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A Companion to the Renaissance in Southern Italy (1350–1600)

Edited by

Bianca de Divitiis

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Cover illustration: Reginaldo Pirano. Athens represented as the new city of Giulianova. Detail form Aristotle, Ethica Nicomachea. Vienna, Österreische Nationalbibliothek, Phil. gr. 4, fol. 8ov

Financial support for this *Companion* came from the ERC HistAntArtSI project (*Historical Memory, Antiquarian Culture and Artistic Patronage: Social Identities in the Centres of Southern Italy between the Medieval and Early Modern Period*), from the PRIN 2017 project *Renaissance in Southern Italy and in the Islands: Cultural Heritage and Technology* (2020-2023) and from the University of Naples Federico II. I am grateful to Gaetano Manfredi, Arturo De Vivo, and Matteo Lorito, Deans of the University of Naples Federico II, and Andrea Mazzucchi, Director of the Department of Humanities, for granting university funds towards the publication of this book. A particular thanks goes to Craig Kallendorf, Ingrid de Smet and David Marsh, the three series editors who have followed this project in its making, and especially Brill editors Arjan van Dijck, Ivo Romein and Bart Nijsten for their magnificent work. The essays for this volume were submitted at the end of 2020.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022048920

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2212-3091
ISBN 978-90-04-38417-0 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-52637-2 (e-book)

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This book is dedicated to Sandro, Elio, Emiliano, and Gigliola Rocco, my family but also my alternative research group

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Acknowledgements

The volume partly derives from two phases of my own research experience: first the work on antiquarian culture and artistic patronage in Renaissance Naples, and subsequently research on the Renaissance southern Italy. This latter research was carried out in the context of the project funded by the European Research Council entitled *Historical Memory, Antiquarian Culture and Artistic Patronage: Social Identities in the Centres of Southern Italy between the Medieval and Early Modern Period* (HistAntArtSI) with a transdisciplinary research group of scholars who over a period of more than five years (2011–2016) engaged in a systematic programme of detailed on-site surveys across most of the former Kingdom's territory, in the process shedding new light on the institutional, artistic, and literary aspects of life in its numerous urban centres. This double experience created an awareness of the existence not only of the multiple ties of reciprocity and bilateral exchange between the capital and the rest of the Kingdom, but also of a network of centres whose urban life, humanistic culture, and artistic creativity flourished quite independently of Naples. Some of the former members of the HistAntArtSI group—Fulvio Lenzo, Lorenzo Miletti, Francesco Senatore and Pierluigi Terenzi—have made notable contributions to this volume, while several other authors of essays for this *Companion* were also the project's constant interlocutors: among these David Abulafia and Giuliana Vitale deserve a special mention for having encouraged throughout many years these research projects on southern Italy. Other contributors working in a variety of disciplines were invited specifically to take part in the preparation of the *Companion*, and to undertake the difficult challenge of giving a systematic overview of an area which had hitherto been comparatively unexplored in their fields, thus discovering sources and constructing new narratives. The two-day seminar held in Naples in March 2019 with all the authors was an important stage in the preparation of the *Companion*, as it offered the opportunity to consolidate the volume's interpretative key, reinforce bonds or create new ones between authors, compare different approaches and methods, and identify possible points of intersection, thus weaving together the threads of the general account. A fundamental role was played by Stephen Parkin, whose deep knowledge of Italian culture has made him much more than a translator, providing an invaluable contribution to the entire scholarly and editorial process.

Alongside thanking all the authors who have contributed to the volume, particular thanks go to Sara Bova, Francesco Caglioti, Stefania Castellana, Tito d'Arcangelo, Fulvio Lenzo, Lorenzo Miletti, Antonio Milone, Jessica Ottobre, Alessio Russo, Maddalena Spagnolo, Francesco Senatore, and Maria Vittoria Spissu for discussing over time this complex research publishing project.

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Introduction

Bianca de Divitiis

The history of southern Italy has long been interpreted and pre-judged through the prism of certain stereotypical images: a marginalised region characterised by political and economic backwardness, social immobility, and cultural isolation. Such stereotypes, reinforced through popular folklore, travellers' accounts, literature and, in the 20th century, film, have often been applied anachronistically to what is a long, extremely varied, and highly complex history. One consequence of this approach has been the common assumption that during the 15th and 16th centuries southern Italy remained largely untouched by—and indeed because of its circumstances precluded from—the multifaceted cultural, artistic, and social phenomenon known as the Italian Renaissance.

The new essays in this volume will attempt for the first time to introduce readers unfamiliar with southern Italy to different aspects of the history of this vast and significant area of Europe situated at the centre of the Mediterranean during the 15th and 16th centuries.

In the 15th century, southern Italy corresponded to the Kingdom of Naples: this was the only monarchy in the entire Italian peninsula, and the dependent territories of the Neapolitan sovereigns alone formed more than a third of the present-day national territory. This territorial coherence and political unity continued throughout the 16th century and beyond, when southern Italy was included in the possessions of the Spanish Empire, maintaining its own identity under the rule of Viceroys. Despite its uninterrupted political importance during this period, southern Italy has long remained at the margins of international historiography on the Italian and European Renaissance.

Between the mid-19th and early 20th century a number of monumental surveys which considered the whole of mainland southern Italy were carried out: Theodor Mommsen's *Corpus* of ancient Latin inscriptions, the works of Heinrich Wilhelm Schulz and Émile Bertaux on medieval art, and Eberhard Gothein's survey of Renaissance culture.[1] All these works, each on specific historical and cultural aspects of southern Italy, were based on extensive campaigns of exploration and investigation throughout the territory. Yet, since their publication, apart from Roberto Pane's volumes on *Il Rinascimento nell' Italia*

1 Schulz 1860; Mommsen 1852; Mommsen 1883; Gothein 1886 [1915]; Bertaux 1903 [1968–1978].

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meridionale (1975–1977), which are mainly focused on architecture in Naples, and in part on the region of Puglia, no further attempt has been made to consider the territory of southern Italy as a whole and in all its complexity.[2]

Gothein's and Pane's work on the history of the Renaissance in southern Italy have remained isolated and are in any case far in the past. The period and the territory as a whole have continued to be affected by a lack of studies based on comprehensive surveys and detailed research. This is even more strikingly the case if we compare it with the growing field of international current research, across different disciplines, on the history of Naples, the Kingdom's capital, which alongside Italian scholarship, has over the last decades benefited from many contributions made by non-Italian scholars.[3]

The neglect of southern Italy within historiography is partly due to the very nature of Naples itself which, with its exceptional demographic, political, and cultural status, has produced an implicit and harmful comparison with the other cities and towns of southern Italy, relegating them to the role of 'minor' centres. Furthermore, this enduring neglect of the vast lands of mainland southern Italy beyond Naples mainly derives from a dogmatic image of the area as being uniformly monarchical and rural, condemned to lag behind the rest of Italy and Europe in political, economic, and cultural terms; an area inhabited by subjects, rather than citizens, who were incapable of contributing to the development of the new humanistic culture. This image, which has long conditioned the evaluation of southern Italian history even on the part of scholars who are themselves from the region, is the consequence of both an overly uniform notion of the Italian Renaissance, conventionally seen as mainly Florentine and Roman, and the historiographical approach in the 19th and 20th centuries, which anachronistically projected the more recent situation of southern Italy and the condition of backwardness implied by the so-called 'Questione Meridionale' onto a more distant past. The lack of direct

2 Pane 1975–1977.

3 The main foreign scholarship on Angevin Naples are: Enderlein 1997; Michalsky 2000; Bock 2001; Warr 2010; Kelly 2003; Bruzelius 2004; Bruzelius and Tronzo 2011; Casteen 2015; Kozlowsky 2022. For Naples during the Aragonese period see: Ryder 1976; Hersey 1969; Hersey 1973; Blunt 1975 [2006]; Atlas 1985; Nichols 1988; Ryder 1990; Beyer 2000; Ascher 2001; Ascher 2002; Barreto 2013; Bremenkamp 2021. On Spanish-period Naples see: Willette 1989; Hills 2004; Astarita 2004; Hernando Sánchez 2008 (as well as many other works by the same author); De Cavi 2009; Marino 2011; Thomas 2013; Hendrix 2015; Napoli 2015; Mauro 2020. For edited volumes on Naples in English see: Chenault Porter 1993; Warr and Elliott 2010; Calaresu and Hills 2013; Astarita 2013; Musto 2013; Buongiovanni and Hughes 2015; Hall and Willette 2017; Bremenkamp and Kozlowski 2018; McGregor and Nichols 2019.

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knowledge of the territory and an ignorance of the real levels of urban development and cultural vitality in this region during the Renaissance period has over time only served to entrench such negative perceptions.

However, over the last thirty years, new studies have begun to dismantle the outdated and misleading vision of southern Italy during the 15th and 16th centuries, shedding new light on the vitality of its urban network and reconnecting the long-standing and negative rift in our vision of the history of local centres with the history of the Kingdom as a whole, as well as with that of the rest of Italy and Europe.

In particular the studies on the Kingdom of Naples in the Italian, European, and Mediterranean context undertaken by Mario Del Treppo, David Abulafia, and John Marino, and the works which followed on regional trade, economic change, state and local institutions have progressively demolished the sharp distinction which has always been made between a feudal South and a post-feudal North composed of republics and proto-absolutist lordships, and brought to light the many points of intersection which exist between the Kingdom, the northern states of the peninsula, and other areas of Italy and Europe.[4] In this context, new studies have started to reveal the real territorial, social, political, and religious complexity of southern Italy, by analysing the development of the autonomous local governments known as the *universitates*, which depended either directly on the monarch or on a baron, the existence of authentic regional states in the possession of the most ancient and powerful baronial families, and the social patterns and mobility of the local elites both within the cities and across the territory more generally.[5] These recent trends in historiography have in turn led to new studies which have gradually uncovered the specific character of cultural activity and production in southern Italy, establishing new terms of comparison with the other more familiar centres of the Renaissance. In particular, research into literary production has revealed an extremely complex picture, in which we find a conspicuously strong philological approach to the rediscovery and study of ancient texts, together with an intense production, both in Latin and the vernacular, of works on the history of the Kingdom, moral and political treatises, as well as on chorography, which notably contributed to international debate and influenced the devel-

4 Del Treppo 1972; Abulafia 1977; Del Treppo 1985; Marino 1988; Abulafia 2009; Sakellariou 2012; Somaini 2013; Senatore 2018.

5 Vitale 1980; Visceglia 1988; Vitale 2003; Senatore 2008; D'Andrea and Marino 2022; Petracca 2022. Much relevant work on the cities of Campania during the Middle Ages has been carried out by the 'Centro interuniversitario per la storia delle città campane nel medioevo'.

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opment of Renaissance thought.[6] Furthermore, in the last ten years studies of antiquarian and artistic culture have brought to light a large number of new works of architecture, sculpture, painting and manuscript illumination, revealing what was a highly sophisticated and self-conscious creative phenomenon, alert to the recent trends arriving from elsewhere but at the same time with its own characteristic and in some cases pioneering features.[7] In this context, an important contribution to the advancement of research was made by the transdisciplinary project funded by the European Research Council *Historical Memory, Antiquarian Culture and Artistic Patronage: Social Identities in the Centres of Southern Italy between the Medieval and Early Modern Period* (HistAntArtSI; 2011–2016), which undertook the first systematic campaign of on-site surveys across most of the former Kingdom's territory since the time of Schulz, Mommsen, and Bertaux, and which succeeded in shedding new light on the institutional, artistic, and literary aspects of life in its urban centres.[8]

All this recent scholarship taken as a whole has shown how, on all levels, vitality was not confined to royal or viceroyal patronage in Naples, but was instead diffused across the whole of southern Italy, and was actively sponsored by engaged local elites, which included members of noble and non-noble families, coming from very different historical backgrounds and characterised by differing political, economic and cultural status, and with a widely varied range of international connections. Studies have also shown the existence not only of the multiple ties of reciprocity and bilateral exchange between the capital and the rest of the Kingdom, but also of a network of centres whose urban life, humanistic culture, and artistic creativity flourished quite independently from Naples.

The present *Companion to the Renaissance in Southern Italy* aims for the first time to present both a general survey of the most recent research on the history and culture of the centres of southern Italy between the 15th and 16th centuries, and insights into the ground-breaking debates which are taking place on wider themes such as the definition of the city, continuity and discontinuity at the turn of the sixteenth century, and the effects of dynastic changes from

6 Vecce 1998; Cappelli 2012, Delle Donne 2015. Bentley 1987; Deramaix 1990; Kidwell 1991; Kidwell 1993; Milburn 2003; Deramaix 2016; Pontano (ed. Bistagne) 2008. Kelly 2011; Soranzo 2014; Furstenberg-Levi 2016; Roick 2017. The work of the international research centre 'Centro europeo di studi su umanesimo e rinascimento aragonese' (www.cesura.info.it) has been significant in this context.

7 Caglioti 2000; Caglioti 2002; D'Urso 2007; de Divitiis 2015; *Il Rinascimento visto da Sud* 2019; D'Ovidio, van Gastel and Michalsky 2020.

8 For the ERC project HistAntArtSI see the website and online database www.histantartsi.eu.

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the Angevin and Aragonese Kingdom to the Spanish Viceroyalty. The volume can be seen to some extent as following the line of research opened up by Brill's *Companion to Early Modern Naples* edited by Tommaso Astarita (2013), the broad transdisciplinary approach of which it shares.[9] At the same time, it differs radically in its focus by taking into consideration the network of cities and towns throughout the mainland territory of southern Italy, thus notably broadening our picture of the territory far beyond Naples and revealing the very particular nature of Renaissance culture across the region. In order to rediscover the specific urban, political, social, and cultural character of the cities and towns across this vast European region at the centre of the Mediterranean and to overturn the old and inadequate categories of 'centre' and 'periphery', the essays here do not take Naples as the main object of their study and analysis but instead as a term of comparison and measure of distance within a new polycentric image of southern Italy. Again, the book does not include Sicily, today considered to be part of southern Italy, because, as we shall see, it was only officially part of the rest of southern Italy for a very limited period during the Middle Ages. This discourse is particularly relevant within the chronological frame of the volume, which covers the centuries between 1350 and 1600, the period between the two main crises which invested both southern Italy and Europe as a whole, the 14th-century political crisis after the death of Robert the Wise (1343) of the Angevin monarchy which ruled over southern Italy as well as the demographic crisis in the wake of the Black Death (1346–1352), which affected the whole of the continent, and the 17th-century crisis of the Spanish Empire, which would open the way to a different set of political dynamics, together with the financial crisis which overtook the cities of southern Italy. As will be seen from the next section of this Introduction, in political terms such a chronological span corresponds to the period where we see southern Italy pass from the last phases of Angevin rule (1350–1442) to become part the 'federation' of the Aragonese dominions under Alfonso the Magnanimous (1442–1458), and then an independent Kingdom of Naples under the Aragonese Trastàmara dynasty (1458–1501) to conclude with its incorporation into the Crown of Spain, ruled over by viceroys.

Some aspects of the present volume deserve an explanation. Compared to a *Companion* on the Renaissance in one of the centres of central and northern Italy and also to the volume on Naples itself, all of which could rely upon a stratified and consolidated literature, for most of southern Italy the historiographical situation which needed to be synthesized was extremely fragmented.

9 Astarita 2013.

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The lack of an established and authoritative literature in the field has made the creation of this *Companion* both challenging and fascinating. Just as Alfonso of Aragon's court was enlivened by a range of different personalities, this volume, seen as a whole, can be thought of as a laboratory in historical investigation where scholars from different disciplines and applying different methods interact in order to tackle the historiography of this complex and variegated region. Rather than attempting to offer a complete panoramic view of the Renaissance in southern Italy or providing an account of a finished project, the *Companion* is a photograph of a situation which is *in fieri*. Including much original research and different heterogenous and discursive tones, the strength of this *Companion* lies more in the problems it opens up than in those it solves, in the hope of stimulating and encouraging further new research.

In this context of experimentation, some preliminary choices had to be made on how to construct the narrative, privileging certain themes rather than others and offering detailed insights into topics which were seen as important, such as the Kingdom's intense urban life, the complexity of its political organization, economic networks, and social patterns, as well as its notable intellectual life and production, all themes which help to establish terms of comparability with other contexts outside southern Italy.

Before entering into the detail of the volume and in connection with the issue of comparability, one further explanation is due for the use of the far from neutral term 'Renaissance' in the title of this book and throughout the essays. The designation 'Renaissance' has now for a long time been considered by scholars as an inadequate and outdated category because of the numerous limitations and assumptions which have come to be seen as implicit in its use: the existence of a Florentine canon, a negative sense of the Middle Ages, and a monolithic notion of antiquity and of the past as exclusively to do with ancient Rome. In recent decades studies have increasingly questioned and challenged such definitions in terms of chronology, geography, and style: important works on temporality and anachronism have posited the existence of multiple temporalities and a sense of complexity in the prevailing model of a well-ordered succession of historical periods, from Antiquity, to Medieval, to Renaissance.[10] Moreover, studies on antiquarianism have begun to consider the diversity of the concept of 'antiquity', calling into question the attribution of such categories as 'authentic', 'copy' and 'fake' or any notion of an archaeologically 'correct' recovery of the antique in the early modern era. The surge of interest in regional

10 Tafuri 1992. For a general overview of these problems and updated bibliography see Christian and de Divitiis 2018. For research on temporality see Sankovitch 2006; Nagel and Wood 2010.

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histories has broadened the scope of research on the 15th and 16th centuries and brought to light the existence of multiple responses to a new *all'antica* culture, which could vary widely across Europe as a result of the political and social conditions of specific cities and regions, of local conceptions of the ancient past, as well as the strength of medieval traditions.[11] In this way the concept or category of 'Renaissance' has begun to take into account tensions, contradictions, and discontinuities, and as a result not only retains, in our view, its usefulness but also remains a necessary term in the context of this *Companion*. It directly challenges long-lasting prejudices which have affected the consideration of southern Italy and re-establishes a more balanced vision of this area in the wider picture of a European Renaissance.

The *Companion* is organized in four main sections in which contributions have not been organized paratactically, following the usual division by disciplinary areas, but by themes, in the effort to interrelate individual lines of research.

The section 'Context' begins with David Abulafia's intriguing account of the network of political relationships, as well as of the economic and cultural ties of the Kingdom of Naples between the 14th and 16th century, revealing first the Kingdom as a major player in Italian politics, and then considering its role in the broad European and Mediterranean context, looking north to its relations with Flanders and England, southwards to Africa, eastwards to Hungary, Ragusa, the Balkans, Albania, and the Turks, and finally westwards to its intricate ties with Spain. With Pierluigi Terenzi's essay we begin to penetrate the internal macrostructures of the Kingdom's system of government and administration, following the dynastic changes, the evolution of the so-called Great Offices, the main juridical and fiscal institutions, the subdivision into provinces, the function of royal officials across the territory, as well as the role played by cities and feudal barons in the overall political picture. Eleni Sakellariou's contribution provides a ground-breaking view of the economic life of the Kingdom between the 15th and 16th century: by describing its distinctly agrarian character, the productive vigour of its primary goods and objects of bulk exchange, the network of seasonal fairs as well as the presence of both foreign merchants and groups of local entrepreneurs, this essay explains how the Kingdom was fully characteristic of the general growth trend in Europe and was part of a system in perpetual movement, which extended over the Mediterranean and much of Europe, thus challenging and countering with solid evidence the idea that southern Italy, in its supposed condition of

11 Corrain and Di Teodoro 2013; Burns and Mussolin 2013; Christian and de Divitiis 2018; Enenckel and Ottenheym 2018.

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dependency and exclusion from the wider European context, occupied a subordinate economic place. The same picture of the internal variety and complexity of southern Italy as a crossroads of different cultures emerges also from the socio-religious history of the Kingdom outlined in Pasquale Palmieri's essay: alongside a description of the Kingdom's complex ecclesiastical organization made up of a dense network of dioceses and parishes, as well as religious, lay and hybrid institutions, Palmieri outlines the encounters and conflicts of different religious cultures which marked the territory, paying particular attention to the delicate equilibrium between Christian and Muslims, as well as to the tension between orthodox beliefs and religious dissent within the context of the rise of the Counter-Reformation and the establishment of the Holy Office. The same degree of cultural complexity and liveliness emerges also from the linguistic system outlined with great thoroughness by Francesco Montuori, who for the first time undertakes an overall analysis of the different uses and perceptions of languages across the region, in the process revealing a dynamic picture where multiple contacts and exchanges determined the coexistence of local dialects, Latin, Tuscan, Catalan, and Spanish, and the only partial acceptance of Pietro Bembo's proposal to adopt 14th-century Florentine as a standard linguistic model. In conclusion and completion of this account of the overall context of southern Italy in this period, the part ends with Bianca de Divitiis and Fulvio Lenzo's essay on the knowledge and perception of the physical territory, which, with its many impressive natural features and monumental antiquities, attracted the attention of both local and foreign humanists, antiquarians, and architects and became the frequent object of literary descriptions, drawings, and maps, in both manuscript and print.

The essays which make up the next section on 'Urban Networks' lead us into the detail of the life of the Kingdom's towns and cities and the social patterns which existed on an urban and regional scale. The part opens with Francesco Senatore's innovative analysis of the characteristics and differences which lay behind the definitions of cities, towns, and urban districts within the Kingdom's historical perspective and of the complex functioning of the urban administration and of the local municipal government, known as *universitates*. Giuliana Vitale's essay introduces a new methodological approach to the investigation of how social patterns over a long period interacted with urban spaces and offers important insights into the social and political aims which guided the choices of the local elites, the symbolic meanings of their residences and the role of the so-called *Seggi*, a term that indicated both the civic institutions to which various families belonged and the physical edifices themselves, that is the small vaulted loggias where these families used to meet to discuss questions concerning their own social group or the community as a whole. By taking

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us to the heart of the conflicts between opposing factions which marked the existence of cities and towns throughout the Kingdom, Francesco Storti's essay provides for the first time an outline of what was a central aspect of medieval and Renaissance urban culture, focusing in particular on the factional struggle between pro-Angevin and pro-Aragonese parties against the background of the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict which dominated the entire Italian peninsula, and exploring the topographical impact of violence or banishment. In the urban life that characterized southern Italian cities an important role was occupied by minorities: in a further essay David Abulafia offers a fascinating account of the Kingdom as a land full of ethnic and religious diversity, marked by the historical presence of Greek inhabitants and the meeting point of diverse Jewish populations, where Jews native to southern Italy or from Germany, Spain, and Portugal contributed to the Kingdom's cultural and economic life with their involvement in the textile industry, trade, medicine, printing, and scholarship, as well as moneylending. The material and artistic aspects of urban life are examined in detail in Fulvio Lenzo's essay on the Kingdom's ancient, medieval, and newly created infrastructures, such as roads, ports, and aqueducts, which not only provided the functional networks which serviced its cities and the overall territory, but were also regarded as magnificent feats of engineering which dominated urban and rural landscapes. The pioneering and refined character of artistic and architectural creation in southern Italy is further investigated in Bianca de Divitiis's essay, in which a new study on the works commissioned by individuals and families who belonged to baronial and professional elites, both in the cities which were part of the royal domain and in feudal territories, shows the highly specific and self-aware character of Renaissance art and architecture in the Kingdom, fully alert to the most advanced trends from across the Italian peninsula while at the same time independent and inventive in interpreting and adapting them.

An entire section entitled 'Histories and Narratives' is dedicated to the writing culture of the time and explores the different ways in which the past and the present were perceived and recounted, from the most elevated humanistic production to the popular oral expressions found in literary works and administrative texts. Fulvio Delle Donne opens this part with an overview of the strikingly specific and innovative character of historiographical writing in the Kingdom, from the abundance of historical works written in Latin by a group of prominent humanists of different nationalities who worked within the ambience of 'monarchical humanism' that emerged under Alfonso I and shaped Italian humanist historiography more generally. This essay also looks at the intense reflections on the Kingdom's glorious past, composed mainly in the vernacular, which were produced after southern Italy had become part of

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the Spanish territorial system. The refined qualities of humanistic writing is further explored in Guido Cappelli's essay on the production of ethical, political, military, and juridical treatises in the Kingdom, including the pioneering works created during the period of Aragonese rule and the fervid contributions of writers from across the Kingdom to contemporary debates on the career of arms, education, and the concept of nobility. Lorenzo Miletti's essay shifts the focus away from general historiographical and theoretical works relating to the Kingdom as a whole to the rich production of antiquarian descriptions and chorographical texts: with their use of ancient and medieval literary and material sources, these works, seen within the context of the production of local histories across Europe, can be regarded as modern and in some cases innovative, and shed new light on the vigorous humanistic culture found in many of the urban centres of southern Italy. With Chiara De Caprio's essay we hear for the first time voices from the lower and middle cultural ambiences in the Kingdom's urban centres: by analysing genres which maintain a link to oral culture or involved recitation or performance, as well as chronicles and administrative documents produced by writers who were far removed from the concerns of humanist historiography, De Caprio explores the interplay between orality and its emergence into writing in various cities and towns. The part ends with a further essay by Francesco Senatore on the connections between literacy and administration; with its unprecedented survey of primary schools which were funded by the *universitates* it represents an original contribution to work on education in Renaissance Italy, but it also investigates the role played by the literate in civic offices and analyses levels of literacy among citizens involved in the local administration, with a specific focus on the technical expertise of land surveyors known as *tavolari*.

The volume ends with a part dedicated to 'Cultural Patterns', which considers different aspects of cultural life and production in the centres of southern Italy. Taking Naples as its point of departure, Carlo Vecce's essay examines the extraordinary activity in the fields of Latin and vernacular literature, as well as the creation of new literary genres, such as pastoral narratives, prosimetric styles of poetry and narrative in centres such as Salerno, Ischia, Lecce, or Cosenza. The cultural fervor of southern Italy also emerges in the blossoming of philosophical investigation discussed by Guido Giglioni: after looking at the historiographical tradition, the essay stresses the diversity and novelty of the philosophical contribution in southern Italy between the 15th and 17th centuries which, leaving aside the prominent figures of Telesio, Bruno, and Campanella, included the overlapping traditions of natural and experimental philosophy as well as moral and political enquiry. The cultural picture is further widened by Antonietta Iacono's study on the humanistic academies

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found across the Kingdom: starting with the first 15th-century circles created in Naples by Antonio Beccadelli, known as Panormita, and by Giovanni Pontano, it draws a picture of the spread of humanistic cenacles and academies and sheds new light on how humanists circulated throughout the Kingdom in this period, from the island of Ischia in the bay of Naples down to southern Puglia and Calabria and north again to the borders with the Papal state. In his essay Giancarlo Abbamonte deals with the broad theme of libraries belonging to the Kingdom's elites, yet another manifestation of the important ideal of magnificence: departing from the model of the famous Aragonese royal library, Abbamonte's essay considers the book collections created by different types of feudal lord and by the humanist Aulo Giano Parrasio, in the process shedding new light on their owners' literary education and general cultural interests. In addition to early printed books, a conspicuous part of such libraries was made up of richly illuminated manuscripts, an aspect of book production which is comprehensively explored in the essay by Teresa D'Urso. D'Urso notably extends our knowledge of the art of illumination in southern Italy far beyond its links to royal patronage, revealing a wide variety of hitherto overlooked manuscripts commissioned by monasteries, feudal barons, and local administrations, and tracing a network of artists and illuminators that notably enhances our image of the Kingdom's polycentric cultural complexity. While many aspects of the cultural life of the Kingdom have until very recently received scant or no attention our understanding of others has been impeded by deeply rooted prejudices: Andrea Zezza takes up the difficult task of dealing with painting in southern Italy, the study of which has for centuries been heavily influenced by Giorgio Vasari's notoriously negative judgment on the Kingdom as a remote periphery with respect to the main Italian centres of activity, with no noteworthy works of visual art apart from a few exceptions imported from outside. Zezza succeeds in dismantling this uniformly negative vision by shedding light on the different contexts of production from local workshops found across southern Italy, with their varying degrees of dependence on or independence from the capital, as well as on the increasing demands of patrons for paintings which were attuned to the most recent trends in the visual arts and whose sophisticated tastes stimulated the arrival of works from outside the territory. The section ends with Dinko Fabris's fascinating survey of music in southern Italy during the Renaissance period: despite the notable lack of written sources, the author exploits iconographical and other forms of contemporary information to shed new light on both local and foreign composers and executant musicians, building a detailed picture of musical production in liturgical contexts, in the main feudal courts of the Kingdom and in the cities where music was also commissioned by citizens who did not belong to the nobility.

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In order to familiarize readers with southern Italy and help them through their reading of the essays, some extra tools are provided, beginning with a brief geographical and historical outline of the region from Antiquity to the end of the 16th century, which follows as the second part of this Introduction. In addition, readers will find as an appendix to the volume a glossary of specific terminology relating to the history and institutions of southern Italy and a list of the Angevin and Aragonese kings and Spanish viceroys from the early 15th century to the end of the 16th. A group of ten maps helps readers to visualize the geographical issues which are frequently raised throughout the *Companion*: after showing the Kingdom's division into twelve provinces (Map 1), a series of four maps illustrate the different centres referred to in the essays, divided into areas for ease of reference. While the present book was in process of being published a set of extremely accurate and useful maps representing the feudal possession in southern Italy in the late 15th century was published by Luciana Petracca in her work on the system of baronial power and incomes. In order to give an idea of the complex and changing geography of feudal possessions between the 15th and 16th century partial maps of different of feudal areas had been inserted in the volume, beginning with one, the result of Francesco Somaini's exhaustive research, which shows the extensive feudal territory owned by the Orsini Del Balzo family at the apex of their power and territorial expansion just before their fall in 1463 (Map 2).[12] A further map, elaborated by Antonio Milone, Bianca de Divitiis, and Maria Vittoria Spissu, shows eleven of the major feudal states which existed between 1465 and 1494 and which are repeatedly referred to throughout the volume; this map partly illustrates the fragmentation of Puglia in the aftermath of Orsini Del Balzo rule and the large territories ruled over by baronial families such as the Sanseverino of Salerno, Sanseverino of Calabria, Del Balzo, and Acquaviva (Map 3).[13] A map showing the new feudal geography which emerged during the 16th century when southern Italy became part of the Spanish system, a period in which several families became extinct and new ones arose, including families originally from the Iberian peninsula or from other territories of the Spanish Empire, remains a requirement.[14]

With its essays, bibliographies, illustrations, maps, and appendices, the *Companion to the Renaissance in Southern Italy* (1350–1600) offers for the first time a substantial counterpart to the vast range of research literature on the Renaissance in central and northern Italy and aims to establish a balanced and com-

12 Somaini 2013, tav. IX. I thank the author for allowing me to reproduce his map. See Petracca 2022.

13 The map was re-elaborated departing from the work of Canali and Galati 2014 (2015).

14 Maps between the 16th and 18th centuries can be found in Cirillo 2011.

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posite picture of this area between the late medieval and early modern period, a picture which more coherently belongs to the regional histories which are currently being revealed throughout Italy and Europe. It has been conceived as a guide map to the discovery of the Renaissance period in southern Italy, with its complexity, variety, and achievements, but the volume also shows that there is still much to discover and narrate, contexts to explore, and comparative analysis to be carried out. These are the tasks which it is hoped the present volume will encourage future generations of scholars worldwide to undertake.

Southern Italy: A Geographical and Historical Outline

Southern Italy extends between three seas: the Tyrrhenian to the west, the Ionian to the south, and the Adriatic to the east; it is crossed from north to south by the Apennine Mountain chain, but there are also various small fertile plains, mainly in Puglia and Campania. Nowadays what is politically recognized as southern Italy corresponds to the present-day regions Abruzzo, Molise, Campania, Puglia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily, and Sardinia. Excluding the islands, the vast peninsular territory was politically unified from the 11th century onwards and formed part of the same Kingdom, one which would last until the mid-19th century and the unification of Italy. Until the mid-19th century, the southern and eastern parts of what are today included in the region of Lazio in central Italy formed the northern borders of the Kingdom of Naples. The diversity of regional identities and the dense network of urban settlements included in southern Italy can be regarded as the region's essential traits. The origins of both these characteristics are to be found in remote Antiquity.

Antiquity and Later (8th Century BCE–10th Century CE)

When from the 8th century BCE Greeks arrived and started to create commercial colonies along its coastlines, the interior of southern Italy was inhabited by a mosaic of Italic peoples, such as the Oenotrians, Samnites, Iapyges, and Messapians, diverse in their origins, languages, traditions, stage of development, and territorial extension. Italic territories were subsequently strongly affected by the Hellenic culture of the newly founded cities, such as Tarentum (present-day Taranto), Sibari, Crotone, Cuma, and Dicearchia (present-day Pozzuoli). This composite political and cultural situation was unified under the Roman conquest from the 3rd century BCE. As in the rest of the Roman Empire, southern Italy underwent a notable urban development and a complete Romanization of its territory, although traces of Greek identity remained present

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in many Greek cities, such as Naples and Reggio. The extraordinary network of urban centres right across southern Italy explains why, already from late Antiquity onwards, the establishment of numerous episcopal seats flourished to a remarkable degree; some of these would disappear with the first wave of barbarian invasions in the 5th century, to be later re-founded during the medieval period. Monumental vestiges of the region's Italic, Greek and Roman past would form an important part of the identity of many towns and cities in southern Italy throughout the following centuries, and they became the object of learned investigation during the Renaissance period.

The geographical nature of southern Italy as the furthest part of a long peninsula projecting into the Mediterranean Sea was reflected in the long-lasting polarization of its territory which from the 6th to the 11th century was divided between the Lombards, who had descended from northern Italy, and the Byzantines, who had arrived from the east of the Mediterranean. In this period notable cities flourished in both dominions; in particular Bari and Reggio were the capitals of the Byzantine districts (*catapanates*) of Puglia and Calabria, while Benevento and Salerno were the princely courts of the Lombard *Ducates* of the so-called *Langobardia minor*. It was in this context that the inhabitants of the once important Roman city of Capua fled from a further barbarian invasion in the 9th century and installed themselves in a bend of the river Volturno, giving rise to the new city of Capua. The city very shortly afterwards became the site of a further Lombard princely court and would go on to become one of the most important urban centres in the Kingdom of Naples throughout the medieval and early modern period. This network of Lombard and Byzantine cities was accompanied by an equally dense network of significant monasteries, such as the Benedictine monastery of Montecassino to the north of Capua, famous as the founding institution of the Benedictine order, where the remains of Saint Benedict were held, and for its extensive landed property, and a certain number of Basilian monasteries, like those of Casole in Puglia and Rossano in Calabria. These Greek monasteries, which had their own libraries rich in *codices* and *scriptoria* for their production, would remain important places of study and also significant repositories of manuscripts for later humanist scholars from all over Europe. Several humanists were later to be taught Greek by Italo-Greek monks in southern Italy.

The Kingdom: 11th–15th Centuries

The gradual conquest of southern Italy in the 11th century by the Normans arriving from northern France led to the creation of a unified Kingdom, which was

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no longer connected to the centre and north of the Italian peninsula but directly with a dynasty from beyond the Alps, which roughly in the same period was also securing England and the Levant through military conquest. Apart from the mainland territories in southern Italy, the Normans also conquered Sicily, which had hitherto been controlled by the Arabs, and they made the island the core of their new Kingdom of Sicily and the city of Palermo their capital. This was the only period, lasting just over a century, in which mainland southern Italy was effectively connected to Sicily, while subsequently the relationship between the two areas would be intermittent. The immediate papal recognition of the Norman conquest placed the Kingdom in a formal relationship of feudal dependency on the papacy and opened the way to the interference of the popes in its affairs which would last for centuries.[15] The chancery and state organization set up by the Norman Kingdom would be inherited by successive foreign rulers of southern Italy, just as the organization of the territory in *giustizierati* was a prelude to the Kingdom's subsequent division into twelve provinces. Furthermore, some of the feudal settlements which emerged under the Normans would survive throughout the Renaissance period, such as the one created by the Sanseverino family, who had accompanied the first Norman vanguard and rapidly became one the most powerful dynasties in the Kingdom. Over the same period the territory underwent a strong process of urbanization, with the foundation of new cities such as Aversa and Melfi, and the expansion of ancient urban centres, especially those on the Adriatic coast such as Brindisi or Barletta which were the departure points for pilgrimages towards Jerusalem. With their close and strong connections with the papacy and with the Benedictine order, the Normans made notable efforts to Latinize liturgical rites in southern Italy; as a result, the presence of the Greek Byzantine rite shrank, though it survived in certain areas, especially in Calabria. It was in this period that imposing Romanesque cathedrals, which still mark the urban landscape today, were built; at the same time the conspicuous production of monastic and urban chronicles in Latin gave rise to a corpus of texts which after the 14th century would gradually be rediscovered and become an indispensable source for historical accounts of the earlier period.

Papal feudal power over the Kingdom was severely put to the test when the Swabian imperial dynasty of the Hohenstaufen took over from the Normans in 1198, and southern Italy became part of the Holy Roman Empire. Frederick's II new conception of an imperial system of justice which questioned the universal power of the pope was vigorously manifested in numerous achievements of

15 See Abulafia in this volume.

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different kinds: the foundation of the University of Naples (1223), the ensemble of laws represented by the *Liber Augustalis*, known as the *Constitutions of Melfi* from the city where they were promulgated (1231), and the city gate in Capua (1234), which with its complex iconographic and epigraphic programme confronted travellers who arrived in the Kingdom from the north.

In an Italy divided between Guelphs, on the side of the Pope, and Ghibellines, on the side of the Emperor, Swabian rule over southern Italy was brought to an end in 1266, when Charles count of Anjou (1226–1285), Maine and Provence and brother of the King of France Louis IX was called by the French Pope Urban IV to conquer the Kingdom of Sicily. The arrival of the Angevins, a cadet branch of the Capetians, did not merely signify a transition to a different dynastic regime but also a shift in the conception of power from an imperial system to one which was dynastic and territorial, comparable with the other royal houses of Europe. It was at the very beginning of the period of French rule that, following the rebellion known as the Sicilian Vespers (1282), Sicily separated from the Kingdom and, while the capital was moved to Naples, the island began to follow an independent course from the rest of the southern Italian mainland, passing under the rule of a branch of the Aragonese royal family. At the same time, the Angevins proved capable of overturning the former relationship of submission to the papacy: the move of the seat of the papacy from Rome to Avignon (1313–1376) can be seen as the result of the macro-political strategy pursued by the third Angevin king Robert the Wise, seen as a 'new Solomon'. In addition to reinforcing the role of the Kingdom within a broad-based Guelph alliance which spanned across Europe, Robert was also responsible for defining the complex physiognomy of the Kingdom, with Naples as a strong and growing capital and the seat of an advanced courtly culture, notably enriched by the presence of figures such as Giotto, Boccaccio, and Petrarch, and as part of a vast territory with a plurality of centres ruled over by a bureaucratic administration. Divided in twelve provinces, the Kingdom's territory included 'free' cities (*città demaniali*), which were under the direct control of the King, and large areas which were instead ruled by feudal families, some of which, like the Orsini or the French Du Baux (later Italianized as Del Balzo), extended their branches both within and outside the Kingdom. Within this articulated and fully developed feudal system, the Angevin rulers included former Lombard, Byzantine, and Norman territories but refashioned them: the Princedom of Salerno and the Princedom of Taranto were reconceived as grand feudal domains, while the Duchy of Calabria was revived simply as the title of the heir to the throne of Naples, similar to the way the title of Dauphin was introduced in the same years to indicate the heir to the throne of France. In this period, urban centres were gradually populated by the new mendicant orders

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giving rise to a network of Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, and Carmelite churches throughout the Kingdom built according to a style which has been denominated as 'Angevin', in which Gothic features were combined with the characteristics of local artistic culture.[16] The lively culture of this period led to French vernacular versions of ancient and early medieval literary texts, such as the 11th-century *Historia Normannorum* by the Benedictine monk Amathus of Montecassino, as well as new literature such as the so-called *Cronaca di Partenope*, a 14th-century chronicle of Naples in the vernacular. It is worth noting that the *Cronaca* contained the first modern translation of a Greek text, that of the inscription found on the pronaos of the Temple of the Dioscuri in Naples.[17]

The dynastic crisis which followed the death of Robert of Anjou led to the instalment of the Hungarian lateral branch of the Angevins, the Angiò Durazzo, while their relatives in France would periodically continue to claim their legitimate rule over the Kingdom until the 16th century. It is in this context of great instability that at the turn of the 14th century we see the rise of the new feudal dynasty of the Orsini Del Balzo, who ruled over what was to all intents and purposes a state within the Kingdom, with its own chancery and mint, and the extent of which, comprising the Princedom of Taranto, the county of Lecce and other possessions in the area, was equal to or even greater than the regional states of central and northern Italy. The importance of the Orsini Del Balzo territory derived also from the dense network of urban centres which it included, both larger cities like Lecce, Taranto or Bari, and smaller towns, such as Galatina, Conversano or Bitonto, all of which places were very active both politically and culturally. The ambitions of this dynasty, which even challenged royal authority by warring against King Ladislaus Anjou Durazzo (1404–1406) are fittingly represented in the awesome height of the church tower of Soleto and in the resplendent and lavish frescoes in the Basilica of Santa Caterina in Galatina.

The Aragonese Kingdom

While Angevin rule over southern Italy fell apart, the Kingdom was gradually absorbed into an imperial vision, which spanned the Mediterranean. After seven years of warfare waged against René of Anjou (1435–1442), the French pretender to the throne, in 1442 Alfonso V of Aragon triumphally entered into Naples, making it the capital of the *Corona d'Aragón*, a transnational federal

16 Bruzelius 2004.
17 Weiss 1969.

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state which included Aragon, Catalonia, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, part of Corsica and several coastal towns in Tuscany, as well as significant, albeit short-lived, military ventures in North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. While maintaining most of the state organization of the Angevins, Alfonso assigned the administration of justice to the court of the barons, in order to include the feudal lords within the central administrative system. Apart from the war with Genoa (1445), the peaceful years of Alfonso's rule encouraged a notable flourishing of humanistic and artistic endeavour throughout southern Italy, a phenomenon widely discussed in this volume. It was in this period that significant achievements in the fields of literature and architecture such as Lorenzo Valla's confutation on philological and linguistic grounds of the *Donation of Constantine* and the construction of the great marble arch at the entrance to Castel Nuovo were created, two works whose impact on subsequent Renaissance culture was profound and far-reaching.

With the death of Alfonso (1458), the Aragonese vision of empire expired. Alfonso's realm was divided up into different territories: the larger part, consisting in the Aragonese kingdom and the two islands of Sicily and Sardinia, were inherited by his brother, while the Kingdom of Naples went to his illegitimate son Ferrante (1423–1494). To obtain the throne, Ferrante had first to confront the claims of a new French pretender Jean of Anjou, who was supported by a group of local barons, headed by the powerful Prince of Taranto Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo. Already by 1462, after his victory at the Battle of Troia, Ferrante's success seemed assured and his victory over the Angevin claimant was definitive in 1464; however, it was only when he won the internal war against the barons who rose in revolt, the so-called first baronial rebellion, in 1465 that he could ascend the Neapolitan throne. Twenty years later, Ferrante faced a second baronial rebellion, when in 1485 a group of lords, supported by Pope Innocent VIII (1484–1492), once more rose against him and his heir, Alfonso Duke of Calabria (later Alfonso II).

Unlike his father, Ferrante did not rule over a polycentric empire, but over a single unified territory, which was nevertheless the largest in the entire Italian peninsula and one over which he exercised strict control. Among the manifestations of this control was a far-reaching fiscal intervention by the central government and the reinforcement of the physical control of the territory by restoring and extending the network of castles, a task which leading architects from other Italian states, such as Giuliano da Maiano and Francesco di Giorgio Martini, were commissioned to undertake.

The barons' vacillating loyalty and disloyalty towards the monarchy determined notable changes in the territorial distribution of fiefdoms throughout Ferrante's reign. After the death of Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo in 1463,

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his feudal possessions were divided up into smaller units, and even if many Puglian cities wished not to be reassigned to baronial rule, most of them were nevertheless handed over to internal or even external allies of the Crown. This was the case of the Duchy of Bari which came under the control of the Sforza from Milan and would remain under Milanese control until 1508. In the years between 1484 and 1509, and then again between 1528 and 1530 the Republic of Venice succeeded in gaining direct control over the Puglian ports of Trani, Gallipoli, Brindisi, Otranto, Mola, Polignano, and Gallipoli. The Venetian presence in southern Italy would reinforce existing ties along the Adriatic coast and notably increase the trade in commercial and artistic products between the two areas.

