

9 DEFENSIVE ARCHITECTURE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

Anna MAROTTA, Roberta SPALLONE (Eds.)



DEFENSIVE ARCHITECTURE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN
Vol. IX

PROCEEDINGS of the International Conference on Modern Age Fortification of the Mediterranean Coast
FORTMED 2018

DEFENSIVE ARCHITECTURE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN
Vol. IX

Editors
Anna Marotta, Roberta Spallone
Politecnico di Torino. Italy

POLITECNICO DI TORINO

Series *Defensive Architectures of the Mediterranean*

General editor
Pablo Rodríguez-Navarro

The papers published in this volume have been peer-reviewed by the Scientific Committee of FORTMED2018_Torino

© editors
Anna Marotta, Roberta Spallone

© papers: the authors

© 2018 edition: Politecnico di Torino

ISBN: 978-88-85745-12-4



FORTMED - Modern Age Fortification of the Mediterranean Coast, Torino, 18th, 19th, 20th October 2018

Organization and Committees

Organizing Committee

Anna Marotta. (Chair). Politecnico di Torino. Italy
Roberta Spallone. (Chair). Politecnico di Torino. Italy
Marco Vitali. (Program Co-Chair and Secretary). Politecnico di Torino. Italy
Michele Calvano. (Member). Politecnico di Torino. Italy
Massimiliano Lo Turco. (Member). Politecnico di Torino. Italy
Rossana Netti. (Member). Politecnico di Torino. Italy
Martino Pavignano. (Member). Politecnico di Torino. Italy

Scientific Committee

Alessandro Camiz. Girne American University. Cyprus
Alicia Cámara Muñoz. UNED. Spain
Andrea Pirinu. Università di Cagliari. Italy
Andreas Georgopoulos. Nat. Tec. University of Athens. Greece
Andrés Martínez Medina. Universidad de Alicante. Spain
Angel Benigno González. Universidad de Alicante. Spain
Anna Guarducci. Università di Siena. Italy
Anna Marotta. Politecnico di Torino. Italy
Annalisa Dameri. Politecnico di Torino. Italy
Antonio Almagro Gorbea. CSIC. Spain
Arturo Zaragoza Catalán. Generalitat Valenciana. Castellón. Spain
Boutheina Bouzid. Ecole Nationale d'Architecture. Tunisia
Concepción López González. UPV. Spain
Faissal Cherradi. Ministerio de Cultura del Reino de Marruecos. Morocco
Fernando Cobos Guerra. Arquitecto. Spain
Francisco Juan Vidal. Universitat Politècnica de València, Spain
Gabriele Guidi. Politecnico di Milano. Italy
Giorgio Verdiani. Università degli Studi di Firenze. Italy
Gjergji Islami. Universiteti Politeknik i Tiranës. Albania
João Campos, Centro de Estudos de Arquitectura Militar de Almeida. Portugal
John Harris. Fortress Study Group. United Kingdom
Marco Bevilacqua. Università di Pisa. Italy
Marco Vitali. Politecnico di Torino. Italy
Nicolas Faucherre. Aix-Marseille Université – CNRS. France
Ornella Zerlenga. Università degli Studi della Campania 'Luigi Vanvitelli'. Italy
Pablo Rodríguez-Navarro. Universitat Politècnica de València. Spain
Per Cornell. University of Gothenburg. Sweden
Philippe Bragard. Université catholique de Louvain. Belgium
Rand Eppich. Universidad Politècnica de Madrid. Spain
Roberta Spallone. Politecnico di Torino. Italy
Sandro Parrinello. Università di Pavia. Italy
Stefano Bertocci. Università degli Studi di Firenze. Italy
Stefano Columbu, Università di Cagliari. Italy
Teresa Gil Piqueras. Universitat Politècnica de València. Spain
Víctor Echarri Iribarren. Universitat d'Alacant. Spain

Note

The Conference was made in the frame of the R & D project entitled "SURVEILLANCE AND DEFENSE TOWERS OF THE VALENCIAN COAST. Metadata generation and 3D models for interpretation and effective enhancement" reference HAR2013-41859-P, whose principal investigator is Pablo Rodríguez-Navarro. The project is funded by National Program for Fostering Excellence in Scientific and Technical Research, national Sub-Program for Knowledge Generation, Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (Government of Spain).

Organized by



**POLITECNICO
DI TORINO**

Dipartimento di
Architettura e Design

Partnerships



UNIVERSITAT
POLITÈCNICA
DE VALÈNCIA



UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
FIRENZE



Universitat d'Alacant
Universidad de Alicante

Patronages



CITTA' DI TORINO



unione
italiana
disegno



FONDAZIONE
DELL'ORDINE DEGLI
INGEGNERI
DELLA PROVINCIA DI
TORINO

Table of contents

Preface	XV
Contributions	
DIGITAL HERITAGE	
<i>Quivi surgeva nel lido estremo un sasso: la torre dell'Arma</i>	925
<i>M. Abbo, F. L. Buccafurri</i>	
Il Castello di Gorizia, analisi geometrica e rilievo con tecnologie avanzate.....	933
<i>G. Amoroso, P. Cochelli, V. Riavis</i>	
"Turris ad nocturnum navigantibus lumen".....	941
<i>M. Arena, F. Fatta</i>	
Dalla dismissione alla valorizzazione: progetti e interventi per il Forte di Exilles (To) negli anni 1978-2018.....	949
<i>C. Bartolozzi, F. Novelli</i>	
Rilievo digitale dell'area archeologica costiera della Rocca di San Silvestro.....	957
<i>S. Bertocci, A. Lumini</i>	
New tools for the valorization and dissemination of the results of TOVIVA project.....	965
<i>S. Bertocci, P. Rodriguez-Navarro, M. Bercigli</i>	
Sperimentazioni cinquecentesche dei Sangallo verso le fortificazioni toscane. Il caso del Forte Sangallo a Nettuno.....	973
<i>D. Calisi, M. G. Cianci</i>	
Dalla nuvola di punti al progetto di restauro. L'estrazione di dati per la valorizzazione dell'antica fortificazione di Casertavecchia.....	981
<i>V. Cera, L. A. Garcia</i>	
Da castello a castello, il problema della difesa della costa ionica: i casi delle fortificazioni di Catania e Aci Castello.....	989
<i>G. Di Gregorio</i>	
Las torres vigías artilladas de Felipe II en la Región del Murcia. Representación tridimensional virtual de la Torre Navidad.....	997
<i>J. García León, P. E. Collado Espejo, M. Ramos Martínez, L. Cipriani, F. Fantini</i>	

