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«and of the profession of fortifying she understands the rules and terms so well that she can make a judgement of it». Christine of France, Duchess of Savoy and Carlo di

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

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

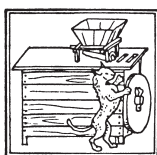




JUANELO TURRIANO LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF ENGINEERING

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

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



FUNDACIÓN JUANELO TURRIANO



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

Published in the framework of  
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*El dibujante ingeniero al servicio de la monarquía hispánica. Siglos XVI-XVIII:  
ciudad e ingeniería en el Mediterráneo*

[Draughtsman engineers serving the Spanish monarchy in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries:  
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Head Researcher: Alicia Cámara Muñoz

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## FOREWORD

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the engineering profession had an element of direct relation with power, a subject begging to be studied, as it constitutes a novel approach to a complex topic, that of the mobility of the engineers in the power networks of the Early Modern era and the necessity of ensuring their loyalty. This book is based on the expression so often used in the era of «*ser hechura de*» [being the creation of / the making of]. This often explains the professional careers of engineers associated with a governor or military leader, many of whom, in turn, had knowledge of martial engineering and the control of cities and frontiers. In this book outstanding specialists present different European case studies, making it possible to approach a comparative history in order to understand this profession before the rule of the academies standardised promotion and specialization.

This book is part of the results of the R&D+I project *El dibujante ingeniero al servicio de la monarquía hispánica. Siglos XVI-XVIII: ciudad e ingeniería en el Mediterráneo - DIMHCIM (AEI/FEDER/UE)* [Draughtsman engineers serving the Spanish monarchy in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries: city and engineering in the Mediterranean - DIMHCIM (AEI/FEDER/UE)], - HAR2016-78098-P funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities. This is the English version of the book previously published in the original languages.

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Translation: MARY MCINTOSH

#### FROM PARIS TO TURIN. A YOUNG PRINCESS

Carlo Emanuele I created a diplomatic network and, in order to include the Duchy of Savoy in his European strategy, Cristina of Bourbon, sister of Louis XIII, daughter of Henri IV King of France and of Maria de' Medici, was given in marriage to the young Vittorio Amedeo<sup>1</sup>. The Franco-Savoy alliance was thereby strengthened, orienting the Duchy's policy towards a more explicitly anti-Spanish line. The wedding was celebrated in the chapel of the Louvre on 10 February 1619, the birthday of thirteen-year-old Cristina.

Cristina arrived in Turin in spring 1620: she was a young lady whose future was bent towards international politics and the need to seek a further link between the two neighbouring powers. For the occasion of Cristina's arrival in Turin, the city designed by Ascanio Vitozzi and by Carlo di Castellamonte came to life: the palaces became a backdrop animated by allegorical statues, the gate of the «new city» was a monumental entrance to the southern extension, inaugurated for that occasion; at the most ancient core of the Roman-founded grid system, the first seventeenth-century enlargement, to the south, was hinged around the building fabric which had been moulded mainly during the lengthy Middle Ages. Today's Piazza San Carlo, then known as the «great Castellamonte theatre», was designed as a uniform system and was the most important space in the expansion; it also represented the fulcrum of a new urban entity, reflecting the authority and continuity of the Savoy dynasty. In the seventeenth-century design, twin churches,



FIG. 1 Vault of the Valentino Room, Valentino Castle, Turin, Cristina of France, dressed as Flora, goddess of Spring.

San Carlo and Santa Cristina, were built like two stage wings to frame the entrance of the southern section of Contrada Nuova (now Via Roma). The convent annexed to Santa Cristina, now demolished, was home to the Discalced Carmelite nuns, summoned to Turin by Cristina who chose their monastery for her spiritual retreats. Carlo di Castellamonte, superintendent of all the ducal sites, was the architect of the urban project which was based on Vitozzi's plan.

### THE PALACE OF «MADAMA REALE»

Carlo Emanuele I gave the «little river house» of Valentino<sup>2</sup>, still with its sixteenth-century *facies*, as a wedding gift to his young daughter-in-law Cristina. On her initiative, it was transformed in two different stages over the space of thirty years into a baroque palace based on French models chosen by the princess and used as the seat of court receptions, meetings and diplomatic treaties.