Apart from internal conflicts and wars outside the Kingdom in which Ferrante participated as a member of wider alliances such as the war against the Este of Ferrara (1482–1484), the invasion and occupation of Otranto for over a year (1480–1481) by Mehmet II's Ottoman Turkish forces represented a grievous shock for the Kingdom and for the whole of Christendom. A second traumatic event occurred immediately after the death of Ferrante (1494), when the king of France, Charles VIII (1470–1498), who claimed a right of inheritance through his Anjou lineage, descended the length of Italy with the aim of conquering Naples. Although his conquest was short-lived (1494–1495), it provoked a political and military crisis and encouraged the territorial ambitions of external agents in relation to southern Italy, both on the French and Spanish sides, leading to the first phase of the so-called Wars of Italy.

The Spanish Vice-Kingdom

The brief return of the Aragonese, first with Ferrandino (1495–1496) and then with Federico (1496–1502), came to a definitive end in 1503 when the Gran Capitán Gonzalo de Córdoba defeated the French troops on the river Garigliano, an outcome which caused the annexation of southern Italy as part of the possessions of Ferdinand II, known as Ferdinand the Catholic (1452–1516), the king of Aragon and Castile. As a result, southern Italy was no longer governed by an independent king, but by a viceroy who served a distant sovereign; it became part of a wider Kingdom, and later of an Empire, which would soon extend across the Atlantic and the centre of which was the Iberian Peninsula. While the city of Naples itself lost its paramount position, the greater distance from central government and the possibilities afforded by a wider network of exchange within the extended geography of the Empire offered nevertheless the opportunity for several southern Italian towns and cities to increase

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their political and cultural significance. During this period, new humanistic academies were founded in Lecce, Nardò, Cosenza, and Venosa.[18]

The slow stabilization of Spanish rule was ensured when a further French attempt to conquer the Kingdom led by Odet de Foix count of Lautrec, with the support of rebellious barons, was foiled in 1528. Some years later, between 1535 and 1536, Charles V went on an extended triumphal progress across a pacified and now Spanish southern Italy on his way to Rome after his victory over the Turks in Tunis. Elaborate and sumptuous stage sets were temporarily constructed to welcome his entry into major cities like Cosenza, Capua, Sessa and Naples. The emperor stopped in Naples for nearly a year to replan, together with the Viceroy Pedro de Toledo (1532–1553) and other leaders of the Tunis campaign, the Kingdom's fortifications, thus reinforcing its role within the Empire as an outpost of Christendom against the Turkish threat.

Compared to the other viceroys who served in the role for limited periods of time, Don Pedro was exceptional in ruling over southern Italy for over thirty years. His severe internal policies, as well his attempt to establish the Inquisition in Naples, provoked a huge protest throughout the territory (1547) and a fresh baronial rebellion. The exile of the last Prince of Salerno Ferrante Sanseverino (1507–1568) in 1555 put an end to the lively humanistic circle that the prince had created between his courts in Salerno and Naples, which was especially renowned for its production of literary and theatrical works.

Not dissimilarly from the other parts of the Spanish-Habsburg Empire, southern Italy was heavily affected by the religious changes which emerged from the Council of Trent (1545–1563), where the most inflexible and aggressive positions towards the Protestant Reformation had been approved under the Neapolitan Pope Paul IV, a member of the Carafa family (1552–1559).[19]

As the most important among the various Spanish viceroyal kingdoms, at the turn of the 17th century southern Italy enjoyed a period of fervour and vivacity: while the importance of the viceroyal court made Naples undoubtedly attractive as a centre, the rest of the territory benefited from considerable investment in the improvement of infrastructure such as ports and roads, in the renovation of entire towns and cities, as in Lecce, Capua, and Cava, and in the refashioning of many buildings, such as churches, which were adapted to the new Counter Reformation prescriptions, while new foundations were created by the new religious orders of the time—the Jesuits, Theatines, and Oratorians—throughout the Kingdom. The dynamism of urban centres across the entire

18 See Iacono in this volume.

19 See Palmieri in this volume.

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Kingdom can also be seen in the intense production of chorographical works, publications which were used by individual cities strategically in competition with each other, as can be seen for example in the contention for primacy in the Kingdom which arose between Lecce and Capua.[20]

Furnished with these general insights, many of which will be further developed and discussed in the essays which follow, readers can now undertake their journey across the vast and complex subject of the Renaissance in southern Italy.

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20 See Miletti in this volume.

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PART 1

The Context

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CHAPTER 1

The Aragonese Kingdom of Naples in Its Mediterranean Context

David Abulafia

The aim of this chapter is primarily to look at the political relationships of the Kingdom of Naples in all directions, while also bearing in mind relevant economic and cultural ties. The main period under investigation comprises the reigns of Alfonso the Magnanimous, Ferrante I and his rapidly changing Aragonese successors, and Ferdinand the Catholic, in other words from 1442 to 1516, with occasional glances before and after. Indeed, some of the most ambitious policies pursued within the Mediterranean by Alfonso the Magnanimous and Ferdinand the Catholic took their inspiration from strategies that can be traced back to Robert Guiscard (c. 1015–1085) in the 11th century century, King Roger II (1095–1154) in the 12th century and Charles I of Anjou (1226–1285) in the 13th century, whether or not the Aragonese were aware of these precedents.[1]

Internal strife within the Angevin kingdom of Naples during the 14th century, along with invasions from Hungary, had limited the ability of its rulers to play the role that their thirteenth-century predecessors, notably Frederick II and Charles I of Anjou, had played on the wider Mediterranean and European stage. However, the rulers of Naples retained their control of Provence until a rival Angevin dynasty (Louis I, II and III, and René of Anjou) displaced them at the end of the 14th century. This new dynasty made determined efforts to conquer southern Italy, briefly succeeding with King René; even after he was expelled from the Kingdom by Alfonso of Aragon in 1442, his attempts at reconquest continued and his claim to the throne was eventually passed down to the French king Charles VIII, who occupied Naples in 1495.[2] However, the replacement of the Angevin dynasty by the Aragonese greatly enlarged the political horizons of its rulers, since Alfonso was already king of the island of Sicily as well as ruler of Aragon, Catalonia, Majorca, Valencia, and (allowing for strong internal opposition) Sardinia; within Italy his ambition extended towards Florence, by way of the small but well-placed lordship of Piombino,

1 Abulafia 1997; Ryder 1990.

2 On René see Lecoy de la Marche 1875; Favier 2008; for Charles VIII: Labande-Mailfert 1975.

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and even to Milan, once he had made friends with its Visconti ruler. The strategic position of southern Italy at the centre of the Mediterranean enabled its rulers to involve themselves in the affairs of Africa, Greece, and Albania, as they had done since the 11th and 12th centuries, when the region lay under Norman rule.

Rule over southern Italy was complicated by the special relationship of the kings of Naples with the papacy, once again dating back to the Norman period. There were other European kings who were vassals of the pope, but the rulers of southern Italy lived, as it were, on the pope's doorstep (their close relationship had persisted even through the 14th century, when the papacy was based in Avignon, since Avignon originally lay within Angevin Provence). The return of the pope to Rome after the Great Schism, in 1413, occurred just as the contest for control of the kingdom of Naples between different Angevin claimants became more intense; and it was followed by the lengthy series of interventions in Italian affairs by the king of Aragon, which, as has been seen, culminated in his conquest of the city of Naples in 1442. This enabled, even necessitated, interference by popes in the choice of who should be king—not just in the contest between René and Alfonso but in the rights of succession of Alfonso's illegitimate son Ferrante and, eventually, in the claims to the throne of Naples made by Charles VIII, Louis XII (1462–1515), and Francis I of France (1494–1547).

Although it was possible to create a stable relationship in the short term (for instance between Alfonso of Aragon and Pius II [1458–1464]), in the long term the relationship between the king of Naples and the pope could not be stable because papal elections swung between pro- and anti-Aragonese candidates. Calixtus III (1455–1458), a Borgia from the Aragonese kingdom of Valencia, had seemed the ideal ally for Alfonso, but he swung in the other direction once he had become pope. The Neapolitan kings had the military strength to challenge papal authority, as in the case of Ferrante's conflict with Innocent VIII (1484–1492) that began in 1485 at the time of the second baronial rebellion against Ferrante. Nor was the papacy a free actor, as Alexander VI (1492–1503) discovered when Charles VIII arrived on his doorstep demanding recognition of his claim to the throne of Naples. The papacy had its own ambitions for the rulers of Naples: Calixtus III and Pius II saw them as the obvious leaders of a crusade against the increasingly powerful Ottoman Turks, especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.[3] But real support was always slow to come and was guided by the strategic interests of Alfonso, despite his frequently avowed support for a campaign to recover Constantinople and Jerusalem for Christen-

3 Navarro Sorní 2003.

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dom. Ferrante found that there was enough going on locally to distract him (including the first baronial rebellion that broke out upon his succession); he had none of the pan-Mediterranean ambitions of his father and concentrated on strengthening his power at home and on building up influence within the Italian peninsula. Even so, he, like René of Anjou, made liberal use of the title 'king of Jerusalem', borne by kings of southern Italy since the late 13th century, and both René and Ferrante displayed the arms of the kingdom of Jerusalem on their coats of arms. At the Congress of Mantua, called by Pope Pius II in 1459 in the hope of launching a crusade, Ferrante's envoys remained circumspect about the project, and René's ambassadors had difficulty gaining the ear of a pope who was not, in any case, willing to offer more than the vaguest sympathy for the dispossession of King René. In any case, they were much more interested in gaining support for René's claim to Naples than in offering support for a crusade.

Naples was not just the largest state in the Italian peninsula during the 15th century, nor the only one to be ruled by a king, but a major player in Italian politics. Naples acted as a catalyst for political developments right across the peninsula since Alfonso aimed to extend his influence way beyond the borders of the *Regno*. His involvement in northern Italian politics began well before he gained control of southern Italy: following his defeat and capture at the naval battle of Ponza in 1435, Alfonso was carried off first to Genoa and then to Milan, where he charmed his captor, Filippo Maria Visconti (1392–1447), and seemed poised to inherit the duchy of Milan thanks to the failure of Filippo Maria to produce a male heir. Later, he campaigned deep into Tuscany, launching a campaign against Piombino; Florence, though, remained beyond the Aragonese grasp despite later interventions in Tuscany by Ferrante and his son and heir Alfonso of Calabria. Genoa, too, remained beyond the reach of the Aragonese (although skirmishes between Genoese and Catalan ships did occur out at sea).[4] René of Anjou and his son John of Calabria (1426–1470) used Genoa as a platform for penetration into the peninsula by their armies of *franzesi* during their attempts to unseat Ferrante after his accession to the throne of Naples in 1458; they were hampered by the customary political turmoil within the city.

Italy remained a land of shifting alliances involving the five great powers: Naples, the papacy, Milan, Venice, and Florence. The Peace of Lodi of 1454–1455, to which Alfonso was the last to adhere, brought a measure of peace to Italy; a balance of power emerged in the peninsula, even if occasional conflicts occurred during the next forty years (such as the War of Ferrara of 1482–1484,

4 Fossati 2007; Gallo (ed. Fossati) 2010.

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in which Ferrante, along with Sforza Milan, vigorously supported the Este of Ferrara against Venice and the papacy). A close alliance between Milan and Naples developed during the rule of Filippo Maria's son-in-law, the former mercenary Francesco Sforza (1401–1466), whom Ferrante addressed in his letters as a second father—an unusual case of a king appearing to defer to a mere duke (though both were of illegitimate birth).[5] From this perspective the intervention of John of Calabria on behalf of René of Anjou, after the death of Alfonso, was bad news for everyone, as it severely threatened the balance of power, and threatened to bring about the fragmentation of the *Regno* between rival parties; an ambiguous role was played by the greatest of the kingdom's barons, Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo (1401–1463).[6]

In the long term, the Milan-Naples axis played a decisive role in maintaining a balance within Italy, despite its gradual disintegration under the later Sforza dukes, Galeazzo Maria (1444–1476) and Ludovico il Moro (1452–1508). Nor did relations with Florence remain as tense as they had been when the city was a haven for supporters of King René. The visit by Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) to Naples in 1480 was a piece of high theatre in which he posed as a hard-working citizen of Florence who was willing to enter the lion's den of the tyrant Ferrante; but out of it not just mutual respect but political co-operation emerged.[7] The importance of other relationships also needs to be borne in mind: the court of Ferrara entered into close marriage ties to Naples, which helps explain the military alliance between the Este and Aragonese Naples; and lower down the scale close relations with Urbino were sealed by Ferrante's gift of the Order of Ermine to Federico da Montefeltro (1422–1482), who installed a golden inscription in his *studiolo* at Urbino to commemorate his role as a captain of the armies of the king of Naples; the Appiano lords of Piombino paid a symbolic tribute to Naples.[8]

Looking in other directions, the kingdom of Naples maintained contacts right across Europe. Links to Flanders were expressed in the hiring of Flemish musicians (in competition with the Este of Ferrara) and in the influence of Flemish art on the paintings of Colantonio and Antonello da Messina;[9] beyond Flanders, there were hopes that came to nothing of creating a commercial link by sea with the England of King Edward IV (1442–1483). An especially important relationship developed with Hungary, despite the occasional use by

5 Abulafia 1995.
6 Bénet 1997.
7 Pontieri 1946, 209–224.
8 Abulafia 2016.
9 See Zezza in this volume.

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the Aragonese kings of Naples of the title 'king of Hungary'. The marriage of Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508) to the real king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus (1440–1490), had both political and cultural significance.[10] Hungary was a bulwark against Ottoman expansion, and was also a close neighbour in the Adriatic, since the kingdom of Croatia formed part of the Hungarian crown. The cultural impact of the link to southern Italy was enormous and can be seen in the Hungarian taste for humanistic texts and Renaissance artistic styles. Constantly aware that his title to the throne was challenged by the Angevins, Ferrante needed to ensure that his dynasty was recognized by other kings as legitimate—as indeed did Matthias Corvinus. (However, René too had his Hungarian acolytes, notably Janus Pannonius [1434–1472], one of the figures who introduced Italian humanistic ideas to René's court).[11]

The other Adriatic connections of the kingdom of Naples also demand attention. A rich hoard of documents in the Dubrovnik archives shows that under Alfonso and Ferrante the Ragusans acquired what might be called most favoured nation status, overtaking the Venetians in the privileges they were accorded—for instance, they were allowed to take charge of transport of salt from Puglia to the Abruzzo. There was a big Ragusan presence at the Lanciano fairs, and in Bari, Trani, and other Puglian cities, going back many centuries. They bought southern Italian wool at a time when the Ragusan cloth industry was beginning to take off; and they imported grain, which was in short supply in their narrow strip of territory and in the barren hinterland of Herzegovina. Dubrovnik occupied a delicate position between the Turks and the Latin West, making tribute payments to the Sublime Porte but also acting as a source of information in the West concerning Ottoman military plans. The city functioned as a diplomatic intermediary between the kingdom of Naples and Balkan rulers such as Stefan Vukčić (1404–1466) in Bosnia and George Branković (reigned 1427–1456) in Serbia.[12]

Especially important was the tie between Alfonso and Ferrante on the one hand and the Albanian leader George Scanderbeg (1405–1468), at a time when other western European powers, notably Venice, were lukewarm towards Scanderbeg and his rebellion against the Turks. Alfonso was certainly anxious to push the Turks back from the Adriatic, particularly from their strategic position close to the Strait of Otranto; but Alfonso's support for Scanderbeg also formed part of his programme of extending his influence and, if possible, his rule into the Balkans, using Albania as a launching pad for an assault

10 Berzeviczy 1964.
11 Margolis 2016.
12 Spremić 1986.

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on Constantinople—this strategy can be traced back to Robert Guiscard and Charles I of Anjou, among other rulers of southern Italy. The reward for Ferrante was the invaluable support of Albanian stradiot soldiers in the war against John of Calabria and his temporary ally Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo.

The middle of the 15th century saw intense competition between Alfonso and Mehmet II (1432–1481) for dominion in the Mediterranean.[13] The Spanish Alfonso presented himself as the successor to Roman emperors of Spanish origin, especially Trajan; but Mehmet also saw himself as the new *Basileus*, taking the Roman Empire forward to its new fulfilment within Islam. It would be a mistake to underestimate Alfonso's commitment to the crusade. His ambitions were not confined to the former Byzantine Empire and Jerusalem, as can be seen from his invasion of the Tunisian island of Jerba, control of which would also strengthen his mastery over Malta and the Sicilian Strait—controlling those waters was a long-established policy going back to the era of Roger II. This rivalry culminated long after Alfonso died, with the Turkish attack on Otranto in 1480–1481, which made it obvious that Mehmet's ambitions were a genuine threat to Italy.

Looking westwards, the relationship of the kingdom of Naples with Spain commands attention. Alfonso never returned to his homeland once he was in charge of southern Italy and left his wife in charge in the Spanish lands of the Crown of Aragon. Even after Alfonso died, close ties persisted between Ferrante and his relatives in Iberia including his cousin, brother-in-law and namesake, Ferdinand II of Aragon. In trying to understand these ties to Spain it is crucial to consider the trading world of Naples, and, in particular, the close commercial ties between Barcelona and Naples in the 15th century, with Alfonso creating what Mario del Treppo sees as a sort of Common Market for trade within the Catalan-Aragonese dominions. Rather than assuming that the 13th-century kings of Aragon created a Catalan-Aragonese 'Empire' in the Mediterranean, one should look to the 15th century for signs of closer integration between the territories of the Crown of Aragon, as the cadet line that had ruled Sicily since the last years of the 13th century came to an end and Sardinia was gradually brought under tighter control. The acquisition of southern Italy between 1442 and 1458, before it was hived off as a separate kingdom for Ferrante, created not just a political network but an economic one. However, the rulers of Aragon did not entirely acquiesce in the loss of direct control over southern Italy following the death of Alfonso. At that point, their chance of imposing any sort of control from Spain were nil; Alfonso's brother John needed to establish himself as

13 Mediterraneum 2004.

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ruler of the Spanish lands of the Crown of Aragon and was at odds with his own elder son, Carlos, prince of Viana (1421–1461)—who happened to be in Naples at that juncture and was viewed in some circles (including those of the prince of Taranto) as a better alternative to Ferrante than René of Anjou.

The idea that the *Regno* was in some sense one of the territories of the Crown of Aragon persisted under Ferdinand of Aragon; to cite the maritime code known as the *Consolat del Mar* from 1494: "that the subjects of the said kingdom of Sicily [i.e. Naples] and their ships and goods are included and counted [...] as if they are the true vassals and subjects of our said lord and as if the lordship was one and the same, as was the case when the lord King Alfonso was alive."[14] In 1457 the importation of good and middle-quality Catalan and Valencian textiles accounted for 47 per cent of the cloth passing through the *dogana* of Naples; the cloth of Florence are 22 per cent and nearly 19 per cent for France. The city of Naples became a favourite target of Barcelona merchants after it fell into Aragonese hands, and this close commercial connection remained alive through the destructive civil war that raged in Catalonia between 1462 and 1472. In the post-war period, particularly after 1479 (when Ferdinand of Aragon took charge), trade did recover significantly.

Evidence for Ferdinand's paternalistic concern for the Neapolitan kingdom is provided in 1480–1481, during the great emergency of the Turkish occupation of Otranto. Later, in 1489, he wrote to Ferrante to express concern for the Christian Holy Places in Jerusalem as the war for Granada reached its peak, and as the king of Granada appealed for aid to the Mamluk sultan of Egypt; here he spoke in the warmest terms of his affection for the king of Naples, "as someone whom we greatly love and prize, and for whom we ask that God may grant him long life, health and honour."[15] Ferrante was by now his brother-in-law as well as his cousin, and, as mentioned earlier, the language of family affection was a much-used diplomatic tool in this period. Most importantly, Ferdinand took an interest in the internal affairs of Naples during the severe crisis of the second baronial rebellion of 1485–1486; later, following the French capture of Naples, he sent aid to Naples in 1495 in the shape of Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba and his Spanish troops.[16] In May 1496 Ferdinand began to make territorial inroads into the *Regno*, when Ferrante's grandson, Ferrandino (King Ferrante II), con-

14 Del Treppo 1972, 605.

15 Doussinague 1944, App. I, 515–517, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms 18700-35.

16 Ruiz Domènec 2002.

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ceded several Calabrian coastal stations to him, having already made similar grants of Puglian towns to Venice, in order to secure aid against his enemies.[17]

Yet on other occasions there were tensions, as when King Ferrante sought to ban the import of foreign cloths in order to foster the local cloth trade.[18] In a similar spirit, Ferrante made his own decisions about whether to imitate Spanish policies. For example, rather than expelling the Jews in 1492, as happened in Ferdinand and Isabella's Spanish realms and in Sicily, he enthusiastically welcomed Jewish refugees from those lands. He asked for information on what trade each of them followed, a clear sign that he saw them as useful agents of his programme of economic improvement, intended to maximise his own income but also to bring benefits to his subjects.

Ferdinand's tolerance for the Neapolitan Aragonese dynasty began to wear thin during the chaos of the French invasions led by Charles VIII and Louis XII (1462–1415), which offered the king of Aragon the opportunity he had long been seeking to assert his own dynastic claim as heir to Alfonso the Magnanimous, with no taint of illegitimacy. This claim became more strident with the accession of Federico, the younger son of Ferrante I, to the Neapolitan throne late in 1496, following the unexpected death of the young Ferrandino.[19] At this point Ferdinand of Aragon launched a diplomatic campaign to secure the crown of Naples, arguing that the papacy had originally granted the kingdom of Naples to Alfonso of Aragon with the intention that it should pass down in the legitimate line of succession, like any other kingdom.[20] Ferrante's rights were interpreted as rights that were, at most, valid for a single generation, an argument that was in no way novel in this part of the world (it had been cited in opposition to the heirs of Roger II as far back as the 12th century).[21]

This was only one plank in a larger policy which depended not simply on papal investiture, but on conquest, treaties with the French, and the hope of winning over the barons and cities of Naples. This is Machiavelli's Ferdinand, the scheming *principe nuovo* who awaited the moment to pounce.[22] He appeared to compromise with Louis XII of France, allowing him to acquire the title to the kingdom by papal grant, while Ferdinand was granted Calabria and Puglia, but only as duchies. Yet Ferdinand used this division of Naples to intrude his forces into the south of Italy, gaining control of the entire *Regno* in 1503–

17 Kidwell 1995, 295–308.
18 Abulafia 1990, 125–146; Sakellariou 2012.
19 Russo 2018.
20 Hernando Sánchez 2001, 51.
21 Abulafia 1997, 10–11.
22 Abulafia 2006, 129–158.

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1504. Proposals for a marriage alliance between the French and Aragonese royal houses, with southern Italy passing out of the Aragonese orbit to Ferdinand's grandson Charles of Habsburg, came to nothing.[23]

After his acquisition of Naples, Ferdinand the Catholic confirmed the privileges and grants of Ferrante I while failing to confirm those of the subsequent Aragonese kings of Naples, Alfonso II, Ferrandino, and Federico (who had gone to live in France, and whose heirs were still alive as well).[24] This was not the only occasion when Ferdinand appears to have accepted that Ferrante had possessed a just claim to the kingdom, but his descendants did not. He failed to take into account the extreme reluctance of Pope Julius II (1503–1513) to invest him with Naples; Julius even contemplated the grant of the kingdom to René of Anjou's grandson, René II, duke of Lorraine and *soi-disant* king of Sicily, in a sort of Angevin restoration.[25] The intricate ins-and-outs of negotiations between Julius II, Leo X (1513–1521) and Ferdinand can be reduced to a few simple observations: Ferdinand was determined to maintain his hold on the south of Italy, the papacy did not have the power to shift him, and Louis XII was in any case more interested in redeeming the Orleanist claim to Milan, which he had inherited, than in pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp of sovereignty over the kingdom of Naples.

Ferdinand's policies should broadly be understood as an attempt to re-establish his uncle Alfonso's Mediterranean empire, and he shared other grand ambitions with Alfonso. He saw the *Regno* as a base for further victories in the Mediterranean which would, he hoped, bring him to the walls of Jerusalem over which, as king of Naples, he possessed the title of king of Jerusalem: Columbus recorded the prophecy attributed to Joachim of Fiore that "he who will restore again the citadel of Zion will come from Spain".[26] Under Ferdinand the Catholic, interests were pursued along the north coast of Africa which had long been high on the agenda of the kings of Aragon and their subjects the merchants of Barcelona and Valencia, culminating in the capture of Oran and Tripoli; Melilla, taken in 1497, remains to this day politically part of Spain, and although this and most of the conquests were assigned to Castile rather than Aragon, the overall result of the African conquests was to consolidate the Aragonese hold on the

23 London, British Library, C.18.e.2.(61) Don Fernando e doña Ysabel [...] Rey e Reyna [...], 1503.

24 Hernando Sánchez 2001, 46, 60, 64–67; Abulafia 2004.

25 For the curious history of attempts to bring back the house of Anjou-Lorraine, see Shaw 1993, 43, 63, 67–70, 95, 313.

26 West and Kling 1991, 238.

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western Mediterranean trade routes, and to clear the seas of Barbary pirates.[27] Yet, as recent research has shown, the sea conquests were also motivated by his commitment to a holy war against the Muslims right across the Mediterranean; what had started in Granada had to finish in Jerusalem and Constantinople. Machiavelli's schemer was also the heir to the Aragonese Messianic tradition of the Christian king who, under the sign of the bat, would usher in the last days of mankind. (Hence his insistence that the Jews under his rule must convert or depart, for the conversion of the Jews was to be a sign that the Second Coming was nigh).

Ferdinand was, therefore, acutely aware of the problem of continuity: on the one hand he wished to project himself to his Neapolitan subjects and to the wider world as the successor to Alfonso v; on the other, he sought to explain away the rapid changes of rule from 1494 to 1503, including his own highly ambiguous role in supporting or opposing French claims. The problem of continuity was accentuated since he was only present for a few months in his newly acquired kingdom, in 1506–1507, at a time when his attempts to maintain control of Castile had gone awry, following the death of Queen Isabella (1451–1504) and the arrival there of his daughter Juana la Loca (1479–1555) and her husband Philip of Habsburg (1478–1506). At this point in his career, when, in addition, Ferdinand had just remarried, traditional Aragonese political concerns dominated his planning: he was desperate to produce a male heir to the lands of the Crown of Aragon, which would, in that case, remain separated from Castile forever; and he worked hard to gain control of Navarre, where his father John II of Aragon had for a time been king and where he could claim some shadowy rights in right of his new wife, Germaine of Foix (1488–1538). Navarre was his in 1512 and was a valuable advance position in his rivalry with Louis of France.[28] But the boy born to Germaine died soon after birth and Ferdinand's hopes were crushed.

The Italian wars that had begun in 1494 were not all about the south of Italy, but the question of the right to rule the *Regno* emerged again and again.[29] Francis I, only a year earlier raised to the throne of France, reacted to news of the death of Ferdinand the Catholic by mentioning his own claim to both Naples and Navarre. Plans were once again mooted for a Habsburg-Valois marriage alliance, which would involve the payment of a hefty tribute by Charles of Habsburg for the kingdom of Naples to Francis, as his superior in the *Regno* (where Charles was already a papal vassal). Francis turned instead to military

27 Devereux 2020.

28 Devereux 2020; Suárez Fernández, 1985.

29 Shaw 2014.

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solutions, but Italian schemes crashed to earth in 1525 when he was captured at the battle of Pavia. Thereafter Naples, though not Milan, faded from the agenda of the house of Valois, while Francis's warm relations with the Ottomans removed one of the standard motives for wishing to control the south, one that had motivated Alfonso the Magnanimous, Charles VIII, and Ferdinand the Catholic, though not Louis XII: the creation of a base from which it would be possible to launch the final crusade against the Ottoman Turks.

The ultimate irony is that Naples and the rest of Ferdinand's lands would pass to the Habsburgs; his widow, Germaine of Foix, would eventually marry the grandson of Ferrante I and son of King Federico of Naples, Ferdinand, duke of Calabria and (with Germaine) viceroy of Valencia, where a large part of the magnificent library of Alfonso and Ferrante is still preserved—the last and lasting legacy of the Aragonese rulers of Naples.[30]

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30 D'Agostino 2015; Rios Lloret 2003.

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CHAPTER 2

The Kingdom of Naples from Aragonese to Spanish Rule

Pierluigi Terenzi

During the Renaissance, the Kingdom of Naples underwent one of the most unsettled periods of its political history. From the first half of the 15th century onwards the Angevins, Aragonese, French, and Spanish fought for dominion over southern Italy, which was ruled after 1442 by the Aragonese Trastámara dynasty. Following the reigns of Alfonso the Magnanimous and Ferrante the ruling dynasty entered a period of crisis with the French military invasions, but it regained the throne with Ferdinand the Catholic.[1] Ferdinand, however, was the representative of an entirely different political world, the centre of which was the Iberian Peninsula. With the Habsburg monarch Charles V, the kingdom changed its ruling dynasty but above all the political order of which it formed part, the vast Spanish system which in 1519 became an imperial one. It is therefore incorrect to speak of the 'Viceroyalty of Naples' since it remained officially a kingdom, one of the many held by the sovereign who resided in Madrid.[2]

Nonetheless, these different events and developments obviously had a significant impact in various spheres, including the Kingdom's system of government and administration, which is the subject of this essay. Its primary purpose is to sketch the context within which the history of the various cities and other urban centres of southern Italy, studied from the many different points of view of the essays which make up this volume, can be understood. To this end the focus will be on the analysis of the transformations and continuities the system underwent with the intention of emphasizing the roles played by sovereigns from various dynasties in the context of the wider policies they pursued, as well as the roles of the royal officers, who were themselves leading figures in the processes of persistence and change, and of the other political agents in the Kingdom as subjects who had an active or passive connection to the developments outlined here.

1 For a general account of this period see Galasso 1992; Musi 2000; Musi and Vitolo 2004; Galasso 2005; Caridi 2021.

2 Galasso 1994, 8–25, is insistent on this point.

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The following topics will be examined, all of which relate to the period from the beginnings of Aragonese rule in 1442 to the end of Charles V's reign in 1556, after which a new political chapter opened: the evolution of the Great Offices, the highest magistratures in the Kingdom; the way in which their role was coordinated with the sovereign's representatives (his lieutenants or viceroys); the organisation of the administrative structure in the various provinces; the participation of the Kingdom's political subjects (the cities and the feudal barons) in the territory's system of government. A more complex and fluid reality emerges from this analysis, one which the traditional categories of 'the modern State' and 'bureaucracy' fail to describe adequately.

The Great Offices of the Kingdom of Naples

In studying the development of the structures of government in the Kingdom, the Aragonese period is particularly significant, since both Alfonso the Magnanimous and his son Ferrante worked to renew them by reform and with the introduction of new institutional roles drawn from the royal entourage. At the time of the Aragonese conquest, the highest level of government was represented by the seven Great Offices, the Chancellery, and the highest judicial and financial offices. Alfonso modified the framework he inherited from the Angevins in the name of rationalisation and efficiency.[3] In the case of the supreme court of justice, for example, the king gradually gave shape to what became known as the *Sacro Regio Consiglio*, a tribunal which was made up of the king himself, various high officials, barons, and Neapolitan jurists, but also included Catalan and Aragonese noblemen. Presided over by a senior churchman and occasionally taking place in the presence of Alfonso himself, the Council dealt with requests for justice which had arisen by petitioning the king. Legal appeals which occurred as part of the normal procedure of the law were the responsibility instead of the judges of the *Corte della Vicaria*, the exact composition of which Alfonso took pains to define more clearly in the 1440s. At the same time, he established its separation from and superiority to the *Gran Giustiziere*, one of the seven Great Officers, whose role was curtailed. This move meant that the

3 The seven Great Officers were the following: the *Gran Giustiziere*, the *Gran Protonotaio e Logoteta*, the *Gran Camerario*, the *Gran Connestabile*, the *Gran Cancelliere*, the *Gran Siniscalco*, and the *Grande Ammiraglio*; the Chancellery was made up of the chancellor, a protonotary, secretaries, the vice-chancellor and scribes; justice was the responsibility of the *Gran Corte della Vicaria*, finance of the *Tesoriere* and the *Regia Camera della Sommaria*. For an overview of the innovations see Sakellariou 1995, 330–333, and Morelli 1997.

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Vicaria took on a more clearly administrative dimension, limiting the influence of the barons who held the office of *Gran Giustiziere*.[4]

This reorganisation of judicial roles displays one of the characteristic approaches to government adopted by the Aragonese. On the one hand, the exercise of supreme judicial authority came under the sovereign's direct control with the enhancement of the *Sacro Regio Consiglio*, the membership of which was drawn from exponents of the different social groupings in the Kingdom of Naples and the Crown of Aragon. On the other hand, the already existing higher judicial apparatus, the *Corte della Vicaria*, was given a more clearly administrative slant with the aim of making it more efficient. This entailed the regular use of skilled personnel—an approach which had already been tried out—also drawn from the Kingdom's urban elite (and not only from Naples) which grew steadily more numerous.[5] This policy "aimed at [...] the creation of a more 'impersonal' relation between the king and the administrative organisation" and led to the creation of a "robe nobility (*nobiltà di toga*) that shared political authority with the Spanish government in early modern Naples."[6]

However, the highest positions in the administration continued to be held by the Kingdom's barons and by Catalans, also during Ferrante's reign. Two out of the seven Great Officers were Catalan, the *Gran Camerlengo* Innico d'Avalos and the *Gran Siniscalco* Pedro de Guevara; other Catalans occupied the most important positions in finance and taxation.[7] These officers probably played a part in the development of new tax laws, the most prominent innovations introduced by the Aragonese dynasty, which marked the Kingdom's transition from a "domain state" to a "tax state".[8] In 1443, at the beginning of his reign, Alfonso introduced the reform which imposed a system of taxation based on the number of *fuochi* (hearths), subject to assessment every three years; each 'hearth' was obliged to pay one ducat in tax to the court and also had to purchase a certain quantity of salt at a fixed price.[9] The traditional direct collective tax (*colta*) went back to being irregular, levied only on certain occasions (coronations, the weddings of the king's offspring, the payment of ransom for the king

4 Ryder 1976, 103–118, 148–152; Del Treppo 1986, 105.

5 See the example of the *Camera della Sommaria* in Delle Donne 2012, 74–90.

6 Sakellariou 1995, 334.

7 Del Treppo 1986, 107–110. See also Ryder 1976, 169–217, also for other aspects of the management of finances.

8 Muto 1980, 29: "non pare dubbio che solo con l'epoca aragonese possa configurarsi il primo e più concreto spartiacque nell'organizzazione dell'apparato finanziario". On domain and tax state, Bulgarelli Lukacs 2004.

9 See Sakellariou in this volume.

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in captivity). The new system entailed a slight increase in the tax burden but was more closely adapted to the demographic and economic reality of different places across the Kingdom's territory and also made the contributions and the resulting revenue for the court's coffers easier to calculate. In order for the system to work well, the fiscal information needed to be updated continuously, which was not always carried out locally, with the result that discrepancies were created. Because of this and also because revenue was inadequate, Ferrante decided on a radical reform of the system based entirely on indirect taxation. The two trials of this, however, were short-lived: 1481–1482 and 1484–1485.[10] The system introduced by Alfonso, on the other hand, including various aspects which cannot be explored here (such as the reorganisation of the custom tariffs resulting from transhumance) endured over the following centuries, since the Spanish rulers of the Kingdom made no changes to it, although they increased taxes to pay for their wars.[11]

Some of the Great Offices too survived, just as many other officers at every level of the administration managed to remain in their posts despite wars and changes in regime.[12] Nevertheless, from as early as the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic onwards, the framework of government with its checks and balances started to change. The *Sacro Regio Consiglio* and the *Camera della Sommaria* (which supervised and judged matters to do with finance and taxation) consolidated their primacy in their respective spheres but a new body was established which played a central role in the political management of the kingdom, the *Consiglio Collaterale*. It was made up of two jurists (or three under Charles V) along with two *reggenti* from the Chancellery and a secretary; all its members were nominated by the king. This new council established on an institutional basis the practice, normal under the Angevin kings, of using counsellors but with a tendency to appoint counsellors for each different sphere of activity.[13] The *Collaterale* ranked above the different administrative, legislative, and financial bodies and officials, working alongside them or superimposed on them. The members of the *Collaterale* were both Spanish and natives of the Kingdom—members of the feudal aristocracy who over the course of the 16th century were joined by members of the robe nobility. It reflected the tendency

10 Del Treppo 1986, 110–114, 122–127; Scarton and Senatore 2018, 174–195.

11 Calabria 1991, 54–75; Muto 2004, 519–520.

12 Several examples can be found in Senatore 2019. See also Muto 2019. On the *Sommaria* during Spanish rule, Muto 1980, 35–46 and Delle Donne 2012, 119–132. Only Charles VIII replaced leading officers with Frenchmen: Sakellariou 1995, 341–342.

13 Collateral counsellors existed under the Angevins but were not a formal entity, like the different groups under the Aragonese. On subsequent developments, Muto 2012.

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to centralize political and administrative processes, albeit in dialogue with pre-existing structures and the Kingdom's other political institutions.[14]

The Viceroys

By this period, however, Naples was no longer a kingdom in an autonomous sense; in becoming a Spanish possession it now formed part of a system which was both wider and more structured than it had been when it was ruled by Alfonso the Magnanimous and had come under the Crown of Aragon. The Spanish monarchs did not reside in southern Italy and the Kingdom thus became one among other such territories which were governed at a distance and, during the reign of Charles V, an element in the Spanish imperial system, the centre of which was located in the Kingdom of Castile.[15]

Governing at a distance meant that the Spanish kings needed to delegate their power to a representative who could express their authority. The delegation of monarchical powers to an individual was by no means unknown in the early 16th century. Even under the Angevins, during periods when the king was absent, the heir to the throne was invested with his powers while still remaining subordinate in the hierarchical structure. The Aragonese continued this usage but also established the role of the General Lieutenant, which was always assigned to the heir to the throne; this role also functioned when the king was present. The lieutenant and the king shared the government of the Kingdom between them: Ferrante was Alfonso I's lieutenant from 1442 and Alfonso duke of Calabria was Ferrante's when he ascended the throne in 1458.[16]

These roles tended to be personal appointments which were not integrated into the administrative structures, but this arrangement was superseded with the establishment of an official post, with the title of viceroy and placed at the head of the administration of the Kingdom by the king in Spain.[17] In performing the function of governing the Kingdom from a distance, the viceroy became its leading official through whom the king could wield authority indirectly over a distant territory. In the overall power structure, the role of the viceroy had two aspects: on the one hand he was a vassal of the king, obliged to be obedient to him and to convey to him the requests of his subjects, and on the other he was

14 Musi 2016, 86–87.

15 Musi 2000, 26–27.

16 Further details in Senatore 2010, 461–467.

17 A similar arrangement was found in Sicily in the 14th century, when it was under Aragonese rule: Silvestri 2016.

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the greatest power in the Kingdom, obliged to govern it according to the overall strategic aims of the monarchy.[18]

In the early 16th century, however, the system was still taking shape. The first viceroy was the Gran Capitán Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, who had led the Spanish army to victory over the French in the second phase of the Italian Wars and who was put in authority over the Kingdom before hostilities had ceased. It was a 'natural' role for the *condottiere* rather than an official appointment within a new structure of government.[19] It turned out that Gonzalo, despite his military achievements, was removed by the king in 1507 owing to suspected disloyalty.[20] The king then introduced the central structure of a viceroy operating alongside a council into the government of the Kingdom. The first incumbent was Giovanni of Aragon count of Ripacorsa (1457–1528), while the council was made up of three members of the Neapolitan feudal nobility known for their unswerving loyalty to the Crown (Carafa, Pignatelli, Spinelli) together with three Aragonese who played leading roles in the judiciary and in the chancellery. In this way Ferdinand was careful to avoid disruption to the Kingdom and to continue the Aragonese tradition by imposing a balance among its leading nobility, to whom he offered a notably important representative role, in particular to the noble families in the capital city of Naples, while retaining Aragonese elements. He adopted the same approach with the *Sacro Regio Consiglio* and the other Great Offices, some of which were newly established, making the governing structures more complex.[21]

During Ferdinand's reign, the role of viceroy had many different meanings. This was also the consequence of a lack of capacity for strategic planning which could think beyond the basic objective of "securing the possession of the kingdom by any means possible".[22] The viceroy, invested as the full representative of the king with his sovereignty, was, in addition to his political and administrative role, responsible for ensuring the military preparedness of the Kingdom, both in order to maintain its internal stability (suppressing all opposition to the regime) and its external defence (warding off outside attacks). It appears that Ripacorsa proved inadequate to these demands and he was replaced with the viceroy of Sicily Ramón de Cardona, who governed the Kingdom until his death in 1522.[23] His mandate was uninterrupted by the arrival of Charles V on

18 Hernando Sánchez 1994, 197.
19 Hernando Sánchez 1995; Muto 2019, 25–32.
20 Galasso 2005, 182–188 and 205–206.
21 Ibid., 207–209, 211–214.
22 Muto 2004, 509.
23 Cernigliaro 1983, 46–56, has a more positive assessment of Ripacorsa's period of rule.

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the throne in 1516 despite friction between the new royal court and the Neapolitan viceroy. Cardona went on implementing Ferdinand the Catholic's policy of continuity whereas Charles wished to reinforce the subordinate status of the Kingdom and strengthen the monarchy's control at the expense of local political protagonists.[24] An outright conflict was avoided when Cardona died before Charles V had perfected the system of remote government by enhancing the powers of the *Consiglio Collaterale*, which officially had equal status with the viceroy but in actual fact oversaw his actions, especially as it could choose whether or not to ratify his decisions.[25] At the same time, however, the viceroy retained his status as the sovereign's *alter nos*, a role underlined both in Cardona's confirmation in post and in the nomination of his successor, Charles de Lannoy (1522–1523).[26]

The role of viceroy was now an established and normal part of the administrative structure of the Kingdom, so much so that the viceroys could in their turn be represented by a lieutenant during their absences, usually on military expeditions. In October 1523, for example, Andrea Carafa count of Santa Severina (?–1526)—a leading member of the local nobility—was nominated as lieutenant when Lannoy had to go to Lombardy to head the Spanish army against the French.[27] Philibert de Chalon prince of Orange (1502–1530) took the opposite route when he was appointed as viceroy after commanding the troops in the war of 1527–1528. Once the French threat had passed, the role of viceroy retained its military dimension, and he punished the barons and cities in southern Italy who had sided with the French.[28]

The harsh post-war policies enacted by the viceroy with the purpose of demonstrating the unwavering will of the Spanish monarchy—by this time an imperial monarchy—represented a particular stage in royal strategy which the viceroy was intended to embody. Those plans, which can be drastically summarized as consisting in an onerous fiscal system and the increasing centralization of power, were developed gradually during the second decade of the 16th century on the basis of detailed information on the Kingdom's circumstances. In 1518 Charles V sent a series of instructions to four commissars who were to work alongside the viceroy Cardona in which all aspects of the Kingdom's governance—military, jurisdictional, financial—were dealt with in

24 For a summary see Sakellariou 1995, 349–351.
25 Cernigliaro 1983, 92–104.
26 Galasso 2005, 309–310.
27 Ibid., 331–332. Carafa had already previously been lieutenant.
28 Ibid., 367–382.

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detail.[29] Subsequently, Charles sent Charles Leclerc to the Kingdom as commissioner and comptroller-general for all the royal officers; he was followed by Mercurino di Gattinara (1465–1530) as High Chancellor for all His Majesty's kingdoms. Both men produced reports which stressed the critical condition of the Kingdom and its government: abuses, corruption, an excessive number of tax exemptions, legal malpractice, inadequate financial management, and so forth.[30] Gattinara's document in particular singled out the failure on the part of officials, including the viceroy himself, to observe and carry out the sovereign's orders. The system of information and control over officers' actions were fundamental to efficient government from a distance.[31] Yet the swift succession of different viceroys and the war against the French delayed the implementation of the project. It finally got underway during the 1530s when Pedro Álvarez de Toledo became viceroy (1532–1553), the first holder of the role who would occupy the position for a long period.

