

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: KING OF THE RENAISSANCE: ART AND POLITICS AT THE NEAPOLITAN COURT OF FERRANTE I, 1458-1494

Nicole Riesenberger, Doctor of Philosophy, 2016

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In the second half of the fifteenth century, King Ferrante I of Naples (r. 1458-1494) dominated the political and cultural life of the Mediterranean world. His court was home to artists, writers, musicians, and ambassadors from England to Egypt and everywhere in between. Yet, despite its historical importance, Ferrante's court has been neglected in the scholarship. This dissertation provides a long-overdue analysis of Ferrante's artistic patronage and attempts to explicate the king's specific role in the process of art production at the Neapolitan court, as well as the experiences of artists employed therein. By situating Ferrante and the material culture of his court within the broader discourse of Early Modern art history for the first time, my project broadens our understanding of the function of art in Early Modern Europe. I demonstrate that, contrary to traditional assumptions, King Ferrante was a sophisticated patron of the visual arts whose political circumstances and shifting alliances were the most influential factors contributing to his artistic patronage.

Unlike his father, Alfonso the Magnanimous, whose court was dominated by artists and courtiers from Spain, France, and elsewhere, Ferrante differentiated himself as a truly Neapolitan king. Yet Ferrante's court was by no means provincial. His residence, the Castel Nuovo in Naples, became the physical embodiment of his commercial and political network, revealing the accretion of local and foreign visual vocabularies that characterizes Neapolitan visual culture.

KING OF THE RENAISSANCE: ART AND POLITICS AT THE NEAPOLITAN
COURT OF FERRANTE I, 1458-1494

by

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Dedication

To my family, whose love and support carried me through this project.

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Introduction

In the mid fifteenth-century, Naples was the center of Mediterranean politics and culture. As the capital of the Kingdom of Naples and one of the largest cities in Europe, Naples was home to ambassadors, merchants, musicians, artists, and writers from England to Egypt and everywhere in between. At the helm of this immense state was King Ferrante I (r. 1458-1494), the illegitimate son of the Aragonese king who would eventually become so pivotal to the political and cultural life of the western world that he can aptly be called “King of the Renaissance.” Through marriage arrangements and commercial agreements, Ferrante’s court was allied with those of Urbino, Ferrara, Milan, Rome, Florence, Hungary, Spain, Burgundy, England, Tunisia, and Istanbul.

Despite his enormous importance for the history of Early Modern Europe, King Ferrante has, until very recently, been known primarily as “one of the great villains of the Renaissance,” a “cruel and vicious and universally detested” ruler, perhaps best known for his private museum housing the mummified bodies of his enemies.¹ In what Prescott calls a “dismaying combination of high Renaissance culture and low Renaissance corruption and intrigue,” Ferrante’s court was also known to possess an enormous degree of wealth and splendor.² The apparent contradiction in Ferrante’s reputation is largely due to the virulent descriptions of the

¹ Orville Prescott, *Princes of the Renaissance* (New York: Random House, 1969), 63, 69-70, 77.

² Prescott confirms that when the French invaded Castel Nuovo they were shocked by the riches they found there, including gold cloths and silks valued at 200,000 ducats. Prescott, 74.

king written by French and pro-Angevin sympathizers after his death, such as the fifteenth-century French historian Philippe de Commines, who accused Ferrante of “cruelty, avarice, vindictiveness, violence, vice, and impiety.”³ By his closest contemporaries, however, the years of King Ferrante’s reign were “remembered and lamented as times of power and glory and good government.”⁴ Ferrante’s “reputation for wealth and armed might” led Lorenzo de’ Medici to describe him as “arbiter of Italy” for his “leading role in the politics of the Italian states in the forty years between the treaty of Lodi and the expedition of Charles VIII of France.”⁵

Scholars in recent decades have re-assessed Ferrante’s reign in light of the writings of his contemporaries and the achievements of his decades on the throne. He has been newly praised for his contributions to the development of Renaissance statecraft and diplomacy, and his practices of dissimulation and his brutish punishment of injustices against the crown are now explained as mere necessities of his station. Nonetheless, the king’s reputation as an uncivilized tyrant has resulted in a much slower pace of revisionist cultural histories of his kingdom when compared to those studies that focus on the reigns of Ferrante’s father or son, for example.

The lack of attention paid to fifteenth-century Neapolitan art compared to the number of studies published on other centers is remarkable. Among the hundred or so books published on Italian Renaissance art in 2015, not a single one focused on

³ Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 22.

⁴ Benedetto Croce cites, for example, Giovanni Pontano’s, *De Victoria Hydruntina*, Poliziano’s *Prose Volgari e Poesie Latine e Greche*, G.B. Refrigerio’s *Rimatori Bolognesi del’ 400*, and Bandello’s *Novelle*. Benedetto Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 54.

⁵ Croce, 49, 54.

Naples. Even studies specifically focused on patronage at the Italian courts tend to ignore this massive kingdom that, in fact, comprised half the Italian peninsula. For this reason alone, my research makes an important contribution to Early Modern art history by broadening the scope of the field.

My dissertation provides a long-overdue analysis of King Ferrante's artistic patronage and explicates the king's role in the process of art production at the Neapolitan court. I argue that, contrary to prevailing scholarship, King Ferrante was, indeed, a prolific patron of the visual arts, and one who played a key role in the revival of local workshops and artistic modes—rather than relying exclusively on foreign artists, as is traditionally claimed. My research sheds light on a significant, yet neglected, patron and a relatively unknown group of artists and artworks. The ramifications of my research for the field are momentous. The insights my dissertation provides into the mechanisms of artistic patronage and production in fifteenth-century Naples expand our knowledge of Early Modern art history, and without them, we cannot fully understand Italian Renaissance art.

It is the thesis of this dissertation that, not only was Ferrante equally eminent in his pursuit of the arts and of statecraft, but also that these two facets of his governance were mutually dependent. For Ferrante, the political impact of a work of art, rather than aesthetic or stylistic concerns, was of utmost importance to all of the projects he commissioned. Ferrante's privileging of the political over the visual helps explain why many of the conventional measures used by scholars, past and present, to assess artistic innovation, quality, and merit, tend to marginalize Neapolitan visual culture, considering it of unequal importance to that of cities like Florence, simply

because it abides by different rules. What becomes immediately apparent in studying Neapolitan art under Ferrante is that a new standard of measurement is needed. Our arbitrary notion of artistic progress and quality in Renaissance Italy must be revised if we are ever to provide a framework in which Neapolitan art can be valued in its own right, and not merely for its degree of similarity to other more canonical centers.

As the longest-reigning Neapolitan king of the Early Modern period, and one who embodied the balance of power in European politics, Ferrante is a compelling subject for the art historian and historian. His patronage included familiar artistic forms, such as marble portals and bronze doors, which were produced in original styles that emulated those of antiquity and fifteenth-century Italy, while also drawing upon Spanish and northern European traditions. Many of his commissions were highly innovative, including several of the earliest and finest female portrait busts of the period by the Dalmatian artist Francesco Laurana, as well as the first coinage of Early Modern Italy to include a portrait. The lacunae in Ferrante's patronage, such as his lack of support for Neapolitan religious foundations and his decision not to construct funerary monuments for himself or his father, are as revealing as the works he did commission. The aesthetic inclinations of the Neapolitan court challenge modern assumptions about Italian Renaissance culture that consider Florentine art to be the pinnacle of quality and style. In fact, Ferrante's patronage reveals much stronger inclinations toward Neapolitan modes, and those of the northern European centers of Flanders and Burgundy, than towards Tuscan or Florentine art.

This dissertation seeks to illuminate the nature of artistic production at Ferrante's court and its relationship to other European centers. Although Ferrante has

traditionally been construed as simply furthering his father's artistic programs and facilitating the commissions of his son, Duke Alfonso II—as in the case of the urban renewal projects of the 1480s, for example—I argue that Ferrante was a major patron of the arts in his own right. His commissions are characterized by distinctive artistic vocabularies, which differ from those of his father and son and respond to the specific political circumstances of his reign. Ferrante's taste was fluid and sophisticated. He employed an international group of artists and, as I demonstrate, the geographic origins of his artists reflected the kingdom's shifting political alliances. My study also reveals that, contrary to traditional claims about Neapolitan art of the Early Modern era, Ferrante's court comprised a majority of Neapolitan and southern Italian artists, thus cultivating a rich local artistic culture. Furthermore, my dissertation views artistic production at the Neapolitan court as the product of a continuous negotiation among Naples and other regional centers. My project demonstrates the ways in which King Ferrante appropriated artists and visual vocabularies to substantiate his legitimacy and authority.

Additionally, this study explores the degree to which Ferrante employed visual culture to fashion his identity as King of Naples, and how the surviving evidence reflects his aesthetic tastes and ideologies. Woven throughout the study, as well, is an effort to uncover the biographies of the most prominent artists at Ferrante's court, and an attempt to better understand the experiences of artists employed by the king. Although the chapters that follow focus on individual artworks and their place in the political and social history of the Neapolitan court, this study is also informed by scholarship on Renaissance courts, Neapolitan art, and artistic patronage more

broadly. My research draws upon and contributes to those fields in important ways, broadening each by introducing to them a major patron who has, until now, remained in the shadows.

Since Martin Warnke's seminal 1993 study on the court artist, several scholars have attempted to clarify and re-define the now overused terms 'court', 'court artist', and 'courtly style'.⁶ Gregory Lubkin, for example, defines a court as:

The space (physical, social, and ritual), at the center of a princely dominion, in which the ruler customarily lived, worked, and played. That space was essentially inseparable from the persons, objects, and events that formed the substance of the court, although those persons, objects, and events were constantly changing. The purpose of the court was to contain the prince's person and power and to provide a context in which he or she could interact effectively with the rest of the universe.⁷

Of course, any definition of Renaissance courts must take into account the degree to which each of these centers had its own unique governmental structure, language, ideology, and cultural aims. As Caroline Bruzelius demonstrates in her pioneering study of church building in Angevin Naples, the Neapolitan court was profoundly different from those of other European princes because of its continuous instability and its status as the only monarchy on the Italian peninsula. Although the scope of Neapolitan prestige and authority has often been underestimated, Alan Ryder has shown that Aragonese Naples was "perhaps *the* first, of European states to exhibit many of those characteristics that historians have labeled 'modern'—a bureaucratic administration staffed by professional men, a crown dominant over nobility and

⁶ Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁷ Gregory Lubkin, *A Renaissance Court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), xii.

clergy, a revenue derived mainly from universal, direct taxation, and armed forces recruited and paid directly by the crown.”⁸

A brief glance at Alan Ryder’s description of the household of King Alfonso I illustrates the enormous complexity of the Neapolitan court, which was praised by Aeneas Sylvius, future Pope Pius II Piccolomini, for its cultivation of splendor. The king’s household was governed by the *seneschal*, or *mayordomens*, who exercised jurisdiction over all other members of the house. These included *camarlenchs* tasked with managing personnel and the king’s property, *copers*, a *boteller*, and *panicers majors* who served the king wine, water, and bread. *Sobrechochs* carried cooked meals to the king’s table, *compradors* did the shopping for foodstuffs, *juglars* played music at feasts. There were also *munterii majores* and *falconer majores* who accompanied the king on the hunt; *cavallerices* looked after the horses and stables; an *armer maior* and *sotarmer* cared for the king’s weapons; and eight *porters de massa* were responsible for the safety of the king’s person. The *camarlenchs*, *sub camerarius*, six squires and six *ajudants* maintained the king’s bedchamber and his personal collection of clothing, jewels, tapestries, coins, paintings, gold and silver vessels, and the like.

This dizzying line-up of employees of the royal household, who undertook what Folin calls the “daily choreography” of courtly life, constitutes only a fraction of this enormous court—without taking into account the workshops of seamstresses, tanners, cobblers, artillery-makers, and artists, as well as the royal scriptorium with its scribes, illuminators, and book binders; the chapel singers and musicians; the royal

⁸ Alan Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous: The Making of a Modern State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), vii, 55.

doctors, courtiers, humanists, soldiers, military commanders, and members of the university.⁹ With the income of the King of Naples estimated at 830,000 ducats (14,000 of which were allotted to household expenses), there can be no doubt that the Aragonese court in Naples was one of the most magnificent in the world.¹⁰ The household income of Federico da Montefeltro, by contrast, has been estimated at 50,000 ducats.¹¹

Indeed, the Renaissance notion of magnificence—described as a fundamental virtue required of princes and kings—was invented at Ferrante’s court by his humanist and secretary, Giovanni Pontano, and was later expounded upon in Giuniano Maio’s *De Maiestate*, written for Ferrante.¹² Although the vast majority of the objects that once comprised the material world of Ferrante’s court have been lost, the catalogue published in *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold (1433-1477)* offers a sense of the grandeur that would also have existed at the court in Naples.¹³

⁹ Marco Folin, “Courts and Courtly Arts in Renaissance Italy,” in *Courts and Courtly Arts in Renaissance Italy: Art, Culture and Politics, 1395-1530*, edited by Marco Folin (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors Club, 2011), 16; Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 57-87.

¹⁰ Mary Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy: From 1400 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 4.

¹¹ Furthermore, the annual profit of the Medici bank never exceeded 20,000 ducats. Carol M. Richardson, *Locating Renaissance Art: Renaissance Art Reconsidered* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 131; Mary Hollingsworth, *Art in World History* (Florence: Giunti Editore, 2003), 233.

¹² Rupert Shepherd, “Republican Anxiety and Courtly Confidence: The Politics of Magnificence and Fifteenth-Century Italian Architecture,” in *The Material Renaissance*, edited by Michelle O’Malley and Evelyn Welch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 52-3.

¹³ *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold (1433-1477)*, edited by Susan Marti, Till-Holger Borchert and Gabriele Keck (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2009).

As Warnke writes, the court was “a structure with many internal tensions,” a node where diverse groups of people came together, and also a “social *entrepôt*” generating contacts with other courts near and far. It was the task of art to negotiate this complex environment.¹⁴ This dissertation seeks to clarify the specific role of art at the court of King Ferrante I of Naples and the experiences of artists employed therein.

Warnke’s notion of the freedom of the court artist, whose “virtuous” service and proximity to the ruler separated him from the craft guilds and potentially led to his ennoblement, has been challenged by many scholars.¹⁵ Campbell, for instance, points out that court artists were forced to trade their creative freedom and individuality in exchange for the security and increased status that could be gained from a court appointment. He writes that, at court “the artist’s sphere of agency is seen merely as a transmission or extension of the agency of his social superiors or employers.”¹⁶

Challéat and Barreto have recently echoed this notion, adding that court artists in Naples not only experienced less freedom than independent artists, they also tended to receive fewer high-profile commissions. The appointment of *familiars* to the King of Naples simply implied that an artist lived in the royal residence and decorated the king’s apartments, while the prestigious duty of representing the king’s person in painted or sculpted portraits was typically delegated to artists outside the

¹⁴ Warnke, xvi.

¹⁵ Warnke, xiv-xv.

¹⁶ Stephen J. Campbell, “Introduction,” in *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550*, edited by Stephen J. Campbell (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2004), 13.

court.¹⁷ They argue that Neapolitan court artists would mainly have been employed for such menial tasks as painting the king's coat of arms and emblems on banners, flags, shields for tournaments, and other ephemeral trappings of courtly life, as well as helping to stage *sacre rappresentazioni*.¹⁸ My research suggests, however, that this was not always the case. While a number of Ferrante's artists were primarily occupied with the small, low-profile commissions cited by Challéat and Barreto, others, like Pietro da Milano and Guglielmo Monaco, were granted prestigious commissions as well as high-ranking court appointments and generous compensation.

Artists at the Neapolitan court, like those working at courts across Europe, were compensated in a variety of ways, including, perhaps most importantly, through the promise of fame and a distinguished reputation.¹⁹ As Campbell points out, the value of artists at court "translates far less readily into the terms of a cash economy." These artists received "housing, gifts of food and fuel, the allocation of revenues, and less tangible social benefits that came with service to a princely house," in addition to cash payments.²⁰ At Ferrante's court, artists were also provided with dowries for their daughters, grants of land or factories, and legal protection in the case of disputes over their external commissions. For example, Laura Primavera Pignatelli, the patron of

¹⁷ Joana Barreto, "Pouvoir Monarchique et Création Artistique: Deux Souverainetés Concurrentes au Sein du Castelnuovo de Naples au XVe Siècle," *Humanistica* 5 (2010), 16-17.

¹⁸ Ferdinando Bologna, *Napoli e le Rotte Mediterranee della Pittura: Da Alfonso il Magnanimo a Ferdinando il Cattolico* (Naples: Società Letana di Storia Patria, 1977), 91; Claire Challéat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli: Committenza Artistica, Politica, Diplomazia al Tempo di Alfonso il Magnanimo e Filippo il Buono* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2012), 114-116, 133; Alison Cole, *Virtue and Magnificence: Art of the Italian Courts* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995), 36-9.

¹⁹ Campbell, "Introduction," 18.

²⁰ Campbell, "Introduction," 11.

Ferrante's royal sculptor, Pietro di Martino da Milano, was summoned to a trial in the Sacro Regio Consiglio in 1472 after refusing to fully compensate Pietro for a tomb he built at San Domenico Maggiore for Pignatelli's late husband, Francesco Antonio Giundazzo.²¹ This case sheds light on the experience of artists in Quattrocento Naples and demonstrates that, although no guilds for painters or sculptors existed there, artists under Ferrante's employ enjoyed an unequalled level of protection.²² It reveals, as well, that Ferrante's artists were free to take on outside commissions, even at the same time that they were involved with major projects for the king.

Like the experiences of court artists, the role of art and the meaning with which aesthetic trends are imbued in the courtly context have been the subject of much debate. In her study of the medieval Angevin court in Naples, Caroline Bruzelius challenged the notion that a homogenous courtly style continued to be in fashion across space and time. She writes:

²¹ A panel of sculptors living in Naples, including the Florentine Stefano di Bartolomeo, the Milanese Giacomo della Pila, and Lorenzo Infante of Rome, were appointed to judge the quality of Pietro's work and eventually Pignatelli was sentenced to pay Pietro what he was owed in addition to ten ducats for the cost of legal fees. Eustachio Rogadeo di Torrequadra, "L'Arte in Tribunale nel Secolo XV," *Napoli Nobilissimo* 7, n. 10 (1898), 160, 163; Franco Strazzullo, "Documenti sull'Attività Napoletana dello Scultore Milanese Pietro de Martino (1453-1473)," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, series 3, v. 2, n. 81 (1963), 325-8.

²² The first corporation of painters in Naples was established in 1521. The organization maintained a chapel dedicated to Saint Luke in the church of Sant'Agostino alla Zecca. Giuseppe Ceci, "La Corporazione dei Pittori," *Napoli Nobilissima* 7 (1898), 8, 12; Franco Strazzullo, "Per la Storia delle Corporazioni degli Orafi e delle Arti Affini a Napoli," in *Studi in Onore di Riccardo Filangieri* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1959), v. II, 133; Eleni Sakellariou, *Southern Italy in the Late Middle Ages: Demographic Institutional and Economic Change in the Kingdom of Naples, c. 1440-1530* (Boston: Brill, 2012), 80; Cathleen Fleck, "The Rise of the Court Artist: Cavallini and Giotto in Fourteenth-Century Naples," in *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713*, edited by Cordelia Warr, and Janis Elliott, (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 40.

Implicit in this [court style] has been the concept of the stability and continuity of court cultures and their approach to the visual arts, as well as a certain equation between the concepts of courts and a “high style” of elegance. Royal and court production in the arts was identified with one overriding taste, usually that of the monarch, which was then echoed by his entourage. These views tended to assume also that the taste of the king was unchanging, that the ruler himself was the principle generating force of the court style, and that the artistic taste filtered top down. But (...) there is clear evidence that there was a variety of different styles simultaneously in existence (...). Indeed, the highly international character of medieval court life (...) meant that a monarch, his advisors (both secular and religious), and the court had many options open to them, options that could be deliberately and consciously cultivated to achieve certain ends. We are in the presence of a sophisticated and urbane clientele, deliberate in its selection of styles and the messages that those styles were to convey.²³

Bruzelius adds that, because of the “peripatetic and international character” of the Neapolitan court, as well as its location at the center of the Mediterranean, “the royal household served even more effectively than the other European courts as a venue for the exchange of ideas and information.”²⁴ Nearly thirty years earlier, in his pioneering study of artistic exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean, art historian Ferdinando Bologna similarly described Naples as a “receptive and syncretic center open to all of Europe,” one that negotiated relationships with the rest of the world and facilitated the transmission of cultural events and ideas.²⁵

A compelling framework for understanding the cosmopolitan nature of Neapolitan visual culture can be found in Georgia Clarke’s 2008 article. In discussing

²³ Caroline Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples: Church Building in Angevin Italy, 1266-1343* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 199.

²⁴ Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples*, 199-200.

²⁵ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Original Italian translations: “il centro dello smistamento di tutti i rapporti con il resto del mondo,” “centro ricettivo e sincretistico aperto a tutta Europa, quindi come sede di un movimento autonomo capace di condizionare taluni aspetti essenziali sia dell'arte siciliana che dell'arte iberica, e da ultimo come centro di trasmissione di eventi.” Bologna, *Napoli e le Rotte Mediterranee*, 4, 7.

the diverse local identities of Early Modern Italians, Clarke questioned traditional scholarship's teleological view of Florentine art as the paradigm of Renaissance style.²⁶ She argued that language was integral to the identities of each individual city and region of Early Modern Italy and that the "self-conscious awareness of and interplay of these ways of writing and speaking—ranging across the spectrum from assimilation to opposition, and from diversity to singularity" can provide a useful means of understanding architecture of the period.²⁷ Clarke proposed, "instead of such a reductionist perspective on fifteenth-century architecture we might consider that just as there were multiple modes of speaking in operation and a clear awareness of linguistic diversity at elite and, to some degree, at vernacular levels, so, too, in architecture stylistic and formal variety was used in an equivalent and knowing way."²⁸

Clarke describes Naples, like Venice, as a zone of "linguistic polyvalence." The architecture of both cities reveals the "many tongues" spoken there, united in a fashion that is "perfectly consonant with the multi-lingual and diverse cultural references" of those cities' linguistic and artistic identities. Castel Nuovo, and the artistic production of the Neapolitan court, in general, serves as an excellent example of Neapolitan multi-lingual architectural style, due to its juxtaposition of Iberian, Italian, French, and Flemish vocabularies.²⁹ Rather than describing Neapolitan art with loaded terms like syncretic or hybrid, Clarke's framework provides an

²⁶ Georgia Clarke, "Architecture, Languages and Style in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71 (2008): 169-89.

²⁷ Clarke, 171.

²⁸ Clarke, 189.

²⁹ Clarke, 179.

alternative means of understanding the sophisticated employment of aesthetic languages in Naples. As she explains:

At the Castel Nuovo the choices of forms and styles were not arbitrary and, I think, were used quite particularly: they speak appropriately, reflecting various aspects of Alfonso and the Aragonese, their realm and court, as well as the different functions of the building and its parts. The references to the different languages and cultures gathered and represented at the court situate Alfonso and his heirs firmly within their multiple identities as Catalan, Spanish, Mediterranean, Campanian and Italian, as heirs to ancient Roman rulers and to the traditions of the Christian knight and king; identities that are affirmed in the inscription on the entrance arch—ALFONSUS REX HISPANUS SICULUS ITALI—and made manifest in the sculptural imagery and architectural forms of the arch and the castle.³⁰

In its focus on artistic production at Ferrante's court, this dissertation demonstrates that, like Alfonso I, Ferrante was a highly sophisticated patron whose use of stylistic languages was deliberate and specific to his own tastes and aims. For example, a preference for local linguistic forms was especially strong at Ferrante's court, where employees of the royal scriptorium were translating classical texts into Florentine and Neapolitan dialects. The "centrality of linguistic identity in Naples" as well as the "belief in the equality of the local speech to that of any other part of Italy" is reflected in works such as Giuniano Maio's *De Maiestate* from 1492, which makes use of Neapolitan dialectal forms.³¹ Similarly, in his patronage of the visual arts Ferrante hired large numbers of southern Italian artists and preferred Neapolitan aesthetic modes, especially for his private commissions.

While I argue that much of the art of the Neapolitan court was truly innovative, Ferrante's patronage, in particular, has been described as outdated or

³⁰ Clarke, 183.

³¹ Clarke, 172.

derivative when compared to that of other major Italian patrons. As Bruzelius explains, however, an “impulse towards conservatism” is commonly found among the artistic production of Early Modern courts. In these environments, aristocratic values, “historical associations, exalted lineage, tradition, and continuity were far more valued qualities than innovation and change.”³²

In addition to the complexities of Neapolitan artistic style, Naples can also be an intractable subject due to its failure to conform to the traditional definition of an artistic center, which cites the “concentration and competition of artists as well as exportation of art works” as a fundamental requirement. Nicolas Bock has defined Naples as a world city—one of many nodes “in an international network of ‘world cities,’” all of which attract the best and the brightest of the population.³³ As Bock explains, “The conventional view of Naples is that it did not produce many famous

³² Tanja Michalsky has written about the notion of *anciennité*, a major factor determining social status that was often expressed by the allusion to older monuments, or the literal building upon older layers of monuments “to stress an historical pedigree.” This practice can be found among many of Ferrante’s commissions, most notably the coronation arch at Castel Nuovo. Alison Cole adds, “dynastic continuity was further emphasized by employing local artists who had worked for the previous regime, or by completing projects that had already been embarked on.” Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples*, 9; Tanja Michalsky, “The Local Eye: Formal and Social Distinctions in Late Quattrocento Neapolitan Tombs,” in *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713*, edited by Cordelia Warr, and Janis Elliott, (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 70; Cole, *Virtue and Magnificence*, 20-21.

³³ Nicolas Bock, “Patronage, Standards and *Transfert Culturel*: Naples Between Art History and Social Science Theory,” in *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713*, edited by Cordelia Warr, and Janis Elliott (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 165, 169.

artists or innovative artistic styles which influenced the art of other major centres: rather, it imported more art and artists than it exported.”³⁴

Although few Neapolitan artists seem to have been sent abroad, I would argue that the opportunities for local artists were such that few desired or had need to move elsewhere in search of opportunity. Many talented artists, such as Francesco Laurana, Domenico Gagini, and Antonello da Messina worked in Naples at critical moments in their early careers and they owe much of their stylistic development to their experiences in Naples. Furthermore, the assumptions about Neapolitan art that Bock works to correct imply that art in Naples relied almost entirely on foreign artists and traditions.

My dissertation is the first study to provide concrete, quantitative data that disproves this deeply rooted misunderstanding about Naples. The data and data visualizations included in this study demonstrate that, in fact, the majority of artists working at King Ferrante’s court were southern Italian by birth. This discovery is momentous, not only for what it reveals about Ferrante’s patronage, but also for Neapolitan art history more broadly. It demonstrates that Naples was home to a vibrant artistic culture—the denial of which was founded upon the claim that all artists working in Naples were foreign. I would argue, further, that this finding suggests that those foreign artists in Naples were drawn to the city specifically because of its status as an artistic center. My investigation of Filangieri’s data,

³⁴ Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott, “Introduction: Reassessing Naples, 1266-1713,” in *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713*, edited by Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 1.

therefore, calls into question much of what we thought we knew about Early Modern Neapolitan visual culture and confirms the urgency of further research in this field.

Because each new sovereign brought with them their own artists and styles, Naples became “a centre in which influences coalesced from across Europe and beyond, and in which complex experiences formed complex appreciations of styles. It is because Naples can be defined as a “world city” that to delineate its artistic boundaries has often proved so problematic.”³⁵ Bock argues that, “it is not the production of art which is important but its consumption.” Furthermore, “the importation of foreign artists and works of art” should be understood as “a sign of an intentional cultural enrichment and an essential foundation for freedom of choice” rather than an indicator of cultural weakness. Bock’s reevaluation of Naples as a world city allows it to be understood as an artistic center, and my research provides concrete evidence in support of this claim.³⁶

In addition to attempting to resurrect the status of Neapolitan visual culture, I explore the ways in which artistic patronage was employed to negotiate and define the role of the king in Renaissance Naples. In order to do so, a brief clarification of artistic patronage at the Neapolitan court is warranted.

Although no documentation survives to confirm the role of humanist advisors at Ferrante’s court, the king certainly would have received advice and recommendations from several members of his administration. Panormita, and later Giovanni Pontano, Ferrante’s humanist secretaries, must have advised the king on his more complex commissions, especially those that included Latin inscriptions, such as

³⁵ Warr and Elliott, 11-12.

³⁶ Bock, “Patronage, Standards and *Transfert Culturel*,” 170.

his bronze doors and coronation arch for Castel Nuovo. Other members of his court with a sophisticated eye for the visual arts likely also weighed in on decisions about which artists to hire and in what capacity to employ them. Diomedes Carafa, one of Naples' most renowned connoisseurs of art and architecture and Ferrante's trusted advisor, most certainly would have made suggestions to the king, both formally and informally.³⁷ Ferrante's selection of artists and styles carried important political connotations that would have required a skilled rhetorician and diplomat to articulate.

The capacity for the visual arts to express wealth, status, and authority through content and style was well understood by Renaissance patrons.³⁸ In Naples, as elsewhere, objects were used to mediate between the self and society, according to what Stephen Greenblatt described as an "increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of a human identity as a manipulable, artful process."³⁹ Conspicuous expenditure was "the principal element in the display of status" for Renaissance patrons, and for monarchs, in particular. For the King of Naples, conspicuous

³⁷ Diomedes' palace was, for example, "one of the most significant contributions to Italian fifteenth-century architecture, but also was a manifestation of the vigorous humanistic culture and international status of Naples during this period." Bianca de Divitiis, "Building in Local *All'Antica* Style: The Palace of Diomedes Carafa in Naples," in *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713*, edited by Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 96; Charles Hope, "Artists, Patrons, and Advisers in the Italian Renaissance," in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, edited by Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 297, 307, 343.

³⁸ Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy*, 5-6.

³⁹ Joanna Woods-Marsden, "Introduction: Collective Identity/Individual Identity," in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*, edited by Mary Rogers (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 1; Burke, 8.

consumption was a requirement of his position and an indication of his magnificence.⁴⁰

By bringing together a large portion of Ferrante's patronal *oeuvre* in a single study, I attempt to reconstruct the meaning invested in the individual products of the king's patronage.⁴¹ Dale Kent's study of Cosimo de' Medici's *oeuvre* provides a model for the examination of dynastic patronage. As she explains, "it is inappropriate to distinguish too sharply between the commissions of Cosimo and his sons," as Piero may have done much of the negotiation with artists. So, too, at the Neapolitan court, attributions of patronage are often confused, and it is difficult to separate the role of the king from that of his predecessors and successors. Indeed, this fluid relationship among members of the Aragonese royal family should be understood as an intentional measure aimed at projecting the appearance of a solid and unified dynastic succession. Interestingly, however, full credit for Ferrante's commissions frequently tends to be granted to Duke Alfonso II, rather than to the king himself—a practice that does not hold true for the patronage of King Alfonso I or for members of many other noble families. I would argue that it is perhaps due to Alfonso II's affinity for Florentine art that he is often assumed to have been a more sophisticated patron than

⁴⁰ For Italian Renaissance attitudes toward wealth, magnificence, and conspicuous consumption, see: Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 204-214, 243-55; Hollingsworth, 3; Jonathan K. Nelson and Richard J. Zeckhauser, *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 3-5.

⁴¹ Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 3; Jill Burke, *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 8.

his father, and it is for this reason, therefore, that he is credited with many of Ferrante's most impressive and original commissions.

State of the Scholarship

Although European scholars have published single studies on various artistic projects in Naples, Anglophone art historians have neglected Naples almost entirely. George L. Hersey's *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples 1485-1495* and *The Aragonese Arch at Naples, 1443-1475*, published in 1969 and 1973 respectively, remain the authoritative English-language accounts of the art of the Aragonese court in Naples.⁴² Although Hersey paved the way for future historians of fifteenth-century Neapolitan art, and his studies continue to be important resources, his texts only examine the beginning and end of the Aragonese period, leaving a large gap in the scholarship for the period from 1458 to the late 1480s, the era of Ferrante's reign.

Despite the merits of Hersey's publications, I take issue with the general premise of his *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples, 1485-1495*, which presents Naples in the decade before Ferrante's death as completely under the control of the king's son, Alfonso II, then Duke of Calabria. Hersey claims that in the mid-1480s Alfonso II independently began a major project to revitalize Naples, despite Ferrante's continued status as king. Hersey fails to present evidence in support of this unconventional claim, and his argument is contradicted by the surviving documentation from the period. For example, the numerous letters written by Ferrante in the 1490s would suggest that the king continued to function in his full monarchical

⁴² George L. Hersey, *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples, 1485-1495* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969); George L. Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch at Naples, 1443-1475* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

capacity until his death on 25 January 1494.⁴³ My dissertation will, therefore, provide a necessary reconsideration of those artworks created at the Neapolitan court in the 1480s and early 1490s, which Hersey grouped under the generalizing and undefined concept of Alfonso II's "renewal." I examine those commissions, instead, in light of Ferrante's patronage and the political demands of his court.

Hersey's second study of Naples, *The Aragonese Arch at Naples, 1443-1475*, focuses on the earliest decades of Aragonese rule, and particularly on the workshop of architects and sculptors assembled to build Alfonso I's triumphal arch. In his preface, Hersey writes, "There were two chief artistic events in Naples in the second half of the Quattrocento. One was the erection, at mid-century, of the Aragonese Arch by Alfonso I and his successor Ferrante. The other was the renewal of the city planned and partly executed by Ferrante's son, Alfonso II, from 1485 to 1495."⁴⁴ To the extent that he mentions Ferrante at all, Hersey portrays him as an unambitious follower of his father's artistic program and the passive bystander of his son's initiatives.

The picture of Ferrante's artistic patronage, or lack thereof, presented by Hersey's essays has been a touchstone for nearly all English-language studies of the late fifteenth-century Neapolitan court. Veronica Mele and Francesco Senatore, for example, claim that the brevity of Alfonso II's reign, which lasted barely more than a year, "is balanced by his essential political role, almost as co-ruler, during his father's

⁴³ Allan Atlas examines several letters sent from Ferrante to the French court of Charles VIII in 1492 and 1493 regarding Ferrante's desire to hire the musician Alexander Agricola for his court. Allan W. Atlas, "Alexander Agricola and Ferrante I of Naples," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30, n. 2 (1997): 313-19.

⁴⁴ Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, xiii.

long lifetime.”⁴⁵ I would argue, however, that Alfonso II’s service in the latter decades of Ferrante’s reign is best explained by his appointment to the position of *locum tenens*, which, in Aragonese tradition, was customary for the Duke of Calabria, heir to the Kingdom of Naples. Ferrante, too, assisted his father in this station from April 1439 until his succession to the throne in 1458.⁴⁶

Among scholarship on Early Modern literary culture, Jerry H. Bentley’s 1987 *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* provides an important reconsideration of Ferrante. Bentley’s study, which focuses on humanism at the Aragonese Neapolitan court, demonstrates that cultural patronage continued under Ferrante, if on a more pragmatic and less lavish scale than that of his father, Alfonso the Magnanimous. Bentley’s study not only sheds a welcome and long-overdue light on Ferrante’s reign, but also on the city of Naples, more generally. He describes Quattrocento Naples as “one of the most outstanding and influential cultural centers of Renaissance Italy,” home to “some of the most illustrious and creative of all the Italian humanists,” those who gave humanism many of its most distinctive traits.⁴⁷

Although many scholars have suggested that patronage in the Kingdom of Naples ended with the death of Alfonso I, Bentley argues that, “far from disappearing, royal support for cultural figures during Ferrante’s reign assumed new

⁴⁵ Veronica Mele and Francesco Senatore, “The Kingdom of Naples: The Durazzo and Aragonese Families (1381-1501),” in *Courts and Courtly Arts in Renaissance Italy: Art, Culture and Politics, 1395-1530*, edited by Marco Folin (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors Club, 2011), 378.

⁴⁶ Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 231.

⁴⁷ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 39.

as well as traditional forms and served new as well as old functions.”⁴⁸ In addition to enriching the royal library and supporting humanists engaged in political and scholarly pursuits, as his father had done, Ferrante also directed his patronage toward his personal interests in music, law, vernacular literature, and the printing press. Perhaps one of the most defining characteristics of Ferrante’s court is the king’s refusal to “invest resources in humanists who engaged in pure scholarship,” preferring, instead, to provide posts for “humanists who could perform some more or less useful service.”⁴⁹ Even Iohannes Tinctoris, a Flemish singer and influential music theorist who spent twenty years at Ferrante’s court, was expected to serve the king in several capacities. Tinctoris translated the constitution of the Order of the Golden Fleece from French into Italian, provided Ferrante with legal advice (as he had a degree in law), tutored Princess Beatrice in music, served as *cantor* to the court, and composed twelve theoretical treatises and numerous musical compositions. He also traveled to France and Burgundy in October 1487 to find an accomplished singer for Ferrante’s royal chapel.⁵⁰

My dissertation owes a great debt to Bentley’s scholarship, both for its careful reassessment of Ferrante, and for its reconstruction of the king’s biography. In this, he relies heavily on the work of Ernesto Pontieri, whose book, *Per la Storia del Regno di Ferrante I d’Aragona Re di Napoli*, remains the most complete biography of the king.⁵¹ Although numerous other European scholars have contributed valuable essays

⁴⁸ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 64.

⁴⁹ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 67.

⁵⁰ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 75.

⁵¹ Pontieri’s work builds on Filippo di La Lignamine’s short biography, *Inclyti Ferdinandi Regis Vita et Laudes a Iohanne Philippo de Lignamine Mesanesi ad*

that help to bring Quattrocento Neapolitan art and the Aragonese court into sharper focus, the scholarship on Ferrante's artistic patronage remains fragmented.⁵² Joana Barreto's 2013 publication, *La Majesté en Images: Portraits du Pouvoir dans la Naples des Aragon*, is the most recent and comprehensive study of Aragonese artistic patronage. Although her survey includes several of Ferrante's commissions, she is concerned with Aragonese portraiture more broadly, and thus contributes little to advancing an understanding of Ferrante's individual identity as a patron of the visual arts.

In recent years, American and British historians have begun to turn their attention to Naples. In the last decade, for example, Italica Press has been at the forefront in producing English-language publications dedicated to the documentary

Sixtum IV Pont. Max., published in 1472 and dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV. Ernesto Pontieri, *Per la Storia del Regno di Ferrante I d'Aragona Re di Napoli: Studi e Ricerche* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1969), 109-123.

⁵² See, for example: Camillo Minieri-Riccio, *Gli Artisti ed Artefici che Lavoravano in Castel Nuovo al Tempo di Alfonso I e Ferrante I di Aragona* (Naples: Tipografia di R. Rinaldi & G. Sellitto, 1876); Cornelius von Fabriczy, "Der Triumphbogen Alfonsos I. am Castel Nuovo zu Neapel," *Jarbuch der Königlich-Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* XX (1899) and "Neues zum Triumphbogen Alfonsos I.," *Jarbuch der Königlich-Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1902): 3-16; "Riccardo Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo: Reggia Angioina ed Aragonese di Napoli* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica Napoli, 1964); Roberto Pane, *Il Rinascimento nell'Italia Meridionale* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1975); Ferdinando Bologna, *Napoli e le Rotte Mediterranee della Pittura: Da Alfonso il Magnanimo a Ferdinando il Cattolico* (Naples: Società Letana di Storia Patria, 1977); Pierluigi Leone De Castris, *Quattrocento Aragonese: La Pittura a Napoli al Tempo di Alfonso e Ferrante d'Aragona* (Naples: Electa, 1997); Bianca De Divitiis, *Architettura e Committenza nella Napoli del Quattrocento* (Venice: Marsilio Editore, 2007); Joana Barreto, *La Majesté en Images: Portraits du Pouvoir dans la Naples des Aragon* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2013).

history of Naples.⁵³ In 2010 Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott published perhaps the most important collection of revisionary essays on Naples to date. Others have followed, and in summer 2016, Cambridge University Press will release its *Naples* edition of the *Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance* series.⁵⁴ Interest in Early Modern Naples has also begun to manifest itself in the growing number of panels on Naples at the annual conferences of learned societies, and in the establishment of organizations such as The Neapolitan Network of the University of York and the Neapel-Forum of the Universität der Künste Berlin.

By focusing on the court of Ferrante alone, my dissertation seeks to elucidate the stylistic preferences and political aims underlying the artistic patronage of this longest-reigning Aragonese King of Naples, who ruled during a period of Neapolitan history that continues to be overlooked, even in recent publications.

Scope

It is worth noting that this study is solely concerned with the Neapolitan court and not with the numerous other important patrons of art in fifteenth-century Naples.⁵⁵ There

⁵³ Jeanne Chenault Porter, ed., *Baroque Naples: A Documentary History, 1600-1800* (New York: Italica Press, 2000); John Santore, ed., *Modern Naples: A Documentary History, 1799-1999* (New York: Italica Press, 2001); Caroline Bruzelius and William Tronzo, *Medieval Naples: An Architectural & Urban History, 400-1400* (New York: Italica Press, 2011); Ronald G. Musto, ed., *Medieval Naples: A Documentary History, 400-1400* (New York: Italica Press, 2013).

⁵⁴ Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott, *Art and Architecture in Naples, 1266-1713 (New Approaches)* (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Melissa Calaresu and Helen Hills, *New Approaches to Naples c. 1500-1800: The Power of Place* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013); Tommaso Astarita, *A Companion to Early Modern Naples* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Marcia B. Hall and Thomas Willette, eds., *Naples: Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁵⁵ See: Bianca De Divitiis, *Architettura e Committenza nella Napoli del Quattrocento* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2007), 9.

was a clear division between court and city in Naples. Ferrante's patronage was almost entirely contained within the royal precinct around Castel Nuovo, making him unique among fifteenth-century Italian princes, such as the Sforza dukes in Milan, the d'Este dukes of Ferrara, Duke Federico da Montefeltro of Urbino, the Gonzaga of Mantua, and Sigismondo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, all of whom sponsored religious or civic projects within the cities they governed.⁵⁶ In this study, therefore, I do not wish to suggest that Ferrante's tastes necessarily had a profound impact on artistic trends elsewhere in Naples or on the far reaches of his kingdom.⁵⁷

The evidence provided throughout this dissertation is often fragmentary. For this reason, as well as the enormous extent of the king's artistic patronage, an exhaustive study of Ferrante's *oeuvre* would not be possible. Only in very rare cases are dates and attributions confirmed by documentary evidence; elsewhere hypotheses are formed on the basis of secondary and circumstantial evidence.

Ferrante's commissions themselves comprise the bulk of my source material for this project. Due to the destruction of the vast majority of Neapolitan archival

⁵⁶ See: Evelyn Welch, "Patrons, Artists, and Audiences in Renaissance Milan, 1300-1600," and Anthony Colantuono, "Estense Patronage and the Construction of the Ferrarese Renaissance, c. 1395-1598," in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, edited by Charles M. Rosenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Cecil H. Clough, "Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts, 1468-1482," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 129-144; John T. Paoletti and Gary M. Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2012).

⁵⁷ As Caskey has shown in her study of mercantile patronage along the Amalfi coast, which challenges the notion of "trickle-down cultural dissemination," local idioms predominated throughout southern Italy and many individual regions remained open to ideas and forms "emanating from diverse institutional and geographical settings." Jill Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 17-22.

material in the insurrections of 1647 and 1701 (which were believed to have destroyed 90% of the Aragonese registry residing in Naples), and the devastating bombing of the archival holdings at the Villa Montesano in 1943, nearly all documents from 1458 onwards are lost.⁵⁸ The publications of surviving archives by Nicola Barone and Gaetano Filangieri in the late nineteenth century are, therefore, a critical resource for my dissertation.

My data sets translate Filangieri's *Documenti per la Storia, le Arti e le Industrie delle Provincie Napoletane* into a quantitative and machine-readable format that can be analyzed to reveal trends in late fifteenth-century Neapolitan artistic production. Although there are very few correlations among the records published by Filangieri and extant artworks examined in my dissertation, my data presents a more macroscopic view of artistic patronage in Quattrocento Naples, and of Ferrante's

⁵⁸ Many documents dating from the reign of King Alfonso I survive in the Archivio de la Corona de Aragon in Barcelona. Fortunately, many archival sources for Naples have been published. Among them are: Gaetano Filangieri, *Documenti per la Storia, le Arti e le Industrie delle Provincie Napoletane* (Naples: Tipografo dell'Accademia Reale delle Scienze, 1883); Camillo Minieri-Riccio, *Gli Artisti ed Artefici che Lavoravano in Castel Nuovo al Tempo di Alfonso I e Ferrante I di Aragona* (Naples: Tipografia di R. Rinaldi & G. Sellitto, 1876); Nicola Barone, "Le Cedole di Tesoreria dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli dall'Anno 1460 al 1504," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 9, n. 4 (1884): 5-34, 205-248, 387-429, 601-637; v. 10 (1885): 5-47; Nicola Barone, "Notizie Storiche Raccolte dai Registri Curiae della Cancellaria Aragonese," *Archivio Storico Napoletano* 13 (1888); Armand Adolphe Messer, *Le Codice Aragonese: Contribution à l'Histoire des Aragonais de Naples* (Paris: H. Champion, 1912); Luigi Volpicella, *Regis Ferdinandi Primi Instructionum Liber* (Naples: Pierro, 1916); Jole Mazzoleni, *Regesto della Cancellaria Aragonese di Napoli*, (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1951); Jole Mazzoleni, *Fonti Aragonesi, a Cura degli Archivisti Napoletani* (Naples: L'Accademia, 1957); Francesco Trincherà, *Codice Aragonese* (Bologna: A. Forni, 1984). Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 49-50; Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xii; Vincent Ilardi, "Fifteenth-Century Diplomatic Documents in Western European Archives and Libraries (1450-1494)" *Studies in the Renaissance*, 9 (1962), 95.

activities, in particular, than would be possible by merely studying the surviving artworks themselves. This macroscopic investigation is a valuable and necessary complement to the close formal analysis of artworks provided in the body of this study.

Methodology

Through this project, which is the first extensive study of late fifteenth-century art at the Neapolitan court, I seek to answer essential art historical questions about the nature, form, and function of visual culture at Ferrante's court. I aim to determine the key artists of the period, survey the extant artworks, and understand the general apparatus of art production. Additionally, I shall identify and define elements of style in fifteenth-century Naples in order to understand how Neapolitan fashions differed from those of other centers, and to explore the influence of Naples' cosmopolitanism on its artistic programs. Because the artworks from Ferrante's court have never been studied as a unit, my methodology will necessarily be inclusive, combining formal and iconographic analysis with studies of patronage and social history, and considering the effects of political and socio-economic factors on aesthetic trends.

Due to the interconnectedness of art and politics at Ferrante's court, an extensive survey of the political history of the king's reign and the broader cultural production of his court—provided in Chapter One—is the essential foundation upon which my art historical analysis of Ferrante's *oeuvre* is built. This lengthy historical background is critical to my study, not only because the artistic production of the Neapolitan court so often responded to the political and economic circumstances of

Ferrante's reign, but also because no other comprehensive account of the king's biography and cultural initiatives exists in English.

My examination of King Ferrante's artistic patronage is informed by a wide range of political and commercial studies, including research on topics such as Naples' commercial treaties with Tunisia and King Ferrante's support of the Jewish and Albanian diasporas in southern Italy. Finally, my dissertation also engages scholarship on Early Modern diplomacy and political science. As one of the first sovereigns to establish permanent ambassadors at courts throughout Europe and the Mediterranean, Ferrante is often remembered for his shrewd diplomatic endeavors. His ambassadors acted as spies, gathered information, advocated for Neapolitan interests abroad, and expedited the formation of coalitions and treaties. Due to the critical role of these activities for the survival of the Kingdom of Naples, the political circumstances of Ferrante's reign and the king's shifting alliances were the most influential factors contributing to his art patronage.

My findings also rely on a computational analysis of the Neapolitan archival records published in Gaetano Filangieri's *Documenti per la Storia, le Arti e le Industrie delle Provincie Napoletane*. I have built a database of artists working in the Kingdom of Naples and the commissions for which they were hired during the years 1458 to 1494. Using the visualization platform Tableau Public, I have queried this data to analyze trends in Ferrante's patronage and to measure how the king's artistic programs compared to those of his contemporaries.

Chapter Organization

This study is organized into five chapters that chronologically span the course of Ferrante's thirty-five year reign. Chapter One presents a survey of Ferrante's life and the political and cultural history of his kingdom in order to contextualize the artworks that will be explored in the remaining chapters. Chapter Two examines Ferrante's earliest commissions, and those of his first wife Isabella di Chiaromonte, which date from before his succession to the throne and until the end of the War of Succession in 1465. Chapter Three picks up at the crucial moment in which the Kingdom of Naples is finally pacified after seven years of war. In this period, from 1465 to 1470, King Ferrante began his first major artistic renewal of his kingdom, focusing on memorializing his victory in the War of Succession and contextualizing his renewed security in his crown through artistic patronage.

Chapter Four is concerned with the most prolific decade of Ferrante's reign, the 1470s. In this period, the king established numerous strategic marriage and economic alliances with many of the most powerful courts of Europe. The works of art produced during this decade were largely devoted to furthering those aims, and to representing King Ferrante's newfound status and prestige. Chapter Five spans the period from 1480 until the king's death in 1494, examining the massive urban renewal project undertaken to fortify the capital in the wake of increased political fragility and revolt. Artworks produced during these years represent an introspective and fearful king at the end of a long and trying reign, one who had grown increasingly aware of his dynasty's impending demise.

Appendix One provides a reexamination of the *Tavola Strozzi*, one of the most renowned paintings from fifteenth-century Naples, and one that has long been intertwined with Ferrante's patronage. Appendix Two includes documentation explaining the categories and structured vocabulary employed in my data sets. Due to the large quantity of archival records analyzed in this dissertation, the data sets themselves are not included. The Artist Data Table can be accessed at: [\[https://www.google.com/fusiontables/DataSource?docid=1J50fPowBY9CGzAqKIBcODYh57YQTgZimab2bAuAh\]](https://www.google.com/fusiontables/DataSource?docid=1J50fPowBY9CGzAqKIBcODYh57YQTgZimab2bAuAh) and the Commissions Data Table can be accessed at: [\[https://www.google.com/fusiontables/DataSource?docid=1hOkCStXTV5FpGYkL1UBo-xfF4Rjxz-WSUbuwlQwX\]](https://www.google.com/fusiontables/DataSource?docid=1hOkCStXTV5FpGYkL1UBo-xfF4Rjxz-WSUbuwlQwX). Visualizations of this data are presented in the Illustrations table, however, the interactive versions of these can be accessed at: [\[https://public.tableau.com/profile/nicole.riesenberger#!/\]](https://public.tableau.com/profile/nicole.riesenberger#!/). These data sets and visualizations are tremendous resources that affirm the vigorous artistic culture of Renaissance Naples and Ferrante's role in that center.

Chapter 1: King Ferrante I of Naples and his Court, 1458-1494

History and Politics

Ferrante I, illegitimate son of King Alfonso I of Naples (Alfonso V of Aragon) and Gueraldona Carlina Reverdit, succeeded his father on the throne of the Kingdom of Naples in 1458.⁵⁹ After his father's death, Ferrante faced repeated attacks by foreign aggressors and his own barons. Despite all odds, he came to reign over one of the most politically and culturally important courts of Early Modern Europe, one whose artistic achievements have yet to be considered within the context of his patronage. Through marriage and diplomatic negotiations, Ferrante forged ties with major Italian and European courts, which enabled him to maintain his throne for a remarkable thirty-five year reign. Contrary to stereotypes that depict Naples as peripheral and isolated from Italian and European history, under King Ferrante, Naples played a role in nearly every major political and historic event in Italy.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ferrante was born on 2 June 1421 (though Pontieri dates his birth to 1423). His mother was the wife of Gaspare Reverdit of Barcelona. Ernesto Pontieri, *Per la Storia del Regno di Ferrante I d'Aragona Re di Napoli: Studi e Ricerche* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1969), 11, 20-26.

⁶⁰ Paul M. Dover, "Royal Diplomacy in Renaissance Italy: Ferrante d'Aragona (1458-1494) and his Ambassadors," *Mediterranean Studies* 14 (2005), 57; Melissa Calaresu and Helen Hills, "Between Exoticism and Marginalization: New Approaches to Naples," in *New Approaches to Naples, c. 1500-c.1800: The Power of Place* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 1.

Ferrante was raised in Valencia and educated by the Catalan governor of that city, Eximenes Perez de Corella.⁶¹ He was educated in theology and scripture, though he never shared his father's fervent piety; his primary interest was, instead, in law. The young prince never fully mastered Italian—he spoke primarily Castilian with his father, Catalan with his tutors and compatriots, and at his court in Naples he resorted to a composite language combining Castilian and Neapolitan dialects.⁶²

In August 1438, Ferrante was escorted to Italy by Eximenes and Alfonso Borgia, the future Pope Calixtus III. Upon arrival at Alfonso's temporary capital at Gaeta, Ferrante was soon provided with his own household, and in less than a year he was named Lieutenant General of Alfonso's administration.⁶³ In Gaeta, Ferrante gained political and military experience at his father's side and received a humanistic education from Lorenzo Valla, Bartolomeo Facio, and Antonio Beccadelli, better known as Panormita.⁶⁴

Ferrante arrived in Italy in the midst of Alfonso's war over the Kingdom of Naples, to which he claimed legal entitlement as heir to its late queen. After having been adopted by the childless Queen Giovanna II of Naples in 1421, Alfonso was disinherited in 1423 in favor of Louis III d'Anjou, restored in 1433, and finally

⁶¹ Corella tutored Ferrante until his marriage in 1445 and later served as tutor to Ferrante's children. During these early years in Valencia, Ferrante likely came into contact with the young Diomedes Carafa who was living in exile for supporting the Aragonese. Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396-1458* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 221; Alan Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous: The Making of a Modern State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 64; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 33-4.

