A PRELIMINARY STUDY ON THE OSPEDALE
MAGGIORE OF ANTONIO AVERLINO
CALLED FILARETE

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In 1451, after two years stay at Venice, Filarete came to the court of Francesco Sforza through the recommendation of Cosimo de' Medici. The court had been searching for a competent architect for the repairing works at the Castello di Porta Giovia and for the new construction of the Ospedale Maggiore well before his arrival.

As a Renaissance city, Milan was quite different from Florence, Filarete's native town as well as from Rome, his former post. After the death of Gian Galeazzo in 1402, the construction of Certosa of Pavia and that of the Cathedral of Milan were practically brought to a halt. For more than forty years no eminent buildings were commissioned in this area with the single exception of the Church of Villa built in the 1440’s by the Brunelleschi school at Castiglione d’Olona (near Varese). But the builders of the church at Castiglione d’Olona, Jacopino da Tradate, Domenico del Lago di Lugano, Masolino da Panicale di Val d’Elsa, were quite at a loss after a short undocumented Lombardic sojourn of Brunelleschi around 1430 for the military work of Filippo Maria Visconti. In 1448 the Visconti’s was to be superseded by the republican government of Ambrosiana, which, in turn, enjoyed a brief life only to give way to the strong despotism of the Sforza’s.

Three architects who were educated outside Lombardia transported the architecture in the Renaissance style into Milanese area during the reign of Francesco Sforza. They were Benedetto Ferrini, Michelozzo and Filarete. Ferrini entered the service of Francesco Sforza in the early years of the 1450’s, that is, contemporaneously with Filarete. But his achievement, such as the loggia of the Corte Ducale of the Castello Sforzesco, was too humble to come into conflict with traditional Lombard gothic masters.

Michelozzo, loved by Cosimo "as much as a dear friend can be loved" (Vasari), was not an architect-courtier of the Sforza’s. Indeed, he built at Pistoia Santa Maria delle Grazie as early as 1452, but he came to Milan only after Filarete had struggled with the obstinate bigotry of unlearned mason-architects in Milan for more than ten years. In contrast with Filarete, he remained at Milan always in the service of the Medici as if he were a private ambassador of the Medici’s.

The situation of the third architect, Filarete, who arrived in Milan before the others, was very different. The essential chronological notes on Filarete at the court of the Sforza were as follows:

September, 1451 : Reconstruction of the Castello Sforzesco (Castello di Porta Giovia), including the construction of the central tower over the entrance (so-called Torre del Filarete).

Summer in 1452 : After a series of laborious negotiations between Francesco Sforza and the Lombardic masters opposing him, Francesco succeeded in nominating Filarete as ‘capomastro’ of the Cathedral.

1453: Filarete was dismissed from the rebuilding work of the Castello Sforzesco through strong opposition of the masters and masons engaged in the construction.

July 5, 1454: A proposition for Filarete’s dismissal from ‘capomastro’ of the Duomo was submitted. Shortly after this, in 1455, he was dismissed from the position of chief architect.

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June, 1456: Filarete and a certain mason, Giovanni di Sant'Ambrogio, were sent to Florence and Siena for on-the-spot surveys of the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova and the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala.

1456-1457: Beginning of the planning and construction of the Ospedale Maggiore.

From March to May, 1457: A short visit to Bergamo for the construction of the Duomo of Bergamo and a hospital.

March and April, 1458: A short visit to Varese and to Venice.

1461-1462: In these years Filarete wrote the greater part of his treatise.

1464: The last four books were added to his former writings.

August 16, 1465: Filarete abandoned his position as primary architect of the Ospedale Maggiore and Guiniforte Solari succeeded him.

September 17, 1465: Filarete drew the last surplus of his salary for the work at the Ospedale Maggiore.

Admittedly even the brief chronology reveals that the Florentine architect suffered greatly from hostility on the part of the Lombardic local masters who prevented him from making his theoretical ideas practicable in real constructions. However, to provide a premise for the understanding of Filarete's hospital, the history prior to the construction of the Ospedale Maggiore still remains to be discussed in some detail.

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In 1446, the Bishop of Milan organized a certain council on purpose to integrate all the hospitals in Milan that had been in deplorable conditions into a new single construction. But the council was not active nor productive. In 1448, when the pope Nicholas V approved the project presented to him, it was nothing but an abstract administrative program to unite poor hospitals into rich ones within Milanese territory.