Don Pedro brought new significance to the role of viceroy; he carried out all his functions—regulatory, jurisdictional, administrative, relations with the Kingdom's subjects—with complete authority. Since it is not possible here to list all the initiatives for which he was responsible, we will focus on selected aspects of his activities. In terms of gathering information on the Kingdom, his actions to some degree re-proposed previous royal and imperial attempts in this field. One of the earliest exercises he carried out was a systematic survey of all the decrees issued by previous monarchs and viceroys, and also of the mass of regulations, privileges, and other documentation relating to the offices throughout the territories of the Kingdom. In this context, and in the light of recent studies which have emerged from the so-called 'archival turn' in historical research,[32] the move of the royal archive known as the *Regia Zecca* to the Castello Capuano in Naples, where the main tribunals were located, is noteworthy.[33] The decree authorising the transfer was issued by Toledo in 1540, the same year in which the central archive of the Spanish monarchy was established at Simancas. These measures, together with others relating to the staff who would manage the archives—which shed interesting light on the social and political aspects of such functionaries' work[34]—reflect on one hand the

29 Pilati 2001.
30 Galasso 1994, 53–61; Galasso 2005, 313–324.
31 On the system of information gathering, see the example of Sicily in Silvestri 2016.
32 See, in the first instance, Ketelaar 2017.
33 On this and the other archives of the Kingdom's highest courts under Angevin rule, Serci 2019, 302–314.
34 Perfetto 2019. For a comparison with Sicily, Silvestri 2015.

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need to impose order on the by now vast collections of archival documents and on the other the explicit intention to demonstrate "the pre-eminence of state documentation, not only because it derives from higher authorities but also because it is held in places which confirm its authenticity and its superior value to other forms of knowledge", according to the theory of the time.[35] It is also the case here that the Aragonese had introduced several innovations in this field, though they are more evident in the Kingdom of Sicily than in that of Naples. In the latter there are some difficulties in reconstructing the structure and the management of the archives. Nevertheless, it is possible to state that they were divided in terms of internal arrangement according to different magistratures and between different archival collections and also that there was a certain degree of movement of the collections between one building and another.[36]

Thus, with this approach towards the archives, Toledo gave concrete form to the desire for centralisation which characterised the policy of Charles v. In many other instances Toledo's operations followed the sovereign's line impeccably; he drove forward on the positions it took with reforms intended to resolve the state of crisis in the Kingdom's administration, above all by means of better regulation of all the royal offices (including the highest) and a rebalancing of social representation in each of them. One example is the *Consiglio Collaterale*, which increased its powers at the expense of other bodies, while measures were taken to reduce the political significance of the barons, especially in the light of the support given by some of them in the past to the French faction. Toledo's interventions, despite his acknowledgement of other powers held by the feudal lords, as we shall see below, provoked the opposition of some of the leading nobles who petitioned Charles v in vain, on the occasion of his visit to the Kingdom in 1535–1536, for Toledo's removal. Over the following two decades, this bond between the viceroy and the sovereign—who was also represented by occasional embassies in visitation—gave rise to a more absolutist policy, with a corresponding diminution in the influence which could be exercised by local political figures. This created tension within society yet even the rebellion in 1547 failed to stop the consolidation of imperial power.[37]

In 1553 Toledo was transferred to another important post and a few years later Charles v abdicated in favour of Philip ii. Philip's ascent to the throne opened a new chapter in the Kingdom's history, characterised by a return to a

35 De Vivo, Guidi and Silvestri 2015, 28.

36 Serci 2019, 318–324. On Sicily, Silvestri 2018, 393–426.

37 Further detail on Pedro di Toledo's interventions in: Cernigliaro 1983, 267–349; Hernando Sánchez 1994, 209–241; Galasso 2005, 416–422, 435–474, 493–518.

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more rapid turn-over of viceroys, along with new administrative reforms and above all a new conception of the Kingdom, now regarded as one 'province' in a vast political system. Internally, the viceroy became one of the roles at the head of the government, obliged to coordinate with the others and answerable to a new central body called the *Consiglio d'Italia*.[38]

The Provinces

An important watershed in the organisation of the Kingdom's territory occurred in the 1230s when Frederick II decreed the division into provinces (*giustizierati*) headed by a justiciar, a figure which dated back to Norman times. This territorial subdivision proved long-lasting; it survived through different dynasties of rulers who, while they modified certain aspects such as the borders or the number of provinces, left the underlying arrangement and its guiding principle untouched.[39] With the arrival of the Aragonese, the structure of twelve provinces was firmly established after a series of separations and combinations had been introduced under the Angevins.[40] Yet there were significant changes in the way the provinces were governed and in their relationship to the topmost rungs of the administration.[41]

It should first of all be noted that from the end of the 14th century onwards it had been the practice of the monarchs to nominate in certain places or areas within the Kingdom—single cities or groups of provinces—viceroys, special lieutenants, or vicars (to be distinguished from the Kingdom's Vicars-General) whose authority overlay that of the regular officials and directly reflected royal authority over the territory, especially through the armed forces. For example, Alfonso the Magnanimous, during his campaign of conquest, assigned the government, with plenary powers, of various parts of the Kingdom—whether established gains like Gaeta and Aversa or areas which still needed to be conquered such as the province of Abruzzo—to viceroys.[42] These roles were filled, depending on territorial necessities or circumstances, by loyal feudal

38 Musi 1986, 227–233.

39 On the justiciars during the early period of Angevin rule, Morelli 2012.

40 The twelve provinces were, starting with the north of the Kingdom: Abruzzo *ultra* and *citra flumen Piscarie*, Molise, Terra di Lavoro, Capitanata, Principato *ultra* and *citra serras Montorii*, Terra di Bari, Basilicata, Terra d'Otranto, Val di Crati and Terra Giordana, Calabria.

41 For a more detailed account of the history of the Kingdom's provinces, see volumes 5, 6, and 7 in Galasso and Romeo 1986–1991.

42 Ryder 1976, 320–321.

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vassals—especially from the Iberian Peninsula—and by *condottieri*, but later also by various members of the royal family itself.[43]

Once he had secured the throne, Alfonso restored justiciars in almost all the provinces.[44] This resumption of the 'normal' system also entailed a wider use of officers from the Kingdom itself rather than from the Iberian Peninsula, who had most often been given the roles of local viceroys until then. The justiciars were explicitly subject to the regulations set down by Frederick II (and the subsequent legislative additions to these) which prevented members of the clergy, the barons, and any man who came from the same province for which the justiciar was to be appointed from holding the post. However, the powers of justiciars and the potential scope of their intervention within a province were altered from what these had been in the Hohenstaufen period. In the 15th century, cities, barons, and other royal officials exercised some of the functions which at one time had been the responsibility of the justiciar. These transfers of power occurred in different ways, at different times and in different places depending on the ability of the subjects to negotiate with the king and that of the king to intervene in the territories of the Kingdom. As a result, each region and even each city enjoyed differing proportions and degrees of power, which determined how effectively the justiciar's own powers could be exercised, even though his powers were defined in general terms. These local officials and their staff (judges, notaries, etc.) were responsible for the administration of justice in a broad sense, not only cases of appeal but also protecting the vulnerable and the clergy, as spelt out in the Kingdom's *constitutiones*.[45]

Against this background of 'flexible continuity', the Aragonese introduced some innovations. The reforms of 1443 brought with them a reorganisation of the systems of financial and fiscal management of the provinces, which were grouped into five ad hoc blocks, each with its own *percettore* or treasurer.[46] The functionary who dealt with fiscal matters no longer formed part of the justiciar's staff but was now an official with the same status and a wider mandate. In other words, a division of administrative responsibilities took place which emphasized the specialisms of functionaries. Such specialisms had also been tried out under the Angevins for certain functions, such as the administration

43 Federico d'Aragona is an especially characteristic example: Russo 2018, 143–169.

44 Some of the territory on the Kingdom's borders, such as the Terra di Lavoro and the Abruzzo, as well as Calabria, which were traditionally governed by figures who were not *giustizieri*, were not included, at least in the early years of Alfonso's reign: see Ryder 1976, 321–323 and Morelli 1997, 298–229.

45 Ryder 1976, 324–331.

46 Del Treppo 1986, 110–114.

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of ports and coasts, which was the responsibility of the *magistri portolani* (a role retained by the Aragonese), or the management of indirect taxation, which was entrusted to the *secreti*.[47] Such an arrangement might evoke the statist and modern feel of a hierarchical administrative structure, but in reality the use of viceroys and commissioners with special powers over certain areas at certain times—who worked above or alongside ordinary officials—as well as the possibility for cities and barons to exercise their own powers, makes the picture more complicated. In short, the Aragonese, with characteristic pragmatism, made simultaneous use of different structures to govern the provinces, with the aim of maintaining and reinforcing integration between the various levels of administration while at the same time not establishing rigid hierarchies. This desire for integration can also be found in the dissemination at local level of the linguistic and textual models for administrative records drawn up by the higher offices of states.[48]

For their part, the Spanish reinforced both the tendency towards integration and towards hierarchy by enhancing and regulating the system they had inherited. A thorough subdivision of responsibilities was achieved throughout the twelve provinces by means of officials who answered to each of the corresponding higher offices. Justice was administered through provincial *Udienze*, which came under the *Sacro Regio Consiglio*; tax was still the responsibility of the *percettori* (but now with one for each of the twelve provinces) and by other special roles (customs officers, harbour-masters, etc.), all of whom came under the *Camera della Sommaria*.[49] The defence of the provinces was entrusted to military governors but was also ensured by means of garrisons under the control of captains who were directly under the control of the viceroy. Finally, in the case of certain cities regarded as of particular importance, governors were nominated who, along with their *familiae* of functionaries, exercised a range of powers in these administrative 'islands'. This new system represented a significant change in the relations of the monarchy to its subjects in the Kingdom from the point of view of accessibility to the sovereign. Under the Aragonese, access to the monarch, through the presentation above all of petitions and complaints, was relatively easy, both because of their progresses through the Kingdom and the presence of their direct representatives (viceroys and lieutenants). With the Spanish, the sovereign was distant, and the provinces no longer had direct representatives, who had been replaced by functionaries.[50]

47 For further examples, Delle Donne 2012, 92–96.

48 Senatore 2017.

49 On the importance of the *percettori* beyond their administrative functions, Muto 1983.

50 Senatore 2018, 452–453.

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Everything appeared to fit more smoothly together, was better regulated and more 'statist' than during the Aragonese period, despite the presence of certain peculiar features. But here too the impression of a modern state needs to be qualified. First, there was no higher provincial official who coordinated the work of all the others.[51] Secondly, no general legislation existed before the late 16th century which defined the responsibilities of these officials; such matters were dealt with by regular interventions from above, which not infrequently were in response to petitions sent by subjects or the requests of local barons who, in addition, could exercise public authority themselves in various ways over large areas of the Kingdom. The provinces in other words should not be seen as administrative districts in the true modern sense but rather as territorial spaces within which a plurality of local and other kinds of agents had different functions and aims. From the monarchy's point of view, it was the responsibility of the provinces not only to play their part in the defence of the Kingdom by maintaining local troops and forming part of the King's army but also, and above all, to ensure taxes were paid, an important necessity given the increasing financial needs of the monarchy. These needs arose, on the one hand, from the requirements of an evolving administrative system and, on the other, from the intense military demands of a regime which possessed several kingdoms and later an empire. From the point of view of the local populace, the provincial offices at various levels offered the prospect of employment to numerous professionals in the legal and more generally administrative sectors, for whom there were no posts in the capital.

The Role of Cities and Barons in the Administrative System

We have already alluded to the different figures who participated in the governance and administration of the Kingdom at various levels. In order to appreciate fully the complexity of the system we need to look in further detail at some aspects of politics and administration at regional and local levels, distinct, that is, from the provinces. We can start by drawing a political map of the Kingdom's territory. It was divided between areas controlled by the monarchy and areas under the dominion of feudal lords; these latter areas had no connection with the division into districts, the borders of which could cross

51 Various explanations for this omission have been proposed, such as the desire to avoid the over-concentration of power and the creation of unofficial intermediate levels between central government and local communities. See the different views in this respect expressed in Muto 1983, 10–11, and Musi 1991, 65–66.

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areas of differing systems. Cities could be found in both these areas and consequently they fell into two types: domanial—directly under the monarch's authority—and feudal. The political, social, and economic life found in the two kinds did not much differ: political structures, social organisation, and economic developments—leaving aside specific characteristics—were largely similar. The main difference lay essentially in the possibility enjoyed by the local feudal lord to levy additional taxes, in addition to the diminished ability of the monarchy to control the activity of his officers—something which the monarchy attempted to rectify, as we shall see. In both types of city, as indeed at the level of the local barons themselves, one can see 'the way the Kingdom worked', beyond an examination of its officials and their responsibilities and tasks.[52] Alongside these officials, the prominent role played by the feudal barons and the urban communities in the cities is strikingly clear; together with "a myriad of agents, intermediaries, subcontractors, with *de jure* and *de facto* powers", they participated "to varying degrees" and "in uneasy co-existence with the government throughout the peripheral territories of southern Italy in the modern period".[53] In other words, the exercise of powers which derived from the monarchy, and especially those which concerned the administration of justice and taxation, was not confined to the administrative structures linked to the monarchy and therefore not entirely within the control of the officials appointed by the monarch and their assistants. From the Angevins onwards, public duties were carried out by different groups which varied over time and from place to place but who can basically be characterized in three categories: the feudal barons, local communities, and contractors. It is impossible to analyse here all the functions carried out by all these figures, but certain aspects of their activities can be singled out.

In the cities directly under the monarch's authority there was a web of various public functions carried out by different individuals. The court of the *capitaneus*—the official appointed by the monarch usually for a period of six months or a year, known in the 16th century as the *gubernator*—was responsible for the administration of criminal law and some areas of civil law. What he did not deal with in civil justice was the responsibility of judges elected by the community. The nature of the powers, together with their limits and associated procedures, exercised by each of these various individuals differed, in the absence of any general legislation regarding the matter, from place to place;

52 For urban administration from the mid-15th to the mid-16th century see Cirillo 2011, I, 185–219.

53 Musi 1991, 64.

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although they all recognized the Kingdom's constitutions and the *ius commune*, the different privileges and exceptions which had come into existence over the course of time created a highly complicated overall picture.[54] In any case, anyone could appeal directly to the highest judicial bodies of the Kingdom over the heads of local officials.

Less room for flexibility is found in another important function carried out by the cities, the collection of taxes for the court. Yet each community, as the basic administrative unit which received the requests from the court for the payment of taxes, played a greater role in how this was carried out. It was the communities which decided how to divide internally the tax burden in order to pay the monarchy, though their choices of direct and indirect taxation had to be approved by the sovereign. In the territories which came under the jurisdiction of each city, it was the city which acted on behalf of the Crown, as a royal 'official', for taxation purposes, though here again there were frequent variations between places.[55] One of these was the possibility of contracting out the management of indirect taxation, sometimes in connection with legal roles. A typical example was the *baiulatio*, a bundle of public offices, both juridical and fiscal, which were detached from or contracted out by the owner (originally the monarchy and subsequently also the cities and the barons).[56] The temporary acquisition of rights to the *baiulatio*, as with the rights to farm indirect taxes granted by the cities and by the monarchy itself (part of the fiscal reforms mentioned above), was an opportunity for members of the middle and upper urban classes to enrich themselves and bolster their status.[57] This group included also those citizens who similarly found the possibility of social advancement and consolidation through their holding of Crown offices, in different places in the Kingdom or at court.[58]

The growing involvement of citizens in administration was a particular feature of Ferrante's reign since it formed part of a wider reorganisation of social elements across the Kingdom. The most important of these was without doubt feudal lords, with which the monarchy had been fundamentally linked from

54 Two recent case studies are Terenzi 2015, 376–391 and 469–502, and Senatore 2018, 147–169; a comparison of the two reveals similarities and differences between two leading cities in the Kingdom, L'Aquila and Capua.

55 See again the cited case studies (Terenzi 2015, 357–376; Senatore 2018, 123–147 and 245–258), but also Francesco Senatore's contribution in the present volume. For an overview, linked to an analysis of the Kingdom's economy, Sakellariou 2012, 165–191, and the same author's contribution in the present volume.

56 A very clear explanation can be found in Senatore 2018, 170–179.

57 Senatore and Terenzi 2018, 254–260.

58 For L'Aquila see Terenzi 2015, 409–420.

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its beginnings in the 12th century. Under Aragonese rule, in 1443, Alfonso the Magnanimous had granted, in exchange for their agreement to recognise Ferrante, his illegitimate son, as the rightful heir, *merum et mixtum imperium* to all the feudal lords in the Kingdom—in other words, the highest level of adjudication in civil and criminal cases—over the vassals in the territorial areas they ruled. The same concession had been granted by the last Angevin kings to a large number of the barons, for the duration of their lifetimes, but only Alfonso put it on a general footing, by granting the *imperium* only if it was explicitly included among the privileges conferred in the ceremony of feudal investiture, also stipulating that it could be revoked (*ad beneplacitum*).[59]

Despite these principles, the jurisdiction and the powers of the feudal barons steadily increased, even though royal officials always had the power to intervene directly in their territories, as the monarchy constantly pointed out. Moreover, the monarchy also reinforced its role as the protector of its subjects by widening the opportunities to make direct appeals to the person of the king (or his delegate) in protesting against abuses of the judicial system.[60] In short, "while the Aragonese kings extended baronial jurisdiction, they also set up a system of control to ensure its limitation": in this manner they sought consensus but at the same time tried to maintain the Crown's fundamental prerogative in the administration of the law.[61] Nevertheless, the barons managed to construct larger or smaller 'feudal states' for themselves, though their effective control of their territories varied. The largest territory and the greatest power belonged without doubt to the principality of Taranto in Puglia, established in the 14th century; during the rule of Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo (1421–1463), it could be regarded, in the view of some scholars, as constituting a "state within a state".[62]

Yet, despite the largely favourable Aragonese policy towards the barons, when Alfonso died in 1458 many of them rebelled against Ferrante in support of Angevin claims to the Kingdom.[63] When the rebellion was over, with the death of Prince Orsini, who had led the uprising, Ferrante adopted an anti-baronial policy: in many cases he confiscated their feudal territories (including the principality of Taranto) in order to keep them for the monarchy or redistribute them; he allowed their free transfer, thus triggering mechanisms of social transformation which nonetheless needed the approval of the monarchy; he

59 Sakellariou 2011, 34–35.
60 Scarton and Senatore 2018, 167–174.
61 Sakellariou 2011, 36–39.
62 Abulafia 2009. More generally, Vallone 1999, and Petracca and Vetere 2013.
63 Caridi 2021, 126–138.

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encouraged the economic and political development of the urban centres as a counterweight to the barons' power; he strengthened the administrative structure in order to make its presence in the provinces more visible and effectual. But the larger part of the Kingdom remained under feudal control and the barons retained their leading role in its political life—as the second baronial rebellion of 1485 demonstrates[64]—, despite the growth of urban groups (the nobility, merchants, functionaries) and of the cities in general.[65] The preeminence of the barons in the parliaments of the Kingdom is just one of several indications of their power; the cities were not systematically called upon to take part.[66]

The Spanish took this situation into account. As far as the administration of justice was concerned, they continued Aragonese policy, to the extent of reaffirming the same conditions laid down by the latter for the exercise of the *imperia*. But the barons saw a growth in their powers in this field, increasingly being given responsibility for appeal hearings, jurisdictional exclusivity (prohibiting recourse to royal courts), and extraordinary powers which were normally the domain of royal officials. Over the course of the 16th century, in short, the barons became the equivalents of royal officials.[67] It is true that some of these powers had been granted to them under the Aragonese, but only as an exception and only to the most powerful and loyal barons.[68] In any case, these roles did not amount to the enjoyment of absolute power over their territories since the barons were expected to respect (and make others respect) the Kingdom's laws and to avoid abusing their power.

The controlled concession of 'quotas of sovereignty' was not a sign of the monarchy's weakness. Rather it indicates an attempt to integrate the most powerful social grouping in the Kingdom into a structure of governance which must be seen, also in the light of the barons' drive for autonomy, as a highly articulated system in continuous movement, despite the introduction of a progressively defined administrative structure. The reforms introduced by Pedro de Toledo resulted in an alignment of feudal and administrative structures which was one of the elements in the process of achieving the integration of the Kingdom of Naples into Spain's overall imperial system.[69]

64 Scarton 2011; Caridi 2021, 165–192.
65 Galasso 1992, 742–747.
66 Scarton and Senatore 2018, 54–65. On later developments, Cernigliaro 1983, 389–400.
67 Cernigliaro 1983, 157–168 and 246–257.
68 Sakellariou 2011, 35.
69 Cernigliaro 1983, 267–335, for greater detail.

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In Conclusion

To conclude this necessarily partial exploration several aspects can be highlighted. The Kingdom of Naples between the 15th and 16th centuries as it has been presented here belongs to the category of administrative monarchies, characterised by the feature, among others, of a prevailing stability of the administrative apparatus, which tended to "centralise and to resist change" despite the interventions of various monarchs.[70] From the transition between Angevin and Aragonese power onwards, the monarchs aimed at improving the system without disrupting it: "there were certainly changes [...], but no dramatic breaks in continuity".[71] Specific goals were pursued, such as increasing the specialisation of administrative functions and modifying the balance of power of social forces within the system of administration (creating more members of the robe nobility class at the expense of the barons). But a rigid and perfectly hierarchical organization did not exist, as the administration of the provinces clearly shows, nor did officials adhere to an impersonal bureaucratic approach, although over the decades this was the prevailing tendency. The introduction of the role of viceroy undoubtedly meant that the hierarchy became better defined at the highest level, though it was only during the reign of Charles V that the holder of the post became more clearly identified as the monarch's highest ranking official.

Innovations such as this—which was the result of what became the *necessity* of governing a kingdom remotely, after the *choice* to rule from Castile as the centre—formed part of a general process characterised by continuity. The Aragonese, until the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic, voluntarily pursued it, but it became 'obligatory' during Charles V's rule, though it was also the period when the most profound changes to the system were introduced. The carefully judged equilibrium between continuity and innovation, altering according to changing circumstance, characterised a large part of the period examined here, which could be described as a prolonged phase of transition. Over this period of time there were moments when the process of innovation accelerated, usually as a result of conflicts to which the monarchs reacted by punishing or rewarding their subjects for their behaviour also by making changes to the Kingdom's administration. In this context the relations between the king and the feudal barons are of particular importance. On the one hand the barons were a centrifugal force, with their desire to preserve the powers and privileges which had

70 Senatore 2018, 446–447.

71 Senatore 2012, 37. See also Muto 2019, 23–24. A recent collection of essays also stressed the importance of the 'Aragonese memory' during the Spanish period: D'Agostino 2020.

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come down to them under Angevin rule, as well as representing a dangerous military threat when this desire connected with French claims to the throne. On the other hand, precisely on account of their military and social significance, they were the monarchy's principal interlocutors and as such were granted increasingly wider jurisdictional authority; at the same time there was an effort, under the Aragonese, to control the effects of this and the wish, under the Spanish, to integrate it more completely within the overall administrative structure. In the pursuit of this latter policy the monarchy achieved its aim of bringing over to its side a large number of the barons, who right up until the end of the 1520s had supported the return of a French dynasty.[72] The urban centres in the provinces of the Kingdom found themselves squeezed between the prominence of the barons and the growth of Naples as the capital, which as such attracted many of the most vital social forces throughout the Kingdom, leading to the vast growth of its population and its foremost and representative position among the network of cities.[73] Yet the prominence of Naples did not prevent the other urban centres throughout the Kingdom from expressing their vitality, which was also the cultural vitality examined in the other contributions to the present volume.

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72 Sakellariou 1995, 351–353.

73 Among the many studies of this theme, see Astarita 2013.

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CHAPTER 3

Demography, Economy, and Trade

Eleni Sakellariou

By the middle of the 12th century, at the same time as the communal political system was established in northern Italy and the maritime republics of Venice and Genoa embarked on their trajectory of commercial supremacy in the Mediterranean, southern Italy achieved political unity, institutional maturity, and territorial coherence, which lasted well into the early modern period. This distinctive historical course has been called on to explain the divergence between north and south, which persists to the present day. Scholars across the ideological and methodological spectrum have agreed on this point. Whether because southern Italy differed from the precocious models of republicanism and free trade that the northern communes represented, or because it was exploited by northern Italian capitalists, it has become the epitome of an unchanging, uniform, monarchical, and rural land, incapable of following the principal chapters of Italian and European history.

There is little doubt that the north-south divide has been detrimental to the south in modern and contemporary times—but did it have the same impact throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance? Or is the vision of southern Italy as the embodiment of unchanging backwardness, contrasted with precocious northern modernity, a contemporary historiographical construct that fails to do justice to the complexities of historical reality? Although there is no easy answer to this question, the historical debate has been enlivened by efforts to explain the southern Italian economy not only in its dualistic relation with the north, but also in the light of recent findings with respect to a series of aspects which have not been given their due in the past. These aspects are demographic increase and the growth of towns, the role of Naples in shaping domestic demand, the potential of the domestic market, the emergence of a local secondary sector and of networks of exchange, the interaction between international, regional, and local trade, and the economic role of the state.

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Typologies of Exchange

In 2005, Chris Wickham proposed a tripartite typology of trade in the pre-industrial era, based on scale rather than distance. If a distinction of scale, one between the trade of luxuries and the bulk exchange of raw materials and commodities, seems more useful than the distance of commercial itineraries alone, both present problems of interpretation. Just as it is difficult to determine the limits between long, medium, and short itineraries, so it is challenging to classify all goods as either luxuries or commodities. However, the recent typology does offer a key to interpreting pre-modern trade: the observation that the intermediate commercial level, the bulk exchange of commercial goods that were in high demand or closer to consumer durables than to luxuries, broke out of the local sphere across regions and increased in volume when the possibilities offered by trade became more reliable, in association with the emergence of more complex, integrated economies. Although complete specialization was unknown before the modern period, specialization did grow gradually in the pre-industrial era.[1]

In the medieval Mediterranean, bulk goods were low-cost textiles and their raw materials, metalwork, ceramics, woodwork and timber, leatherwork, paper, and glass, as well as, of course, nonperishable foodstuffs: grain, wine, olive oil, preserved fish and meat. Similar goods were the main items in all large-scale exchange systems up to the 19th century. They could be bought by the majority of people, not just the elites. They could be exported cheaply and in bulk if demand was high and communications reliable enough for their price to remain low and to compete with or complement local productions. When such a system was set in motion, scale economies became possible.[2] In this sense, types of exchange that encouraged specialization and integration and flowed over and across regions were more important than long-distance trade per se (the exceptions of Venice and Genoa, great emporia without a hinterland, are typically cited).[3]

Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's perception of the medieval Mediterranean as an entity unified not so much by the rippling sound of great fleets crossing the sea from end to end, as by the incessant background noise of the

1 Wickham 2005, 694–699, 703; Wickham 2004, 163–164. Petralia 2017, 1–16; De Vries 2019, 23–36.

2 When more of a product is produced in one area, then the labour needed per unit of production becomes less and production costs decrease: Krugman, Obstfeld, and Melitz 2015, 179–180.

3 Wickham 2004, 156, 165, 173–174; Petralia 2017, 9.

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small craft that connected local and regional maritime spaces, displays intellectual affinity with this reading of how economic sophistication increased within regions before it expanded outside their remit.[4] There is also common ground with Stephan Epstein's confutation of Henri Bresc's paradigm of Sicilian dependence on international trade; as well as with the interpretation of the late Middle Ages as a period of economic restructuring, whereby the demographic crisis triggered the development of sectors which had remained inactive in the preceding period of population pressure, and which now created opportunities for the redistribution of wealth in favour of the lower ranks in society, and an increased demand for a widening range of affordable goods in human diet, clothing, and housing.[5]

The currents of communication and exchange beneath the swell of commercial empires were a prevailing theme in Fernand Braudel's exegesis of commercial activity in the pre-modern Mediterranean.[6] Yet, while in the past there was agreement that the authentic Mediterranean civilizations developed from large port cities, now, we are told, the norm must be sought on a smaller scale. If entertaining doubts about the dominant role of Genoa or Venice is to overstate the case, the new prominence given to exchange at a smaller scale within and between regions opens the way to the study of aspects of human activity that have been overlooked in the past.[7] The known commercial itineraries and the famous merchant-entrepreneurs coexisted with local and regional trade routes and traders, secondary but indispensable because they guaranteed the movement of goods and individuals between the various levels of an economic system. More stable channels of accumulation and distribution of a wide range of 'bulk' goods were established particularly in the period of expansion between the late 14th and the late 16th century. International trade is of fundamental importance in the pre-modern Mediterranean economy, but it is also part of a vast system in perpetual movement, which spread like a mesh over extended geographical areas, from small and large port towns along the coast to market towns in their hinterlands and to areas of production of raw materials. Finally, this interlacing of smaller and larger scale is not only of geographical but also of

4 Horden and Purcell 2000, 5, 21, 77–78, 121–122, 143–152, 365–367; Petralia 2017, 4–5, with a different emphasis.

5 Cipolla 1993; Britnell 1996; Dyer 2005. For a critique, Hatcher and Bailey 2001. In the context of medieval Sicily and southern Italy, Bresc 1986; Epstein 1992; Sakellariou 2012; also Petralia 1994, 137–162; Petralia 2014, 530–531; Galasso 2014, 295–300.

6 Braudel 1979a, 1:203–204, 253–255; 2:515–520; Braudel 1979b, 1:153–156; 2:11–13, 112–114; Fusaro, Heywood, and Omri 2010.

7 Wickham 2005, 691; Petralia 2014, 531; De Vries 2019, 33–35.

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human interest. Economic agents, producers, and merchants can also be classified according to the extent of their activity. Agents from the lower grades of the hierarchy interacted with those from the higher grades, forming complex social and economic networks.[8] This approach to the pre-modern economy is a helpful key to understanding economic activity in the Kingdom of Naples.

Demography

In 1447, the Kingdom had 210,020 fiscal households (about one million inhabitants at a quota of 4.5 persons per household; the population of Naples is not included in these figures). Average density was 13 inhabitants per square kilometre, and there is a very large gap between the highest and lowest values in the provinces: from 20 inhabitants per square kilometre in the Terra di Lavoro to a mere 6.4 in the Terra d'Otranto. By 1532, the population had risen to 329,476 *fuochi* (households) (about 1.5 million inhabitants). Average density reached 22 inhabitants per square kilometre, a little lower than the Italian average, though it spanned a peak of 29 in the Terra di Lavoro (excluding Naples) to a low of 7 in Capitanata. The demographic takeoff can be pinpointed more precisely to have occurred between the 1470s and the late 1490s. The vicinity to Naples must explain the high densities in Campania. A persistently low population coupled with extensive arable and pastoral farming became a hallmark of Capitanata and part of Basilicata in the early modern period. Regional specialization and a strong market orientation are responsible for the rapid population increase in the rest of Puglia, while in Abruzzo—a mountainous region which meant there were limits to available resources—growth was steady but slower. In general, by 1532, with the exception of Capitanata, the population tended to be more evenly distributed over the territory than in the 1440s, and this points to some degree of economic integration. Rapid increase continued in the 16th century; although the recovery in the numbers of the Italian population was similar to that of other European regions, it has been argued that, within Italy, the south fared better than central and northern Italy in the early modern period. The period of rapid increase culminated in 1561, when the Kingdom's population approached 2.5 million.[9]

8 Dorin 2012, 235–236; Theiller 2009, 37–46; Figliuolo and Simbula 2014, vii–ix; Sakellariou 2012, 119, 193; Clark 1995, 6–8, 15–16; Kowaleski 1995, 2–4; Petralia 2017, 15–16.

9 Sakellariou 2012, 89–113; Beloch 1937, 1:212–215; Malanima (1998), 106–107; Malanima (2018), 6–8. On the reliability of fiscal documents for historical demography, Blockmans and Dubois 1997, 200–202; Dupâquier 1997, 220.

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During the Renaissance, Naples was established as the political, cultural, and economic capital of southern Italy, a major international port, and one of the most populous European cities. Although there is no precise information on its population, historians concur that the city had about 40–50,000 inhabitants in the second half of the 15th century, and between 100,000 and 150,000 in the 1530s. Population density in the Terra di Lavoro, the province of Naples, rises to a staggering 50 inhabitants per square kilometre by 1532, if the population of Naples is also taken into account.[10]

The ascendancy of Naples is of concern here not in itself, but for the consequences it had on the areas around the capital. In the second half of the 20th century, the debate about whether the emerging capital cities of the early modern period (Paris, London, Rome, Naples) operated either parasitically, sucking their hinterlands empty, or as engines of growth, stimulating production and trade in their district thanks to increasing demand, leaned towards the parasitical model.[11] In recent decades, the second interpretation has been gaining ground. Although early modern capital cities were consumers of population and non-productive spenders, they were, at the same time, large markets for raw materials and consumption goods, propelling their hinterland towards specialized production.[12]

In the 18th century, in Naples's hinterland, within a radius of 50–60 kilometres, an exceptional density of population was achieved, while the Kingdom's total population continued to rise. In response to increasing urban demand, the same region experienced agricultural specialization, commercial development, and relative prosperity. Areas further from the metropolis, but closely linked to Naples, also experienced economic dynamism. Naples's political and cultural influence spread over much of the Kingdom's territory, and contributed to its integration in Europe's most advanced cultural networks.[13] In the second half of the 16th century, a debate at the highest levels of the Spanish regime reached similar conclusions: although feeding the population was a concern, it was acknowledged that there was a direct relationship between the capital's demographic increase and professional differentiation, and the

10 Sakellariou 2012, 104–107, 440–441; Senatore 2018a, 9–13; Muto 2013, 43–44; Ventura 2018, 118, 131–132.

11 Braudel 1979b, 1:463–491; Revel 1972, 201–202; Aymard 1978, 1158–1187; Chartres 1986, 169, 187–188. For the roots of the controversy, Venturi 1971, 1–73.

12 Wrigley 1967, 44–70; Wrigley 1978, 295–309; Campbell, Galloway, Keene, and Murphy 1993, 172–177; Britnell 2000, 1–21; Jacquart 1996, 114–115. Also Berengo 1999; Figliuolo 2015a, 823–836.

13 Marin 1996, 146–149, 161–163; Muto 2001, 433–434.

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development of a variety of economic activities, among them textile production; last but not least, Naples's size had a positive effect on social and cultural development, promoted its magnificence, and contributed to its emergence as a capital city worthy of the title.[14]

The 15th- and 16th-century demographic data also suggest that the effect of Naples on the Kingdom's economy was not negative. The Terra di Lavoro had the highest population density among all provinces between 1447 and 1532, even excluding the population of Naples. It was followed very closely by the neighbouring Principato Citra and Ultra. In addition, Francesco Senatore has recently shown that the population of the "urban districts" of Capua, Aversa, Sessa and, to a lesser extent, Nola increased between 1447 and 1532, which led him to conclude that the growth of Naples did not hinder that of Capua and Aversa. In the Renaissance, the capital was not a net consumer of population; rather, it seemed to be able to support bigger and smaller settlements and to stimulate growth, probably thanks to its population's increasing demand for foodstuffs and a wide range of goods, as well as for other political, social, and institutional reasons.[15] In view of this evidence, it is misguided to argue that the capital "devoured the population" of its hinterland.[16]

It is difficult to determine with precision the population not only of Naples, but also of many other towns. The greatest hurdle is that the lists of fiscal households, the main demographic source of the period, record the total number of hearths for administrative units that included both towns and the *casali* that were fiscally attached to them. Only if the size of each urban centre were ascertained individually could we arrive at a reliable estimate of the Kingdom's urban population. At present, an accurate evaluation of southern Italian urbanization and urbanism is not possible. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that, in the case of southern Italy, a relatively low urban threshold (for example 5,000 inhabitants) is more probable, and that the role of small towns, with a population of 2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants, as hubs of commerce and channels for contact with the countryside, 'higher' centres, and representatives of political authority, must be taken into serious consideration.[17]

Northern European historians regard as towns even very small settlements, provided that they presented non-agricultural economic activity and social differentiation. Their Italian colleagues, on account of northern Italian urban

14 Muto 2013, 35–58; Ventura 2018, 133–140.

15 Feniello 2005, 213–219; Sakellariou 2012, 122–123; Feniello 2017, 319–339; Senatore 2018a, 11–12; Senatore 2018c, 341–370.

16 Tognetti 2012, 762.

17 Sakellariou 2012, 82–83; Senatore 2012, 12.

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achievements after 1200, set higher standards. However, in the last few decades the dividing line between the two groups of scholars has softened, starting with Giorgio Chittolini's seminal concept of "quasi-città". There is concurrence that a sensible approach to understanding urbanism is to identify not one (notably size) but a series of benchmarks. Another common belief is that urban history (unlike local town biography) is concerned with a comparative approach, whereby towns are part of a network, interacting with each other and becoming vectors of communication within and between regions.[18]

Understanding southern Italian urbanism is influenced by this progress. Without denying the obvious, that southern Italian towns were different from the communes of northern Italy, experts have pioneered new paths of inquiry (the institutional activities of towns, their social and professional complexity, their interaction with one another and with political power, their collective identities, their artistic profiles, their religious functions) and have established that, in the late Middle Ages, the towns of southern Italy had successfully and increasingly carved out for themselves sufficient room for economic activity, political participation, and collective action, albeit always, of course, within the limits prescribed by the existence of an effective superior level of political authority.[19]

The Organization of the Market

Production became more specialized and exchange spilled out of the local onto a regional and interregional scale, whenever the commercial environment became reliable enough to overcome some of the risks inherent to trade. In effect, in the 15th and 16th centuries, the organization of the Kingdom's market did change in ways that created more reassuring conditions for economic activity. The emergence of a polity that conformed to what is termed the territorial state offered institutional support to this development.[20]

In the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the rise of the territorial state led to policies and practices whose aim was the expansion of state prerogative and the containment of local particularism. Such policies produced constraints on the fragmentation of political power and, as a consequence, of the territory,

18 Laughton, Jones, and Dyer 2001, 331–357; Chittolini 1990, 3–26; Svalduz 2004, 7–39; Chittolini 2013, 295–311; Ginatempo 2014; Ginatempo 2018, 31–79.

19 Vitolo 2015; Terenzi 2015; Vitolo 2016; Senatore 2018a; Senatore 2018c; Senatore 2019, 180–197; Vitale 2016.

20 Galasso 2014, 299; Sakellariou 2012, 37–40, 118–119, 193, 428; Britnell 1996, xv.

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compared to what was commonplace earlier in the Middle Ages. Whether the objectives were political or fiscal only (reassertion of sovereignty, increase in fiscal revenue), or also economic (a perception of the territory as an economic unit responsive to creative intervention, and a real interest in the people's welfare, at least as a means of maintaining peace and loyalty), is an open issue; be that as it may, state action did prove beneficial to economic activity, because checks on territorial fragmentation could create more secure conditions for commercial exchange and lower the cost of production and exchange, within the territorial state's borders in the first instance, with neighbouring or more distant regions across political borders in a second stage. An economy that relied on domestic as well as foreign demand was less vulnerable to possible market fluctuations.[21]

The Aragonese and early Spanish rulers of southern Italy were aware of the impact that their fiscal and economic policies, as well as their efforts to overcome the medieval model of fragmented, polycentric political power, could have over their territory and its inhabitants.[22] Of course, political authority remained incomplete throughout the Ancien Régime period; but slow and piecemeal though the expansion of sovereignty was, it did affect the allocation of resources and the operation of the economy.[23] What were the rules and attitudes that contributed to the creation of an environment which was more propitious to economic activity, what was "the role of public policies in the development of production and exchange"?[24] In the Kingdom, they included the construction and maintenance of an adequate and relatively safe road system, the abolition or reduction of road tolls,[25] the creation of a more benign system of indirect taxation on trade, the establishment of new local and regional periodic markets,[26] the standardization of weights and measures, and the promotion of a common currency. The grant of franchise from commercial taxes to individual communes, and the grant to cities and market towns of the privilege to celebrate a franchised periodic market deserve special mention, both for their high and increasing incidence from the middle of the 15th century, and because they were generally triggered by local petitions,

21 Epstein 2000, 50, 69; Wickham 2005, 706, 818–820; Sakellariou 2012, 127–130; Franceschi and Molà 2012, 444–446, 463–466; Senatore 2012, 30–49.

22 Sakellariou 2012, 178–183, 423; Diomede Carafa 1988 [1472–1474], 181–182, 191–197, 204; Senatore 2018b, 197–222.

23 Delle Donne 2012, 133–135; Franceschi and Molà 2012, 464.

24 Franceschi and Molà 2012, 446.

25 Dalena 2007; Sakellariou 2012, 142–179; Toomaspoeg 2017, 495–526.

26 Sakellariou 2012, 191–215; Feniello 2016a, 279–292.

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which the town authorities addressed to the central government. With time, an increasing number of town markets enjoyed some kind of toll franchise or a free periodic market. These privileges were an instrument of gradual commercial integration; and precisely because they were privileges granted by the state, they allowed the ruler to claim jurisdiction over taxation and the operation of local markets, as well as to interact with his subjects. These grants created jurisdictionally and fiscally free enclaves, enhanced economic competition between towns, and stimulated a more even distribution of commercial activity and resources. It is not by chance that clusters of market towns enjoyed toll franchise in each other's markets. Similarly, a network of periodic markets was established by practice, and provided a convenient institutional basis for the exchange of regional products and communication over the territory of the Kingdom, even in remote rural areas, across overland routes, or by sea; indeed, this network was perhaps the most solid and permanent commercial reality in many areas of the Kingdom. There was communication between this network and similar systems of exchange extending to central and northern Italy, and beyond (just as town privileges of toll franchise extended to Sicily and to the Papal States). Merchants passed from one event to the next, until the annual cycle was closed and started all over again.[27]

A word of caution is necessary. Pre-modern states *did not* exercise full sovereignty. Policies and measures that facilitated production and exchange often took the form of privileges granted to individual towns or pressure groups, not to all. Sovereignty remained perpetually under negotiation, bringing on territorial fragmentation, and hindering communication and mobility. However, rulers did struggle against the lack of jurisdictional uniformity and strove to extend sovereignty. Such expansion was slow, but it did serve the central government's purpose of self-assertion and aggrandizement, it aimed at the welfare of its subjects, and had a positive effect on the economy. As a centralized polity, the Kingdom offered advantageous terms for economic change and commercial growth, with an important qualification: centralization remained tentative, and the state did not cease to be contested by holders of privileges. The Renaissance Kingdom of Naples was important and original, in Italy as a model of sovereignty and in the European context too, thanks also to its amalgamation of humanism and royal authority.[28]

27 Figliuolo 2015b, 81–85; Sakellariou 2017, 383–385, 395; Feniello 2019, 107–117.

28 Sakellariou 2012, 50–55; Epstein 2000, 15–16; Delle Donne 2012, 134; Delle Donne 2015; Cappelli 2016; Senatore and Scarton 2018, 30–34; Lazzarini 2018, 268–275; de Divitiis 2018, 263–284; Senatore 2018a; Tognetti 2012, 258–259 misreads these arguments.

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Production and Trade

Cereals had significant bearing on total exports from the Kingdom, and foreign entrepreneurs showed enormous interest in this staple. The grain sector was capable of producing enough for an expanding domestic market and growing foreign demand, thanks not so much to progress in agrarian techniques as to the way in which extensive arable farming became tightly integrated with sheep grazing, thus ensuring soil fertilization and renewal and, consequently, exceptionally high yields. Three factors played a role: the late medieval demographic crisis eased inelastic demand for cereals creating space for the expansion of animal husbandry.[29] The opportunity was fortuitously taken up by Alfonso I, whose reform of the traditional sheep transhumance between Abruzzo and Puglia into a state monopoly under the coordination of the *Dogana delle Pecore* in the 1440s is a brilliant example of how political authority could curb centrifugal tendencies in the provinces, enhance state coercion, extend royal prerogative and jurisdiction, and ultimately expand the royal demesne. The success of the reform was further consolidated by growing domestic and foreign demand for grain and wool in the ensuing period of expansion. Although the two goods competed over the same resource, land, a balance was achieved despite rising population pressure through to the 18th century.[30]

In the grain sector, changes in the organization of the domestic market warranted virtually tax-free grain trade within the Kingdom, which facilitated the supply of non-self-sufficient regions with the surplus of areas specializing in arable farming. In addition, the Kingdom was a major grain exporter in the Mediterranean, and the international grain trade produced high revenue for the royal treasury in export dues, as well as big profits for the economic agents involved in it. Rising demand for grain had an effect on the organization of large farms. Management could be direct, by the landowner, but it also passed to the hands of economic operators external to peasant society, to residents of nearby cities, or even to foreign entrepreneurs.

