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Sicily: the contradictions of the territory within the Bourbon land registry of the first half of the XIX century

Teresa Cannarozzo

The maps that the present article deals with are the cartographical attachments of the *Amendment of land registry* that marquis Vincenzo Mortillaro di Villarena started making on behalf of Ferdinand II of Bourbon, King of the Kingdom of the two Sicilies, in 1833 (1). The collection of maps, which was bought by the Regional department of the cultural heritage, sparing it careless treatment, and recently published in its integral form, comes from the private Mortillaro-Tumminello archives, which have been kept and preserved for a long time by the family's descendants. The collection comprises two general maps of Sicily and 424 more maps, most of them in colour, partially showing the territories of Sicilian municipalities and plans of cities (2).

The reformation of the Sicilian land registry

Once the Kingdom of the two Sicilies attained political definition (Sicily was magnificently named "Royal Lands beyond the lighthouse"), the King started rearranging his Kingdom as well as the administrative division of the territory.

That was a particularly turbulent and riotous period of time, marked by political reshuffles, insurrections and subsequent repressions, recurring cholera epidemics, but mainly by constant long-standing conflicts between Sicily and the Court of Naples, the political ambitions of the Sicilian parliament and the Monarchy's orders and restrictions. It was also a period of outstanding

reforms that would later bring about the shift from the feudal system to our present-day system (3). The structure of the territory as illustrated by these cadastral maps complies with the political and administrative reforms that had then been implemented: the territory was subdivided into seven provinces called 'intendancies', each administered by an 'intendant', corresponding to the present-day role of the Italian prefect, and by a board made up of five members (4). In their turn, the provinces were subdivided into districts administered by 'underintendants'. The Marquis Vincenzo Mortillaro di Villarena was a well-educated and highly learned man, had an encyclopaedic background, and was a *grand commis* of the government. He used to carry out the tasks he was entrusted with quite zealously and started an uninterrupted and assiduous exchange of letters with officials serving within each single municipality in order to receive the mapping of the respective territories (5). The whole affair, among other things, did not develop straightforwardly: the method by which the initiative had been expected to be carried out was even thought over and revised, especially for the creation of maps and measurements of municipal territories. Some scholars argue that despite the lack of topographical surveys of landed properties and the subsequent difficulty in assessing and ascertaining the size of each single property, the new Sicilian land registry proved to be extremely helpful in mitigating the serious disproportions that had marked the previous tax system, thus adjusting taxation in small municipalities and proposing

innovative regulations that indirectly boosted farming and house building (6).

The disappearance of the maps

The crumbling of the Bourbon Kingdom, however, was already in the air; it was doomed to disappear a few years later under the pressure of unification urges and Mortillaro was far too wary and wise a man to underestimate the general scenery within which his work was to take place (7). He probably realised that his client was no longer trustworthy and reliable and that he would not be able to carry out his tasks anyway. By now, we can assume that the marquis decided he could keep the collection for himself and try later to relaunch it under a different guise. This is the way we should construe his attempt, between 1857 and 1858, to publish the maps on his private wealth to create a *General Book of topographical, historical, geographical, and statistical maps of Sicily*, in the form of instalments that could be booked and bought by all those who were interested in (8).

Eventually, the collection was locked away in a wooden chest and for over a century its whereabouts became unknown. Nor were the descendants of Mortillaro aware of its existence. The chest was found by chance under the ruins of a building owned by Mortillaro's heirs, within the territory of the municipality of Montevago, which was razed to the ground by the Belice earthquake in 1968, was then moved to Palermo and eventually forced open, even though its contents were not immediately identified.

A number of years later, Salvatore Pietravalle-Tumminello, a scrupulous heir and keeper of the Mortillaro-Tumminello's archives, realised the

historical worth of the maps and reported it for official acknowledgement by the Record Office (9).

