5

TOMBS AND THE ORNAMENTATION OF CHAPELS

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CHAPELS AND THEIR MONUMENTS REFLECT NOT only a desire for immortality on the part of the people who founded them but also the social fabric of a society, for they keep alive the memory of the dead along with the signs of their rank and lineage. This was already pointed out by Neapolitan human-ist Giovanni Pontano in his treatise on social virtues, where he observed that, "We consider tombs to be private affairs, since they belong to a single person, or else a single family, yet in an extraordinary way they contribute to a city's splendor – they possess a remarkable power to remind us of past renown, espe-cially when the tombs are of particularly deserving personages."[1]

In Naples during the period under discussion, from the end of the thirteenth century to the begin-ning of the sixteenth, various rulers held sway, and an important additional role was performed by the monuments of royal dynasties. On the one hand, they fulfilled a political purpose in that they expressed the legitimacy of a ruling house, while, on the other hand, they set high artistic and ornamental standards, soon adopted by the lesser aristocracy. The represen-tational effect of these monuments is, despite their obvious continuity with medieval tradition, charac-teristic of Renaissance monuments, whether sacred or profane.[2] Similarly, one may perceive an increas-ing emphasis on personality and the individual that is attributable to humanism. The practice of placing effigies on tombs, which had already begun in the thirteenth century, is one example of this change in emphasis, as tombs increasingly assumed the charac-ter of portraits. There can be no question that the increase in the size and number of tombs from the thirteenth century onward had to do not only with piety but with the fact that tombs and the ornamen-tation of chapels came more and more to be regarded as an appropriate *medium* for the display of dynastic power and legitimacy.

It is precisely by exploiting the images of the dead, who are represented on tombs in ways that make political statements within the frame of social and religious *memoria*, that the monuments of the house of Anjou took on an innovative purpose.[3] With these tombs, a tradition of sepulchral iconogra-phy was established that continued for many decades until it was replaced, in the fifteenth century, by models from central and northern Italy. They present us with a group of surprisingly well-preserved monu-ments that were conceived in relation to one another and that, as a group, make a statement that neither the house of Aragon nor the Spanish viceroys were able to repeat. From the middle of the fifteenth cen-tury, sepulchral architecture in Naples was character-ized by individual family monuments of great variety, often of marked originality, as well as by persistent growth in the number of mass-produced burial struc-tures.

The ornamentation of chapels was not only enriched by new variants, such as Guido Maz-zoni's *Lamentation* sculpture group for King Alfonso II or the Pontano Chapel, designed in the style of an ancient temple, but was also informed by changes in piety, in entombment practices, and in the

representation of persons and families that can be seen in chapels that were less elaborate in scale. The following discussion is intended to document the historical development of sepulchral sculpture in Naples, focusing on examples that were particularly innovative or otherwise outstanding in artistic character. As this discussion will show, one often finds in Naples that forms adapted to the dynastic rationales of particular ruling houses were inflected by designs of considerable and often unexpected originality.

THE BURIAL SITES OF THE HOUSE OF ANJOU

Possession of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies passed from the Hohenstaufen to the house of Anjou in 1266.[4] Only after this did Naples become its capital, and the city's change in status led to a significant increase in building and construction projects.[5] The new Angevin rulers were concerned with emphasizing their legitimacy through the erection of family tombs within the city and through monuments that would enhance the visibly shaped *memoria* of the dynasty.

The Neapolitan tombs of the house of Anjou, most of which were planned during the reign of Robert the Wise (r. 1309–1343), were constructed on an impressive and lavish scale in the period from 1324 onward, such that they set new standards for sepulchral architecture within Italy as a whole. Two innovations are particularly important. First, it became customary in the reign of Robert's predecessor Charles II to build tombs in a number of different places, usually those newly founded by mendicant orders – often endowed by the Anjou themselves – rather than build a single family tomb, as had been conventional dynastic practice. Second was the introduction and monumentalization of a certain type of wall tomb imported from Tuscany by the sculptor and architect Tino di Camaino and his workshop. This type of tomb met the representational ambitions of the Angevin dynasty with great success and offered sufficient opportunity to claim the legitimacy of their rule and display their "blessed and noble lineage."

It is likely that Charles I planned to construct a full-blown dynastic sepulchre in the Cathedral (the construction of which had been proposed on the site of the existing church of the *Assunta*[6]) in the French style with which he was already familiar.[7] That this was the case is suggested by the fact that in 1267, against the expressed wishes of her last will and testament, Charles attempted to retain the bones of his first wife, Beatrice of Provence, in his new capital and bury them in the Stefania, or Santa Restituta; that is, in the church that formerly served the function of a cathedral in Naples. It was not until 1272, on the explicit command of Pope Clement IV, that Charles released his wife's remains for burial, but in doing so he ensured that they would rest in the newly erected tomb of the counts of Provence (in the Church of Saint-Jean-de-Malte at Aix-en-Provence), thereby forging at least a visual association between Provençal sepulchral architecture and the Kingdom of Naples.[8] Following his death in 1285, Charles I's heirs erected his tomb in the Cathedral, which is to say in the old church of Santa Restituta.[9] It is not clear even today where exactly his tomb was located at the time it was destroyed during the sixteenth century, what form it took, or whether it was decorated with an enthroned figure of the king. It would have been characteristic of Charles I to include such a figure in the sculptural program of his tomb, given that Arnolfo di Cambio had already completed a larger-than-life marble statue of him as an enthroned Roman senator.[10] From the contradictory descriptions of the tomb recorded in later guidebooks, there is no clear evidence that such a sculpture was part of the original structure.[11] What is known is that not only Charles I but also his grandson, Charles Martel (d. 1295), and the wife of Charles Martel, Clemence of Austria (d. before 1293), were buried in the cathedral (more precisely, in Santa Restituta) before 1333, when their existing graves were replaced by sepulchres both "honorable" and "fitting" to their royal lineage.[12] It may be inferred, therefore, that the Angevin tombs erected before the end of the thirteenth century fell short of what later members of the dynasty required in the way of representative sepulchres. All of the Angevin monuments once contained in the Cathedral have been destroyed, but it may be assumed, considering the available

literary evidence, that the early tombs were restored or rebuilt in accordance with the political agendas behind the Angevin monuments built during the 1330s.[13] The theory that they were situated in the Chapel of Saint Louis of Toulouse in the existing Cathedral of Naples is disputed but nonetheless is of particular interest since in that case they would have been in one of the most important places dedicated to the worship of this Angevin saint. Louis, who was canonized in 1317,[14] had already been exploited by his father, Charles II (d. 1309) – and would later be exploited to a greater degree by his brother Robert – as a guarantee of the sacred legitimacy of Angevin rule.[15] If, as has been suggested, a *tabula vitae* of Saint Louis of Toulouse once existed in this chapel[16] (later decorated with frescos depicting events of the saint's life[17]), there could be no better resting place for the royal dynasty, housing the tombs of both its founder and his canonized grandson. The painting Simone Martini made of Louis shortly after his canonization in 1317 shows him not alone as was usual but seated on a throne in the act of relinquishing the crown of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which was his by right of succession, to his brother, Robert, who is depicted kneeling beside him (Plate XVIII). In Martini's painting, the symbols of a blessed lineage and legitimate power could not be more explicitly expressed.

Even though the concept of a royal tomb in the Cathedral of Naples evidently proved unrealizable, the heirs of Charles I took care to preserve the memory of the founder of their dynasty.[18] It is therefore significant that both the form and construction of royal tombs in the Cathedral were subordinated to the plans of Robert, whereby the visual agendas of individual tombs would serve to enhance the *memoria* of the dynasty as a whole. Whereas the body of Charles II was buried, according to his last testament, in Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth in Aix-en-Provence, his heart was enclosed in a shrine and installed in the Church of San Domenico (San Domenico Maggiore) in Naples.[19] Thus, with this modest shrine in precisely that Dominican church that had received Charles II's strongest support,[20] a small dynastic burial place was established in which later the remains of his sons, John of Durazzo and Philip of Taranto, found their last resting place.[21]
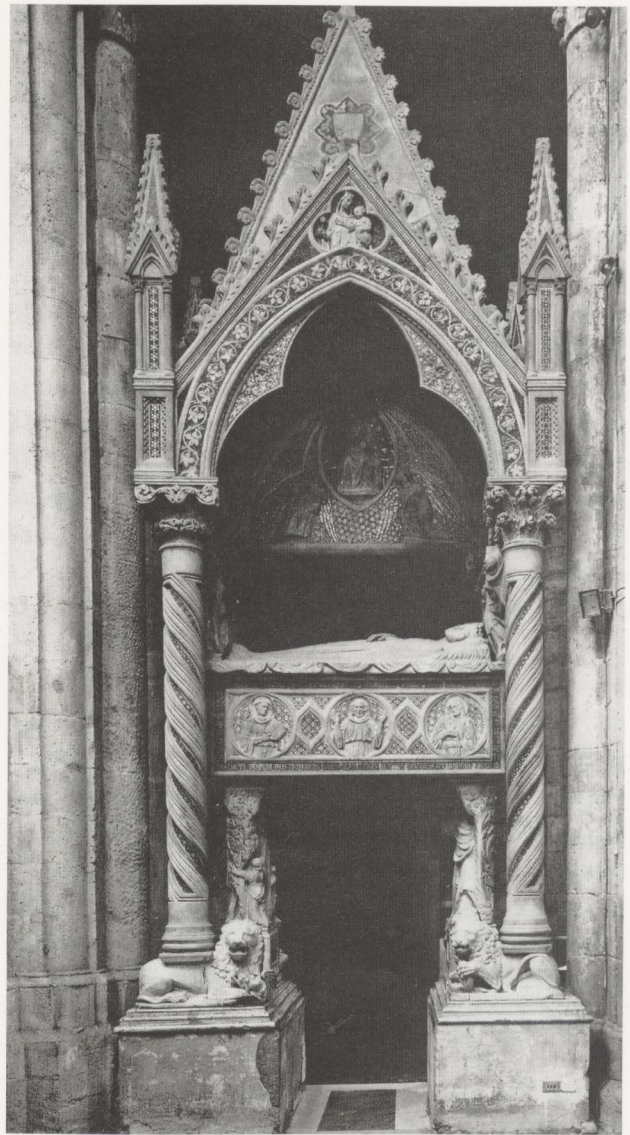
5.1. Tino di Camaino, *Tomb of Catherine of Austria*, view from the altar (1325), Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples. (Photo: Tanja Michalsky)

Reports concerning an urn containing the heart of Charles II in San Domenico, as well as a marble effigy of the king, cannot be verified today;[22] it may be accepted, however, that a monument for Charles II in the capital of the kingdom would have been regarded as both important and appropriate.

The foundation stone for the long tradition of Angevin monuments was not laid, however, until 1324, when Charles, Duke of Calabria, the son of King Robert and presumptive heir to the throne, caused a tomb for his first wife, Catherine of Austria (d. 1323), to be constructed (Figure 5.1).[23] For the
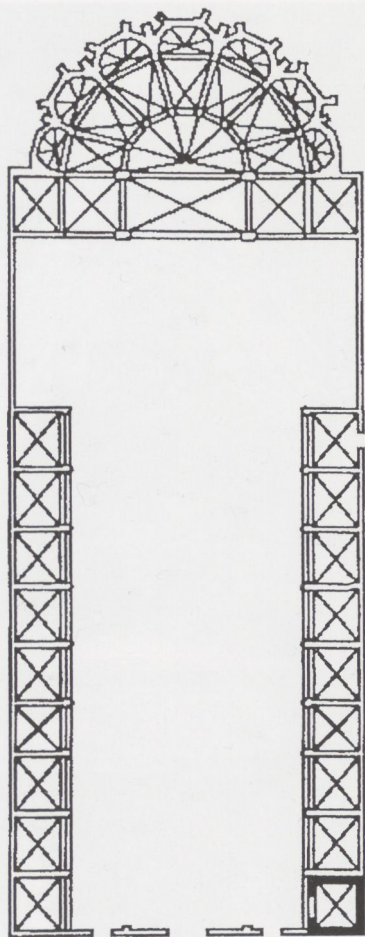
5.2. *Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore*, Naples, plan drawn by Irwin Sentilles, published by courtesy of Caroline Bruzelius. (Photo: Caroline Bruzelius)

first time, Tino di Camaino, who had already distinguished himself with by completing outstanding commissions such as the tomb of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII in the cathedral at Pisa, was chosen to execute this unusual type of detached tomb with baldachin.[24] The commission itself presented the sculptor with special difficulties since the monument was to be erected in a location unusual for Italian churches – the ambulatory. This structure had been added to the Church of San Lorenzo,[25] which at that time was the most important Franciscan church in Naples, during the reigns of the first two Angevin kings in accordance with French models and as such was a rarity in Italy (Figure 5.2).[26] The precise location chosen was the space between the first two columns on the south side of the ambulatory; that is, in a place that offered both close proximity to the altar and good visibility from the ambulatory itself

(Plate XXVIII). This meant that the familiar type of wall monument[27] had to be replaced in favor of a freestanding monument with two focal points, whose visual program therefore had to be arranged to accord with their respective aspects. Tino's solution, despite the obviously badly coordinated involvement of a number of artists, is impressive and requires detailed description, since it set standards with regard to the iconography of later tombs.[28]

The canopy of white marble with mosaic inserts is supported by spiral columns resting on lion bases. It reminds one of a Roman ciborium, and it covers a sarcophagus – decked with a sculptured effigy of the deceased – which is supported by two caryatids representing Virtues. An ornamental gable on the side of the monument facing the ambulatory is arched in the shape of a trefoil and masked by a single marble plate. This is decorated on the outside with a depiction of Saint Francis receiving the stigmata and on the inside with the presentation of Catherine's soul to Christ for his blessing. Around the effigy can be seen, standing on the pall itself, the figures of Saint Louis of Toulouse, Saint Bartholomew, Saint Catherine of Alexandria, and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (Saint Elizabeth of Thuringa). The dual aspect of the monument was thus employed to make a complex statement, combining Angevin piety with the Franciscan imitation of Christ, in a manner that would be significant for the later tombs of the house of Anjou.

As was customary, the identity of the deceased is revealed to the onlooker by an inscription, which also appears on two sides of the monument.[29] On the side of the sarcophagus facing the ambulatory, Catherine's worldly rank and family status are also represented. Her genealogical details – those of her own family (the house of Hapsburg) and those of her husband's family (the house of Anjou) – are summarized by heraldic devices that connect the three tondi on the sarcophagus. These contain half-relief sculptures of the Virgin Mary, Christ as the *imago pietatis*, and John the Baptist, and together allude to the Crucifixion, Death, and Resurrection of Christ.[30] The linking of Catherine's tomb with the stigmata of Saint Francis, which was central to the Franciscan *imitatio Christi*, is particularly significant. Saint Francis's receiving of the stigmata – the wounds of Christ – marked him as Christ's true successor, as *alter Christus*, and this is illustrated on Catherine's tomb in combination with

the Death of Christ. In this way, the onlooker in the ambulatory is informed as to the object of his prayer, since the naming of the deceased was essential when praying for her.[31] Furthermore, it might be argued that the Franciscan *imitatio Christi* justified the hope of personal salvation and that the deceased, visibly supported by the virtues of Hope and Charity, had led her life accordingly. The side of the monument facing the altar, on the other hand, is concerned with the splendors of the hereafter. The reliefs on this side of the sarcophagus allude to the *deesis* while actually depicting a *trias* of the three most important Franciscan saints: Saint Anthony of Padua on the left, Saint Francis in the center, and Saint Clare on the right. It is significant that Francis is portrayed not as *poverello* – the poor friar – but as already in heavenly glory, clad in a robe woven with gold.[32] Carved upon the marble plate that masks the trefoil of the ornamental gable, as it can be seen from this side of the monument, are two angels offering Catherine's soul to Christ for his blessing. Within a smaller masked trefoil in the uppermost part of the gable, the Virgin Mary is portrayed in her guise as *mediatrix*. The inscription on this side of the monument informs the onlooker of the precise day of Catherine's death, when appropriate masses should be said for her. The presence of the four saints, standing upon the pall around the effigy of Catherine, signifies her mystical acceptance into the fellowship of saints. Such an interpretation is in keeping with the Angevin conviction that their lineage was a sacred lineage, the myth of the *beata stirps*.[33] The *beata stirps* of the Angevins manifested itself not only in the occasional appearance of saints among family members but also in the legitimate exercise of royal power – a privilege that doubtless derived from the French Capets, who believed that they were destined to rule by divine providence, and from whom the Neapolitan branch of the house of Anjou was descended.

On one level, the virtues of Hope and Charity personified in the caryatids supporting Catherine's sarcophagus refer to Catherine's own character. However, caryatids representing Virtues also belong to a tradition of saints' monuments that developed in Italy toward the end of the thirteenth century.[34] One thinks for example of the Arca di San Domenico in Bologna. More to the point is the tomb of Empress Margaret of Brabant (who was held in saintly regard)

in Genoa, a monument with which not only Tino di Camaino but also his patrons were familiar.[35] The typological reference to the tombs of saints clearly supported the concept of the *beata stirps* already mentioned.[36] The choice of Hope and Charity relates to the virtue of poverty that was claimed by the Franciscan *spirituali*.[37] Moreover, it is to be understood in the context of the Angevin intervention in the debate concerning poverty within the Franciscan order, which was particularly intense at the beginning of the 1320s.[38] Seen as a whole, the tomb of Catherine of Austria presents us with a monument that, although its formal design is still in some ways unsatisfactory, exhibits a spiritual program that has been carefully thought out, so as to display on the one hand the sacred nature of the royal house and on the other their association with the Order of Saint Francis.

By contrast, the design of the monument for Queen Mary of Hungary (d. 1323) presents us with a perfect example of how a high degree of splendor could be exploited in Angevin sepulchral iconography (Plate XXIX).[39] The tomb of the wife of Charles II was built in Santa Maria Donnaregina, a church of the Poor Clares founded by Queen Mary herself, by Tino di Camaino working in collaboration with Gagliardo Primario. It is located before the choir on the left-hand side of the nave on the east wall of this Gothic church. Particularly striking is the play of white marble and mosaic inlays, as well as the extremely well thought-out relationship between the clear lines of the canopy and the nucleus of the tomb. The tomb was most likely commissioned by Mary's son, King Robert. On this occasion, the sarcophagus hovers above and apparently just behind the heads of the four Cardinal Virtues, as if borne by invisible forces. Angels solemnly draw the curtains of the *camera funebris*, revealing the effigy of the deceased, on whose bier stand two deacons celebrating the last rites. The offering up of the soul of the deceased is played out on the roof of the *camera funebris* beneath the gable, where it is demonstrated that Mary's entry into heaven is justified by her founding of the church, a model of which is held by an angel. However, the tomb's exceptional innovation is to be found on the sarcophagus itself, which is decorated not with the usual heraldic devices or scenes from Christ's Passion but with a row of figures representing Mary's

historically significant male descendants. These are
depicted, in keeping with the genealogical program
of the tomb, in seven segments on the front of the
sarcophagus.[40] Pride of place is given to Saint Louis,
bishop of Toulouse, who extends his hand to bless
the onlooker. On his right, with raised scepter, is the
ruling monarch, Robert of Anjou, who, although
third-born of the sons of Charles II, succeeded his
father to the throne. On Saint Louis's left, the eldest
brother, Charles Martel of Anjou, is portrayed with
lowered scepter, indicating his early death.[41] The
youngest brothers, who were not significant for the
royal succession, are arrayed in descending order of
importance on either side of the three in the cen-
ter, the heirs to the kingdoms of Hungary and Sicily,
suggesting the priority of spiritual rank over the tem-
poral. Although the deceased herself, as mother of
Saint Louis, occupied a special place in this hierar-
chy, it is not the principal aim of the visual program
to specify her place. The fact that Saint Louis of
Toulouse is given pride of place on the sarcophagus
shows, once again, that the sacred character of the
royal house was strongly dependent upon this par-
ticular family member. The visual program of the
sarcophagus served, in a visually demonstrative fash-
ion, to affirm the legitimacy of the house of Anjou,
an important matter given ongoing disputes con-
cerning Robert's right to rule.[42] At the same time,
it articulated the political implications of their *beata
stirps* in the public space of this church.[43]

Mary of Hungary and her descendants also
oversaw the artistic decoration of Santa Maria
Donnaregina, and some of the same concerns of the
house of Anjou can be found here. The church con-
sists of a nave, without aisles, with a nuns' gallery
on each side and a polygonally vaulted choir. In
the period between 1320 and 1340, the walls were
painted with a connecting series of frescos (Figure
5.3).[44] The part of the vaulted ceiling over the pub-
licly accessible entrance to the nave is covered with
the heraldic colors of the church's founder, while the
keystones are decorated with her coat of arms. The
walls of the nuns' galleries are covered with several
different frescos, linked by a thematic plan. On the
east side, scenes of the Passion of Christ and the life
of Elizabeth of Hungary are depicted, while fresco
cycles on the opposite side portray the early Chris-
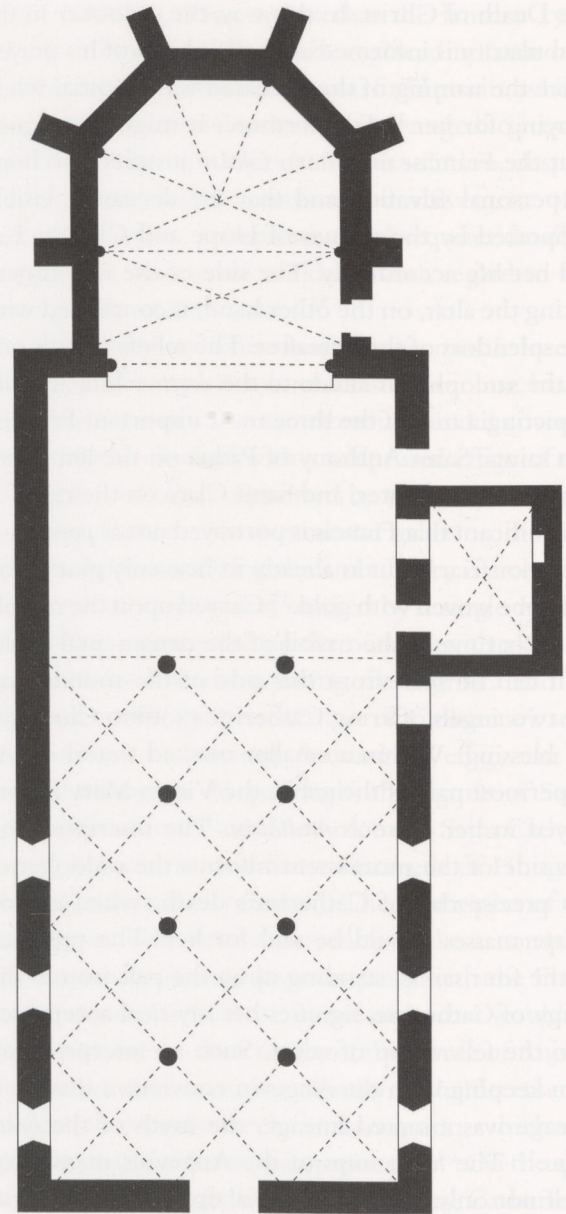
5.3. *Church of Santa Maria Donnaregina*, Naples (plan drawn
by Camilla Antonich after Venditti, 1969)

tian martyrs Saint Catherine of Alexandria and Saint
Agnes. Even though the choice of subject matter
is not unusual for a convent of the poor sisters, it
concerns the kind of women with whom Mary of
Hungary, on account of her lineage and piety, would
have personally identified. In the fresco of the *Last
Judgment* on the entrance wall, Mary is clearly seen in
the company of the blessed (Figure 5.4), ascending
into heaven together with the other saintly members
of her family.[45] A fresco representing King Stephen
and King Ladislaus, the principal Hungarian saints