Regional specialization and the commercialization of production, the geographical mobility of a salaried, fixed or seasonal workforce, the complementary relationship between agriculture and sheep-farming involving mountain

29 Demand for cereals was inelastic in pre-industrial societies, because cereals were the basis of human diet. In periods of demographic pressure, a rise in their price had little impact on demand. When population declined, the inelastic nature of demand in cereals was alleviated and prices were reduced.

30 Marino 1988; Marino 2011, 71–77; Sakellariou 2012; Salvemini and Russo 2007; Guenzi and Rossi 2012, 82–99; D'Arcangelo 2017, 555–592.

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societies and those of the plains, are signs of progressive economic and territorial interdependence in southern Italy. The operation of reasonably sized rural enterprises known as *masserie*, as it appears in the paradigm of the royal *masserie* but also in the case of the lands of the Teutonic order in Puglia, contains elements of rationalization, division of labour, and specialization.[31] This model offers profit-maximizing advantages in good times. Of course, when the economic situation was unfavourable, as for example in 1454, a year of famine and temporary suspension of exports, this same system was exposed to risks and economic damage; but, as Mario Del Treppo noted in the 1980s, the effects of such tensions were temporary if they were on a small scale and could be reabsorbed by the economic system within a few years.[32]

The fundamental question, if the management model of rural enterprises in Puglia was aimed at innovation and the transformation of the agricultural and productive landscape or ultimately was a productive structure at best capable of maintaining and reproducing itself, cannot be resolved in this survey. Some elements are reminiscent of the triptych which is thought to have signalled the transition from feudal to capitalist relations between landowners and peasants in other parts of Europe: landlords who aimed at producing for the market, the emergence of a group of relatively rich tenant farmers, the reliance on wage labourers.[33] Further, it cannot be ruled out, as Wickham and Carocci suggest, that if this development was negative for the autonomy and economic vigour of local rural communities, the strengthening of the ownership of large tracts of land did not in itself constitute an obstacle to a region's economic development.[34] Scholars agree that this type of rural stewardship played a positive role in the period of growth through to the last decades of the 16th century, but that it could not overcome the distortions created in the Kingdom's economy by the excessive fiscal pressure of the Spanish government, nor the unfavourable transformation of the international market, in the 17th century.[35]

The combined arable and sheep-farming sector is often seen negatively not only as a management model, but also in respect to the nature of the international exchange that was conducted around it. Although no more than a third of total wool production and less than a fifth of grain production were exported,

31 Del Treppo 1984, 455–460; Licinio 1998; Licinio 2017; Violante 2009; Violante 2014, 619–650; Violante 2016, 329–340; Houben and Pascazio 2010; Toomaspoeg 2005; Zotta 1978, 715–796; Ciuffreda 2000, 173–191; Carrino 1995; Galasso 1992, 141–162; Vitale 1967–1968, 67–81.

32 Violante 2009, 110–118; Del Treppo 1984, 459–460.

33 Violante 2009, 84–90, 95–97, 110–118; Salvemini 2009, 161–180; Dimmock 2015, 365.

34 Wickham 2005, 255–258, 410–422; Carocci 2014, 521, 530–532.

35 Calabria 1991, 23–30; Calabria 2002, 1–20; Galasso 1965, 199–229; Galasso 2014, 306–309.

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while the rest flowed to the Kingdom's domestic market,[36] the capital, entrepreneurs and sailing craft engaged in this trade (particularly the grain trade) were to a considerable degree foreign. This is interpreted as a manifestation of dependence.[37]

Southern Italian agriculture presented two facets, in harmony with its landscape. Extensive arable and livestock farming prevailed in the east, because it was better suited to the climate and terrain of that area; but it coexisted with intensive crops mainly in the west, while both forms of rural exploitation were open to the market, domestic and international. In areas where the topography, climate, and water supply were conducive, intensive polyculture tended to prevail: crops with different needs were placed together in the same plot, complementing each other and offering income security by spreading the risk. In the Terra di Bari and Terra d'Otranto, olive trees were planted together with almond trees or with cereals. In Campania, vineyards were planted among chestnut and hazelnut trees, close to olive groves or next to citrus orchards.[38] In Calabria, polyculture, known in the literature as the *giardino mediterraneo*, reached a maximum with the enhancement of the more traditional combination of tree crops with sugar cane cultivation and mulberry trees.[39] Fibre and dye plants (cotton, flax, hemp, saffron) were also widespread. By the end of the 15th century, patterns of specialization were palpable: cereal and sheep farming in Abruzzo and Puglia, wine in Campania, Calabria and, it seems, Abruzzo, olive oil in the Terra di Bari, Terra d'Otranto, and Terra di Lavoro, silk in Calabria, Campania, and Abruzzo. This wide range of agricultural products and raw materials were in high demand both on the international and the domestic market, placing the Kingdom at the core of an expanding network of bulk trade in Renaissance Italy and the Mediterranean. Although the export sector was very important, and it secured both the Kingdom's positive trade balance and its integration in inter-regional commercial systems, in all cases, the quantities consumed in the domestic market were multiples of those exported. Next to grain and wool, wine and oil exports also ranged between a third and a fifth of total annual production. The emergence of Naples as a capital city with a rapidly growing population certainly played a role. In addition to Naples, the Kingdom itself, because of its sheer size, had the biggest domestic market in pre-

36 Sakellariou 2012, 266–269, 273–295; Marino 2012. On Sicily Epstein 1992; Abulafia 2014, 16–22.

37 Fenicia 1996, 206–213; Feniello 2014a, 435–511; Calabria 1991, 19–20. Below, section 'Human Agency'.

38 Del Treppo 1977a.

39 Galasso 1992, 162–166.

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modern Italy and therefore the potential to develop a wide spectrum of productive specializations with the security of a readily accessible market outlet.[40]

One of the effects of the late medieval crisis and the ensuing period of restructuring, stabilization and growth in Europe was a redistribution of wealth, rising living standards, and an increased purchasing power, for medium- to lower social groups, and therefore rising demand for the affordable goods that consisted of the objects of bulk trade. Up-to-date studies of living standards, prices and salaries in late medieval and Renaissance southern Italy are a desideratum; there are indications, however, that the region followed the general European tendency towards better living conditions for a growing portion of the population. The positive demographic trend, the demand, by local traders, for a more friendly institutional environment for their commercial activities and the efforts of the royal authorities to respond to such requests, the emergence of local networks of towns and markets and their interconnections with neighbouring or more distant ones all the way up to the regional level and across the Kingdom's borders, the progress in the diversification, specialization and, on occasion, optimization of production, all these factors point in that direction.

Low-cost textiles and their raw materials rank high in bulk trade and complete the picture of rising living standards. Southern Italy produced all textile fibres from silk to hemp, dyestuffs and mordants, and its domestic market had the potential of absorbing this production; additionally, from the second half of the 15th century, the Neapolitan state supported the local cloth industry by adopting proto-mercantilist measures. It is small surprise, therefore, that the Kingdom developed a resilient woollen industry, a cotton and linen sector and, above all, a thriving silk craft. In the past there was a tendency to place emphasis on imports of costly luxury cloths into the Kingdom and to neglect this growing and versatile domestic production; yet in the second half of the 15th and throughout the 16th century, local woollen and silk industries absorbed between one half and two thirds of the Kingdom's raw wool and silk.

Southern Italian manufacturers specialized in the production of light, affordable textiles, in increasing demand among the less wealthy and more numerous parts of the population, although higher grades of both woollen and silk cloths were also produced. The production of woollens was small-scale, but it was conducted beyond the domestic level, and found its way to periodic markets in southern and central Italy. Although the relevant evidence is limited, it

40 Galasso 1992, 176–181; Fenicia 1996, 43–48; Feniello 2005, 187; Sakellariou 2012, 321, 330–332.

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seems that imports were a small fraction of estimated annual consumption. But by far the most successful sector of the textile industry in southern Italy was the silk craft. In the course of the 15th century, the clientele for silk textiles gradually expanded to include social groups further down the social scale. This led to a 'democratization' of the silk industry, which now widened the range of its products to include, next to the traditional, precious silk textiles, lighter and more affordable fabrics, as well as a variety of accessories. With old roots, based in a populous city, host to a royal court, enjoying royal protection and with easy access to raw silk, the silk industry came of age in the capital, where it embarked on a successful trajectory in the 1470s. Showing remarkable versatility, the Neapolitan silk merchants and weavers added to their productive spectrum heavy, costly textiles of high standards, but had the greatest success both on the domestic and the European market by developing an original range of new, light, fashionable, and affordable textiles and accessories, reaching their zenith by the end of the 16th century.

Textile (woollen and silk) industries emerged not only in the Kingdom's capital, but also in smaller settlements. Southern Italy followed the Europe-wide late medieval tendency of cloth manufacture to break out of its urban core and spread to smaller towns and the countryside, where raw materials were closer at hand and labour costs lower. Patterns of regional diversification became clear. Abruzzo (L'Aquila, Leonessa, Amatrice, Cittaducale) specialized in woollen textiles, Calabria in silk (Catanzaro) and linen fabrics, Campania (Cava, Giffoni, Amalfi, Piedimonte, San Severino) in all forms of the textile industry. In the latter case, the rapidly expanding market of the capital stimulated demand; in all cases, locally produced textiles circulated widely in the Kingdom, and appeared in market and road toll-lists, land and port customs, and at regional fairs. Some medium-quality woollen and cotton cloth and, in particular, silk textiles found access to the foreign market.

Political protection does not minimize the importance of the Kingdom's manufactures; had they not been viable, they would not have been resilient. The woollen and silk industries were consolidated in the 15th century, prospered in the 16th, withstood the 17th-century crisis and experienced moderate recovery in the 18th century. Many other Italian territorial states adopted similar policies towards their textile sectors: Piedmont, Milan, Genoa and Venice stand out among them. The new industries often also enjoyed the protection of members of the feudal nobility, as shown by the examples of Amalfi, Giffoni, Salerno, Avellino, and San Severino.[41]

41 Sakellariou 2012, Chapter 5; also Molà and Franceschi 2005, 185–200; Ragosta 2009; Di

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Human Agency: Foreign Entrepreneurs and Local Merchants

Foreign entrepreneurs, Catalan and Florentine in the 15th century, Genoese later on, were primarily interested in the plentiful production of southern raw materials; they imported in return mainly foreign cloth. In order to secure a stable trade flow, they sought to consolidate their presence at the Kingdom's markets and to influence state economic and fiscal policies by bringing themselves into favour with the Kingdom's rulers thanks to their financial services, in return for which they were allowed into the Kingdom's fiscal administration through the tax-farming system.[42]

This complex node of economic and political interests has been traditionally interpreted as the hallmark of the Kingdom's dependence and underdevelopment. The penetration, indeed colonization, by foreign merchants secured increasing fiscal revenues and functional financial tools for the monarchy and a solid market outlet for the Kingdom's rural products, to the advantage of the monarchy itself, and also of feudal lords, great landowners, and a few major entrepreneurs; but it reduced the scope of indigenous merchants in domestic trade and services of mediation—even at that level, foreign merchants prevailed and Neapolitans were limited to a subordinate role. Although it is acknowledged that certain local entrepreneurs of renown, such as the Coppola, the Pironti, the della Marra, were among the Crown's bankers and secured control over a slice of state assets, and that international demand had a positive effect on rural society, the pessimistic overtone persists. Viewed as a whole, the southern market became dependent on international trade, and this left its imprint on the country's economic and social physiognomy for centuries. Economic activity was concentrated in the hands of those who controlled the international market, and access to it was gradually closed. When foreign bankers gained control over the Kingdom's public finances, they also secured hegemony over the local economy. State exposure to the credit of private bankers was not

Stefano 2011, 186–191, imports of woollens from the Kingdom to Rome; Barlucchi 2017, 246–279; Franceschi 2016, 181–204.

42 Aiming at securing liquidity in the short- and medium-term, the state commuted a future uncertain tax (usually indirect tax) revenue into a fixed and assured periodic rent by assigning it to merchants and entrepreneurs prepared to pay the fixed rent. The rent may well have been lower than the expected fiscal revenue, but the state transferred the risk of a failed tax collection, and the expense of employing royal officials for the purpose of exacting the tax, to individual economic agents. They, in their turn, were willing to take the risk, because they consolidated their position as creditors of the crown and they acquired inside knowledge of the workings of the Kingdom's market.

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a sign of a dynamic, innovative administration, but of the economic and political fragility of the monarchy.[43]

This pessimistic view of southern Italy as an economic victim of the north from the 12th century through to Unification and beyond is very influential because it offers a simple and linear explanation of the region's history in the very long term. Historical reality, however, is not simple, and single-cause explanations rarely remain unaffected when tested in the kaleidoscope of time. The notion of a subordinate, inanimate economy and of a society lacking civic conscience, commercial entrepreneurship and political initiative is gradually being challenged as new research reveals how complex southern society actually was. David Abulafia insists that the relationship between the two parts of Italy was one of complementarity and interdependence, not of dominance and dependence. Further, in the 15th century the south was an important political player, with an established political authority and an independent foreign policy. This changed in the sixteenth century with integration into the Spanish Empire, but the economic and political relationship between Naples and Spain developed in a way that cannot afford direct comparisons to contemporary colonial conditions.[44] Francesco Senatore has recently insisted on the entrepreneurial initiatives of the Neapolitan monarchy, which extended from purely economic enterprises such as the royal *masserie* to the profit-oriented exploitation of export dues and its privileged relationship to foreign merchant bankers; on its negotiating clout towards them; and on its role as a means for social and economic ascendance, not only by foreign businessmen, but also by diverse social groups within the Kingdom, in the capital and in provincial towns.[45] Other scholars have gone so far as to depict early modern southern Italy as a prosperous entrepôt whereby Genoese entrepreneurs linked the Kingdom to other regions of Europe through the Spanish Empire, and elevated it to a pivotal actor in the early modern economy, politics and culture, *because* it produced large quantities of raw materials in high demand, as well as fiscal revenue which was essential for financing the ambitious policies of its government.[46]

The crux of the issue is whether we consider the fact that southern Italy was the field where merchant networks and state authority interacted and symbiot-

43 Leone 2003, 89–97; Feniello 2008, 297–312; Feniello 2014a. For a more subtle reading, Del Treppo 1986, 229–303; Del Treppo 1996, 316–338; Feniello 2016b, 211–240.

44 Abulafia 1977, 39–42, 48, 261–262, 273–284; Abulafia 2005, 801–802, 810; Abulafia 2014, 26–27; Galasso 1977, 79–80, 175–176.

45 Senatore 2018a, 465.

46 Dauverd 2015, 14–15.

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ically extended their power as positive or negative for the local economy. Did it push the south into backwardness and lack of entrepreneurship, or did it stimulate its productive forces, offering the possibility to emerge as an important intermediate node of exchange in a period of intensification and extension of commercial contacts and itineraries?[47] There is no easy answer to this dilemmatic issue; indeed the adoption of any stance is in the last analysis related to contemporary controversial topics such as the concentration of economic activity, how that comes about and the inequalities it generates, the merits and failings of trade, the role of the state in economic organization. Contemporary economic phenomena and the terms adopted for their interpretation must be used judiciously as tools for the explanation of pre-modern economic realities.[48] Although fundamental principles apply diachronically, there are differences in degree between pre-modern and contemporary economies that can become qualitative and at times structural. Just as specialization remained partial before the 19th century, so the degree to which concentration in certain economic sectors was achieved and the impact it could have within and across regions always need to be put to the test.

To return to southern Italy, in recent years the productive vigour generated by demand (foreign, but also domestic), and the bulk trade that such demand and the resulting production catered for, have led to a more positive outlook on the overall assessment of the southern economy. The importance of long-distance trade in luxuries, and the exchange of raw materials for costly manufactures, which has traditionally been the hallmark of a colonial relation of dependency between north and south, is now viewed in relation to the exchange of primary goods and affordable commodities in substantial quantities and over increasing distances, a type of exchange that disseminated economic activity across the territory involving towns and settlements of varying order. But the identity of the economic agents who played a primary role through their services of financial mediation was arguably a way to compensate for this in the north, and a channel for the re-introduction of the economic dependence argument.[49]

The results of recent research on the identity of economic agents in the Kingdom's markets are mixed. At the grain emporia of Puglia, foreign commercial capital and entrepreneurs played an important role between the second half of the 15th and the middle of the 16th century. The same holds true in respect

47 Del Treppo 1996; Del Treppo 1994, 87–201.

48 Abulafia 2014, 27; see also the comments on economic inequality by Malanima 2020, 3–18.

49 Petralia 2017, 13.

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of olive oil exports from Puglia in the early 16th century.[50] The export trade of wool and silk, on the other hand, conveys a different impression. In the 17th century, the sellers that managed to secure ownership of the highest number of sheep in the market at Foggia, belonged to the upper levels of civic society in Abruzzo (notaries, lawyers, and other professionals, members of the clergy); while there was also a large number of small livestock owners who brought to the market small quantities of wool and secured a modest annual income, and a small number of powerful sheep owners who cleared conspicuous earnings every year. The distribution of flock sizes and ownership followed a similar pattern in the 15th century, according to a unique document of 1494–1495. Recent research by Amedeo Feniello on grain exports by the Medici from Puglia and Basilicata in the 1470s and 1480s bears witness to a similar pattern of market access by local grain producers, from small peasants to important *massari* and landowners. Returning to the wool market, usually two thirds of the buyers came from Campania, where the most important woollen industries were located in the early modern period, and one third from the Veneto, although in the difficult years around the turn of the century, the proportion of merchants from the Veneto was higher.[51] In the 16th-century silk markets of Cosenza and Naples, about two thirds of merchants enrolled in the *arte della seta* were either Neapolitan or from the Kingdom's provinces, and the remainder were Genoese, Florentine, and from the Veneto.[52]

Research on the customs registers at the Roman port of Ripa on the Tiber in the second half of the 15th century shows that wine was the prevailing import and that southern Italian wine, in a range of qualities and price grades, dominated the Roman wine market, together with Ligurian and Corsican wine. The valued southern Italian product was carried to the Roman docks on hundreds of medium- to small-size Campanian and Calabrian vessels (adapted to coastal trade and to navigation across the Tiber's sandy estuary). An interesting aspect of this economic relation is that the export of wine became the vehicle for the export to Rome of a striking variety of goods that qualify, alongside wine, as objects of bulk exchange: from humble and perishable fruit, nuts, and beans to more costly alimentary goods such as sugar, confectionery, tuna, salted meat, pasta; from leather and hides to leather bags and ladies' shoes; from affordable linen and cotton textiles to heavy bedcovers and furniture upholstery, but also,

50 Salvemini 1993, 43–111; Fenicia 1996, 206–209; Feniello 2014a; Feniello 2014b, 325–340; for a different reading of the Apulian documents, Scheller 2013, 152–231.

51 Marino 1988, 215–231; Rossi 2007; Rossi 2011, 899–920; Sakellariou 2012, 287; Feniello 2014a, 476–488.

52 Ragosta 2009, 61–71.

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at the top end of the list, furniture, books, some musical instruments, and items of glazed pottery (majolica), goods that reveal the existence of a local, good-level artisanship. Ivana Ait and Arnold Esch have also shown that, in addition to the numerous shipmasters sailing to Rome and back, a group of southern Italian entrepreneurs had a more permanent presence and business interests in the capital of the Papal States.[53]

Conclusions

In the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, the Kingdom of Naples participated in the general growth trend in Europe. Its population rose, its capital city was elevated to prominence, its towns experienced social and economic diversification. The Kingdom produced a range of agricultural products, raw materials, foodstuffs, and affordable goods of the secondary sector, which qualified for what is described as bulk exchange within and across its frontiers. Its primary goods were in high demand in the cities and industrial centres of northern Italy and Spain; merchants from these areas frequented the Kingdom's markets in quest for these products; in return, they imported mostly good-quality textiles, as well as financial services, these last much sought by the Kingdom's rulers. Next to foreign demand, the extended domestic market provided a secure outlet for this diversified production. Grain, wool and raw silk, for example, were brought to Campania, for the needs of Naples's growing population, and of local woollen and silk industries; while the Kingdom's fairs were lively regional markets for a range of goods, from livestock on the hoof to affordable textiles. Thanks to this type of exchange, southern Italy was part of a system in perpetual movement, which extended over the Mediterranean and much of Europe and brought together small and large port towns along the coast, market towns in their hinterlands, big urban centres and areas of production. The Kingdom's markets, fairs, havens, and overland communication networks created a system of exchange, which was complementary but indispensable to the higher commercial order, the one that consisted of famous merchant-entrepreneurs moving along the principal commercial itineraries.

Next to foreign merchants of renown, there was a distinct, small but prosperous group of local entrepreneurs, with a close but often turbulent relation-

53 Esch 2007; Esch and Ait 1993, 387–417; Ait 2012a, 25–45; Ait 2012b, 49–76; Ait 2014, 507–528; Lombardi 2017, 203–231; Lombardi 2018; Sakellariou 2020, 152–162.

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ship to the monarchy; they, too, participated in the world of high commerce and finance. Less explored is the large body of local economic agents, shipmasters, and traders of a lower standing. The majority of them specialized in coastal trade, in regional and interregional exchange; they offered their services of mediation to the major merchants at the Kingdom's markets and ports, operating as an interface of communication between the areas of production and the big Mediterranean markets, in a way similar to the role played by the numerous medium-sized and small towns, markets, and settlement networks in the Kingdom. Many of them profited from the local market, from its integration in the Mediterranean system, and, last but not least, from the opportunities of social ascendance and economic success that the rising territorial state offered.

The late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance was a period of progress in state building. In this period, the rulers of southern Italy successfully claimed a certain degree of political and jurisdictional power over their subjects, over geographical areas both in and outside the royal domain and over some of their Kingdom's principal sources of wealth. Expressions of renewed authority were the power to impose rules on the operation of the domestic market, the transformation of sheep transhumance between Abruzzo and Puglia into a lucrative state monopoly, the successful reform of the direct tax, which reduced the state's dependence on indirect taxation, all of which created opportunities for interaction between subjects, municipal authorities and royal officials even in remote provinces. For all this, for the gradual assembling of a state bureaucracy, for the entrepreneurial endeavours of the monarchy itself, and for its economic policies in general, the Neapolitan state was a vehicle for the social and economic ascendance of its subjects.[54]

This survey must not lead to misinterpretations. Its aim is not to replace the conventional image of a Kingdom at the mercy of international finance with that, equally stereotypical, of neoliberal complacency. Southern Italy, with its distinctly agrarian character, which was not unrelated to its size, and with its inclination towards a centralized government model, was almost antipodal to the politically fragmented, economically pioneering, and, in its civic traditions unique, North. However, the fact that the Kingdom was not a leading economy in Europe does not ineluctably entail its demotion to a state of dependency, to an outsider of Italian or indeed European history. Bipolar confrontations of this kind, a by-product of the cold war that penetrated the social sciences, now belong to the past, opening the way for a return to the historical evidence

54 Sakellariou 2012, 431–436; Senatore 2018a, 465–466.

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without premature or hasty appraisals, positive or negative, but with a focus on historical reality in the context of its own time.[55]

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CHAPTER 4

Religion: Institutions, Devotion, and Heresy

Pasquale Palmieri

A Fragmented Territory Surrounded by Sea

There have been important methodological innovations in recent decades in researching the socio-religious history of the Kingdom of Naples. The need to compare the Kingdom to the rest of Italy and to Europe in search of similarities and differences and of the original elements which are found nowhere else has remained a paramount concern. At the same time there is a new approach to interpreting the sources in the context of the development of the post-Tridentine Catholic world, a development which saw the church and individual states intent on reorganizing their hierarchies and administrative structures and establishing a new relationship with the faithful and with their subjects.[1]

In these new readings of the sources, territorial spaces and geographical frameworks play a fundamental role. From the early Middle Ages onwards, the lives of the inhabitants of southern Italy had been marked by encounters and conflicts with other Mediterranean cultures, involving exchange and collaboration but also bloody military confrontation and invasion.

After the crisis of the 14th century caused by the plague and the subsequent demographic decline, the Aragonese dynasty tried to stabilize its control over the territory by transforming the city of Naples into the fulcrum of a complex system which was both economic and political and also religious. Alfonso d'Aragona sought to make the southern Italian peninsula part of a wide network of commercial exchanges, and his son Ferrante (1459–1494) continued the policy of reinforcing royal power. The aristocracy however opposed this project, with reliance on the support of the clergy. It was in particular Pope Innocent VIII (1484–1492) who supported the rebels, forcing the ruling family to reach an agreement and to recognize the feudal supremacy of the Holy See. During these years, local potentates in the periphery of Kingdom increased progressively the number of their initiatives relying on the power of bishops, abbots, and parish priests. By means of the creation of hospitals and 'monti di pietà', they were able to reinforce their privileges and influence over the inhab-

1 Novi Chavarria 2003; Noto 2006a, 2006b.

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itants. These changes also resulted in an increase in processions and in pilgrimages to rural shrines, and such ritual occasions served to enhance the solidarity of the ruling class and humbler social categories. However, the most important consequence of this activism on the part of the nobility and the clergy was a growing confusion between ecclesiastical offices and ecclesiastical benefits: in other words, the members of the clergy regarded the positions they acquired within the hierarchies as a source of income and social prestige, and forgot the duty of pastoral care. They even came to see the pope as a *dominus beneficiorum*, a distributor of offices. Given this context, the devout laity became increasingly inclined to follow highly local practices of devotion and worship, only marginally in line with the directives issued by Rome.[2]

Furthermore, events such as the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the siege of Otranto in 1480 and the subsequent Ottoman conquest of the Egyptian Caliphate in 1517 led to the emergence of a new equilibrium between Christians and Muslims. Religious confrontation started to diminish in intensity, giving place to conflicts which had increasingly significant economic aspects. Increasingly violent corsair attacks against travellers by sea, in pursuit of the profits which could be made by enslaving them and asking for ransom, were a leading feature of this change. Many privateers were obeying instructions from the so-called 'Barbary states' of the Maghreb—Tripoli, Algiers, Tunis—and on occasion were renegade Christians who had converted to Islam. Secular and ecclesiastical rulers, for their part, attempted to find ways of combating the attacks by using military religious orders such as the celebrated Knights of Malta as a frontline response. At the same time, they encouraged the establishment of institutions for the collection of funds with which to purchase the freedom of those who had been enslaved. These institutions, known as "houses for the redemption of captives",[3] often did not concern themselves only with bringing the victims of attacks back home but also supported means of protecting the commercial routes with the Ottoman Empire.

Such social and political tensions led to the emergence of a fiercely anti-Muslim public rhetoric: a flood of pious images, orations, homilies, and legends created a vivid sense among the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Naples of being encircled. As early as 1528, the Dominican monk Leandro Alberti (1479–1552), who later became the inquisitor in Bologna, had written a lengthy work entitled *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*, of which twelve editions were printed in Italy and Germany up to as late as 1596. Alberti's work helped to construct the image of

2 Niccoli 1998, 63–72.

3 Boccadamo 2010. On the system of kidnapping and ransom see also Palmieri 2017.

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Italy in Europe, also in the period after the battle of Lepanto (1571), in which southern Italy acted as the frontier of a wider conflict between great powers. It was a fact that Ottoman Islam was spreading throughout north Africa and was moving closer to Sicily and the Adriatic coast. A prestigious state such as Venice could succeed in finding ways to defend itself, but the shores of southern Italy, for example those in Puglia, remained vulnerable to incursions and sackings, to such an extent that the sea was seen as a danger rather than a resource.[4]

The geopolitical realities of the time had a significant impact on the construction of places of worship and on religious life in general. Right up until the 15th century numerous sanctuaries and abbey churches were established in rural and mountainous areas. Also, in more confined places such as the island of Capri the inhabitants tended to abandon the coastline to take refuge inland where they felt more protected and less exposed to attacks from the sea. The end of Aragonese rule and the outbreak of the Italian wars led to even wider feelings of insecurity, which in turn gave rise to a prophetic, apocalyptic style of preaching, which painted a picture of the end of time and captured the attention of the most vulnerable and their need to entrust themselves to God's protection. In the midst of such profound turmoil, messages coming out of the Lutheran reformation in Germany were not slow to be heard: in the 1530s the Spanish theologian Juan De Valdés (1490–1541) proclaimed the need for the Church's spiritual rebirth and formed a literary and religious circle in Naples which was soon frequented by prominent members of the clergy and the nobility. The group entered into correspondence with Protestants across Europe and also welcomed some of them to Naples. During a brief stay in the city in 1536, the famous Sienese friar Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564), with his urgent appeals for renewal and proposals for reform, made converts both among wealthy families and less privileged classes.[5] Thanks to his fellow friars he was able to preach to a large congregation in the Basilica of San Giovanni Maggiore in Naples, urging a return to the principles of the early Church. Ochino was a notable success and drew the attention of both the ecclesiastical and court establishments as well as of Emperor Charles V, who was deeply concerned about controlling the course of religious affairs in his dominions.

There was a clear reversal to this tendency only at the beginning of the 1540s, when the Roman Church, supported by the secular authorities, became much stricter in the defence of orthodoxy. All the new ideas emerging from Central Europe were rejected and a period of violent persecution of religious dissent

4 Barletta and Fiorelli 2006, 24–25; Ricci 2008. The phenomenon of conversion to Catholicism is also significant: Mazur 2016.

5 Barletta and Fiorelli 2006, 34.

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began. The Neapolitan followers of Valdés were the first victims of this campaign of repression: they were forced either to return to orthodox beliefs or leave Italy. Some who held Protestant beliefs chose to nurture their faith in silence in order to avoid official censure, an attitude described as 'Nicodemism' after the figure of Nicodemus in the Gospels who visits Jesus only at night in order to avoid being seen publicly as one of his followers. This habit of concealing religious convictions in the secrecy of individual consciences became widespread. In such a climate of suspicion the circulation of ideas became increasingly hard to decipher in the face of a growing number of individuals who made public display of their obedience to the religious authorities and their directives.

Yet this apparent conformism was not accompanied by a real unity of the ecclesiastical sphere. The Church in southern Italy continued to be, as it had always been, a faithful reflection of the political fragmentation of the territory, "a conglomerate of autonomous communities" which resolutely rejected any form of coordination or imposition from above.[6] The aristocratic elites both in Naples and other urban centres, large and small, across the South, went on exploiting religious institutions and ceremonies as fruitful ways of reinforcing their social status. Feast days, devotional practices, liturgical ceremonies all continued to be strongly shaped by the need to represent the interests of local citizens, communities, and social hierarchies.

Rural areas remained important for missionary activity: the mendicant orders, who had the main role in this field until the 15th century, were joined in the following century by the members of regular orders such as the Theatines, the Somascan Fathers, Barnabites, and Jesuits, who were skilled in using a language which could be easily understood by the illiterate or semi-literate and in interpreting the deepest needs of a peasantry who had to endure accidents, natural disasters, wars and incursions, and failed harvests. Alfonso Salmeron (1515–1585), the Jesuit Provincial in Naples, fervently believed that rural populations only needed "good bread to nourish their souls" rather than "Tuscan speech" and "fine rhetoric".[7]

Yet the intense activity of preachers throughout the course of the 16th century was unable to impose forms of discipline or restraint; nor did they succeed in bending the people's religious sentiments to the universalist doctrines proclaimed by the Church. The clergy often played no role in popular devotional practices, which were characterized by idiosyncratic features largely due to the intervention of local potentates. One vivid example of this is the cult of the

6 Ibid., 38.

7 Ibid., 33.

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Madonna dell'Arco, which is recorded as early as the mid-15th century and grew up around a votive shrine situated near an ancient Roman aqueduct. The cult reached a peak of popularity in 1593 when work began on building a sanctuary in a rural area not far from Naples (in the present-day area of Sant'Anastasia); this became a place of pilgrimage, especially on certain days in the year such as Easter Monday.[8] Thousands of devout pilgrims started to leave votive tablets and other objects as 'ex-votos' to mark their gratitude for the 'grace' they had received (miracles, in most cases of recovery from illness). Even today the place attracts associations of pilgrims—often acting completely independently of church authorities—who describe themselves as 'fujenti' ('those who go' or 'those who run'); these groups, processing behind their banners, come from all over southern Italy to pay tribute to the Virgin Mary.[9]

Similar dynamics can be found in the procession of 'battenti' (those who beat or flagellate themselves in self-punishment) which takes place in Guardia Sanframondi in the Sannio region, in the present-day province of Benevento. The ceremony probably originated between the 16th and 17th centuries on the basis of rites which had been established across Europe over the course of the Middle Ages. Here, every day during the week following the feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary ('Ferragosto'), the town marks this long-established tradition with a series of ceremonies culminating in a procession on Sunday of hooded men who beat their chests with cork discs in which 33 nails are embedded. The organization of these rites and ceremonies is the responsibility of networks of relatives and friends who form what are called 'paranze,' groups of individuals who lead the rite and use it to affirm their social role within the community.[10]

Today we can still see the inheritance of a past which was marked by distinctive forms: the celebrations of religious anniversaries continue to display a conception of the world which, between the 15th and 16th centuries, was shared by different social classes, from the aristocracy to the most humble, in a continuous mingling of the civic and religious spheres.[11] In the liturgical phase of the procession or celebration the ruling classes displayed their power by occupying the most prestigious places, while the populace played a leading role in the less regulated part of the festivities, on occasion giving vent to its instincts and launching into activities which would not be allowed at other times in the year. The relationship between the city and the countryside was

8 Miele 1995.
9 Barletta and Fiorelli 2006, 102–103.
10 Ibid., 103–104; see also Petrarca 1985, 61–63.
11 Visceglia 1998.

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crucial in this context. A good illustration of this is the evolution of the celebrated cult of San Gennaro or St Januarius and the important event which took place in 1497 when the saint's relics were translated from Montevergine to the city of Naples. Here the management of the cult ended up in the hands of the noble families who belonged to the 'Deputazione del Tesoro di san Gennaro'. What happened in the capital city was not in the end very different from what took place in the provinces, where influential lay individuals came together for the specific purpose of financing institutions intended for charitable purposes or to oversee veneration for a saint, which would then be formally entrusted to the ecclesiastical authorities.[12] Such institutions covered a variety of concerns from the care of children to that of the sick as well as women without dowries who needed to find a husband. A well-known example is the Carafa family, who over the course of the 16th century extended their influence over such institutions in their feudal territories of Maddaloni, Cerreto, and Formicola.[13]

Ecclesiastical Organization in the South: Bishops, Priests, Religious Orders

The peculiar territorial characteristics of southern Italy were an important factor in the way the regulations created at the Council of Trent were applied there. On the nomination of bishops, for example, the choices of the secular authorities and the local aristocracy continued to have considerable weight. There were no fewer than 130 dioceses in the Kingdom of Naples, a similar number of dioceses to the much larger territory of France. All of them were small and, for the most part, still within the boundaries which had been established in the late medieval period. The sheer density of the ecclesiastical geography of southern Italy remained substantially unaltered until the 15th century, with metropolitan dioceses such as Salerno, with no fewer than 11 suffragan dioceses within its jurisdiction, or Reggio Calabria with nine. One useful consideration in looking at the general picture is that as many as 24 of the Kingdom's dioceses came under royal patronage, a status that had been recognised in the Treaty of Barcelona agreed in 1529 between Charles V and Clement VII (1523–1534). In 1554 the so-called 'privilege of alternation' came into force for such dioceses: this designated the rotation in appointment between a bishop born in the Kingdom of Naples and one from outside the territory, provided he was a subject of

12 Barletta and Fiorelli 2006, 94–95. See also Marino 2014.

13 There is an extensive bibliography on the subject. For more references see Novi Chavarria 2009, 111–113.

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the King of Spain. It was customary practice to present or recommend to the pope a list of candidates, in most cases three.

The Holy See also introduced a form of pontifical taxation on episcopal income which in the Kingdom of Naples resulted in extremely high payments, on occasion in excess of 25 per cent, when compared with other European countries.[14] The reasons are to be found in the difficult management of the territory. The richest and most prestigious dioceses, such as Salerno and Reggio, were the object of bitter competition and the Tridentine obligation that bishops reside in their dioceses continued to be often flouted. In order to avoid having to take on pastoral care, the new bishops resorted from time to time to multiple excuses, such as their other commitments and roles (they were frequently also apostolic nuncios) or complaining that their sees were insalubrious and deleterious to their health.[15]

Nonetheless it would be mistaken to suppose that the problems in southern Italy sprang only from individuals who had little inclination for pastoral mission or for whom the prestige of the post or the income they could derive from it were guiding factors. Even the power wielded by more zealous bishops was weak and only rarely did they succeed in asserting their authority. Many institutions of lay or 'hybrid' origin—such as hospitals, 'monti di pietà', confraternities, made up often of both lay individuals and clergy—were capable of profound resistance towards the diocesan authorities, accepting their spiritual guidance but refusing any interference in how their assets were managed.[16] The chapters of cathedrals and collegiate churches fiercely defended their privileges, as did the parishes of so-called 'free collation' ('libera collazione' or appointment to benefices) which more naturally fell under the influence of the local nobility and, more generally, were affected by the specific characteristics of local ambiences. Indeed, they operated differently from ordinary parishes: the parish priest was not appointed by the bishop but by representatives of the local community or by local potentates from the nobility or by ecclesiastical patrons such as members of religious orders. The situation with ecclesiastical benefices—such as foundations, chaplaincies, legacies for holding masses or marking anniversaries—was much the same: they were completely subordinate to the wishes of lay patrons.[17]

Although they were promoted by the Council of Trent, seminaries for the formation of the clergy soon revealed structural weaknesses and were fre-

14 Rosa 2006, 16–17.
15 Ibid., 3–4.
16 D'Andrea and Marino 2022.
17 Ibid., 5.

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quently closed down after a few years. The consequences of these failures could be seen in the deficient pastoral capacities of the priesthood; it was often the case that individual priests were unable to become the point of reference for sacred matters and unite the life of the local community around them. Furthermore, many such parish priests had been appointed by non-ecclesiastical patrons and were therefore not answerable to the diocesan authorities but rather to abbeys and monasteries, the local nobility, representative associations of citizens, and lay or 'hybrid' institutions such as hospitals and charitable associations. All these, each in its own way, ran what amounted to nothing less than "a trade in benefices". The bitterest conflicts broke out in small, peripheral dioceses such as Montepeloso (Irsina), where the local aristocracy tended to control all ecclesiastical appointments and worked to protect their power, resulting in a diminished quality of pastoral care.[18]

This plethora of privileges contributed to excessive numbers of clergy. Local families, working either singly or in groups, sponsored the entry of men and women into the ecclesiastical ranks with a view to consolidating their own power and protecting their wealth. This was of course a phenomenon found in other areas of the Catholic world but there are specific characteristics in the way it occurred in southern Italy. One orf these was the role played by so-called 'parrocchie ricettizie' or 'open parishes', which were outside the customary networks of control and on average accounted for 30 per cent of the parishes in a single area, although in some they amounted to more than two thirds.[19] In these parishes, what were essentially corporative rules applied, and these were highly resistant to the imposition of any external authority. Pastoral care was not always a priority and was sometimes entrusted to a curate by a chapter (as in some of the largest cathedrals) or other such corporate associations. The chapter was also responsible for the administration of assets and for 'receiving' ('dare ricetto') clergy who had been born in the area. This autonomous system was deeply rooted in southern Italy, weakening pastoral mission and acting as a firm brake on what bishops could do.

More generally, the post-Tridentine church faced enormous difficulties in creating a professional category of clergy throughout the Kingdom. An outstanding example of these problems is the presence of the so-called 'chierici selvaggi' or 'wild clergy': sacristans, couriers, custodians of church property, diocesan police, who managed to escape the supervision of secular authorities and on occasion encouraged local peasants to rebel or supported gangs of

18 De Cristofaro, 1997.

19 Ibid., 73. See also Galasso 1980, XVIII–XX.

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bandits as they roamed the countryside. In 1621 the Spanish monarchy ordered a census to be carried out of the secular clergy. Only a few fragments of the report survive, but what remains is still useful in giving us a view of salient characteristics and trends. In Calabria Ultra (the present-day provinces of Reggio and Catanzaro) there were 7,300 ecclesiastics of whom only a third (36 per cent) were priests and individuals about to be ordained; 50 per cent were in minor orders, while the so-called 'wild clergy' amounted to 7 per cent (most of them were married). The situation in Calabria Citra (Cosenza) was no different. In the Terra d'Otranto (Lecce, Taranto, Brindisi) there is a slight increase in the number of priests and of those in major orders while those in minor orders amount to no less than 56 per cent.[20]

In this far from robust network of dioceses and parishes in southern Italy, a decisive compensatory or substitute role was filled by the religious orders, which were organized in a complicated system of districts, with boundaries that were different from those of the secular territories as well as of the dioceses. Despite the measures promulgated by the papacy with the intention of merging small religious communities, many such institutions, the so-called 'conventini', with fewer than 12 members, survived in southern Italy.[21] The city of Naples, with a population of approximately 250,000, had 87 monasteries at the end of the 16th century: 18 were occupied by different branches of the Franciscan order, 16 were Dominican, and 7 Carmelite. In the rest of the Kingdom the Franciscans were much more numerous, with, in 1586–1587, 236 institutions for conventuals and 228 monasteries/houses for observants. When we consider that southern Italy accounted for no less than a third of all Franciscan conventuals and observants in the entire Catholic world, the significance of the phenomenon is immediately apparent. The Capuchins had 267 monasteries in southern Italy, representing 38 per cent of all their monasteries in Italy. There is a similar picture for the other religious orders, such as the Dominicans.[22]

Women's religious orders were also undergoing important transformations. As early as the 15th century the harshness of enclosure had become a distant memory and conventual life was increasingly characterized by material ease and sexual licence. Pope Sixtus V (1585–1590) sought to impose strict adherence to the monastic rule, but he failed to have any effect on the ways in which young women became nuns. The ruling classes were determined to preserve their influence over the social fabric of their local communities through their control of the convents and so continued to dispose of their youngest daughters as they

20 Rosa 2006, 74–76.
21 Ibid., 115.
22 Ibid., 115–119.

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saw fit, withdrawing them from the marriage market and forcing them to take religious vows. It is worth remembering that in this way the dowries received by the convents when the women entered the community were returned to their families when they died, thus preserving the family's wealth.[23]

It is therefore unsurprising if numerous abuses took place within the walls of these convents: the frustrations which were a consequence of being forced to become a nun drove many women to excessive desire for material objects or sexual relationships.[24] The relations between spiritual directors and penitents were a source of problems for the ecclesiastical authorities, who had to deal with behaviour on the part of confessors that ran the risk of compromising the nuns' vows of chastity. In this context, it is relevant to recall that the Holy See—enthusiastically supported by the archbishop of Naples, Alfonso Gesualdo (1596–1603)—did not hide its preference for setting up new foundations which it was thought could be more easily governed and controlled with newly introduced regimes of strict observance. The newly established convents proved to be a fruitful seedbed for a fresh generation of women saints, who were quickly put forward by the Church as edifying models of virtuous living for the faithful.[25]

One of the most intractable problems was represented by the tertiary female orders, known as the 'bizzoche' or 'monache di casa' ('beguines' or 'lay sisters'), as well as the so-called 'monache di conservatorio', in other words the women who could not aspire to enter an enclosed convent either because of their lack of financial means or their lowly social status.[26] The ecclesiastical authorities sought to keep these two categories sharply distinct from the more prestigious enclosed orders, controlling the clothes they wore, their ways of life and daily routines, their behaviour in general, and the way they wished to be perceived by others. The low profile given to these forms of devotion, which were often accompanied by prophetic or visionary experiences with the potential to disrupt the established order, went hand in hand with the conservation of existing social arrangements. We should also take into account the fact that new monastic communities could emerge from tertiaries living together or from the growth of girls' schools; these in turn could become the object of contention among dominant social groups, precisely because they had developed out of the initiatives of single charismatic figures or from small associations which wished to increase their status and prestige.

23 Novi Chavarria 2001.
24 Noto 2006b; Barletta and Fiorelli 2006, 58–67, 192–193.
25 Miele 2001, 94–95.
26 Boccadamo 2001.