Rappresentando il Forte di Gavi: ieri, oggi, domani.....	1005
<i>A. Marotta, V. Cirillo, O. Zerlenga</i>	
Rappresentazione sincronica e ricostruzioni diacroniche della Rocca di Senigallia. Un approccio di conoscenza integrato.....	1013
<i>A. Meschini, E. Petrucci</i>	
I sotterranei dei castelli di Otranto e di Gallipoli: dal rilievo laser scanner 3D all'analisi Strutturale.....	1021
<i>G. Muscatello, A. Quarta, C. Mitello</i>	
Rilievo tridimensionale del palazzo fortificato di Entella.....	1029
<i>R. Netti</i>	
Torri costiere nella Sicilia sud-orientale: il rilievo per la conoscenza e la messa in valore delle emergenze architettoniche.....	1037
<i>G. Nicastro</i>	
Sistemi fortificati dell'Adriatico centrale: indagini storiche, rappresentazioni contemporanee e ricostruzioni digitali.....	1045
<i>C. Palestini, A. Basso</i>	
Augmented Iconography. AR applications to the fortified Turin in the <i>Theatrum Sabaudiae</i>	1053
<i>V. Palma, M. Lo Turco, R. Spallone, M. Vitali</i>	
Il rilievo della torre degli Appiani a Marciana Marina.....	1061
<i>G. Pancani</i>	
Nuvole di punti per l'accessibilità universale del patrimonio storico: il caso studio del castello di Francolise.....	1067
<i>L. M. Papa, S. D'Auria</i>	
La Documentazione delle mura di Verona Rilievo, analisi e schedatura delle fortificazioni veronesi.....	1075
<i>S. Parrinello, P. Becherini</i>	
Sul limitare del Mediterraneo: Antonelli e la fortificazione di Gibilterra.....	1083
<i>S. Parrinello, F. Picchio, R. De Marco, A. Dell'Amico</i>	
Rappresentare l'architettura militare. Il bastione di Santa Croce a Cagliari in epoca sabauda.....	1091
<i>A. Pirinu, N. Contini, M. Utzeri</i>	
Il castello di Popolonia: dal rilievo alla documentazione visuale.....	1097
<i>P. Puma, A. Guidi</i>	
Método para el levantamiento del patrimonio construido mediante técnicas digitales: Puerta de la Colada de la muralla de Ciudad Rodrigo (Salamanca).....	1101
<i>A. Sánchez Corrochano, A. Greco, D. Besana, E. Martínez Sierra</i>	

Un navigatore per monumenti: proposta di applicazione software per valorizzare i monumenti culturalmente e storicamente con soluzioni informatiche, GIS e GPS.....1109
L. Serra

Partimonio costruito e BIM: il palazzo di Francesco de' Medici nella Fortezza Vecchia di Livorno fa un secondo passo nell'epoca digitale.....1117
G. Verdiani, V. Donato, L. Pianigiani, F. Marsugli

Cannons, galleries, ruins and Digital Survey: a first report about the “Molo Cosimo” after seventy years of abandon.....1125
G. Verdiani, A. Frascari

CULTURE AND MANAGEMENT

Il castello normanno di Ginosa (TA). Progetto di salvaguardia e valorizzazione di una memoria.....1133
A. Albanese, F. Allegretti, C. Castellana, A. Colamonico, F. Fiorio, M. Marasciulo

The fortification system on the Elba Island: analysis of the strategic evolution and the military technologies.....1141
G. Baldi, A. Mancuso, A. Pasquali, M. Pucci

Un percorso virtuale nel Forte di Fenestrelle tra memoria e attualità.....1149
O. Bucolo, D. Miron, R. Netti

La fruizione multimediale del Castello di Lecce.....1157
G. Cacudi

Some aspect of relationships of old and new in moroccan fortification.....1165
M. Cherradi

Tutela, recupero, valorizzazione delle torri costiere come parte integrante di sistemi territoriali complessi. La “nuova vita” della Torre di Cerrano (Abruzzo, Italia).....1171
A. Colecchia

Estudio integral de la Torre Navidad, en Cartagena (España), para su correcta conservación, puesta en valor y musealización.....1179
P. E. Collado Espejo, J. García León, J. F. García Vives

Fortified architecture in Spanish chain Paradores de Turismo. 90 years of heritage management for touristic purposes.....1187
P. Cupeiro López

Difendere la Terra d’Otranto. Le torri di avvistamento della Serie di Nardò.....1195
G. Danesi, A. Gagliardi

Il castello Ursino a Catania: la costa scostata.....1203
G. Di Gregorio, F. Condorelli

Conservation of Martinengo Bastion, Famagusta, Cyprus.....	1209
<i>R. Eppich, M. Pittas, M. Zubiaga de la Cal</i>	
Paesaggi sublimi: un parco ecomuseale per valorizzare il patrimonio paesaggistico militare delle colline del Golfo della Spezia.....	1217
<i>E. Falqui, D. Reitano, L. Marinaro</i>	
Il parco multimediale delle mura di Padova: valorizzazione di paesaggi e percorsi culturali in un'ottica creativa e innovativa.....	1223
<i>A. Ferrighi</i>	
Paesaggi militari della Sardegna tra XVIII e XX secolo. Scenari di riconversione e di riuso integrato.....	1229
<i>D. R. Fiorino, S. M. Grillo, E. Pilia, M. Porcu, M. Vargiu</i>	
Conoscenza e approccio architettonico per la conservazione del Castello di Mirto Crosia in Calabria (Italy).....	1237
<i>C. Gattuso</i>	
Le fortezze della famiglia Ruffo in Calabria (Italia).....	1245
<i>C. Gattuso, P. Gattuso</i>	
Accessibilità integrata per architetture inaccessibili. I castelli della Sardegna (XIV-XV sec.).....	1253
<i>C. Giannattasio, A. Pinna, V. Pintus, M. S. Pirisino</i>	
Lungo le Mura del Cassaro di Palermo. Studi e rilievi architettonici e proposte per il turismo culturale.....	1261
<i>G. Girgenti</i>	
Atlante delle Opere Fortificate: un progetto ambizioso applicato alle opere fortificate alpine della Val Pellice.....	1269
<i>L. Grande, S. Pons</i>	
"Rodi antica, medievale e cavalleresca": exemplary restoration of a Walled City during the Italian Colonialism.....	1277
<i>M. M. Grisoni</i>	
Esclusione – Inclusion. Eptapyrgio, la fortezza di Salonicco.....	1285
<i>S. Gron, E. Gkrimpa</i>	
Attraversare paesaggi, collegare il patrimonio: trasformazioni militari in Liguria secondo il pensiero e i progetti di Napoleone.....	1293
<i>L. Marinaro, P. Granara, S. Di Grazia</i>	
Por un plan autonómico para la gestión de los castillos en la Comunidad Valenciana (España).....	1301
<i>J. A. Mira Rico</i>	
La musealización del patio y el almacén del Palau del Castell de Castalla (Alicante, España): nuevas aportaciones para el contexto de la provincia de Alicante.....	1309
<i>J. A. Mira Rico, M. Bevià i Garcia, J. R. Ortega Pérez</i>	

