

ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN NAPLES, 1266–1713

EDITED BY

CORDELIA WARR

AND

JANIS ELLIOTT



WILEY-BLACKWELL

A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication



This page intentionally left blank

ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN NAPLES, 1266–1713

This page intentionally left blank

ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN NAPLES, 1266–1713

NEW APPROACHES

EDITED BY

CORDELIA WARR

AND

JANIS ELLIOTT

 **WILEY-BLACKWELL**

A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication



This edition first published 2010

© 2010 Association of Art Historians

Originally published as Volume 31, Issue 4 of *Art History*

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing program has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell.

The right of Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott to be identified as the authors of the editorial material in this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book. This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information in regard to the subject matter covered. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Art and architecture in Naples, 1266-1713 / edited by Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott.

p. cm. Originally published as Volume 31, Issue 4 of *Art History*, 2008.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4051-9861-5 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Art, Italian-Italy-Naples. 2. Naples (Italy)-Civilization. I. Warr, Cordelia. II. Elliott, Janis,

1949-N6921.N2A68 2009

709.45'731-dc22

2009038764

Set in 10/12pt SwiftEF-Regular by Macmillan India Ltd., Bangalore, India

Printed in Malaysia

CONTENTS

Notes on contributors	vi
1 Introduction: Reassessing Naples 1266–1713	1
<i>Cordelia Warr and Janis Elliott</i>	
2 The north looks south: Giorgio Vasari and early modern visual culture in the Kingdom of Naples	16
<i>Aislinn Loconte</i>	
3 The rise of the court artist: Cavallini and Giotto in fourteenth-century Naples	38
<i>Cathleen A. Fleck</i>	
4 The local eye: Formal and social distinctions in late quattrocento Neapolitan tombs	62
<i>Tanja Michalsky</i>	
5 Building in local <i>all'antica</i> style: The palace of Diomedede Carafa in Naples	83
<i>Bianca de Divitiis</i>	
6 From social virtue to revetted interior: Giovanni Antonio Dosio and marble inlay in Rome, Florence, and Naples	101
<i>John Nicholas Napoli</i>	
7 ‘The face is a mirror of the soul’: Frontispieces and the production of sanctity in post-Tridentine Naples	125
<i>Helen Hills</i>	
8 Patronage, standards and <i>transfert culturel</i>: Naples between art history and social science theory	152
<i>Nicolas Bock</i>	
Index	176

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Nicolas Bock is Lecturer in Medieval and Renaissance Art History at Lausanne University, Switzerland. He studied art history at the universities of Heidelberg (Germany) and Florence (Italy). Between 1993 and 1997 he was a member of the Bibliotheca Hertziana (MPI) in Rome. He completed his PhD, on late medieval and early renaissance art in Naples, in 1997 and has since published on Neapolitan art, on medieval art and liturgy, and on text and image relations in German and French book production between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

Bianca de Divitiis received her PhD at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Venice. She currently works on architecture and patronage in fifteenth-century Naples and has recently published a book on the patronage of the Carafa family: *Architettura e Committenza nella Napoli del Quattrocento* (Venice, 2007). Her other research interests include eighteenth-century British architecture and she has published on the work of Sir John Soane in the *Burlington Magazine*, in *Architectural History* and in the *Georgian Group Journal*. She was a fellow at Villa I Tatti (Harvard University) for the academic year 2008–09.

Janis Elliott has published on the patronage and iconography of chapel decoration and Last Judgement scenes in fourteenth-century Florence, Naples and Padua in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* and in various edited volumes. Her research interests focus on the patronage of the Angevin dynasty in Naples and she is the co-editor, with Cordelia Warr, of *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina: Art, iconography and patronage in fourteenth-century Naples* (Aldershot, 2004). She is Assistant Professor of medieval art history at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, Texas.

Cathleen A. Fleck is a Lecturer and Assistant Dean at Washington University in St Louis. Her research and publications focus on the art of Italy, France and the Holy Land during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Her current book project, *Papal Power and Royal Prestige in the Fourteenth Century*, examines the papal court in Avignon and the Angevin court in Naples through the detailed study of the Bible of Pope Clement VII (c. 1330, London: British Library, Add. MS 47672).

Helen Hills is Professor of History of Art at the University of York. Her publications include: *Invisible City: The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-century Neapolitan Convents* (Oxford University Press, 2005); *Marmi Mischi Siciliani: Invenzione e identità* (Società Messinese di Storia Patria, 1999); *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Ashgate, 2003); and, edited with Penelope Gouk,

Representing Emotions: New connections in the histories of art, music and medicine (Ashgate, 2005). She is preparing a study of the Treasury Chapel and forms of holiness in baroque Naples.