In February 1450, a common assembly of Ambrosian Republic (Assemblea di Popolo), urged by an old soldier of Francesco Sforza, Gaspare Vimercati, decided to entrust the Sforza with the Viscontian heritage to protect them from famine and the Venetians. At the same the immature project of the hospital was handed to ambitious Francesco Sforza, who would profit by it quite naturally counting on making a certain political effect. In the two letters addressed to him and dated respectively May 4, 1451 and May 6, 1451, a certain representative of Francesco at Rome reports that the pope had been much pleased to hear about the new hospital under contemplation. But we have no documentary proof that indicates to what extent the project had been conceived by the time Filarete arrived in Milan in 1451. The project, even if it existed before this date, could have been more of an administrative one than architectural, but the latter may well have been started some years later.

Curiously enough the history prior to the construction of the hospital was interrupted here on the very arrival of the architect and thereafter came a long blank of five years. We may well assume that after the glorious entry into Milan, Francesco Sforza felt urgent necessity to repair and reconstruct the old Viscontine castle at Porta Giovia and that Filarete, who was also documented as chief architect of the Duomo in this period, may have engaged primarily in the reconstruction of the castle, which inevitably prevented his working on the hospital. But this is not enough.

Three events in the year of 1456 relating to the hospital are worth citing here; in April, the site for the hospital was chosen and buildings on the site were going to be demolished; in May, the representative of Francesco Sforza in Rome received papal permission for the construction of the hospital; finally in June, as stated above in the chronological notes, the Duke dispatched Filarete and Giovanni di Sant'Ambrogio with a letter of request to the rulers of Florence and Siena for prerequisite studies for the new construction. Both the clearance of buildings and the acquisition of papal permission make us suppose that the architectural project of the new hospital had been ready at the court of the Sforza prior to Filarete's visit to Tuscan hospitals. In fact the letter of request written by Francesco

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Sforza and addressed to Giovanni de’ Medici reads: “......in questa nostra città de’ Milano se è principiato de fare uno hospitale grande: In che concorda tutta quanta predica città universalmente desiderando ch’ el se faza belissimo, accionco et più ornato che sia possibile. Ma al murare fino ad hora non è data grande opera, solo per fare ch’ el sia hedisfato com bono desegno. Et per questa casone vengono li mandati da mi maestro Antonio da Fiorenza Inzignero, et maestro Johanne de Sancto Ambrogio maestro de muro, che ambedue hanno bono inzegno per vedere integramente tutto quello hospitale di quella vostra città, et per examinarlo et per cavare il desegno......”242. In this letter Francesco ordered Filarete and his companion to survey a Tuscan hospital, obviously the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova, as a model after which the ducale hospital at Milan should be built (“per fare ch’ el sia hedisfato com bono desegno”). At the same time the letter also reveals that the construction of the Ospedale Maggiore had been already started though very little had been done by the time it was written (“al murare fino ad hora non è data grande opera”). Then when the construction of the hospital was started? And who designed the hospital the construction of which had just begun when Filarete and Sant’Ambrogio were sent to Florence and Siena?

Unfortunately we have no documents that enable us to answer these questions exactly. With respect to the second question, the first architect could not be Filarete since he did not begin to draw his salary as architect of the hospital until February 1, 1457243. The missive of Giovanni de’ Medici addressed to Francesco Sforza is informative. It was dated June 25, 1456 and was evidently a letter of official reply to Francesco’s letter of introduction dated June 4, 1456. It reads: “......E suro qui Maestro Antonio dalla porta il quale ma narrata come la Illustissime Vostra Signoria vole dare ordine a fare quello spedale dichie altrevolte costa ragionamo. Et perche luj nabbia qualche buono esempio lo gio fatto vedere tutto il nostro qui di Sancta Maria nuova che e gran cosa et degna. Di poi luj se partito senza fare meco altra conclusione......”242. According to the missive, when Filarete visited the Florentine ruler Filarete “possessed a certain good example of a hospital (nabbia qualche buono esempio)”. But the statement should be treated with care since Filarete, before his departure to Florence and Siena, apparently had not accomplished enough work on architecture to be deserving of a salary yet. The visit to Tuscan is also cited in the treatise of Filarete. But it is after he reports upon the dissatisfying Tuscan precedents that the architect enters into the explanation of the definite plan of the hospital: “......He (Francesco Sforza) placed on me the task of making a drawing. First he asked me if I (Filarete) had seen the hospitals in Florence and Siena, and if I remembered how they looked. I replied yes. He wanted to see a rough sketch of the foundations and I drew him one as best I remembered. I drew the hospital in Florence for him. However, it did not seem as suitable to him as he would have liked and he doubted if the others could be improved. I had already noted the site and the requirements. I said that I would make one that I thought would be most suited to the needs of this building, since he and the others made a great point of the convenience and cleanliness......”243. Thus Filarete’s plan of the hospital before his visit to Tuscan could be safely considered to be almost a vague conception, even if it might probably have been represented in the form of a drawing as is shown in the letter of Giovanni de’ Medici.