The expansion and remodelling work began in 1620 according to the design of Carlo di Castellamonte, later taken over by his son Amedeo, within the context of a dynastic project developed by court architects. The restructuring of the Valentino formed part of a broader design, at territorial scale, which in a single complex embraced the residence, the river and the adjacent hills. As soon as she gained possession of the villa and the surrounding area, Cristina extended the limits of the property beyond the River Po into the area which is now San Vito, purchasing a vineyard with a house which she had rebuilt at the same time as Valentino (1622). Renovation work on the pre-existing building to adapt it as a residence suited to the Duchess's tastes began in 1622 and continued until 1652<sup>3</sup>.



FIG. 2 War Room, Valentino Castle, Turin. Detail of stucco and fresco decoration.

The seventeenth-century renovation of the Valentino palace was split into two phases: from 1620-1623 the wing parallel to the river was defined, flanked by two towers; after 1645 the two lower pavilions were created, linked to the main wing by two porticoed and terraced tunnels on just one above-ground floor, and the closing hemicycle of the courtyard. Valentino was designed according to the French *pavillon-système*, closely related from a distributive point of view with the river: the main view, towards the hill, was linked



FIG. 3 Negotiations Room, Valentino Castle, Turin. Detail of stucco and fresco decoration.



FIG. 4 Room of Magnificence Valentino Castle, Turin. Detail of stucco and fresco decoration.

with the large courtyard by an atrium whose space was punctuated by six Doric columns holding up the large hall on the main floor. At the time, access was gained to the atrium from the river by two ramps, leading to the «imperial staircase» rising up to the upper loggia and the hall.

In 1630, following the death of his father, Vittorio Amedeo I ascended to the Savoy throne with Cristina at his side; after Ludovica (1629), the male heir Francesco Giacinto was born in 1632 and, two years later, Carlo Emanuele. Since the fifteenth

century, the Savoy family had aspired to have a royal title and they claimed a right to the Kingdom of Cyprus; on the occasion of the birth of her firstborn, Cristina assumed the title of «*Madame Royale*», «*Madama Reale*».

In 1637, the Duke's sudden and, to some, suspicious death led Cristina to assume the role of Regent as guardian to Francesco Giacinto, just five years old at the time. A Frenchwoman on the Savoy throne was certainly not seen well, particularly so for the deceased duke's brothers, the «brothers-in-law» Prince Tommaso and Cardinal Maurizio, protagonists of the pro-Spanish insurgent faction that had been spreading its influence for years in the Turin court. The situation worsened even further when, in 1638, little Francesco Giacinto also died; Carlo Emanuele at just four years old and sick with smallpox, seemed too frail to guarantee the dynasty's succession. The danger of the Duchy being transformed into a French province and losing its autonomy accentuated the friction between the pro-Spanish «princes» and the pro-French «Madame» and caused the outbreak of the civil war, a replica in the Piedmont territories of the clashes that had afflicted Europe for decades with the French and Spanish on opposite sides.

At the Valentino, her favoured residence, Cristina surrounded herself with advisors and collaborators, including Filippo d'Agliè and Carlo di Castellamonte; here, she received ambassadors and illustrious visitors and administered her power, which gave the suburban residence great symbolic value. It was no coincidence that Cristina would meet the mathematician Vertova at the Valentino in the days when she had to stay by the sickbed of little Francesco Giacinto, who was seriously ill, and later died on 4 October 1638.



FIG. 5 GIOVENALE BOETTO, *Vittorio Amedeo I e Carlo di Castellamonte sovrintendono alla nuove fortificazioni di Torino*, 1633, engraving. Turin, Archivio Storico della Città di Torino, Collezione Simeom, D 142.

## WAR, DIPLOMACY, ARCHITECTURE

Despite her young age when she married Vittorio Amedeo, Cristina soon became the central character of that period of the Duchy and until the day of her death her presence, at times invasive, would prevent her son Carlo Emanuele II from being able to govern autonomously. She was subjected to growing pressures from Cardinal Richelieu who tried to use her as a helpless pawn in his expansionist strategies towards the Italian peninsula. She suffered an intense campaign to discredit her mounted by the Spanish, and also by the French allies who accused her of excessive autonomy. Madama Reale was described in many chronicles as a woman of character, an Amazon princess, for some guilty of dreadful crimes such as the murder of her husband, the murder of little Francesco Giacinto, and even of being a nymphomaniac<sup>4</sup>. What emerges is the profile of a young, resolute woman, too modern and uninhibited for the Turin court, who tenaciously pursued her goals without disdaining unscrupulous alliances, and surrounding herself with advisors who were sometimes of unusual nature<sup>5</sup>.