5.4. *Mary of Hungary and Saintly Members of Her Family*, detail from the *Last Judgment*, fresco on entrance wall, Convent Church of Santa Maria Donnaregina, Naples. (Photo: Tanja Michalsky)
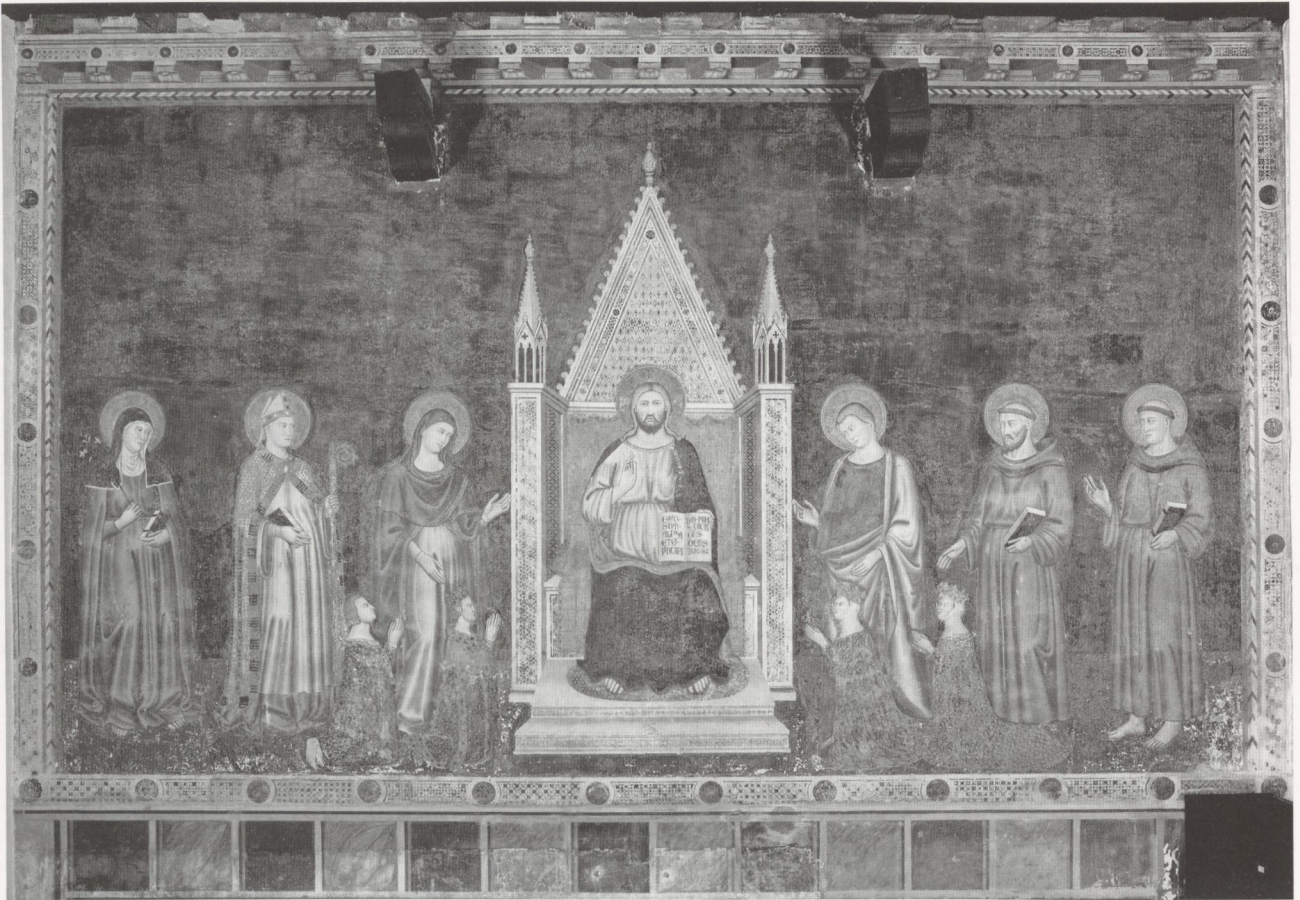
5.5. *Fresco from the Old Franciscan Chapter House,* Convent of Santa Chiara, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

of the time, from whom Mary, as the daughter of Stephen V of Hungary, could claim descent, can be seen, together with Elizabeth, o n the eastern side of the nave, against a background of Hungary's national colors.[46] Taken together, the entire complex of frescos presents a visual program intended to glorify the Angevin houses of Naples and Hungary. In the establishment of a convent and the building of a tomb for its royal founder, an exceptionally splendid and dignified act of dynastic self-representation was accomplished. The visual impact of the original conception can still be perceived today in the convent church of Santa Maria Donnaregina.

The agenda of Santa Maria Donnaregina was magnified, both in size and expenditure of effort, in the twin Franciscan-Clarissan convent of Santa Chiara (formerly Corpus Christi).[47] This expansive complex, whose exceptional dimensions embraced church and abbey buildings for both communities,

was constructed, with several changes of design, between 1310 and 1340 under the auspices of the royal house and especially the patronage of the wife of Robert of Anjou, Queen Sancia of Majorca. The members of the royal family concerned with the building of the abbey, particularly Robert and Sancia, as well as Charles of Calabria and his daughter, Joanna, are therefore represented – in an image of dynastic lineage – around the throne of Christ, in a fresco on the walls of the old chapter house of the Franciscan abbey (Figure 5.5).[48] A number of important royal family monuments were constructed in the church itself. It is likely that Robert of Anjou decided at an early phase of the enterprise to erect his own tomb as the centerpiece of the church – that is, directly behind the high altar and therefore close to the choir of the Poor Clares, whose duty it was, according to the founding charter of the convent, to say intercessory prayers for the royal house.
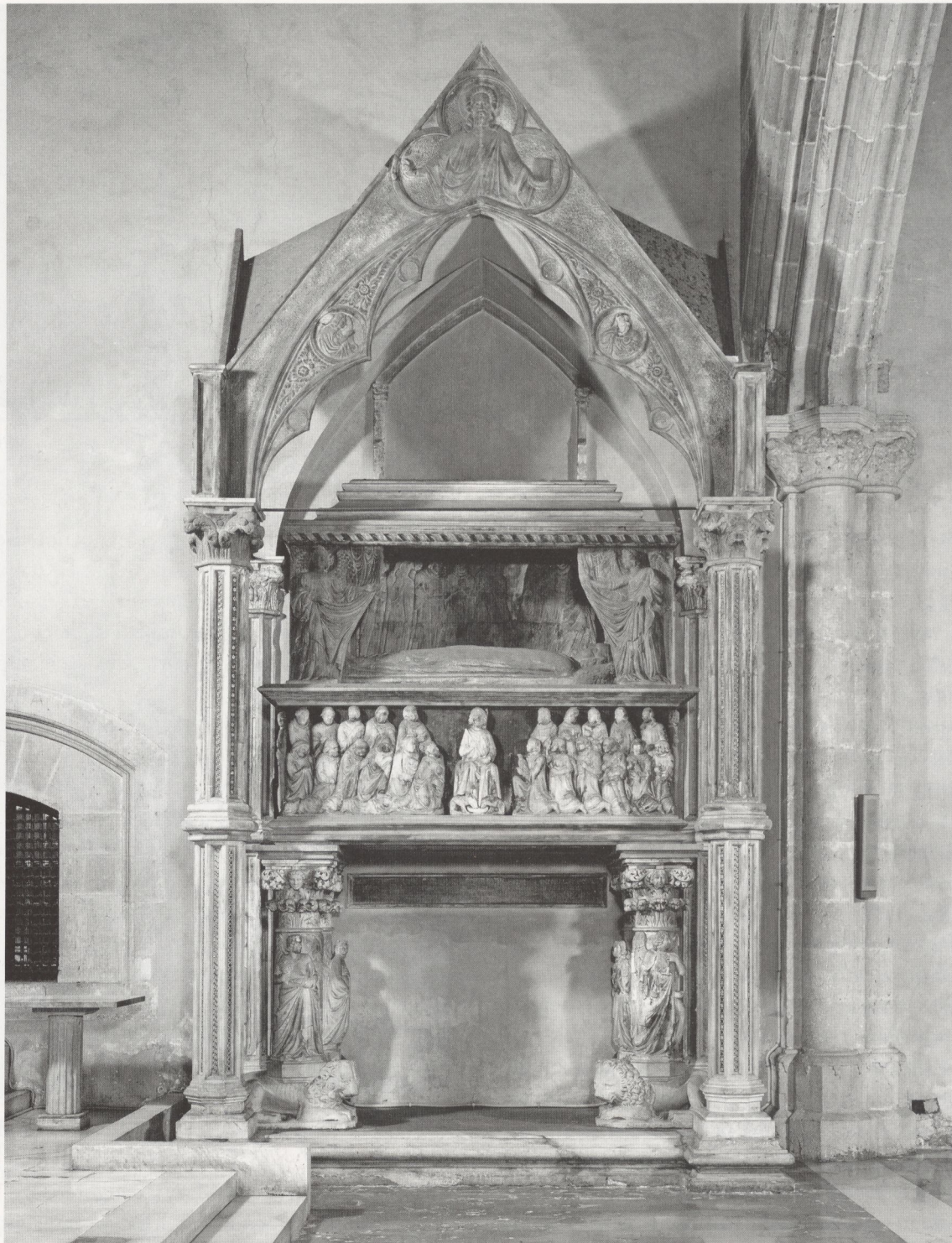
5.6. *Tomb of Carlo di Calabria* (Charles of Calabria), Church of Convent of Santa Chiara, Naples. (Photo: © www
.pedicinimages.com)

Tombs for a number of children were erected before the church was completed.[49] The tomb of Charles of Calabria would be erected to the left of his father's to continue the line of illustrious monuments at this site.[50] The only male heir in his time, Charles died young in 1328, and his unexpected death forced the Angevins to look to the female line for a successor (the new monarch would be his daughter, Joanna I).

5.7. *Tomb of Filippo di Taranto* (Philip of Taranto), Church of San Domenico Maggiore, Naples.   (Photo: © www
.pedicinimages.com)

Tino di Camaino was commissioned to design a
provisional tomb for Charles, and in 1335 this was
replaced by the monument that is still located on the
eastern wall of the church, a companion to that of
his father (Figure 5.6). Structurally, it is related to
the monument of Mary of Hungary, with caryatid
personifications of Virtues supporting a sarcophagus
decorated with reliefs; above this a *camera funebris*
containing an effigy; and a representation – with
Louis of Toulouse – of the offering of the soul of
the deceased to Christ, similar to what is seen in
Mary's tomb. However, the visual program of the
tomb of Charles of Calabria is conceived so as to
emphasize his suitability for kingship, and the num-
ber of Virtues is increased from four to eight. Once
again, the most telling aspect of the monument is
the sarcophagus, on the front of which Charles can
be seen seated upon a throne in the midst of his
followers, while at his feet two animals are shown
feeding from the same bowl, symbolizing his peace-
ful rule (had he, of course, actually ruled).[51] Charles
is depicted here without the royal insignia. Only the
sword and mace are placed in his hands, as the scepter
and crown were still in the possession of his father,
Robert of Anjou, who with the loss of Charles had
lost his rightful heir.[52] In the case of Robert's broth-
ers, Philip of Taranto (d. 1331) and John of Durazzo
(d. 1335), of whose tombs only the sarcophagus fronts
have survived, today walled into the transepts of San
Domenico Maggiore (Figure 5.7),[53] the deceased

are displayed upon the princely and not the royal
throne, thus making clear their qualified status. The
fact that they are accompanied in each case by rep-
resentations of their sons points to the fact that their
right to succession was restricted to their respective
fiefdoms.

That the depiction of the royal throne and
insignia on a tomb had less to do with the power
of the deceased than with that of his descendants
is made abundantly clear with the tomb of Mary
of Valois, the second wife of Charles of Calabria
(Figure 5.8).[54] This tomb, which was produced in
Tino's workshop between 1335 and 1337, conforms
to what had by then become a standard pattern. It
stands in close proximity to that of Charles, to which
it should be considered a pendant, both in terms
of its content and its formal design. Mary of Valois
sits enthroned on the front of her sarcophagus, even
though she never exercised royal power, between the
figures of her daughters Joanna I (d. 1382) and Mary
of Durazzo (d. 1367), the recently named female
heirs to the throne. If Mary's daughters are shown
ostentatiously wearing full royal insignia, it is by
virtue of their mother's body (the blood relationship)
that they have inherited their access to royal power.
The salient political theme of this female tomb is
thus the introduction of the female line of succes-
sion, and so, unlike what we see in the tomb of Mary
of Hungary, not only the sons but also the mother
and daughters are enthroned. It is noteworthy that

5.8. *Tomb of Maria di Valois* (Marie of Valois), Church of Convent of Santa Chiara, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

Mary was given just three personifications of Virtues (two of which are in situ).[55] The fact that these are also crowned would support the idea that the deceased herself might supply the fourth, and given the conventional role of female royalty, her virtue should be understood as contributing to the theme of religious charity that was also so important to the Franciscans.[56]

The focal point of the assembly of royal monuments that grace Santa Chiara is the tomb of King Robert of Anjou. It is situated in the center of the altar wall; that is to say, on the line that divides the presbytery from the Clarissan nuns' choir immediately behind the altar wall, a location highly significant for the welfare of Robert's soul (Figure 5.9).[57] The extraordinary pomp of this monument combines a memorial for an illustrious ruler with a claim for the legitimate continuity of his dynasty under the rule of Joanna I, his granddaughter. It was commissioned by her and brought to completion by the Tuscan sculptors Pacio and Giovanni Bertini during the years 1334 to 1346, according to plans outlined by Robert himself.[58] The by now familiar elements include caryatid personifications of all the principal Virtues,[59] a sarcophagus showing the genealogical justification of Joanna I's succession to the throne, a *camera funebris* surmounted by statues of Saints Francis and Clare praying to an enthroned Virgin Mary for the blessing of the infant Jesus, and a high canopy, in this case approximately fifteen meters tall. Particularly innovative for a Neapolitan tomb, and novel for sepulchral architecture throughout Europe were it not for the tomb of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII in Pisa,[60] is the portion housing a fully three-dimensional sculptured figure of the king enthroned upon a faldstool and accompanied by his nobles paying homage. This visual formula, which projects the person of the king in effigy against the background of his subjects, who are removed slightly by virtue of being represented in flanking pictorial fields, emphasizes the theme of dynastic legitimacy. The theme of legitimacy is further underlined by the tomb's main inscription: CERNITE ROBERTUM REGE VIRTUTEM REFERTUM ("Behold King Robert! Replete in Virtue") (Figure 5.10). The figure of the king enthroned visually dominates the more customary elements of the tomb, even though the figures arranged on the sarcophagus front are strongly emphasized by means of heraldic colors. Robert appears on the sarcophagus front enthroned yet again, in the center, accompanied on his right side by his queen, Sancia of Majorca, his granddaughter, Joanna I, and the already deceased Louis of Toulouse, and on his left side by his first wife, Violante of Aragon, their son, Charles of Calabria, and Charles's
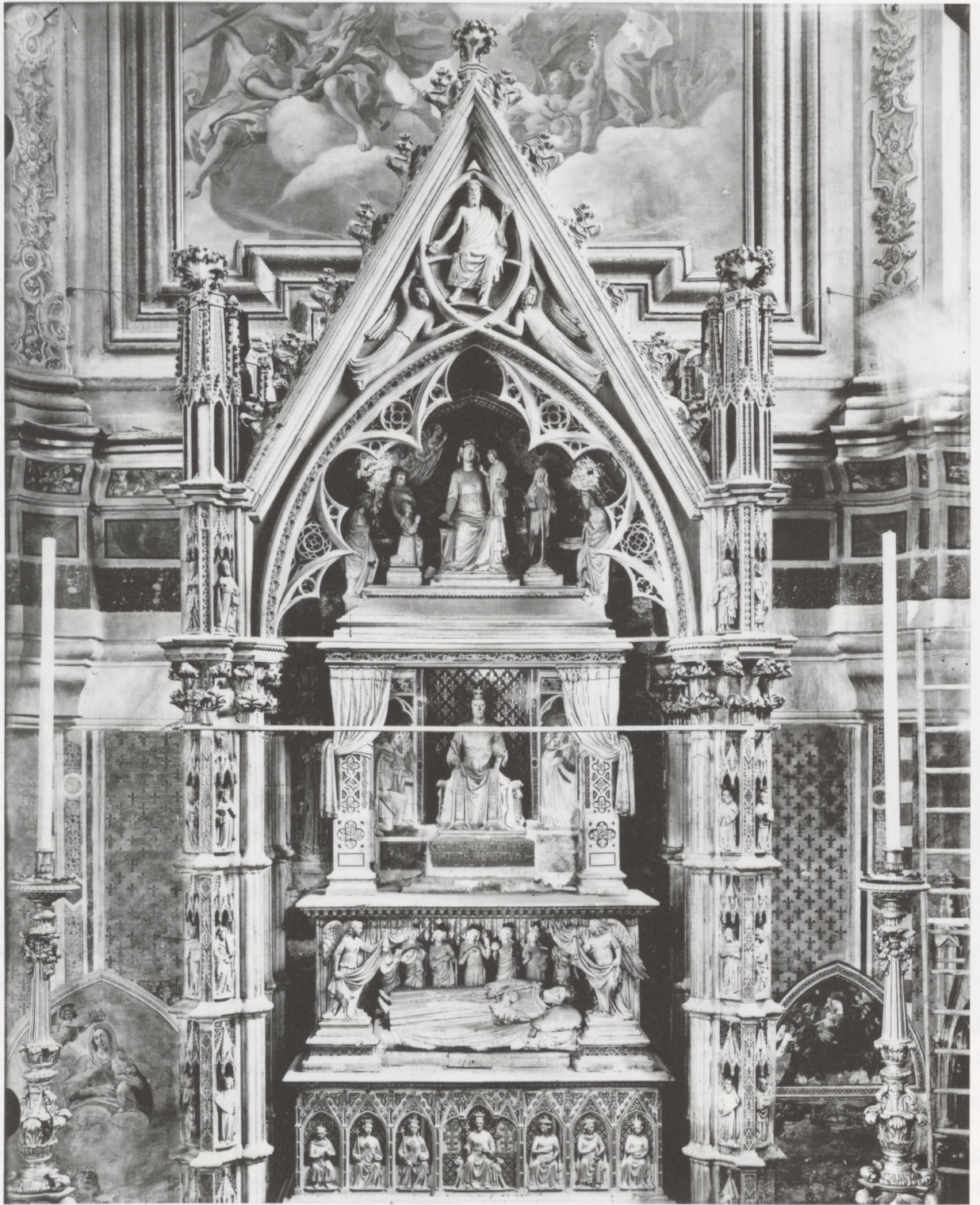
5.9. *Tomb of Roberto d'Angiò* (Robert of Anjou), Church of Monastery of Santa Chiara, Naples. (Photo: Alinari/Art Resources, New York)
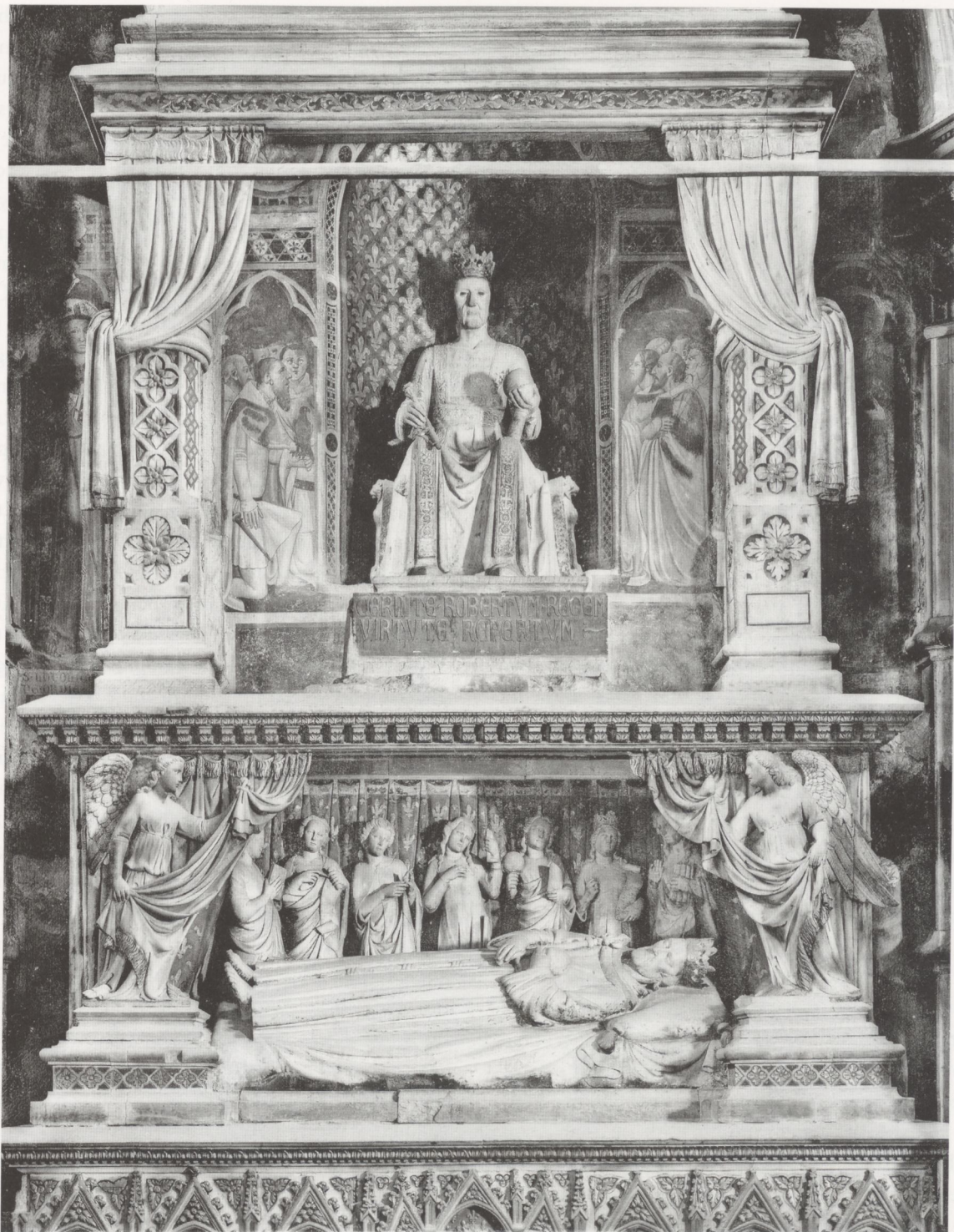
5.10. *Detail of the Sarcophagus and Virtues from the Tomb of Roberto d'Angiò* (Robert of Anjou), Church of Monastery of Santa Chiara, Naples. (Photo: Alinari/Art Resources, New York)

second wife, Mary of Valois. Like Robert, Sancia wears royal insignia, as does Joanna I, to whom the line of succession had passed in 1343. Robert's tomb thus represents a reformulation of now famil-

iar themes. The power of the king is made visual, as is his genealogy, and as the inscription prompts us to remember, the monarch seated on his throne was a virtuous ruler who exercised his power as the

leader of his people. In this visual program, realized in a church setting and in such a way that it could not be overlooked even from a distance, the political purpose of the tomb is superposed upon its religious function.

Nevertheless, true to the late medieval belief in purgatory as an intermediate stage toward salvation, Robert was concerned with the welfare of his soul. For this reason, on the reverse side of the monument – that is, on the side facing the altar wall and connected through this wall to the space of the Clarissan choir on the other side – there is another recumbent statue of the king (Figure 5.11). The purpose of this effigy was to remind the Poor Clares of their patron and of their obligations to him – the number of masses and intercessory prayers they were to offer not only for Robert but for the other members of the royal family as well – in accord with the founding charter of Santa Chiara.[61]

The *memoria* thus perpetuated in stone, indivisibly political and liturgical, is a remembrance of the dead king that ennobles the royal family and was intended to justify and extend (for as long as possible) their exercise of power. The monuments in Santa Chiara are so striking in part because of their formal unity but also because of the relatively plain interior of the convent church. The rear wall of the presbytery was designed to be a screen for Angevin *memoria*, which, in their day, was an ensemble without parallel and set new standards, and not just in Naples. It was only some eighty years later, with the tomb of King Ladislas of the Durazzo branch of the Anjou, that these would be surpassed, at least in quantity. The erection of Robert's monument was a singularly ambitious project that sought to outdo existing sepulchres while at the same time availing itself of established formal design and iconography. Robert and Sancia planned the construction of the church, in accordance with the ideals of Franciscan piety, as a prestige object for their royal house.[62] It was one of a series of initiatives that included the construction of the Cathedral with its sepulchral monuments, planned by Charles I, the building of San Domenico and its tombs by his successor, Charles II, and the building of the smaller convent churches founded by their queens.