With respect to the first question above mentioned we may turn to the treatise of Filarete once more. The ceremony of the erection of the hospital was described in detail by Filarete himself in the eleventh book, where two different dates for the beginning of the construction were given in the same folio. On the memorable cornerstone to be laid on the day of the ceremony were written “il millesimo e ancora il di e ‘l mese il quale millesimo correva 1457 a di 4 d’apriile (the century, the day and the month which ran April 4, 1457)”244. Shortly after in the following passage, Tommaso da Rieti is described to have made an epigram for a boundary stone that reads: “FRANCISCVS SPORTIA DVX XIII SED QVI AMISSVM PER PRAECESSORVM OBITVM VRBIS IMPERIVM RECPVERAVIT HOC MVNVS CRISTI PAVPERIBVS DEDIT FYNDAVITIQUE MCCCLVII DIE XII APRILIS”245. Namely we have a difference of eight days, which, however, makes little importance on the essential part of our
chronology. An important difference of dates does exist between codices of the treatise. In Codex Palatinus the date on the foundation stone is 1456 ("M ccc lvi") instead of 1457. The nineteenth century trustworthy copy of the lost Codex Trivulzianus once preserved in the Trivulziana Library also contains the same date of 1456, not of 1457 as written in Codex Magliabechianus. It is worth noting that both Codex Palatinus and Codex Trivulzianus had their origin in the lost Sforza Manuscript which had been derived directly from the lost original manuscript of Filarete.

A fifteenth century tablet, formerly under the bust of Francesco Sforza that once stood over the central entrance of the Ospedale Maggiore and now incorporated in the baroque portal of the Archivio courtyard, bears the following inscription: "FRANCISCUS SFORIA DUX MEDIOLANI QUARTUS QUI URBIS ET GENTIS IMPERIUM OCERI MORTE AMISSUM RECUPERAVIT AD SUSTENANDOS CHRISTI PAUPERES DISPERSA ALIMENTA CONCESSIT ATQ. EX VETERE ARCE AEDESAMPLITEREXCITAVITANN. S. MCCCLVI PRID. ID. APRILIS." This tablet has been appropriately attributed by Spencer to Ambrogio de Musio who was documented to be paid six lire for the stone "intaliato a literis" in the year of 1459. Here we have another written testimony that insists convincingly April 12, 1456 as a beginning date of the construction.

To sum up:

1) A sudden blank of five years (1451-1455) occurred in the history directly prior to the construction of the hospital.
2) In April, 1456 the site of the hospital was chosen and in May, 1456 Calixtus III gave papal permission to the Sforza for the construction of the hospital.
3) In June, 1456 Filarete and Sant'Ambrogio went to Florence and Siena with a drawing of a hospital, or more precisely, with a vague conception drawn schematically.
4) It was not until February 1, 1457 that Filarete began to draw the salary as architect of the hospital.
5) In Codex Magliabechianus the construction of the hospital is documented to have been started April 12, 1457.
6) Three documents (Codex Palatinus, a faithful copy of Codex Trivulzianus and the fifteenth-century tablet once belonged to the hospital) coincidently inform us of April 12, 1456 as an initiating date of the construction of the hospital.

