

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: LYING WITH THE SAINTS: HEAVENLY BODIES AND EARTHLY BODIES IN THE *SUCCORPO* OF SAN GENNARO

Nicole Riesenberger, Master of Arts, 2011

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In January 1497, when the powerful Carafa family translated the relics of San Gennaro, patron saint of Naples, to the city's cathedral, a devastating plague that had ravished the region is said to have immediately ceased. The presence and miraculous power of the saint's relics give meaning to the *Succorpo*, Cardinal Oliviero Carafa's funerary chapel in the cathedral. This magnificent foundation serves two functions: first, it is the private funerary chapel of Carafa and select members of his family; second, it is the locus of the cult of San Gennaro himself. My thesis examines the chapel's dual functions and explores the iconography of its decoration. I present new propositions regarding the architectural plan and artistic attributions of the chapel, and I provide a close reading of the portrait sculpture of Cardinal Carafa in the *Succorpo*, considering how its strategic placement informs our understanding of the program and its meaning.

LYING WITH THE SAINTS:
HEAVENLY BODIES AND EARTHLY BODIES IN THE *SUCCORPO* OF SAN
GENNARO

By

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Introduction

In 1497, Cardinal Oliviero Carafa, the most powerful churchman in the Kingdom of Naples, commissioned the head of the most prolific sculpture workshop in Naples, Tommaso Malvito da Como, to build his funerary chapel, the so called *Succorpo* of San Gennaro. This Italian Renaissance monument has not received its fair share of attention, especially by scholars writing in English. There are numerous reasons for this, not the least of which is the lack of attention that Neapolitan art receives in general. Traditionally considered to be on the periphery of cultural centers like Florence and Rome, Naples has largely been excluded from the scholarly consideration of Italian Renaissance art and culture.

It is true that Renaissance Naples presents a unique set of problems for those who venture into research on this subject. The study of Naples, in many ways, requires a fresh pair of eyes—free of any preconceived notions about how art, politics, or even religion functioned during the Early Modern period. As one quickly discovers in learning about the history of Naples, we cannot expect Neapolitan society to mirror that of Florence, for example, since the numerous cultural influences imposed upon Naples during periods of governance by other nations and empires has greatly altered the cultural landscape of the city.

For centuries Naples acted as the pawn in a complicated power struggle for control over the Mediterranean. The city's rich history includes colonization by Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Lombard, Hohenstaufen, Norman, Angevin and

Aragonese forces, and that is just up to the fifteenth century! It is precisely this rich history that makes Naples both an exciting and fascinating subject to research, and also a challenge. With each new period of rule, the city gained new identities with respect to religious devotion, politics, culture and the role of art in society.

By virtue of this constant flux, Naples has gained a reputation as a cultural importer, rather than exporter, of art and culture, as Florence, by contrast, is understood to have been. While some may see this as a negative aspect of Neapolitan art, others such as myself consider it a factor that enriches the art of Naples, making it all the more interesting to study. Renaissance Naples was very much a cosmopolitan city, employing artists from all over Europe and incorporating the culture and languages of many different lands into the fabric of daily experience. I do not agree, however, that Naples' diversity necessarily means that the city did not also have its own unique culture and style.

I would argue that Naples did, in fact, possess its own artistic style during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and it was this very cosmopolitanism and internationalism that defined it. The *Succorpo* of San Gennaro in the Duomo of Naples is a great case study for these qualities in Neapolitan art. It is a monument that has sparked great debate over its stylistic features, leading scholars to attribute the chapel to artists from places as far apart as Rome, Lombardy, Spain and France. This difficulty in pinning down the art of Naples seems typical of the city's artistic character. I believe, however, that if one artist were to define late Quattrocento Neapolitan sculpture, it would most certainly be Tommaso Malvito da Como, master of the most prolific sculpture workshop in this period and author of the *Succorpo*.

State of the Scholarship

In the hundred years since Antonio Muñoz published the first extensive study of the *Succorpo* and its authors, Tommaso and Giovanni Tommaso Malvito, several studies have been dedicated in full or in part to the chapel. Muñoz's conclusive article from 1909 not only laid the groundwork for future research, but it also made available for the first time photographs and documents drawn from Gaetano Filangieri's *Documenti per la storia, le arti e le industrie delle provincie napoletane*.

As far as the early training of Tommaso Malvito is concerned, Muñoz's article is also the only source that takes an in-depth look at the chapel of Saint Lazarus in Marseilles, where Tommaso worked alongside Francesco Laurana. Muñoz attributes particular sections of the chapel to the hand of Malvito and also investigates the events that led to his arrival in Naples after the completion of the Saint Lazarus chapel.

Additionally, Muñoz examines the workshop practices employed in the production of the *Succorpo* chapel, attributing specific carvings to the hands of four different sculptors, including Tommaso and Giovanni Tommaso Malvito. Muñoz also provides detailed information about each of Tommaso and Giovanni Tommaso's commissions. Surprisingly, Muñoz's article is much more valuable than one might expect from an essay written so early in the history of the research on the chapel. His study is so comprehensive and reliable that very little of the information has been contested in later publications.

Ottavio Morisani's 1941 publication, *Saggi sulla scultura napoletana del cinquecento*, provided new and essential information regarding the training and

influences on Tommaso and Giovanni Tommaso Malvito. In this study, Morisani also compiled the first conclusive list of works attributed to the two artists, based on the research of earlier scholars such as Muñoz.

In 1966, Franco Strazzullo published the important article, “La Cappella Carafa del duomo di Napoli in un poemetto del primo Cinquecento.” *Napoli nobilissima: rivista di arti figurative, archeologia e urbanistica* III, no. 5 (1966): 59-71. This article reproduces the earliest contemporary source on the *Succorpo*, a poem by the Franciscan friar, Fra Bernardino of Sicily. Strazzullo explains the context and dating of the poem and includes his own commentary on the document. As the most secure primary source for the *Succorpo*, the poem by Fra Bernardino is indispensable to any study of the chapel.

The publications of Roberto di Stefano in 1971, 1972 and 1975 are the most significant studies since that of Muñoz. These are based on discoveries made by di Stefano during his work in the restoration of the Cathedral of Naples and the *Succorpo* chapel. The publications include drawings and photographs that describe the construction of the shallow vaults below the main floor of the cathedral and the design for the chapel’s ceiling. Di Stefano is the first and only scholar to explain Malvito’s excavation below the original foundation of the church, which allowed the artist to increase the height of the chapel without raising the floor of the choir above. Finally, di Stefano also provides an updated list of monuments attributed to Tommaso Malvito.

The 1975 publication by Roberto Pane, *Il Rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, provides the basis for all scholarly attributions of the *Succorpo*

architecture to Donato Bramante. This text is also useful in that it publishes the lines from Pietro Summonte's letter to Marcantonio Michiel, which identifies Tommaso Malvito as the master of the *Succorpo* chapel.

Carlo de Lellis' *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra del d'Engenio* is very helpful to any study of the *Succorpo* because it provides descriptions of the chapel's appearance during the seventeenth century. De Lellis documents the parietal reliefs of the stairwells and the epitaphs above each entrance to the chapel, all of which were lost in the eighteenth-century restoration of the cathedral.

Francesco Abbate's article, "Le sculture del 'Succorpo' di San Gennaro e i rapporti Napoli-Roma tra Quattro-Cinquecento" (1981), updates some aspects of Muñoz's study of the sculptural attributions and workshop practices relative to the *Succorpo* project. Abbate also attempts to link the sculpture in the *Succorpo* to the Roman school of Andrea Bregno.

The first English publication on the *Succorpo* chapel was Diana Norman's article "The Succorpo in the Cathedral of Naples: 'Empress of All Chapels'" (1986). Norman provides a helpful overview of the earlier scholarship and adds to it by introducing new biographical information for Cardinal Oliviero Carafa. Norman's dissertation, *The Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa 1430-1511* (1989), provides the most conclusive study of Cardinal Carafa's life and patronage, adding greatly to our understanding of the *Succorpo* commission. Her article is partially reprinted in her chapter 'Cardinal of Naples and Cardinal in Rome: The Patronage of Oliviero Carafa' in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety, and Art, 1450-1700* (2010).

Charlotte Nichols' dissertation, *The Caracciolo Di Vico Chapel in Naples and Early Cinquecento Architecture* (1988), provides a helpful review of the scholarship relative to Tommaso and Giovanni Tommaso Malvito. Nichols also includes a brief overview of the research on the *Succorpo*, arguing that a master architect, possibly Giuliano da Sangallo, may have provided the design for the chapel, which was then carried out by Tommaso Malvito and his workshop.

The 2001 publication by Luisa Folli, *Duomo di Napoli: Restauro della Cripta di San Gennaro*, includes useful information about the types of marbles used in the chapel and the techniques employed in the most recent restoration. This book also reproduces a number of drawings and full color photographs that document the structure of the chapel and a number of its decorative features. Although Folli also provides a short summary of some aspects of the scholarship on the *Succorpo*, the true merits of her book are the descriptions of the restoration and the images of the chapel.

Another publication from 2001 that deserves mention, though not written specifically about the *Succorpo*, is Yoni Ascher's article "Tommaso Malvito and Neapolitan Tomb Design of the Early Cinquecento." Ascher's study provides the most scholarly investigation of Tommaso Malvito's abilities as a sculptor and the practices of his workshop. Ascher's article is useful for our study since he argues that Malvito should be considered both a skilled architect and sculptor, suggesting that he would have been capable of carrying out both the architectural and decorative aspects of the *Succorpo*.

The careful studies by Daniela del Pesco in 2001 and 2006 incorporate all of the scholarly publications on the *Succorpo* chapel up to that date—including studies on Cardinal Carafa, his patronage, and the translation of San Gennaro's relics to Naples. Del Pesco's essays also include her own interpretation of the iconography of the chapel and the portrait sculpture of Cardinal Carafa.

Angela Dreszen's study from 2004 gives a similar, yet more concise, overview of the scholarship on the chapel, with a focus on the patron and the context of the commission. Dreszen is the first to suggest the intended location of Cardinal Carafa's burial, the floor pavement directly in front of his effigy sculpture—though she fails to make the connection between the ornately decorated niches on either side of this pavement.

In the epilogue of Bianca de Divitiis' 2007 publication, *Architettura e committenza nella Napoli del Quattrocento*, she provides a cursory overview of the research on the *Succorpo* while also making a few very original and insightful comments about that project. She notes, first, the striking similarity between the plan of Carafa's chapel in Naples and the catacombs of San Gaudioso, an idea that I will explore further in my study. Additionally, De Divitiis mentions the possibility that the sculpture of Cardinal Carafa in the *Succorpo* may have been influenced by that of the kneeling Alfonso II in the Villa Duchesca.¹

Critical Challenges in Researching the Succorpo

The problems that continually surface in studies of the *Succorpo* relate to the attributions of the architecture and sculpture. The attribution of the sculpture of Cardinal Carafa is particularly challenging because none of the early documents explicitly name an author. The issue of architectural attribution brings up an entirely different set of problems. Both of the contemporary documents for the *Succorpo* name Tommaso Malvito da Como as the ‘master’ of the project. However, our lack of understanding of Renaissance workshop practice results in confusion over the roles of various figures, ‘masters’ or ‘architects,’ for example. In the case of the *Succorpo*, scholars question whether the identification of Malvito as ‘master’ suggests that he was also the architect of the project, that he was simply the master sculptor, or that he was merely the director of a project designed and executed by other, unnamed artists and architects. In this case, the way that we define the terms ‘master’ and ‘architect’ is crucial to our understanding of Malvito’s role in the project.

Another issue in research on the *Succorpo* is the lack of documentation. This is a major problem for the research of any Neapolitan topic because of the bombing of the city’s archives during World War II. Additionally, a fire in the sacristy of the *Succorpo* in 1817 destroyed all of the chapel’s archives.² The lack of documentation becomes a problem in terms of understanding the original location of the Carafa sculpture or the sarcophagus that holds San Gennaro’s relics.

Organization of the Text

In Chapter One, I will examine the biography of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa, the patron of the *Succorpo* chapel. The first section provides an overview of his early life—his education and the role that his powerful family played in his rise to prominence within the Church. Carafa’s ecclesiastical career is also discussed in this section, as it helps to explain his powerful position within the College of Cardinals, his commitment to reform and his pious devotion. Each of these aspects of Carafa’s life is important to an understanding of his patronage and his funerary chapels, in particular. The second half of this chapter focuses on Carafa’s literary and artistic patronage. In this discussion Carafa’s interest in the revival of classical art and literature becomes quite clear. The survey of Cardinal Carafa’s commissions in Rome and Naples helps us to better understand the types of projects that Carafa was interested in sponsoring, as well as the aesthetic choices made in such commissions.

Chapter Two explores the early training of Tommaso Malvito in Marseilles, where he worked alongside Francesco Laurana. This chapter brings together the studies of scholars like Antonio Muñoz and Yoni Ascher to set forth a clear picture of what is known about the practices of the Malvito workshop. The second and third sections of Chapter Two provide a chronologically organized list of those works that have been attributed to Tommaso Malvito and his son Giovanni Tommaso Malvito.

A very detailed study of the *Succorpo* chapel comprises Chapter Three. The chapter begins with an introduction to San Gennaro, the patron saint of Naples, to whom the chapel is dedicated. I feel that it is important to devote a portion of my study to San Gennaro and the translation of his relics back to Naples by Cardinal

Carafa, since this event provided the impetus for the commission of the *Succorpo* in the first place. Knowledge of this translation also helps us to better understand Cardinal Carafa's own place in the chapel—in which he serves as custodian of San Gennaro's relics and administrator of his cult.

The following section focuses on the two contemporary documents of the *Succorpo* that have survived—Fra Bernardino's poem and a few lines from a letter by Pietro Summonte to Marcantonio Michiel. The next three sections explore the architecture of the chapel: the design, construction, possible prototypes and attributions. An analysis of the sculpture of the chapel follows, in which I discuss the now lost reliefs of the stairwells, and the carvings of the shell niches, pilasters and choir.

Next, I investigate the function of the minor altars in the chapel. Carlo de Lellis recorded that Cardinal Carafa intended to obtain the relics of additional saints to place on these minor altars, though other scholars have suggested different uses for them. I believe that de Lellis' comment fits well with the plan for the rest of the chapel, particularly with the imagery of the ceiling reliefs that celebrate Neapolitan patron saints.

An original aspect of my study is this detailed investigation into the imagery of the shell niches. There does not seem to be any clear program which would signify a particular dedication or function for each niche, though there are a few niches, in particular, that seem to be highlighted above the others. A clearer understanding of the program for the niches develops in the next section, which explores the ceiling reliefs and the pavements of the chapel. In the final section of Chapter Three I

provide a brief record of the findings of Muñoz, Abbate, Borrelli and Speranza's studies, and their attributions of particular aspects of the chapel's decoration to the hands of different collaborators.

Chapter Four is devoted to the portrait sculpture of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa. In this chapter I examine the various arguments over the original placement of the sculpture, either in the choir or between the two stairwells of the chapel. In the next section I explore possible precedents for the design of this sculpture, particularly Guido Mazzoni's portrait of Alfonso II in the 'Bewailing of Christ' at Monteoliveto. Next, I consider the connection between the portrait of Cardinal Carafa in the *Succorpo* and the funerary monument of Charles VIII of France, also by Mazzoni. Finally, I examine the arguments over the attributions of this sculpture to artists such as Andrea Bregno in Rome, or to Giovanni Tommaso Malvito.

Lastly, in Chapter Five I end my study of the *Succorpo* with a consideration of the function and iconography of the chapel. The *Succorpo* has both a private function, as a funerary chapel, and a public function as the locus of the cult of San Gennaro. The epitaphs by Pietro Gravina, which were originally placed over each entrance to the *Succorpo*, acknowledge this public function by inviting visitors into the chapel to show their devotion to the relics of San Gennaro. These relics were understood as having salvific qualities, and devotion to them was thought to provide a path to salvation and eternal life.

This point takes us into the second half of Chapter Five, which focuses on the iconography of the chapel. The artistic program has several themes: first, the themes of salvation and redemption, which would have been expected for a funerary chapel.

Second, there is a clear focus on the Church, its doctrine, history and the territorial authority of bishops. In this chapter I explore the ways in which these ideas are expressed in the antique language of the chapel, and consider what Cardinal Carafa might have intended these themes to reflect about his life and virtue.

Chapter 1: Cardinal Oliviero Carafa

Early Life and Ecclesiastical Career

As the long-standing Archbishop of Naples and a cardinal in Rome, Oliviero Carafa was an exceptionally powerful and influential figure. The guidance and support of Oliviero's family, the Carafa della Stadera³ was essential to his rise to a prominent position within the Church and the Kingdom of Naples.⁴ The link between the Carafa family and the Aragonese throne in Naples began with Oliviero's grandfather, Antonio 'Malizia' Carafa, who supported the Aragonese monarchs in their campaign to overtake the Kingdom from the Angevins. Malizia Carafa's sons, Francesco and Diomede, both served as advisors to Alfonso I of Aragon.⁵ Both men, Diomede, in particular, mentored Oliviero in the art of diplomacy and also advocated on his behalf before the Aragonese king, for promotion to various ecclesiastical positions.

When Oliviero was born on March 10, 1430, his family had already amassed a significant degree of wealth and power within the region.⁶ His mother, Maria Origlia, was an heiress of Pier Luigi, Master of the House of King René d'Anjou and *consigliere* to Alfonso I of Aragon.⁷ Oliviero's father, Francesco, had gained fiefdoms and concessions for his service; among his landholdings were Torre del Greco, Portici and Resina.⁸ Maria and Francesco had seven children together, two daughters and five sons: Oliviero, Carlo, Ettore, Alessandro and Fabrizio.

Oliviero's uncle, Diomede Carafa, was considered the head of the Carafa della Stadera family during Oliviero's youth. Diomede had served as a military councilor and personal confidant for King Alfonso I of Aragon from the time of his conquest in 1442. In 1465, he was awarded the title of First Count of Madalloni. Diomede eventually became an administrator and diplomat of the Aragonese court in Naples. Through this position, Diomede established a relationship with Cosimo il Vecchio and later Lorenzo de' Medici. Such highly influential connections were extremely useful to Oliviero during his years in the College of Cardinals.

In addition to teaching Oliviero the ways of diplomatic relations, Diomede also instilled a great dedication to education and the arts in his young nephew. Diomede's palace in the Seggio di Nido region of Naples was well known for its collection of antiquities, and it was here that as a very young boy, Oliviero gained an interest in classical art and architecture. After studying both civic and canon law at the universities of Perugia, Ferrara and Naples, Oliviero received a degree in Jurisprudence.⁹

Oliviero's ecclesiastical career began at a very young age; when he was just seven years old he received a canonry at the Naples Cathedral.¹⁰ On November 18, 1458, Pope Pius II appointed him archbishop of that city.¹¹ This appointment came on the recommendation of King Ferrante, influenced no doubt by his relationship with Diomede Carafa. As Archbishop of Naples, Oliviero Carafa became the wealthiest and most powerful ecclesiastical figure in all southern Italy.¹²

Oliviero understood the political and financial benefits that this position granted him and his family and he took it upon himself to ensure that the diocese of

Naples remained in his power for the rest of his life.¹³ In 1484, when Oliviero passed the title of archbishop on to his brother Alessandro, he obtained permission from the Church to reassume the seat in the event of Alessandro's death. When Alessandro died in 1503, Oliviero reclaimed the title of archbishop; in 1505 he passed it on to his nephew, Bernardino Carafa, who died just a few months later. After Bernardino's death Oliviero transferred the title to another of his nephews, Vincenzo Carafa, later that same year.¹⁴ As Diana Norman writes, "What emerges from this complicated pattern of exchanged titles is that Carafa was determined to retain the prestigious and financially lucrative office within his family's control; he was willing to exploit the widespread and potentially corrupt practice of 'recessus,' and treat the archbishopric of Naples as a kind of hereditary fief of the Carafa."¹⁵

In 1465, after ten years as archbishop, Oliviero was named president of the 'Sacro Regio Consiglio,' in which he served for approximately nine years.¹⁶ Two years later, on September 18, 1467, with the support and promotion of King Ferrante, Pope Paul II named Oliviero Cardinal Presbyter of SS. Pietro and Marcellino.¹⁷ Cardinal Carafa lived in Rome from that time until his death in 1511, only making four trips to Naples as papal legate.¹⁸ As the Neapolitan cardinal at the Roman Curia, Carafa was responsible for representing the interests of Naples to the other Italian states.¹⁹ Carafa was greatly indebted to King Ferrante for promoting him to cardinal, and in his early years at the Curia, Carafa struggled to balance his devotion to the Church and aspirations for reform with his obligations to Ferrante. Later in Carafa's career, he began to more forcefully defend his own interests and those of his family and clients, above the interests of the Kingdom of Naples.²⁰

After entering the College of Cardinals, Carafa was quickly promoted to more prestigious positions. On September 5, 1470, Pope Paul II appointed him Cardinal Presbyter of Sant'Eusebio, where, in 1471, he participated in the election of Francesco della Rovere as Pope Sixtus IV. In December of that year he was appointed commander of the papal fleet in Pope Sixtus IV's crusade against the Turks.²¹ On July 24, 1476 Carafa was nominated Cardinal Bishop of Albano, and on January 31, 1483, he was promoted to Cardinal Bishop of Sabina. This prestigious appointment elevated Carafa to a position second in importance at the Sacred College, with a good chance of being elected pope.²² Cardinal Carafa was, in fact, a candidate in five papal elections. In three of those elections he lost by very narrow margins, and his failure to be elected pope was due both to his lack of political backing by the Kingdom of Naples, as well as to his own modesty in terms of promoting himself to the office through bribery.²³ Carafa was later promoted to Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and, in 1503, he was named Dean of the College of Cardinals by Pope Julius II.²⁴