Archeologia della distruzione: i seicenteschi “Castelli del Mare” presso Castelfranco, a Finale Ligure (SV). Individuazione del tracciato e dei resti di una delle più imponenti fortezze del Ponente, contributo per la salvaguardia e la valorizzazione di un sito fragile e dimenticato.....	1317
<i>G. Pertot</i>	
Impronte del passato, forme del futuro: la valorizzazione dei siti fortificati attraverso l’arte Contemporanea.....	1325
<i>S. Pons</i>	
Programme to capitalize the fortified cultural heritage in Europe Research-Tourism-Marketing-Networking.....	1331
<i>D. Röder</i>	
Memoria dell’antico in alcune fortificazioni microasiatiche.....	1335
<i>E. Romeo</i>	
Una verifica nella gestione della conservazione programmata dei castelli recetto della Valtenesi a dieci anni dalle prime azioni: valutazioni, esiti e nuovi indirizzi.....	1341
<i>B. Scala</i>	
Il patrimonio fortificato della Repubblica di Venezia: per un’ipotesi di riformulazione della candidatura UNESCO.....	1349
<i>E. Zanardo</i>	
 MISCELLANY	
Fortificación del siglo XX en la orilla norte del estrecho de Gibraltar.....	1357
<i>A. Atanasio-Guisado, A. Martínez-Medina</i>	
Fortificazioni nel Mediterraneo: disegni di ambito spagnolo nella seconda metà del XVI secolo.....	1365
<i>P. Davico</i>	
Geometria e rappresentazione nell’architettura militare e civile a Malta.....	1373
<i>A. Mollicone</i>	
El 'aura' del 'residuo': aproximación estética y fenomenológica en torno a la ruina militar Moderna.....	1379
<i>R. Nicolau Tejedor, A. Martínez-Medina</i>	
L’opera di Punta Rossa, Caprera. Strategie di conoscenza e di progetto per un patrimonio costruito militare e il suo paesaggio.....	1387
<i>S. Pieri</i>	
Protection of a UNESCO transnational site: three different legislations for the "Venetian Works of Defence between the 16th and 17th Centuries: Stato da Terra – Western Stato da Mar”.....	1395
<i>S. Rocco</i>	

Preface

The FORTMED International Conference on Modern Age Fortifications of the Mediterranean Coast celebrates its fourth edition in Torino (18th, 19th and 20th October 2018), hosted by Politecnico di Torino, the Department of Architecture and Design (DAD), in the historical seat of Valentino Castle.

The original idea of FORTMED was that of bringing together researchers working on Modern Age Fortifications of the Mediterranean at a conference, with the aim of creating an interdisciplinary network of researchers. Indeed, the primary objective of the Conference is to exchange and share knowledge, valorisation, management, and exploitation of Culture and Heritage that developed on the Western Mediterranean Coast in the Modern Age, considering the dissemination of the results as a crucial resource to achieve the objective, led to the realization of the first Conference, held at the Institute of Heritage Restoration of the Universitat Politècnica de València (15th, 16th and 17th October 2015). On that occasion, a group of scholars involved in research on Modern Age Fortifications from the Department of Architecture and Design (DAD) at the Politecnico di Torino came to Valencia and met the research group of Pablo Rodríguez-Navarro, who chaired the Conference. Today, some of these scholars are members of the Conference Scientific Committee.

The second Conference, chaired by Giorgio Verdiani and held at the Architecture Department of Università degli Studi di Firenze (November 10th, 11th and 12th 2016), expanded the theme of the Conference to the whole family of fortifications of the *Mare Nostrum* (e.g., Spain, France, Italy, Malta, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Cyprus, Greece, Albania and Croazia) but not excluding other countries, other fortifications or coastal settlements.

The third Conference, chaired by Víctor Echarri Iribarren and held at the Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de la Universitat d'Alacant (October 26th, 27th and 28th 2017), focused on Western Mediterranean fortifications, including the other Mediterranean countries and overseas fortifications (e.g., Cuba, Puerto Rico Philippines and Panama), as well as introduced the "Port and Fortification" line.

In this fourth Conference the field of interests broadens out: in space, including both Northern Europe (i.e., Sweden) and Far Eastern (i.e., China) countries; and in time, involving studies both on Middle Age defensive architecture and contemporary military buildings and settlements (from the 19th to 21st century). This means recognizing the value of Architectural Heritage to contemporary buildings (i.e., the bunkers built during the II World War) and facing new issues associated with the conservation and restoration of them. Moreover, the Conference addresses current themes (i.e., those of the reconstruction of the Defensive Architectural Heritage destroyed during the present civil war in Syria). In the hope of the proponents of the current Conference, the issue of preservation and enhancement of Fortification Heritage affirms as a place of knowledge exchange aimed at the transformation of this Heritage, from "war to peace".

Turin is a special venue for a Conference on Modern Fortifications. Turin, the capital city of the Duchy of Savoy since 1563, took shape as a “city-fortress” from those years up to the dismantling of the fortified walls and the Citadel, from the beginning to mid-19th century. In that period, military engineers and treatisers developed projects and formulated opinions about the fortified system of the city (e.g., Paciotto, Carlo Morello, Michel Angelo Morello, Vauban, and Guarini). The seat of the Conference, the Valentino Castle, Humanity UNESCO Heritage, was born during the establishing of Savoy in Turin, as the riverside residence of the Savoy family. The theme of Modern Fortifications, in the past and today characterized the researches of numerous scholars of the Politecnico di Torino from different disciplinary points of view and in an interdisciplinary perspective.

