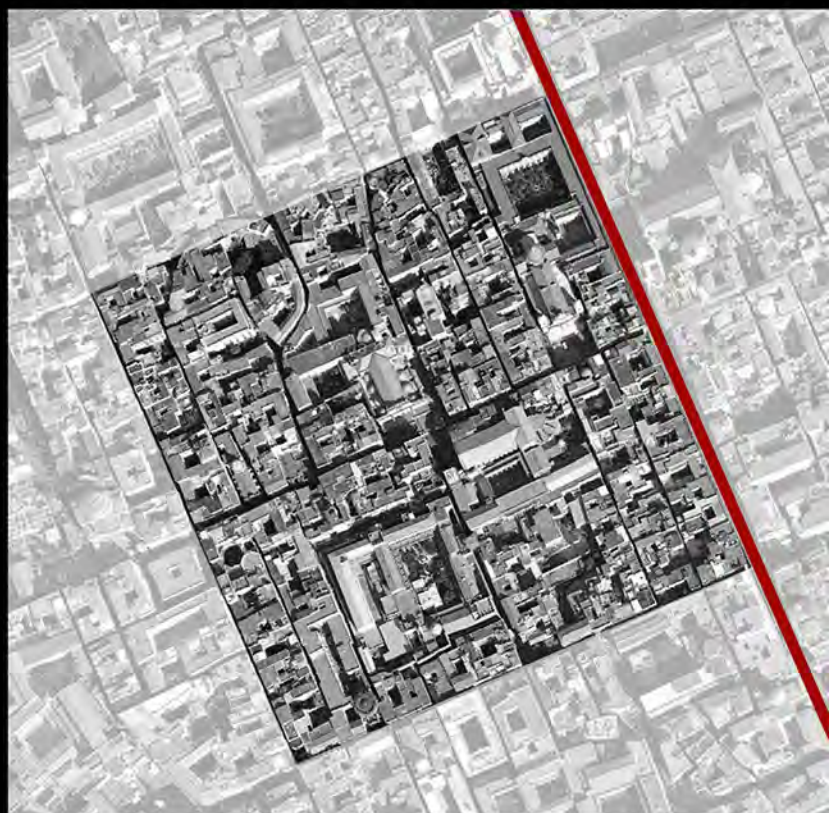


La Città Palinsesto

The City as Palimpsest

**Tracce, sguardi e narrazioni sulla
complessità dei contesti urbani storici**

**Tracks, views and narrations
on the complexity of historical urban contexts**



Tomo secondo

Rappresentazione, conoscenza, conservazione
Representation, knowledge, conservation

a cura di

Maria Ines Pascariello e Alessandra Veropalumbo

Federico II University Press



fedOA Press

La Città Palinsesto

The City as Palimpsest

**Tracce, sguardi e narrazioni sulla
complessità dei contesti urbani storici**

**Tracks, views and narrations
on the complexity of historical urban contexts**

Tomo secondo

Rappresentazione, conoscenza, conservazione
Representation, knowledge, conservation

a cura di

Maria Ines Pascariello e Alessandra Veropalumbo

Federico II University Press



fedOA Press

Federico II University Press



e-book edito da

Federico II University Press

con

CIRICE - Centro Interdipartimentale di Ricerca sull'Iconografia della Città Europea