One aspect of Cardinal Carafa's ecclesiastical career, for which he was highly praised by his contemporaries, was his service to the Dominican Order—a mendicant order dedicated to education, preaching and papal supremacy.²⁵ The Dominicans were known for their theological preeminence at several European universities as well as for their high standing within the Vatican.²⁶ As the primary theological defenders of papal supremacy, a Dominican always held the position of Master of Theology, giving the Order jurisdiction over all sermons preached at the papal court.²⁷

Cardinal Carafa, though not a Dominican himself, was elected Cardinal Protector of the Order in 1478.²⁸ He served the Dominican Order until his death in

1511, making him the longest and most prolific Cardinal Protector of the Dominican Order up to that point in history.²⁹ During his decades of service, Carafa promoted Dominican scholarship and embellished the center of Dominican education and administration in Rome, the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.³⁰

As Cardinal Protector, Carafa was dedicated to defending the spiritual as well as political interests of the Dominicans. He was involved in all major decisions and disputes of the Order, including reform and the promotion of officials. Despite the protests of the Dominicans, whose constitution called for the democratic election of officials, Carafa promoted administrators from within his own circle. Among those he appointed were Bartolomeo Comazio, Ludovico da Ferrara, Vincenzo Bandello, and his protégé, Tommaso de Vio, better known as Cajetan.³¹ Carafa also obtained a bull from Pope Julius II in 1506 that prohibited any Dominican friar from graduating without the license of either the Cardinal Protector or Procurator General.³²

One of Cardinal Carafa's major ambitions as Cardinal Protector of the Dominican Order was reform. His aspirations for reform were based on the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas and centered on a devotion to the Eucharist. In 1497, Pope Alexander VI appointed Carafa to a council on Church reform. The goals that Carafa expressed at this meeting focused on restoring Early Christian ideals and medieval canon law.³³ Carafa condemned pluralism, nepotism, the sale of sacred benefices, the practice of non-resident clergy and the reservation of benefices that had not yet been vacated. Despite his public dedication to such reforms, Carafa is known to have practiced many of the same offenses that he preached against.³⁴

Cardinal Carafa's Literary and Artistic Patronage

Cardinal Carafa was known as a man of learning, dedicated to the study of philosophy and theology, committed to the revival of classical rhetoric, and well versed in Latin, Spanish and Italian.³⁵ He is even known to have written an oration for King Ferrante.³⁶ Over the course of his lifetime, Cardinal Carafa was the dedicatee of literary works by at least fifty scholars.³⁷ Such esteemed humanists as Antonio Beccadelli, known as 'il Panormita,' Andrea Brenta and Jacopo Sadoletto publicly praised Carafa for his learning and intellect.³⁸ Carafa's relationship with the humanists in his circle was mutually beneficial. He sponsored and promoted them, patronizing their scholarship and they advised him in all things related to classical literature.³⁹

In her biography of Cardinal Carafa, Diana Norman perhaps described him best as being not a humanist scholar, but rather a patron of learning.⁴⁰ He was, for example, the primary supporter and patron of the Dominican theologian Cajetan, playing an essential role in Cajetan's rise to prominence in ecclesiastical ranks, in which he ultimately rose to the position of primary theological advisor to the pope.⁴¹ Carafa guided Cajetan in his studies, introducing him to the topic of Saint Thomas Aquinas and urging him to complete his commentary on Aquinas' *Summa Theologico*, as well as his commentary on Aristotle's idea of 'magnificence.'⁴² Carafa was also a patron of the early printing press and paid for the production of several manuscripts.⁴³ The contents of his extensive library, which included works by the humanists Cardinal Bessarion, Pietro Balbi, Filelfo and Theodore of Gaza,

suggest that he was interested in the revival of classical rhetoric and the study of the Greek Church fathers.⁴⁴

Another of Carafa's literary sponsorships, for which he was highly praised, was the popular Roman genre of the 'pasquinades.' The writings of this genre were inspired by a Roman copy of a Hellenistic sculpture that represented Menelaus supporting the body of the dead Patroclus. Carafa owned the sculpture, known as 'Pasquino,' and he placed it in front of his Roman residence, the Orsini Palace. The impetus for the genre began with a poem that was dedicated to the sculpture around 1499-1500.⁴⁵ Shortly thereafter, the 'pasquinades' developed into a fully-fledged literary festival held in Rome every year on the feast day of San Marco.⁴⁶ The festival was classical in style, quite similar, in fact, to the Priapea—an ancient tradition of affixing short humorous poems to a statue of Priapus—and it functioned as a forum for aspiring young writers to publicize their poetry.⁴⁷ As the festival became more organized in its later years, specific themes, generally related to classical mythology, were established for each annual festival.⁴⁸ By 1509, the sculpture of Pasquino came to be identified as the ancient god Janus who, as we shall see, was commonly referenced in Carafa's artistic commissions. Records indicate that in this same year approximately 3,000 verses were submitted for the festival.⁴⁹

Cardinal Carafa's artistic and architectural patronage is consonant with what one might expect from a wealthy Renaissance cardinal. Most of his wealth was dedicated to the restoration, renovation and embellishment of ecclesiastical buildings. The style of his projects generally reflects his interest in the antique.⁵⁰ The public and pious purposes of most of Carafa's commissions, as well as the scale and splendid

materials used in such projects, suggest that he understood and admired Aristotle's commentary on 'magnificence.'⁵¹

Carafa's personal residences were relatively modest and frugal compared to those of some of his contemporaries. Rather than build his own elaborate palace in Rome, Carafa rented one on Piazza Navona from the Orsini family.⁵² In 1502 Carafa saw the completion of his villa on the Quirinal Hill, which was visited by many of the humanist scholars in his circle. Andrea Brenta and Ermolao Barbaro, for example, each spent a significant amount of time at the cardinal's villa.⁵³

Despite the modesty of his residences, Carafa spared no expense when it came to his artistic commissions. Vasari writes that Carafa paid Filippino Lippi 2,000 gold *ducats* for his work in the chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, not including the cost of materials or wages for Lippi's assistants.⁵⁴ Even more incredible is the 15,000 *ducats* that Carafa paid for his second funerary chapel, the *Succorpo* in the Duomo of Naples.⁵⁵

Carafa's commissions attest that he was equally dedicated to the preservation and beautification of Roman as well as Neapolitan sacred buildings. His earliest documented commission was the restoration of the ninth-century church of San Gennaro 'extra moenia' in Naples, which was completed in 1468. From the fifth century, Neapolitans had venerated the church as the locus of the cult of their patron saint, San Gennaro, whom Bishop Severo is said to have buried in the cemetery of the church.⁵⁶ Cardinal Carafa also established a hospital in the abandoned Benedictine monastery on the same site which, after the outbreak of plague in 1479, was dedicated to the care of plague victims.⁵⁷

Cardinal Carafa's other Neapolitan commissions include the tombs for his father Francesco and uncle Diomede, commissioned from Tommaso Malvito da Como and placed in the family chapel at San Domenico Maggiore.⁵⁸ Carafa's own funerary chapel in Naples, commonly referred to as the *Succorpo*, was built below the choir of the cathedral and was begun in 1497. This chapel became the center of the cult of San Gennaro's relics, which Carafa had recently arranged to be translated back to Naples. Cardinal Carafa also commissioned Perugino to paint a panel of the Assumption of the Virgin for the main altar of the cathedral.⁵⁹ This painting, commissioned around 1503-1509, was supposedly nearly identical to the now lost *pala* that Perugino painted for Pope Sixtus IV for the Sistine Chapel altar wall.⁶⁰ In Cardinal Carafa's painting, the cardinal is portrayed kneeling before the Virgin with San Gennaro at his side. With this painting, Carafa appropriated the image displayed in the Sistine Chapel and inserted himself in the place of the pope.

Carafa is also said to have renovated the archbishop's palace in Naples, as well as his family's palace in the Seggio di Nido.⁶¹ The final project that Carafa sponsored in Naples was left unfinished at the time of his death and was unfortunately never completed. In 1507, Carafa purchased land on which he planned to build an ecclesiastical school for poor boys. Carafa's planned 'Sapienta' was intended to be similar to that in Rome. It would have provided housing and an education in theology and canon law for young boys with potential for an ecclesiastical career.⁶²

Cardinal Carafa's Roman commissions were even more extensive. In 1468, he sponsored repairs to the vault in the right aisle of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. In 1472, he restored the cloister at Santa Maria sopra Minerva. And, in 1492 and 1503, he paid

for repairs and the construction of a gilded ceiling at San Lorenzo fuori le Mura. Carafa hired Donato Bramante to enlarge the cloister at Santa Maria della Pace and to build a new library on that site. This project with Bramante, carried out between 1500 and 1504, was Carafa's largest Roman commission aside from his funerary chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.⁶³

Carafa acquired his Roman chapel in 1486, and the project was completed in 1493. This prepossessing chapel was decorated with a fine marble balustrade and altar frame, *cosmatesque* pavements, and wall paintings by Filippino Lippi. The chapel was doubly dedicated to the Virgin of the Annunciation and Saint Thomas Aquinas. The altarpiece depicts the Annunciation of the Virgin with Cardinal Carafa and Saint Thomas Aquinas in attendance. The altar wall is decorated with the Assumption of the Virgin, and four sibyls adorn the vaulted ceiling overhead. The east wall of the chapel was destroyed when the tomb of Pope Paul IV was placed against it, but the decoration of that wall it is said to have included a scene of 'Virtue overcoming Vices.'⁶⁴

The west wall of the chapel is devoted to Saint Thomas Aquinas, who had a special significance to the Carafa family, since the miraculous crucifix, which reportedly spoke to Saint Thomas during the time that he was writing his *Summa Theologica*, was owned by the Carafa family and housed in their chapel at San Domenico Maggiore by at least 1560 (fig. 1).⁶⁵ The frescoes include the 'Triumph of Saint Thomas' and the 'Miracle of Saint Thomas.' The latter seems to be a conflation of two of the saint's better-known miracles—the miracle of his virginity and the miracle of the speaking crucifix. The first miracle attests to the saint's purity, while

the second celebrates Thomas Aquinas as a doctor of the Church. The latter of these was the focus of sermons given in the chapel on Saint Thomas's feast day.⁶⁶

The burial chamber of the chapel, executed by Raffaellino del Garbo, was probably completed around 1494. The decoration on the barrel-vaulted chamber makes reference to the triumph over evil and death, imagery that was quite common in funerary monuments. In addition to the heraldic and narrative scenes depicted in the chamber, there are also hybrid figures derived from antique grotesques. The similarities of these classical images with those found in the 'volta degli stucchi' in the Domus Aurea attest to Carafa's knowledge of, and interest in, these recently discovered antique designs.⁶⁷

The painted architectural framework of the chapel was executed in a classical-style *grisaille* on blue ground. In addition to the fictive architectural elements, the piers of the chapel were decorated with candelabra motifs similar to those found on ancient sarcophagi as well as in the Domus Aurea. This type of decoration was also carried out in marble in Carafa's Neapolitan funerary chapel. A painted frieze in his chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva also seems to be a reminiscence of antique prototypes. It closely resembles a fragment of a frieze, now held at the Museo Capitolino in Rome, that was housed at San Lorenzo fuori le Mura during the fifteenth century. The ancient frieze displayed objects used in ritual sacrifice, while the frieze in Carafa's chapel replaced the ancient Roman ritual objects with liturgical elements used in fifteenth-century liturgy. Among these were candles, two scourges and a paten depicting 'Christ in the tomb.'⁶⁸

Several scholars note that the distinctive pictorial style used in both of Cardinal Carafa's funerary chapels suggests that he worked closely with the artists to ensure that many of his own personal symbols were included in the decoration. Carafa's *imprese*, an open book and a balance, appear in many of his commissions. The open book refers to his learning, but it also functions as a sign of his spiritual model, Saint Thomas Aquinas. The 'stadera' balance represents the Carafa della Stadera branch of the Carafa family, and it also functions as an ancient symbol of fair judgment. The weights of the 'stadera' depicted in Carafa's commissions take the form of a Janus head. Janus, an ancient protector of gateways, became a symbol of prudence during the Renaissance, since Janus was known for his ability to look backward and forward simultaneously. Cardinal Carafa's symbolic 'stadera' was often accompanied by his motto, 'hoc fac et vives,' a passage taken from the Gospel of Luke that translates to 'do this and you shall live.'⁶⁹

As the site of feast day celebrations for Saint Thomas Aquinas and the Birth of the Virgin, Carafa's chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva had a very public function. On March 7th, the feast day of Saint Thomas Aquinas, a mass was given in Carafa's chapel, following the singing of the Creed at the high altar of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. On the occasion of these celebrations, Carafa would often choose and sponsor a humanist to give a sermon in his chapel. The pope, along with the College of Cardinals, would gather in and around the Carafa chapel and receive indulgences for their attendance. The festival of the Birth of the Virgin, on September 8th, was also linked to the chapel of Cardinal Carafa and ceremonies were carried out in a similar way.⁷⁰

Cardinal Carafa's chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva was also the site of his funeral oration, delivered by his longtime secretary, Jacopo Sadoletto. Carafa was eighty-one years old when he died in Rome on January 20, 1511. In his funeral oration, and well after his death, Carafa was praised for his wisdom, frugality, integrity, prudence, magnanimity and dedication to church reform.⁷¹

According to Carafa's will, drawn up on March 12, 1509 by Giovanni Battista Almadiano, after a very modest funeral, the cardinal's body was to be interred, first, in his chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and later, translated to the *Succorpo* chapel in Naples. Although documents cite the transfer of Carafa's body to Naples in 1511, no evidence of such an event exists. There is no sign of Carafa's burial in either of his funerary chapels and the location of his remains is unknown.⁷²

Carafa's will names as his heirs his brothers Carlo, Count of Airola, and Ettore Carafa, and his nephews Vincenzo, Archbishop of Naples at that time, Antonio and Jacopo.⁷³ The value of Carafa's benefices was estimated at approximately 12,000 *ducats* annually, in addition to his earnings from any private assets or land holdings.⁷⁴ Carafa certainly left a significant amount of wealth to his heirs, though, as there are no extant records for the treasury of the Sacred College from 1476-1539, it is unclear which of Carafa's ecclesiastical benefices were passed on to his relatives.⁷⁵ Carafa obtained special permission from Pope Alexander VI to keep his villa on the Quirinal Hill in his family, as well as his *Succorpo* chapel, by bequeathing them to his brothers Carlo and Ettore at the time of his death. The papacy purchased the Quirinal villa from the Carafa family in 1587, during the reign of Sixtus V. The *Succorpo* remained

in the family until Duke Riccardo Carafa d'Andria ceded it to the Archbishop of Naples in 1964.⁷⁶

In addition to the wealth and properties that Cardinal Carafa left his heirs, he also left a significant portion of his estate to several churches, hospitals and confraternities in Rome. Carafa also bequeathed liturgical items to both of his funerary chapels, along with endowments to the *Succorpo* and several Roman churches for requiem masses to be said on his behalf.⁷⁷

Cardinal Oliviero Carafa's generous expenditure for ecclesiastical commissions is evident, though it will become even more apparent with a study of his most elaborate and costly commission, the *Succorpo* in the Duomo of Naples. The magnificent decoration of this dual funerary and reliquary chapel is unrivalled in fifteenth-century Naples. In keeping with the characteristic *all'antica* style of Carafa's other commissions the *Succorpo* chapel, in many ways, epitomizes the classical revival of the Renaissance period.

Chapter 2: Tommaso Malvito and his Workshop in Naples

Tommaso Malvito da Como is recognized as the head of the most active and prosperous sculptural workshop of late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Naples.⁷⁸ This is no small tribute for an artist whose name is almost entirely absent from modern art-historical scholarship on Renaissance Italy. As the master of the most prolific sculpture workshop in one of Europe's most powerful cities, Tommaso Malvito unquestionably warrants more attention than he has previously received.

Tommaso Malvito was originally from the Como region of Lombardy. Unfortunately, nothing is known of his early life or artistic training. The earliest document to mention the name Tommaso Malvito, or Sumalvito, da Como, references his work as an assistant to Francesco Laurana at the chapel of Saint Lazarus in the old cathedral, La Major, in Marseilles (fig. 2). The work on this chapel was carried out between 1476 and 1481, though the earliest document to mention Tommaso Malvito as a sculptor for this project dates to January 4, 1479.⁷⁹

The double-arched chapel of Saint Lazarus contains an altar for the saint under one arch and a canopy and sepulchral monument under the other. A marble column stands at the center of the two arches, and the pilasters at each side are decorated with candelabra motifs that contain grotesques, nudes and putti. Three niches fill the space above the arches, each containing a marble sculpture. The figure at the left represents Saint Cannat, bishop of Marseilles; Saint Lazarus is depicted at the far right and an unidentified 'war-like' saint is placed at the center. A narrow

frieze above the arches includes lengthy epigraphs, and two semi-circular architectural features above the arches add height to the chapel façade, echoing the curve of the arches below. Each of these semi-circles contains a shallow scalloped shell design and five large sculptures top the structure. Three additional sculptures are placed below the left arch of the chapel: the figure of Saint Lazarus is seated on a *cathedra* in the center, while the Madonna and Mary Magdalene stand at his side.⁸⁰

While scholars such as Ottavio Morisani believe that Tommaso Malvito is only responsible for carrying out minor carvings on the chapel's pilasters, it seems that, in fact, Malvito worked quite closely with Francesco Laurana in the Lazarus chapel and can be credited with a great deal of its sculpture.⁸¹ According to Antonio Muñoz, the chapel was certainly designed by Francesco Laurana, but very little of its carving can be linked to his hand. Through his detailed stylistic analysis of the monument, Muñoz determined that the central column of the chapel, the pilasters at each side and the three sculptures in the niches above the arches can all be attributed to Tommaso Malvito. Muñoz sees an affinity between the physiognomies represented in the Saint Lazarus sculpture and that of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa in the *Succorpo*, and argues that the large sculpture of Saint Lazarus, below the left arch, appears to be the work of Malvito.⁸²

The styles of Francesco Laurana, best known for his exquisite portrait sculpture, and Tommaso Malvito, renowned for his decorative carving, are so profoundly dissimilar that it seems Malvito's style must have developed from earlier training, likely in his home region of Lombardy.⁸³ Although Tommaso Malvito's work in the old cathedral of Marseilles already evidences his imitation of antique

stucchi and his tendency toward an *all'antica* style, the grace and elegance of Malvito's decoration visible in the *Succorpo* does not begin to appear in his work until after his arrival in Naples, and thus, it has been argued that Malvito found inspiration in Naples, where ancient Roman monuments would have been readily available to him.⁸⁴

Although the Lazarus chapel was completed in 1481, Tommaso Malvito is still documented as living in Marseilles as late as May 1483. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of his activity during this period.⁸⁵ Malvito arrived in Naples in 1484, when Francesco Laurana was already at work on the triumphal arch for the Aragonese king, Alfonso I. Malvito may well have chosen to travel to Naples on the recommendation of Francesco Laurana, and it seems that his connection to Laurana was advantageous, as he found work in Naples almost immediately upon arrival. Already by February 21, 1484, Malvito had been commissioned, along with Pietro da Milano, to create a marble monument for the priory of San Sebastiano.⁸⁶

When Tommaso Malvito arrived in Naples, several Lombard sculptors were already well established in the city and were sought after for their particular Lombard style of decorative and ornamental relief carving.⁸⁷ Malvito quickly established himself there, and his studio developed into the most prolific sculpture workshop in late fifteenth-century Naples. Until roughly 1500, Tommaso Malvito was the sole master of the workshop. His son, Giovanni Tommaso Malvito, who developed into a master sculptor, began to work alongside Tommaso as an assistant workshop master, and took over the business after his father's death.⁸⁸

Francesco Abbate has argued that the catalogue of works attributed to Tommaso Malvito has been greatly inflated, due to Malvito's high status as one of the greatest sculptors in Naples.⁸⁹ In fact, Neapolitan churches are replete with monuments that are either attributed to Malvito or that evidence the influence of his style. Among the small number of extant documents from Renaissance Naples, Malvito is cited as the chief artist in over twenty contracts, the majority of which involve projects for funerary chapels or large funerary monuments.⁹⁰

In his study of Tommaso Malvito and early sixteenth-century Neapolitan tombs, Yoni Ascher suggests that the Malvito workshop, in order to manage the large number of commissions it was receiving, would keep on hand several parts of a funerary monument—effigies or lunettes, for example—that conformed to popular prototypes. The workshop would then assemble the various parts chosen by the patron upon receipt of a new commission.⁹¹ Ascher's suggestion serves as an explanation for the many, nearly indistinguishable, features that appear in monuments produced by the Malvito workshop. For example, the lunette of Carlo Pignatelli's monument is almost identical to that on Ettore Carafa's sarcophagus, suggesting that these were either previously fabricated parts or that they were made according to a pre-established design provided in one of the Malvito workshop's design books.⁹²

Ascher's important study not only shines a long overdue light on the practices of the Malvito workshop, but it also brings us back to the author's significant observation that Neapolitan funerary monuments and tombs were very conservative commissions, often taking pre-existing projects as their models. It is likely for this reason that the style of Tommaso Malvito's monuments became so ubiquitous

through late fifteenth to early sixteenth-century Naples. Not only was the Malvito workshop producing more funerary commissions than any other workshop in Naples at this time, but many of Malvito's earlier projects also served as models for his future commissions. For example, in 1504 Malvito was commissioned by Francesco Bastiano Recco to produce a marble funerary chapel in San Giovanni a Carbonara. In this case, the patron requested that his monument resemble an earlier tomb by Malvito at San Francesco nell'Annunziata. The Recco chapel, according to the commission, also includes figures and carvings similar to those in the *Succorpo*.⁹³ Even after his death in 1508,⁹⁴ Tommaso Malvito's projects continued to serve as models for new monuments created by artists working outside of the Malvito workshop.⁹⁵

Furthermore, Yoni Ascher's article is momentous in its ramifications for its consideration of Malvito as an architect, as well as a sculptor. This argument is important for our study of the *Succorpo*, a project for which the architectural attribution has been hotly debated. Ascher is one of only a few scholars who argue that Malvito himself is the architect of the chapel.⁹⁶ As evidence for his proposition, Ascher cites the fact that Malvito signed so many contracts, typically as the sole master of the project. He argues that we can take this as proof that Malvito should be credited with the design of the project, the sculpture and the architecture.⁹⁷ Additionally, Ascher discusses a document from 1492, in which Tommaso Malvito is recorded as the artist of the model for the newly renovated Sorrento Cathedral.⁹⁸ Regarding this document, Ascher admits that Tommaso Malvito could possibly have

employed a master builder to carry out the project but, he notes that, as a rule, “architectural designs were the domain of the masters.”⁹⁹

The remodeling of the cathedral included the incorporation of the church’s Romanesque foundations; a task that would have required an architect well versed in modern building methods.¹⁰⁰ The techniques Malvito employed in this 1492 remodeling plan would have put him in an advantageous position to carry out the *Succorpo* project five years later. That Neapolitan chapel also involved the incorporation of the church’s ancient foundations, and required the skills of a highly trained architect, capable of building beneath the chancel of a church with already precarious foundations.¹⁰¹

Tommaso Malvito’s Oeuvre

We shall now return to the documented works of Tommaso Malvito’s Neapolitan *oeuvre*, beginning with the commission of a marble sarcophagus for Maria Francesca Orsina, prioress of San Sebastiano. Malvito and Pietro da Milano were paid forty gold *ducats* for their work at San Sebastiano but, for some undocumented reason, the project was abandoned in the 1480s and not completed until 1520 by other, unknown artists.