Diplomacy, war and the art of fortification were the tools with which she tenaciously retained power and eventually ceded it (as late as was possible) to the hands of her son. The rooms at the Valentino told of the dynasty's history, its most recent chronicles, its aspirations, warnings for those who sought to reign: through the «white» apartment, the

War Room, the Negotiations Room and the Room of (architectural) Magnificence, the stories that unfolded among the stuccos and frescoes were a sort of memento for the young future duke, but, above, all, perhaps for Cristina.

In fact, while the expansion and architectural redefinition works were proceeding, Cristina of France ordered the decoration of the two apartments on the main floor, which had an identical number of rooms and the same layout, but different decoration<sup>6</sup>. Sump-tuous decoration in stuccoes and paintings was designed, accompanied by precious leather wall coverings. The work began in the lounge and from the apartment facing south, to-wards Moncalieri, consisting of five rooms and a *cabinet*. The task was initially entrusted to the Bianchi family, stucco artists and painters originally from Lugano who already worked at other Savoy sites. Isidoro Bianchi worked assiduously from 1633 to 1642 flanked by his sons Pompeo and Francesco. The theme identified for each room was pre-sented in the central fresco of the vault and taken up and illustrated in the frescoes, stuc-cos and frieze section. While the Bianchis worked in Cristina's entertaining apartment, the rooms facing north, used since 1638 by the young crown prince Carlo Emanuele, were decorated firstly by the Bianchis and then by other artists belonging to families of Lugano entrepreneurs, who were also painters and sculptors: the Casella and the Recchi families (between 1633 and 1646). The decorative cycle is preserved in its unity although some rooms underwent nineteenth-century modifications; the overall programme of dec-oration and the choice of individual scenes were designed by Count Filippo di San Mar-tino d'Agliè, a cultured and refined man, advisor and favourite of Cristina. In the choice of themes of the rooms overlooking the Po in the south apartment, Filippo was inspired by Ovid's poem *Metamorphoses*: in the Planet, Rose and Green rooms these legends are retraced; in some of the frescoes Cristina is represented in mythological garments.

The rooms of the white apartment, towards the north, instead recall the foundations of the education of a young duke: the War Room, with brocade wallpaper as early as 1644, was probably the last room decorated by the Bianchi family at Valentino<sup>7</sup>. And from that room on, stucco decoration in the Valentino apartments becomes more evident than in the rooms which had been decorated previously, connecting iconographically to the themes in a more precise way. The modelled exuberance of the pair of cherubs joy-ously holding war emblems is a decidedly new feature, taken up again in the stuccoed cornices which develop motifs of military inspiration, with armour, shields, helmets and panoplies. The frescoes immortalise episodes of the then recent wars of the Monferrato (1628-1631), which concluded with the Treaty of Cherasco allowing the Savoy to further extend their territories to the south. The doors of the room were created by Alessandro Casella, and on them, in the *tondi*, are the frescoed portraits of Vittorio Amedeo I and Cristina of France, which have reappeared now after the latest restorations: the parents almost seem to be watching over the education of their young son.

In the Negotiations Room, the stucco decoration is again by Alessandro Casella and is characterised by the rich plot of telamons, cherubs and angels with plant-like tails. The central fresco, created by the Recchi family, alludes through a series of allegorical figures, to the theme of Peace as a foundation for public happiness. And Peace, obtained and cultivated through alliances and marriages, is celebrated in the pictures below: the representatives of the Savoy state negotiate with the most prestigious European sover-

eigns, from the King of France to the Kings of Spain and England, the Hapsburg Emperor and oriental Sultans. The panels painted by the Recchi include the scene depicting Cristina of France dressed in widow's weeds meeting Prince Tommaso of Savoy-Carignano and his wife Maria de Borbone-Soissons at the end of the war of the «brothers-in-law» (1642).