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The Anomalous Organization of the Holy Office

The Roman Church sought to defend orthodoxy and, more generally, to influence religious activity in southern Italy through the operations of the Congregation of the Holy Office, set up in 1562 to coordinate the activities of local inquisitors. From the beginning of the 16th century, the Inquisition was at the centre of political conflict: the city of Naples reacted on two occasions—in 1510 and 1547—to attempts by the Spanish rulers to introduce inquisitorial tribunals similar to those which were already active in Spain and Portugal ('the Spanish Inquisition'), with different social classes coming together to attain a common objective.[27] The system of checks and balances on which the social fabric of southern Italy rested was extremely fragile and there was a widespread fear that the introduction of a new judicial authority could become a destabilizing weapon in the hands of the viceroy, which could ultimately change the relationships of centre and periphery, absolutist authority and local privileges, the nobility and feudal institutions, the populace and the viceroy, the urban nobility and feudal barons.[28]

In such a complex situation, with its varying stress-points, the papacy also encountered difficulties in imposing an organized network of tribunals such as the one which had been set up in other parts of Italy, known as the Roman Inquisition. In 1553 a compromise was agreed: the Holy See acquired the right to nominate a vicar *pro tempore* who would co-ordinate inquisitorial activity over the whole territory of the Kingdom.[29] This new role sat alongside those of the archbishop of Naples and the other diocesan bishops throughout the Kingdom whose responsibility it was to oversee ordinary jurisdiction in their respective areas and also to repress heresy. They reported their activities to the representative of the Congregation of the Holy Office. In other words, the bishops in the Kingdom had significant latitude in acting also as Inquisitors.

The initial implications of this renewed campaign of repression were seen in 1561, when the secular and ecclesiastical authorities combined forces in the attack on heresy and chose to adopt an extremely harsh approach with the massacre of the Waldensian population of Calabria. The Waldensians had settled in the region as early as the 13th century and, with their close links to other Protestant communities in Europe, had increasingly become the object of suspicion and hatred. Equally harsh measures were used with other groups seen as

27 Romeo 2013; Musi 2013. More in general, Muto 1989, Galasso 1994; Musi 2007; Dandelet and Marino 2007; Sodano 2013.

28 Musi 2013, 139–143.

29 Romeo 2002, 106–107, 138.

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a threat to religious uniformity, such as the 'Giudaizzanti' or Judaists, Jews who had converted to Christianity but remained strongly attached to their origins.[30]

Yet inquisitorial activity was on the whole a halting affair and the inquisitors encountered many problems in trying to control people's religious behaviour. The pages of their reports contain vivid accounts of the ecclesiastical authorities' dialogue and conflict with the faithful, who were on occasion reluctant to change their ways even when these were formally admonished. Many local communities remained firmly wedded to their customs, festivals, and devotional practices and paid no attention to prescriptions from above. Priests themselves were often insufficiently educated and thus lacked the tools with which to oversee and control the religious behaviour of their parishioners. In many cases they either watched passively from the sideline or themselves took part in the long-established customs, thus helping to perpetuate them.

In May 1566 the Holy See drew up instructions for Niccolò Fieschi, the new apostolic nuncio to Naples (1561–1564), who was replacing the Dominican Giulio Pavesi, who had been the vicar delegated by the Holy Office to work alongside the archbishop of Naples (1557–1562).[31] These instructions specified that particular attention should be paid to areas like Calabria, where heresy was often prevalent. The bishops were urged to follow as closely as possible the life of their flocks, making sure they could not take part in meetings of sects or of other groups suspected of going against the official teachings of the Church. The primary aim was to avoid the spread of subversive ideas and forms of behaviour and to maintain the 'tranquillity' of the Kingdom, also with the help of the 'secular arm', working in obedience to the wishes of the viceroy.[32]

Thus, the Kingdom of Naples was seen by the Holy See as an area of particular concern, riddled as it was "by religious dissent of various types, but probably

30 Romeo 2013, 241.

31 Prosperi 1996, 67.

32 Villani 1957–1958, 534: "[…] star vigilantissimi et massimamente in quelle parti di Calabria et quei luoghi con vicini a Napoli, dove si è veduto per l'addietro qualche infettione d'heresia, che gli ordinari habbiano vicari non meno esemplari di vita che intelligenti, li quali usino ogni industria et diligentia, a saper il modo et la vita che tengono li lor diocesani et che prohibischino conventicole, radunanze et congressi notturni et ancora quelli del giorno, […] et per chiarirsi di quelli che non vivono cattolicamente et non fanno opere et uffitii da cristiani, et per poter più facilmente o ridurgli ad emendarsi o rimediar che non infettino altri, sarà bene preservare il modo et gli ordini già cominciati et procurar che S.E. comandi a' governatori delle provincie et de luoghi particolari che porghino l'aiuto loro et braccio secolare con quella segretezza et prontezza a quei vescovi et lor vicarii che lo domanderanno etc., sapendo il signor viceré che questo tende non manco alla conservatione, et quiete di quel Regno, che al servitio d'Iddio et alla soddisfattione di S. Beatitudine."

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influenced by the thinking of Juan De Valdés and the 'spirituali'."[33] The fact of Spanish rule, given Spain's direct involvement in the defence of orthodoxy, was undoubtedly a complicating factor. The inquisitors relied on members of the public collaborating by providing testimonies of suspect individuals, the possession of prohibited objects, practices involving incautious references to the sacred realm. An important role was played by preachers and confessors who acquired relevant information through the secrecy of the confessional and forced their parishioners to present official denunciations by threatening to deny them absolution until and unless all the information they possessed was passed to the inquisitors.[34]

The city of Naples presented the Holy Office with many problems, given its stubborn attachment to its customs and its ability to find diverse opportunities for opposing the archbishop's tribunal. The way confessors worked together with the police was seen as an invasion of civic life. One episode of extreme tension took place in 1577, when the archbishop of the time, Paolo Burali (1511–1578), was forced to withdraw his plan to assign the right to absolve penitents from the most serious sins to a few selected confessors in the face of opposition from the combined forces of the city's and the viceregal authorities.[35] It was certainly the case that the system of personal denunciations had opened the way to its abuse by individuals intent on pursuing private vendettas and harming their enemies with defamatory information brought before the inquisitors for investigation.

The practice of 'praeventio' was particularly significant: all the potential victims of false accusations could use this device to seek protection by providing the tribunal with a list of their enemies; by so doing they were able to defend themselves against lying denunciations which had been drawn up in the pursuit of personal interest and private vendetta. Equally problematic was the behaviour of condemned men when, as often happened, they asked to speak with the inquisitor before their final confession; as heretics or sorcerers, they would claim they were in possession of important information for the judicial authorities and reveal the names of accomplices and associates, with the purpose of postponing their execution and saving their lives. In many such cases these confessions were used by the inquisitors to open new investigations, but failed to benefit the individuals who had provided the information.[36]

33 Romeo 2013; Romeo 2002, 9.
34 Romeo 2002; Romeo 1997; Mancino 2000.
35 Mancino 2000, 23–46.
36 Romeo 2013, 243–244.

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Such problems illustrate vividly the difficulties faced by judicial procedures based on substantial ambiguity, clearly seen both in Naples as the capital city and in peripheral areas, where bishops tried to steer a course through uncertainty and struggled even to understand the limits of their remit. In 1596 the Congregation of the Holy Office attempted to clarify the situation in writing to the cardinal archbishop of Naples, Alfonso Gesualdo: the task of "discovering heretics, schools and sects of heretics, and apostates" was the responsibility of the "Minister of the Holy Office". This figure carried out a function "necessary for the holy Catholic faith" by intercepting those "accusers, or others wishing to testify [before the legal authorities] of their own free will" who refused to present themselves before the episcopal tribunal for fear of losing the privilege of anonymity. It was indeed the secrecy enveloping the accusations and testimonies deposited with the Holy Inquisition that became the central issue in the long drawn-out series of controversies that shaped the way in which the ecclesiastical legal system operated throughout the 17th century and beyond.[37]

Thus, the Neapolitan Holy Office lacked full autonomy, and legal proceedings—which elsewhere were carried out by officially appointed Inquisitors—were the responsibility of 130 diocesan bishops, who had to deal with scarce financial resources as well as the interference of barons, the urban élite, and the secular authorities. Similarly to the approach taken elsewhere in Italy, the bishops focused on superstitious practices involving magic or devil-worship, bigamy and blasphemy, and suspect ideas. The dialect word for the inquisitorial tribunals, especially in Naples, was 'piscopia', a clear reference to the involvement of the bishops. There were episodes of corruption among notaries, guards, and court clerks, who frequently escaped punishment.[38]

The way the repression was organized had a significant impact on religious worship and religious life in general, especially from the last two decades of the 16th century onwards, when many hotbeds of heresy had been suppressed. As research over recent decades has shown, from the end of the 16th century the Roman Inquisition focused its energies on controlling the rise and diffusion of superstitions which, while not explicitly unorthodox, were nevertheless seen as harmful to official liturgical practice. This included things

37 BAV, Barb. Lat. 1370, fols. 213–214. I am very grateful to Gigliola Fragnito for pointing out the existence of this important document. The letter containing instructions for Archbishop Gesualdo is dated 22 November 1596. It is worth remembering that in that period the role of 'minister' for the Holy Office was occupied by the archbishop of Sorrento Carlo Baldino, who distinguished himself for the energetic part he played in the battle against heresy in the 1590s. On Baldino see Romeo 1990, 7–17.

38 Romeo 2013, 238–239.

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such as natural remedies, potions, sorcery, belief in the evil eye, and propitiatory incantations, sometimes derived from archaic cultures in which such practices were thought to place a person in direct contact with the supernatural world, unmediated by the priesthood. The trials held in Naples, which in many cases involved individuals from rural areas and from the islands such as Procida, covered issues which were also prevalent in the rest of the country.[39] The women who appeared before the tribunals in the late 16th century regularly attended Mass and recited their prayers according to official practice but at the same time called on the devil to strike down their enemies, stole relics and other sacred objects in order to organize propitiatory rites, and filched the holy oil to spread it on their lips and eyes in the belief that it would please their lovers. Other women used spells to guess where lost or stolen objects could be found or concocted potions to give to those in childbirth in order to protect their newly born infants.[40] There are only a few cases in which the accused confesses to having taken part in satanic rites, perhaps from sheer exhaustion after long interrogation and torture and faced by zealous judges inflamed by prejudices and determined to obtain from the accused answers that matched what they wanted to hear.[41]

The Roman Church made huge efforts to promote new guiding principles in aspects of religious life such as sanctity, where their aim was to create a defence against the doubts of humanist criticism and the Protestant world, who were intent on destroying cults based on legend and with no basis of historical evidence or the superstitious veneration of similarly dubious sacred objects, icons, and relics. As part of this drive, the procedures for canonization were placed under the central control of the Holy See, which carried out an attentive selection of the proposals that arrived from all over the Catholic world in order to promote models of sainthood and holy virtue that adhered to the new Tridentine norms. At the same time, the legal process of canonization itself became much more rigorous with expert investigations into reported miracles and a strict adherence to correct procedures in examining witnesses and obtaining their statements. The Inquisition played an important role in this mechanism with its control over the assessment of mystical and prophetic experiences, the organization of sepulchres and other holy spaces, the production of paintings and other devotional images, and the publishing of biographies, prayer booklets, and other printed religious ephemera.[42]

39 Romeo 2020.
40 Bonora 2001.
41 Romeo 1990.
42 Gotor 2000; Sodano 2002, 13–37; De Maio 1973, 257–258.

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One of the issues with which the Inquisition concerned itself was the crime of simulated sanctity or 'pretence of holiness' which tainted a wide range of dubious devotional practices, unsanctioned by official doctrine, with the suspicion of heresy.[43] The need to distinguish between true and false saints also derived from the Church's attempts to respond to Protestant attacks which, apart from calling into question the primacy of the Catholic Church in interpreting Scripture, drew a sharp distinction between regulated worship and superstitious practice. There was a new need to reshape behavioural models and the different forms of worship in order to respond in concrete ways to the profound changes taking place in 16th- and 17th-century European politics and culture.[44]

One of the earliest trials in Italy for pretence of holiness took place in Naples between 1581 and 1592. The defendant was a Franciscan tertiary, Alfonsina Rispoli (1553–1611).[45] The woman showed her presumed stigmata in the city's churches and asserted to the judges that she had travelled to the afterworld with St Jerome as a guide and had conversed with the dead. She was accused by a Theatine priest to whom she had spoken of her visions during confession. Even though the cardinals from the Holy Office and their Neapolitan subordinates had doubts and misgivings, Alfonsina was enclosed in the convent of Santa Maria della Consolazione in Naples from where she sent several appeals for clemency which were ignored.

In the same period the fame of the celebrated Orsola Benincasa (1547–1618) began to circulate. Unlike her unfortunate 'colleague' Rispoli, she succeeded in surviving the network of control built up by the Holy See and representatives of the Neapolitan ecclesiastical establishment.[46] Orsola uttered eloquent and prophetic religious messages; she predicted that an imminent divine punishment would fall on the Kingdom of Naples and its inhabitants. Large numbers of the faithful listened to her and organized prayers and penitential processions. The diocesan authorities in Naples, although they never explicitly called into question the truthfulness of the would-be saint's revelations, adopted the prudent strategy of involving the papal authorities while at the same time excluding the Holy Office, which had no direct involvement in the case. Orsola was gradually assimilated into the system of obedience and her image was patiently moulded, by the Theatines, to fit Counter-Reformation models

43 Zarri 1991, 9; Gotor 2004, 139–141; Palmieri 2010, 12–21.
44 Zarri 1991, 14.
45 Romeo 1977–1978; Salmann 1992, 57–90.
46 Fiorelli 2001.

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of sanctity. The Theatines succeeded in creating a wave of support from a large section of the Neapolitan nobility by prominently invoking her role as founder of the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception and relegating her visionary raptures to the background.[47] Several decades later, there were equally significant conflicts which the ecclesiastical authorities had to tackle, also in more peripheral parts of the Kingdom, where the enterprising initiatives of the Carmelite nun Serafina di Dio (1621–1699) provided a stimulus for the foundation of new convents on the island of Capri as well as in Fisciano, Vico Equense, and Massa Lubrense.[48]

Such episodes of dissension and conflict can also open out onto a wider view of the situation in this period, in which religious practices were interconnected with political and social instability and the conflicts that accompanied the consolidation of Spanish power across southern Italy. The dynamic network of relations between the viceroyal court, the Kingdom's nobility and the nobility from Madrid, the representatives of the city's *seggi*, the regular and diocesan clergy, and the papacy's representatives became increasingly fraught, with an impact on the reorganization of the religious dimension of the city's life at a time when the Counter-Reformation church was seeking to reinforce its presence in society.[49]

In the majority of cases the Inquisition did not set itself up in clear antagonism to society as a whole: its battle against bigamy, dietary transgressions, and magical practices was combined with active evangelization. Trials became increasingly frequent between the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th, both with the diocesan Inquisition as well as the ordinary diocesan tribunal, but this had no significant effect in terms of pastoral care. In particular, rural parishes in the Kingdom experienced nothing comparable to the system of decentralized tribunals which ended up infiltrating most rural areas in the rest of Italy. There was very little collaboration between local priests and the Inquisition; even adherence to the so-called Easter duty, when the faithful were obliged to receive communion, proved a complicated matter and was often disregarded.

The authorities vented some of their anxiety on newborn infants. There were increasingly strict controls and instructions given to midwives who might be tempted to recite spells and other magic formulae to encourage the mother to

47 Romeo 2001.

48 See Fiorelli 2003.

49 Visceglia 1995. On the presence of the Counter-Reformation in the Kingdom of Naples see Rosa 1976.

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give birth to a holy child. As a defence against this kind of sacrilegious rite, the clergy was urged to speed up the process of baptism, as a kind of compromise solution which would protect the soul of the newborn. In the same spirit, new regulations were introduced for godparents: the delicate responsibilities of this role entailed a reduction in the number of a child's godparents to two. In addition, godfathers were forbidden to display their swords or any other symbol of family power, while the ceremony of baptism was not allowed to take place in private houses. The Church's clear aim was to reassert its control over a sacrament which, like marriage, remained too often under the influence of private interests.[50] Yet such interests on the part of local elites continued to weigh heavily on the patterns and forms of religious life throughout the Kingdom.

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50 Romeo 2013, 248–249.

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CHAPTER 5

Linguistic Spaces: Use and Culture

Francesco Montuori

The Linguistic Space of the Kingdom between the End of the 15th Century and 1549

This essay analyses linguistic usages in Naples and the Kingdom of Naples between the end of Ferrante of Aragon's reign (1494) and the publication of Benedetto Di Falco's *Descrittione de i luoghi antichi di Napoli e del suo amenissimo distretto* in 1549.[1] For further details of the situation we will need to look beyond the mid-16th century, up to 1632, the year which opened in the aftermath of the destructive eruption of Vesuvius (December 1631),[2] when there was a huge wave of popular and scientific publications on the event, and which saw the death of Giovan Battista Basile, before the publication of his *Le Muse napolitane* (1635) and *Lo cunto de li cunti* (1634–1636).[3]

In the hundred years between 1443 and 1549, the population of the Kingdom of Naples spoke and wrote in many different languages, as documented in accounts of Naples and as seen in the remotest parts of the territory where minority language communities of both recent and much earlier settlement were to be found. The prestige of the languages spoken by the inhabitants of southern Italy and the persistence and variation of their characteristics are mainly due to two factors: how these languages were perceived and how they were used.

The dynamics which this chapter documents across the territory of the Kingdom reveal a surprising linguistic liveliness, all the more remarkable when one considers the image of isolation and immobility traditionally associated with the history of southern Italy.

During the period under consideration there were several languages in the Kingdom. Above all there were local languages, also known as dialects, or in the medieval period as local vernaculars; in southern Italy almost all these languages emerged between the 6th and 8th centuries from the extraordinarily rapid evolution of spoken Latin among the native population. These local lan-

1 Di Falco (ed. Toscano) 1992.

2 Furchheim 1897, 241–244; Riccio 1889; Tortora 2012, 329–345.

3 Stromboli 2013.

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guages also included Neapolitan, distinguished from the others for its already long-established written tradition, including literary texts, and which had acquired some prestige outside the city. In addition to local languages and related to them there were others in use throughout the Kingdom. Above all, there was Latin, still used in writing and for many institutional and ceremonial activities, both secular and religious, but it was no one's mother tongue. There were the other Romance languages, Catalan, and Spanish, which in certain periods were widely used in institutions and more generally among local communities; they were the languages of the ruling class from the mid-15th century to the early decades of the 18th century. Lastly, there was Italian, a form of old Florentine, which from about the third decade of the 16th century was codified grammatically and proposed (and generally accepted) as a standard for all Italians to adopt, especially in writing and other cultivated uses. This standardized form of Florentine started to be called 'Italian' in the course of the 16th century; its prestige and use grew and it gradually took its place alongside the native languages, influencing their structure and being influenced by them in turn. The dialects found in Naples, Capua, or Otranto, therefore, are not debased forms of Italian but languages which have an independent origin and which, during the period under consideration here, were used in ambiences where both the literary Florentine of the great 14th-century authors and its later form as elaborated by 16th-century grammarians were extremely familiar and highly influential.

These brief clarifications serve towards an understanding of the present chapter. We will look at the different languages found in the Kingdom as individual entities, with the sole purpose of showing how they co-existed and interacted dynamically within native speakers' consciousness and communication.

A necessary first step is to recognize that a description of the linguistic usages found across mainland southern Italy between the 15th and 16th centuries is based on many different types of evidence. The information we have on most of the local languages is the result of a reconstruction of their structures, of the history of the communities which used them, and any metalinguistic reflections which survive; for others, on the contrary, there is a vast quantity of written documents of various kinds.

Therefore, in describing the linguistic panorama of southern Italy between the mid-15th century and the early decades of the 16h century we will take two approaches. The second section of this chapter contains brief observations on the way in which various local languages were present in different areas of the Kingdom and the overall trends towards the resultant innovation found in them. The third section looks at the ways in which these languages were used by local communities and at how contacts between different languages functioned. Here the focus will be on the communicative spaces occupied by

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different communities of speakers, on how these languages were perceived and used, on elements of standardization, and on the 'competition' between languages and dialects.[4]

Areality

After processes that lasted for hundreds of years, the modern linguistic area of southern Italy became more clearly defined over the course of the 15th and 16th centuries: an upper southern region emerged, which is distinct from the rest of central Italy and from the far south and which reflects the linguistic map found in present-day classifications of dialects.[5] The forces that led to this new arrangement of the linguistic space of southern Italy were the role played by Naples as a hub of innovation and the response from other parts of the Kingdom which accepted or rejected these innovations or created their own. These, therefore, will be the two focal points of our analysis: Naples and the rest of the mainland areas of the Kingdom.[6]

The Neapolitan Linguistic Area

When Naples became the capital of the Kingdom and especially after the episode of the Sicilian Vespers (1282), the city stood out for its demographic growth, which continued without interruption from the crisis of 1348 to the end of the 18th century, for its economic importance, and for its territorial centrality, with a road network linking it to all the main cities in the region, heading north towards Capua, eastwards towards Foggia, and southwards to Salerno.[7] These circumstances explain the role played by Naples in the linguistic history of southern Italy: the capital city has been seen as the motor for the spread, northwards and southwards, of the shared elements which lay behind the emergence of a language system across the entire territory of mainland southern Italy apart from Salento and southern Calabria and which still pertains today.[8]

Furthermore, certain linguistic tendencies within Neapolitan at the end of the Middle Ages led to innovations that then solidified into permanent

4 The methodological reference point is Varvaro 1984, 43–47.

5 Avolio and Vignuzzi 1991; Avolio 1995. Clivio, Cortelazzo, De Blasi and Marcato 2002; Loporcaro 2009.

6 Surveys of language have been lacking hitherto in general overviews of early modern Naples; see for example Astarita 2013.

7 Galasso 1997; Sakellariou 2012.

8 De Blasi 2006.

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changes:[9] the paragoge with -ne to avoid oxytone remained in crystallized forms leaving only the paragoge with [ə]; the assimilation -ND- > -nn- which in the 15th century was subject to marked individual variation and was prevalent among writers in northern Campania but not in the Neapolitan chancellery, subsequently became a localized usage at the level of written forms in dialect and an indication of uncertainty or expressive choice in written Italian;[10] the aphaeretic forms of 'chisto' and 'chisso', 'sto' and 'sso' ('this') emerged in written texts; the partitive syntagma formed by *de* + noun, used in the earlier forms of Neapolitan, tended to disappear; 'isso' survived as the sole third person pronoun, though 'illo' remained current over a vast territory stretching from Irpinia to the area around Vesuvius (see fig. 1);[11] the comparative forms 'migliore' and 'peggiore' become obsolete and were replaced by 'meglio' and 'peggio'; the alternative variants of singular forms of possessive adjectives with a tonic accent were reduced; weak perfect forms ending in '-iette' such as 'io vediette' were used in parallel with strong forms ('io viddi') and subsequently lost the metaphonetic diphthong, at least in urban usage; the use of -ao (<-AUT) in the third person of the past historic of first conjugation verbs gradually declined in favour of -ai(e) (<-AIT or by analogy with the singular person), sporadically found in earlier times;[12] along with strong perfects the use of conditional forms ending in -ra also declined while the use of the conjugated infinitive became a specialist usage found in administrative texts.

The acceleration of linguistic change within Neapolitan was facilitated by the presence of minority language groups within the city as well as by its multiplying population, above all in the first half of the 16th century.[13] The destruction of a large part of the local population wreaked by the plague epidemic of 1656 was also rapidly compensated by immigration into the city from the surrounding countryside and the rest of the Kingdom.[14] The dynamics of urb-

9 Ledgeway 2009, *passim*.

10 Fabricio Luna in his *Vocabulario* (1536) gives this definition of the term 'antisteccho': "figura greca cioè quando nel scrivere nella parte se mette una lettra per un'altra come la maggior parte di napoletani quando dicono hando per hanno e havenno per havendo e così ove vole la n ci poneno la d et ove la d ci metteno la n" ("a Greek usage in which a letter is used to replace another, as most Neapolitans do when they say *hando* instead of *hanno* and *havenno* instead of *havendo*, where 'n' replaces 'd' and vice versa)" (cited in Bianchi, De Blasi, and Librandi 1993, 87). See De Blasi 1995, 180; Loise De Rosa (ed. Formentin) 1998, 223–229; Ledgeway 2009, 103–104.

11 See Appendix, 1. See also Retaro (2017), modifying the information given in Avolio 1989, 7; Radtke 1997, 85; De Blasi 2006, 76.

12 Barbato 2021.

13 Muto 2013.

14 Filangieri 1980, 196.

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anization among the inhabitants affected linguistic usage and also left various traces in innovations that came from the area around the city and over time were absorbed into the city's dialect; it is possible to interpret in this way the evidence of aphaeretic forms 'o', 'a' ('the') of the determinative article in 16th-century texts belonging to the so-called 'cavoto' genre,[15] an outcome that today has completely replaced the complete forms 'lo' and 'la', but late as the 19th century was considered plebeian and unacceptable in dialectal literary writing.[16]

Various features of the dialect used in the capital spread northwards and southwards, with a line being established between Cassino and Gargano, between Campania and Molise, and the southern limit for various linguistic phenomena found in southern Lazio and Abruzzo.[17] Another line formed between Eboli and Lucera, separating Campania from Basilicata and from Puglia,[18] which can be seen as the geographical limit of the expansion of late linguistic features of Neapolitan.[19] In the Kingdom the boundaries marked by the lines Cassino-Gargano and Eboli-Lucera also delimit the most populated and most urbanized areas.

A notable aspect is that various characteristics which spread southwards were of Tuscan origin or Angevin and Spanish borrowings. The diffusion of Neapolitan goes beyond regional confines and infiltrates non-bordering territories. It appears that this driving force in the transmission of linguistic modes found a more fertile terrain in the larger towns and cities. Urban communities were bound by looser ties than rural ones and were therefore more open to the acceptance of change; there were more people in the categories which functioned as vectors in the spread of linguistic change, cancelling out the huge distance between the centre where innovations were formed and the peripheries to which they were exported.[20] This explains how various linguistic innovations were exported from Naples to distant areas in the Kingdom where there

15 The 'cavoto' genre comprises many literary compositions, above all theatrical, written between the 15th and 16th centuries, with characters from Cava de' Tirreni (Salerno). The characters are comical and speak in dialect, with features that differentiated it from the dialects of nearby towns. The best-known author of works in the 'cavoto' genre was Vincenzo Braca (born 1566).

16 Troiano 2006; De Blasi and Fanciullo 2001. Barbato 2022 identifies an aphaeretic form of the determinative article in a comic passage written in invented French in the *Balzino* (c. 1498) by Rogeri de Pacienza, a native of Salento: "donemi a zuppe" ("give me the soup").

17 Avolio 1990.

18 Avolio 1989.

19 Barbato 2002, 57.

20 Wolfram, and Schilling-Estes 2003.

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was a high concentration of urban centres and why the more thinly populated areas were not affected by the same phenomenon.[21]

As far as the rest of Campania is concerned there were various situations which tended to stabilize the border with areas where central dialects were spoken, i.e. Lazio, Umbria, the central Marche.[22] Foremost, Naples did not support innovations coming from the area where central dialects were spoken, but either filtered, blocked them, or diverted them northwards. Characteristics which previously spread as far as Gaeta, Cassino, Abruzzo, and Terra di Lavoro, and which included areas now described as linguistically southern (the southern Marche, the whole of Abruzzo, Molise and southern Lazio, as well as Capua, Benevento, and Capitanata) tended to halt near the borders with the Kingdom, leaving a few isolated traces in various localities in northern Campania and lower Lazio. Some common features with the central area of the Italian peninsula, which were already present as variants, eliminated competing forms, while others were blocked and remained locally as residual traces.[23]

It is therefore probable that Neapolitan, especially after the increase in reciprocal contact with the surrounding populations and whenever significant demographic upheavals took place, saw a renewed variety prevail, which was open to changes arriving from elsewhere and which lacked the local features which were now archaic. This hypothesis would seem to be supported by the acceleration in the changes taking place in local usages as well as by the many contemporary observations lamenting the old words which were no longer used and on the varieties found within the dialect, the authentic popular forms and the less genuine bourgeois ones. These *laudationes temporis acti* ('praises of the past') found in so many Neapolitan literary texts and treatises between the 16th and 17th centuries, are not merely conventional but have documentary value.[24]

Not only did Neapolitan not succeed in becoming a regional dialect,[25] it also failed to supersede the dialects used in the city's surrounding areas, rendering them only superficially uniform among themselves.[26] They continued to show

21 An example can be read in Fanciullo 2013.

22 Barbato 2002. Median or central dialects cover an area from Senigallia to Porto San Giorgio to the east and to Argentario and Terracina in the west.

23 Examples of common features with the median dialects, traditional or recently imported, abandoned by the dialects of northern Campania at the beginning of the modern age can be found in Barbato 2002, 58 and in Montuori 2002. A conservative area with features that are now only median dialects is in the Aurunci mountains (Schirru 2012, 168).

24 De Blasi and Montuori 2018.

25 De Blasi 2006b; on koineization see Regis 2013.

26 De Blasi 2006a; Radtke 1997. There is a different viewpoint in Avolio 2000 and 2013; Avolio 2021; with a reply in Barbato 2014.

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peculiar combinations of linguistic southern features and developed their own innovations while maintaining strikingly conservative characteristics. From another point of view, while it is true that the characteristics of Neapolitan were found widely in mainland southern Italy, it remained untouched by other innovations that characterised the Phlegrean and Vesuvian areas as well as Irpinia and Cilento. Here many dialectal varieties were found that differed markedly from the dialect of the capital city.[27]

Naples failed in imposing its own dialect on local dialects, rendering them uniform, but it acted as a hub for the spread of Italian. As a result, the traces of linguistic uniformity which did emerge in southern Italy between the 15th and the 16th centuries very often do not have features of Neapolitan dialect but rather of Italian.

The reasons for this resistance to homogeneity were not only internal, that is to say found in the typological similarity of dialects that ensured mutual comprehension even though each had different characteristics. They were also non-linguistic. Campania was rich in urban and rural centres that were confederations of communities of inhabitants (*universitates*) recognized as administrative entities, and had close links to the capital city while at the same time preserving a notable degree of autonomy.[28] The polycentric nature of the Campanian region meant that the force of attraction of Naples as a linguistic hub was limited.

Thus, although it was repopulated by rural inhabitants during the 16th and 17th centuries, Naples could not impose its own linguistic variety on the dialects spoken in the *contado* and *casali* and nearby villages and render them uniform. The differences between places could not be neutralised; at the same time within the city's own dialect there were different diastratic levels in use. The dialect of the Neapolitan plebs was regarded in the 17th century as the local substandard variety, confined to an area the compactness of which quickly frayed, even in the *casali* a few kilometres from Naples. The usefulness of this dialect in popular literature did not make it an external model and did not favour its

27 For innovations and preservations of the Campania dialects unrelated to Neapolitan dialect see Sornicola 1997; anti-Neapolitan features common to Cilento and Irpinia can be found in De Blasi 2006a, 45–50; an intermediate area between Irpinia and the province of Naples is the Vallo di Lauro (Retaro and Abete 2018). An example of a variation unrelated to the Neapolitan dialect are the many outcomes of -LL- in the Phlegraean area (Pianese 2002; Como 2007), in Irpinia (Vecchia 2017) and in southern Italy (Sornicola 2015); for the Vesuvian area see Retaro 2021.

28 Vitolo lists Capua, Sessa, Aversa, Sorrento, and Salerno among such centres in Campania.

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spread in Campania; it merely created new (but not stable) graphic traditions which endured until the work of the poet, songwriter, and playwright Salvatore di Giacomo (1860–1934) and only faced definitive rupture at the end of the 20th century.[29]

To conclude, the political, demographic, and economic importance of Naples and the polycentric character of Campania had three linguistic correlatives: the driving force of Neapolitan features, the resistance to phenomena which originated north of the Garigliano, and the capacity of Campanian dialects to preserve or develop specific characteristics of their own without reference to developments in the capital city.

The Southern Linguistic Area

Mainland southern Italy was Romanized before the arrival of Christianity.[30] At the beginning of the Middle Ages depopulation, isolation, and the lack of mobility among the inhabitants, along with widespread illiteracy, encouraged linguistic change and the fragmentation of a unified Latin usage. Over time a southern Italian linguistic type emerged which was characterized by shared features. One example of a common new morphological development was the evolution of the Latin gender system.[31]

The changes were such that, as far as southern Italy is concerned, it is difficult to trace continuities between the period of antiquity and the early modern period,[32] both in terms of external linguistic limits and internal divisions. However, an element found across the different regions of southern Italy is the very high level of internal variation within dialects.

The scholars who classified Italian dialects between the end of the 19th and end of the 20th centuries observed shared features in the dialects of central southern Italy, from the central Marche and southernmost Tuscany to Sicily. There is likewise a distinction between central Italian dialects in Lazio, Umbria, and central Marche from those spoken in the upper part of southern Italy, separated by a line which can roughly be drawn between the Tyrrhenian coast south of Terracina, by means of the method of tracing isoglosses. The divisions between dialect areas are traced by identifying areas in which specific linguistic features are present, for example the voicing of voiceless consonants after 'n' or the evolution of the Latin consonantal nexus 'PL-' into the pronunciation '[kj]'. Such values are even more interesting if they are found over a cohesive area,

29 De Blasi and Montuori 2020.

30 Adams 2008; Filipponio and Seidl 2015; Varvaro 2014.

31 Loporcaro 2018.

32 Barbato 2002, 46–47.

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which can be shown on maps by a line known as an isogloss. When the edges of areas circumscribed by several isoglosses become superimposed, at least partially, it is possible to draw a linguistic borderline. In this case the line touches Frosinone, Avezzano, and L'Aquila before it reaches the Adriatic coast slightly to the north of San Benedetto del Tronto. A further distinction can be made between the dialects spoken in upper southern Italy and those found in the far south: Sicily, Salento (marked by a line which bypasses at either end Taranto and Ostuni), and southern Calabria (slightly to the south of a line between Marina di Belvedere and Cirò Marina).

As we saw in §1, the southern border of the central area at least until the Swabian period (1194–1266) included Benevento and Capua. At the beginning of the modern period the languages spoken in northern Campania and in Abruzzo lost many of the original characteristics of this central area and gradually became more southern in character. The main extra-linguistic factor which encouraged this shift was the fact that these regions had by then been part of the Kingdom's political territory for centuries, but the road network, adapted to the region's mountainous landscape, also encouraged southwards traffic, in particular towards Naples, across the so-called Abruzzi road (from the Val d'Arno and Perugia, through L'Aquila, Sulmona, the plain of Cinquemiglia, Castel di Sangro, Isernia, and San Germano, i.e. Cassino)[33] and towards Puglia thanks to the four ancient tracks or *tratturi*. Furthermore, it was the Apennine range which, even more than the political border, separated Abruzzo to the west from Rome; when L'Aquila sought closer relations with the Papal States it was precisely the difficulty of transporting flocks of sheep to the Roman Campagna rather than into Puglia that impeded the city's plan to transfer itself from the Kingdom's jurisdiction to papal dominion.[34]

In its internal territorial organization Abruzzo is divided into 'cantons', delineated by the Gran Sasso and Maiella ranges and also manifested in three dialectal areas: the area around L'Aquila, and western and eastern Abruzzo. L'Aquila has always attracted migrants to its territory.[35] At the end of the 15th century several important families such as the Camponeschi made the city a hub of social mobility, attracting other family groups in exile from central Italy (Marche, Norcia, Rieti) who sought to maintain the prestige they had enjoyed in their native cities.[36] The decline and impoverishment into which L'Aquila fell

33 Avolio 2002, 573.

34 Terenzi 2015b, 371.

35 The rest of Abruzzo also attracted migrants. For examples from northern Italy see Sabatini 2011.

36 Terenzi 2016, 202.

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after 1529, the year in which the city was separated from its *contado*,[37] meant that the territorial organization of Abruzzo and the distribution of its dialects remained unchanged. As a result, L'Aquila, whose strategic position had led to its demographic growth,[38] entered a long period of stagnancy which lasted for the whole of the early modern period. The multilingualism due to the diverse origins of its inhabitants was transformed into the polymorphism which still characterizes the local dialect today "with a diversity and liveliness of usage which can justly be included among the enduring characteristics of its urban life."[39]

In the areas of Abruzzo to the west and east, however, a clearer linguistic 'southernness' is found, most markedly Campanian in the area to the west, between the upper valley of the Sangro to the south, the Gran Sasso to the north, and the Maiella to the east.[40]

The linguistic area of modern southern Italy was much influenced by the stabilizing of the linguistic border with Lazio following the marked structural changes which affected Roman dialect between the end of the 15th century and the first half of the sixteenth.[41]

While the linguistic border between central and southern dialects took shape along a north-south trajectory following the frontier of the Kingdom, it is harder to delineate the distribution of dialect in Campania, especially on the eastern side. Even today, leaving aside "later types of modification of the historically underlying heptavocalic system," the dialects spoken in Campania and Puglia can be differentiated not because of differing characteristics but only on the basis of the frequency of shared features found in them.[42] The lack of archaic linguistic strata in Puglia and the blurred confines with Campania show that the difficult mountainous landscape of the territory did not prevent contacts between their populations; on the contrary, an Adriatic-Tyrrhenian corridor emerged whose existence can also be traced linguistically.[43]

37 Terenzi 2015a.

38 Vignuzzi 1992.

39 Avolio 2008.

40 Here some Neapolitan features appear, such as the *-m-* lengthening in the first person of the present indicative. Furthermore, innovations from further eastwards and Molise are avoided, such as the apocope of *-re* in the infinitive of the verbs in -ĕre: Marinucci 1988, 647–648. For lengthening of *-m-* in Neapolitan dialect see Formentin 1998, 84–85; 349; for the infinitive in verbs < -ĕre see Ledgeway 2014, 552.

41 Trifone 1992.

42 Loporcaro 1997, 340; Fanciullo and Del Puente 2004, 157–159.

43 Sornicola 2006.

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The existence of 'areas of exchange', in other words markets, especially in the Apennine area, should also be remembered. These were networks for the circulation of transport and products and people similar to those found in central Italy.[44] These areas, which brought together otherwise apparently isolated communities, may explain in part the absence of eastern borders on the map of Campanian dialects. Also, transhumance could explain certain linguistic features common to the area between Abruzzo and Puglia (the *tratturo* from Pescasseroli to Candela),[45] which cross stable isoglosses, or from Irpinia to the area round Vesuvius (fig. 1) and the Sele plain,[46] with the spread of Apennine linguistic features which, whether they are local historical or innovatory phenomena, are above all counter-Neapolitan.

Southwards, the area which today is called the far south (i.e. Salento, southern Calabria, and Sicily) must in the Middle Ages have been much more extensive.[47] The 'sicilianità' of the Cilento (i.e. the presence of Sicilian-type linguistic features in the dialects of southern Campania) must be regarded as original and the features which circumscribe it can be seen as traces of resistance to innovations coming from Naples between the Angevin period and the transformation of the Kingdom into a Spanish viceroyalty.[48]

Taken as a whole, Basilicata is "a frictional zone of competing outcomes"[49] The main linguistic characteristics are the remarkable archaicism found in certain areas and the profound internal differences, related to the consistent tendency of the region's inhabitants to restrict their movements within a very limited area and the tendency to polycentrism, which became more marked from the 16th century onwards, especially when Matera separated from Terra d'Otranto in 1663. In the last two centuries of the Middle Ages significant environmental changes took place in Basilicata with centres being abandoned and relocated, which accentuated its remoteness within the Kingdom. The name of the region is mentioned in a 15th-century popular *canzone* on Isabella, wife of René of Anjou (though it is possible that the need to rhyme dictated the choice of word): "Per Dio, non mi chiamate piu Regina / chiamatime Isabella sventurata. / Haio perduta Capua gentile, / la Puglia Piana cum Basilicata" ("For Heaven's sake no longer call me queen but the unfortunate Isabella. / I have lost Capua, Puglia, and Basilicata").[50] In the so-called 'statistica' of the King-

44 Vitolo 2014, 8.
45 Marino 1992; Avolio 1990, 255–266.
46 Abete 2016. See also Di Monaco 2016; Vitolo 2008.
47 Fanciullo 2018.
48 Barbato 2005.
49 Fanciullo 1988, 671.
50 Sabatini 1996, 560.

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dom compiled in 1444 Basilicata is named only as one of the provinces and as the territory of various feudal lords.[51] The Aragonese kings, especially Alfonso I and Alfonso duke of Calabria, were infrequent visitors. Ferrante spent longer periods of time there, when he was moving between the Principality of Taranto and Calabria during the war of succession, and shortly afterwards, for hunting expeditions.[52] In 1459 Ferrante took two different routes from Venosa to Vallo di Diano, near Teggiano to the south of Salerno, and back; in going he went on a slow journey which passed through several centres of Basilicata, namely Bisaccia, Calitri, and Muro as far as Brienza; on the return he undertook a rapid forced march from Brienza passing through Lagopesole. The episode shows that the decline in the road network in Basilicata, especially in the south of the region, occurred largely when Naples was under Spanish rule.[53]

Moving southwards, between Basilicata and Calabria we find highly particularized linguistic conditions of pronounced archaism, at its greatest extent in the area round Mount Pollino, the so-called Lausberg area;[54] to the north the border is a line between Maratea, S. Chirico Raparo, Calvera, Teana, Fardella, Senise, Colobraro, and Tursi; to the south the border runs through what is now Calabrian territory, from Diamante to Verbicaro, Orsomarso, Saracena, Castrovillari, and Cassano.[55] Northwards of the northern border there is another area of marked archaism between the valleys of the Agri and the Basento-Camastra, easily accessible and livelier with movement and exchange: at Senise one of the most celebrated fairs in the Kingdom was held.[56]

Present-day Puglia is the result of bringing together Capitanata, Terra di Bari, and Terra d'Otranto (except for Matera). Between the 15th and the 16th century Puglia and Salento formed an alternative centre of lively cultural activity to Naples, though it remained marginal in comparison with the capital city. Several different factors impinged on the linguistic system of this wide area: the diverse histories of the three provinces; the presence of the Via Appia, the final stretch of which coincides with an internal linguistic border; the frequent contacts with other towns and villages along the Adriatic coast which connections by sea above all made possible; connections with the interior areas of the Kingdom and northern Italy, both along the *tratturi* used for transhumance and along the road leading from Foggia to L'Aquila and then to Rieti; exchanges with

51 Senatore 1997.
52 Senatore and Storti 2002, 230–231, 44–45 with map 2.
53 Varvaro 1984, 143.
54 Lausberg 2019. The area is named after Heinrich Lausberg who first described it in 1939.
55 Librandi 2002, 759–760.
56 Grohmann 1969, 199–205; Feniello 2016.

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the Orient and the arrival from the East of populations which established fixed settlements; the concentration of different urban centres, the number of which equalled only the urban network in Terra di Lavoro.[57]

The Salentine linguistic area, which roughly extends southeastward from Taranto to Ostuni via Grottaglie and S. Michele in Salento and where dialects are spoken which share features with those spoken in Sicily and southern Calabria, must have been larger in the past. As a result, we see a graduated sequence of borders marking the limits of influences from upper southern Italy in the south of Puglia.[58]

The area which is properly Puglia was more exposed to the influence of other southern dialects but very rapidly most of these characteristics became recessive or were replaced by Italian forms. Puglia, which was completely Latinized in the 1st century BCE, had an extremely strong Greek presence, with ancient roots further strengthened and revitalized under Byzantine rule and, in Terra d'Otranto, in the Swabian period; today the most important testimony of this presence is found in the centres in the Salento where Greek is spoken.[59] Arab domination, which was limited in both space and time, with emirates in Bari and Taranto in the 9th century and a colony in Lucera in the 13th century, has left only a few traces in place-names. Jews were present in the region from the early Middle Ages to 1541; they left many written texts, including literary ones, in Hebrew but their influence on local dialects was practically non-existent. The Slavic presence, with colonies that were only fully assimilated in the 19th century, was more notable and has left traces in vocabulary and place-names. Several localities began to be populated by people of Albanian origin towards the second half of the 15th century, as also happened in many other areas in southern Italy. The history of the Franco-Provençal colonies was told by the Swiss historian Pierre Gilles (1571–1646) in the 17th century. Today Faeto and Celle San Vito still remain but the history of Volturara is now elusive.[60]

The internal border of Calabrian dialects runs from Cetraro to Cirò Marina via Bisignano, since to the south of this line the atonal vowels are those found in Sicily. Today there is a widespread opinion that the Romanization of southern Calabria took place early and that Greek and neo-Latin languages for a long time existed alongside each other, alternating the role of dominant lan-

57 Coluccia 1994 and 1995; Aprile, Coluccia, Fanciullo, and Gualdo 2002.

58 Stehl 1988; Distilo 1995.

59 Calimera, Martignano, Sternatia, Zollino, Martano, Castrignano de' Greci, Corigliano d'Otranto; no longer today in Soleto and Melpignano (Aprile, Coluccia, Fanciullo, and Gualdo, 680).