In 1487, Malvito created the funerary monument of Francesco Carafa at San Domenico Maggiore. This commission would likely have been paid for by Cardinal Oliviero Carafa, head of the Carafa della Stadera clan at that time and son of Francesco Carafa (fig. 3). The funerary monument of Carafa’s uncle, Diomede Carafa, which stands across from Francesco’s tomb in the family’s chapel, bears the

date of 1470, and many scholars agree that this monument, likely created by Jacopo della Pila, was updated by Tommaso Malvito around the time that he was constructing Francesco Carafa's tomb (fig. 4).¹⁰²

A contract from March 16, 1489 records the commission of Tommaso Malvito to build a marble sarcophagus for Bernardino Poderico. The monument was completed in May of that year and was placed in Poderico's chapel at San Lorenzo Maggiore; Malvito was paid twenty gold *ducats* for his work. This sarcophagus, along with an overwhelming majority of Tommaso Malvito's projects, is no longer extant. Damage from earthquakes and World War II bombings have necessitated the renovation and reconstruction of many buildings in Naples. Additionally, the new aesthetic of the Baroque period, along with the individual initiatives of various religious groups, resulted in the removal or destruction of many monuments from the Renaissance and earlier, and much of Tommaso Malvito's work has suffered from these exigencies.¹⁰³

On May 3, 1491, Tommaso Malvito agreed to build a marble chapel at San Pietro ad Aram in Naples for Giovanni Riccio. For this project Malvito supplied his own marble, which he acquired from Carrara. He was paid thirty-six *ducats* for the chapel. On June 12th of that same year, he was commissioned to build a marble sarcophagus for Nardo Mormile, Archbishop of Sorrento, in the church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin at Porta Nuova. Mormile paid Malvito sixty *ducats* for his work, which was completed on October 15, 1493. Giovanni Luigi Mormile later moved this monument to the church of Saints Severino and Sosio, and placed it in his family's chapel there, but unfortunately, Nardo Mormile's tomb no longer exists.

Almost immediately after completing Nardo Mormile's sarcophagus, Tommaso Malvito was commissioned by Galeotto Pagano to create a sarcophagus in the church of San Pietro Martire. The document for this commission dates to October 27, 1491, and it names both Tommaso Malvito and Lorenzo da Pietrasanta as artists. The sculptors were paid eighteen *ducats* for their work, which was completed by January 1, 1492. Galeotto Pagano's sarcophagus was placed in the chapel of the Pagano family, known as the San Vincenzo chapel, at San Pietro Martire. This monument has also been lost.¹⁰⁴

After Tommaso Malvito created his marble sarcophagus, Archbishop of Sorrento, Nardo Mormile, commissioned the artist to create a design for the renovation of the Sorrento Cathedral. This design was completed in 1492 and, although several artists' names are mentioned in the records, Muñoz persuasively argues that the documents distinguish Malvito as the architect of the project.¹⁰⁵

As the master of Naples' most prolific sculpture workshop of the late fifteenth century, Tommaso Malvito was involved in contracts for projects that he was not even asked to build. For example, a document from October 5, 1492 records the commission of Pietro Buono di Salerno to paint a panel for Martino Hispano, prior of Santa Maria delle Grazie a Caponapoli. Even though this commission did not involve a sculptural project, Tommaso Malvito signed as the guarantor and witness of the agreement. Similarly, on July 14, 1492, Lazzaro Maffiolo di Carrara appealed to Tommaso Malvito, asking him to obtain payment from Francesco da Milano and Jacopo della Pila for marble that Maffiolo had sold them.¹⁰⁶

On January 2, 1497 Tommaso Malvito agreed to create a marble tabernacle for Gerolamo de Angelis at the price of thirty *scudi*. The location of the tabernacle is not mentioned in the document and remains unknown today. On March 3, 1497, T. Malatesta commissioned Malvito to construct a marble chapel in the monastery of Santa Patrizia in Naples. In the commission document, Malatesta instructs Malvito to carve eight relief figures in his chapel, and promises to pay him fifty *ducats*.

In April of that same year, Malvito accepted the eleven year old Nuziato, son of Florio di Amato de Giffoni, into his workshop as an apprentice. According to their agreement, Malvito was to provide Nuziato with room, board and proper training in the art of sculpture, for a period of seven years. Nuziato joined the Malvito workshop at an advantageous time, for he likely participated in Cardinal Oliviero Carafa's *Succorpo* chapel in the Duomo of Naples, which was begun on October 1, 1497 and was completed around 1508. Devastatingly, the document for the *Succorpo* commission has been lost.¹⁰⁷

As will become clear with the enumeration of the following projects, the commission of Tommaso Malvito to construct the *Succorpo* chapel did not slow the workshop's acceptance and output of additional commissions. On August 23, 1498, the procurator of the monastery of San Liguoro commissioned Malvito to create a marble tabernacle for the Eucharist. Malvito was paid thirty-five *ducats* for this project, which was completed by November 15, 1499. The model for the tabernacle at San Liguoro was one of Malvito's earlier projects, a tabernacle in the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie a Caponapoli. Neither of these projects exists today.

Tommaso Malvito may also be responsible for the construction of the door of the Ospedale dell'Annunziata and the door frame at the Gesu Novo—both completed around the turn of the century.

Malvito's last documented project of the fifteenth century received acclaim from the renowned poet Antonio Tebaldeo, whose sonnets record that Ambrogio Leone of Nola commissioned Tommaso Malvito to create a portrait bust of his beloved Beatrice Notari of Nola; the exact date of the bust is unknown. In 1499, Ambrogio Leone also commissioned the following sonnet from Tebaldeo.

“Che non può l'arte? Io so che sei lavoro
de pietra, e quando ho ben tue membre scorte
m'inganno; e corro ad abbracciarte forte,
poi di vergogna in viso mi scoloro.”¹⁰⁸

On May 29, 1500 Leon Castella, procurator of the duchess Lucrezia del Balzo, hired Tommaso Malvito to create a white marble 'sediale' in the church of San Giovanni a Carbonara. The design for this 'sediale,' which Malvito completed in late 1500, was based on the Marino Matera chapel at Santa Maria dell'Annunziata.¹⁰⁹

On July 25, 1504, Francesco Bastiano Recco and his brother Vincenzo commissioned Malvito to construct a marble chapel at San Giovanni a Carbonara (fig. 5). By this time, the *Succorpo* chapel in the Duomo was nearly finished and it must have been well known, since the Recco chapel appropriates relief carvings and friezes directly from the *Succorpo*. An excerpt from the commission document is recorded in Gaetano Filangieri's *Documenti* and was republished by Ascher as follows: “Si obbliga ad eseguire in S. Giovanni a Carbonara...una cappella in marmo simili a quella di S. Francesco nell'Annunziata, con lavori e figure come nel soccorpo del Duomo.” In Asher's translation of the document he describes the Recco Chapel as: “a

marble chapel similar to that of S. Francesco in [the church of] the Annunziata, with works and figures like [those] in the Succorpo chapel in the Cathedral.”¹¹⁰

The Recco chapel was built on the same scale as that of Francesco Coronato in the church of the Annunziata, and many details connect the two. Though the Recco chapel was no longer extant—only its arch remains—it is documented that its imagery comes directly from the third niche along the left aisle of the *Succorpo*. The festoon above that niche, along with the capital of the column between the third and fourth niches in the left aisle, is also repeated in the Recco chapel. The decoration contains the same candelabra motifs of the *Succorpo*, along with antique medallions, warrior figures, classical masks and allegorical figures of Abundance. Several Christian symbols: busts of saints, a pelican feeding its young, and a chalice and cross, also adorn the chapel.¹¹¹

Aside from the *Succorpo*, the Cappella Recco is probably the most celebrated and ambitious project of Tommaso Malvito that is, at least partially, extant today. According to Muñoz, a fragment of this chapel, representing the Eternal Father, was placed by Cesare and Fabrizio Giraldi in a niche with the Madonna of Naccherino, during the late sixteenth century.¹¹²

On September 13, 1505, the Malvito workshop began work on a chapel for Messer Giovanni Miroballo at the church of San Francesco in Castellammare di Stabia. The commission document called for a marble chapel with a tabernacle and sculpted figures; its design is based on the Recco chapel. Tommaso Malvito departed Naples shortly after he received the commission for the Miroballo chapel and he was absent from the city until August of 1506; the reason for his absence and the

destination of his travels are unknown. Thus, while the plan for the Miroballo chapel can be attributed to Tommaso Malvito, it was his son, Giovanni Tommaso, who directed its construction. Marco Siciliano, Mauro d'Amato, Giovanni da Carrara and the Milanese painter, Protasio di Crivelli, were all listed as assistants of the in the Cappella Miroballo project. The monument was completed on March 4, 1506, and the Malvito workshop was paid eighty gold *ducats* for their work.¹¹³

Yoni Ascher attributes the tombs of Carlo Pignatelli at Santa Maria Assunta dei Pignatelli (fig. 6), and that of Bishop Bernardino Carafa at San Domenico Maggiore (fig. 7) to Tommaso Malvito. Although the exact date and provenance of the tombs is unknown, Ascher dates them to the years after 1505, during the final phase of Malvito's career.¹¹⁴ If we accept Ascher's attribution, it is worth noting that both of these monuments include shell niches which are very similar to those in the *Succorpo*. This contribution by Ascher could strengthen the attribution of the *Succorpo* architecture to Tommaso Malvito, since the shell niches of the chapel are the architectural feature that scholars most commonly link to Donato Bramante.

On August 18, 1506, Malvito was hired to build a marble 'spalliera' for Galeazzo Caracciolo's chapel at Santa Maria di Donna Regina. The chapel is modeled after an earlier work by Malvito, the monument of Antonio di Alessandro, bishop of Aversa, in the church of Monteoliveto. Caracciolo's chapel was carried out in an *all'antica* style and included relief figures, cornucopias, epitaphs and five roundels with antique-style portraits, one of which was a portrait of the patron. Tommaso Malvito was paid twelve ounces of silver for this chapel, which was unfortunately lost during the extensive renovations of that church in later centuries.

On November 7, 1506, Margherita Puderico, abbess of the monastery of San Sebastiano, commissioned Tommaso Malvito to create a marble ‘cantaro’ for the church of San Domenico Maggiore. Malvito was instructed to incorporate an arch and five marble figures, including a sculpture of the Virgin Mary surrounded by angels, into the design. Malvito was paid eighty *ducats* for this project.¹¹⁵

The same date of November 7, 1506, is listed for the commission of Malvito to build a sarcophagus for Mariano d’Alagno, count of Bucchianico, and his wife Caterina Orsini. According to Muñoz, the Alagno monument is nearly an exact replica of Malvito’s earlier tomb for Antonio d’Alessandro at Monteoliveto. The project was finished by Easter of 1507 and it still stands, seemingly unaltered, in the Carafa chapel, the Cappellone del Crocifisso, at San Domenico Maggiore. This project was produced at the very end of Tommaso Malvito’s career, though the influence of his early training with Francesco Laurana is still visible.¹¹⁶

Tommaso Malvito drafted his will on July 2, 1508. In his will, he bequeathed money to several institutions, mostly for the construction or completion of artistic projects. Thirty-nine *ducats* were given to the hospital of the Annunziata, funds were granted to Pietro Belverte to build the ‘porta grande’ at the church of the Annunziata, five *ducats* were allocated for work to be done at Santa Maria del Succorso and thirty *ducats* were granted for the completion of a chapel for Maria Brancaccio. Malvito’s will also names his son, Giovanni Tommaso Malvito, as the new master of the Malvito workshop. After the date of his will, Tommaso Malvito’s name does not appear again in any of the records of sixteenth century Naples—leading scholars to believe that he died near the end of 1508.¹¹⁷

Giovanni Tommaso Malvito and his Oeuvre

Unfortunately, the documentation of Giovanni Tommaso Malvito's production in Naples is much less abundant than that of his father. The most likely explanation for this, is the fact that most of the archival records relating to Renaissance art in Naples were recorded by Gaetano Filangieri, Prince of Salerno, in his *Documenti per la storia, le arti e le industrie delle provincie napoletane*, and this work only covers the history of the city until the first years of the sixteenth century. Because Giovanni Tommaso did not become fully active in the Malvito workshop until approximately 1500, most of his work falls outside the scope of Filangieri's records.¹¹⁸

Contrary to his father, Giovanni Tommaso's sculptural skill was more developed toward figural carving than ornamentation, and in this genre, he greatly surpassed his father. As an explanation for Giovanni Tommaso's abilities as figural carving, Ottavio Morisani suggests that Giovanni Tommaso may have been influenced of Benedetto da Maiano and Antonio Rossellino.¹¹⁹

Giovanni Tommaso Malvito is first mentioned as a sculptor in Naples around the year 1500, when the *Succorpo* project was well underway. Giovanni worked alongside his father on this project, possibly acting as an assistant workshop director and managing the less experienced assistants. As we have seen, Giovanni Tommaso also gained experience by directing projects during his father's absence from Naples in 1506.¹²⁰

The earliest independent commission of Giovanni Tommaso Malvito is the tomb of Ettore Carafa at San Domenico Maggiore, which is dated to 1511 (fig. 8).

The artist is also credited with a sculpture of Giovanni Artaldo in the church of Monteoliveto, dated to 1516.¹²¹ In 1517, Malvito was commissioned to build the Caracciolo di Vico chapel at San Giovanni a Carbonara (fig. 9). Since Bernich's 1905 publication, Giovanni Tommaso has been accepted as the architect of the chapel, which seems to have been somewhat influenced by the *Succorpo*. Very little of the sculpture in the Caracciolo di Vico chapel, however, can be traced to the hand of Malvito.¹²²

The *tour de force* of Giovanni Tommaso Malvito's *oeuvre*, is his tomb for Giovannello de Cuncto, secretary to the Aragonese king, and his wife Lucrezia Candida, at Santa Maria delle Grazie a Caponapoli (fig. 10), for which he was paid 1100 *ducats*. Malvito was commissioned for this project on August 13, 1517, by Fra Girolamo de Brindisi, representative of Giovannello de Cuncto. The chapel was constructed using fine white marble, similar to that in the Caracciolo di Vico chapel. The design for the de Cuncto sarcophagus is a simplified version of a funerary monument by Romolo Balsimelli at San Domenico Maggiore.¹²³

Malvito's composition includes four arches, an altar, and a relief carving of the Madonna and Child accompanied by two angels. The effigies of Giovannello de Cuncto and his wife are the best example of Giovanni's superior skill, relative to that of his father. Antonio Muñoz has gone so far as to write, that the delicate figure of the sleeping Lucrezia is one of the most superb female portraits of the Italian Renaissance. Considering the exquisite naturalism and grace of the figures in this tomb, the attribution of the Carafa sculpture in the *Succorpo* to the hand of Giovanni Tommaso Malvito seems plausible.¹²⁴

The latest documents regarding Giovanni Tommaso Malvito date to 1520. In this year, Malvito is cited as the author of a tomb for G.J. de Tocco in the Duomo of Naples. In this same year, he completed a funerary monument for Galeazzo Pandone, and constructed the Cappella del Presepe with its tomb of Ettore Carafa; both projects are located in San Domenico Maggiore.¹²⁵ These documents surely do not represent the extent of Giovanni Tommaso's artistic production. Although, as the topic of fifteenth and sixteenth century Neapolitan sculpture gains more attention, additional information relative to the Malvitos and their workshop practices will likely come to light, for now, we shall turn to an investigation of the masterpiece of the Malvito workshop, the *Succorpo* of San Gennaro in the Duomo of Naples.

Chapter 3: The *Succorpo* of San Gennaro: “Imperatrice de tucte cappelle”¹²⁶

The Translation of San Gennaro’s Relics: The Context for the Succorpo Commission

On January 26, 1490, King Ferrante sat down in his royal palace in Naples to compose a letter to Cardinal Oliviero Carafa in Rome. This important correspondence from the Aragonese court was in reference to the relics of the city’s patron saint, San Gennaro.¹²⁷ Gennaro lived during the late third century and served as one of the early bishops of Benevento. He was martyred at Pozzuoli on September 19, 305.¹²⁸ After refusing to sacrifice to pagan gods Gennaro, was successively tortured, thrown into a fiery furnace, placed in an amphitheater to be eaten by wild animals, and finally, beheaded on the order of Aulus Timotheus, governor of Campania.¹²⁹

For centuries Naples and Benevento disputed which city had the right to claim San Gennaro as its patron saint. As a result, San Gennaro’s relics were moved and stolen several times in the centuries following his death. San Gennaro was originally buried at Solfatara, but in the late fourth century, San Severo translated his relics to the church of San Gennaro extra moenia in Naples.¹³⁰ In 817, Duke Sico of Benevento besieged Naples and took the body of San Gennaro back to his city, though the saint’s head and the two vials of his miraculous blood remained in Naples.¹³¹ In the twelfth century the relics were moved to the abbey of Montevergine,

located between Nola and Benevento, where they remained, forgotten for nearly three hundred years.

On July 27, 1480, a decade prior to King Ferrante's letter to Cardinal Carafa, Ferrante's son, Cardinal Giovanni of Aragon, rediscovered San Gennaro's relics while he was carrying out renovations at the abbey of Montevergine. It is unclear why Ferrante waited ten years to appeal to the papacy for permission to translate San Gennaro's relics. Given the prominent position of the Carafa family in the translation and their preparation of a reliquary chapel dedicated to San Gennaro, however, it seems likely that the impetus for this final translation may have come from Cardinal Carafa himself, who, after the death of Cardinal Giovanni in 1485, was appointed abbot of Montevergine. The monastery was still under Carafa's charge at the time of the translation.¹³²

In 1490, when Ferrante corresponded with Carafa about the relics, the king's relationship with the pope, Innocent VIII, was in a fragile state.¹³³ Whether out of his faithfulness to the pope, or out of concern about entrusting the relics of Naples' patron saint to a merciless and dishonest foreign king, Cardinal Carafa withheld his appeal to the papacy until after Ferrante's death in 1494. The final decade of the fifteenth century turned out to be a tumultuous time in Naples' history. King Ferrante's excommunication and eventual death was followed by the invasion of Charles VIII of France, resulting in the Italian War. To make matters worse, a devastating plague broke out in 1496.¹³⁴ Thus, Cardinal Carafa's delay in the translation of San Gennaro's relics to Naples seems to have been an advantageous decision.

Numerous sources attest that Cardinal Oliviero Carafa received a papal brief from Pope Alexander VI, authorizing permission to translate San Gennaro's relics to the Duomo of Naples, though the original document no longer exists.¹³⁵ In early January of 1497, after two attempts and with an army of two hundred men, Alessandro Carafa, Archbishop of Naples, wrested the relics of San Gennaro from the obstinate monks at Montevergine. On January 13, 1497, a procession of the relics paraded through Naples to the cathedral, where the relics were deposited in the main altar.¹³⁶

It is important to emphasize here that the translation of San Gennaro's relics to the Duomo of Naples was sponsored entirely by the Carafa family, rather than the Aragonese monarchs at the Neapolitan court.¹³⁷ There are numerous reasons why Cardinal Carafa would have gone to such great lengths to arrange the translation—not the least of which, is the increased spiritual renown for Naples and the economic benefits of pilgrims, who would have flocked to his chapel to venerate the relics.