In his early work on Filarete's life, Oettingen overstressed on the coincidence in dating between the two manuscripts of the Sforza group (6) to argue plausibly for the date given in these two codices. Some eighty years later, Spencer offered another alternative by presenting a document which had been unknown to Oettingen (4) and concluded that "the actual laying of the cornerstone would more logically have occurred in April 1457, at which time the plan of the hospital would have existed along with an administrative body to oversee its construction." However, each document cited above concerning to the dating are surely equivalent and are to be treated as such. Then the contradictions among the six points summarized would be inextricable if a change in architects and an alteration in plans had not occurred at an early stage during the course of designing and construction.

The conflicts between the Florentine architect and the traditional Lombardic masters which did exist from the very beginning of Filarete's first work in Milan at the Castello di Porta Giovia could also prevent Filarete, in this case of a new construction, totally from projecting the hospital. It must have been the Lombardic masters that managed to make themselves entrusted by the duke with projecting the new hospital shortly before 1456. Though decisive documents are lacking, we may well remember a certain Fra Michele da Carcano, whose name has been sometimes associated with the duchess, Bianca Maria, and especially to whom the construction of the hospital was attributed in the oldest historical work on the Ospedale Maggiore written by Giovanni Giacomo Gilino. Besides we must not overlook the fact that Francesco Sforza promulgated the ducal decree of the official foundation of the hospital as early as April 1, 1456 though the diplomatic announcement should be treated with care.
As is shown in the documents linked to the court of the Sforza’s, the construction of the hospital must have been impetuously inaugurated on April 12, 1456. Though once persuaded, however, Francesco had scarcely finished the ceremony when he got dissatisfied with planning and construction under the direction of the Lombardic masters. Two months later he introduced Filarete and Sant’Ambrogio to Giovanni de’ Medici, requesting that necessary studies to start afresh planning and construction of the hospital be done by them. From the end of 1456 onward it was Filarete that supervised officially the construction of the hospital newly conceived to manifest the intention of the duke and the architect. Later in the manuscript rewritten by himself faithfully after the original to be dedicated to the Medici’s, from which Codex Magliabianchianus would be copied, Filarete may have intentionally corrected the date of the ceremony with a view to connecting it to the construction started directly after his return from Florence. In this case, however, he did not dare to delate his remark of the dissatisfaction at the Tuscan precessents on the part of Francesco Sforza because it could afford a clear proof that the project of Filarete had surpassed traditional schemes enough to content the duke of Milan.

In August 1465, Filarete, having been on the supervisory position for almost ten years without help, turned his back on the work, never to be reinstated. A greater architect than Filarete could have brought the construction to completion. However, the unsatisfactory result might not be ascribed exclusively to his incapacity since his explanation of the unrealized project developed in the eleventh book of the treatise made Vasari affirm that the hospital had been “so well designed that I do not believe that there is its like in Europe”. Unfortunately Filarete was the first Renaissance architect who came to Milan.

NOTES
1) The date written on his signed Processional Cross in the Collegiata of Bassano del Grappa proves unquestionably that he was in Venice in 1449. Then in June, 1451, all Florentines were banished from Venetian territory. Filarete may well have left Venice before this deportation order.
2) J.R. Spencer : “Two New Documents on the Ospedale Maggiore, Milan and on Filarete”, ‘Arte Lombarda’, Vol. 16, 1971, p. 114 (hereafter cited as Spencer, Documents). The circumstance of Filarete’s transfer to Milan is not known in any detail. Since Luca Fancelli had already left for the Gonzaga’s at Mantua, the number of competent architect was more or less limited.
7) Though Filarete was first documented at work on the Castello Sforzesco in September, 1451 (L. Beltrami : “Il Castello di Milano sotto il dominio degli Sforza (1450–1535)”, Milan, 1885, p. 107, n. 2, hereafter cited as Beltrami, castello), Spencer has proposed hypothetically but quite convincingly that he had already been at work on the readaptation of the old Palazzo Azzone before this date (Spencer, Treatise, p. 12, n. 16). According to Beltrami, the decoration work of the facade of the Castello facing to the city was assigned to Filarete, who was mentioned as “Magistro Antonio da Firenze pincitore”, in 1452 (Beltrami, castello, p. 99 ff., p. 142 ff.). Although sufficient documentary proofs are lacking, it is generally accepted that the tower over the central entrance of the Castello was due to a project of Filarete. See a fundamental work G.G. Belloni : “Il Castello Sforzesco”, Milan, 1966, passim. The present tower well visible from Via Dante was reconstructed from 1833 to 1905 after the design of Beltrami. Beltrami’s primary source for the reconstruction must have been the tower of Vigevano constructed during the reign of Ludovico il Moro (1494–1499). Cf. Finoli-Grassi, Trattato, p. 6, n. 1 and p.

