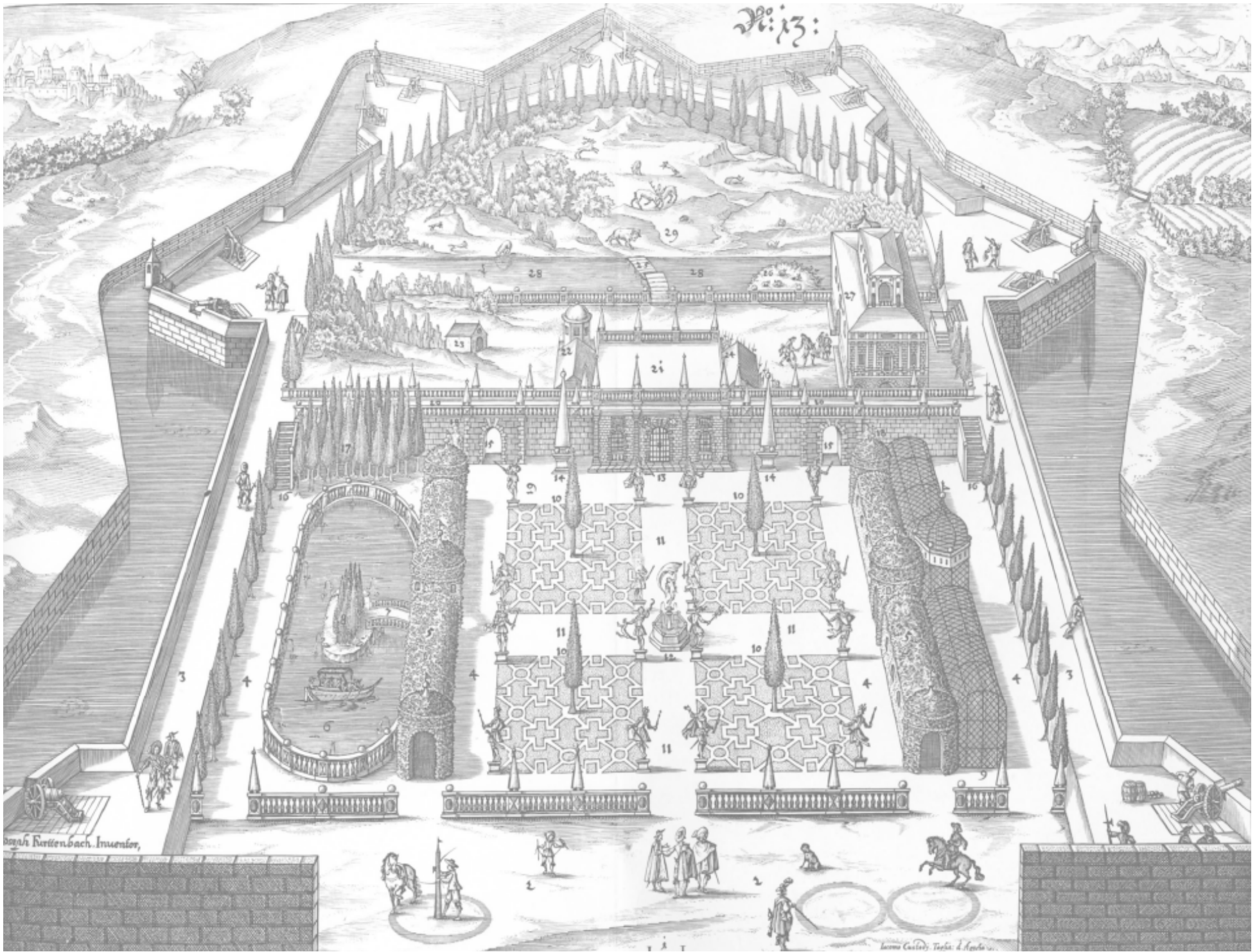
7. Anonymous, Piano nobile of a Genoese Palazzotto (Villa Brignole 'Don Guanella?'), engraving published in: Joseph Furttentbach, *Newes Itinerarium Italiae*, Ulm 1627, pl. N° 11.

