



Reception of *Città Ideale*. Italian Renaissance cultural impact upon town planning in Poland

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The concept of the Ideal City, as developed in Italy during the 15th and 16th centuries, has produced a significant number of treatises with texts and drawings, which, largely speaking, are theoretical rather than applied. Although new Renaissance towns were quite a rare phenomenon both in Italy and in other countries, a number of such towns were constructed in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Two types of new towns were built according to their basic functions: the town-and-residence compounds were prestigious family seats combined with adjacent towns, while the “economic” towns were local trading centres. The fashionable ideas and forms of the *Città Ideale* were adopted by those towns’ founders and planners. Selected examples of Polish Renaissance towns are discussed in this paper. Apart from Zamosc (1578, designed by Bernardo Morando and often considered the most perfect Ideal City, and not only in Poland), other slightly less ideal though equally interesting town-and-residence compounds are also described: Zolkiew (1584, now Zhovkva, Ukraine) and Stanislawow (1662, now Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine). Three of the “economic” towns are also presented here: Glowow (1570, now Glogow Malopolski), Rawicz (1638) and Frampol (founded as late as c. 1717, although still of a purely Renaissance form).

Keywords: ideal cities, Renaissance planning, Polish town planning, urban composition, cross-cultural exchange

Introduction

The well-established term Ideal City is primarily associated with the Renaissance¹, principally the Italian Renaissance since it was developed in the 15th and 16th centuries mostly in Italy (and to a lesser degree in France and Germany²). Most Ideal City concepts were drawn up, described, and published in architectural and urban treatises by Italian authors, theoreticians, and practitioners of architecture and planning. They include Leon Battista Alberti (c. 1452), Filarete (c. 1464), Francesco di Giorgio Martini (c. 1476), Leonardo da Vinci (c. 1490), Sebastiano Serlio (from 1537), Pietro Cataneo (1554, 1567), Andrea Palladio (1570), Giorgio Vasari the Younger (1598), Vincenzo Scamozzi (1615), and many others. In time, their various concepts took on the generic name of “Ideal City”, which was first used by Vasari³. While their views may have differed, there were still enough features common to their towns for them to be subsumed under this term. It should also be said that they tended to express their ideas more eloquently in their drawings than in their words.

The theory lying behind the construction of ideal cities derived largely from the humanistic ideas of the Renaissance, as expressed in the art and architecture of the period. The c. 1414 re-discovery of the treatise *De Architectura Libri Decem*, written c. 20 BCE by Marcus Vitruvius Polio, is regarded as one of its direct triggers. (It was also translated into several languages, including Italian, Spanish and French in the 16th century). Vitruvius’s works, especially Book I (Chapters 4-7), contained suggestions for the location, planning and construction of towns, and those searching for an ideal city formula attempted to apply his guidelines and also to reconstruct his missing drawings. As time went on, they also wished to master the theory behind them. However, despite general admiration for his views, there were also some who expressed cautious criticism towards them⁴.

The aim was to create a town-planning formula which would meet the residents’ needs in a full and complex way, especially with regards to their health and comfortable living standards. The towns had to possess a perfect composition, and also provide appropriate protection against external attack. Theoretical considerations produced three basic types of highly regular town plans: orthogonal (gridiron), radial, and “mixed” (combining the features of both). The characteristics of ideal town planning required the insertion of a town plan into a regular polygon; using a particular measurement module, this meant the introduction of a great number of squares and plazas; the application of axial connections and other compositional interactions; and the influence of fortification geometry on the town plan. An attempt at a holistic approach to the process of town building may also be noted, as well as a tendency towards an orderly, harmonious, balanced, symmetrical, closed and complete composition, characteristic of Renaissance art and architecture .

The practical results of this theory were limited and not immediate. Town planning was only at the beginning of its separation from the discipline of architecture⁵. The scale of physical changes to Italian cities was relatively



small, especially in the 15th century⁶. Even when they increased during the next century, it mostly took the form of re-modelling existing towns and modernising their fortification systems⁷. New towns in the already quite urbanised Italian states were rare. However, from a wider perspective, the claim that the “two centuries between 1500 and 1700 in Europe are not primarily noteworthy for new towns”⁸, is not entirely borne out vis-à-vis Poland.