Aislinn Loconte is an independent scholar based in New York. She received her doctorate from the University of Oxford and has held fellowships in the UK and in Italy. She has published on female patronage in Naples and is currently preparing a book provisionally entitled *The Art of Queenship: Royal women and artistic patronage in the late medieval and early modern Kingdom of Naples*.

Tanja Michalsky is Professor of Art History at the Universität der Künste in Berlin. She has recently finished a study entitled 'Projection and imagination. Conceptions of Netherlandish landscape in the dialogue between geography and painting'. Although she has also published articles on film and contemporary art, her main research interests are the relationship between political and artistic representation and the social network of memory, and the process of collective imagination in different visual media. She is the author of *Memoria und Repräsentation. Die Grabmäler des Königshauses Anjou in Italien* (2000) and the editor of *Medien der Macht. Kunst zur Zeit der Anjous in Italien* (2001).

John Nicholas Napoli received his PhD from Princeton University. He currently teaches at the City University of New York and the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn. His research has appeared in the Neapolitan journal *Napoli Nobilissima*, and he is currently writing a book on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century decorative campaigns at the Carthusian monastery in Naples, the Certosa di San Martino.

Cordelia Warr is Senior Lecturer in Art History and Visual Studies at the University of Manchester. She has published a number of articles on female patronage and on the representation of religious dress. Her book *Dressing for Heaven: Religious clothing in Italy, 1215–1545* will be published by Manchester University Press in 2010. Her current research project, which has been supported by the AHRC research leave scheme, is on the representation and performance of stigmata in late medieval and renaissance Italy.



1 Map of Italy in the fifteenth century. Map: Janis Elliott and Laura Stennett, Texas Tech University.

INTRODUCTION: REASSESSING NAPLES

1266–1713

CORDELIA WARR and JANIS ELLIOTT

The city of Naples has been a major centre for more than two millennia. Its natural harbour and position on the southwest coast of Italy made it important in trade relations between Italy, Greece, Byzantium, North Africa, Spain, Holland, Flanders and Germany. Its strategic importance and resulting prosperity resulted in fierce competition for control of Naples and the surrounding area. During the period discussed by the various contributors to this collection of essays, 1266–1713, Naples and its surrounding territory was ruled successively by the French Angevins (1266–1442), the Aragonese (1442–1501), the French (1501–04), and the Spanish Hapsburgs (1504–1713).¹ Throughout, Naples was an important artistic centre yet it has suffered in art-historical literature. One of the issues that has affected perception of the city is that Naples defies art-historical definitions of a cultural centre. Traditionally, artists and styles have been linked to their geographic locations of origin.² The conventional view of Naples is that it did not produce many famous artists or innovative artistic styles which influenced the art of other major centres; rather, it imported more art and artists than it exported. Another factor is that many art historians have followed the historiographical model of Giorgio Vasari, whose *Lives of the Artists* concentrates on the work of Florentine artists.³ The result is that Naples has been overshadowed by other Italian centres, most especially in this period by Florence and Rome. Physical destruction has also taken its toll. Damage to Neapolitan archives during the 1939–45 war resulted in a substantial loss of historical documents and significant damage to the artistic patrimony of the area.⁴ The imposing, partially polychromed, mid-fourteenth-century tomb of Robert of Anjou (d. 1343), for example, was badly damaged in a fire following an air raid on 4 August 1943. However, even before this, the work of modern historiographers reflected the attitude of northern Italy towards the south, applying to the past the twentieth-century view of Naples as underdeveloped and culturally deficient, something explored by Bianca de Divitiis in her chapter on Diomedea Carafa's fifteenth-century palace in Naples.

All of the chapters in this volume seek, in different ways, to redress the neglect of Naples – particularly noticeable in English-language scholarship. The contributors focus on works of art and architecture which demonstrate the ways in which Naples can be defined as a cultural and artistic centre. Some explore the careers of specific artists and groups of artists, examining the circumstances of