Photo: Zentralbibliothek Zürich



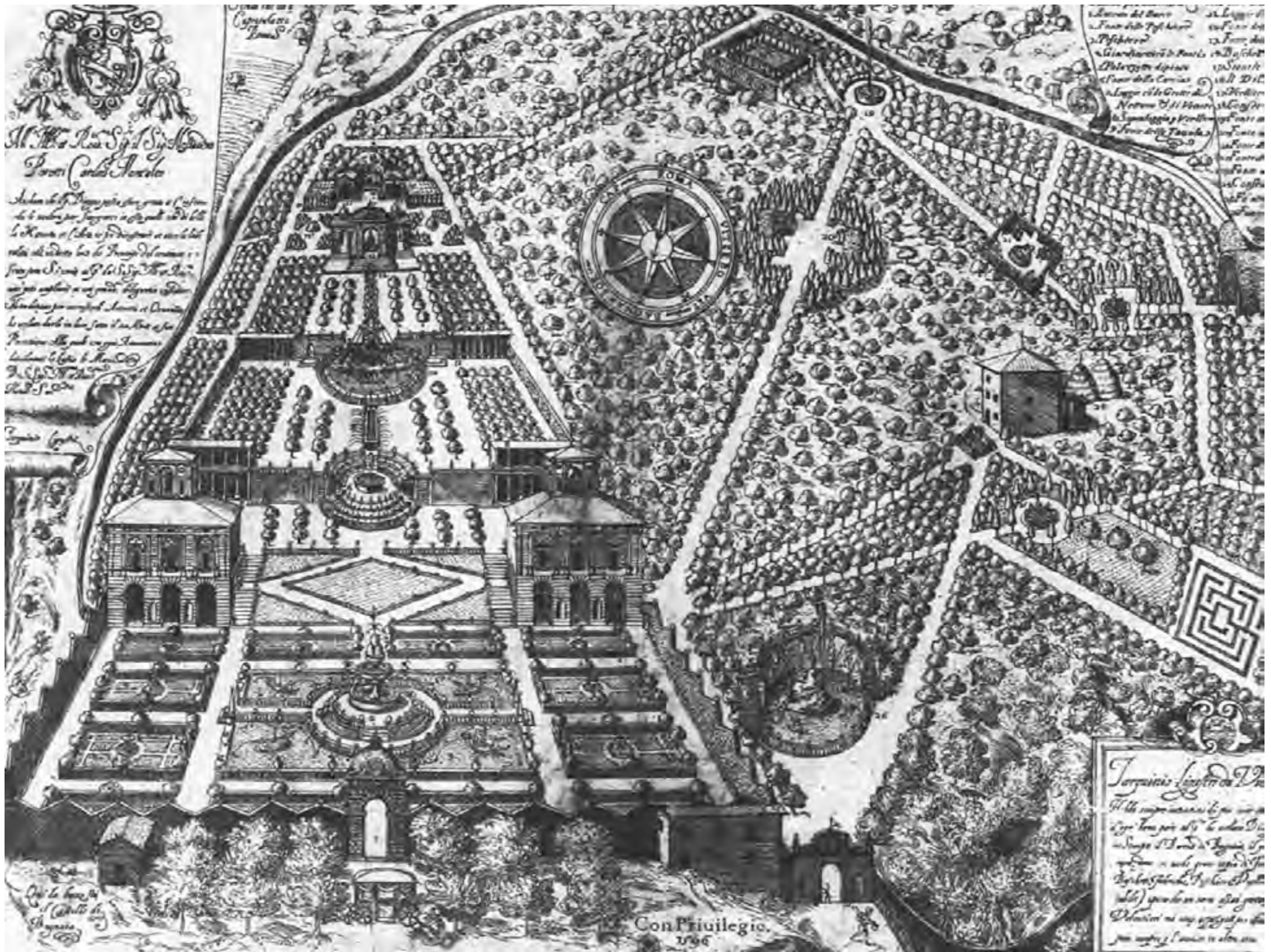
8. Peter Paul Rubens, Ground plan of the Palace of Tobia Pallavicini (detail), engraving published in: Peter Paul Rubens, *Palazzi di Genova*, Antwerp 1622, pl. 2.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg



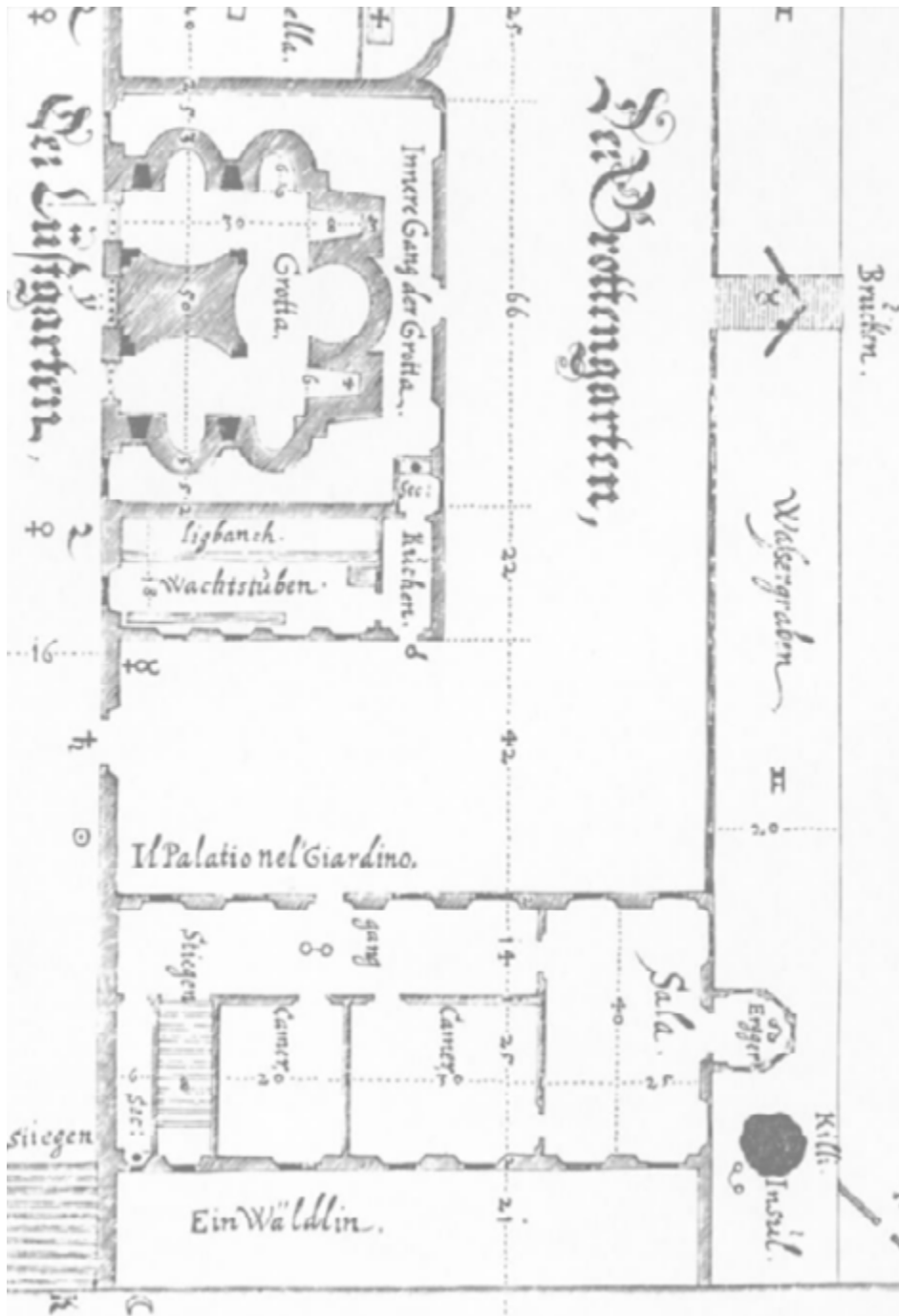
9. Joseph Furttbach the Elder (?), Elevation of a princely pleasure and animal garden, engraved by Iacomo Custodi and published in: Joseph Furttbach, *Architectura Civilis*, Ulm 1628, pl. N° 13.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