This cult of San Gennaro had a large following in the fifteenth century, since the saint's relics were among the most famous in the entire Italian peninsula. The miraculous power of the blood of the saint to liquefy when brought in contact with his head was celebrated throughout Italy and was considered by Neapolitans to be a barometer of their city's prosperity. The first incident of the miraculous liquefaction probably occurred between the early tenth and twelfth centuries; it is said to have taken place outside of Naples, on the hill of Antignano. On this occasion a pious woman, claiming that she had gathered a vial of the saint's blood during his execution, approached a procession of the head of San Gennaro. It is alleged that

when the woman gave the vial of blood to the bishop, the blood immediately began to bubble and liquefy.¹³⁸

An understanding of the highly sacred character of San Gennaro's relics and their translation back to Naples at a particularly grim period in the city's history provides an important contextual background for the commission of the *Succorpo*. Through Oliviero Carafa's instrumental role in the return of the relics to Naples, the Carafa family managed to "...promote their episcopal hegemony through allusion to themselves as spiritual heirs to Gennaro and caretakers of his relics."¹³⁹ Similarly, the construction of the *Succorpo* chapel and the strategic placement of Cardinal Carafa's effigy within that space positions Carafa as an ecclesiastical descendent of and intercessor to the patron saint of Naples.

The Succorpo of San Gennaro in the Duomo of Naples

Less than a year after the translation of San Gennaro's relics, on October 1, 1497, the construction of Cardinal Carafa's *Succorpo* chapel below the chancel of the cathedral was begun (fig. 11).¹⁴⁰ Inscriptions in the *Succorpo* record that the chapel was consecrated in 1506, though Giuliano Passero's journals confirm that work continued until 1508.¹⁴¹ Unfortunately, few sources contemporary with the date of the *Succorpo* project have survived, a fire in the sacristy of the *Succorpo* in November of 1817 having destroyed the entire archival database for the chapel. No extant commission document for the *Succorpo* remains.¹⁴² The only surviving contract that mentions the *Succorpo* is the commission of the chapel for Francesco and Sebastiano Recco.¹⁴³

Only two other sixteenth century sources for the *Succorpo* exist. The first is Pietro Summonte's letter to Marcantonio Michiel written on March 20, 1524. Summonte's letter describes the major artistic achievements of Renaissance Naples to Michiel, who is said to have been composing a treatise on Italian art at that time. This letter is considered the earliest commentary on Neapolitan art history, and it is important for the purposes of this study because it directly names the master of the *Succorpo*, Tommaso Malvito da Como.¹⁴⁴

Line 345 of Summonte's letter reports:

“In our archbishopric, below the main altar, is a great chapel, which is called the ‘Succorpo,’ made entirely of marble and on columns of great expense. The project was made in our own age by master Tommaso Malvito Lombardo da Como, accompanied by many of his assistants.”¹⁴⁵

The second source—a poem written by a Franciscan friar from Sicily, Fra Bernardino—also names Tommaso Malvito as the master of the project. In recent decades, several scholars have presented compelling arguments for the attribution of the *Succorpo* to other, better-known artists. However, it is difficult to contradict the primary sources, which both name Tommaso Malvito as *maestro* of the chapel.

Fra Bernardino's two hundred-octave poem was written to celebrate San Gennaro—his life, miracles and martyrdom—and was dedicated to Cardinal Oliviero Carafa. The poem also provides a contemporary account of the return of the relics, along with documentation of Cardinal Carafa's role in the translation and his commission of the *Succorpo* chapel.¹⁴⁶

As Strazzullo pointed out in his 1966 publication of Fra Bernardino's poem, this document is the most secure history of the chapel's creation. The poem was written around 1503-1505, before the *Succorpo* was entirely completed. As a result,

Fra Bernardino witnessed some aspects of the construction first-hand and had the opportunity to speak directly with Tommaso Malvito. Since the chapel was not complete at the time of Fra Bernardino's writing, he includes descriptions from Malvito regarding plans for the unfinished sculpture of Cardinal Carafa, the sarcophagus for San Gennaro's relics and the main altar. The bronze tomb for San Gennaro's relics, as it appears today, looks nothing like what Fra Bernardino describes (fig. 12). The sculpture of Cardinal Carafa, by contrast, adheres to Fra Bernardino's description exactly, suggesting that Tommaso Malvito was at least involved enough in the creation of the sculpture to be able to accurately describe it.

In the centuries following the creation of the *Succorpo* several historians—Benedetto Di Falco, Cesare d'Engenio Caracciolo and Giulio Cesare Capaccio—included the chapel in their guidebooks of important Neapolitan sites. Of all these, however, the only author to name Tommaso Malvito as the master of the project is Caracciolo, who cited the journals of Giuliano Passero.¹⁴⁷ Many scholars of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have attributed the *Succorpo* to Tommaso Malvito, and most acknowledge the contribution of many assistants with various backgrounds and levels of experience.¹⁴⁸ Gennaro Borrelli names Giovanni Tommaso Malvito, Nunziato d'Amato and Maestro Riccio da Firenze as collaborators of the *Succorpo* project. He also mentions the possibility that Giovanni di Carrara, Marco Siciliano and the Milanese painter Protasio Crivelli, may have participated in the chapel's construction, since they are known to have worked for Malvito on earlier projects.¹⁴⁹

Cardinal Carafa's lavish chapel in the Duomo of Naples was a more ambitious and expensive project than his earlier funerary chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva. The scale of the chapel is impressive, especially when one considers the fine and costly white marble that embellishes the entire monument. Fra Bernardino records that Carafa paid Tommaso Malvito 10,000 *ducats* for this chapel, though scholars almost unanimously agree that the cost of the commission was closer to 15,000 *ducats*.¹⁵⁰

The design for the *Succorpo* was clearly inspired by Giovanni Pontano's treatise, *De Magnificentia*, which was published in Naples in 1498. As the learned man that he was, Cardinal Carafa would certainly have been aware of the ideas presented in Pontano's treatise, perhaps even before its final publication.¹⁵¹ In his treatise, Pontano explores all aspects of a noble commission. His theory of magnificence is directly linked to financial expenditure, which, he argues, stands as a testament to the dedication of the patron. Pontano urges his reader to sponsor projects with such great beauty that they bring joy to the community and that travelers, poets and artists would be willing to travel long distances to see them.¹⁵² He insists that it is only with "l'ornamento, l'ampiezza, l'eccellenza della material, la capacità dell'opera di durare a lungo" that a commission may be considered magnificent.¹⁵³

The *Succorpo* was built with two functions in mind. It was primarily a public reliquary chapel for the cult of San Gennaro's relics, but it also served as a private funerary chapel for Cardinal Carafa and a select group of his relatives. Interestingly, aside from the strategically placed sarcophagus containing the relics of San Gennaro, the decoration of the chapel does not necessarily focus on the saint's life and

miracles, as one might expect from a reliquary chapel or a chapel dedicated to a particular saint. Possible explanations for this will, I hope, become clear in the proceeding sections, which explore the architecture and decoration of the chapel.

The Architecture of the Succorpo

In his poem, Fra Bernardino refers to Cardinal Carafa's chapel as the 'succorpo,' as did most scholars after him. The most common explanation for this term is etymological; it is based on the fact that the chapel, which holds the body, or 'corpo' of San Gennaro, is positioned below the body of the church.¹⁵⁴ In addition to this popular name, more evocative descriptions of the chapel as a small church or basilica located below the choir of the cathedral also appear frequently in essays related to the *Succorpo*. Pietro De Stefano describes the chapel as follows: "Nel detto Arcivescovato il Cardinal Oliviero Carafa Napolitano sotto la Cappella Maggiore fé edificare un luogo a modo di piccola Chiesa detto da noi 'Giuso in cuorpo', opera maravigliosa e di gran spesa, ornato tutto di marmi gentili...". The chapel is, in fact, equipped with most features of a church: it includes a choir and a sacristy, and it is divided into a nave with two aisles, which are flanked by shell niches that function as side chapels.¹⁵⁵

Other writers, such as Strazzullo and d'Engenio, have described the chapel as a 'confessio,' since it contains the tomb of a saint. Consequently, the *Succorpo* has been compared to the confessio, or crypt, of Saint Peter in the Vatican basilica, as well as the crypt in the church of San Lorenzo fuori Le Mura. The term 'confessio' originally referred to a place where a martyr testified or 'confessed' his faith—though

it later came to describe a space that held the tomb of a martyred saint. The Roman basilica plan of the chapel, its iconographical connection to the ‘confessio,’ and the *all’antica* decoration, all reference Early Christian typology.¹⁵⁶

A rigorous geometric order of 4:3 presides over the design of the *Succorpo*. The space measures to approximately 12 meters long, 9 meters wide and 5.8 meters high, with 37 meters at the height of the dome (fig. 13).¹⁵⁷ Two rows of marble columns, with five columns in each row, divide the chapel into a nave and two flanking aisles. The width of the nave is three meters, and there are two meters of space between the columns. The aisles are lined with a series of five shell niches, and an additional niche is located at the end of each aisle, bordering the apse. Two irregularly shaped windows are located at the ends of the two aisles, above the minor altars. Each shell niche includes a marble altar, making the total number of altars in the chapel thirteen, including the main altar. The lateral shell niches are divided by pilasters and decorated with elaborate candelabra motifs.¹⁵⁸

Two marble stairwells provide access to the chapel, though the original stairwells and their parietal carvings were lost in an eighteenth-century renovation of the cathedral’s choir. Bronze doors, decorated with Cardinal Carafa’s insignia, flank both of the entrances to the chapel. The exterior face of the doors is adorned with an open book and a ‘stadera’ with a Janus head weight. Surrounding the ‘stadera’ is Carafa’s motto, ‘hoc fac et vives’ (fig. 14). Oliviero Carafa’s coat of arms, which includes the Carafa family crest topped by the galero hat, worn by cardinals, is depicted on the interior face of the doors (fig. 15).

The choir of the *Succorpo* extends beyond the apse wall of the cathedral and is covered by a dome. The rectangular space of the choir terminates in a *cathedra* that is surrounded by low relief carving. The main altar and the tomb containing the relics of San Gennaro are placed inside the choir, in front of the *cathedra*. Directly across from the light-filled choir is a sacristy, positioned between the two stairwells and closed off by a large bronze door.¹⁵⁹

The walls and ceiling of the *Succorpo* are entirely faced with white marble while the floor is decorated with antique colored stone, arranged in a series of *cosmatesque* designs (fig.16). During the most recent restoration and scholarly investigation of the chapel, scholars determined that the materials used in the pavements were likely pilfered from ancient Neapolitan monuments. The geometric divisions of the pavements correspond to the eighteen panels of relief carving on the ceiling above.

The construction of the *Succorpo* was, in many ways, an incorporation of the old with the new. Scholars have argued that several of the marble columns in the *Succorpo* were taken from the Temple of Apollo, the remains of which, is located below the cathedral.¹⁶⁰ Additionally, the construction of the *Succorpo* required an excavation below the Early Christian foundations of the cathedral to the Roman temple beneath. Thus, the chapel truly incorporates the many layers of Neapolitan history that were been built upon that site.

The architect of this chapel was faced with the difficult problem of increasing the height of the area below the chancel of the cathedral. The ceiling of the chapel could not be raised without disrupting the appearance of the entire nave and all of the

royal tombs that were positioned behind the altar. Thus, rather than raise the height of the chapel's ceiling, Tommaso Malvito excavated nearly three meters below the original foundation of the cathedral. The floor of the presbytery was also raised approximately eighty centimeters (fig. 17).¹⁶¹

The original structure of the cathedral was further altered when a large opening was cut into the apse wall. This new addition allowed for the choir of the *Succorpo* to extend beyond the depth of the lateral aisles and also provided an opportunity to construct a dome over that space. Additionally, windows were cut into the exterior wall. One was created above the *cathedra*, in the apse, and two more were put in at the ends of each aisle.¹⁶²

The cathedral was already in a precarious state before the construction of the *Succorpo* began. Earthquakes in 1349 and 1456 had destabilized the building, and the structural changes undertaken during the creation of the chapel surely made the building unsound. Thus, part of Malvito's efforts were devoted to stabilizing the interior and exterior walls, and creating support walls to buttress the original structure.¹⁶³ Malvito also developed a brilliant system of shallow barrel vaults, located below the floor of the cathedral, which distributed the weight of the church directly onto the ten columns of the *Succorpo*. These shallow vaults are hidden by the flat marble panels of the ceiling.¹⁶⁴

Possible Precedents for the Succorpo

In his 1942 article, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,'" Richard Krautheimer explores the concept of architectural copies in

the medieval period. Krautheimer argues that medieval viewers would have recognized similarities between architectural structures that modern viewers often overlook. In this period, in order for a building to be considered a ‘copy’ of an earlier structure, it needed only to include a vague reference to its prototype. In many cases, the name or dedication of a building, the function of a space, or even a relic held within a particular space, was enough for it to be considered a ‘copy’ of an original.¹⁶⁵

In this light, it is timely to consider one structure from the Early Christian period, which shares a number of similarities with the *Succorpo* chapel in Naples. Bianca De Divitiis was the first to acknowledge the connection of the design of the *Succorpo* to that of the eighth-century catacombs of San Guadoso in Naples (fig. 18). The similarities of the design, location and function of the two spaces is striking.¹⁶⁶

The church of San Guadoso, now called Santa Maria della Sanita, was built by Bishop Duca Stefano II in the eighth century. The catacombs below that church contained the body of San Guadoso, bishop of Abitina, whose tomb was venerated equally with that of San Gennaro. In the ninth century the bodies of many of the saints were moved inside the city walls, to the church of San Guadoso a Caponapoli, and the site was somewhat abandoned until the sixteenth century. After its rediscovery, Archbishop Mario Carafa erected an altar in the cemetery and reinstated cult activities there. The church of Santa Maria della Sanita was built above the catacombs and was dedicated in 1577 by P. Antonio Camezzata Domenicano. In 1816, the French expelled the Dominican friars from the church and renovated the building. Gennaro Aspreno Galante’s guidebook acknowledges that the structure of

the catacombs was altered in the seventeenth century, though it is unclear how much the space has changed from its original appearance.¹⁶⁷

The catacombs of San Gaudioso contain a main altar and ten minor altars, which are placed in lateral niches, five to a side. Pilasters with ionic columns are placed between each of the lateral niches (fig. 19). This arrangement is identical to the design of the *Succorpo*. The minor altars held the relics of several confessed or martyred saints, and painted representations of each saint were placed above the altars.¹⁶⁸ As will be discussed shortly, it is not only the design of this space, but also the function of the minor altars as reliquaries for martyred saints, which links it to Cardinal Carafa's chapel.

Architectural Attributions

Prior to the construction of the *Succorpo*, Tommaso Malvito had not completed any documented architectural projects that would suggest his ability to carry out such a complex commission without the help of a master architect. He is credited with the design for the renovations of the Sorrento Cathedral, but it is unclear whether he participated in the actual reconstruction. Due to this lack of documented architectural commissions, many scholars look beyond Tommaso Malvito, often to Rome or Lombardy, in search of the master architect for the chapel. Francesco Abbate has suggested that architects and sculptors from Rome were hired to carry out the construction of the *Succorpo*, while Daniela del Pesco has suggested Giuliano da Sangallo and his brother Antonio as possible master architects for the chapel.¹⁶⁹

However, the architect that most scholars identify as the author of the *Succorpo* is Donato Bramante. Antonio Muñoz was the first to publish this attribution. In 1969, the proposition was picked up by Arnaldo Bruschi and later strengthened by Roberto Pane.¹⁷⁰ Other scholars, such as Fabio Speranza, Francesco Abbate and Mario Rotili also agree with this attribution.¹⁷¹

Since none of the primary documents pertaining to the chapel mention Bramante, most scholars base their arguments on stylistic similarities between the *Succorpo* and Bramante's other projects and on his relationship with Cardinal Carafa during the early sixteenth century. Carafa was Bramante's first patron in Rome. He commissioned the architect to oversee renovations in the cloister at Santa Maria della Pace, where Bramante worked from 1503-1504.¹⁷² As Daniela del Pesco notes, Bramante's participation in the *Succorpo* project presupposes his relationship with Cardinal Carafa. The two would have to have met prior to Bramante's arrival in Rome around 1499-1500, and there is no evidence to prove such a point. Del Pesco suggests that they may have come in contact via Carafa's Dominican connections, since Bramante was documented at the Dominican church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan in 1494. Another scenario suggests that Ascanio Sforza, brother of Ludovico il Moro, Bramante's patron in Milan, may have provided a link to Cardinal Carafa—especially after the fall of Ludovico in 1499, when Bramante was likely in search of new patrons.¹⁷³

Another common argument for Bramante's participation in the *Succorpo* and his relationship with Cardinal Carafa in the late fifteenth century is a note written by Bramante himself and attached to a sonnet that he had also written. The note reads:

“A dì primo di settembre in Taracina.” From this short note, scholars have determined that Bramante was in Terracina, midway between Rome and Naples, in September of 1497. It is unclear why Bramante would have been so far south of Rome. Vasari has suggested that Bramante went as far as Naples in search of antique architecture. And Arnaldo Bruschi argues that Bramante may have been in that region to participate in some of Cardinal Carafa’s Neapolitan projects, though there is no evidence for this.¹⁷⁴

Several scholars cite the frequent use of shell niches in Bramante’s work—especially in his earlier projects in Milan—as a stylistic connection to the *Succorpo*. In particular, Bramante’s sacristy in the church of Santa Maria sopra San Satiro in Milan (fig. 20) has been adduced as is quite similar to the design of the *Succorpo*.¹⁷⁵

Angela Dreszen has proposed the most compelling argument against Donato Bramante’s participation in the *Succorpo*. She writes that if an architect as renowned as Bramante was responsible for the architecture of the *Succorpo*, then why do none of the contemporary documents or the later guidebooks mention Bramante’s name? This silence is a major flaw in the arguments of those scholars who attempt to attribute the *Succorpo* to Bramante. Roberto Pane argues that in 1503-1505 when Fra Bernardino was writing, the architectural structure of the chapel was already complete and Bramante had left Naples for Rome. Similarly, Charlotte Nichols and Angela Dreszen have argued that Bramante likely provided the design for the chapel, which was then carried out by the Malvito workshop while the master architect was away working on other projects.¹⁷⁶ Each of these arguments is tenuous and reaching, especially when one considers that the main impetus for scholars to link Bramante to

the *Succorpo* is a stylistic likeness—one that may not be strong enough to warrant such a vast detour from the documentary evidence.

Diana Norman argues that the similarities between the *Succorpo* and Bramante's early works are aspects of a common architectural vocabulary, that could have been brought to Naples by artists such as Francesco di Giorgio.¹⁷⁷ Tommaso Malvito would likely have been familiar with this architectural vocabulary as well, due to his early training in Lombardy. As Norman goes on to say, Tommaso Malvito would have had plenty of experience constructing architectural settings, since he had built many marble tombs and wall chapels prior to the *Succorpo* commission. Furthermore, Malvito would have been able to hire workers from the large pool of skilled builders and craftsmen who were trained by Francesco di Giorgio during the Aragonese building program.¹⁷⁸

Scholars such as Diana Norman, Yoni Ascher, Roberto di Stefano, Gennaro Borrelli and Gustavo Frizzoni all accept the attribution of the architecture to Malvito.¹⁷⁹ And I would argue that the contemporary documents relative to the *Succorpo*, and the earlier production of the Malvito workshop, provide sufficient evidence to identify Tommaso Malvito as master of the project. Additionally, it is important to recall Tommaso Malvito's popularity in Naples at this time and that Cardinal Carafa had already hired him to build the funerary monuments for Francesco and Diomede Carafa in the family's chapel at San Domenico Maggiore.

Sculpture of the Succorpo

The sculptural imagery in the *Succorpo* chapel includes what Francesco Abbate has deemed ‘three expressive moments.’ First, is the parietal decoration of the stairwell entryways and the lateral niches, which includes antique candelabra motifs. Second, the white marble ceiling is divided into eighteen distinct relief panels, in which cherubim and seraphim surround a portrait of a holy figure. Finally, there is the life-sized, free-standing sculpture of the patron, Cardinal Oliviero Carafa, kneeling at a *prie-dieu*.¹⁸⁰

The decoration of the chapel employs classicizing and Renaissance modes of representation, which weave together ‘pagan’ and Christian symbols. The imagery of the pilasters and lateral niches is overwhelmingly classical, though a number of symbolic Christian images are interspersed throughout. By contrast, the ceiling reliefs are entirely Christian in content and are portrayed in a polished *all’antica* manner, typical of the Renaissance. The effigy of Cardinal Carafa, which stands in the center bay of the chapel, between the two stairwells, is so realistic and life-like that one might expect it to be a work of the very High Renaissance, or even later.¹⁸¹

In his detailed study of the *Succorpo* sculpture and the workshop that produced it, Gennaro Borrelli argues that much of the antique imagery represented in the chapel was taken from the ancient ruins of the Temple of Apollo, located directly below the foundations of the cathedral. In Renaissance Naples, ancient ruins were visible and easily accessible; in addition to the ruins below the Duomo, the church of San Giovanni Maggiore was built above the largest temple in the region, which was converted to a church in the second century. Much of the same imagery that decorates

the chapel also decorates the triumphal arch of Alfonso I at Castel Nuovo. In this way, the motifs that adorn the walls of the *Succorpo* may derive from a particularly Neapolitan repertoire of ancient art. Thus, the iconography of the chapel celebrates the ancient origins of the city, while also connecting it to Naples' Early Christian foundations through its episcopal focus and emphasis on Neapolitan bishop saints.¹⁸²

Relief Carvings of the Stairwells and Shell Niches

The original stairwells that accessed the *Succorpo* were lost in a restoration of the cathedral's chancel around 1741-1744. Several sources, prior to that restoration project, however, have recorded that the marble walls of the original stairwells were as finely decorated as those in the chapel's interior. The reliefs contained scenes of David conquering Goliath and Judith defeating Holofernes. These Christian symbols of virtue triumphing over vice were accompanied by four planetary deities riding in triumphal chariots; Sol and Mercury were depicted on one side of the stairs, Luna and Jupiter on the other. Constellations and signs of the Zodiac were also included in this miscellany of images that comprised the artistic program of the stairwells.¹⁸³

Above the banister of the stairs leading into the chapel, two heavy curtains are carved in relief. The curtains are pulled back at each side by smiling, winged putti. In the space between the drawn curtains is a small cavity enclosed by a bronze grate (fig 21). This space is thought to contain liturgical elements for the chapel, though it may also have held the relics of a saint at one time.¹⁸⁴

This motif of putti pulling back curtains appears frequently in the context of funerary monuments, in which the effigy of the deceased is revealed behind the

drawn curtains. For example, the same type of imagery appears on the monument of King Ladislas at San Giovanni a Carbonara (fig. 22) and on the tomb of Antonio ‘Malizia’ Carafa at San Domenico Maggiore (fig. 23).