⁶² Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 34-6, 412.

⁶³ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 29; Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 230-31.

⁶⁴ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 38; Jerry H. Bentley, "Il Mecenatismo Culturale di Ferrante I d'Aragona," *Esperienze Letterarie* 12 (1987), 5.

supplanted by René d'Anjou only months before Giovanna's death on 2 February 1435. Although René was the legal heir to the Kingdom of Naples and had considerable support from the papacy, the Neapolitan barons, and most Italian states, he was unable to secure the throne due to his detainment by the Duke of Burgundy, Philip III. Alfonso made his way to Naples after Giovanna's death but was captured off the coast of Ponza on 5 August 1435 and sent to Milan, where he was imprisoned by Duke Filippo Maria Visconti. During his imprisonment, Alfonso managed to persuade Visconti to release him from prison and to establish a formal alliance against the Angevin pretender to the Neapolitan throne. René finally arrived in Naples in 1438 and war continued until June 1442.

On 26 February 1443, Alfonso triumphantly entered Naples, together with Ferrante, the Prince of Taranto, Giovanni Antonio Orsini, and other barons. Commemorating Ferrante's role in this victory was of utmost importance to Alfonso, who memorialized the event in his triumphal arch at Castel Nuovo.⁶⁵ Alfonso's first priority after his coronation was to obtain formal recognition from the barons of the kingdom for his only son's smooth succession to the throne.⁶⁶ In exchange for their endorsement of his heir, Alfonso granted the barons the privilege of *merum mixtumque imperium*, which entitled them to ultimate judicial and political authority

⁶⁵ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 14-16, 26-8; Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1-2; Jerry H. Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 9-13; Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 24-6.

⁶⁶ Alfonso's wife, Maria of Castile, had been unable to produce an heir, leaving the illegitimate Ferrante as the only hope for establishing a dynasty in Naples. Alfonso had two other illegitimate children, Eleonora and Maria, who were born to a different mistress. They arrived in Italy in 1441. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 248-50; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 14-15, 19, 25, 31, 47, 53; Irma Schiappoli, *Isabella di Chiaromonte, Regina di Napoli* (Florence: Libreria Editrice, 1941), 5.

in their lands.⁶⁷ The barons agreed to support Ferrante, knowing his succession would bring the kingdom independence from the House of Aragon. Consequently, Ferrante was invested with the title of Duke of Calabria, heir to the throne of Naples on 3 March.⁶⁸ Alfonso's own authority was not formally recognized by the pope, feudal lord of the Kingdom of Naples, until Eugenius IV signed the Treaty of Terracina on 14 June 1443.⁶⁹

Soon after securing the throne, Alfonso began searching for marriage partners for all three of his children. His daughter Maria was betrothed to Leonello d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara, in 1443. After learning of a failed plot by the Prince of Taranto and other barons to overthrow the monarchy, Alfonso recognized the need to ally his dynasty with the powerful and mutinous baronage. For this reason, in 1444, Ferrante was engaged to marry Isabella di Chiaromonte, niece of the powerful Prince of Taranto, Giovanni Antonio Orsini. Alfonso's natural daughter Eleonora was later betrothed to Marino Marzano, Duke of Sessa. Through these marriages, Alfonso hoped to strengthen ties with the barons and to ensure a smooth succession for his heir. To this same end, Alfonso secured papal recognition of Ferrante's inheritance of

⁶⁷ This privilege transformed the barons' fiefs into feudal states in which royal officials had limited rights to intervene. Eleni Sakellariou, "Institutional and Social Continuities in the Kingdom of Naples between 1443 and 1528," in *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494-95: Antecedents and Effects*, edited by David Abulafia (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1995), 334; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 53.

⁶⁸ At Alfonso's death, the Kingdom of Naples was to be inherited by Ferrante, while Alfonso's brother, Juan II, would acquire his other Aragonese territories. Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 50-55; Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 43; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 13-14.

⁶⁹ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 56; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 16.

the Kingdom of Naples through a bull drafted by Pope Eugenius IV on 15 July 1444.⁷⁰

Ferrante's marriage to Isabella took place in Naples in the autumn of 1445. Isabella was the orphaned daughter of Caterina del Balzo Orsini and Tristano di Chiaromonte, Count of Copertino. She was a pious and modest woman, a voracious reader (especially of religious texts), and a devoted mother. She bore Ferrante six children: Alfonso (1448), Eleonora (1450), Federico (1451), Giovanni (1456), Beatrice (1457), and Francesco (1461), and she endured Ferrante's constant infidelity, which resulted in at least eight other children whom she loved as her own.⁷¹

After their marriage, Ferrante and Isabella lived in Castello di Capuana, the royal domicile of Giovanna II, and were given a generous allowance of 12,000 ducats per year.⁷² Although most records of Duke Ferrante's court have been lost, Pontieri describes the young prince as having lived an opulent lifestyle, especially as compared to the frugality of his decades on the throne. As duke, Ferrante held elaborate balls at his castle and often lost large sums of money in games of cards and chess, forcing him to take loans from businessmen or, in at least one case, to barter

⁷⁰ Alfonso considered marrying Ferrante to a daughter of Filippo Maria Visconti or Charles VII of France, but his barons opposed any nuptial arrangement between Naples and France. Isabella was a desirable bride, having received a proposal from Tommaso Paleologo, brother of the Emperor of Constantinople, earlier that year. Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 60-62; Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 49.

⁷¹ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 62-9, 74-6; Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 49; Schiappoli, 7.

⁷² Alfonso awarded Ferrante the Sicilian territory of Mazara in 1452, which provided a substantial supplement to his income. Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 23, 69.

the kingdom's territories with his debtors.⁷³ His guardroom was filled with luxurious furs, gold shoes from Spain, Flemish draperies, Neapolitan hats, gloves, numerous gems, trinkets, and all the latest fashions. Ferrante and Isabella also owned a substantial library, which they entrusted to Pasquale (Pascasio) Diaz Garlon. Isabella was an active patron of religious manuscripts, particularly those decorated by the Master of Isabella di Chiaromonte, such as the Harvard Book of Hours (MS.Typ.463) (Figs. 11 & 12) examined in Chapter Two. In the 1440s and 1450s Ferrante staffed his court with mostly Spaniards—Eximenes Perez de Corella served as *capo* and *governatore*—but it also included some prominent Neapolitan nobles, such as Diomede Carafa, who served as supervisor of the economic administration.⁷⁴

As Duke of Calabria, Ferrante played a central role in the vast construction projects undertaken in Naples. He gained a high level of authority and experience in his role as lieutenant general of the kingdom, as King Alfonso was frequently away from the capital pursuing imperialistic campaigns in Tuscany and elsewhere.⁷⁵ Ferrante's only major military mission before his succession to the throne was a complete failure. In May 1452 he led the Neapolitan army to attack Florence, an ally of Milan that Alfonso hoped to defeat in the war of Milanese succession. The Neapolitan armies were unsuccessful in their venture and Ferrante returned home after the Peace of Lodi was signed on 9 April 1454.⁷⁶

⁷³ On one occasion, Ferrante lost 700 *scudi* in a card game with Fabio Incarnato and, lacking the funds to repay his debt, gave Incarnato 50 *moggi* of land at Poggioreale. Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 73-4, 81-2.

⁷⁴ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 83-4.

⁷⁵ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 72, 86; Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 102.

⁷⁶ Alfonso sent Ferrante, accompanied by trusted advisors and skilled captains (including Diomede Carafa, Antonio Caldora, Leonello Accrociamuro, Garzia

If his years as Duke of Calabria lacked military preparation, Ferrante would soon receive ample experience following the collapse of the Aragonese dynasty in southern Italy after Alfonso's death on 27 January 1458.⁷⁷ At the time of his father's death, Ferrante faced an unreliable alliance with Milan, staunch opposition by Florence, the Prince of Viana, and Jean d'Anjou, and a pope who refused to honor his rights to the Kingdom of Naples. In short, Alfonso's strategic alliances dissolved at the time of his death. Ferrante's plight was worsened by the bankrupt state of the kingdom, which was exacerbated by its separation from Sicily and the other wealthy Aragonese lands that had previously subsidized its economy. When Alfonso died in 1458 the kingdom's economy was predominantly pastoral, and opportunities for economic growth were inhibited by its feudal organization.⁷⁸

Cavaniglia [Cabanillas] Everso, Napoleone and Orso Orsini, Reverso dell'Anguillara, and Federico da Montefeltro), to lead 10,000 men into Tuscany. Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino and infamous *condottiere*, had first entered into a *condotta* with Alfonso in October 1451. He continued to serve Alfonso, and later Ferrante, until his death in 1482. Montefeltro provided wise counsel and security to the Aragonese kings. He fought alongside Ferrante during the Tuscan campaign and later in the war of succession (1458-62). He became the wealthiest prince in Italy in the 1470s, largely due to the 800,000 ducats paid to him by the Aragonese kings during his employment (1451-82). Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 77-80; Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 285-90; Cecil H. Clough, "Federico da Montefeltro and the Kings of Naples: A Study in Fifteenth-Century Survival," *Renaissance Studies* 6, no. 2 (1992), 118, 121, 123, 148.

⁷⁷ Alfonso gave his last will and testament on 26 June 1458 to Arnaldo Fonolleda, *castellano* of Castel dell'Ovo. He stated that he wanted his body moved to San Pietro Martire and later transferred to the Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria di Poblet in Catalonia, where his father, Ferdinando, and his other predecessors were interred. There was no formal funeral ceremony for Alfonso due to the political crisis that followed his death. His body was eventually re-located to the Choir of San Domenico Maggiore and was transferred to Spain in the late seventeenth century. Giuliana Vitale, *Ritualità Monarchica: Cerimonie e Pratiche Devozionali nella Napoli Aragonese* (Salerno: Pietro Laveglia Editore, 2006), 84-5.

⁷⁸ At Alfonso's death, his brother, Juan II, inherited Sicily, Sardinia, and Malta. Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 93-7; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 20-21, 24; Dover, 57.

On 17 July 1458, Pope Calixtus III, the same Alfonso Borgia who had accompanied Ferrante to Italy two decades earlier, published a bull declaring the Kingdom of Naples a lapsed fief devolved to the papacy.⁷⁹ Ignoring Eugenius IV's bull that certified Ferrante's right to inherit the throne of Naples, Calixtus began preparing troops to depose the new king. Ferrante avoided almost certain ruin due to the pope's sudden death on 6 August. He soon found allies in Francesco Sforza and Cosimo de' Medici, neither of whom were eager to see a French king on the Neapolitan throne, and he began to threaten the College of Cardinals with rebellion if they did not elect a pope who would grant his investiture.⁸⁰ Due largely to Ferrante's machinations and those of his ambassador to Rome, Galeotto Agnensis, Enea Silvio Piccolomini was elected Pope Pius II on 3 September.⁸¹

On 17 October, Pius drafted a treaty that lifted all of Calixtus' censures against Naples and recognized Ferrante's entitlement to the throne. In return, Ferrante

⁷⁹ Alfonso Borgia was born in Valencia and later resided at King Alfonso's court in Naples, where he served as Ferrante's tutor in law and justice. Despite Alfonso's aid in Borgia's climb to the throne of St. Peter, the two became bitter enemies because Alfonso's constant warring in Italy frustrated the pope's ambitions for a crusade. The one recourse Calixtus had against Alfonso was to deny Ferrante's investiture. The pope hoped to oust Ferrante in favor his own nephew, Pier Luigi Borgia. Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes From the Close of the Middle Ages*, v. II, trans. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus (London: 1899) 469-72; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 18-19; Vincent Ilardi, "The Italian League, Francesco Sforza, and Charles VII (1454-1461)," *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959), 145; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 12-13, 57, 92.

⁸⁰ Pastor, v. II, 473-9.

⁸¹ The College of Cardinals agreed to admit Ferrante's ambassadors to the papal conclave and to treat them as royal ambassadors, despite the continued uncertainty over Ferrante's crown. Pastor, v. III, 6-7, 15; David Abulafia, "The Inception of the Reign of King Ferrante I of Naples: The Events of Summer 1458 in the Light of Documentation from Milan," in *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494-95: Antecedents and Effects*, edited by David Abulafia (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1995), 87; Ilardi, "The Italian League," 150.

agreed to pay an annual tribute to the papacy and to restore the territories of Benevento and Terracina to papal possession. Pius published Ferrante's bull of investiture the following month. Due to the threats of French sympathizers and rebel barons, Ferrante's coronation was held outside Naples in the city of Barletta. Ferrante was crowned King of Naples on 4 February 1459 in a modest ceremony performed by Cardinal Orsini.⁸² Despite the simplicity of Ferrante's coronation, the event was central to the king's iconography, and it was celebrated with a new silver *coronato* coin (Fig. 37) that was distributed throughout the kingdom and a triumphal arch constructed at the entrance of Castel Nuovo (Figs. 42-46).

Yet neither papal support nor official coronation resolved Ferrante's difficulties in the Kingdom of Naples. In August 1459, open insurrection broke out against the king, led by Isabella's uncle, the Prince of Taranto, and aided by Ferrante's brother-in-law, Marino Marzano—an event that was later memorialized in Guglielmo Monaco's bronze doors of Castel Nuovo (Fig. 49) and in an illustrated copy of Giuniano Maio's *De Maiestate* (Fig. 131). The barons called Jean d'Anjou to join their rebellion and he, with the support of Charles VII of France and the traitorous *condottiere* Jacopo Piccinino, set out for Naples in October with the aim of reclaiming the kingdom for the House of Anjou.⁸³

The following spring, the troops of Pope Pius II, Francesco Sforza, and Federico da Montefeltro came to Ferrante's aid.⁸⁴ Ferrante's efforts seemed hopeless after a major defeat at Sarno in July and the subsequent pledges of Angevin

⁸² Vitale, *Ritualità Monarchica*, 18, 40, 69; Pastor, v. III, 21-7.

⁸³ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 90-93; Pastor, v. III, 102-103.

⁸⁴ Pastor, v. III, 91-3, 103.

allegiance by numerous cities throughout the kingdom. Pope Pius' support began to fade, but Ferrante managed to reinvigorate papal backing with a well-timed marriage alliance between his natural daughter Maria and the pope's nephew Antonio Piccolomini.⁸⁵

In late 1461, 3,000 Albanian troops led by George Kastrioti Skanderbeg came to Ferrante's aid.⁸⁶ With renewed military reinforcements, Ferrante gained a decisive victory at Troia on 29 August 1462, which resulted in a peace between Ferrante and the Prince of Taranto.⁸⁷ By the following autumn, Piccinino entered into Ferrante's service and many of the barons and cities of the kingdom soon followed. The final victory in this long struggle came at Ischia on 7 July 1465 when Ferrante, with the aid of Rome and Milan, defeated the last Angevin stronghold in his kingdom.⁸⁸ Due to its role in solidifying Ferrante's control over the throne of Naples, the triumph after the victory at Ischia was chosen as the subject of the celebrated *Tavola Strozzi* panel (Fig. 135), examined in Appendix One.

From the outbreak of revolt in August 1459 until the victory at Ischia in July 1465, Ferrante spent less than twenty-four months in his capital. During his long and frequent absences, Queen Isabella governed the kingdom on his behalf.⁸⁹ Ferrante

⁸⁵ Ferrante also appointed Antonio Piccolomini Duke of Sessa and Amalfi, and Chief Justice of the Kingdom. Pastor, v. III, 121; Ilardi, "The Italian League," 156-7.

⁸⁶ Pastor, v. III, 113.

⁸⁷ The Prince of Taranto died in November 1463 and Ferrante appropriated all of his territories and possessions. Pastor, v. III, 122-3; Schiappoli, 14; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 25; D'Agostino, 32.

⁸⁸ As a pro-Angevin territory, the island of Ischia, which Alfonso had bequeathed to his beloved Lucrezia d'Alagno, became a grave threat to Ferrante's efforts. Ilardi, "The Italian League," 163.

⁸⁹ Ferrante was only recorded in Naples: 23 – 30 November 1459; 2 January – 8 March 1460; 7 July – 24 September 1460; 14 October; 14 – 15 November; 11 – 28

wrote to Isabella frequently during this period, advising her on all manner of topics, including mundane administrative concerns, the progress of the war, and secret intrigues. Isabella demonstrated the courage and resolve of a true leader. She fortified the cities of Terracina, Gaeta, Ischia, Procida, and Capri, and kept Naples well defended as the Angevin fleet approached the coast. She sought the advice of men skilled in the art of war and encouraged the citizens of Naples and neighboring towns to remain steadfast in their support of the king. She understood her responsibility to her station and her subjects and worked tirelessly to meet the demands of both.⁹⁰ Isabella died on 30 March 1465, unable to witness Ferrante's ultimate triumph, which he owed in large part to the efforts of his intrepid queen.⁹¹ Her life and service to the kingdom were celebrated in a lavish funeral and the citizens of Naples poured into the streets to honor their beloved queen. Isabella was dressed in a humble Dominican habit and entombed in her chapel at the church of San Pietro Martire.⁹²

January 1461; 11 February – 24 May (except for brief trips to Capua, Acerra, Aversa, and Castel Volturno); 1 January – 9 June 1462; 3 and 27 December 1462 – 29 April 1463 (with brief trips to nearby towns); 29 May 1463; 23 February – 6 April 1464; 25 January – 7 July 1465 (with short trips to Pozzuoli, Procida, Capua, Nola, and Ischia). Francesco Senatore and Francesco Storti, *Spazi e Tempi della Guerra nel Mezzogiorno Aragonese: L'Itinerario Militare di Re Ferrante (1458-1465)* (Salerno: Carlone Editore, 2002), 136-226; Schiappoli, 9.

⁹⁰ In order to raise funds for the war, Ferrante and Isabella were forced to part with many of their possessions. Ferrante pawned his crown with the bank of Venice on 22 December 1460, and Isabella sold her jewels and manuscripts from the royal library. The queen also imposed new tariffs, including a tax of one *carlino* for every *tomolo* of grain transported through the kingdom. In 1462, Isabella also attempted to arrange an agreement with the merchants Bernardo de Corbera, Filippo Strozzi, Loise Coppola, and Battista Raimbaldo to bring aid to the increasingly expensive and bankrupt city of Naples with the donation of 80,000 *tomoli* of grain for its citizens. Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 93-7; Schiappoli, 12, 16.

⁹¹ Schiappoli, 9, 13-18; Vitale, 104.

⁹² Isabella was known for her profound religiosity. After her death, a lash and sackcloth (*sferza* and *cilicio*) were found in her apartments. Schiappoli, 13-15.

Ferrante's success at Ischia was followed by a decade of relative calm in the kingdom, accompanied by commercial and economic growth and extensive cultural production. In order to cement the newly won support of his baronage and to prevent future discord among them, Ferrante established the chivalric Order of the Ermine. The Order was dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel, and its inception was celebrated on the saint's feast day, 29 September, in 1465. According to its original statutes, the Order was to comprise twenty-seven knights, nine canons for its chapel, three corporate officers, and one *capo*—a seat reserved for the King of Naples.⁹³ The members included Ferrante's sons, many of his most powerful barons, and lords of other Italian states. The Order was unique for the concession it made for newly ennobled men, a strategy aimed at admitting certain recently suppressed barons.⁹⁴

⁹³ Fusco suggests that the Order may have met in the chapel of the Passion at the church of Santa Maria di Monteoliveto, where a bust of Ferrante wearing the Order's collar was originally located. Giuseppe Maria Fusco, *Intorno all'Ordine dell'Armellino da Re Ferdinando I d'Aragona all'Arcangelo S. Michele Dedicato* (Naples: Tipografia Banzoli, 1811) 7-9, 14, 19, 27; Jonathan Dacre Boulton D'Arcy, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), 404-22; Pastor, v. IV, 279-80.

⁹⁴ The Order of the Ermine was influenced by the Orders of the Garter and the Golden Fleece, to which Ferrante was admitted in c.1461-3 and 1473 respectively. The statutes comprise 33 chapters covering 137 ordinances, which include spiritual and fraternal obligations, rituals and ceremonies, guidelines for wearing the habit and collar, election of new members, protocol for settling disputes, etc. New members were elected via conclave and were required to receive two thirds of the votes, although the *capo* always had the final word. All members, unless they were emperors, kings, or illustrious dukes, were forbidden from joining any other order.

Members included Ferrante's sons, Alfonso II and Federico; his son-in-law Ercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara (r. 1471-1505); Galeazzo-Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan (r. 1465-76); Alessandro Forza, Prince of Pesaro (d. 1473); Roberto di Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno; Francesco del Balzo, Duke of Andria; Giulio Antonio d'Acquaviva, Duke of Atri; Troiano Caracciolo, Duke of Melfi; Antonio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi, nephew of Pope Pius II, and cousin of Ferrante; Orso Orsini, Duke of Asoli and Count of Nola; Antonio della Rovere, Duke of Sora and nephew of Pope Sixtus IV; Pietro Guevara, Grand Seneschal of the kingdom and cousin of Ferrante;

Through the Order of the Ermine, Ferrante imposed pious and chivalric obligations upon his knights. Members of the Order were required to maintain peace amongst the baronage, obey the Roman Church, and support the king in the event of a crusade.⁹⁵ Ferrante established strict punishments for infidelity or treason against the king, and knights expelled for this offence endured a public ritual of humiliation.⁹⁶ These strict rules facilitated Ferrante's objective of uniting and controlling his insubordinate barons.⁹⁷ The Order's collar also reflected these ideals. It was comprised of interlocking links in the shapes of the *siege perilous* (an Arthurian emblem adopted by King Alfonso I and later Ferrante to express the sovereign's entitlement to his throne) and *ramicelli* (a stump sprouting new shoots, symbolizing re-birth). A charm in the shape of an ermine—a symbol of purity—inscribed with the word DECORUM, hung from the front of the collar. The combination of these

Iñigo d'Avalos, Count of Monte Odorisio, Chamberlain of the kingdom, and knight of the Order of the Garter from 1467; Iñigo's son, Alfonso d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara; Onorato Gaetano, Count of Fondi; Ferdinando Guevarra, Count of Belcastro; Alfonso Guevara, Count of Archi; Marino Caracciolo, Count of Sant'Angelo; Giacomo Caracciolo, Count of Burgenza; Virginio Orsino and his son, Giovanni Giordano Orsino; Roberto Orsino, Count of Tagliacozzo and Alba; Diomede Carrafa, Count of Maddaloni; Scipione Pandone, Count of Venafro; Andrea di Capua, son of the Count of Altavilla; Matteo di Capua, Count of Palene; Antonio Carrafa, Lord of Mondragone; Galeazzo Caracciolo, Lord of Vico; Domizio Caracciolo, Lord of Rodi and Governor of Calabria; Galeotto Carrafa, Lord of Tirioli and cousin of Ferrante; Guevara de Guevara, Lord of Arpaia; Luigi d'Aquino, Lord of Castellini; Alberico Carrafa; Giacomo Carrafa della Spina, Lord of Castelvete; Charles The Bold, Duke of Burgundy (elected 1474); and Federigo da Montefeltro. Fusco, 7-9, 14, 27; D'Arcy, 404-17; Pastor, v. IV, 279-80.

⁹⁵ D'Arcy, 410.

⁹⁶ D'Arcy, 416-17.

⁹⁷ D'Arcy, 426.

iconographic elements asserted Ferrante's legitimacy and his desire for a purifying renewal of his kingdom following the baronial revolt.⁹⁸

Ferrante's struggle against the kingdom's powerful barons continued to plague him throughout his life. According to Benedetto Croce, who saw the barons as a perpetual barrier to the progress of the monarchy, "the kings of Naples were compelled to tolerate, flatter, and make concessions to the barons, and none of these things served to impede the latter's continuous rebellion." In his *Discorsi* from centuries earlier, Niccolò Machiavelli expressed a similar sentiment, calling the barons, "men completely inimical to any kind of civilization."⁹⁹

The unfortunate irony of Ferrante's relationship with his barons was that Alfonso I had both granted the barons almost unlimited power and reduced their financial obligations to the crown, with the sole purpose of securing their support for his heir.¹⁰⁰ In theory, the barons were expected to behave as royal officials, governing

⁹⁸ The habit and collar of the Order of the Ermine were likely inspired by those of the Orders of the Jar and the Golden Fleece. The habit consisted of a white silk gown and a mantle of red (*carmine*) shaved satin lined with ermine skins—both garments were floor-length and are unusual for lacking a hood or insignia. The ermine fur-trimmed mantle became central to Ferrante's iconography. The habit and collar were to be worn on St. Michael's feast days and on one day each week, determined by the day of the week on which the last feast day of St. Michael occurred. The collar was also to be worn into battle. Due to the high value of the habit and collar, both were to be returned to the Order after a member's death or expulsion. Fusco, 17-19; D'Arcy, 403, 424-6.

⁹⁹ Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, 59-60; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 25.

¹⁰⁰ In addition to granting the barons the privilege of *merum et mixtum imperium* in 1443, Alfonso replaced the general *collecta* with a hearth tax, which weighed more heavily on the serfs than the barons. Eleni Sakellariou, "Royal Justice in the Aragonese Kingdom of Naples: Theory and the Realities of Power," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 26, no. 1 (2011), 34-6; Croce, *History*, 62.

the distant lands of the kingdom according to the will of the king, but this was far from the reality.¹⁰¹

Although the Order of the Ermine helped to control the baronage for a short time, it did little to ameliorate Ferrante's relationship with the papacy, which was in constant flux with the election of each new pope. Soon after the election of the Venetian Pietro Barbo as Pope Paul II on 28 August 1464, Ferrante became embroiled in a dispute over payment of the annual tribute to the papacy, which he had previously agreed to pay in return for his investment by Pius II.¹⁰² Refusing to make any concessions to the papacy, Ferrante went so far as to threaten the pope with an alliance between Naples and Sultan Mehmed II, who had offered Ferrante 80,000 ducats to join forces with the Ottomans.¹⁰³ Disputes between Ferrante and Paul II eventually resulted in an attack on Rome on 30 August 1469.¹⁰⁴ It was only after the Turkish incursion at Negroponte the following July that Ferrante and the pope finally came to an agreement in order to face the Ottoman threat with a unified front. Pope Paul forgave Ferrante his debts momentarily, but the papal tribute was to remain a source of contention between Naples and Rome throughout Ferrante's reign.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Sakellariou, "Royal Justice," 42.

¹⁰² Since the Angevin period, the King of Naples had been obligated to present a white palfrey and a large sum of money to the pope on the annual feast of Saints Peter and Paul as a feudal tribute. Pastor, v. IV, 4; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 28.

¹⁰³ Ferrante allowed an Ottoman embassy free passage to his court in the spring of 1465. Franz Babinger, "Sechs Unbekannte Aragonische Sendschreiben im Grossherrlichen Seraj Zu Stambul," in *Studi in Onore di Riccardo Filangieri* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1959), 111-13; Pastor, v. IV, 80-82, 90, 151-2.

¹⁰⁴ The attack on Rome was carried out by Federico da Montefeltro and Roberto Malatesta, with the support of Naples, Milan, and Florence. Pastor, v. IV, 154, 159-60, 170-72; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 240-41.

¹⁰⁵ Pastor, v. IV, 175-8; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 249-52.

The death of Paul II on 26 July 1471 and the election of Francesco della Rovere as Pope Sixtus IV on 9 August held optimistic prospects for Ferrante.¹⁰⁶ The new pope absolved Ferrante of all his debts to the papacy and lifted the requirement of a feudal tribute.¹⁰⁷ The stability of the Neapolitan-Papal alliance allowed Ferrante to dedicate his efforts in the 1470s to reinforcing his authority in the Kingdom of Naples and to strengthening his political position within Europe.

During this period, Ferrante established judicious matrimonial alliances with key families, continuing the work begun in 1465 when his heir, Alfonso II, Duke of Calabria, married Ippolita Sforza, daughter of Francesco Sforza. In spring 1474, Ferrante's daughter Beatrice was married to the King of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus, a powerful ally against Venice and Ottoman Turkey. Eleonora was married to Ercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, and Ferrante's natural daughter Ilaria was wed to Pope Sixtus' nephew, Leonardo della Rovere. In 1477 the pope made Ferrante's son Giovanni a cardinal. With the signing of the Treaty of Saint-Omer in November 1471, Ferrante also entered into an alliance with Burgundy and Aragon. In 1475 the king's youngest daughter Lucrezia was betrothed to Federico da Montefeltro's heir Guidobaldo, but the contract was annulled after Federico's death. Ferrante's niece Camilla d'Aragona Marzano was married to Costanzo Sforza, Lord of Pesaro. And finally, in 1478, Ferrante's son Federico, Prince of Taranto, was engaged to Anne of Savoy, daughter of Duchess Yolande of Valois.¹⁰⁸ Francesco Laurana's portrait busts

¹⁰⁶ Pastor, v. IV, 190-201.

¹⁰⁷ Pastor, v. IV, 246.

¹⁰⁸ In a failed attempt to marry Federico to Maria of Burgundy, the only daughter of Charles the Bold, Ferrante sent his son across the Alps with an entourage of 400 men in the autumn of 1474. Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 164-72, 201, 252-62.

of Eleonora (Fig. 83) and Beatrice d' Aragona (Fig. 84) played an important role in the negotiation of Ferrante's alliances, as did the artist's later bust of Duchess Ippolita Sforza (Fig. 92).

During this decade of consolidation Ferrante also found himself a new wife in his cousin Princess Juana of Aragon, daughter of King Juan II. A marriage contract for the fifty-year-old Ferrante and the nineteen-year-old Juana was signed at Navarre on 5 October 1476.¹⁰⁹ Juana arrived in Naples on 9 September 1477, and five days later she and Ferrante were wed in a ceremony at the Cathedral, performed by Pope Sixtus IV and Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia.¹¹⁰

Ferrante's skill at crafting alliances and his pragmatic approach to statecraft were crucial to his success on the Neapolitan throne. The king not only allied his family with other European centers through marriage and treaties, he also established permanent ambassadors at most major courts. He was an innovator in the art of diplomacy and foreign policy. Ferrante relied on his ambassadors for information and to facilitate negotiations. His severe approach to governance so epitomized certain ideologies set forth in Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince*, that some scholars have conjectured that Ferrante may have inspired parts of Machiavelli's treatise. Ferrante's own humanist and Prime Minister, Giovanni Pontano, wrote about the king's

¹⁰⁹ Juana brought to the marriage a dowry of 350,000 ducats and Ferrante, for his part, agreed to provide the new queen with an annual allowance of 20,000 ducats (twice the amount Isabella had received), and to grant her the lands of Sumona, Teano, Venafro, and Isernia. Félix Fernandez Murga, "Dona Juana de Aragon, Reina de Napoles," in, *Studi in Onore di Riccardo Filangieri* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1959), 175-8.

¹¹⁰ On 20 April 1479 the queen gave birth to a daughter whom she named Juana. Murga, 179-82.

fascination with his prisoners and his practice of displaying the mummified corpses of his enemies at Castel Nuovo.¹¹¹

Soon after his marriage to Juana, Ferrante became embroiled in the Pazzi Conspiracy, which Pope Sixtus and his Riario relatives had devised to overthrow the Medici in Florence.¹¹² This infamous intrigue led to the assassination of Giuliano de' Medici and the severe injury of Lorenzo de' Medici on Sunday 26 April 1478 during Mass in the Florentine Cathedral.¹¹³ In the aftermath of the attacks, Lorenzo arrested and detained Cardinal Raffaello Sansoni-Riario and executed many other men. His actions enraged Sixtus, who responded with excommunication and heavy sanctions.¹¹⁴ Ferrante sent troops to the pope's aid in Florence, while also writing to Lorenzo to console him over the loss of his brother, and to warn him against the danger of provoking the pope.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ In his *On Speech* and *On Prudence*, Pontano compared Ferrante to Nero and Domitian for his mastery of the art of dissimulation. David Abulafia, "Ferrante of Naples: The Statecraft of a Renaissance Prince," *History Today* (February 1995), 19; Dover, 58-9, 63-7, 88, 92-4; David Abulafia, "Introduction: From Ferrante I to Charles VIII," in *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494-95: Antecedents and Effects*, edited by David Abulafia (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1995), 3; Vincent Ilardi, "Towards the Tragedia d'Italia: Ferrante and Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Friendly Enemies and Hostile Allies," in *Ibid.*, 122; Carol Kidwell, *Pontano: Poet & Prime Minister* (London: Duckworth, 1991), 237-8.

¹¹² In order to form a defensive alliance against the coalition between Florence, Milan, Venice, and Ferrara, Ferrante traveled to Rome in January 1475 for secret meetings with Pope Sixtus. Pastor, v. IV, 214, 279-80, 290-91, 299-302; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 133-4.

¹¹³ One of the two assassins, Bernardo di Bandini de' Baroncelli, escaped to Ferrante's court and was granted safe passage to flee to Turkey. Baroncelli was soon arrested by the Ottoman sultan and was returned to Florence where he was executed on 29 December 1479. Carlo De Frede, "La Venuta di Lorenzo de Medici a Napoli nel 1479 Presso il Re Ferrante e il Giudizio del Machiavelli," *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana* 49 (XLIX) 2000, 42-4; Pastor, v. IV, 308-310.

¹¹⁴ Pastor, v. IV, 314-17.

¹¹⁵ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 290-305.

By the end of the following year, after the conquest of many Florentine territories and the encroachment of Neapolitan armies, Florentines began to fear an attack on their own city. In order to save Florence from destruction, Lorenzo went to Naples to negotiate with King Ferrante. The visit was arranged by Filippo Strozzi, a long-time acquaintance of Ferrante's through his banking interests in Naples. Lorenzo arrived in Naples on 18 December and was received with the utmost honor and celebration. During his nearly three-month sojourn, Lorenzo was hosted by the royal secretary, Antonello Petrucci.¹¹⁶ The trip eventually resulted in a peace treaty between Ferrante, Lorenzo, and Ludovico il Moro of Milan.¹¹⁷

Despite this new alliance, the stability of the kingdom was threatened once again on 28 July 1480 when 18,000 Ottoman troops of Mehmed II landed at Otranto. The city, located in the remote Apulia region, was inadequately guarded and poorly fortified. On 11 August, after fifteen days of siege, the Turks forced their way into the city and soon killed 12,000 of Otranto's 22,000 inhabitants, enslaving the rest.¹¹⁸

Ferrante once again threatened the papacy with the prospect of a Neapolitan-Ottoman alliance if the pope and other Italian powers did not come to his aid.¹¹⁹ After obtaining the support of Pope Sixtus, Neapolitan armies seized the city on 4 July

¹¹⁶ De Frede, 47-9.

¹¹⁷ Lorenzo had previously visited the Neapolitan court in April 1466 to gain Ferrante's favor for his father Piero. Nevertheless, Florentine chroniclers emphasized the grave danger Lorenzo put himself in by travelling to Naples in the midst of war, especially because he had provided Ferrante with ample notice of his visit. Niccolò Machiavelli describes the trip in his *Istorie fiorentine*. De Frede, 44-54; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 306-26; Pastor, v. IV, 329.

¹¹⁸ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 29; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 327-8.

¹¹⁹ Babinger, 117-18.

1481. The Turks finally surrendered on 10 September after a Neapolitan victory off the coast of Sazan.¹²⁰

Following the surrender of Turkish forces, Ferrante sent his ambassador Nuzzo d'Andrano to Istanbul to negotiate with the new sultan, Bâyezîd II. Ferrante continued to correspond with the sultan throughout his reign, always referring to him as “our dearest friend,” but he was never remiss about trusting the Ottomans.

Relations between Naples and Istanbul remained congenial throughout Ferrante's reign. In November 1493 Ferrante requested the sultan's aid against an impending French invasion, and the following April the Turkish ambassador to Naples promised Alfonso II 20,000 Ottoman horses to defend against Charles VIII.¹²¹

Just months after the Otranto conflict was resolved, Ferrante found himself at war with Venice. In September 1481 Girolamo Riario, with Pope Sixtus' blessing, had gone to Venice with a plan to overthrow Ferrante and seize Ferrara, which was governed by Ferrante's ally and son-in-law, Ercole d'Este. Venice declared war on

¹²⁰ To finance the battle at Otranto, Sixtus levied all tithes from the kingdom, melted down medal objects from the treasury, and taxed the Papal States. Ferrante resorted to pawning jewels and 245 manuscripts and printed books with the Florentine banker Battista Pandolfini in exchange for a loan of 38,000 ducats. Ferrante repaid the debt and retrieved his goods the following January. Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 66; Pastor, v. IV, 333-5, 342-4; Salvatore Gaetani, “Fonti Storiche e Letterarie Intorno ai Martiri di Otranto,” in *Studi in Onore di Riccardo Filangieri* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1959) v. II, 157-9; Pastor, v. IV, 332, 340.

¹²¹ Ferrante sent his ambassador back to Istanbul as a spy in 1492. Babinger, 118-20, 123-7; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 349-51; Patrizia Meli, “Il Mondo Musulmano e gli Ebrei nelle Corrispondenze Fiorentine da Napoli,” in *Poteri, Relazioni, Guerra nel Regno di Ferrante d'Aragona: Studi sulle Corrispondenze Diplomatiche* (Naples: Clio Press, 2011), 308, 347-8.

Ferrara in May 1482 and fighting continued until the treaty of Bagnolo was signed in August 1484.¹²²

Soon after the death of Sixtus and the election of the pro-Angevin Giovanni Battista Cibo of Genoa as Pope Innocent VIII, disputes arose between Naples and Rome.¹²³ Tensions worsened into the summer of that year, when the barons of the Kingdom once again revolted against Ferrante.¹²⁴ Several barons traveled to Rome in July 1485 to request Pope Innocent's aid in overthrowing their king. The following October, Innocent openly declared war against Ferrante and pledged his support to the barons, while also taking the city of Aquila under his control—as can be seen in

¹²² Pastor, v. IV, 350-4, 364-71; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 30.

¹²³ Ferrante and his heir, Duke Alfonso II, created new tensions between Rome and Naples by refusing to pay the annual papal tribute, interfering in ecclesiastical matters in the kingdom, and demanding that the pope return the territories of Benevento, Terracina, and Ponte Corvo to the Kingdom of Naples. Pastor V, 232-9, 249-50, 387; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 449-50; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 30.

¹²⁴ In an act that has been called anti-feudal by Jerry Bentley and proto-mercantilist by Eleni Sakellariou, Ferrante issued two proclamations in 1466 that allowed for the free circulation of goods in the kingdom and ended monopolies and tolls imposed by the barons. Later, Duke Alfonso convinced Ferrante to begin annexing feudal lands in order to establish a royal demesne around Naples. Ferrante and Alfonso also instituted sequesters on the barons, confiscated their properties, and even arrested several barons at the end of 1484. Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 26, 31; Ernesto Pontieri, *La Politica Mediceo-Fiorentina nella Congiura dei Baroni Napoletani Contro Ferrante d'Aragona, 1485-1492, Documenti Inediti* (Naples: 1977), 14-15; D'Agostino, 47-9; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 354-5, 447-8; Elisabetta Scarton, "La Congiura dei Baroni del 1485-87 e la Sorte dei Ribelli," in *Poteri, Relazioni, Guerra nel Regno di Ferrante d'Aragona: Studi sulle Corrispondenze Diplomatiche* (Naples: Clio Press, 2011), 214-17, 224-5; Sakellariou, "Institutional and Social Continuities," 339.

the coins minted at Aquila from 1485-6 (Figs. 120 & 121).¹²⁵ In less than a year, disputes between Naples and Rome brought all of Europe to the brink of war. Out of desperation, Ferrante and the pope signed a truce on 11 August 1486, which was facilitated by Giovanni Pontano.¹²⁶ The treaty stipulated that Ferrante would pay the annual papal tribute with arrears, grant amnesty to those barons who had rebelled against him, and allow the citizens of Aquila to decide for themselves whether to remain under Neapolitan or papal dominion.¹²⁷

Two days after the treaty was signed, however, Ferrante arrested Francesco and Marco Coppola, Aniello Arcamone, his secretary Antonello Petrucci with his wife and their eight children, and several others, during a wedding celebration for Maria Piccolomini and Marco Coppola at Castel Nuovo.¹²⁸ Within weeks Ferrante had expelled papal troops from Aquila, murdered the pope's representative there,

¹²⁵ The rebellious barons included: Pirro del Balzo (Prince of Altamura and *gran conestabile*); Girolamo Sanseverino (Prince of Bisignano and *camerlengo*); Antonello Sanseverino (Prince of Salerno and *ammiraglio*); and Pietro de Guevara (*gran siniscalco*). These men managed to secure the aid of some of Ferrante's most trusted advisors, including: Antonello Petrucci (royal secretary) and his sons Francesco and Giovanni Antonio; Francesco Coppola (Count of Sarno and financier of the crown); Giovanni Pou (*maiorchino*); and Aniello Arcamone (advisor and royal ambassador). Scarton, 225-6, 235; Pastor V, 251-4; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 451-3.

¹²⁶ Despite the turbulence of these months, Giovanni Pontano was crowned Poet Laureate by Pope Innocent during his trip to Rome that January. Kidwell, 190-91.

¹²⁷ Pastor V, 255-64; Murga, 185-6; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 173; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 454, 477.

¹²⁸ Although a number of those arrested were released after several years of imprisonment, Francesco Coppola, Antonello Petrucci, and his sons were all executed after several months of prosecution and torture. Still others were detained in the dungeons of Castel Nuovo until the arrival of the French in 1494. These events recalled the suspicious death in 1465 of the treasonous *condottiere* Jacopo Piccinino, who died after allegedly falling out a window during a feast at Castel Nuovo. Scarton, 239-45, 282, 288-9; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 486-7; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 32-3, 173; Pastor V, 265; Abulafia, "Ferrante of Naples," 21-2; Ilardi, "Towards the Tragedia d'Italia," 114.

punished the barons, and confiscated their properties. In July 1487 Innocent appealed to Spain, Milan, and Florence, the guarantors of the peace treaty, informing them of its violation. Conditions worsened between Naples and Rome, with Ferrante threatening to call a council and to bring the Ottoman army to Italy, and Innocent threatening Ferrante with excommunication and declaring the forfeiture of his crown.¹²⁹

After appealing to both Charles VIII of France and Emperor Maximilian to join him in a war against the pope, Ferrante sent Giovanni Pontano to Rome in December 1491 to negotiate an accord.¹³⁰ The conditions of the peace specified that Ferrante would pay the papacy 36,000 ducats for his fief, send an annual palfrey to Rome, maintain an army of 2,000 horsemen and five triremes for the Church, and allow the imprisoned barons to be tried by the pope.¹³¹ To further cement this agreement, a marriage contract was arranged between Luigi d'Aragona, son of Duke Alfonso II, and Battistina Cibo, Innocent's granddaughter, in May 1492.¹³²

Innocent died just two months later and Rodrigo Borgia was elected Pope Alexander VI on 11 August 1492. The new pope's tenure was soon to usher in a dark period in the kingdom's history, and that of the entire Italian peninsula.¹³³ In the early 1490s, Ferrante's carefully crafted alliances began to crumble. Lorenzo de' Medici

¹²⁹ Pastor V, 267-77; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 503-509.

¹³⁰ As ambassador in Rome, Pontano often wrote frank letters to Ferrante, urging him to strengthen his alliance with the pope and warning him of the precarious situation he was in. Pontano expressed clear frustration at Ferrante, whose interference and evasion had made reconciliation impossible. Pastor V, 278; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 510, 519, 523; Kidwell, 223-5.

¹³¹ Pastor V, 284.

¹³² Pastor V, 285-7.

¹³³ Pastor V, 320, 379-85, 393.

was dead, Naples had no ally in Rome, and King Vladislaus II of Hungary (successor to Matthias Corvinus, who died in 1490) refused to marry the widowed Beatrice of Aragon. Ferrante's ties with Milan were weakened by Ludovico il Moro's plans to depose Gian Galeazzo Sforza (the husband of Ferrante's granddaughter), and the newly-formed marriage alliance between Giovanni Sforza and Alexander's daughter, Lucrezia Borgia.¹³⁴ After enraging the pope by helping Virginio Orsini to purchase the lands of Cerveteri and Anguillara in September 1492, Ferrante agreed to marry Duke Alfonso II's daughter Sancia to Alexander's son Jofre. The engagement failed to sufficiently bond Naples and Rome, and Ferrante remained politically isolated, facing the united forces of Rome, Milan, Ferrara, Mantua, Siena, Venice, and France.¹³⁵

When Ferrante died suddenly on 25 January 1494 the Kingdom of Naples was on the verge of collapse.¹³⁶ The king died with full knowledge of the danger faced by his heir and kingdom. He had written to Sultan Bâyezîd II and his cousins in Spain a

¹³⁴ Pastor V, 317, 404; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 34; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 550.

¹³⁵ Pastor V, 405-408, 414; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 529-51.

¹³⁶ Ferrante fell ill while returning from Tripergole, a bucolic retreat outside Naples. According to modern scientists who have studied Ferrante's remains, the king died of a 'mucinous adenocarcinoma' tumor characteristic of colorectal cancer, caused by an excess consumption of red meat and game. The king's mummified body reveals extreme obesity and severe atherosclerosis, or a hardening of the arteries that carry blood to the brain. Gino Fornaciari, Antonio Marchetti, Silvia Pellegrini, and Rosalba Ciranni, "K-ras Mutation in the Tumour of King Ferrante I of Aragon (1431-1494) and Environmental Mutagens at the Aragonese Court of Naples," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 9 (1999), 302-305; Laura Ottini, Mario Falchetti, Silvia Marinozzi, Luciana Rita Angeletti, and Gino Fornaciari, "Gene-Environment Interactions in the Pre-Industrial Era: The Cancer of King Ferrante I of Aragon (1431-1494)," *Human Pathology* 42 (2011), 332; Raffaele Gaeta, Valentina Giuffra, Gino Fornaciari, "Atherosclerosis in the Renaissance Elite: Ferdinand I King of Naples (1431-1494)," *Virchows Archiv: An International Journal of Pathology* 462, no. 5 (May 2013), 593-4; Vitale, 99; Pastor V, 420-21.

few months prior, requesting aid against a French invasion. He had also begun sending ambassadors throughout Europe and readying his troops and ships for war. Just days before his death, Ferrante made arrangements to travel to Milan to acknowledge Ludovico il Moro's authority as the city's new duke, in order to win back Milanese support.¹³⁷

Ferrante fought endlessly to maintain his crown throughout his entire thirty-five year reign. His life and unceasing efforts were celebrated with an elaborate funeral at the cost of 17,000 ducats. The Florentine Francesco Pucci, *lettore* of Rhetoric at the Neapolitan university, gave an oration that was said to have lasted more than an hour. The funeral procession was allegedly so large that the first ranks reached San Domenico Maggiore before the final ones had departed Castel Nuovo—a distance of approximately one and a half kilometers.¹³⁸ Despite the magnificence of Ferrante's funeral, no funerary monument was ever constructed for the king. Ferrante's body remains unburied in a simple wooden coffin in the sacristy of San Domenico Maggiore, alongside forty other uninterred members of the Aragonese royal family.

Queen Juana continued to serve the kingdom under Ferrante's successors and throughout the short and tumultuous reign of King Charles VIII of France.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ In a letter from 12 October 1493, Pontano informed Ferrante that Ludovico il Moro had encouraged Charles VIII to invade Italy. Kidwell, 233-5; Meli, 308; Michael Mallet, "Personalities and Pressures: Italian Involvement in the French Invasion of 1494," in *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494-95: Antecedents and Effects*, edited by David Abulafia (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1995), 159.

¹³⁸ Vitale, 97-8, 106-112.

¹³⁹ Ferrante was succeeded by his eldest son, Alfonso II, who abdicated on 4 February 1495. Alfonso fled to Mazzara, Sicily on 9 May, and died in a monastery there on 19

Although her marriage to Ferrante was intended to strengthen the kingdom's alliances, Juana eventually played a decisive role in the destruction of the dynasty her husband had fought so hard to build and protect. Juana sailed to Spain in September 1499 to console her brother, Ferdinand the Catholic, over the deaths of his children Juan and Isabel. During her time in Spain, Juana witnessed and probably instigated the signing of the Treaty of Granada between Ferdinand and Luis XII of France on 11 November 1500.¹⁴⁰ The treaty divided the Kingdom of Naples between Spain and France, while preserving the feudal possessions of Juana and her daughter and granting them free passage throughout the kingdom.

By 1504, however, Ferdinand had conquered all of the newly established French lands, and the entire Kingdom of Naples was incorporated into the Crown of Spain. Juana returned to Naples with Ferdinand and his new wife Germaine de Foix of France in October 1506, and she and her daughter remained in Naples to oversee its administration for the rest of their lives. The women continued to live at Castel Nuovo, beloved and respected as the sister and niece of the King of Spain. Juana I

November 1495. Alfonso's son, Ferrandino (Ferrante II), succeeded his father, but was soon forced out of Naples when the armies of Charles VIII arrived in February 1495. Charles was crowned king of Naples on 12 May 1495 but soon fled the city when citizens revolted against him. Ferrandino returned to Naples that July, and by February 1496 the last bastion of French support was defeated. By July of that year, the distant lands of the kingdom had been re-conquered with the aid of El Gran Capitán, Gonsalvo de Córdoba. Ferrandino married his stepsister, Juana II in early 1496, but he died of a sudden illness five months later. He was succeeded by his uncle (Ferrante's second-born son), Federico, who was deposed by Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain and Louis XII of France in 1501, following the signing of the Treaty of Granada. Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 36-9.

¹⁴⁰ Juana I had become angry with her step-son Federico after he succeeded Ferrandino on the throne and refused to divorce his own wife, Isabella del Balzo, in order to marry Juana II. It is, therefore, likely that Juana encouraged her brother to oust Federico, in the hope that she and her daughter would receive more favorable treatment under Ferdinand's dominion. Murga, 187-93.

died in Naples on 9 January 1517. She was dressed in a Franciscan habit with a crown and gold mantle, and interred in a floor tomb at the foot of the high altar in the church of Santa Maria la Nova.¹⁴¹

The dramatic and devastating shifts in European power that immediately followed Ferrante's death illustrate the extent to which the tenacious Neapolitan king had embodied the balance of power in European politics during his more than three decades on the throne.¹⁴² Through his diplomatic innovations and political acumen, Ferrante managed to evade defeat despite the constant attacks he faced throughout his life. In the centuries since his death, Ferrante has been remembered primarily for his faults, but as this survey demonstrates, the ferocity and dissimulation of which Ferrante is most often criticized may have been essential to the maintenance of peace and stability in his kingdom.

Court Culture

Over the course of his reign, Ferrante significantly expanded the kingdom's economy, increasing the annual revenue from 300,000 to 600,000 ducats by 1492.¹⁴³ He transformed Naples from a medieval commune to a modern capital city.¹⁴⁴ In the 1470s, a decade characterized by political, economic, and cultural re-birth in Naples, Ferrante introduced silk manufacturing and wool-weaving industries to the kingdom, repaired roads and bridges, constructed canals, drainage systems, and reservoirs,

¹⁴¹ Although badly abraded, Juana's tomb bears the insignia given to her by Cardinal Borgia on the day of her coronation. Murga, 194-5.

¹⁴² Dover, 61.

¹⁴³ Pastor, V, 115.

¹⁴⁴ Through the training of new bureaucrats at the Studio di Napoli and the appointment of local patricians to administrative positions, Ferrante created a ruling class within Naples. Sakellariou, "Institutional and Social Continuities," 340.

opened iron mines in Calabria, and facilitated the launch of a printing press in Naples.¹⁴⁵ The silk industry was one of Ferrante's most successful ventures. By 1477 he had organized members of the trade into a state-sanctioned guild that was exempt from tolls on the purchase of raw materials and the sale of goods.¹⁴⁶ By the sixteenth century, Naples had become the top producer of light, affordable silk in Italy. Neapolitan silk products satisfied domestic demand and were also exported to France, Spain, and the Levant.¹⁴⁷

In one of his many proto-mercantilist policies, Ferrante eliminated internal tax barriers imposed by the barons and instituted high taxes on imports in an effort to incentivize local industries.¹⁴⁸ In order to increase production, commerce, and trade, the king consolidated commercial ties with England, Egypt, Tunisia, Ethiopia,

¹⁴⁵ "The Aragonese, and especially Ferrante, were the first rulers of southern Italy not only to conceive of the construction of an integrated road network as the prerogative and obligation of the state and as a means to control its territory, but also to invest in organizing the material means for the systematic implementation of this aim." Sakellariou, *Southern Italy*, 152-3.

¹⁴⁶ The earliest surviving guilds in Naples were those of the perfume sellers and farriers, confirmed by Alfonso I in 1450 and 1455. Twelve new guilds were added between 1465 and 1501, including that of the goldsmiths, shoemakers, leather tanners, and silk and wool manufacturers. Although guilds had some legal jurisdiction in Naples, they had no political power. Sakellariou, *Southern Italy*, 308, 350, 412.

¹⁴⁷ Raw silk was produced in Calabria and exported to Naples, Venice, Genoa, Florence, Spain, and France. In the 1470s Ferrante invited silk merchants from Venice, Florence, and Genoa to settle in Naples, offering them freedom from tolls, immunity from civil or criminal offences committed outside the kingdom, a start-up loan to acquire materials, and the ability to export products not sold on the domestic market. Sakellariou, *Southern Italy*, 386, 393-4, 397, 404, 410.

¹⁴⁸ Sakellariou, *Southern Italy*, 181; D'Agostino, 39-41; Ronald G. Musto, 'An Introduction to Neapolitan History,' in, *Naples: An Early Guide*, edited by Enrico Bacco and Cesare d'Engenio Caracciolo (New York: Italica Press, 1991), 361; Croce, *History*, 81; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 27; David Abulafia, "The Crown and the Economy under Ferrante I of Naples (1458-94)," in, *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones*, edited by Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham (London: The Hambledon Press, 1990), 126, 134, 144-6.