In the Room of Magnificence, monumental buildings and urban views are depicted, anticipating *Theatrum Sabaudiae* in 1682, and commissioned by Carlo Emanuele I, Vittorio Amedeo I and Cristina. The panels show: the Ducal Palace and the Castle Square, the Vitozzi church of Santa Maria al Monte dei Cappuccini and the new palace in the city adjacent to the cathedral to be allocated to the crown prince, designed by Vittorio Amedeo I. In sequence on the west wall there are three panels: one showing a view from the garden of the late sixteenth-century suburban residence of Mirafiori which underwent expansion projects by order of the new duke, later interrupted on his death in 1637; a panel with Via Po (before its renovation with the homogeneous porticoes designed by Amedeo di Castellamonte), dominated by the Chiesa dei Padri Minimi by San Francesco da Paola, which Cristina of France had built in 1632; finally, a panel depicting the monumental complex of Porta Nuova, built by Carlo di Castellamonte in 1620 at the extreme end of Turin's extension to the south. In addition to the city scenes, there were also views of the surrounding areas, showing buildings ordered by the duke in protection of religious orders; churches and isolated mountain hermitages; the duke's fortifications of the cities on the plain: the town of Trino can be seen, with its quadrangular citadel, alongside Asti with its double city walls and, (in all probability) Breme, which was fortified by Vittorio Amedeo I in 1635.

FIG. 6 Signature of Carlo di Castellamonte, preface of the manuscript *Le trinciere*. Turin, Musei Civici, Torino, 2698/DS.

## CARLO DI CASTELLAMONTE AND CRISTINA OF FRANCE

«And Count Carlo was the first engineer of that state, as he dealt with all fortifications in person or with his advice, which in twelve parts of that state were being created as the Madama Reale told me, and he was a pupil of Monsieur Zanfrone, and Minister of the former Duke Carlo Emanuele, who did not create anything other than fortresses. An engineer in theory, and in practice, who built more fortresses than I created abundances of opinions and who on that occasion, and on every other greater occasion, served and would serve with every spirit of Religion»<sup>8</sup>.

So wrote Giovanni Battista Vertova, in his «Italian» travel diary, introducing the figure of Carlo di Castellamonte and attributing to him a role that subsequent historiography was perhaps unable to recognise<sup>9</sup>, emphasising the great experience in the field of fortified architecture which led to him supervising many works of the Duchy of Savoy.

Carlo di Castellamonte (1571-1640) was the engineer who most faithfully served the Savoys in the first half of the seventeenth-century; he was succeeded by his son Amedeo. The Castellamontes were part of a solid Savoy tradition that saw many military engineers called to the service of the Duchy: after the transfer of the capital from Chambéry to Turin (1563), the first goal of Emanuele Filiberto and his son Carlo Emanuele I was to transform the small town at the margins of the Duchy into a solid and impregnable capital city. Firstly, it was essential to make the city impregnable by equipping it with a «modern» fortified circuit and a citadel. Emanuele Filiberto called military engineers to work alongside him with whom he had close personal relationships: among others, Francesco Paciotto, Ascanio Vitozzi and Gabrio Busca were the best in the service of the Duke. The history of urban planning in Turin and the surrounding territory was thereby based on a close political and cultural connection between the Duke and the military engineer, between a city forced to undergo the demands of war and peace and a capital city which had to dress in monumental attire. The programme that oversaw the urban planning of the city for over two centuries was governed by simple requirements: to defend the city and make it more «beautiful» and monumental. Carlo di Castellamonte began his activity with the advent of the seventeenth-century and very soon went on to play a role of primary importance within the state ranks. He was also entrusted with the task of training the next generation of military engineers in the service of the Savoys.

Carlo di Castellamonte belonged to the aristocratic class and this, in all likelihood, was of benefit to him in his future relationships with members of the Savoy family; a stay in Rome allowed him to enter into contact with a fertile cultural environment which stimulated him in his subsequent projects. He worked with Ascanio Vitozzi, and he took over from him in the role of architect to the Duke when Vitozzi died; his work in the field of military architecture developed seamlessly from the first decade of the seventeenth century, and acquired greater consistency from the 1630s on. He operated in a period marked by sudden changes of alliance; in fact, in 1610 – after the second half of the sixteenth century when the Savoys were allied with Spain – Carlo Emanuele I's alliance with France became increasingly solid, as he hoped to obtain the state of Milan as a reward for an eventual victory on the European «chessboard». However, in actual fact Carlo Emanuele I was blinded by ambition and made muddled moves: «into the fray became the motto of the young prince»<sup>10</sup>. He did not realise he was being used by France to keep Spain engaged in the Italian peninsula and to distract it from other operations in Europe. In the service of Carlo Emanuele I the military engineer Carlo di Castellamonte had to continuously reorganise the territorial defensive system based upon the continuous alterations of alliances and strategies.