Collana

Storia e iconografia dell'architettura, delle città e dei siti europei, 6/II

Direzione

Alfredo BUCCARO

Co-direzione

Francesca CAPANO, Maria Ines PASCARIELLO

Comitato scientifico internazionale

Aldo AVETA

Gemma BELLI

Annunziata BERRINO

Gilles BERTRAND

Alfredo BUCCARO

Francesca CAPANO

Alessandro CASTAGNARO

Salvatore DI LIELLO

Antonella DI LUGGO

Leonardo DI MAURO

Michael JAKOB

Paolo MACRY

Andrea MAGLIO

Fabio MANGONE

Brigitte MARIN

Bianca Gioia MARINO

Juan Manuel MONTERROSO MONTERO

Roberto PARISI

Maria Ines PASCARIELLO

Valentina RUSSO

Carlo TOSCO

Carlo Maria TRAVAGLINI

Massimo VISONE

Ornella ZERLENGA

Guido ZUCCONI

La Città Palimpsesto

Tracce, sguardi e narrazioni sulla complessità dei contesti urbani storici

Tomo II - *Rappresentazione, conoscenza, conservazione*

a cura di Maria Ines PASCARIELLO e Alessandra VEROPALUMBO

© 2020 FedOA - Federico II University Press

ISBN 978-88-99930-07-3

Contributi e saggi pubblicati in questo volume sono stati valutati preventivamente secondo il criterio internazionale della Double-blind Peer Review. I diritti di traduzione, riproduzione e adattamento totale o parziale e con qualsiasi mezzo (compresi i microfilm e le copie fotostatiche) sono riservati per tutti i Paesi. L'editore è a disposizione degli aventi diritto per eventuali riproduzioni tratte da fonti non identificate.

Franciscan convents in undergoing transformations: fluttering pasts and futures of historical seraphic houses in Italy

MARIA ANGÉLICA DA SILVA*, ANNARITA VAGNARELLI, FÁBIO HENRIQUE SALES NOGUEIRA***

* University of Alagoas

** Università di Perugia

Abstract

Since medieval times, among the religious buildings, the Franciscan friaries achieved a prominent position. The article analyses buildings such as the Basilica of St Mary of Angels, the hermitage of La Verna and the convent of St. Francis of Bologna, following different patterns that the notion of palimpsest can take. Also, it will be considered ways for give visibility to this clash of temporalities by the use of visual media.

Keywords

Franciscan convents, urban history, comparative studies.

Introduction

Architecture is a privileged field to observe how time can overlap itself in different shapes and movements. It is possible to follow, especially among the long lasting exemplars, the process of erasing parts of a building, the enlargement of another, and in consequence, to make some phases of a construction extremely evident and another almost invisible or difficult to decipher. Franciscan convents, specially the oldest ones, fit well in that condition and can constitute very interesting study cases in those process of observing the architecture as palimpsest. Not only because the longevity of such buildings, but also in the reason that arise directly from the Franciscan history. For example, a very tempestuous relationship with the ownership of any sort of material goods, including a house. Always dealing with the idea of poverty and dispossession, in consequence, in doubts with living in a cloister, architecture will be always a case of discussion among the friars. Not by chance, one of the most important division among the Order that split it in two groups, this question are chosen in their own names: the Observants, in care of being in strict conformity with the initial Franciscan preceding; and the Conventuals, that accepted the possibility of being flexible concerning the new demands brought by the passage of time. It included the importance of study – providing friars more well prepared for the new demands facing by the growth of the number of fidelis and of the importance of the Order for the church – and, in consequence, the necessity of having a stable place to live.

1. The denial of a house

It is well known the position of the *Poverello* that, in the beginning, did not expect even a creation of an Order but just aimed to be together with a group of companions that shared the same principles with him. But the success of his proposal and his own charism caused the fast increase of the number followers, overpassed his wishes. Even always denying the need of stable houses however, still in life, the saint witnessed the first small convents coming up. Because erected by donations, the campaigns lasted dozens of years and often led to alterations in the project. Another important fact in the history of the Franciscans is the appropriation of buildings previously inhabited for another religious order and kindly granted

to shelter them. This was the case even of a piece of architecture extremely linked with the life of St. Francis: Porziuncola, in fact, a donation of the Benedictine monastery of Mount Subasio, providing probably the first residence for the minors. This set a trend for receiving hospitality in many monasteries [Robson 2009, 42].

Another point to consider is to regard the mendicant orders – specially the Franciscans and Dominicans – as one of the urban successes of the 13th century. They expanded not only in Italy, but in all Europe: ‘the Order became a widespread network and the friars had fixed dwellings in almost all the towns and cities of the diocese as well as in about five hundred large and small boroughs, that were subdivided into fourteen provinces’ [Merlo 2005, 60].