The fact that the maps had not previously been filed with the Record Office, but were accidentally discovered by Mortillaro's descendants, confirms the assumption that the initiative had been abruptly interrupted. This assumption is also backed by the incompleteness of the collection and poor finishing of the maps. As a matter of fact, the maps were usually endorsed and stamped with royal seal only when they were judged to be meeting special requirements.

The cadastral maps as fragments of history and local culture

Our interest in this collection is not based on their nature as more or less imperfect original documents accompanying the cadastral reforms ordered by Ferdinand II, but rather on the present-day role the maps have acquired after over a hundred years since their creation. As a matter of fact, if we consider the maps going beyond their original 'use', they can be seen as an extraordinary historical source allowing us to read and interpret the zoning of the territory as well as the outline of the cities of the XIX century. These maps are extremely important since they bear the marks of the slow changes that took place during previous centuries and make it possible for us to interpret the Sicilian territory from a number of different points of view, thus offering a remarkable view on the agricultural landscape, the rough forms of infrastructures of that time, the geographical and naturalistic peculiarities of that period, the productive resources, the structure of cities, the quality of the non-residential building heritage, especially of churches,

convents and monasteries. In the vast mosaic of the historical iconography of the Sicilian territory, cadastral maps are the tesserae that were thought to be forever lost, since they are some way in between the cartography and landscaping works produced between XVI and XVIII centuries and the first cadastral plans drawn after the establishment of the unitary State in 1870 (10). These maps are a documentary evidence of some of the aspects of local culture: as a matter of fact they give us a description of the professional level of the technicians who embarked upon the hard task of graphically represent vast and complex territorial contexts, where even moving from one district to the other proved to be extremely difficult. They were drawn by land surveyors, town-planners, engineers and even agronomists who were variably capable of taking measurements, drawing, paging and writing in a refined way, and more or less able to decorate plates with refined scroll ornaments and accurate inscriptions. It appears clear that the task of creating these maps was supposed to comply with specific directions which, however, were often not respected: creators were asked to specify the date of creation (which is sometimes missing), indicate cardinal points, the graphic scale and unit of measurement (11). The maps referring to municipal territories are drawn to a scale varying from 1:15,000 and 1:25,000; maps of city centres between 1:1,000 and 1:2,000. The best maps are characterised by a reference grid used to best monitor its scale. Both territorial and city maps are drawn using Indian ink and coloured in pastels or watercolours; the colour

nuances mainly used to draw territorial and urban sections are green, sky-blue and pink in their very light shades; the uniformity and consistency of the colours might be an indication of the attempt to comply with specific instructions. City centres were subdivided into areas which, in their turn, were parcelled out into sections and sections into 'blocks of houses'. Each building could be thus located by neighbourhood, section, block and street numbers. Also the maps of city centres are quite heterogeneous from the quality point of view of differing drawing techniques and graphical expertise.

Municipal territories

The maps of the municipal territories show the names of neighbouring municipalities, administrative blocks, road networks, location of the main built-up areas, villages, natural barriers such as rivers and valleys, cadastral sections with relevant sizes, type of cultivated crops, steep lands, woods, fencing systems of estates, scattered dwellings, and areas planted with trees. The latter are often only symbolically indicated and off scale with indications of each single tree and shadow. Owing to the evident reasons related to the goals of these surveys, the maps of provinces show indications of former feuds, state properties, and production facilities. These latter include *tonnare* (buildings used for preserving and processing tuna fish), saltworks, scattered all over the territory of the Trapani district and along the coast of Siracusa, watermills near streams, mines, sulphur mines, limestone mines, oil mills, grinding wheels, wine presses, and storehouses.

A body of more or less accurate inscriptions describe the various elements. However not all maps provide homogeneous information as per quality and quantity. Some of them are characterised by indisputable graphical mastery, as well as the technical ability to provide exhaustive descriptions of the territory and built-up areas without any off-scale element.