Each of the twelve shell niches in the chapel includes a small marble altar. The back wall of the niches is blank, while the two sidewalls are adorned with vertically oriented, rectangular panels of low relief carving (fig. 24). In many of the niches, these lateral panels are extremely ornate and contain symbolic imagery. Other panels are simpler, however, and comprise only putti, birds and cornucopias. The ceilings of the niches also include rectangular relief panels, which are decorated with fairly simple vegetal designs. In the space above the shell niches, and below the ceiling, is a row of rectangular relief panels. These reliefs are decorated with Cardinal Carafa’s coat of arms, flanked by garlands of fruit and vegetation. Many of these panels also include small birds or mighty eagles, standing erect on the garlands.

The decoration of the niches does not seem to suggest any particular iconographic program that would indicate a specific use or function for the individual niche. Images of foliate garlands, cornucopias, vases of fruit, birds, putti, cherubim and seraphim, urns, torches and antique hanging lamps are prevalent throughout all the niches. Some of these panels contain only the images listed above, while others also include elaborate and symbolic imagery from both classical and Christian repertoires.

In first thinking about the patterns of imagery and possible iconographic program for the niches, I considered the possibility that each niche, or each aisle of niches, might have a particular theme or function. After a thorough study of these

relief panels, however, I do not believe that such a clear program exists. It is more likely that the differences in the decoration of each relief panel or niche is the result of the multiple hands at work in the chapel. It seems that the sculptors were free to insert classical and Christian symbols, as well as Cardinal Carafa's *impresa*—the open book and the 'stadera' with the Janus head weight—at their discretion. Several blank plaques are also included in the relief carvings of the niches, suggesting that names or epitaphs were to be added at a later date. These blank tablets appear in the first and second niches of the left aisle, as one enters the chapel from the stairwells, and also in the first, third and fourth niches of the right aisle.

Some Christian symbols are included in the carvings of the niches, mostly in the second niche of both the left and right aisles. Putti, cherubim and seraphim, however, are present in nearly all of the panels. The torches and hanging lamps that are depicted in several reliefs can also be considered Christian symbols of sacrifice. Several eagles are also depicted in these reliefs; typically shown standing upright with wings spread wide, many of them hold a snake in their beak or talons. In the left aisle, these eagles are carved on the left panels of both the second and fifth niche and also in the exterior panel above the fifth niche. In the right aisle two eagles depicted on the exterior panel above the second niche. The representation of the eagle and snake can be understood as another Christian symbol of virtue conquering vice. Finally, in the fourth niche of the left aisle is a carving of the dead Christ laid out atop an open book, with his arms spread open so as to exhibit the wounds on his hands (fig. 25).

Many antique images, which were likely taken from ancient sarcophagi, are also interspersed throughout these relief panels. In the left aisle, above the first niche,

a relief depicts a female riding a sea centaur; at the right a bearded man rides a centaur. The third niche in this aisle includes a six-piped panpipe in the exterior panel above the niche. In the fourth niche, the panel to the right shows classicized dolphins that dive over the shoulders of two putti; a classical sphinx is depicted in the exterior panel above this niche. Two satyr masks are depicted in the exterior panel above the fifth niche. And in the small triangular space above the niche at the end of this aisle, relief carvings depict a nude male reclining in water with dolphins. To his right, a heavily draped female figure is seated in front of a torch, with one arm raised.

The first three niches in the right aisle include an abundance of antique imagery. In the left panel of the first niche, the torso of a bearded man with a foliate lower body is depicted. He holds a triton and battles a sea monster with one hand, while holding a baby dolphin in his other arm. Above him, two sets of pipes, two torches and a helmet hang off the torso of a nude woman. Two putti dance atop a small plaque that divides this panel in half. Above them are a satyr mask, two dolphins, two cornucopias, and two birds eating fruit out of a vessel. In the center of this composition is a disembodied head, encircled by what looks like flower petals or rays of sun (fig. 26).

In the left panel of the third niche, two putti are seated on a rectangular object that resembles a sarcophagus. The heads of three snakes comprise the feet of the sarcophagus, and a cherub is carved on the front side. A pole rises up from the center of the sarcophagus; it is topped by a flaming vessel that is decorated with three angelic heads. Two tridents divide the panel across the middle and an antique cameo hangs off each end. The cameo on the left depicts a man with a laurel crown and the

one on the right portrays a woman in profile. In the upper portion of this panel, above the tridents, two dolphins dive downward below the head of a cherub; a squatting sphinx is inserted between two torches at the very top (fig. 27).

In the right panel of the third niche, two winged putti stand atop a sarcophagus and hold up a medallion decorated with Cardinal Carafa's coat of arms. The front of the sarcophagus is adorned with garlands and a portrait medallion. A candelabrum topped by a bowl of fire rises up from the center of the sarcophagus. Three nude boys are portrayed above Carafa's coat of arms. The figure in the center, positioned with his back to the viewer, holds up a small blank plaque. The two boys at either side face outward with one foot resting on a satyr mask; each of these boys blows a horn. At the top of the panel a male and female satyr sit above the plaque and face outward, each holding a long torch; a small nude woman stands between them (fig. 28).

It is interesting to note here that the third niche in both aisles includes Cardinal Carafa's coat of arms—leading one to wonder what the significance of this bay of the chapel might be. When we look to the floor pavements in front of each of these niches, we see that the same design is present in each aisle. The pavement in front of the third niche in the right aisle is particularly interesting because it is the only section of the chapel where we can clearly note the presence of a burial (fig. 29). The inscription on the pavement reads, "HECTORIS CARAFA DUCIS ANDRIAE HIC OSSA QUIESCUNT XVII KAL. IUN. MDCCCLXIII."¹⁸⁵

There are a total of four sections of floor pavement in the chapel that contain this same design. One is in the second bay of the chapel, directly in front of the sculpture of Cardinal Carafa and below the ceiling relief of San Gennaro. This floor

pavement was likely reserved for the burial of Oliviero Carafa himself.¹⁸⁶ The second of these pavements is in the third bay of the right aisle, and a third appears in the third bay of the left aisle. The fourth pavement with this same pattern is located in the fourth bay of the chapel, in the center aisle.

The second niches in both aisles are, by far, the most finely carved and richly decorated. The abundance of symbolic imagery in these two niches warrants a slight pause to consider why this second bay of the chapel stands out above the others. As I have just suggested, it is likely that Cardinal Oliviero Carafa planned to be buried in the center of this second bay of the chapel, directly in front of his portrait and below the representation of his saintly intercessor. In this way, we might consider that the niches on either side of Cardinal Carafa's intended burial contain the finest quality reliefs, and themes that were considered worthy of adorning his tomb.

On the left panel of the second niche in the left aisle, a long piece of fabric, draped over a branch decorates the lower portion of the relief. This image likely represents the burial shroud of Christ. Above that branch are two cornucopias filled with fruit, flowers and wheat. A medallion with the profile heads of two men, one young and one old, and each wearing haloes, is depicted in the center of the panel. The identity of the men is unknown, although, Gennaro Borrelli has argued that these figures represent Tommaso and Giovanni Tommaso Malvito. However, the insertion of the artist's portraits and their adornment with halos in this context seems inappropriate and even sacrilegious.¹⁸⁷ Above the medallion is a plaque with an eagle carved at its center. The eagle stands atop a garland with its wings spread wide; snakes slither away from it in the upper corners. Two torches are angled outward

behind the plaque, with the flames just below the wings of a cherub. The cherub is placed in the very top portion of the panel; its eyes are carved deeply at the top to suggest that it is looking up toward heaven (fig. 30).

In this same niche, the relief panel at the right depicts the bearded and foliate head of a satyr, flanked by cornucopias. In the center of the panel the head of a longhaired boy is flanked by dolphins. A medallion with the monogram “IHS,” which represents the name of Jesus Christ, is carved above the dolphins. In the composition at the very top of the panel, another disembodied head is suspended from a pair of wings. Two urns flank the wings at the top of the panel (fig. 31).

The exterior panel above this niche is also elaborate, as compared to the others. The panel contains the garlands and Cardinal Carafa’s coat of arms, which appear in all the other panels above the niches. At the base of this relief, however, two birds and two sea creatures are depicted eating from the garland. Above the garland, at the left of Carafa’s coat of arms, a young, nude male rides a chariot that is pulled by two horses. At the right, a classically dressed woman and a baby ride in a chariot, pulled by two eels (fig. 32).

The second niche in the right aisle is rich in imagery and symbolism. At the base of the panel on the right, two bearded satyr masks face outward at the corners; in the center two feline creatures with the heads of women serve as the base of a sarcophagus. Two winged putti with satyr legs sit atop the tomb, each holds an arrow in one hand, a flower in the other, and wears a quiver of arrows. Two small torches are located behind the seated putti. Above these figures is the large disembodied head of a bearded man with hybrid, centaur ears. The figure’s eyes and mouth are just

barely open and the man appears to be either asleep or dead. Two small, disembodied heads hang at either side. On the branch from which all three of these heads hang, two centaurs—one old and bearded with long hair and another more youthful figure—dance around a vase of fruit and blow horns. The bearded figure holds out a drinking vessel to the younger figure, who holds a large ivy leaf in his left hand and looks up toward a squatting sphinx. A medallion flanked by two torches is balanced on the head of the sphinx. The medallion is decorated with popular Christian symbol of Christ's sacrifice; a swan-like bird bites itself in the chest to feed the four young birds in its nest (fig. 33).

The imagery at the bottom of the left panel in this niche includes: a candelabrum, two birds eating insects, cornucopias, putti, a sphinx and two torsos of nude women. A set of panpipes hangs off of the body of the figure on the left and a torch hangs from the figure on the right. An altar with two rams heads, another symbol of sacrifice, is carved at the top of this panel (fig. 34).

A splendidly rendered garland of fruit, wheat and foliage adorns the exterior of this niche. At either side of Cardinal Carafa's coat of arms a large eagle, wings outstretched, is perched atop a bowl of fruit. Below the garland are two small birds and two medallions. The medallion at the left depicts two helmeted men, and the one at the right portrays two women with snail-shell hairstyles (fig. 35).

The window niches at the end of each aisle are both decorated in a similar fashion. The wall panels on the left include a wreath of abundance with flowers, fruit and vegetation, which encircles a 'stadera' and Janus head weight (fig. 36). The wall panels on the right have a similar wreath, this time with an open book at the center

(fig. 37). On the angled ceiling above these niches, two putti balance on puffs of clouds and hoist up Cardinal Carafa's coat of arms (fig. 38). Classicizing figures are depicted in the small triangular spaces on the exterior of these niches, just below the ceiling.

The fantastic interweaving of classical imagery and Christian symbolism in the relief panels also occurs in the pilasters between each of the niches. As has been suggested, many of the images in the *Succorpo* likely derive from the ruins of ancient monuments or sarcophagi from within the city of Naples. The recent rediscovery of the Domus Aurea in Rome, however, likely also inspired Cardinal Carafa's interest in this type of antique decoration. After all, Carafa had been living in Rome for many years, and the revival of classical literature and art was popular among the humanistic circles in which he found himself.

Many of these ancient images had already obtained symbolic classifications by this period. The theme of resurrection and eternal life is prevalent throughout the *Succorpo*, represented in symbols such as laurel, flowering acanthus and flaming torches. The birds that appear in nearly every panel symbolize a connection between Heaven and Earth, while the eagles swallowing serpents, or holding them in their talons, express ideas of virtue conquering vice.¹⁸⁸

Pilaster Reliefs

The niches in the chapel are divided by elaborately carved white marble pilasters, which are topped by Ionic capitals. The candelabra and vegetal motifs are especially prominent in the pilaster reliefs; these compositions are, in many cases,

much simpler than those of the niches. The candelabras of the pilasters are surrounded by animals and hybrid creatures—dolphins, birds, horses, dragons, lions and even geckos are included. The putti, satyrs, urns and torches that are depicted in many of the niches are also incorporated into the designs of the pilasters. The Christian symbols, however, are somewhat limited in these panels.

In the first pilaster of the left aisle, a finely carved figure of Christ stands in a basin with his arms and hands turned open to reveal his wounds (fig. 39). The only other obviously Christian image is the figure of David with the head of Goliath at the top of the fourth pilaster of the left aisle. With his sling in his left hand and his sword his right, David stands proudly in front of two palms of martyrdom, with the severed head of Goliath at his feet (fig. 40).

One of the most pervasive elements of the pilaster reliefs is the symbol of the open book—one aspect of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa's *impresa*, which celebrates his learning. This symbol is represented in several different fashions throughout the pilaster carvings. In some cases, open books hang from the central candelabra, in others they are held by nude boys or classically dressed women. Carafa's coat of arms and the 'stadera,' the other element of his *impresa* that symbolizes good judgment and prudence, also appear in several of the pilaster reliefs.

In the choir of the *Succorpo*, behind the main altar and sarcophagus of San Gennaro's relics, a bishop's throne, or *cathedra*, is set into a shell niche, with a semicircular window overhead. The back wall of the *cathedra* is decorated with Cardinal Carafa's coat of arms (fig. 41). Fra Bernardino does not mention this throne in his poem, leading some scholars to argue that it might be an eighteenth-century

addition.¹⁸⁹ One wonders what would have originally been placed in that space, if the *cathedra* were not there, since the current composition fits perfectly with the function and meaning suggested in the chapel.

Furthermore, the relief panels on either side of the *cathedra* are well suited to the decoration of the chapel, and their imagery speaks to many of the patron's concerns that are expressed elsewhere in the *Succorpo*. On the right, if one is facing the *cathedra*, a relief of Minerva with a lance and gorgon shield is represented as a personification of 'Sapientia.' The carvings at the left include a woman with a serpent, identified as a symbol of 'Prudentia.' Thus, the two virtues for which Carafa was most praised, wisdom and prudence, are celebrated on either side of the *cathedra*. Four music-making angels and olive branches surround these two virtues. Olive branches were also prevalent in Carafa's Roman chapel, since they symbolize his first name, Oliviero.¹⁹⁰

Two large, blank plaques are located on the lateral walls of the choir; a semicircular space above these panels is adorned with a medallion that depicts a man in profile. Roberto Pane has argued that the older of these men is Oliviero Carafa and the younger man is his brother Alessandro, Archbishop of Naples. Two shorter walls serve as an entryway between the choir and the main chapel; they are decorated with wreaths that encircle Carafa's *imprese*. An open book is depicted on the right wall, on the same side as the personification of 'Sapientia,' and the 'stadera' with a Janus head weight and Carafa's motto 'hoc fac et vives,' is carved on the left wall, on the same side that 'Prudentia' is represented.¹⁹¹ This arrangement links the virtues of wisdom

and prudence with Carafa's *imprese*—the open book and the 'stadera'—in a very clear manner.

Function of the Minor Altars

Before leaving the subject of the shell niches, it is essential to consider the function of these spaces and the marble altars that are placed within them. According to a number of sources, Cardinal Carafa had planned to obtain relics of several other saints to place on or within the minor altars of the *Succorpo*. Marble sculptures, or possibly reliquaries, would have been placed atop each of the altars, to celebrate the saint whose relics were interred there.¹⁹² Carafa did not manage to obtain these additional relics before his death in 1511, and his heirs apparently chose not to, or were unable to follow through with this aspect of his plan.¹⁹³

Fra Bernardino's poem does not mention that any reliquaries or statues of saints were placed on the minor altars, but this absence is understandable since the adornments for the altars would likely have been one of the last aspects of the chapel to be put in place, and Fra Bernardino's poem was written before the construction was complete. Carlo de Lellis' *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra del d'Engenio*, written at some point between 1654-1688, records that wooden statues, painted to look like marble, had been placed on the minor altars of the *Succorpo* and that these sculptures represented 'Santi Protettori' of Naples. In 1685, Pompeo Sarnelli also documented the presence of these sculptures on the minor altars, though he claims that they were made of stucco. Franco Strazzullo cites a description of the chapel from 1741, which

mentions that these same statues of Naples' patron saints were still present in the chapel.

According to note 95 of the 1977 republication of Carlo de Lellis' *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra del d'Engenio*, edited by Francesco Aceto, the sculptures that originally adorned the minor altars had since been lost. Franco Strazzullo provides the following explanation for the loss of the sculptures: "Probabilmente le piccole statue di legno furono rimosse nella grande "rivoluzione" del '700 e cioè nel generale restauro eseguito nella cappella Carafa sotto la direzione di Domenico Antonio Vaccaro." In fact, during the nineteenth century-restoration of the chapel, Baroque oil paintings were removed from the minor altars. As Strazzullo suggests, the original statues were likely taken out of the chapel at the time that the Baroque paintings were commissioned.¹⁹⁴

While the relics of San Gennaro may be the central focus of the *Succorpo*, the chapel was also meant to function as the locus of the cults of several other saints' relics. This fact may explain why the chapel lacks any real narrative focus on the life and miracles of San Gennaro, as would have been commonplace for a chapel dedicated to a saint. The decoration of this multivalent and multifunctional space invites diverse interpretations. The *Succorpo* can be understood as a funerary chapel for the patron and his family, as a space dedicated to the cult of one particular saint's relics, or as a sort of 'pantheon' of Neapolitan saints and their relics.

A total of twelve minor altars inhabit the chapel, including the two altars of the window niches. Therefore, Carafa must have planned to obtain relics from more than just the seven Neapolitan patron saints depicted on the ceiling. Some scholars

have suggested that since the chapel contains twelve minor altars, Carafa may have intended to place sculptures of the twelve Apostles on the altars.¹⁹⁵ This seems unlikely, given the decoration of the chapel's ceiling, which celebrates the four Church Doctors, the four Evangelists, Saints Peter and Paul, the Madonna and Child, and seven Neapolitan bishop Saints. A total of eighteen relief panels decorate the ceiling; thus, if the twelve Apostles were to be the focus of the lateral niches, it seems that they would have been incorporated into the ceiling decoration in some way.

According to Charlotte Nichols, statues of the twelve Apostles were commissioned for the chapel in the nineteenth century. This reinterpretation of the *Succorpo*'s lateral niches may have led to the confusion of scholars who argue that this was the original intention for the minor altars.¹⁹⁶ Today, the niches are free of any paintings or sculptures, as they likely appeared at the time of Cardinal Carafa's death.

Floor and Ceiling Decoration

Bianca de Divitiis refers to the type of ceiling found in the *Succorpo* as a 'coperta da crociere su colone.' She compares this ceiling to a few ancient monuments with similar ceilings, and the contemporary projects, the tomb of King Ladislas, and the sarcophagus of Sergianni Caracciolo at San Giovanni a Carbonara, which also have comparable ceilings. As de Divitiis argues, ceilings of this type existed in Renaissance projects, but they were typically used in tabernacles or monuments of a much smaller scale.¹⁹⁷

Tommaso Malvito's ceiling for the *Succorpo* chapel is not only architecturally innovative, but also somewhat rare in terms of its imagery and iconographic program.

As Angela Dreszen notes, ceilings with complex iconographic programs and symbolic language are rare among Renaissance monuments.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, the ‘unifying effect’ of the *Succorpo* chapel, with its rigorous subdivision of the ceiling and floor panels, gives a sense of severe geometry and rhythm that reflects contemporary ideas.¹⁹⁹

The ceiling of the chapel is divided into eighteen rectangular panels (fig. 42). Each panel includes a roundel with the portrait of a holy figure, which is surrounded by seraphim and cherubim. Portraits of the four Church Doctors, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory the Great and Augustine, are located at the four corners of the chapel. Next, seven Neapolitan saints: Agnello, Agrippino, Severo, Eusebio, Aspreno, Gennaro and Atanasio, are depicted in the region nearest the stairs. And finally, in that part of the ceiling closest to the choir, reliefs of Saints Peter and Paul, and the Four Evangelists, surround a panel of the Madonna and Child.²⁰⁰ The presence of Saints Peter and Paul not only celebrates the foundations of the Church, but also the legend that Saint Peter allegedly visited Naples and baptized many of its residents, including Saint Asprenus, the city’s first bishop. Saint Paul is also said to have visited the region, when he landed at Pozzuoli on his journey from Malta to Rome.²⁰¹

Interestingly, Saint Thomas Aquinas is not included among the other local saints that are represented on the ceiling reliefs. This is surprising, since scenes from the life of Saint Aquinas play such a major role in the decoration of Carafa’s Roman chapel. However, upon a closer examination of the saints portrayed on the ceiling of the *Succorpo*, we learn that San Gennaro is surrounded by the other five saints who were considered patron saints of Naples by the late fifteenth century: Agnello,

Agrippino, Eusebio, Aspreno and Atanasio. These particular saints were included in Alessandro Carafa's publication, the *Proprium* or *Messale dei Santi Patroni di Napoli*, which contains a series of masses dedicated to each of the patron saints. It seems possible that the *Succorpo* may have been anticipated as the location for these feasts and masses.²⁰² Of these 'patron saints,' all except Agnello, abbot of the monastery of San Gaudioso,²⁰³ were also bishops of Naples, and are therefore portrayed in the costume of a Neapolitan bishop on the ceiling of the chapel. Thus, in addition to honoring those more popular holy figures: the Evangelists, the doctors of the Church and Saints Peter and Paul, the iconographic plan for the *Succorpo* ceiling was intended to celebrate the most important Early Christian bishop saints of Naples.