It was Castellamonte who implemented Ascanio Vitozzi's grandiose plan which involved completely transforming the city from a quadrangular city into a «modern» fortified city. He dealt with the works at the bulwarks of the city<sup>11</sup>. He designed projects for the fortifications of Verrua, Nizza Marittima, Avigliana (a project strongly criticised by Morello), Demonte, Ottaggio and Vercelli. The political order changed again with the wars of Monferrato (1628-1631); Carlo Emanuele I was allied with Spain against the alliance between France and Venice: the Treaty of Cherasco (1631) led to the annexation of seventy-four lands of Monferrato including Alba and Trino, and drew attention towards

the east<sup>12</sup>. All this involved a policy of constant rearrangement of the structure of fortifications and boundaries; this is the reason why the military engineer's attention, after being focused on the fortifications in the Alps, had to move east to the boundary with the state of Milan. The reorganisation of the defensive system at territorial scale also led to the establishment of the Buildings and Fortifications Council (in 1632), the body responsible for control, planning and strengthening of the Duchy's defensive and infrastructural system.

Vittorio Amedeo I decided on the construction of a new citadel at Asti (1636) the design of which now seems to be of uncertain attribution: the structure, a square system with angular bastions and four advanced intermediate bastions, was positioned to the south-east of the city and immediately aroused much perplexity. Deemed inadequate for defence, with an incorrect positioning, it was subject to various appraisals until its complete demolition in 1679. Castellamonte's role in the project is still uncertain; it is certain that in 1637 the engineer was engaged in drafting a detailed report on the status of the fortifications which involved him visiting the cities and towns to the east, in order to give attention to the boundary towards the state of Milan, from which dangerous attacks were, quite rightly, feared. The 1637 report is a source of basic information on the defensive structure of many Piedmontese cities and Castellamonte's writing makes it possible to know what works were undertaken and the design indications; the most urgent requirements for completion were highlighted<sup>13</sup>.

When in 1637 Vittorio Amedeo I died suddenly and Cristina acquired the regency, she inherited a complex plan for defensive restructuring of the state. Castellamonte was the architect, and the main protagonist of military decisions made in the Duchy; he also managed the many construction sites which had been opened in the mountains and plains. But this was not all. In a study of the city of Modena<sup>14</sup>, which has not been cited in any recent «Savoy» research, it is shown that Castellamonte also provided a design for that city's citadel, at the end of the 1620s: the assignment was paid for by the Duke of Modena with a jewel worth 250 *ducatoni*<sup>15</sup>. A further prestigious assignment was given to Castellamonte in Turin; following Giovanni Battista Vertova's visit, he agreed to take on a new task «to serve Religion». In fact, as Vertova wrote: «Carlo di Castellamonte immediately offered to undertake the work and to study the project: he worked for twelve days and applied himself with fervour and spirit to the consideration of our fortifications [in Malta]. He saw writings and drawings and desired to be so precisely informed of all the particulars, that in confidence he gave much advice – partly by word of mouth and partly in maps and writings – which were of singular benefit to the safety of this Island»<sup>16</sup>. The fervent interest shown in the fortifications of Malta was inflamed by religious commitment: the Mediterranean island was recognised by Catholic Europe as a Christian bulwark against a feared invasion of the «Turks» and its defence had to be a joint responsibility. The Madama Reale demonstrated an equal level of concern: Cristina «gave her all to satisfy the desire of Your Excellency, and to serve the cause of Religion». As mentioned above, she met Vertova initially at the Valentino while she was assisting Francesco Giacinto, her first-born who was seriously ill. Upon his return from a journey to Pinerolo where he was able to consult with the military engineers of the French army, Vertova was received by Madama Reale for a second time and she requested once again to see the

plans for Malta. At this meeting, the Marquis of Agliè, the Count of Agliè, Carlo di Castellamonte and Madame Royale were present with Vertova who found her to be «in lively spirits, in a truly royal manner and of the profession of fortifying she understands the rules and terms so well that she can make a judgement of it, as she did with our fortifications, noting to me some particular opinions».