This category includes one of the most interesting maps of the collection: *The topographical map of the territory of Paceco*, a village located within the provincial district of Trapani, which is the one and only map displaying the subdivision of some parts of the territory into numbered 'parcels' with landowners' names (12). The map, along with this particular indication, that proves that the maker was well acquainted with parcelled geometrical cadastral maps drawn in other areas of Italy, also contains an image of bygone times: a small three-dimensional picture of the town of Trapani placed on the right upper side, so as to facilitate comprehension of context. The map is also worth looking at for its elegant chromatic combinations and for the wealth of elements described in a comprehensive legend: there are indications of rivers Xitta e Baiata, of wide areas used as salt pits, layouts of main built-up areas and the various districts that have preserved their original names up to present day. Striking is also the accuracy of the indications of territorial connections and routes of 'royal cattle-tracks' which still nowadays make up the fundamental structure of the territorial road network. However, there are also maps that did not comply at all with drawing instructions, offering very particular

representations, as a direct result of the makers' personal fancy. This is the case of Belmonte Mezzagno, drawn with dark-colour strokes which should remind us of the undulation of the ground; as a result, mountains and hills appear as craters and the entire map has a web-like aspect making it quite similar to a piece of tapestry (13). The Piraino map is worth mentioning among the most extravagant ones, giving a single representation of both territory and city centre (1852); the latter is drawn in black and white squares and is totally off-scale, much alike an 'optical' picture than anything else. Some other maps show that their makers made very little efforts to provide a graphical depiction of the undulation and geographical features of the territory; some more maps totally lack indications of measurements and legends; some other show built-up areas and road networks way off-scale; some other maps show a combination of planimetric representations and rough spatial views, where inhabited areas and settlements are scattered all over the place in pseudo-axonometric projections which remind us of a simplified version of XV and XVI century *capbrusi* (cadastral inventories). As a matter of fact, in those maps which are technically less refined, one can notice considerable mistrust and caution towards purely two-dimensional representations, since these were considered to be poorly exhaustive and not completely clear. This is the reason why three-dimension pictures or images in elevation were frequently introduced to show the altimetry of the territory, inhabited areas, non-urban buildings, bridges, aqueducts. As an example, one can take a look at the

plan of the municipal territory of Pozzallo (once intendency of Noto, and presently located within the provincial district of Ragusa), where the territory and the inhabited area are illustrated using two different scales, and the latter is drawn in perspective from bottom to top for unclear reasons (14). This category includes the map of the territory of Misilmeri, just outside the city limits of Palermo: the territory and the built-up area are drawn in some kind of perspective, whereas bridges and aqueducts are drawn in elevation; despite Palermo is located at a very short distance, the graphical technique is dreadfully out-of-date and quite similar to that used during the XVI century, with a time lag of three hundred years (15). Also the beautifully drawn and vividly coloured map of the municipal territory of Trabia show settlements in three-dimension aerial views (16). Among enjoyable but rough maps we can include the colourful plan of Castellammare, located in the provincial district of Trapani, where mountains are drawn definitely in elevation (17). Similarly, the map of the territory of Campobello di Mazara, in the same province, mentions the toponyms of the villages scattered along its coastline (which today have become synonyms of uncontrolled unauthorised building) shows yellow coastal dunes, strangely drawn as geometrical pyramids (18). Another remarkable example is the map of the wide municipal territory of Monreale, which, despite the closeness to Palermo, seems to be coming out of medieval times since it weaves two-dimensional representations of rivers and village limits with the perspective representation of hills and