8) Spencer, Treatise, p. 12, n. 16 and Finoli-Grassi, Trattato, p. 6, n. 1. What was done by Filarete and his probable collaborator Giovanni Solaro is not known. Considering that there must have been strong opposition against Filarete on the part of Lombardic masters, as is shown in one of his autograph letters, it was hardly possible for him to advance the construction to the extent that his own contribution could be distinguishable.

Finoli and Grassi have proposed that Filarete's work at the Duomo might be connected with an attempt at readaptation of the old palazzo of the Visconti court adjacent to the Duomo on the south side, that is Palazzo Azzone, now replaced by the Palazzo Reale (ibid., p. 29, n. 2). Since the Viscontine residence in the fortress outside the Porta Giovia (future Castello Sforzesco) had been destroyed by the republicans, Francesco Sforza, on his entering into Milan, had nothing to reside provisionally but the Palazzo Azzone left unhabited for years. Necessary repairs were begun in 1450. At the same time an attempt to extend the facade of the Duomo necessitated an intrusion into the court of the Palazzo Azzone. As a result of necessary adjustments, a part of the facade of the Palazzo Azzone was removed and replaced by the extended part of the Duomo (ibid., p. 12, n. 6).

Cf. P. Mezzanotte, G.C. Bascape: "Milano nell’arte e nella storia”, Milan, 1948, p. 158. In this respect, a sentence in the treatise is much suggestive: ".....perché, essendo amalato per mancanza di cibo e quasi mezza morta la corte della Signoria di Milano, quello per qui questo fo con grande dispendio la ridusse in sanità, senza il quale riparo presto finiva....." (“......for the court of the Signoria of Milan was ill from lack of food and half dead, when at great expense I restored it to health. Without this protection it would soon have been finished.....” Transl. by J.R. Spencer. Hereafter all the translations of the treatise of Filarete are derived from Spencer, Treatise). (Bk. I, fol. 6r. The abbreviation Bk. stands for Book).

9) Beltrami, castello, passim. Controversy and conflict between Filarete and unlearned local masters under his direction are well documented. For example, a bitter dispute arose about Filarete's idea of equipping the Castello with buildings sustained by corbels (ibid., pp. 111–112, pp. 114–115, p. 147). Cf. Finoli-Grassi, Trattato, p. 72, n. 2, p. 117, n. 3. Francesco Sforza himself, as military 'condottiere', was greatly interested in the structural problem of the fortress and intervened between two quarrelling parties. A series of missives of Francesco published by Beltrami shows that he stood up for Filarete, though the architect alludes in the treatise (Bk. V, fol. 37 v) that the duke had his own opinion about the construction (Beltrami, castello, loc. cit.). Cf. Finoli-Grassi, Trattato, p. 155, n. 1.

10) Finoli-Grassi, Trattato, p. 6, n. 1. To his regret the writer could not consult “Annali della fabbrica del Duomo di Milano dall’origine fino al presente”, Vol. I, Milan, 1877. In these years, probably in 1454 Francesco dispatched Filarete to Cremona, where the Duchess, Bianca Maria, had intended to rebuild a small church in which their matrimony had been celebrated, renaming it San Gigismondo. The project of the church may well have been attributed to Filarete as well as Beltrameo Gadio. The work of Filarete at Cremona, even if undocumented, remains to be proved.