FORTMED2018_Torino received numerous contributions. Among them, about 190 papers, written by more than 310 authors and peer-reviewed by members of the Scientific Committee, have been selected. The authors come from 19 countries (Italy, Spain, Albania, Algeria, Cyprus, Croatia, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, Morocco, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom and Venezuela). As in the auspices of FORTMED Conferences, they represent the world not only of University researchers but also independent scholars, professionals, representatives of the institutions for the protection of Cultural Heritage, volunteers and members of cultural associations, and, “last but not least”, Ph.D. and M.Sc. students, who are the future for our research.

We hope that FORTMED2018_Torino will strengthen the bonds between researchers and create new opportunities for a more effective collaboration in knowledge, maintenance and intervention of the Fortification Heritage.

We would like to thank Pablo Rodríguez-Navarro, President of FORTMED[®], for his valuable advice and constant presence during the organization phases of the Conference.

Thanks to the Advisors of FORTMED, Teresa Gil Piqueras, Giorgio Verdiani, Víctor Echarri Iribarren, and the Scientific Committee for their selfless dedication and professionalism.

Thanks to Politecnico di Torino and the Department of Architecture and Design for their constant support in the organization of the Conference.

Special thanks to the Organizing Committee, firstly to Marco Vitali, Secretary, and Program Co-Chair, for his constant and important work for the realization of the Conference, and to Michele Calvano, Massimiliano Lo Turco, Rossana Netti and Martino Pavignano, members of the Committee, for their precious collaboration.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to all the authors of this publication for the quality of their contributions, their attitude regarding the adequacy of the reviews and their patience throughout the editing process and registration. Without you, all this would not have been possible.

At the end of this exciting experience, we wish those who will pick up the baton as a chair of the next edition of the Conference to realize a more and more effective FORTMED2019 at the centre of the 21st century's researches on the Defensive Architecture of the Mediterranean.

Anna Marotta, Roberta Spallone
FORTMED2018 Chairs

Contributions

"Rodi antica, medievale e cavalleresca": exemplary restoration of a Walled City during the Italian Colonialism

Michela Marisa Grisoni^a

^aPolitecnico di Milano, Milano, Italy, michela.grisoni@polimi.it

Abstract

The paper deals with the debate on restoration especially as presented by magazines of the time, already studied and more recently referred to, together with archival documentation, to question the Italian architects' contribution, especially those ones from the Northern region of Lombardia, in the restoration and architecture of areas in colonies and possessions around the Mediterranean Sea. The case study aims to highlight if there have been specific ways to enhance the historical 'Rhodian' architecture and its fortified urban system and understand the relationship between the restoration project, at different levels, and the existing architecture. One of the goals of the research is also to check whether these interventions have been recognized as exemplary for other Mediterranean realities or, on the contrary, if they are the consequence of previous and elsewhere conducted experiences. The archaeological conference held in Rhodes in 1928 and the previous ones are considered the catalysts of the widespread ideas for the period between 1912 and 1947 here focussing on the period between the two world wars.

Keywords: Urban Restoration, City Wall, Giovannoni, Rodi

1. Introduction

May 1928: a large Italian delegation, a compact foreign representation and a selected number of academics, welcomed by Mario Lago, Governor of the Aegean Islands, gather for the First Rhodes International Archaeological Convention. The event, which follows those of Tripoli, Cagliari and Florence, will engage them in the visit of the monuments, and opens with the inauguration of FERT, the Historical Archaeological Institute of Rhodes which proves a fifteen years of fruitful Italian "mission", researches and restorations (Laurinsich, 1929).

For four days the island is the platform where archaeologists, architects and art historians meet and compare each other. Their discussions are recorded in scientific publications: as dense as they have never been before, to collect theories and projects and pushed to propagandize them as a government action through its officials.

Protagonists: Amedeo Maiuri, past director both of the Mission and the local Preservation Service

between 1914 and 1924, Giulio Jacopich, the young promising secretary of the Institute but also the distinguished Giuseppe Gerola, Alessandro Della Seta, Francesco Pellati and many others. Topics: Hospital of the Knights, the Palace of the Grand Master but also the whole Fortified Urban System, expression of a land "antica, medievale e cavalleresca" subjected to excavation, study, enhancement. The stratigraphical excavation, already pointed to the analysis of the building elevation, the consolidation techniques, opened to the use of modern materials and technologies, but also the reuse of the past, driven to actualize the medieval past, had been evaluated. Rhodes is an Italian colony from 1912 and it is proposed for the future as flourishing resort and attractive tourist center (Geraci, 1928; Laurinsich, 1929).

To address what happens along the Mediterranean Sea Coasts between 1911 and 1943, that is between the Italo-Turkish war and the surrender of the Italians to Rhodes and

Tripoli, means to deal with the colonial policy promoted by the European nations to extend their borders beyond the sea (Reinhard, 2002). The Colonialism is a multifaceted phenomenon: geographical exploration, expansion of commercial channels, establishment of productive activities, control of migratory flows (Rochat, 1973; Del Boca, 1988; Fuller, 2007). The Italian delay into this challenge (Labanca 2002) seems to be reflected into the emphasis shown by the authorities and some deferent intellectuals to promote archaeological research and restoration in order to justify the Italian presence in the Dodecanese, in the first Levante and in North Africa: lands of conquest but also of "riconquista" (Paribeni, 1925). The return has been underlined by scholars (Munzi, 2001; Scaduto, 2010) and it leads a questioning on rediscovery and restoration topics.

It is a tricky period to be analysed: dominated by strong wills, often surrounded by ambiguous figures, (Barbanera 1998). Anyway, the role-playing games due to politics did not prevent to fertilize the colonial experience with lasting reflections for the culture of the restoration (Petricioli, 1990; Ciacci, 1990; Livadiotti & Rocco, 1996; Del Verme, Manzo & Pappalardo, 2015). The magazines, after deducting what it is biased by the will of propaganda, demonstrates the progressive asserting of a urban vision of the preservation goals, even if through the case of a fortified city like Rhodes is, which can evidently represents a misunderstood alibi to separate the old from the new (Giovannoni, 1925).