settlements. The province of Palermo redeems itself through the map of the municipal territory of Solanto characterised by rather refined shapes and elegant watercolours (19). The map comprises the settlements of Santa Flavia, Casteldaccia, Porticello and Sant'Elia, and shows a precious legend called "Plate of Elucidation". The sophisticated name of the legend and the high degree of definition of the map are a clear indication of the amazingly unusual cultural level of the maker. Whatever the case may be, the maps are one of the most sumptuous evidence of the culture and economy of that age, of its contradictions between past and present, and even those maps which seem to have been drawn by children's hands achieve autonomous artistic value thanks to the graceful make-up of the pages and the combination of graphical signs and pictorial elements. Undoubtedly this category includes *The sketch of the map of the municipal territory and village of Capaci and the Map of the municipal territory of Santacaterina divided into four sections to be used for a correction of the land registry*. The territorial maps generally dedicate great care to the system of infrastructures made up of the articulated road network (roads are divided into carriageways, provincial roads, consular roads, and 'cattle-tracks') and the distinction of water resources into sources, springs and drinking troughs. The latter are also marked on city maps with great accuracy, thus underlining how important they were for the management of herds and flocks. Through sample surveys we were able to ascertain that the present-

day road network, extensively running through the whole Sicilian territory, in most cases still match the routes that were originally marked on the maps. Territorial infrastructures include safely enclosed graveyards, quite often belonging to Capuchins' monasteries, harbours and commercial ports of call (mainly used for farm produces and sulphur), fortresses, baronial castles, coastal towers, bridges and aqueducts; the latter are often drawn in elevation, or in confused perspectives to explain clearly what it was all about. Among infrastructures, some progress-sensitive technicians indicated telegraphs, as on the maps of Palma di Montechiaro and Cinisi. Great care was dedicated to convents and sanctuaries located outside the inhabited area, being *ante litteram* social facilities of the territory, and to the houses which were scattered all over the area where also farms were located. There are always indications of rivers, streams, *lavinai* (20), valleys and coastlines that are highlighted by the blue line of the sea on maps with greater pictorial worth, as in the drawings signed by Spannocchi, Merelli, and Negro who used gradually softening colour nuances (21). The map of Lentini (intendency of Noto) also shows two small lacustrine areas named "pantano" and "bevaio" above which flights of birds are depicted (22). The maps of Aci Castello and Aci Trezza shows the stacks near the coast, and since the two villages are located at the foot of Etna volcano also "grazing lands with volcanic stones" and "pastures covered with sciara (magma and lava debris)" (23) are indicated; the map of Aci S. Antonio shows indications of *lava* and *sciara* (24); while the

map of Bronte bears the signs of eruptions (25). However the real test-bed for technicians was the drawing of the altimetry of the territory with two extremely different results: examples of this are the archaic drawings of some maps of the province of Trapani and Palermo, on the one hand, and the graphical virtuosity of the technicians working within the provincial district of Messina and Catania. On the map of the provincial district of Messina, most municipalities are perched on mountain ranges crossed by *fiumare* (torrents), while the map of Catania shows a particular planimetric configuration of the municipal territory which takes on the shape of triangles meeting at the crater of huge Mount Etna. Settlements and orography in these two provinces make up an indissoluble *unicum*, and the technicians entrusted with the drawing of these maps seemed to be well aware of it. As a whole they proved to be professionally and technically far more skilled than their colleagues working elsewhere. Mountain undulations are rendered intuitively by using the method of isohypses and shadings, drawn either by quick Indian ink sketching or shaded colours, both used to mark off concentric curvilinear areas. The map of Casalvecchio shows a splendid example of orographic depiction (26). On the other hand, the map of the territory of Patti, despite its location within the same provincial district, is strikingly different. It is a beautiful map drawn in a rather naive fashion, where one can effortlessly recognize the headland of Tindari and the small lagoon stretch of Marinello (27). The orographic system is very well depicted in some other provincial maps: this

is the case of the municipality of Buccheri (intendancy of Noto). The map is vividly coloured and the orography is skilfully depicted using isohypses, obtained by sketching tightly together small lines with Indian ink (28).