During the middle years of the fourteenth century, the townscape of Naples was marked by monastic establishments of the Anjou, whose churches housed, first and foremost, the ostentatious wall monuments of the royal family, built of white marble and decorated in part in multicolored mosaics. Although the tomb complex in Santa Chiara was the last resting place of the occupants of the Angevin throne, it is important to note that the tomb of Queen Sancia (d. 1345) was built in another Clarissan church, one she herself established, Santa Maria della Croce (Santa Croce).[63] This church, together with a small convent, stood in the immediate neighborhood of the royal palace, but today our knowledge of it relies entirely on verbal descriptions, drawings, and engravings (Figure 5.12). However, the evidence illustrates once again how the tombs of the female members of the family in particular were able to combine piety with a representation of royal power. We know from this evidence that Sancia was depicted, in a way partly analogous to the way Charles of Calabria was depicted, wearing royal insignia and seated upon a throne between kneeling Franciscans and Poor Clares. The relief on the other side of the sarcophagus showed her figure (recognizable on account of the crown she is wearing) at supper with the sisters of the convent, in the manner of Christ at the Last Supper. Although one can be sure that Sancia was a religious woman,[64] she also displayed those qualities considered ideal for a noble woman in her time, when aristocrats were not only expected to give birth to male heirs (as the visual program of the tombs of both Mary of Hungary and Mary of Valois makes clear) but also to enhance the esteem of their families by pursuing a pious way of life.[65] With Sancia's tomb, the sequence of Angevin sepulchral monuments came to an end, at least for the time being, and then both the Kingdom of Naples and the capital itself were engulfed in a struggle for power and a series of wars, allowing little time for the planning and construction of elaborate funerary monuments. The monuments and chapels that should command our attention in the period before royal power passed to the house of Aragon under Alfonso I in 1442 are therefore those of the Durazzo – the less successful branch of the Angevin royal line – and those of the local Neapolitan aristocracy.

5.11. *View of the Tomb of Roberto d'Angiò from the Nuns' Choir*, Church of Monastery of Santa Chiara, Naples. (Photo: Tanja Michalsky)

5.12. *Engraving of the Tomb of Sancia di Maiorca* (from Serous D'Agincourt, *Histoire,* 1823, vol. III, p. 231)

ADAPTATION AND EMULATION

That a period of more than a hundred years should be considered a transitional phase may be explained by the fact that during this time Naples gradually ceased to be regarded as a leading capital ruled over by a royal dynasty still firmly in control. As a consequence of this decline, the interplay between political representation and sepulchral architecture, which had until then been so fruitful, became less concrete and less forceful. However, the frescos of the Cappella del Crocefisso in Santa Maria Incoronata, dating from the reign of King Ladislas of Durazzo (r. 1386–1414), provide evidence that shows that the themes of lineage and dynastic legitimacy could still be represented, and not only in the context of sepulchral architecture.[66]

With the passage of time, the churches of Naples were filled with monuments and chapels of the local aristocracy, in which it is evident that the splendid tradition of sepulchres built by the French dynasty nourished a new stylistic idiom and new forms of expression for this elite population. This process began shortly after the Anjou had perfected their particular type of sepulchral monument in the second decade of the fourteenth century. The preferred locations were the main churches of the mendicant orders – San Lorenzo Maggiore, Santa Chiara, and San Domenico Maggiore. In such places, the deceased enjoyed prestigious proximity to royal monuments while the future welfare of their souls was assured by monastic communities.[67] The selection of both location and monument type points to the exemplary function of the royal monuments, while

the large quantity of similarly designed wall monuments points to the existence of well-organized workshops, like the one established earlier by Tino di Camaino, capable of satisfying the growing demand. These successor workshops are not yet well understood by modern scholars, but it is evident that the stylistic idiom of this kind of tomb began to deteriorate from the 1340s onward, giving way to less demanding relief sculpture techniques.[68] The basic structural elements, such as the encompassing canopy, the raised sarcophagus decorated with reliefs (but only exceptionally supported by caryatids), the effigy of the deceased, and the *commendatio animae*, proved to be quite capable of adaptation in the hands of versatile artists. The adoption of this type of monument by the aristocracy was in effect an exercise in visual pretension that demonstrated the growing self-confidence of the local aristocracy. Apart from the large number of such tombs, a likely factor in the deterioration of the art form is the fact that later royal monuments, such as the sepulchre of the Durazzo branch of the house of Anjou in San Lorenzo, offered little in the way of innovative material for emulation.[69]

A particularly successful model was the sarcophagus of the tomb of Catherine of Austria in San Lorenzo. The iconography of this example readily lent itself to imitation, to the extent that the presence of the *imago pietatis* – and thus the themes of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ – could express the deceased's expectations of personal salvation in a highly compressed form.[70] This sort of sarcophagus, produced in large numbers and great variety, continued to be esteemed until well into the fifteenth century. Consequently, it was used for monuments that being otherwise suited to the needs of Renaissance sculpture were incompatible with its "Gothic" elements, as the monuments of Antonio Carafa, called Malizia (d. 1438),[71] and Niccolò Tomacelli (d. 1473) in San Domenico may illustrate by way of examples.[72] The relief motifs of the dynastic sarcophagi could not themselves be imitated very closely, on account of their content, but later variations persisted, as seen in the monuments in the Cappella del Balzo (after 1376) in Santa Chiara or in that of Cardinal Francesco Carbone (d. 1405) in the Cathedral, which apart from its dimensions presents what

is in many respects a copy of an Angevin monument.[73] Another monument that can readily be compared with those of the Anjou is the tomb of Cardinal Enrico Minutolo, erected during his lifetime, between 1402 and 1405, in the chapel bearing his name in the Cathedral.[74] This chapel, which already contained the tombs of the cardinal's ancestors Enrico and Urso Minutolo, is completely decorated with frescos and today presents us with layer upon layer of paintings from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the manner of a palimpsest.[75] The remains of the cardinal himself were given place of honor above the altar, and it is difficult to distinguish the roles of altarpiece and monument. The proportions of the sarcophagus were altered so as to gain more height, thus allowing the relief to be designed as a triptych. In the center is the Nativity, on the right Saint Peter and a holy bishop, and on the left the figure of the cardinal himself, accompanied by two commending saints. A narrow predella is situated between the altar table and the sarcophagus, and under the pointed arches of the predella the twelve apostles can be seen grouped around the throne of the Virgin Mary. As usual, a *camera funebris* is set above the sarcophagus, with an effigy of the deceased as well as angels holding censers and sprinkling holy water. The image of Christ as *imago pietatis* has been relocated to the roof of the *camera*. Personifications of Hope and Charity are banished to the outer edges near the altar, and the entire ensemble is elevated on twisted columns, decorated with vine leafs that bring to mind the temple of Solomon. Even though conventionally representative of universal Christian hopes of salvation, the cardinal's personal claims for salvation, which are made apparent chiefly by the tomb's location and its association with an altar, may be compared to those expressed by the royal Anjou monuments. It is useful to remember, in view of a possible ad hoc association with royalty, that Angevin tombs once stood in the Cathedral and were perhaps located at this time in the choir.

The tomb of Ludovico Aldomoresco (Figure 5.13), which was completed in 1421, may be singled out to represent the monuments produced by the workshop of the then leading sculptor Antonio Baboccio.[76] The form and iconography of this monument made such original use of traditional

5.13. Workshop of Antonio Baboccio, *Tomb of Ludovico Aldomoresco* (1421), Church of San Lorenzo Maggiore, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

design elements that it may have inaugurated a tra-dition of its own.[77] Erected in the Church of San Lorenzo, this monument presents a variation on the double-sided design that had become familiar in Naples since its appearance in the tomb of Cather-ine of Austria, which stands nearby. The sarcophagus reliefs are indebted to the international style of the early fifteenth century, but neither side is particularly

Franciscan, either in style or in the crowded composition of its narrative. Instead, one side shows a sumptuously dressed band of mourners witnessing Aldomoresco's funeral and his commendation to the Virgin Mary by King Ladislas of Durazzo, and the other side shows the personal judgment of the deceased before Christ and the Virgin (that the scene has to do with his fitness to enter into heaven is made clear by the inscriptions). The caryatids in this case are not personified Virtues but male members of Aldomoresco's own family – identified by inscriptions – who had served Ladislas's father, King Charles III of Durazzo. The caryatids, in combination with the scenes in which King Ladislas functions as a sort of holy intercessor for his loyal servant, represent the claim that the deceased, like other members of his family before him, had served both land and sovereign well and therefore merited the favor of intercession. The high pomp of his funeral procession makes it evident that this claim is not based on the presumption of royal mercy alone but is in keeping with Aldomoresco's own high social standing.

The tomb of Cardinal Rinaldo Brancaccio, built only a few years later, could hardly be more different from that of Aldomoresco. The patron undoubtedly wished to outdo the traditionally designed tomb monuments of his predecessors, the cardinals Carbone and Minutolo mentioned earlier, and around 1426 he decided to commission a tomb from the distinguished Florentine artists Donatello and Michelozzo (Figure 5.14).[78] The tomb was originally located very prominently, in front of the main entrance or behind the high altar in Sant'Angelo a Nilo, a church founded by Cardinal Brancaccio himself to serve as the family chapel of the nearby Brancaccio palace.[79] Whereas a hundred years earlier Tino di Camaino had traveled to Naples personally to serve the Anjou court, Brancaccio's monument was manufactured in Tuscany and shipped south for assembly. In fact, it became common practice to commission work from acclaimed foreign craftsmen who promised both high quality and innovation, possibly for lack of suitable local workshops after the departure of Antonio Baboccio. Of particular interest with regard to the relationship between the commission and the execution of Rinaldo Brancaccio's monument is the interplay between progressive Florentine

Quattrocento and a composition that harks back to local traditions, with its caryatids and its customary sequence of sarcophagus, effigy, and curtains held back by angels under a Gothic-like gable. Obviously, Michelozzo, who is generally credited with the architectural design of the tomb,[80] attempted to marry Neapolitan tradition with a triumphal arch motif based on antique models. Some of the additions to the conventional vocabulary, such as the tondo of a blessing God the Father encircled by a laurel wreath, tend to disturb any initial impression of harmony. Similarly problematic is the introduction of composite-order columns with fluted shafts. The forward columns are freestanding and support the round arch above, but the intended triumphal-arch effect is countered by the presence of shallow pilasters that suggest the presence of rear columns. The sarcophagus, which at the front is held on the shoulders of caryatids, appears at the rear to hover without support, as if it were unrelated to the columnar support system of the monument. On the other hand, the decision to dispense with an enclosed *camera funebris* and relocate the curtains that were conventionally represented in that space to the upper-tier archway marks a development of the traditional scheme and is in some respects an improvement. The angels receive more space and thus more emphasis than they usually do, while the line of vision between Mary the *mediatrix* and the effigy of the deceased is relatively uninterrupted. Evidently, the intention was to replace the traditional stack of formally autonomous units with something like a scenic whole, with different levels of reality suggested by spatial frames rather than piecemeal within individual components. The adoption of composite-order columns was clearly part of this strategy of formal integration.

Especially worthy of attention is Donatello's relief sculpture of the *Assumption of the Virgin* mounted on the front of the sarcophagus.[81] The panel breaks with the traditional iconography of this subject in part on the basis of its subtle *rilievo schiacciato*, or "squashed relief," one of Donatello's hallmarks. The pictorial effect of the relief is ultimately to generate an engaging temporal visual experience for the beholder. It is as if the lighting were modulated, gradually revealing the Virgin Mary borne aloft upon a throne among clouds populated by angels,

5.14. Donatello and Michelozzo, *Tomb of Rinaldo Brancaccio* (1426–1433), Church of Sant'Angelo a Nilo, Naples. (Photo: ©
www.pedicinimages.com)

5.15. *Cappella Caracciolo del Sole*, Church of San Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

who in a succession of movements gather themselves to form an aureole. The viewer's contemplation, *memoria*, and physical response to the highly crafted stone are thus bound together, just as the representation of the Virgin's intercession on behalf of the deceased in the midst of a cohort of angels brings together the solemn beliefs and hopes expressed in the monument.

Even though this imported tomb must have caused considerable contemporary interest, artistic responses did not follow until decades later. About the same time, a couple of decades before the final demise of the Anjou-Durazzo dynasty, two especially ambitious monuments, once again the work of Tuscan artists, were erected in the church of the Augustinian friars at San Giovanni a Carbonara, on the eastern edge of Naples near Castel Capuano.[82] Shortly after the completion of San Giovanni, work was begun on a monument to King Ladislas of Durazzo (d. 1414), which would dominate the area of the choir (Plate XXX), while adjacent to this space, work commenced on a second monument, to none other than Giovanni Caracciolo, known as Sergianni (d. 1428), of the Caracciolo del Sole family, the disgraced and later assassinated lover of the heiress to the throne, Joanna II (Figure 5.15).[83]

For reasons of dynastic continuity, the tomb of King Ladislas carried on the tradition of Angevin monuments, even while attempting to exceed that tradition with respect to size and effort. Comparable to the setting of Robert's tomb in Santa Chiara, the tomb of Ladislas is located on the wall that divides the presbytery of the church from a sacred space directly behind it. In this case, the space beyond the presbytery is the Cappella Caracciolo del Sole, consecrated in 1427. The tomb of Ladislas creates a powerful impression on account of the relatively reduced space in which it stands, as well as by its extended height (approximately four meters taller than usual) and the fact that its structure continues onto the side walls, thus framing the space around the main altar of the church. The usual combination of tomb elements varies slightly from the norm. Four caryatids placed upon a base plinth, representing Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, and (for the first time in Naples) Magnanimity, support not the sarcophagus itself but a low-slung platform upon which a vaulted compartment, occupying its entire breadth, is situated. In the center of this platform, Ladislas and his successor, Queen Joanna II, are seated upon thrones, flanked by four more Virtues (on the left, a militaristic Virtue holding a globe is seated next to Hope; and on the right, Charity and Faith). The larger-than-life statues of the dead king and ruling queen, enthroned side by side, present a visual program that, more emphatically than in the past, addresses the legitimacy of the still-contested dynasty. Above this stagelike compartment, the sarcophagus is found. On its front is another depiction of the royal brother and sister along with two other figures, probably with their parents. In its physical dimensions, the compartment containing the sarcophagus is comparable to that of older monuments, to which it makes visual reference as a conventional *camera funebris*. The statue of a bishop, whose identity is not difficult to guess, is placed on the roof of this compartment along with two other intercessory saints. The ensemble is covered by a canopy structure, above which can be seen a freestanding equestrian statue of Ladislas holding a sword aloft, as if riding into battle. The inscription below describes him as DIVVS LADISLAVS, drawing on ancient Roman precedent to help justify a claim to deification, however nominal.[84] The

upper part of the monument, with its mock gables, statuettes enclosed in turrets, tracery, and pointed arches, seems particularly retrospective – the result of a deliberate recourse on the part of the Tuscan artists, no doubt obligatory, to a vocabulary of traditional elements.[85] Even though the inscriptions use a new language (new on account of their Latinate verse form and style of lettering), the overwhelming impression of the monument as a whole is that of a forced sequel to the historic series of Angevin monuments. The flamboyant presentation of late medieval dynastic power seen here, surrounded by its instruments of legitimacy, Virtues, and heraldic devices, would enjoy a late comeback in Leonardo Besozzo's colorful contributions to the iconography of Sergianni Caracciolo's monument.

The tomb had been planned since the consecration of Sergianni Caracciolo's chapel in 1427 but not completed until the beginning of the 1440s, some years after his death in 1432 (Figure 5.16).[86] As it now appears, this innovative monument presents us with a number of puzzles. These include the pillars, which reach meaninglessly upward, as if they had once been intended to support a gabled roof, and the statue of Sergianni himself, which obviously held a weapon or a flagstaff at one time, standing erect and seeming oddly out of context above the inscription plate between a brace of sculpted heraldic beasts. However, even in its fragmented condition, the intention of the monument to represent the deceased as a man of military virtue is made clear, thanks in part to its exploitation of old-fashioned forms and in part to some novel features.[87] This intention is manifest in the colossal supporting structure, with its exclusively male figures (similar to Aldomoresco's monument), as well as in Sergianni's standing effigy, which was an unusual way to represent the deceased in sepulchral sculpture of the time.[88] The imagery of the sarcophagus front, with two *genii* holding the family coat of arms encircled by a crown of laurel, seems unusual for the 1430s on account of its classicism.[89] Sergianni's monument engages in a dialogue with antique forms that is clearly independent of other monuments, including that of Brancaccio. It is, however, difficult to guess whether the innovative elements of his tomb were created during Sergianni's own lifetime or whether they were commissioned

by his son, Troiano, who, once the family had been rehabilitated, completed his father's tomb and caused the family chapel to be decorated with frescos. Likewise, it is not clear whether the artists involved were the same ones who were responsible for the adjacent tomb of King Ladislas. Although the existing monument is not what was originally intended, it seems possible, given that no expense was spared elsewhere in the chapel, that what we see is Sergianni's plan in an unfinished state.

Sergianni's confident social awareness is reflected in the architecture of his chapel, the round form of which is directly attached to the choir of the main church, as mentioned previously, and is only accessible via the altar precinct, through a passageway under the tomb of King Ladislas.[90] The chapel projects above the nave and, at the time of its construction, its exterior was visible from a long way off. Larger-than-life statues in marble (among them, at one time, a statue of the chapel's founder)[91] decorate the buttresses. The impression is of an independent structure, and its ribbed vault, reminiscent of Brunelleschi's buildings, is perhaps evidence of another connection with Florence.[92] It was the first round chapel of its kind in southern Italy. The three western segments of its interior are decorated with frescos depicting the life of the Virgin painted by Leonardo da Besozzo.[93] Scenes from the lives of the Augustinian friars, painted during the 1450s by Perinetto da Benevento, decorate the entire base section of the chapel walls and have led to suggestions that the friars used the chapel as their choir.[94] The structure of the decoration system is articulated by the piers of the vault and is underlined by painted architectural elements. Each of the wall segments displays saints in counterfeit recesses, and the vault itself almost certainly was once decorated with frescos. The floor is set with contemporary majolica tiles from Florence displaying heraldic devices.[95] The chapel is dedicated to the Birth of the Virgin, but that its primary function, regardless of whether it was used by the friars as a choir, was to preserve the memory of Sergianni Caracciolo is underscored by the fact that he is present in several of the painted scenes of the life of the Virgin Mary, most significantly in those of her coronation (on the wall by the entrance) and death, by virtue of which, we are to understand,
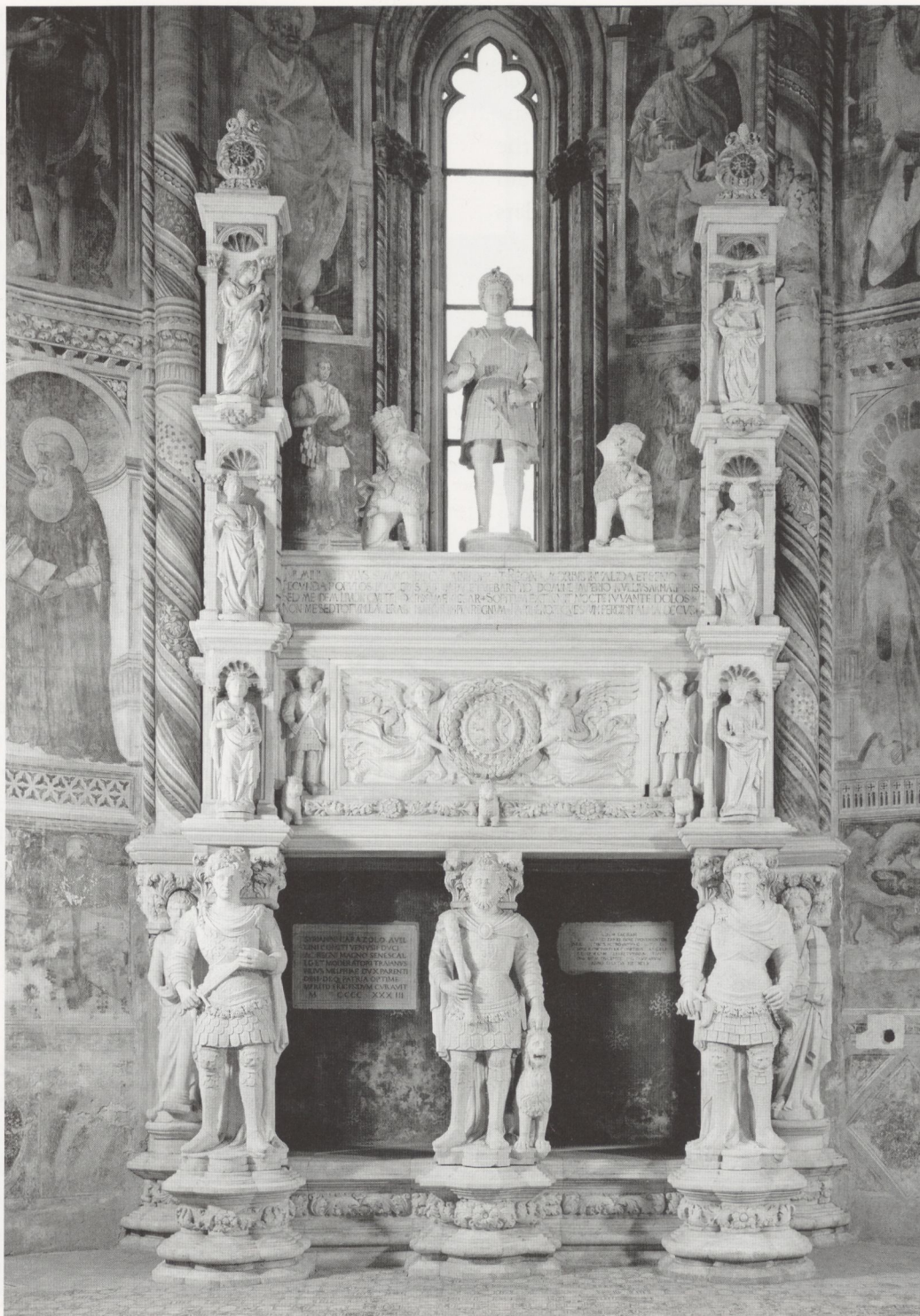
5.16. *Tomb of Sergianni Caracciolo*, Cappella Caracciolo del Sole, Church of San Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples. (Photo: ©
www.pedicinimages.com)

Sergianni receives the benefit of her intercession.
Likewise for the Augustinians, who although por-
trayed in the frescos as hermits nevertheless rep-
resent a community of religious whose destiny is

to intercede on behalf of the soul of the deceased.
The Caracciolo del Sole chapel again brings together
the dual tendencies of tradition and innovation that
were characteristic of artistic production in Naples at

the time, uniting a new type of building with a decidedly late Gothic program of frescos and the traditional architectural type of a polygonal Mary chapel. As a point of historical interest, it is worth remembering that it was Sergianni Caracciolo's lover – the queen of Naples – who made it possible for him to build his chapel *sulle spalle* (on the shoulders of) the previous ruling monarch, King Ladislas. As the inscription on Sergianni's tomb states, in words thought to have been composed by Lorenzo Valla, he was everything except a king.[96]

RENEWAL UNDER THE HOUSE OF ARAGON

In June 1442, Alfonso V of Aragon and Sicily, soon to be Alfonso I in his role as king of Naples (r. 1442–1458), became the undisputed ruler of both of the Two Sicilies. The date is reckoned by some to mark the beginning of the Renaissance in southern Italy,[97] but, as we have seen, a tendency to adopt ancient forms of expression for the purpose of modern self-representation arose much earlier. The real innovation in artistic policy brought about by the house of Aragon was the exploitation of other types of ancient art, since the use of art to represent political meaning was, from the reign of Alfonso I onward, more strongly focused on profane monuments.[98] In view of the prominence of both building and urban development (the two triumph arches of Castel Nuovo and the Porta Capuana, as well as various villas, might be mentioned), it is striking to consider how little energy the Aragonese spent on the construction of royal sepulchral monuments. The wooden coffins of members of the royal family, constructed during the reigns of Ferrante I (r. 1458–1494) and his successors, present us with a comparatively modest spectacle in the sacristy of San Domenico, where they were consigned after a fire in the church in 1506.[99] They number among them the coffins of Alfonso I (d. 1458),[100] his son, Ferrante I (d. 1494),[101] and his grandson, Ferdinand II (also called Ferrante II or Ferrandino) (d. 1496),[102] Ferrante I's daughter, Giovanna (d. 1518), and that of Alfonso II's daughter, Isabella Sforza (d. 1524).[103] Considering that these wooden coffins were once covered with highly col-

orful draperies and were much more conspicuous than their appearance in the sacristy today might suggest, it seems possible that there had been a plan to replace the coffins (which at the time of the fire were located by the side of the high altar) with splendid marble monuments.[104] However, despite more than fifty years of Aragonese rule, this did not happen, and it would seem that, rather than by the building of sepulchral monuments, royal power in this period was expressed by triumphal arches as well as other monuments and buildings that, in view of a change in public perception,[105] were considered effective in representing political power. That such a shift in emphasis was neither self-evident nor necessarily permanent, however, is shown by the fact that the coffins in San Domenico were restored in 1594 by order of Philip II of Spain in order to ensure a fitting memorial for the former Spanish royal house.[106]

The tomb monuments that date from the second half of the fifteenth century were, with few exceptions, erected for influential noble families and were the work of a new generation of artists who were recruited from the north of Italy and set up their own workshops in Naples. The church of Santa Maria di Monteoliveto (later called Sant'Anna dei Lombardi) was filled with a series of significant chapels built from the 1470s onward.[107] A possible reason for the importance of this site is the fact that the sepulchres of the house of Aragon, which were never realized, were at one time intended for this church.[108] A surviving remnant of such plans is Guido Mazzoni's *Lamentation* sculpture group, which will be discussed later. A remarkable phenomenon can be observed with the chapel that Antonio Piccolomini built in 1470 for his wife, Maria of Aragon, an illegitimate daughter of Ferrante I, who had died the year before (Figure 5.17). Especially remarkable is the fact that the entire chapel, from its formal concept to its decoration, is based upon the chapel of the cardinal of Portugal, which had been erected in the Florentine church of San Miniato al Monte just a few years earlier (1460–1468)[109] (Figure 5.18). This extraordinary instance of emulation may be traced to the aspirations of the Neapolitan aristocracy to effect the Florentine style in building and ornamentation that was no doubt stimulated in Naples by the presence of

5.17. *Cappella Piccolomini*, Church of Sant'Anna dei Lombardi (formerly Santa Maria di Monteoliveto). (Photo: © www .pedicinimages.com)

the banking houses of the Strozzi and the Medici.[110] It would be mistaken, however, to speak of an unsophisticated copying of a famous model – for it was rather a self-conscious appropriation of those cultural

standards, which had only recently been attained in Florence itself. On the one hand, the engagement of Florentine sculptor Antonio Rossellino for this task was an attempt to imitate the exemplary artistic

5.18. Antonio Rossellino, *Tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal*, Church of San Miniato al Monte, Florence. (Photo: Alinari/Art Resources, New York)

standards of the Medici's hometown while, on the other, a number of alterations point not only to certain adjustments made on behalf of the deceased but also a desire to surpass the Florentine original.