Reception of Renaissance in Polish town planning

The period of the most intense search for the formula of an ideal city lasted from the end of the first half of the 15th century (Alberti) till the beginning of the 17th century (Scamozzi). This was also the time when a new formula for Polish statehood appeared. In 1386, the Kingdom of Poland, reunited after its earlier division into five duchies, was nominally united with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which lay to the north-east. Two centuries later, in 1569 this actually became a reality, when the two states combined to form a Commonwealth of Two Nations. The 16th century is often referred to as Poland’s Golden Age, especially with reference to its cultural and artistic life⁹. It was a state of substantial political importance in Europe. It had a successful feudal economy; it enjoyed a high level of religious freedom; and it had an idiosyncratic ‘democratic’ system, whereby representatives of the nobility (*szlachta*), sitting in a two-chamber parliament, shared power with the monarch¹⁰. Unfortunately, this favourable period in Polish and Lithuanian history came to an end during the devastating wars waged continuously in East-Central Europe between 1648 and 1673.

At the start of the 17th century, the importance and influence of the aristocracy in the Commonwealth noticeably increased. Despite its low number (several dozen rich families as opposed to several dozen thousand *szlachta* families, and a population of c. 10 million), it became the most powerful and influential social group and dominated all the other social classes: peasants, burghers, the remaining nobles, even the King himself. These aristocratic families were responsible for the creation of a number of new towns in the late 16th century and in the 17th century.

Renaissance as an architectural style emerged in Poland at the beginning of the 16th century, after being imported into court circles, largely from Florence. Knowledge about Renaissance ideas and features penetrated into Poland via books (including treatises on architecture), travel, academic studies made abroad, for example in Padua, dynastic marriages (King Sigismund I married Bona Sforza in 1518¹¹), and other sources. It may be interesting to note that the first fully regular post service started in 1558 between Krakow and Venice, after less regular services began c. 1519).

The first work of Renaissance architecture, the arcade over the contemporary late Gothic tomb in Wawel Cathedral in Krakow, then the capital, dates back to 1502. In the same year began the complex re-modelling of the Royal Castle, which was designed and overseen by Francesco Fiorentino. And 1517 saw the construction of the magnificent mausoleum in the Cathedral by Bartolomeo Berrecci, referred to as the “best example of Renaissance architecture on this side of the Alps”¹². Over the next decades, the Renaissance style became very popular with the aristocracy, nobility, and burgher and clerical circles in many towns and cities of Poland and Lithuania.

As regards town planning, the increasing domination of aristocracy at this time was reflected in the foundation of their own private towns. Until the 15th century towns had been founded by royal decree. Although generally more numerous than Renaissance projects in Italian states, new Polish urban foundations were also quite limited in certain regions because of the existence of many medieval towns, with either regular or irregular plans. Thus new towns were established in the south and east of Poland, where, with a settlement network not yet dense enough, conditions were favourable for further urbanization. Additionally, the largest aristocratic agriculture-oriented *latifundia* were to be found in this region, some of which were even equipped with their own private armies and judicial system. Between 1570 and 1670 (with one significant later exception), they built a number of new private towns, some of which reveal the impact of the ideal city theory. From the urban point of view, two major groups of new foundations may be distinguished.

The town-and-residence compounds and the “economic” towns

The Renaissance towns in the Commonwealth, most of which were founded from scratch (*in cruda radice*), fall into two basic groups according to their principal functions: town-and-residence compounds and “economic” towns. The former, founded by wealthy aristocratic families, contained an impressive residence with an adjacent town, both protected by a fortification system. However, being the works of a specific functional system and original urban form, they were relatively rare. Their founders were rich, ambitious, highly educated representatives of their social class, and their new private towns were intended, apart from other functions, to



serve as a visible sign of the importance and prestige of their families. The fashionable ideas and forms of the *Città Ideale*, which were already known to Italian urban planners, proved to be a fruitful source for them to mime. In addition to these relatively large towns, which were family seats, landowners also needed a considerable number of smaller (in terms of population rather than size) towns whose function, purely economic, was to organise trading and crafts across their vast *latifundia*. Dozens of these were established, some of which received extremely regular and well-composed plans. Some of the “economic” towns had much simpler plans and tended to be established by less wealthy noble families as part of the economic organisation of the surrounding farmlands, since the export of grain was the base of Poland’s economy at the time.

Some of the new towns, of both types, were granted plans of a Renaissance character. They followed theoretical proposals to a various degree and in some cases also featured traditional elements, typical of Medieval town planning¹³. Below are discussed six Renaissance cases: three town-and-residence compounds and three “economic” towns. Each description starts with the town’s origin and its urban form and ends with its relation to Italian Renaissance town planning. In the first group are Zamosc, Zolkiew, Stanislawow, and in the latter Glowow, Rawicz, Frampol (original names).

Town-and-residence compounds were complex structures and consisted usually of three main components: the owner’s residence (palace or castle), the town proper, a ring of fortifications¹⁴. These elements can be spatially connected in different ways, thereby defining their composition. Four subgroups may be identified and distinguished (Figure 1), each featuring a clear compositional axis which linked the palace to the city proper, the latter constructed on a regular gridiron plan, centred on a market square: simple link; compositional link (e.g. Zolkiew); closed compositional link (e.g. Zamosc and Stanislawow); free link¹⁵. Renaissance features can be seen in compounds as a whole and/or in their particular components.