Cities

Approximately half the maps in a variably detailed fashion show the plans of urban settlements. Consequently maps differ in quality according to the higher or lower degree of graphical ability of their makers. Some maps only provide requested information; some other try to contextualise urban centres by depicting significant geographical elements, while some more maps are definitely drawn hastily or rather peculiarly. However, urban centres are subdivided into areas (having sometimes their own names), which, in their turn, may be made up of various 'sections'. All pieces of information are provided in more or less accurate legends. Plans contain indications of urban blocks, which are exclusively made up of houses or sometimes may also include non-residential buildings, the planimetric configurations of which are defined in a more or less accurate fashion. The green areas stand for the open areas surrounding these buildings, which were then very wide while nowadays are almost totally covered with closed up buildings. All the maps comprise main roads and secondary roads made up of alleys and courtyards, squares and 'lakes' with relevant names. Apart from Palermo and Caltanissetta, present-day provincial chief towns are missing on the collection of maps. The old centre of Palermo is represented through the plans of the four *Mandamento*, which were drawn with great accuracy

by different technicians; the wealth of historical cartographic documents regarding the city of Palermo somehow lessens the importance of these maps that do not add any significant information to what had been previously conveyed (29). On the other hand, this does not apply to Caltanissetta, about which there is no historical iconography whatsoever, with the exception of some 1878 post-unity cadastral plans (30). The Bourbon cadastral planimetry fills in this gap and gives a fairly reliable idea of the shape of the city as it was before the first half of the XIX century; particularly interesting are the details of those blocks that comprised churches, convents and monasteries, later modified by massive demolition (31). As a matter of fact, the heritage of non-residential buildings mainly comprises churches, oratories, convents and monasteries. Sometimes we even find indications of noble palaces like in Santa Margherita Belice, the detailed plan of which shows Palazzo Cutò and the large villa which the Cutò family owned outside the town, with grounds and gardens (32). A number of maps show the "Stations of the Cross" and the "Calvary" which have most often remained untouched in their original locations as an evidence of the rootedness and permanence of religious observances in the urban communities. Some maps, such as the one of Ribera, give indications of the town hall, baronial house and prisons (33). Some other indicate where drinking troughs were located, placed along the roads leading in and out of cities, and show elements of urban furnishing such as basins and fountains, or even "columns with statues" and "columns with waterworks". The plan of Vallelunga also

includes an "inn" and a "storehouse" (34). The best map from the point of view of the drawing technique used is the one of Mistretta, located in the provincial district of Messina, which was made by Capuchin friar Vincenzo Bruno di Palermo, maker of just this single map (without any indication of date). This is a very vividly coloured map which shows the urban centre, drawn with extreme geometrical accuracy, and naturalistic features of the territory on which the built-up area is located. The grounds of churches, convents and monasteries and the green areas outside the town are drawn with great mastery. The map is strikingly 'modern', but still, for this very reason, it has a vaguely oleographic aspect and does not attain the poetic and evocative splendour of other maps which, although rougher, are far more exciting. One of the most beautiful maps of the collection is the plan of the city of Marsala (35). The plan is accurately built on a basic geometrical grid, where boundary walls, gates and ramparts are accurately shown. Non-residential buildings (churches, convents and monasteries) are depicted in detail with planimetric measurements; this is an absolute rarity, at least in Sicily (36). Both the map of Mistretta and of Marsala are among the best ones from a technical and graphical point of view. However there are some other maps that, despite their simple and technically inaccurate drawing fashion, are very enjoyable and provide precious and clear information. This applies to the *Plan of the municipality of Carini* (37). The map depicts the perimeter and configuration of the old city centre with a number of striking pictorial effects; the graphical