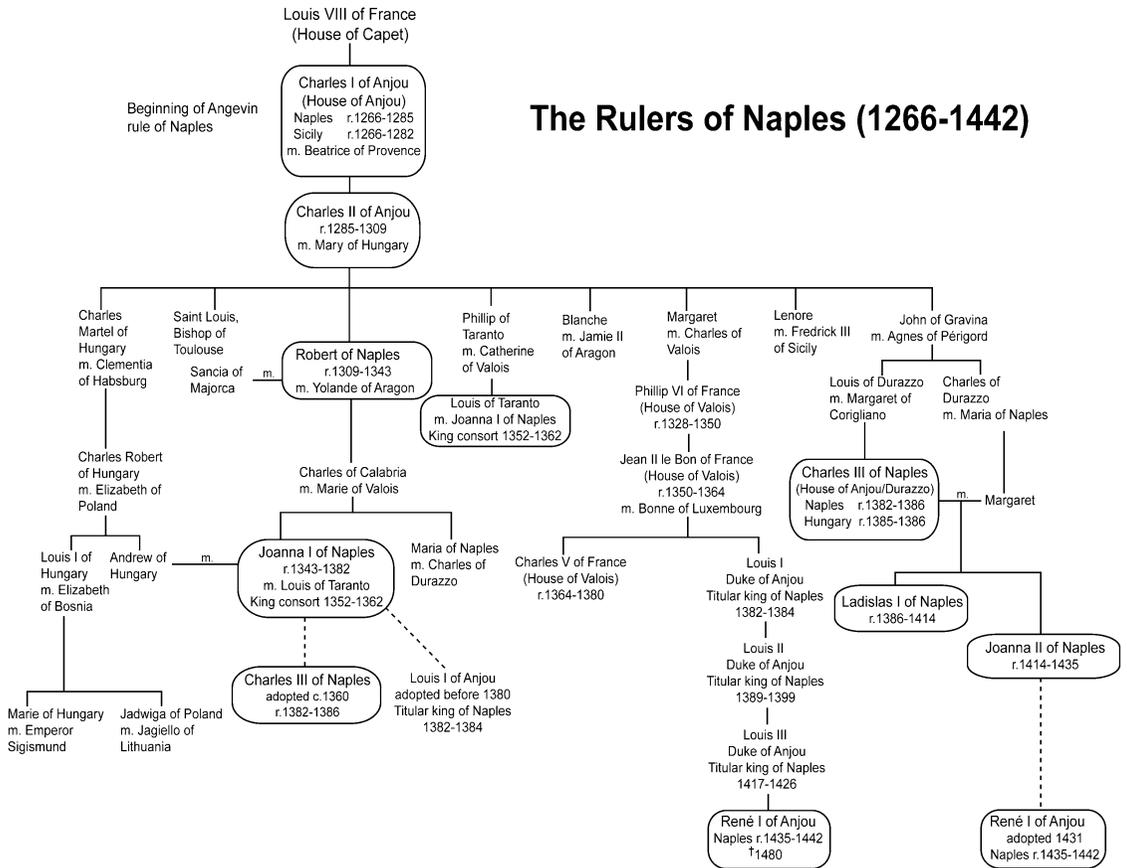
their commissions and the reasons behind them. Others deal with the ways in which the convergence on Naples of foreign artists and artistic styles affected the evolution of art within the city. Questions of taste, the way in which taste was formed and acquired, and the ability of Neapolitans to make refined distinctions between local and foreign styles are also examined, as are the means by which artists disseminated styles through the cities in which they worked.

One of the underlying debates throughout this volume relates to definitions of centre and periphery.⁵ Nicolas Bock, for example, questions the ways in which cultural centres have traditionally been defined. He argues that most theories which deal with definitions of centres, such as those espoused by such scholars as Castelnovo, Ginsburg and DaCosta Kaufmann, exclude Naples as a cultural centre because their criteria are dominated by economics and physical geography, which quantify how much ‘culture’ a city exports. However, according to Bock, these theories overlook a number of things which cannot easily be quantified, such as prestige, social status and association with the elite – all of which Naples exported in large quantities. The importation into Naples of foreign artists and works of art should be viewed as a sign of ‘cultural enrichment’, therefore, rather than of cultural inferiority. The history of the city between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries clearly demonstrates Naples’s status as a ‘world city’ functioning within an international cultural network.