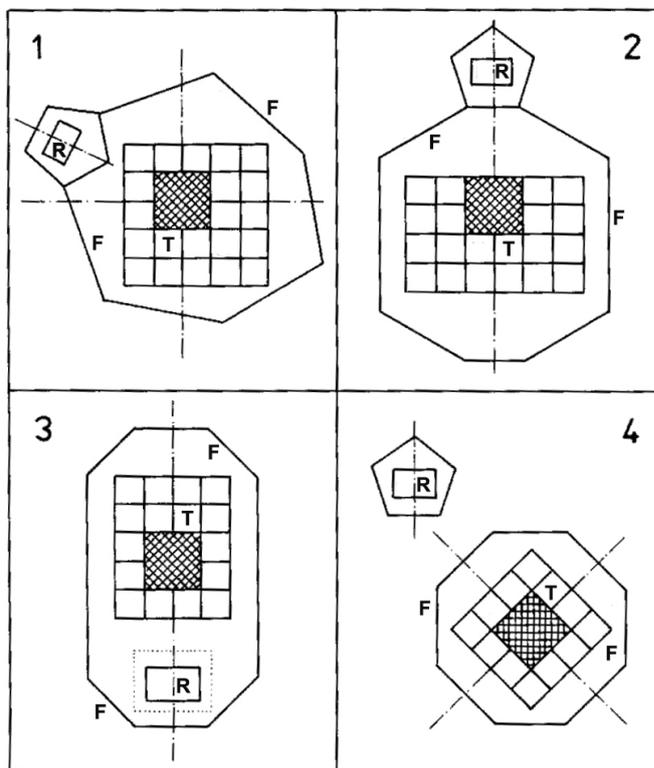


Figure 1. Schemes of the four basic types of Renaissance town-and-residence compounds: simple link (1), compositional link (2), closed compositional link (3) and free link (4). R – residence, T – town, F – fortifications. The market square area is hatched. Evaluation by Mieczysław Książek, drawing by Maciej Motak.

In the “economic” towns, there was no residence and in most of them there were no fortifications either. Due to the simplicity of most plans, their subgrouping is based on the proportion of “modern” Renaissance features versus traditional Medieval ones, rather than on the shapes of the plan. The cases under discussion date back to different years, and even centuries: Glowow was founded in the 16th century, Rawicz in the 17th and Frampol – only in the 18th, although the impact of the Renaissance impact may be noted in all three.

All six cases are illustrated with the plans of the towns as built by the 17th or 18th century (Figure 2).