Despite the index of references in the Constitutions of Narbonne (1260) which required the Franciscan convents to be humble and simple, free from ornamentation, superfluity and any attraction directly opposed to poverty, they acquired a greater expressiveness with an emphasis being placed on their churches. As the Franciscan Order became greatly concerned with preaching, the long and bare single nave was a distinctive feature of their churches. Another fact that should be considered is the option for being in the city. Different for the previous monastic orders that traditionally made their settlements far from the urban nucleus, mendicants will be considered themselves as urban friars, considering that the town or city were the place where the people to be converted live.

At the end of the Middle Ages, their power grew in such a level that there was a Franciscan or Dominican house in practically all European town or city. According to Braunfels, in 1316, almost around a hundred years after the death of St. Francis, if one only takes account of the Franciscan male friaries, there were 567 dwellings in Italy. In France in the same year, there were 247 and in the territories that form modern Germany, 203 [Braunfels 1993, 129].

Concerning the location of those friaries, In the beginning, they were placed on humble settlements in the outskirts of the towns. However, with the recognition of the importance of the Order and because of problems of security, some of the convents had to be relocated inside the city walls and others simplest were embraced for a second rings of stones.

Another moment to be detached in the long history of such buildings is the period of the arisen of the Counter-Reformation. Under the banner of the Baroque, the old convents were subject to alterations specially in terms of decoration and addition of chapels, while, at the same time, new convents were erected. Moving away from that time, during the 18th and 19th centuries, other facts will be responsible for new architectural changings in the convents. These are political effects that resulted from the suppression of religious orders following the French Revolution and the rise of Liberalism. In Italy, during the period of the Napoleonic invasions (1792-1802) religious monuments also were destroyed or either were put to serve different purposes or face ruin. This process was followed by another wave of suppressions that was enacted by the Italian government years later. Also, it is necessary to consider political events like the wars and also geological damages, as seismic waves, that frequently brought harmful consequences for many monuments in all over Italy.

2. The diverse shapes of the process of palimpsest

Considering the longevity and the great expressiveness of the Franciscan architecture, it is important to note that what we will be bring here, in the scope of this analysis, is just a fleeting glance over a very complex subject. What will be showing here is an overview of different expressions of this process, considering also that just the concept of palimpsest rise several questions. What sort of movements it signalizes? In the scope of what we are analysing here, palimpsest can be considered a process of addition, of overlap, of

reconstruction, of reuse, of resignification. Recording the origin of the word, the elimination of the written part by a process of washing and scraping for preparing the expensive surfaces of a parchment for a new use, here, metaphorically, under the eco of the article of Corboz named *Il territorio come palinsesto*, the process can be explored in different ways. Supported by written and iconographic primary sources, it will be examined cases in Umbria, Tuscany and finally, at the region of Emilia-Romagna.

3. Porziuncola, Umbria

This building was chosen not only because of its iconic value for the history of the Franciscanism but also because it can be recorded as a very particular case of palimpsest. In fact, if we take account for the ancient stages of this buildings, even before the presence of the minors, it reverberates far way, as its previous use is linked with the presence of Syrian monks and after, in the 12th century by the Benedictines. From the 13th century, only some tiny parts of the old house erected by the minors reach nowadays, but important ones. The chapel of Porziuncola has been, during the last centuries, literally within the fold provided by the huge structure of the basilic of St. Mary of the Angels. The old chapel, measuring around 9x4 meters, has been hosted inside this basilic which nave is 115 metres long [Tomei & Giampietro 2001, 12].