Dalmatia, and Greece.¹⁴⁹ Ferrante also welcomed the expelled Jews and Moors of Spain into his kingdom in 1492 and offered asylum to Albanian immigrants fleeing Ottoman aggression. His favorable policies toward foreign refugees were crafted with the hope that these populations would bring skills and trades into the kingdom and spur economic growth. Ferrante allowed these new immigrant groups to form communities with religious freedoms and he relaxed the requirement that Jews wear marks of identification.¹⁵⁰

Despite Ferrante's best efforts, however, the kingdom's revenues remained modest relative to its size, and certainly when compared to the wealthy states of Milan and Florence.¹⁵¹ Consequently, Ferrante was forced to minimize excessive spending within his court and administration, and to limit the costly privileges granted to courtiers by his magnanimous father.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ The Aragonese kings achieved grain sufficiency, and in 1488 Ferrante entered into a commercial agreement for grain production and trade with the King of Tunisia. By February 1489 a Tunisian ambassador to the Neapolitan court was established to oversee commercial interests, and international grain trade became a lucrative sector of the kingdom's economy. Pasquale Sposato, "Attività Commerciali degli Aragonesi nella Seconda Metà del Quattrocento," in *Studi in Onore di Riccardo Filangieri* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica) v. II, 215-17; Sakellariou, *Southern Italy*, 254, 426; Meli, 319-22, 335-8; Abulafia, "The Crown and the Economy," 140.

¹⁵⁰ Meli, 326-9; Abulafia, "Ferrante of Naples," 23; Abulafia, "The Crown and the Economy," 137; Kidwell, 238.

¹⁵¹ The population of the kingdom, as a whole, grew by nearly 30% from 1447-1508, while the urban population grew by a staggering 81%. Naples was home to approximately 100,000 people by the beginning of the sixteenth century. Sakellariou, *Southern Italy*, 114.

¹⁵² Over the course of his reign, however, Ferrante succeeded in implementing a number of innovations that promoted economic integration, including the construction and surveillance of a safe and functional road system, reduction of road tolls, creation of local and regional fairs and markets, reduction of indirect taxes on domestic trade, unification of local measurements, and the promotion of a common currency. Sakellariou, *Southern Italy*, 129, 170; *Ibid.*, "Institutional and Social Continuities," 341.

Ferrante's economic reforms had major repercussions for the cultural production of his court. He was unable to finance humanists as generously as Alfonso had, and those who did receive royal patronage were expected to serve the state in some tangible way.¹⁵³ Ferrante's patronage was rational and measured, and art at his court was considered inseparable from its social function.¹⁵⁴ While he may have imposed unconventional, albeit practical, requirements on the courtiers under his employ, Ferrante was still a generous patron. He enriched the royal library, sponsored a thriving workshop of copyists and miniaturists, reopened the Studio (University) of Naples, and financed the work of many humanists, artists, and musicians.

Ferrante continued to support the Aragonese royal library as his father had, though his contributions were closely tied to the political events of his reign.¹⁵⁵ For instance, very few manuscripts were added to the library during the years of Ferrante's war of succession and the first barons' revolt, 1458-1465. Following the suppressions of the barons in 1465 and 1485, however, Ferrante acquired many new texts for the library through the confiscation of the culpable barons' estates.¹⁵⁶ The library of Ferrante's son, Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona, was also absorbed into the royal collection after Giovanni's death in 1485. Additionally, Ferrante enriched the

¹⁵³ Alfonso spent 20,000 ducats per year on humanists alone. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 325-30.

¹⁵⁴ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 43, 132.

¹⁵⁵ The royal library was begun by Alfonso before his conquest of Naples. It was housed at Castel Capuana from 1443 until 1455, when it was moved to a large room in Castel Nuovo with a view of the sea. Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *La Biblioteca dei Re d'Aragona in Napoli* (Rocca S. Casciano: Licinio Cappelli Editore, 1897), cxii; Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 77-8.

¹⁵⁶ Gennaro Toscano, "Le Biblioteche dei Sovrani Aragonesi di Napoli," in *Principi e Signori: Le Biblioteche nella Seconda Metà del Quattrocento*, edited by Guido Arbizzoni, Concetta Bianca, and Marcella Peruzzi (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 2010), 164-70; Bentley, "Il Mecenatismo," 7.

library with books he acquired from the Florentine bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci, and with volumes collected by his ambassadors on their travels abroad. Many printed books joined the royal collection after the introduction of the printing press to Naples in the 1470s, and still others entered the library as gifts to the king.¹⁵⁷ Isabella di Chiaromonte was also an active patron of the book arts. She commissioned many manuscripts, principally of religious subjects, for herself and as gifts for family and friends.¹⁵⁸

During Ferrante's reign, the royal library employed a large workshop of scribes and miniaturists, known as the Scriptorium Palatina. The workshop employed Italians as well as foreigners. One of its most well known members was Giovanni Marco Cinico of Parma, a student of the Florentine Piero Strozzi, who entered Ferrante's court as a scribe in 1467. He was provided housing within Castel Nuovo and was paid a fixed salary of 10 ducats and 41 *grana* per month for a wide range of duties, including advising the king on purchases and orders, and directing the transcription of manuscripts. Cinico was also free to take on outside commissions

¹⁵⁷ Among the numerous manuscripts dedicated to Ferrante are: Orso Orsini's *Del Governo et Exercitio de la Militia* (1477); Giovanni Marco Cinico's translation of a treatise on the hunt and an epitome by Solino; Lippo Brandolini's vulgarization of Pliny's panegyric for Trajan; Johannes Tinctoris' *In Legibus Licentiatus* and *Proportionale Musices*; Giovanni Albino's version of the *sentenze* of Plutarch, transcribed by Giovan Rinaldo Mennio and decorated in the Florentine style; and Giuniano Maio's *De Maiestate*. Mazzatinti, lxxi-lxxii, lxxxiii-xcvii; Toscano, "Le Biblioteche," 184-5.

¹⁵⁸ Gennaro Toscano, "Livres et Lectures de Deux Princesses de la Cour d'Aragon de Naples: Isabella de Chiaromonte et Ippolita Maria Sforza," in, *Livres et Lectures de Femmes en Europe entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, edited by Anne Marie Legaré (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 296-7.

from persons within and beyond the court, as was common practice for the artists and writers under Ferrante's employ.¹⁵⁹

Unfortunately, no inventory of the royal library during Ferrante's life survives. There is, however, a list of the 266 books the king pawned with the Pandolfini bank in Florence in 1481 to finance the war at Otranto. Included in this list are 40 Greek manuscripts, 100 classical texts, and 50 modern ones. In contrast to the Hispano-centric court and library of Alfonso, Ferrante enriched the royal collection with Italian texts, including some in Tuscan and Neapolitan dialects. With the hundreds of books Ferrante commissioned, purchased, or confiscated from his barons, the royal library collection grew to 2,000 volumes by the time of his death, making it one of the largest and most important libraries of its day.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Other Italian scribes of the Scriptorium Palatina included: Pietro Ippolita Lunense; Giovan Rinaldo Mennio; Francesco Spera; Francesco da Pavia; Martino Antonio; Giovan Francesco Giovanni Rubeus; and Antonio Sinbaldi. The foreign scribes included: the Catalans Bartolomeo Simoni, Francesco la Paira and Pietro Fenollar; the French Pietro Burdegalense (Burdeo/Bordeaux) and Giovanni de Bruges; the Flemish Giovanni Guerna; and the German Ottone Quarto. Illuminators of Ferrante's court include: Nicola Rapicano, who served under both Alfonso and Ferrante until his death in 1488; Matteo Felice; the German Gioacchino di Giovanni (de Gigantibus de Rottemburga); Giovanni Tedesco (Tedeschino), in Naples from 1471; Bernardo Sardis; Rodolfo Brancalipo; Giuliano Ferrillo of Naples; Marino Volpe; Andrea di Castellamare; Antonio Sgariglia; and Jacopo da Fabriano. Scribes and illuminators of the Scriptorium Palatina were paid approximately ten ducats per month. Mazzatinti, lviii-lxi, lxiv-lxix, lxxiii-lxxxiii; Toscano, "Le Biblioteche," 184-5, 216; Bentley, "Il Mecenateismo," 6; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 43.

¹⁶⁰ Two decades earlier, Isabella sold several manuscripts to Giacomo Olzina to help finance Ferrante's war against Jean d'Anjou and the pugnacious barons. Mazzatinti, xxvii-xxxii; Toscano, "Le Biblioteche," 184-5; Bentley, "Il Mecenateismo," 6.

For a list of the books Isabella del Balzo (wife of the deceased King Federico of Naples) sold to Celio Calcagnini in 1523, see: Santiago López-Ríos, "A New Inventory of the Royal Aragonese Library of Naples," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002), 201-204; Toscano, "Le Biblioteche," 181-2, 216.

Ferrante's acquisitions for the library were predominantly classical works by Greek and Roman authors, including Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Cicero, Quintilian, Virgil, Ovid, Sallust, Suetonius, Tacitus, Seneca, Pliny, Martial, and Macrobian. He also obtained medieval texts by Albertus Magnus, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and the more contemporary writings of Pier Candido Decembrio, Giuniano Maio, Roberto Caracciolo, Giovanni Pontano, Flavio Biondo, Lorenzo Valla, Marsilio Ficino, and Francesco Aretino. The religious manuscripts acquired by Ferrante include the works of Eusebius, Saint Thomas Aquinas, and Jacopo de Voragine, along with several books of prayer and compilations of sermons. Sacred writings seem to have been the minority in this collection, however.¹⁶¹ Ferrante was more interested in works of history, philosophy, law, and the natural sciences. There was even a marked interest in magic and the writings of Marsilio Ficino at Ferrante's court that began around 1490 and was cultivated by the head librarian, Francesco Pucci of Florence. Pucci ordered several Ficinian manuscripts for the library, and the Neapolitan playwright Pierantonio Caracciolo wrote a farce called *L'Imagico (The Wizard)*, which was performed for Ferrante at Castel Nuovo in 1493.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 412.

¹⁶² Pucci arrived in Naples in 1483 and was appointed head librarian of the royal collection in 1490. Ferrante ordered Pucci to purchase three illuminated manuscripts of Marsilio Ficino's works in Latin—*Platonis Opera Omnia* (in two volumes) and *Theologia Platonica*—from the scribe Ippolito Lunense and the illuminator Matteo Felice. Around this time Lunense wrote his own Ficinian work, *Auree Sententie e Proverbi Platonici*. Caracciolo's farce was inspired by Ficino's letters to Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona in 1478-80, which sought to persuade Ferrante to abandon his alliance with Pope Sixtus and make peace with Florence. Matteo Soranzo, "Reading Marsilio Ficino in Quattrocento Italy: The Case of Aragonese Naples," *Quaderni d'Italianistica* 32, no. 2 (2011), 27-37, 40.

Beyond the royal *scriptorium*, many books were produced at the Neapolitan printing press that opened in 1470 with King Ferrante's enthusiastic support. The earliest printers, Sisto Riessinger, Arnaldo da Bruxelles, and Francesco del Tупpo, were granted Neapolitan citizenship, royal protection for their work, and privileges to sell their books throughout the kingdom free from taxes and obstacles.¹⁶³ With the introduction of the printing press, Naples became a major center for the production of Latin, Italian, and Hebrew books.¹⁶⁴ The press was directly profitable for the administration, and Ferrante used it to disseminate propaganda and to justify his controversial policies.¹⁶⁵ By the end of the century the press had printed over 300 books, many of which were written and purchased by the Studio di Napoli in an effort to provide affordable books for teachers and students.¹⁶⁶

The Studio di Napoli was founded by Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II in 1224 and was closed during the last years of the Angevin period. Ferrante reopened the Studio in January 1465 and tightened control over the institution by personally

¹⁶³ Lanzara argues that the printing technology was brought to Naples by Arnaldo de Bruxelles upon Ferrante's request. Arnaldo was active at the Neapolitan printing press from at least 1472-77, and he also worked as a scribe in the royal library. His publications were predominantly of a humanistic and scientific character, and although they have no obvious connections to the Studio, many of them were purchased by the royal library. Sisto Riessinger was also active in the earliest years of the Neapolitan printing press. He partnered with Francesco del Tупpo of the Studio by early 1474, and both men indicated their service to Ferrante in the signatures of their publications. M. Giuseppina Castellano Lanzara, "Origine della Stampa a Napoli e Biblioteche di Stato nelle due Sicilie," in *Studi in Onore di Riccardo Filangieri* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica) v. II, 82-9, 98-9.

¹⁶⁴ Abulafia, "Ferrante of Naples," 25.

¹⁶⁵ From 1487 to 1490 Ferrante paid Francesco del Tупpo more than 600 ducats to print and distribute copies of the legal proceedings against Antonello Petrucci, Francesco Coppola, and other rebel barons. Bentley, "Il Mecenateismo," 16.

¹⁶⁶ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 77; Toscano, "Le Biblioteche," 186; Bentley, "Il Mecenateismo," 15.

reviewing and approving the roster of professors and courses before each academic year. During his reign, the Studio became an integral part of Neapolitan society by facilitating the education and training of the kingdom's administrators and bureaucrats.¹⁶⁷ The revived Studio included chairs of Theology, Cannon and Civil Law, Medicine, Liberal Arts, Latin, and Greek, yet its main focus was legal administration.¹⁶⁸

Many of the professors at the Studio were humanists, writers, and intellectuals of Ferrante's court who were expected to offer their services to the state in practical ways beyond their literary projects. For example, Porcellio Pandone, Giunano Maio, and Francesco Pucci all taught at the Studio, and Pucci later served as librarian.¹⁶⁹ Many humanists who had enjoyed the freely flowing funds of Alfonso's court lamented Ferrante's frugality and the added responsibilities he required of them, including appointing them to the roles of secretary, ambassador, and even prime minister.¹⁷⁰

Antonio Beccadelli, better known as Panormita, who served Alfonso since before his conquest of Naples and continued under Ferrante until his death in 1471,

¹⁶⁷ Lanzara, 73; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 57.

¹⁶⁸ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 77.

¹⁶⁹ Porcellio Pandone taught at the Studio in 1465 and was paid 240 ducats; Constantine Lascaris was paid 120 annually for teaching Greek; Giuniano Maio taught rhetoric and poetry for 23 years (1465-88) for a salary of 30-40 ducats; Francesco Pucci taught rhetoric for 40 ducats annually beginning in 1485, and in 1490 he received 100 ducats per year for his work as librarian—a post he held until the collapse of the Aragonese monarchy in 1501. Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 63-8; Bentley, "Il Meccenatismo," 7-8; Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 43; Kidwell, 238.

¹⁷⁰ Bentley, "Il Meccenatismo," 3-5; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 53, 62; Claudio Finzi, *Re, Baroni, Popolo: la Politica di Giovanni Pontano* (Rimini: il Cerchio, 2004), 1.

held the posts of librarian, ambassador, orator, and notary of the *Sommaria*.¹⁷¹ In 1463 Ferrante appointed him tutor to Duke Alfonso II of Calabria.¹⁷² In addition to his administrative roles, Panormita wrote extensively. In August 1469 he completed a short history of Ferrante's life from the time of his arrival in Italy until the death of Alfonso I titled, *Liber Rerum Gestarum Ferdinandi Regis*. In this essay Panormita highlights Ferrante's princely virtues (justice, prudence, liberality, magnificence, clemency, etc.), his military training, and his role in Alfonso's conquest of Naples. He likely intended to continue this biography in a second volume at a later date but failed to do so before his death.¹⁷³

The humanist most closely associated with Ferrante's reign is Giovanni Pontano. Born at the town of Cerreto in Umbria on 7 May 1426, he entered the court of Alfonso I in September 1447. Pontano continued to serve under Ferrante and in much greater capacities. He accompanied Ferrante into battle and composed letters for him during the turbulent years after Alfonso's death. He served as lieutenant to the great chamberlain and royal protonotary from 1461, was named royal counselor in 1462, gained Neapolitan citizenship in 1471, and was appointed to the *Sommaria* by 1475. Pontano succeeded Panormita as tutor to Duke Alfonso II and secretary to Duchess Ippolita Maria Sforza, for whom he worked almost exclusively from 1475 to

¹⁷¹ Alfonso paid Panormita an annual salary of approximately 450 ducats, which he increased to 600 in 1450. Panormita was appointed royal secretary in 1455 and was charged with overseeing diplomatic correspondence with the papacy and other Italian states but, according to Alan Ryder, these appointments were honorary and were intended to give the recipient a salary and position at court without binding him to any routine duties. Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 222-4; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 85-8, 90, 94; Bentley, "Il Meccenatismo," 4.

¹⁷² Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 97-9.

¹⁷³ Antonii Panormitae, *Liber Rerum Gestarum Ferdinandi Regis*, edited by Gianvito Resta (Palermo: 1968), 32-4, 51-2; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 99-100.

1482. In 1482 he began working more directly for Duke Alfonso and, soon thereafter, became instrumental in the political and diplomatic negotiations between Ferrante and Pope Innocent VIII throughout the second barons' revolt.¹⁷⁴ After the execution of his predecessor, Antonello Petrucci, in 1487, Pontano became Ferrante's chief secretary, a role equivalent to that of Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Naples.¹⁷⁵

Despite his numerous administrative responsibilities, Pontano was a prolific writer. During Ferrante's reign alone he wrote three dialogues, *Charon*, *Antonius*, and *Asinus*, six moral treatises, *De Principe* (1468), *De Obedientia* (1470), *De Rebus Coelistibus* (1475), *De Fortitudine* (1481), *De Liberalitate* (1493), and *De Beneficentia* (1493), and numerous other lyrical, political, social, and moral texts. His only historical work, *De Bello Neapolitano* (1499), describes Ferrante's reign from the death of King Alfonso until the end of the war of succession in 1465. The text, inspired by the writings of Livy and Sallust, reads like a precise report of the events, people, and places that were central to the kingdom's history, including moral judgments of various characters.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ In his role as tutor to the future king, Pontano wrote *De Principe*, a mirror of the prince essay in the form of letters addressed to Duke Alfonso II. Finzi, 7, 13-15.

¹⁷⁵ Pontano's responsibilities as Prime Minister included: assisting with diplomatic negotiations, organizing the military, overseeing the defense of the kingdom's coasts, directing the administration of justice and finances, and overseeing the progress of the numerous public works carried out during Ferrante's reign. In 1460 Pontano earned only 240 ducats per year, which Ferrante increased to 400 in 1466—still a modest salary compared to the 600 ducats Panormita earned. Pontano was also taxed heavily, and on more than one occasion he submitted a formal resignation to Ferrante, complaining of the inadequate compensation he received for his services. Kidwell, 19, 22, 33, 81, 90-93, 114, 131, 200-201, 214-15, 239.

¹⁷⁶ Liliana Monti Sabia, *Pontano e la Storia: Dal De Bello Neapolitano all' Actius* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1995), 9-13, 22, 41, 60-63.

After Panormita's death in 1471, Pontano presided over the Academia Pontaniana, a literary academy founded by Panormita during Alfonso's reign, which later took on Pontano's name. Under Pontano, the academy became, "the most influential institutional exponent of humanistic culture in all the kingdom of Naples."¹⁷⁷ Although neither Panormita nor Pontano were native Neapolitans, the humanistic culture that followed in their wake evolved into a truly Neapolitan movement, comprising mainly local thinkers whose work addressed regional issues and politics.¹⁷⁸ According to Jerry Bentley, local politics, more than any other factor, influenced the culture and humanist writings of Early Modern Naples.¹⁷⁹ This is true of Ferrante's artistic commissions, as well. Politics influenced not only the form and content of the king's artistic programs, but the artists and visual vocabularies chosen for those projects, as well.

A key feature of Ferrante's statecraft and the political writings of humanists and scholars at his court was the development of a realistic political ethic. Panormita, for example, recognized that propaganda, not morality, had the power to influence the outcomes of political events.¹⁸⁰ One of Ferrante's most trusted advisors, Diomede

¹⁷⁷ The Academia consisted of approximately sixty noblemen, civil servants, and clergy, who met in the open-air portico of Via Tribunale to read and discuss literature. Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 127-36; Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 8-11; Kidwell, 57.

¹⁷⁸ Among the most prominent humanists born and educated in the Kingdom of Naples were: Giovanni Brancati; Giovanni Albino; Giuniano Maio (who taught rhetoric in the Studio from 1465-88 and served as tutor and courtier in Ferrante's court beginning in 1490); Gabriele Altilio; Elisio Calenzio; Pietro Jacopo de Jennaro (royal commissioner and financial administrator under Ferrante); Giulio Antonio Acquaviva; Antonio de Ferrariis [Galateo] (court physician from 1490-1501); and Tristano Caracciolo. Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 253-77.

¹⁷⁹ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 41-4.

¹⁸⁰ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 156.

Carafa, Count of Maddaloni, is well known for his sensible political treatises. In his *I Doveri del Principe* (1473-6), Carafa recommended that princes should rule through love rather than fear, maintain a professional permanent military, offer aid to merchants and business owners, and lighten tax burdens to stimulate economic growth.¹⁸¹ Ferrante's fiscal measures reflected Diomede's economic theories by prohibiting the barons from inhibiting commerce and trade through taxes and fees.¹⁸²

During the 1470s and 1480s Pontano and others were tasked with the difficult job of justifying and defending Ferrante's unpopular policies with regard to the barons and Rome.¹⁸³ In the last decades of Ferrante's reign, Pontano worked tirelessly through months of negotiations with the cardinals and popes to improve Ferrante's rapport with Rome in the face of French and Ottoman threats. By the early 1490s Pontano was keenly aware of King Charles VIII's plan to invade the Kingdom of

¹⁸¹ Diomede Carafa (c. 1406-87) served the Aragonese dynasty for half a century. He aided Alfonso in the siege of Naples, accompanied Ferrante to Tuscany in the war of 1452-3, and fought alongside Ferrante in his war of succession and the first barons' revolt. He served as *scrivano di ragione* (chief financial administrator) for the kingdom, and was named *consigliere del patrimonio regio* in 1451. In the 1470s and 1480s Diomede spent most of his time as royal advisor and diplomat, and tutor to Ferrante's children. He was a regular member of the privy council during the visits of foreign ambassadors, and he was personally involved with the negotiations between Ferrante and Lorenzo de' Medici in 1478-80. Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 141-5, 194; John D. Moores, "New Light on Diomede Carafa and His 'Perfect Loyalty' to Ferrante of Aragon," *Italian Studies* XXVI, 1971, 4-9; Abulafia, "The Crown and the Economy," 129-33; Abulafia, "Ferrante of Naples," 24.

¹⁸² Sakellariou, *Southern Italy*, 181.

¹⁸³ An unknown author wrote a treatise offering technical legal arguments and direct citations of ancient and Medieval lawyers, in which he argues that Ferrante agreed to the 1486 treaty with Pope Innocent VIII under duress (because he faced the loss of his crown), and therefore, the treaty was invalid and Ferrante was not legally bound by any of its stipulations. Benedetto Croce, *Prima del Machiavelli: Una Difesa di Re Ferrante I di Napoli per il Violato Trattato di Pace del 1486 col Papa: Introduzione Critica e Testo Inedito in Lingua Spagnuola* (Bari: G. Laterza, 1944); Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 169-71, 175-7; Kidwell, 202.

Naples. On 12 October 1493 he presented Ferrante with an analysis of current Italian politics, demonstrating that all of Italy conspired against the king and hoped to see him overthrown by France.¹⁸⁴

Like many humanists throughout Italy, those at Ferrante's court emphasized civic pride and the active over the contemplative life. Ferrante's humanists differed, however, in their fundamental focus on upholding and influencing the Aragonese monarchy.¹⁸⁵ In essays such as *De Principe* and *De Maiestate*, for example, Giovanni Pontano and Giuniano Maio employed the *speculum principis*, or Mirror of the Prince, genre, to expound upon essential virtues of kingship. Similarly, Pontano's *De Obedientia* glorified the concept of monarchical government, arguing that while republican administrations breed sedition, faction, and tyranny, monarchies provide peace, stability, harmony, and the only true form of liberty for their citizens.¹⁸⁶

Several important distinctions existed between the humanistic traditions at the courts of Alfonso and Ferrante. King Ferrante, for example, preferred vernacular literature and essays on education and law. Furthermore, while Alfonso staffed his court with a rotating group of foreign humanists, each of whom remained in Naples only a short time, Ferrante preferred to hire scholars and writers who were born and educated within in the kingdom. As a result, the intellectual life of Ferrante's court

¹⁸⁴ Pontano wrote, "L'Italia tutta è congiurata contro la potenza e stato vostro... A questo fine concorrono principalmente Fiorentini, sì per le cose hanno patite per le guerre fatte da vostro padre e da Voi, sì per essere da natura francesi... Del Papa non voglio dire altro, solo che de natura poco ve ama... Francia vi viene addosso; Spagna vi tiene in mano, aspettando il tempo; e lo Duca di Bari [il Moro] pur tuttavia pratica etiam con Tedeschi..." Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 572; D'Agostino, 55; Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 183, 185, 189-91.

¹⁸⁵ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 195, 199-201.

¹⁸⁶ Bentley, *Politics and Culture*, 202, 207-208.

became more fully integrated into the city of Naples, with the local nobility playing a much greater role than they had during Alfonso's reign. Ferrante's patronage also supported the development of local literary forms, such as lyrical traditions based on the *barzelletta* and *strambotto siciliano*, which were often set to music. Ferrante's preference for local writers and literary forms translated to the king's patronage of the visual arts, as well. In fact, sixty-eight percent of artists employed by the Neapolitan court during Ferrante's reign were southern Italian by birth. As with the literary culture of the Neapolitan court, Ferrante's support of local artists and artisans facilitated the transformation of fifteenth-century Naples into a robust artistic center.

One of the most striking distinctions between Alfonso's and Ferrante's patronage, however, was Ferrante's preference for music over literature. The Neapolitan court was home to a royal chapel that, like the royal library, was first established by Alfonso I and later enriched and expanded by Ferrante. By 1454 the chapel already comprised twenty-four adult singers and an unknown number of young boys, making it the second largest choir in all of Europe, following only that of Henry VI in England. Through marriage alliances and diplomatic relations with Italian and European courts (especially Milan, Ferrara, and Florence), Ferrante established channels for the exchange of musical culture among these various centers. The height of the royal chapel's productivity occurred during Ferrante's reign, particularly in the relatively peaceful decades of the 1470s and 1480s. The chapel was highly revered throughout Europe, as the frequent requests for musicians from the

Neapolitan chapel can attest. Lorenzo de' Medici even fashioned his own Florentine chapel after that of Ferrante.¹⁸⁷

The chapel had a predominantly Spanish character under Alfonso, while Ferrante introduced Neapolitan, French, and Netherlandish musicians to the ensemble.¹⁸⁸ Ferrante's patronage altered the chapel in other ways as well, including his emphasis on secular music and the development of Neapolitan verse. Under Ferrante, Naples became a major center for the production of the secular *frottola* (the direct forerunner of the madrigal) and local verse forms of the *frottola* known as the *strambotto* and *barzelletta*. New improvisational forms and lively instrumental and dance music also developed in Naples during Ferrante's reign. In the mid 1460s, lyric verse was Italianized and came to incorporate Neapolitan dialect through the work of poets such as Pietro Jacopo de Jennaro, Galeotto del Carretto, Tristano Caracciolo, and de Petrucciis. Sacred music at the Neapolitan chapel was somewhat influenced by local types, but it largely conformed to the Franco-Netherlandish mainstream. The Neapolitan court was also the birthplace of the secular polyphonic courtly love song, which was developed by Juan Cornago during his tenure in Naples.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 4, 51-3.

¹⁸⁸ Of the eleven chaplain singers employed between 1482-8, and for whom there is adequate documentation, six were southern Italian: Domenico Bartolo; Juliano da Caiacza; Luigi de Admiratis of Massafra (Puglia); Giovanni Chirardo; Antonius Rocha; Esremus de Risis of Naples; and Simplicianus. By 1469 the composer Vincenet and the singers Antonio Ponzo (French) and Raynero joined the chapel. Felippo de Burgunya (Filippet Dortenche) was in Naples by 1470. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 23, 30-40, 49-50.

¹⁸⁹ Joan Cornago was at the Neapolitan court from October 1455 and was paid an annual salary of 300 ducats; he was listed as Ferrante's chief almoner in 1466. Cornago's yearly compensation was matched only by that offered to Alexander Agricola in 1492-3. No other musician working in Italy at the time earned anywhere near what Cornago earned. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 63-9, 101, 139-44.

Ferrante's court employed many of the most talented musicians of the day, including Alexander Agricola (May-June 1492).¹⁹⁰ At least fifty-seven singers and chaplains were documented at the royal chapel (not including young choir boys) during Ferrante's reign.¹⁹¹ The king also employed several organ builders and secular musicians, including trumpeters and tambourine players who performed during royal parades, ceremonies, proclamations, and executions.¹⁹² The Neapolitan court also hired female musicians. Unfortunately, Madama Anna Inglese (employed by the Neapolitan chapel from 1471 until the late 1480s) is the only female musician of Ferrante's court for whom documentation survives. Despite the dearth of records, the presence of a much larger group of female musicians is confirmed by the special lodgings Ferrante built to accommodate the women of the royal chapel.¹⁹³

Like the humanists at Ferrante's court, the king's musicians were expected to serve the state in some tangible way. Iohannes Tinctoris resided at the Neapolitan

¹⁹⁰ Ferrante worked hard to retain Agricola's services as a permanent fixture at the Neapolitan court, offering him a generous salary of 300 ducats per year, but he was unsuccessful. Allan W. Atlas, "Alexander Agricola and Ferrante I of Naples," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30, no. 2 (1997), 314-19; Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 49-50.

¹⁹¹ Ferrante's musicians included: Vincenet of Hainault (mid 1460s-79); Fillette; Courdier; Dortenche; Johannes Tinctoris (1475-90); Pere Brusca (*cappellano maggiore* from 1465-73); the Catalan Bernardus Ycart (1478-80); Franchinus Gaffurius (1478-80); Guillelmus Guarnerius (1476-9); Serafino dall'Aquila, (the most famous improviser of the Neapolitan court, 1478-94); Epo de Tropoya (named chapel master in 1481); Juliano de Caiacza (chapel master from 1488-91 and professor at the Studio 1487-8); and Jacobo da Velenza (chapel master in 1492). Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 39-44, 47-8, 56, 70-85.

¹⁹² Ferrante's organ builders included: Fra Stefano del Paone of Salerno (1474); Giovanni Donadio di Mormanno and Fra Tommaso Angelo (1493); Antonello Sebastiani (1470s-1480s); Giovanni di Gaeta; Lorenzo da Pratto and Joan Oller (1470s); and Isaac Argyropoulos (1472). Musicians at Ferrante's court were paid approximately twelve ducats per year, which was comparable to the average musician's salary elsewhere in Italy. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 99-101.

¹⁹³ Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 105-108.

court for approximately twenty years (1472-92). During his tenure, Tinctoris gave Ferrante legal advice, wrote twelve theoretical treatises and several compositions, taught music to Princess Beatrice, and in 1487 he traveled to France, Germany, and Burgundy to find new singers for the Neapolitan chapel.¹⁹⁴ Several of Ferrante's other musicians also traveled widely as cultural ambassadors, gaining prestige for the king during their journeys and offering their skills to facilitate complex diplomatic negotiations.¹⁹⁵

Ferrante's affinity for musical culture brought him fame as the greatest enthusiast of the art in ancient and modern times. He designated specific rooms in Castel Nuovo as music rooms and outfitted them with organs and nearly all other instruments known to man. The Sala dei Baroni included balconies for musicians, and the dining room of Castel Nuovo was equipped with an organ for musical performances during meals. Raffaele Brandolini described Ferrante's music room in his *Opusculum de Musica et Poetica*, writing that Ferrante "had not far from his own chambers a certain hall most elegantly furnished with paintings and sculptures to which he could quickly come and in which no instrument that might be sounded with hand, plectrum, or mouth was wanting."¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ During his time in Naples, Johannes Tinctoris wrote *O Virgo, Miserere Mei* and *Virgo Dei Throno Digna* for Beatrice and dedicated three treatises to her: *Tractatus de Regulari Valore Notarum*, *Complexus Effectuum Musices*, and *Diffinitorium Musicae*. His duties at Ferrante's court were primarily musical, but he was also ordered to translate the articles of Philip the Good's Order of the Golden Fleece into Italian. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 39-44, 47-8, 56, 70-85; Bentley, "Il Mecenateismo," 13-14.

¹⁹⁵ Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 89-97.

¹⁹⁶ Aurelio Brandolino, in his *De Laudibus Musicae*, described Ferrante as the greatest enthusiast of music in ancient and modern times. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, 101; Bentley, "Il Mecenateismo," 12-13.

As the preceding pages demonstrate, cultural patronage continued on a grand scale under King Ferrante, despite the political and financial challenges he faced. Naturally, the most culturally productive years of his reign were those of greatest political stability, the 1470s and 1480s. Like other modes of cultural production at the Neapolitan court, Ferrante's patronage of the visual arts differed considerably from that of Alfonso I.¹⁹⁷ Ferrante preferred to support local artists and writers, and to commission literature, music, and art that embraced Neapolitan traditions and modes of expression. Unlike his father, Ferrante also required members of his court to serve the state in tangible ways. As a result, the artists, writers, and musicians of the Neapolitan court were deeply invested in the political affairs of the kingdom, and the work that Ferrante commissioned them to produce was expected to further the kingdom's aims by promoting Neapolitan ideology and propaganda. Although Ferrante's art patronage has historically been overlooked due to the belief that he lacked his father's refined tastes, the chapters that follow aim to correct such misconceptions by examining the sophisticated visual culture of Ferrante's court.

¹⁹⁷ Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, 342-7.

Chapter 2: Self-Fashioning in a Decade of Transition and Upheaval, 1455-1465

This chapter examines the artistic patronage of Ferrante and Isabella di Chiaromonte during the decade of their transition to the throne. The years between 1455 and 1465 were characterized by mounting political and economic tension, followed by a complete collapse of the Aragonese monarchy after Alfonso's death in January 1458. Alfonso's imperialistic campaigns had jeopardized the Kingdom of Naples' political position and bankrupted the economy. Meanwhile, construction around Castel Nuovo proceeded with fervor as Alfonso endeavored to leave his mark on the capital he had fought so long to obtain. During these years, Ferrante was occupied with overseeing his father's construction projects and helping to manage the Aragonese state as Lieutenant General of the kingdom.

Although very few commissions can be attributed to Ferrante during these years, this decade is crucial, as it is the only period from which Isabella's commissions survive. After her marriage to Ferrante in 1445, Isabella was devoted to raising her six children and helping to govern the Kingdom of Naples through the tumultuous period of war and revolt that followed Ferrante's succession to the throne. Sadly, Isabella's early death in 1465 prevented her from enjoying the more prosperous years of her husband's reign and, thus, from becoming a patron of the arts and of the Church on a larger scale. In the pages that follow, three surviving examples of Isabella's artistic patronage are examined in an effort to shed light on the tastes and concerns of this courageous queen.

The Altarpiece of Saint Vincent Ferrer

Around 1455, Duchess Isabella commissioned the renowned Neapolitan painter Colantonio to create an altarpiece in commemoration of Saint Vincent Ferrer for a chapel newly dedicated to the saint in the church of San Pietro Martire (Fig. 1).¹⁹⁸ As the most famous Neapolitan painter of his day, Colantonio was a natural choice for Isabella's commission. Although he was never appointed official court painter to King Alfonso, Colantonio was popular among the Neapolitan nobility and had previously been hired by Alfonso around 1450 to paint a monumental altarpiece for the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore.¹⁹⁹

Despite the fame he enjoyed during his lifetime, very little is known of Colantonio's career today. In his letter to the Venetian art connoisseur, Marcantonio Michiel, in 1524, Pietro Summonte described Colantonio as the only great painter of fifteenth-century Naples. Summonte claimed that the artist was trained to paint in the

¹⁹⁸ This date is based on the inclusion of the Chiaromonte coat of arms and the Calabrian cross on the curtains in the background of the central *predella* panel, which represents the insignia Isabella used in her years as Duchess of Calabria. Furthermore, Isabella's frugality in the war years (1458-65), during which she sold her own books and jewels and begged for alms in the church of San Pietro Martire, suggests that she would not have commissioned a large project like the Saint Vincent Ferrer altarpiece after 1458. Gennaro Toscano, "Isabella de Chiaromonte (1424-1465), Reine de Naples, et sa Commande à Colantonio du Retable de Saint Vincent Ferrier," in, *Femmes de Pouvoir, Femmes Politiques Durant les Derniers Siècles du Moyen Age et au Cours de la Première Renaissance* (Brussels: De Boeck, 2012), 597; Penny Howell Jolly, *Jan van Eyck and St. Jerome: A Study of Eykian Influence on Colantonio and Antonello da Messina in Quattrocento Naples* (Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms, 1977), 92-3; Gennaro Toscano, "A Propos du Retable de Saint Vincent Ferrier Peint par Colantonio," in, *Il Più Dolce Lavorare che Sia*, edited by Mauro Natale, Frédéric Elsig, Noémie Etienne, and Grégoire Extermann (Milan: Silvana, 2009), 409, 415.

¹⁹⁹ King Alfonso, instead, appointed Pisanello and later the Valencian painter Jacomart Baço as his court artists. Bologna, *Napoli e le Rotte Mediterranee*, 91; Challéat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli*, 114-16, 133.

Flemish style by King René d'Anjou, but it is more likely that Colantonio learned to imitate this mode by studying the paintings of Barthélemy d'Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Petrus Christus, and Jan van Eyck that had been sent to the Neapolitan court.²⁰⁰ As Challéat has recently demonstrated, by learning from Flemish paintings rather than the masters themselves, Colantonio adopted certain stylistic approaches—such as the meticulous depiction of reflections on metal and glass—and occasionally employed oil for surface layers, but he did not learn the Flemish technique of layering oil glazes.²⁰¹

Colantonio directed a large workshop in Naples, and he is perhaps best known today as the teacher of Antonello da Messina, who entered his workshop after 1450. Colantonio's *oeuvre* is characterized by a harmony of the diverse traditions that constituted fifteenth-century Neapolitan visual culture. His style synthesized the pictorial illusionism of Early Netherlandish painting with the International Gothic elegance of Jean Fouquet, and the volumetric innovations of Giotto. Colantonio would have known Giotto's work from his fresco cycle in the Cappella Palatina of Castel Nuovo. By the time Colantonio painted the Saint Vincent Ferrer altarpiece, a greater degree of naturalism and a new plastic approach to painting figures had begun

²⁰⁰ Jan van Eyck was in Naples from 1438 to 1442. Ferdinando Bologna, "Colantonio," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, v. 26 (1982), 698-9; Jolly, 81, 140-41.

²⁰¹ Challéat argues that by sending Italian artists to Flanders for training, rather than hiring a Flemish artist as official court painter, Alfonso I and Ferrante were merely interested in a certain Flemish aesthetic, and were indifferent to the technical execution of their paintings. Challéat, *Dalle Fiandre a Napoli*, 114-16, 133; *Ibid.*, "Techniques Flamandes et Méditerranéennes dans l'Italie du XV Siècle: le Cas de Colantonio," in *Les Transferts Artistiques dans l'Europe Gothique: Repenser la Circulation des Artistes, de Oeuvres, des Themes et des Savoir-Faire (XII-XVI Siècle)*, edited by Jacques Dubois, Jean-Marie Guillouët, and Benoît Van den Bossche (Paris: Édition A. et J. Picard, 2014), 103, 105-110.

to dominate the master's repertoire, evidence of his collaboration with Antonello. In no other place on the Italian peninsula could a painter have come into contact with such a diverse array of aesthetic traditions as in Naples. In this way, Colantonio's masterful fusion of these disparate modes embodies the cosmopolitanism of Neapolitan visual culture.

In the last known work painted before his early death, Colantonio was tasked with inventing the iconography of a new Dominican saint revered by the Aragonese monarchy. Vincent Ferrer was born in 1350, in Valencia. He entered a Dominican convent at age seventeen, where he later served as prior after completing his studies in Barcelona, Lérida, and Toulouse. Vincent was appointed Chair of Theology at the Cathedral of Valencia and later became confessor to the Queen of Aragon, and both confessor and chaplain to Pope Benedict XIII. In 1394 Vincent embarked on a preaching tour that gained him a reputation as an influential preacher and peacemaker throughout Europe.

Vincent Ferrer died in Vannes, Brittany in 1419. He was canonized on 29 June 1455, due in large part to the financial and political support of the Crown of Aragon and the dukes of Brittany, as both families sought to bolster their legitimacy through association with the famed preacher.²⁰² The first official life of Vincent

²⁰² The canonization process was initiated by Pope Nicholas V on 18 October 1451. Over the next four years sub-commissioners from Brittany, Toulouse, and Naples were appointed to hear testimonies of Vincent Ferrer's life and miracles. The Naples inquests took place from August to November 1454 and were led by Marial Auribelli. In Naples, twenty-four witnesses, including King Alfonso I, gave testimonies on Vincent Ferrer's life. The Naples inquests emphasized Vincent's role as the source of the divine legitimacy of the Aragonese Trastámara dynasty. The central miracles recounted in Naples involved Vincent's healing powers, his conversion of Jews and Muslims, and his ability to pacify feuds and heal divisions. Laura Ackerman Smoller,

records that the saint brought an end to a series of stillbirths and a high rate of infant mortality in the marriage of the Breton Duke Jean V and Jeanne de France. The Breton dynasty, therefore, attributed its survival to Vincent Ferrer, who was said to have prophesied that Jean's heir would oversee his canonization. The Aragonese kings also credited the Dominican preacher with their existence and prosperity. In 1412 Vincent was one of nine men who elected Fernando I de Antequera, of the House of Trastámara—father of Alfonso I of Naples—to succeed Martin I as King of Aragon.²⁰³ Isabella, too, was involved with the canonization process through her confessor, the Spanish Dominican Pedro de Mastrettis, who traveled to Rome in April 1455 to lobby for Vincent Ferrer's canonization.²⁰⁴

A deeply pious woman, Isabella dedicated substantial time and resources to the Dominican Order, particularly the church of San Pietro Martire in Naples, where she prayed daily during her years as duchess and queen.²⁰⁵ The church was built by King Charles II of Anjou, and it continued to receive royal favor under the Aragonese kings. San Pietro Martire became a sort of *tempio nazionale* where the Aragonese royalty and the *popolo* gathered together. Soon after Vincent Ferrer's canonization, Isabella purchased a chapel at San Pietro Martire and dedicated it to the new saint, and in March of 1457 she acquired a plot of land for the erection of a church dedicated to Vincent Ferrer. After her death on 30 March 1465, Isabella was buried in

The Saint and the Chopped-up Baby: The Cult of Vincent Ferrer in Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), xvii, 44-6, 61-2, 73-4.

²⁰³ Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-up Baby*, 4-6, 14, 33-4, 43.

²⁰⁴ Toscano, "Isabella de Chiaromonte," 593; Toscano, "A Propos du Retable," 409-10.

²⁰⁵ Isabella also paid for restorations to San Domenico Maggiore and the cathedral of Naples after the earthquake of 1456. Toscano, "Isabella de Chiaromonte," 589-90.

her chapel at San Pietro Martire. In her will, Isabella bequeathed many of her possessions, including several liturgical and devotional manuscripts, to the friars of that church.²⁰⁶

As the most recently canonized Dominican saint, and one with ties to the monarchy into which Isabella had married, it is not surprising that Vincent Ferrer appealed to the Duchess. Isabella likely also revered Vincent's miraculous ability to heal schisms and to convert Jews, Muslims, and heretics to the Christian faith. Although she could not have known in 1455 the deep fissures that would characterize her husband's reign, Isabella would soon come to rely heavily on the saint's particular vocation for reconciliation. After the completion of Colantonio's altarpiece between 1456 and 1458, Isabella knelt before the painting daily to pray for Vincent Ferrer's intercession in reuniting the Kingdom of Naples.²⁰⁷

Colantonio's altarpiece is likely the earliest surviving portrayal of the saint. It is also the most closely associated with the *Life of Saint Vincent Ferrer*, written by the Sicilian Dominican Pietro Ranzano in 1456, upon the request of Pope Calixtus III

²⁰⁶ Isabella's chapel of Saint Vincent Ferrer, which she purchased from the Pagano family, is the third chapel from the entrance on the left aisle. The original configuration of the chapel and Isabella's original tomb were lost in the flood of 1545. A new tomb was erected in 1601 and placed in the chapel nearest the high altar on the right aisle. The land Isabella purchased for the erection of a new church dedicated to Saint Vincent Ferrer was a parcel previously owned by the church of San Giovanni Maggiore. Giuseppe Cosenza, "La Chiesa e il Convento di S. Pietro Martire," *Napoli Nobilissima* 9 (1900), 187-9; Toscano, "Isabella de Chiaromonte," 590-3; Jolly, 90-91; Toscano, "A Propos du Retable," 411-12.

²⁰⁷ Saint Vincent Ferrer was also known for his ability to resuscitate the dead and for his role in ending the Great Schism. Laura Ackerman Smoller, "From Authentic Miracles to a Rhetoric of Authenticity: Examples from the Canonization and Cult of St. Vincent Ferrer," *Church History* 80, n. 4 (2011): 785; Mark J. Zucker, "Problems in Dominican Iconography: The Case of St. Vincent Ferrer," *Artibus et Historiae* 13, n. 25 (1992): 190-91.

and the Dominican Master General, Martial Auribelli. Ranzano had ties to the Aragonese court in Naples and was appointed by King Ferrante as tutor to the future Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona. Ranzano's biography and Colantonio's altarpiece were created in Naples contemporaneously, and given their close similarities, it is likely that the authors were in dialogue, perhaps through the intermediary of Isabella. Like Ranzano, Colantonio emphasized Vincent Ferrer's healing and unifying capacities, as well as his conversion of Jews and Muslims to Christianity.²⁰⁸

Colantonio's monumental polyptych (74.8 x 34.6 in.) is composed of a large central panel depicting Saint Vincent Ferrer, flanked on each side by three scenes from the saint's life. The *predella* includes two additional vignettes from the saint's life and an image of Isabella and her children at the center. Any additional panels that may have crowned the altarpiece have since been lost. In the central panel of the altarpiece (Fig. 2), Vincent Ferrer is portrayed wearing a Dominican habit and holding a Bible open to a passage from Revelations XIV:7, which reads "Time Deum et date illi honorem quia venit [hora iudicii eius]," "Fear God, and give him honor, for the hour of his judgment is at hand." This passage, together with the saint's gesture toward the heavens, became central to Vincent's iconography. The saint's portrait refers to the apocalyptic sermons about the Antichrist and the Last Judgment that he preached throughout Europe, in which he claimed to be the Angel of God from the Book of Revelation.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Ranzano's *Life of Saint Vincent Ferrer* was finished in 1455 but was not published until the seventeenth century. Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-up Baby*, 3, 46-7, 122, 124, 139.

²⁰⁹ Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-up Baby*, 196; Zucker, 181-5.

In the top left panel Colantonio depicted the Bishop of Valencia telling Vincent's parents that their unborn child would be full of grace (Fig. 3). In this fetal or pre-partum miracle, Vincent is said to have uttered loud noises from inside his mother's womb that the bishop then translated to the expectant couple.²¹⁰ As the mother of three children by the time of this commission, Isabella likely identified with Vincent's miracles related to childbirth.

The middle panel on the altarpiece's left side shows Vincent Ferrer zealously delivering one of his apocalyptic sermons to a diverse crowd (Fig. 4). At the base of the pulpit, women, both young and old, are seated in the front rows, while a group of Christian, Jewish, and Muslim men stand behind them. At least one of these—the man in the foreground with his hand over his money belt—appears to be a portrait. This multi-ethnic congregation emphasizes Vincent's talent for unifying disparate groups around the Christian faith. Models from many ethnicities would have been familiar to Colantonio in the cosmopolitan city of Naples, and concern over reconciling these disparate groups must have felt all the more acute to the Aragonese monarchy, which sought to establish peaceful coalitions with their Turkish, Tunisian, Egyptian, Iberian, and French neighbors.

The bottom left panel depicts the apparition of the Virgin and Child to Vincent Ferrer (Fig. 5). The aged saint, seated in a study strewn with books and *cartellini*, recalls Colantonio's earlier painting of *Saint Jerome and the Lion*, which he made for King Alfonso for the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore.

²¹⁰ Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-up Baby*, 198.

In the upper right panel, Vincent appears once again before a diverse group of converts as he performs what Smoller has designated “the miracle of the chopped-up baby” (Fig. 6). As the story goes, the saint reconstituted and resuscitated an infant that had been cut into pieces and partially cooked by its mother. Through Pietro Ranzano’s *Life of Saint Vincent Ferrer* and subsequent artistic renderings of the saint’s life, this miracle became Vincent’s most famous. The story came to exemplify the saint’s power to heal divisions and his role in ending the Great Schism.²¹¹ In the context of fifteenth-century Naples, the miracle of the chopped-up baby was likely construed as a reference to King Alfonso I’s pacification of the kingdom, and of the pressing need for healing during the divisive years of Ferrante’s reign. The panel below depicts Christ appearing to Saint Vincent Ferrer, who kneels before his Savior and is healed (Fig. 7). In this way, Colantonio implies that Vincent derived his miraculous restorative powers directly from the Son of God.

The bottom-right panel was made famous by Pietro Summonte, who cited the seascape in this image as evidence of Colantonio’s “grand’ingegno” (Fig. 8). In this dark and tempestuous composition, Saint Vincent appears in the clouds in the upper right corner with his hands outstretched over a ship that is moments away from crashing on the craggy outcroppings of the nearby shore. The large building on the cliff, with its sober tufa exterior punctuated by narrow rectangular windows, has been identified by Maria Forcellino as the ninety-one meter high wall of the medieval city of Procida. In the background of this rare and exquisite view of the Bay of Naples,

²¹¹ The miracle is described in Book Three of Ranzano’s *Life*, and by its position and length in the biography, it is presented as Vincent Ferrer’s most important miracle. Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-up Baby*, 144.

Mount Vesuvius is shown in what is likely its earliest surviving depiction since antiquity.²¹² Given the large numbers of men in Naples whose livelihood required that they endure frequently perilous maritime travel, a Neapolitan audience would have identified with Colantonio's portrayal of the terrors of the sea.

Colantonio's *Tempest* is saturated by a haze of ochre and brown pigments that intensify in the right half of the panel with the coming storm. The sea, too, reflects the menacing and darkening sky, while specks of bright white at the edges of the seaside cliffs and the tossing ship convey the force of the storm. Colantonio's exquisite handling of the effects of light in a humid and densely cloud-covered sky reveal an artist of extraordinary genius.

The *predella* of Colantonio's altarpiece recounts another miracle from the saint's life, together with a scene of his death and a portrait of Duchess Isabella (Fig. 9). In the image at the left, a crowd of crippled and possessed persons gathers on an urban street to be healed by Vincent Ferrer. In the scene at the far right, the deceased Vincent Ferrer is depicted surrounded by his Dominican brothers and a bishop who performs the funeral liturgy as the saint's soul is carried aloft by angels.

At the center of the *predella* (Fig. 10), Isabella and her children Alfonso II and Eleonora kneel before the altar in a chapel with a Gothic-ribbed apse and filigree windows resembling both the church of San Pietro Martire and the royal Cappella Palatina at Castel Nuovo. An elderly man identified as Carlo Pagano, Isabella's head butler, from who she purchased the San Pietro Martire chapel, looks on from the

²¹² Maria Forcellino, "Considerazioni sull'Immagine di Napoli: da Colantonio a Bruegel," *Napoli Nobilissima* 30 (1991), 83.

doorway.²¹³ The burgundy and gold striped curtains in the background of the panel correspond to Isabella's coat of arms, as it was recorded in the *Codex of Santa Marta* by the miniaturist known as the Master of Isabella di Chiaromonte. Meanwhile, the Calabrian Cross on the white curtains pulled open by Pagano reflects a shared feature of both Isabella's and Pagano's family crests. Since Isabella used this insignia only in her years as Duchess of Calabria—after which her coat of arms reflected her marriage to King Ferrante—the curtains indicate that the altarpiece was commissioned prior to 1458.

It is surprising that Isabella is pictured here without her husband. Her decision to appear as the independent patron of a large-scale artistic commission expresses a high degree of autonomy in her business transactions and was exceptional for the mid fifteenth century. This choice, together with Isabella's plan to found a new church in honor of Saint Vincent Ferrer, recalls the esteemed patronage of Queen Sancia of Mallorca. In 1310 Sancia founded the Neapolitan convent church of Santa Chiara. The project was not a joint venture with her husband, King Robert of Anjou, but rather an independent undertaking. Papal bulls regarding the church's foundation were addressed to Sancia alone, and the queen wrote to the pope on numerous occasions requesting special permissions and indulgences for the church, and even requesting permission to leave her husband and enter the convent.²¹⁴ The evidence of Isabella's patronage of the arts and her management of the Kingdom of Naples illuminates the life of this remarkably intrepid woman who modeled herself on the

²¹³ Cosenza, 187-9; Toscano, "A Propos du Retable," 411-12; Ibid., "Isabella de Chiaromonte," 590-94; Jolly, 90-91.

²¹⁴ Caroline Bruzelius, "Queen Sancia of Mallorca and the Convent Church of Sta. Chiara in Naples," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 40 (1995), 72-3.

great Neapolitan queens that came before her, and whose own character must have been a model for her granddaughter, Isabella d'Este.