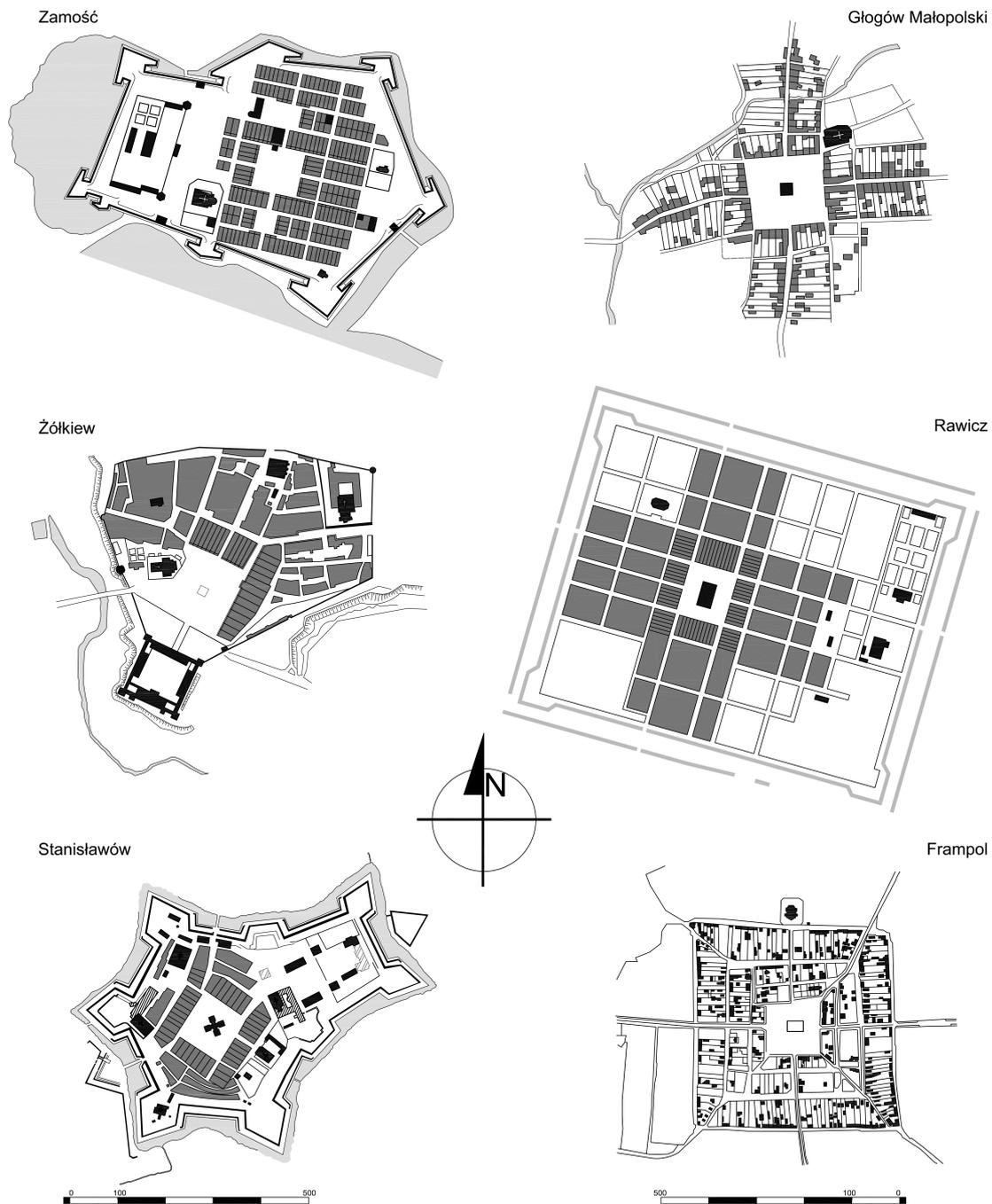


Figure 2. The schemes of the built plans of residence-and-town compounds (on the left, top to bottom: Zamosc, Zolkiew, Stanislawow) and of “economic” towns (on the right, top to bottom: Glowow, Rawicz, Frampol), as of the 18th century. Public buildings are shown in black while residential blocks – in dark grey (except for Frampol for its specific structure). Based on the and own research and the compilation of plans and maps. Evaluation by Maciej Motak, drawing by Maciej Kapolka.

Zamosc

This was one of the earliest and most perfectly planned Renaissance urban projects. The town was chartered in 1580 by Jan Zamoyski (1542-1605), Chancellor of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Army. The town proper was placed near the residence. The residence area contained the palace, back-buildings, gardens and



armory. Both the town proper and the residence were enclosed within a ring of modern bastion fortifications according to the New Italian System. The town proper was laid out within the square plan (c. 360 by 360 m) in accordance with a regular, modular orthogonal network, with the market square at its centre (also square, 100 by 100 m). Two compositional axes crossed in the very centre of the market square: the latitudinal, very gently bent, linked the market square with the residence (whose gate tower closed the vista of the street leading to it), while the longitudinal linked the ceremonial market square with two smaller, ancillary squares of everyday commercial use. The crossing point of the two axes – the town's focal point – was neither emphasised nor even marked in any way, although its presence was indisputably felt. An important feature of Zamosc is its three-dimensional composition. The centre of the town is marked by the town hall tower which stands out slightly from the northern frontage of the market square, around which there are numerous (c. 280 – by 1605) two- or three-storey burgher houses, which are in turn surrounded by large volumes of public edifices – the Academy and the temples of several faiths. The Collegiate Church, the Zamoyski palace, and the Academy (only the third in the Commonwealth) symbolise the three powers: Soul, Politics, and Science.



Figure 3. 1930s view of the Zamosc town hall as seen from under the arcades of the market square. The photograph by Adam Lenkiewicz c. 1938.

The Zamosc plan partly resembles a theoretical plan of Pietro Cataneo (1567), in which town and fortress were to be linked by the compositional axis, with the ancillary squares complementing the main square. The impact of Italian town planning theory on Zamosc is also revealed in the use of regular polygons. The quadrangle of the town proper plan was carefully placed within the pentagon of the fortifications plan, which was extended westwards to embrace the residence. The continuous arcaded passages around the market square and along other streets are another sign of Italian influence. Last but not the least, one should note the personal connection. Zamosc was designed by the architect Bernardo Morando (c. 1540-1600), who came to Poland from Padua (Padova). Jan Zamoyski probably met him while studying in Padua and in 1578 commissioned from him a project for his family seat¹⁶. Morando lived and worked in Zamosc until the end of his life and he was responsible for numerous architectural projects there: the Zamoyski palace complex, the town hall (Figure 3), the Collegiate Church, the Academy, the fortifications, and burgher townhouses including his own. After his death, local masters followed his style (Greek Catholic Church, Synagogue etc.).