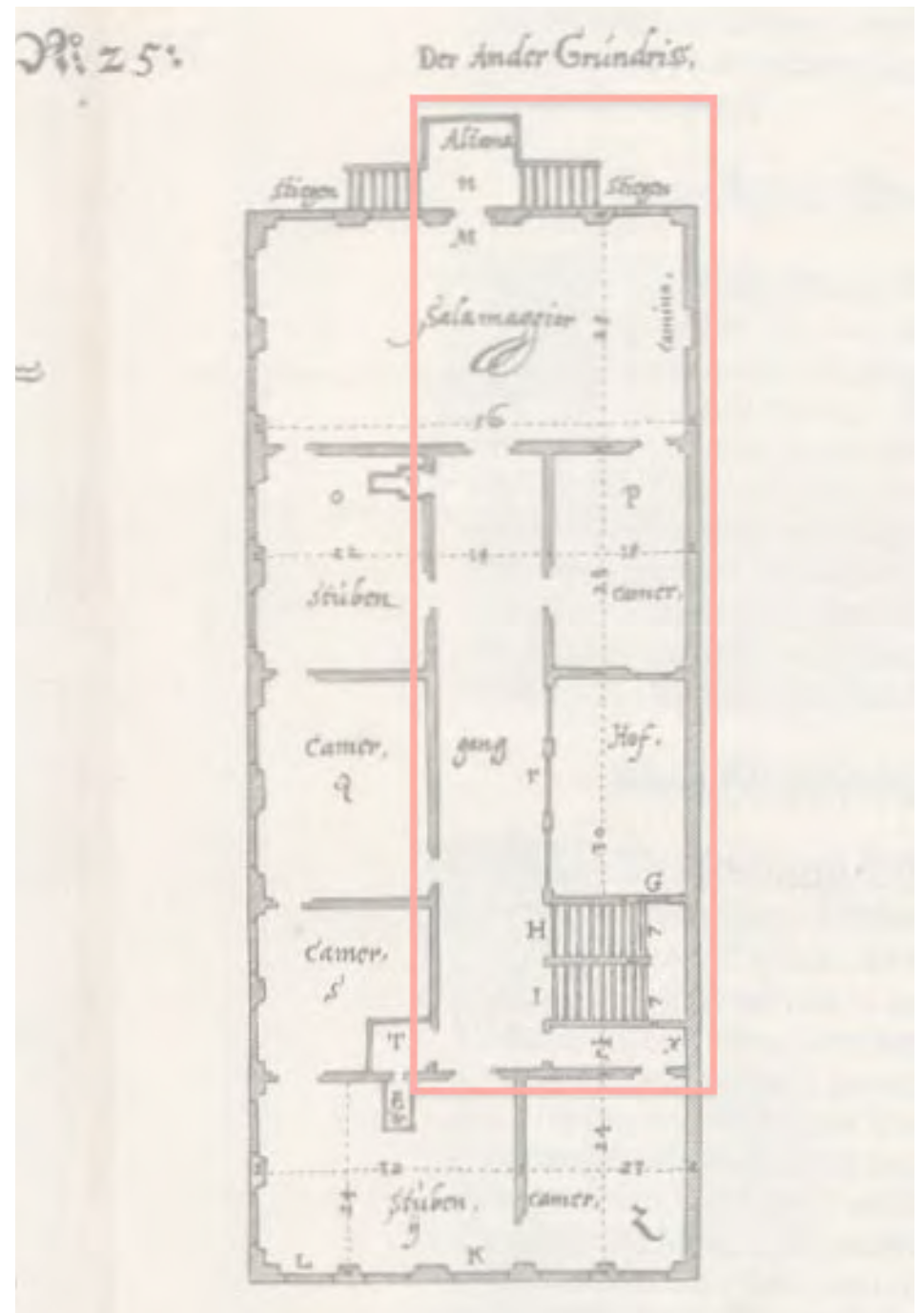
10. Tarquinio Ligustri, View of the Villa Lante in Bagnaia, engraving of 1596.

Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale Paris



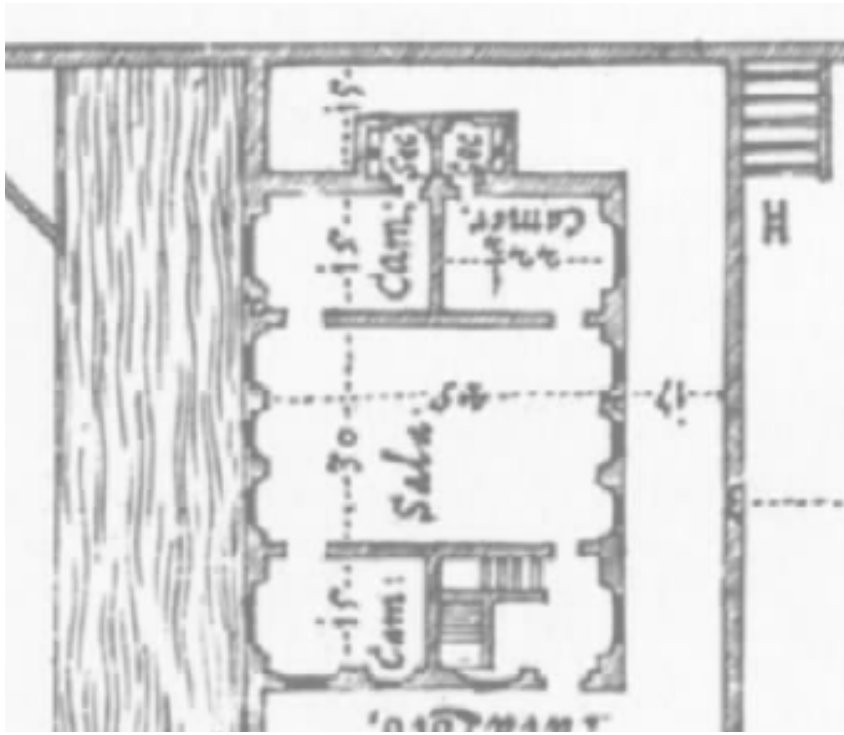
11. Joseph Furttentbach the Elder, Ground floor for the fifth pleasure garden (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furttentbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 14.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



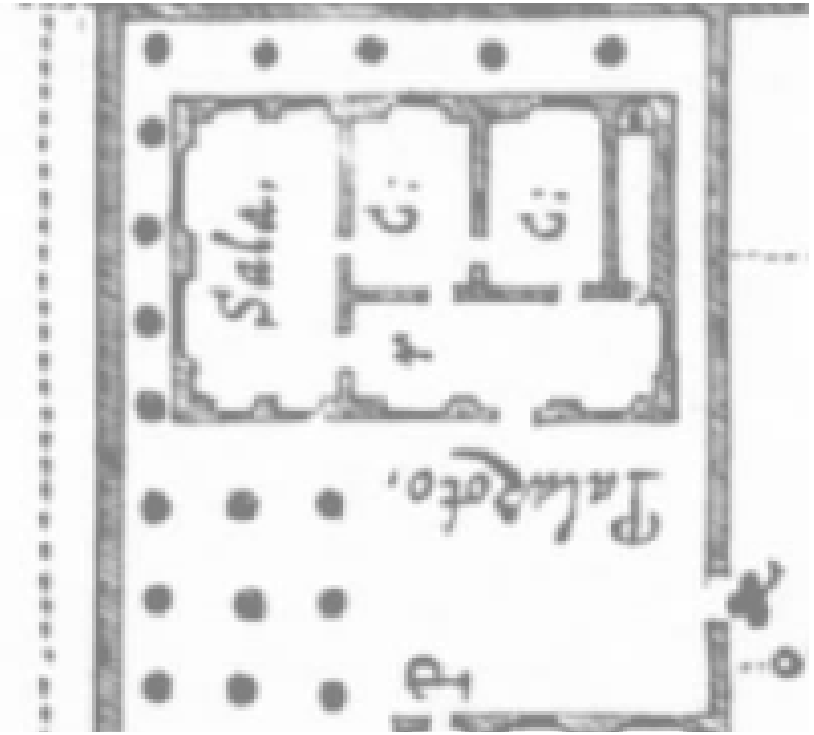
12. Joseph Furttentbach the Elder, The Piano nobile of the second noble house (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furttentbach, *Architectura Civilis*, Ulm 1628, pl. N° 25.