THE ANGEVIN PERIOD

At the beginning of the fourteenth century Naples was one of the most important cities in Europe. It had an estimated population of 30,000 inhabitants, smaller than that of Venice, Milan and Florence (each with more than 80,000), but still among the largest urban centres of Europe.⁶ Since 1284 it had been the capital of the so-called Kingdom of Naples: following the rebellion of the Sicilian Vespers Charles I of Anjou (r. 1266–85) had been deprived of the island of Sicily and the previous capital, Palermo.⁷ Despite this loss the Kingdom of Naples, stretching from the Abruzzi in the north to the southern coasts of the Italian peninsula, was by far the largest area of Italy to be ruled by a single government (plate 1). The Angevin kings of Naples came from the French royal family.⁸ The international connections of the Angevin dynasty meant that the kings of Naples married into some of the most powerful European royal families (plate 2). Charles I of Anjou married Beatrice of Provence; their son Charles of Salerno (future Charles II of Anjou) married Mary of Hungary (d. 1323), who was the granddaughter of the Hungarian Arpad king Bela IV (r. 1235–70). Their grandson, the third Angevin king of Naples Robert of Anjou (r. 1309–43) married Violante of Aragon (d. 1302) and, later, Sancia of Majorca (1285–1345), daughter of James II of Majorca.⁹ At various times during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Angevins ruled their native territories in Anjou, their dominions in Provence, the Kingdom of Naples, the Kingdom of Jerusalem¹⁰ and the Kingdoms of Hungary, Poland and Croatia.¹¹ They introduced French court culture to Naples and thereafter Neapolitan court culture formed part of a Europe-wide network of courts.

In addition to the political relations and alliances with major European kingdoms which characterized Naples as an international capital, there were also trade connections that spread across the Mediterranean. All of this had an effect



2 Diagram of the rulers of Naples (1266-1442). Diagram: Janis Elliott and Gilbert Jones, Texas Tech University.

on the art produced in and for the city. The Angevins introduced the French gothic style into the kingdom, bringing their own architects and also importing master masons, as Caroline Bruzelius has recently argued in *The Stones of Naples*.¹² Churches such as San Lorenzo Maggiore and Santa Maria Donna Regina reflect this northern European interest and demonstrate that their royal commissioners were aware of the latest architectural innovations.¹³ Sculptors and artists also came to Naples, or received commissions for works to be sent to Naples. Some of the most important Italian painters and sculptors worked for members of the royal family during this period.¹⁴ The Roman painter Pietro Cavallini (c. 1250-1330) is documented in Naples in June and December of 1308;¹⁵ although no specific works can be securely attributed to him, his style is evident in the frescoes of the Brancaccio chapel in San Domenico Maggiore, the Sant'Aspreno Chapel in the Duomo and in the paintings of pairs of standing prophets in Santa Maria Donna Regina.¹⁶ Moreover, his style had an enormous impact on the local art of Naples until the arrival of Giotto in 1328.¹⁷ The Sienese painter Simone Martini (c. 1284-1344) seems never to have visited Naples.¹⁸ However, he painted the *Saint Louis of Toulouse* panel, which was most likely a royal commission to celebrate the canonization in 1317 of Saint Louis of Toulouse, second son of Charles II of Anjou

and Mary of Hungary, who had renounced his claim to the throne of Naples in order to join the Franciscan order.¹⁹ The Sienese Tino di Camaino (c. 1280–1337), sculptor of the tomb of Emperor Henry VII (1315),²⁰ moved to Naples in 1323 and stayed until his death in 1337. In Naples he worked as an architect and completed the tombs of Catherine of Austria, Charles of Calabria, Maria of Valois and Mary of Hungary (with the help of Neapolitan sculptor Gagliardo Primario).²¹ Humanist writers also visited Naples, including Petrarch and Boccaccio. Petrarch went to Naples in 1341 and again in 1343.²² Boccaccio (1313–75) lived there between 1326 and 1341, during which time he studied canon law and wrote *Filostrato*, *Teseida*, *Filocolo* and *La caccia di Diana*.²³

Naples can, therefore, be characterized as a major centre of Italian artistic production and innovation. But the perceived lack of highly skilled local artists who could compete with the cachet of artists from outside the *regno* is an issue that still needs to be addressed.²⁴ As noted above, one possible response may be grounded in the enormous influence of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*.²⁵ Do we know of the Neapolitan Gagliardo Primario, for example, only because he collaborated with the Sienese Tino di Camaino on the tomb of Mary of Hungary (1323–25)? Ferdinando Bologna's magisterial work *I Pittori alla Corte Angioina di Napoli, 1266–1414*²⁶ brings to light the names and/or works of several Neapolitan artists who received important commissions in their native city: the Maestro di San Salvatore Piccolo a Capua, active in the 1290s and already familiar with the innovations of San Francesco in Assisi; the Maestro di Giovanni Barrile, possibly a disciple of Giotto, active in the 1330s, who decorated the chapter house in Santa Chiara; and Roberto Oderisi (active c. 1330–82). Oderisi painted the frescoes and altarpiece of Santa Maria Incoronata,²⁷ built under the patronage of Joanna I of Naples (r. 1343–82),²⁸ as well as a *Man of Sorrows* (c. 1354) now in the Fogg Art Museum (plate 3).²⁹ In spite of their achievements, there is no indication that these Neapolitan artists were sent or invited to other artistic centres. It is possible that their names were already lost by the sixteenth century and therefore that their works could not be included in biography-based histories.