The virtually square chapel, which stands on the west side of the church and is entered through the first side chapel on the left, was formerly covered with frescos throughout.[111] The coffered entry arch is in keeping with the round arches flanked by pilasters that frame the main features of the three interior walls: on the left, Maria's tomb monument, in the center the altar, and on the right a fresco depicting

the Annunciation.[112] The vault of the cupola was originally intended to be decorated with terracotta tondi (after the Florentine fashion), but the plan was never carried out.[113] The floor is set in *opus sectile*. The Florentine design has been rendered more complicated, in that four additional circles have been added to the square in the center (itself laid at an angle of 45°), thus filling out the corners.

Maria of Aragon's tomb (Figure 5.19), even if it is in many respects a copy of that of the cardinal of Portugal, breaks with a tradition of Neapolitan sepulchral iconography stretching back over several centuries and does so essentially for the first time. It takes up the whole left-hand wall of the chapel, and the sarcophagus, with its reclining effigy, projects considerably outward from the niche into the space of the chapel.[114] True to the formal plan of the original, the sarcophagus and effigy are carried upon a socle decorated with *all' antica* reliefs. Putti wrap the pall playfully around the figure of the deceased. On the upper wall, framed by the arch, is a tondo decorated with garlands, carried aloft by angels, in which the infant Jesus is shown giving his blessing to Maria. A square panel above the effigy, which in the Florentine model is decorated with onyx, is here filled with a relief portraying the Resurrection of Christ, a theme that in this sepulchral context requires no further explanation. The curtains, which on the earlier tombs discussed previously framed the *camera funebris*, are here attached to the rounded arch enclosing the niche in the wall and are thrown open in a theatrical fashion, as if to invite the gaze of the beholder into the space of the monument. Unlike that of the Florentine original, the effigy in this case does not face the altar but looks toward the chapel entrance. Likewise, the Virgin Mary and blessing Jesus in the tondo above do not look toward the deceased but outward toward the entrance and the viewer. These departures from the Florentine monument are complemented by a subtle modification of the skull depicted in the relief on the socle zone, the gaze of which is likewise directed to the left. It should be emphasized that the apparent low "Gothic" profile of the otherwise elegant effigy has less to do with its being a copy, as might be supposed from the relative silence of the scholarly literature,[115] than with a special attempt to portray a gentle woman in an ide-

alized manner. Maria of Aragon is represented in a costly dress of brocade; a crown of flowers (symbol of the bridal bed?)[116] is placed upon her forehead; and the inscription supplies words characterizing death as the peaceful stillness of sleep and praising marital love beyond the grave.[117] A more obvious iconographical deviation from the original is the fact that the angel on the left above the effigy of Maria offers an incense vessel rather than a crown. The dynastic reference, which made the tomb of a cardinal in republican-minded Florence so extraordinary,[118] was erased from the Neapolitan version of the tomb since it was intended not for a royal chapel but rather for one of the higher nobility, a chapel that aimed at displaying Maria of Aragon's material splendor, the ideal of marital love, and the universal hope of resurrection.

The altar of the Piccolomini chapel, executed between 1471 and 1474 by Antonio Rossellino, was installed around 1477.[119] For the first time since the polyptychs of Tino di Camaino, Rossellino's altar introduced a marble retable into a Neapolitan church.[120] Later, as we will see, it would become a special characteristic of the design of Neapolitan altars, a feature that struck Giorgio Vasari as unusual and was henceforth encountered more often.[121] Set into a triumphal-arch decorative scheme, with a pilaster order that complements that of the chapel as a whole, the side compartments flanking the center panel contain niches of red marble housing statues of Jacob and John the Baptist, and above them two tondi, containing busts of a prophet and Saint John the Evangelist. The central relief sculpture of the *Nativity*, or more precisely the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, is of white marble (partly gilded) and is of very high quality. It is clear that Rossellino sought to compete with the Florentine original, since he attempted a scenic representation in stone that employs effects of artificial perspective usually associated with painting. The iconography of this centerpiece gives unusual prominence and descriptive realism to the stable in which the Virgin Mary can be seen adoring her infant son. Above them, a host of angels, which seem almost three-dimensional, dance upon the clouds while another angel, descending headfirst, gestures toward a group of shepherds, making them aware of the joyous scene below. Joy

5.19. *Tomb of Maria d'Aragona* (after 1474), Church of Sant'Anna dei Lombardi (formerly Santa Maria di Monteoliveto). (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

and devotion are thus combined in a single representation and together offer a cue to the beholder's response. The artist's own joy in experimenting with new means with which to express such thoughts leads sometimes to playful diversions, such as where a rock formation depicted in the relief "bursts" out

of its frame. In place of a predella, there is a tall pedestal decorated with a low-relief carving symbolically representing the Evangelists. A strong entablature, carved with a frieze of angel heads interspersed with cornucopias, frames the top of the monument. Putti holding garlands disport on top

of the entablature, and above them an oculus window creates a formal pendant to the tondo of the Virgin and blessing Jesus on the tomb of Maria of Aragon. Together with the fresco of the *Annunciation*, a subject that also appears in the Florentine chapel, the themes represented in the Piccolomini chapel are those of Christ's humanity and his Resurrection. Not insignificant in this respect is the role of the Virgin Mary, as the mother of Christ and *mediatrix* for the deceased. Even though the Nativity, as the subject of altar retables and, from 1458 onward, of freestanding sculpture groups, was increasingly common in the iconography of Neapolitan chapels, one may suspect that the Marian subject of this altar may have been chosen for reasons that include the name of the deceased. Seen as a whole, the pioneering role of this chapel in the introduction of Florentine formal design to Naples cannot be overestimated. Although it is a close reworking of an existing model, it triggered a new language in sepulchral art locally. As we have seen, the pattern in Naples was to combine the tried and true with innovations imported from abroad. Just how this combination of tradition and innovation found its way into the work of Jacopo della Pila and Tommaso Malvito will be described later. A direct successor to the Piccolomini chapel at Monteoliveto will concern us next.

The Correale chapel stands opposite the Piccolomini chapel, almost as if it were a pendant to the latter.[122] Benedetto da Maiano, who had completed the tomb of Maria of Aragon to the satisfaction of his patron, was appointed the task of decorating the altar.[123] The remaining ornamentation, apart from the memorial bench of Marino Correale (from the year 1490) and his sarcophagus,[124] has survived in a less than satisfactory condition. The altar, which was completed and shipped out from Florence in 1489, clearly betrays its relationship to that of the Piccolomini chapel and should again be understood as a product of the competitive impulse that motivated the acquisition of sculptured altars. The external structure is nearly identical, although Benedetto brought back a straightforward predella component, upon which he carved, from left to right, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (with obvious reference to the version of Rossellino); the *Adoration of the Magi*; the *Resurrection*; the *Lamentation* (in the central position,

to assert its Eucharistic significance); the *Ascension*; *Pentecost*; and the *Death of the Virgin*. The large statues at the sides, which seem to protrude out of their niches, strongly emphasize the sculptural character of the monument. With the *Annunciation* in the central panel of the predella, Benedetto played upon the entire gamut of possibilities for perspectival composition in stone in a masterful, if perhaps exaggerated, fashion. He introduced an internal architecture, carved deep into the background, while in the extreme foreground he placed a lily, so independent of its setting that it has not survived the passage of time. In keeping with the pictorial concepts of the time, Benedetto used the perspectival ordering of space to lend order to his narrative and thus, in comparison to Antonio Rossellino's version, created a relatively compelling impression of speed and movement in the foreground plane.

The most architectonically accomplished chapel at Monteoliveto is the Cappella Tolosa, which is entered through the sixth side chapel on the left-hand side of the church. It was erected in 1507 and 1508 for the Catalan merchant Paolo Tolosa, with a clear awareness of the aforementioned chapels in mind.[125] The Tolosa chapel most closely resembles the proportions set out by Brunelleschi, as realized in the old sacristy at San Lorenzo in Florence.[126] Even so, it must be seen as both a rival to and a deliberate continuation of the innovative chapel designs we have seen at Monteoliveto. Its walls were originally decorated with intarsia executed by Fra Giovanni da Verona, later removed to the new sacristy.[127] The floor is covered with terra-cotta tiles, most likely from the Della Robbia workshop in Florence, depicting a castle motif and the name of the chapel's patron: TOL / OSU / S.[128] The Catalan merchant who erected this chapel during the period of Spanish Hapsburg rule obviously wanted to outdo the *alla fiorentina* chapels of the past and so, by means of this original commission, take his place in the line of aristocratic chapel builders.

Commissions for work on chapels during the remaining years of the fifteenth century were executed, despite the success of ideas imported from Florence, not by Tuscans but by Lombard artists such as Pietro da Milano,[129] Jacopo della Pila,[130] and, especially from 1480 onward, Tommaso Malvito.[131] Art

5.20. Workshop of Jacopo della Pila, *Tomb of Tommaso Brancaccio* (1492), Church of San Domenico Maggiore, Naples. Conway Library, the Courtauld Institute of Art, London. (Photo: Tanja Michalsky)

historians are divided as to the size and personnel of their workshops. A contract from 1492 identifies Jacopo della Pila as having been commissioned to construct a tomb for Tommaso Brancaccio in the Capella di San Domenico in the old church directly adjacent to (and absorbed into) San Domenico Maggiore (Figure 5.20).[132] On stylistic grounds, one may draw comparisons between it and the chapel of

5.21. Workshop of Jacopo della Pila, *Tomb of Antonio Carafa* (Malizia) (1440s/1480s), Church of San Domenico Maggiore, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

Antonio Carafa, called Malizia (d. 1437), mentioned previously as an example of the conventional reuse of a fourteenth-century sarcophagus type (Figure 5.21). As far as their construction is concerned, the two tombs could not be more different, but they share an eclectic approach that in either case allows one to point out the monuments that served as their models. In the case of Brancaccio's tomb, it is chiefly the tomb of Maria of Aragon. Certain features – its cur-

tain drapes, Marian tondo, and flanking angels on the rear wall – point to a stylistic idiom from Lombardy, but the sarcophagus supported by caryatids is firmly within Neapolitan tradition. In the case of Malizia Carafa's tomb, the model is clearly that of Rinaldo Brancaccio in Sant'Angelo a Nilo, complete with triumphal arch and fluted columns, blended into a monument whose essential character belongs to the fourteenth century.[133]

5.22. *Tomb of Francesco Carafa*, Church of San Domenico Maggiore, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

The generic changes in the design of funerary monuments for the century to come originated in the workshop of Tommaso Malvito, later taken over by his son Giovan Tommaso.[134] The most prominent example is the Carafa family tomb erected in the large chapel known as the Cappellone del Crocefisso in San Domenico Maggiore. This heavily visited sacred space is dedicated to the crucifix that was believed to have spoken miraculously to

Saint Thomas Aquinas.[135] The tombs of Francesco Carafa (d. 1470) (Figure 5.22) and Diomede Carafa (d. 1487) (Figure 5.23)[136] are found on the longitudinal sides of the chapel, on either side of the altar and therefore in proximity to the revered crucifix. The monuments were apparently planned in tandem after the death of Francesco, if the date inscribed on the plinth of Diomede's monument – MCC-CCLXX – can be taken into consideration. Even

5.23. *Tomb of Diomede Carafa*, Church of San Domenico Maggiore, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

though work on them was not begun until the 1490s, first by Jacopo della Pila, whose effort was continued and improved by Malvito,[137] we are confronted here with very early examples of wall monuments combined with benches positioned at plinth level. Still more characteristic is the architecture, with its powerful horizontal lines finished off by a rounded arch,[138] the side pillars of which house in niches four freestanding statues with scalloped heads. The recessed panels in the lower sections of both monuments frame large coats of arms, and above them are platforms supporting the effigies of the deceased. The rounded arch of Diomede's tomb frames a relief sculpture depicting the Annunciation, whereas the arch of Francesco's tomb presents a scene of saintly intercession. Both monuments are crowned by the Lamb of God, the symbol of redemption. The traditional iconographic vocabulary is thus combined

5.24. *Cappella del Crocifisso*, view of the main altar with the Carafa tombs of Mariano d'Alagno and his wife, Caterinella Orsini, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

in a new way, with the family arms forming the base and with saints and the Virtues occupying the framing elements. Diomede Carafa (1404–1487),[139] who earned a place in the annals of the history of Neapolitan art especially on account of his palace and collection of antiquities,[140] can most likely be credited with having commissioned the pair of tombs. It is significant that when honoring his family by means of tomb monuments Diomede Carafa, despite

his profound humanist interests, chose a form and a setting more in keeping with tradition than the solution that would be chosen not long after by Giovanni Pontano.[141]

The same type of tomb as created for Mariano d'Alagno (d. 1491) and his wife, Caterinella Orsini, which was constructed by the workshop of Tommaso Malvito in 1506 and 1507 (Figure 5.24)[142] is also found in the Cappellone del Crocefisso. It presents

5.25. *Bench memorial for Antonio d'Alessandro*, Church of Sant'Anna dei Lombardi (formerly Santa Maria di Monteoliveto). Conway Library, the Courtauld Institute of Art, London. (Photo: Tanja Michalsky)

us with an ideal example of the type of matrimonial tomb that enjoyed increasing popularity from the 1490s onward.[143] Under an arch of triumph, it displays the effigy of the husband lying atop the sarcoph-

agus, while Caterinella is represented in a low-relief carving on the vertical front of the same sarcophagus. The tomb of the deceased couple is equipped with a memorial bench, on the back of which (that

is, on the vertical front of the lower section of the monument) their coats of arms are displayed along with an inscription in the style of Giovanni Pontano celebrating marital harmony and the chastity of the deceased woman.[144] Matrimonial tombs of this kind were popular in Naples.[145] Even more popular were endowed memorial benches – known as *sediali* – found above all in the church of Monteoliveto and at San Lorenzo Maggiore (Figure 5.25).[146] Memorial benches merit closer investigation, as they point to a new form of funerary practice in this period, the purpose of which was apparently to detain family members and others who came to pray for the souls of the deceased, that their visits might be extended by the convenience of a permanent seat.[147] A bench with a decorated back (called the *spalliera*) is frequently found in chapels associated with tombs.[148] The backs are often divided by columns into three sections, usually displaying coats of arms and floral designs such as a crown of laurel.[149] Variations include the memorial bench of the Cappella Rocco in San Lorenzo, where the back incorporates the motif of a triumphal arch and an imaginary scene in which putti guard a sarcophagus.

The majority of the numerous family chapels and tombs built during the late fifteenth century employ the new formal vocabulary of the Italian Renaissance in a self-confident manner that permitted a broad spectrum of variations. When it was thought necessary, the fittings of entire chapels were transferred from an old site to a new one, enabling families to update their memorials.[150] The inscriptions one finds, as well as the presentations of the deceased, make it clear that for a powerful civic aristocracy virtues such as loyalty to the Crown and marital harmony were extremely important, to the extent that the social standing achieved in a single lifetime could change the course of family history. The degree to which certain exceptional endowments dating from the later period of Aragonese rule could assert unusual liberties with regard to design may be illustrated by three funerary chapels that are in fact difficult to place in a developmental history of chapel endowments. These three monuments are the sculpture group of the *Lamentation* in the Cappella del Sepolcro at Monteoliveto (begun 1489); the Cappella Pontano (1492–1497) – a jewel of humanistic memorial art; and the so-called *succorpo*,

which Cardinal Olivero Carafa commissioned Tommaso Malvito to build in the Cathedral, below the high altar, to enshrine himself together with the rediscovered bones of San Gennaro (begun 1497).

Guido Mazzoni's freestanding terra-cotta *Lamentation* is a work that was exempt from the competitive influences of the aristocracy and yet worthy of the singular aspirations for self-representation of the ruling family (Figure 5.26). Originally colored, the life-size terra-cotta figures were created for the chapel of Alfonso II of Aragon in the Church of Santa Maria di Monteoliveto. Mazzoni's ensemble, commissioned by Alfonso when he was Duke of Calabria, during the reign of his father Ferrante I, unfolds theatrically beneath a specially constructed domed space at the end of the south transept.[151] The group, which today numbers seven figures, though there were certainly more at one time, owes its inspiration to precedents from northern Italy that Alfonso had seen while visiting the D'Este court in Mantua. Around the supine figure of the dead Christ, which formerly met the gaze of the beholder in a sidelong position, are grouped the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and two other mourning women, Saint John, Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus, each expressing grief in a different way. One of the female figures appears to be rushing to the aid of the Virgin, who seems on the point of collapsing under the weight of her sorrow. The weeping Mary Magdalene spreads out both arms, moving forward as if to throw herself on the body of Christ. Saint John and the third woman, on the right-hand side, approach with similarly dramatic gestures, contributing further to the vivid *lamentatio* of this sacred drama. Two of the male figures – clearly recognizable as contemporary persons – appear to stand apart from the others and thus participate on a different level of reality.[152] They do not gaze directly upon the body of Christ but seem inwardly absorbed while outwardly expressing *compassio* in a manner that might be compared to the evocation of emotion in Jacopo Sannazaro's *Lamentatio* of 1502.[153] It is generally agreed that one of the figures represents Joseph of Arimathea, the rich merchant who assisted with the burial of Christ. It is believed that this is a portrait of Alfonso, the patron of the chapel, a supposition well supported by the evidence of portraits, including a bust of Alfonso made by Mazzoni himself.[154] It is precisely the same role

5.26. Guido Mazzoni, *Lamentation* (1492), Church of Sant'Anna dei Lombardi (formerly Santa Maria di Monteoliveto). (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

that Ercole d'Este had adopted in the *Lamentation* he had commissioned in Ferrara and that had clearly made an impression on the Duke of Calabria. The identity of the person portrayed in the gaunt figure of Nicodemus on the right, opposite Joseph of Arimathea, presents great difficulties (Figure 5.27). Local guidebooks mention three other male figures among the statues: King Ferrante I, the father of Alfonso, and humanists Giovanni Pontano and Jacopo Sannazaro.[155] According to Pietro Summonte's description of the work (in 1524), Alfonso held a scepter and knelt before his father.[156] If so, the theme of succession would have been highly important to the meaning of the chapel and its sculpture group.

In the *Lamentation*, the long-established argument concerning just and legitimate rule was reformulated in a new guise – namely, in the demonstrated religious piety of the ruler, enacted through remembrance of the death of Christ. Such beliefs are expressed in the *Lamentation* in a powerfully realistic manner and in a setting calculated to engage the minds of others – the monarch's subjects – to whom they are addressed. What the work shows us is not a lament for the threatened downfall of
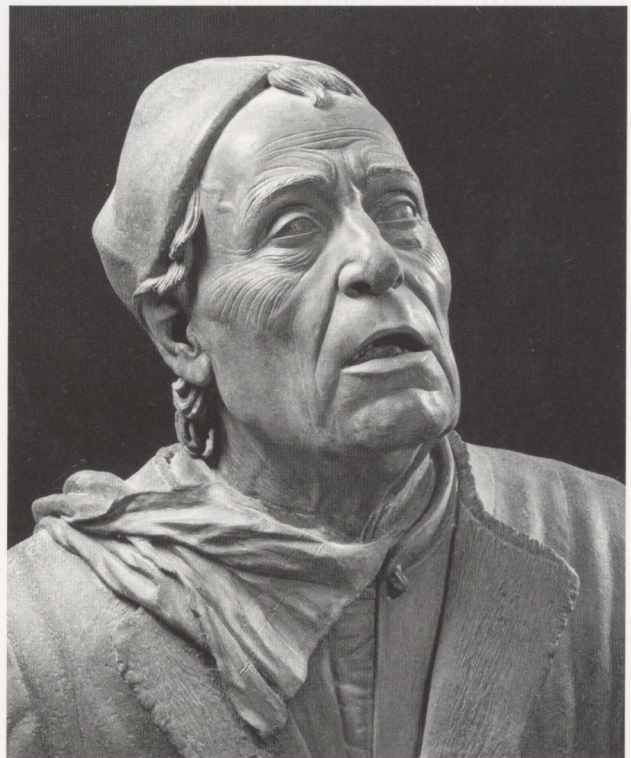

5.27. Guido Mazzoni, *Detail of Head of Nicodemus from the Lamentation* (1492), Church of Sant'Anna dei Lombardi (formerly Santa Maria di Monteoliveto). (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

the monarchy, as has sometimes been suggested, but rather a performance of the religious piety of the royal house, demonstrated piety being one of the best guarantees of their survival.[157] An inscription in the chapel, which was apparently added after the death of Ferrante I (the date mistakenly read as 1460 by the seventeenth-century writer Carlo Celano), offers a retrospective explanation of the sculpture group: "You see, wanderer, these simulacra of a half-dead and dying piety are the living, breathing images of the faith of Aragon." As the epitaph continues, it draws attention to the quasi-vitalized reality: "Do not ask why they do not move: the authority of King Alfonso, now released into Heaven, is able to create immovable loyalty here, such as he could not find in the great projects for which he gave a shower of gold. He has commended himself in clay, as a witness to this faith of adamant, to his Olivetan bretheren."[158] The inscription thus sums up the purpose of the *Lamentation* – to command the beholder's loyalty to a devout ruler in a more immediate manner than would be possible in a living ceremony.