Zolkiew (now: Zhovkva, Ukraine)

Owing to Zamosc's pioneering character, its large scale, and the superior quality of its town plan and architecture, it became a model to be emulated by other urban compounds with a similar functional-spatial structure. An early example is the town of Zolkiew, founded in 1594 (officially chartered in 1603) by Jan Zamoyski's closest collaborator, namely Vice-Chancellor and Deputy Commander-in-Chief, Stanislaw Zolkiewski (1547-1620). Zolkiew is of similar size, though less regular than Zamosc and was formed by three components: the Zolkiewski castle, the town proper, and a ring of somewhat obsolete walls. The compositional axis linked the castle with the market square (in the middle of which originally stood the town hall), via the high street, which led to the town gate, next to which was the synagogue. This regular, composed strip of town building was adjoined by less regular districts on the eastern and western sides, as there were already small settlements there, whose presence the founder decided to respect.

The relation of Zolkiew to the Italian Renaissance is weaker than that of Zamosc and seems to be of a more indirect character – through borrowings acquired via Zamosc. The axial composition and arcaded passages along two frontages of the market square show a definite influence, and also of note are certain symbolic connotations. The places of worship might originally have been located in accordance with a determined topographical order, and the four city gates led to the four corners of the world. Although authorship of the Zolkiew town plan remains uncertain, it now seems quite likely that he was an Italian architect working in Lviv, Paolo Il Felice¹⁷.

Stanislawow (now: Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine)

Stanislawow is a relatively late example of a town-and-residence compound. It was founded in 1662 by the *chorazy* (Flag-Bearer) Andrzej Potocki (c. 1630-1691), who was later to become an influential statesman. The compound consisted of three originally composed elements: the Potocki family residence (never finished), the town proper (its simple plan rotated by 45 degrees in relation to the town-residence axis) and the exceptionally regular ring of bastion fortifications of the Dutch system – hexagonal, although elongated in order to embrace the residence, and further equipped with two ravelins. The 45-degree rotation was repeated in the cross plan of the town hall, which was built in the centre of the market square, its tower symbolising the municipality and its four wings offering retail spaces. Like Zamosc, Stanislawow was one of more important fortresses in the Commonwealth.

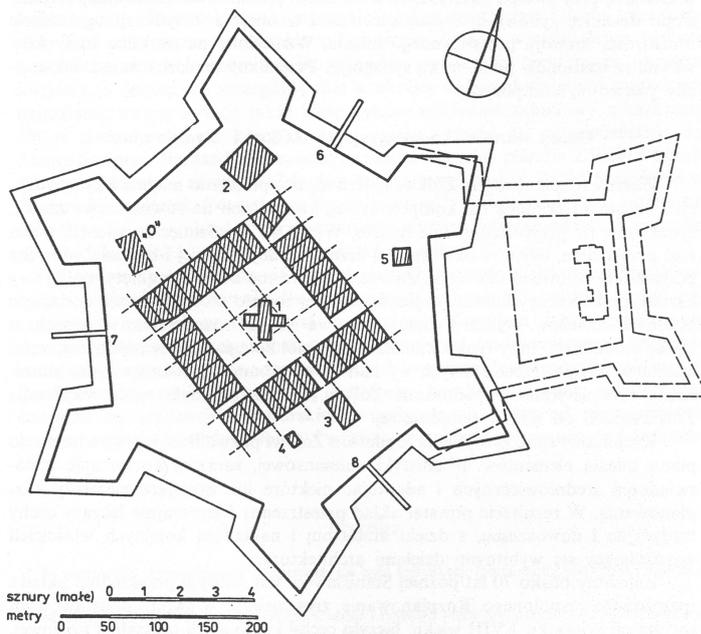


Figure 4. Hypothetical hexagonal plan of Stanislawow c. 1670 and its further north-east elongating extension. The scale is marked in so-called short rods (above) and metres (below). Evaluation and drawing by Maciej Motak.

In Stanislawow, as in Zolkiew, one notes significant, although probably indirect, borrowings from Renaissance town planning but also, unlike Zolkiew, some over-formation characteristic at the transition period from Renaissance to Baroque urban art. Three-dimensionally, the skyline of Stanislawow is close to that of Zamosc. The residence in its planned shape was already close to the Baroque plan. The same could be noted of the



elongation of the entire compound plan. However, in its first phase Stanislawow may have received a perfectly hexagonal plan¹⁸, which was elongated after several years to include the planned palace into a ring of fortifications (Figure 4). The symbolic order of the location of the places of worship turned out to be more permanent than in Zolkiew¹⁹. The simplified plan of the town and the sophisticated plan of the fortifications seem to support the speculation that the fortification planner, Francesco Corassini of Avignon, was responsible for the whole compound²⁰.