It is unlikely that the fourteen-year-old Cristina, who arrived in Turin as the new bride of Vittorio Amedeo I, had acquired any skill in military strategy as a child in France. It is more probable that, alongside her husband, the crown prince who from 1630 was the ruler, she was able to attend meetings with Carlo di Castellamonte and with the other military engineers of the Duchy, in this way learning the correct terminology and the rudiments of the art of fortifying. In the first half of the seventeenth century, many drawings were preserved within the great gallery of the royal palace, and are today stored in the State Archive of Turin in the five volumes of *Military Architecture*<sup>17</sup>. These are 576 maps drawn or acquired for Duke Emanuele Filiberto and for Carlo Emanuele I for the various purposes of government (for example defence and espionage). Dukes and military engineers were trained on these maps; Vittorio Amedeo I (1587-1637) was certainly among them. Cristina's future husband also spent some years of his infancy in Madrid with his two brothers Filippo Emanuele (1586-Madrid 1605) and Emanuele Filiberto (1588-1624). The three young princes, sons of Infanta Catalina Micaela of Spain, the



FIG. 7 CARLO DI CASTELLAMONTE, *Le trinciere* (frontispiece) di Carlo di Castellamonte. Turin, Musei Civici, Torino, 2698/DS.

sister of Felipe III, lived in the Spanish court with all the privileges of their rank and access to a privileged education. A recent essay on Emanuele Filiberto, Viceroy of Sicily<sup>18</sup> provides further information: alongside his two brothers, he studied with the Portuguese cosmographer João Baptista Lavanha (Labana), an expert in naval architecture and military logistics. Therefore when he rose to the Savoy throne, Vittorio Amedeo I had a solid background in military matters: a determined woman like Cristina certainly had several opportunities to learn a great deal from him. When, as a widow, she acquired the regency and had to govern a state under attack by Spain, she had to work even more closely with Carlo di Castellamonte. Her knowledge of terminology and strategy became fundamental to her new role.

### 1638: A CRUCIAL YEAR

In 1638 the doors of the Valentino palace were opened to welcome Giovanni Battista Vertova, mathematician and military engineer, during his journey through the Italian peninsula<sup>19</sup>. He had arrived in Turin to gather opinions and projects for the fortifications of Malta. Cristina of France, Regent on the Savoy throne, who had been widowed following the death of Duke Vittorio Amedeo I of Savoy the previous year, was there to



FIG. 8 CARLO DI CASTELLAMONTE, «Città fortificata, con ogni probabilità Vercelli» [Fortified city, probably Vercelli], in *Le trinciere*. Turin, Musei Civici, Torino, 2698/DS.



FIG. 9 CARLO DI CASTELLAMONTE, Detail of the manuscript *Le trinciere*. Turin, Musei Civici, Torino, 2698/DS.

welcome him, accompanied by Carlo di Castellamonte. These were crucial days for the Duchy: the heir to the Savoy throne, little Francisco Giacinto, was seriously ill. Cristina had taken over from Vittorio Amedeo I as head of state, but the attack launched by Spain seemed incontainable: in the spring of 1638 the troops of the Marquis of Leganés, governor of the state of Milan, besieged the Savoy fortress of Breme, which was strategic for the control of the border towards Novara and Pavia. After capitulation, attention moved to Vercelli: in May 1638 the Spanish army crossed the river Sesia and laid siege to the city, which surrendered on 4th July. The Duchy was also under attack from the east; the French allies occupied Pinerolo just a few kilometres from the capital and did not hide their desire to reduce the Duchy to a protectorate. The governor of the state of Milan found a strategic ally in Prince Tommaso: the two armies were to succeed in bringing down several Piedmont towns, subtracting them from Savoy control in what would go down in history as the «notable campaña». For the Piedmontese, management of the strongholds on the borders, towards France and towards the state of Milan, proved to be even more crucial for security; the Spanish were to arrive at the gates of Turin, which would then suffer two different sieges, in 1639 and in 1640, and which would remain unconquered due also to the sturdiness of the fortified walls and the citadel.

Madama Reale remained focused on the political situation and did not avoid diplomatic negotiations and meetings with her advisors, well aware that her two brothers-in-law, Prince Tommaso and Cardinal Maurizio, were plotting to try and oust her, while in France, Cardinal Richelieu still had plans to extend his territories to Milan.

The close collaboration of Cristina with Carlo di Castellamonte became even closer in the Valentino construction site which, in those years, was still being completed. This ensured a faithful ally for Cristina who would also help her understand the most difficult problems relating to military strategy and the reinforcement of the system of fortifications.