60 Pfister 1988, 23–25 with map; Spagna 2019.

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guage in line with the nationality and the religion of the region's rulers.[61] The Romans built the Via Popilia from Capua to Reggio in the 2nd century BCE, as the contemporary long Latin inscription *Lapis Pollae* shows.[62] The Via Popilia was the origin of the oldest road network in the region, together with the Ionian road (from Taranto via Sibari, Crotone, Squillace) and two roads which went from west to east, from Morano to Sibari and from Monteleone to Squillace. Cosenza's dynamism, even in the early modern period—it was, for example, the only Calabrian city where early printing took place—owed much to its position on the Via Popilia.

During the Middle Ages and up to the early modern period the linguistic influence of Naples reached as far as northern Calabria: metaphony, for example, is found in the whole of the archaic Lausberg area and in the dialects of northern Calabria, perhaps due to the influence of Neapolitan dialect. Other instances, such as the widespread use of *teniri* for 'have' (*avere*) as far as a line between Amantea and Crotone,[63] show that what was still happening between the 15th and 16th centuries was the loss of common characteristics shared with the dialects of Sicily in favour of the Neapolitan model. This would seem to confirm the gradual marginalization of Calabria within the Kingdom; once its role as an area of transition (and therefore linguistically conservative) had ended, the central and northern areas of the region tended to become isolated and to accept innovations from localities which were considered to be more prestigious linguistically.[64] The surviving documents written in the vernacular confirm this hypothesis: between 1422 and 1475 they are written in a script of Sicilian derivation, while after this period the script in use on the mainland prevails.[65]

Modern dialectologists map dividing lines known as isoglosses between areas in which a certain linguistic feature has different values. For example, a line slightly to the north of Cosenza, running from Cetraro on the Tyrrhenian coast to Cirò Marina on the Ionian, separates the southern dialects in which final atonal vowels become [ə] from the dialects of southern Calabria and Sicily in which the tone of the final vowels remains differentiated. The territorial distribution of various isoglosses within Calabria, which experienced significant movements in the early modern period, is particularly complex. Natural dis-

61 Varvaro 1981; Fanciullo 1993; Librandi 1994, 190.

62 Adamo 2016.

63 Rohlfs 1990, 278–279; Radtke 1988, 665, with map. Librandi 1992, 753; Fanciullo and Librandi 2002, 799.

64 Fanciullo and Librandi 2002, 793–794; 799.

65 Librandi 1992, 758; Librandi 1995, 191–192.

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asters may have played a role: various parts of the area where Calabrian dialect is spoken could have a geo-linguistic character determined by the earthquakes which occurred in the 17th century. For example, some peculiar similarities and dissimilarities have been noted between the dialects spoken in the area affected by the earthquake of 1638: Savelli is linguistically extremely isolated, possibly because the town was completely re-founded in 1640.[66]

The Languages of the Kingdom

Various languages were used in the Kingdom in the 15th and 16th centuries. There were local languages, some introduced by immigrants from the East. There was the Catalan used by the Aragonese merchants and officials who had come to the Kingdom and the Castilian of the new dynasty, and there was Latin, above all in written form. All these languages, both in the ways they were used and in the perceptions of their users, existed alongside each other, and there was a wide spectrum of such uses and perceptions, from intellectuals such as the humanist Giovanni Pontano (d. 1503), who offered subtle reflections on the many different varieties of language,[67] to the chroniclers who responded to the fascination of Latin, Greek, and other foreign languages, and the diplomats in their relations with courtiers and officials from various places. Published books and manuscripts, documents, buildings, and other spaces, both private and public, secular and ecclesiastical—all revealed the different languages used, sometimes in combination with each other. And as always happens in countries where different languages are in contact with each other, in the Kingdom too the vernacular, Latin, and Iberian-Romance languages arranged themselves into a hierarchy according to the prestige of each language, which itself varied according to a number of criteria—script, standardization, how they were learnt, usefulness, emotive significance, domains of usage, structural distance. The variation in prestige could affect structurally the grammars of the languages in use and also their vitality.

Local Languages and Supra-Regional Tendencies

"Perhaps no other region of the ancient world allows us to see the different manifestations of multilingualism in closely located urban centres and almost in the same period of time as the ancient towns and cities in the area around

66 Chiodo, Guerra, and Trumper 1995, 518–520.

67 For example, in *De aspiratione* (ed. Germano) 2005.

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the bay of Naples".[68] This description relates to the Imperial Roman period but also applies well to the Kingdom as it was at the end of the early modern period.

Local language is not closely linked to the activity of political and administrative institutions; it is bound up with orality and is found only rarely in written production and then above all in texts conceived orally that remain close to spoken interactions. In literature dialect words are found in popular verse compositions such as *strambotti* and *barzellette* or those which were comic or parodic in character such as *gliommeri* and *villanelle*, which are linked to theatre and song. A literature explicitly composed in dialect emerges in the 16th century—with Velardiniello, the first Neapolitan dialect poet, whose family name is not known, with the farces of Braca, and the parodies of pastoral compositions, all pre-dating the work of classic 17th-century authors such as Giulio Cesare Cortese (d. 1622) and Giovan Battista Basile (d. shortly before 1632).[69]

Institutional writing, on the other hand, is based on a combination of Latinizing features, of non-Florentine elements which were common to many areas of Italy, and characteristics originating in Tuscan literary texts. A tentative degree of distancing from local linguistic usages can also be seen in administrative writing. In the surviving correspondence with the Morea, a region of the Peloponnese with political links to the Angevin kingdom, the use of prose with characteristic southern Italian linguistic features can be seen but these 14th-century traces of a Neapolitan 'de là da mar' vanished by the end of the century.[70] In the 15th century on the other hand institutional writing in the peripheral areas of the Kingdom and in the capital differed slightly. There were many factors of convergence, stemming in particular from the desire to create a specialized language, using certain expository structures, a technical vocabulary and, above all, a marked Latinization of graphic and phonetic aspects. Yet such tendencies did not translate everywhere into an ongoing process of adopting Tuscan linguistic forms.

In the 15th-century registers of the *Sindaci* in Capua council decisions are recorded in what are highly free and variable ways, depending on the educational background and culture of the individual *Sindaco*, his familiarity with

68 Poccetti 2004, 415.

69 Troiano (ed. Braca) 2002. Further research however is needed on this point. Vinciguerra (2016) has published a complete edition of the dictionary of Neapolitan dialect compiled by Emmanuele Rocco (1811–1892), which recently came to light in the library of the Accademia della Crusca. Many of the texts in dialect cited by Rocco have not been identified by modern scholars.

70 Zinelli 2012. The circulation of people, texts, and news continued, however, for a long time into the 15th century. See the episode told in Miletti 2020.

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writing and capacity for written expression, how capable he was of drawing up a judgement, of constructing an argument, of narrating facts, and providing information both coherently and thoroughly. There are notaries who write in Latin or in the vernacular and whose language is on a phonetic-morphological level strongly Latinized with very few vestiges of local usages; such writers are also able to compose complex syntactically organized texts, only faltering with the transcription of oral speeches, especially when they have to insert into their own *reportatio* the written texts elaborated by other professional writers, which they tend simply to juxtapose, paying no attention to the basic requirements of textual construction. Other writers, on the other hand, are more limited in their competence: their documents reveal no ambition for writing accurate reports but are compiled as mere registers according to the most elementary textual formulas and syntactic structures; from a linguistic point of view their language is strongly hybrid, employing a far greater quantity of local forms and a much wider range of phonetic and morphological features. Their lack of training shows itself in their use of decidedly popular features, such as spellings which reflect local pronunciation: *admassature* for 'ambasciatori', *arlogie* for 'orologio', *assit* for 'absit'. In the 16th century there is a noticeable change both in the training of such writers, who have now clearly acquired specific techniques, and in the language they use, increasingly free of local phonetic and morphological features that are incompatible with the *scripta* of the other Italo-Romance languages.[71] In the 15th century a style of administrative language establishes itself, written in a Tuscanized form that only partly has recourse to local usages, frequently for the purposes of technical specialization.[72] In this way local graphic and phonetic features tend to diminish and are limited above all to specific sectors of verbal morphology, to the point of becoming specific elements in specialized languages, such as the conjugated forms of the infinite and the gerundive which became fossilized in the bureaucratic language of administrative texts and persisted as late as the 18th century. However, in other regions, such as Calabria, where printing was slow to spread, "it would seem that Tuscanization did not develop beyond the changes which took place in the mid-15th century".[73]

In other cases, it was the way in which administrative documents were compiled which favoured the emergence of different stylistic varieties (i.e. registers) or different languages. An example are the written deliberations of central state

71 Senatore 2018; Montuori 2020b.

72 Sardo 2008 and 2013.

73 Librandi 2002, 763–764.

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bodies such as the *Regia Corte della Sommaria*, in which the petitions which gave rise to the process of decision-making were *inzertate* (inserted). Some of these petitions were in the vernacular or in the kind of Latin used in the Kingdom's remote administrations, while others were in Castilian, if a soldier was the petitioner, while others were from supplicants with varying levels of language acquisition. The juxtaposition of texts of diverse origin and different forms gave rise to extraordinarily multilingual documents, of great linguistic and historical interest.

The vernacular used in diplomatic circles in the 15th and 16th centuries, on the other hand, was markedly less defined by local usages and similar trends are found on the whole in fifteenth-century epistolary production after the emergence of highly successful manuals such as printed formularies. With its tendency to Italianize institutional language, the vernacular gradually eroded the spaces where Latin was used while at the same time holding its own against other administrative languages such as Catalan and Spanish.

Within government institutions the co-existence of many languages can be seen in the way that each was used according to the different functions or recipients involved; writers could use different languages or different levels of language acquisition. There are numerous examples in the Aragonese registers and in the texts of those who wrote in Catalan such as Ferrante I, Luiz des Puig, and Pope Alexander VI.[74] Here the less skill there is in handling the Italo-Romance vernacular, the more apparent the structures of the mother tongue are; the more competent the writers are in the new language, the greater the number of consciously chosen lexical borrowings.[75]

In other fields such as vernacular historiography, the documents show that adherence to the graphic and linguistic usages shared with other Italian regions is found above all in ambiences where the use of printed material was widespread. The wide availability of printed material and the familiarity with models of writing not confined to localities are possibly two reasons for the 'Italianization' of writing, together with the drive to adhere to uniform linguistic models.

Yet writing in a vernacular not bound by local usages was not an obligatory choice and nor was it a linear process. The *Cronaca di Partenope*, the 14th-century chronicle of Naples, underwent an extensive reshaping as well as a far-reaching linguistic revision in 1526, as the editors of the printed edition make clear in their preface to the reader.[76] These changes left only residual traces

74 Montuori 2016; Maggi 2020; Gasca Queirazza 1959; for similar events between Venice and Valencia, see Tomasin 2021, 99–128.

75 Thomason 2001.

76 Montuori 2017; see also De Caprio 2012.

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of the local phonology, morphology, and lexis. However, chronicles continued to be written and printed for many decades using southern Italian linguistic forms. The short manuscript chronicle of the tumults of 1585, compiled by a nobleman who had ties to the Monastero del Gesù delle Monache in Naples "eschews dialectal forms" and "employs several Tuscanisms" but it also allows itself to use forms and vocabulary belonging to dialect, with usages which date back to the 15th century.[77] The controversial *Diurnali* by Matteo Spinelli, a chronicle of events which occurred in the Kingdom between 1247 and 1268, provide a different example. Quite apart from the question of whether this work is a forgery or was rewritten in the 16th century, it remains the case that there are linguistically divergent versions. On the first page of Muratori's edition of the text,[78] based on a manuscript from Nardò obtained by Bernardino Tafuri, we read "falconi", "uno Gentiluomo", "in casa sua", "Saracini", "quello", "che si cauzasse & vestisse", "ebbe", "si seppe", "innante agli occhi", whereas, in the edition published by Marcello Bonito in 1634, the equivalent words and expressions are in dialect: "farcune", "no gentilommo", "in casa soia", "Sarrayni", "chillo", "che se cauzasse et bestesse", "heppe", "se sappe", "nanze al vocchie". The seventeenth-century printed edition uses a language much closer to dialect and shows that the Italianization of the language of historiography was a phenomenon which emerged at different times and with different modalities and continued to depend, in varying ways, on factors such as the transmission of the text and its intended readership.

The level of cultural attainment possesed by such writers was also a fundamental factor together with how closely bound they were to a circumscribed ambience and the degree of formal professional training they had acquired. Their training was highly uneven and therefore had impact on any aspirations they might have had of using a common language. It can be said in general that the presence of local usages in documents is in inverse proportion to the individual writer's level of cultural attainment (his familiarity with writing and his knowledge of legal and notarial Latin), the geographical range across which he was communicating, the independence of the text type from oral discourse traditions, and the dependence of writing on the sources used.

However, on all these different categories of writers—historiographers, official functionaries—the pressure of a literary language of Tuscan origins increased. The very first documents written in Neapolitan show a strong Tuscan influence, which affects above all written usages: the two different redactions

77 Bianchi, De Blasi, and Librandi 1993, 246–253; Faraglia 1886.
78 Muratori 1725, VII, 1064.

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of the vernacular translation of the *De balneis puteolanis*, the medieval poem describing the baths of Pozzuoli, are a clear indication of how Tuscan influence shaped written forms. The local language in Naples, especially in writing, accommodated from the outset both Florentine and Tuscan as languages of prestige. This was the consequence of the interplay of political, literary and economic factors: the leading role played in the city by individuals of Tuscan origin (beginning with the Acciaiuoli family) and the special diplomatic relationships with cities like Florence and Siena;[79] commercial relations with the Florentines, stimulated by the established presence in the city of lively minority language communities; literary influences, which meant that knowledge of the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio was widespread, even among the lower classes, as well as the taste for a certain kind of historiographical and—with the work of Ariosto—epic narrative.

The prestige of Florentine culture put down deep roots in the Kingdom of Naples. Dante's *Commedia* was well-known in Naples from Angevin times, when it was read, commented upon and cited.[80] The wealth of Dante exegesis led the way to the reception of other Florentine works: in the 15th century an anonymous reader from the Salento of Boccaccio's *Teseida* draws upon—'ransacks' might be a more accurate term—various Dante commentaries for his own glosses on Boccaccio's epic poem.[81] In Puglia the Saraceno di Giovinazzo family used the vernacular, although in contrasted registers, for two inscriptions placed on the facade of their palace. The family's authority is asserted with the use of a proverb on the principal façade (ca. 1474–1478): "EL SARACINO TE[N]GE & SE[M]PRE C[O]CE / ET QVA[N]TO PIV LV TOCCHI PIV TE NOCE" while on one of the sides of the palace a *terzina* from the *Commedia* is displayed, with the words slightly modified: "TEMER SI DEE SOL DI QVELLE COSE / CHANNO POTENSA DI FAR ALTRVY MALE / DE LALTRE NO CHE NO[N] SO PAVROSE" (Inf. 2.88–90).[82]

It was above all among poets and prose writers that the prestige of Florentine literature was associated with the language in which it was written, though not without controversy. In terms of literature, and not only lyric poetry, Tuscanization appeared early in southern Italy: hesitant at first and above all stylistic, it

79 Delle Donne 2015; Cantone 2013.

80 Montuori forthcoming.

81 Maggiore 2013 and 2016; Montuori 2018.

82 de Divitiis forthcoming. "The Saraceno family stains and burns and the more you touch [them] the more [they] will hurt you" (the implied image is of a burning coal but there is also a clear reference to the southern Italian term 'saracino' or 'Moor'). "We should fear those things alone / That have the power to harm. / Nothing else is frightening".

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became progressively more linguistic during the 16th century, especially after the publication in 1525 of Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua*.

Yet an assertive sense of a certain local autonomy remained. Even in circles that were open to Florentine influence a need was felt to draw on a canon of authors wider than that laid down by Bembo. In general, we find among many exegetes and authors, including lyric poets, an urgent need to demonstrate their freedom from the too constrictive rules set out in the *Prose*; Andrea Gesualdo and Silvano da Venafro (1533), two commentators of Petrarch, are examples.

Even the masterpiece of 16th-century Neapolitan lyric poetry, Sannazaro's *Sonetti e canzoni*, published after the death of the author by Sultzbach in 1530, shows how specific an influence Naples remained also in terms of literary language. The text of the Neapolitan *princeps* was reprinted twice in Rome within the space of a month; in one of these editions the publisher Blado made extensive revisions to the language of Sannazaro's verses, which often showed the author's independence from both classical models and modern prescriptive rules,[83] "removing a large part of their particular linguistic colouring".[84]

The three lexicographers at work in the early 16th century also take differing approaches to the Italianization of Neapolitan language through the spread of archaic Florentine. Lucio Giovanni Scoppa from Massa Lubrense (1476–1549) taught Latin in the lay school he ran; the dictionary which he compiled has Latin terms as the headwords, followed by the definition, which in turn is followed by synonyms or paraphrases in the *scripta* of the local dialect, together with Sicilianisms, a consequence of the sources Scoppa was using. The local language is the obvious candidate for the definitions, which means that Scoppa's dictionary is an excellent guide to early 16th-century Neapolitan. In the subsequent editions the lists of synonyms are longer and the area they are drawn from is wider (extended southwards) but the nature of Scoppa's approach remains unmodified. The gradual removal of Neapolitan from the glosses took place largely after the author's death, encouraged by the success of the dictionary in Venice.

The Neapolitan Benedetto Di Falco (d. after 1568) and Fabricio Luna (d. before 1559), who was perhaps Calabrian in origin, were lexicographers who wanted to help the work of linguistic standardization at a national level by means of the models which Bembo had disseminated.[85] Both men wrote for an averagely educated southern Italian readership. Their works thus contain a

83 Montuori 2020a.
84 Sannazato (ed. Mauro) 1961.
85 Di Falco 1535; Luna 1536.

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comparison with the language of Tuscan literature, meaning they are alert to terms which are outside their linguistic expertise and for which they seek comparisons with their native language; it is probable that neither writer would have included terms from their own language in their compilations were it not for the need to import the standards of written literary Italian, with appropriate adaptations, into southern Italy. As a result, we find in the works by Di Falco and Luna a representation of the relations between languages that had different functions, but occupied the same communicative space. These works are in some sense the effect of the deep tensions running through Naples as a communicative space in the period of the Viceroyalty.

It is possible to glimpse in the work of these lexicographers the awareness of a local linguistic identity. In Luna this is most evident in the paratextual parts of his dictionary, when he uses the term 'tosco' to refer to the 14th-century models and to stigmatise the alien origins of certain linguistic forms or when he interprets Bembo's *Prose* as a grammar also of spoken language, thus feeling blocked from freely expressing himself. He fears the Latin-Tuscan polarisation in the higher varieties of the repertoire and laments the disappearance of intermediate varieties of language in writing (for example in epistolography) and in speaking (in educated conversation). This is an anxiety typical of bilingual persons "when the alternatives are no longer between single elements in a system but between systems", then the speaker as a result feels inadequate and uneasy in the use of the new language.[86]

Di Falco was also influenced by Bembo, though in an atypical way, just as his canon made up of ten authors is original: Petrarch, Boccaccio, Dante, Ariosto, Pulci, Sannazaro, Bembo, Landino, Machiavelli, Castiglione.[87] Di Falco praises those linguistic forms capable of sustaining a regular style, not in speech (which is subject to change) but in writing which is unchanging over time.[88] In his *Rimario*, the local language is used above all to provide synonyms for certain words, for example those which are regarded as inappropriate in polite usage, which appear at the end of the book in a section which is part rhyming dictionary and part standard dictionary: "alcune parole bassissime & vili" ("some low, vile words") used "per isdegno per vituperio" ("to express scorn and vituperation") (ff. G1^{r}–2^{r}), while other words are "anticate, ch'el processo del tempo lor ha fatto ingiuria, per il che sono fuor dell'usanza moderna" ("old-fashioned

86 Sornicola 2013; Varvaro 2004, 126.

87 Sabbatino 1986; Dionisotti 1963. It is clear that Di Falco relies on other sources that he does not declare; for example, to collect the "names of places in the new world", he uses the *Itinerario* of Ludovico de Varthema (1510).

88 De Blasi 2018.

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because of the passage of time and fallen out of use") (ff. G2^{v}–H4^{r}). In this section we almost invariably find dialectal glosses, sometimes explicitly tagged as 'nap.': "Mazzuolo, in nap. la saglioccola" ("club, bludgeon"); "Ventraiuolo com'e un fanciullo che per spesso mangiare ha la panza grossa" ('with a paunch, like a child whose overeating causes its stomach to swell'). Neapolitan is like a skeleton needing to be dressed in literary Italian and also in the other languages of the time, Latin, Greek, Spanish, Portuguese, the words from which are occasionally listed among the headwords in the dictionary.

Like the lexicographers' glosses, marginal annotations in texts are also places of metalinguistic reflection and thus of an implicit emergence of dialectal vocabulary and a perception of different languages in use. However, there is a need to interpret the wide implications which emerge from the gaps the *notabilia* leave between what they say and the text they comment upon. They reveal that forms which for us are banal were seen at the time as interesting.

The southern Italian annotator of the third book of Bembo's *Prose*, in a copy of the first edition, today in the National Library of St Petersburg (coll. 427f/5255), was highly cultivated and an admirer of the work of Andrea Gesualdo.[89] His annotations, especially certain sequences, note the links of literary forms and words to local forms and words and express perceptions of the sociolinguistic specialisation of local linguistic usages.[90]

Inhibitions about using the local language and the continual recourse to it for metalinguistic observations show that the aspirations towards a supralocal language moved from the hybrid solutions of the 15th century to submission to the antique Florentine proposed as a model in Bembo's grammar of 1525. The stabilization of the common language was however a very slow process because the overarching language was not seen as neutral from a geographical point of view and was not adapted to satisfy the needs of generalized use: it was Tuscan and literary, not yet Italian and spoken.

In this way adherence to classicist models was for southern Italian intellectuals accompanied by justified misgivings: the risk was that the Latin-Tuscan polarisation found in higher written production would lead to the disappearance of an already existing language which, while not cultivated, worked well and was used in letter-writing and, in part, in literature for popular consumption, as well as orally in sermons and professional conversations.

Thus, the dissemination of Bembo's model proposing a language of great prestige based on its national reach but also on its limited use and profound

89 Stepanova 2005.

90 Marazzini 2006; Motolese 2008.

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rhetorical connotations did not lead to the Italianization of the local language. Rather it had two important effects. On the one hand there was the creation of a local variety (spoken and written) of Italian, a regional Neapolitan Italian that was accepted, perceived, and promoted as a high register of the local language. This was the language, 'Neapolitan', not the local dialect, which acquired such prestige throughout the Kingdom, on which the image of a monolingual state was based and through which usages in Naples (whether indigenous or Tuscan) were carried to even its remote areas. On the other hand, these dynamics continued over the course of the 16th century and after a hundred years brought about a complete separation of the languages found in erudite authors. In Sannazaro's *gliommeri* (late 15th century) or Giovan Battista Del Tufo's *Ritratto* (1588) it was still possible to juxtapose the literary vernacular and the local language but subsequently a space opened up for the assertion of the literary dignity of the local dialect with the inauguration of an extraordinary cultural period that saw the creation of the literary works in dialect of Basile, Cortese, Fasano, Sgruttendio, a production which was a 'mirror image' of that in Italian.[91]

Other Languages and Alphabets

Latin maintained for a long time some of its traditional characteristics, above all the fact that it was used only in certain social and institutional ambiences. However, the geographical range where it was used and the variety of uses to which it was put, some of which were cultivated and formal but some of which were also intended for the lower classes, were unparalleled. Finally Latin remained a language which, once mastered, ensured access to elite fields of knowledge and professional skills. Yet, despite this, in the 16th century it no longer provided the model which vernacular writing could draw on in the attempt to standardize graphic and phonetic variants.

The gradual reduction in the use of Latin in administrative and political documents is common. The development of a language of politics in the vernacular was one of the reasons why also in the field of law other languages began to be used alongside Latin, as in the vernacular translation of Frederick II's Constitutions of Melfi (1231), known as the *Liber augustalis* (15th century).[92] Other factors, not merely collateral, in this process included the presence of jurists as writers of lyric poetry in the vernacular and the politi-

91 "La letteratura dialettale riflessa suppone come antecedente e punto di partenza la letteratura nazionale." ("The mirror image of dialect literature takes national literature as its antecedent and starting point"). See Croce 1926, 337.

92 Maffei 1995.

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cisation of the trials against the barons who had taken part in the conspiracy of 1485–1486, reports of the proceedings for which were printed and circulated by the monarchy for propaganda purposes.[93] The vernacular gradually infiltrated standard legal texts, from the *Consilia* to the laws proclaimed by the king or the viceroy and collected under the title *Prammatiche*, alongside Spanish.[94]

The decline in the use of Latin was also seen in publicly displayed writings.[95] Here the vernacular, also with local features, started to appear, as can be seen in the epigraphs in Giovinazzo (figs. 2–3), the inscriptions in the apse of S. Maria Assunta in Atri (figs. 4–5), the *paliotto* of the cathedral of Teramo (fig. 6), and in Ripacandida and Pietrapertosa.[96] In the fresco cycle of Sant'Aspreno in the Tocco chapel in Naples cathedral painted by Agostino Tesauro at the end of the second decade of the 16th century, there are various inscriptions in the vernacular that also use Neapolitan forms such as 'quisto omo' for 'quest'uomo' and 'stanfelle' for 'stampelle'.[97]

Romance language texts written in Greek script are also of interest.[98] In southern Italy alternatives existed to the customary practice of writing Romance texts according to Latin graphic tradition; on occasion a scribe would use Greek graphemes to represent the sounds of a southern Romance language.[99] This is a secondary effect of the local use of the Greek language and of the practice in monasteries and to a lesser degree in lay ambiences of writing in Greek.

Most of the Romance texts written in Greek script in southern Italy came from Salento, Basilicata, Calabria, and Sicily and date from the period between the 13th and 16th centuries.[100] They are an indirect manifestation of the collapse in the presence of Greek culture and language, which before the Norman arrival must have been very extensive but was in critical decline by the begin-

93 Corti 1956; Cortese 1999; D'Aloe 1859.

94 In the 15th century, Puglian notaries signalled the transition from Latin to the vernacular in their deeds with such formulas as "in vulgari eloquio" o "in vulgari sermone" (Castrignanò 2014).

95 For the insults pronounced orally and reported in the procedural documents of Terra d'Otranto see Castrignanò 2016.

96 See Appendix, 2–6. De Blasi 2019. A repertoire of vernacular scripts in southern Italy can be found in Cacchioli and Tiburzi 2015, 125–135.

97 De Blasi 1997, 280.

98 Maggiore 2017.

99 For the transcription of graphemes and of text see Baglioni and Tribulato 2015.

100 The sole 12th-century example are the texts in the fresco of the Last Judgement in the Church of S. Stefano in Soleto (late 14th century).

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ning of the early modern period. Today isolated enclaves in which the traditional local dialects enjoy a limited vitality survive.

The production of these texts was dependent on circumstance and it was episodic. They belong to various genres and are characterised by a marked polygraphism and by an absence of standardization.[101] They are part of an overall southern Italian production while being characterized by "the absence of practices of uniform literacy."[102] The scribes did not necessarily have a close knowledge of Greek and were possibly influenced by contemporary writing practices, especially in Latin script. Certain graphic and paleographic features can help to identify where the manuscripts were written but such identifications are always debatable and also made more difficult by the kinds of at least some of these texts, which may contain superimposed strata of different geographical provenance.

The last examples of this practice date from the 16th century.[103] However, "with the passage of time and changes in the sociolinguistic context, Romance texts written in Greek script began to accommodate a language based on Tuscan models which was increasingly consistently followed by texts written in Latin script". The prestige of Tuscan can be found in such small features as the replacement of the final '-u' (typical of dialects in the far south of Italy) with the 'Italian' '-o', or in the reception of literary texts, exemplified by the transcription of a Petrarchan distich on fol. 1.r of the manuscript Vat. Ott. Gr. 154 (written in Terra d'Otranto, first half of the 16th century): τζεσαρου πόη κε λ τραδιτούρε δε αζυττου / κυ φετζε ιλ δον δε λα ουνορατα τεστα, corresponding to the first two lines of poem CII in the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*: "Cesare, poi che 'l traditor d'Egitto / li fece il don de l'onorata testa" ("Caesar, after the Egyptian traitor [Ptolemy XIII] / gave him as a gift the honoured head" [of Gneo Pompeo]).[104] Alongside its more visible manifestations, the dissemination of Florentine language and culture was also made up of such minimal episodes.

In Naples, once the practice of using Greek script to write had declined, interest in Greece was found in humanist circles;[105] it was humanists who were interested in the Greek inscription on the pediment of the temple of

101 Such production includes liturgical and devotional texts; prayers, exorcisms and medical prescriptions, archival documents, letters, glosses, and marginal annotations, as well as mural inscriptions and forgeries (Basile 2012).

102 De Angelis 2016, 179.

103 Compagna 1983, 117, 157, 172, 182–183, 204–205.

104 Maggiore 2017, 336. Petrarch's text is taken from Bettarini 2005.

105 Germano 2015, 42; 52–53; Deramaix 2012.

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the Dioscuri, which was lost in the earthquake of 1688. Lorenzo Valla wrote a commentary on the inscription, but it was also transcribed by the chronicler Ferraiolo who quoted the text when he copied the printed *Cronaca di Partenope*, in which it was the only translation; there are various indications which suggest Ferraiolo reproduced the inscription by copying it down as he saw it on the building, without any knowledge of Greek.[106]

Further instances of Greek immigration into the Kingdom, like that of the families from Coron (Koroni) in 1534, did not halt the decline of Greek in southern Italy,[107] also because the advantages enjoyed in the Kingdom after the fall of Coron were acquired above all by numerous families of Albanian origin.[108]

In the case of Hebrew, there is no evidence for the emergence of an Italian-Hebrew language in the Kingdom and no examples of Romance texts being written in Hebrew script after the well-known case of the 10th-century glosses published by Ferretti Cuomo in 1977.[109] In any case, the lively Jewish community in the Kingdom from the early medieval period onwards, whose writing had also ensured the survival of Arabic after the Normans, came to an end in 1541 after their expulsion was decreed by Charles V.[110]

Hebrew writings in Italo-Romance vernacular are of greater interest; these occurred above all when single individuals came into contact with the central political and legal institutions. The letters from the Jews of Lecce to the Venetian consul Biagio Dolfin written between the 14th and 15th centuries were followed by many such recorded documents.[111] In one petition from "Josep lo medicho hebreo siciliano," we find graphic usages unknown within the Kingdom and a supra-regional hybridization, with phenomena varyingly attributable to southern Italian phonology, Spanish influences, and French usages, which would seem to indicate an elementary level of linguistic proficiency.[112]

106 Lenzo 2011, 26–40; Campana 1973–1974, 86 n. 5; Kelly 2011, 172; Montuori 2012, 22–24.
107 Varriale 2014, 53.
108 Giura 1984; Petta 1996; and 2000.
109 Several texts written in Corfù are a possible exception. See Sermoneta 1990; Aprile 2006. There is still discussion on the Calabrian localization of the Judaeo-Italian elegy; see most recently Natale 2018.
110 Ferorelli 1915; Fonseca et al. 1996.
111 Stussi 1982; Colafemmina 2012.
112 Senatore 2020.

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Appendix

Comment on Fig. 1

Based on data taken from lexicographical sources and dialectological studies, the map shows the current distribution in ninety-five localities in Campania of the third person singular pronouns deriving from the Latin *ipse* and *ille*. In Naples in the 14th century the coexistence of the two types is recorded; subsequently, at the beginning of the modern period, the form *isso* prevails (Ledgeway 2009, 276–277; Barbato 2001, 546–547). The Neapolitan type *chillo*, which became largely prevalent only in the 20th century, is not shown here. The map makes clear that even today the dialects of Campania have different forms of the third person singular pronouns. The form from *ille*, represented on the map as blue squares, can be found in the dialects of Irpinia and south of the line that goes from the province of Naples to Canosa, near Bari, which also includes the other dialects of southern Italy. The form from *ipse*, shown as red circles, can be found in Naples and the provinces of Caserta and Benevento, and also in southern Lazio and Umbria, and Abruzzo. The areas where the coexistence of the two forms is recorded are shown with an orange triangle: here the form from *ille* is considered to be more archaic, and that from *ipse* more recent. The example thus shows a morphological heterogeneity of ancient origin, which became established at the beginning of the modern period and survived in the dialects of Campania and of the Kingdom as a whole during its existence.

Comment on Fig. 2

Giovinazzo, inscription on the main facade of the Saraceno family palace (1474–1478). The rhyming couplet reads like a proverb. The first line echoes a very widespread saying ("a piece of coal either smudges or burns"), used as a comparison, as we find, for example, in a letter by Bonifazio Vannozzi (1549–1621): "A [princely] court is like a piece of coal—you're either made dirty or scorched by it" (Pergamini 1617, 51). The second line alludes to a verse from the epic poem *Gerusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) from the stanza in book 8 which narrates the death of the Danish prince Sweno at the hands of the Muslim warrior Suleyman: "… the more [the prince] is attacked the more harm he does …"

Comment on Fig. 3

Giovinazzo, inscription on the lateral facade of the Saraceno family palace (1474–1478). The inscription is a terzina from Dante's *Inferno*: "Temer si dée di sole quelle cose / c'hanno potenza di fare altrui male; / de l'altre no, ché non

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son paurose" (Inf. 2.88–90). Dante here recalls, from his reading of Aquinas, the Aristotelian concept of courage as a *via media* between fear and temerity (*Ethica Nicomachea*, III ix–x, 1115a–b).

Comment on Fig. 4

Andrea Delitio. *Life of the Virgin*. Fresco cycle. First two registers of the left wall of the presbytery. 1475–1477. Atri, Church of Santa Maria Assunta. In the upper lunette, *Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple*; below, from left, *Birth of the Virgin, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Works of Mary in the Temple*. The cycle of frescoes covers the three walls of the presbytery from top to bottom divided into four registers. At the foot of each scene is a painted inscription of would-be elegant design using a combination of capital and uncial letters. The inscriptions visible here are: "QUANDO IOACIM IAO CACHIATO DEHEO TEMPIOIH" ("When Joachim was expelled from the Temple"); "QVANDO LAVERGINE D LA VERGINE MARIA NAQVE" ("when the Virgin Mary was born"); "QVANOO LA VERGINE MARIA FO HOFFERTTA ALVTEPPIO" ("when the Virgin Mary was presented to the Temple"); "QVANO LAVIRGINE ORANDO LIANGELI CIPPARICCI HANANO IA MENSA" ("when, while the Virgin was praying, the angels laid the table for her").

Comment on Fig. 5

Andrea Delitio. *Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple*. Fresco. 1475–1477. Atri, Church of Santa Maria Assunta. Photograph from the Fondazione Cini, C2406, Van Marle-Ventura collection. The photographic documentation shows how repeated 19th- and 20th-century restorations (1881–1885; 1963; 1983–1988) intervened in the captions of the cycle and changed them. In an undated photo accessioned by the Archivio Luce in the 1930s (Archivio Fotografico Nazionale, 18) and also present in the Pallucchini collection of the Fondazione Cini in Venice (Cini Fototeca, no. 154613), a slightly different and more correct text than the one now legible under the lunette on the left can be seen: "QUANDO IOACIM FO CACHIATO DE LO TEPLO". The captions of the other panels, not visible in this photo (but see the Cini Fototeca, nos. 154654 and 154687) have also been modified considerably over time and show various versions; the one on the left: "QVANDO QVANDO LA VERGINE MARIA NAQVE"; and the one on the right: "QVANO LAVIRGINE ORANDO LIANGELI CIPPARICCHIA[.]ANO L[. ....]". The original form of the captions must at present be regarded as irrecoverable.

Comment on Fig. 6

Nicola di Guardiagrele, *Presentation of Jesus in the Temple*. A gilded silver and enamelled panel on the main altar frontal, 1433–1448. Teramo, Duomo (photo-

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graph from *Cattedrali* 2019, 137). The frontal features twenty-five scenes from the *Life of Christ*. The descriptive captions are almost always in Latin, but in this case and in the example of the *Flagellation*, the two panels where the intervention of Guardiagrele's chief collaborator is most evident, the texts are in the vernacular and modelled in very broad Gothic characters with some typical features of uncial writing (Cadei 2006, 332): "QUAN[N]O [CHRIST]O F|O PRESENTA|O A LO TENPLO" ("when Christ was presented to the Temple"); "QUANDO [CHRIST]O FO BACTUTO A LA COLONDA" ("when Christ was scourged at the column").

Acknowledgements

My gratitude goes to Marcello Barbato and Nicola De Blasi, who read the article in draft and provided valuable information. I relied on the help of Giovanni Abete to process fig. 1. I would like to thank the Fondazione Cini of Venice that generously granted fig. 4.

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CHAPTER 6

Mapping the Kingdom: History and Geography

Bianca de Divitiis and Fulvio Lenzo

A Stratified Past

Between the 15th and 16th centuries the vast territory of the Kingdom of Naples was marked by impressive natural elements such as volcanoes, jagged coasts and islands, and at the same time was scattered with monuments from a distant and more recent past. It is therefore not surprising that both aspects, naturalistic and antiquarian, were often the object of parallel attention from local and foreign humanists.

This chapter deals with different types of cultural products, such as literary descriptions, epigraphic sylloges, drawings and maps, both manuscript and printed, which were created between the 15th and 16th centuries and related to the study of the ancient history of southern Italy.

The ancient past of many towns and cities in southern Italy was still visible through the conspicuous classical ruins, such as temples, amphitheatres, aqueducts, and tombs, which continued to mark the landscape of the territory during the Renaissance. In some cases, such as the cities of Fondi and Alife, the entire perimeter of the ancient Roman walls had remained intact.[1] At Santa Maria Maggiore Capua Vetere and Pozzuoli, instead, nearly the entire Roman urban nucleus had been preserved thanks to a suburban and semirural situation, which recalls that of Rome at the turn of the 15th century.[2]

The Greek origins of Naples were evident in the city's urban plan, which was still intact after two thousand years, and in the imposing marble edifice of the Temple of the Dioscuri, which with its pronaos dominated the city centre until it collapsed during the 1688 earthquake.[3] Remains of temples were visible also in other cities and towns, such as the twin temples in Chieti,[4] or the crepidoma of the temples in Buccino,[5] Teggiano,[6] and Isernia.[7] Colossal ruins

1 Quilici 2007, 193–318; Miele 2001.
2 Maiuri 1958, 157–160; De Caro 2012.
3 Lenzo 2011.
4 Campanelli 1997; Somma 2007.
5 Bracco 1978.
6 Macchiaroli 1868, 150–159; Coarelli 1981.
7 Diebner 1979; Viti 1982; Valente 1992; Zullo 1996.

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of Roman acqueducts, roads or bridges could easily be admired along the consular roads such as the Appian way, which crossed the Kingdom from lower Lazio as far as the two triumphal columns at the port of Brindisi,[8] while exceptional clusters of remains were also to be found in more remote areas, such as the temples of Paestum and the remains of Velia at the south of Salerno,[9] the so-called 'Tavole Palatine' in Metaponto, and the columns in Capo Colonna near Crotone (fig. 7).[10]

Alongside Greek and Roman ruins, the southern landscape was scattered with imposing monuments from the Lombard, Norman, Swabian, and Angevin periods, which provided early examples of the way ancient models were reused and re-conceived, both in terms of the re-elaboration of motifs or the direct use of material remains.[11]

The tradition of incorporating *spolia* and the intentional recovery of antiquity in southern Italy goes back at least to the 8th century, as we can see in the city of Salerno from the Lombard Palatine chapel of San Pietro a Corte bearing an inscription by Paul the Deacon, as well as various works of the minor arts, such as seals, coins, and medals.[12] Capua and Benevento could also boast notable ancient and medieval remains, such as the tombs of the Lombard princes in the atrium of their cathedrals.[13]

The elaboration of ancient models in the early Middle Ages become even more evident in the 11th century when the new Norman rulers of southern Italy, steeped in the classicizing culture which derived from their connections with the Abbey of Montecassino, created new buildings with strikingly early *all'antica* features, such as the Abbey of Sant'Angelo in Formis, the SS. Trinità in Venosa or the cathedrals of Acerenza, Aversa, Sessa, and Salerno.[14] The latter features a monumental dedicatory inscription in refined classical lettering which can be regarded as the first recreation of Roman capitals.[15] The Normans' early classicizing attitudes even led to the foundation in 1119 of a city called Troia. Troia was created on the site of the ancient Roman city of Aecae which had been destroyed in 663 with the intention of compensating for the memory of the real Troy which, just like Aecae, had suffered the tragic destiny of having

8 Tuccinardi 2018.

9 For Paestum see Lang 1950; Mustilli 1959. For Velia see Gigante 1966; Greco and Krinzinger 1994.

10 Ranzano (ed. di Lorenzo, Figliuolo, and Pontari) 2007.

11 Lachenal 1994.

12 Delogu 1977, 152–190; Lambert 2003, 122–126; Mitchell 1994.

13 Rotili 1975; Di Resta 1983; Rotili 1986; Visentin 2012.

14 Pace 1997; Aceto 1999; Braca 2003; Jacobitti 1999; Aceto 2007; Becker 2007; Carbonara 2007.

15 Delogu 1977, 179–185. D'Onofrio and Pace 1981, 237–250. Mitchell 1994; Braca 2003, 21–28.

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once been a famous city which was now transformed into "a name without a body".[16]

This long tradition of rethinking and re-using ancient remains culminated with the works created by the Swabian emperor Frederick II, such as the gate in Capua (c. 1233), a magnificent entrance not just to the city but to the entire Kingdom, created by merging the models of ancient triumphal arches and city gates.[17] Explicit references to antiquity and the re-use of *spolia*, in particular columns, were a fundamental feature of the new churches built by the Angevins throughout southern Italy during the 13th and 14th centuries, as we see in the cathedral in Naples or in the one in Lucera.[18]

Compared to Rome, where during the Middle Ages the main monuments from antiquity had been reused for new purposes, in Pozzuoli the uninterrupted continuity in the use of the thermal baths provided the additional excitement of enjoying an authentic experience of *all'antica* bathing, exactly as the ancients had done.[19] It was in this context that Pietro da Eboli's *De balneis Puteoli* was composed, an early 13th-century poem extolling the curative powers of the ancient thermal bath in and around Pozzuoli.[20] The tradition of literary descriptions which considered together baths and antiquity would culminate in the compilation of a new guide printed in 1475, the *Libellus de mirabilibus Civitatis Putheolorum*, a book modelled on the *mirabilia* of Rome.[21]

All these memories would be activated and elaborated as part of the local antiquarian culture, as well as contributing to the knowledge of the foreign scholars who arrived in the Kingdom.

Humanists and Architects: Early Studies of the Kingdom's Antiquities

The advanced humanistic and antiquarian milieu, which benefited from a long tradition of interpreting surviving material remains, may be traced back to the

16 Evidence comes from the *Vita Sancti Secunduni episcopi troiani* commissioned just a few years after the foundation of the city by the then bishop of Troia, Stefano. See Limone 1983, 81–105. See also Aceto 2011; Miletti 2018; de Divitiis 2021, 92.