Glowow (now: Glogow Malopolski)

The very first Polish town to receive a Renaissance form was Glowow, which was founded in 1570 in eastern Malopolska in the south of Poland. Its founder was a modest nobleman, Krzysztof Glowa (-1582), Castellan of Polaniec and also Royal Secretary, perhaps a man of more far-reaching ambition than this post would imply²¹. The town functions were mainly commerce and agriculture. The town plan was very regular, based on the square of the whole town (c. 500 by 500 m) and nearly the square of the centrally located market square (160 by 150 m), both crossed symmetrically by two compositional axes leading along streets from the market square into the four corners of the world. The town hall was built in the centre of the large market square, its volume closing the views from all four streets leading to the market square. Four ancillary squares were laid out at each corner of the market square, which were intended to be built up with public buildings (only the Parish Church was built at this time). Lots for 120 burghers' houses were laid out along the market square frontages and the four main streets.

The Glowow plan resembles to some extent certain plans by Pietro Cataneo (1554) but these did not feature a building in the market square. Closing a street with a view of a building in the square appeared in the works of Baldassare Perruzzi and Sebastiano Serlio. Ancillary squares were also typical of many Renaissance concepts. In addition, the strong emphasis of the cross composition of the two main arteries refers to the fundamental scheme of ancient Roman town planning favoured by Renaissance Italian town planners. There is some dispute as to the unsolved attribution of the Glowow plan, although it gently favours an Italian personal connection²². There is also an hypothesis that the original plan of Glowow could have been be of a radial type, but there is no convincing proof of this²³.

Rawicz

Rawicz was founded in 1638 by a local influential noble, Adam Olbracht Przyjemski (1590-1644) as town for craftsmen, in Wielkopolska, in western Poland. The town plan was enclosed within a slightly elongated rectangle, its dimensions c. 780 by 660 m. It is an orthogonal plan, with a very regular street network and an almost centrally located rectangular market square (100 by 120 m). There are three streets along each longer frontage and two streets along each shorter frontage, the elongation of the town hall plan corresponding to the elongation of the market square. The corner areas of the town were initially left unbuilt, with the intention that they be built up later. Another, smaller, square was laid out in the east of the town. Quite rarely for "economic" towns, simple fortifications were built soon around Rawicz, which developed quickly and successfully, reaching over 300 houses in the late 17th century.

In the case of Rawicz, it is quite difficult to point to direct Italian patterns. The town was probably planned by Michael Flandrin, of Flemish origin, a military engineer from Wroclaw. The founder himself had studied in Bavaria. A certain similarity of the Rawicz plan to the French town of Richelieu (1638) and presence of the French-refugee town of Erlangen, near Nuremberg in Bavaria (1684) has been noted²⁴. If correct, that would mean either a very quick transfer of the original source, or rather a reference to the later re-planning of the town. The town plan bears also a similarity to the towns laid out in accordance with the Laws of the Indies in Spanish colonies²⁵. It can be seen, apart from the regularity and scale, in the proportions of the market square. All in all, the original plan of Rawicz seems to have a lot in common with ideal city patterns, though they were probably transferred via non-Italian channels.

Frampol

Frampol was constructed in the Lublin region – the centre of Poland at the time and now eastern Poland. It was founded in 1717, or slightly later, by Marek Antoni Butler, a modest local noble. It is therefore a very late work of the Renaissance period to which it belongs stylistically and could perhaps be seen as a post-Renaissance town. It is the only Polish example of a Renaissance town whose plan is not entirely orthogonal – a so-called mixed plan, combining features of gridiron and radial plans. It uses the square-shape plan (500 by 500 m). As many as eight streets leave the centrally located market square (with the town hall built originally in the very centre) – four perpendicular from the mid-frontages and four diagonal from the corners. Three strips of buildings surround



the market square, although the innermost one was probably added in the 19th century, diminishing the oversized surface of the market square from 225 x 225 m to 140 x 140 m. The characteristic element of the most external belt of buildings, inhabited by farmers, are their private “town barns” along the town limits, beyond which there were individual narrow farmlands (Figure 5).



Figure 5. The barns lining the most external streets and town limits of Frampol. The photograph by Maciej Motak, 1994.