Photo: ETH-Bibliothek Zürich



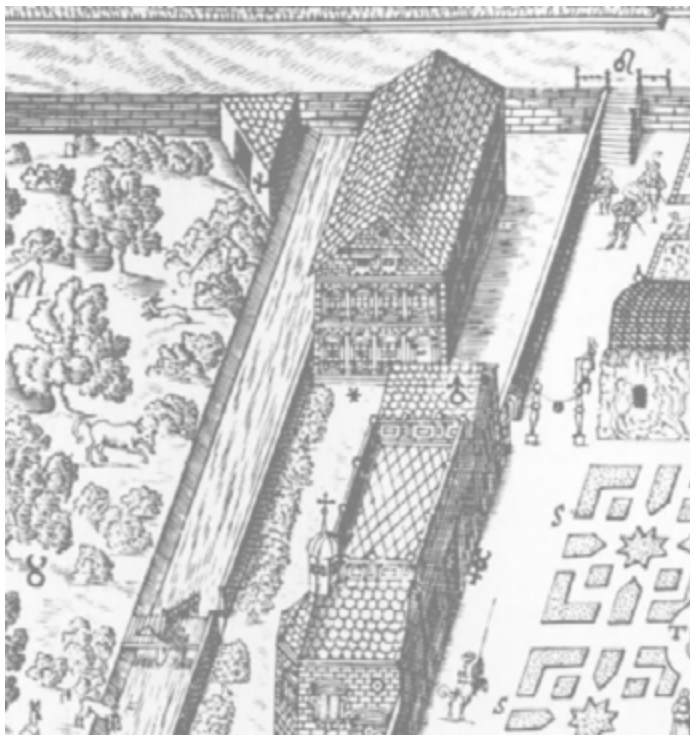
13. Joseph Furttentbach the Elder, Ground plan for the fourth pleasure garden (detail), 1636, engraving published in: Joseph Furttentbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 12.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



14. Joseph Furttentbach the Elder, Ground plan for the sixth pleasure garden (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furttentbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 25.

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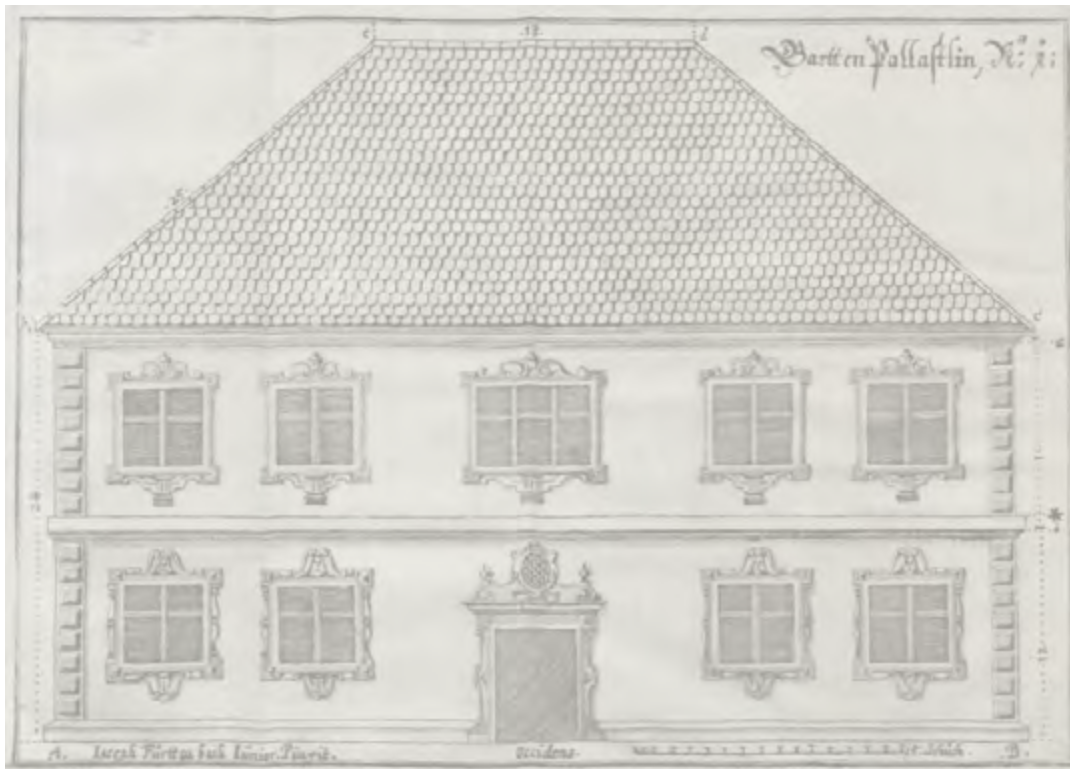
15. Joseph Furttentbach the Elder, Elevation for the fourth pleasure garden (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furttentbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 11.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