Stephen J. Campbell has commented that the art-historical paradigm of art patronage in late medieval and renaissance Italy is based on the model of capitalistic city republics like Florence and Venice, and that in order to understand art production and the role of artists within the courts it is necessary to adjust the paradigm to include values beyond the monetary.³⁰

The term *familiaris* was one of the benefits that courtiers, including artists, might earn while associated with a court. With that title came prestige and a higher social status, which in turn made the courtier more desirable to other employers. Giotto, for example, *familiaris* at the Angevin court in Naples from 1328 until 1333, was appointed *capomaestro* of all civic projects when he returned to Florence.³¹ In her chapter on the Neapolitan works of the Roman painter Cavallini and the Florentine painter Giotto, Cathleen Fleck addresses the ways in which famous and highly sought-after painters were expected to function in Naples as court artists. Both Cavallini and Giotto had forged careers in which they worked in a number of important artistic centres – Cavallini in Assisi, Rome and Naples, and Giotto in Padua, Assisi, Florence, Rome and Naples. While attempting to draw Cavallini out from the shadow of Vasari's negative judgement, Fleck demonstrates that both Cavallini and Giotto performed similar functions as court



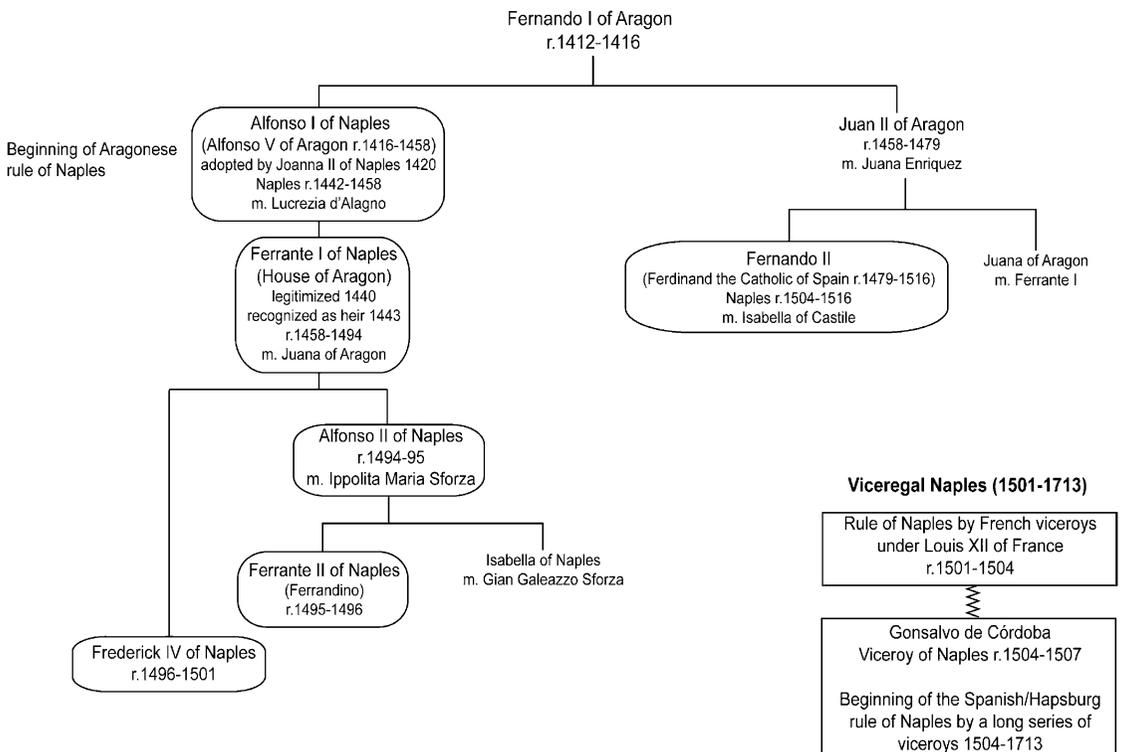
3 Roberto Oderisi, *The Man of Sorrows*, c. 1354. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 62.2 x 38 cm. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, Fogg Art Museum, Gift of Grenville L. Winthrop, Class of 1886, 1937.49. Photo: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

artists. Not only did they decorate the new Angevin palaces and chapels, they were also employed to create a distinctive Angevin style, a ‘nationalist court language’ which visually established Naples as a strong ally, firstly with Assisi and Rome under the papacy (via Cavallini), and later (via Giotto) with Florence, where the Angevins had strong financial ties, especially after the papacy had moved to Avignon. Fleck undertakes in-depth investigations into the ways in which Cavallini and Giotto, both at home and at the Angevin court, were used by their patrons as visual ambassadors, as public relations image-makers, and as cultural capital.