17 Abulafia 1988, 281–285; D'Onofrio 2005.

18 Bruzelius 1999.

19 Kaufmann 1959, 1–7; Yegül 1996, 150–151. On the baths in the Renaissance see de Divitiis 2015.

20 Kaufmann 1959.

21 Aretino 1475; Tyfernus 1507. See Giustiniani 1817, 47–49; Fava and Bresciano 1912, 83, n. 96, 108, n. 92.

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court of Robert d'Anjou, in particular to the creation of the *Cronaca di Partenope*, a 14th-century vernacular prose work on Naples, which contains the first modern translation of a classical Greek inscription, from the Temple of the Dioscuri.[22] In the same period, the long sojourn of Giovanni Boccaccio and Petrarch at the court of Robert of Anjou stimulated interest in inscriptions and monuments associated with the memory of the poet Virgil in Naples and in the Phlegrean Fields.[23] Boccaccio's *Filocolo* (1336) and Petrarch's *Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam* (c. 1358) immediately became standard works on the surviving ancient monuments of Naples and the Phlegrean Fields, ensuring their fame across Europe.[24]

Antiquarian studies in the Kingdom of Naples were further boosted by the travels of the merchant and antiquarian Ciriaco d'Ancona (1391–1452) across the Mediterranean who, between 1401 and 1432, travelled many times from lower Lazio to Puglia and Calabria, filling his notebooks with transcriptions of epigraphs and drawings of monuments and statues collected in Naples, Gaeta, Minturno, Sessa, Capua, Benevento, Gallipoli, Barletta, and Reggio.[25] His accounts, where he acknowledges the guidance he received from local humanists and scholars, are an indirect testimony to the knowledge of and interest shown towards the antiquities disseminated across the Kingdom; the influence of the legacy of his work on local antiquarian milieux was favoured by the circulation of his manuscripts among humanists and artists working for the Aragonese royal family, some of whom were personally acquainted with Ciriaco.[26]

Even before the conquest of the city of Naples, Alfonso of Aragon had gathered together a large number of humanists such as Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), Bartolomeo Facio (1410–1457), Antonio Beccadelli known as Panormita (1394–1471), and Caspar Pellegrì (15th c.) for the purpose of compiling historiographical works.[27] It was during the long siege of Gaeta on the northern border of the Kingdom in the 1440s that Lorenzo Valla composed the *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donation* (Discourse on the Forgery of the Alleged

22 On the Temple of Dioscuri, see Weiss 1969; Campana 1973–1974; Lenzo 2011. On the *Cronaca di Parthenope*, see Kelly 2011; De Caprio and Montuori 2018.

23 D'Ovidio 2012; Alfano, D'Urso, and Perriccioli Saggese 2012.

24 Petrarca (ed. Lo Monaco) 1990. On Petrarch in Naples and the circulation of the *Itinerarium* in Latin and the vernacular, see Vecce 1998, 51–53; Alfano, D'Urso, and Perriccioli Saggese 2012.

25 Scalamonti (ed. Bodnar and Mitchell) 1996; Cyriac of Ancona (ed. Bodnar) 2003; Cyriac of Ancona (ed. Mitchell et alii) 2015; Solin 1992, 185–196.

26 Figliuolo 1997.

27 For historiographical works at the time of Alfonso see Fulvio Delle Donne in this volume.

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Donation of Constantine), a work of major cultural and political significance which challenged the power of the Papacy.[28] Valla's sophisticated philological method became a model for other humanists investigating ancient remains. In the 1438 letter written by Valla from the Aragonese military camp just after their conquest of the city of Sulmona in Abruzzo, the programmatic intention of exalting the poet Ovid, for whom Alfonso had a particular veneration, is clear.[29] In particular Valla documents the search for material remains connected to the poet, recounting how, after his triumphal entrance into Sulmona, Alfonso went with some followers to visit the "house of Ovid". Interestingly enough, the histories which were being compiled at the time celebrated the King not only for his qualities as a soldier and as a ruler, but also as a humanist and lover of antiquity. According to Panormita in his *De dictis et factis* (1455), this side of Alfonso was demonstrated by the fact that during the siege of Gaeta he decided against further bombardment, so as not to damage even a single stone of the so-called villa of Cicero in Formia; Panormita also recounts the story of how Alfonso was eager to inspect the inscription on a tomb thought to be that of Cicero near Gaeta, only to discover that it was the sepulchre not of a "Marcus Tullius" but of a "Marcius Vitruvius".[30]

The death of Alfonso I and the subsequent war of succession for the throne led to a general reduction in investigations across the Kingdom; but from the mid-1460s surveys of the territory as well as the debate on ancient material remains and on classical texts which discussed monuments revived with the collaboration between a new generation of local humanists who were close to Panormita's (and later Pontano's) academy, and architects who came to southern Italy from outside the Kingdom.

In 1465 Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) spent some months in Naples in the house of Filippo Strozzi, and, while it is not known what he might have seen during his stay, his longstanding friendship with Panormita, since the time when both had been students in Padua, would have ensured his admittance into the city's humanistic circles.[31] The zenith of what was a notable influx of architects visiting the Kingdom from elsewhere began with the arrival of Giuliano da Maiano in 1485, followed—in chronological sequence of

28 Gothein 1886; Gothein 1915; Campana 1973–1974; Ryder 1976; Bentley 1987, 133–134; Vecce 2002.

29 Regogliosi 1982; Regogliosi 1984. See Miletti in this volume.

30 Panormita 1538, 34. See Bentley 1987; de Divitiis 2016.

31 Panormita dedicated a poem in his *Ermafrodito* to Alberti; see Panormita (ed. Gardini) 2017, I, xxi, 46–47. On Alberti's stay in Naples see Boschetto 2001. For his influence on the Neapolitan milieu, see Vecce 1997; de Divitiis 2007; de Divitiis 2016a; Lenzo 2018a.

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their journeys—by Giuliano da Sangallo (1445–1516), Fra Giovanni Giocondo da Verona (1433–1515), Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439–1501), and Antonio Marchesi da Settignano (1451–1522) in the last decade of the 15th century.[32] In addition to their engagement with building projects for the king, all these architects shared a profound interest in antiquity and collaborated with humanists, in particular with Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503) and Jacopo Sannazaro (1457–1530), who at the time were already regarded as authorities on both ancient and modern works of art and architecture.

From the very early stages of his career as a man of letters and diplomat for the Aragonese court, Pontano was accustomed to surveying ancient remains. Evidence comes from his *De aspiratione* which was written in about the 1450s, where Pontano cites forty-four different epigraphic texts from southern Italy, most of which he had personally examined, as appears from his frequent use of first-person verbs such as "I saw" or "I found" (*vidi, inveni*).[33] As Pontano discusses the orthography of Latin words, we catch glimpses of his actual fieldwork, recording inscriptions in Naples and in the nearby city of Pozzuoli. Thanks to the diplomatic missions he undertook either with members of the Aragonese royal family or by himself, Pontano was also able to study epigraphic texts in Salerno, Benevento, Capua and, closer to the borders of the Kingdom, those he found in Chieti, Sulmona in Abruzzo, and in Traetto and Minturno on the way to Rome, as well as Lavello and Venosa in Basilicata, where he spent several months during the war against the Angevin claimant to the throne Jean d'Anjou (1458–1465). His travels across the Kingdom, as well as those to Rome, also provided him with an opportunity to study massive Roman ruins evoking a sense of magnificence. These monuments were used by Pontano to substantiate his arguments on history and social virtues. At the same time his knowledge of the physical realities of the territory, made up of mountains, rivers, valleys, and plains, became so thorough that he was even put in charge of drawing a map of the northern border of the Kingdom of Naples with the Papal States, an activity that occupied him in the period between 1489 and 1492, when he was probably engaged in the peace negotiations between Ferrante and Innocent VIII.[34] Pontano's profound geographical and historical knowledge of the Kingdom of Naples lies at the core of his *De bello neapoli-*

32 On the relations between Pontano and his Academy with antiquarians and architects see Vecce 1997; Vecce 1998; de Divitiis 2016. See also Iacono in this volume.

33 Pontano 1481, fols. 41^{r}, ll. 22–24; 14*r*, ll. 5–6; Germano 1997; de Divitiis 2012; Dodero 2007.

34 Naples, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, Stampe cat. V, 229; La Greca and Valerio 2008, 56–61.

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tano, a historical work on the war between Ferrante and Jean d'Anjou. Here the episodes of the war, like the battle at Troia (1462) or that of Ischia (1465), are recounted against the background of an accurately drawn landscape in a dense and rapid prose style inherited from Livy. Furthermore, his descriptions of cities take into account both historical episodes and legends which he had read or heard of, as well as the monuments he had personally inspected.[35] In this context, it is interesting to note that Pontano's conception of the past was not confined to the classical period, but took account of the multiple stratifications which had built up over a long drawn out historical process, from the pre-Greek times recalled in the digression on the Italic peoples who inhabited the Kingdom of Naples to the post-Roman period.[36] The period of late Antiquity is magnificently evoked by Pontano with the example of the Colossus in the city of Barletta, a 5th-century monumental bronze statue five metres high, which he identified as representing the 7th-century Emperor Heraclius I. His appreciation of the prestige of southern Italy and the glorious role it played during the Middle Ages is instead evident in the attention he devotes to the lavish sepulchral chapel of the Norman prince Bohemond I of Antioch (d. 1111) in Canosa, and in his description of the miraculous grotto of the sanctuary dedicated to Saint Michael on the Gargano promontory, known as Monte Sant'Angelo.

Equally extensive parallel travels across the Kingdom were carried out by the antiquarian friar Giocondo da Verona from 1488 to 1494.[37] Just like Pontano, the inscriptions transcribed by Giocondo help us to reconstruct in part his movements across the territory and the highlights of his tours during which, moving along the ancient Roman consular roads, he went from Terracina and Fondi, on the northern borders of the Kingdom, to the heart of Lucania, down to Matera and then Trani on the Adriatic coast of Puglia.[38] Passing thorough Sessa Aurunca and Venafro, Giocondo went on to the Abruzzo, to Sulmona, and, again, along the Adriatic coast to Vasto. Two documents from the royal treasury reveal that Giocondo received payments from the court to look at antiquities in Mola (Formia), Gaeta, and Pozzuoli, visits which were carried out in the company of Jacopo Sannazaro.[39] The *De architectura* of Vitruvius, edited by Giocondo and published in Venice in 1511, can be regarded as the conclusion of a long period

35 Pontano (eds. Germano, Iacono, and Senatore) 2019; Miletti 2018.
36 De Divitiis 2021.
37 De Divitiis 2010.
38 See Fulvio Lenzo in this volume.
39 Percopo (ed. Del Treppo) 1997, 49–50.

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of study in which the years Giocondo spent in the Kingdom and his constant dialogue with local humanists played a central role.[40]

The collaboration between local humanists and foreign antiquarians and architects, who undertook joint field trips and were engaged in the complex task of matching ruins to descriptions in classical literary texts, was not limited to Giocondo and Sannazaro. While the Neapolitan humanists were using classical literary sources to identify the ruins of the Temple of the Sybil on the Lake Avernus and those of Varro's *studio* in Cassino, Giuliano da Sangallo and Francesco di Giorgio were promptly adopting these names in the captions to their survey drawings of these same structures.

Even if we cannot reconstruct Giuliano da Sangallo's itinerary in detail, from his drawings we know that during the few months he spent in Naples in 1488 in order to show the king his project for the new royal palace, he pursued his architectural and antiquarian interests with enthusiasm, surveying triumphal arches in Aquino and Benevento, ancient baths, temples, mausolea, and amphitheatres in the Phlegrean Fields and in Capua (fig. 8).[41]

The drawings which Francesco di Giorgio carried out during his several visits to the Kingdom between 1491 and 1496 reveal that he was interested in the same sites surveyed by Giuliano da Sangallo, but at the same time his approach to them was profoundly personal.[42] For example, in Capua he devotes much attention to the medieval gate built by Frederick II: this seems to go beyond his task of supervising the fortresses of the Kingdom, revealing a profound interest in medieval evidence which parallels that of the Neapolitan humanists. Furthermore, his inspections reveal different layers of study: this emerges for example in the drawings of the Phlegrean Fields which go from the minute scale of architectural details, such as the stucco finishes in Baia, to the scale of the building when he is trying to understand how the baths functioned, up to a topographical dimension, seen in the map of the network of ancient tunnels which connected Lake Avernus with the ancient city of Cuma and the *Portus Iulius* on the coast (fig. 9).

It was not only the architects who profited from the knowledge acquired by humanists; their exchange was mutual. The subterranean journey along the "secret ways" (*occolte vie*) and through the valleys and mountains that Sannazaro describes in his *Arcadia* does not merely contain echoes of classical sources, such as Virgil's description of the underworld journey of Aristaeus in the *Georgics* (*Georg*. IV), but also seems like a literary transfiguration of an actual walk

40 Vitruvius (ed. Giocondo) 1511. Gros 1997. See also Pagliara 1986; Salatin 2015.

41 Hülsen 1910 (1984); de Divitiis 2015a; de Divitiis 2017.

42 Burns 1993.

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he took in the company of architects and his fellow humanists through the subterranean channels of the aqueduct of the Bolla and along the overground and underground paths of the Serino aqueduct. Sannazaro's combination of accurate topographical observation and classical erudition bears fruit in his identification of the lost city of Pompeii along the banks of the Sarno in the shadow of Vesuvius.[43]

The advanced state of research on the stratification of the territory of southern Italy emerges in other works, such as the *De situ Iapygiae*, a chorographic description of Salento written by Antonio De Ferraris, known as Galateo (1444–1517), and the *De Nola* (1514) an antiquarian description of the city of Nola by Ambrogio Leone (1457–1525).[44] Both men were humanists and doctors, who also had a knowledge of Greek. Both provide evidence of the archaeological activities which were underway in their lifetimes: for example, Galateo describes the discovery of a Messapian inscription near Vaste around 1490 for the interpretation of which he called upon the help of other humanists across Italy, including Sannazaro and Ermolao Barbaro, while Leone describes in detail the numerous archaeological findings made in Nola at the turn of the 16th century.

Works on the landscape and the classical history of the Kingdom also attracted the attention of humanists from outside the territory, such as Erasmus and the Venetian Marcoantonio Michiel. In 1524 the latter asked for information on the state of the arts in Naples from his friend Pietro Summonte (1453–1526), a member of Pontano's academy. In his reply, after describing the antiquities of Naples and the Phlegrean Fields, Summonte also mentions the temples of Paestum and the ruins of Velia; when he speaks of the antiquities of Nola, he suggests Michiel read the work by their mutual friend Ambrogio Leone.[45]

Sixteenth-Century Travellers in Southern Italy

Giorgio Vasari in his *Lives* remarks that knowledge of the antiquities found throughout the Kingdom was available outside its borders, thanks also to the travels undertaken by Donato Bramante (1444–1514) and Giovanni Maria Falconetto (1468–1535) at the turn of the 16th century.[46] From the same source we

43 De Divitiis 2015a. See also the chapter by Fulvio Lenzo in this volume.

44 On *De situ Iapygiae*, see Galateo (ed. Defilippis 2005); Federico 2016. On *De Nola*, see Leone 1514; Defilippis 1991; de Divitiis, Lenzo, and Miletti 2018.

45 Nicolini 1925; Bologna 1995; Lenzo 2006, 15 n. 59, 271, 273, 283.

46 Vasari 1550, IV, 76, 590; cf. Lenzo 2011, 39–40. For foreign travellers see Letts 1918.

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also know that "Raphael employed draughtsmen throughout Italy, in Pozzuoli and as far as Greece."[47]

Several drawings survive as evidence of the journey which the Sienese painter and architect Baldassarre Peruzzi (1481–1536) undertook in the Kingdom, probably in the early decades of the 16th century.[48] In Gaeta he looks at the tomb of Munatius Plancus, the Cosmatesque floor in the church of the Annunziata, and the ancient capitals of the columns in the Cathedral. In Formia Peruzzi concentrated on the spaces of Cicero's villa, while in Terracina he surveyed the remains of the Roman forum in the Piazza del Duomo. No other drawings of antiquities by him are known, but he certainly travelled as far as Naples where he surveyed the Aragonese villa of Poggioreale.

The same building attracted also the attention of the French architect Philibert de l'Orme (1514–1570) during the period of his apprenticeship which he spent in Italy between 1533 and 1536.[49] In his printed works de l'Orme mentions the Arch of Trajan in Benevento, and provides detailed studies of the kitchen of the villa of Poggioreale, as well as the depiction of an ancient thermal building in Tripergole in the Phlegrean Fields, before the site was completely destroyed in 1538 by the eruption which led to the creation of Monte Nuovo (fig. 10). The eruption of the volcano was recorded in a drawing by the Portuguese artist Francisco de Hollanda (1517–1585), who travelled to southern Italy in the same year. De Hollanda surveyed and drew antiquities in Naples, Minturno, Pozzuoli, and Barletta.[50]

Even after their disappearance, the baths of Tripergole continued to attract attention, as we can see in the drawings by the Neapolitan antiquarian and architect Pirro Ligorio (1513–1583), in those of the Flemish antiquarian and medalist Antoine Morillon (c. 1522–1556) and in the album of the anonymous 'Destailleur B', which is now in the Hermitage in St Petersburg.[51] In the sets of drawings in this album we also find antiquities recorded in Nola, Capua, and Teggiano.[52] Manuscript works by the expert in epigraphy Jean Matal show that Antoine Morillon was in Naples in 1547, together with the other scholars Abel Portius (mid-16th century), Simon de Vallambert (fl. 1555–1565), Louis Budé

47 Vasari 1550, IV, 196: "Raffaello teneva disegnatori per tutta Italia, a Pozzuoli e fino in Grecia".

48 Wurm 1984.

49 Lenzo 2015.

50 Tormo 1940; Bartsch 2003; Lenzo 2011, 49.

51 Lenzo 2015.

52 Crawford 1998; Lanzarini and Martinis 2015.

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(d. 1551), and Guillaume Philandrier (1505–1563), who were all part of the circle of Claudio Tolomei (1492–1556) and his Vitruvian academy in Rome.[53]

From the same milieu came Antonio Augustin (1517–1586), bishop of the city of Alife in Campania, who visited Capua, Sessa, and Reggio Calabria in 1558–1559.[54] In his writings Augustin tells us about the excited anticipation in scholarly circles of the publication of Pirro Ligorio's work on the antiquities of the Kingdom, but this text was in fact destined to remain incomplete. Only a few sheets survive, relating to Naples, Pozzuoli, and Capua held in Oxford, Eton, and Turin.[55] We can extract information relating to ancient inscriptions and fragments located in other sites across the Kingdom, including Paestum and Salerno from the later versions of Pirro's works, the material in which is ordered not topographically but alphabetically, but it is unfortunately not always reliable.

Many drawings of antiquities found in southern Italy circulated in Rome. It is possible that Antonio da Sangallo (1484–1546) relied on such sources for his own drawings of the antiquities in Terracina, Cassino, Aquino and Capua.[56] We know for certain, however, that the architect Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) learned what he later wrote on southern Italian antiquities while he was in Rome, possibly from Pirro Ligorio.[57] It is a paradox that, among all the abovementioned antiquarians, Palladio was the only one who never actually set foot in the Kingdom, yet he remains the most famous source of information on the materials used for construction in Pozzuoli, and for the Greek walls and the Temple of the Dioscuri in Naples. He also published two engravings showing a reconstruction of the ports of Brindisi and Taranto during antiquity.[58]

Mapping History, Mapping the Present

Mapping the territory was one of the many activities promoted by the Aragonese monarchs as part of their efforts to acquire a detailed knowledge of the

53 Lenzo 2011, 40–44; Kulawik 2018; Kulawik 2021.

54 Crawford 1993.

55 Lenzo 2011, 44–50; Lenzo 2012.

56 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger drew antiquities in Terracina, Cassino, Aquino, and Capua (Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi A 1066 *recto-verso*, 1171 *recto-verso*, 121 *recto*, 1213 *verso*); see Vasori 1981. On the projects for the new royal palace, possibly intended for Charles V in Naples, see Bentivoglio 1986.

57 Palladio 1570. See Lenzo 2011, 51–56.

58 For Palladio's maps of the ancient ports of Taranto and Brindisi, see the chapter by Fulvio Lenzo in this volume.

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Kingdom of Naples, for which the court employed numerous architects, painters, and military experts. The twenty drawings on parchment of fortifications produced in 1492 by Giovanni Giocondo, now lost, can be seen as part of the same political strategy to acquire territorial knowledge, which also saw the participation of men of letters like Pietro Ranzano, whose *Descriptio totius Italiae* (1470s–1494), a description of Italy, included the regions of Puglia and Calabria which had been omitted from Biondo Flavio's *Italia Illustrata* (1451).[59]

The extensive campaign of surveying the Kingdom of Naples was subsequently transformed into a series of accurate painted maps, known as the 'Aragonese parchments', for which it has long been thought Pontano acted as a possible supervisor.[60] Four surviving maps show, respectively, the territory between Maddaloni and Nola, lower Latium, the islands of Ischia and Procida, and the Gargano promontory in Puglia.[61] Here, together with the orography of the sites and the names of different urban centres, we also find ancient Roman buildings depicted in what was presumed to be their original appearance, such as the amphitheatre in Nola, as well as information deduced from classical literary sources, as in the case of the river Clanius (fig. 11) which is identified through transcriptions of the verses by Virgil which referred to it (*Georg*. II, 225).[62] Such features show that geography was necessarily associated with history and, in a landscape marked by monumental ruins, an awareness of the ancient past was essential in order to acquire detailed knowledge of a territory where even the natural landscape was imbued with mythological, historical, and literary significance.

A similar commixture of geography, archaeology, and history can be found in the maps of European countries included in Bernardino Silvano da Eboli's

59 On Giocondo see de Divitiis 2010. On Ranzano see Ranzano (eds. di Lorenzo, Figliuolo, and Pontari) 2007; Figliuolo 1997, 87–276. See Lorenzo Miletti's essay in this book.

60 Gothein 1915, 255; Valerio 1993, 36–44; Valerio 1993b; Iuliano 2002; Valerio 2007, 945–951; Jacazzi 2008; La Greca and Valerio 2008; Cesarano 2011; Lenzo 2018a.

61 Naples, Archivio di Stato (hereafter ASN), *Ufficio Iconografico*, nn. 64–67. The four parchment maps are the only surviving parts of a more general survey of the entire Kingdom; the overall responsibility for the project has been attributed to Giovanni Pontano. Copies on paper of other now undocumented parchment maps were made in 1767 and are now partly in the ASN (*Piante e disegni*, cart. XXXI, nn. 15, 19, 20, 22, 23), and partly at the Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France (*Cartes et Plans*, Ge.AA.1305/1–7). However, it is impossible to assess how reliable these 18th-century drawings are as guides for the reconstruction of the original 15th-century maps.

62 ASN, *Ufficio Iconografico*, 65. The passage by Virgil on the river Clanius was also cited by Biondo (ed. White 2015–2016, II, 302–303).

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new (printed) edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (1511), where the names of the peoples who had once lived in the different ancient regions are indicated in red ink.[63]

Another development which combines the search for knowledge of the territory and for historical sources is found in the three maps that accompany Leone's *De Nola*; one map depicts the territory between Nola and Naples (*Ager Nolanus*), while the other two show respectively the city of Nola during Roman times (*Nola vetus*) and as it was during Leone's lifetime (*Nola praesens*).[64] The purpose of the *Ager Nolanus* map was to show the close connection of the town with the surrounding countryside. Here we find depicted the mountains, such as Vesuvius and Mount Avella, the hills, the rivers, the marshes, the sulphur springs (*Mephitis*), and the artificial channel called *Regi Lagni* (*Lanyos*) (fig. 12). The overall impression is of an anthropomorphized territory where alongside the urban centres we see nature subjected to the work of man, as in the case of the stone quarry on Mount Avella and the river Sebeto transformed into an aqueduct or the *Regi Lagni* used to drain the swamps. The map of the *Ager* is the graphic visualisation of the antiquarian and humanistic methodology which Leone elaborates in his text and which he inherited from Biondo Flavio, Pomponio Leto, and other humanists: he first surveys the topography of the territory, and then he adds historical information derived from classical literary texts; he even shows the no longer surviving cities of Pompei and Ercolano and specifies the areas inhabited in antiquity by the *Samnites* and the *Hirpini populi*. In this respect, the map of the *Ager* can be regarded as a cultural product of the late 15th-century Neapolitan humanistic milieu, reflecting the studies on southern Italy in antiquity and in pre-Roman times which were carried out by Giovanni Pontano, Jacopo Sannazaro, and Antonio de Ferraris known as 'Galateo'. Even in locating Pompei near the site of modern Scafati, Leone followed the hypothesis proposed by Sannazaro in his *Arcadia*. The maps also include the former site of ancient Naples, called Palepoli, and the *campus romanus*, the area conquered by the Roman senator Quintus Fabius, who took advantage of the quarrel between Naples and Nola, as Leone recounts in the text quoting Cicero (*De Officiis*, I, 10, 33) and Valerio Massimo (VII, 3, 4).[65] A very interesting and unexpected detail in the *Ager Nolanus* map is its representation of the city

63 Ptolemy (ed. Bernardo Sylvano) 1511; the book, dedicated to Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva duke of Atri, is one of the first illustrated editions of Ptolemy's *Geographia* to include a map of America. See Blessich 1897, 41–47; Conti, 2009.

64 Lenzo 2018a.

65 Leone 1514, bk. I, ch. 10, fol. Xiiiiv.

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of Naples, with the ancient tunnel of the *Crypta Neapolitana*, the Angevin pier, and the Aragonese city walls of very recent construction.[66]

While the map of the *Ager* translates already established scholarly methods into visual, graphic forms, the idea of reconstructing the ancient city that had disappeared in the map of *Nola vetus* is a completely new invention on Leone's part and the first example of this kind of operation, predating the maps of ancient Rome proposed by Raphael in the famous letter to Leo X (c. 1519), but which were never executed, and those actually created by Fabio Calvo (1527) (fig. 13).[67] The *Nola vetus* is much more than a simple reconstruction, however, as it shows how the city's past was still part of its present existence. This mingling of past and present is shown by the way Leone inserts the perimeter of modern Nola within the wider area of the Roman city and by his continuous references in the text and in the map to sites of archaeological excavations. The *Nola Vetus* is a hybrid of two types of representation: while the perimeters of the ancient city and modern city are drawn as a plan, the ancient buildings, such as the two amphitheatres, the temples, and the baths are represented in three-dimensional views. This sophisticated method fits perfectly with the need to represent visually the multiple levels of certitude in archaeological knowledge.[68]

A similar combination of past and present can be found in the pair of frescoed views of Capua created in 1595 by the architect-painter and mapmaker Mario Cartaro for the palace of the Archbishop Cesare Costa.[69] The frescoes were destroyed at the end of the 18th century, but before that happened the view which reconstructs *Capua vetus* had been copied and made into engravings, thus ensuring that the work became widely known throughout Europe. The project to reconstruct the image of the ancient city of Capua was once again the result of a collaboration between humanists and artists: while the erudite Costa studied the classical and medieval literary sources, Cartaro was responsible for surveying the ancient remains. The need to achieve aesthetic uniformity led to the reconstructions of edifices which resulted from accurate archaeological investigations, such as the amphitheatre, the cryptoporticus and the theatre, with the buildings of which the original appearance had instead to be totally imagined, such as the houses which belonged to leading figures in the Punic war as narrated by Livy, being depicted in exactly the same way.[70]

66 De Divitiis 2015a; Lenzo 2018a.
67 Weiss 1969.
68 Lenzo 2018a.
69 Lenzo 2018.
70 Miletti 2014.

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Cartaro himself had previously used the same method to create another pair of maps representing modern (1576) and ancient Rome (1579). He had also drawn up a map of the Phlegrean Fields (1584) dedicated to the viceroy Ossuna, where the territory is scattered with the depictions of the ruins of ancient buildings (fig. 14).[71] The same map would be included ten years later among the illustrations for a new edition of Scipione Mazzella's highly successful work on the antiquities of the Phlegrean Fields.[72] In 1586 Cartaro engraved a map of the nearby island of Ischia including part of the Phlegrean Fields, where some of the buildings which in the 1584 map appear as ruins are depicted in a reconstructed form. Cartaro's map of Ischia was used in the same year to illustrate two separate treatises on the therapeutic properties of the island's thermal springs written respectively by the two doctors, Charles Nepveu and Giulio Iasolino.[73] We do not know if Cartaro was also the author of the engraving that served as a frontispiece to Iasolino's treatise, in which Ischia is depicted as a kind of prison caging the giant Typheus, whose breath in classical myth was seen as the origin of the sulphureous vapours emanating from the island's volcanic terrain (fig. 15).[74]

The exceptional nature of the Campanian landscape arose from the coexistence of conspicuous archaeological remains and the spectacular natural phenomena caused by the volcanic geology of Ischia, the Phlegrean Fields and the area around Vesuvius. This unstable landscape could change suddenly from one moment to the next, as happened in 1538 when Monte Nuovo emerged out of the earth.[75] This extraordinary phenomenon attracted notable interest and was widely depicted. Some of these representations are highly schematic, such as those included in the publications by Marco Antonio Delli Falconi and Francesco Marchesino while others are more complex, such as the 1538 engraving *Vero disegnio in sul proprio luogho ritratto del infelice paese di Posuolo*, executed by an unidentified engraver who signs with the initials GA, which shows the eruption as part of a birds-eye depiction of the two bays of Naples and Pozzuoli and the islands of Capri and Procida (fig. 16).[76]

This way of mapping the territory by combining scientific and historical considerations lies at the origin of the maps made by antiquarians such as

71 Almagià 1912–1913; Di Liello 2005.
72 Mazzella 1594.
73 Vannereau 1961; Lenzo 2018.
74 Iasolino 1588.
75 Hendrix 2020.
76 Delli Falconi 1538; Marchesino 1538; Toledo 1539; Borgia 1545; Porzio 1551. See Giustiniani 1817a; Pane, Valerio 1987; Di Liello 2005, 19, 87–89; Hendrix 2015.

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Fabio Giordano and Prospero Parisio. At the end of the 1560s, Fabio Giordano, as part of a manuscript work dedicated to the antiquities of Naples and its surroundings, inserted a series of geographical images, two views of Vesuvius (fig. 17)—with the road for climbing to the crater—, one of Capri, and one of the islands of Procida and Ischia with Mount Epomeo.[77] Prospero Parisio published maps of Calabria (1589) and of the entire Kingdom of Naples (1591) which were later included in his book on the ancient coinage of Magna Graecia.[78] In the second half of the 16th century, the production of maps intensified and we can find more representations of the territory such as those of Puglia by Giacomo Gastaldi (1567), and of Abruzzo by Natale Bonifacio (1587) as well as the historical map of Magna Graecia by Abraham Hortelius (1595; fig. 18).[79] The Nolan architect and philosopher Colantonio Stigliola had been planning to create a map of the whole of southern Italy since 1583, but it was only after the already mentioned Mario Cartaro joined him in 1590 that the task was carried out.[80] The result was an atlas of the twelve provinces of the Kingdom which was so accurate that its distribution was forbidden because it was deemed to constitute a threat to the military security of the Kingdom. The original maps are lost but copies exist on paper or as maps carved on ivory inlaid within precious cabinets.[81] The Cartaro-Stigliola atlas, together with the Vatican Gallery of maps, also served as the model for the frescoed views representing the provinces of the Kingdom painted in the refectory of San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples, which were commissioned by the viceroy Enrico Guzmán de Olivares.[82]

In the meantime, 'portraits' of cities proliferated.[83] In the grand international atlases, alongside the main cities of Europe and the world, we also find the middle-sized and small centres of southern Italy, such as Brindisi, Tricarico, Gallipoli, and Caiazzo.[84] If European interest in Puglian ports, such as Brindisi

77 For Fabio Giordano see Rea 2011–2012. For the now lost view of Capri, see Douglas 1906; Douglas 1930; Cantone, Fiorentino, and Sarnella 1982; Colletta 1990; Ghiringhelli 2006, 351; Giorgi and Carratelli 2021. For the two maps of Vesuvius, and that of Procida and Ischia, see Rea 2011–2012, 578–579.

78 Parisio (1592) 1683. See Almagià 1912–1913, 38 (1913), 329–331.

79 Almagià 1912–1913, 38 (1913), 327–332.

80 Almagià 1912–1913, 38 (1913), 409–426; Valerio 1993a, 50–59; Valerio 2015; Lenzo 2018; Boni 2020.

81 On the copies on paper see Valerio 2015. On the copies on ivory see Valeriani 1984; Valeriani 2010.

82 Almagià 1929, 47; Almagià 1944–1945, III, 46–54; Almagià 1952, 1–11; Valerio 1993a, 54–55; Lenzo 2018, 89.

83 Nuti 1996; Folin 2010.

84 Colletta 1984.

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and Gallipoli, was certainly influenced by the fact that they were seen as the frontier of Western Christendom, the inclusion of the view of Caiazzo in the fifth volume (1598) of the *Civitates orbis terrarum* of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg (published in Cologne), and of Tricarico (fig. 19) in the sixth volume (1618) is probably due to the friendship between Braun and Ottavio Mirto Frangipane, papal ambassador in Cologne and bishop of Tricarico, who was born in Caiazzo.[85]

Many other plans and views of cities included in local chronicles have remained unpublished. This is the case of the diagrammatic plan of L'Aquila drawn in 1575 by the architect Girolamo Pico Fonticulano, and included together with a map of Naples in his autograph manuscript work entitled *Breve descrittione delle sette città più illustri d'Italia*, later published in 1582, but without the two maps.[86] The map of Mesagne in the form of a 'human heart' was drawn by Cataldantonio Mannarino in 1596 to illustrate the history of his native town (fig. 20).[87] Such associations between local history and urban cartography are a systematic feature of the great project to publish a collection of histories and views of Italian cities which was planned by the Augustinian friar Angelo Rocca (1545–1620) but which in fact remained unpublished.[88] The exact relationship between the drawings and the texts is still unclear, but it is evident that a conspicuous part of the surviving material deals with the cities of southern Italy. Rocca obtained texts from local historians and commissioned drawings from several draughtsmen; this explains why the degree of detail in the written descriptions and the quality of the drawings for the towns under consideration vary widely, from the naïve representations of Venafro and Altamura to the beautiful view of Trani or that of Sorrento (fig. 21). It is undoubtedly unfortunate that Rocca did not live to assemble all the preliminary materials he gathered into the coherent and uniform history he intended to complete, but their heterogenous character can still serve to evoke an authentic image of the Kingdom as a lively mosaic of different territories, cities, and cultures.

85 Braun and Hogenberg 1598. See Bettazzi 2007.

86 Rivera 1905; Fonticulano (ed. Centofanti) 1996.

87 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. XIV.G.18/2, fol. 37r. On the *Storia di Mesagne* see Vinci 1993. On the map see Lenzo, HistAntArtSI 2014 (2017).

88 Muratore and Munafò 1991. See also Miletti in this volume.

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PART 2

Urban Networks

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CHAPTER 7

Cities, Towns, and Urban Districts in Southern Italy

Francesco Senatore

In order to write about the towns of southern Italy we must first explain the meaning in this part of Europe of the terms 'city', 'town', 'urban district' (*territorio*, *distretto*, *contado*) and 'municipal government' (*universitas*/*università*, *comune*). Such terms may seem immediately comprehensible but in fact need clarification if we are to avoid the errors of interpretation which can still be found in studies of the urban history of southern Italy during the Renaissance. This chapter sets out to define the meaning of the word 'town' in the language of the time, the features and functions of urban districts, and how urban administration, which was part of the administration of the State, worked.

Defining a City

In southern Italy towns where bishops resided were considered to be cities (*civitates*, *città*), a traditional usage dating back to late Antiquity. Towns without a bishop were called 'terre', small towns and villages without walls were known as 'ville' and 'casali', while fortified centres were called castles ('castelli'). The term 'casale', which is the equivalent, more or less, of the term 'borgo' used in other parts of the Italian peninsula, became the most commonly used designation almost everywhere from the late 15th century onwards. It referred in particular to all those settlements (small towns, villages, hamlets) that were located in the territory belonging to a town. The expressions 'Napoli e casali' or 'Cosenza e casali' usually referred to a town and its surrounding district.[1]

The importance of a place being the bishop's residence is typical of Italy as a whole, so much so that Italian ambassadors and travellers often expressed their surprise that in other parts of the continent, such as Germany for example, places where a bishop did not reside, which covered a small area and had a low population, were still called 'cities'.[2] As they saw it, the presence or absence of a bishop was the most important defining feature, as southern Italy showed.

1 Cirillo 2011; Galasso, 1969; Senatore 2018a; Vitolo 2014. See Galasso 2011.
2 Chittolini 2015, 14.

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Here there were many very small dioceses, some consisting only of a few square kilometres, so that even small towns of a few hundred inhabitants were called 'cities', simply because they had a bishop, even one with very low revenues. One example is Calvi in Campania, which in 1490 consisted of 210 households or approximately 945 inhabitants and which at that time appears not to have functioned as an urban centre.[3]

Some towns, such as Altamura in Puglia, which did have urban functions and were the centres of a wider area were still called 'terre'. Altamura was in the diocese of Gravina and throughout the medieval and modern period never had its own bishop. Altamura had a strong sense of its own urban identity; despite the opposition of the bishops of Gravina, it succeeded in defending its ecclesiastical autonomy, which dated back to a privilege acquired in 1248 by the main church in the town, which was headed by an archpriest. In 1532 Altamura and its surrounding district had 6,754 inhabitants (1,501 households) and was the 17th most densely populated urban district in the Kingdom.[4]

It is well known that the Italian language does not draw a distinction between city and town. It is perhaps for this reason that historians writing in Italian feel ill at ease applying the adjective 'urban' to so many small and middle-sized towns in the peninsula. In this chapter the term 'town' is used even for urban centres which were not the seats of bishops, contrary to linguistic usage at the time.

The presence of a bishop was undoubtedly a fundamental component of a place's urban identity, so much so that the foundation of a new city was connected with the establishment of a new diocese, as the examples of L'Aquila, Cava [de' Tirreni], and Giffoni in Campania demonstrate. L'Aquila, founded in 1254 and 1259, immediately became a diocese. Cava twice obtained papal designation as a city, in 1394 and again in 1514, together with the establishment of a diocese, before it acquired the urban characteristics of a city and was still a conglomeration of rural villages. Giffoni attempted to obtain the same recognition in 1531 but without success.[5]

Nevertheless, from our point of view, the presence or otherwise of a bishop cannot be seen as an indispensable element in identifying a town as such. It is true that the principal towns had their own bishops but there were important towns without one and towns with bishops which had very few urban characteristics or indeed none at all.

3 Senatore 2018a, 87.

4 Sakellariou 2012, 446–447, Table A–6.

5 Clementi and Piroddi 1988; Terenzi 2015, xlix–li; Senatore 2018b.

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Which were the largest and most important towns in the Kingdom of Naples? The question is hard to answer. It is unfortunate that the data we have needs to be treated with caution since it derives from tax censuses drawn up for the direct payment of royal taxes. After 1443 these were divided into two streams of income: the so-called *focatico* or *tassa generale*, paid in three instalments over the year, and the obligatory purchase of salt, normally twice a year. Both forms of taxation were based on the number of households (*fuochi*). The King's officials periodically counted the number of households in each inhabited centre in an urban district and in each parish of a town, drawing up lists with the names and ages of the heads and members of each household. They were accompanied by representatives of each local community, to whom a copy of the final report (known as the *numerazione dei fuochi*) was given.[6] It is unfortunate that very few examples of these documents survive. What we usually have is the total number of households relating to the entire urban district, with no distinction between the town and the rural settlement (*casali*).[7] Only in a few cases do we know the actual number of inhabitants of an urban centre in the narrow sense, what was called the *corpus civitatis*, as in the expressions 'Capua corpo', 'Napoli corpo', the part inside the walls, what could be designated the 'core city'. There are considerable variations from place to place in the proportion of inhabitants living within the walls—those we might think of as 'Premier League' citizens—together with the degree of internal urbanization in each district. Some examples can be seen in the following page (Table 7.1).

What stands out immediately is the limited size of towns in southern Italy when compared with those in the most highly urbanized areas in the rest of Europe (northern and central Italy, and Flanders). With the exception of Naples, where, from the 15th century onwards, there was an exponential growth in the city's population, making it eventually the third largest city in Europe, only the populations of Capua and L'Aquila in this period exceed 5,000 inhabitants (based on a calculation of 4.5 persons for each *fuoco*). The other towns in the table have around 3,000 inhabitants. In 1505 "the isolation of Naples as a primate city" is clear, but the other towns had also grown, though it is difficult to identify in each period the leading provincial towns in each sub-regional urban network.[8]

Taking the entire district as the basis, the hierarchy of towns is as follows: Naples, L'Aquila, Cosenza, Capua, Aversa, Sessa, Gaeta (third column in the

6 Bulgarelli Lukacs 1993; Del Treppo 1986–1994, 110–116; Sakellariou 2012, 97–104, 432–437.

7 Beloch 1994, 113–126; Filangieri 1980; Sakellariou 2012, 97–104; 432–437.

8 Sakellariou 2012, 114 (quotation); 113–125. See also Sakellariou in this volume.

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TABLE 7.1 Distribution of the population in some urban districts[a]

Urban district	Year	Total households (town + district)	Urban households (core city = Corpo)	%
L'Aquila + *contado*	1488	5,784	1,999	34,5
	1508	7,083	1,635	23
Aversa + *casali*	1490	2,000	666	33
Capua + *casali*	1490	3,000	750	25
	1523	3,970	1,313	33
Cosenza + *casali*	1447	4,819	720	14.9
Gaeta + *casali*	1450 ca	1,186/1,278	792	62/66,7
Naples + *casali*	1505	10,016	8,000	75
Sessa + *terzieri* and fiefs	1447	1,895	706	37.2
	1470–1472			38

a See Senatore 2021, Tables 4, 6, and Cozzetto 1986, 141 (Cosenza); De Matteis 1973, 82, 118–119 (L'Aquila); Senatore 2018a, 9 (Capua); De Santis 1938 (Sessa). For Sessa in 1470–1472 we have the percentages, not the number of households (Naples, Archivio di Stato, *Sommaria*, *Partium*, 14, fols. 236r–238r).

table).[9] This ranking changes if we take into consideration only the core towns: Naples, L'Aquila, Gaeta/Capua, Cosenza, Sessa, Aversa (fourth column). In the context of an undeniable increase in the population of the entire Kingdom from the second half of the 15th century to the end of the 16th, the development of individual towns seems variable. Between 1490 and 1523 Capua *corpo* grew in both absolute terms, overtaking Gaeta, and proportionally, since the inhabitants in the urban centre increased from 25 per cent to 33 per cent of the total population of the district. In L'Aquila *corpo*, the diametric opposite can be found. The economic and political reasons for such differences would need to be investigated in each particular case.

Looking again at the table, it is clear that the relationship between the urban centre and its district varies considerably, from the 14.9 per cent of citizens who lived in Cosenza to the 62/66.7 per cent in Gaeta. It is obvious that the figures in these two extreme cases correspond to the differing extent of their respective territories, which was very large for Cosenza (it was an extensive part of the present-day province) and very restricted in size for Gaeta. Both places were

9 The demographic data for the towns of southern Italy always comprise both the town and its district, which distorts their ranking: Ginatempo and Sandri 1990; Malanima 1998; Sakellariou 2012, Table A–6 (Cosenza is not included in the table).

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among the most important towns in the possession of the Crown from a political and strategic point of view and also because of the economic significance of the two sub-regions, the coastal part of northern Campania in the case of Gaeta and Calabria in the case of Cosenza. Gaeta was a leading commercial centre, essential for control over the middle stretch of the Tyrrhenian Sea and to protect (or threaten) Naples. Gaeta had been the base for the military campaigns to conquer the Kingdom waged by both Ladislaus of Anjou-Durazzo and Alfonso the Magnanimous. Its importance is shown by the number of privileges it amassed over time as well as by John II of Aragon's request in 1460 that it should be given to him as security for his agreeing to lend military aid to his nephew Ferrante, king of Naples.[10] Cosenza controlled the roads which led to and from Calabria and dominated its extremely wealthy and populous rural territory, which was divided into 19 intermediate districts (known as *baglive*) and was the political centre of the entire region.[11]

How many inhabitants did the *fuochi* (households) correspond to? The scholarly consensus is for an average of 4.5 inhabitants for each household, a figure which hypothetically includes those groups who were not covered in the census, such as religious, children under the age of three, and Jews.[12] This average works at an overall level but not at the local level, where—in the cases for which we have data—there are significant variations, including between an urban centre and its district. For example, the average number of persons per household was 3.8 in L'Aquila and 5.5 in its surrounding district (1508), 4.3 in Capua *corpo*, from a minimum of 3.9 in the neighbourhood of Porta Sant'Angelo and a maximum of 4.6 in San Leucio (1523), while in 1489 in Pozzuoli and Sorrento, two middle-sized towns which were episcopal seats and had long urban traditions, the average was 5.3 in the first (with 2,528 inhabitants) and as high as 6 in the second (with 2,737 inhabitants). There was also an average of 6 persons per household in Naples in 1547.[13]

Despite their modest size, the centres just mentioned, together with many others, were notable for functioning as urban centres: they were places for consumption and production, where markets were held, they attracted people to live in them (the places in the surrounding territories were much smaller), and they were the sites where the offices which administered the territory were

10 [Capasso] 1884; Letter of Antoni [Nogueras] to the cardinal of Teano, Barcelona 1460, 16th of April. Milan, Archivio di Stato, *Fondo Sforzesco*, 652, fol. 79/116.