Considering the striking similarities between the *Succorpo* and the catacombs of San Gaudioso, it is worthwhile to reiterate that Sant' Agnello was abbot of this monastery. As the only 'patron saint' depicted on the ceiling, who was not also a bishop, it is perhaps Sant' Agnello's status as abbot of the monastery of San Gaudioso that merits his presence in the ceiling program. Sant' Agnello is, in fact, given quite a prominent position among the ceiling reliefs. His portrait bust is located in the nave of the chapel, directly in front of the sacristy (fig. 43). The busts of Sant' Agnello, San Severo (fig. 44) and San Gennaro (fig. 45), form a direct line down the center of the chapel, above the portrait sculpture of Cardinal Carafa. Reasons for San Severo's prominent placement will be explored momentarily, and the explanation for San Gennaro's position is clear. Regarding Sant' Agnello, the catacombs at San Gaudioso and their connection to the *Succorpo* may provide an interesting justification for the saint's conspicuous placement on the ceiling.

As an Early Christian saint, and also a bishop of Naples, San Severo's presence in the ceiling program is not inappropriate, though he was not one of the saints considered a 'patron saint' of Naples at the time that the chapel was commissioned. Yet it is likely that neither his status as a bishop, or as an Early Christian saint warranted his inclusion in the *Succorpo*. Especially, since San Severo's portrait is positioned directly above the sculpture of Cardinal Carafa, there must be a more profound purpose for Severo's inclusion here.

The most compelling explanation for this anomaly is that San Severo, during his time as bishop of Naples, undertook the transfer of the first half of San Gennaro's relics—his head and two phials of his blood—to the Naples Cathedral. Thus, Cardinal Carafa, in translating the remaining relics, follows in the footsteps of his ecclesiastical ancestor, San Severo. Consequently, the location of the cardinal's portrait sculpture—placed directly below the panel of San Severo, with his body facing San Gennaro's relics and his eyes gazing upward to the panel of the Madonna and Child on the ceiling—both physically and symbolically places Carafa in harmony with these holy figures and identifies him as custodian of Gennaro's relics and intercessor to the city's patron saint.

Contrary to the white marble that covers the walls and ceiling of the *Succorpo*, the floors are decorated with polychrome marbles, arranged in the ancient manner of *opus sectile*. This fifteenth-century revival of the *cosmatesque* style was also popular in Rome at the time and can be found throughout the Vatican, as well as in Carafa's own chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva.²⁰⁴ The materials used in the floors of the

Succorpo include African marble, alabaster, ‘calcare nero,’ antique yellow, antique green, white Carrara marble, ‘bardiglio,’ ‘fior di pesco,’ cipollino, and porta santa.²⁰⁵

Artistic Attributions

Francesco Abbate, Antonio Muñoz, Gennaro Borelli and Fabio Speranza have each published very detailed studies of the parietal and ceiling sculpture in the *Succorpo*. They attribute particular sections of the chapel’s sculpture to individual hands. Francesco Abbate argues that sculptors from Rome, particularly from the circles of Andrea Bregno or Luigi Camponi, were hired to assist with the decorative carving of the *Succorpo*.²⁰⁶

The bulk of the attributions in these studies focus on the ceiling reliefs. Abbate has attributed the reliefs of the Madonna and Child, San Gennaro, Saint Gregory the Great and Saint Matthew, to the hand of Tommaso Malvito. He attributes the figures of Sant’Aspreno and Saint Peter to Giovanni Tommaso Malvito, and the figure of Saint Luke and the angels surrounding the bust of Saint Eusebio to an unknown collaborator of Lombard origin. Abbate argues that the portrait of Saint Mark is the clearest link to Roman sculpture and to the work of Luigi Camponi in particular. In the figures of Saints Peter and Paul, Abbate perceives similarities to the work of Andrea Bregno.²⁰⁷

Antonio Muñoz attributes the ceiling panels of the Madonna and Child, Saints Mark, Gregory the Great, Peter, Aspreno, Matthew and Gennaro, all to Tommaso Malvito. To Giovanni Tommaso, Muñoz attributes the reliefs of Saint John and Saint Luke, along with the putti above the window niches and on the front of the *prie-dieu*

of the Carafa sculpture; Muñoz compares these putti to those in the Cappella de Cuncto, also by Giovanni Tommaso. He points out the hand of a third sculptor in the panels of Saints Augustine and Agnello, and a fourth assistant in the figure of Saint Jerome.²⁰⁸

Gennaro Borrelli also wrote an extensive study on the workshop practices for the *Succorpo* project. He argues that the satyrs, masks and similar antique imagery in the right aisle of the chapel should be attributed to the ‘Maestro dell’Aquila,’ since these figures do not appear in any of Tommaso Malvito’s earlier projects. Borrelli also writes that the two eagles above the second niche, in the right aisle, are the signatures of Florio Abato di Giffone.²⁰⁹

Finally, Fabio Speranza’s essay draws connections between the sculpture of the *Succorpo* and other projects carried out by the Malvito workshop. For example, Speranza cites a similarity between the two end pilasters of the Miroballo altar, and the second pilaster of the left aisle, and the first and fifth of the right aisle in the *Succorpo*. Speranza also argues that the artist who sculpted the panels of Saints Jerome, Mark, Peter and Paul in the *Succorpo*, also participated in the carving of the door at Santa Maria di Loreto.²¹⁰

I do not wish to agree or disagree with any of the information cited here, since I certainly have not spent the time meticulously examining every inch of the sculpture in person, as each of these scholars must have. Instead, I have included this information in my study in order to illuminate the practices of the sculptors that created the *Succorpo*. In each of the studies mentioned above, the sections that the scholars attribute to individual hands, are scattered about the chapel. This may have

been a choice of Malvito, to blend the various styles of his assistants in an attempt to avoid large sections of sculpture with very distinct and contrasting styles. Either way, this practice might explain why the imagery of the parietal carvings also feels somewhat scattered—some panels contain an abundance of antique imagery, others focus on Christian symbols, and still others include only candelabras, vegetation, putti and garlands of fruit.

Chapter 4: The Portrait Sculpture of Cardinal Carafa in the

Succorpo, “tanto al natural, che par che spiri.”²¹¹

The exquisite, life-sized sculpture of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa is placed in the central aisle of the *Succorpo*, between the two stairwells (fig. 46). The cardinal is depicted kneeling at a *prie-dieu* with his hands clasped in front of him on an open book, and his eyes focused upward on the ceiling reliefs of San Gennaro and the Madonna and Child overhead. The short sides of the *prie-dieu* are decorated with Cardinal Carafa’s *imprese*; on the front, two putti hold up Carafa’s coat of arms. The cardinal is cloaked in luxurious fabrics that billow at his feet. His head is bare and his biretta is placed on the *prie-dieu*, in front of him, to the right of his hands. The fine carving of Carafa’s voluminous drapery, the attention to detail in the musculature of his hands and face, and the overall naturalism of the project is truly unparalleled in Neapolitan sculpture of the late fifteenth century.

The following description of Cardinal Carafa’s portrait sculpture appears in Verse XXI of Fra Bernardino’s poem on the *Succorpo*.

“For de la grata in meczo le doe scale
Uno scabello sta polito e necto:
Yvi starrà quel digno cardinale
Genibus flexis capite scoperto
Innante al Sancto de vita immortale:
Minibus iunctis con suo tucto affecto,
Suo grato aspecto verso quel pastore
Qual prese per suo digno defensore.”²¹²

From this poem, it seems that the sculpture was not yet completed at the time that the friar was writing in 1503-1505, and some scholars have suggested that the portrait of

Carafa may come from a funerary mask, thus dating the sculpture to sometime after 1511.²¹³

Fra Bernardino certainly must have seen or heard plans for the effigy of Cardinal Carafa, though, since he describes the figure exactly—kneeling with his head uncovered, hands clasped and gazing toward San Gennaro in admiration.²¹⁴

Cardinal Carafa's body faces toward the choir, where the main altar, San Gennaro's relics and the *cathedra* are located. The position of the effigy relative to these other important features of the chapel, suggests that Carafa himself serves as intercessor to Naples' patron saint.

Placement of the Carafa Sculpture

Fra Bernardino describes 'uno scabello' or *prie-dieu*, placed in the middle of the two stairwells—which is where the sculpture stands today. Despite Fra Bernardino's record, scholars are still divided over whether this was truly the original location of Cardinal Carafa's effigy, or if it was placed in the choir of the chapel, behind the main altar, instead.

The argument for the placement of the sculpture behind the main altar, and directly in front of the *cathedra*, has been supported by the writings of Cesare d'Engenio Caracciolo, Pompeo Sarnelli, Carlo Celano, Antonio Muñoz, Carlo de Lellis, Diana Norman, Daniela del Pesco, Bianca De Divitiis and Ricardo Carafa.²¹⁵ The placement of Cardinal Carafa's effigy in that location, however, suggests a very different implication for the image. In placing his portrait sculpture in the choir, Cardinal Carafa would have presented himself as reigning bishop, or eternal bishop—

thus privileging his own position over that of San Gennaro and the other Neapolitan bishop saints depicted on the ceiling.

A major argument against the placement of Cardinal Carafa's portrait sculpture behind the main altar is the lack of visibility that location would have provided for this superb monument. The luxurious billows of Carafa's robes and the decorative carvings of the *prie-dieu* would have been entirely hidden if the sculpture were located behind the altar (fig. 47). Even the cardinal's face would have been obscured by the trappings of the altar.

Despite the overwhelming majority of scholars who argue that Cardinal Carafa's effigy belongs in the choir, several others believe that the sculpture was originally placed between the two stairwells instead.²¹⁶ I agree that this seems like the more plausible placement for the sculpture, given the great attention to detail in the back and lower portions of the monument.

Franco Strazzullo, who spent a significant amount of time working in the *Succorpo* during the 1969-1972 restoration, also argues that the sculpture was originally located between the two stairwells.²¹⁷ Strazzullo explains that during the restoration of 1964, the sculpture was moved back to this original location and taken off a base that it had been placed on when it was moved into the choir.²¹⁸ Strazzullo's acknowledgement that this base—intended to raise the sculpture in order to make it more visible—was not original, suggests that the placement of the monument behind the altar was not original either.

Possible Precedents and Artistic Attributions

This sculpture depicts Cardinal Carafa alive and in the act of prayer, rather than lying prostrate, as was common for funerary monuments. Several scholars have argued that this innovation is so rare among funerary sculpture at this date, that the Carafa sculpture clearly could not have been the work of a sculptor from Naples.²¹⁹ Additionally, some scholars argue that Carafa is represented independent of any saintly intercessor, which was unique among funerary monuments that typically represented the Virgin as intercessor to the deceased. I would disagree that Carafa is represented without an intercessor, however, since the ceiling reliefs include several intercessors for the cardinal, and the physical presence of San Gennaro's relics would also have served this sacred function.

Diana Norman writes that among Italian sculpture of the period this unique ensemble is primarily found in royal or papal monuments. She cites the example of Robert II's monument at Santa Chiara in Naples (fig. 48), though she believes that the Carafa sculpture belongs to the Spanish tradition. According to Norman, figures in prayer on funerary monuments occur more commonly in Spanish sculpture, such as in the fifteenth-century wall tomb of Infante Alfonso in Burgos (fig. 49).²²⁰

The similarity between the Carafa sculpture and works of Guido Mazzoni, such as the sculpture group he created for Alfonso II at Monteoliveto (fig. 50), suggests a more likely influence of Northern Italian sculpture, and Mazzoni's work in particular, on Cardinal Carafa's effigy.²²¹ Guido Mazzoni arrived in Naples by December 20, 1489, and by December 27, 1492 he had completed the monumental sculpture group of the 'Bewailing of Christ' for King Alfonso II of Aragon.²²² This

scene was commonly reproduced in Mazzoni's work, and it represents a moment between the deposition and the entombment of Christ. These groups serve as a public document of the devotion and piety of the patron, who is generally represented in the guise of Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus.²²³ In Mazzoni's Naples group, which is generally considered his masterpiece and is one of the finest sculptural works of late fifteenth-century Naples, Alfonso II is represented as Joseph of Arimathea (fig. 51).²²⁴

Tommaso Malvito and the members of his workshop would certainly have been familiar with Mazzoni's Neapolitan project, which was completed five years before the workshop received the commission for the *Succorpo* chapel. Rather than search as far as Spain for a monument that may have inspired the design for Cardinal Carafa's portrait sculpture, perhaps we should consider that Mazzoni's sculpture of Alfonso II at Monteoliveto provided a precedent for the design.

There are several formal similarities between the sculpture of Alfonso II at Monteoliveto and Cardinal Carafa's portrait sculpture in the *Succorpo*. Aside from the contextual differences between the two sculptures, they do share a common bond in their function as commemorative monuments. Although Cardinal Carafa's sculpture appears inside his funerary chapel, it is not directly attached to a sarcophagus and, therefore, should not necessarily be considered a funerary sculpture. For the purposes of this study, we shall consider Cardinal Carafa's portrait in the *Succorpo* a commemorative sculpture, similar to that of Alfonso II at Monteoliveto.

Although the pose of the figures is slightly different, both sculptures depict a kneeling patron in a pious act of devotion. The naturalism and detail of the Carafa

sculpture is certainly on par with that of Alfonso II at Monteoliveto, which Giovan Francesco Carracciolo described as lacking “only movement and speech to come alive.”²²⁵

It is also interesting to note that in his sculpture at Monteoliveto, Alfonso II plays the role of Joseph of Arimathea, a wealthy, yet pious man who gave up his own tomb for the body of Christ. Considering the intended use of the *Succorpo*, a chapel to be shared by patron and saints, the connection between these two portrait sculptures seems even more evident. As the head of one of Naples’ most wealthy and influential families, the Neapolitan ambassador and representative to the College of Cardinals in Rome, and the decades long administrator of the Neapolitan diocese, it is not unnatural for Cardinal Oliviero Carafa to portray himself in a manner similar to that of King Alfonso II.

After all, in this period, Naples was experiencing such frequent power shifts and regime changes that local citizens were more apt to turn to the aristocrats and the heads of powerful families like the Carafa for guidance and protection than to the foreign king. As Tommaso Astarita writes, “The foreign character of many of the kingdom’s sovereigns helps explain the aristocracy’s success in remaining the dominant force in Neapolitan society. In the eyes of the population, especially of the peasants, the traditional, native lords must have appeared endowed with more permanence and legitimacy than the various tax-hungry governments...”²²⁶

Considering this unique identity of Neapolitan barons, we must recognize that Cardinal Carafa’s choice to portray himself in this manner, while it might seem

unusual and even inappropriate, relative to aristocrats in other Italian cities, it was not necessarily understood as such in Naples.

The Funerary Monument of Charles VIII and the Carafa Sculpture in the Succorpo

Another monument designed by Guido Mazzoni is worth mentioning here because of its surprising similarities to the Carafa sculpture in the *Succorpo*. In 1495, Charles VIII of France invaded Naples, and in 1496 he took Guido Mazzoni back to France with him as one of his highest paid court artists.²²⁷ Two years later, Mazzoni completed Charles VIII's tomb, which was placed in the Choir at St. Denis after the king's unexpected death (fig. 52).²²⁸ The figure of Charles VIII, kneeling at a *prie-dieu*, has been related to the votive portrait of Alfonso II at Monteoliveto.²²⁹

Since Charles VIII's tomb was created so soon after his return to France, the design of the monument, and the choice of Guido Mazzoni as its author, must have been inspired by a visit to Monteoliveto during Charles' time in Naples. The similarities between the tomb of Charles VIII and the sculpture of Cardinal Carafa are undeniable.²³⁰ It is unclear, however, where or when the design for the monument was established, or if it was known in Naples.

The now-lost tomb of Charles VIII outshone all the other projects of St. Denis in terms of scale, color and materials. The effigy sculpture was placed on top of a black marble platform that measured approximately 8.5 feet long, 4.5 feet wide and 3 feet tall. Symbols of Charles' conquests, figures of mourning women and allegories of the Virtues decorated the platform. The bronze figure of Charles depicts the monarch with hands joined in prayer; an open book and a crown are perched atop his

prie-dieu, in the same way that the open book and biretta are included in Cardinal Carafa's portrait. Charles' billowing robes were painted blue and decorated with gold *fleurs de lys*.²³¹

As Timothy Verdon asserts, the design for Charles VIII's funerary monument was rare at the time of its creation, and was clearly the design of Guido Mazzoni.²³² He believes that this representational mode suggests a "resurrectional symbolism: the earthly sovereign raised up from his sepulture to kneel in perpetual adoration before Heaven's King."²³³ The regal grandeur and innovative design of Cardinal Oliviero's portrait sculpture in the *Succorpo*, has clear ties to the monuments of both Alfonso II and Charles VIII, and also to the creative ingenuity of Guido Mazzoni's designs.

Attribution of the Carafa Sculpture

The attribution of Cardinal Carafa's portrait sculpture in the *Succorpo* has been the subject of continuous debate. Although Fra Bernardino's poem suggests that Tommaso Malvito is the master of the *Succorpo*, many scholars, including Francesco Abbate, Reumont, Roberto Pane and Diana Norman, believe that an artist from Rome should be credited with Carafa's portrait. There was even a legend in the early sixteenth century that Michelangelo Buonarroti carved the sculpture.²³⁴ Roberto Pane is perhaps the most frequently cited proponent for the attribution of Cardinal Carafa's sculpture to a Roman workshop. Pane's main argument, aside from stylistic features, is that an artist working in Rome would have had more access to Cardinal Carafa, thus making it easier to carve the patron's portrait. He also writes that since Fra Bernardino's poem of 1503-1505 only mentions the presence of the *prie-dieu* in the

chapel, the effigy of Cardinal Carafa must have been under construction in Rome. Otherwise, as Pane argues, why would the sculpture have been executed in two separate parts?²³⁵

As mentioned previously, Diana Norman has argued that the portrait of Cardinal Carafa belongs to a Spanish school of sculptors. Ferdinando Bologna, Fabio Speranza and Daniella del Pesco have reiterated this argument on separate occasions; Gil de Siloe has been suggested as a possible author.²³⁶ Daniella del Pesco has also cited the argument of Francesco Caglioti, who attributes the sculpture to Cesara Quaranta, a Neapolitan sculptor who returned to that city in 1509 after completing several projects in Rome. Caglioti seems to suggest that when Quaranta returned to Naples in 1509, he brought with him the finished sculpture of Cardinal Carafa, which he had carved in Rome.²³⁷

The only scholars who attribute the Carafa sculpture to Tommaso Malvito are Frizzoni, Patroni, Muñoz and Strazzullo.²³⁸ I agree that, judging by Tommaso Malvito's other documented projects, it is difficult to imagine that his abilities at figural carving were adequate to create this magnificently refined sculpture. Tommaso's artistic strength was certainly better suited for architectural arrangements and low relief decorative carving. His son, Giovanni Tommaso Malvito, by contrast, proved to be a much more accomplished sculptor of naturally proportioned and realistic figures.

Ottavio Morisani attributes the sculpture of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa to Giovanni Tommaso Malvito.²³⁹ I find this attribution to be the most compelling. Although Giovanni was not yet the master of the Malvito workshop at the time that

this sculpture was created, we see that already in 1505-1506, with the Cappella Miroballo in Castellammare di Stabiae, Giovanni Tommaso was acting as the workshop master in his father's absence. It is also clear from Giovanni Tommaso's Cappella Cuncto of 1517-1523—which presents one of the most stunning representations of a female votive portrait of the entire Renaissance—that he was exceptionally skilled at figural carving.