Isabella di Chiaromonte's Manuscript Commissions

During their years as Duke and Duchess of Calabria, Ferrante and Isabella amassed an extensive library. Isabella's main contribution to this growing collection was in the genre of devotional and theological texts. Unfortunately, only two manuscripts credited to Isabella's patronage survive: an *Antifonario* in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli (Ms.XV.AA.18), and a *Book of Hours* at Harvard's Houghton Library (MS.Typ.463) (Fig. 11). Both projects have been attributed to the so-called Master of Isabella di Chiaromonte, an artist active in the Aragonese manuscript workshop during the 1450s and 1460s.²¹⁵

The Master of Isabella di Chiaromonte was one of the only artists of the Aragonese *scriptorium* to resist encroaching Spanish, Flemish, and Florentine influences in favor of a more traditional International Gothic repertoire.²¹⁶ Isabella preferred the Master's floriated designs painted in a jewel-toned pallet of pink, blue, green, and gold, to the new *bianca girari* ornament and humanist script that had developed in Florence, both of which progressively gained favor with Ferrante.²¹⁷ The Master is also credited with Books of Hours in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan; and with Isabella's coat of arms in the *Codex of Santa Marta*. His *oeuvre* reveals that in the

²¹⁵ Gennaro Toscano, "Il Maestro di Isabella di Chiaromonte: Note sulla Miniature a Napoli a Meta Quattrocento," *Artes* 3 (1995), 37, 39.

²¹⁶ Toscano, "Il Maestro di Isabella," 34.

²¹⁷ Toscano, "Il Maestro di Isabella," 36.

1460s he had specialized in the production of Books of Hours and liturgical texts—the same genres of manuscripts most frequently ordered by Isabella.²¹⁸

The Harvard *Book of Hours* is a particularly fine example of the Master's work. It comprises 145 vellum folios (each one measuring 6 ⁵/₈ x 4 ³/₄ in.) and is written in a rounded Gothic script. The manuscript, composed in Dominican usage, includes a calendar, Hours of the Virgin, Seven Penitential Psalms, Litanies, Hours of the Holy Cross, and an Office of the Dead. Its Neapolitan pedigree is affirmed by the inclusion of San Gennaro, patron saint of Naples, among the list of saints in the Litanies. The work is dated to between 1458 and 1465 on the basis of Isabella's coat of arms, which is impaled with Ferrante's crest and surmounted by a crown, identifying her as queen consort.²¹⁹

Isabella's *Book of Hours* comprises four large and seven small illustrated initials, including scenes of the Nativity, Adoration, Resurrection, Assumption, Coronation, and two pictures of the Pentecost.²²⁰ The large illustrations (occupying approximately one third of the height of the page) depict the Annunciation, Man of Sorrows, a memorial Mass of Dominican friars (which introduces the Office of the Dead), and King David in the Mire (Fig. 12).

²¹⁸ Antonella Putaturo Donati Murano, "Libri Miniati per Alfonso e Ferrante," in *Libri a Corte: Testi e Immagini nella Napoli Aragonese*, edited by Emilia Ambra (Naples: Paparo, 1997), 22; Toscano, "Il Maestro di Isabella," 38.

²¹⁹ In what was perhaps a related purchase, on 16 December 1463 Isabella paid the Florentine merchants Antonio da Gaeta and Johannes Rogi 48 ducats for eighty-five sheets of parchment. Toscano, "Maestro di Isabella," 36, 590; Brucia Witthoft, "The Hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte," *Harvard Library Bulletin* XVIII, n. 3 (1970), 298, 301-303.

²²⁰ Witthoft, 301.

The latter is the most unique among the manuscript's illustrations. On folio 65 King David is portrayed up to his torso in mud, with his arms and head raised toward the heavens. The image introduces the Seven Penitential Psalms, specifically Psalm 62:2 "I sink deep in the mire, where there is no standing/ I am come into deep waters, where floods overflow me." Witthoft has argued that the motif of David in the mire may have been a distinctly Neapolitan one. While images of King David often accompanied texts of the Penitential Psalms in fifteenth-century manuscripts, the only other known illustrations of King David in the mire are Neapolitan in origin, and both surviving examples are attributed to the Master of Isabella di Chiaromonte. They appear in the *Officium Beatae Virginis* in the Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan (Codex 467) and the *Book of Hours* in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.²²¹

Domenico Gagini's Tabernacle for the Cappella Palatina

In the months immediately prior to his father's death, Ferrante hired the sculptor Domenico Gagini to carve a tabernacle for the Cappella Palatina at Castel Nuovo (Fig. 13).²²² Although no documents for the commission survive, the project has been attributed to Gagini on stylistic grounds, and on the basis of Ferrante's insignia of the Siege Perilous and Mount of Diamonds that decorate the tabernacle's lower panel (Fig. 14).

Domenico Gagini was born at Bissone, in Ticino, around 1420. He hailed from a long line of sculptors who were active in Genoa during the fifteenth

²²¹ Witthoft, 298, 302-305.

²²² Marble, 204 x 78 cm. Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Castel Nuovo: Museo Civico* (Naples: Editore de Rosa, 1990), 100.

century.²²³ In his *Treatise on Architecture*, the Florentine sculptor and architect Filarete recorded that a ‘Domenico del lago di Logano’ had been apprenticed to Filippo Brunelleschi in Florence. In fact, Domenico Gagini was likely active in Brunelleschi’s workshop from 1442 to 1446, during the construction of the Pazzi Chapel.

Domenico accepted his first major independent commission in 1448 at the cathedral of Genoa, where he was hired by the Confraternity of Saint John the Baptist to construct a chapel dedicated to their patron saint (Fig. 15). This early commission reveals the fruits of Gagini’s Florentine training, and particularly the influences of Brunelleschi’s Pazzi Chapel and Ghiberti’s bronze doors for the Florentine Baptistery. The interior of the Saint John the Baptist Chapel replicates that of the Pazzi Chapel (Fig. 16), though it is not clear what role, if any, Domenico had in the architectural design; he was listed in the commission documents merely as master marble carver (*magister intaliator marmororum*), not as director of the entire project.²²⁴

²²³ Domenico’s grandfather, Beltrame, was the architect of the Duomo of Sacile in Livenza, Pordenone, around 1400 and he later participated in construction projects in the Siena cathedral. His father, Pietro, was a sculptor at the Sienese Duomo in 1422, and his uncles Giovanni and Pace worked in Genoa and Spain. Giorgio Mollisi, “Un Ticinese a Castel Nuovo: Domenico Gagini da Bissone, Scultore a Napoli sotto Alfonso,” *Arte & Storia* 7 (2006), 110.

²²⁴ According to Francesco Caglioti, Gagini also worked with Brunelleschi on the Medici sacristy project in San Lorenzo from July 1442 to August 1443. Francesco Caglioti, “Sull’Esordio Brunelleschiano di Domenico Gagini,” *Prospettiva* 91/92 (1998/1999), 70, 78, 83-4; Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner, “The Early Development of Domenico Gagini,” *The Burlington Magazine* 76, n. 444 (1940), 81, 85-6; Rita Bernini, “Domenico Gagini,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* v. 51 (1998), 235; Clario Di Fabio, “Domenico Gagini da Bissone a Firenze e a Genova con una Postilla per suo Nipote Elia,” in *Genova e l’Europa Continentale*, edited by Piero Boccardo and Clario Di Fabio (Fondazione Carige: 2004), 49; Benedetto Patera, *Il*

The Genoese chapel façade, however, has been securely attributed to Domenico. It combines the design of the Pazzi Chapel façade with square marble relief panels (Fig. 17), two on each side of the entrance arch, surrounded by acanthus borders like those of Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* for the Florentine Baptistery. The façade is surmounted by five Gothic pointed arches, similar to those found at Orsanmichele (Fig. 18), which are each decorated with relief carvings in the form of *tondi* and lunettes. A strigillated cornice recalling Masaccio's *Pisa Altarpiece* divides the Brunelleschian order of the lower façade from the Gothic arches of the upper register (Fig. 19). Several of Domenico's reliefs were directly inspired by Ghiberti's and Donatello's panels for the Sienese Baptismal font (Fig. 20). With the Genoese Baptistery project, therefore, the young artist incorporated nearly all of his knowledge of contemporary Florentine innovations into a single design.

Domenico moved to Naples in 1456, leaving his nephew Elia to manage the family workshop. He was first recorded in Naples on 31 January 1458, listed among a group of sculptors working on King Alfonso's *Triumphal Arch* (Fig. 21). Domenico's introduction to the King of Naples seems to have been mediated by the Genoese humanist Giacomo Bracelli, who was a member of Alfonso's inner circle and was at least tangentially involved with the Genoese chapel commission.²²⁵

Rinascimento in Sicilia: Da Antonello da Messina ad Antonello Gagini (Palermo: Gruppo Editoriale Kalós, 2008), 42; Filippo Meli, "Attività Artistica di Domenico Gagini in Palermo," *Arte e Artisti dei Laghi Lombardi* 1 (1959), 247; Maria Accascina, "Aggiunte a Domenico Gagini," *Bollettino d'Arte* 4, n. 1 (1959), 19; Stefano Bottari, *Nuovi Studi su Domenico Gagini* (Catania: Università di Catania, 1949), 324-5; Mollisi, 111.

²²⁵ Bernini, "Domenico Gagini," 236; Caglioti, "Sull'Esordio Brunelleschiano," 70, 79; Clario Di Fabio, "Per il Catalogo Genovese di Domenico Gagini: La *Madonna col Bambino* di San Pietro Vara," in *Tra Genova e il Magra: Pittori e Scultori nella*

Domenico spent less than four years in Naples, where he seems to have worked exclusively for the Aragonese court. He probably departed for Sicily by 1460.²²⁶ Given his short tenure at the Neapolitan court, Gagini produced an impressive body of work. His Neapolitan *oeuvre* includes the double-sided portal of the Sala dei Baroni (damaged by fire in 1919) (Figs. 22 & 23), the figure of *Temperance* (Fig. 24) and group of musicians on the triumphal arch of Castel Nuovo (Fig. 25), and a tabernacle for the Cappella Palatina.²²⁷

Like Colantonio, Domenico Gagini was revered by his contemporaries for his ability to synthesize his diverse stylistic influences.²²⁸ He has even been described as an entrepreneur for his successful stylistic adaptations, designed to suit the needs of the new patrons he encountered upon his numerous relocations throughout the Italian peninsula.²²⁹ Gagini's Florentine influences are particularly in evidence in the Cappella Palatina tabernacle, the architectural design of which recalls the niches of Orsanmichele, the interior of the Pazzi Chapel, and even Masaccio's *Trinity* (Fig. 27). At the time of Krufft's research, the Madonna and Child of the tabernacle were located

Liguria di Levante, edited by Piero Donati and Clario di Fabio (Cinisello Balsamo: Arti Grafiche Amilcare Pizzi, 2012), 172; Cornelius von Fabriczy, "Domenico Gagini in Neapel," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 28 (1905), 193-5; Patera, *Il Rinascimento in Sicilia*, 42; Hanno-Walter Krufft, *Domenico Gagini und seine Werkstatt* (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann, 1972), 20-21; Mollisi, 112-13.

²²⁶ Mollisi, 116; Bernini, "Domenico Gagini," 236, 239; Di Fabio, 167; Patera, *Il Rinascimento in Sicilia*, 42-5.

²²⁷ The Gagini workshop in Genoa specialized in the *sovrapporta* format, composed of a large rectangular sculptural relief panel placed above a door, which was especially popular among the Genoese nobility. The double-sided design of the Naples example is unique, however. Krufft, *Domenico Gagini*, 21.

²²⁸ Valentiner, "The Early Development," 76; Bernini, "Domenico Gagini," 237; Caglioti, "Sull'Esordio Brunelleschiano," 73; Di Fabio, 49, 56; Krufft, *Domenico Gagini*, 24.

²²⁹ Caglioti, "Sull'Esordio Brunelleschiano," 76; Di Fabio, 171.

in the Museo di Capodimonte and the architectural frame had been converted into a washbasin and placed near the entrance of the Cappella Palatina. Krufft was the first to attribute the Madonna and Child to Gagini and to reunite the figures with the empty tabernacle at Castel Nuovo.²³⁰ The ensemble has since been restored to its original arrangement.

Although no commission documents or payment receipts survive for the tabernacle, Krufft and De Castris identify Duke Ferrante as the project's patron on the basis of the Siege Perilous and Mount of Diamonds that decorate the tabernacle's lower frieze. Because the portrait of Ferrante at the foot of the Madonna is not crowned (Fig. 26), it is likely that the tabernacle was created in the months immediately before Ferrante took the throne.²³¹ I would argue, therefore, that the project dates to 1457, which coincides with the period of renovations in the Cappella Palatina following the earthquake of 4 December 1456.

The architectural structure of Domenico's tabernacle mirrors the design of the Orsanmichele niches in Florence, though the artist replaced the Gothic pointed arches of Orsanmichele with a lunette depicting God the Father and a crowning volute ornament like that of the Sala dei Baroni portal. By employing one of Alfonso I's favored artists and referencing the Sala dei Baroni commission in this project, Ferrante establishes a strong connection between his own artistic legacy and that of his father.

Recalling the painted architecture of Masaccio's *Trinity*, the spandrels of Domenico's arch are adorned by two medallions of half-length prophets. The dove of

²³⁰ Krufft, *Domenico Gagini*, 22.

²³¹ Krufft, *Domenico Gagini*, 22, 246; De Castris, *Castel Nuovo*, 100.

the Holy Spirit emerges from a decorative keystone located at the apex of the arch. Figures of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate frame the tabernacle's dome, and two additional saints or prophets stand in niches on the exterior sides of the structure. The interior of the tabernacle replicates, in miniature, Brunelleschi's Pazzi Chapel. It comprises a ribbed dome punctured by small *oculi* at the base of the drum. Low-relief shell *tondi*, identical to those of Masaccio's *Trinity*, decorate the pendentives. A perspectively-conceived coffered apse serves as the backdrop for the holy figures who are framed on all four sides by coffered arches decorated with florets.

The *tour de force* of the tabernacle is the statue of the Madonna and Child located at its center. Domenico's Madonna is enveloped in heavy robes that fall to the ground in deep sweeping folds. The dark shadows cast by the Virgin's low-hanging sleeves and the pleats of her veil produce dramatic *chiaroscuro* effects that were remarkable for this period (Fig. 28). Through these innovations—together with his subtle handling of the Madonna's diaphanous head scarf, the slender fingers wrapping around Christ's arm, and the child's gently crossed feet—Domenico Gagini shows himself to be among the greatest sculptors of fifteenth-century Italy.

The Virgin's most distinguishing features are her unique head covering. While most contemporary Italian Madonnas wear veils pulled back far enough to reveal their hairlines and high foreheads, Domenico's Madonna dons a tightly wrapped scarf that covers much of her forehead, together with a heavy veil. Domenico's Virgin recalls Rogier van der Weyden's *Magdalen Reading* (1438), or his drawing of the *Head of the Virgin* in the Louvre (Fig. 30). Given the location of Van der Weyden's

Passion of Christ tapestry series in the Sala dei Baroni where Domenico worked, it seems likely that his Madonna for the Cappella Palatina tabernacle was based on one of Van der Weyden's models.

The pedestal on which the Madonna stands bears the inscription "SALVE REGINA C," referring to the Marian antiphon *Salve Regina Coelitum*. Two angels and two donor figures, identified as Ferrante and Isabella, kneel at the Virgin's feet.²³² Ribbons inscribed with the words "ONOR E FE" decorate the outer edges of the structure.

The frieze on the tabernacle's base depicts the *Creation of Eve*, the *Temptation*, and the *Expulsion* (Fig. 31). The scenes are carved in a painterly, low relief inspired by Donatello's *schacciato* technique. The center of the frieze reveals the damage caused by the insertion of a faucet upon the tabernacle's conversion into a washbasin. Due to years of water exposure, as well as the shallow carving style, the relief is so badly corroded that very few details remain visible today.

In locating this frieze directly below the Madonna, Domenico aligns the Virgin and Child with the Fall of Man. The relationship between original sin and salvation is further emphasized through the parallel gestures of Adam and Eve, the Christ Child, and God the Father. The orbs held by the figures of Christ and God echo the apple that Adam and Eve pluck from the Tree of Knowledge. With a solemn, knowing gaze the Virgin looks down, not at her child, but at Ferrante, the future King of Naples. In this sacred object, produced on the brink of Ferrante's succession to the throne, Domenico presents a Marian affirmation of Ferrante's dominion that testifies

²³² Krufft, *Domenico Gagini*, 22, 246; De Castris, *Castel Nuovo*, 100; Pierluigi Leone De Castris, "Domenico Gagini a Cava dei Tirreni," *Confronto* 12/13 (2008/2009), 67.

to the salvation of the future sovereigns and their kingdom. Like Isabella's altarpiece dedicated to Saint Vincent Ferrer, the Cappella Palatina tabernacle indicates the royal couple's appeal to divine protection and intervention in their kingdom.

The Cappella Palatina tabernacle exemplifies Domenico Gagini's ability to synthesize his various stylistic influences. The figures of the Madonna and Child evoke the sweeping Gothic draperies of Ghiberti, the serenity and sweetness of Donatello's and Antonio Rossellino's Madonnas, and the Flemish fashions that were readily available at the Neapolitan court. Meanwhile, the structural design of the tabernacle reflects a revival of classical architecture and a concern for geometric order that the artist would have acquired during his apprenticeship in Brunelleschi's studio.²³³

Pietro da Milano's Portrait Bust of Ferrante

The sculptor Pietro di Martino da Milano was first called to Naples in 1452 by King Alfonso I, who was simultaneously pleading with Donatello to abandon the

²³³ Shortly after completing the Cappella Palatina tabernacle, Domenico Gagini left Naples and traveled to Palermo where he established a prolific workshop that continued to dominate Palermitan visual culture for decades after his death in September 1492. The earliest record of Domenico's activity in Sicily is the commission for the tomb of Pietro Speciale and his son Niccolo Antonio in the church of San Francesco in Palermo, which dates to 22 November 1463. Even during his Sicilian period, however, Domenico maintained strong ties with the artistic centers of mainland Italy, sending sculptures back to Naples on at least two occasions. Stefano Bottari, "Per Domenico Gagini," *Rivista d'Arte* 17 (1935): 77; Valentinier, "The Early Development," 82; Bernini, "Domenico Gagini," 236, 239; Di Fabio, 167; Fabriczy, "Domenico Gaggini," 193-5; Patera, *Il Rinascimento in Sicilia*, 42-5; Kruff, *Domenico Gagini*, 23; Accascina, 19; Bottari, "Nuovi Studi," 329; De Castris, *Castel Nuovo*, 104; Francesco Negri Arnoldi, "Revisione di Domenico Gagini," *Bollettino d'Arte* 59 (1974), 20, 24; Mollisi, 114-15.

Gattamelata project and direct the construction of his triumphal arch, instead.²³⁴ The king's equally vigorous solicitation of both Pietro and Donatello indicates the substantial fame that the Lombard artist had achieved by the 1450s. Sadly, the majority of Pietro's *oeuvre* has been lost, and very little is known about his life prior to his arrival in Naples in 1453.²³⁵

Pietro probably received his earliest training while working on sculptural projects for the cathedral of Milan in the workshop of Jacopino da Tradate around 1430. He was documented in Dubrovnik in 1432 and is not recorded again until 1439, when he constructed windows with the architect Onofrio di Giordano della Cava, who also went to Naples in the 1450s to work for Alfonso. Pietro was among the most famous sculptors in Dubrovnik in the middle of the fifteenth century. He received commissions from the Republic of Dubrovnik and wealthy citizens alike.²³⁶ It was in Dubrovnik, between 1445 and 1450, that the Dalmatian sculptor Francesco Laurana probably entered Pietro's workshop. The two artists likely traveled to Naples together in 1453, where they were both recorded in July of that year (along with Domenico

²³⁴ A letter from Alfonso, dated 3 June 1452, requesting that "Petro de Mediolano" be allowed to go to Naples for work, is held in the archives of Ragusa. Cornelius von Fabriczy, "Neues zum Triumphbogen Alfonsos I.," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1902), 4.

²³⁵ Of Pietro's work in Dubrovnik, only the *Big and Little Fountains* (c. 1441-4) and the *Rectors' Palace* (1439-45) survive. Vladimir Peter Gvozdanovic, "The Dalmatian Works of Pietro da Milano and the Beginnings of Francesco Laurana," *Arte Lombarda* (1975), 120; Renata Novak Klemenčič, "Pietro di Martino: Da Milano a Dubrovnik e Napoli, La Diffusione e i Cambiamenti del Gotico Internazionale," in, *Art and Architecture Around 1400: Global and Regional Perspectives*, edited by Marjeta Ciglenceki and Polana Vidmar (Maribor: Faculty of Arts, 2012), 220.

²³⁶ Renata Novak Klemenčič, "La Prima Opera Documentata di Pietro da Milano," *Nuovi Studi* 8 (2000), 5-6; Klemenčič, "Pietro di Martino," 219, 221.

Gagini) as members of the workshop responsible for creating Alfonso's triumphal arch.²³⁷

In the fifteenth century, Dubrovnik was an important intermediary between the Ottoman Empire and the west. As a vibrant trading republic in southern Dalmatia, the city served as a center for the sale of salt and textiles. The government of Dubrovnik provided the kings of Naples with valuable information about the Ottoman Empire, and in return, their mercantile fleets were exempted from port taxes in the Kingdom of Naples and were allowed to dominate the waters off southern Italy's east coast.²³⁸ Channels of communication between Dubrovnik and Naples were open and friendly during the 1440s and 1450s, with several artists—including Pietro da Milano, Francesco Laurana, Guglielmo Monaco, and the architect Onofrio di Giordano della Cava—migrating between the two cities.²³⁹

Upon his arrival in Naples, Pietro was charged with directing the construction of King Alfonso's triumphal arch. He is also credited with carving sections of the arch's processional frieze, namely the portraits of the Alfonso, Ferrante (Fig. 32), and the barons that follow the king's canopy. Ferrante's portrait on the triumphal arch has been identified as the foreground figure directly behind Alfonso's chariot. This portrait bears a striking resemblance to the marble bust of Ferrante in the Louvre (Fig.

²³⁷ Raffaello Causa, "Sagrera, Laurana e L'Arco di Castelnuovo," *Paragone* 55 (1954), 14.

²³⁸ David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 388-90; George L. Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch at Naples, 1443-1475* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 32-4.

²³⁹ All four of these artists worked in Naples for King Alfonso in the 1450s and, with the exception of Guglielmo Monaco, they all contributed to the triumphal arch project. Klemenčič, "Pietro di Martino," 222.

33), which, I would argue, was carved by Pietro da Milano between 1457 and 1458, soon after his work on the triumphal arch was completed.²⁴⁰

The bust is carved in the same angular and austere style that characterizes Pietro's other sculpture for both Alfonso's and Ferrante's triumphal arches at Castel Nuovo. The image terminates abruptly at mid-chest, without a pedestal or ornamental base, as if the upper section of Ferrante's portrait on the triumphal arch was duplicated and then simply cut down to bust-length. The head of the then Duke of Calabria turns slightly to the left as he gazes intently into the distance. His eyes are painted rather than carved, and his dark hair also retains its pigment. In the portrait Ferrante wears his hair long—covering his forehead and sloping down the back of his head to just beyond the nape of his neck. His dense helmet of hair is carved in thick ridges that curl upwards at the ends. This hairstyle is a slightly longer version of King

²⁴⁰ The bust was acquired by the Louvre in 1886 and is said to have come from the Porta Salvatore in Sulmona, Aquila. It has been attributed to Domenico Gagini by Hanno-Walter Kruft, Francesco Negri Arnoldi, Riccardo Filangieri, and George Hersey. Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner correctly attributed the bust to Pietro da Milano in 1937, and Kruft later consented to this attribution. Valentiner's and Barreto's dating of the bust to 1465 contradicts the youthfulness of Pietro's portrait (Ferrante would have been thirty-four years old in 1457 and forty-two in 1465). More importantly, this dating does not account for the bust's vast differences from the king's other commissions around 1465, all of which portrayed a crowned king asserting his legitimacy after his victory in the war of succession. Riccardo Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo: Reggia Angionina ed Aragonese di Napoli* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica Napoli, 1964), 120; George L. Hersey, "Alfonso II, Benedetto e Giuliano da Maiano e la Porta Reale," *Napoli Nobilissima* IV, n. 3-4 (1964), 28, 84; Hanno-Walter Kruft, *Domenico Gagini*, 254; Arnoldi, "Revisione di Domenico Gagini," 20; Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner, "Andrea dell'Aquila Painter and Sculptor," *The Art Bulletin* 19, n. 4 (1937), 509; Hanno-Walter Kruft, "Postille a Domenico Gagini," *Bollettino d'arte* 60 (1975), 244; Barreto, *La Majesté en Images*, 195; Cristoph Luitpold Frommel, "Alberti e la Porta Trionfale di Castel Nuovo a Napoli," *Annali Di Architettura* 20 (2008), 26; Emile Bertaux, "L'Arco e la Porta Trionfale d'Alfonso e Ferrante d'Aragona a Castel Nuovo," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* XXV (1900), 35; Warnke, 168.

Alfonso's hairstyle and was later worn by Ferrante's heir, Alfonso II. It, therefore, came to serve as an identifying attribute of the Aragonese monarchs that was repeated in nearly all royal commissions from this time forward. The portrait's thin upper lip, rounded chin, full cheeks, prominent aquiline nose, and heavy, downward-slanting eyes also distinguish the figure as Ferrante.

Pietro's bust depicts a man of medium-build, unlike the obese figure represented in later portraits of the king. Although the full cheeks and double chin indicate the sitter's excess weight, the lack of wrinkles and comparatively more slender features suggest that the likeness was carved years before the portraits of Ferrante on the bronze doors of Castel Nuovo (Fig. 34), for example. Furthermore, in this portrait Ferrante wears a simple collared and pleated robe, similar to the costume of his portrait on Domenico Gagini's tabernacle. The lack of majestic garb in each of these works indicates that both Pietro's and Domenico's portraits of Ferrante pre-date his succession to the throne in January 1458. Both sculptures are, thus, representative of the relatively tranquil years before the death of King Alfonso I, in which Ferrante first began to construct his royal iconography. During this period, Ferrante employed many of his father's artists and iconographic elements in order to establish a strong visual connection between his own reign and that of his father. Although Ferrante's portraiture changed significantly after his coronation as King of Naples, the emblems of the Siege Perilous and Mount of Diamonds would remain central to his iconography throughout his life.

Ferrante's Early Coinage

Ferrante's only commissions to survive from the period between Alfonso's death in 1458 and the end of the war in 1465 are the coins issued following his succession to the throne. The main gold coin circulated within the Kingdom of Naples was the *ducato*, equal in weight and value to the Venetian gold ducat. As Sakellarios argues, Ferrante's monetary policy was aimed at facilitating international transactions by standardizing and tightly controlling coin production.²⁴¹

The Naples mint was located across from the church of Sant'Agostino and was directed by Antonio de Miraballis (until 1459), Salvatore de Miraballis (1459-1460), Benedetto de Cotrullo (1460-1469), and Nicolo Spinello (1469-1488).²⁴² Francesco Liparolo was Ferrante's primary coin designer from the 1450s until his death in 1468, and he can be credited with all royal coins minted during these years. These include the gold *ferrandino* (1465-94), the silver *carlino*, the original *coronato* (1459-72), the *tari* and *armellina* (since 1465), the *corona* and *giustina* (since 1458), and the *cinquina* and *picciolo* (since 1458).²⁴³

Ferrante's first coin, a gold ducat weighing 3.5 *grammi* (Figs. 35), was minted in 1458 and is, thus, his earliest surviving commission as King of Naples (though he had not yet received investiture by the pope at the time it was created). The gold ducat included a quartered shield with Ferrante's coat of arms on the reverse (Fig. 36), surrounded by the inscription FERDINANDVS D G R SICIL IER E VN,

²⁴¹ Sakellarios, *Southern Italy*, 225.

²⁴² The Aquila mint was directed by Benedetto de Cotrullo (1460-69), Giacomo de Cotrullo (1469-74), and later by Leonardo de Cagnano and Gian Carlo. Sambon, "I 'Cavalli' di Ferdinando I d'Aragona," 338, 344.

²⁴³ Sambon, "I 'Cavalli' di Ferdinando I d'Aragona," 339-40.

“Ferrante, by God’s Grace, King of Sicily, Jerusalem, and Hungary.” The obverse is imprinted with a crowned bust of Ferrante in profile, accompanied by the inscription: RECORDATVS MISERICORDIE SVE, “Remember His Mercy.” Both inscriptions are written in Roman capitals, rather than rounded Gothic letters.

This earliest issue of Ferrante’s portrait coin is often mistakenly dated to 1465, depriving Ferrante of the recognition he deserves as an innovator in this genre. With the issue of this gold ducat in 1458, Ferrante became the first sovereign of the Early Modern period to mint a monetary coin decorated with his own portrait. He, therefore, preceded the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, who first minted his own portrait ducat in September 1462. In 1459 Ferrante commissioned a new silver double-*carlino* (weighing 7.2 *grammi*), which carried the same imagery and inscriptions as his original gold ducat. The double-*carlino* was both the earliest heavy silver coin created in fifteenth-century Italy, and the first appearance of a portrait on silver coinage since antiquity. As Varga writes, “Ferrante used coinage as one of the most important means for the assertion of his power in Naples, as part of his intention to gain absolute control over the Regno.”²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ Ferrante’s bust was also included on the *denaro* (weighing 0.62 *grammi*) minted by Salvatore Miraballo and Stefano Crisafi in 1458. The *denari* carried the inscriptions SICILIE ARA VN on the obverse and DNS M ADIV EGOD on the reverse in Gothic letters. The first Venetian and Milanese large silver coins decorated with a portrait were minted in 1472 and 1474 respectively.

It was also under Ferrante that *impres*e first appeared on coins in southern Italy, such as the printing of the ermine on the half-*carlino* in 1465. Similarly, the Siege Perillous was printed on the final issue of the half-*carlino*, and the Mount of Diamonds adorned the quarter-*carlino*. Philip Grierson and Lucia Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, v. 14 (*Italy III: South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia*) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 363, 366-7, 724; Varga, “Messages of Legitimacy,” 370.

Between 1459 and 1463, Ferrante commissioned a new silver *carlino* that came to be known as the *coronato* due to its commemoration of his coronation at Barletta in February 1459 (Figs. 37 & 38).²⁴⁵ The *coronato*, valued at one and a half ducats (four *grammi*), depicts Ferrante enthroned with an orb and scepter, flanked by the Bishop of Barletto and Cardinal Orsino, who crowns the new king. The coronation scene is accompanied by the motto: CORONATUS QVIA LEGITIME CERTAVIT, “Crowned [King] here Fought for Legitimacy.” The reverse is decorated with the *croce potenziata* from the arms of Calabria.²⁴⁶

These three coins, which served to announce Ferrante’s succession as the new King of Naples throughout the Italian peninsula and beyond, represent the next step in

²⁴⁵ Silver *carlini* had been minted in Naples since 1278, and they continued to circulate under the Aragonese monarchs. The coins issued during the reign of Alfonso I, known as *alfonsini*, (equaling 3.60 *grammi*) included an image of the enthroned king with orb and scepter on the obverse encircled by the epigraph: DOMINVS MIHI ADIVTOR ET EGO DISPICIAM INIMICOS MEOS, “The Lord is my helper, and I will look over my enemies,” Psalms 117: 7. Alfonso’s royal titles and coat of arms decorate the reverse.

For a short period, Ferrante continued to mint exact replicas of this coin, which was re-named the *ferrantino* after Ferrante’s name replaced Alfonso’s on the reverse. Although the *ferrantini* were soon supplanted by the new *coronati* coins. Unlike Alfonso’s coins, all of the new coins commissioned by Ferrante carried inscriptions written in Latin capital letters. The coins were issued from the Naples mint, which was located across from the church of Sant’Agostino. Salvatore de Miraballis directed the mint until 1459 and was succeeded by Antonio de Miraballis. The *ferrantini* and the *coronati* were designed by the Neapolitan goldsmith Francesco Liparolo, sculptor and builder of the kingdom (“scultor et fabricator coneorum necessariorum in regiis sicilis huius regni”), who had worked for Alfonso I since 1456. Arturo G. Sambon, “I ‘Cavalli’ di Ferdinando d’Aragona Re di Napoli,” *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 4 (1891), 338-40, 344.

²⁴⁶ Arturo G. Sambon, “I ‘Carlini’ e la Medaglia Trionfale di Ferdinando I d’Aragona Re di Napoli,” *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 4 (1891), 469-72; Luigi Giliberti, “I Coronati di Ferrante Primo d’Aragona Re di Napoli,” *Bollettino del Circolo Numismatico Napoletano* 36 (1951), 33-5; Francesco di Rauso, “Un Coronato Inedito di Ferdinando I d’Aragona e sulla Classificazione dei Primi Coronati della Zecca di Napoli,” *Panorama Numismatico* 9 (2014), 28-30; Grierson, 726.

Ferrante's self-fashioning. Following the modest portraits created by Pietro da Milano and Domenico Gagini in Ferrante's final years as Duke of Calabria, the image of the new king promoted by the royal coinage reveals a strong emphasis on his legitimate rule and the unparalleled (at least within Italy) reach of his authority, which is compared to that of the ancient Roman emperors by virtue of the king's adoption of portrait coinage.

Despite the powerful image Ferrante projected, his kingdom was in a state of complete collapse in the first decade of his reign. Nearly all of the artists employed by the Neapolitan court fled the city in search of more stable employment, and war would overshadow the next seven years. Cultural patronage at the Neapolitan court came to a halt as the new king and queen fought for their survival. It was not until Ferrante's final victory over Jean d'Anjou and the rebel barons in 1465 that the king began, in earnest, to develop a substantive artistic policy.

Chapter 3: Picturing Legitimacy, 1465, 1470

Renovations to Castel Nuovo

After expelling the last Angevin troops from the kingdom, Ferrante was finally able to turn his attention to a major art and architectural renewal in his capital. His first priority was to complete the construction projects left unfinished at his father's death. From 1443 until 1458, King Alfonso had worked to renovate and repair the royal residence, Castel Nuovo, which was badly damaged during his conquest of Naples in 1442. Alfonso's reconstruction project was first directed by Coluccio di Stasi and Pertello de Marino, and in 1450 it came under the direction of the Maiorcan architect Guillermo Sagrera, designer of the famous Sala dei Baroni.²⁴⁷

Alfonso's renovations around Castel Nuovo included the construction of a walled *cittàdella* that was to act as the first line of defense for the royal residence. In the late 1460s Ferrante transformed the *cittàdella* into a grand park with pavilions, gilt marble fountains, and an aviary. In 1466 he repaired and enlarged the city's

²⁴⁷ The royal castle of Naples, traditionally called the Maschio Angioino, was built by Charles I d'Anjou in the thirteenth century. The Cappella Palatina is the only area of the castle that remains structurally unchanged, though the earthquake of 1456 destroyed Giotto's fresco cycle in the chapel, which was completed in 1333, during the reign of Robert d'Anjou. The Sala dei Baroni, with its Flemish tapestries and 200,000 Hispano-Moresque floor tiles decorated with Alfonso's emblems and coat of arms, exemplified the cosmopolitan tastes of the Neapolitan court. Arnaldo Venditti and Cesare Cundari, "Un Castello per la Città," in *Dal Castello alla Città: Recherché, Progetti e Restauri in Castel Nuovo*, edited by Daniela Giampaola and Rosa Romano (Naples: Elio de Rosa, 1998), 10-11; Leonardo Di Mauro, "Castel Nuovo Angioino," in *Architettura Fortificata in Campania*, Quaderni dell'Istituto Italiano dei Castelli Sezione Campania: Quaderno n. 2, Castel Nuovo, edited by Luigi Maglio (Naples: Tipografia Vincenzo Capuozzo, 2009), 4-5; Luigi Maglio, "La Reggia-Fortezza Aragonese," in *Ibid.*, 8-9; De Castris, *Castel Nuovo*, 85; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 18; Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy*, 186.

wharf, and in 1480 he erected a second, smaller dock for use by minor mercantile vessels.²⁴⁸ Ferrante added an arcade to the city's arsenal in 1467 and built a lavish horse stable at the Ponte della Maddalena the following year.²⁴⁹ The king also repaired streets throughout Naples, constructed expansive avenues, built a large public piazza just outside the *cittàdella*, and provided support to numerous religious institutions for improvements to their facilities.

The last of Alfonso's projects that Ferrante completed was the triumphal arch for Castel Nuovo (Fig. 21). The arch was begun in July 1453 under the direction of Pietro da Milano.²⁵⁰ It is likely based on the Arch of the Sergii in Pula (Fig. 39), which Pietro could have seen during his travels to and from Dubrovnik in the 1440s and 1450s.²⁵¹ The narrow, double-arched design includes personifications of the virtues and reclining river gods. Its central frieze depicts Alfonso's triumphal entry into Naples in 1443, after his victory over René d'Anjou (Fig. 40). The king's chariot

²⁴⁸ Stasio de Alessandrino was likely the architect of the Molo projects. He received payments in 1466 and 1480 for each of the wharfs. Barone, "Le Cedole," 210, 403.

²⁴⁹ Maestro Jacopo de Martino and Francesco Lombardo were paid for the construction of the arsenal, and Maestro Renno de Martino and Petrillo della Cava were paid for the new stables. Barone, "Le Cedole," 217, 224.

²⁵⁰ Pietro's role as director of the triumphal arch project is confirmed by the epitaph on his tomb at Santa Maria la Nova in Naples, built in 1470, which reads: "Petrus de Martino Mediolanensis ob triumphalem Arcis novae Arcum solerter structum, et multa statuariae artis suo munere huic Aedi pie oblata, a divo Alphonso Rege in aequestrem adscribi ordinem, et ab Ecclesia hoc sepulcro pro se, ac posteris suis donari meruit." Minieri-Riccio, 3-4; Raffaello Causa, "Contributi alla Conoscenza della Scultura dell '400 a Napoli," in *Sculture Lignee nella Campania*, edited by Ferdinando Bologna and Raffaello Causa (Naples: Palazzo Reale, 1950), 108; Francesca Amirante, "L'Arco di Alfonso," in *Architettura Fortificata in Campania, Quaderni dell'Istituto Italiano dei Castelli Sezione Campania: Quaderno n. 2, Castel Nuovo*, edited by Luigi Maglio (Naples: Tipografia Vincenzo Capuozzo, 2009), 14; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 80-82.

²⁵¹ Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 34; Hanno-Walter Kruft, "The Aragonese Arch at Naples 1443-1475," *The Burlington Magazine* 116, n. 860 (1974), 679; Amirante, 14.

is followed by the young Duke Ferrante, the Princes of Taranto and Salerno, Giovanni Antonio del Balzo, and Raimondo Orsini, along with other nobles and ambassadors, including Sidi Ibrahim, legate of the King of Tunisia.²⁵²

As the largest sculptural project undertaken in Italy during those years, the arch required a substantial team of assistants including, most notably, Francesco Laurana, Isaia da Pisa, Antonio di Chellino, Andrea dell'Aquila, Paolo Romano, and Domenico Gagini.²⁵³ Unfortunately, this impressive sculptural workshop dissolved after Alfonso's death because all of the artists left Naples in search of greater opportunity and more stable employment.²⁵⁴

Pietro da Milano and Francesco Laurana traveled to the court of Ferrante's rival, King René d'Anjou, in Bar-le-Duc, where they produced portrait medallions and other artworks for the Angevin court.²⁵⁵ They remained in René's service throughout the war of succession, but as the war drew to an end, Ferrante called Pietro back to Naples and appointed him royal sculptor of his court.²⁵⁶ He was documented at the Neapolitan court again by 18 May 1465, when he was paid for new additions to Alfonso's triumphal arch. Francesco Laurana probably left France shortly after Pietro, though his activity in the late 1460s is undocumented.²⁵⁷ Laurana

²⁵² Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 108.

²⁵³ Over the course of seventeen years, 3,800 ducats were distributed among six different artists for work on the triumphal arch. Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 80.

²⁵⁴ Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 84; Bertaux, 28, 33; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 32-4; Venditti and Cundari, 12; Amirante, 14.

²⁵⁵ Andrea dell'Aquila went to Siena, Isaia da Pisa and Paolo Romano went to Rome, and Domenico Gagini moved to Sicily. Fabriczy, "Neues zum Triumphbogen," 6; Bertaux, 34-5; Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 84.

²⁵⁶ Frommel, 26; Bertaux, 35; Warnke, 168.

²⁵⁷ Laurana may have stayed in Provence until 1467. Causa, "Sagrera, Laurana e L'Arco," 19.

returned to Naples in the 1470s and completed several sculptural commissions for Ferrante.

Ferrante's ability to re-appropriate his court artists from René d'Anjou indicates that following the war of succession the Neapolitan court offered greater wealth and prestige than that of the House of Anjou. Ferrante's decision to commission an artwork from either of these artists should, therefore, be interpreted as an assertion of his victory over his enemy—a point that would have bolstered the messages of legitimacy and authority that his artistic program conveyed.

From May 1465 to May 1466, Pietro da Milano, who is described as “sculptor and master of all the works in stone of Castel Nuovo,” received 850 ducats for completing the upper portion of Alfonso's arch.²⁵⁸ Pietro's additions include the statues of *Saints Michael Archangel* (Fig. 41), *George*, and *Anthony Abbot* that surmounted the lunette. These are the only Christian figures on the *Triumphal Arch*, and their inclusion is believed to depart from King Alfonso's original design. All three of these saints are now recognized as patron saints of Naples, and each one represents the defeat of evil and demonic forces by spirit and sword. While Saints Michael and George symbolize chivalric virtue and military might, Saint Anthony Abbot is also celebrated for his triumph over the physical and spiritual attacks of demons.²⁵⁹ Following the War of Succession, baronial revolt, Ferrante's near

²⁵⁸ In May 1466 Pietro is described in a payment record for the arch project as the stonemason and master builder for all the works in stone at Castel Nuovo (“scarpellino e capomaestro di tutte le opera di pietra nel Castelnuovo”). Barone, “Le Cedole,” 27-9, 32, 211, 214; Minieri-Riccio, 4; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 41.

²⁵⁹ Mary-Ann Stouck, ed., *Medieval Saints: A Reader* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 1999), 57-82, 606; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*,

assassination by his brother-in-law, and his betrayal by the papacy, it is not surprising that the king chose this particular triad of saints to surmount the *Triumphal Arch* of Castel Nuovo, thus imbuing Alfonso's triumphal monument with a reminder of Ferrante's own victory over evil.

The sculpture of *Saint Michael Archangel* was placed in a position of honor at the top of the *Triumphal Arch*'s lunette. Indeed, Saint Michel became a prominent symbol among Ferrante's cultural production following the War of Succession, and the placement of the saint's statue atop the *Triumphal Arch* coincides with Ferrante's dedication of his Order of the Ermine to the warrior saint in September 1465. The statue of *Saint Michael* towers over Castel Nuovo with its right arm raised, brandishing a now-lost sword, as a conspicuous warning to would-be challengers of the Neapolitan state. Ferrante likely embraced the iconography of Saint Michael because of the archangel's role in protecting both the Church and state, conquering Satan, and weighing souls. The saint's veneration at Monte Gargano, in the southern Italian region of Puglia, was also a probable impetus for Ferrante's adoption of the archangel into his iconographic repertoire. Saint Michael appeared at Monte Gargano in 390, requesting that a church be dedicated to his worship there. From that time on, southern Italy, and Puglia in particular, was the locus of the saint's cult.²⁶⁰

At the same time that Pietro da Milano was carving statues of Saints Michael, George, and Anthony for the summit of the *Triumphal Arch*, Ferrante commissioned

trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), v. 1 239.

²⁶⁰ De Voragine, v. 2, 201-202, 205; Meredith J. Gill, "Where the Danger Was Greatest": A Gallic Legacy in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 59 (1996), 498, 506-509, 518.

the silversmiths Andria Allardo and Andrea Galasso to create a large silver and copper vessel to enshrine Alfonso's heart.²⁶¹ The reliquary was placed inside the upper arch, where Alfonso had originally hoped to install a bronze equestrian portrait by Donatello.

Ferrante's Coronation Arch

After completing his father's triumphal arch, Ferrante commissioned Pietro to construct a second arch at Castel Nuovo to commemorate his coronation (Fig. 42). Ferrante's arch is located just beyond Alfonso's, inside the entrance vestibule of the castle. The continuity between the Aragonese kings is expressed through the close physical proximity of these two structures and the smooth transition between them that one experiences upon entering Castel Nuovo. Ferrante's arch was completed between 1467 and November 1471, when the crown, orb, and scepter of his portrait on the arch were gilded.²⁶²

By completing projects left unfinished after his father's death, hiring many of Alfonso's artists, and situating his own arch directly adjacent to that of his father, Ferrante emphasizes the dynastic continuity between their reigns. As Michalsky explains, the notion of the *anciennité* of artistic monuments, defined as the literal

²⁶¹ The commission was likely inspired by the miraculous enlargement of Alfonso's heart during the heart attack that caused his death, an event that was interpreted as proof of the late king's virtue. Allardo was paid eight ducats on 2 April 1466, and Galasso received thirteen ducats, four *tari* (toward the sum of thirty-three ducats, two *tari*, and ten *grana* he was owed) on 30 June 1466. Vitale, *Ritualità Monarchica*, 87-96; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 70-72.

²⁶² On 4 May 1468, Angelillo Arcuccio received two ducats to buy gold to gild the "pomo e la corona" of the marble image of the king on the entrance arch for Castel Nuovo. The last record for Ferrante's arch dates to 27 November 1471 and refers to a payment to Joan Remolo for painting and gilding the scepter held by Ferrante in the coronation sculpture group. Barone, "Le Cedole," 216.

building upon older layers of monuments, expresses an historical pedigree that was critically important for dynastic regimes as well as noble families.²⁶³

The arch consists of fluted columns with composite capitals topped with a broken entablature (Fig. 43). Two *putti* are carved just above the entrance to the castle, bearing a shield that would have been painted with Ferrante's coat of arms (Fig. 46). An inscription directly above the *putti* reads: SVCESSI REGNO PATRIO CVNCTISQUE PROBATVS / ET TRABEAM ET REGNI SACRVM DIADEMA RECEPI, "I succeeded to my father's kingdom having been thoroughly tested / and received the robe and holy crown of the realm."²⁶⁴ The epigraph affirms the continuity between the reigns of Alfonso and Ferrante, and the validity of Ferrante's position, despite the illegitimacy of his birth.

The upper portion of the arch contains a large niche that housed a now-lost sculptural group depicting Ferrante's coronation at the cathedral of Barletta on 4 February 1459. The niche reveals damage from the removal of the central figures, which were most likely destroyed by King Charles VIII of France in 1495.²⁶⁵ The ensemble is believed to have resembled the image on the obverse of Ferrante's *coronati* coins. Like the scene on the *coronati*, the arch probably included portraits of Cardinal Orsini and the Archbishop Nazareno of Barletto. This *tableau* was likely nearly identical to Benedetto da Maiano's unfinished coronation scene in the Bargello Museum in Florence (Fig. 46). Benedetto's sculptural group, which dates to the early

²⁶³ Bruzelius, *The Stones of Naples*, 9; Michalsky, "The Local Eye," 70; Cole, *Virtue and Magnificence*, 20-21.

²⁶⁴ Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 112, 116; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 41.

²⁶⁵ Hersey, "Alfonso II," 88.

1490s and was probably intended for the Porta Reale, may in fact have been modeled on the coronation scene of Ferrante's arch.²⁶⁶

The rigid carving style and stoic figures on Ferrante's arch resemble the portraits of Ferrante and Giovanni Antonio del Balzo Orsini on Alfonso's arch, which are attributed to Pietro da Milano (Figs. 44 & 45).²⁶⁷ However, the gentle curves and smooth edges of the shield-bearing putti at the center of the arch differ dramatically from Pietro's sharp realism. Although Francesco Laurana is not documented in Naples during these years, Kruft and Santucci have attributed the *putti* to Laurana based on a comparison with those on his Mastrantonio chapel façade in the church of San Francesco d'Assisi in Palermo (1468-9) (Fig. 48).²⁶⁸ Laurana is a compelling attribution, due to his previous employment with the Neapolitan court and his

²⁶⁶ Although Bertaux believes the coronation scene was intended for the Porta Capuana, Hersey convincingly argues that the Capuana sculptures were completed and installed (and later destroyed by Charles V in 1535). According to Hersey, the Porta Capuana group was commissioned to Jacopo della Pila in 1488. Therefore, Benedetto da Maiano's Bargello sculptures must be associated with a different project. Hersey proposes that the project was commissioned by Alfonso II for the Porta Reale, following his own coronation in 1494, and was soon abandoned when Alfonso abdicated in 1495. Paolucci and Vitale doubt, however, that a sculptural project of this magnitude could have been carried out in the twelve months between Ferrante's sudden death and Alfonso's abdication, especially because the Kingdom of Naples was on the brink of war during this period. Bertaux, 48; Hersey, "Alfonso II," 77, 80, 88; Vitale, *Ritualità Monarchica*, 42.

²⁶⁷ Despite the surviving payment records that document Pietro's leading role in the project, several scholars have sought to attribute the arch to other artists. Pierluigi Leone de Castris, for example, attributes the arch to both Pietro da Milano and Andrea dell'Aquila. Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 70-72; Kruft, "Il Rinascimento," 264; Minieri-Riccio, 6; Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 84, 120; Frommel, 27, 29; Bertaux, 36, 42; Fabriczy, "Neus zum Triumphbogen," 9; Marina Santucci, *Le Porte di Castel Nuovo: Il Restauro* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1997), 16; De Castris, *Castel Nuovo*, 85; Kruft, "Francesco Laurana," 10, 12-13.

²⁶⁸ Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 70-72; Kruft, "Il Rinascimento," 264; Minieri-Riccio, 6; Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 84, 120; Frommel, 27, 29; Bertaux, 36, 42; Fabriczy, "Neus zum Triumphbogen," 9; Santucci, 85; Kruft, "Francesco Laurana," 10, 12-13.

mentor's position as royal sculptor to King Ferrante. Although no records survive to confirm Laurana's role in this project, it is not unreasonable to imagine that the artist sought employment in Naples during the two undocumented years between his tenures in Provence in 1466 and in Sicily from 1468-71. The timing of this hypothetical trip to Naples exactly coincides with the construction of Ferrante's arch, which was begun in 1467.

The coronation arch at Castel Nuovo was Pietro's last major project for Ferrante before his death in September 1473. Though the inventory taken of his workshop after his death indicates that he was in the midst of several new projects. His workshop contained many partially worked marbles, including columns, a cross, a Pietà for Ferrante, and twenty-five medals (several with Ferrante's portrait).²⁶⁹ Pietro's will demonstrates that the position of royal sculptor to the Neapolitan court carried with it substantial economic and social benefits. The artist owned a home with a small garden near San Pietro ad Paterno and a second home that had previously been owned by the nobleman Giovanni Maria de Miraballis. Ferrante compensated Pietro generously, provided dowries for the brides of his two sons and, on at least one occasion, offered legal aid in disputes over his outside commissions.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ Strazzullo, "Documenti sull'Attività," 336-9.

²⁷⁰ On 14 April 1469 Pietro married his sons Simplicianus De Martino and Giovanni Martino de Martino to Maria and Sforzina Talamanca. Ferrante provided the brides with a dowry of 200 ducats each. In the early 1470s, Ferrante summoned Laura Primavera Pignatelli to trial and eventually sentenced her to compensate Pietro for a tomb she had commissioned from him. Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 80-82.

Bronze Doors of Castel Nuovo

It was probably in late 1465, around the same time that Ferrante called Pietro da Milano back to Naples, that the king commissioned a set of bronze doors for the entrance to Castel Nuovo (Fig. 49). For this project Ferrante turned to his trusted master of artillery, Guglielmo dello Monaco, whose canons and bombards had been critical to his triumph in the war of succession. The doors, which commemorate Ferrante's victories in the war against rebel barons and Angevin troops, are situated below Ferrante's triumphal arch, and they communicate directly with the inscription on the portal above. The doors, and the military accomplishments they celebrate, serve as proof of the thorough testing Ferrante endured, and of the king's right to rule by virtue of his own re-conquest of his kingdom.

The program for the project and the Latin inscriptions that narrate each panel were likely devised by the Ferrante's humanist and administrative official, Antonio Beccadelli, also known as Panormita.²⁷¹ The design for the doors was probably carried out from 1465-72, and the casting process probably began in 1472, when Luciano Laurana was called to Naples to replace Guglielmo as master of artillery. The doors were likely completed around 1475. No payment receipt for the bronze doors survives among the *Cedole di Tesoreria*, however, the *Cedole* records for the

²⁷¹ Although other scholars have suggested that Giovanni Pontano was responsible for the Latin inscriptions on the bronze doors, I would argue that Panormita would have been the more likely choice for Ferrante, since Pontano largely came to prominence at Ferrante's court following Panormita's death in 1471. George Hersey, on the other hand, has argued that Bartolomeo Fazio was the author of the epigraphs on the bronze doors. Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 43; Amirante, 17; Erminio Paoletta, *Storia, Arte e Latino nella Bronzea Porta di Castel Nuovo a Napoli: Pannelli, Vicende e Luoghi (Teano, Troia, Accadia)* (Naples: Laurenziana, 1985), 22; Joana Barreto, "La Porte en Bronze du Castelnuovo de Naples: Naissance de la Chronique Monumentale," *Histoire de l'Art* n. 54 (2004), 123, 136-137, n. 2.

years 1475-1477 are lost, leading Riccardo Filangieri to propose that the doors date to this period.²⁷² I would argue that the doors were probably not begun until after the Battle of Ischia in July 1465, since it seems unlikely that Ferrante would commence a project of this scale—the doors were estimated at 20,000 ducats and would have monopolized materials and workers that could have been used to make artillery—while his kingdom was in the midst of war. For this reason, nearly all cultural activity at Ferrante’s court was stalled until mid-1465.

Although the bronze doors are signed with a portrait of Guglielmo Monaco (Fig. 50), their authorship has been a topic of art historical debate for more than a century. Several scholars have argued that the lack of previous artistic projects attributed to Guglielmo makes it impossible to accept him as the master of the bronze doors. Some have sought, instead, to attribute the doors to Pietro da Milano and

²⁷² Maresca di Serracapriola and Ermilio Paoletta date the doors to 1462-1468, George Hersey to 1474-1477, and Joana Barreto to 1465-75. The commission must have taken more than three years to complete, however, especially if we consider that Filarete and Lorenzo Ghiberti spent twelve and twenty-seven years on their respective projects. Barreto, “La porte,” 136; Antonio Maresca di Serracapriola, “Battenti e Decorazioni Marmoree di Antiche Porte Esistenti a Napoli,” *Napoli Nobilissima* X, n. 2 (1901), 21; Paoletta, 13, 56, 59-62; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 42; Santucci, 22, 31; Amirante, 17.