The construction of the basilica started by 1569 with a project signed by the architect Galeazzo Alessi [Tomei & Giampietro 2001, 15]. Literature justifies this size by the enormous flood of peregrines. However, this flagrant contrast of measurements, become more embarrassing if is considered the revindication of avoidance of any possession by St. Francis. If in the first decades of the 13th century, after the death of Sr. Francis, all the attention was addressed to the huge basilica and convent that had been erected responding to the fast process of his canonization of Francis, not too late the Porziuncola will attract similar attention, motivating a new construction. Only two years after the saint's death in 1228, as it is well known, the initial moments of the erection of the basilica and the sacred convent were captained by the Roman Church, that aimed to host the body of the saint in a prestigious building. The pope, having strong interest in promoting the worship, made all efforts to convince the faithful to make donations that would be widely recompensed with indulgences. A reading of the territory of Assisi says about the relationship of those two icons of the Franciscan history. If Porziuncola was settled in the lower part of the valley, in a region, at that moment, still covered by woods, the basilica and convent were located in the western area of the Asio hill, sloped steeply down towards the Tescio river, immediately outside the Roman walls of Assisi. Usually called at that time, 'the Hill of Hell' as it was used as place for executions [Lunghi 2003, 8], it became transformed in 'the hill of Paradise'. The massive structure erected in honour of the saint, transformed not only the surrounding landscape but also the appearance of the own town, that was elongated towards the direction of the monument. Inside the area of the basilica of St. Mary of the Angels it is found until nowadays not only Porziuncola but also the remains of the cell of St. Francis, that later was transformed into a sacristy by St. Bonaventura of Bagnoregio around 1260, and later by St. Bernard of Siena, during the period of his generalate (1438-1450), in a place now known as a Chapel of the Rose [Tomei & Giampietro 2001, 21-22; Sciamanna 2005, 22].



1: *The city of Assisi in the past and nowadays, stressing the Sacro Convento and Basilica of St. Francis* Source: *Theatrum civitatum et admirandorum Italiae*, Blaeu, 1663 and intervention over the Google Earth, September 2020.

It also remains the Chapel of the Transit, where happened the dying saint, after transported to laying on over the ground, to leave this world in the simplest way. Just in the times of St. Bernard of Siena, he recommended the erection of a structure able to protect Porziuncola [Sciamanna 2005, 25]. He also initiated the construction of a convent attached to it. Even before him, since 1230, there were works going on, erecting rooms to be used as refectory and dormitory [Sciamanna 2005, 25-28]. These changings are not clearly exposed in the route opening for visitation nowadays. If the strategy for maintaining those historical sites was essential for their surveillance, of course, there was some loss. For example, a disruption between architecture and the landscape. Constructed with the rocks of the mount Subasio nearby, and in a such a scale that exposed clearly it humble relationship with the large scale of the panorama, nowadays, the chapel of Porziuncola is reduced as a sort of portable object, as a miniature, incrusted inside the huge basilica, completely apart from the surroundings. Similar case is found at Rivotorto, where is a group of hovels made by stone detected as occupied by St. Francis and his followers in the past, lay on inside another building. As a matter of fact, both sites – Porziuncola and Rivotorto – intertwined their histories and possibly were occupied by the minors almost at the same time. It is important to remember that the basilica of St. Mary of the Angels itself knew a long history of modifications and damages. In 1679, more than one century after the realization of the project, the works were not still completely concluded. In 1772 it was in under a restoration campaign. In 1810, it was invaded by the Napoleon troops, and in 1832 it was stricken by an earthquake which repair was finished in 1840. In 1930 it obtained the current façade and loggia [Sciamanna 2005, 26-29].

3. La Verna, Toscana

La Verna can be an example that shows the palimpsest concept in practice in another sort of movement: in a mixture of layers, sometimes very difficult to decipher. Also, it is important to consider again, not only architecture but the territory. In fact, in such kind of area, it is necessary to keep close attention to the shapes of the mountainous landscape, to take in account the weather, the bushes, the airy atmosphere, the water courses. The place in times of the life of St Francis, was used to be viewed as a sort of perfect desert. The loneliness was broken by few people, as it was just attended by shepherds, farmers, bandits and soldiers. This condition of isolation motivated several visits by St. Francis during his life, as a pause in his constant itinerance.



2: Rivortorto and Porziuncola nowadays. Sources: Photos by the author in September 2019.