Chapter 5: Function and Iconographic Program of the *Succorpo*

Function

The *Succorpo* chapel in the Duomo of Naples has two clear functions—one private and one public. The *Succorpo* was staffed with ten priests, a sagrestano and two clergymen; the staff was paid to perform two masses a week and another on Sunday. Carafa's nephew, Archbishop of Naples, Vincenzo Carafa, obtained confirmation from Clement VII, for the family to maintain possession of the chapel and to continue to have it staffed for regular masses 'in perpetua.' Due to the death of Clement VII, the bull was drafted by Paul III in November of 1534.²⁴⁰

Cardinal Carafa died in Rome on January 19, 1511 and his body was first buried in his chapel at Santa Maria sopra Minerva. The cardinal's wish to be buried in the *Succorpo* was well known among his family and was recorded in his will.²⁴¹ Scholars, such as Chioccarrelli and a descendent of Carafa, Riccardo Carafa, have recorded that this wish was carried out, though, there is no record of the translation of his remains and the location of his body is unknown.²⁴²

Cardinal Carafa's brother, Alessandro Carafa, died in Rome on July 31, 1503 and his body was reportedly moved to the *Succorpo* in 1508, though, there is no evidence of his burial. Cardinal Carafa traveled to Naples in that year, most likely to visit his completed chapel, and to oversee the interment of his brother's body in that space.²⁴³ Cardinal Carafa's nephew, Vincenzo Carafa, who died in 1508, was allegedly also buried in the chapel, though there is no knowledge of this tomb either.²⁴⁴

The second, more public function of the *Succorpo* is its role as the center for the cult of San Gennaro's relics. Liturgically speaking, the administration of this cult was separated from the main cathedral, it was essentially a privatized cult, managed by the Carafa family.²⁴⁵ Cardinal Carafa obtained indulgences from Alexander VI for the first Sunday after Epiphany—which was also the date of the chapel's commemoration—and the first Sunday in May, the celebration of the translation of San Gennaro's relics.²⁴⁶

The inscriptions that were originally placed over the entrances to the *Succorpo*, quite clearly express the chapel's public function. The marble tablets with epitaphs composed by the humanist Pietro Gravina, were placed above the bronze doors of the *Succorpo* when the chapel was dedicated in 1506. The original tablets have been lost, though fortunately, early scholars recorded the epitaphs.²⁴⁷

The inscription over the Gospel entrance, the left door, is fairly customary. It names the patron, the dedication of the chapel to San Gennaro, and also indicates that the *Succorpo* is the property of the Carafa family.²⁴⁸ It reads:

“OLIVERIUS CARRAFA EPISCOPUS HOSTIENSIS S.R.E CARDIN(ALIS)
NEAP(OLITANUS) / D. IANUARIO MARTIRI PONTIFICIQUE
NEAP(OLITANO) PATRONO / SARCOPHAGUM HOC DEDICAVIT
SACELLUMQUE MARMORIBUS / MIRO OPERE CONSTRUXIT
ORNAVITQUE ADDITIS EI SACERDOTIBUS / QUI QUOTIDIE DEO
SACRIFICENT QUIBUS DOTEM PERPETUI PROVENTUS / CONSTITUIT
IUSPATRONATUS SACELLI GENTILITIUM ESSE VOLUIT / IN PRIMIS DEI
HONOREM AC LAUDEM SANCTORUM QUAESIVIT / FAVETE ANIMIS ET
AUCTORI DEO PRECES FUNDITE / ANNO SAL(UTIS) MDVI”

The inscription over the Epistle entrance, invites devotees of San Gennaro's cult to enter the chapel, which it describes as the ‘Ianua coeli,’ or the gateway to heaven. This description alludes to the name of the saint to whom the chapel is

dedicated ‘Januarius.’ Thus, the intercession of San Gennaro in the *Succorpo* provides the possibility of eternal life for visitors to the chapel. The epitaph over the right door, reads:

“CURRITE QUI CUPITIS CELESTIS PREMIA VITE / ET CASTAS HUC FERTE
PRECES HEC IANUA COELI / PANDIT ITER VOTIS DEUS HIC LACRIMIS
QUE PRECANTUM / MITIS ADEST QUI MARTIRIO PRECIBUSQ(UE) BEATI /
IANUARIII TOTAM COMMISSO CRIMINE AB OMNI / PARTENOPEN NUTU
AC PRESENTI NUMINE PURGAT / CURRITE VIM PATITUR DIVINA REGIA
REGNI.”

This theme of intercession is pervasive throughout the chapel’s decoration, as it was in Tommaso Malvito’s earlier tombs of Francesco and Diomedea Carafa at San Domenico Maggiore. Themes of intercession and redemption also play a major role in the iconography of Cardinal Carafa’s Roman chapel. In the case of the *Succorpo*, devotion to the relics of San Gennaro facilitates the obtainment of eternal life—since the relics were considered to have inherent salvific qualities. Furthermore, Cardinal Carafa’s role as custodian of those relics and administrator of the cult, serves as a testament to his own salvation.²⁴⁹

Carafa’s motto, ‘hac fac et vives,’ appears in several places throughout the chapel and it reiterates this theme of intercession and redemption, which is obtained as a result of just action and adherence to the teaching of the Bible.²⁵⁰ The doctrine and authority of the Church play an essential role in the iconography of the *Succorpo*. In his portrait, Oliviero Carafa’s identity as Archbishop of Naples is highlighted, more than his status as cardinal. This choice underlines the important local position of the Carafa family, since several members served as Archbishop of Naples, and during Oliviero Carafa’s own life he personally maintained control over the Neapolitan diocese and appointed new bishops from within his own family. The focus on

Neapolitan bishop saints and the inclusion of the *cathedra*, all contribute to this focus on the territorial authority of the Church.²⁵¹

Some scholars have argued that the commission of the *Succorpo* may represent an attempt by Cardinal Carafa to justify his role in the Curia, and to inspire support of orthodox doctrine and the papacy. The pontificate of Alessandro VI Borgia, from 1492 to 1503, was particularly well known for its corrupt practices, and this led many to question the worth of the papal institution as a whole. Cardinal Carafa, as Cardinal Protector of the Dominican Order, was put in a particularly difficult situation during the 1490s, due to the passionate preaching of Girolamo Savonarola against the Borgia papacy. Although Carafa supported the spiritual reform of the Church and originally shared the same goals as Savonarola, once Savonarola became increasingly radical, Carafa was forced to side with the papacy against him. Savonarola was excommunicated on May 13, 1497. On June 19th of that year, Carafa was called to participate in a commission to reform the Church against aspects of corruption. In the following year, Savonarola was arrested and put on trial in Rome. Carafa took this opportunity to visit Naples and to distance himself from the judicial proceedings in Rome.²⁵² It was during this time and in this volatile political climate that the *Succorpo* chapel was commissioned.

Iconographic Program

In addition to its celebration of the territorial authority of the Church, the iconography of the ceiling reliefs also venerates the various foundations of Church doctrine and apostolic history. The continuity of doctrinal traditions from the Old to

the New Testaments is glorified by the inclusion of the various Old Testament stories, such as David and Goliath.²⁵³ As has been cited previously, themes of Christian sacrifice—the sacrifice of Christ for all humanity and the self-sacrifice of the Early Christian martyrs—are also extolled throughout the chapel’s decoration.

Several scholars have noted that the antique language used in the architecture and decoration of the *Succorpo* chapel serves to exalt the Church above the antagonistic ‘pagan’ world. Among the imagery in the chapel, sacred and profane symbols are in constant dialogue with one another, as are emblems of virtue triumphing over vice.²⁵⁴

What these statements fail to consider, however, is the multivalence of the antique images of the *Succorpo*. While it may be true that such themes function as a foil to Christian images, the classical imagery in the chapel is also a status symbol for Cardinal Carafa, who was well known for his great wisdom and learning. The decoration of Carafa’s funerary chapel acts as proof of his knowledge of the antique and in some ways elevates his status to a certain level of nobility that was associated with this type of imagery. The *Succorpo* provides a re-presentation of Early Christian ideas according to the updated *all’antica* style of the Renaissance.²⁵⁵ As Daniela del Pesco has pointed out, the use of astrological elements, such as those in the *Succorpo*, was relatively rare in Southern Italy during this period. Examples of these motifs appear almost exclusively in those projects sponsored by Cardinal Carafa.²⁵⁶ In this way, Cardinal Carafa’s employment of this genre of imagery in his funerary chapel sets him apart as a person of great learning, and also glorifies his rich understanding of the antique, which was celebrated in artistic programs across Rome in this period.

Conclusions

In concluding this study, I am left with almost as many questions as when I began. In each new direction that this research has pulled me, I have noticed new connections and interesting comparisons. The multivalent style, imagery and meaning in the *Succorpo* lends itself to ongoing research and to rethinking of the character of the commission.

My aim in this study is to establish, that there are a number of very clear connections that we can make in our reconstruction of Cardinal Carafa's chapel. To begin, the architectural plan for the chapel, keeping in mind Richard Krautheimer's compelling findings on the concept of the 'architectural copy,' and the design for the *Succorpo* blend together the meaning and appearance of both the Early Christian *confessio* and the catacomb. This reference to Early Christian architecture is meaningful on a number of levels. First, it connects Cardinal Carafa's chapel to the early history of Naples and to his city's Early Christian bishops, many of whom had since been recognized as saints and who are represented among the other holy figures on the ceiling. This connection also associates Carafa himself with this line of Neapolitan bishop saints, and one can't help but imagine that he had hopes of a similar destiny after his own death. That Cardinal Carafa also had ambitions to reform the Church and reinstate Early Christian ideals, provides further meaning for this emphasis on the antique and on the Early Christian period in both the architecture and decoration of the *Succorpo*.

The particular connection to the catacombs of San Gaudioso further embeds the *Succorpo* chapel in Naples' own history. By reproducing an almost identical architectural design in his chapel, Cardinal Carafa seems to have envisioned the *Succorpo* as an updated, Renaissance version of the San Gaudioso catacombs—a space that would be symbolically linked to that sacred site, but that would also glorify the city's recent past, Carafa's own time and deeds, in particular.

The interesting symbolism of the body in the chapel's title, the *Succorpo*, which stresses the centrality of the 'body' of the saint below the 'body' of the church, is also compelling when one considers the incorruptible 'body' of the chapel's patron, kneeling in eternal prayer in the center of the space. This figure of Cardinal Carafa, above the space where his earthly remains were to be interred, stands in direct opposition to the glass-front sarcophagus containing the relics of San Gennaro. The sarcophagus emphasizes the physical presence of the relics, by virtue of their visibility.

In fact, the physical presence of San Gennaro's relics is key to the chapel's function, which is to provide a path to redemption and salvation for devotees who visit the chapel to venerate the cult of Saint Gennaro. The miraculous power of San Gennaro's relics has, I hope, been adequately expressed in this paper. I believe that this reinsertion of San Gennaro, the dedicatee of the chapel, into the scholarly dialogue adds to our understanding of Cardinal Carafa's intention for his chapel.

The sarcophagus that contains San Gennaro's relics is surprisingly simple relative to the rest of the chapel. In fact, the object seems more like a container than a reliquary tomb for a saint. As such, it is interesting to consider the possibility that the

Succorpo itself was conceived of as the *arca* for San Gennaro's relics. The inclusion of the putti pulling back curtains at the two entrances to the chapel contributes to this sense that the chapel itself is a tomb. Even more compelling, though, is the fact that Cardinal Carafa's portrait may have symbolically linked the patron with the portrait of Alfonso II as Joseph of Arimathea at Monteoliveto. If we can consider the chapel to be itself like a tomb, then the bodies of Cardinal Carafa and San Gennaro truly do share a burial container.

This study is the first to explore the relief carvings of the shell niches in the chapel. Although the findings of that exploration do not yet lead to a sense of a clear iconographic program for each of the niches, they do determine that some niches have special emphasis over others, as in the second and third niches in each aisle. In these niches the decoration includes more elaborate, more symbolic and more finely carved imagery than in most of the other niche panels, though the decoration is still somewhat vague and unspecific. One reason for this may be that this type of imagery leaves itself open to multiple interpretations and could easily conform to whatever reliquaries or statues of saints were to be placed on the minor altars at a later date. Additionally, this imagery has a way of receding in display, allowing the body of San Gennaro in the sarcophagus, and the body of Cardinal Carafa in his portrait sculpture, to be the focus of the visitor's attention.

Finally, the attribution of both the architecture and design of the chapel to Tommaso Malvito da Como appears even more appropriate than it did at the outset. Malvito certainly hired a number of master builders and assistant sculptors to help carry out the design, but his ability to construct architectural arrangements in the

numerous wall chapels he created, along with his design for the Sorrento Cathedral, are more than enough evidence of his skill. It is also possible that Tommaso's son, Giovanni Tommaso Malvito assisted his father with the architectural design.

Charlotte Nichols has argued that Giovanni Tommaso Malvito is responsible for the prepossessing architectural plan of the Caracciolo di Vico chapel at San Giovanni a Carbonara. The chapel was completed around 1517, leading one to believe that Giovanni Tommaso, in order to have been awarded such a huge commission, must have proven his skill in an earlier project, likely in his work on the *Succorpo* chapel.

Although very little of the sculpture in the Caracciolo di Vico chapel can be attributed to Giovanni Tommaso Malvito, his chapel for Giovanello de Cuncto and many of his later works provide adequate proof of his remarkable skill in both architectural and sculptural designs. In addition to assisting his father with the design for the *Succorpo* chapel, Giovanni Tommaso was likely also given the great responsibility of carving Cardinal Carafa's portrait sculpture. Even though Giovanni Tommaso was not 'head' of the Malvito workshop at this time, the works that immediately follow the *Succorpo* are so refined as to lead one to believe that he was carrying out equally excellent sculpture under the auspices of his father, and before he was given the opportunity to complete commissions as workshop master. One might wonder, then, whether some of the works that are currently attributed to Tommaso Malvito might instead be early works of Giovanni Tommaso, created while he was technically still a workshop 'assistant.'

While this study has generated many new ideas about the role of the *Succorpo* in the religious life of Naples, the iconography of the chapel's imagery, the possible

architectural and artistic precedents for the chapel, and the attributions of the project to Tommaso and Giovanni Tommaso Malvito, there are also several questions that remain unanswered. The connections between the *Succorpo* and the catacombs of San Guadoso, or between Cardinal Carafa and Sant'Agnesello still require further development. And, finally, there is much work to be done on the production of Tommaso and Giovanni Tommaso Malvito themselves. This would allow for a more concrete attribution of various aspects of the chapel's design. The multivalence of the *Succorpo* of San Gennaro invites varied interpretations, and surely our understanding of the chapel will change and grow as each new discovery is made.

¹ De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza*, 175.

² Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 46.

³ The lineage of the Carafa family is thought to date as far back as the period of Hohenstaufen rule in Southern Italy during the 12th century. By the 15th century the Carafa family had split into two branches: the Carafa della Spina and the Carafa della Stadera. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 23.

⁴ Norman, “Cardinal of Naples,” 77.

⁵ Oliviero’s father Francesco was appointed royal councilor to Alfonso I of Aragon and held the same position under the rule of King Ferrante. Diomede Carafa, Oliviero’s uncle, was responsible for provisioning the military and he later represented King Ferrante on diplomatic missions. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 23; Norman, “Succorpo,” 335; Norman, “Cardinal of Naples,” 77.

⁶ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 30; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 25.

⁷ Sadoletto and Altamura, *Il cardinale Oliviero Carafa*, 5.

⁸ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 24.

⁹ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 30; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 25.

¹⁰ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 25.

¹¹ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 30; Sadoletto and Altamura, *Il Cardinale Oliviero Carafa*, 6; Norman, “Cardinal of Naples,” 77.

¹² Norman, “Cardinal of Naples,” 78; Norman, “Succorpo,” 335.

¹³ Norman, “Cardinal of Naples,” 78; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 76.

¹⁴ Norman, “Cardinal of Naples,” 78; Norman, “Succorpo,” 335; Del Pesco, “Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo,” 143.

¹⁵ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 73-74.

¹⁶ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 30. In his funeral oration, Jacopo Sadoletto states that Carafa served on the Sacro Consiglio for 9 years. Diana Norman suggests the specific dates of 1465-1474 for Carafa’s service in this position. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 83, n. 24. For the funeral oration, see Sadoletto and Altamura, *Il cardinale Oliviero Carafa*, 6.

¹⁷ Diana Norman writes that in February of 1467 King Ferrante sent a letter to the College of Cardinals complaining that the Kingdom of Naples had no representatives within the college and recommending that they elect Oliviero Carafa to represent Naples. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 25-26. See also: Norman, “Succorpo,” 335; Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 30; Norman, “Cardinal of Naples,” 77; Dreszen, “Oliviero Carafa,” 168; Sadoletto and Altamura, *Il cardinale Oliviero Carafa*, 6.

¹⁸ Norman, “Cardinal of Naples,” 77; Del Pesco, “Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo,” 143.

¹⁹ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 8.

²⁰ Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 78; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 77-78.

²¹ In 1472 Carafa served as admiral of the papal fleet and led a crusade initiated by Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) against the Turks who had recently seized of the Venetian port of Negroponte. Carafa led a fleet of 4,700 men, which met up with the Venetian fleet near Venice. On January 23, 1473 Carafa returned to Rome with 25 Turkish prisoners, 12 camels and part of the harbor chain from the captured port of Satalia. Although Carafa's crusade failed to stop the Turks, his role was celebrated as the high point of his career. Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 30-31. See also Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 28-29.

²² Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 30-32.

²³ There were likely tensions between Carafa and Ferrante because Carafa disapproved of the King's abuses of his position, which were causing divisions within the Church and the Kingdom.

Innocent VIII died July 26, 1492 and in the papal conclave that followed Carafa received the following votes: Round 1- 9 votes (2 more than Rodrigo Borgia, his biggest competition); Round 2- 8 votes (tied with Borgia); Round 3- 10 votes (coming in ahead of Borgia who only received 8 votes). Ultimately Ferrante's opposition to Carafa caused him to lose a chance at the papacy, when Giuliano della Rovere sided with Ferrante to withdraw his support of Carafa. Rodrigo Borgia was elected pope through his bribery of Ascanio Sforza and other members of the college. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 33-35, 41; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 77.

²⁴ After the death of Pius III Carafa gave his vote to Giuliano della Rovere, who was elected Pope Julius II. As a show of gratitude for his support, Pope Julius II promoted Carafa to the position of Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, the highest placement in the College aside from the pope himself. Oliviero was over 70 years old by that time and he participated less actively in papal politics and was exempt from papal military exhibitions. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 41, 77; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 77; Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 31; Sadoletto and Altamura, *Il cardinale Oliviero Carafa*, 6.

²⁵ In addition to his service to the Dominican Order, Cardinal Carafa also served as Cardinal Protector of the Vallumbrosans and the Canons Regular of the Lateran Congregation of Saint Augustine. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 59.

²⁶ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 51.

²⁷ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 32.

²⁸ Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 143. Cardinal Carafa's first contact with the Dominican Order began some eight years prior when, on November 16, 1470, he was appointed by Pope Paul II to serve on a council to investigate a congregation of Dominicans in Lombardy. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 27.

²⁹ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 31.

³⁰ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 78; Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 32.

³¹ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 52-55.

³² Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 58.

³³ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 31-33.

³⁴ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 33-34, 65; Sadoletto and Altamura, *Il cardinale Oliviero Carafa*, 6.

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- ³⁵ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 99.
- ³⁶ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 147-148.
- ³⁷ Among the humanists and writers that are known to have dedicated works to Carafa are: Masuccio Salernitano, Gian Francesco Pico della Mirandola, Filippo Barbieri, Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli, Jacopo Sadoletto, Cajetan, Antonio Beccadelli and Matteo Bandello. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 130-131; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 143; Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 37.
- ³⁸ Andrea Brenta and Jacopo Sadoletto both served as Carafa's secretary at one point and both gave orations in his honor; Sadoletto's oration was given at Carafa's funeral. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 98, 116; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 143.
- ³⁹ Several of these literati—Brenta, Filelfo, Sadoletto and Donato included—translated Greek ecclesiastical and secular texts for Carafa. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 116; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 87.
- ⁴⁰ Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 87.
- ⁴¹ Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 88.
- ⁴² Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 106-107, 129.
- ⁴³ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 37.
- ⁴⁴ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 140-145; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 88.
- ⁴⁵ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 130-131.
- ⁴⁶ Parlato, "Cultura antiquaria," 271.
- ⁴⁷ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 135-139.
- ⁴⁸ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 36.
- ⁴⁹ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 133.
- ⁵⁰ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 36.
- ⁵¹ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 38.
- ⁵² Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 71.
- ⁵³ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 36; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 82; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 353-359.
- ⁵⁴ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 38; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 87; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 72.
- ⁵⁵ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, n. 96; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 71.
- ⁵⁶ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 395.

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- ⁵⁷ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 34; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 396.
- ⁵⁸ Diomede Carafa's funerary monument was likely produced by Jacopo della Pila several years earlier and updated by Tommaso Malvito upon the request of Cardinal Carafa. Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 79; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 389.
- ⁵⁹ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 35; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 79.
- ⁶⁰ Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 145; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 198, 393.
- ⁶¹ Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 79; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 391-392; Sadoletto and Altamura, *Il cardinale Oliviero Carafa*, 7.
- ⁶² In 1530 the building was converted into the Dominican Observant convent of Santa Maria della Sapienza. Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 35; Sadoletto and Altamura, *Il cardinale Oliviero Carafa*, 6; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 82; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 396-398.
- ⁶³ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 35; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 145; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 82-83; Sadoletto and Altamura, *Il cardinale Oliviero Carafa*, 7; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 327-351.
- ⁶⁴ Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 83.
- ⁶⁵ Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 168; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 83; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 182-235, 388.
- ⁶⁶ Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 168; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 83; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 182-235, 388.
- ⁶⁷ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 172, 181, 244-247.
- ⁶⁸ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 237-240.
- ⁶⁹ Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 169; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 125-126, 134, 255.
- ⁷⁰ Parlato, "Cerimonie," 463-464; Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 33; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 84; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 170, 251-252.
- ⁷¹ Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 31-32; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 75, 99; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 77; Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 168.
- ⁷² Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 85; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 66-67.
- ⁷³ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 24, 66-67.
- ⁷⁴ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 70-71.
- ⁷⁵ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 69.
- ⁷⁶ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 73-74, 353; Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 36-37; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 85.