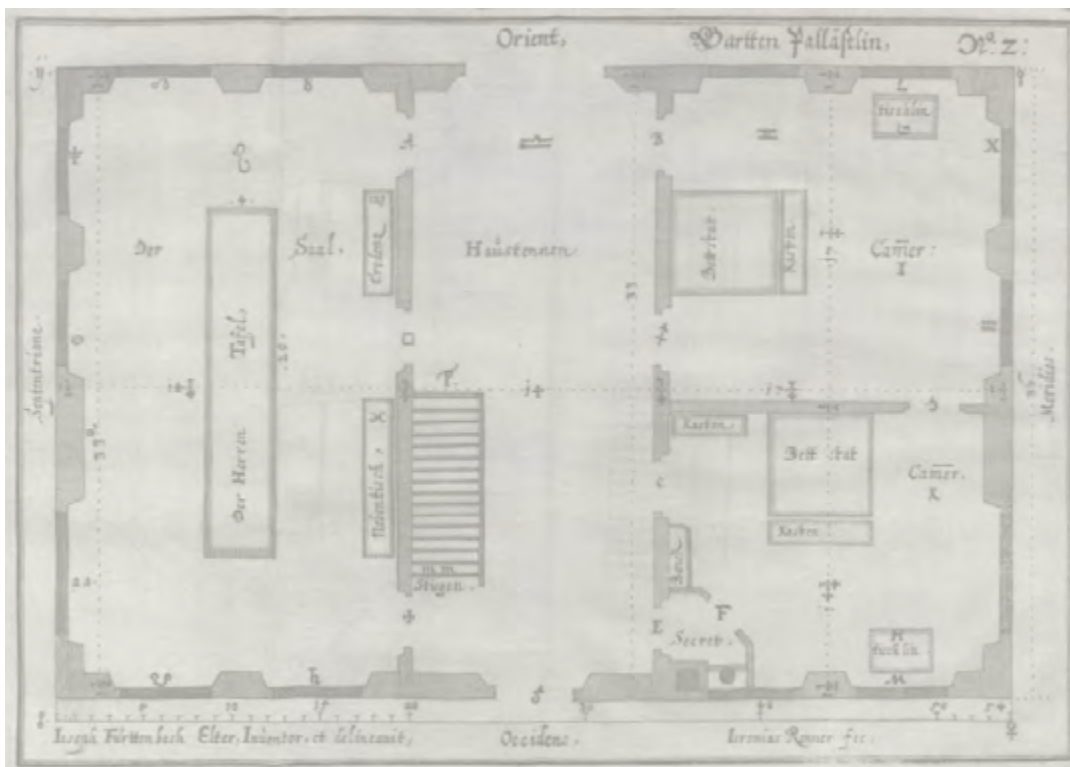
16. Joseph Furttentbach the Elder, Elevation for the sixth pleasure garden (detail), engraving published in: Joseph Furttentbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 24.

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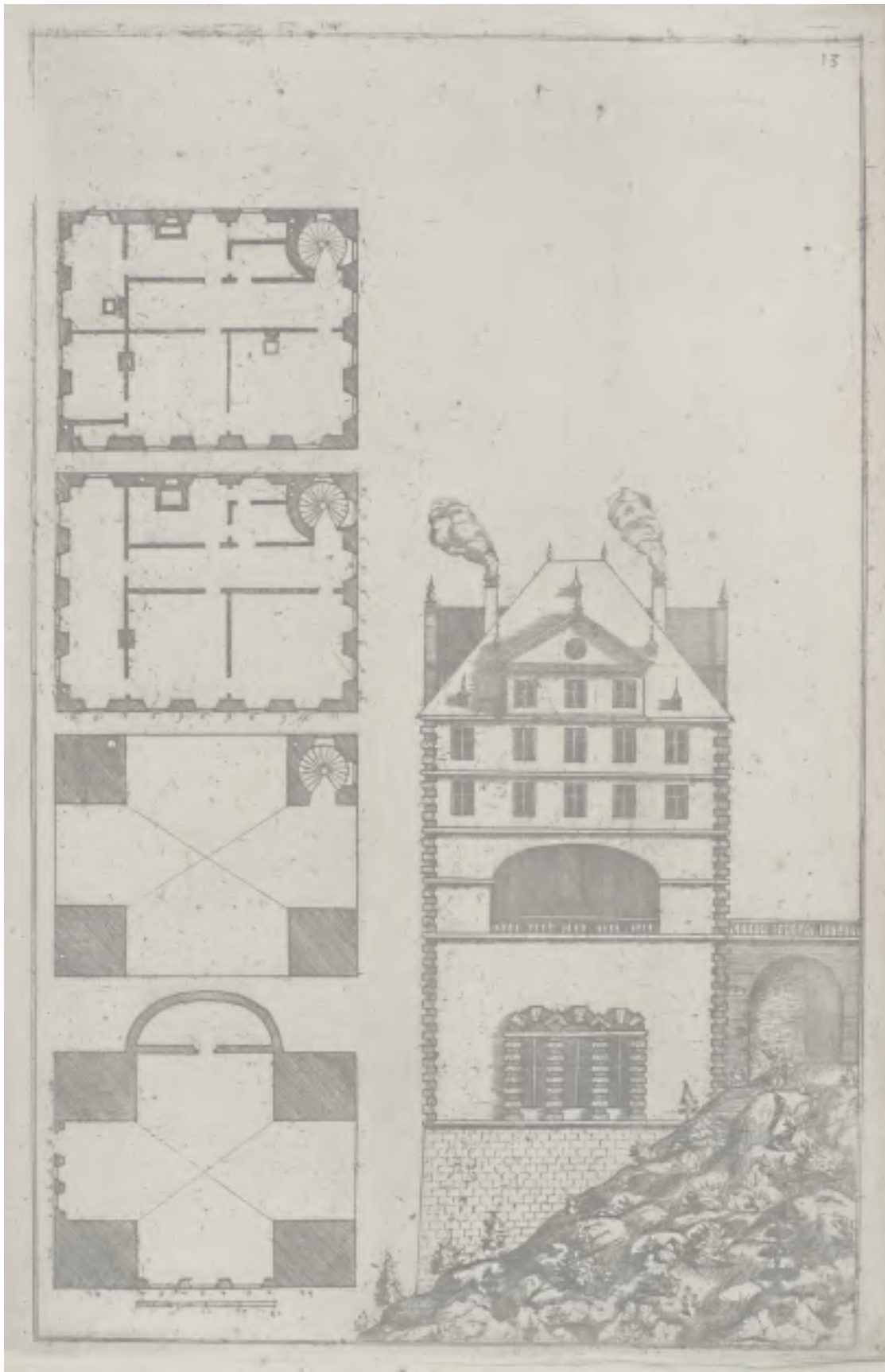
17. Joseph Furttentbach the Younger, Elevation of the Garten-Pallastlin, engraved by Johann Schulters and published posthumously in: Joseph Furttentbach the Younger, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu*, Augsburg 1667, pl. N° 1.