Literature tells that the presence of the saint resulted in few alterations into the environment as he and his followers engaged themselves just in the construction of small huts and infrequent use of bricks. However, their presence in the place evoke episodes connected with nature and also of strong religious meaning, as reported in the *Fioretti* and in various documents. In consequence, the tangible and the intangible aspects of that presence crosses all the landscape, giving reason for, nowadays, various parts of the mount being signaled by Franciscan marks. An example of this sort of territorial signalization but also of changings that did not leave material marks, is the Chapel of Birds. Built in 1602, originally was the place of the large oak tree in whose branches the birds welcome St. Francis when he first visited La Verna [Cetoloni 2003, 17].

Excepting the constant dialogue with the native inhabitants, as wolfs and birds, the mountain was inhabited in solitude by Francis and few companions. What they built, always by their own hands, resulting in some brush and wooden huts scattered in the savage landscape.

Those buildings had been modified along the time. For example, the site he occupied, a sort of natural crack into the rocks, looking over a precipice located in the steepest part of the mount, was changed. Another place he inhabited, just a passage on the way to Stigmata, decades later, in 1264- 1267, was converted in a chapel named of the Cross [Mussolin in Baldini 2012, 125-126]. These set of ancient occupations constitute nowadays a group of formed by a hermitage, the chapels of Stigmata, of the Cross, of St. Sebastian, St. Bonaventure, the oratory of St. Antony of Padova and others, corresponding to one of three blocks of buildings that forms La Verna nowadays.

The second block corresponds partially to buildings also for the time of St. Francis, as, for example, a church called *Chiesina*, built in honour of St. Mary of Angels, under the inspiration of the ones of Porziuncola and St. Damiano, [Mussolin in Baldini 2012, 122]. But the chapel was lengthened after 1250 to enable its use by the growing number of pilgrims [Cetoloni 2003, 19]. It faces directly an open paved area called *Quadrante* that is a sort of a churchyard. Aside the small old church, there is a basilica dedicated to the Assumption of Our Lady. Its architecture also follows the traditional shape of Franciscan churches, with a single nave and arches on the façade. It was begun in 1348 but finished only in 1509 [Cetoloni 2003, 25]. St Bonaventure of Bagnoregio is reported to gift it with a bell, placed in the left-hand side of the construction. Before being protected by the current campanile, the bell used to hang from a beech tree [Cetoloni 2003, 19]. In front of the area, a 16th century cistern welcomed the pilgrims.

Those two mentioned blocks are linked with a long corridor, built between 1578 and 1582, covered and walled to allow its use during the time of severe weather [Cetoloni 2003, 53]. Alongside it, descending at the side of a rock, it is possible to reach the *Sasso Spicco*, or detached rock, the spot of the first cell of St. Francis. Going further, it is found the area of the Stigmata. The two floor building aside the staircase was erected in the end of the 15th century and corresponds to two rustic chapels: the one of St. Peter of Alcantara, in the level of the floor, and going down, the one of the Magdalene. After the church and the basilica, the second block grows around a quadrangular cloister, where it is found the dependences of the friars. Concerning this conventual area, its first part had been erected in tiny dimensions, circumscribing an irregular shape cloister aside the chapel of St Mary of the Angels. Later a new building will be constructed during the 15th century just extending the old friary, now around a square shape cloister surrounded by a gallery, recalling the heavenly Jerusalem. Around it, there were all the rooms that supported the common life of the fraternity. The refectory was erected in 1518 and lengthened in 1717 [Cetoloni 2003, 77]. An infirmary and a pharmacy by the benefit of the friars and the poor stand alongside of the building. There was also a space for the bread, for the laundry, for the kitchen, and a library. It had, in 1372, 183 books, whereas the greater of Italy, the one of the sacred convents of Assisi, collected around 1700. These numbers show how the order, at that time, had become engaged in being learned [Giorgi in Baldini 2012, 51]. The common fire, where the community gathering during the chilling winter, remained from the ancient times. On the upper level, there are the cells. In one of the wings, it is presented a third pavement for the novitiate.