THE ARAGONESE PERIOD

The role of artists as members of the court, employed to promote the identity of the court internationally, continued under Aragonese rule. Works by artists of the Florentine Renaissance, such as Donatello and Michelozzo, had already started to arrive in Naples during the reign of Joanna II of Anjou (r. 1414–35), as has been noted by both Tanja Michalsky and Nicolas Bock. The last Angevin king, René of Anjou, was defeated by Alfonso V of Aragon, who ruled Naples as Alfonso I from 1442 until 1458.³² Naples during the Aragonese period, which lasted until 1501

The Rulers of Naples (1442-1501)



4 Diagram of the rulers of Naples (1442–1501). Diagram: Janis Elliott and Gilbert Jones, Texas Tech University.

(plate 4), has been described as ‘one of the most outstanding and influential cultural centres of renaissance Italy’.³³ Court patronage prioritized humanistic concerns. Alfonso I identified himself with the ‘good’ Roman emperors, especially Trajan and Hadrian, who were of Spanish origin, and he paid enormous prices to obtain classical texts with which he formed a great library.³⁴ Alfonso I, also known as ‘the Magnanimous’, gained his epithet through his generous support of artists and literary figures.³⁵ An epitaph claimed that Alfonso ‘called in the most noble sculptors, painters, architects, and craftsmen from all over Italy, nay from the whole world, with great employment and fees’.³⁶ Antonio Galateo, the author of the epitaph, clearly wished to present Alfonso as a great patron. Yet his encomium was not without foundation. Pisanello, an artist who worked extensively for the

major Italian renaissance courts, including Ferrara, Mantua and Milan, came to Naples in 1448/49 and may have stayed until his death in 1455.³⁷ Those artists on whom the title *familiaris* was bestowed, such as Pisanello, were regarded as members of the ruler’s inner circle. Their salaries were set at the discretion of the prince, as rewards for their *virtù*, or special talent, and some artists were knighted so that they might represent the court as diplomats when sent abroad.³⁸ At the Neapolitan court of Alfonso I Pisanello received a salary of 400 ducats per year, compared to Cosimo Tura’s salary of 60 ducats at the court of Ferrara.³⁹ Although he was known elsewhere as a painter, in Naples Pisanello appears to have designed artillery, embroideries, an elaborate silver service and portrait medals; there is no evidence that he received painting commissions.⁴⁰

Patronage within Naples covered a wide spectrum of taste and type. The humanist revival of interest in ancient Greek and Roman models of ethics, for example, contributed towards the emulation of imperial Rome in some commissions. Alfonso I collected ancient coins.⁴¹ This was perhaps related to his interest in the power of heraldic devices to denote identity, as well as to the tradition of gift exchange among the ancient emperors. In Pisanello’s series of three medals of Alfonso, the king is portrayed on the obverse of each, in the manner of imperial coins: Alfonso, identified by his aquiline nose, appears in profile, surrounded by Latin inscriptions proclaiming either his virtues or his dominions.⁴² The second of the three medals of Alfonso (plate 5), dated c. 1449–50, describes Alfonso as *divus* (ascribing to him the status of a deity in the tradition of Roman emperors) and declares him to be king of Aragon, Sicily and



5 Pisanello, *Alfonso v of Aragon, 1394–1458, King of Naples and Sicily 1442*, obverse, c. 1449. Bronze (late cast), diameter 11 cm. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1957.14.613.a. Photo: © Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Valencia. The reverse alludes to his triumphal entry into Naples in 1443 when, in addition to the king's imperial carriage, there had been a long train of floats bearing personifications of the Virtues and allegorical figures – in conscious imitation of imperial processions.⁴³

Pisanello was almost certainly called to Naples because of his ability to emulate the art of the Caesars and create an ancient imperial aura around the figure of Alfonso I. However, another factor may have contributed to his court appointment. Artists often found work by referral. Drawings attest to Pisanello's presence in Ferrara during the Council of Ferrara in 1439.⁴⁴ Pisanello worked for both the Gonzaga in Mantua and the Este in Ferrara – allies through the marriage of Leonello d'Este (1407–50) to Margherita Gonzaga in 1435. After Margherita's death, Leonello married Alfonso I's illegitimate daughter, Maria of Aragon, in 1444. Pisanello made a portrait medal of Leonello to celebrate the occasion. On the obverse Leonello is identified as the son-in-law of Alfonso by the letters above his head: GE R AR, standing for 'Gener Regis Aragonum'.⁴⁵ Not long afterwards Pisanello found his way to Naples. Just as they had under Angevin rule, the social networks between ruling and elite families appear to have created the patterns of patronage which explain how and why some artists moved from one place to the next.