Photo: SLUB Dresden



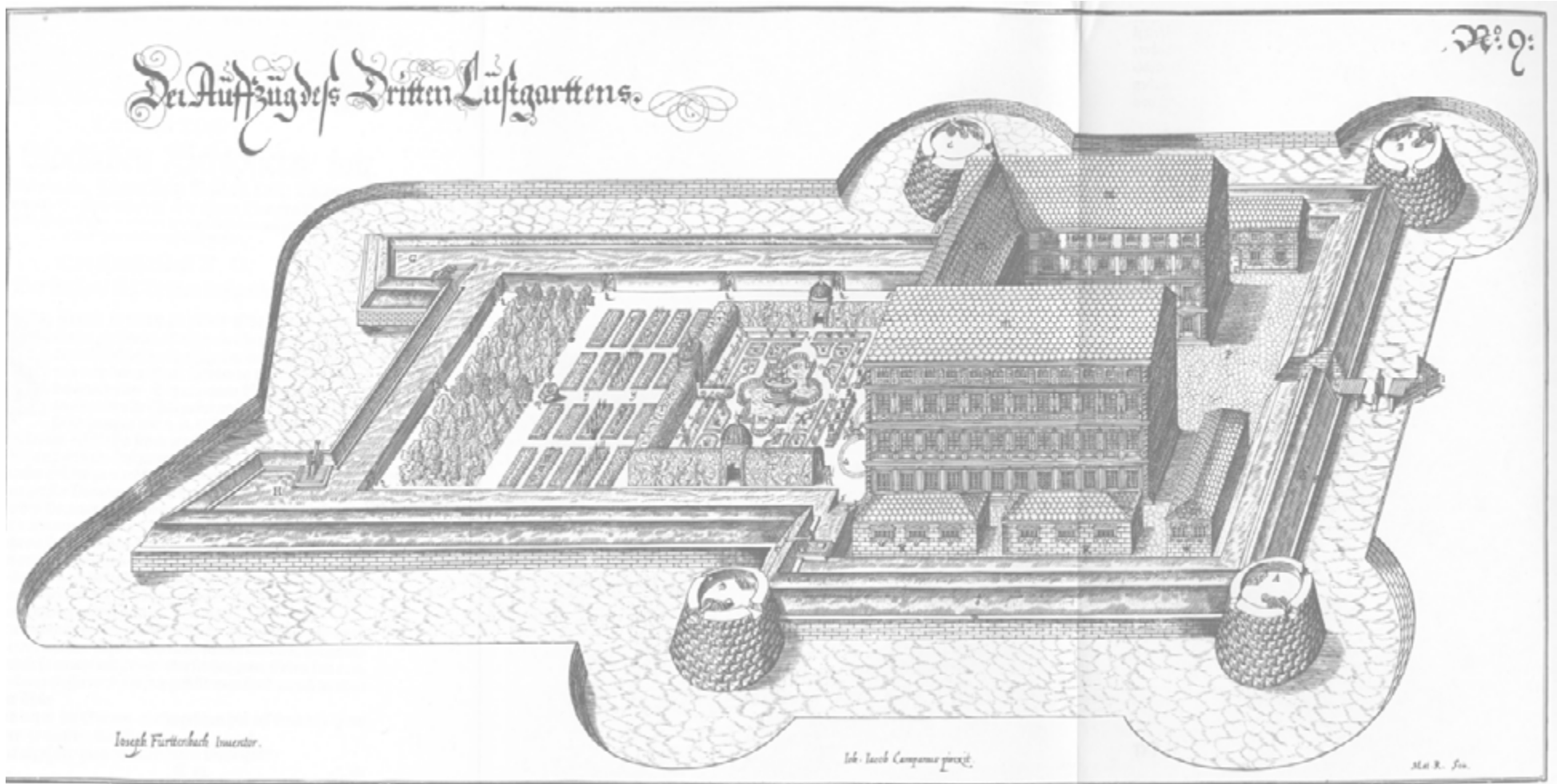
18. Joseph Furttentbach the Elder, Ground plan of the Garten-Pallastlin, engraved by Jeremias Renner and published posthumously in: Joseph Furttentbach the Younger, *Garten-Pallästlins-Gebäu*, Augsburg 1667, pl. N° 2.