That conventual part of the complex was destroyed by a fire in 1472 and rebuilt a couple of years later. The wing destined to dormitory got to a point to have around 70 cells [Giorgi in Baldini 2012, 56]. More recently, in 1917-18, the friary was damaged by an earthquake [Giorgi in Baldini 2012, 56]. Nowadays, the visitor arrived in front of the third block, composed by the guest house and other pavilions for accommodation and services, that occupy around 30% of the total area of the built complex. The entrance for visitors is in front of this third block, that make the complex being accessed in the inverse chronological sequence, considering that the oldest parts will be in the very end of the route, where the first block is.

Thus, in La Verna, it is possible to follow a very complex process of palimpsest, where some layers had been completely disappeared, and others that had been modified. The strong connection with the geological site contributes to complexify the studies, leaving various sorts of enigmas and lacks information and invisibilities, insinuating diverse doubts in its long history.



3: La Verna in Google Earth, showing the blocks and photos of the churchyard and the sloop part of the block. Source: Google Earth, September 2020, and photos by the author in August 2014

4. Bologna, Emilia Romagna

The case of Bologna was chosen because of its importance in the process of the spreading of the order in the direction of the Alps. The first register of the presence of the minors in the town dates back from 1211, when Bernard of Quintavalle arrived there, receiving permission to stay and to receive a place to start his mission. This was an area known as St Mary of Pugliole [Garani 1948, 2], where there was an old and precarious religious building [Maioli & Gianaroli 1995, 25]. Francis also had been in the town a couple of times for preach. In 1223 St. Antony received from him, authorization for being at St Mary of Pugliole and there, to establish the first studio of the minors. However, in 1235, the lack of security led to the building of a new site, with the erection of the current church and convent of St Francis, which is regarded as the first one built in honour of the Saint [Fini 2007, 71]. Thus, it constitutes an example of this changing of headquarters already mentioned in the beginning of the article.

The church and convent moved from their contemporary site and were erected with a very simple but imponent façade of uncoated bricks, as was common in the region. They tried to compensate the huge dimension with the simplicity of shape [Bonelli in Serra 1990, 23-24]. The point to stress is the importance of the church, erected in a sort of Gothic French style, unusual in Italy. As the Order was greatly concerned with preaching, the long single nave of the church was a distinctive feature. If the one of the basilica of Assis, considering the process of ampliation between 1237 and 1239, reached 57 metres [Scheckluhn 2003, 42], the nave of the church of Bologna has 92 metres. Aside of the church were installed the tombs of the Glossatori, the first

members of the school of law that was in the base of the creation of the University of Bologna, considered the first of Europe. It can show the old and almost lost link between the studio of St. Antony and the university. The palimpsest process can be found, in this case, in various aspects of the history of the monument. During their long life, the convent and the church had been enlarged and suffered several damages, caused by war, in such a point that until nowadays the campaign of renovation is still taking place. Due to one of this stage of campaigns, conducted by the architect Alfonso Rubbiani (1848-1913), it was possible to observe a careful work of restoration. However, he decided for leaving the traces of his time very clear. The interventions minimally camouflaged their presence specially in the lateral chapels, stained glasses, and other decorative parts of the building.



4: Map of Bologna, showing the area of St Mary of Publiole and the current place of the convent of St. Francis, the bombed church, and the stained glass by Rubbiani. Source: Vatican fresco from 1575, Google Earth, September 2020, and images from La fabbrica dei sogni [Baldini, Monari, Virelli 2014, 107, 128].

5. Clash of temporalities and digital medias

The process of palimpsest evolves a conflict of political and theological positions concerning the monuments. It can result in to carefully combine pieces of the past, but also to make the clashes even more evident. In consequence, to read a piece of architecture as a palimpsest results in a very hard task. In some case, by crossing images and graphical data, it is possible to make clearer some of these palimpsest effects in a building. In this context, the advantages brought by digital technologies can adds another layer of understanding. These digital overlapping are effective not only for making the information understandable and aesthetically attractive but also can be manage as a methodological tool for study and research. For example, looking at the plan of Porziuncola, it is possible to find scattered pieces of the old hermitage that composed the building in moments of its past. Examining some few iconographical sources remained for the beginning of the 16th century, they can

show the appearance of the Porziuncola before the erection of the basilica. It will be necessary to look carefully for the details of some paintings like the one made by Tiberio of Assisi in the chapel of the Rose, to have some idea of its façade before the great basilica to be built.