The chapel of humanist Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503)[159] has a different purpose and employs a very different concept. Pontano was the most prominent member of the Neapolitan Academy after Panormita (Antonio degli Beccadelli, 1394–1471), and his name was famous far beyond the frontiers of Naples. He was for many years the confidant of Ferrante and later served as secretary to Alfonso II. Pontano erected the small temple as the funerary chapel for his beloved wife, Adriana Sassone, on the central *decumanus* of the old city (Via dei Tribunali), on land he had received in 1469 from Ferrante. Later, both he and his children were buried there as well.[160] The monument of green basalt gives architectural form to the memory of his wife and his mourning for her, already expressed in a number of his eclogues,[161] and the choice of its site, close to his home and to the Academy, undoubtedly elevated the building to a symbol of humanistic *memoria*.[162]

Despite its close proximity to the large church of Santa Maria Maggiore and the brick tower of the church's early Christian predecessor, Pontano's temple asserts its own space and stands alone, in contrast to the general practice of private memorial chapels in Italy (Figure 3.11). The striking *all'antica* style of its
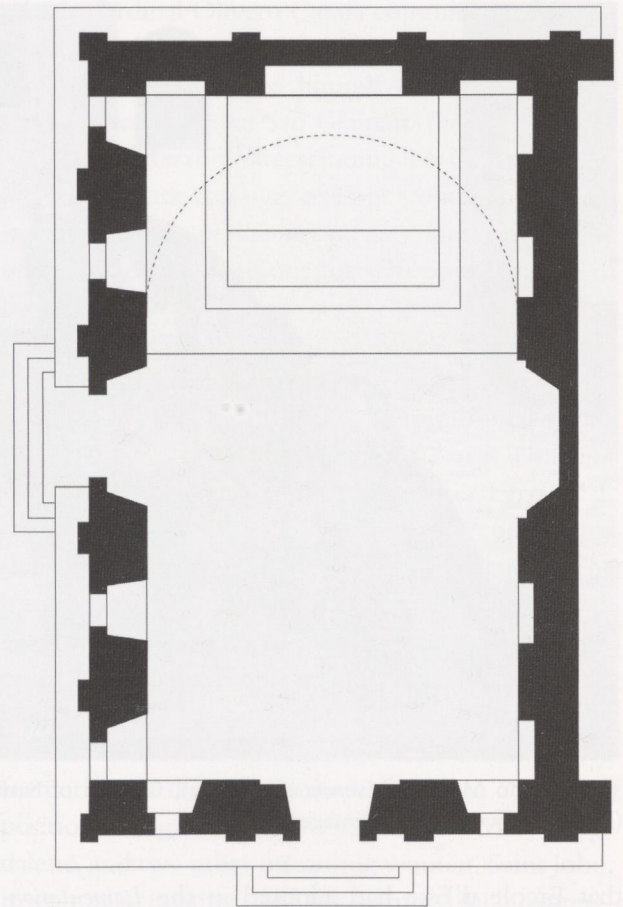
5.28. *Cappella Pontano*, Naples, plan drawn by Camilla Antonich

architecture, set on a high stylobate with a suggested composite order and an attic (the latter no longer in its original state), has caught the attention of passersby since the time of its construction. The exterior is further articulated by six rectangular windows framed in white marble, each of which is flanked by tablets of the same marble containing moral and philosophical inscriptions addressed directly to the passersby on this busy street.[163] The tablets set their seals on the two main prospects of the temple: the façade of the eastern, narrower side of the building and the façade of the south side, facing the ancient *decumanus*, with the main entrance door and dedicatory inscription. Virtually none of the original fixtures and fittings of the interior survive, but the contrast between the classical exterior and the place of Christian worship inside must have been strong (Figure 5.28). The central element of the interior decoration is the baroque altar on the west wall

5.29. *Cappella Pontano*, Naples, interior view. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

below a fresco depicting the Virgin Mary between John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist.[164] The altar front pointedly displays a long inscription containing the Christian dedication "TIBI, DEUS OPTIMUS MAXIME. . . . " The rest of the interior, which today appears largely unstructured, is decorated with an assortment of inscribed stone tablets (in both Greek and Latin), some of which are relatively recent additions, while others are walled in. Some of the texts are by Pontano himself, others belong to tablets that were once part of his large collection of antiquities, and still others were written to bear witness to deceased members of his family. The combined effect is that of a general lament, as if the sepulchral inscriptions (the old ones at least) were the occasion of Pontano's philosophical reflections on the joys of life in the face of death.[165] According to later sources, the chapel once enshrined a costly

relic of great significance to a humanist – an arm bone of the Roman historian Livy (Titus Livius), which Panormita had brought to Naples from Padua and Alfonso I later entrusted to Pontano.[166] Neither the relic nor the inscription Pontano created to express the honor of preserving such an object can be found today.[167] Even so, numerous early references to the existence of both cast an important light on that form of learned *memoria* to which the chapel was dedicated, not only on behalf of those near and dear but also in the interest of history and tradition as such (Figure 5.29).

The majolica floor of the interior displays a coat of arms and the repeated image of a bridge supported by three pillars (*ponte*, for Pontano). Other tiles repeat the words "AVE MARIA," "PONTANUS FECIT," "ADRIANA SAXONA," and "LAURA BELLA," and create the impression of the repeated dedicatory

recitation. Other tiles contain scrolls, and still others the head of a male person in profile, presumably a reference to the chapel's founder, though it lacks the descriptive detail of a likeness.[168] Literary self-consciousness is apparent even in the majolica floor, as the tiles repeating the words "LAURA BELLA" seem obviously to allude to Francesco Petrarca's idealized beloved and thereby draw a comparison to Pontano's wife, Adriana, who by now had passed beyond the reach of mere earthly love.[169] As he made clear in the text of his *De tumilis* (II, 24), the little temple was to be a memorial to her. As far as one can judge from its surviving condition, no tombs were set out in the main body of the chapel, and the memory of the dead was evidently invoked through liturgical observation[170] and through the inscriptions and floor tiles.[171] It may nevertheless be assumed that the remains of Pontano and his dependents were preserved in the subterranean part of the chapel. Today, the bare walls of this cryptlike chamber house a single stone bench, installed so as to give the room a focal point but, as with so many memorial benches created in the late fifteenth century, certainly intended to extend the prayerful visits of the devout.

Despite the doubts of some historians regarding the architectural excellence of Pontano's chapel, there is much to admire in the way the building integrates borrowings from ancient sepulchral architecture with the requirements of both city planning and Christian places of worship.[172] Whether the design and construction of the chapel was the work of Fra Giocondo da Verona, Francesco di Giorgio Martini,[173] or Baccio Pontelli cannot be determined for lack of documentary evidence.[174] What is certain, however, is that the concept of this building, which was completely unique, not only in Naples but in the rest of Italy as well, bears the signature of Pontano himself, who was guided by his own research into ancient literature as well as by Leon Battista Alberti's thoughts regarding the design of sepulchral structures for his own family.[175] In the third chapter of the eighth book, his treatise *On the Art of Building*, Alberti wrote, with respect to the high regard accorded to "the sepulchers of the ancients," that "I would make these [new] chapels as if they were small temples. Nor will I object if lineaments are incor-

porated from any other building type, provided they contribute to both grace and permanence," the main factors at issue being those of decorum and durability. Alberti further advised that the materials of "monuments intended to last forever" need not be costly or extravagant, in view of "the danger of theft" proven by the plundering of ancient structures.[176] Pontano bore all this in mind when building his chapel, consecrated – as the dedication above the side door of the main portal makes clear – to the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist. Although the design of the chapel may be said to follow Alberti's advice, it is a unique structure, the characteristics of which may in part be explained by the intellectual climate of the Accademia Pontaniana and its enthusiasm for the antique world.

In 1497, just five years after the completion of Pontano's chapel, Cardinal Olivero Carafa, one of the most influential clerics of the period,[177] and a man who divided his life between the curia in Rome and his archbishopric in Naples, began the construction of a cryptlike sepulchre beneath the presbytery of the Naples Cathedral, intended both as a burial place for his family and as a major shrine for of the city's leading patron saint, San Gennaro.[178] This highly ambitious project was prompted by the historic legacy of Neapolitan bishops (in particular, the early Christian bishops) as well as by the presence of relics of San Gennaro that had recently been rediscovered. In contrast to Pontano, Carafa based his concept not on an ancient pagan building type but on the sepulchral form of the crypt – or *succorpo*, as it was known in Naples[179] – such as found in the urban churches of early Christian Rome; hence the common name of this site, the Succorpo di San Gennaro (Figure 5.30).

San Gennaro, the bishop of Benevento, was martyred during the reign of Diocletian in 305, and the early history of his remains leads from Santo Stefano near Pozzuoli, where he was initially buried together with other martyrs, to Naples, where they were brought by Bishop Severus (362–408), who was himself later canonized, and laid to rest – *extra moenia*[180] – in the catacombs of San Gennaro. In 1154, during the reign of the Norman king William I, the relics were removed to the abbey of Montevergine under the (not uncommon) pretext that they would

5.30. *Cappella del Succorpo*, Cathedral of Naples, general view. (Photo: Alinari/Art Resources, New York)

be safer there, and in the course of time they were forgotten. By a happy coincidence, the relics were rediscovered on July 27, 1480, by the abbot Giovanni d'Aragona, a son of King Ferrante I, in the course of restoration work below the high altar at Montevergine. During the whole time, phials of the saint's blood had remained in Naples and continued to perform their miraculous liquefaction every September 19, his holy day.[181] In view of the political significance and power of the holy relics of San Gennaro, as well as the undisputed historical affection felt by Naples for this early Christian martyr, it is not surprising that Ferrante I asked Cardinal Carafa in 1490 to seek permission from Pope Innocent VIII for the translation of the saint's remains back to Naples so that they could be reunited with his blood relics in a single, unified shrine for the saint.[182] Ferrante needed

an intermediary in view of his own recent differences with the pope, so Carafa was able to take matters into his own hands with the help of his brother, Alessandro, the archbishop of Naples.[183] Following protracted negotiations with the monks of Montevergine, Alessandro Carafa accompanied the relics of San Gennaro back to Naples in a solemn procession on January 13, 1497.[184] From that point on, Olivero Carafa was able to include the holy relics in his plans for a sepulchre. If his tomb had not been built inside the new shrine for San Gennaro, it probably could not have occupied the prestigious space beneath the high altar of the Cathedral.

The Succorpo di San Gennaro is reached by two stairways, today no longer in their original form, which lead down to a rectangular space with a plan similar to that of a church, with a central nave and

two side aisles divided into five bays. On each of the
side aisles, there are five chapels, on the rear walls of
which are niches with scalloped heads, which for-
merly housed statues of saints above their attendant
altars. To the east is a choir with a domed ceiling,
in whose apse is placed the bishop's throne, while to
the west a square sacristy is attached. Three windows
to the east illuminate the chamber, which is sumptu-
ously encased in marble throughout. The work has
been attributed to different hands, but the chapel
was most likely designed and executed by the Tus-
can artists Tommaso Malvito and his son Giovan
Tommaso, with the help of assistants from Rome.[185]
The coffered ceiling extends from end to end, and
its design is echoed by the inlays of the pavement.
In the panels of the coffering above are relief busts
in tondi depicting intercessor saints surrounded by
square panels depicting cherubim, all arranged in a
symmetrical relationship to a tondo relief bust of
San Gennaro (Figure 5.31). Delicate grotesquerie,
floral motifs, and the coat of arms of the Carafa
family decorate the walls in an arrangement set off
architectonically by composite-order pilasters. Nei-
ther the reliquary of San Gennaro nor the tomb of
Olivero Carafa is found in the chapel today. The for-
mer was removed to the newly constructed Cappella
del Tesoro di San Gennaro, where it was once again
raised upon an altar. As for Carafa himself, it appears
that despite the instructions contained in his last will
and testament, he was never buried in this chapel.[186]
His corpse is interred in the Roman church of Santa
Maria Sopra Minerva, in a chapel that had been
painted by Filippino Lippi. Of the original fittings of
the Cappella del Succorpo, only the relief sculpture
decorations of the walls and ceiling just described
and the freestanding, life-size statue of the kneeling
Olivero Carafa are intact (Figure 5.32). However, the
statue is quite extraordinary. The figure of the car-
dinal is posed on its prie-dieu, as if gazing toward
the altar and in deep conversation with the saint's
relics. The original location of this sculpture is not
definitely known. However, there are many indica-
tions that it was originally situated in the choir of this
chapel, where it would have been illuminated by the
windows above and flanked by relief sculptures of the
virtues Prudence and Wisdom, frequently encoun-

5.31. *Detail of the Vault with Depiction of San Gennaro*, Cap-
pella del Succorpo, Cathedral, Naples. (Photo: © www
.pedicinimages.com)

tered in funerary monuments. In this way, visitors
to the chapel would have been aware, immediately
upon entry, of the presence of the cardinal and of
his mystical engagement with San Gennaro.[187] Sim-
ilarly, there is no clear record as to the organization
and appearance of the relics shrine. Sicilian cleric
Fra Bernardino, who described the chapel in a poem
at the beginning of the sixteenth century, provides
evidence of a plan to place a bronze sarcophagus,
"dignified and excellent," in the center of the room.
The sarcophagus was to be supported by four beasts,
with angels at the head and foot, and if indeed it
were in the center of the room, it would have been
beneath the tondo relief sculpture of San Gennaro in
the ceiling.[188] An altar raised on pillars was envisaged
to stand over the sarcophagus, which would have
been visible through a grill. The ensemble might
have been comparable to the *Arca di San Cerbone* in
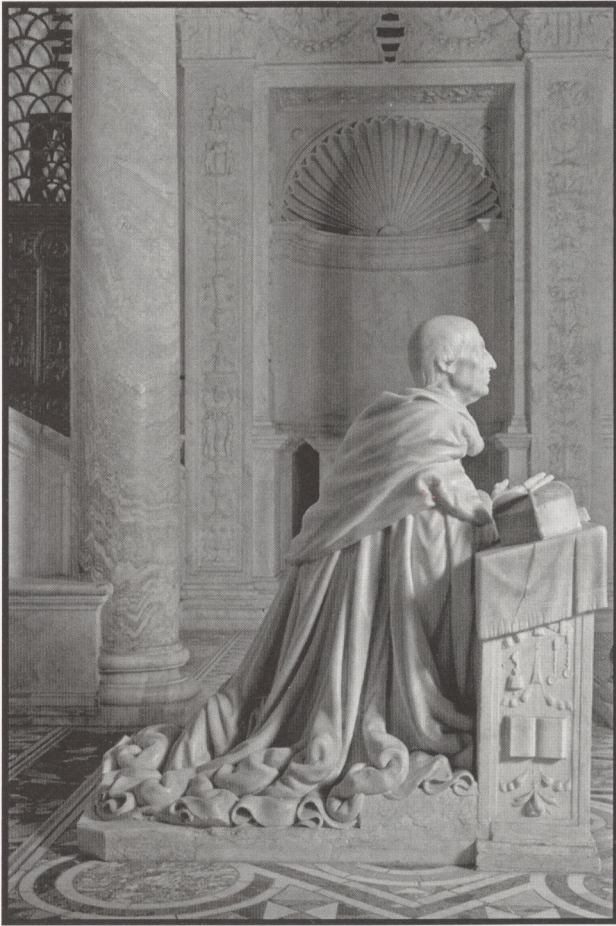
5.32. *Figure of Cardinal Olivero Carafa*, Cappella del Succorpo, Cathedral, Naples. (Photo: Massimo Velo)

Massa Marittima, executed by Goro di Gregorio in 1324.

Even without complete knowledge of the original disposition of the chapel, one can imagine what Carafa had in mind. Given its location in the crypt of a cathedral that had been built by the Anjou and consecrated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the chapel was a shrine that invited comparison to those revered early Christian tombs in Rome above which churches were later constructed, the most prominent of which was the tomb of Saint Peter. The relief carvings in the ceiling present a clerical genealogy that establishes the saintly character of past bishops, among whose ranks Carafa doubtlessly hoped to be counted. Gathered on the ceiling in the sculpted tondi are thus the Virgin and child, the Evangelists and San Gennaro, along with those former bishops of Naples who had been canonized and

the Roman saints Peter and Paul. In the four corners, the four Church Fathers complete the visual program of the ceiling. This holy company gathered around San Gennaro represents, in expansive monumental fashion, the iconographical program that would otherwise have appeared on Carafa's sarcophagus. At the same time, it draws attention to the identity of the chapel's founder as the cardinal and bishop who brought the saint back to Naples. San Gennaro is thus shown to be Carafa's special intercessor, while the inscriptions in the chapel exhort visitors to direct their prayers to him on Carafa's behalf.

There is a significant reiteration of the ideas embodied by the chapel of Olivero Carafa in the high altarpiece of the *Assumption of the Virgin* that Carafa commissioned for the Cathedral from Pietro Perugino (Figure 4.29).[189] The Cathedral, as previously mentioned, is consecrated to the Assumption. In Perugino's conception of the subject, Mary stands within an aureole while looking down, her head inclined toward Carafa, who is shown below and to the right, in the midst of Apostles, in an attitude of prayer similar to the posture displayed by his statue in the Succorpo. Standing directly behind him, San Gennaro recommends his soul to the departing deity. The high altar of the Cathedral is thus linked to the Succorpo through the intercessory relationship that is shown to exist between the patron saint and Carafa, and that by extension is implied to exist between San Gennaro and the people of Naples by virtue of the piety of their benefactor.

There can be no doubt that the flowering of humanism in Naples and the Renaissance of visual art can be traced to the patronage of the Aragonese court. However, it was the initiative of the Neapolitan aristocracy and their wish to draw attention to their social standing that led to the building of artistically innovative chapels in which one can see the new forms merged with traditional ones within public contexts such as church interiors. It is typical of the cultural climate of Naples at this time that a broad range of formal models were united to produce results such as the Pontano Chapel and Succorpo di San Gennaro and the monumentally sculpted *Lamentation* at Monteoliveto.

THE RESURGENCE OF ARISTOCRATIC FAMILIES UNDER THE SPANISH VICEROYS

With the establishment of the Spanish viceroys in 1503–1504, the change in government provided aristocratic families with fresh impetus and opportunity to enhance their political influence and prestige through the founding of chapels. Of particular interest when considering the expansion of the sepulchral topography of Naples beyond the sites already well established, such as the Cathedral, the large mendicant churches, and Monteoliveto, is the rediscovery and renovation of early Christian and late medieval churches as places where individual families could affirm their brilliance. This is true of Sant'Aniello a Caponapoli, where the Poderico family in particular attempted to trace its roots back to early Christendom,[190] and Santi Severino e Sossio,[191] where the Severino family erected a large chapel. In the same period, Santa Maria delle Grazie was constructed in the vicinity of Sant'Aniello as the church of the *nobili* of the Seggio di Montana,[192] whereas Santa Caterina a Formiello[193] arose opposite the Castel Capuano. The extent to which these churches and their sixteenth-century decorations merit special attention cannot be determined fully at present, since they have either been inaccessible for a long time or else are still undergoing modern restoration. The findings of modern research on many such places remain to be gathered and published. A review of the funerary monuments of the early sixteenth century must thus concentrate on the better-known chapels, while some observations can be made in a summary way regarding a few other outstanding examples.

The continuity alluded to as the constant counterpoint of artistic innovation is also manifested in the unbroken predominance of certain workshops, as can be seen, for example, in the Cappellone del Crocefisso in San Domenico Maggiore, where new chapels were built by families attracted to the noble distinction of this place of worship. The two smaller chapels on the left side of the Cappellone combined marble sculptures with other forms of decoration in well–thought-out harmony. The chapel of the Carafa di Ruvo family, with its prominent arched entrance, decorated with highly crafted low-relief sculptures

and enclosed by a balustrade, houses the tombs of Ettore Carafa (d. 1517) and Troilo Carafa (1591) (Figure 5.33).[194] On the right side, there is a small grotto, built between 1507 and 1511, into which Pietro Belverte placed a crèche with no fewer than twenty-eight figures (Plate XXXI).[195] Their striking coloration contrasts with the white marble, just as their realism draws upon a different set of artistic traditions for the representation of the Nativity. Even though research on early crèche ensembles is still at the beginning stage, it may be assumed that – as in the case of Mazzoni's scenographic *Lamentation* at Monteoliveto – Belverte's crèche was intended not only as decoration but also to support the prayers of the patron family and to encourage those of other visitors to the chapel.[196] Pedro Fernandez was responsible for the frescos in the cupola, which offer an illusionary glimpse of open spaces, and for the Evangelists who look down from the spandrels, bringing the use of these pictorial fields to serve a Christian decorative program.[197] Despite its limited space, this chapel opens up manifold possibilities for imaginative visual engagement, and so it fulfills with particular efficiency the self-representational aspirations of its founder as well as the contemplative needs of its visitors. The Cappella del Doce, to the left of the Carafa di Ruvo chapel, was erected between 1504 and 1514 and was likewise used as a memorial space and decorated accordingly in its entirety.[198] The decorations at one time included Raphael's altarpiece of the *Madonna del Pesce*, now in Madrid (Plate XXII).[199] Here again, the accent is on overall unity of design and the harmonizing of diverse artistic means in a harmonious ensemble carried out at a high level of craftsmanship. The lofty theme of hope for resurrection is here almost casually symbolized in the shape of an eagle, borrowed from antiquity.[200]

Neither of the chapels just mentioned nor the planning of their decoration can be ascribed with any certainty to a particular artist, and now is not the time to draw comparisons to similar projects executed by sculptors whose work is better documented.[201] At the beginning of this period, the figure most frequently involved in an executive role was Giovan Tommaso Malvito, who profited from the reputation of his father, Tommaso, and whose shop, following his (likely) activity at the Succorpo di San

5.33. *Cappella Carafa di Ruvo*, general view, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

Gennaro, received commissions for the lion's share of aristocratic tombs.[202] From the 1520s onward, he developed a close collaboration with Giovanni Marigliano da Nola, who, after an apprenticeship as a woodcarver with Pietro Belverte, went on to become the leading sculptor in Naples.[203] A measure of Marigliano's success is the fact that he received commissions for Spanish monuments, such as the tomb of the viceroy Ramón Folch de Cardona (d.

1522) in Bellpuig (Catalonia).[204] Sculptors Girolamo Santacroce and Giovan Giacomo da Brescia were also involved in Neapolitan tomb commissions at this time, and it is known that in certain cases Spanish sculptors were also recruited.[205]

Apart from the identity of individual artists, where much work remains to be done, the iconography and formal vocabulary of sepulchral architecture is of great interest when considering changes in this

5.34. *Tomb of (Galeazzo) Galeotto Carafa*, Cappella Carafa di Sanseverino, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples. (Photo: © www .pedicinimages.com)

period in the conception and visualization of *memoria*. A decisive innovation, among those that should be mentioned here, was the introduction of lifelike independent head portraits in place of effigies of the deceased.[206] This usage may possibly be traced back to an ancient Roman-styled *imago clipeata* ("framed portrait") of Giovanni Pontano at one time in the Cappella Pontana.[207] The earliest existing example

in Naples is a bust of Galeotto Carafa (d. 1513) on his tomb in the chapel of the Carafa di Sanseverino in San Domenico (Figure 5.34). The portrait, half-bust length, is placed obliquely in its *clypeus*, in a way that is intended to play with the sight lines of the monument and suggest the illusion that the deceased occupies both the fictive space of its frame and the real space of the beholder. Galeotto is shown

5.35. *Epitaph of Galeazzo Pandone*, San Domenico Maggiore, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages .com)

wearing a suit of armor, and his name is inscribed upon the *clypeus*, which is itself set into a square sculptural frame flanked by personified virtues, the whole ensemble crowned by a classicizing entablature. Below this is the sarcophagus, positioned as if in acknowledgment of a more traditional monument format, but indeed it is carved in unmistakably antique style. Below the sarcophagus, the inscription plate doubles as the *spalliera* of a memorial bench. This type of monument was developed further with the tomb created in 1518–1520 for Galeazzo Pan-

done (d. 1514)[208] and with that built for Rainaldo (or Raynaldo) del Doce around 1519 – both in San Domenico – where one finds rectangular plaques, mourning putti arranged on either side of head portraits, and below the portraits inscription plates, the whole contained in a tall framework reminiscent of triumphal arches. The most striking feature of Pandone's tomb is the fully three-dimensional head portrait protruding forward from an encircling garland, which like the portraits of ancient philosophers is uncovered (Figure 5.35).