representation has a somewhat childish aspect both in the definition of the urban fabric and the watercolour decoration. The resulting picture is completely flattened by its two-dimensionality and does not succeed in evoking the fast-changing and complex altimetry of the territory on which the city is built, characterised by steep slopes. The road leading into the old town centre is drawn in a primitive and schematic fashion. On the other hand, more care is dedicated to the drawing of the urban blocks and street network inside the town. Squares and streets are well defined and bear clear names; also non-residential buildings such as the mother church, the castle, convents and monasteries along with unbuilt areas, grounds and vegetable gardens are equally well defined. As far as the province of Catania is concerned, we find high-quality plans of urban centres showing technical and graphical perfection: the plans of Belpasso, Biancavilla, Misterbianco and Nicolosi are among the best ones (38). In the latter two we can notice that the city blocks, bounded by streets, are partially built and still comprise wide open areas. Back in those days, many urban centres within the provincial district of Catania did not have compact shapes: unlike other areas, here buildings were discontinuously erected along the main streets, thus producing 'open' urban structures. The plans of the collection clearly show how cities used to sprawl, evidence of which is still visible today. The plan of Randazzo, drawn with remarkable graphical mastery, shows the contour of the boundary walls and gates which testify the medieval origin of the city; the large urban

blocks appear to be only partially built (39). In the provincial district of Catania we also find less refined maps, evidence of a century-old cultural delay; the plan of S. Michele di Ganzaria shows buildings by means of approximate elevations, while the plans of non-residential buildings contain some elements of their façades (40). The same archaic method was used to draw the plan of the urban centre of Chiaramonte Gulfi (intendancy of Noto), where the urban blocks containing churches and convents display the approximate correspondent elevations (41).

There are also some other maps that provide very specific information either directly or indirectly. The direct information mainly concern the stability of the soil; as a matter of fact (in the provincial district of Palermo) the map drawn for Montemaggiore Belsito shows the inscription "land subject to landslides where most of the houses crashed to the ground" (42). An example of indirect information is conveyed by the plan of Terranova (Gela), located within the provincial district of Caltanissetta, where one can easily spot the difference between the original settlement and the first subsequent enlargement, which the maker definitely wanted to highlight (43).

The present-day role of Bourbon maps

Nowadays the Bourbon cadastral maps have taken on a role that we could call multidisciplinary. They can be best used within the field of town-planning and analysis of old town centres. As a matter of fact, cadastral maps, thanks the wealth of information they convey, may be of great use in arranging up-to-date town-planning

instruments, having either territorial or urban character, thus proving to be a priceless method of survey to locate environmental configurations and preexisting architectural elements, which sometimes might have been altered beyond recognition by later transformations: in this way they help us trace back and reconstruct territory modification processes. New town-planning schemes should aim at safeguarding recognisable features of past territorial transformations in relation to the populations that there settled; ensuring the integrity of the environment and the possibility to enjoy it by the community; making sure the cultural resources of the territory are safeguarded, and providing for spatial and functional requalification of settlements (44).

The information conveyed by the cadastral maps of municipal territories may be of great help in widening the knowledge of the history of the territory and also allow to carry out a number of surveys and monitor transformations that have occurred during the centuries. The maps make it possible to have an idea of past road networks, hydrographical grids, main naturalistic systems; they also tell us the number and size of villages and of other buildings scattered all over the extra-urban territory; of course inspections must follow to make sure all this still exists and is in good repair.

Also the cadastral plans of urban centres may be used to reconstruct the process of historical development of each single settlement, which municipal town-planning schemes and projects for the restoration of old town centres should take into consideration. As a matter of fact, many town councils persist in debating whether or not old town

centres should be recognised as real places and an integral part of the whole urban fabric, deserving special town-planning care (45). The cadastral maps of urban areas provide an objective evidence of the huge number of old town centres in the first half of the XIX century and cast aside any doubt or pretext that incredulous town councillors might put forward.

So far we have only discussed the possibility to use Bourbon cadastral maps in the field of town-planning even though the scientific potentials of the collection are far wider and may involve a number of disciplinary domains. An analysis of these cadastral maps, as ancillary documents of the tax reform promoted and carried out by Ferdinand II, might remarkably improve our knowledge of the economic, political and social history of Sicily. The map collection might also lead to a further investigation into the functioning of the Bourbon kingdom and innovations it introduced, and to a social and cultural analysis of the work and technical skills of middle-class professionals such as land surveyors, architects, and engineers. Last but not least, these maps open up a new significant opportunity for researchers in the branch of representation, and make it easier for them to understand the relationship existing between contexts and possible depiction techniques, as well as the suitability of information and drawing methods.