In Frampol there is a striking similarity to one of the most precise and mature concept projects of the ideal city, i.e., by Giorgio Vasari the Younger (1598)²⁶. Eight axes crossing one another at the very centre of both the plan and the market square with its town hall as well as the disposition of ancillary squares are definitely Vasari-like features. The town Vasari drew and described was, however, octagonal and fortified. The transfer of that pattern and the name of the author of the Frampol plan unfortunately remain unknown.

Conclusion

One must begin the conclusion with the fact that there were more towns with Renaissance features in the territories of the former Commonwealth than the six presented above. Other examples of town-and-residence compounds are Brody (1584, with the 1630s fortifications by Andrea dell’Aqua), Szarogrod Podolski (1585), Wisnicz Nowy (1616); of the “economic” towns – Oleszyce (1576), Tomaszow Lubelski (1590), an extension of Grodzisk Wielkopolski (1593).

The six towns briefly discussed above still bear – to a varied extent – the features they were bestowed with when they were founded and laid out. Since most of them have since grown in size, the Renaissance compounds discussed here now form the centres of towns of various sizes, although they have retained their original composition. This is most noticeable in the heart of each town, its market square (Figure 6). The original regular plan has helped keep the same spatial order. In addition, all six towns, both in Poland and Ukraine, enjoy a good reputation for the preservation of their urban and architectural heritage, with numerous listed buildings. The town that stands out particularly is Zamosc, a splendid example of an ideal city, recognised since 1992 as the World Heritage Site.

The cultural impact of the Italian Renaissance upon town planning in Poland has been expressed in a number of ways and has left traceable marks. In all the discussed cases there is a direct and/or indirect following of theoretical plans, as well as particular features generally present in ideal city concepts, such as regularity, symmetry, balance, and the more specific ones like the primary straight street, gridiron and enclosed space²⁷. The compositional axis, or axes, has played an important role in all cases. The main, regular, centrally located market square was usually accompanied by ancillary squares (two in Zamosc, four in Glowow, one in Rawicz, four in Frampol). The town hall was deliberately located in the middle of the market square (five cases) or in its frontage (Zamosc). In some cases (Zamosc, Stanislawow) there is a conscious three-dimensional care shown for the town skyline and volume, which goes well beyond the typical, two-dimensional planning concept. Some of the authors of the projects were Italian architects (in Zamosc, Zolkiew, perhaps Glowow) and all the authors showed a good understanding of the concept of ideal city, which they shared with those who commissioned them



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– the town founders. In addition to this, Italian Renaissance influence on Polish town-planning may be noted in other fields, such as fortifications (especially of Zamosc), and in the general attention shown to harmonious and balanced urban composition.

The non-Italian influence (French, German) upon Polish Renaissance town planning cannot be missed or omitted. Moreover, some of the local Polish masters (builders, surveyors) learnt quickly from external sources and successfully implemented the principles of the new style. However, it was the Italian Renaissance that was mostly responsible for introducing the Renaissance town planning into Poland and, to a large extent, for its further development and substantial achievements. Combined with the necessary adjustments to local topography, as well as individual conditions and requirements, it resulted in a number of noteworthy Renaissance-built new towns.

Within these deliberations on cross-cultural impact, one might also recall its 20th-century obverse. The 1598 book by Giorgio Vasari the Younger was actually found, translated and edited by a Polish historian, Teresa Zarebska, in 1962.



Figure 6. Contemporary views of the Renaissance market squares. Founded as residence-and-town compounds (on the left, top to bottom): Zamosc with the town hall (phot. 2012); Zhovkva with the collegiate church and partly lost frontage (phot. 2006); Ivano-Frankivsk with the town hall modernised in c. 1930 (phot. 2004). Founded as “economic” towns (on the right, top to bottom): Glogow Malopolski with the town hall (phot. 2014); Rawicz with the town hall (phot. 2014); Frampol with the parish church as seen from the market square (phot. 1994). The photographs by Maciej Motak.



Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

Maciej Motak, PhD, DSc, architect and academic, carries out research into the history of architecture and urban forms, heritage protection, contemporary architecture. He is the author of 4 books including *Outline of the History of the Urban Development of Krakow* and over 90 research papers or chapters. He edits and translates books on architecture and planning into Polish. He is a Poland-licensed architect, the author or co-author of c. 35 built projects of residential and public buildings, and (in teams) of 12 competition entries in the fields of architecture and planning.

Endnotes

¹ J. S. Curl recalls "Renaissance period" and "Renaissance designers" of the *citta ideale*. James Stevens Curl, *A Dictionary of Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 332.

² The German and French cases were discussed e.g. by G. Münter. Georg Münter, *Idealstädte. Ihre Geschichte vom 15.–17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1957), 66-98.