In this volume Aislinn Loconte considers the movement of artists who made use of these social networks: Vasari, for example, received his first commission in Naples through his contacts with the Olivetan order in Pistoia and Milan. Bianca de Divitiis investigates the communication between patrons by questioning the influence Diomede Carafa's association with the Medici, *de facto* rulers of Florence, may have had on the construction of the Palazzo Carafa in the mid-fifteenth century. She argues for a greater emphasis on local influences. The expectations and taste of patrons in fifteenth-century Naples is further explored by Tanja Michalsky, who concentrates on 'formal and social distinctions in late quattrocento Neapolitan tombs'. Those who commissioned tombs in Naples were able to draw on a wide variety of precedents by sculptors trained locally and outside the kingdom. Michalsky makes a case for a complex evaluation of the tastes of patrons in Naples during this period, based on a nuanced understanding of their ability to see and understand differences in style.

The artistic influx into Naples did not exclusively comprise influences from the Italian peninsula. During the reigns of both René of Anjou (r. 1435–42) and Alfonso I of Aragon artists came to Naples from Dalmatia, Provence and Spain⁴⁶ and a number of architectural projects completed during the Aragonese period display Catalan influences. Trading relationships between southern France, Spain and the Kingdom of Naples facilitated the movement of artists and artistic influences. Artists who worked at the Neapolitan court also moved on to other locations. Antonello da Messina (c. 1430–79), a painter from Sicily, worked for some years in Naples and went on to a successful career in Venice.⁴⁷ Francesco Laurana (c. 1430–c. 1502), from Dalmatia, began his career in Naples as an assistant to Pietro da Milano (c. 1410–73), with relief carvings on the lower portion of the entrance arch of Castel Nuovo, renamed Castel Aragonese.⁴⁸ The arch, which commemorates Alfonso I's triumphal entry into Naples, was a major architectural and sculptural achievement involving artists from Catalonia, Milan, Pisa and Rome. Laurana was present in Naples for relatively long periods in the 1460s,

1470s, 1480s and 1490s.⁴⁹ After Alfonso's death, he was called to France to the court of Duke René of Anjou and Provence, former king of Naples. During a long career he undertook commissions in Florence, Provence and Sicily, undoubtedly as a result of recommendations within the courtly network. In turn, works by French painters were also commissioned for the Neapolitan royal family: Jean Bourdichon, for example, painted a *Madonna and Saints* for Ferrante I of Aragon, Alfonso I's son and successor, who ruled from 1458 to 1494.⁵⁰

Frederick IV (r. 1496–1501) was the last Aragonese ruler of Naples (see plate 4). With the death of René's nephew, Charles of Maine, in 1486 the long-standing Angevin claim to Naples passed to the French crown. Louis XII of France (r. 1498–1515) then pursued the claim and ruled Naples during a brief interlude from 1501 to 1504. However, the treaties of Blois (1504–05) gave Naples and Sicily to the Spanish Hapsburgs, who ruled the two kingdoms through viceroys – one at Palermo, one at Naples – for the one and a half centuries that followed.⁵¹