This brief set of examples of course does not exhaust the subject of the potential scientific use of the collection in relation with more research fields. Before drawing my speech to a conclusion, I feel I should express my compliments and gratitude to those technicians of the

first half of the XIX century who embarked upon the difficult task of drawing those maps, thus revealing to us an unknown Sicily rich, as usual, in stimulating contradictions.

Notes

1. The Mortillaro archives, case 117, at the Record office (*Archivio di stato*) of Palermo.
2. See E. Caruso, A. Nobili (eds.), *Le mappe del catasto borbonico di Sicilia. Territori comunali e centri urbani nell'archivio cartografico Mortillaro di Villarena, 1837-1853*, Regione Siciliana, Assessorato ai beni culturali e ambientali, Palermo, 2001.
3. F. Renda, *Storia della Sicilia dal 1860 al 1970*, Sellerio, Palermo, 1984, 1987.
4. The territory of the Sicilian island was parcelled into the intendancies of Caltanissetta, Catania, Girgenti, Messina, Noto, Palermo and Trapani.
5. Vincenzo Mortillaro, marquis of Villarena, was born in Palermo on July 27th 1806 and there died on July 26th 1888. *The Dizionario dei siciliani illustri*, published by Confederazione fascista dei professionisti e degli artisti, F. Ciuni, Palermo, 1939, classifies him as a "man of learning", but this definition appears to be rather restrictive. By the short biographical note given by the *Dizionario* we learn that he taught algebra and Arabic at the University of Palermo (1830). After the defeat of the Bourbon kingdom, his uninterrupted cultural activity almost stopped being operative, but became essentially characterised by an analysis of the political events occurring in those times through the filter of his own experience. The *Dizionario* also tells us that

"after he had been appointed at the Italian Parliament, he was accused of being the leader of a plot to subvert the political situation, was arrested and sentenced to eight months of prison". These short biographical notes only give a rather concise description of a complex and demanding human, cultural and political affair that would deserve further investigation.

6. R. Giura Longo, "Il Catasto Borbonico di Sicilia", *Risorgimento e Mezzogiorno. Rassegna di Studi Storici* no. 1-2, Dec. 2002.

7. T. Cannarozzo, "Il Regio Catasto Borbonico: immagini inedite del territorio siciliano", taken from *Dal recupero del patrimonio edilizio alla riqualificazione dei centri storici. Pensiero e azione dell'Associazione nazionale centri storici-artistici in Sicilia, 1988-1998*, by the same publishing house, Publicucula, Palermo, 1999.

8. Mortillaro archives, case 120, at the Record office of Palermo. Actually, in 1858 only seven instalments were published about the municipality of Vill'Abate, Termini Imerese, Caltagirone, Trapani, Caltanissetta, Girgenti and Molo, Sciacca, which can be consulted at the municipal library of Palermo. Each instalment comprises a descriptive note, the map of the municipal territory and city plan.

9. T. Cannarozzo, "Il catasto borbonico. Le mappe antiche dei centri urbani", *Il Mediterraneo*, Jul. 16th 1995; "Le mappe ritrovate del catasto borbonico", *Il Manifesto*, Aug. 13th 1995.

10. From a graphical and aesthetical point of view, the best maps of the collection very much look like some of those published in L. Dufour, *Atlante storico della Sicilia. Le città costiere nella cartografia manoscritta 1500-1823*, Lombardi-

Marsilio, Padova, 1992.

11. The Sicilian units of measurement used at that time according to the metric law dated December 31th 1809 were: mile = 720 canes = m. 1846.643328; chain = m. 8.259130; cane = m. 2.064782; palm = m. 0.258098.