Francesco Laurana.²⁷³ There is no reference to either of these artists on the doors themselves, however, nor does the epitaph on Pietro's tomb indicate that he had any role in the commission.

While it is true that no other surviving artworks can be attributed to Guglielmo, as master of artillery to the King of Naples, Guglielmo's skill at casting large-scale objects in bronze should not be in doubt. Many of the canons Guglielmo made for the Aragonese military included low relief carvings, some of which were designed by Pisanello during his tenure as court artist to King Alfonso from 1448 to 1450. Given the destruction of so much of Early Modern Neapolitan art, all of the canons, bells, clocks, and other bronze objects created by Guglielmo have been stolen or melted down. The presence of at least three distinct pictorial styles on the doors has also been used as an argument against Guglielmo's leadership of the project. However, this stylistic variation is typical of Neapolitan workshop practices, in which assistants were not made to assimilate their individual techniques to those of the master—a feature that is apparent in many projects throughout the city, including on both triumphal arches at Castel Nuovo.

²⁷³ Gianni Carlo Sciolla attributed the doors to Pietro da Milano and his circle, yet Filangieri has argued that they differ drastically from Pietro's rigid carving style. Joana Barreto argues that Francesco Laurana, Isaia da Pisa, and Pietro da Milano all could have had a hand in the project, which was then cast by Guglielmo Monaco. Michele Biancale argued that four masters, including Pietro da Milano (whom he names as director of the entire project) and Francesco Laurana (responsible for the Surrender of Troia panel at the center of the left door), collaborated on the door project. Ermilio Paoletta has rightly questioned this theory, however, wondering why only Guglielmo's portrait is included if he had several famous collaborators. Gianni Carlo Sciolla, "Fucina Aragonese a Castelnuovo," *Critica d'Arte* 126 (1972), 24, 28; Michele Biancale, "Le Porte di Bronzo di Castelnuovo in Napoli," *L'Arte* 10 (1907), 424, 428, 430-31, 434-5; Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 147; Paoletta, 13, 59-62; Barreto, "La Porte," 136.

Guglielmo dello Monaco was probably born in Picardy or Normandy in the early fifteenth century.²⁷⁴ He was documented in Dubrovnik in November 1442 on a two-year contract to produce weapons and artillery for the city and to maintain the town's clock. During this contract, Guglielmo was provided with an apartment and was paid 300 *perperjev* per year. He returned to Milan by May 1443, where he is recorded as a clockmaker and *familiars* at the court of Filippo Maria Visconti.²⁷⁵ During his short stay in Dubrovnik, Guglielmo probably met Pietro da Milano, Francesco Laurana, and the engineer and architect Onofrio di Giordano della Cava. By 31 December 1451 Guglielmo was employed as clockmaker and artillery master to King Alfonso I, and he became a citizen of Naples two years later.²⁷⁶ Alfonso granted Guglielmo a salary of 400 gold ducats, the same salary received by the most famous artist in all of Italy at the time, Pisanello.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Confusion over Guglielmo's origins dates back to a publication by Heinrich Schulz, who mistakenly translated the artist's *parisino* origins to mean from Perugia. Joana Barreto has recently argued, however, that Guglielmo (or Guillaume le Moine) was originally from France and likely worked for Henry VI and later for Charles VII. Felicita De Negri, "Guglielmo dello Monaco," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* v. 38 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1990), 86; Santucci, 22; De Dominicis, 410; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 42; Joana Barreto, "Artisan ou Artiste Entre France et Italie? Le Cas de Guglielmo Monaco (Guillaume Le Moine) à la Cour de Naples au xve Siècle," *Laboratoire Italien* 11 (2011), 302.

²⁷⁵ Ciriaco d'Ancona was a *familiars* at the Visconti court at the same time as Guglielmo and in the mid 1440s he traveled to the eastern Mediterranean, stopping over in Dubrovnik. Barreto, "Artisan ou Artiste," 303.

²⁷⁶ Barreto, "Artisan ou Artiste," 303; Renata Novak Klemenčič, "Guglielmo Monaco med Milanom, Dubrovnikom in Neapljem," in *Historia Artis Magistra: Amicorum Discipulorumque Munuscula Johanni Höfler Septuagenario Dicata*, edited by Janez Höfler and Renata Novak Klemenčič (Ljubljana: Znanstvena Založba Filozofske fakultete, 2012), 179-80.

²⁷⁷ In 1456 Francesco Sforza asked Alfonso to allow Guglielmo to travel to Milan to repair the celebrated Dondi clock, but the artist remained in Naples. Biancale, 430; Barreto, "La Porte," 123; Santucci, 22.

In 1456 Guglielmo was commissioned to construct a large bell for the courtyard of Castel Nuovo and artillery for the military, including his enormous canon, *la Napoletana* (weighing 198 *cantaia* and 22 *rotili*), for which he was paid 773 ducats. *La Napoletana* was decorated with low relief carvings of King Alfonso's coat of arms, Castel Nuovo, and sheaf of millet, which were all designed by Pisanello around 1448-50.²⁷⁸ In 1458 Guglielmo received the first installment of his 1117 ducat compensation for a large clock for the campanile of Castel Nuovo, which was completed in 1470-72. The artist received an additional 610 ducats in 1472 for creating a gilded canopy for a fountain in the gardens of Castel Nuovo.²⁷⁹

After the end of the war in 1465, Ferrante increased Guglielmo's salary to 600 ducats per year, making him one of the highest-paid members of Ferrante's court.²⁸⁰ Considering that Ferrante tended to pay his employees much less than his magnanimous father had done, due to the financial struggles of his reign, Guglielmo's large salary increase indicates the immense value the artist brought to Ferrante's court. Only the humanist secretaries Panormita, and later Giovanni Pontano, were as highly paid as Guglielmo. In addition to his salary, Ferrante provided Guglielmo with numerous properties, feudal holdings, and privileges, including the alum mines of Agnano, which greatly supplemented his income. Ferrante granted Guglielmo the right to collect a salt tax and ten *grana* per ounce on every animal or other item sold in Piazza Maggiore. He also allowed Guglielmo to erect homes and shops on plots of land along the Molo Piccolo and near the convent of San Pietro, to acquire the feud of

²⁷⁸ Barreto, "Artisan ou Artiste," 305; De Negri, 87.

²⁷⁹ Guglielmo received another payment for the clock on 15 April 1466. Barone, "Le Cedole," 13, 209; Barreto, "Artisan ou Artiste," 304; Minieri-Riccio, 9.

²⁸⁰ Barreto, "Artisan ou Artiste," 306.

Monasterace in Calabria Ultra, which had been confiscated from the Caracciolo family in 1464, and to purchase the *baglia* of Cosenza (an office monitoring the observance of local regulations).²⁸¹

Guglielmo was named governor of royal artillery (“governatore delle regie artiglierie”) in 1461 and senior master of artillery (“mestre maior de la artillerie”) in 1465. Luciano Laurana, Federico da Montefeltro’s court architect, replaced Guglielmo in the latter role from 1472-5, most likely because casting of the bronze door project was underway.²⁸² Ferrante knighted Guglielmo in 1470 and gave him the title *Miles* (Knight) in 1473.²⁸³ Guglielmo dello Monaco was the wealthiest artist in Naples, and perhaps in all of Italy, by the late fifteenth century. At the time of his death in 1489 he possessed numerous feudal holdings and properties, including a vineyard and garden across from Castel Nuovo, and he owned five African slaves.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ Cornelius von Fabriczy, “Guglielmo lo Monaco,” *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 25 (1902), 395; Santucci, 22-3, 26; Barreto, “Artisan ou Artiste,” 306; Cesare Colafemmina, *The Jews in Calabria* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 38.

²⁸² Luciano Laurana was only paid 200 ducats per year while Guglielmo retained his 600 ducat salary. Francesco Paolo Fiore, “Luciano Laurana,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* v. 64 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2005), 68; Hollingsworth, 191.

²⁸³ Barreto, “Artisan ou Artiste,” 306; Warnke, 168.

²⁸⁴ Guglielmo owned properties on the Molo Piccolo, near San Pietro Martire and the *Sellaria*, at Pozzuoli, Soccavo, and Cosenza. The inventory of his estate included a pair of oxen, a mule, jewels, silverware, tapestries, white stoneware, tableware, furniture, a handwritten bible, two volumes of the writings of Saint Jerome, a volume of 100 *novelle*, and 1300 ducats. Biancale, 430; Fabriczy, “Guglielmo lo Monaco,” 394; Giuseppe Ceci, “Nuovi Documenti su Guglielmo de lo Monaco,” *Archivico Storico per le Province Napoletane* XXVI (1901): 545-6; Giovanni Bresciano, “Inventarii Inediti del Secolo XV Contendenti Libri a Stampa e Manoscritti,” *Archivico Storico per le Province Napoletane* XXVI (1901): 3-32; Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 147; Barreto, “La Porte,” 123; Barreto, *La Majesté en Images*, 400; De Negri, 87-8.

As the director of the largest foundry in Naples and Ferrante's trusted master of artillery, Guglielmo was the natural choice to direct the construction of the bronze doors. Unlike Lorenzo Ghiberti's doors (Fig. 51) at the Florentine Baptistery (1429-52) or Filarete's doors (Fig. 52) at Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome (1433-45), Guglielmo Monaco's doors took on what most scholars consider to be an unprecedented shape, one which conformed to the format of the castle's arched entryway.²⁸⁵ Doors of this shape can, however, be found in Spain, Sicily, and Apulia.²⁸⁶

It is not certain whether Guglielmo visited Florence or Rome in preparation for this project, but his doors reveal knowledge of both Ghiberti's and Filarete's designs. Like Ghiberti, Guglielmo ornamented his doors with medallions and narrow borders decorated with candelabra, *putti*, and vegetal motifs. However, Guglielmo's doors constitute the earliest surviving instance of candelabra reliefs in bronze since antiquity (Fig. 53).²⁸⁷

The bronze doors of Castel Nuovo differ from the Florentine and Roman examples in important ways. Stylistically, Guglielmo was more influenced by Pisanello than by Florentine or *all'antica* tastes. Furthermore, Guglielmo's doors served, first and foremost, a defensive function for the residence of the King of Naples, unlike those of Ghiberti and Filarete, which were designed for a religious

²⁸⁵ I disagree with Barreto's argument that Guglielmo's doors borrow Andrea Mantegna's design for the Eremitani Chapel frescoes in Padua (1449). I think a more likely reason for Guglielmo's format is the predetermined shape of the castle entrance. Barreto, "La Porte," 123-6.

²⁸⁶ The bronze doors of the Monreale cathedral in Sicily by Bonanno of Pisa (1186), those of the cathedral of Trani in Apulia by Barisano da Trani (c. 1175), and the doors of the Palermo cathedral all echo the shape of Guglielmo's doors.

²⁸⁷ Santucci, 26, 3.

setting.²⁸⁸ The cannonball and punctures from spears and battering rams that have damaged the surface of the doors serve to remind the modern viewer of the critical defensive role this monument performed. Guglielmo's doors are, therefore, unprecedented for both their subject matter and context. They are the first bronze doors of the Renaissance to monumentalize the military victories of a living prince in a secular setting.²⁸⁹

Moreover, Guglielmo's designs derive from real events that the artist himself witnessed on the battlefield, a point that he highlighted by inscribing the motto NATVRAE NON ARTIS OPVS, "work of nature, not art," around the medallion depicting the Mountain of Diamonds, located in the top register of the left door (Fig. 54).²⁹⁰ In fact, one of the most masterful aspects of Guglielmo's doors is the precision with which he depicted the movements of horses and soldiers in battle and the details of armor and artillery he included. Guglielmo's first-hand experience with the events he portrayed invested the project with a level of authenticity and realism that no other artist in Naples at the time could have provided.²⁹¹

The doors are divided into six panels, each measuring 130 x 120 cm. They commemorate three major victories in Ferrante's war against baronial and Angevin forces: the attempted assassination of King Ferrante, and the battles of Accadia and

²⁸⁸ Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 44.

²⁸⁹ Joana Barreto describes Ferrante's doors as the mother of the chronological monument. Barreto, "La Porte," 136; Paoletta, 55; Biancale, 424.

²⁹⁰ An Aristotelian proclivity toward lived experience predominated at the late fifteenth-century Neapolitan court and can be discerned in many of Ferrante's artistic and literary commissions. Gennaro Toscano, *La Biblioteca Reale di Napoli al Tempo della Dinastia Aragonese: Napoli, Castel Nuovo, 30 Settembre-15 Dicembre 1998* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1998), 447; Bentley, 69.

²⁹¹ Serracapriola, 19-20; Paoletta, 59.

Troia.²⁹² The chronological order of the doors begins with the top two panels and ends with the middle ones in order to accentuate the crucial battle of Troia.

The upper left panel depicts the meeting between Ferrante and Marino Marzano, the Duke of Sessa, Prince of Rossano, and husband of Ferrante's sister, Eleonora d'Aragona (Fig. 55). Ferrante arranged to meet Marzano and his companions Giacomo di Montàgano and Diofèbo dell'Anguillara at Torricella on 30 May 1460 in order to establish a truce that would have ended the baronial revolt. King Ferrante is depicted at the right, raising his right hand in a sign of peace—a gesture echoed by his steed. The town of Teano and the small church of Torricella are shown in the background. One of Ferrante's soldiers stands guard near a tree in the upper right corner. The inscription below the panel reads: PRINCEPS CVM IACOBO CVM DIOFEBO QUEM DOLOSE VT REGEM PERMANT [PERIMANT] COLLOQVIVM SIMVLANT, "The Prince [of Rossano] with Giacomo [di Montàgano] and Diofèbo [dell'Anguillara] deceitfully feigned a meeting to extinguish the king."²⁹³

The top right panel depicts the result of this meeting. Rather than agreeing to a peace deal, Marzano and his men attacked Ferrante and the king barely escaped execution (Fig. 56). Ferrante is portrayed at left as a valiant knight, while Diofèbo charges the king and Marzano and Giacomo stand back at the right. Ferrante's soldiers, Count Giovanni Ventimiglia and Gregorio Coreglia, who had been hiding

²⁹² Santucci, 16.

²⁹³ Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are my own and are based on Paoletta's Italian translations, which are included in the footnotes. "Il Principe [di Rossano] con Giacomo [di Montàgno] e con Dèfobo [dell'Anguillara], per eliminare con la frode il Re, simula[no] un abboccamento." Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 140, Barreto, "La Porte," 124, 131; Serracapriola, 17; Paoletta, 18-19; Santucci, 18.

out of view, rush to the king's aid from the upper left. The inscription at the base of this panel reads: HOS REX MARTIPOTENS, ANIMOSIOR HECTORE CLARO, SENSIT VT INSIDIAS, ENSE MICANTE FUGAT, "The king, in war equal to Mars and more courageous than the noble Hector, put [his enemies] in flight with lances brandished, as [if he were] leader of the attack."²⁹⁴ This epigraph not only compares Ferrante to one of the greatest warriors of ancient mythology, it also recalls Mars Ultor, avenger of the death of Julius Caesar, who was assassinated by his alleged friend Marcus Junius Brutus.

Chronologically, the next panel is located at the bottom right (Fig. 57). The scene illustrates the battle at Accadia, the fief of Marino Marzano that was seized by Ferrante on 9 August 1462 after two weeks of fighting. The city of Accadia is shown in the background with the tents of the Aragonese camp depicted at the left. The portraits of Ferrante, Duke Alfonso II, and perhaps even Alessandro Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, were included in the right foreground, but the heads of those figures have been destroyed.

In the upper right portion of the panel, a group of men stand behind a canon, facing out of the picture, toward the viewer—a feature which has never before been acknowledged in the scholarship. I would argue that these figures represent a portrait group, similar in the playfulness of the poses and gestures to Filarete's portrait group on the back of his doors for Saint Peter's Basilica. I believe this group depicts Guglielmo in the foreground with his hand on the canon, surrounded by several

²⁹⁴ "Costoro il Re, in guerra pari a Marte e più coraggioso del nobile Ettore, mette in fuga col batenante brando, appena avuto senatore dell'agguato." Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 140; Serracapriola, 17; Paoletta, 18, 20-21.

members of his workshop, who may also have helped to cast the canons and artillery used in the war. With this portrait, Guglielmo indicates his authorship of the artillery used to win the battle of Accadia, as well as his transformation of that material of war into a pair of defensive bronze doors for the king. The inscription at the base of the panel also emphasizes the important role of Ferrante's military and, thus, of Guglielmo Monaco's work as master of artillery. It reads: AQVA DIAM FORTEM CEPIT REX FORTIOR VRBEM, ANDEGAVOS PELLENS VIRIBVS EXIMIIS, "Accadia, strong city seized by a stronger king, [who] drove out the Angevins with his grand militias."²⁹⁵

The aftermath of the Accadian battle is depicted on the bottom left panel (Fig. 58). Accadia is again shown in the background, while the defeated Angevin armies rush to flee the city in the upper left. The inscription reads: HINC TROIAM VERSVS MAGNO CONCVSSA TIMORE CASTRA MOVENT HOSTES NE SVBITO PEREANT, "The enemies moved their camp toward Troy, shaken by a great fear of immediate destruction."²⁹⁶

The small cut-away section of the left door (measuring approximately four and a half by three feet) was clearly modeled by a different hand with a shallower carving style than that used in the other panels.²⁹⁷ This utility door, known as a

²⁹⁵ "Accadia, forte città, un re più forte la prese; sloggiandone gli Angioni pur con le loro ingenti milizie." Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 142; Barreto, "La Porte," 124, 132; Paoletta, 24, 26, 29; Santucci, 18.

²⁹⁶ "Di qui [cioè da Accadia, raffigurata sia qui che nel precedente pannello, l'ultimo] i nemici muovono gli alloggiamenti verso Troia, sconvolti da grande paura al pensiero di un immediato disastro." Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 140; Paoletta, 29-31, 35.

²⁹⁷ Barreto suggests that Gregorio di Lorenzo (in Naples 1472) may have contributed to the *sportellino*. Barreto, "Artisan ou Artiste," 307.

wicket, or *sportellino*, is not found in either Ghiberti's or Filarete's doors, and it attests to the defensive function of Guglielmo's project. It would have allowed a single person to pass in or out of Castel Nuovo without exposing the castle to bombardment by a large group or cavalry.

The damage caused by the canon ball lodged in the center of this panel probably ensued after King Charles VIII of France looted the doors from Castel Nuovo in 1495. While attempting to transport the doors back to France, Charles' ships were bombarded by a Genovese fleet off the coast of Rapallo. The doors are believed to have been propped upright to shield the ship from canon fire when the damage occurred. The Genovese managed to save the doors and they returned them to Naples on 6 November 1495.²⁹⁸

The two central panels depict the culminating event in the war of succession, the battle of Troia on 18 August 1462. This battle resulted in a peace agreement between Ferrante and Giovanni Antonio Del Balzo Orsini, Prince of Taranto. Orsini's death the following year brought an end to the feudal revolt. The beginning of the battle is illustrated in the panel to the right (Fig. 59). The walled city of Troia is portrayed in the background, while the clash of Aragonese and Angevin forces

²⁹⁸ In his chronicle of 12 June 1503, however, Notar Giacomo claimed that the canon ball was lodged in the door when Spanish forces entered Castle Nuovo through the Torre dell'Oro and attacked the French armies who were inside. This account has been almost unanimously discarded, however, in light of the discovery of new evidence, including a record from Genoa of 17 July 1495 stating that a set of bronze doors valued at 20,000 ducats was pulled off the captured French ships. A letter sent to Francesco Gonzaga on 16 April 1495, which mentions the theft of Ferrante's bronze doors by Charles VIII, has also been published. Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 146-7; Santucci, 19; Minieri-Riccio, 10; Luigi Volpicella, "Le Porte di Castel Nuovo e il Bottino di Carlo VIII," *Napoli Nobilissima* 16 (MCMLXX), Fasc. XI-XII, 155-6; De Dominici, 15; Amirante, 17.

centers around the Sannoro River in the foreground. The Aragonese soldiers are shown on the right bank of the river, with a crowned and armor-clad King Ferrante in the central foreground. On the left bank, Jean d'Anjou, also armed for battle, is portrayed beneath his army's banner. An Angevin soldier flees the battlefield in the upper left corner as a group of Aragonese men pursues him.²⁹⁹ The inscription at the bottom of the panel reads: HOSTEM TROIANIS FERNANDVS VICIT IN ARVIS SICVT POMPE[I]UM C[A]ESAR IN EHACTIS, "Ferrante overcame his enemy in the fields of Troia, as Caesar had defeated Pompey in those of Thessaly."³⁰⁰ This comparison of Ferrante with Caesar implies a relationship between the latter's dissolution of Rome's republican government and the subsequent creation of the Roman Empire, and Ferrante's suppression of baronial insurrection in favor of his own monarchical government. As this monumental commission can attest, in the years immediately following his victory in the war of succession, Ferrante had begun to construct an artistic program that unambiguously presented him as the new Caesar.

The final panel, located at the center of the left door, depicts the culmination of the battle of Troia (Fig. 60). Ferrante is shown in the central foreground and his heir, Duke Alfonso II of Calabria, is located at Ferrante's right. The king is included again, in the upper left corner, following his troops into the walled city of Troia. This final epigraph is the only one written in the first person; it reads: TROIA DEDIT NOSTRO REQVIEM FINEMQVE LABORI IN QVA HOSTEM EVDI FORTITER

²⁹⁹ Maresca and Filangieri suggest that this portion of the panel portrays Ercole d'Este, Antonio Piccinino, Giovanni Cossa, and Gaspare Cossa chasing Jean d'Anjou off the battlefield. Serracapirola, 18; Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 146.

³⁰⁰ "Ferdinando vinse il nemico nei campi di Troia, come Cesare aveva vinto Pompeo in quelli tessalici." Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 146; Barreto, "La Porte," 124; Serracapirola, 18; Paoletta, 36-41; Santucci, 19.

AC PEPVLI, “Our labors ended and brought peace to Troia, where I courageously defeated the enemies, driving them out.”³⁰¹ The text takes the form, not of an historical or mythological account, but of a speech directly from the king to his subjects, reminding them of their indebtedness to him.

Fourteen medallions, located at the corners of the six main panels, originally adorned the doors. Two of these, which included portraits of King Ferrante and Queen Isabella, were located in the uppermost corners of the doors and have since been lost. They were likely looted by the Bourbons, since they were still *in situ* in the seventeenth century. The top row of medallions includes (Fig. 61): the Mount of Diamonds surrounded by the motto NATVRAE NON ARTIS OPVS, “Work of nature, not of art;” Ferrante’s coat of arms (including the crests of Jerusalem, Hungary, and Aragon); a dragon-crested helmet with the motto UNDE VITA TUA, “your life is here,” suggesting Ferrante’s wish to establish his reign in Neapolitan territory and not to expand his possessions as his father had; and the Siege Perilous, a device Ferrante borrowed from his father, which refers to his predestined succession to the throne. This first row of medallions, therefore, carries a message about Ferrante’s natural and legal rule as King of Naples, as well as his military competency to defend that position.

The central row of medallions (Fig. 62) includes the Node of Solomon or the Gordian Knot, perhaps referring to the unity of the chivalric orders; an open book (another iconographic element that Ferrante adopted from his father), which

³⁰¹ “Alle nostre fatiche fine e pace diede Troia, ove sgominai gagliardamente i nemici, scacciandoli.” Paoletta, 44-6; Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 146; Barreto, “La Porte,” 132-3.

symbolizes Ferrante's character as a learned king as well as a generous patron of the literary and book arts; an ermine bearing a banner that reads, PROBANDA, alluding to Ferrante's pure and virtuous character, as well as his founding of the chivalric Order of the Ermine; and a sheaf of millet, a symbol of prosperity and incorruptibility.³⁰² While the upper register of medallions focused on Ferrante's political station, the iconography of the central row of medallions relates more to the king's character—his learning, virtue, and fortune, in particular.³⁰³

The bottom row of medallions is the most enigmatic (Fig. 63). It includes a portrait of Guglielmo Monaco with the inscription, GVILLELMVS MONACHVS ME FECIT MILES, "Guglielmo Monaco, Knight, made me," which provides a *terminus post quem* for the bronze doors of 1473—the year in which Guglielmo received the title *Miles*. Also included among the bottom row of medallions are: a *putto* riding a dragon; a child wearing a toga; and a man in a laurel crown playing the

³⁰² Barreto, "La Porte," 127-8; Paoletta, 52.

³⁰³ The Mountain of Diamonds was a symbol of wealth, fertility, and legitimacy, but also an important cosmological symbol representing the center of the world and the connection between heaven, earth, and hell. The adoption of this emblem was intended to present the king as a mediator among the realms. The Node of Solomon was considered a mystical force, which permitted deities to master life and death and enabled control over one's enemies. Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 138; Barreto, "La Porte," 127; Serracapriola, 18; Paoletta, 48, 50; Santucci, 18; Livia Varga, "Messages of Legitimacy of King Ferdinand I of Naples (1458-94)," *Bonum ut Pulchrum: Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Livia Varga, László Beke, Anna Jávör, Pál Lövei, and Imre Takács (Budapest, Argumentum Publishing House: 2020), 373; Fusco, 22.

flute, perhaps symbolizing Ferrante's love of music.³⁰⁴ This lowest row of medallions has a strong *all'antica* tenor, though the lack of inscriptions accompanying the images makes an interpretation difficult.

In addition to the medallions that adorn Guglielmo's doors, narrow friezes decorated with candelabra, garland-bearing *putti*, and acanthus vines border the six main panels.³⁰⁵ Unlike the borders of Filarete's doors, which include small vignettes of humans and animals from classical literature encircled by acanthus spirals, Guglielmo's doors depict busts of humans and animals sprouting from the centers of flowers (Fig. 64). Thus, the decorative elements that adorn the six central panels of Guglielmo's doors, together with the Latin inscriptions that comment on the events depicted therein, serve to situate Ferrante's major military triumphs in dialogue with those of the heroes of ancient Rome.

It is worth noting that Ferrante chose not to commemorate the battle of Ischia—the final victory in his war against Jean d'Anjou—on his bronze doors. Instead, the doors focus on the attempted assassination of the king by his brother-in-law, Marino Marzano, the king's seizure of Marzano's fief less than three months later, and the suppression of the baronial revolt as a result of the battle of Troia. Although both the battles of Accadia and Troia depict Aragonese forces fighting those of Jean d'Anjou, those troops were largely fighting on behalf of the barons, who

³⁰⁴ Despite the inclusion of his portrait on the doors, Barreto still maintains that Guglielmo had no role in the designs or modeling of the doors, only in the casting process. Barreto, "La Porte," 126-8; Paoletta, 49, 52, 54; Santucci, 18-23; Joana Barreto, "Pouvoir Monarchique et Creation Artistique: Deux Souverainetes Concurrentes au Sein du Castelnuovo de Naples au XV Siecle," *Humanistica* 5, n. 2 (2010), 21, 24-5; Varga, 373; Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 140; Serracapiola, 18.

³⁰⁵ Barreto asserts that a similar frieze can be found at San Giovanni a Carbonara. Barreto, "La Porte," 128-30.

had called Jean to Italy in the first place—the Angevin and baronial forces worked together to overthrow Ferrante.

Ferrante's bronze doors are, therefore, less concerned with commemorating the Aragonese defeat of Angevin forces, and have more to do with Ferrante's suppression of baronial rebellion. In this way, the doors coincide with the king's creation of the chivalric Order of the Ermine in 1465, the main goal of which was to repress and control the feudal lords of the Kingdom of Naples.³⁰⁶ When read within the context of their physical surroundings and their placement directly beneath the coronation scene on Ferrante's arch, the doors serve as proof of Ferrante's virtue, bravery, strength, and legitimate right to the throne of Naples. The two projects form a unified artistic program that illustrates Ferrante's entitlement to the throne by virtue of his paternal inheritance and his own re-conquest of the kingdom.³⁰⁷

This proclamation of Ferrante's legitimacy was targeted for the select audience that had access to the entrance to the royal residence. The bronze doors and coronation arch were not public monuments. They were located within the walls of

³⁰⁶ Barreto argues that the top two panels of the bronze doors depict Ferrante's battle against his barons while the other four demonstrate the clash of Aragonese and Angevin armies. Yet, the battles of Accadia and Troia were decisive events that led to the end of the baronial rebellion. In fact, the war against Angevin forces continued for two years after the battle of Troia. If Ferrante was concerned with demonstrating his victory over the House of Anjou, he surely would have chosen to illustrate the Battle of Ischia, instead. Barretto, "La Porte," 127.

³⁰⁷ Barreto claims that the bronze doors are not a work of propaganda, and that they are merely meant to impress, rather than persuade. I would argue, on the contrary, that when viewed in the context of Ferrante's political history and their placement below the king's arch, the doors serve as concrete evidence of Ferrante's right to the kingdom. It is difficult to imagine that a work of this magnitude and expenditure would be created without propagandistic value in mind, especially given the political turbulence and financial exigencies of Ferrante's first decade on the throne. Barretto, "La Porte," 136.

the *cittàdella*, the highest security zone in the city of Naples. Thus, they would only have been seen by courtiers, barons, administrative officials, and visitors or ambassadors to the court. In their depiction of Ferrante's treatment of his enemies, the doors remind viewers of the grave consequences inflicted on anyone who dared to commit treason against the king. In fact, the Quattrocento viewer of Ferrante's doors stood in a position of considerable vulnerability—directly below the *saracinesca* grate that would be dropped down to protect the castle from attack, and spigots that were opened to release a flood of boiling oil on intruders.³⁰⁸

Vicinity to King Ferrante was a great privilege that brought with it enormous social and economic advantages, as well as a sense of unease. Ferrante's court artists Pietro da Milano and Guglielmo Monaco acquired substantial wealth, privileges, and properties as a result of their positions at the Neapolitan court. As the primary artists tasked with designing and directing Ferrante's first major artistic commissions following the end of his war of succession, Pietro and Guglielmo played a crucial role in constructing the new king's iconography. The expression of Ferrante's legitimacy, his continuity with Alfonso I, re-conquest of the kingdom, suppression of baronial revolt, and his self-fashioning as the new Caesar were central to Pietro's and Guglielmo's projects for Castel Nuovo. Such themes came to characterize the exuberant post-war years of Ferrante's reign. These projects set the stage for the emergence of a much more politically powerful King Ferrante who would spend the next decade building alliances and expanding his authority and wealth.

³⁰⁸ Serracapriola, 21-2; Paoletta, 13.

Chapter 4: A Decade of Consolidation, the 1470s

The program of art and architectural renewal that Ferrante began after his final victory in the war of succession reached the height of its intensity in the 1470s, a decade largely devoted to developing political alliances and growing the kingdom's economy. Ferrante's new projects for this decade included renovations to the royal chapel of Castel Nuovo, which had been severely damaged by an earthquake on 4 December 1456, as well as portrait busts of his daughters, a Flemish tapestry series, and new coinage designs modeled on those of ancient Rome.³⁰⁹ These projects, and the artists chosen to complete them, reveal the wide range of Ferrante's tastes, incorporating antique, fifteenth-century Neapolitan, French, and Flemish styles. The types of commissions, too, reveal a politically savvy king at the height of his power, who has entered into the political circles of the western world's most powerful sovereigns. Throughout the 1470s the future of the Kingdom of Naples looked bright, indeed.

Renovations to the Cappella Palatina

The façade of the Cappella Palatina at Castel Nuovo (Fig. 65), also known as the Santa Barbara Chapel, was the focus of Ferrante's rebuilding efforts at the beginning of the decade. It was executed in several phases, beginning in the 1440s-1450s under the patronage of King Alfonso I. Krufft dates the portal's columns and pedestals,

³⁰⁹ Additionally, around 1473 Pietro da Milano created seven marble windows for the new *sala del descubrirer*, or Room of Discovery, that Ferrante had built at Castel Nuovo. Barone, "Le Cedole," 387; Minieri-Riccio, 6; Hollingsworth, 189; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 80-82.

which several scholars have attributed to Andrea dell'Aquila, to about 1452. The left column base is carved in low relief with portraits in the elegant, courtly style of Pisanello. The sides of the pedestal depict a bearded man (Fig. 66), identified by Kruft as Emperor Sigismund, and a much younger man wearing a large bowler hat with a feather (Fig. 67).³¹⁰ Portraits in a more classicizing hand adorn the faces of the right column base. The relief on the left depicts the profile of a man wearing a laurel crown (Fig. 68), and that on the right presents a double portrait of two men, one wearing a helmet and another with long curly hair (Fig. 69). The faces of both men are, unfortunately, damaged beyond recognition. The front faces of both pedestals are carved with the *all'antica* images of figures on horseback and centaurs pulling a cupid and personification of abundance in a chariot.

The frieze directly above the lintel (Fig. 70) depicts scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration, Resurrection, Ascension, and two badly damaged scenes at the far right likely illustrate the Death and Assumption of the Virgin. The frieze bears large fissures that are especially profound at the far right and left. These sections suggest earthquake damage and, therefore, it seems likely that the frieze was installed before 1456. Because the lunette directly above the frieze presents no sign of earthquake damage, I would argue that it was completed after 1456, and thus during Ferrante's reign. Although no documents survive for the commission of the portal sculpture, Isaia da Pisa has been credited with the frieze, and the lunette has been attributed separately to Antonio di Chelino, Isaia da Pisa, Paolo Romano, Andrea

³¹⁰ Hanno-Walter Kruft and Magne Malmanger, "Das Portal der Cappella di Santa Barbara im Castelnuovo zu Neapel," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Atrium Historiam Pertinentia*, Series 4, v. 6 (1975), 307-308, 310-313.

dell’Aquila, and Francesco Laurana.³¹¹ The latter seems most likely, on the basis of stylistic comparison with contemporary projects, such as his *Madonna and Child* for the church of Sant’Agostino della Zecca, as well as the documentary evidence that places him in King Ferrante’s employ from the 1460s to 1480s. If this hypothesis is correct, the lunette of the Capella Palatina portal most likely dates to 1466-8, when Laurana is also believed to have created the relief of the shield-bearing putti for Ferrante’s coronation arch.

The Cappella Palatina lunette depicts the Virgin and Child surrounded by a chorus of angels (Fig. 71). The angel to the right of the Virgin tenderly plucks a *psaltery* while the angel to her left plays a small instrument resembling castanets or bells. The voices of ten other angels complete the melodious ensemble. The most striking feature of the lunette is the way in which the Virgin, Christ Child, and several angels gaze intently in the direction of King Ferrante’s apartments and the stairwell that leads to the Sala dei Baroni. The attention of the holy figures is focused, not on the visitor to the royal chapel, but toward the administrative heart of the kingdom.

³¹¹ Krufft dates the lunette to the 1450s; Valentiner dates it to c. 1458-60 and attributes it to Antonio di Chelino; Bologna and Arnoldi both attribute the entire portal to Andrea dell’Aquila, though they date it to the 1460s and 1470s respectively. Barreto argues, instead, that the portal was a collaborative effort on the part of Francesco Laurana, Andrea dell’Aquila, and Isaia da Pisa; she dates it to 1465-74. Krufft and Malmanger, “Das Portal,” 307-308, 310-311, 313; Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 169; Renata Novak Klemenčič, “Francesco Laurana,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, v. 64 (2005), 60; Joana Barreto, “Pouvoir Monarchique et Creation Artistique: Deux Souverainetes Concurrentes au Sein du Castelnuovo de Naples Au XV Siecle,” *Humanistica: An International Journal of Early Renaissance Studies* 5, n. 2 (2010), 20; Francesco Negri Arnoldi, “La Scultura del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento,” in *Il Rinascimento e l’Età Barocca*, edited by Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1994), 144; Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner, “Andrea dell’Aquila Painter and Sculptor,” *The Art Bulletin* 19, n. 4 (1937), 517; Bologna, *Napoli e le Rotte Mediterranee*, 110.

When ascending the stairs to the Sala dei Baroni, one experiences an acute awareness of the vigilant gazes of the Madonna and Child, composed to inspire virtuous behavior among the kingdom's bureaucrats.

From November 1469 to March 1470, the Catalan sculptor Matteo Forcimanya constructed and installed a new rose window in the chapel's façade (Fig. 72), replacing the original Angevin one that was presumably destroyed in the 1456 earthquake.³¹² Forcimanya's window is composed around a flower with eight petals, growing outward into alternating quatrefoil florets and tripartite-ovoid forms.

The Cappella Palatina portal received its final addition in 1474. The Dalmatian artist, Francesco Laurana, was paid 50 ducats for a marble sculpture of the *Madonna and Child* ("Virgine SS. col Cristo in seno") for the chapel's portal, which he carved in Sicily and delivered by 26 March 1474 (Fig. 73).³¹³ Laurana's small *Madonna* is enveloped in heavy drapery that cascades down her slender figure, spilling over the sculpture's base. With heavy, downcast eyes and a somber expression she gazes at her outstretched right hand, on which a bird was probably originally perched. In her left arm, the Virgin holds the Christ Child, whose arms

³¹² In contrast to the court of Alfonso I, Forcimanya was the only Catalan artist hired by Ferrante during his long reign. According to De Castris, Forcimanya also constructed the loggia of the Torre di Mare during his tenure at Ferrante's court. Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 60, 169; Kruft and Malmanger, "Das Portal," 307; Venditti and Cundari, "Un Castello per la Città," 11; Pierluigi Leone de Castris, "Napoli Capitale Mediterranea: La Pittura al Tempo di Alfonso e Ferrante d'Aragona," in *Quattrocento Aragonese: La Pittura a Napoli al Tempo di Alfonso e Ferrante d'Aragona*, edited by Pierluigi Leone de Castris (Napoli, Electa: 1997), 118.

³¹³ Although the sculpture was documented as being installed in 1474, Causa claims that it bears the inscribed date of 1471. Raffaello Causa, "Sagrera, Laurana e L'Arco di Castelnuovo," *Paragone* 55 (1954), 18; Barone, "Le Cedole," 397.

have been lost. Both figures have lost their original pigment and gilding.³¹⁴ Matteo Forcimanya installed the sculpture in a simple arched niche on the chapel's façade on 20 April 1474.³¹⁵

Although the figures are badly corroded due to centuries of exposure, one can still see evidence of Francesco Laurana's stylistic development, resulting from his years in France and his knowledge of Domenico Gagini's and Antonello da Messina's work in Sicily.³¹⁶ The Cappella Palatina *Madonna* bridges the gap between Laurana's early work in Naples—such as the crude but individualized figure of the Tunisian emissaries on Alfonso's triumphal arch (Fig. 74)—and the elegant portraits of the Aragonese princesses from the later 1470s and 1480s, which comprise the apex of his *oeuvre*. Completed just years before the Aragonese portrait busts, the head of the Cappella Palatina *Madonna* reveals Laurana's early experimentation with the delicate, abstracted facial features and heavy, downcast eyes, for which the artist would come to be so well known.

Six years after Laurana's *Madonna and Child* was installed on the Cappella Palatina façade, Ferrante commissioned a new tabernacle for the interior of the royal chapel (Fig. 75). Fortunately, a more secure provenance record survives for this project than for Domenico Gagini's earlier tabernacle. An entry in the *Cedole della*

³¹⁴ The sculpture was cleaned in 1986-9. Damianaki, 22.

³¹⁵ Kruft and Malmanger, "Das Portal," 307; Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 169; Klemenčič, "Francesco Laurana," 60; Chrysa Damianaki, *The Female Portrait Busts of Francesco Laurana* (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 2000), 17, 22.

³¹⁶ Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Un Museo della scultura rinascimentale napoletana*, 96.

Tesoreria from 25 October 1481 records that Jacopo della Pila received 17 ducats, 2 *tari*, and 10 *grana* for his new *Cappella Palatina Tabernacle*.³¹⁷

Jacopo della Pila was one of the most prolific and best documented of Ferrante's artists, though the *Cappella Palatina* tabernacle is his only surviving royal commission. He was born in Milan and likely trained in Rome in the circle of Andrea Bregno. He was active in Naples from 1470 until 1502 and had begun working for Ferrante by at least 1473. Jacopo was first commissioned by Ferrante to build fountains for the gardens of Castel Nuovo, and the last document of his activity at the Neapolitan court dates to 1488 and relates to the *Porta Capuana* project.³¹⁸

Jacopo's *Cappella Palatina* tabernacle pays homage to Gagini's earlier design through its lunette of God the Father holding an orb (Fig. 76), and the narrative frieze flanked by King Ferrante's coat of arms on the base. A frieze of cherubim and cornucopias separates God the Father from the central panel of the tabernacle, which is framed by statues of Saints Peter, Paul, Andrew, and James.³¹⁹ The central panel depicts a rectangular forced-perspective space with a coffered ceiling (Fig. 77). The

³¹⁷ Barone, "Le Cedole," 417.

³¹⁸ Jacopo is recorded as having reassembled a supply of marbles ("rimonta una fornitura di marmi") for the *Porta Capuana*. In addition to his royal commissions, Jacopo was hired by several Neapolitan nobles to build funerary monuments throughout Naples and the surrounding region. In the early 1470s he constructed tombs for the Bishop of Piscitelli in the Duomo of Salerno and for Giovanni Cavaniglia (Cabaniglia) at Santa Maria di Monteoliveto in Naples. Around 1481 he built a tomb for Diego Cavaniglia in the convent of San Francesco, near Montella, and a decade later he was commissioned to erect tombs for Diomedea Carafa and Matteo Ferrillo at the Neapolitan churches of San Domenico Maggiore and Santa Maria la Nova. Jacopo's final project in Naples was probably the altar of Iacopo Rocco at San Pietro Martire, which he completed in 1502. De Castris, *Castel Nuovo*, 108; Riccardo Naldi, "Due Virtù, e Qualche Notizia di Iacopo della Pila," *Percorsi di Conoscenza e Tutela: Studi in Onore di Michele d'Elia* (2008), 111-14.

³¹⁹ The tabernacle measures 268 x 132 cm. De Castris, *Castel Nuovo*, 108.

walls are lined with shallow arched niches, out of which two galleries of angels emerge. At the rear of this fictive architectural space, the dove of the Holy Spirit appears in a lunette above a rectangular niche for the Host—a kind of meta-composition that mimics the form of the tabernacle itself.

The base of the tabernacle comprises a relief of the Last Supper (Fig. 78), flanked by King Ferrante's coat of arms. In the Last Supper frieze, Christ is seated at the center of a table with one of his apostles collapsing across his lap. The other apostles gesture emphatically and gaze intently at Christ as they learn of his impending death. This scene of the living Christ in Holy Communion with his apostles establishes a direct correlation among Christ's Last Supper, the Host, the Holy Spirit, and God the Father. Through the prominent placement of King Ferrante's coat of arms on the tabernacle's base, Ferrante, too, becomes complicit in the Eucharistic program of Jacopo della Pila's tabernacle.

Francesco Laurana's Female Portrait Busts

After completing his *Madonna and Child* for the Cappella Palatina portal, Francesco Laurana was hired by King Ferrante to produce a series of portrait busts of the Aragonese princesses and, perhaps, the young Prince Federico.³²⁰ As highly effective tools in the negotiation of marriage alliances, the busts were central to Ferrante's

³²⁰ Hersey is the first to add the *Portrait of a Boy* at the Galleria Nazionale dell'Arte della Sicilia, in Palermo, to this group of busts. He identifies the portrait as that of the young Prince Federico, and dates it to c. 1487-9. Hersey argues that the *Portrait of a Boy*, along with the *Portrait of a Woman* in the same museum, may have been taken to the Sicilian monastery at Mazzara del Vallo by Alfonso II after his abdication from the throne. George L. Hersey, *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples, 1485-1495* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 32-3.

political maneuvers.³²¹ The busts number among the earliest and most exquisite examples of female portraiture to survive from the fifteenth-century.

Francesco Laurana was born in Vrana, Dalmatia and most likely trained in Zadar under Giorgio da Sebenico, the director of the Šibenik cathedral workshop. By 1450 he was probably working in Pietro da Milano's workshop in Ragusa.³²² In his first documented project, in the 1450s, Laurana was employed as a member of the triumphal arch workshop in Naples. Laurana's early work reveals a combination of Venetian Gothic and ancient Roman influences, and during his years in Naples he was deeply affected by the classical elegance of Domenico Gagini's work and the pigmentation techniques of Catalan sculptors, among others.³²³

Laurana's career as a portraitist began during his tenure at the Provençal court of Duke René d'Anjou, where he fled with Pietro da Milano sometime before 1461.³²⁴ During his years as René's court artist, Laurana produced numerous portrait

³²¹ According to Brezeviczy, Ferrante had difficulty marrying off his daughters due to their less than desirable appearances. Laurana's portrait busts were, therefore, intended to ease the princesses' problematic marriage negotiations. Alberto De Brezeviczy, "Rapporti Storici fra Napoli e l'Ungheria nell'Epoca degli Aragonesi (1442-1501)," *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana*, 58 (1928), 185-6; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 31.

³²² Gvozdanovic asserts that Laurana was born in the early 1420s, possibly to the sculptor and goldsmith Martin Lapidica, father of Luciano Laurana. Burger argues that Laurana's apprenticeship was in Venice rather than Dalmatia. Fritz Burger, *Francesco Laurana: Eine Studie zur Italienischen Quattrocentoskulptur* (Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1907), 9; Hanno-Walter Kruft and Magne Malmanger, "Francesco Laurana: Beginnings in Naples," *Burlington Magazine* 116, n. 850 (1974), 9-10; Vladimir Gvozdanovic, "The Dalmatian Works of Pietro da Milano and the Beginnings of Francesco Laurana," *Arte Lombarda* (1975), 113-14; Klemenčič, "Francesco Laurana," 55-7; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 75-5.

³²³ Burger, *Francesco Laurana*, 9-10; Kruft and Malmanger, "Francesco Laurana," 9; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 75-7.

³²⁴ Burger, *Francesco Laurana*, 71; Kruft and Malmanger, "Francesco Laurana," 10; Klemenčič, "Francesco Laurana," 57; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 75-7.

medals for the Angevin court. In this period his style came to reflect a new awareness of Flemish realism combined with the courtly elegance characteristic of the portrait medals of Pisanello and the work of Laurana's contemporaries in Provence.³²⁵

It was during his first Sicilian period (1468-71) that Laurana began experimenting with the abstracted ovoid facial type that would come to characterize his busts of the Aragonese princesses. His *Noto Madonna* (Fig. 79) and *Bust of a Young Lady* (c. 1469) in Palermo (Fig. 80) reveal some of the earliest manifestations of these experiments.³²⁶ The late 1460s were a particularly transformative time for Laurana, due to his first contact with Antonello da Messina's work in Sicily. Although the specific nature of the artists' interactions is not known, the growing plasticity of Antonello's figural style and the increased painterly grace of Laurana's portraits in this period reveal the mutual influences they had on one another.³²⁷

Francesco Laurana continued to take commissions in Naples throughout his life and was identified as "civitatis Neapoli" in a document dated July 1493. After his initial work in the capital in the 1450s, he is believed to have returned from at least 1466 until 1468, again in 1472-6, and perhaps intermittently during the 1480s and 1490s. The 1470s and 1480s were the most prolific decades of Laurana's career as a

³²⁵ Laurana was deeply affected by his years in France, where, as Patera suggests, he may have come in contact with Petrus Christus. Benedetto Patera, "Sui Rapporti tra Antonello da Messina e Francesco Laurana," in *Antonello da Messina: Atti del Convegno di Studi Tenuto a Messina dal 29 Novembre al 2 Dicembre 1981* (Messina: Università degli Studi di Messina, 1987), 335; Klemenčič, "Francesco Laurana," 58; Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 75-7; Damianaki, 12-7.

³²⁶ Damianaki, 19-20.

³²⁷ Although the artists may have met in Naples in the 1450s, when Antonello was apprenticed to Colantonio's workshop, this hypothetical encounter does not seem to have resulted in any major impact on either artist. Patera suggests that the artists were aware of each other's work in Sicily in the late 1460s without ever having formulated an official partnership. Patera, "Sui Rapporti," 329, 337-8; Damianaki, 20-21.

portraitist.³²⁸ In addition to the busts of the Aragonese princesses he created during these years, Laurana is also credited with the *Portrait of Francesco II del Balzo* (1473-4), which reveals the artist's characteristic poetic idealization and emphasis on the sitter's inner-psychology (Fig. 81).³²⁹

At least nine portrait busts attributed to Francesco Laurana survive among museums in Palermo, Florence, Vienna, Berlin, Washington, D.C., Paris, and New York. Damianaki has argued convincingly, however, that four of these (those in the Louvre, Musée Jacquemart-André, the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, and the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) should be attributed to different artists.³³⁰ Without

³²⁸ Laurana returned to Sicily in 1495 and is documented in Marseilles by 1500. He died in Avignon on 12 March 1502. Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch*, 75-7; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 31; Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner, "Laurana's Portrait Busts of Women," *The Art Quarterly* V, no. 4 (1942), 280; Barreto, *La Majesté en Images*, 330-331. Patera, "Sui Rapporti," 335.

³²⁹ Damianaki, 23-4.

³³⁰ Damianaki argues that the bust in the Louvre is a fifteenth-century copy by Tommaso Malvito da Como, one of the most prolific Neapolitan sculptors of the period who trained with Laurana in France and is documented as having produced a now-lost bust of Beatrice Nolana for her tomb in 1499. The Louvre bust was first recorded at the Palace of Versailles in 1818 and was attributed to Laurana by Wilhelm von Bode in 1888. Rolfs and Hersey suggest the bust was stolen from Naples by Charles VIII in 1495 and taken to the Château d'Amboise.

The Berlin, Washington, D.C., and Musée Jacquemart-André busts have not been questioned since their attribution to Laurana by Bode in 1888. The Berlin bust was purchased by Bode from Florence in 1877, where it had been labeled as a portrait of Marietta Strozzi by Desiderio da Settignano. Damianaki associates this bust with a group of forgeries made by the Florentine sculptor Odoardo Fantacchiotti, who specialized in the styles of Desiderio da Settignano and Antonio Rossellino in the 1840s and 1850s. The Mellon bust in Washington, D.C. was purchased by the Florentine art dealer Stefano Bardini from Ciampolini in 1884. It sold, together with a male portrait bust, for 25,000 Lire. Both busts were identified as forgeries by Italo Palmerini, the Florentine officer of the Ufficio per l'Esportazione degli Oggetti di Antichità e d'Arte. They were exported to Paris in 1909 where they were sold to Jacques Seligman and later to Thomas Fortune Ryan, who then re-sold them in 1933. The male bust sold for \$16,000, and the female bust was purchased for \$102,500 by Lewis Duveen. The latter passed into the Mellon collection and then to the National

having had the opportunity to conduct an in-depth technical analysis of each of the busts myself, as Damianaki has done, I am persuaded by her revised attributions, which leaves only five female portrait busts that can be convincingly attributed to Francesco Laurana.

Damianaki's chronology of Laurana's portrait busts begins with the *Portrait of a Lady* (Fig. 80) in the Galleria Nazionale, Palermo, which she dates to the late 1460s.³³¹ Before entering the Galleria Nazionale in the nineteenth century, the bust adorned the tomb of Eleonora d'Aragona of Sciacca (d. 1404/5) at the convent of Santa Maria del Bosco. It has been proposed that the bust was taken to Sicily by Alfonso II upon his abdication from the throne, and was later moved to Eleonora d'Aragona's tomb in the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

Although the circumstances of the bust's commission remain unknown, it has been identified as either Alfonso's wife or his daughter Isabella, thus explaining its hypothetical transfer to Sicily by the former king.³³² Given that Isabella d'Aragona

Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. The male bust was identified by Valentiner as a portrait of Duke Alfonso II by Pietro da Milano, but according to Damianaki, both the Berlin and Mellon busts are copies based on plaster casts of Laurana's busts in Vienna or the Bargello museum.

Finally, the bust in the Musée Jacquemart-André is of a poor quality marble with the back of the head left unfinished. It was purchased by Madame André from Stefano Bardini in Florence in 1885. Both Krufft and Burger doubted its authenticity, and Damianaki reaffirms that the bust is a forgery. Valentiner, "Andrea dell'Aquila," 509; Damianaki, 93-6, 101-102, 104, 107-112; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 33.

³³¹ The Palermo bust measures 42.5 cm. tall, by 40 cm. wide. Seymour and Valentiner, on the contrary, date this bust to c. 1487-9, placing it at the end of Laurana's series of female portrait busts. They both identify the portrait as that of Isabella d'Aragona and identify it with the Paris and Vienna busts, claiming that all three depict the same sitter. Valentiner, "Laurana's Portrait Busts," 283-4, 287, 291-3; Seymour, 164-5; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 34, 36; Damianaki, 51-2.

³³² The identification of the Palermo bust as Ippolita Sforza is supported by a portrait of the duchess in a copy of Servius' commentaries on Virgil, given to her by her

was not born until 1470, it is more likely that the Palermo bust, if it does indeed date to the late 1460s, portrays Alfonso's wife, Ippolita Sforza, whom he married in October 1465.³³³ It was precisely at this time, in fact, that Francesco Laurana may have returned to Naples following his tenure at the court of René d'Anjou, as Pietro da Milano had also done. Laurana probably worked in Naples from 1466 until 1468, at which time he likely created the shield-bearing putti of Ferrante's coronation arch, the lunette of the Capella Palatina façade, as well as this portrait bust of Duchess Ippolita Maria Sforza.³³⁴

Although the Palermo bust no longer retains its pigment, the carving finishes of the dress and headdress, as well as the undrilled irises of the eyes, suggest that the sculpture would have been painted. Furthermore, the *cofia de tranzado* (or *trinziale*) worn on the sitter's head was likely decorated with wax flowers or gems, similar to the Vienna bust.³³⁵ As Damianaki has argued, the Palermo bust is both technically and stylistically inferior to the Vienna and New York busts. This fact, as well as its similarity to the *Noto Madonna*, dated 1471, suggest that the *Portrait of a Lady* in Palermo was carved around 1470.³³⁶

father on 10 June 1465 (now cod. Lat. XV., 780, Biblioteca Universitaria, Valencia). Valentiner, "Laurana's Portrait Busts," 283-4, 287, 291-3; Damianaki, 51-2; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 34, 36; Charles Seymour, *Sculpture in Italy, 1400-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 164-5.