2. "Risultati meravigliosi"

Gathered in Brindisi, the meeting participants sail on board the *Rodi* motorboat for a cruise which take them to Athens and Izmir crossing the Adriatic: two technical stops but also opportunities for visiting places, museums and meeting people. They go on to Patmo, Lero, Calini and Coo where a delegation of the organizers is waiting for them: Maiuri, Jacopi, Laurinsich, Pernier and Gerola that is to say the Present, the Future and the Past of the Italian missions in the Aegean. They land in Rhodes, on the evening of May 11th, welcomed by the

Governor Lago in the seat of the Government Palace: after five days of excursions and meetings, which allow to join the Italian Pericle Ducati but also the "cortesissimi" Turkish officials; inspired by cohabitation; exited to the "risultati meravigliosi" shown by the first volume of *Clara Rhodos*, distributed at the departure as a gift (Laurinsich, 1929).

The conference begins the following day with the opening of the FERT (Jacopich, 1927). Three very full days follows. They are spent to the visit of the Archaeological sites but also reserved to a deeper analysis of Rhodes restored medieval architecture but also of the modern buildings. It will be explained that the Italians initially oriented their activities 'to protect' the public property right on archaeological finds, "to curb" stealthy excavations, "to collect" memorabilia for the local Museum, "to explore" the areas in order to catalogue monuments, buildings or simply ruins. Later they also begin "regular excavation campaigns" and "the necessary restorations to the works of art of the chivalric period" (Jacopi, 1928b). All this is reported during an event that was more a journey than a round-table, an exposure more than a debate, an exhibition rather than a comparison.

2.1. A sharing ideas opportunity?

Scrolling through the list of participants and members means to collect the names of the Superintendents or Officials to the Antiquities of various Italian regions, to the Directors or their Delegates of the foreign Institutes or Archaeological Schools in Rome, to the attendants of the Archaeological Missions around the Mediterranean Sea. At first glance, this list recomposes in the meeting venues the entourage of some University and Ministry. The event seems to be reserved to the Officials of the Institutional Preservation Service and Academics; internationality seems to be restricted to a "comforting number of scholars", foreigners but established in Italy or in the possessions of their respective nations (Taramelli, 1926).

The archaeological excavations attract them. The conferences are held where archaeological research is a "militante" activity (Maiuri & Jacopi,

1928) reinforced by the presence of strong service structure. The events organization reveals the names of some others: the borders, or the phalanges, stretched from the central organs over the Nation or its Colonies. So, if in Sardinia the dialogue is with the Minister of Education, Pietro Fedele, and the General Director of Antiquities and Fine Arts Service, Arduino Colasanti, in Tripoli as in Rhodes, the initiatives are promoted also by the leading authorities of the Ministry of Colonies. The Governors prevail over the others: Mario Lago in Rodi, Giuseppe Volpi in Tripoli. They are so binding figures around whom relationships are fuzzy, because thoughts are tinged, words are wasted, and writings are covered with flattery and loaded with circumstances accents; even if these subjects would deserve a considered study because of their manifold profile (Varvao, 2004; Romano, 2011; Pignataro, 2011).

The research pinpoints topics and actors: the Nuragic civilization and the discoveries of Antonio Taramelli in Sardinia, the Roman Africa exalted by Roberto Paribeni and implemented by Renato Bartoccini, Pietro Romanelli and Armando Brasini in Tripolitania, the Etruscan presence in Tuscany, the promotion of chivalrous culture and the restoration of medieval monuments in Rhodes.

A masterly direction promotes the opportunity to share the results and to advertise them through the echo created by followers: a selected pool of friends. The desire for a comparison seems skilfully kept inside self-promotion by a clever orchestration. As an example, in Sardinia they allow the Spanish Pedro Bosch Gimpera to illustrate the relationship between the Nuragic culture and the Bronze civilizations in Spain and in the Balearic Islands and to report the observations of José y Roca Colominas on local architecture, comparing the *Nuraghi* to the *Talayots*. But, it is reserved to the University of Cagliari Professors, Albizzati and Terracini, to underline the relations with North Africa. In Tripoli, Renato Bartoccini explains the exemplary excavation in Sabratha and Leptis Magna and they left to the Danish Christian Blinkenberg the last speech, really a reminder of the opening one (Paribeni, 1925). In Rhodes the leaders were the organizers themselves, except for some steered speech by Gerola.



Fig. 1- The delegates at the Archaeological Meeting in Tripoli visit the recomposed *Thermae* of Leptis Magna (R.d.T. 1925: p. 419)



Fig. 2- The delegates at Archaeological Meeting in Sardinia visiting the restored Church of St. Pantaleo in Dolianova (Taramelli, 1926: p. 576)



Fig. 3- The delegates of the International Archaeological Convention of Rhode attend to the opening of a tomb (Laurinsich, 1928: p. 295)

The preservation topic appears everywhere; noiseless but pressing, with the significant load of new issues: archaeological excavations that

challenge decades of unblushing exportation with the enlightened proposal for an on-site preservation strategy thus promoting the establishment of museums; a protection program conceived as conservation, enhancement and promotion of local identities; a city which is "tutta un monumento" (Maiuri, 1923).

Since the Sardinia Conference the opportunity to assure heritage to the State is supported to allow the excavations, the restoration and perhaps even the re-use. An opinion expressed by a learned and distinguished Antonio Taramelli who praises the opportunity "di ridurre a pubblico uso" not only the Nuraghe Losa, already a public property, but the entire area of the "cittadella murata" (Taramelli, 1926). It is noted, incidentally, that the sovereignty he refers to, opposes the public right to the private one, while he does not advocate national identity. Thus, it might be considered a subtle and witty thought on the sovereignty of the nations, as perhaps it might also be recognized in a previous Colasanti's statement (Colasanti, 1925). After all, one of the most frequent attendant, the Superintendent of the Antiquities of Ostia, Guido Calza, thus described the climate of the Sardinian conference: "Si ha ragione di ritenere un convegno archeologico più proficuo di una seduta della Società delle Nazioni" (Calza, 1926).

Even if they are laden with folkloristic implications and fed by political and diplomatic ambitions which today appear misleading, the four meetings were lived as friendly opportunities (Taramelli, 1926) to gather "la grande e robusta famiglia archeologica internazionale" (Curtius. In: Laurinsich, 1929).