From the second decade of the sixteenth century onward, innovative developments in the forms of funerary effigies may also be observed. In the tomb in San Domenico built for Giovanni Battista del Doce (d. 1519), for example, a putto is shown supporting the apparently heavy head of the deceased, whereas the effigy of Anello Arcamonio Borelli (d. 1510) in his tomb in San Lorenzo supports his own head with one hand and holds an open book in the other, as if he had fallen asleep in anticipation of his imminent resurrection. The effigy of Caterina della Ratta (d. 1511) in San Francesco delle Monache[209] appears to rest on soft cushions of stone while reading from large volumes.[210] A growing interest in expressing the hope of salvation, not only with Christian symbols but also by exploiting design elements of the tomb itself, may be observed in three examples. On the tomb built in 1518–1520 in Santi Severino e Sossio for Andrea Bonifacio, who died in childhood (Figure 5.36), the lid of the sarcophagus is being opened by two putti, in rather theatrical fashion, while a third lifts the head of young Andrea's effigy.[211] In a manner reminiscent of the Resurrection of Christ, the tomb dramatizes the innocent person's passage from the tomb to his anticipated rebirth. Similarly, the figure of Andrea di Capua (d. 1531), whom no one could accuse of childlike innocence, can be seen on his tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo degli Incurabili being lifted from his bier by powerful angels.[212] In the Sanseverino family chapel in Santi Severino e Sossio, with decorations commissioned from Giovanni da Nola in 1539, the unnatural deaths of three poisoned youths are transformed into an argument for the salvation of their souls (Figure 5.37).[213] The ensemble, which dominates the space of the chapel, consists of three monuments, which seem to be sunk partway into the walls. Above them are relief sculptures depicting sacred events. The young men can be seen sitting, their legs dangling over the sides of their sarcophagi, as if they had undergone bodily resurrection or were awaiting their approaching redemption, with heavenward glances and a bit of youthful abandon.

These are some curious developments in sepulchral monuments pursued by patrons who sought to outdo one another in originality. But years before the innovations discussed here, work was begun on the Cappella Caracciolo di Vico in San Giovanni a Carbonara (Plate XXXII), which proved to be an exemplary achievement of the High Renaissance.[214] The triumphal arch entrance, ornamented with surprising perspective distortions, displays a dedication to Mary "REGINA COELI" on its left-hand post. This is obviously designed to attract the attention of those entering the chapel by way of the Caracciolo del Sole chapel to the east (the chapel of the forebear Sergianni Caracciolo) and to help create the impression that one is walking through an ordered sequence of chapels.[215] The concept of the new chapel was conceived under the supervision of Galeazzo Caracciolo, and until 1516, the year of its consecration, work on this circular memorial chapel was carried out by Neapolitan artists, most likely in accord with the building plans of a Roman architect. The design of the chapel betrays the influence of the ancient Pantheon in Rome as well as the recently completed Tempietto of Bramante in Rome. The Roman connection is striking but has not yet led scholars to the identity of the chief architect. Recent research indicates that he may have belonged to the Roman circle around Giuliano da Sangallo.[216] After the death of Galeazzo in 1517, the organization of the building work was taken over by his son Colantonio. By 1557, according to an internal inscription plate, the work was mostly complete, including the altar, made in 1517–1519 by the Spanish masters Diego de Siloe and Bartolomé Ordóñez, and the tombs of Galeazzo and Colantonio. The cooperative involvement of Giovanni da Nola, Annibale Caccavallo, and Giovan Domenico d'Auria in the completion of work (documented in 1547) has not as yet been explained, either artistically or in terms of the chronological progression of the project.[217]

The architectural conception of the chapel, with its circular ground plan – prototypical of memorial chapels, often discussed in the textbooks of the time but seldom actually built[218] – is exceptional, and not only on account of its sumptuous chromatic decoration in three different shades of white marble. The unifying architectural form of the Doric order lends a dynamic upward movement to the rounded space. The tombs of the chapel's patrons, the entrance, and the altar are located on the main visual axes, and around these elements, the red marble facing of the

5.36. *Tomb of Andrea Bonifacio* (1518–1520), Church of Santi Severino e Sossio, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages .com)

large niches helps to expand one's impression of the spatial depth of the walls. In the sections between them there are smaller niches, above each of which is a tondo of green marble, an unmistakable reference to the décor of the Pantheon. The entablature is emphasized by the semicircular plan of the columns as well as by ingenious perspectival distortions. The Doric order is to be understood as an expression of the puissance of the knights entombed within the chapel, yet it is Christianized by means of the cherubim heads set between the metopes of the entablature. Even at this early date, the tombs engage in an artistic dialogue with Michelangelo's funerary chapel for the Medici in Florence. The armor-clad statues of the deceased, which suggest indebtedness to the designs of Sebastiano Serlio, would seem to

5.37. Giovanni da Nola and others, *Tomb of the Sanseverino Brothers*, Church of Santi Severino e Sossio, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

allude to the effigy of Sergianni in the chapel next door.[219]

One may set aside the iconography of the sepulchral monuments[220] in order to give more detailed attention to the altar (Figure 5.38). Though forty years later in date, the architectonic framework of the altar still looks back to the work of Rossellino and Benedetto da Maiano at the Church of
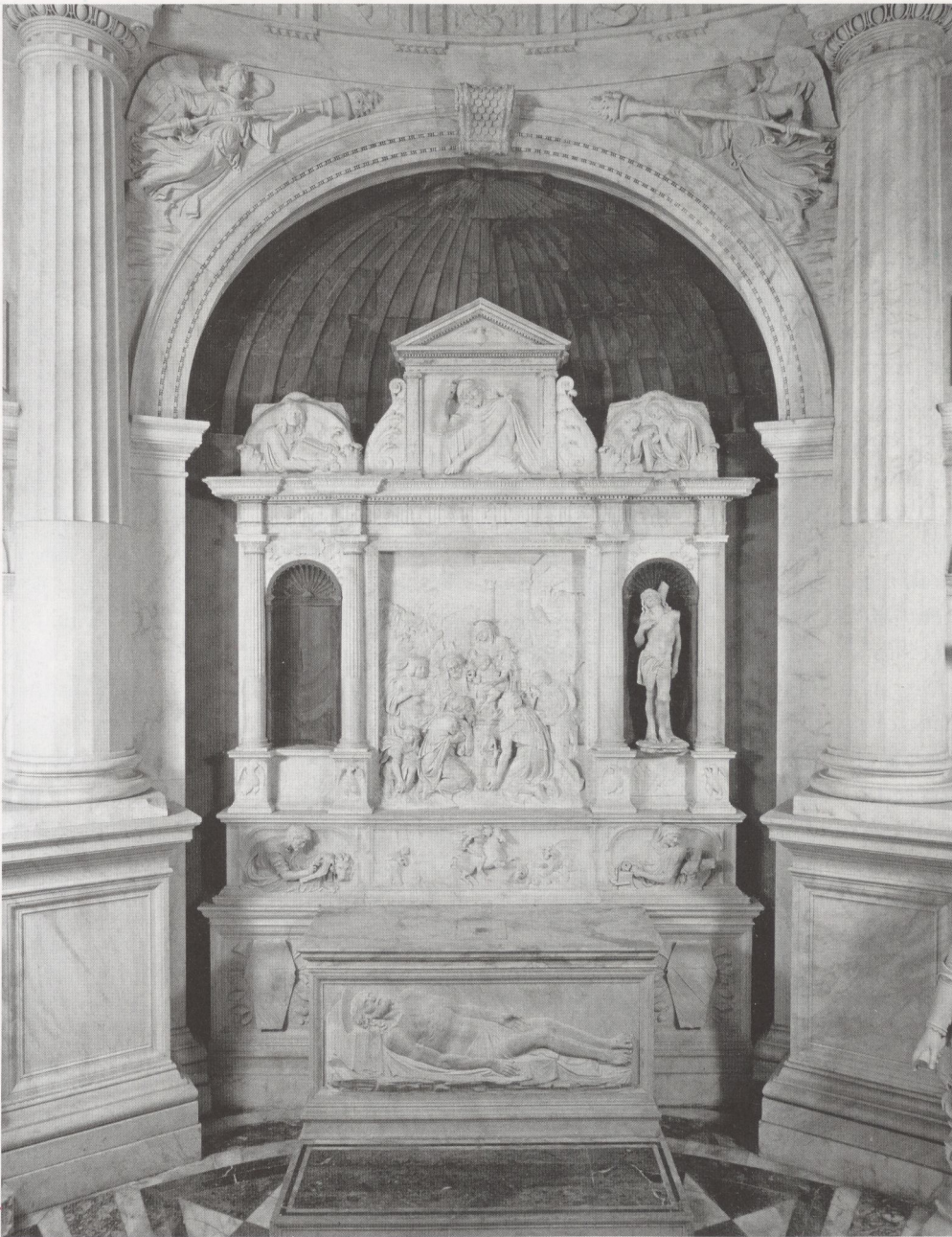
5.38. *Detail of Altar, Cappella Caracciolo di Vico*, Church of San Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

Monteoliveto, a decision that was appropriate for a chapel with a Doric order. However, in contrast to the Piccolomini chapel altar, the main relief sculpture depicts the *Adoration of the Magi* rather than the *Adoration of Shepherds*, while below, to the left of the altar, the statue of a king is thought to represent either Ferdinand the Catholic[221] (Ferdinand of Aragon, the ruler of Naples in absentia) or Alfonso II of Aragon.[222] Overtones of the royal defense of Christendom are thereby implied, a theme that the Caracciolo might well invoke, given that they fought

on the side of the Spanish kings and thus for the religion of monarch and state. However, the theme of redemption is primary in this chapel, and it is treated in contemporary terms, making use of the language of antique forms on a conceptual level so distinguished that Jacopo Sannazaro has been suggested as the intellectual force behind it.[223] On the front of the altar table, a low-relief panel depicts the body of Christ as the symbol of the Eucharist. On the altar's central relief panel, the Virgin Mary is shown in a stable, which is placed decorously before the ruins

of a Corinthian temple, while the infant Jesus, his face agonized, lays upon an ancient sacrificial altar. Christ appears for a third time, above the altarpiece, as the Savior, thereby defining the ultimate purpose of the Passion. Of particular interest with regard to the way in which connections are drawn between ancient rites and Christian redemption are the small reliefs under the lateral niches. The niches were supplied with statues of two martyrs: on the right, Saint Sebastian, and on the left, Saint John the Baptist (the latter stolen from the site in 1977). The small reliefs below them display scenes of ancient sacrifices and thereby represent visually the continuity that humanist Christians such as Giovanni Pontano and Jacopo Sannazaro knew existed between ancient pagan and Christian rituals.[224] Ancient forms of expression are thus harmonized in the architectonic order of the chapel and in the argument of its altar. Conceptually, the Cappella Caracciolo di Vico therefore belongs to the same category of bold projects that includes the Cappella Pontano of 1492. However, the masterly treatment of individual elements shows that the distance of twenty years led to a deeper understanding of the ancient world and in turn to a different approach to artistic interpretation, one in which ancient forms were not only quoted or copied but took on a fresh significance through the more intense interplay of past and present.

After his return in 1505 from exile in France, Jacopo Sannazaro created a similarly exceptional monument of his own with the Church of Santa Maria del Parto.[225] Of his writings, one should mention in this particular context both his pastoral romance *Arcadia* (1504)[226] and his *De partu virginis* (1526),[227] written in church Latin in imitation of Virgil's *Eclogues*. According to ancient myth, the area occupying a stretch of coastline north of Naples known as Mergellina was the home of the Muses. So it was there that Sannazaro acquired a house, and it was there that he also saw to the erection of a double church, dedicated to his name-saint Nazarius and to the virginal conception of Jesus by Mary. The main ornament of the lower church (the one consecrated to the Virgin Mary) is a wooden crèche made by Giovanni da Nola, set into a grotto cut from the living rock behind the altar.[228] The few figures that survive give little hint of the impression

the entire group must have made in the dark space of the lower church. Nevertheless, the existence of the crèche bears witness to the interest of humanists in the capabilities of such realistic modes of depiction in the dramatization of biblical events. So far as is known, Sannazaro himself was not portrayed among the figures (unlike Alfonso of Aragon in the *Lamentation* at Monteoliveto), although on account of his famous *De partu virginis*, his name remains linked to it. The most direct representation of Sannazaro, his family, and his work as scholar and poet is in the tomb complex in the upper church. In a ceremony during the night of Christmas 1529, Sannazaro placed its construction in the hands of the Servites, from whose ranks came Tuscan sculptor Fra Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, to take up the commission for the tomb monuments.[229] The church consists of a nave, without aisles, bordered by a series of chapels leading to a semicircular choir. The structure of the choir is articulated by pilasters of the Corinthian order, and its side walls are punctuated by two round niches containing statues, respectively, of James and Nazarius, the patron saints of the church.[230] Previously, an opening in the choir wall enabled visitors to see the poet's tomb, which was in close proximity to the high altar and visually formed a single entity with the chancel zone – a not unintentional honor for the temporal patron of the church.[231] Sannazaro's family name (they were originally from near Pavia) was the same as that of the early Christian martyr-saint Nazarius ("San Nazaro"). The saint's feast day was also his birthday, and hence Nazarius was his name-saint as well. The poet availed himself of the practice employed by the Neapolitan aristocracy of magnifying their families through the invention of genealogies stretching back to early Christian times.[232] Sannazaro celebrated San Nazaro's feast day with fellow members of the Academy[233] and gave his name, as it was his own name, to the upper church. In keeping with a supposed ancient convention for the representation of heroes, Sannazaro placed statues of Nazarius and the church's co-patron saint, James, at the entrance to his sepulchral chapel. The figure of the apostle is turned toward the tomb, appearing deep in thought as if inviting contemplation, while the statue of Nazarius looks the beholder straight in the eye. The head and the muscular form of Nazarius

5.39. *Tomb of Jacopo Sannazaro* (1536), Church of Santa Maria del Parto, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

clearly resemble Michelangelo's marble *David* in Florence and likewise combine the ideas of ancient hero and man of God.[234]

Sannazaro's tomb (Figure 5.39) is an ambitious blend of diverse elements. Its program is in all probability the work of the poet himself, while Montorsoli's stylistic language draws upon the latest developments in Michelangelo's art.[235] The sarcophagus rests on legs set upon pedestals decorated with *bucrania*. At the sides, on a level with the pedestals, are freestanding statues of Apollo on the left and Minerva on the right, serving to personify art and wisdom.[236] These figures, referring as they do to the abilities and achievements of the deceased, take the places customarily held in funerary art by Virtues.[237] The ensemble is crowned with a bust portrait of the *poeta laureatus* flanked by winged putti, who hold books and a crest (referring respectively to the deceased's profession and social standing). The relief plaque lodged between the legs of the sarcophagus (a solution without precedent or consequence) depicts a bevy of ancient gods assembled in a rather boisterous

5.40. *Detail of relief sculpture, Tomb of Jacopo Sannazaro* (1536), Church of Santa Maria del Parto, Naples. (Photo: © www .pedicinimages.com)

choir, the precise meaning of which has long eluded art historians. The inscription on the lower zone of the monument is quite original: it encourages the visitor to offer flowers to the dead poet in recognition of the fact that his grave lies close to Virgil's and because his poetry is likewise close to that of the ancient Roman.[238] In fact, barely 300 meters from Sannazaro's tomb is the site where it was believed (since the late Middle Ages) that Virgil's remains had been found in a Roman columbarium on the ancient Via Puteolana.[239]

If the inscription on the tomb seeks to highlight the relationship between Sannazaro's poetry and the bucolic verse of Virgil, the relief plaque makes this argument vivid and lively (Figure 5.40). As Giorgio Vasari observed in his biography of Montorsoli, "carved in low relief are fauns, satyrs, nymphs and

other figures who sing songs of the kind this excellent man wrote in the pastoral verses of his learned Arcadia."[240] More precisely, it can be argued that the two central figures of the group represent Apollo and Proteus.[241] On the left, we see Pan with his flute, together with a nymph holding an oar, and on the right, the satyr Marsyas, bound to a tree.[242] Previous interpretations of the scene generally conclude that it is an allegory of bucolic poetry.[243] However, it is possible to refine this reading, in a way that is specifically appropriate to the setting, if we consider the relief as a depiction of an ancient bucolic burial rite of the kind Sannazaro described on several occasions in his *Arcadia* – for example, in the fifth chapter, where Ergasto sings a dirge at the grave of Androgeo in concert with the other shepherds.[244] The identity of certain figures is debatable.[245] However, the musical
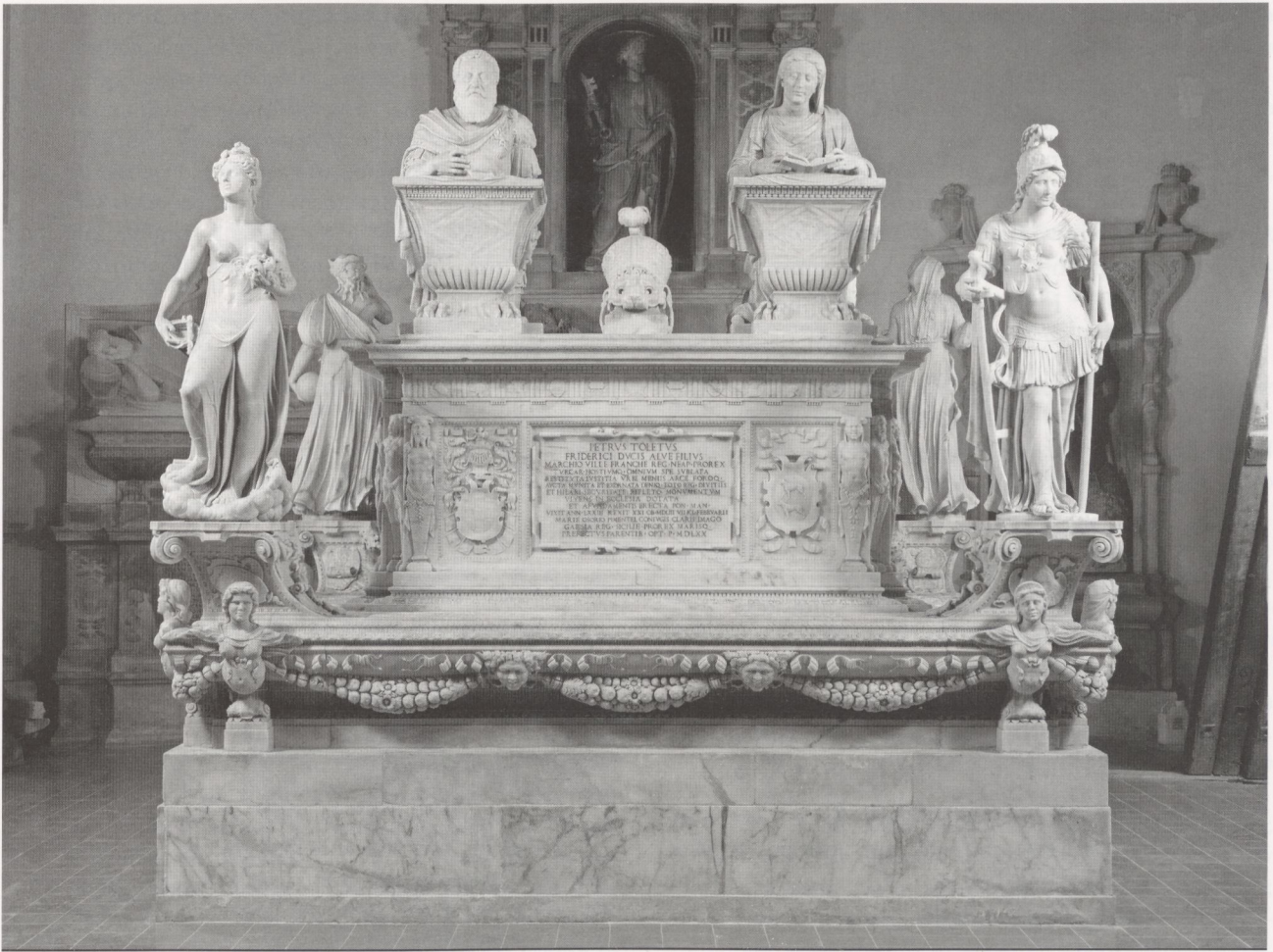
5.41. Giovanni da Nola, *Tomb of Don Pedro de Toledo* (1570), Church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, Naples. (Photo: © www.pedicinimages.com)

competition between Apollo and Marsyas is a topos of the art-theoretical writings of the time.[246] Their contest would be part of the system of poetic allusions that comes together, evidently, in the singing of the foreground figures, which may represent song itself. To this, one may add the previously overlooked fact that the presence of such a relief sculpture is a quotation from the genre of ancient Roman funerary altars.[247] The introduction of this foreign element, so far as the sepulchral sculpture of the period is concerned, is visually emphasized by the unusual raised sarcophagus and must be essential to the conceit of Sannazaro's tomb. With regard to both form and content, the tomb perpetuates the poet's *memoria* through recourse to specific decorative props that invoke ancient rites in a way that remains compatible with Christian ritual, just as the form of Virgil's

poetic language was compatible with the Christian concept of virgin birth.[248]

One may close the circle begun with the monuments of the Anjou rulers of Naples by turning to the tomb monument of the viceroy Pedro de Toledo and his first wife, María Osorio de Pimentel (Figures 5.41 and 2.17). The project began in 1539 with a proposal to erect a particularly splendid and novel monument in the newly consecrated church of the Spanish patron saint San Giacomo Maggiore.[249] Pedro de Toledo greatly transformed the urban landscape of Naples during his long tenure and distinguished himself by the severity of his regime, which resulted, among other repressive acts, in the closing of the Academy of Naples.[250] Against convention, he planned to build his tomb in the viceroyal capital. The commission went to Giovanni da Nola, then

still living, but it may have been Toledo himself who made a point of freeing the project from customary forms and models. Although he may have had certain Spanish monuments in mind, he was bold enough to look much farther afield for a suitable point of comparison.[251] The primary inspiration was the royal sepulchre of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne at Saint-Denis, the construction of which had begun in 1516.[252] In Naples, as in Paris, the deceased is shown kneeling on a prie-dieu while, at the four corners of the monument, the Cardinal Virtues keep watch, and below relief plaques preserve the memory of the dead man's historic deeds. The principal difference between the French and the Neapolitan monuments lies in the fact that the latter dispenses with recumbent effigies, which were then uncommon in Italy. The result is that the entire base portion is reduced to a single enormous socle, the proportions of which suggest an undecided role as either altar or sarcophagus.[253] Perhaps this curious form, as well as the unfortunate location of the tomb in a restricted space behind the high altar, was a factor in its delayed unveiling. When the monument finally was unveiled in 1570, the corpses were no longer present, and so it seems that Toledo's original plan never was realized.[254] The ensemble, as it survives today, is only partly successful as a combined cenotaph and monument to the viceroy's achievements, and even though the tomb's decorative elements engage with the latest Mannerist stylistic language, the overall result fails to convince. This is because, despite the high quality of the sculptural components (such as the pair of kneeling figures),[255] the structure as a whole is geared more toward an impression of magnificence than toward the humanistic elements that characterized the development of tombs during the High Renaissance.

After the Angevin sepulchres, which were programmatically distributed across Naples, the outstanding examples of Neapolitan sepulchral architecture were no longer the fruit of the ruling power's integrated cultural politics. Instead, the highest levels of originality and artistic achievement were most often found in the relatively modest chapels of individual families. In the design of elite family chapels, competition with rival families combined with the lessons of humanism to fuel the exploration of new means by which to preserve the memory of worthy burghers.