³³³ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 164-72, 201, 252-62.

³³⁴ Damianaki proposes, on the contrary, that the bust may have been carved in Sciacca, where Laurana was documented in May 1468. She suggests that it may have been commissioned by the Lord of Sciacca, Carlo Luna, of the Sicilian branch of the Aragonese family, for Eleonora d'Aragona's tomb. Damianaki, 52-3.

³³⁵ At the time of Rolfs' analysis in 1907, however, traces of color still remained on the sitter's dress. Damianaki, 51-2.

³³⁶ Damianaki proposes that the Palermo bust may have been completed with the help of an assistant. Damianaki, 53-4.

Soon after completing the *Noto Madonna*, Laurana probably traveled to Urbino to carve a bust of Battista Sforza (Fig. 82), wife of Duke Federico da Montefeltro of Urbino, who died on 6 July 1472. This bust, now held in the Bargello Museum, Florence, is based on a terracotta death mask in the Louvre.³³⁷ Battista Sforza's posthumous portrait, like the Frick bust, is situated atop a pedestal that bears the inscription: DIVA BAPTISTA SFORTIA VRB RG. I would argue that the pedestals of the Bargello and Frick busts, the latter of which is adorned with a narrative relief rather than an inscription, allude to their memorial function, in contrast to the betrothal busts of the Aragonese princesses.

It is not certain whether Laurana carved Battista Sforza's portrait in Urbino or Naples, though he was recorded back in Naples by 1474 in connection with his *Madonna and Child* for the Cappella Palatina. At this same time Federico da Montefeltro's court architect, Luciano Laurana, also relocated to Naples to work temporarily as Ferrante's master of artillery. Francesco Laurana likely remained in Naples approximately four years, and during this period he carved two portrait busts of the Aragonese princesses Eleonora and Beatrice (Figs. 83 & 84).

No documentation survives for either of these busts, but they are identified as those currently held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna and the Frick Collection, New York. The bust of Beatrice at the Frick includes an inscription

³³⁷ The portrait of Battista Sforza measures 49 cm. (H) x 52 cm (W) (including the base). It was first recorded in a 1599 inventory of the Ducal palace in Urbino, and was first identified as a portrait of Battista Sforza in a 1609 inventory. Damianaki believes the bust was located in a niche at the Ducal palace, or on Battista's tomb at Santa Chiara. Seymour also dated Battista's bust to after 1472 in Naples or Urbino, though he believed it was the first of Laurana's female portraits. Damianaki, 55-6, 59, 61; Seymour, 164-5.

identifying the sitter, while that of Eleonora has been identified on the basis of its provenance and by comparison to other known portraits, namely a profile relief attributed to Sperandio Savelli in the Rijksmuseum (Fig. 85), a portrait medal designed by Cosmè Tura (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles), and a portrait by the same artist (Fig. 86) in a copy of Antonio Cornazzano's *Del Modo di Regere e di Regnare* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, m 731, c. 2v).³³⁸

The Vienna bust was first documented in an inventory of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm's collection, dated 14 July 1659 (Fig. 83).³³⁹ The bust portrays Eleonora of Aragon, the eldest daughter of King Ferrante and Queen Isabella di Chiaromonte.³⁴⁰ It was probably carved in Naples around 1473 and sent to Ferrara after Eleonora's betrothal to Duke Ercole d'Este. The duke commissioned his own portrait, and that of

³³⁸ The Vienna bust was first identified by Burger (1907) as a portrait of a Florentine member of the Bardi family, and by Rolfs in that same year as Beatrice d'Aragona. Valentiner and Seymour identified the Vienna bust as Isabella d'Aragona (c. 1478) and Hersey named the sitter Ippolita Sforza. Both Damianaki and Barreto, however, identify the bust as a portrait of Eleonora. Valentiner dates the bust of Beatrice at the Frick to c. 1473. Valentiner, "Laurana's Portrait Busts," 283-4, 287, 291-3; Damianaki, 51-2, 73; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 32, 34, 36; Barreto, *La Majesté en Images*, 331.

³³⁹ The bust was originally believed to depict an English woman because Wilhelm had purchased it from King Charles I of England, who had acquired a number of artworks from the Dukes of Mantua around 1628. It passed from Leopold Wilhelm into the collection of Franz Ferdinand II at Ambras Castle, which was transferred to Vienna around 1794-7 and was subsumed under the Hofmuseum (or Kunsthistorisches Museum) of Vienna in 1891. Damianaki, 11, 18, 27, 66-7.

³⁴⁰ Götz-Mohr argues, however, that the Vienna bust was based on an anonymous sketch of Petrarch's Laura in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, which she dates to 1463 in Siena. She associates Laurana's bust with fifteenth-century debates about Laura's existence without fully explaining the context for the bust's commission or the reasons for its departure, in terms of function, from the other busts in Laurana's series. She suggests that it was produced for the court of Milan, a center for the debate about Laura's existence. Britta von Götz-Mohr, "Laura Laurana: Francesco Lauranas Weiner Porträtbüste und die Frage der wahren Existenz von Petrarcas Laura im Quattrocento," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 14 (1993), 162-6.

his illegitimate daughter Lucrezia, to the court artist Cosmè Tura in 1472, sending both paintings to his fiancée upon completion. Eleonora's bust may have been taken to Mantua by her daughter, Isabella d'Este, at the time of her marriage to Duke Francesco Gonzaga in 1490.³⁴¹ Indeed, "due teste" of Eleonora and Ercole were recorded in inventories of the Gonzaga palace in Mantua in 1494 and 1561.³⁴²

Eleonora's portrait is the best preserved of all Laurana's busts and is one of the most stunning examples of fifteenth-century Italian female portraiture due to the rare survival of much of its original pigmentation (Fig. 87).³⁴³ It was carved from Carrara marble and has been hollowed out on the bottom to create a more stable base. The Vienna bust includes slightly more of the chest and arms than that of Battista Sforza, terminating just below the breasts in a semi-circular form, like ancient Roman busts. According to Damianaki's analysis, the sculpture was intended to be seen from all sides and would have been placed at eye-level, perhaps projecting out slightly from an architectural niche.³⁴⁴

Eleonora would have been twenty-three years old when her portrait was carved. In it she wears a *cotta*, which was typically made of sumptuously

³⁴¹ Eleonora's marriage was first proposed in 1472 when Ercole's ambassador, Ugolotto Facino, visited Naples. From March to June 1473, after the marriage contract was signed, many expenses for Eleonora's *fiesta* were recorded. It was probably during this period that her portrait was commissioned. Damianaki, 74.

³⁴² Damianaki, 11, 18, 27, 66-7.

³⁴³ The bust measures 44.5 x 33 cm. (with a face 16 cm. long and a torso 18 cm. long and 33 cm. wide). It was cleaned and restored in 1983. Laurana probably learned Flemish pigmentation techniques during his first stay in Naples in the 1450s, where he worked with Catalan sculptors who were known for painting their sculpture. All of Laurana's Sicilian Madonnas were also painted and gilded, though only the *Madonna and Child* at San Francesco d'Assisi in Palermo (1469) retains its original pigment. Damianaki, 11, 18, 27, 66-70, 72.

³⁴⁴ Damianaki, 72.

embroidered Flemish brocade—a popular fashion among the Aragonese royals (Fig. 88). Her dress was painted azurite blue, though several waxings and cleanings have destroyed the original pigmentation, leaving it a brownish color. Her *camicia*, or undergarment, seems to have been left unpainted. Eleonora wears a Flemish-style caul in her hair, which was en vogue at Spanish, English, and German courts at the time.³⁴⁵ It was originally painted the same azurite as her dress and was gilded and decorated with individually pressed wax flowers using a Flemish appliqué technique. A *lenza*, or loop, was draped across Eleonora’s forehead, and both the caul and *lenza* were encrusted with gems that have been lost. Damianaki argues that the sculpture was originally painted with a reddish pigment on the cheeks and a dark brown pigment inside the nostrils to suggest depth.³⁴⁶

The precious material and lavish ornamentation of the Vienna bust was meant to express the sumptuousness of the Neapolitan court and to inspire excitement in the Duke of Ferrara for his new wife and powerful father-in-law. There is a high degree of unity between the Vienna and Frick busts, suggesting that Beatrice’s portrait was similarly refined. Both portraits share the same proportional relationships and special attention lavished on the eyes.³⁴⁷

The portrait of Beatrice d’Aragona in the Frick Collection, New York dates to 1472-4, the years in which Beatrice’s marriage to King Matthias Corvinus of

³⁴⁵ Eleonora was said to be a great enthusiast of Flemish art. According to Summonte, Eleonora took the *Passion of Christ* tapestry series, commissioned by King Alfonso I from Rogier van der Weyden for the Sala dei Baroni, to Ferrara with her, perhaps as part of her dowry. Damianaki, 32.

³⁴⁶ Damianaki, 70-72.

³⁴⁷ Both portraits comprise 8 mm. eye openings, 3.5 cm. eye sockets, square incisions at the inner corners of the eye, and lifted eyebrows. Damianaki, 72-3.

Hungary was negotiated.³⁴⁸ The bust is identified on the basis of an inscribed tablet on the sitter's chest, which reads DIVA BEATRIX ARAGONIA—recalling her grandfather's use of the term *divus* in his portrait medallions produced by Pisanello. Because the inscription makes no mention of Beatrice's position as Queen of Hungary, the bust must date to before her coronation in September 1476.³⁴⁹

Unlike Eleonora's portrait, Beatrice's bust was probably intended to be seen from the front and sides only, and would have been placed on a table or in a small niche.³⁵⁰ No trace of pigment or gilding remains, and none was found when the Frick Collection cleaned and restored the bust in 1985. Damianaki believes, however, that the bust was originally painted and decorated to the same degree as the Vienna bust, due in part to the carving finishes, as well as Laurana's practice of painting his sculptures, in general.³⁵¹

Beatrice would have been just seventeen years old when her bust was completed. In it she wears a loose tunic, or *giornea*, with embroidered borders, and a *rete* or *cuffia*, a cap typically worn by young ladies, which may have been decorated as elaborately as that of the Vienna bust (Fig. 89). The embroidered neckline of her gown is decorated with birds, ermines, lilies, and the Mount of Diamonds, a symbol

³⁴⁸ The bust measures 41.5 cm (H) x 44 cm. (W). It was purchased around 1861 by Charles Timbale in Florence (from the collection of Carlo Otler), sold to Gustave Dreyfus in 1871, and to Joseph Duveen in 1930. It later passed into the collection of John D. Rockefeller Jr. and was bequeathed to the Frick Collection in 1961. Hersey dates the bust to 1476 and Seymour dates it to 1472-3. Damianaki, 77-9; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 33; Seymour, 164-5.

³⁴⁹ As Damianaki points out, there are many similarities between the facial type of the Beatrice bust and the *Madonna* of the Cappella Palatina. Damianaki, 80-81.

³⁵⁰ Damianaki, 80.

³⁵¹ Damianaki suggests that the pigment was removed in the nineteenth century in an attempt to sell the work as an authentic Renaissance antique. Damianaki, 77-9.

of strength and durability, and one of Ferrante's most frequently used devices (Fig. 90).³⁵² The ermine symbolized purity and modesty, but in this case it was also a direct reference to the Order of the Ermine, founded by Ferrante. Similarly, the lilies probably refer to the Aragonese Order of the Lily (Order of the Stole and Jar). The iconography of Beatrice's bust is, therefore, strongly dynastic in tone. It alludes to her father, grandfather, and great-grandfather Ferdinand of Antequera, founder of the Order of the Lily in 1403.³⁵³ The bust strategically emphasizes the many qualities that made Beatrice an attractive match, despite her appearance: her virtue, status, and deeply rooted royal pedigree.

According to Damianaki, Beatrice's bust reveals a more sophisticated blend of naturalism and idealism than the slightly earlier bust of Eleonora. Many of Beatrice's unflattering features, such as the full cheeks and double chin she inherited from her father, are beautifully idealized, almost beyond recognition.³⁵⁴ One notices a stark contrast between Laurana's portrait of Beatrice and the profile portrait made a decade later at the Hungarian court (Fig. 91), for example. Indeed, Laurana's idealized portraits of Beatrice and Eleonora both differ drastically from other extant portraits of the princesses, which has made their identification challenging.

The latest extant female portrait bust by Francesco Laurana is the *Bust of a Lady* in the Frick Collection, New York (Fig. 92).³⁵⁵ It has been identified as a

³⁵² Damianaki, 80; Barreto, *La Majesté en Images*, 331.

³⁵³ D'Arcy, 330.

³⁵⁴ Damianaki, 82.

³⁵⁵ The bust measures 46.6 cm. (H) x 45.8 cm. (W). It was discovered at the old port of Marseilles in the early eighteenth century and later acquired by the Counselor of Aix-en-Provence, Louis Hercule de Ricard Bergançon. The bust was not recorded again until 1914, when Lewis Duveen rediscovered it in Marquise de Mailly-Nesle's

posthumous portrait of Duke Alfonso II's wife Ippolita Maria Sforza (d. 1488) and has been dated to around 1489.³⁵⁶ Although Laurana is not documented in Naples during this period, it is believed that he returned to the city intermittently throughout the final two decades of the fifteenth century. The bust differs from the earlier Aragonese busts in its stylization and formal structure, while simultaneously revealing similarities to Laurana's works in Provence during the 1480s.³⁵⁷

The bust is finished on all sides and is deeply hollowed out, suggesting that it was meant to be viewed in the round and was designed to be easily transported (Fig. 93).³⁵⁸ Although original accounts and photographs suggest that the bust was painted, all pigment and gilding had been lost prior to the restoration by Svetoslao Hlopoff of the Frick Conservation Lab in June 1979.³⁵⁹ The sitter's thin facial features are very similar to those of the Palermo bust from two decades earlier, though the Frick bust is carved in a much more refined style that reveals Laurana's additional two decades of experience. In contrast to the full cheeks and chins of the Aragonese princesses, the Palermo and Frick busts, which likely depict Ippolita Maria Sforza roughly twenty

Château de la Roche-Mailly. Duveen identified the portrait as a work by Francesco Laurana and brought it to America, where it was purchased by Henry Clay Frick in New York, in 1916. Damianaki, 83.

³⁵⁶ The identification of the Frick bust as Ippolita Sforza is supported by a portrait of the duchess in a copy of Servius Honoratus' *Commentarii Virgilium*, given to her by her father on 10 June 1465 (Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, cod. Lat. XV's, 780, c. 1 & c. 4). Hersey dates the bust to 1472-74, and Seymour dates it to before 1477. Valentiner, "Laurana's Portrait Busts," 283-4, 287, 291-3; Damianaki, 28, 86; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 11, 31, 34, 36; Seymour, 164-5.

³⁵⁷ Laurana is not documented in Provence in 1484-91, leaving these years open for a probable trip to Naples. Valentiner and Patera both agree that Laurana returned to Naples in this period, though Damianaki suggests that the bust may have been carved in Provence. Damianaki, 27.

³⁵⁸ Damianaki, 87-8.

³⁵⁹ The loss of pigment and high surface gloss of the sculpture suggests that it underwent an acid cleaning in the early twentieth century. Damianaki, 85.

years apart, portray a woman with delicate features and an elegant aquiline nose.

Ippolita wears her hair in the Lombard fashion, a nod to her Milanese origin.

The identification of the Frick bust is also supported by the narrative relief on its pedestal—a feature shared by Laurana’s other posthumous portrait, that of Battista Sforza. The reliefs of the Frick bust have been identified by Hersey as an illustration of the story of Athamas, the Thessalian king with three rival wives who attempted to kill each other’s children in order to ensure that their own child would inherit the throne (Figs. 94 & 95). The narrative reliefs of Ippolita’s portrait, therefore, warn against the dangers of usurpers and those who commit crimes against legitimate heirs.³⁶⁰

Hersey convincingly interprets the frieze as a political message destined for Ludovico il Moro, who was scheming to depose Giangaleazzo Sforza, fiancé of Isabella d’Aragona, the daughter of Ippolita Maria Sforza and Duke Alfonso II of Naples. Hersey suggests that the bust was commissioned by Ferrante and presented to Il Moro in 1489, the year of Isabella’s marriage, as “not only a rebuke to evil protectors and a weakling prince but also the veiled threat of an expedition to reestablish Isabella’s honor and perhaps even to ‘restore’ the duchy to the heirs of Alfonso I,”³⁶¹ During her life, Ippolita had acted as an intermediary between Naples

³⁶⁰ From left to right the images are said to depict the suicide of Athamas’ second wife Themisto (after her failed attempt to murder the children of Athamas’ third wife, Ino), Ino’s attempted murder of Phrixus, the sacrifice of Phrixus by Athamas or a priest, and Athamas pursued by a Fury. The inscription on the column base depicted in the sacrifice scene reads D.M.S (Diis Manibus Sacrum). Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 38-9, 41-3; Damianaki, 86, 88-90; Barreto, *La Majesté en Images*, 334.

³⁶¹ Ferrante sent two embassies, led by Camillo De Scorziatis, to Milan in December 1489. One was ordered to medically examine the husband and wife, since the husband had not yet consummated the marriage, and the other to persuade Ludovico

and Milan, and after her death, it is assumed that her daughter Isabella was expected to play that role.³⁶²

As the preceding survey has demonstrated, Francesco Laurana's portrait busts for the Aragonese court played important diplomatic roles in Ferrante's construction and maintenance of political alliances throughout the 1470s and 1480s. The surprising lack of portraits of Ferrante's second wife, Juana of Aragon, whom he married in 1477, is best explained by the king's conception of these portraits as strictly diplomatic objects. Because Ferrante's alliance with the Crown of Aragon was relatively stable, the king likely saw no reason to commission a diplomatic gift of this type.

Laurana's female portrait busts are abstracted and idealized, and they privilege the sitters' inner psychology over their outward appearance. This feature of Laurana's style would have been especially critical in the case of the betrothal busts of the Aragonese princesses, who were not great beauties. The role of these busts in marriage negotiations further explains Laurana's idealization of his sitters, since the

il Moro that usurping the throne would lead to disaster. The Frick bust may have been given to Lodovico during this trip to remind him of the intimate links between the two courts and warn him against using trickery or poison to prevent succession to the throne. The Duke of Milan overcame his impotency on 25 April 1490 and Isabella informed the court of their consummation herself the next day. Their son Francesco was soon born, though Giangaleazzo was, nevertheless, deposed by Ludovico in 1493. Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 37-9, 40-43; Damianaki, 86, 197-8; Barreto, *La Majesté en Images*, 335.

³⁶² Welch agrees with Hersey's hypothesis about the function of the Frick bust. She describes Ippolita as the physical embodiment of the relationship between Naples and Milan, and suggests that Laurana's portrait of the duchess could be considered a stand-in for Ippolita and her diplomatic acumen, employed at a critical moment to protect the Milan-Naples alliance. Evelyn S. Welch, "Between Milan and Naples: Ippolita Maria Sforza, Duchess of Calabria," in *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494-95: Antecedents and Effects* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1995), 123, 135-6.

portraits were meant to convey not only the likenesses of the princesses, but also their status and virtue.³⁶³ As Damianaki has noted, “it is essential for an understanding of the busts’ character and function to bear in mind that they are court portraits and that Laurana’s representational aims in the busts corresponded to the ideals, values and decorum considered appropriate to ladies in the courts of Naples and Urbino.”³⁶⁴

Another possible explanation for Laurana’s idealization of his portraits is the artist’s knowledge of Franco-Flemish art and the painted, ovoid faces of Catalan sculpture.³⁶⁵ Laurana modeled his sculptures in terms of volume, rather than true anatomical features, and in some cases over-exaggerated the geometric symmetry of his figures in order to emphasize the profile view. Like Pietro da Milano’s *Portrait of King Ferrante*, now in the Louvre, Laurana’s female portrait busts end abruptly just below the shoulders, and were carved without bases, except for the two posthumous portraits. This portrait format allows for a more intense focus on the sitter’s face and expressive character.³⁶⁶

In order to convey his sitters’ inner-psyche, Laurana lavished a great deal of attention on their eyes. Comparable to the diverted gazes of women in painted portraits, the downcast eyes of Laurana’s female busts, both those created for living and deceased sitters, were a central characteristic of this series. As Damianaki has shown, downcast eyes were considered a sign of modesty for women, which communicated their desire to protect themselves from anything that could

³⁶³ Damianaki, 74-6.

³⁶⁴ Damianaki, 28-9.

³⁶⁵ Damianaki, 32.

³⁶⁶ Laurana’s use of a base for the posthumous portraits may have been inspired by Mino da Fiesole. Damianaki, 35.

compromise their purity. This concept was discussed in pedagogical treatises written for the Aragonese princesses by Diomedes Carafa, and also in Giovanni Pontano's *De Amore Coniugali* and *De Principe Liber*.³⁶⁷ In particular, the mandate that virtuous women's eyes remain "lowered to the ground" ("abaxar [bajar] a tierra") was expressed by Fray Martín de Córdoba in his *Jardín de Nobles Donzellas*, written for Princess Isabella d'Aragona in 1468.³⁶⁸

The Battle of Troy and Other Flemish Tapestries

In the mid 1470s, Ferrante commissioned a series of eleven tapestries depicting the *Battle of Troy*, four of which survive in the cathedral of Zamora, Spain (Figs. 96-102). Although no document for the commission survives, Manuel Gómez-Moreno published a record from G. Ibanez de Segovia's *Historia de la Casa de Mondejar* (MS. B. 74, t. III, book VI, f. 235), held in the Salazar Collection of the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, which stated that King Ferrante gifted twelve pack animals loaded with tapestries, brocades, precious jewels, and other things, to Don Íñigo Lopez de Mendoza, second Count of Tendilla and first Marquis of Mondejar. Íñigo had been sent to Italy by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1486 to mediate a peace between Ferrante and Pope Innocent VIII.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷ Damianaki also cites the poetic concept of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that understood the eyes as vehicles through which love was transmitted. In the fifteenth century raised eyes became a more blatant symbol of a lack of decorum for women. Damianaki, 46-7, 49.

³⁶⁸ Damianaki, 48.

³⁶⁹ "...doce acémilas cargadas de tapices, brocados, sedas y otras cosas, al mismo tiempo que algunas joyas de gran valor." Nicolas Bock, "Vedere, Raccontare, Immaginare: La Percezione della Battaglia e la Tappezzerie della Guerra di Troia nella Collezione di Ferdinando d'Aragona," in, *La Battaglia nel Rinascimento Meridionale: Moduli Narrativi tra Parole e Immagini*, edited by Giancarlo

On this journey, Íñigo also received gifts from the pope, including the right to include the star of the three Magi, also known as the device of the ‘Good Guide,’ in his coat of arms. Íñigo incorporated this new emblem into the crests that he had stitched into the tapestries Ferrante gifted to him, which included a *History of Tarquino Prisco* panel (Figs. 103 & 104), now also held in the cathedral of Zamora. Asselberghs argues that both tapestry series were created in Tournai between 1427 and 1486. Gómez-Moreno suggests that an ancestor of the Count of Alba purchased the tapestries from the Tendilla family after Íñigo’s death. The panels were later donated to the cathedral of Zamora in a letter dated 30 January 1608 from Antonio Enriquez de Guzman, Earl of Alba and Aliste, nephew of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba and Governor of the Netherlands.³⁷⁰

The designs for the *Battle of Troy* tapestry series were created by artists in northern France in the late 1460s. Asselberghs proposes Jacques Daret of Tournai, Bauduin de Bailleul of Arras, or Bailleul’s followers Jacquemart Pilet, Colart Boutevillain, or Robert de Monchaulx as possible designers. The first edition of the series was commissioned by the Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, and his wife

Abbamonte, Joana Barreto, Teresa d’Urso, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, and Francesco Senatore (Rome: Viella, 2011), 306; Manuel Gómez-Moreno, “La Gran Tapicería de la Guerra de Troya,” *Arte Español* Series VIII, v. IV, no. 6 (1919), 266-8; Jean-Paul Asselberghs, “Les Tapisseries Tournaisiennes de la Guerre de Troie,” *Revue Belge D’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art* 39 (1970), 93, 98, 170-172; Jean-Paul Asselberghs, and Santiago Samaniego Hidalgo, trans., *Los Tapices Flamencos de la Catedral de Zamora* (Salamanca: Caja Duero, 1999), 181-2.

³⁷⁰ The letter records five tapestry panels in total, including four depicting the *Battle of Troy*. The tapestries were first recorded in the cathedral’s inventory in 1620. Íñigo’s coat of arms on all five tapestries were covered by those of the Guzman, Enriquez, and Toledo families sometime in the sixteenth century. Gómez-Moreno, 268-71, 280; Asselberghs, “Les Tapisseries Tournaisiennes,” 98, 103, 108, 112, 123, 170-172; Asselberghs, *Los Tapices Flamencos*, 33, 181-3, 226.

Margherita of York around 1468. The panels were woven in Tournai in the workshop of Pasquier Grenier during the years 1470-72, at the cost of 9,600 pounds. The series comprises eleven panels, each measuring approximately 4.70 x 9.40 meters, for a total of 103 meters in length.³⁷¹ French verses are stitched along the tops of each panel and Latin translations run along the bottoms. The compositions are based on the first edition of Guido de Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, written in 1287. The illustrations begin with a scene at the court of Priam, in which the king sends Antenor to Greece to retrieve Hesione. The final panel in the series depicts the fall of the Troy.³⁷²

This series is significant for the history of fifteenth-century tapestries because several tapestry panels survive from the multiple editions that were woven, as well as the original sketches that the series was based on and several drawings made after the completed weavings. The number of editions made after Charles the Bold's original cartoons—at least five, together with a copy based on drawings made after the weavings—makes this one of the most highly sought-after tapestry programs of the fifteenth century, and an important status symbol for sovereigns of the period. Editions were woven for King Henry VII of England (1484-8), Charles VIII of France

³⁷¹ Interest in the history of Troy was shared by Charles' father, Philip the Good, whose library contained seventeen texts about the battle of Troy, according to a 1467 inventory. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel, *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981) 142; Asselberghs, "Les Tapisseries Tournaisiennes," 159, 161, 172-3, 181-2; Gómez-Moreno, 266, 271-3, 281; Asselberghs, *Los Tapices Flamencos*, 45, 199-200, 163-5; Barreto, *La Majesté en Images*, 335; Bock, "Vedere, Raccontare, Immaginare," 306-308.

³⁷² Gómez-Moreno, 273, 275-80; Asselberghs, "Les Tapisseries Tournaisiennes," 102-123, 158, 160; Asselberghs, *Los Tapices Flamencos*, 154-7, 129-50.

(1489-93), and King Ferrante of Naples (probably 1472-6)—making Ferrante the first sovereign to order a copy of the Burgundian duke’s tapestry series.³⁷³

Ferrante had entered into an alliance with Charles the Bold in November 1471, and he elected Charles to the Order of the Ermine in 1474. This honor was conveyed by Ferrante’s second son Federico, who travelled to Burgundy in the autumn of 1474 in the hopes of obtaining the hand of Charles’ daughter, Maria of Burgundy, in marriage.³⁷⁴ Although the marriage arrangement failed, Ferrante’s aim to ally his court with that of Charles the Bold provides strong evidence for the king’s interest in commissioning a copy of this tapestry series in the early 1470s. Furthermore, the theme of the *Battle of Troy* would have appealed to Ferrante, who had equated this epic battle with his own victory at Troia through the text and imagery of his recently completed bronze doors.

Only four of the eleven panels from Ferrante’s original commission survive, and all are held in the cathedral of Zamora. These represent the second (*Rape of Helen*) (Figs. 96 & 96), fifth (*The Tent of Achilles*) (Fig. 98), eighth (*The Death of*

³⁷³ Fragments from these four editions survive among the Aulhac-Issoire (Charles the Bold), Zamora (Ferrante), Sully (Henry VII), and Victoria and Albert Museum (Charles VIII) collections. Additionally, sketches of the entire series survive in the Louvre and have helped to determine the content and appearance of the lost panels.

Federico da Montefeltro is also recorded as having purchased a copy of the *Battle of Troy* tapestries for himself in 1470, the panels were completed in 1477. Although Cecil Clough assumes Ferrante purchased the tapestries in imitation of Federico, the opposite is likely true. In fact, Asselberghs’ analysis of the surviving panels suggests that Federico’s tapestries were produced by the duke’s own weavers at the court of Urbino, based on drawings after Charles the Bold’s original series. Cecil H. Clough, *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), 8-10; Asselberghs, “Les Tapisseries Tournaisiennes,” 93, 172-3, 177-8; Asselberghs, *Los Tapices Flamencos*, 171-9, 187, 193; Barreto, *La Majesté en Images*, 335.

³⁷⁴ Pontieri, *Per la Storia*, 164-72, 201, 252-62

Achilles) (Figs. 99 & 100), and eleventh (*The Fall of Troy*) panels in the set (Figs. 101 & 102).³⁷⁵ Hues of red, blue, and gold predominate in these richly woven panels. Despite the dynamic and dramatic scenes portrayed, the compositions are well-organized and the figures are elegantly articulated and clearly labeled. Enormous attention was lavished on the details of costumes and armor, which are adorned with opulent gems and brocades, creating images fit for the sumptuous courtly settings for which the panels were made.

Coinage

In this decade King Ferrante continued to innovate in the genre of coinage.³⁷⁶ In February 1472 Ferrante issued a royal order in response to the rampant debasing of royal coinage throughout the kingdom. One of his reforms involved replacing the kingdom's smallest denomination, the black billon *denaro*, with a new copper coin, known as the *cavallo* because of the horse imprinted on its reverse. Sakellarios has argued that the *cavallo* was as important an innovation as Ferrante's portrait coinage because it was the first to be made of pure copper.³⁷⁷

The new *cavallo* weighed 1.78 *grana* on average, was 18 mm. in diameter, and was worth one-twelfth *grana*. The idea for this coin came from Orso Orsini, the Duke of Ascoli. It was described in the mint ordinance as a "coin entirely of copper,

³⁷⁵ Gómez-Moreno, 273, 275-80; Asselberghs, "Les Tapisseries Tournaisiennes," 102-123, 158, 160; Asselberghs, *Los Tapices Flamencos*, 154-7, 129-50.

³⁷⁶ Ferrante's new director of the office of *stamparum*, Girolamo Liparolo, first appointed on 25 November 1462, is responsible for all of the new coins issued throughout the remainder of the king's reign. In the early 1470s, Girolamo was also frequently enlisted to create seals for Ferrante's communications and treaties with Pope Sixtus IV and the King of Tunisia. Sambon, "I 'Carlino,'" 487-8.

³⁷⁷ Sakellarios, *Southern Italy in the Late Middle Ages*, 225.

of the size and mode of the antique medals, with the image of the king and some other worthy thing on the reverse.” Diomede Carafa suggested the emblem of the horse for the reverse.³⁷⁸

The copper *cavallo* was decorated with Ferrante’s portrait and titles on its obverse (Fig. 105) and a horse—the symbol of Naples—on the reverse (Fig. 106), with the inscription EQVITAS REGNI. The profile portrait on the *cavalli* depicts an older and heavier King Ferrante than that shown on his gold ducat from 1458. In contrast to the medieval European crown Ferrante wears on the gold ducat, the *cavallo* portrait presents the king in the radiate crown of the sun god Sol Invictus—a distinguishing feature of the Roman *antoninianus* coins of the third century BCE (Fig. 107). Thus, Ferrante’s copper *cavallo* was based on imperial Roman coinage in its materiality as well as its iconography. Although some scholars have attempted to show that Ferrante was less interested than his predecessor in identifying with the Roman emperors, I would argue that the *cavallo* provides a particularly convincing case to the contrary.³⁷⁹

Ferrante’s portrait coinage expanded well beyond the *cavalli* in this period.

On 19 August 1472 he issued a decree requiring that the coronation scene on the

³⁷⁸ Translations are my own. “moneta tutta de rame et grossa al modo delle medaglie antique con la immagine de la Maestà sua e con lo reverse de qualche digna cosa.” Sambon, “I ‘Cavalli,’” 326-7, 329-30; Sambon, “I ‘Carlini,’” 474; Philip Grierson and Lucia Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage* v. 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 362-3, 371, 374-5.

³⁷⁹ Varga disagrees with D’Urso’s claims about the *all’antica* elements of Ferrante’s patronage, arguing that his medals and coins, in particular, represented a marked departure from the classicizing designs of his father. Livia Varga, “Messages of Legitimacy of King Ferdinand I of Naples (1458-94),” in *Bonum ut Pulchrum: Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Livia Varga, László Beke, Anna Jávör, Pál Lövei, Imre Takács (Budapest: Argumentum Publishing House, 2010) 370, 374.

obverse of his silver *coronato* be replaced with his profile portrait, including a medieval crown (Fig. 108). The new *coronati* were of the same weight and value (one *carlino*) as the originals, which had been minted from 1458 until 1472. The new *coronati* maintained the original verso image of the Cross of Calabria, as well as the original inscriptions: CORONATVS QUIA LEGITIME CERTAVI (obverse) and FERDINANDUS D G R SICILIE IER V (reverse). The coin was designed by Girolamo Liparolo and Leonardo de Cambrario, and was minted under the direction of Nicolò Spinello until 1488, when a figure of Saint Michael slaying the dragon replaced the Calabrian Cross as the new verso image.³⁸⁰

In this period, Ferrante's coinage also came to incorporate the "extensive use of emblems or badges (*imprese*), and of religious legends which, far more than in the past, reflect the ruler's political aspirations or justify his policy."³⁸¹ During the 1470s Ferrante created a half-*carlino* coin known as the *armellino* (Fig. 109), which was decorated with an ermine and the mottos DECORVM and SERENA OMNIA on reverse. The obverse bears a crowned octagonal shield with the king's arms and titles, FERDINANDVS D G R SICI. Ferrante also minted a double ducat (valued at seven

³⁸⁰ This decree is published in Sambon, "I Carlini," (p. 473). Grierson, Varga, Sakellariou, and D'Urso all agree that Ferrante's earliest portrait coins dated to 1458/9, making him the first ruler to mint portrait coinage. Although he admitted having serious doubts, Rasile argued that the new *coronati* (1472) were the first coins to bear Ferrante's portrait. Mario Rasile, *I 'Coronati' di Ferrante I d'Aragona e la Ritrattistica Rinascimentale sulle Monete* (Formia: 1984) 16-17, 25-32; Varga, "Messages of Legitimacy," 370; Sambon, "I 'Carlini,'" 474; Sambon, "I 'Cavalli,'" 330, 472-3; Giliberti, 36; Grierson, 362-3, 371, 374-5; Sakellariou, *Southern Italy*, 225; Teresa d'Urso, "Il Trionfo all'Antica nell'Illustrazione Libreria al Tempo di Ferrante e Alfonso II d'Aragona," in *La Battaglia nel Rinascimento Meridionale: Moduli Narrativi tra Parole e Immagini*, edited by Giancarlo Abbamonte, Joana Barreto, Teresa d'Urso, Alessandra Perriccioli Saggese, and Francesco Senatore (Rome: Viella, 2011), 388.

³⁸¹ Sakellariou, *Southern Italy*, 225.

grana) with the inscription SERENITATI AC PACI PERPETVE (reverse), a quintuple ducat (worth 17.5 *grana*) with the inscriptions CORONATVS QVIA LEGITIME CERTAVIT (obverse) and VICTOR ET TRIVMPHATOR (reverse), and a double *cavallo* with the inscriptions FERDINANDVS D G R S (obverse) and SICILIE (reverse). All of these depicted Ferrante in profile wearing a medieval crown on the obverse. The reverse of the quintuple ducat and double *cavallo* is decorated with a Victory in a galloping chariot.³⁸²

Finally, Ferrante ordered two special issue coins in 1477 to celebrate his marriage to Juana of Aragon. One of these comprised individual profile portraits of the king and queen on each face. The other was solely dedicated to Juana, whose portrait and title, IOHANNA REGINA, adorned the obverse, while the reverse was decorated with a triumphal chariot pulled by a putto and the inscription VICTOR SICILIE. Both of these special issue coins were tossed into the crowds gathered for the royal wedding ceremonies in September 1477.³⁸³

These new developments in Ferrante's coinage during the 1470s mark an important moment of transition in the king's political and cultural strategies. While the original *coronato*, first minted in 1459, reflected Ferrante's tenuous hold on his throne, and thus the necessity to demonstrate his legal claims to his kingdom, the new portrait *coronato* reveals a king more secure in his role, one who could now look forward to expanding his political network. The regal spirit of the new coinage asserts Ferrante's unique degree of authority as the only monarch in Italy, and one with quasi-imperial ambitions.

³⁸² Grierson, 373-4.

³⁸³ Sambon, "I 'Cavalli,'" 352-4.

I would argue, further, that Ferrante's revisions of the kingdom's coinage (with all denominations now including his portrait) asserted his role in reviving the bankrupt economy he inherited from his father. This decade was the most vibrant and stable of Ferrante's long reign, in the realms of politics, culture, and the economy. By imprinting his likeness on each coin exchanged in his kingdom, Ferrante proclaims his successful resurrection of the economy.

Ferrante worked tirelessly throughout the 1470s to establish strategic conjugal alliances for his children, and for himself. Although he claimed to have no interest in conquering new territories, and indeed made no direct attempts to do so, Ferrante's diplomatic strategies and the commercial agreements he forged in this period were international in scope.

Chapter 5: Fortification and Introspection, 1480-1494

The peaceful and productive decade of the 1470s was followed by several of the most tumultuous years of the Aragonese period. The decade ended with Ferrante's involvement in the Pazzi Conspiracy in Florence, which he became embroiled in through his alliance with Pope Sixtus IV, and the 1480s began with the brutal Ottoman attack on the southern Italian city of Otranto that decimated the city's population. Ferrante was forced to pawn jewels and hundreds of manuscripts from his court in order to finance this war, which was eventually won with the aid of Rome. The War of Ferrara, a second baronial revolt in the Kingdom of Naples, and tense conflicts between Ferrante and Popes Innocent VIII and Alexander VI dominated the final years of Ferrante's reign.

In this political climate, it is a wonder that Ferrante managed to devote any time at all to cultural production. Ferrante's all-consuming struggle to stabilize his kingdom explains why his heir, Alfonso II, was seen by some scholars to be a more sophisticated patron of the arts at this time. If we examine Aragonese cultural production in the context of the political and economic demands placed on the administration in this period, however, it becomes clear that Ferrante's diminished, or at least re-directed, patronage efforts are best understood as a result of his prioritization of the safety of his kingdom. Indeed, Ferrante's patronage during the 1480s and 1490s reflects the growing paranoia of a king who was under attack from all sides, and whose political alliances were beginning to collapse.

Urban Renewal and Fortification

In 1484, just as the War of Ferrara drew to a close, Ferrante began to develop plans for a massive urban renewal program of a primarily defensive nature. Ever since Hersey's 1969 publication, however, this project has been attributed almost entirely to Ferrante's heir. Hersey writes:

In the 1480s, when he was still Duke of Calabria, Alfonso II of Naples began to refurbish his capital. His plan was to straighten the ancient streets and erect triumphal gates on the main east-west thoroughfares. A new set of walls was built, and Francesco di Giorgio refortified the Castel Nuovo and the Castel Sant'Elmo. A restored aqueduct brought water to new fountains throughout the city. Giuliano da Maiano created two splendid villas; churches were built or remodeled—one as a royal pantheon—and a vast palace of justice was designed by Giuliano da Sangallo. Sculptural chapels and a group of exquisite portrait busts were further expressions of Alfonso's intent.³⁸⁴

Hersey added that "Alfonso's renewal" was aimed at helping Ferrante to assert his legitimacy and to secure strong alliances, while also admitting the need for a Florentine alliance to maintain Neapolitan stability.³⁸⁵ I would argue, by contrast, that an urban renewal project of this scale can only be attributed to the king, whose subjects he taxed to fund the building efforts.³⁸⁶ Alfonso's role in the project should, therefore, be understood as that of lieutenant of the kingdom, and second in command to his father. Ferrante fulfilled a similar role during his own term as Duke of Calabria—playing a central part in the rebuilding of Naples and Castel Nuovo while King Alfonso I was occupied with sensitive matters of war and politics. I maintain

³⁸⁴ Hersey, *Alfonso II*, v-vi, 1, 21-2, 25.

³⁸⁵ Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 18.

³⁸⁶ A new tax to fund the walls was levied in 1483. Lodovico De la Ville sur-Yllon, "Le Mura e le Porte di Napoli," *Napoli Nobilissima* 12 (1903), 53; Giovanni Sepe, *La Murazione Aragonesa di Napoli: Studio di Restituzione* (Naples: Tipografia "Artigianelli," 1942), 5-6, 14-16; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 45.

that we should consider Duke Alfonso as an administrator of his father's commands, and it is in this light that we should read the numerous documents and payment receipts executed by Alfonso for the renewal projects.

Hersey's understanding of the urban renewal and Alfonso's role in it is based on Pietro Summonte's letter to Marcantonio Michiel, written 20 March 1524, which states:

In our own day King Alfonso II of happiest memory was so devoted to building and desirous of doing great things that had not evil fortune removed him from his throne so quickly, without doubt he would have ornamented the city in a most distinguished manner. He had it in mind to bring a distant river into the city by means of great aqueducts; and when the great walls of the city were finished, a good part of which had already been built when he came to the throne, he wanted to extend all the main streets in straight lines from wall to wall, removing all porticoes, corners, and protrusions...³⁸⁷

While Summonte describes Alfonso as devoted to building, he never directly credits the duke with the wall project. He admits, instead, that the walls were mostly complete when Alfonso came to the throne. Giovanni Pontano, Alfonso's tutor, more directly credits the duke with the walls in his *De Bello Neapolitano* (1499) writing, "In our own time Alfonso, son of Ferdinand, having extended the walls toward the east and north, strengthened and beautified that part of the city with thick walls of piperno." Nevertheless, I maintain that Ferrante must be recognized as the primary patron of this project, which Alfonso helped to complete. The evidence crediting Alfonso II with the patronage of the new city walls simply does not exist. Indeed, Hersey admits that Alfonso was not even in Naples in the summer of 1484 when the design for the walls was drawn up, nor is his name included in the dedicatory

³⁸⁷ Nicolini, *L'Arte Napoletana*, 171-2; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, v-vi, 1, 21-2, 25.

cornerstone of the new wall.³⁸⁸ Thus, it is in this light that we investigate Ferrante's program of urban renewal in his capital.

According to Giuliano Passaro's chronicle, the first stone for the eastern expansion of Naples' walls was laid on 15 June 1484 and construction began in earnest that November. Building continued until the baronial revolt in 1486 and resumed the following year, after the uprising was suppressed. A document from 14 August 1490 records that the new walls were nearly complete by this date, having been built as far as San Giovanni a Carbonara.³⁸⁹

The expansion of the eastern walls was directed by Francesco Spinello and later Antonio Latro. Francesco di Giorgio Martini was the head engineer.³⁹⁰ The eastern walls are comprised of a solid *tuffo* core measuring between five to seven meters, encased in a fifty-centimeter-thick shell of Vesuvian stone. They extend northwards from the marina near the church of Carmine Maggiore, to just beyond San Giovanni a Carbonara (Fig. 110).³⁹¹ The eastern expansion included twenty-one semi-circular towers and four gates, the Carmine, Nolana, Capuana, and Santa Sofia.³⁹² The most important of these was the Porta Capuana, which was aligned with one of the city's main thoroughfares. The other three gates were strictly utilitarian, comprising curtain walls with simple arched openings. The Porta Nolana still stands

³⁸⁸ Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 45.

³⁸⁹ Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 45-6.

³⁹⁰ De la Ville sur-Yllon, 53; Sepe, 5-6, 14-16; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 45.

³⁹¹ De la Ville sur-Yllon, 53; Sepe, 5-6, 14-16; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 45.

³⁹² Sepe, 10

in tact, and provides a good idea of the appearance of the now-lost Porta del Carmine.³⁹³

All four of the gates were adorned with relief sculpture carved out of white Carrara marble. Those of the Carmine, Nolana, and Santa Sofia included equestrian portraits of King Ferrante flanked by reliefs of the Aragonese coat of arms—all of which may have been sculpted by Jacopo della Pila. While the Porta Nolana still retains its original profile portrait of Ferrante on horseback (Fig. 111), the Porta del Carmine relief (Fig. 112) was removed in 1862 and is preserved today in the Museo di San Martino.³⁹⁴ The iconography of these reliefs has been interpreted as political commentary on the baronial revolt, and is said to represent the Neapolitan people harnessed by the king. The unbridled horse had long been a symbol of Naples and is featured on the coats of arms of the noble *seggi* of Nido and Capuana.

The Porta Nolana portrait presents the king in a $\frac{3}{4}$ view with his sword drawn and his horse galloping to the right, while the Porta Carmine relief presents a more serene Ferrante in profile, with his sword raised and his horse walking to the left. The largest interpretive challenge related to these reliefs is the evidence of the inscriptions

³⁹³ Sepe, 12; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 47.

³⁹⁴ The Porta del Carmine relief entered the Museo di San Martino on 10 July 1878. It was first identified by Salazar as a panel from the Porta Capuana, depicting a Durazzescho monarch. In 1906 Spinazzola identified the figure as Ferrante based on the Mount of Diamonds and other devices on the horse's armor, and by comparison with the king's portraits on the bronze doors of Castel Nuovo. Spinazzola was also the first to associate the San Martino relief with the Carmine gate, pointing out that all the sculptural ornament from the Porta Capuana was destroyed by Charles V in 1535. De la Ville sur-Yllon, 53; Sepe, 14; Lorenzo Salazar, "Marmi di Porta Medina e di Porta Capuana," *Napoli Nobilissima* 10 (1901), 41; Vittorio Spinazzola, "Due Marmi Figurati nel Museo Nazionale di San Martino," *Napoli Nobilissima* 10 (1901), 99-101; Vittorio Spinazzola, "Di un Marmo del Museum Nazionale di San Martino," *Napoli Nobilissima* 15 (1906), 110; Hersey, "Alfonso II," 87; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 48-9.

on each panel having been re-carved. In both cases a wide band across the top of the reliefs is slightly recessed, suggesting that the original inscription was buffed out and a new one added. The Carmine panel currently bears the inscription FERDINANDVS REX NOBILISSIMAE PATRIAE, “Ferrante, Most Noble King of this Country.” Spinazzola suggests that Charles V may have carved his titles into these panels at the same time that he destroyed the sculptures on the Porta Capuana, and the original inscriptions must have been restored at a later date.³⁹⁵

The Porta Capuana is distinguished from the other gates of the eastern wall both by its size and its lavish sculptural ornament (Fig. 113), most of which has been destroyed. Ferrante commissioned the project to Giuliano da Maiano in 1485 and construction began three years later. On 10 September 1487 Giulio Marinis de Cava was contracted to build the two flanking towers for the gate, and on 15 April 1488 Jacopo della Pila supplied marble for Giuliano’s arch.³⁹⁶ The Capuan gate was aligned with the city’s most important artery, one that connected Naples to the nearby

³⁹⁵ Despite the present inscriptions identifying the portraits as Ferrante, and Summonte’s record of Ferrante including his portrait on the new walls, Hersey argues that the reliefs depict Alfonso II. This claim is based solely on comparison with other portraits that Hersey has tenuously identified as Alfonso II. He argues that Alfonso added these reliefs to the walls after Ferrante’s death, adding that they must have been re-inscribed by his son and successor, Ferrandino. De la Ville sur-Yllon, 53; Sepe, 14; Salazar, 41; Spinazzola, “Due Marmi Figurati,” 99-101; Spinazzola “Di un Marmo,” 110; Hersey, “Alfonso II,” 87; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 48-50.

³⁹⁶ Giuliano da Maiano arrived in Naples in the spring of 1485, and he was compensated with a mule and 96 ducats for designing a project for Alfonso and Ferrante. In the late 1480s Giuliano was working simultaneously on three architectural projects for Duke Alfonso, including renovations to Castel Capuana, building a luxurious privy in the garden of Castel Capuana (known as the Duchesca), and constructing the suburban villa of Poggioreale. De la Ville sur-Yllon, 54; Hersey, “Alfonso II,” 88; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 52-4, 56; Bianca De Divitiis, “Giuliano da Sangallo in the Kingdom of Naples: Architecture and Cultural Exchange.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 74, n. 2 (2015), 157; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 52-4.

city of Capua. The Porta Romana of Capua may, in fact, have inspired Giuliano's design for the Neapolitan gate. The central arch of the Porta Capuana is framed by fluted pilasters with Corinthian capitals, set between two massive towers (Fig. 114). Winged victories and *putti* fill the spandrels of the arch, which culminates in a large decorative keystone. The arch itself is decorated with a relief of military armor and war spoils, emphasizing the military triumphs of the Aragonese monarchs.³⁹⁷

Aside from two small niches containing sculptures of Saints Gennaro and Angelo, none of the monumental sculptural program from the attic of the arch survives. Destroyed in 1535 by Charles V, the attic sculpture is believed to have included a large processional frieze with either a scene of Ferrante's coronation, or an equestrian portrait of the king. Much of the confusion around this original program stems from the survival in the Bargello Museum, Florence of an unfinished sculpture of a coronation scene that has been accepted as the work of Benedetto da Maiano. The Bargello fragment includes a seated sovereign, identified as Ferrante or Alfonso II, with a bishop at his left, placing a crown on the head of the new king.

Sadly, no documentation survives for this sculptural fragment or the attic sculpture of the Porta Capuana. Furthermore, the records of a completed Porta Capuana arch having been destroyed by Charles V make it difficult to attribute Benedetto's unfinished fragments to that project. Hersey proposes that Benedetto da Maiano may have carved and installed the attic sculpture for Porta Capuana by August 1492. Two years later, the artist may have been commissioned for a much

³⁹⁷ Hersey suggests that the frieze of armor may have been inspired by the Temple of Vespasian in Rome, the Augustan arch at Pula, or Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*, which describes ancient gates adorned with the trophies of those conquered in battle. Bertaux, 48; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 55.

larger sculptural program for the Porta Reale, as part of the expansion of Naples' western defenses. According to Hersey, this program would have depicted the coronation of Alfonso II in 1494, and would have been left unfinished due to the king's sudden abdication from the throne in 1495.³⁹⁸

Naples' new eastern defenses were completed around 1490 and the Porta Capuana sculpture was probably installed by summer 1494. The project was followed by a new water system, the Acqua della Bolla, which carried water from Naples' eastern shore and was fed by the Sebeto and Sarno rivers. The project may have been directed by Francesco di Giorgio and Fra Giocondo, and it was completed around 1490-93.³⁹⁹ Ferrante also planned to expand and fortify the city's western walls, under the direction of Antonio Marchese, though this project was carried out by Ferrante's heirs following his sudden death in January 1494.⁴⁰⁰

Giuliano da Sangallo and the Reggia Napoletana

In 1488, when the construction of the eastern walls was already well underway, Giuliano da Sangallo arrived in Naples to deliver a wooden model of a palace he designed for King Ferrante, that had been commissioned by Lorenzo de'

³⁹⁸ Camillo Tutini suggests that a coronation scene adorned the Porta Capuana, while Summonte and Hersey argue in favor of an equestrian portrait. Hersey suggests that the relief on the coronation arch of Castel Nuovo was nearly identical to that in the Bargello, and to the imagery of Ferrante's *coronati*. De la Ville sur-Yllon, 54; Hersey, "Alfonso II," 88; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 52-4, 56; De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 157.

³⁹⁹ The Neapolitan court was actively engaged with the work of Francesco di Giorgio. On 30 June 1492 the court painter Antonello da Capua was paid to bind manuscripts of Francesco's treatises on architecture and artillery, which included illustrations by Fra Giocondo. Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 88-9, 96-7.

⁴⁰⁰ The Porta Reale was to be part of this new western wall complex. It is the only monument directly associated with the patronage of Alfonso II during his tenure as king. Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 52-4, 98, 101; De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 157.

Medici.⁴⁰¹ A drawing of the palace plan survives in Giuliano's sketchbooks (Vatican Codex Barberini lat. 4244 fol. 39v.) (Fig. 115) and is accompanied by the following inscription: "This is the plan of the model of a palace that the Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici sent to King Ferrante of Naples, and I, Giuliano de San Gallo, as soon as I had finished it, went [there] with the model above mentioned. This was in 1488."⁴⁰²

This project was devised around 1487-8, and may have been conceived as the result of a meeting between Lorenzo de' Medici and Duke Alfonso II at Borgo San Sepolcro on 31 August 1486 (Fig. 116).⁴⁰³ The only evidence that survives regarding the impetus for this project comes from a letter dated 30 August 1487 by Aldobrandino Guidoni, the Ferrarese ambassador to Florence. Guidoni wrote:

Berardino, chancellor of the Lord Duke of Calabria, departed yesterday morning, which was 29 August; he has left a copy of the trial documents against the barons, and brought two beautiful mules for the Magnificent Lorenzo; Lorenzo is also making a model of a palace for his Majesty the King [Ferrante], which he says he wants to create to rehouse His Majesty, who no longer wishes to reside in the castle in Naples.⁴⁰⁴

Bianca De Divitiis has recently argued that Giuliano da Sangallo's palace project should be understood in the context of diplomatic relations between Florence and Naples, which involved the dual exchange of gifts. De Divitiis sees the

⁴⁰¹ Giuliano received a payment of 100 ducats from Alfonso II on 27 February 1488. Biermann says Giuliano would have been influenced by Francesco di Giorgio Martini's plans for *reali edifizij* that he had devised by 1465, as well as the Vitruvian and Albertian descriptions of Roman homes and baths. Hartmut Biermann, "Das Haus eines Vornehmen Römers: Giuliano da Sangallos Modell für Ferdinand I, König von Neapel," *Sitzungsberichte* 15 (1967), 10-11; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 75-6; De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 152, 154.