11) References to the Duomo of Bergamo appear several times in the treatise (Bk. I, fol. 1 r; Bk. III, fol. 17 r; Bk. IV, fol. 25 r; Bk. XIII, fol. 95 r; Bk. XVI, fol. 123 r). Filarete came to Bergamo primarily to supervise the construction of the Duomo at the request of the Bishop Giovanni Barozzi, who, at the same time, also consulted Filarete about the construction of a new hospital. Cf. M. Lazzaroni, A. Muñoz: “Filarete, scultore e architetto del secolo XV”, Rome, 1908, pp. 219–220 (hereafter cited as Lazzaroni-Muñoz, Filarette). See also Finoli-Grassi, Trattato, p. 460, n. 1 and B. Belotti: "Storia di Bergamo e dei Bergamaschi", Milan, 1940, II, pp. 83–84. The Cathedral of Bergamo, San Vincenzo, had been allowed to fall into disrepair during the civil confusions of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. Bishop Giovanni Barozzi commissioned Filarete to rebuild the ruined structure in the upper town. Filarete's original plan and his precise role in the construction of the Cathedral still remain to be clarified. In 1465 the Bishop became the Patriarch of Venice and deserted Bergamo. Nor could Filarete stay there long enough to bring the construction to completion because he had been involved with the work at the Ospedale Maggiore. The absence of the architect as well as the commissioner must have allowed some arbitrary fulfillment. In addition, San Vincenzo, renamed as San Alessandro in 1591, was totally renovated by Carlo Fontana in mid seventeenth century. Besides, in the nineteenth century new dome and the façade were added to the structure of Fontana. For the problems around the Cathedral of Bergamo, see Spencer, Treatise, p. 213, n. 2. By the way a short undocumented visit of Filarete in this period to Mantua has been supposed by Pigazzii. See M. Pigazzii: “La presenza dell’Averulino a Mantova e a Bergamo”, ALF, pp. 85–90.

12) Filarete went to Varese and to Venice to decorate with sculptural works some palaces owned by Francesco Sforza (Finoli-Grassi, Trattato, p. 7, n. 1 and Spencer, Treatise, p. 213, n. 2). Shortly after this work he was documented to go to Bellinzona for a maintenance work of the city wall (ibid., p. 49, n. 8 and p. 66, n. 1).

13) J.R. Spencer: “La datazione del trattato del Filarete desunta dal suo esame interno”, ‘Rivista d’Arte’, XXXI (Ann. 1956), Florence, 1958, pp. 93–103. Spencer has proved that the part of the treatise of Filarete from the ninth book to the sixteenth was written between 1461 and 1462. And from the careful examinations of the documents concerning to the Ospedale Maggiore, he appropriately judged that the greater part of the treatise from the first book to the twentieth was also made in the same period.

14) ibid.

15) V. Biagetti: “L'Ospedale Maggiore di Milano”, Milan, 1937, p. 50 ff. It is known from a capitular adjudication dated August 16, 1465 that on this date Filarete renounced his work at the Ospedale Maggiore, rejecting to
receive a part of the salary assigned to him. Cf. Lazzaroni-Mañoz, Filarete, pp. 187-194 and Finoli-Grassi, Trattato, p. 47, n. 2. Before the intervention of Guiniforte Solari Filarete had constructed the greater part of the right wing, that is, so-called Cortile della Farmacia and so-called Cortile dei Bagni with their porticoes. The windows in Lombard-Gothic style were due to Guiniforte Solari. The central part of the hospital was added in the 1600 and the left wing was built in the age of neoclassism with every regard to the imagined original style of Filarete. Cf. C. Perogalli : op. cit., p. 48, n. 2.

16) The notice, mentioned by Tigler (P. Tigler: "Die Architekturtheorie des Filarete", Berlin, 1963, p. 5), is the last documented one on the life of Filarete. A curious sudden silence in documentary sources has caused different suppositions on the post life of Filarete. Four possibilities have been proposed about the last place where Filarete closed his life: Rome (Vasari), Florence (Lazzaroni and Mañoz), Milan (Tigler), and Constantinople (Tigler, hypothetically). The last possibility is of great interest since, as Tigler has noticed, in a letter dated July 30, 1465 Francesco Filiffo introduced Filarete to his friend Georgios Amorikos at Constantinople, saying that Filarete had an intention to go there (for the letter of Filiffo see E. Legrand : "Cento-dix lettres grecques de François Filiffo", Paris, 1892, pp. 120-121).


18) Lazzaroni-Mañoz, Filarete, p. 185.