In the mentioned retrospective on the Italian Service for Antiquities and Fine Arts, Arduino Colasanti signified the fervid opera of Taramelli in Sardinia, of those who resurrected the buried cities of Libya and Cyrene or, right in Rhodes, restored beauty to the ruins. Not by chance, it also expressed an assessment on restoration which he recognized finally freed from the nineteenth century restoration dream (explicitly referring to Viollet Le Duc and the restoration culture of the previous century) and led to a criterion of "sincerità": a matter of consolidation rather than a remake (Colasanti, 1925).

It is a theoretical but also practical outcome of the fruitful season of restoration managed between the World Wars, which seems echoed by Gustavo Giovannoni when, shortly after, he states: "Due cose occorrono: far conoscere quest'opera e richiamarvi l'attenzione e l'interessamento del pubblico internazionale, così come, ad esempio, gli Inglesi fanno per gli scavi in Egitto" (Giovannoni, 1927). It is known that the distinguished Dean of the Faculty of Architecture in Rome spotlights the Italians activity and suggests spreading the results to gain an international acknowledgment; he also promotes collaboration between the disciplines. It is noted that abreast those conferences (he does not mention them in his writings but he surely attends the one in Rhodes according to the participants list) he is indeed committed to safeguard the role of the architect also in restorations thus expressing: "circoscrivendo le considerazioni al campo degli studi sui monumenti, può ben affermarsi che solo una cooperazione intima e feconda tra studiosi d'Archeologia e di Storia d'Arte e gli Architetti, lontana dal diletterismo, animata da un sentimento di modestia e di onestà, che è proprio dei competenti, può essere in grado di dare risultati, per quanto è possibile, completi e definitivi. Esempi di tali riunioni noi troviamo in tutti i maggiori contributi portati agli studi suddetti: ed ecco Koldwei e Puchstein, Dehio e von Bezold, Perrot e Chipiez, Strzygowsky e Caraman, Lanckoronsky e Niemann, Calza e Gismondi" (Giovannoni, 1926).

3. Archaeologists, architects and art historians

Giovannoni suggests a European *elite* of archaeologists, architects and art historians; amongst them two only are the Italian, the younger ones, and today well known to critics. In 1926 their curricula are already substantial. The archaeologist Guido Calza (1888-1946) and the architect Italo Gismondi (1887-1974) are appreciated officials of Heritage National Service (Rocchetti, 1974; Filippi, 2007). They are the examples of the desired cooperation between architects and archaeologists which can be enhanced by a common approach to the survey and the analysis when excited by a similar sensitivity to the stratigraphic survey of the

building and its material aspects and even by a shared approach of heritage issues protection in terms of agreement between the past and the future. Gismondi, in particular, had been appreciated in Rhodes (Marcucci, 2007) for his job (*L'attività delle missioni scientifiche*, 1922).

3.1. Between past and future

At the opening of the meeting the governor Lago supports the opportunity to protect the ancient memories but also to compose them in a style of beauty and proposes Rhodes as a model (Laurinsich, 1929). It is free from the ideological drifts detectable in his recovery measures an earlier statement by Maiuri. He cleverly balances the enthusiasm for explorations and excavation campaigns with the counterbalance of the patient work of restoration and maintenance (Maiuri, 1928). He thus sublimates the three related fields of action that he had already listed in terms of a coherent progression of: archaeological exploration of the islands, increase of a local museum and conservation and restoration work (Maiuri, 1923).

Years before, to explain the Albergo d'Italia restoration he proposed a mixture of philological criteria (adopted as a tool for selecting the past), analogical (used to replace lost elements through coeval and congenere models) and typological (proposed to display the original layout of the building both for plans and prospectus) as well as a meticulous reading exercise to discuss again the previous historiographical hypotheses (Maiuri, 1916). Over the following decade he assimilates some categories of intervention: "semplici linee d'intonazione" to adapt the addition to the rest of the medieval chivalrous building, the inclusion of a street close to the hospital in order to obtain "quella zona di rispetto e d'isolamento che la tutela e la sicurezza del monumento richiedevano" (Maiuri, 1925). These criteria prove an evolution in the way of conceiving and signifying the ancient-new relationship and the reading of the urban phenomenon in its double reasons of practical and aesthetic needs.

The circumstances will favor that kind of restoration called "di liberazione" as in the building of Piazza dell'Armeria, where the

valuable oldest chivalrous building of the island, the Infirmary of the Order, regained its original nobility of lines by means of a design that reopened the large ogival windows with a triangular eye in the center walled up in the Turkish era and another beautiful mullioned window on the south side, in addition to the removal of the plasters from the walls.

Focusing on the restoration of the walls and the fortifications of the Knightly age and on the overlapping elements of the Turkish period, the recurrent solution is to sew them with well square stone blocks as a punctual and methodical work of reparation. It is underlined the awareness to deal strongly with the detachments and crumbling that compromise the linings of the walls and therefore their stability, as in the Door of the Marina (or of St. Caterina), but also of the Cannons or in the tower of the so called "Baluardo di S. Giorgio": primarily to reinforce the walls, helped skilfully by locals and the Genio's staff (Maiuri, 1925). The protagonists call the restoration of Rhodes "paziente e tenace" (Maiuri, 1925), "lavoro di resurrezione" (Laurinsich, 1929 but quoting Pellati), "opera risanatrice" (Jacopi, 1928b): different ideas that could have animated a debate that the Conference Proceedings do not transmit, nor perhaps the selected participants would have allowed, lacking in architects among the others. Yet these restorations are full of topics for an architectural and urban reconfiguration of Rhodes also for tourism promotion purposes. It is agreed that the symbolic re-opening of the Porta S. Anastasio is a public utility result that allows entering the ancient city through its massive walls simply re-opening a previous access blocked during the Turkish period. In the same way, the delegates themselves experience walking through the imposing galleries of the bulwark of S. Giorgio recently reactivated, probably enjoying to rest, for a "suntuoso rinfresco", on the panoramic ramparts of the "Lingua d'Italia" (Laurinsich, 1929).