THE SPANISH HAPSBURG PERIOD

As part of the Spanish kingdom until 1713, Naples grew to become the second most populated city in Europe. In the first half of the sixteenth century, it was the largest city under Spanish control.⁵² By 1600 it had an estimated population of more than 300,000, and this rose to more than 400,000 before the plague of 1656.⁵³ Important artists continued to come to Naples in search of commissions just as they had done during the Angevin and Aragonese periods. From within Italy came Marco Pino and Giovanni Tommaso Malvito. Luis Vargas journeyed from Spain, and Flemish artists, including Dirck Hendricksz Centen and Cornelis de Smet, also received commissions in Naples. Increasingly many foreign artists settled and established careers there. The Spanish painter Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652) lived in the city from 1616 until his death.⁵⁴ Artemisia Gentileschi (1593–1652/3) spent most of the last twenty years of her life in Naples (1630–c. 1638 and 1642–1652/3).⁵⁵ Moreover, during the Spanish Hapsburg period local artists also began to gain international reputations. Neapolitan artists such as Andrea Vaccaro (1605–70), Salvator Rosa (1615–73) and Luca Giordano (1634–1705) found commissions in Naples and also worked abroad. Luca Giordano, for example, studied first in Naples and then worked in Rome, Florence and Venice. He spent ten years in Madrid (1692–1702) most of that time in the employ of the Spanish king Charles II (r. 1665–1700).⁵⁶ The concentration of artists from very diverse backgrounds is discussed by Aislinn Loconte in the context of Vasari's evaluation of art in Naples in the mid-sixteenth century. Whilst in Naples Vasari worked hard to gain commissions from the Spanish viceroy Pedro Álvarez de Toledo (r. 1532–53) and was partially successful. Nonetheless, he came away from Naples with a negative view of much of the art he had seen there. Loconte explores the reasons for Vasari's perceptions and contends that they are rooted within his training in the less cosmopolitan centre of Florence.

The Angevins and Aragonese monarchs had all made the Kingdom of Naples their home. They had maintained their capital in Naples, had invested in its beautification, and had created dynastic identities within the city. Under Spanish domination, the centre of political and military power shifted away from Naples

to Madrid.⁵⁷ However, Naples continued to be a centre for artists and architects. The viceroys, who were often appointed to Naples after they had completed a diplomatic tour in Rome, commissioned or purchased paintings and sculptures to send back to Spain, either to their own palaces or to the religious foundations they supported at home, or, particularly during the reign of Philip IV (r. 1621–1665), to the king, in order to gain his favour.⁵⁸ In some cases they obtained art by unscrupulous means and left their short-lived mark on Naples by stripping the city of its treasures.⁵⁹ Often they divided their patronage between Naples and Spain. Two years after an outbreak of plague decimated the population of Naples, Gaspar de Bracamonte, the Count of Peñaranda, viceroy from 1658 until 1664, contributed paintings by Andrea Vaccaro and Luca Giordano to the new cemetery church of Santa Maria del Pianto in Naples, but not without also donating works to the Carmelite monastery he had founded in Salamanca, Spain.⁶⁰ However, the viceroys did not only look towards Spain. Eleonora of Toledo, the daughter of Pedro Álvarez de Toledo, married Cosimo I de' Medici in 1539. As Loconte notes, Pedro de Toledo was an active commissioner during his time as viceroy of Naples. Via Toledo, one of the main thoroughfares of Naples, was set out in 1536 on his orders.⁶¹ He also founded the church of San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli in which he and his first wife, Maria Ossovio Pimental, are buried (plate 6).⁶² His tomb was sculpted by the Neapolitan Giovanni da Nola (1488–1558), who had reputedly studied in Rome under Michelangelo.⁶³ Among many other commissions da Nola also created the magnificent tomb of Viceroy Ramón de Cardona, who died in Naples in 1522 but was buried in the cathedral of his native city of Bellpuig in Catalonia. The tomb was sculpted in Naples and then transported and reassembled in Bellpuig.⁶⁴

As it had been in the fifteenth century, the display of 'magnificence' and 'splendour' was an essential component of artistic patronage in sixteenth-century Naples. Grand buildings with rich, decorative details, exotic marble revetments, intricate wood intarsia, expensive tapestries, sumptuous fabrics and lavish entertainments all served the purpose of declaring the patron's power and international status. At the same time, such displays served to promote dynastic continuity and, at a popular level, to instil civic pride. Magnificence was also directed towards patronage of religious institutions in order to demonstrate piety.⁶⁵ From the sixteenth century, religious guides to Naples, such as those by Pietro de Stefano (1560) and Cesare d'Engenio Caracciolo (1624), celebrated the rich heritage of Naples through descriptions of its churches and relics.⁶⁶ Some commentators disapproved of the proliferation of religious institutions. Pietro Giannone (1676–1748) remarked that 'it is difficult to find in Naples a street without a monastery on it.'⁶⁷ Yet, the very number of religious institutions bore witness to the importance of the church in Neapolitan life. In the 1580s, for example, there were more than ninety-two religious houses in the city, the wealthiest of which were lavishly decorated.⁶⁸ John Nicolas Napoli investigates the use of marble revetments in late sixteenth-century Naples through the work of Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1609). He argues that whilst Dosio also worked in Rome and Florence, his commissions in Naples responded to the city's particular situation as part of the expanding Spanish Hapsburg Empire. The use of magnificent marbles proclaimed the power of the church within Naples and made a strong statement on orthodoxy in the period immediately following the