Concerning the case of La Verna, if the plan can be signalized according to the date of the block of rooms where erected, the consult of old views, can help, although partially, to understand the process of changings in the place. It is interesting to note that the figure of Francis was often regarded as the protector of cities, either by means of imaginary episodes or activities carried out by the Saint himself. This can be one of the reasons for having in disposition, nowadays, an extremely rich iconographical database. These are displayed in the magnificent frescos and other sort of paintings where it is possible to see many views of urban landscapes, that help in this sort of visual studies.



5: Possible Comparative sources showing the fresco made by Tiberio of Assisi showing Porziuncola before the erection of the basilica and detail of the basilica in the *Theatrum civitatum et admirandorum Italiae*, Blaeu, 1663.

Conclusion

Those are materials that help in these studies that aims to sorted out some of the enigmas of the process of palimpsest in Franciscan buildings. In them, it will be always found an imagetical report of a building. Considering the palimpsest itself, it can be stressed its importance as a way to conduct the studies towards a more flexible way, opening the notion of History to different interpretations and able to be accessed like a sort of living game to be played to all the ones interested in its secrets and quizzes.

Bibliografia

- BALDINI, N. (2012). *Altro monte non ha più santo il mondo: Storia, architettura ed arte alla Verna dalle origini al primo Quattrocento*, Florence, Edizioni Studi Francescani.
- BALDINI, E., MONARI, P., VIRELLI, G. (2014). *La fabbrica dei sogni "Il bel San Francesco" di Alfonso Rubbiani*, Bologna, Bononia University Press.
- BRAUNFELS, W. (1993). *Monasteries of Western Europe: the architecture of the orders*, London, Thames and Hudson.
- CETOLONI, R. (2003). *The Sanctuary of La Verna*, Rimini, Pazzini Editore.
- DI PARMA, S. A. (1987). *Cronaca*, Bologna, Radio Tau.
- FINI, M. (2007). *Bologna sacra: tutte le chiese in due millenni di storia*, Bologna, Pendragon.
- GARANI, L. (1948). *Il bel S. Francesco di Bologna*, Bologna, Tipografia Parma.
- LUNGHU, E. (2003). *The Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi*, Florence, Scala.
- MAIOLI, G., GIANAROLI, O. (1995). *Monasteri e conventi francescani in Emilia Romagna*, Bologna, Labanti & Nanni.
- MERLO, G. G. (2005). *Em nome de Francisco: história dos Frades Menores e do franciscanismo até inícios do século XVI*. Petrópolis, Vozes.

MARIA ANGÉLICA DA SILVA, ANNARITA VAGNARELLI, FÁBIO HENRIQUE SALES NOGUEIRA

- ROBSON, M. (2009). *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*. Suffolk & New York, Boydell Press.
- SCIAMANNA, E. (2005). *Santuari Francescani Minoritici*. Assisi, Editrice Minerva.
- SCHENKLUHN, W. (1994). *San Francesco in Assisi: Ecclesia Specialis*. Milãno, Edizione Biblioteca Franciscana.
- SCHENKLUHN, W. (2003). *Architetettura degli Ordini Mendicanti: lo stile architettonico dei Domenicani e dei Francescani in Europa*. Padova, Editrici Francescane.
- TEIXEIRA, C. M. (2008). *Fontes Franciscanas e Clarianas*. Petrópolis, Editora Vozes.
- TOMEI, A., GIAMPIETRO, L. (2001). *La basilica di Santa Maria degli Angeli e la Porziuncola. Guida storico-artistica*. Milano, Silvana Editoriale.
- www.bardinipeyron.it/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/CORBOZ-ILL-TERRITORIO-COME-PALINSESTO-lowres.pdf (september 2020)