4. A typical "fisionomia artistica"

It is well known that it prevailed the idea to recover the Western image of the island, the Knightly culture and its Christian background. Even the urban sensibility revealed by Maiuri,

was nevertheless selective, turning primarily to freeing the "nobile quartiere del Collacchio" from the popular one of the Enderum (Maiuri, 1916). He based his idea on a discerning evaluation that recognized in the Eastern hereditary principle to divide the property assets between the heirs in equal measure, the disintegration of buildings conceived as unitary. Even if it might represent a typical aspect for the Western traveller in the East, regarding Heritage Protection, this suggested to prefer the Western principle of primogeniture as an instrument to safeguarding the integrity of the building. Such a preference found a positive sponsor to recompose the past in the expropriation procedure by the Italian authority: merciful warrantor of the Knights legacy. This is how it was obtained "la liberazione" of the monuments (Jacovich, 1928a). The preservation of the city was acknowledged but as a single monument (Maiuri, 1921). The restorations were focused on the idea not to change the Medieval character of the old city (Jacovich 1927). Along the Via dei Cavalieri, they worked on the prospectus of the modern buildings which gave a grating note modifying them "si da intonarli alla fisionomia dell'insieme, pur senza creare inopportune copie di edifici cavallereschi" (Jacovich, 1928a); the aforementioned criterion of intonation was required to insert the new construction within the existing urban layout (Maiuri 1925). Rules were prescribed to prevent colored or white plasters on the walls and to limit the construction of new buildings inside the old town.

In 1928 Rhodes was presented to the Conference Delegates with a dress "prevalentemente medievale e latino, con qualche tocco di pittoresco orientale". But also a major and deferent supporter of such an image showed to appreciate the "poderose masse merlate" next to the "graziosi edifici" of the mills, the "masse scure e imponenti delle opere fortificatorie" embracing the "folla di case ermetiche dal tetto a terrazze", the "strette viuzze" and the "misteriosi sottopassaggi" opened into "improvvisi piazze irregolari" (Jacopi, 1928b). An unrestrained literary exuberance enhanced the perception of the contrasts that the prevailing of the Italian image of Rhodes denied for ideological reasons

similar to those which exalted only the Roman Africa in Tripoli (Paribeni, 1925). To the individual sensitiveness could not be restricted such a "varietà tutt'altro che spiacevole" (Jacopi, 1928b), that typical "fisionomia artistica della città" (Maiuri, 1923).

4.1 The City Walls of Rhodes

Within the four conferences the protection of fortified citadels and urban walls is a common background. It could be recognized in Tripoli in the memory of a capital judgment that sentenced the Barbarian Walls "without judgment and with a summary proceeding" (Romanelli, 1923), it reappears in Sardinia (Taramelli, 1926) but in Rhodes it is a dominant topic (Jacopi, 1928b).

It is really a current theme which provokes, in 1928, Giovannoni's well-known reproach in defence of the military architecture of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. To support his reprimand: the absurd provision that faced the problems of traffic in Peschiera by breaking down a large stretch of the City wall and, with a huge unnecessary expense, built a new road to be put against them where it could had been enough a selected demolition of a small portion; the demolition of the fortifications under Santa Fina in Portoferraio, just to satisfy the greed of the real estate market or the miserable reasons that threaten the magnificent Spanish walls and the Orbetello Royal ditch. In his opinion, the demolition of the city walls (which are three times relevant because models of technical genius, documents of historical events and picturesque elements in the landscape), miss the opportunity for a "moderno urbanismo" (Giovannoni, 1928). The Medieval citadel of Rhodes "vive la sua vita di sogno, tutta rinchiusa entro la triplice cinta delle sue mura, circondate a loro volta dalla inviolata zona dei cimiteri turchi all'intorno" (Giovannoni, 1925). The new city is out and far away, beyond the city-walls whose preservation is assured. But this does not rule out misunderstanding. Recalling the famous trap that prompted Camillo Boito towards his effective refrain (Boito, 1886), Giovannoni too claims the desire to eradicate "la mala pianta delle contraffazioni e delle falsificazioni

archeologiche". If the old Rhodes is safe, the risk remains for the new city. The recent construction of a church modelled on the pre-existing one which was inside the old one, focuses the point: a new architectural design should assimilate the past but also strive to accomplish the require of modernity respecting the context and offering something else than a replica (Giovannoni, 1925). The City walls must not represent a threshold of space and time, a convenient alibi for separating the old from the new. The distinguished academic is aware that a civilized Nation is facing for the first time the question of new architectures in the East. Crete has been a negative example. He hopes Rhodes will become an exemplary case.

5. Conclusions

Rhodes (Aterini & Nocentini, 2016), its restorations (Scaduto, 2016) but also its modern architectures in 1928 suggested a deeper analysis of the relationship between the old and the new. It was a topic already in an advanced stage of discussion for some scholars whose interest was

in not separating the urban dimension from the architectural one, to establish co-operation among the professionals.

The presence of Giovannoni at the Conference seems a silent intrusion paired, as cutting blows, by his coeval writings. Regardless of the ideological scaffolding that impels the revival of the Knights' Rhodes, he also seems to challenge the 'Excellent Authorities'.

Starting from this and re-reading the list of the presents at the meeting, the attention should be placed not only to the Superintendents of Antiquities and the Excavations (a large and dominant number) but also on those (even if often their affiliates) who were closer to a multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary management of the project. Those Municipal Officials, such as Orlando Grosso (from Genoa) or Gino Barbantini (from Venice) who daily faced the management of 'crowded' environment but also those Academics called to the responsibility of teaching (Paribeni, 2014). Through them it will be possible to deepen the meeting legacy.

References

- Aterini, B. & Nocentini, A. (2016) Una fortezza sul Mediterraneo: Rodi la città dei Cavalieri. In: Verdiani, G. (ed.) (2016) *Defensive Architecture of the Mediterranean XV to XVIII Centuries. Vol. 4: Proceedings of FORTMED – Modern Age Fortification of the Mediterranean Coast, 10-12 November 2016, Firenze*. Firenze, Didapress, pp. 325-32.
- Barbanera, M. (1998) *L'archeologia degli italiani*. Roma, Editori Riuniti.
- Boito, C. (1886) I nostri vecchi monumenti. Conservare o restaurare? *Nuova Antologia*, LXXXVI, 1 giugno 1886, 480-506.
- Calza, G. (1926) Il convegno archeologico Sardo. *Rassegna italiana*, XVIII (XCVIII), 473-477.
- Ciacci, L. (1990) L'urbanistica di Giuseppe Gerola a Rodi, tra archeologia e storia. *Storia urbana*, 52, 107-135.
- Colasanti, A. (1925) Le antichità e le belle arti. *Rassegna Italiana*, XVI (XCI) 812-822.
- Del Boca, A. (1988) *Gli Italiani in Libia*. Roma-Bari, Laterza.
- Del Verme, L., Manzo, P., & Pappalardo, U. (2015) *Amedeo Maiuri da Rodi a Pompei: una vita per l'archeologia*. Pompei, Città di Pompei.
- Filippi, F. (ed.) (2007) *Ricostruire l'antico prima del virtuale. Italo Gismondi. Un architetto per l'archeologia (1887-1974)*. Roma, Quasar.
- Geraci, F. (1928) Rodi italiana. *Rivista delle colonie italiane*, II (3), 459-465.
- Giovannoni, G 1925, 'Commenti e polemiche. Edilizia rodiese', *Architettura e Arti Decorative*, IV, X (giugno), pp. 474-80.
- Giovannoni, G 1926, 'Commenti e polemiche. Architetti, Archeologi e Storici dell'Arte', *Architettura e Arti Decorative*, V, X (giugno), s.i.p. ma pp. 483-84.
- Giovannoni, G 1927, 'Cronaca dei monumenti. Recenti iniziative pei monumenti italiani', *Architettura e Arti Decorative*, VII, I-II (settembre-ottobre), s.i.p..