Notes

1   Pontano (1965), 249.
2   See Panofsky (1964); Herklotz (1985); Valdez del Alamo and Pendergast (2000); Horch (2001); Hengerer (2005); Behrmann, Karsten, and Zitzlsperger, eds. (2007). A number of studies on particular chapels that have appeared since this chapter was originally written are now included, but chiefly in the notes.
3   The complex interrelationship between the social, political, and religious functions of the Angevin tombs is characterized by the term *memoria*. See the writings on this subject by Oexle (1984); Oexle (1995); Horch (2001); Michalsky (2000a), 17–31.
4   Although Charles I of Anjou had been crowned and anointed King of the Two Sicilies in the Church of the Lateran in Rome, together with his wife, Beatrice of Provence, on January 6, 1266, he nevertheless had to conquer his new realm in a series of hard-fought battles. The most significant of these were against Frederick II's heir, Manfred, at Benevento (Campania) on February 26, 1266, and against Conradin at Tagliacozzo (Abruzzo) on August 23, 1268. For a history of the house of Anjou in the Kingdom of Naples, see Léonard (1967). For the reign of Charles I, see Herde (1979); Barbero (1983).
5   See Döpp (1968); Venditti (1969); Galasso (1998), 29–110; De Seta (1991). For the Angevin period, see especially Bruzelius (2004).
6   The history of the construction of the Cathedral of Naples is still a matter of debate, especially since it is not clear whether Charles I or his successor, Charles II, was responsible for the construction of the new building. See Strazzullo (1959); Venditti (1969), 740ff.; Di Stefano (1975), 22ff. The debate focuses principally on the architecture of the new building. However, it is undisputed that Charles I envisaged the construction not only of his own tomb but also a family tomb in the new cathedral. See Bruzelius (2002); Bruzelius (2004), 78ff. For another (contestable) reconstruction of the original buildings and the origins of the Angevin cathedral, see Lucherini (2009). For the prestigious tombs in the Cathedral, see Bock (2002); Lucherini (2007).
7   Charles must have been familiar with the systematic renewal of the Capet burial site at Saint-Denis, carried out by his brother, King Louis IX of France, during the years 1264–1267. For an account of the construction of the Capet sepulchre at St.-Denis, see

8 Sommers (1966); Sommers-Wright (1974); Erlande-Brandenburg (1975).

8 Babelon (1970); Boyer (1994); Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 4, 242–247, also illus. 2–3.

9 His last will and testament is not in evidence. It is similarly unknown whether Charles I gave instructions concerning the construction of his tomb during his own lifetime. On the erection of the first known royal tombs in Santa Restituta, see Lucherini (2007).

10 See Schramm (1924), 36; Weinberger (1965), 63–72; Romanini (1969), 158–160; Cellini (1962); Martellotti (1991); Michalsky (2000a), 201–206.

11 Descriptions of a sculpture depicting Charles were published in the seventeenth century. See Summonte (1675), 2: 312; Capecelatro (1640), 404. It is, however, difficult to be sure which sculptures these authors were referring to in their accounts. For a history of Charles's tomb, see Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 8, 253–260.

12 "... *fiant sepulchra honorabilia et condecentia regiae dignitati.*" It is interesting that emphasis is placed on the "honorable" and "fitting" design of the tombs. Compare Giusti (1988) and Michalsky (2000a), 254–255. It was only after my study on the Angevin tombs was published in Michalsky (2000a) and after the first version of the present chapter was written that Lucherini published her impressive study on the early history of the Angevin cathedral, the enduring use of Santa Restituta, and the modern invention of the "Stefania," a seemingly imaginary church that has absorbed the attention of many art historians; see Lucherini (2009a).

13 In his guidebook of 1560, De Stefano dealt with them collectively, stating that inscriptions had been switched, making it difficult to identity individual monuments, as they were in any case similar in appearance; see De Stefano (1560), fol. 11. For his part, Summonte (1675), 2: 353, wrote of the Cardinal Virtues decorating the tomb of Charles Martel. Such details, as well as a text from 1599 documenting the demolition of these monuments and recording a total of eight royal statues in marble, point to the familiar type of Angevin wall tomb; for this text, see D'Addosio (1913), 610.

14 For details of the life and cult of Louis of Toulouse, see Toynbee (1929); Laurent (1954); Pàsztor (1955). For details of his chapel, see Michalsky (2000a), 105–108; Krüger (2001).

15 See also Chapter 4 by Romano in the present volume.

16 Concerning the *tabula vitae*, see Krüger (2001). Although both dating and interpretation are open to debate, one may consult Bologna (1969a), 147–177; Gardner (1976); Enderlein (1995); and Hoch (1995).

In more recent discussions, the painting has again been located in San Lorenzo Maggiore. See Di Majo (2002); Aceto (2005a), 79–85; Bigazzi (2007).

17 See the detailed description of the frescos by De Dominici (1742–1745), 1: 74–76.

18 Such as the payment of masses; see Enderlein (1997), 206ff.

19 The testament of Charles II was printed by Luenig in 1726; see Luenig (1725–1735), 2: 1065–1076. Concerning the tombs in both Naples and Aix-en-Provence, see Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 16, 271–277.

20 The Church of San Domenico, which at the time was dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalene, owing to the spectacular discovery – encouraged by Charles II – of relics connected to this saint, also has Charles to thank for its rebuilding; see Saxer (1959).

21 See n. 53.

22 See the description by Summonte (1675), 2: 363ff.; D'Engenio Caracciolo (1624), 266ff.; and Sigismondo (1788), 2: 7. See also Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 21, 281–289.

23 See Gardner (1988a); Aceto (1995a); Enderlein (1997), 76–89, 189–191; Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 21, 281–289; Michalsky (2001), 124–130; Aceto (2005a), 85–88.

24 Concerning Tino do Camaino, see Valentiner (1935); Kreytenberg (1987). For the tomb of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII, see Kreytenberg (1984); Herzner (1990); Herzner (2005), with bibliography; Middeldorf- Kosegarten (1990); Wolf (1990); Michalsky (2000a), 177–184.

25 The considerably larger twin Franciscan monastery of Santa Chiara (originally dedicated to Corpus Christi), although begun in 1310, was not yet complete in 1324.

26 Exactly who commissioned Tino di Camaino, and when, is a matter of controversy. Concerning the building, its history, and the question of whether the ambulatory should be regarded as a typically French solution reflecting the tendencies of the new rulers, see Berger-Dittscheid (1990); Bruzelius (2004b); Freigang (2001); and with a new proposal for the chronological order of the erection (2004), 47–73.

27 Concerning the history of wall monuments in late medieval Italy, see Bauch (1976); Herklotz (1985); Gardner (1992); Körner (1997).

28 The monument was altered several times and was almost certainly built with the assistance of local sculptors and mosaic workers. It was erected at ground level, most probably upon a single marble slab. Aceto (2005a) suggests that in the first step it was planned as a wall tomb, but the alteration

must have taken place very soon. The existing pair of undecorated, ninety-centimeter-high plinths date from the sixteenth century and were added to accommodate a new entrance to the sacristy. Originally the caryatids stood closer together, without bases, directly upon the marble slab, so that the position of the sarcophagus within the ensemble was considerably lower. The result was that both the effigy and the pall, with its unfortunately placed saints, could be seen more easily. It was impossible to pass under the tomb, which instead formed part of a cordon to the choir, thus barring the way to the altar and presenting the dual aspect of its visual program to distinctly separate groups of onlookers. The idea proposed by Enderlein (1997), 86ff., 189, that the sarcophagus had been realigned at an angle of 180°, is not substantiated. For a detailed interpretation of the tomb, see Michalsky (2001), 124–130.

29 Michalsky (2000a), 286.

30 Christ's passion, which symbolizes Christian hope for redemption, was developed as a standard theme of Tuscan sepulchral iconography during the 1320s. Until recently, however, this development had not been systematically researched. Consider, for example, the monument of Riccardo Petroni in the cathedral at Siena (1317–1318); that of Gastone della Torre in Santa Croce, Florence (1318); the family tomb of the Gherardesca, formerly in San Francesco dei Ferri, now in the Camposanto at Pisa (before 1321); the tomb of Guarniero (the son of Castruccio Castracani) in San Francesco, Sarzana; that of Bartolino Baroncelli in Santa Croce, Florence (1327); and the tomb of Uberto di Bardi, also in Santa Croce, Florence (1337), among a number of other subsequent monuments.

31 Kroos (1984); Oexle (1984).

32 This is comparable with the *apotheosis* in San Francesco at Pisa (see Blume [1983], 75–76 and Figure 171), as well as the *veli* in the lower church at Assisi (Poeschke [1985], 105ff.). For a dating and description of the frescos, see Blume (1989), 149–170.

33 For a discussion of the belief that the lineage of the Anjou represented a *beata stirps*, see Michalsky (2000a), 61–84; and for the similar belief regarding the sacred blood of the French royal dynasty, see Brückle (2000).

34 The thesis of Panofsky (1964), 82, that the Virtues on Angevin tombs represent a profane imitation of a motif of saintly monuments, is to be rejected.

35 For the tomb in Genoa, see Seidel, ed. (1987), 65–187. Regarding the reception of this unusual work, see Di Fabio (1999).

36 Michalsky (1998), 203–209.

37 Michalsky (2005).

38 Horst (1996), with earlier literature; see also Lambert (1961).

39 Regarding the tomb, see Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 22, 289–297; Michalsky (2004). Regarding the church, see Carelli and Casiello (1975); Genovese (1993). For different aspects of this royal foundation, see Elliott and Warr, eds. (2004).

40 For the identity of the descendants, see Valentiner (1935), 103; and also Morisani (1972a), 165. Concerning Maria's other children, which included several daughters, see Schwennicke, ed. (1984), 2: 2, Table 15.

41 As indicated earlier in this chapter, he had been buried in the Cathedral of Naples sometime before.

42 Concerning the disputes between Naples and Hungary, see Homan (1938), 143ff.

43 Modern scholarship stresses the political function of a "medieval public" formed by the people in response to particular circumstances. See Thum (1980); Thum (1990); Moos (1998); Oberste (2007). The church may also be understood, under limited circumstances, as a public space; see Wenzel (1995), 23ff.

44 Bologna (1969a), 135–138; Fleck (2004); Warr (2004); Warr (2007); Hoch (2004a).

45 Concerning the *Last Judgment*, see Schreiner (1983); Elliott (2004). Concerning the depiction of the Last Judgment in the Magdalene chapel of the Palazzo del Podestà in Florence, which possibly also displays members of the house of Anjou, see Grötecke (1997), 135ff.

46 Michalsky (2000a), Figure 81.

47 The church was originally consecrated to the body of Christ (Corpus Christi), although, with the passage of time, it came to be referred to as Santa Chiara, so that today this is the usual name of the church. Concerning its architecture, see De Rinaldis (1920); Dell'Aja (1980); Michalsky (2000a), 125–146; Freigang (2001); Bruzelius (2004b), 433–153; Gaglione (2007). Both the church and its monuments were severely damaged by bombardment during the Second World War. Their descriptions are thus based on prewar photographs.

48 Concerning the fresco, see Bologna (1969a), 130–132.

49 Namely that of Luisa of Calabria and Maria of Calabria; see Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 23, 297, and cat. no. 26, 300–302.

50 Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 27, 302–308.

51 For an interpretation of the animals, see De Stefano (1560), fol. 180; Boggild-Johannsen (1979), 86ff. The inscription on the tomb supports this interpretation, since on it Charles is praised as IUSTICIE PRECIPUUS ZELATOR ET CULTUR AC

REIPUBLICE STRENUUS DEFENSOR. For the inscription, see Michalsky (2000a), 305.

52 This is also referred to on the inscription, ANNO ETATIS SUE XXXI REGNANTE FELICITER PRAEFATO DOMINO NOSTRO REGE REGNORUM VERO EIUS ANNO XX ...; see Michalsky (2000a), 305.

53 Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 29, 310–314, and cat. no. 31, 320–324.

54 Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 30, 314–320.

55 That is, Hope and Charity. A third figure, holding an ermine, which most likely belonged to the monument, is today to be found in the Clarissan choir; see Gaglione (1997).

56 The pairs of saints on the side ends of the sarcophagus (Francis and Anthony of Padua on one end, and Clare and Elizabeth of Hungary on the other end) contribute to the theme of charity.

57 Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 33, 325–341, with earlier literature; see also Michalsky (2000b). Concerning the layout of the Clarissan choir, see Bruzelius (1992). Dombrowski (2002) gives no new historical insight but stresses again the idea that Francesco Petrarca was involved in the conceptualization.

58 Concerning the artists, see Bertaux (1895); Chelazzi Dini (1996).

59 At one time, the rear pillars also supported sculptured figures, of which traces remain; see Michalsky (2000a), Figure 60.

60 For the tomb of Henry VII, see the bibliography in n. 24. The exact appearance of the monument in the Cathedral of Pisa has been difficult to reconstruct. There is disagreement as to whether the fully sculptured figure of the emperor seen today, together with the "advisers" in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, was displayed on his tomb or was instead created for a nonreligious context. The research of Tripps (1997) has not answered these questions, although he did propose another reconstruction.

61 For further reflections on the ceremonial functions of Santa Chiara, see Michalsky (2000a), 136–146. Printed images of the convent church are to be found in Wadding (1931–1964), 6: 630–646.

62 Concerning the Angevin ideal of piety, see Michalsky (2000a), 85–91.

63 For the tomb, see Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 35, 342–345. It presumably stood behind the high altar. A design generally similar to what is seen at Santa Maria Donnaregina seems likely. The inscription unmistakably declares her to be *Summae humilitatis exemplum.* Aceto (2000) published a new drawing of the tomb.

64 Concerning Sancia, see Spila da Subiaco (1901); Musto (1985).

65 Klaniczay (1994), 358.

66 The final chapel on the left side of the nave displays scenes from the life of the Hungarian saint King László, to whom the ruling king might easily be traced back; see Delli Paoli (2008). Formerly, a polyptych displayed, apart from a *Pietà*, the familiar Angevin saints, including Louis IX and Louis of Toulouse; see Navarro (1998). Concerning the construction of the church, which was begun after 1367 (contrary to the dating that is usually reported), see Enderlein (1996); Vitolo (2008).

67 The founding charter of Santa Chiara makes clear that the dedication of chapels by noble families was expressly foreseen; see Wadding (1931–1964), 6: 643. Concerning the graves of the nobility of the fourteenth century, see Pace (2000).

68 I have not been able to consult the unpublished and uncirculated work of Sarah Bevan, "Sepulchral Monuments in Naples and the Surrounding Area, 1300–1421," Ph. D. dissertation, Oxford University, Oxford, 1980. On Antonio Baboccio, see Bock (2001a). Regarding the demands of Charles III of Durazzo, see Mocciola (2008). Elisabetta Scirocco is preparing a study of the workshop of Giovanni and Pacio Bertini.

69 See, for example, the tomb of Charles of Durazzo (d. 1348) and the twin tomb of Robert d'Artois and Joanna of Durazzo (d. after 1380) in Michalsky (2000a), cat. no. 42, 353–354, and cat. no. 43, 355–356, respectively. Consider also the tomb of Mary of Durazzo in Santa Chiara, which, although it conforms in some ways with the other tombs found there, is inferior in quality; see Bock (2001a), 130–141.

70 Compare the tomb of Niccolò Caracciolo (d. 1328) in the Cathedral (Santa Restituta), where, as a result of a misconception, Christ has been shifted from the center in favor of an engraved cross and thus appears where John the Baptist should be; or consider the tomb of Riccardo Pisicelli (d. 1331), also in the Cathedral (Santa Restituta), where two knights kneel before the *imago pietatis* in the center of the sarcophagus; examples may be multiplied, including some "authentic" copies. From the 1330s onward, the *trias* of the Virgin Mary, Christ as *imago pietatis*, and John the Baptist is worked into a system of decoration that demands ever more space; compare, for example, the tomb monuments of Raimundus Cabanus (d. 1334) and of Perroto Cabano (d. 1336) in Santa Chiara; Pietro Brancaccio (d. 1338), Giovanna d'Aquino (d. 1343), and Tommaso d'Aquino (d. 1357) in San Domenico; and Corello Caracciolo (d. 1350) in the Cathedral. The variant of the Madonna with Christ Child flanked by saints is also often to be found; from among a large number of

examples, see the tombs of Urso (or Orso) Minutolo (d. 1333) in the Cathedral and those of Dialta Firrao (d. 1338) and Letizia Caracciolo (d. 1340), both in San Domenico Maggiore.

71 See De Divitiis (2007), 161–165; Michalsky (2008a), 497–499.

72 A list could be extended without difficulty to include many more examples.

73 The angel on the left of the *camera funebris* is taken from a fourteenth-century tomb; see Bock (2001a), cat. no. 20.

74 Bock (2001a), 52–60.

75 Furelli and Gianandrea (2008); Paone (2009).

76 Bock (1997); Bock (2001a), 329–409.

77 Concerning the sculptor and his other works, see Bock (2001a).

78 Concerning the tomb in general, see Lightbown (1980), 83–127; Poeschke (1990), 1: 121ff. A precise date is not certain. According to a Florentine property register, a substantial part of the work was completed in July 1427; see Lightbown (1980), 88. At the earliest, the monument was shipped from Pisa and assembled in Naples during 1429; see Ciardi (1992), 342. Concerning Brancaccio, see Girgensohn (1971).

79 See Lightbown (1980), 89ff.; De Stefano (1964); Thoenes (1983), 37; Grund (2009).

80 Poeschke (1990), 1: 122.

81 Poeschke (1990), 1: 100.

82 Concerning the church, see Filangieri di Candida (1924). For a short summary, see Nichols (1988).

83 Concerning Caracciolo, see Petrucci (1976a). Concerning the date of the tomb of Ladislas, see Sabatino (2002); and for the two tombs, see Bock (2008b), 579–582.

84 Concerning the influence of antique sources in Naples already at the beginning of the fifteenth century (and not only with the accession of the house of Aragon), see Bock (2001b); Bock (2008b).

85 Concerning the cooperation of Andrea Guardi, Leonardo and Francesco Riccomanni, Leonardo di Vitale Pardini, and Tommaso di Matteo under the supervision of Giovanni da Gante, as well as a document dated January 12, 1428, that lists each of the artists, see Ciardi (1992). Abbate (1994) has contributed further thoughts concerning the division of labor. The monument was completed in 1431 at the earliest.

86 The identity of the artists is not documented. The inscription, which purports to date from 1433, refers to Troiano, Sergianni's son, as the Duke of Melfi, a title he received in 1441. The monument therefore could not have been completed until after this date; see Bock (2008b), 579–582.

87 Regarding the iconography of Sergianni's military virtue, see Faraglia (1899), 23.

88 The sepulchral monuments of the Venetian doges, such as the apparently similar example quoted by Pietro Mocenigo, date, at the earliest, from the late 1470s.

89 A possible (if perhaps somewhat fanciful) model may have been the bronze shrine to the saints Protus, Hyacinthus, and Nemesius that Ghiberti executed in Florence in 1427 and 1428.

90 Filangieri di Candida (1924), 43–62.

91 Filangieri di Candida (1924), 46.

92 See Trinchieri Camiz (1988), 54ff.

93 The names of Leonardo da Besozzo and Perinetto del Benevento appear in inscriptions. Concerning the dating, which generally falls in the middle of the fifteenth century, and the question of authorship, see Urbani (1953); Cirillo Mastrocinque (1978). See also Toscano (1999a), who assigns an earlier date to the fresco cycle, placing it within the lifetime of Sergianni Carracciolo. Concerning Besozzo, see Delle Foglie (2004).

94 See Trinchieri Camiz (1988), who has pointed out the large number of musical instruments depicted in the frescos. Her supposition that Santa Chiara formed a precedent for a choir behind the altar (54) is, however, questionable, since, as the cloister was located to the east of the church, access to it was possible from the rear; see also Musella (2000).

95 Arbace, ed. (1998).

96 "NIL MIHI NI TITVLUS SVMMO DE CVLMINE DERAT. . . ."

97 Concerning Alfonso I, see Ryder (1990); and for Alfonso II, Hersey (1969a). Concerning their promotion of humanistic learning, see Bentley (1987).

98 For a discussion of the subject of civic building projects, see De Seta (1994), 349ff. The lack of interest in sacred buildings was also emphasized by Blunt (1975), 21. For a discussion of the local Neapolitan style, see De Divitiis (2008) and Michalsky (2008a).

99 Concerning the tombs of the house of Aragon in San Domenico Maggiore, see the exhibition catalogue *Le arche* (1991), where the results of a major restoration project are summarized.

100 Concerning the grave of Alfonso I, see Summonte (1675), 3: 226ff.

101 Summonte (1675), 3: 539ff., wherein Summonte also described the highly elaborate funeral rites in San Domenico and at Castel Nuovo. See also the description of humanist Tristano Caracciolo in Caracciolo (1935).

102 Summonte (1675), 3: 524. Alfonso II (d. 1495) died in Messina and is buried in the cathedral there; see Summonte (1675), 3: 502.

103 Alfonso II's daughter Isabella (also known as Isabella of Naples) was the wife of Gian Galeazzo Sforza; see Ferrante (1984), 74, n. 8; also Summonte (1675), 3: 538.

104 See Hersey (1969a), 109ff., who thinks it possible that they were deposited in Santa Maria di Monteoliveto at a later date.

105 The Aragonese tombs in San Pietro Martire (the second most important Dominican church in Naples) have not survived. Summonte (1675), 3: 60, reports on the tomb of Pietro of Aragon (d. 1445). After the death in 1465 of Isabella di Chiaramonte, the first wife of Ferrante I (who was also called Ferdinand I), a tomb was also erected for her in San Pietro Martire; see Ferrante (1984), 73, n. 7. Isabella di Chiaramonte had made the church a gift of a picture of *Saint Vincent Ferrer* (today ascribed to Colantonio and hanging in the Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte), who with her support had been canonized in 1456; see Navarro (1987c), Figures 645 and 457. The remains of her children Alfonso and Eleanora were buried next to her in the same chapel, as were those of Beatrice of Aragon (d. 1508).

106 See Ferrante (1984); and see also the exhibition catalogue *Le arche* (1991), 13.

107 These include practically all of the series of sepulchral monuments and altars in the side chapels, a practice that, after the involvement of Florentine artists and Guido Mazzoni, was continued in the sixteenth century, mostly by the workshops of Giovanni da Nola, Tommaso Malvito, and Girolamo Santacroce.

108 Concerning the building of the Renaissance chapels, see Quinterio (1996), 510–526; Pepe (1998); Cundari, ed. (1999). For a history of the founding of the church, see Strazzullo (1963). For the tomb, see Hersey (1969a), 111–115.

109 Concerning the chapel of the cardinal of Portugal, see Hartt, Corti, and Kennedy (1964); see also Hansmann (1993).

110 The most famous example of this desire to imitate Florence was the project of Diomede Carafa, who during the 1460s ordered a painted copy of the *studiolo* of Piero di Medici and presumably wanted to construct a similar room in his own palace. Regarding the *scrittorio*, see Borsook (1981). Concerning the palace of Diomede Carafa, see Beyer (2000). Beyer's detailed study sheds light on the Florentine models and also deals with Carafa's deliberations concerning the choice of the site in its urban context, as well as Carafa's considered appreciation of antique models in the decoration of the palace. Concerning the background to the relationship between Naples and Florence, see Pontieri (1940–1941).

111 Concerning the irregularities of the ground plan, see Pepe (1998), Figure 4.

112 Concerning the fresco, see Bologna (1977), 107; Sricchia Santoro (1986), 99.

113 See Pepe (1998), 103, who emphasizes that the tondi of the Cappella Tolosa at Monteoliveto would not be appropriate.

114 Work on the tomb was begun by Antonio Rossellino. After his death in 1479, it was completed by Benedetto da Maiano in 1481, at the request of Antonio Piccolomini; see Carl (1983). Concerning the division of labor, see Lein (1988), 69–72.

115 See Planiscig (1942), 58, as well as the dismissive verdict of Hersey (1969a), 112–115. The fact that it is obviously a copy has unfortunately meant that the monument's own characteristics have been overlooked.

116 Hersey (1969a), 114.

117 English translation in Hersey (1969a), 111.

118 See Hansmann (1993), 306.

119 Rossellino's authorship was never actually disputed; see Planiscig (1942), 57. Carl (1996) provides evidence for both authorship and date.