³ The treatise by Vasari the Younger was translated and edited by Teresa Zarebska to be published as *Miasto idealne kawalera Giorgio Vasariego: obmyślone i narysowane w roku 1598* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962).

⁴ It can be noted e.g. in the work of Pietro Cataneo. Teresa Zarebska, *Teoria urbanistyki włoskiej XV i XVI wieku* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971), 103.

⁵ Teresa Zarebska, who thoroughly studied and perfectly reviewed most of the Italian treatises, pointed to the fact it was only "in statu nascendi". *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶ Nicholas Adams, Laurie Nussdorfer, *The Italian City, 1400-1600* [in:] *Italian Renaissance architecture from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, ed. Henry A. Millon (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 205, 220.

⁷ Anthony Edwin James Morris, *History of Urban Form Before The Industrial Revolution* (Harlow: Longman, 1994), 159.

⁸ Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped. Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 111.

⁹ Marcin Fabianski, *Złoty Krakow* (Krakow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2010); Norman Davies, *God's Playground. A History of Poland*, vol. 1 *The Origins to 1795* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

¹⁰ Norman Davies, *ibid.*

¹¹ Maria Bogucka explains that the marriage of Sigismundus and Bona was an important event, though not a crucial one – one of the series of events that helped transfer Italian culture to Poland. Maria Bogucka, *Bona Sforza* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 2004), 88.

¹² The chapel was first called this way ("a pearl of Renaissance architecture...") by the renowned and meticulous 19th-century architect and historian of art August von Essenwein, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale der Stadt Krakau* (Graz: Lith. Anst. v. Th. Schneider, 1866), 91-92.

¹³ The urban historian has emphasised that only a small part of towns founded in the Renaissance time can actually be called Renaissance ones for their stylistic features. Wojciech Kalinowski, *Zarys historii budowy miast w Polsce do połowy XIX wieku* (Torun: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1966), 223.

¹⁴ Some smaller compounds had no fortifications or they only protected the residence.

¹⁵ Mieczysław Książek, *Zagadnienia genezy rozplanowania i typologii miast prywatnych XVI i XVII wieku w południowej Małopolsce* (Krakow: Politechnika Krakowska, 1988), 156-161.

¹⁶ Jerzy Kowalczyk, *Morando Bernardo*, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 21, 1976, 693.

¹⁷ Maciej Motak, *Elementy nowatorskie i tradycyjne w kompozycji urbanistycznej wybranych renesansowych założen miejsko-rezydencjonalnych w Polsce* [in:] *Studia z historii architektury i urbanistyki* (Krakow: Politechnika Krakowska, 1999), 213.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 210-211.

¹⁹ Siergiej Krawcow, *Stanisławów w XVII-XVIII w. Układ przestrzenny i jego symbolika*, *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* vol. 38, 1993, 9-12.

²⁰ Maciej Motak, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

²¹ Franciszek Kotula, *Głowow. Renesansowe miasteczko*, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* b. 1, 1954, 4.

²² The dispute was reported and summed up by J. Kowalczyk in: Jerzy Kowalczyk, *Głowow. The enigma of the plan for the first Renaissance town in Poland*, *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, b. 4, 2012, 51. It was pointed to the fact that the owner, being a royal secretary, was close to Polish-Italian cultural exchange.

²³ *Ibid.*, 42, 45.

²⁴ Tadeusz Pawłowski, *Unikalny układ urbanistyczny Rawicza* (Accessed November 23, 2017; March 25, 2018).

²⁵ The Laws of the Indies are discussed in numerous publications, e.g., John William Reys, *The Making of Urban America. A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 26-32, who also presents it in light of the possible impact by Vitruvian and Alberti's views.

²⁶ Noted, e.g., by Georg Münter, *op. cit.*, 96.

²⁷ A. E. J. Morris, *op. cit.*, 161-163. No Polish example was quoted in this extensive review of world history of urban form.

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Image sources

Figure 1. Evaluation by Mieczysław Książek, drawing by Maciej Motak, 1999. Published in: M. Motak, *op. cit.*, 1999, redrawn 2018.

Figure 2. Evaluation by Maciej Motak, drawing by Maciej Kapolka, 2017. Unpublished.

Figure 3. Photograph by Adam Lenkiewicz, c. 1938 (published as a postcard by Lwów: Książnica Atlas, 1939), Original postcard from the author's archive.

Figure 4. Evaluation and drawing by Maciej Motak, 1999. Published in: M. Motak, *op. cit.*, 1999.

Figure 5. Photograph by Maciej Motak, 1994, from the author's archive. Unpublished.

Figure 6. Photographs by Maciej Motak, 1994-2014, from the author's archive. Unpublished.