⁴⁰² Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 76-7; De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 154-5.

⁴⁰³ De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 158.

⁴⁰⁴ De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 156-7.

Aragonese palace project as diplomatic in nature, and Sangallo's trip to Naples as that of a cultural ambassador. She adds,

When not fighting on the field, rulers engaged in a courtly game focused on the art of building, competing to demonstrate the splendor and magnificence of their residences but also exchanging architects as well as architectural models and drawings as diplomatic gifts.⁴⁰⁵

Ferrante and Lorenzo were accustomed to exchanging the finest gifts that their territories had to offer. As Guidoni's letter records, Lorenzo's commission of this palace model was reciprocation for Ferrante's gift to him of prized thoroughbred mules and a copy of the legal proceedings of the trials of the rebel Neapolitan barons, which De Divitiis calls a "masterpiece of typography." This text was "perhaps the first example of a printed legal account of this kind." It was innovative both in its use of the printing press, which Ferrante enthusiastically supported, as well as its content. Ferrante spent 1450 ducats to print 200 copies of the trials of the rebel barons, including testimonies of his brutal torture and execution of Antonello Petrucci and Francesco Coppola.⁴⁰⁶ One can only imagine how this gift must have been received by Lorenzo de' Medici and the other rulers it was sent to—especially since Lorenzo knew Petrucci and Coppola well.

The palace was designed to sit atop a raised platform known as a *basis villae*, like the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano (Fig. 117). It was to have a triumphal arch-like front loggia with five arches, a temple pediment and an installation of antique statues, like the *Temple of the Dioscuri*.⁴⁰⁷ The palace's most striking feature is the arena-like recessed atrium, or *cavaedium*, which was surrounded by steps and

⁴⁰⁵ De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 152, 156-7.

⁴⁰⁶ De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 152, 156-7.

⁴⁰⁷ Biermann, "Das Haus," 12; De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 155, 162.

included passageways (*vomitoria*) to create order and provide easier access to seating. The area in front of the Gran Sala, meanwhile, would have acted as a *frons scenae* for the royal family to appear during events. This design resolved a major problem of Castel Nuovo's courtyard, which was often bemoaned as inadequate for the feasts and performances held there.⁴⁰⁸

De Divitiis argues that Lorenzo de' Medici, Giuliano da Sangallo, and Giuliano da Maiano devised the sunken courtyard design in the summer of 1487 "as a response to a complex cultural context of assumptions, requirements, and habits of attending theatrical spectacles and visiting baths that were shared by the Neapolitan and Florentine elites." In other words, Lorenzo was aware of the Aragonese affinity for ancient bathing practices and the thermal pools of Tripergole, Lake Averno, the Phlegraean Fields, and the *Baths of Trajan* at Pozzuoli. The courtyard proposed for the *reggia* also recalls Alberti's description of a thermal complex with a large courtyard surrounded by steps, in *De Re Aedificatoria*.⁴⁰⁹ This sunken courtyard could have accommodated tournaments, like the theater and exedra of the *Circus Maximus*, thus bringing the *palestra* into the center of the palace.⁴¹⁰

The main hall at the back of the building was to be covered by a barrel vault, an *all'antica* update of the Catalan vault of Castel Nuovo's Sala dei Baroni (Fig. 118). The palace's central axis terminates in a centrally-planned chapel, which

⁴⁰⁸ De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 163-4.

⁴⁰⁹ In 1471 Alfonso II commissioned a copy of Piero da Eboli's *De Balneis Puteolanis*, a thirteenth-century poem about baths at Pozzuoli and the diseases cured by each. Furthermore, rare bathing scenes were depicted in a manuscript made in Naples in the 1470s, including depictions of baths at Tripergole with bathers swimming, resting, and dressing in bath complexes (Edinburgh University Library, Ms. 176). De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 165-6.

⁴¹⁰ Biermann, "Das Haus," 13; De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 155.

similarly replaces the gothic Aragonese chapel of Castel Nuovo. Six apartments line each side of the palace, with apartments for the king and queen on opposite sides, reflecting the organization of Castel Nuovo (Fig. 119).⁴¹¹

Giuliano's palace design reflects both the procession of rooms and the monumental dimensions of ancient bathing complexes. He proposed a square base for the palace that measured 194 meters on each side—a scale that was unparalleled in the fifteenth century and could be compared only to imperial Roman baths or the *Palace of Maecenas* on the Quirinal Hill.⁴¹² De Divitiis proposes that the area where the Spanish vice royal palace stands today would have been the only area large enough to build Giuliano's proposed palace design. The palace likely would have faced the city, with its back rooms looking out onto the sea. This location would have put the new princely *reggia* in direct juxtaposition with the defensive *arx*, thus adhering to Alberti's advice in *De Re Aedificatoria*.⁴¹³ This organization of rooms was also an important feature for Aragonese ceremonial. It would have allowed the king to proceed directly from his apartments to the Gran Sala, and then into the palace chapel, as had been practiced in Castel Nuovo for decades.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹¹ The scale of Castel Nuovo also dictated the monumental size of Sangallo's palace plan. The Neapolitan fortress measured approximately 130 meters on each side, with a courtyard of 50 meters square and a great hall measuring 30 meters square. In response to these dimensions, Sangallo's plan proposed a courtyard of 78x43 meters and a Gran Sala of 53 x 30 meters. De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 155-6, 161-2.

⁴¹² De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 155-6.

⁴¹³ Biermann, "Das Haus," 14; De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 162.

⁴¹⁴ De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 162.

During his time in Naples, Giuliano da Sangallo studied local antiquities and revised his palace design to accommodate the needs and tastes of the Aragonese.⁴¹⁵ De Divitiis has recently presented a nuanced reading of this project, arguing that it was not a simple one-way importation of Florentine architectural knowledge to the Kingdom of Naples, but rather an iterative process by which Giuliano integrated formal elements derived from local Neapolitan antiquities into his design, as well as knowledge about the current organization of Castel Nuovo, the Neapolitan court, and its ceremonial traditions. She argues,

The project for Ferrante of Aragon's royal palace, far from being designed spontaneously in Florence by the ingenious mind of Giuliano da Sangallo and then sent to Naples, where it was passively received, was in fact the concluding episode of a long story of architectural exchange and diplomatic relationships between Naples and Florence.⁴¹⁶

De Divitiis adds that in their pursuit of a new palace design, the Aragonese would have actively sought information about the major architectural programs of their enemies and allies, as King Alfonso I had done while rebuilding Castel Nuovo in the 1450s. Ferrante would have been informed about the Topkapi palace in Istanbul, the new residence of his sometime ally and continual commercial partner, the Ottoman Sultan. In fact, the year that the Topkapi palace was completed, Ferrante sent his artist Costanzo de Moysis to the Ottoman court to help decorate the new palace. When he returned to Naples in 1481 Costanzo was employed on many important commissions of the court, including the decoration of the Castel Capuana and the Duchesca. As De Divitiis points out, "the Topkapi would have provided an

⁴¹⁵ Sangallo's drawings from his time in Naples are recorded in the Taccuino Senese and the Vatican Barberini Codex. Biermann, "Das Haus," 11; Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 76.

⁴¹⁶ De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 152-3, 168, 171.

inspiring example of a palace conceived to serve simultaneously as a stage set for the representation of dynastic power, an administrative center for a vast empire, and a residence for the royal family.”⁴¹⁷

To conclude this survey of Giuliano da Sangallo’s Neapolitan palace model, we must consider how this project relates to Ferrante’s patterns of patronage, in order to come to some hypothesis about what role, if any, the king may have had in the project. Firstly, the choice of a Florentine architect is uncharacteristic for Ferrante, who rarely looked to Florence or the Medici as models for his cultural patronage. It seems more likely that his son, Alfonso II, who had a great affinity for all things Florentine, may have initiated this project through his conversations with Lorenzo de’ Medici. Perhaps Alfonso lured Sangallo to Naples under false pretenses of building a new castle for the king in order to use the architect for advice on his own ongoing building projects. Indeed, the growing influence of Florentine art and architecture in Naples during the 1480s—such as the commission of Giuliano da Maiano for the Porta Capuana program—is best explained as the result of Duke Alfonso’s closer involvement with building projects at this time.

As Hersey and De Divitiis both explain, Ferrante was in desperate need of a more appropriate space for official proceedings and ceremonies, as well as private quarters for the royal family. Castel Nuovo had to accommodate criminal and civil courts, the Tribunal of the Regia Camera della Sommaria, many smaller tribunals for guilds and monastic orders, royal workshops, prisons, etc. The castle retained its defensive appearance and was an uncomfortable and overcrowded space. As a result,

⁴¹⁷ During his time in Istanbul, Costanzo also created a portrait medal and other artworks for the sultan. De Divitiis, “Giuliano da Sangallo,” 159-160.

dignitaries and other visitors to the court were forced to reside in the homes of nobles like the Carafa family.⁴¹⁸ The need for a unified and inclusive facility for all branches of the kingdom's administration led Hersey to interpret Sangallo's palace plan as a civic building designed to house the kingdom's law courts—a proposal that De Divitiis has recently rejected.⁴¹⁹

Despite the compelling reasons why a new royal palace may have been needed in Naples, it would have been extremely uncharacteristic for Ferrante to undertake a project of this scale at a time when his kingdom's finances and political stability were under such pressure. The eastern and western expansions of Naples' fortifications were the king's priority in this period, and the project to which nearly all available funds were diverted.

Final Developments in Neapolitan Coinage

In this period Ferrante continued minting gold ducats with his portrait, coat of arms, and the inscription RECORDAVTS MISERICORDIE SVE. He also minted the *cavalli* and the *coronato* with portrait and cross, which carried the inscription CORONATVS QUI LEGITIME CERTAVIT. In the late 1480s the court issued a new half-*carlino* decorated with images of an ermine, a shield with Ferrante's coat of arms, and the motto SERENA OMNIA. This coin came to be known as the *armellino* due to its inclusion of the ermine. Additionally, in this decade the city of Aquila

⁴¹⁸ When Lorenzo de' Medici visited the kingdom he was hosted by Antonello Petrucci in 1466 and Pascasio Diaz Garlon, Count of Alife, in 1479. De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 160-161.

⁴¹⁹ Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 77-80; De Divitiis, "Giuliano da Sangallo," 152.

rebelled against the crown and issued its own coinage in support of Pope Innocent VIII (Figs. 120 & 121).⁴²⁰

On 1 October 1488 Ferrante issued a series of reforms on his silver coinage in order to prevent coins of reduced weights and alloys from circulating in the kingdom. The penalty for shearing royal coins was death. At this time, following several years of war in his kingdom, Ferrante ordered the minting of a new *coronato* type (Fig. 122) that replaced the earlier verso imagery with a figure of Saint Michael Archangel (Fig. 123), the patron saint of Ferrante's Order of the Ermine, and the religious figure most frequently invoked in the king's cultural programs. The motto accompanying the new verso image of Saint Michael defeating a demon read IVSTA TVENDA, asserting the justice of Ferrante's fight against his enemies, the pope, and rebel barons.⁴²¹ One rare issue of the new *coronato* depicted a human-faced demon that was believed to represent Marino Marzano, Ferrante's brother-in-law who attempted to assassinate him during the War of Succession.⁴²² The conflation of treacherous barons like Marzano with the new *coronato* coin demonstrates the specific way in

⁴²⁰ When the city of Aquila rebelled against Ferrante during the second baronial revolt in 1486, the city's mint issued coins in honor of Pope Innocent VIII. Following the revolt Ferrante named the master of the Neapolitan mint, Gian Carlo Tramanto, master of the Aquila mint, as well. The Aquila coins had been designed by the Neapolitan goldsmith Francesco Liparolo, "scultor et fabricator coneorum necessariorum in regis sicilis huius regni," who had worked for Alfonso I since 1456. Sambon, "I 'Cavalli'," 339-40, 342; Grierson, 724-34.

⁴²¹ As Varga points out, this was an image favored by rulers struggling with legitimacy. The new '*coronato dell'Angelo*' was worth twenty-two *tornessi* and weighted 4.5 *trappesi*. Sambon, "I 'Carlini,'" 475; Giliberti, 37-9; Grierson, 724-34; Varga, "Messages of Legitimacy," 371.

⁴²² The new *coronati* were minted in Naples and Aquila until Ferrante's death, under the direction of Girolamo Liparolo; they were designed by Gian Carlo Tramontano. Sambon, "I 'Carlini,'" 480; Giliberti, 41-3.

which Ferrante employed Saint Michael's iconography to express his own struggle to defeat evil within the Kingdom of Naples.

The Scriptorium Palatina

Although Ferrante's manuscript workshop was active throughout his reign, the 1480s to 1490s was a key moment in the development of the royal workshop's style. Moreover, two of Ferrante's best preserved and finest manuscripts date to this period, which makes it appropriate to return to the Scriptorium Palatina at this stage. In addition to the large group of artists assembled at Castel Nuovo, Ferrante supported a substantial manuscript workshop. In contrast to the Spanish court of Alfonso I, manuscript production under Ferrante was characterized by an Italianization, both of the texts produced and the artists producing them.⁴²³ The king hired several local miniaturists, including Matteo Felice, Cola and Nardo Rapicano, and Cristoforo Majorana.

In the 1450s, Florentine manuscripts began streaming into Naples through the booksellers Giannozzo Manetti and Vespasiano da Bisticci. Ferrante granted Vespasiano special privileges that allowed him to sell books in Naples without commercial barriers or fees, and Ferrante commissioned many of his own manuscripts from Florentine workshops. In fact, this seems to be the only artistic genre in which Ferrante pursued Florentine styles. Beginning in the 1460s and 1470s, many miniaturists in Naples started producing works in the Florentine *a bianca giari* mode, including the German Gioacchino de Gigantibus and the Neapolitan Cola Rapicano (Fig. 124). The scribe Giovanni Marco Cinico da Parma, who had trained in

⁴²³ Toscano, *La Biblioteca Reale*, 225.

Florence with Pietro Strozzi before going to Naples in 1458, wrote texts in the Florentine humanist script.⁴²⁴

Ferrante's royal manuscript workshop also reveals exchange with other courts, particularly Milan, Ferrara, and Hungary. In the 1480s, frontispieces in Naples began to reveal the influence of Flemish vocabularies, and synthesis became the defining element of the Neapolitan school of miniaturists.⁴²⁵ A revolution of Neapolitan manuscript designs occurred after the arrival of Venetian-Paduan manuscripts by the Maestro del Plinio di Londra and Gaspare Romano in the 1480s. Cristoforo Majorano was especially influenced by these new *all'antica* designs, which flowed into Naples through the Roman library of Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona following the cardinal's death (Fig. 125).⁴²⁶

Ferrante's Breviary

While Isabella di Chiaromonte has received much greater attention than Ferrante has for the patronage of sacred texts, the king also commissioned an equally impressive collection of religious manuscripts and an even larger *oeuvre* of secular books. The finest example of Ferrante's religious manuscript commissions and, indeed, one of the most opulent books to survive from the Aragonese workshop, is the *Breviarium Romanum* in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli (MS.I.B.57). The manuscript dates to c. 1480 and was illustrated by Ferrante's preferred miniaturist, Nardo Rapicano. While Nardo's hand can be identified in the breviary's numerous small and large miniatures, the manuscript's architectural frontispiece was likely

⁴²⁴ Toscano, *La Biblioteca Reale*, 147, 172, 226-7.

⁴²⁵ Toscano, *La Biblioteca Reale*, 230.

⁴²⁶ Toscano, *La Biblioteca Reale*, 431.

produced by a different member of the Rapicano workshop, the Roman artist Cristoforo Majorana (Fig. 126).⁴²⁷

Majorana's impressive frontispiece comprises an architectural frame in shades of pink, gold, and deep blue. The pilasters are decorated with *all'antica* candelabra, and their bases are adorned with an open book and Siege Perilous. The lower portion of the design opens onto an architectural space that presents King Ferrante in prayer with a group of courtiers looking on behind him. As one of the finest securely identifiable portraits of Ferrante produced during his lifetime, this illustration is crucial for our understanding of other extant Aragonese portraits of less certain provenance. In this portrait, Ferrante kneels at a *prie-dieu* in a pose like that in Gagini's Cappella Palatina tabernacle, gazing upward in the direction of the Madonna and Child painted in the initial. Ferrante wears a purple, ermine-trimmed cloak over a gold brocade tunic. In addition to the illustrated initial, Majorana's frontispiece includes a large scene of the Nativity with an angel appearing to the shepherds in the background, announcing the birth of the Christ Child.

Ferrante's breviary is decorated with twenty-one illustrated initials, including: the Madonna and Child, Saints Stephen, John the Evangelist, Thomas, George, Philip, Catherine, John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, James, Peter, Laurence, Bartholomew, Matthew, Michael Archangel, Simon, and Jude. Scenes of the Visitation, Transfiguration, Assumption, and Exaltation of Christ also appear in initials. In addition to hundreds of painted and illuminated letters, Nardo Rapicano illustrated

⁴²⁷ Emilia Ambra, "Introduction," in *Libri a Corte: Testi e Immagini nella Napoli Aragonese*, edited by Emilia Ambra (Naples: Paparo, 1997) 10, 116-7; Murano, 26, 29.

seventeen larger pictures of the Madonna and Child, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Lament of Jeremiah, two images of the Resurrection, Pentecost, Trinity, Corpus Domini, Vocation of Saints Andrew and Peter, the Presentation at the Temple, Annunciation, Saints Peter and Paul, Christ with the Virgin and Saints, God Defeating the Demon, the Raising of Lazarus, and David in Prayer.

Based on his portrait on the frontispiece, the likeness of King Ferrante can be identified in at least two of these large illustrations. In the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 127) an elderly Ferrante, identifiable by his ermine-lined cloak, plays the role of the Magus kneeling in closest proximity to the Christ Child. Toward the end of the manuscript, Ferrante, again wearing his ermine-lined cloak, is portrayed in the *Raising of Lazarus* scene (Fig. 128). In this image Ferrante, surrounded by Jesus and the apostles, pulls a nude Lazarus, draped in a burial shroud, out of a shallow grave. Given Lazarus' carefully delineated features, I would argue that the figure is a portrait. Ferrante's son, Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona, died in Rome in October 1485, purportedly from the plague. This tragic event would have been a likely inspiration for this image, which provides a *terminus post quem* of 1485 for the completion of the breviary.

In addition to the portraits of Ferrante and Giovanni, I would argue that one can also identify Ferrante's new bride, Queen Juana of Aragon, in the figure of the young blonde woman in the pink, ermine-lined dress. Juana arrived in Naples in 1477, and she would have been approximately thirty years old when this illustration was painted, in contrast to the sixty year-old Ferrante. If my hypothesis is correct, this is the only known portrait of Juana of Aragon to survive.

Castel Nuovo and the city of Naples are also portrayed in at least two of the breviary's illustrations. In the pictures of the *Lamentation of Jeremiah* (Fig. 129) and *David in Prayer* (Fig. 130), the respective saints are situated outside the walls of a city whose gate closely resembles the entrance to Castel Nuovo.

De Maiestate

One of the best-preserved and most well known manuscripts produced by the Scriptorium Palatina during Ferrante's reign is an illuminated volume of *De Maiestate*. The original manuscript was presented to Ferrante in 1492 by the Neapolitan humanist Giuniano Maio. As a pupil of Giovanni Pontano, Maio had great success at the Neapolitan court. He served as a professor of Rhetoric at the Studio from 1465 to 1488 and was named courtier to King Ferrante in 1490. Thus, *De Maiestate* can be considered a token of Maio's appreciation to the king after receiving that prestigious court appointment. The essay was probably inspired by Giovanni Pontano's own *De Principe*, which was written in Latin around 1468 as a gift for Duke Alfonso II.⁴²⁸

Despite its Latin title, *De Maiestate* was written in Italian, perhaps in response to Ferrante's preference for vernacular literary production. Upon receipt of the manuscript, Ferrante immediately requested an illustrated copy, which was transcribed by October 1492. The book's decoration was commissioned to the king's favorite illuminator, Nardo Rapicano, whose illustrations and illuminations were

⁴²⁸ Toscano, *La Biblioteca Reale*, 406; Joana Barreto, "Le Roi Comme Exemplum: Le *De Maiestate* de Giuniano Maio Entre Histoire et Rhetorique," in *Visible et Lisible: Confrontations et Articulations du Texte et de l'Image: Actes du Colloque Organisé à Paris, Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, les 29 et 30 Juin 2006*, edited by Joana Barreto (Paris: Nouveau Monde, 2007), 213-15.

finished by April 1493. The completed volume, which is Nardo's only documented work to survive, comprises sixty-four folios and twenty-four illuminations.⁴²⁹

In his introduction to the text, Maio states that his goal is to examine the concept of Majesty, not with the eyes of the mind, but through his own first-hand experiences with King Ferrante. Over the course of twenty chapters, each exploring an essential virtue of majesty, Maio presents Ferrante as equivalent to the great Roman emperors. Ferrante is said to possess the dignity of Scipio, severity of Cato, sublimity of Caesar, grace of Augustus, grandeur of Caligula, and strength of Vespasian.⁴³⁰ These praises recall the inscriptions of Guglielmo Monaco's bronze doors, which also compared King Ferrante to Roman Emperors and the heroes of classical antiquity.

Furthermore, *De Maiestate* describes many of the same episodes that Guglielmo's doors commemorated. Chapter One tells of Ferrante's resistance of Marino Marzano's attempted assassination and is accompanied by an illustration that is drawn directly from the bronze doors (Fig. 131). Nardo made a minor change in his illustration of the event, however—he depicts Marino Marzano attacking Ferrante, when it was actually Diofebo who charged the king at Torricella. This misunderstanding, or intentional alteration, can be explained by Nardo's desire to emphasize Ferrante's need to defend himself against his own kin.⁴³¹ Given *De Maiestate*'s explicit references to the bronze doors, the manuscript might be

⁴²⁹ On 2 April 1493, Nardo Rapicano received fifteen ducats, four tarí, and sixteen *grana* for illustrating *De Maiestate*. The manuscript (MS Italien 1711) is now held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Barone, 22-23; Toscano, *La Biblioteca Reale*, 406; Barreto, "Le Roi Comme *Exemplum*," 216; Barretto, "La Porte," 134.

⁴³⁰ Barreto, "Le Roi Comme *Exemplum*," 217-19.

⁴³¹ Barreto, "Le Roi Comme *Exemplum*," 222-4.

interpreted as a private counterpart to the doors, that served as a memento of Ferrante's accomplishments.

In his illustration for Chapter Seven, *De la Constanza non Insuperbire*, Nardo depicts Ferrante standing atop the Mountain of Diamonds and distributing riches (Fig. 132). As one of the predominant illustrators at the Neapolitan court, Nardo surely depicted the Mountain of Diamonds many times on other manuscripts for Ferrante. In this picture, however, the device was monumentalized and conflated with the motif of a sovereign distributing wealth.⁴³² Chapter Fourteen, *De non Montare in Ira*, shows Ferrante sharing a meal with his barons in a composition that resembles Christ's last supper with his apostles. A window grate or row of prison bars in the foreground, however, prefigures the imprisonment of these men, who would betray Ferrante as Judas betrayed Christ. Despite Ferrante's harsh punishment of the treacherous barons, the juxtaposition of text and image compels the viewer to sympathize with the forsaken king, while also suggesting that Ferrante forgave his deserters as Christ forgave Judas.

Some of the anecdotes and illustrations of *De Maiestate* also connect Ferrante to the legacy of his father, Alfonso the Magnanimous. In another of Nardo's pictures, Ferrante is portrayed at prayer in a church that crumbles around him (Fig. 134)—a scene meant to recall an event from Alfonso's life, in which the king prayed at San Pietro Martire during the earthquake of 1465. In this way, constancy is shown to be a

⁴³² Barreto, "Le Roi Comme *Exemplum*," 227.

trait Ferrante inherited from his father—a dynastic virtue of the Aragonese monarchs.⁴³³

No other copy of *De Maiestate* survives. The book was, therefore, intended solely for King Ferrante and his inner circle. The manuscript reveals the collaborative efforts of an artist and writer working to glorify their patron, and to justify and re-contextualize his controversial actions.⁴³⁴ *De Maiestate* was written and illustrated during the particularly volatile months surrounding the election of Rodrigo Borgia as Pope Alexander VI. At this time Ferrante’s reputation throughout Italy was abysmal and he lacked strong allies against the bellicose Borgia pope. *De Maiestate* may have served to encourage King Ferrante during these difficult years by recalling the hopeful period following the battle of Ischia. The book’s inclusion of dynastic imagery meant to evoke the illustrious memory of King Alfonso I, its analogies between Ferrante and the great heroes of antiquity, and the reminders of Ferrante’s own triumphs serve to situate the elderly and failing king within a majestic lineage of great leaders. Through *De Maiestate*, Giuniano Maio created a unique Aragonese political imagery that straddles the borders of history and rhetoric.⁴³⁵

As the last surviving visual record of Ferrante at the end of his life, *De Maiestate* seems to be a consciously introspective and retrospective commission that highlights the triumphs of the king’s long and tumultuous reign. Its completion marks the end of a decade that largely focused on fortifying Naples against an attack that had grown increasingly unavoidable. The legacy left behind by Ferrante’s final

⁴³³ Barreto, “Le Roi Comme *Exemplum*,” 224-5.

⁴³⁴ Barreto, “Le Roi Comme *Exemplum*,” 230, 234-6.

⁴³⁵ Barreto, “Le Roi Comme *Exemplum*,” 236-7.

commissions is one of both fear and resolve, revealing a king who fought constantly to maintain peace in a kingdom that was perpetually on the brink of collapse.

Conclusion:

King Ferrante's death in January 1494 was followed by the almost immediate collapse of the Aragonese dynasty and a decade of volatility that lasted until the Kingdom of Naples came fully under Spanish control in 1503. The massive population expansion, poverty, and social unrest that came to characterize Naples in the centuries after the collapse of the Aragonese dynasty tend to eclipse the splendor of Ferrante's Naples. The second half of the fifteenth century—a period that can truly be described as the golden age of Naples—witnessed the re-birth of Neapolitan arts and culture after nearly two centuries of French rule. Under Ferrante, local artists, writers, and intellectuals came to dominate the cultural life of the city, as foreign artists and styles were pushed aside or reinterpreted in favor of a growing sense of Napolitanità. For his role in this reinvigoration of local cultural modes, Ferrante deserves much greater attention than he has previously received among the scholarship on Renaissance Italy.

This study has brought to light one of the most important political figures of Early Modern Europe and has demonstrated the magnitude of his artistic patronage. My research significantly alters previous assumptions about fifteenth-century Neapolitan visual culture by confirming the status of Naples as an artistic center on par with Florence, Venice, and Rome. Furthermore, this dissertation has elucidated the relationship of Naples to the international network of courts and city-states that comprised Quattrocento Europe.

As the first study to take an inclusive approach to examining King Ferrante's artistic patronage, this dissertation has shown that the visual culture of Ferrante's court was influenced by the king's distinct tastes, cultural aims, and the political circumstances of his kingdom. Ferrante's sophisticated appreciation for the ability of art to influence politics was the single most important motivating factor of the cultural projects undertaken by his court over the course of his thirty-five year reign.

Ferrante considered cultural production to be inseparable from its social function. All of his employees were expected to serve the state in some meaningful way alongside their intellectual or creative pursuits. I argue that the same could be said of Ferrante's artistic projects themselves. Due to the financial pressures of his kingdom and the fragility of his political standing, Ferrante could not afford to devote immense energies and funds to commissions that were valued merely for their beauty and extravagance. In addition to these traits, most of the artworks examined in this study served the Neapolitan state in important ways. Francesco Laurana's portrait busts, for example, helped to build and strengthen the king's alliances. The city walls, triumphal gates, and bronze doors provided protection for the king's person and broadcast his victories and virtues. Ferrante's coinage advertised the king's identity and ideology to the far reaches of his kingdom and beyond.

With his earliest surviving commissions, Ferrante sought to create the appearance of continuity between his reign and that of his father by employing many of the artists already working for Alfonso I. For his Cappella Palatina tabernacle, Ferrante commissioned Domenico Gagini, who had recently created a double-sided triumphal portal for the Sala dei Baroni and contributed a number of sculpted figures

to the triumphal arch of Castel Nuovo. For his marble portrait bust, Ferrante hired Pietro di Martino da Milano, designer of Alfonso I's triumphal arch at Castel Nuovo and sculptor of the portraits of the king and his heir on that important monument. By hiring his father's preferred artists, Ferrante self-consciously employed forms of visual and stylistic rhetoric to present himself as the natural successor to King Alfonso I.

Even in his earliest surviving commissions, however, Ferrante also began to establish a clear identity for himself that differentiated his activity from that of his father. His first official coinage included the earliest gold and silver coins since antiquity to carry a portrait. Although Alfonso had commissioned a number of portrait medallions from his court artist, Pisanello, it was Ferrante who first transferred this form to monetary coins. Ferrante created a number of other new coin types during his reign, including the *coronato*, which was first minted in 1459 with the intention of providing proof for the king's legitimacy on the throne.

These projects from the late 1450s demonstrate the ways in which Ferrante began to utilize form and style in the service of political rhetoric. The overtly Florentine mode of Domenico Gagini's tabernacle, for example, is unique among Ferrante's commissions. Yet, this choice may be explained by the signing of the Peace of Lodi—a truce among Milan, Naples, and Florence following Ferrante's failure to defeat Florence in the War of Milanese Succession—just a few years before the tabernacle was commissioned. Gagini's tabernacle is a near replica in miniature of the Pazzi Chapel, the major architectural project of the Medici family's main rivals, the Pazzi family, with whom Ferrante would partner two decades later in an attempt

to overthrow the Medici. The Cappella Palatina tabernacle, therefore, conveys both Naples' new alliance with Florence and its rejection of that city's de facto rulers. This type of deliberate manipulation of visual vocabularies to express political meaning is at the heart of many of Ferrante's artistic programs.

In addition to his savvy stylistic choices, Ferrante's selection of artists also correlated to the political circumstances of his kingdom. Artists whose pedigrees imbued their work with additional political significance were especially prized by the king. For example, following his victory at Ischia in 1465, Ferrante recalled Pietro da Milano and Francesco Laurana from the court of René d'Anjou, where they had transferred in 1459. He soon named Pietro royal sculptor to the Neapolitan court and commissioned him to construct a coronation arch at the entrance to Castel Nuovo. Pietro da Milano's authorship of this project would have been a poignant reminder of Ferrante's victory over the House of Anjou, and thus, of his ability to re-appropriate his artists from the Angevin court. I would argue that the tumultuous history of the Angevin-Aragonese rivalry came to be embedded in the stylistic signatures of Pietro da Milano and Francesco Laurana, and it was largely for this reason that these artists were so highly valued at the Neapolitan court.

Similarly, in the 1470s and 1480s Laurana, who had worked as a portraitist for René d'Anjou during the Neapolitan War of Succession, was called upon to sculpt portrait busts of Ferrante's daughters. These sculptures, created by the former portraitist of Ferrante's enemy, were intended to expand and solidify Neapolitan power through their role in strategic marriage alliances. Laurana's busts had to convince viewers of the beauty and virtue of the Aragonese princesses, and also of

the political rewards of an alliance with King Ferrante of Naples. What better way to convey the latter than by choosing an artist whose own employment history was a reminder of Ferrante's past victories?

Another artist whose work conveyed multiple layers of political meaning was Guglielmo Monaco. His French pedigree, stylistic development, and his role in Ferrante's victory in the War of Succession make Monaco's bronze doors for Castel Nuovo a highly charged political monument. Monaco's style recalls his collaboration with Pisanello during his tenure as court artist to King Alfonso. Thus, like the earlier sculptures by Domenico Gagini and Pietro da Milano, Guglielmo Monaco's authorship of the bronze doors creates the appearance of an uninterrupted artistic legacy among the Aragonese sovereigns. Furthermore, Monaco's service as Master of Artillery makes him, in many ways, a paradigm among Ferrante's artists. His ability to serve the state in multiple capacities led to his ennoblement and his position as one of the most highly paid members of the court.

Artists and Aesthetics at the Neapolitan Court

According to my preliminary investigations of the data sets compiled for this study, the percentage of commissions King Ferrante awarded to southern Italian artists steadily increased throughout his reign. In 1458 only 33% of artists working at the Neapolitan court were southern Italian, compared to 72% in the last decade of Ferrante's reign (Ill. 2). By contrast, 54% of Duke Alfonso II's artists were foreign, and 70% of those were Tuscan (Ill. 7). Among Ferrante's artists, painters, illuminators, and copyists were predominantly southern Italian, and his builders

hailed exclusively from Cava dei Tirreni. Meanwhile, Ferrante's sculptors were a more diverse group, comprising several Lombard artists and others from Rome, Pisa, France, and Dalmatia (Ill. 3). Although one must be careful when drawing conclusions from the fragmentary primary documentation published by Barone and Filangieri, I would argue that there is substantial evidence to assert that Ferrante's artistic patronage departed dramatically from that of his father, whose court comprised nearly equal numbers of Spanish, French, Roman, Tuscan, and Lombard artists. Over the course of his reign, Ferrante worked to fashion himself as a truly Neapolitan king.

Despite the increasingly southern Italian nature of Ferrante's artists, the Neapolitan court was by no means provincial. At the same time that the number of local artists at court grew, so, too, did Ferrante's role in European politics and culture. It is worth noting that many of the artists granted the most high-profile commissions at Ferrante's court, such as Guglielmo Monaco, Pietro da Milano, Francesco Laurana, and Giuliano da Maiano, were foreigners, though they were assisted by large teams of southern Italians. Furthermore, these foreign artists were awarded the most public-facing of Ferrante's commissions, while the southern Italian artists at the Neapolitan court were exclusively employed for private commissions. Southern Italian artists, such as Angiollilo Arcuccio, Riccardo Quartararo, and Nardo Rapicano, were Ferrante's top choice for the decoration of his private chambers and the books and other personal objects housed therein. This dichotomy between Ferrante's public and private identities reveals a king who desired to present himself as a major player in the international cultural arena, and yet one who remained Neapolitan at heart.

Ferrante's first wife, Isabella di Chiaromonte, also favored local artists for her projects. She preferred the styles of the Neapolitan painter Colantonio and the Master of Isabella di Chiaromonte, whose identity remains unknown, but who worked at the Neapolitan court for quite some time. Both artists worked in styles that revealed northern influences—Flemish painting in the case of Colantonio, and decorative Gothic forms in the case of the Master. Unfortunately, no evidence survives for the patronage of Ferrante's second wife, Juana of Aragon.

The Iconography of King Ferrante

A number of trends can be identified among the content and iconography of King Ferrante's artistic programs. Ferrante's earliest commissions tended to focus on demonstrating his legitimacy on the Neapolitan throne. Depending on the location and context of the artwork, Ferrante's projects asserted his legitimacy through differing means. His portal and tabernacles for the Cappella Palatina at Castel Nuovo signal divine sanction of Ferrante's dominion through holy figures' apparent support of and council to the king. The coronation arch and bronze doors of Castel Nuovo make a claim for the king's legitimacy based predominantly on his military triumphs and strengths, as well as his dynastic legacy inherited from his father, Alfonso the Magnanimous. Ferrante's completion of his father's unfinished projects and the close relationship between his own new projects and those of Alfonso also serve to establish a clear dynastic legacy between the two Aragonese sovereigns, and in the same way that the style of artists employed at Ferrante's court had done.

The bronze doors and *coronati* portrait coins elevate Ferrante's status and legitimacy by identifying him as the new Caesar—an iconographic element that also highlights his unique position as the only king on Italian soil. A number of Ferrante's artistic choices, such as the inscriptions on the bronze doors comparing him to heroes of antiquity, his use of portrait coinage as a means of promoting his authority, and his inclusion of the radiate crown of Sol Invictus on some of those coins, all demonstrate the king's deployment of Imperial Roman culture to bolster his identity as King of Naples.

Antiquity was not, however, the only source of inspiration that Ferrante relied on to promote his state. Chivalric traditions also came to be a central element of his iconography after his establishment of the Order of the Ermine in 1465. After this date, images of ermine proliferate among the king's artistic production, including on the bronze gates at Castel Nuovo, the *armellino* coin, and a number of manuscripts. An ermine fur-lined cloak and occasionally the collar of the Order of the Ermine also appear frequently among Ferrante's commissions, as we have seen in the case of his Breviary. These symbols came to distinguish the king as a virtuous and chivalric prince, and they were often combined with King Alfonso I's emblem of the open book, which identified Ferrante as a learned king and associated him with the legacy of his father.

The only religious image that appears regularly in Ferrante's *oeuvre* is the figure of Saint Michael Archangel, patron saint of the Order of the Ermine. Saint Michael seems to have been exclusively associated with Ferrante, and his adoption by Ferrante relates to the king's long fight to defeat pretenders to his throne and

treacherous barons in his kingdom. Ferrante began incorporating the figure of Saint Michael into his commissions very early on in his reign—the earliest of these to survive is the sculpture of the saint that was installed at the summit of the *Triumphal Arch* of Castel Nuovo in 1466. The iconography of Saint Michael, who symbolized the triumph of good over evil, also became intertwined with the Order of the Ermine, which Ferrante dedicated to the archangel in 1465. Saint Michael appeared once again in a royal commission, around 1488, when Ferrante ordered that an image of the saint defeating Satan replace the king's coat of arms on the verso of the *coronato* coin. In each of these cases, King Ferrante employs the iconography of Saint Michael Archangel to respond to internal and external threats to his crown and to assert his own role as deliverer of justice.

Lost Artworks

This dissertation has sought to uncover Ferrante's *oeuvre*, yet the objects that survive make up only a small fraction of the king's patronage. The damage wrought on Naples' archival and material history over the course of numerous insurrections, wars, fires, earthquakes, and shifting tastes has erased the vast majority of the visual culture created at Ferrante's court. Relying on documents published by Barone and Filangieri, which are fragmentary themselves, the pages that follow aim to shed light on the artistic activity of the Neapolitan court for which no physical evidence remains.

The artist who appears most frequently in Filangieri's documents is the Milanese sculptor Jacopo della Pila—he is mentioned sixteen times between the years

1471 and 1494. In addition to the fountains and tabernacle he produced for King Ferrante, Jacopo created funerary monuments for Ettore Piscicelli, Giulia Brancaccio, and Niccolò di Alagno.⁴³⁶ Pietro di Martino da Milano is mentioned twelve times from January 1458 until March 1476. He received between fifty and eight-hundred ducats for his commissions, which mostly centered around the triumphal arch and coronation arch at Castel Nuovo.⁴³⁷

The painter who appears most frequently among the *Cedole* records is the Neapolitan Angelillo Arcuccio (or Artuzzo) Raccaderame (del Reame). Bernardo De Dominici believed Angelillo had trained in the workshop of lo Zingaro along with Pietro and Polito Donzello.⁴³⁸ Arcuccio was recorded twelve times between June 1464 and January 1487. Only five of those records refer to commissions from the Neapolitan court, including the task of gilding the orb and crown of Ferrante's portrait on the coronation arch of Castel Nuovo, painting the ceiling of the castle's Gran Sala (together with Stefano Caracciolo, Gaspare de Orta, and Andrea Berisello),

⁴³⁶ Other records indicate Jacopo della Pila's involvement in the sale of marble to and from marble dealers, and still others document his training of the young sculptors Pietro di Pelliccia of Calabria, Giacomo Bernardo, of Calabria, and Jacopo de Giorgio of Castromonte. See: *Fifteenth-Century Neapolitan Artistic Records* data set, Records 294, 661, 919-931.

⁴³⁷ During this period, Pietro also completed sculptural projects for Giovanni Caracciolo and Carlo Estendardo. See: *Fifteenth-Century Neapolitan Artistic Records* data set, Records 537, 573, 744-755.

⁴³⁸ Pierluigi Leone de Castris considers Angelillo Arcuccio to be the artist Giovanni di Giusto, also known as the Master of San Severino, who was sent to Bruges by Ferrante in 1469. However, a record from April of that year documents Arcuccio's presence in Naples. De Dominici, 321; De Castris, *Il Museo Civico*, 126.

decorating a loggia that stretched from the Torre di Mare to the Gran Sala, painting an image of Ferrante for Giovedi Santo celebrations, and other small projects.⁴³⁹

The painter Antonello di Capua was active at Ferrante's court from at least July 1472 until June 1492. He was hired to decorate the Sala Nuovo and Ferrante's apartments in the new park at Castel Nuovo, and to illustrate manuscripts, such as an *oratorio* for the Duchess of Termoli and two of Francesco di Giorgio's design books.⁴⁴⁰ Another southern Italian painter, Riccardo Quartararo, appears eleven times in Filangieri's records between January 1492 and September 1494. He produced paintings for Castel Nuovo with the painters Grandillo Verticano and Giacchino di Giovanni (perhaps the elusive artist Giovanni di Giusto).⁴⁴¹ According to Pierluigi Leone de Castris, Riccardo Quartararo, along with Giovanni di Giusto and Francesco Pagano, was one of the highest paid and most prestigious painters at the Neapolitan court at the time of Ferrante's death.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁹ Arcuccio's outside commissions during this period include painting a tomb for Giovanni Peres at Santa Maria la Nova and producing altarpieces for Antonio di Bologna, Bishop Bartolommeo of Cassano, P. Guardiano, Angelo Musano, and the church of Santa Maria d'Alto Cielo in Calabritto. Barone, "Le Cedole di Tesoreria," 226, 229, 242; De Castris, *Il Museo Civico*, 126. See: *Fifteenth-Century Neapolitan Artistic Records* data set, Records 64-75, 550, 552, 851.

⁴⁴⁰ Barone, "Le Cedole di Tesoreria," 16, 126, 264, 390, 630. See: *Fifteenth-Century Neapolitan Artistic Records* data set, Records 195-6, 1141.

⁴⁴¹ Additionally, Quartararo produced altarpieces for Francesco Pastore, Maczeo Ferrillo, the monastery of San Marcellino, San Giovanni a Mare, and the church of the Trinity at Sessa. He also designed a *tetto del coro* for the church of Santa Caterina dell'Olivella in Palermo. Although these frescoes have been destroyed, Quartararo's style can be seen in the contemporary documented works of San Giovanni a Mare in Naples (1491) and Santi Pietro e Paolo at the Galleria di Palermo. De Castris, *Il Museo Civico*, 126; Barone, "Le Cedole di Tesoreria," 12. See: *Fifteenth-Century Neapolitan Artistic Records* data set, Records 408-9, 516, 615, 829, 959-963, 1143.

⁴⁴² De Castris writes that Giovanni di Giusto painted a world map at Castel Nuovo. Barone, "Le Cedole di Tesoreria," 634; De Castris, ed., *Quattrocento Aragonese*, 38.

The painter Giosuè Anselmo seems to have specialized in creating stage sets for *sacre rappresentazioni* performed at Castel Nuovo during Holy Week.⁴⁴³ His involvement with commissions of this type was documented on five separate occasions between April 1470 and March 1474.⁴⁴⁴ Similarly, Aniello dell'Abate specialized mainly in painting Ferrante's coat of arms and devices on shields, banners, horse armor, and other objects. He is documented five times between September 1465 and March 1473, working primarily for the Neapolitan court.⁴⁴⁵

Also appearing frequently in Filangieri's documents are the copyist, illuminator, and bookseller from Palma, Campania, Giovanni Marco Cinico, and the Calabrian copyist and illuminator Cola Rapicano. Cinico is documented on fifteen separate occasions from 1470 until December 1492 for transcribing texts in antique letters, purchasing books for the royal library, and selling manuscripts and printed books.⁴⁴⁶ Cola Rapicano is recorded thirteen times during the period from November 1465 until June 1481. He received payments ranging from four to seventy-one ducats for tasks associated with the Scriptorium Palatina, such as illuminating letters in gold and painting coats of arms and other decorations in royal manuscripts. Cola produced a wide selection of books, including Books of Hours, ancient philosophical treatises, and falconry guides.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴³ Barone, "Le Cedole di Tesoreria," 400.

⁴⁴⁴ Barone, "Le Cedole di Tesoreria," 227-9, 243, 397. See: *Fifteenth-Century Neapolitan Artistic Records* data set, Records 56-7, 501, 995.

⁴⁴⁵ Aniello dell'Abate also helped to decorate the palace of Roberto Orsini. Barone, "Le Cedole di Tesoreria," 228, 237-8, 387. See: *Fifteenth-Century Neapolitan Artistic Records* data set, Records 1172-6.

⁴⁴⁶ See: *Fifteenth-Century Neapolitan Artistic Records* data set, Records 694-700.

⁴⁴⁷ See: *Fifteenth-Century Neapolitan Artistic Records* data set, Records 1000-1012.

Among the most art-historically significant entries in the *Cedole* accounts is the record for a payment of thirty-four ducats on 20 January 1470 to Iohan de Iusto, son of the vice-castellan of the Torre di San Vincenzo, who was sent to Bruges by Ferrante to learn to paint from an artist named Berthomen, now identified as Barthélemy d’Eyck, also known as the Master of the Aix Annunciation. Unfortunately, Iohan de Iusto is not documented again in Naples after his return from Bruges, though some scholars have argued that the artist is responsible for the exquisite *San Severino* polyptych.⁴⁴⁸ Many other records in the *Cedole di Tesoreria* document the purchase of clothing, games, musical instruments, manuscripts, gems, gifts, shields, banners, and other items for the court.⁴⁴⁹

Lacunae in Ferrante’s Patronage

Perhaps almost as important for understanding Ferrante’s *oeuvre* as an investigation of his surviving artworks is a consideration of the types of projects the king did not commission. Although one must use caution when drawing conclusions about what Ferrante did and did not commission because of the devastating loss of Neapolitan art and primary sources, it is still worth pointing out some of the gaps in the king’s patronage. The most surprising of these is the lack of any funerary monuments for the Aragonese sovereigns. Although Alfonso II built a chapel at Santa

⁴⁴⁸ Barone, “Le Cedole di Tesoreria,” 223, 226-7.

⁴⁴⁹ For example, Maestro Paris Avocat received four ducats and two *tari* on 24 December 1473 for carving Ferrante’s head into a hyacinth stone as a gift for the Duchess d’Arce. Maestro Masone de Mayo received an installment of sixty ducats on 4 April 1492 for making a triumphal arch to hold Ferrante’s precious jewels. Original translation: “l’arco trionfale che lavora che e servirà a riporvi le gioie e gli smeraldi del Re.” Barone, “Le Cedole di Tesoreria,” 15, 394.

Maria di Monteoliveto, for which Guido Mazzoni's *Lamentation* was made, not a single tomb or any evidence of a tomb project for an Aragonese king exists. The church of San Domenico Maggiore in the Seggio di Nido came to serve as a sort of Aragonese royal chapel, with coffins of members of the royal family stored there beginning in 1494. The Aragonese coffins were neglected until Philip II dedicated a royal chapel to the Aragonese in 1594. Today, forty-five caskets belonging to members of the Aragonese family and court line the walls of the sacristy of San Domenico Maggiore.⁴⁵⁰

This unusual tradition of placing the bodies of members of the royal family in simple wooden, unburied coffins, rather than grand commemorative funerary monuments—which were a fundamental artistic project for any noble family with sufficient financial means—began with the death of Alfonso I, who requested that his body be returned to the land of his birth. For reasons that remain unknown, Ferrante failed to fulfill his father's burial wishes. From the death of Alfonso I onward, the deceased Aragonese royals were held in limbo, in their modest, temporary coffins, as though the family had planned for all of their bodies to be returned to the territories of the Crown of Aragon. Interestingly, Ferrante's wives, Isabella and Juana, were each buried in marble tombs in the churches of San Pietro Martire and Santa Maria la Nova respectively.

Another curious element of Ferrante's *oeuvre* is the lack of artistic commissions outside of Castel Nuovo. The only known exceptions are his urban

⁴⁵⁰ John A. Marino, "Myths of Modernity and the Myth of the City: When the Historiography of Pre-Modern Italy goes South," in *New Approaches to Naples c. 1500-c.1800: The Power of Place*, edited by Melissa Calaresu and Helen Hills (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 12.

renewal and fortification projects. The concentration of Ferrante's commissions within the royal precinct creates a clear division between court and city in Naples. Whether out of respect for or fear of the Neapolitan system of urban organization and administration embodied by the *seggi*, the physical evidence of Ferrante's rule seems to have made a minimal impact on the urban fabric of the city. The king certainly appeared outside the walls of the *cittadella* for state and religious ceremonies, festivals, and tournaments, and at these events he would have been surrounded by ephemeral artworks that articulated his authority and political ideology. Yet, aside from the circulation of royal coinage and the sculptural decorations of the new city walls and gates, there is no record of King Ferrante commissioning permanent artistic programs for public spaces within Naples.

This feature of his patronage stands in stark contrast to that of the Angevin monarchs, who erected numerous churches, monasteries, and tombs throughout the city during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Ferrante's practices diverge, as well, from those of other fifteenth-century Italian princes, such as the Sforza dukes in Milan, the d'Este dukes of Ferrara, Duke Federico da Montefeltro of Urbino, the Gonzaga of Mantua, and Sigismondo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini.⁴⁵¹ Each of these princes sponsored large-scale religious and/or civic monuments for public spaces within their dominions. Large-scale building projects were considered a necessity for magnificent patrons of the Early Modern era, and they also provided a means for patrons to assert their presence and control over the cities they governed. Not only did Ferrante neglect to initiate large-scale civic or religious projects of his own, he also

⁴⁵¹ Welch, "Patrons, Artists, and Audiences;" Colantuono; Clough, "Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage;" Paoletti and Radke.

refused to carry out Isabella di Chiaromonte's request that a church dedicated to Saint Vincenzo Ferrer be erected after her death.

Furthermore, my investigation of Filangieri's data reveals that architecture and large-scale building projects featured very rarely among Ferrante's patronage, aside from the eastern wall expansion of the 1480s. Indeed, only two architects are recorded among Ferrante's commissions (Ill. 3). The king's expenditure on the visual arts was largely devoted, instead, to painting, sculpture, and manuscript production.

Ferrante's patronage outside of Castel Nuovo contrasts with that of his father and son, as well. For example, at least 22% of Duke Alfonso II's artistic programs were devoted to architecture (Ill. 8). Alfonso II is remembered primarily for his support of and numerous commissions for the church of Santa Maria di Monteoliveto. Among other projects, Alfonso I renovated the exterior of San Domenico Maggiore and constructed a chapel at Santa Maria della Pace.⁴⁵² This chapel existed as an independent institution for nearly three decades before Ferrante incorporated it into the nearby Real Casa Santa dell'Annunziata on 18 August 1469.⁴⁵³

Despite its royal title, the Real Casa Santa dell'Annunziata was not, in fact, governed by the Aragonese monarchy.⁴⁵⁴ It was financed by taxes from the

⁴⁵² The Santa Maria della Pace chapel, at the *campo vecchio*, was built in 1442 to commemorate the miraculous apparition of the Virgin to Alfonso during his war for the throne of Naples, in which the Virgin advised Alfonso on how to conquer the city. Giambattista d'Addosio, *Origine, Vicende Storiche e Progressi della Real S. Casa dell'Annunziata di Napoli* (Naples: Pei Tipi di Antonio Cons, 1883), 191.

⁴⁵³ The Real Casa Santa dell'Annunziata was founded in 1304, during the reign of Charles II d'Anjou, by Neapolitan knights from the Scondito family of the Piazza di Capuana. It was established, together with the hospital of Santa Marta, to provide food, shelter, and education for foundling children and pregnant women in need. Ferrante merged these institutions in February 1477. D'Addosio, 190.

⁴⁵⁴ D'Addosio, 238.

kingdom's provinces and communes, and through numerous privileges and tariff exemptions issued by Ferrante.⁴⁵⁵ The king of Naples likely had a role in choosing the Superintendent of the Real Casa, yet he does not seem to have been involved with the daily business of running the organization.⁴⁵⁶ The Real Casa was governed, instead, by *Maestri* elected from noble houses, typically of the *seggio*, or borough, of Capuana.⁴⁵⁷ The church of the Annunziata was frescoed by Ferrante's court painter Angiolillo Arcuccio, though there is no evidence by which to determine whether this was a royal commission.⁴⁵⁸ Another of Ferrante's artists, Domenico Gagini, was hired to produce at least two sculptures for the Real Casa Santa dell'Annunziata.⁴⁵⁹ As with

⁴⁵⁵ For example, on 30 September 1466, Ferrante issued a decree stating that the hospital of the Annunziata was immune and exempt from all taxes. In another decree from 24 March 1473, he granted the hospital of the Annunziata 50 *tomola* of salt per year. D'Addosio, 551-2, 608.

⁴⁵⁶ In the 1875 publication of the statutes of the Annunziata, it was recorded that the Superintendent of the organization was to be nominated by the Governo del Re, while the remaining governors were elected by a provincial council. D'Addosio, 613.

⁴⁵⁷ Angelo Cuomo, Eliseo Terracina, Francesco Vitagliano, Giovanne Ieremia, and members of the Caracciolo, de Penna (or d'Apenna), Folliero, de Loffredo, Brancaleone, Filomarino, Sasso, de Scotio, de Campolo, and della Lama families were most frequently elected governors. D'Addosio, 22-3, 26, 573-6.

⁴⁵⁸ The church of the Annunziata was erected in 1332, possibly by Stefano Masuccio, and a new sacristy was designed in the 1480s by Iacobo and Iuliano Fiorentino. D'Addosio, 8-9, 46-7, 175.