- Giovannoni, G 1928, 'Cronaca dei monumenti. Per alcune fortificazioni italiane', *Architettura e Arti Decorative*, VII, IV (dicembre), pp. 190-91.
- Jacopich, G 1927, 'Lavori del servizio archeologico a Rodi e nelle isole dipendenti durante il biennio 1924-25, 1925-26', *Bollettino d'Arte*, VI, 7 (gennaio), pp. 324-33.
- Jacopich, G 1928a, 'Attività del servizio archeologico a Rodi', *Bollettino d'Arte*, IV,10 (aprile), pp. 514-22.
- Jacopi, G 1928b, 'Visioni d'arte e di storia in Levante: l'isola di Rodi', *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane*, II, 5 (ottobre-dicembre), pp. 701-19.
- 'L'attività delle missioni scientifiche italiane in Levante durante l'esercizio finanziario 1921-922', 1922 *Cronache delle Belle Arti*, Supplemento al *Bollettino d'Arte*, II, III (settembre), p. 144.
- Labanca, N 2002, *Oltremare. Storia dell'espansione coloniale italiana*, Il Mulino, Bologna.
- Laurinsich, L 1929, 'I Convegno archeologico internazionale di Rodi. Atti', *Clara Rhodos*, III, 288-98.
- Livadiotti, M & Rocco, G 1996, *La presenza italiana nel Dodecaneso tra il 1912 e il 1948. La ricerca archeologica, la conservazione, le scelte progettuali*, Edizioni del Prisma, Catania.
- Maiuri, A 1916, 'Il restauro dell'Albergo d'Italia a Rodi', *Bollettino d'Arte*, X, V-VI (maggio-giugno), pp. 129-43.
- Maiuri, A 1921, 'L'ospedale dei cavalieri a Rodi', *Bollettino d'Arte*, I, 5 (novembre), pp. 211-26.
- Maiuri, A 1923, 'Lavori della missione archeologica italiana a Rodi', *Cronaca delle Belle arti*, Supplemento a *Bollettino d'Arte*, III, 5 (novembre), pp. 234-40.
- Maiuri, A 1925, 'Lavori della missione archeologica italiana a Rodi (1923-24)', *Cronaca delle Belle arti*, Supplemento a *Bollettino d'Arte*, IV, 7 (gennaio), pp. 329-36.
- Maiuri, A 1928, 'Soprintendenza alle antichità della Campania – Tutela e restauro dei monumenti', *Cronaca delle Belle Arti*, Supplemento al *Bollettino d'Arte*, VII (gennaio), pp. 373-82.
- Maiuri, A & Iacopi, G 1928 'I convegno archeologico internazionale di Rodi', *Clara Rhodos*, I, pp. 2-3.
- Marcucci, L 2007, 'Gli anni della formazione: i progetti accademici e l'attività dell'Associazione Artistica fra i Cultori di Architettura', in F Filippi (ed), *Ricostruire l'antico prima del virtuale. Italo Gismondi. Un architetto per l'archeologia (1887-1974)*, 2007, Quasar, Roma, pp. 43-59.
- Fuller, M 2007, *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities, and Italian Imperialism*, Routledge, Londra.
- Munzi, M 2001, *L'epica del ritorno*, "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma.
- Paribeni, A 2014, 'Paribeni Roberto', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 81.
- Paribeni, R 1925, 'Trionfale romanità africana', *Rivista della Tripolitania*, VI (maggio-giugno), pp. 369-74.
- Pellati, F 1928, 'Il convegno archeologico di Rodi', *Nuova Antologia*, 1350, pp. 480-86.
- Petricioli, M 1990, *Archeologia e Mare nostrum: le missioni archeologiche nella politica mediterranea dell'Italia. 1898-1943*, Levi, Roma.
- Pignataro, L 2011, *Il Dodecaneso italiano: 1912-1947*, Solfanelli, Chieti.
- R.d.T. 1925, 'Il convegno archeologico di Tripoli', *Rivista della Tripolitania*, I, VI (maggio-giugno), pp. 417-23.
- Reinhard, W 2002, *Storia del colonialismo*, Einaudi, Torino.
- Rocchetti, L 1974, Calza, Guido, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 17.
- Rochat, G 1973, *Il colonialismo italiano*, Loescher, Torino.
- Romanelli, P 1923, 'Restauro alle mura barbaresche di Tripoli', II, XII (giugno), pp. 570-76.
- Romano, S 2011, *Giuseppe Volpi. Industria e finanza fra Giolitti e Mussolini*, Marsilio, Venezia.
- Scaduto, R 2010, *Il ritorno dei Cavalieri: aspetti della tutela e del restauro dei monumenti a Rodi tra 1912 e il 1945*, Falcone, Bagheria.
- Scaduto, R 2016, 'Per il sistema difensivo di Rodi "insigne monumento cioè di tutta la città murata"', in G Vediani (ed), *Defensive Architecture of the Mediterranean XV to XVIII Centuries*, III, FORTMED 2016 10th-12th November, Dipartimento di Architettura, Dida, Firenze, pp. 89-96.
- Taramelli, A 1926, 'Il convegno archeologico in Sardegna', *Bollettino d'Arte*, XII, giugno, pp. 571-76.
- Varvao, P 2004, 'Lanza di Scalea Pietro', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 63.



**POLITECNICO
DI TORINO**