In 1638 Castellamonte was finalising his manuscript *Le trinciere*<sup>20</sup>, a work on the techniques of siege and defence of fortified locations, with drawings, consisting of a dedication, preface and twenty recommendations<sup>21</sup>. In the dedication, Castellamonte addresses Carlo Emanuele II (the little heir) declaring that he is now sixty-seven years old and has spent forty-six years in service of the Savoy. This sets the date of the manuscript at some time between the date of the death of Francisco Giacinto and 1639, the year when the engineer would be imprisoned for his great loyalty to Cristina, at the behest of Prince Tommaso who took Turin on 22 August 1639. He would be freed only in 1640, shortly before his death on 18 December 1640.

*Le trinciere* was intended by Castellamonte to be the compendium of the experiences he had acquired: «[...] the author of the present discourse wishes to recount that which he learned in forty-six years engaged in the service of the invincible Dukes Carlo Emanuele and Vittorio Amedeo di Savoia in the ministry of the fortifications». Not a word for Cristina, the Regent: perhaps the political situation dissuaded Castellamonte from writing a dedication, even though his loyalty, proven in any case, would soon cost him imprisonment.

## EPILOGUE

After a year in prison, Castellamonte regained his freedom, but died soon after. Turin was under siege in 1640 and although initially Leganés and Prince Tommaso had the upper hand, it ended with the surrender of the Spaniards and Cristina was victorious. In 1642 the «brothers-in-law» bowed to Cristina, bringing an end to the civil war. For the moment, conflict with Spain was over. On 20th June 1648 Carlo Emanuele II reached fourteen years of age and was therefore authorised to assume governance of the state. In 1663 Cristina died; until her last days she governed her son's state in what would be described as the «disguised regency», receiving ambassadors and opening dispatches reserved for Carlo Emanuele. It is said that on the very day of his mother's death, Carlo Emanuele ordered Filippo d'Agliè to leave the court, if this is so, it can be inferred that he had wanted to exercise his power freely for some time. The first Madame Royale was buried in the church of Santa Teresa, in the chapel of Sant'Erasmus.

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## NOTES

1. ROSSO, 1994.
2. See ROGGERO, 2016 and the bibliography cited therein.
3. In the construction site, Michelangelo Morello and Andrea Costaguta, who was succeeded by Amedeo di Castellamonte, worked alternately. The vineyard is located in the valley of San Vito overlooking the river and directly opposite the Valentino palace. The engraving of the *Theatrum* depicts the seventeenth-century design (now lost): a central body with hall and belvedere, angular pavilions, symmetrical gardens. For Cristina the villa on the hill was her dearest joy: it combined the idea of power with that of freedom. The site was chosen for the salubriousness of the air, the vicinity to the city, the splendid view of the Valentino.
4. ROSSO, 2009.
5. FERRETTI, 2017.
6. ROGGERO, SCOTTI, 1994.
7. Pompeo and Francesco Bianchi were paid in 1645/46 for the stuccoes of the vault.
8. DE LUCCA, 2001, p. 95.
9. As a more recent contribution, see MERLOTTI, ROGGERO, 2016.
10. COGNASSO, 1971.
11. COMOLI MANDRACCI, 1983.
12. VIGLINO DAVICO, 2005.
13. *Relatione del Conte Castellamonte della visita alle fortificazioni d'Asti, Alba, Villanova, Ivrea Vercelli Santià Trino Vercelli – 1637* (AST, Materie Militari, *Intendenza Generale Fabbriche e Fortificazioni*, m. 1, n. 10).
14. CONFORTI, CURCIO, BULGARELLI, 1999.
15. Carlo di Castellamonte, design of the citadel and attached report (ASMo, Archivio Militare Estense, 235). Letter of Castellamonte, 23 December 1629 (ASMo, Archivio Militare Estense, 231).
16. DE LUCCA, 2001, pp. 94-95.
17. DENTONI LISTA, RICCI MASSABÒ, 2003.
18. MONTANA, 2016.
19. Vertova's journey to Italy began on 9 August 1638 and from Malta he reached Messina first, where he embarked for Genoa. He took with him a certain number of copies of the drawings of the Malta fortifications, in all likelihood also the proposals of Floriani for Floriana and Santa Margherita: Vertova wrote in his essay his intention to submit the drawings to various military engineers to obtain different opinions.
20. Musei Civici, Torino, 2698/DS.
21. MANETTI, 1988.

This paper refers to Christine as Cristina, the name she used in Turin. All other names are in their original language [TN].

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AST: Archivio di Stato di Torino

ASMo: Archivio di Stato di Modena

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