Photo: SLUB Dresden



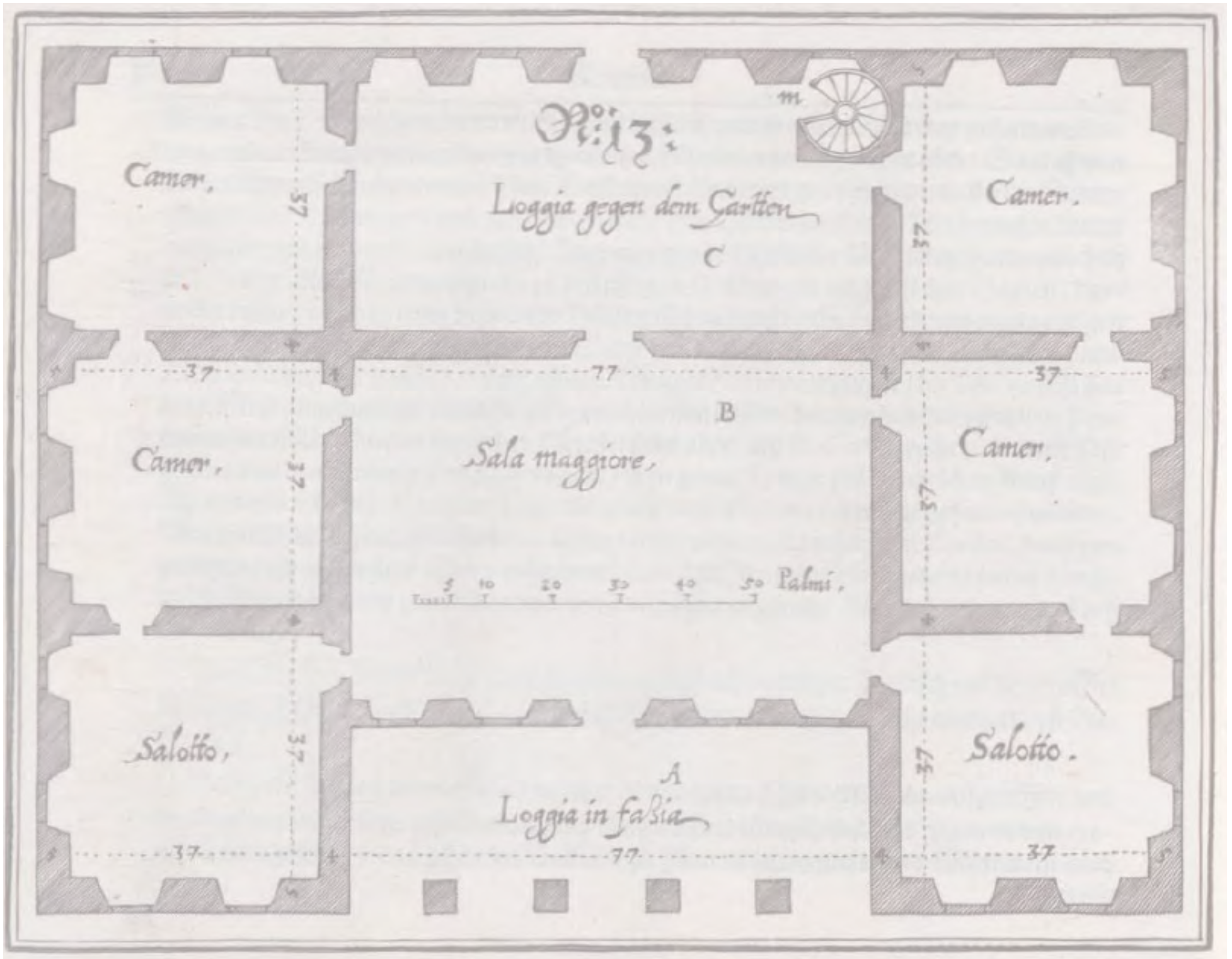
19. Salomon De Caus, Plans for the Tower of the Hortus Palatinus, engraving published in: Salomon De Caus, *Hortus Palatinus*, Frankfurt 1620, pl. 13.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg



20. Joseph Furtenbach the Elder, Elevation of the third pleasure garden, engraved by Iacob Campanus and published in: Joseph Furtenbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, pl. N° 9.

Photo: Universitätsbibliothek der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



21. Joseph Furttentbach the Elder (?), Floor plan of the palazzotto Borghese in the Villa Borghese, engraving published in: Joseph Furttentbach, *Newes Itinerarium Italiae*, Ulm 1627, pl. N° 13.

Photo: Zentralbibliothek Zürich