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- ⁷⁷ One of the churches that Carafa left money to for requiem masses was Santa Maria in Aracoeli. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 67-68, 249, 352; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 85-86; Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, 35.
- ⁷⁸ Abbate, "Le scultore del 'Succorpo,'" 89.
- ⁷⁹ Abbate, "Le scultore del 'Succorpo,'" 91; Muñoz, "Studi," 56-57, 83; Seymour, *Sculpture in Italy*, 165; Morisani, *Saggi*, 7; Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 275.
- ⁸⁰ Muñoz, "Studi," 57-59.
- ⁸¹ Morisani, *Saggi*, 7.
- ⁸² Regarding the attribution of the three large statues in the Lazarus chapel, Burger has attributed both the Madonna and Magdalene statues to Francesco Laurana and the sculpture of Saint Lazarus to a French master with Dalmatian influence, Rolfs attributes the sculpture of Mary Magdalene to a follower of Francesco Laurana, and Muñoz attributes the sculpture of Saint Lazarus to Tommaso Malvito. Muñoz, "Studi," 60.
- ⁸³ Pane mentions that Tommaso Malvito developed into more of a decorative sculptor, leaning away from the figure modeling that Laurana was so well known for. Pane, *Architettura del rinascimento*, 207-208.
- ⁸⁴ Muñoz, "Studi," 59, 89.
- ⁸⁵ Abbate, "Le scultore del 'Succorpo,'" 91; Seymour, *Sculpture in Italy*, 165; Muñoz, "Studi," 56-57, 83; Morisani, *Saggi*, 7; Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 275.
- ⁸⁶ Muñoz, "Studi," 61; Nichols, *Caracciolo Di Vico Chapel*, 125, n. 86; Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 275; Del Pesco, "Il Succorpo di San Gennaro," 148; Ascher, "Tommaso Malvito," 111.
- ⁸⁷ Nichols, *Caracciolo Di Vico Chapel*, 93.
- ⁸⁸ Abbate, "Le scultore del 'Succorpo,'" 89, 91; Muñoz, "Studi," 61.
- ⁸⁹ Abbate, "Le scultore del 'Succorpo,'" 91.
- ⁹⁰ Ascher, "Tommaso Malvito," 111.
- ⁹¹ Ascher, "Tommaso Malvito," 117.
- ⁹² Ascher, "Tommaso Malvito," 117.
- ⁹³ Ascher cites Filangieri's *Documenti* VI, p. 475. Ascher, "Tommaso Malvito," 125 n. 48.
- ⁹⁴ Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 275; Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 178; Ascher, "Tommaso Malvito," 111.
- ⁹⁵ Ascher, "Tommaso Malvito," 125.
- ⁹⁶ Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 275.
- ⁹⁷ Ascher, "Tommaso Malvito," 126.

⁹⁸ Ascher, “Tommaso Malvito,” 126.

⁹⁹ Ascher, “Tommaso Malvito,” 126; Nichols, *Caracciolo Di Vico Chapel*, 127, n. 97. For the document related to this commission see Filangieri, *Documenti VI*, 474.

¹⁰⁰ Ascher, “Tommaso Malvito,” 126-127.

¹⁰¹ Di Stefano, “Tommaso Malvito architetto,” 276.

¹⁰² Muñoz does not believe that Tommaso Malvito is responsible for the monument of Francesco Carafa in San Domenico Maggiore. He argues that aside from the pose of the effigy, everything about this monument is different from the tomb of Mariano d’Alagno, which is also located in the Cappella Crocifisso at San Domenico Maggiore. Instead, Muñoz argues that an unknown follower of Francesco Laurana constructed the sarcophagus of Francesco Carafa.

Given the large gap of time between the two monuments—Francesco Carafa’s sarcophagus dates to 1487 while the Alagno monument was commissioned in November of 1506—it seems reasonable to assume that the Malvito workshop may have changed stylistically over the course of twenty years. Furthermore, the Alagno monument may have been carved by Giovanni Tommaso Malvito or another assistant, since it was created so late in Tommaso Malvito’s life—barely two years before he died. Additionally, given that Cardinal Oliviero Carafa is the most viable patron of the monument for his father, Francesco Carafa, and that Cardinal Carafa commissioned the Malvito workshop for his own funerary chapel ten years later, it seems likely that Carafa would have commissioned the same artist for both projects.

Morisani believes that the sepulcher of Diomede Carafa was created by Pietro da Martino in collaboration with Francesco Laurana. Morisani, *Saggi*, 8; Norman, *Patronage of Oliviero Cardinal Carafa*, 389; Muñoz, “Studi,” 91.

¹⁰³ Muñoz, “Studi,” 62-63.

¹⁰⁴ Muñoz, “Studi,” 63.

¹⁰⁵ Two of the artists mentioned in reference to the renovation of the Sorrento cathedral are Marco di Concilio of Sorrento and Simonetto di Concilio of Cava. Muñoz, “Studi,” 64-66.

¹⁰⁶ Muñoz, “Studi,” 66.

¹⁰⁷ Muñoz, “Studi,” 66.

¹⁰⁸ Muñoz, “Studi,” 73.

¹⁰⁹ Muñoz, “Studi,” 89.

¹¹⁰ Ascher, “Tommaso Malvito,” 125. For the document related to this commission see Filangieri, *Documenti VI*, 475.

¹¹¹ Tommaso Malvito completed the Recco chapel in approximately one year and was paid sixty-seven *ducats* for his work. Muñoz, “Studi,” 69, 93-94; Speranza, “La bottega di Tommaso Malvito,” 258.

¹¹² Muñoz, “Studi,” 95.

¹¹³ The Miroballo chapel was partially destroyed by fire in 1757 and was later dismantled. In 1835, the remains of the chapel were moved to the Capuchin church of Quisisana in Castellammare di Stabia. Muñoz, “Studi,” 70, 95; Speranza, “La bottega di Tommaso Malvito,” 259.

¹¹⁴ Abbate, “Le sculture del ‘Succorpo,’” 112; Ascher, “Politics and Commemoration,” 124.

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- ¹¹⁵ Muñoz, “Studi,” 71.
- ¹¹⁶ Muñoz, “Studi,” 90-91, 96; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 389; Abbate, “Le scultore del ‘Succorpo,’” 91.
- ¹¹⁷ For a full chronology of Malvito’s oeuvre see Di Stefano and Muñoz. Muñoz, “Studi,” 72, 96; Di Stefano, “Tommaso Malvito architetto,” 275, 287 n. 3; Ascher, “Tommaso Malvito,” 111; Morisani, *Saggi*, 98.
- ¹¹⁸ Muñoz, “Studi,” 73.
- ¹¹⁹ Morisani, *Saggi*, 15.
- ¹²⁰ Speranza, “La bottega di Tommaso Malvito,” 257.
- ¹²¹ Yoni Ascher attributes the effigy in Ettore Carafa’s funerary monument to Tommaso Malvito da Como. Ascher, “Tommaso Malvito,” 117.
- ¹²² Muñoz, “Studi,” 97-98.
- ¹²³ Pane, *Architettura del rinascimento*, 264-270.
- ¹²⁴ Muñoz, “Studi,” 97-98.
- ¹²⁵ Morisani, *Saggi*, 17, 98.
- ¹²⁶ Strazzullo, “La cappella Carafa,” 62; Norman, “Succorpo,” 324.
- ¹²⁷ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 34, 289; Norman, “Succorpo,” 335; Dreszen, “Oliviero Carafa,” 173-177.
- ¹²⁸ Located approximately 7.5 miles west of Naples, the land of Solfatara is comprised of a shallow volcanic crater, situated within the massive volcanic region of the Phlegraean Fields. Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 288.
- ¹²⁹ Graham, *The Mystery of Naples*, 24-26.
- ¹³⁰ Graham, *The Mystery of Naples*, 27-32.
- ¹³¹ Norman, “Succorpo,” 333; Graham, *The Mystery of Naples*, 18-22.
- ¹³² Norman, “Succorpo,” 334.
- ¹³³ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 34.
- ¹³⁴ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 37.
- ¹³⁵ Norman, “Succorpo,” 336.
- ¹³⁶ Norman, “Succorpo,” 336; Di Stefano, “Tommaso Malvito architetto,” 275; Abbate, “Le scultore del ‘Succorpo,’” 89; Muñoz, “Studi,” 83; Norman, “Cardinal of Naples,” 80; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 39, 290-291.
- ¹³⁷ De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza*, 172; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 291.

¹³⁸ Graham, *The Mystery of Naples*, 87.

¹³⁹ Nichols, *Caracciolo Di Vico Chapel*, 31.

¹⁴⁰ Cardinal Carafa was in Naples from April of 1498 to January of 1499, which is presumably when many of the major decisions regarding the decoration of his chapel were decided upon. Norman, "Succorpo," 354; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 293.

¹⁴¹ Muñoz, "Studi," 83; Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 286; Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 178; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 191; De Lellis, *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra*, 49; Norman, "Succorpo," 323, 354; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 80; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 286, 293.

¹⁴² It is not known whether the commission document for the chapel was destroyed in the fire of 1817 along with the other records related to the project. Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 46.

¹⁴³ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 295.

¹⁴⁴ Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 64-65; Ascher, "Tommaso Malvito," 126; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 286; Pane, *Il rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, v. I, 68.

¹⁴⁵ "In lo Archipiscopato nostro, sotto lo altar maior, è una gran cappella, quale dicono 'soccorpo', tutta di marmo e sopra colonne di gran spesa. Lo artefice fo ad nostra età: maestro Tommaso [Malvito] lombardo da Como, accompagnato con molti suoi discepoli." (All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.) Nicolini, *L'arte napoletana del rinascimento*, 167.

¹⁴⁶ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 284.

¹⁴⁷ Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 19.

¹⁴⁸ Borrelli attributes both the architecture and the decoration of the chapel to Tommaso Malvito. Francesco Abbate admits that Tommaso Malvito had at least a minor role in the construction of the *Succorpo*, though he argues that actual carving by Malvito is rather limited. Abbate also argues that Roman sculptors were brought to Naples to carry out a great deal of the architectural and sculptural work in the chapel. Daniela Del Pesco attributes at least part of the design to Tommaso Malvito. Angela Dreszen argues that Tommaso Malvito was the master of the project. Guido Gullo names Tommaso Malvito as the author of the project but also acknowledges the influence of Francesco Laurana and Bramante in the chapel. Borrelli, "Un gruppo di maestri scultori," 182; Abbate, "Le scultore del 'Succorpo,'" 89; Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 27, 81; Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 203; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 148; Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 178.

¹⁴⁹ Borrelli, "Un gruppo di maestri scultori," 182.

¹⁵⁰ Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 71; De Lellis, *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra*, 49.

¹⁵¹ Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 186-187; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 425-426.

¹⁵² Pontano, *I trattati delle virtù sociali*, 225-245.

¹⁵³ Pontano, *I trattati delle virtù sociali*, 242.

¹⁵⁴ Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 64-65.

¹⁵⁵ Frizzoni calls the *Succorpo* an underground church. Frizzoni, *Arte italiana del rinascimento*, 56-57; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 80; Norman, "Succorpo," 324, 338. Strazzullo describes the *Succorpo* as follows, "In the Archbishopric the Neapolitan Cardinal Oliviero Carafa bellow the main chapel constructed a space similar to a small church called by us 'giuso in cuorpo,' a marvelous work of great expense, ornamented entirely of fine marbles..." Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 64-65.

¹⁵⁶ Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 64-65; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 150; Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 203; Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 41; Norman, "Succorpo," 338, 340; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 297-298.

¹⁵⁷ Strazzullo gives the following measurements for the chapel: 10.2 meters long, 8.75 meters wide and 3.86 meters tall—though Muñoz's measurements seem, at least in relation to my own rough measurements of the space, to be more accurate. Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 65; Muñoz, "Studi," 84; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 150; De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza*, 172; Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 275.

¹⁵⁸ Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 66; Norman, "Succorpo," 338; Muñoz, "Studi," 85; Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 278.

¹⁵⁹ Norman, "Succorpo," 324.

¹⁶⁰ Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 65; Norman, "Succorpo," 324; Borrelli, "Un gruppo di maestri scultori," 191-192; Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 180. For detailed information on the specific types of marble used in the chapel, see Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 57-68.

¹⁶¹ De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza*, 172; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 150; Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 276.

¹⁶² Di Stefano, *La cattedrale Di Napoli*, 153; Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 278, 282.

¹⁶³ Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 275-276.

¹⁶⁴ Di Stefano, "Restauro e scoperte nel Duomo di Napoli," 35-36; Di Stefano, "Tommaso Malvito architetto," 278.

¹⁶⁵ Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,'" 3-20.

¹⁶⁶ De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza*, 172.

¹⁶⁷ Galante, *Le chiese di Napoli*, 303-304.

¹⁶⁸ The relics in the catacombs of San Gaudioso were brought to Naples in 1616 by P. Timoteo Casella Domenicano, bishop of Alarsico. The following list provides the altar number, the saint whose relics are interred there and the location from which the relics were translated. In the right aisle: 1. S. Benedetto B. e M. (della via Salaria) 2. S. Cirilla V. e M. (della via Salaria) 3. S. Venanzia V. e M. (della cimitero di Lucina) 4. S. Messalina V. e M. (della via Appia) 5. S. Eugenia V. & M. (della via Appia). And in the left aisle: 1. S. Ciriaco M. (della via Appia) 2. S. Furtunato M. (della via Salaria) 3. S. Liberato M. (della via Salaria) 4. S. Artemio M. (via Salaria) 5. S. Almachio M. (via Appia). Under the main altar: S. Antero Papa, S. Vito M. (from the cemetery of Callisto) and S. Ippolito M. (from the same cemetery). Galante, *Le Chiese di Napoli*, 303-305.

¹⁶⁹ Norman, "Succorpo," 353; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 148; De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza*, 171; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 295.

¹⁷⁰ Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 23; De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza*, 171.

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- ¹⁷¹ Speranza, "La bottega di Tommaso Malvito," 257; Abbate, "Le scultore del 'Succorpo,'" 104, n. 5; Rotili, *L'arte del cinquecento*, 48.
- ¹⁷² Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 145; Pane, *Il rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, v. II, 104; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 81; Nichols, *Caracciolo Di Vico Chapel*, 95.
- ¹⁷³ Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 147.
- ¹⁷⁴ Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 81; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 293-294; Pane, *Il rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, v. II, 108; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 146.
- ¹⁷⁵ Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 191; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 147; Nichols, *Caracciolo Di Vico Chapel*, 98; Pane, *Il rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, v. II, 107.
- ¹⁷⁶ Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 192-193; Nichols, *Caracciolo Di Vico Chapel*, 98; Pane, *Il rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, v. II, 107.
- ¹⁷⁷ Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 82; Norman, "Succorpo," 354; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 293-294.
- ¹⁷⁸ Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 82; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 294-296.
- ¹⁷⁹ Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 82; Borrelli, "Un gruppo di maestri scultori," 182; Nichols, *Caracciolo Di Vico Chapel*, 94; Ascher, "Tommaso Malvito," 126-127; Frizzoni, *Arte italiana del rinascimento*, 56-57.
- ¹⁸⁰ Abbate, "Le scultore del 'Succorpo,'" 89.
- ¹⁸¹ Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 80; Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 195-196.
- ¹⁸² Borrelli, "Un gruppo di maestri scultori," 188-190, n. 17.
- ¹⁸³ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 307-309; Norman, "Succorpo," 350; Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 66; Abbate, "Le scultore del 'Succorpo,'" 89; De Lellis, *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra*, 48-49, n. 90.
- ¹⁸⁴ Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 70.
- ¹⁸⁵ Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 71.
- ¹⁸⁶ Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 200.
- ¹⁸⁷ Borrelli, "Un gruppo di maestri scultori," 184.
- ¹⁸⁸ Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 206.
- ¹⁸⁹ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 305.
- ¹⁹⁰ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 305; Norman, "Succorpo," 347-348.
- ¹⁹¹ Pane, *Il rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, v. II, 103-104; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 306; Norman, "Succorpo," 348.
- ¹⁹² At some point between 1654-88 Carlo De Lellis recorded that Cardinal Carafa planned to place "sotto gli [...] altari minori l'ossa dei Santi Protettori di Napoli e d'altri Santi." This plan was also

recorded by Caracciolo, Carlo Celano in 1692, Sigismundo in 1788. De Lellis, *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra*, 49; Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 213, n. 10; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 149-150; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 302; Norman, "Succorpo," 343; Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 66-67.

¹⁹³ Carlo de Lellis writes that Carafa intended to obtain additional relics for the minor altars of his chapel but, "non poté ciò eseguire prevenuto dalla morte." De Lellis, *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra*, 49; Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 213, n. 10; Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 66-67.

¹⁹⁴ De Lellis, *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra*, 50; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 302; Norman, "Succorpo," 343; Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 66-67; Carafa, "Il succorpo di S. Gennaro," 11.

¹⁹⁵ Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 81; De Lellis, *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra*, 50; Pane, *Il rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, v. II, 112; Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 66-67.

¹⁹⁶ Nichols, *Caracciolo Di Vico Chapel*, 126, n. 93.

¹⁹⁷ De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza*, 177.

¹⁹⁸ Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 180.

¹⁹⁹ Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 188.

²⁰⁰ The figures of the Church Doctors, Four Evangelists, Saints Peter and Paul and the Madonna and Child are all identifiable by their traditional emblems. The Neapolitan patron saints, however, are identifiable by black inscriptions on plaques or cloths held up by angels above their portrait medallions. Muñoz, "Studi," 85; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 185.

²⁰¹ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 301.

²⁰² Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 185; Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 207.

²⁰³ Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 185.

²⁰⁴ Borrelli, "Un gruppo di maestri scultori," 182; Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 203; Dreszen, "Oliviero Carafa," 183; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 350.

²⁰⁵ Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 67.

²⁰⁶ Abbate, "Le sculture del 'Succorpo,'" 90-92, 97, 104 n. 5.

²⁰⁷ Abbate, "Le sculture del 'Succorpo,'" 92-93, 97.

²⁰⁸ Abbate, "Le sculture del 'Succorpo,'" 90; Muñoz, "Studi," 89.

²⁰⁹ Borrelli, "Un gruppo di maestri scultori," 185, 191.

²¹⁰ Speranza, "La bottega di Tommaso Malvito," 262.

²¹¹ De Lellis, *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra*, 49.

²¹² Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 63.

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- ²¹³ Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 205, n. 12; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 181.
- ²¹⁴ Strazzullo, "La Cappella Carafa," 70; Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 204.
- ²¹⁵ Carafa, "Il succorpo di S. Gennaro," 12; De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza*, 172; De Lellis, *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra*, 49; Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," n. 11; Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 45; Muñoz, "Studi," 85-87; Norman, "Cardinal of Naples," 80; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 303; Norman, "Succorpo," 345; Patroni, "La cappella Carafa," 22.
- ²¹⁶ Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 45; Nichols, *Caracciolo Di Vico Chapel*, 126, n. 93.
- ²¹⁷ Di Stefano, *La cattedrale Di Napoli*, 5; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 177.
- ²¹⁸ Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 70.
- ²¹⁹ Norman, "Succorpo," 344; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 302-303; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 181.
- ²²⁰ Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 205; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 304; Norman, "Succorpo," 346.
- ²²¹ Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 205; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 178.
- ²²² Verdon, *Guido Mazzoni*, xxxi-xxxii.
- ²²³ Verdon, *Guido Mazzoni*, 15, 19.
- ²²⁴ Verdon, *Guido Mazzoni*, 77-81.
- ²²⁵ Verdon, *Guido Mazzoni*, 26.
- ²²⁶ Astarita, *Continuity of Feudal Power*, 12.
- ²²⁷ Verdon, *Guido Mazzoni*, xxxii, 34.
- ²²⁸ Verdon, *Guido Mazzoni*, 124.
- ²²⁹ Verdon, *Guido Mazzoni*, 34-35.
- ²³⁰ Daniela Del Pesco notes that the sculpture of Cardinal Carafa certainly has ties to the design of the monument for Charles VIII. She acknowledges, however, that there is no evidence that Guido Mazzoni himself would have been capable of creating such a fine marble sculpture, since there are no marble sculptures attributed to him. Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 179-181.
- ²³¹ Verdon, *Guido Mazzoni*, 125-126.
- ²³² Verdon, *Guido Mazzoni*, 126.
- ²³³ Verdon, *Guido Mazzoni*, 127.
- ²³⁴ Abbate, "Le scultore del 'Succorpo,'" 101-102; Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 23; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 296; Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 70.
- ²³⁵ Pane, *Il rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, v. II, 111.

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- ²³⁶ Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," n. 12; Folli, *Duomo di Napoli*, 23; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," n. 116.
- ²³⁷ Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," n. 12.
- ²³⁸ Frizzoni, *Arte italiana del rinascimento*, 56-57; Muñoz, "Studi," 89; Patroni, "La cappella Carafa," 23.
- ²³⁹ Morisani, *Saggi*, 15.
- ²⁴⁰ These numbers are recorded by Fra Bernardino, Chiocarello and Diana Norman; Caracciolo writes that there were twelve priests instead of ten. De Lellis, *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra*, 50; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 312-313; Norman, "Succorpo," 323, 351; Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 71.
- ²⁴¹ Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 191.
- ²⁴² Carafa, "Il succorpo di S. Gennaro," 14; Sadoletto and Altamura, *Il cardinale Oliviero Carafa*, 6; Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 70.
- ²⁴³ Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 191; Pane, *Il rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, v. II, 103-104; Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 71.
- ²⁴⁴ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 312; Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 71.
- ²⁴⁵ De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza*, 178.
- ²⁴⁶ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 314; Norman, "Succorpo," 355.
- ²⁴⁷ Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 183; De Lellis, *Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra*, 50; Strazzullo, "La cappella Carafa," 67.
- ²⁴⁸ Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 311.
- ²⁴⁹ Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 209; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 176, 189-190.
- ²⁵⁰ Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 210.
- ²⁵¹ Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 187-188.
- ²⁵² Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 188.
- ²⁵³ Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 185.
- ²⁵⁴ Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 205; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 184.
- ²⁵⁵ De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza*, 176; Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 209; Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 189; Norman, *Patronage of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa*, 310.
- ²⁵⁶ Del Pesco, "Oliviero Carafa e il Succorpo," 185-186; Del Pesco, "Programma iconografico del Succorpo," 207.

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