12. The maker is Francesco Fontana, who used to introduce himself as a land surveyor (1843). He is also the maker of the equally accurately drawn maps of Partanna (1840) and Santa Ninfa (1847). Neither of them shows the parcelling of the land.

13. The maker is Francesco Benigno (no date available), a land surveyor and painter.

14. The maker is Giuseppe Sardi (1852).

15. The maker is Antonio Andolina (1851), a land surveyor.

16. Unknown maker (1850).

17. The maker is Benigno Catalano (1843), a land surveyor.

18. The maker is Francesco Gallo (no date available), an agronomist.

19. The maker is Salvatore Randazzo (no date available).

20. The term *lavinaio* is the Italianised form of the Sicilian *lavinaru*, meaning water torrent.

21. See L. Dufour, *Atlante storico della Sicilia. Le città costiere nella cartografia manoscritta 1500-1823*, cit.

22. The maker is V. Vacante (no date available).

23. The maker is Vito Console (no date available).

24. The maker is Paolo Musmeci (1845), a land surveyor.

25. The maker is Vincenzo Musmeci (no date available), an architect.

26. The maker is Eutichio Prestogiovanni (1846), an engineer and land surveyor.

27. The maker is Andrea Addamo (1841), an engineer and land surveyor.

28. The maker is Vito Rinaldi (no date available), a land surveyor and estimator.

29. All of these maps show no date and only one of them, the map of Mandamento

Castellammare, bears the signature of its maker, Giacomo Pitini, an architect.

30. See T. Cannarozzo, "Caltanissetta: piano del centro storico", in *La riqualificazione della città meridionale*, Quaderni di *Urbanistica Informazioni* no. 11, Jan.-Feb. 1992.

31. The maker is Agostino Lopiano (no date available), an architect.

32. The maker is Giuseppe Tedeschi (no date available), an architect and land surveyor.

33. The maker is Giuseppe Tedesco (no date available), an architect and land surveyor. The many similarities existing between this map and the map of Santa Margherita Belice get us think that the maker might be the same person in both cases, but with different names.

34. The maker is Agostino Lopiano (no date available), an architect.

35. The maker is Francesco Fontana, an skilled technician and land surveyor, maker of the plan of the municipal territory of Paceco, which we have previously dealt with (1843).

36. Starting from the first half of XVIII century, in the rest of Italy maps usually showed the most important buildings through architectural measurements and surveys, as in the *Mappa topografica della città di Napoli e de' suoi contorni* di G. Carafa, duca di Noya, 1775.

37. The maker is Santi Geloso (1850).

38. The makers are respectively Giacomo Consoli (1850), an architect; Giovanni Bonanno (no date available), an architect; Giuseppe Marchese (no date available), a architect; Giacomo Consoli (1851), an architect.

39. The maker is Rosario Pennini (no date available),

an architect.

40. The maker is Giovanni Polizzi (1846), an architect.

41. The maker is Giovanni Cutello (no date available), a technician.

42. The maker is Benedetto Pulci (after 1851), a land surveyor.

43. The maker is Andrea Amarù (no date available), a town-planner.

44. The Regional office for territory and environment management has only recently issued an innovative memo regarding municipal planning based on these principles: memo no. 2/2000, *Indirizzi per la formazione degli strumenti urbanistici generali e attuativi*; see T. Cannarozzo, "Sicilia, le nuove regole per fare i Prg puntano sul recupero dei centri storici", *Edilizia e Territorio* no. 41, 2000.

45. As far as the role of old town centres in the field of municipal planning schemes and regulations governing restoration works, the Regional office for territory and environment management issued a specific memo: no. 3/2000, *Aggiornamento dei contenuti degli strumenti urbanistici generali e attuativi per il recupero dei centri storici*; see T. Cannarozzo, "Sicilia, le nuove regole per fare i Prg puntano sul recupero dei centri storici", cit.