21) Lazzaroni-Mañoz, Filarete, loc. cit. The clearance of the buildings on the site allotted to the hospital is mentioned by Filarete himself in the treatise: "...che gittato per terra molti casamenti, i quali stati erano di signori passati, le quali allora succedevano a questo Signore, il quale volle che tutte fussono gittate per terra e spianato e donato il sito e ancora quelle ruine di quelli casamenti, cioè pietre, ferramenti e legame..." ("...Many houses that had formerly belonged to nobles and had now succeeded to my lord were torn down. He wanted all of them torn down and leveled, and the site and the ruins of these buildings, that is the stone, iron, and wood given to the hospital..."), Bk. XI, fol. 83v. The site was situated in the area between the city moat and the church of San Nazaro in Brolo and, according to the description of Filarete it was in the form of a rectangle of 400 braccia (ca. 235 m) by 160 braccia (ca. 94 m) divided into three parts (Bk. XI, fol. 79r). Cf. Finoli-Grassi, Trattato, p. 299, n. 1.


24) Archivio dell'Ospedale Maggiore, libro mastro 1459, fol. 3v. The writer has not yet seen this important document. The document, as far as the first time by Spencer (Spencer, Treatise, p. 145, n. 21).

25) Spencer, Documents, p. 115.

26) "...lui, imposto a questo, ch'io dovessi fare uno disegno, in primi mi domandò s'io avevo veduto quello di Firenze o quello di Siena, e se io mi ricordavo come stavano. Dissi che si. Vole volere uno certo congetto del fondamento, e io così lineato come meglio mi ricordavo gli disegni uno come quello di Firenze. Pur parendo a lui non esser sì idoneo come lui avrebbe voluto e ancora per vantaggiare gli altri, stava pure sospeso. Io avevo notato il sito e anche il bisogno; dissi che ne farei uno come a me pareva fusse conveniente al bisogno di quello edificio per che si faceva; e facendogli gran caso della comodità e nettamento degli destr..." (Bk. XI, fo 1. 79r).

27) Bk. XI, fol. 83v.

28) ibid.


36) Joannes Jacobus Gilinos, In Antiquar, Arx erat hic quondam domus est ubi & hospita virgoQua : data pauperibus munera cuncta vides----(End) Foundationis hospitalis magni Mediolani ite reformationis morum aliorum xenodochiorum et annexorum----, Milan, 1508 (British Library, 701. f. 1. (1)). This untitled pamphlet of Gilinos was published both in Italian and in Latin editions at the same time, of which the Italian edition was republished by Spinelli. See S. Spinelli : "Fundatio Magni Hospitalis Mediolanii", 'L'Ospedale Maggiore', XXIV (1936), nn. 8, 9, 10. Cf. Finoli-Grassi, Trattato, p. 298, n. 1.
アントニオ・アヴェルリーノ・フィラレーテのオスピダーレ・マッジョーレに関する序論的考察（梗概）

フィラレーテは 1451 年建築家としてミラノのフランチェスコ・スフォルツァの宮廷へ入った。ミラノでの彼の年譜はロンバルディア地方の伝統を固守していた石工達と彼との対立がよくあらわれている。この小論では、オスピダーレ・マッジョーレの理解の前提としてその建設に先立つ前史を考察する。

新病院の建設計画は 1446 年にさかのぼるが、フィラレーテがミラノに到着するまでの計画は抽象的な行政上の構想にとどまっていた。彼のミラノ到着後の史料を整理すると、次の諸点にまとめることができる。

1) 1451 年以降 1455 年までの 5 年間は病院の計画に関する史料が見あたらない。
2) 1456 年 4 月に病院の建設予定地が選定され、同年 5 月には教皇から建設許可がおりる。
3) 1456 年 6 月にフィラレーテとサンタンブロージョ

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オスピダーレ・マッジョーレはフィレンツェとシエナ両市の病院を研究するため、両都市へ赴く。
4) 1457 年 2 月 1 日に、フィラレーテはオスピダーレ・マッジョーレの建築家としてはじめての給料を受けとる。
5) マッジョーレ病院では新病院の着工式は 1457 年 4 月 12 日である。
6) スフォルツァ家に関係深い 3 つの史料、パラティヌス写本、トゥリヴルティアヌス写本のコピー、病院内にあった石板は、着工式を 1456 年 4 月 12 日とされている。

各史料の信頼度はほぼ同等と思われ、上記の各点が矛盾なく両立しうる解釈として、1456 年に建築家の変更を伴う設計変更があったことを仮定するのが自然であり、その過程でフィラレーテの新しい病院計画が生まれたと考えることができる。

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