120 Fragments of Tino's altars are preserved in Cava dei Tirreni and in Washington, D.C. See Aceto (2001b); Kreytenberg (2001). Concerning the marble altar, see Pope-Hennessy (1985), 2: 37ff. Concerning late Gothic marble altar retables from the second half of the fifteenth century, see Rapetti (1998): for example, cat. nos. 7–9, 46–47, 50–51, and 54–57.

121 Vasari (1878–1885), 4: 417, regarding Naples, "dove molto si costuma fare le cappelle e le tavole di marmot."

122 It is somewhat smaller, although this fact is not evident from the outside; see Pepe (1998), 103, Figure 6.

123 See Lein (1988), 99–106, with reference to earlier literature.

124 Caglioti (2000), 118, claims that the sarcophagus belongs to the brother of Marino Correale. On the use of memorial benches, see Michalsky (2005b) – for the bench of Correale, see esp. 172–173.

125 See Pepe (1998), 105–112.

126 Compare Venditti (1980).

127 Pepe (1998), 107–109.

128 Illustrated in Pepe (1998), Figure 14.

129 Pietro da Milano was active in Naples from 1453 until his death in 1473. Of the monuments ascribed to him, only that of Giovanella Stendardo from 1471 in Sant'Agostino, Arienzi, has survived; see Abbate (1984), 73ff.; Abbate (1992), 9. It is possible that Jacopo della Pila also began his career in Pietro's workshop. Concerning the Lombards in Naples, see Strazzullo (1992).

130   Concerning his documented works, see Filangieri di Satriano (1883–1891), 3: 15–27; and also Abbate (1992), 21ff.

131   On Tommaso Malvito, see Muñoz (1909); Abbate (1974a), 471–477; Pane (1975–1977), 2: 153ff.; Abbate (1992); Negri Arnoldi (1994); Ascher (2000). (2000b).

132   See Abbate (1992), 21, 23, n. 42. The commission was given in March 1492; see Filangieri di Satriano (1883–1891), 3: 15–20. The monument was not begun, however, until 1500.

133   "*Nec non promisit dictis magister Jacoubus facere in ipso cantaro inbassiamentum inferiorem adornatum prout est in cantaro domini Cardinalis brancatii posito intus ecclesiam sancti Angeli ad Nidum.*" According to the contract, Jacopo promises to make the lower part of the tomb similar to that of Cardinal Brancaccio. For the text of the contract, see Filangieri di Satriano (1883–1891), 3: 15–20. Concerning the problems of tradition and emulation, see Michalsky (2005c), 118–125.

134   Concerning the catalog of his son's works, see Abbate (1992), 83ff., n. 31.

135   Thomas Aquinas lived and taught in this Neapolitan abbey during the thirteenth century. Christ is supposed to have spoken to him from this cross, asking Thomas what he desired of him, given that he had written so pleasingly about him.

136   The *Entombment of Christ* by Colantonio, which today hangs to the left of the *Working of Miracles*, may also have been a part of the first phase of decoration; see Navarro (1987c). No details can be given at present regarding the attribution of specific elements of the monument to individual sculptors; see Abbate (1992), 42ff.; Gaeta (1995), 76ff. Pane (1975–1977), 2: 156ff., also refers to the significance of the miraculous cross. For the tombs of Diomede and Francesco Carafa, see De Divitiis (2007), 146–157.

137   Abbate (1992) 19, argues in favor of not only Jacopo della Pila but also Domenico Gagini. De Divitiis (2007) dates both tombs to the 1490s.

138   The chronological relationship of the tomb of Placido Sangro (d. 1480) and that by Tommaso Malvito in the same chapel is still open to question. In this case, the references to antiquity in the scheme of the triumphal arch are even stronger, despite the later construction of a family sepulchre, clearly visible.

139   On Diomede Carafa, see Petrucci (1976b). Carafa belonged to the inner circle of advisors to Alfonso I and Ferrante I. His *memorial*, which he wrote for members of the court, among other readers, is well known. His role in both diplomatic and cultural exchanges with Florence is of great importance. See Beyer (2000), 67–80; De Divitiis (2007), 21–41.

140   See Beyer (2000); De Divitiis (2007), 43–135.

141   This precedent is followed with the tomb of Ferdinando Carafa (d. 1591) in the same chapel.

142   See Pane (1975–1977), 2: 156; and also Abbate (1992), 43ff.; Michalsky (2005b), 182ff.

143   Concerning matrimonial tombs in Naples, see Michalsky (2005a), and especially 73–75 for this particular tomb.

144   "...PVDICITIA INSEGNEM CONIVGES IN VITA CONCORDISSIMOS...." Compare Giovanni Pontano's *De amore coniugali*, in Pontano (1948), 125–185 (for instance, "ad uxorem"). See also Pane (1975–1977), 2: 156; Abbate (1992), 43–44.

145   These include the tomb of Antonio d'Alessandro and his wife in the church of the monastery of Monteoliveto (from 1491), no longer in its original condition. In 1497, a still young Antonio Rota endowed a cenotaph for himself and his wife in San Pietro a Maiella (today in San Domenico), which was executed by Tommaso Malvito; see Ascher (2000a), 192ff. Another example is the tomb of Sante Vitaliano and Ippolita Imparato (from 1497 according to the inscription) in the cloister of Santa Maria la Nova; see Abbate (1992), 71ff., who places the date during the second decade of the sixteenth century. Yet another example is the tomb of Giovanello de Cuncto and Lucrezia Filangieri in Santa Maria delle Grazie. On the topic of matrimonial tombs in Naples, see Michalsky (2005a).

146   A *sediale* is mentioned in a contract between Tommaso Malvito and Bernardino Poderico from 1489 concerning a tomb in the family sepulchre in San Lorenzo, no longer extant; see Pane (1975–1977), 2: 152.

147   For an initial approach, see Michalsky (2005a); Michalsky (2005b).

148   Galeazzo Caracciolo commissioned a *spalliera* "*secundum antiquam*" from Tommaso Malvito in 1506. See Pane (1975–1977), 2: 147; Naldi (1997), 11. The form is consistent with that of the wooden benches of the time; compare, for example, Plates V and VI in Perriccioli (1975).

149   Consider the following examples: the bench endowed by a member of the Puderico family for his parents in the choir chapel of San Lorenzo; the bench of Marino Correale in his chapel in the church of Monteoliveto (1490); that of the tomb of Antonio d'Alessandro and his wife, also at Monteoliveto (see n. 145) reproduced here (Figure 5.28); that made for Primo Jacobo Pisanello (1514) in San Lorenzo; and another made for Francesco Anfaro (1516) in the same church.

150   A case in point is the transferral of individual monuments from the Rota Chapel in San Pietro a Maiella to the more recent family chapel in San Domenico

Maggiore discussed in Ascher (2000). 2000a). Concerning the "layering" of memories and memorials in Naples more generally, see Michalsky (2005c).

151 Mazzoni arrived in Naples in 1489 and in 1492 was paid for a *sepolcro*, which would appear to point to this group. See Hersey (1969a), 118–124; Gramaccini (1983), 26–29; Lugli (1990), 328–330, with excellent illustrations.

152 The other figures are also portrayed in contemporary dress, although in a somewhat less obvious manner. This is particularly obvious in the case of the buttoned doublet of Saint John and the pleats of Mary Magdalene's dress.

153 Sannazaro (1996), 67: "If you have any belief that there was One who established the Law ... look upon him now, you wretched mortals (if sorrow gains entrance to your hearts), [there follows a description of Christ's wounded body] and pour out plenteous streams of tears." The Latin text was first printed in 1513, without the permission of the author. Kennedy (1983), 180, considers it to date from around 1502.

154 See Gramaccini (1983), 26, with reference to earlier literature.

155 Gramaccini (1983), 27ff.

156 Summonte (1675), 4: 630.

157 See Gramaccini (1983), 28ff., who also casts doubt on the interpretations of Hersey (1969a) and Verdon (1978).

158 The Latin inscription, no longer extant, is reported in Celano (1692), 3: 332. The English translation is from Hersey (1969a), 122 n. 59.

159 Concerning Pontano, see Bentley (1987), 127–137; Kidwell (1991).

160 Still authoritative is the work of Filangieri di Candida (1926), and similarly the short résumé in Alisio (1963–1964). See also De Sarno (1761) and Pane (1975–1977), 2: 199–205. Blunt (1975), 23ff., also stresses its uniqueness, for which see also Colonna (2004) and Michalsky (2005a), 82–84.

161 Compare Giovanni Pontano's second eclogue, *Meliseus, a quo uxoris mors deploratur,* in Pontano (1973), and see the comments of Stracke (1981), 57–62. For other poems to his dead wife, see Kidwell (1991), 206–215.

162 On the Neapolitan Academy, see Santoro (1988), 304ff.

163 Galante (1872), 173. The texts contain general statements, such as "In omni vitae genere primum est te ipsum cognoscere." Large portions of the inscriptions may be found (almost) verbatim in Filangieri di Candida (1926).

164 Concerning the fresco, which is ascribed to Francesco Cicino da Caiazzo, see Alisio (1963–1964), 32; Navarro (1987b), with bibliography.

165 Pontano later published portions of the inscriptions in the *De tumuli* of his *Carmina*; see Pontano (1948), 187–258. See Romano (1901) and Tateo (1976), 13ff. It should be emphasized that in the *De tumuli*, Pontano used the strict form of the epitaph to express grief and hope in colorful images. Therefore, the texts should not be confused with ordinary inscriptions on graves. Irmgard Siede is preparing an extended study of these inscriptions, as well as of the chapel as a whole, with special reference to its humanistic agenda. I thank her for her cordial assistance and exchange of research material.

166 Summonte (1675), 3: 123ff.; Filangieri di Candida (1926), 113ff.; and also Pane (1975–1977), 1: 44ff. and 2: 202.

167 "TITI LIVI BRACHIVM ... IOANNES PONTANVS MVLTOS POST ANNOS HOC IN LOCO PONENDVM CVRAVIT." See Filangieri di Candida (1926), 114.

168 Concerning the use of majolica in Naples, see Donatone (1974). The humanists, in particular Sannazaro, also collected majolica; see Donatone (1974), 604. Heads of this kind were also frequently found on ceramic beakers during the second half of the fifteenth century; examples are given in Donatone (1974).

169 Concerning Petrarca's love for Laura, see Baader (1999), with references to earlier literature. The influence of Petrarca on the visual art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the subject of an important article by Cropper (1976). Reflections on a Neapolitan bust of Laura, executed in marble by Francesco Laurana, can be found in Götz-Mohr (1993). Gianozzo Manetti (1396–1459), a humanist at the court of Alfonso I, also concerned himself with Laura in his biography of Petrarca; see Götz-Mohr (1993), 166. Concerning Manetti, see Bentley (1987), 122–127.

170 Already at the outset of the chapel's construction, Pontano paid for a daily Mass to be said; see Filangieri di Candida (1926), 105.

171 Pontano laid great stress upon the imaginary evocation of grief, as his fictitious collection of epitaphs in the *Tumulorum libri* demonstrates; see Romano (1901), 105.

172 Concerning the construction of the Pontano Chapel, see Frommel (1989).

173 According to Pane (1975–1977), 2: 199ff.

174 Frommel (1989) suggests that he was an assistant of Francesco di Giorgio.

175 It may be assumed that Alberti's writings were well known in Naples, given that, among other things, Jacopo Sannazaro, a friend of Pontano and member of the Academy, was working on an index for an

176   edition of Alberti's works in 1510; see Naldi (1997), 12.

176   Alberti (1988), 249.

177   For an account of Olivero Carafa's life, see Petrucci (1976c).

178   See Norman (1986), with bibliography, for the first history of the chapel shrine that is both complete and convincing. Of the earlier literature, see especially Strazzullo (1965) and Strazzullo (1966a). The 1966 article includes a transcription of the early description of the ensemble by the Sicilian Fra Bernardino. See also Pane (1975–1977), 2: 103–116, as well as Abbate (1981), who was the first to suggest the participation of Roman artists, whose acquaintance Carafa could have made in that city. Other literature includes Abbate (1992), 49–66; Pagano (2001); Del Pesco (2001a); and Dreßen (2004).

179   See the relevant passage concerning the term *succorpo* in Norman (1986), 339.

180   Concerning San Gennaro, see the *Acta Sanctorum* article in Carnadet, ed. (1876), 761–892; Ambrasi (1965), with bibliography; Pacelli (1989).

181   See Ambrasi (1965), 145ff.

182   See Caracciolo (1645), 251.

183   Concerning the role of Ferrante, see Strazzullo (1966b).

184   See the description by Passero (1785), 112. Other descriptions are found in Norman (1986), 336, n. 21.

185   Tommaso Malvito's name was already mentioned in connection with the Succorpo di San Gennaro by Fra Bernardino, and also by Summonte in his 1524 letter to Marcantonio Michiel; see the bibliography in Abbate (1992), 49–66, and the literature cited here in n. 178. Nichols (1988), 94–98, proposed that Giuliano da Sangallo was the architect of the project, whereas Pane (1975–1977), 2: 103–116, preferred Donato Bramante. For the most recent version of Nichols's argument, see her Chapter 3 in the present volume.

186   The testament, from 1509, is printed in Strazzullo (1965), 148–152.

187   See the arguments put forward by Norman (1986), 345ff.

188   See the text and commentary in Strazzullo (1966a), 62, 67–69. The sarcophagus found in 1964 does not match the description.

189   It was executed during 1508 and 1509, for the most part by artists in Perugino's workshop. The altarpiece can be found today (in poor condition) in the most eastern chapel of the south transept. See Scarpellini (1984), cat. no. 160.

190   Naldi (1994b), 8–10.

191   Concerning the church, see Pessolano (1978);

192   Naldi (1996a), with reference to earlier literature. Concerning the building, see Solimene (1934); Borrelli (2000).

193   Pane (1975–1977), 2: 203–205.

194   The inscription on Ettore's tomb records the year 1511. See Abbate (1992), 71, concerning the authorship of Giovan Tommaso Malvito and possibly that of Giovanni da Nola.

195   Pane (1975–1977), 2: 157, credits Andrea da Ferrucci da Fiesole and Romolo Balsimelli with its architecture.

196   The benches in this chapel are also integrated. Concerning their function, see Pane (1975–1977), 2: 164. Concerning the crèche, see Filangieri di Satriano (1883–1891), 3: 588ff.; Berliner (1955), 48; Gaeta (1995), 74. Borrelli (1970), 19–36, supplies a short review of Neapolitan crèche ensembles made during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

197   Fiocco (1914); Krems (2002).

198   Concerning the architecture and its planning, see Naldi (1997), 174 (cat. 8) and Figures 104–115.

199   On Raphael's painting, now in the Prado Museum, and for a discussion of this chapel, see Krems (1999), 31–115.

200   Krems (1999), 111ff.

201   Concerning the problem of authorship and the documentation of individual monuments, see the various writings of Abbate, Naldi, and Speranza.

202   The authorship of Giovan Tommaso Malvito is only certain with regard to the Cappella De Cuncto, although his collaboration with Giovanni da Nola in a number of earlier tombs can be assumed on the grounds of style – for example, the completion of the tombs of the Carafa in San Domenico Maggiore; the tomb of Arcamonio (d. 1510) in San Lorenzo Maggiore; the cenotaph of Galeazzo Pandone in San Domenico Maggiore (1518–1520); the tomb of Giambattista del Doce in his chapel in San Domenico Maggiore; and the tomb of Leonardo Tomacelli (d. 1529) in the same church.

203   Giovanni Marigliano (known as Giovanni da Nola) was held in high regard by his contemporaries. Even so, art historians working beyond the borders of Italy have paid him little attention, despite the abundant evidence of sixteenth-century regard for him usefully gathered by Morisani (1972b), 745–760; and Abbate (1992), 181–258.

204   See Balcells (1961); Morisani (1972b), 749; Abbate (1992), illus. 177.

205   Concerning Santacroce, see Naldi (1997); and see Speranza (1996) for Giovan Giacomo da Brescia.

206   The introduction of independent head portraits into the ornamentation of tombs occurred quite late compared with the considerable production of bust-sized

portraits in use at the Neapolitan court. See the list of busts from the workshop of Francesco Laurana in Hersey (1969a), 32. See also Kruft and Middeldorf (1970); Kruft (1995), 132–165.

207 See the drawings in De Sarno (1761). The date of the completion of the head is uncertain. Concerning the revival of interest in antique physiognomy, see Andres (1999).

208 See the contradictory suggestions concerning the authorship of this work: Abbate (1977), 49; Abbate (1992), 72, n. 48; Speranza (1996), 105ff. Summonte regarded funerary art as a subject worthy of mention in history; see Summonte (1675), 3: 258.

209 For the tomb in the Church of San Francesco delle Monache, see Ascher (1995).

210 Consider as well the tombs of the De Cuncto in Santa Maria delle Grazie, where he supports his head in his hands while she rests her head on her arm, as if sleeping. Consider also the effigy of De Gennaro (d. 1522) in San Pietro Martire, which displays an open book, as does that of Leonardo Tomacelli (d. 1529) in San Domenico, and that of Antonia Gaudino (d. 1530), formerly in Santa Chiara.

211 The authorship of Bartolomé Ordóñez has gained acceptance; see Negri Arnoldi (1994), 156; Negri Arnoldi (1997), 32; Speranza (1996), 102. See also the detail illustrations in Abbate (1992), Figures 120–122.

212 Morisani (1972b); Pane (1975–1977), 2: 182.

213 See the bibliography in n. 203. See also Faraglia (1880); Del Pezzo (1898); Negri Arnoldi (1997), 16–18.

214 Concerning the chapel, see Nichols (1988), with references to earlier literature. See also Abbate (1988–1989); Migliaccio (1994).

215 Concerning the earlier chapels, see the discussion of Giovanni (Sergianni) Caracciolo earlier in this chapter.

216 The difficulty of assigning authorship, already evident in contemporary sources, has not yet been resolved. See Pane (1975–1977), 2: 127–142 (who mentions Bramante); Nichols (1988), 73ff. (with bibliography). Nichols has turned attention toward Giuliano da Sangallo; see her Chapter 3 in the present volume. See also Migliaccio (1994), who follows a similar line of argument.

217 See Nichols (1988), 50; and also Abbate (1979), 97.

218 See Nichols (1988), 64ff.

219 This type of monument was later adopted for other tombs. Consider, for example, the tombs of the Spinelli family in Santa Caterina a Formiello.

220 Abbate (1979) sees the realization of a Valdésian agenda in the representation of Adam and Eve on the tomb of Galeazzo Caracciolo.

221 Migliaccio (1994).

222 Sarnelli (1688), 168–170.

223 See Migliaccio (1994). Concerning Sannazaro and his pursuit of an *interpretatio christiana* of antique forms and designs, see later in this chapter.

224 Pontano (1965), 110ff.

225 Concerning the church, see Deramaix and Laschke (1992); Carrella, ed. (1999).

226 See Kennedy (1983); Kidwell (1993). For a broader discussion of the tomb and its relations to both antiquity and to Sannazaro's writings, see Laschke (2002), 61–72; Michalsky (2003).

227 For an account of the creation of *De partu virginis*, see Deramaix (1990). An English translation is found in Sannazaro (1996), 24–63.

228 Summonte mentions the crèche in a letter of 1524: "è del garbo ch'el Sannazaro lo have dipincta nel divino suo libro, *De partu virginis*." For the text, see Nicolini (1925), 169. Concerning the authorship and dating, see Bologna (1950b), 167–169; Berliner (1955), 195; and also Gaeta (1995), 95. Consider also the comments on the crèche in the Cappella Carafa di Ruvo (1507–1511) offered in the present chapter.

229 Concerning the contract, see Laschke (1993), 46.

230 See the relevant illustration in Deramaix and Laschke (1992).

231 Thus, the arrangements for the welfare of the soul as laid out in the testament were fulfilled. The Servites were obliged to provide four clerics for the observance of the "culto divino." Masses were to be read every day for Frederick of Aragon, for Sannazaro's mother and father, and for the poet himself. Similarly, masses were to be celebrated every year on the anniversaries of each of these four persons, as well as on the feast day of San Nazarius. See Alabiso (1999).

232 For a detailed account, see Naldi (1994b).

233 For a description of the water *corso*, see Deramaix and Laschke (1992), 29; and also Naldi (1994b), 13.

234 The significant relationship to Michelangelo's sculpture is unrelated to the fact that it has been attributed to Bartolommeo Ammanati. That Sannazaro compared ancient heroes to Christian saints is made clear in a letter to his critics; see Sannazaro (1961), 385. Concerning the rediscovery of ancient heroes during the Renaissance more generally, see Weise (1961–1965), I, 65.

235 Especially with the Medici chapel in Florence.

236 The inscriptions "David" and "Judith" date from the Counter-Reformation period.

237 Compare the tomb of the poet Bernardino Rota in San Domenico, which was erected between 1569 and 1571 by Giovanni Domenico D'Auria, mentioned briefly in Negri Arnoldi (1997), 95–96, n. 51. Here the attributes of *Ars* and *Natura* are represented upon

their bodies in low relief. In the case of the classically disposed Ars, one sees the instruments of the various arts. In the case of the naked and many-breasted Natura/Diana, one sees all manner of plants and animals. See Laschke (2002), 72–80.

238 DA SACRO CINERI FLORES/HIC ILLE MARONI/SINCERUS MUSA PROXIMUS/UT TUMULO. "Sincerus" was Sannazaro's nickname in the Naples Academy.

239 See Trapp (1984), with sources and an iconographical history of the tomb from the Middle Ages forward.

240 Vasari (1878–1885), 6: 638.

241 The identification of the figure with the trident as Proteus is explained (on the basis of *De partu virginis*) by Proteus's announcement of the advent of Christ; see Michalsky (2003). The identification of the person in female clothing with woman's hair as Apollo is in keeping with convention and is generally accepted.

242 Concerning the marine iconography of the tomb, compare Ovid (*Metamorphoses* VI: 382–400), where Marsyas, or his blood at any rate, is transformed into a river.

243 See Mösender (1979), 33 ff., n. 62; Laschke (2002), 65–68.

244 Sannazaro (1961), 25.

245 Thus the sea god is usually identified as Neptune and the nymph as Diana. It would, however, also be possible to recognize the nymph, or else the woman playing the lyre, as Mergellina.

246 Wyss (1996); Marano (1998).

247 Concerning Roman sepulchral altars, see Boschung (1987), with numerous examples of this kind. A similar altar, though lacking a relief panel, is cemented into the medieval tower of Santa Maria Maggiore near the Cappella Pontano.

248 Concerning the continuity between antique and Christian funeral rites, see Pontano (1965), 110ff.

249 Pedro de Toledo died in Florence in 1553 and was interred there; his tomb in Naples is therefore empty.

Concerning the church, see Borrelli (1903). Pierpont (1988), 1–4, 28–104, gives a detailed description of the monument and reconstructs the art-historical background of its form. Concerning the date of the commission and the history of the execution, see Pierpont (1988), 9–15; Middione (2004).

250 Borrelli (1903), 58; Croce (1894); Pane (1975). Concerning his "reputation and the verdict of history," see Pierpont (1988), 256–259. Pierpont has notably clarified the image of the viceroy as a patron of art. The appendix of her study contains two versions of the 1553 inventory of the viceroy's wealth and possessions (200 manuscript pages in all).

251 Pierpont (1988), 28–33, mentions various earlier Spanish tombs as models for funerary monuments in Naples, but as tantalizing as the idea of a Spanish prototype may be, similarities between her examples and the Neapolitan monuments are not striking. In her chapter on "The Tradition of the Kneeling Effigy" (34–44), she associates French, Spanish, and Neapolitan examples and compares from such different contexts as the kneeling figures in Mazzoni's *Lamentation*, the kneeling statue of Carafa in the Succorpo di San Gennaro, and those of the monument of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany. In my opinion, these examples cannot readily be compared.

252 The influences that inform this tomb have been traced back to the Italian monuments of Giovanni Borromeo (c. 1480) and Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1494) in the Certosa of Pavia, which, however, do not display the deceased in prayer. See Meyer (1982), 43, 49ff.

253 See Pierpont (1988), 39.

254 Compare the similar objections raised by Morisani (1972b), 752–756.

255 Collareta (1987) was able to identify a sixteenth-century bronze copy of the marble portrait in the collection of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.