⁴⁵⁹ Gagini's *Madonna and Child*, now in the crypt of the Annunziata, dates to the early 1470s and has been identified as a copy after the miraculous Trecento *Madonna di Trapani*. He produced another *Madonna and Child* for the Real Casa in the late 1470s. This small sculpture (104.5 cm) includes the inscription: AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECUM BENEDICTA TU IN MULIERBUS. The inscription and the sculpture's re-discovery in the hospital of the Real Casa in the 1950s have led scholars to suggest that it was created for the hospital. The latter figures reveal Gagini's contact with the work of Francesco Laurana. Krufft, *Domenico Gagini*, 245; De Castris, *Castel Nuovo*, 104.

Arcuccio's frescoes, however, there is no documentation attributing Gagini's projects directly to Ferrante's patronage.⁴⁶⁰

The evidence of royal religious commissions in Naples suggests that King Ferrante was not necessarily concerned with asserting his presence widely throughout the city by way of permanent art and architectural programs. The churches of Naples are, instead, filled with chapels and tombs that express more local forms of governance: that of the individual *seggi* and the noble families that governed them. It was perhaps by limiting the physical reminders of his control throughout the city, and by electing his most powerful barons to the newly-established Order of the Ermine, that Ferrante created an illusion of egalitarian governance in the civic center of Naples, while forcefully asserting his monarchical authority from within the walls of Castel Nuovo.

Questions for Future Research

As much as this dissertation has revealed about the role of art and politics at King Ferrante's court, there is still much work to be done in this field. We still know very little, for example, about the workshop practices and individual experiences of artists at Ferrante's court, or about the specific roles of the king and his humanist advisors in the commissioning process. Although I sought to explore these questions at the outset of this project, the lack of artists' contracts or other documents illuminating the process of art production at Ferrante's court made it impossible to provide concrete answers to those questions in this study.

⁴⁶⁰ Pierluigi Leone de Castris suggests that Gagini's sculptures were commissioned by the Governatori dell'Annunziata. De Castris, *Castel Nuovo*, 104.

A thorough examination of surviving archival records for Neapolitan churches may help to illuminate the extent of Ferrante's involvement in the religious institutions of his capital and the role that certain churches, such as San Domenico Maggiore, played in state ceremony and the spiritual life of the sovereign. We know, for example, that Alfonso I intended for San Domenico Maggiore to function as a ceremonial center for the Aragonese monarchy, and the king constructed a new grand staircase and marble portal for the church to accommodate royal events. I have not found, however, any record of Ferrante sponsoring royal projects at San Domenico Maggiore, or at any other Neapolitan church, for that matter. Greater attention deserves to be paid, as well, to the lack of funerary commissions among the Aragonese monarchs—a feature of Aragonese patronage that appears to be anomalous among princes and kings of Early Modern Europe. More certainly needs to be said about the Aragonese monarchs' intentions regarding burial, and about the circumstances that led to the storage of forty-five unburied wooden coffins containing members of the royal family in the sacristy of San Domenico Maggiore.

A careful analysis of letters and diplomatic documents held at other courts throughout Europe with which Ferrante was in close contact, such as Milan, Urbino, Ferrara, Hungary, Spain, Burgundy, and so on, would likely shed light on artistic production in Naples, the ways in which Neapolitan visual culture was perceived, and what influence it may have had abroad. By studying documents like these we can begin to understand the channels and processes by which artistic exchange occurred between Naples and an international network of artists and patrons in the fifteenth century.

Finally, my analysis of Filangieri's data confirms the need for a reevaluation of Early Modern Neapolitan visual culture and its role in the cultural life of Europe more broadly. Although my visualizations of Filangieri's data have focused primarily on Ferrante's and Alfonso II's artistic commissions, the data sets I created as part of this study have the potential to reveal major discoveries about fifteenth-century southern Italian art, in general. By making my data available online, I hope that future scholars will expand and build upon my work, which is limited to Filangieri's records from the years 1458-1494. By expanding the scope of this data, we can begin to learn about the specific ways in which Ferrante's artistic patronage compared to or differed from that of his predecessors and successors.

While a network analysis of artists and patrons in southern Italy during Ferrante's reign was beyond the scope of this particular project, it, too, promises to shed light on the place of Ferrante's patronage within the broader context of Neapolitan and southern Italian artistic production. An analysis of this type would surely bring to light patrons and artists whose role in Early Modern Neapolitan visual culture has been underestimated.

Appendix A: The *Tavola Strozzi*, or *The Triumph After the Battle at Ischia*

An examination of art at the Quattrocento Neapolitan court would not be complete without a consideration of the painted cityscape of Naples known as the *Tavola Strozzi* (Fig. 135). The painting has been the subject of contentious scholarly debate since its discovery in the Strozzi palace in Florence in 1904.⁴⁶¹ Scholars continue to disagree on the patron, intended audience, and author of the painting. Due to the lack of any firm documentary evidence for the panel, the attributions that have been made are based mostly on formal and stylistic analysis. Filippo Strozzi and King Ferrante have each been suggested as patrons of the *Tavola*, and both have also been proposed as its intended recipient.⁴⁶² Among the numerous artistic attributions for the work, Francesco Pagano of the Neapolitan court and Francesco Rosselli of Florence remain the most convincing.⁴⁶³ The painting has been dated to between 1465 and 1485,

⁴⁶¹ For a summary of the historiography of the *Tavola Strozzi*, see: Giovanni Vitolo, “Storia, Filologia, Arte, a Proposito di un Libro Recente sulla Tavola Strozzi,” *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 127 (2009): 1-31.

⁴⁶² For attributions to Filippo Strozzi’s patronage, see: Vittorio Spinazzola, “Di Napoli Antica e della sua Topografia in una Tavola del XV Secolo Rapresentante il Trionfo Navale di Ferrante d’Aragona dopo la Battaglia d’Ischia,” *Bollettino d’Arte* (1931): 125-43; Guido Donatone, “Il Lettuccio Donato da Filippo Strozzi a Ferrante d’Aragona: La Tavola Strozzi,” in *Napoli, l’Europa: Ricerche di Storia dell’Arte in Onore di Ferdinando Bologna*, edited by Francesco Abbate and Fiorella Sricchia Santoro (Catanzaro: Meridiana Libri, 1995), 108; Stefano Palmieri, “La ‘Tavola di Casa Strozzi’: Variazioni sul Tema,” *Napoli Nobilissima* ser. 5, 8 (2007): 171-82.

⁴⁶³ Ferdinando Bologna credited Francesco Pagano with the *Tavola*, Raffaello Causa and Guido Donatone attribute it to Colantonio and his circle c. 1472, Filangieri associates the painting with a miniaturist at the Aragonese court, Spinazzola, Roberto Pane, Giulio Pane, Beyer, and Condarelli attribute it to an unidentified Florentine artist, and finally, Cesare De Seta credits the *Tavola* to the Florentine miniaturist

though most scholars date it to the early 1470s on the basis of surviving documents for a related artwork.

The *Tavola Strozzi* is comprised of three horizontal poplar panels and it measures to 82 x 245 cm.⁴⁶⁴ There are no signs of joints or attachments to a frame on the back of the panel. The painting has been discussed as an autonomous work of art, as well as part of a *lettuccio*, *spalliera*, or *cassone*. A red inventory number glued to the back of the painting reads CLXI. Because this tag does not coincide with Piero Strozzi's inventory system, it may prove that the painting was originally part of a different collection.⁴⁶⁵ Radiographic investigations reveal that perspective lines were etched into the panel's *imprimatura* and surface details were added at a later stage.⁴⁶⁶

No documentation related to the panel exists in Naples. However, in 1994 Mario del Treppo published documents that list donations Filippo Strozzi made to his friends in Naples between 24 November 1472 and 2 June 1473. Among these was a

Francesco Rosselli. Donatone, 109-111; Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo*, 177; Spinazzola, "Di Napoli Antica," 125-43; Vitolo, 27-31; Roberto Pane, "La Tavola Strozzi tra Firenze e Napoli," *Napoli Nobilissima* 18 (1979): 3-10; idem., "Ancora sulla Tavola Strozzi," *Napoli Nobilissima* 24 (1985): 81-3; Andreas Beyer, *Parthenope: Neapel und der Süden der Renaissance* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2000), 63-4; Giulio Pane, *La Tavola Strozzi tra Napoli e Firenze: Un'Immagine della Città nel Quattrocento* (Naples: Grimaldi & C. Editori, 2009), 1; Cesare De Seta, "L'Immagine di Napoli dalla Tavola Strozzi a Jan Bruegel," in *Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di Raffaello Causa* (Naples: Electa, 1988), 109; Fiorella Sricchia Santoro, "Tra Napoli e Firenze: Diomedea Carafa, gli Strozzi e un Celebre Lettuccio," *Prospettiva* 1000 (2000), 44-6.

⁴⁶⁴ Pane, *La Tavola Strozzi*, 1; Vitolo, 6.

⁴⁶⁵ Pane, *La Tavola Strozzi*, 12-13.

⁴⁶⁶ The Vomero Hill was originally depicted as slightly taller and the ships in the foreground were painted closer to the Molo. Vitolo believes these findings and *pentimenti* reveal that the panel was based on a preparatory design created by a cartographer or topographer at the Aragonese court, which was then revised by a painter. Dino Catalano, "Indagine Radiologica della Tavola Strozzi," *Napoli Nobilissima* 18 (1979): 10-11; Vitolo, 6, 9.

donation to Ferrante of a “walnut *lettuccio* of six *braccia* long with a *cassone* and *spalliera* and a very beautiful cornice that depicts a view of Naples, the castle, and the surrounds.” The total cost of this gift was 180 *florini*.⁴⁶⁷

The relationship between this document and the *Tavola Strozzi* remains uncertain, however. Firstly, it is not entirely clear whether the view of Naples belonged to the *lettuccio* or the *spalliera*, as either one may have included a “very beautiful cornice.”⁴⁶⁸ Moreover, several scholars have argued that the “view of Naples” described in Strozzi’s account book refers to an intarsia panel, rather than a painted cityscape. These scholars also claim that the perspective view of the *spalliera*

⁴⁶⁷ Italian translation: “lettuccio di noce di braccia 6 cho.l chassone e spalliera e chor[n]icie molto bello ritrovati dentro di prospettiva Napoli el chastello e loro circhustanzie, chostò di p[r]im]o chosto f. 110 larghi, e tra ghabelle e portatura sino a Napoli, ché andò per terra, venne là.” Mario Del Treppo, “Le Avventure Storigrafiche della Tavola Strozzi,” in, *Fra Storia e Storiografia: Scritti in Onore di Pasquale Villani* (Bologna: Mulino, 1994), 487, 511. See also, Santoro, “Tra Napoli e Firenze,” 44.

⁴⁶⁸ A letter related to this gift was published by Del Treppo, and later by Adele Condarelli. It dates to 15 May 1473 and was sent from Marco Parenti to Filippo Strozzi in Naples. The letter indicates that a *spalliera* depicting the *veduta* of Naples was still in the workshop of Benedetto da Maiano on this date, even though the *lettuccio* for Ferrante had arrived in Naples months earlier. This confirms that the view of Naples given to Ferrante was likely included in a *spalliera* rather than a *lettuccio*.

Condarelli thinks the *spalliera* was being held in Florence because a replica was being made from it. On 31 December 1485, the Ferrarese artist Zoane Trulo is documented painting a room at the Ferrara palace with a view of Naples for Eleonora d’Aragona, who was recently married to Ercole d’Este. Condarelli considers whether the original panel was a wedding gift for Eleonora, or whether Strozzi was making a replica for her. Del Treppo, “Le Avventure Storigrafiche,” 488-9; Adele Condarelli, “A Proposito della Tavola Strozzi,” in, *Antonello e la Pittura del Quattrocento nell’Europa Mediterranea* (Palermo: Kalós, 2006), 82-4; Santoro, “Tra Napoli e Firenze,” 44-5.

gifted to Ferrante by Strozzi may have been an entirely separate commission that was based on the *Tavola Strozzi*, yet without the inclusion of the naval triumph.⁴⁶⁹

The painting depicts the city of Naples from the sea, with Castel Nuovo and the city's wharf taking center stage. Ferrante is shown standing in a large window in the left-most wing of Castel Nuovo above a red banner—identified by the scepter in his left hand.⁴⁷⁰ A fleet of twenty-six large ships and twenty-two smaller ones lines the foreground of the panel and wraps around to the Molo Grande. In 1910, Vittorio Spinazzola first identified the subject of the *Tavola* as the triumph after the Battle of Ischia on 12 July 1465.⁴⁷¹ Spinazzola identified the flags on each of the ships as those of Ferrante, Admiral Roberto Sanseverino, Captain Galceran de Requesens, Sancio

⁴⁶⁹ Palmieri argues that this document does not describe the *Tavola Strozzi* because it does not mention a naval triumph, which is the subject of the painting. Vitolo argues that the intarsia panel for Ferrante's *spalliera* was based on the *Tavola Strozzi*, which he believes Filippo Strozzi commissioned for himself. Donatone points out that the furniture created by the da Maiano workshop was typically decorated with intarsia, rather than painted panels, yet he believes the *Tavola* was painted in Naples and shipped to Florence to be inserted into the *lettuccio*.

Based on his technical examination of the panel, Giulio Pane concludes that the *Tavola* was either an autonomous painting or part of a *spalliera*. As Anne Barriault confirms, height distinguishes *spalliere* from *cassoni*, with the average *spalliera* measuring 70 x 157 cm. The *Tavola Strozzi*'s 82 x 245 cm. size, therefore, makes it larger than the average *spalliera*. Anne B. Barriault, *Spalliera Paintings of Renaissance Tuscany: Fables of Poets for Patrician Homes* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 57, 59; Palmieri, 175; Pane, *La Tavola Strozzi*, 5-6, 90; Vitolo, 14, 28-30; Donatone, 108, 111; Santoro, "Tra Napoli e Firenze," 45-46.

⁴⁷⁰ Pane, *La Tavola Strozzi*, 33.

⁴⁷¹ Pane, *La Tavola Strozzi*, 5; Barretto, "La Porte," 134.

Samudio, Francesco Alamanni, Strozzi, Carafa, Caracciolo, and the Republic of Florence.⁴⁷²

Although the naval procession in the foreground is typically discussed as the subject of the painting, I would argue that equal emphasis is placed on the city of Naples itself. In fact, unlike other surviving *cassoni*, *spalliere*, and *lettucci* panels of the fifteenth century, the figures of the *Tavola Strozzi* are small and relatively proportionate to the landscape and architecture. In other words, the historical episode is not privileged over the cityscape, as was common in paintings of this type.

The painting belongs to a tradition begun in the 1380s with a *cassone* depicting *The Conquest of Naples by Charles of Durazzo* (Fig. 136). This tradition was upheld in the 1460s with the *Siege of Naples* (Fig. 137) and the *Triumphal Entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples* *cassoni*.⁴⁷³ Unlike these other two examples, however, the city of Naples plays a more central role in the *Tavola Strozzi* than it had in the earlier views. Furthermore, King Ferrante's portrait in the *Tavola Strozzi* is not

⁴⁷² Spinazzola noted that initially only Ferrante's coat of arms and that of admiral Roberto Sanseverino were included in the painting. Those of captain Galzeran de Requensens (victor of the battle), the commander Sancio Samudio, the Republic of Florence, the Florentine Popolo, and the Strozzi family were all added later, but before the panel was complete.

Palmieri interprets this addition as the patron's or artist's decision to give the painting a new allegorical significance, one that represents the victors as well as the financiers of the battle. Spinazzola, "Di Napoli Antica," 128-30; Palmieri, 171; Beyer, 65.

⁴⁷³ Everett Fahy, "Florence and Naples: A Cassone Panel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," in *Hommage à Michel Laclotte: Études sur la Peinture du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance* (Milano: Electa, 1994), 231, 236, 238; Cristelle Louise Baskins, Adrian W. B. Randolph, Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, and Alan Chong, *The Triumph of Marriage: Painted Cassoni of the Renaissance* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2008) 39; <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/437001?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=cassone%2Btriumph&pos=2&imgNo=0&tabName=related-objects>; Palmieri, 181.

emphasized and could be easily overlooked. The figure of Charles of Durazzo in the fourteenth-century *cassone*, by contrast, is depicted three times and is easily identified, as is the figure of King Alfonso in the pair of *cassoni* depicting his conquest of Naples. For this reason, I would argue that the *Tavola Strozzi* is incongruous with the patronal *oeuvre* of King Ferrante. The *Tavola* lacks the symbols of legitimacy and authority of Ferrante's reign that were typically expressed in the king's artistic patronage. Furthermore, both Ferrante's presence and his role in this naval victory are presented much less assertively than is common among his artistic programs.

It is still possible, however, that the *Tavola Strozzi* may have been produced in Naples, perhaps as a gift for King Ferrante. Filippo Strozzi may have commissioned the painting from Francesco Pagano, whose altarpiece of *Saint Michael* for the church of Santi Michele e Omobono reveals strong similarities with the *Tavola*. Strozzi, a long-time associate of Ferrante's due to his banking interests in Naples, returned to Florence in 1466, one year after the Battle of Ischia. Francesco Pagano continued working in Naples until his trip to Valencia in 1472.⁴⁷⁴ The painting could have been carried out during the intervening years, which would coincide with Strozzi's commission in the early 1470s of a *spalliera* for Ferrante depicting a perspective view of Naples. Although this beautiful and intriguing painting presents a rare glimpse of King Ferrante's Naples, it appears to have little to do with the king's own goals and objectives relative to artistic production.

⁴⁷⁴ Vitolo, 26.

Appendix B: Documentation of Art Historical Data for Late Fifteenth-Century Naples

This project compiles records of artistic activity from the period 1458-1494, published in Gaetano Filangieri's *Documenti per la Storia, le Arti e le Industrie delle Provincie Napoletane* (Naples: Tip. Dell'Accademia reale delle scienze, 1883-1891). I aim to quantify art historical data for the years of King Ferrante's reign in order to better understand trends in the king's patronage activities and characteristics of late fifteenth-century artistic production in the Kingdom of Naples more broadly. Across two separate tables (one for the artists themselves and a second for records of artistic activity) the data represents all of the information provided by Filangieri for each entry, including an exact transcription of his text. Descriptions of each data category, or column name, are provided below, together with explanations for the structured vocabulary used to identify certain fields like `artist_origin_qual` or `record_type`. The Artist Data Table can be accessed at [\[https://www.google.com/fusiontables/DataSource?docid=1J50fPowBY9CGzAqKIBcODYh57YQTgZimab2bAuAh\]](https://www.google.com/fusiontables/DataSource?docid=1J50fPowBY9CGzAqKIBcODYh57YQTgZimab2bAuAh) and the Commissions Data Table can be accessed at [\[https://www.google.com/fusiontables/DataSource?docid=1hOkCStXTV5FpGYkL1UBo-xfF4Rjxz-WSUbuwlQwX\]](https://www.google.com/fusiontables/DataSource?docid=1hOkCStXTV5FpGYkL1UBo-xfF4Rjxz-WSUbuwlQwX). Interactive visualizations of this data can be found at [\[https://public.tableau.com/profile/nicole.riesenberger - !/\]](https://public.tableau.com/profile/nicole.riesenberger).

Fifteenth-Century Neapolitan Artist Data

artist_id Unique identifier assigned to each individual artist.

artist_last_name Primary last name associated with artist by Filangieri. In instances where an artist has only one name, rather than both a first and last name, that name is entered in this column.

artist_alt_last_name Secondary last name associated with the artist, if applicable.

artist_particle Particle of artist's last name, if applicable.

artist_name_qual Other identifying information for artist's name, such as "friar" or "son of Pietro."

artist_first_name Primary first name associated with the artist by Filangieri.

artist_alt_first_name Secondary first name associated with the artist, if applicable.

artist_origin Artist's birthplace, according to Filangieri.

artist_origin_qual For cities that appear in the `artist_origin` column fewer than three times, a province, country, or region is entered in this field to further define the artist's place of origin. This field is left blank for `artist_origin` cities like Naples that appear frequently, or in the case of cities that could not be identified.

artist_trade Artist's primary trade listed by Filangieri.

artist_trade_secondary Artist's secondary trade, if applicable.

Fifteenth-Century Neapolitan Artistic Records

entry_id Unique identifier I have assigned to each individual record.

record_type Structured vocabulary is used in this column to distinguish between commission records, apprenticeship agreements, vital records, legal disputes, etc.

patron_1 Full name of the primary patron associated with the record.

patron_2 Full name of the secondary patron associated with the record.

patron_3 Full name associated with any additional patron(s) associated with the record.

patron_qual This category is used to further define the patron of a commission. In most cases the name of patron_1 or all patrons of a commission are entered here. In the case of King Ferrante's commissions or commissions of the Neapolitan court that do not mention Ferrante's name, however, 'Neapolitan court' is entered in this field to group all of these commission records together.

entry_year Four digit year of the record, if known.

entry_month Two digit month for the record, if known.

entry_day Two digit day of the record, if known.

date_qual Additional information about the record date, such as "Until XXXX-XX-XX."

entry_transcription Complete transcription of the record printed in Filangieri's publication.

payment_ducats Total number of ducats mentioned in the record, if known.

payment_tari Total number of tari mentioned in the record, if known.

payment_grana Total number of grana mentioned in the record, if known.

payment_alt Other currency types mentioned in the record, if applicable.

artist_1_id Unique identifier for the primary artist associated with the record.

artist_1_last_name Primary last name for the primary artist associated with the record.

artist_1_alt_last_name Alternate last name for the primary artist associated with the record.

artist_1_particle Particle of last name for primary artist associated with the record.

artist_1_first_name First name of primary artist associated with the record.

artist_2_id Unique identifier for the secondary artist associated with the record.

artist_2_last_name Primary last name for the second artist associated with the record.

artist_2_alt_last_name Alternate last name for the second artist associated with the record.

artist_2_particle Particle of last name for secondary artist associated with the record.

artist_2_first_name First name of secondary artist associated with the record.

artist_2_origin Place of origin for the secondary artist associated with the record.

artist_2_qual Further defined place of origin for the second artist associated with the record, such as province, country, or region, if the artist's place of origin is infrequently recorded in the data set.

artist_3_id Unique identifier for the third artist associated with the record, when applicable.

artist_3_last_name Primary last name for the third artist associated with the record.

artist_3_particle Particle of last name for the third artist associated with the record.

artist_3_first_name First name of the third artist associated with the record.

artist_3_origin Place of origin for the third artist associated with the record.

artist_3_qual Further defined place of origin for the third artist associated with the record, such as province, country, or region, if the artist's place of origin is infrequently recorded in the data set.

artist_4_id Unique identifier for the fourth artist associated with the record, when applicable.

artist_4_last_name Primary last name for the fourth artist associated with the record.

artist_4_particle Particle of last name for the fourth artist associated with the record.

artist_4_first_name First name of the fourth artist associated with the record.

artist_4_origin Place of origin for the fourth artist associated with the record.

artist_4_qual Further defined place of origin for the fourth artist associated with the record, such as province, country, or region, if the artist's place of origin is infrequently recorded in the data set.

artist_5_id Unique identifier for the fifth artist associated with the record, when applicable.

artist_5_last_name Primary last name for the fifth artist associated with the record.

artist_5_particle Particle of last name for the fifth artist associated with the record.

artist_5_first_name First name of the fifth artist associated with the record.

artist_5_origin Place of origin for the fifth artist associated with the record.

artist_5_qual Further defined place of origin for the fifth artist associated with the record, such as province, country, or region, if the artist's place of origin is infrequently recorded in the data set.

Structured Vocabulary

Blank Cell: No information provided in Filangieri's publication.

Unnamed: Patron of a commission is unknown.

Neapolitan Court: Commission document of the *Cedole di Tesoreria* for which King Ferrante or no other specific patron is named.

Commission: Any record referring to payment an artist receives for past or future work, or for the sale of any object or raw material.

Apprenticeship: Record of a young artist entering into a master's workshop for training.

Artistic Partnership: Record of two or more artists entering into a partnership.

Business Arrangement: Agreement between an artist and another party for some business need, such as the rental of a workshop space or the transportation of a stated quantity of marble.

Employment Record: A record stating that an artist was part of a workshop assembled in a certain place, yet with no mention of a specific patron or project.

Vital Record: Record of birth, death, marriage, adoption, or last will and testament.

Notarial Record: Record for debt payments, receipt of a sum of money not associated with an artistic commission, etc.

Legal Dispute: Record of an artist participating in a legal dispute in some capacity.

Purchase: Record of an artist purchasing a home, a workshop, supplies for an artistic project, or some other item.

Illustrations

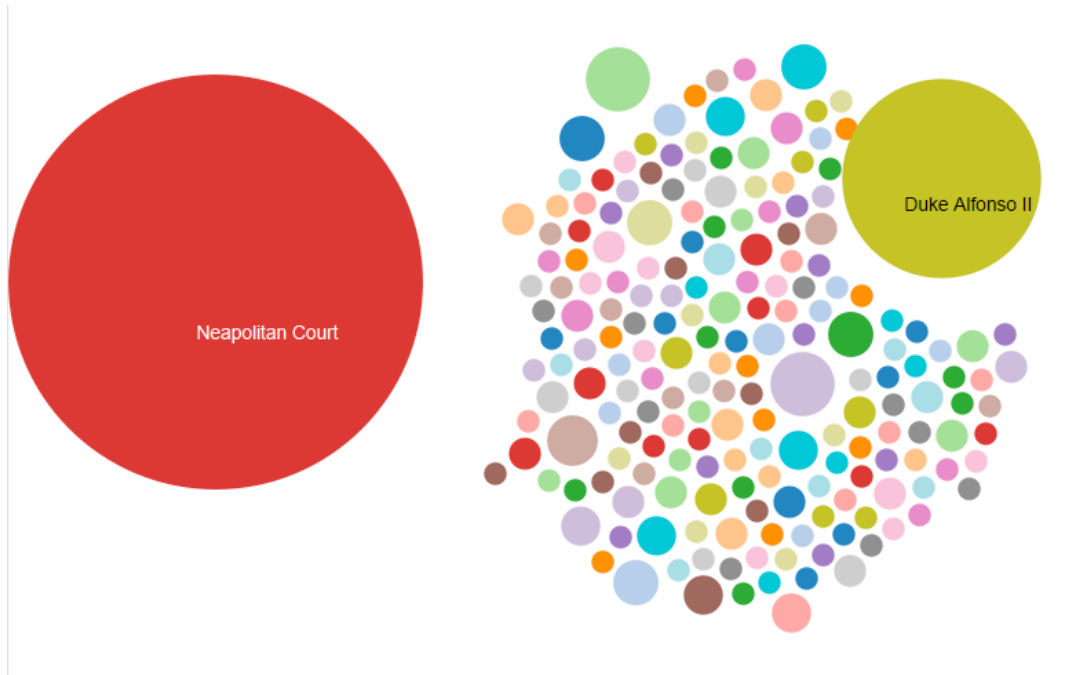


Illustration 1: Southern Italian Patrons of Art, by Number of Commissions

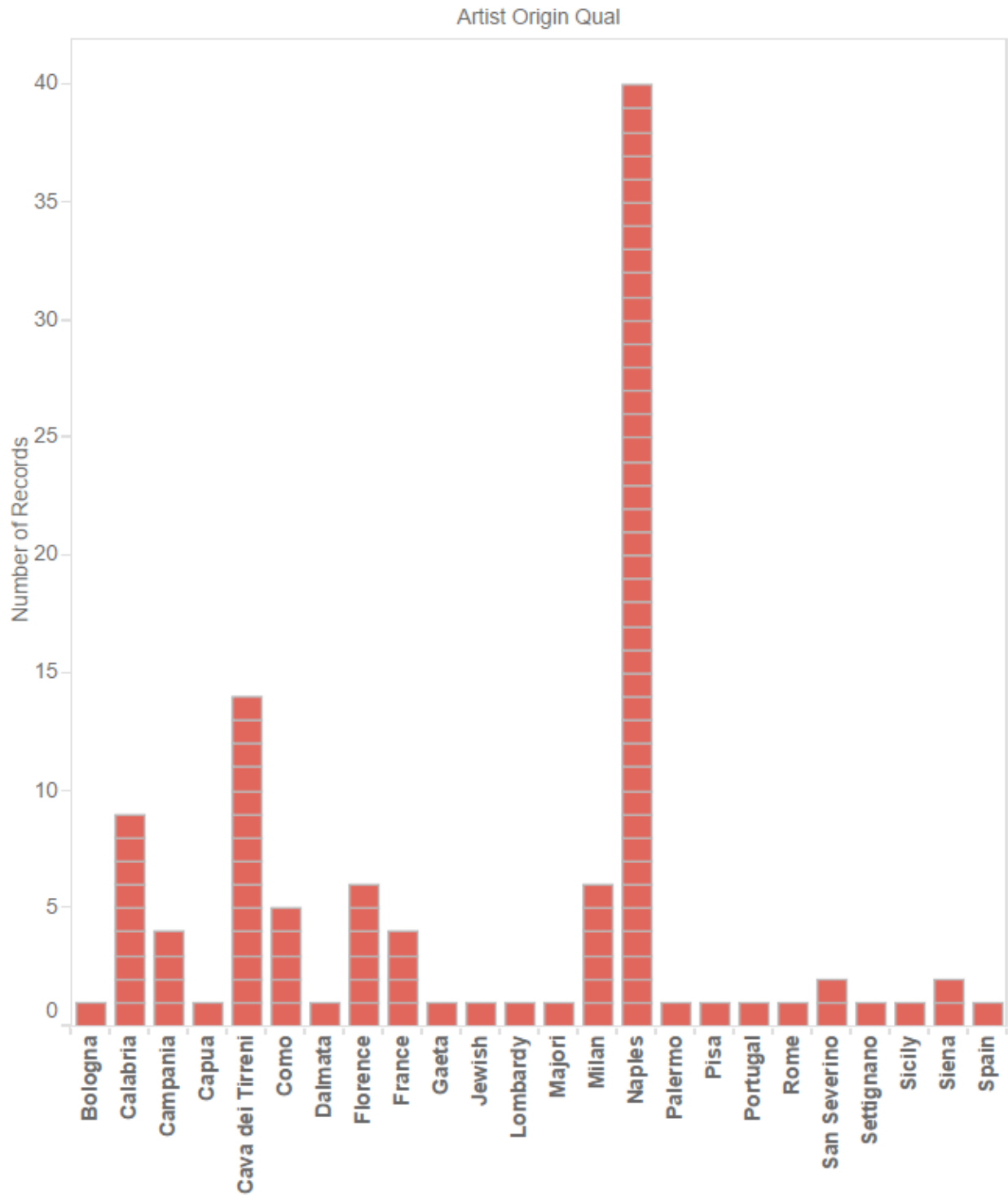


Illustration 2: King Ferrante’s Artists by Origin

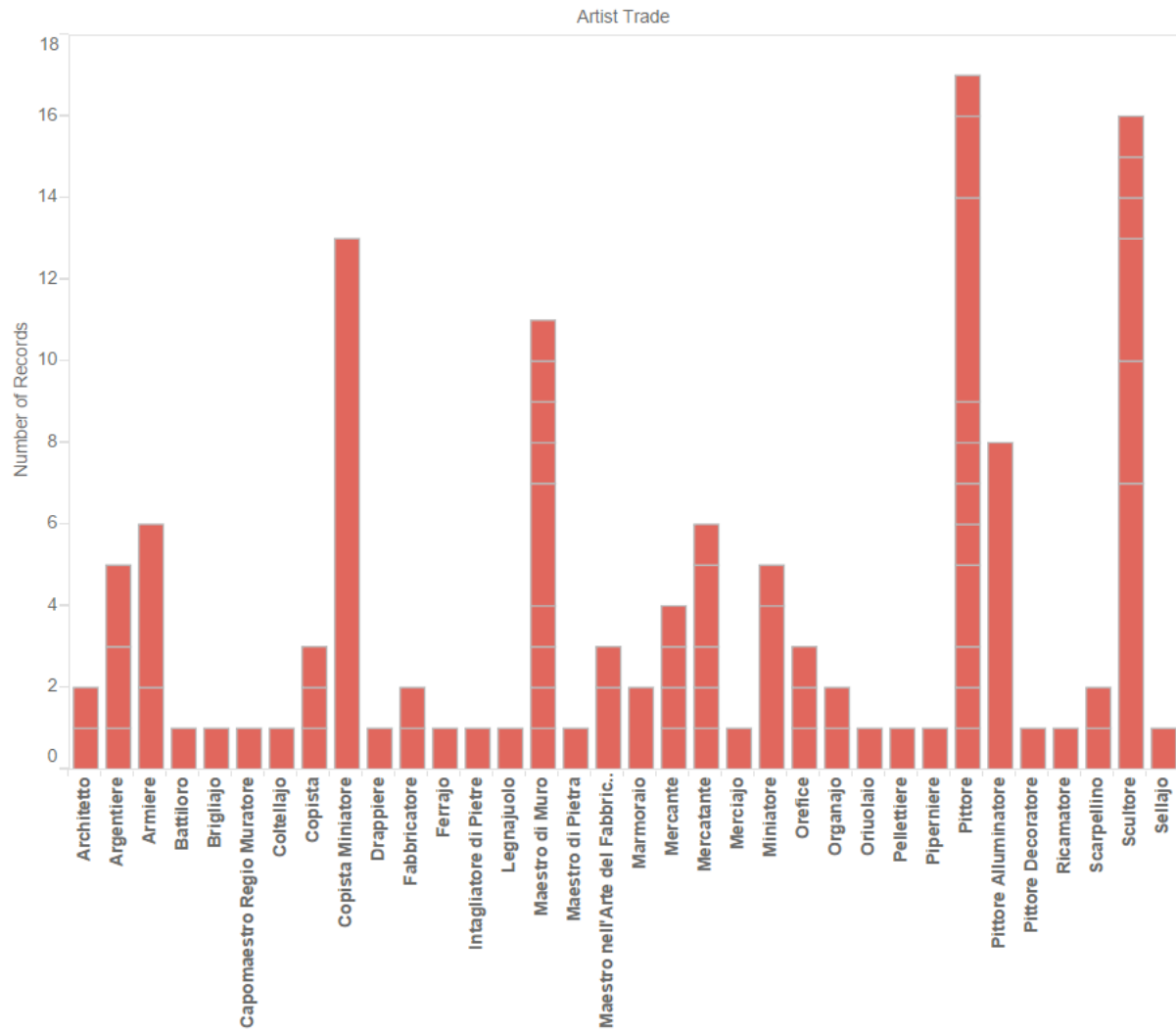


Illustration 3: King Ferrante's Commissions by Artist Trade

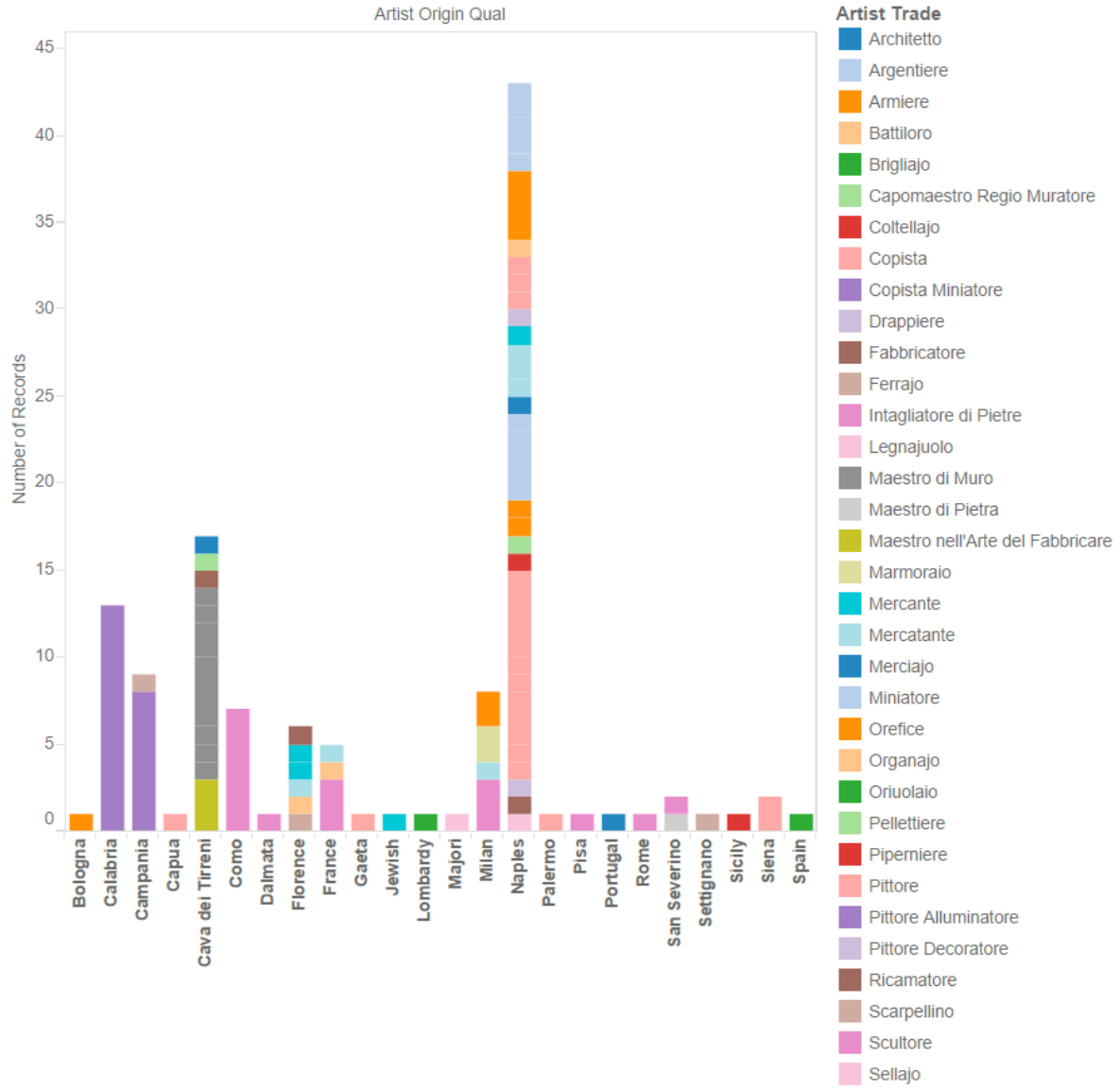


Illustration 4: King Ferrante’s Commissions by Artist Origin and Trade

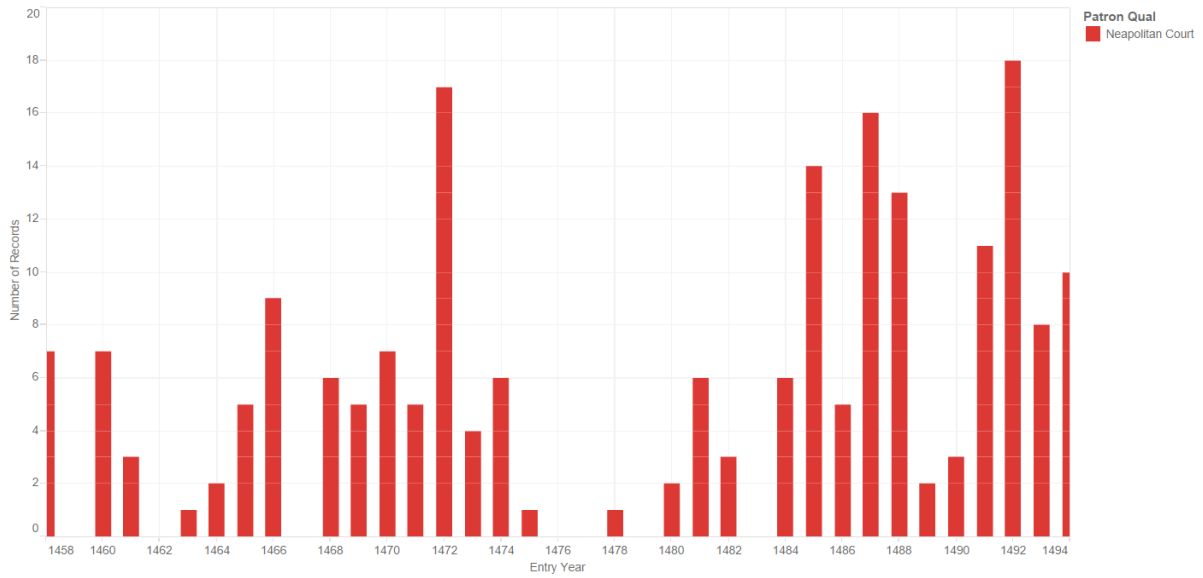


Illustration 5: King Ferrante's Commissions by Year

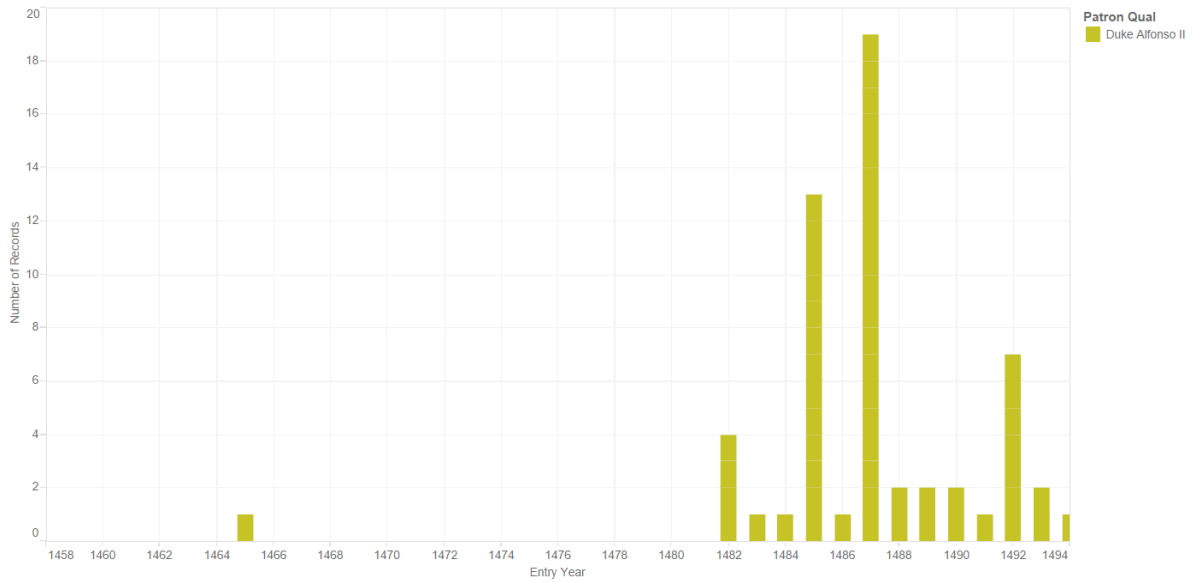


Illustration 6: Duke Alfonso II's Commissions by Year

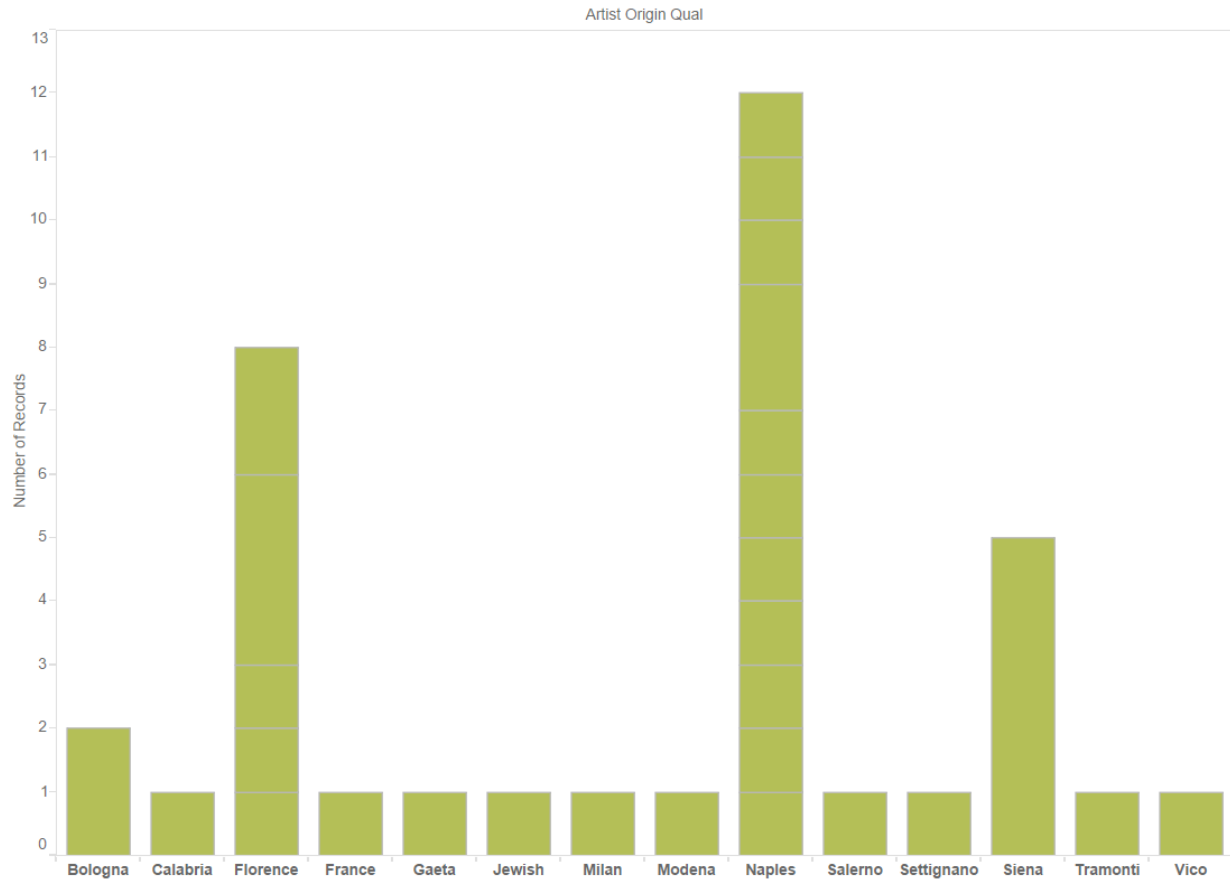


Illustration 7: Duke Alfonso II's Commissions by Artist Origin

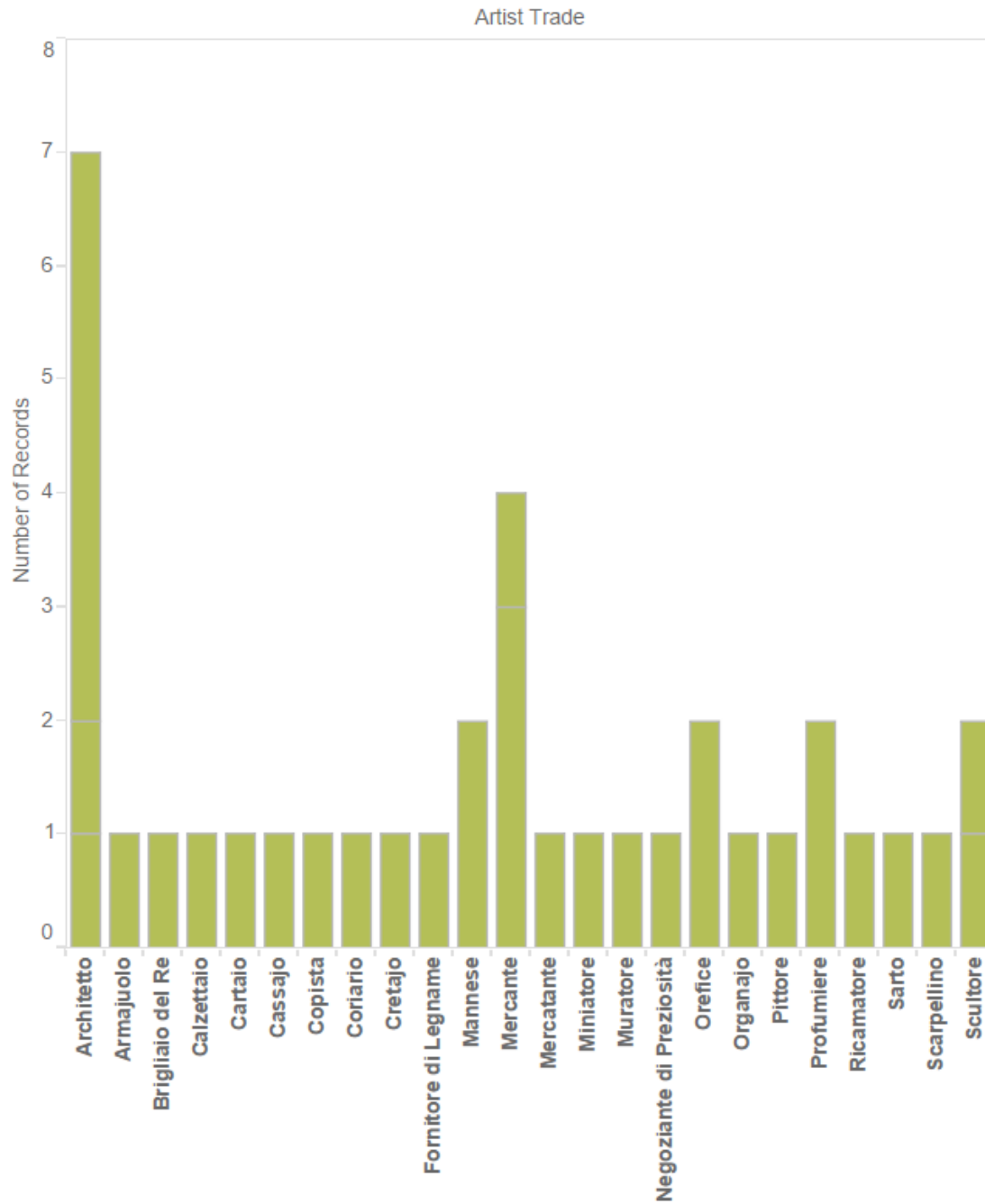


Illustration 8: Duke Alfonso II's Commissions by Artist Trade

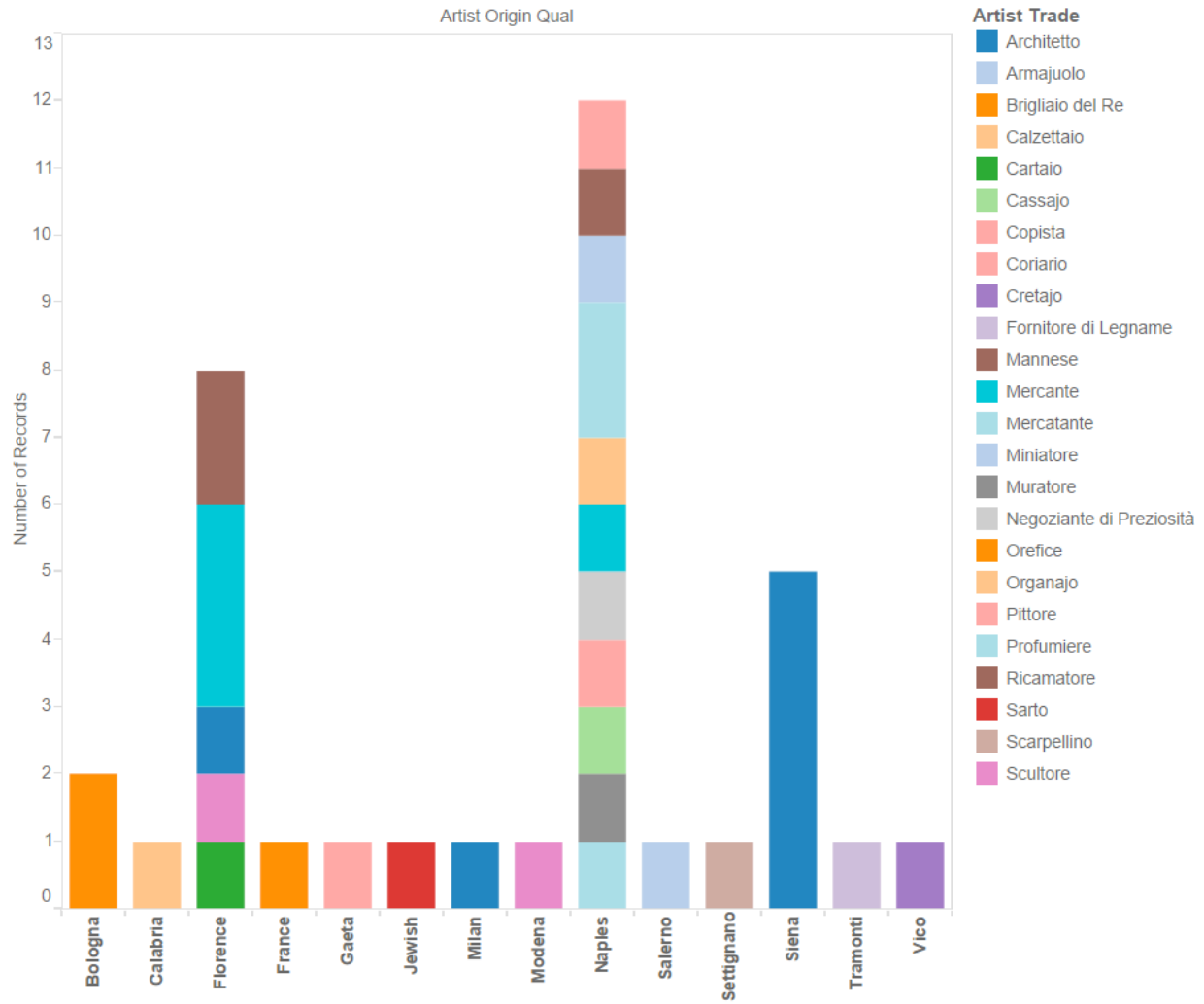


Illustration 9: Duke Alfonso II's Commissions by Artist Origin and Trade

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