11 Cozzetto 2005, 261–286; Cozzetto 1987, 88.

12 Sakellariou 2012, 101.

13 Senatore 2018a, 9–10; De Matteis 1973, 82; Beloch 1994, 22, 141; Capasso 1883, 137–139. The average was 4.7 in 62 rural settlements (27,120 inhabitants) of the Valle di Sangro, in Abruzzo (1447), Faraglia 1898.

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located—in short, they had a marked economic, political, administrative, religious, and symbolic significance. They were also towns in another obvious sense: they were centres of cultural production where buildings and works of art were commissioned, as the present volume demonstrates.[14] There was a notable increase in the sense of local pride in belonging to a town over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries: local histories and statutes were printed, municipal archives were reorganized, compositions in praise of the town and its families were written,[15] with poems celebrating significant episodes (such as the entry of Charles V into Cosenza) and pamphlets on legal history, such as those printed in Aversa, Capua, Cosenza, and Lecce arguing for local precedence over the general parliament.[16] It should be noted that a certain period of time elapsed between the towns' initial achievements in terms of taxation, jurisdiction, and administration (the privileges in these fields which they gained in the 14th and 15th centuries) and the literary and historiographical production conveying the sense of local pride which emerged over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Urban Districts

In contemporary legal sources the urban districts mentioned so far are designated with such terms as the *pertinentiae*, *territorium*, *districtus*, *foria* for a particular town, more rarely as *comitatus/contado*. This latter expression was customarily used to indicate the territory ruled over by the communes in central and northern Italy. Over the course of the late Middle Ages, the communes succeeded in bringing the surrounding territory under their sway and gaining recognition, not without conflict and compromise, as the principal public authority. The urban districts of towns in southern Italy are completely different from the idea of the *contado* of towns in northern Italy; the former were part of a centuries-old kingdom whereas the latter were for a while *de facto* city-states.[17] The distinction is an obvious one but needs to be mentioned since for so long the historiography of southern Italy has been fixated on a comparison with northern Italy. The lack of independent cities in southern Italy has led to the belief that civic traditions as well as a mercantile and bourgeois class never emerged. By unproven inference it has been argued that this lies at the

14 See de Divitiis in this volume.
15 Lerra 2004; Senatore 2015.
16 *Il segnalato et bellissimo apparato* 1536; Zangari 1940; Senatore 2016.
17 Senatore 2018a, 39–58, 468–472; Senatore 2018b; Senatore 2021.

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root of the socio-economic backwardness of southern Italy at the moment of Italy's unification in the mid-19th century or even explains the lack of civic responsibility among the present-day population.[18] This 'inferiority complex' for long discouraged detailed investigation into the history of both individual towns in southern Italy, though this is today a thriving field of study, and above all of the districts which belonged to them, many of which remain still to be properly studied.[19] There is a surprising lack of systematic comparison with towns in other European regions, for which numerous studies on the connections between cities and their surrounding territories and on urban networks exist.[20] There have also been no systematic investigations into small towns, i.e. those with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants.[21] Such investigations would have to take into account the urban or rural district in which these small towns were found.

Urban districts in southern Italy varied a great deal in size but were generally much smaller than the *contado* of a northern Italian town. Towns did not rule over or administer their districts but rather had a hegemonic and protective role, since rural centres maintained a degree of autonomy: they were responsible for managing the basic requirements of community life (maintaining and cleaning the roads, public hygiene and public works, financial support for local churches and other religious institutions) and they were also separately responsible to the king and to the feudal lord for the payment of taxes and other services. Larger centres were the sites of local justice courts, such as the bailiffship (*bagliva*): minor legal disputes, such as compensation for damage, could be adjudicated by the bailiff (*baglivo*), whose responsibilities were thus very different from an English bailiff or French bailli. Public order and penal cases were instead the responsibility of the governor (*capitano*) of the city, who was not appointed by the municipal authorities but by the king in the towns which were in his domain and by the feudal lord in feudal towns. Rural centres could also belong to feudal lords without being excluded on this account from the city's territory.[22] In the 16th and 17th centuries the Spanish crown, for both financial and political reasons, conceded as separate fiefdoms, usually in exchange for money, numerous *casali* located in the territories

18 The long tradition of the *leggenda nera* has had many revivals: from Yver 1903, 400 to Putnam 1993 and most recently Feniello 2015. For commonplaces about Italian history see also Benigno and Mineo 2020.

19 Vitolo 2005; Senatore 2018a, 39–58, 468–472; Terenzi 2015, 439–466.

20 Scott 2014.

21 Clark 1995.

22 Vallone, 1999, 179–244.

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belonging to the domanial towns (which depended directly on the king). The case of L'Aquila, which in 1529 was deprived of its territory as a punishment for rebellion, is well-known. The rural centres in L'Aquila's district were given to soldiers and nobles loyal to the Spanish.[23] In the previous two centuries individual *casali* in urban districts had been given as fiefdoms to feudal lords of varying status. The larger towns would always attempt, with varying success, to keep these *casali infeudati* within their territories, a phenomenon which gave rise to lengthy legal speculation on whether this could be justified in juridical terms.[24]

There were also some towns which possessed villages as a fief or a property. While such cases were far from numerous, they are significant since they include some centres with a low number of inhabitants In 1530 there were ten such places: Amatrice, L'Aquila (before its territory was removed), Aversa, Capua, Chieti, Cittaducale, Cosenza, Lanciano, Lecce, Teramo.[25] These towns acquired their rights of ownership at different times but usually before Spanish rule and they exploited these possessions as a financial resource, like any feudal or ecclesiastical lord, something which would have been impossible to do with other centres in the district.[26]

It is worth emphasising this point: towns in relation to their districts played a role of patronage and representation. They mediated between the rural centres and the authorities (the king and the feudal lords). The towns and their districts (*la città e i casali*) had shared political and economic interests as well as a sense of belonging together. From another point of view, the political leverage enjoyed by an urban centre was proportional to the number of *casali* it coordinated and represented in its political interactions with the authorities. This was the reason why urban centres tried their utmost to increase and defend their territories, even though they did not take on the administration of the rural centres which belonged to them (not even those just mentioned of which they had feudal possession, or at least not to any great degree). And this is also the explanation for the reason why contemporary political and legal treatises and the genre of urban descriptions which was so popular in the 16th and 17th centuries pay so much attention to how many *casali* a town had, with repeated rollcalls of their names in celebration of its status.

23 Sabatini 2005; Terenzi 2015, 543–547.

24 Vallone 1999, 198–226; 231–233.

25 List quoted by Visceglia 1998, 63 note.

26 According to Muto 2013, 42, "at least 122 cities and towns administered about 1250 casali" (we disagree over the term 'administering').

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The Law of Each Town ('ius proprium')

Thanks to their political and economic strength, the towns were successful in obtaining substantial grants from the Angevin and Aragonese kings, especially between the end of the fourteenth century and the end of the fifteenth (under the Anjou-Durazzo and Trastàmara of Aragon dynasties) and then getting them renewed, usually without any further increase, by the Spanish king Ferdinand the Catholic and the Habsburg monarchs in the 16th century. For over three centuries such privileges constituted the *ius proprium* of a town and its district, compiled in collections of statutes, at first in manuscript and later printed (at the expense of the *universitas*), with the titles *Libro rosso*, *Libro verde*, from the colour of the bindings of the manuscript volumes, or *Capitoli, lettere e grazie della città di …* Such compilations had both a practical purpose (as a permanent record of the privileges) and a symbolic one (to celebrate the city both as it saw itself and as others would perceive it), but they were not in themselves legal documents. The privileges enjoyed by citizens that were promulgated by the king were only applicable if they were contained in original documents issued by the royal chancellery: these were diplomas written on parchment together with letters sent to the towns to seek clarification and confirmation of what was contained in the diplomas. These documents were jealously kept in closed chests with multiple locks and placed in the cathedral or the town's principal church. This *trésor de chartes* was the legal foundation of the *universitas* and the heart of the community's identity.[27]

The grants given in concession by the monarchs to the towns were of various kinds: discounts and fixed reductions on direct taxes due to the royal tax authorities; exemptions from one or more indirect taxes; the right to stand trial before the town's governor rather than the penal tribunal in Naples, the *Vicaria*; and last, the right to universal citizenship (*civilitas*), in other words, enjoying equivalence before the law with all other citizens throughout the Kingdom. The diplomas could also include regulations for the councils and offices of the *universitas* together with rules on such matters as the distribution of dowries or the use of collective resources, and so forth. Both the inhabitants of urban centres and—with some limitations—those in rural centres benefited from the rights guaranteed in the royal privileges.[28]

As we have said, the period between the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th saw a growth in the political status of the towns, which

27 Senatore 2015.

28 Sakellariou 2012, 182–191; Senatore 2018a, 20–21; 106–114.

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were in the process of acquiring many privileges as a result of continuing military conflicts. The monarchs, especially Ladislaus and his sister Giovanna II of Anjou-Durazzo, Alfonso and his natural son Ferrante of Aragon, were generous since they needed both financial and political support. The towns directly depending on the king (*città demaniali*) sent representatives to the general Parliament but these did not form an estate within the Parliament, as happened in Spain and Portugal and in England, but remained in the background in comparison with the leading and influential barons who negotiated with the king on behalf of the entire Kingdom. The negotiations between individual towns and the sovereign, held before or following Parliament sessions or at times of war or succession, were considerably more profitable.[29]

The economic success of a town and its surrounding district did not depend only on general factors such as international trade, the reductions in the costs of transactions introduced by the monarchy, the military situation or geographical location but also on these exemptions and reductions in the tax burden. It is important to note that economic competition was not simply between individual operators but also between urban districts. In 1436, at the beginning of Alfonso's conquest of the Kingdom, the inhabitants of the district of Capua obtained three highly valuable concessions: a flat-rate payment of direct tax amounting to only 1,200 ducats; universal citizenship; and exemption from all indirect taxes in the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, from whoever had the right to issue them (the king himself, the barons, religious lords, other communities, private individuals, etc.). These prerogatives constituted an inestimable advantage for the entrepreneurs of Capua and indeed all its citizens, so much so that the *privilegio capuano* became a benchmark which all other communities attempted to follow. Naples obtained universal citizenship in 1476 despite opposition from Capua.[30] The requests made by Aversa to the Aragonese show the town's desire to rival the advantages of Capua and other nearby towns by any possible means: in 1443 the inhabitants of Aversa, following their surrender to Alfonso, asked him to grant them an exemption from an indirect tax (the so-called *flagellum*), just as Gaeta and Capua had been exempted, as well as the restriction of their own immunities to their citizens alone, in an obvious attempt to render the Capuans' universal citizenship ineffectual. Aversa also requested an exemption from direct taxes (the *focatico*) in the eventuality that such a privilege was ever granted to the other towns depending on the king, something the monarch had no intention of doing. The war of 1459–1465 gave

29 Scarton and Senatore 2018, 30–34, 89–94; Terenzi 2012, 619–651; Terenzi, 391–403.
30 Senatore 2018a, 23–32, 985–986.

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Aversa the opportunity to obtain an exemption from indirect taxes as well as a flat-rate payment of 1,200 ducats for the *focatico*, just as Capua had.[31]

Integration and Conflict inside the Urban District

In the 15th and 16th centuries, both during and after the periods in which the towns gained their privileges, we see a progressive tendency to consolidate urban districts, with their inhabitants increasingly subject to the jurisdiction of the governor (*capitano*) and forced to share tax payments due to the king, even those who were the vassals of a local feudal or ecclesiastical lord. The fiscal responsibilities of outsiders who owned property and land in the district (the *bonatenenti*) were clarified as were the ways of accessing public goods, categorized by jurists as belonging to the royal domain. From the 16th century onwards jurists' energies became absorbed in defining the territory of the *universitas* and the legal status of the domains, distinguishing between those of the king, the feudal lord, and the *universitas*, in an attempt to find theoretical and practical solutions to the ceaseless jurisdictional conflicts between them. Despite these efforts, such conflicts continued throughout the *ancien régime* and indeed beyond since after the abolition of feudal rights and the radical reforms of the municipalities and provinces in 1806 it was no easy matter to distinguish between the private property of the feudal lords and the public assets which should belong to the community.[32] It was only when these reforms were enacted that the urban districts finally disappeared, with a very few exceptions; with this the centuries-old links between urban centres and the small towns and villages surrounding them were dissolved. The largest and most important *casali* acquired complete administrative autonomy and were no longer under the protection of the town. It is possible a degree of economic disruption was caused by these changes but this would need to be explored case by case.

Throughout the early modern period the process of creating greater territorial uniformity, a vital element in building a state, remained incomplete. When we look at what was happening in other parts of the Italian peninsula it is surprising to see how long certain phenomena persisted in the territorial polities. In urban districts, which were in theory subject either to the king or to the feudal town's governor, there were rival jurisdictions of varying kinds, not only the feudal tenures (the so-called *casali infeudati*) of other major and minor

31 *Repertorio delle pergamene* 1881, 54–55, 67, 70.
32 Cassandro 1943; Trifone 1909.

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lords but also personal jurisdictions held by private individuals and religious bodies, in the sense that a group of families were personally subject to a feudal lord, not because of where they lived or because they had received a gift of land from him. There also existed fiefs which were held by more than one feudal lord, for example three might own an urban centre in differing proportions. Then again in the Aragonese period there were specific privileged groups, such as the 'royal hunters' in the surroundings of Naples, who were exempt from the payment of taxes to the *universitas* of which they formed part (mainly Aversa and Capua and their respective *casali*) and who wished to have a separate jurisdiction, or the 'royal soldiers' (*uomini d'arme del demanio*), who also enjoyed personal exemptions from taxation.[33]

These phenomena were so long-lasting because juridical status was inherited. Being a vassal, personally bound to a feudal lord (without the obligation of military service) was hereditary, as was citizenship. Two examples of this: in Giugliano, in the district of Aversa, there was a large group of families who were dependents of different feudal lords and of the archbishopric from the 14th to the 16th centuries.[34] In the district of Capua, between the 1490s and 1540s, one sixth of the inhabitants in rural settlements declared themselves to be citizens of the urban centre (the term for this category was *asserti cittadini*), because their relatives had had this status. This meant that they were included in the taxation quota for the *Corpus civitatis* rather than for the district and therefore paid less.[35]

It is true that in theory the king's concession of privileges applied to the whole urban district but in practice they were only fully valid for the inhabitants of the urban centre. It is probable that over the course of the 16th century urban elites made it increasingly difficult for rural elites in the district to become full citizens and, even more, to enter the ranks of the nobility. Urban nobility imitated the nobility *di seggio* in the capital city; more generally they were also influenced by the increasingly rigid conception of nobility which was becoming prevalent across Europe.[36] Yet, even before this process of social rigidification had been completed, it is possible that the inhabitants in urban

33 Senatore 2018a, 54–58.

34 List of vassals in Aversa's district granted by the king to the count of Telese, 1302, Feb. 5th (Libertini 2002, doc. no. 3); list of vassals depending on the bishoff, 1502, Mar. 1st (Di Sarno 2017); dossier on the fiefs belonging to Carbone, Filomarino and Vulcano in Giugliano (Naples, Archivio di Stato, *Sommaria, Relevi*, 387, fols. 351^{r}–408^{v}). Three categories of personal vassallage (*demaniali, affidati, franchi*) in the second half of the 15th century in Puglia have been studied by Massaro 2018.

35 Senatore 2018a, 77–78.

36 Santangelo 2018; Spagnoletti 1981; Visceglia 1992.

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centres—the 'Premier League' citizens—tried to marginalize the inhabitants of the urban district. They monopolised the official posts, the contracts handed out by the urban municipality, bought up lands and fiefs in the surrounding countryside, and shifted a larger part of the tax burden imposed by the king onto the district.[37]

The division of the royal tax burden into fixed quotas did indeed reflect the divisions of power among the communities of the urban district and was adapted only slowly and with difficulty to continuing demographic and economic changes. For example, in Capua direct taxes were first divided up into fixed quotas for Capua *corpo* and two intermediate districts in its territory, the *Foria di Terra Capuana* and the *Foria di Terra del Lagno*, and after this among individual communities and parishes. In Sessa the quotas varied according to circumstance: during the 15th century the burden of direct tax was divided up first among three intermediate districts (the *terzieri*) and two 'personal' fiefs, i.e. without land, and then among local communities, while other contributions were halved between Sessa *corpo* and the district. In the middle of the 16th century the provisions to be given to the Imperial army were divided up in three quotas for the town, the *terzieri*, and the various fiefs.[38]

In some instances, the wealthiest and most enterprising rural centres tried to obtain fiscal advantages for themselves or even attempted to detach themselves from the district in order to avoid disproportionate allocations in the divisions of the tax burden. There were uprisings, such as the pro-Angevin one organized by Cosenza's *casali* who in 1459–1460 declared their loyalty to the Angevins while the town itself remained in Aragonese hands. In addition to being an administrative unit, urban districts could be tension-riven spaces between the centripetal force of the town and the centrifugal force of the *casali*.

The Municipal Administration and the Urban Society

The municipal administration of a town was known as the *universitas* in Latin or *università* in Italian. The use of the term 'commune' is extremely rare and limited to the border areas of the Kingdom, such as Abruzzo, where the political language used in central and northern Italy was influential.[39] The term *universitas* derived from Roman law and referred to the inhabitants of a town as a whole. The first references to *universitas* in southern Italy date from the

37 Senatore 2018a, 225–239.
38 Ibid. 11, 70; Senatore 2018b.
39 Terenzi 2017, 200–202; Vitolo 2014, 45–70.

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second half of the 13th century. At first it did not indicate an established body but simply a coming together of the town's male citizens (*homines loci*—the men of the place) for specific set purposes: to appoint the officials responsible for collecting direct taxes, to send a representative (*sindaco*) to the king to deliver a petition, to request perennial concessions (privileges), or to solve an exceptional problem. The *universitas* was collectively responsible for taxes and other services required by those in authority, the king and/or the local feudal lord, and only functioned when needed. In the same town different *universitates* existed, for different social categories (the *nobili* and the *popolari*, i.e. the noblemen and the most prominent citizens, who were not considered noble) and for different neighbourhoods; these different groups managed their fiscal obligations separately.[40]

The institution of the *universitas* in the proper sense of the word emerged in the course of the 14th century, at first in the larger towns. The need to guard and defend the concessions granted to the town and above all the collection of its tax revenues, either owned by the town or managed on behalf of the king, marked a turning point, because these responsibilities necessitated the formation of a small team of officials and the establishment of governing bodies: a general assembly (*parlamento* or simply *università*), which met only exceptionally; councils, which were called different names according to the town (*eletti* almost everywhere, *Camera* e *cerne* in L'Aquila); the officials. Between the 15th and 16th centuries the organization of the *universitas* was honed to perfection, with the regularization of councils and offices (elections, duties, and remits), the formal production of documentation, the building of *palazzi* to house the operations of local government, and the establishment of archives. These reforms developed under the aegis of the sovereign, in the sense that they were the product of a dialogue between the needs of localities which sought legitimization and the initiative of the monarchy, which, with its concern for social stability and regular tax revenue, presented itself as the embodiment of justice and equity. In 1491–1492 Ferrante of Aragon reformed the constitutions of ten towns, adopting in some cases identical rules. During the 16th century the viceroys issued general laws (*prammatiche*) on the way the various *universitates* functioned, increasing what was already a trend towards convergence.[41]

The most recent research has shown that, despite an overall constitutional framework which was uniform, relatively stable, and employed a shared polit-

40 Senatore 2009, 447–456; Terenzi 2018.

41 Coniglio 1951, 28–42; Calasso 1929; Senatore 2018a, 179–195; Terenzi 2018; Vallone 1993, 9–26.

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ical language, there were in fact substantial differences between the towns in the Kingdom, especially in terms of procedures of governance, internal political dynamics, and the quality of each town's elites. The fact of having similar institutions and being part of the same State did not mean that, at local and provincial levels, political and social differences did not exist.[42] Compared with other Italian towns a certain institutional and social fluidity is apparent, at least until the second half of the 15th century, while the size of local government and administration was on a considerably smaller scale: there were fewer councillors in the various units of government (ranging from 6 to 8 on executive committees and from 24 to a hundred in general Councils) and fewer officials serving the towns' administrations. This does not imply, however, that the *universitates* were managed by closed oligarchies. All through the 15th century there appears to have been a significant turnover at the head of local governments, which seems to have been consistently encouraged by the Aragonese monarchs.[43] Also in later centuries, mechanisms for alternation were in place similar to those found in many European cities and towns.

The growth of the municipal administrations was the result of an increasingly intense interaction between the figures at the head of the State (the king and his officials) and the local communities. A similar pattern is found in the neighbouring monarchies in France, Aragon, and Castile. Where the Kingdom of Naples differs from these lies in the fact that the monarchy there rested on older traditions, since the territory of the Kingdom had early on been divided up into administrative provinces the governance of which was then entrusted to the King's officials (*giustizieri*, *camerari*, viceroys) but above all because, long before other European states, there was direct taxation which was imposed on all the subjects in the Kingdom, including those who were the subjects of feudal or ecclesiastical lords.[44] Whereas in Castile and Aragon, for example, royal and municipal taxation developed in parallel, in the Kingdom of Naples it was the former which was first established. The development of local taxation (which only took the form of indirect taxation), managed or owned by the *universitas*, was the consequence of a separate concession granted by the king, which on occasion he reserved the right to withdraw.[45] It is clear, if we read royal diplomas and petitions from towns, that the king allowed a town to collect its own indirect tax only for the general interest of the Kingdom, for example to enable the town to pay royal direct tax and give service to the king, or to finance the

42 For example: Airò 2000; Senatore 2018a; Stanco 2012; Terenzi 2015.
43 Terenzi 2016; Terenzi 2018; Senatore and Terenzi 2018.
44 See Terenzi in this volume.
45 Menjot 2008; Senatore 2018a, 242–301.

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building and maintenance of the town's castle and walls, public edifices which belonged to the king.

When a town could manage its own taxation, this opened up a space both for the local elites to acquire wealth and social status and also for the creation of public debt, in the form of both short- and long-term personal loans guaranteed by the town's revenues and their sale. In the towns of southern Italy compulsory loans and the commercialization of the public debt never existed, unlike the towns of central and northern Italy or in Spain and Portugal (for example the *censals*). Public debt was always personalized: the creditors were preferably the citizens of the town, who, on the one hand, could enrich themselves and on the other shared the responsibility for the town's administration. It is not possible to draw a profile of each individual town's finances. Debt was not always negative, since it enabled important investment, as the example of 15th-century Capua shows.[46] Public debt became unsustainable in the 17th century, when the central government had to take drastic measures to resolve the crisis.[47] Between the mid-15th and mid-16th century the situation of the towns in southern Italy seems on the whole to have been good, in line with demographic and economic growth in general.[48]

The *universitas* retained its occasional and temporary character for a long time, as can be seen, during the whole early modern period, in the rural villages and intermediary districts. The latter areas, which as we have seen went under a variety of names (*foria*, *terziere*, *bagliva*, etc.) were also organized in *universitas*. Associations of individuals occasionally formed themselves into *universitas* with a personal, professional or religious significance: the vassals of a feudal lord living in different and widely scattered places, the hunters who worked for the Aragonese kings, the *asserti cittadini* who resided in the villages in the district of Capua, the Jews who lived in the whole of the Kingdom or in each individual town, the Slavs and the Albanians who repopulated several villages in the Apennines.[49]

Both the *universitates* in rural districts and the *seggi* in Naples became progressively more established and comparable to the urban *universitas*. The former were actual federations of rural villages without a town as a point of reference but with a centre which had administrative functions (some scholars refer to them as *città di casali*).[50] The Neapolitan *seggi* were intermediate

46 Ibid. 301–313.
47 Bulgarelli Lukacs 2012.
48 Sakellariou 2012.
49 Senatore 2018b.
50 Cirillo 2011; Musi 2006, 118.

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districts formed on a social (there were four *seggi* for the nobility and one for the *popolo*) and territorial basis (neighbourhoods for the nobility, the entire city divided up into *piazze* and *ottine* for the other citizens).

We should be very careful not to identify a town with its *universitas* nor to see them in opposition to fiefs. Both errors originated with jurists and historians in the 19th and 20th centuries and can be found persistently in the historiography on the subject. There were *universitates* that were not towns, and vice versa. *Universitates* existed in feudal towns, often very large ones (Salerno, Taranto), and in fiefs which formed part of the territories of domanial towns, as has been mentioned.

We should also not confuse the *universitas* and the towns from a socio-economic point of view. Controlling the apparatus—the councils, appointments, contracts—of an urban *universitas* was certainly pursued by the town's elite classes as the way *par excellence* of amassing wealth and social prestige, but it was not the only method. There were various spheres—sometimes separate, sometimes overlapping—in which social mobility could play out: locally, in towns and their districts, as well as more widely in the Kingdom and the complex network of the sovereign's domains, under the Angevins (1266–1442), the Aragonese crown (1435–1501), and the Spanish empire (1501–1714). Employment in the king's service was always a route for social ascent; depending on the town and the period, this path could be linked or not with the control of local government and resources, in particular appointments and contracts. For this reason, the nature of southern Italian nobility is varied: we have a certain degree of knowledge of those families who rose to the top and moved to Naples or followed the king in the military campaigns waged in Europe during the 16th century, but we are less familiar with those who were active at a local or regional level. In general it appears that the local political elites in the 14th and 15th centuries were more diverse and less closed than in the 16th century.[51]

Between the late medieval period and the early modern age southern Italian towns were, politically and economically, active presences both in relation to the monarchy and in terms of their territorial importance. The enormous growth of Naples after the early 16th century changed the internal balances across the Kingdom but—at least until the end of the century—did not succeed in extinguishing their vitality.

51 Senatore and Terenzi 2018.

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CHAPTER 8

Urban Spaces and Society in Southern Italy

Giuliana Vitale

A Historiographical Note

This chapter seeks to provide some elements with which to undertake an analysis of social forms and processes as they relate to urban space in the cities and towns of the Kingdom of Naples. By observing this phenomenon over a long period of time we will try to identify the peculiar features which mark it out as distinct from what was happening elsewhere in Italy and the rest of Europe.

Research into representations of the relationship between urban space and society, bringing together written and material sources, is an efficacious approach to reconstructing not only the historical image of a city but also the image of its society as reflected in the city.[1] Many factors influenced or determined the development of specific systems of urban settlement: socio-political interests, the roles played by ecclesiastical and political/administrative centres, and the force of attraction they exercised when they occupied an established physical space, vicinity to a market or, in the case of maritime cities, to the port, and socio-anthropological currents such as the networks of solidarity which built up around family clans.[2] In medieval studies there is a longstanding methodological tradition of integrating written and material sources for more than merely descriptive purposes and recent studies have sought to see cities as a unified object of knowledge, as a physical, geographical, topographical entity, made up of bricks and stones, as well as a human reality and collective organism in which "the masses of living inhabitants are seen as a community, a *societas* or *universitas*".[3] These investigations have been strengthened still further by developments in local history which supersede the 'parochial' approach of the past in order to confront the problem of the relationship between society and urban space in new ways.[4]

As far as southern Italy is concerned, there is today a lively stream of studies reconstructing the history of different territories, cities and towns—those

1 Delogu 1977.
2 Heers 1976, 175–226.
3 Bognetti 1959, 59–87. Dupré Theseider 1959, 15–46. *Topografia urbana* 1974.
4 Violante 1982, 27; Vitolo 2014, XIII.

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"other cities and towns", to use Giovanni Vitolo's expression referring to the urban centres of mainland southern Italy, which, like those in Friuli, a large part of the Trentino and Piedmont, certain areas of the Papal States, Sicily and Sardinia, never experienced the emergence of the independent city-states which even today form the dominant image most people have of Italian medieval urban centres.[5] Vitolo's sense of multiplicity can also be applied to the various socio-political and institutional differences of the many cities and towns across southern Italy in comparison with the Kingdom's capital city.

In the case of Naples, thanks to recent research and also the wealth of documents brought to light by 19th- and 20th-century historiographical scholarship on the city, the system which characterized the urban settlement of its inhabitants is comparatively clear, but at present we do not have an exhaustive survey of all the elements which contributed to the various social and topographical transformations undergone by the urban centres of southern Italy, though several studies have investigated various interesting aspects of this topic.[6] However, among the many issues which still need comprehensive exploration in order to construct a comparative survey, there is also the relationship between urban space and society in the cities and towns in the Kingdom.

There is no scarcity of source material. To mention only two categories: for many towns and cities there are the so-called *Libri Rossi* as well as the numerous collections which have been published in the past, such as the *Codice diplomatico barese*, followed by the *Codice diplomatico pugliese*, which together have made available forty-nine volumes of documents from municipal and ecclesiastical archives relating to Bari, Terlizzi, Giovinazzo, Molfetta, Barletta, Corato, Altamura, Canosa, Putignano, Conversano, Troia, S. Leonardo della Marina, S. Matteo di Sculcola, Ascoli Satriano, including documents relating to the Abbey of Cava's estates in the Gargano.[7] The evidence presented in these documents enables us to identify the sites in urban centres where a new family residence was built or where one that already existed was restructured and enlarged; or to see where a *domus* was transferred from one urban site to another or, indeed, where the opposite choice was made to maintain a residence within the city walls. Among other things, such an investigation would also help to identify

5 Vitolo 2016.

6 Capasso 1889; De Blasiis 1887. On 18th- and 19th-century historiography on Naples see Vitolo 2009. On modern historiography and on the topography of Naples see De Seta 1969; De Seta 1981. Recent studies in this field were carried out by the research project HistAntArtSI (www.histantartsi.eu).

7 The nineteen volumes *Codice diplomatico barese* were edited between 1897 and 1971, while nineteen further volumes of the *Codice diplomatico pugliese* were published from 1975 to 2018.

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which of the social groups which were already established within towns and cities the individuals who arrived from outside chose to become part of.

The Legal and Symbolic Value of Urban Residences

In Naples the nobility had two important socio-political aims when they made choices on where they would reside: either maintaining their palaces on the historical sites where they were already settled, with the possibility of enhancing the building with architectural improvements and thus also their traditions and prestige within the urban *seggio* to which they belonged, or acquiring a new site to build a residence within one of the *seggi* so that they could obtain admission to it, if the family in question did not already belong to this politically and administratively important institution. The *seggi* were civic institutions found throughout the towns and cities of the Kingdom of Naples; they were organised like municipal councils to which various families from the local elite belonged and their meetings were held in small loggias, also called *seggi*, to discuss questions to do with their own social grouping or the community as a whole, such as the management of the town's infrastructures or its sumptuary laws.[8] Several examples of these buildings survive today, such as those in Sorrento, Sessa, Nardò, Soleto and Aversa (fig. 22). A large number of towns and cities in southern Italy had two *seggi*, one for the nobility and another for the commoners (*popolari*). In some of the larger centres, such as Salerno, Trani, and Capua, there was more than one *seggio nobiliare* corresponding to different neighbourhoods; in Naples there were no fewer than five.

The choice from the nobility's point of view was determined by the legal significance that their place of residence held in terms of the *seggio* to which they belonged or to which they aspired to belong. In this connection Diomede Carafa's (ca. 1406–1477) reason for choosing to rebuild his residence on the site in Naples where the family had always lived is emblematic:[9] it is declared in an inscription engraved on the pedestal of one of the columns of the entrance staircase to his palace. The palace was constructed by joining together various already existing edifices in the Seggio di Nilo and the inscription serves to justify, so to speak, Carafa's choice of using such a constricted space for his new residence rather than building on a larger site which would certainly have been

8 On the *seggi* see, with previous bibliography, Lenzo 2014.

9 Vitale 2003, 135–153; de Divitiis 2007, 43–133.

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available elsewhere in the city, since it would be "disgraceful" (*turpe*), Carafa asserts, to move away from the area where one's ancestors had lived.

Many families who did not already belong to a *seggio* in the city aspired to join one and, therefore, sought to acquire the conditions which would enable them to realize their ambitions. The case of the Di Sangro family, the dukes of Vietri (Basilicata), who were from the feudal rather than Neapolitan nobility, is illustrative of the strategies such families pursued in trying to insert themselves into the *nobiltà di seggio* and how important the place of residence in the city was as part of that strategy. At the beginning of the 16th century the branch of the family then headed by Lucido Di Sangro, despite its share of the ancient family estates and the recognition of its 'noble way of life', was, in terms of the social and political organisation of the city, regarded as *fuori seggio*. Lucido's son Giovanni and his wife Adriana Dentice signed a contract with the abbess and nuns of the convent of S. Patrizia which granted them in perpetual emphyteusis seven adjoining houses consisting of numerous upper and lower storeys on the very edge of the area known as the *regio Nilensis*. The couple undertook to carry out all necessary repairs to the houses, which were in a seriously dilapidated condition, and enlarge them at their own expense; the contract was given to them on the condition that they invest 1000 ducats over three years in the rebuilding project and would lose the concession if they fell short of any of the clauses it contained. The site of this complex of buildings—as we learn from a notarial deed dated 1506—was located precisely in the area where later the Di Sangro family built their vast palace (later known as Palazzo Corigliano) between the actual edifice of the Seggio di Nilo, where the members would meet, and the church of S. Domenico Maggiore.[10] The actions of the Di Sangro were undoubtedly motivated by their desire to possess a residence in the area of the *seggio* so that they could then apply to be admitted to the category. The desire was reinforced by the fact that both the Dentice and Spinelli families—the latter were closely related to Giovanni di Sangro (Lucido had married Lucrezia Spinelli)—were among the most ancient and important families in the *seggio* and possessed houses in the area. Giovanni di Sangro's request to be admitted was granted in 1507.[11]

Outside Naples, families also sought to show their social standing by acquiring houses in locations which were politically important, near to the seat of local government and within the area of a *seggio*, or ecclesiastically significant, near to the cathedral.

10 See the legal citation from 1734 in Vitale 1994.

11 Tutini, 1644, 123: Vitale 2016. On Palazzo Spinelli see Pane, Cinalli, and D'Angelo 1970–1971, II, 232–240.

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The important Santacroce family in Barletta is a case in point. After receiving numerous grants for collecting fiscal revenues and acquiring other official appointments, they obtained a royal office—the *protonotario* of Barletta and Monopoli—on a hereditary basis.[12] From the 11th century onwards the Santacroce family had owned a large number of properties across Barletta, with buildings in neighbourhoods which had commercial potential, such as the *borgo di Cambio* near the port of S. Samuele, S. Stefano in the Marsicano neighbourhood, the so-called *borgo della confectaria* and that of S. Sepolcro near the cathedral of S. Maria Maggiore, and S. Cataldo.[13] They thus controlled access to the town. Filippo Santacroce, who had been granted by Emperor Henry VI (1165–1197) and Costanza d'Altavilla (1154–1198), on a hereditary basis and in perpetuity, the tax revenues from the *buczaria* (the tax paid by producers and sellers of meat), ran these operations "in domibus suis S. Marie de Porta".[14] In the 14th century Angelo Santacroce lived in a partially dilapidated house in the commercial and business Cambio neighbourhood, but, at the peak of his career, he must have moved: in 1361 when Angelo's assets were divided up, his descendants were living in a decidedly elite area, near to the cathedral, an element that indicates that the family had moved up the social scale. One of Angelo's heirs, Roberto, also owned a house in Naples in the prestigious neighbourhood of the Corregge, a further confirmation of the ambitions of the elite from different places in the Kingdom to frequent the court or to have direct contact with leading politicians and officials, in order to obtain offices and further their social advancement.

In Capua, a person of standing such as Bartolomeo di Capua (1248–1328)—*familiaris*, royal councillor, nominated protonotary and logothete by Charles II of Anjou, with whom he worked closely, a prominent jurist and ambassador for various Angevin monarchs—enlarged his residence in 1336 in one of the main streets in the town, opposite the cathedral bell-tower and near to the Seggio dei Nobili, "in parochia S.ti Johannis Nobilium", by constructing "a celebrated palace with a superb tower", which incorporated adjoining buildings.[15] The palace was subsequently acquired by a member of the powerful Fieramosca family, Rinaldo, who for his services to the Aragonese was rewarded with

12 *Codice diplomatico barlettano*, II, docs. 4 and 5; Vitale 2016, 217.

13 Carabellese 1901–1907, II, doc. LIX, 52–58.

14 Ivi, 197.

15 The information is given at the end of the 16th century in a manuscript by Scipione Sannelli, *Annali della fedelissima città di Capua*, part I. Capua, Archivio Storico Comunale di Capua, Museo Campano, 130 and 272. See Faraglia 1887, 647–709; Di Resta 1970, 53–60; Di Resta 1973–1974; Di Resta 1983; Robotti 1983; Pane and Filangieri 1994.

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the concession of local duties *in burgensatico* (i.e. in full property) and at the end of the 15th century became a feudal baron. Between 1447 and 1496 he rebuilt and enlarged the edifice in a new architectural style. Although Rinaldo respected di Capua's earlier construction, retaining recognizable features such as the angular tower, the new palace is striking for its grandeur and use of a new architectural style (fig. 23). Despite the changes made to it in line with changing architectural and cultural fashions, the Fieramosca-Di Capua palace is an example of how, in the eyes of the local elite, the continuity of residence in prominent urban locations remained a paramount consideration.

Another eloquent and representative example of the attitudes and behaviour of rising social classes, when it was a question of displaying their new status through their urban residence, comes from 15th-century Trani: the remarkable architectural project pursued by the socially ascendent Simone Caccetta (ca. 1397–1459).[16] Leaving aside the detailed story of the dramatic events of Caccetta's career and the conflicts the family's rise produced in the social and political fabric of the town, some details of Caccetta's biography are necessary in order to understand the symbolic significance of his building project. Caccetta, *homo novus*, started out as a notary, proving his worth in the service of the powerful local family, the Palagano, who headed a faction in the town and were supporters of Alfonso the Magnanimous whose protection they enjoyed. In this way Caccetta obtained lucrative grants of various streams of fiscal income as well as official appointments and honours: the *terzeria*, an indirect tax on iron and steel production, the office of the *secrezia* and the *portolonato* in Puglia and Capitanata (royal offices responsible for tax administration), and the rank of *miles* and *consiliarius* to the king. Caccetta also amassed wealth through commerce, by arming galleons and, it would seem, by financing privateers. He went on to oppose the Palagano family and the oligarchic faction they headed and became a supporter of their adversaries, the Sifola.[17] He then abandoned them too to take part in the uprising of the populace's faction against the ruling class. In 1456 he was removed from the offices of *secreto* and *portolano*. After Ferrante I's repression of fresh rebellions in the town in 1458, he fell into disgrace and had to escape execution by taking refuge with the prince of Taranto, Giovanni Antonio Orsini (1401–1463), who was an opponent of Ferrante's policies. During the period of his greatest success, between 1452 and 1456, Caccetta built an important palace located a long way from the neighbourhood of S. Maria de Russis, where he had until then lived with his brothers and their families, in

16 Fodale 1972.

17 See Storti in this volume.

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what was one of the two main *seggi* of the town, S. Marco (formerly known as S. Leo), which had a strict selection policy towards those who aspired to be admitted to its ranks (fig. 24).[18] The prominent Sifola family, with whom Caccetta, as mentioned earlier, had at first a relationship of fealty and collaboration and then of conflict, belonged to the *seggio*. According to an 18th-century account of Caccetta's story, entitled the *Tragico successo avvenuto nella persona di Simone Caccetta di Trani l'anno 1460*, one factor in triggering the conflict with the Sifola family may have been Gioannello Sifola's displeasure that Caccetta built his own large residence in front of the Sifola palace, obstructing its view of the sea, an indication of the importance Caccetta gave to his architectural project.[19] Even if such public rumours about what caused the conflict between Caccetta and the Sifola are unfounded and perhaps only retrospective conjectures, they still convey Caccetta's need to display his newly prominent position in the town and the social significance which a magnificent residence possessed for Caccetta's contemporaries.

Localisation: Clan Solidarity and Bonds of 'Nation'

The control of specific urban spaces was also linked to the interests of groups bound together by religious ties, as in the case of the Jews who in southern Italy in the 15th century lived together in exclusive urban areas usually termed *Giudecca*, *iudeca*, or *iudaica*.[20] These areas, which always came into being through the spontaneous conglomeration of Jewish dwellings round synagogues, should not be confused with ghettos, which were established by Paul IV's bull *Cum nimis absurdum* issued in 1555, when Jews were expelled from the Kingdom. The ghettos, which became widespread throughout Christendom, consisted of an urban neighbourhood surrounded by walls and with gates giving access to the rest of the city, although these were closed at night and guarded to stop Christians from entering.[21]

One factor among others which drove the growth of settled groups who maintained their collective presence in a particular area and over time created homogeneity within it was the way various branches of a family would seek

18 Labrot 1979.

19 Prologo 1879, 115–135; Beltrani 1879, 545–567; Vitale 1912, 109, 152, 175, 202, 207, 601, 666, 671, 679, 697; *Codice diplomatico barese*, XI, 60–62, 176, 217, 219, 230, 232, 264, 282, 310, 316, 350, 458, 466; Vitale 2016, 199.

20 See Abulafia in this volume.

21 Ferorelli 1966, 113; Colafemmina 1991. See Abulafia in this volume.

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to live near each other or the individuals who belonged to a particular *natio* within the city wanted to live together in the same neighbourhood. There was also a desire to work close at hand with merchants and artisans whose activities were linked to one's own.

It has been argued that certain characteristics of the urban fabric and of the road network still visible today in centres in southern Italy dating from the 10th to the 12th centuries have an Islamic origin, even for those areas which never came under Arab rule.[22] For example, it has been observed that in Reggio Calabria we can find "a family model strikingly similar to the Arab one [which] ensures the horizontal and vertical solidarity of members belonging to the same family clan," with the argument that this sense of solidarity underpinned "the archipelago of mercantile colonies and their activities."[23] Yet it is possible to counter-argue that such a phenomenon derives not from an Islamic model but should be seen instead as an expression—related and parallel to the Islamic system—in topographical and anthropological terms of the characteristic forms of settlement created by families and their associates in southern Italian towns and cities: closed ambiences structured around a common courtyard with access through a passageway which led out onto a network of blind twisting alleys, connected to a more important roadway.

Family clans who sought to defend their social and political position against threats from opposing factions or from central government also constructed fortified complexes within the city walls.[24] There are records of such a complex within the walls of Barletta, which is referred to in documents as belonging to the *Marrenses*, since it was inhabited by the extended della Marra family; it was located in the Cambio neighbourhood, the town's business centre.[25] Some members of the family were still living there at the beginning of the 16th century, while others had moved to the more aristocratic part near the cathedral of S. Stefano.

Socio-economic ties as well as shared nationality occasionally led families to live near each other within a town or city; an example is the Bove and Rogadeo families in Bitonto. They were both originally from Amalfi; in the 13th and 14th centuries, under the Angevins, leading family members had undertaken important commercial activities on behalf of the royal court and had also had significant administrative responsibilities as officials for financial and economic matters. They had also acquired vast agrarian estates in the area and in

22 Currò and Restifo 1991, 25.
23 Ibid., 89.
24 See Storti in this volume.
25 Vitale 2016, 201–250.

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Bitonto itself built prestigious houses next to each other and located near one of the gates into the town, as well as to the *Seggio dei Nobili* and the cathedral.[26] The fact that the two families, who were also linked by marriage, chose to build their *domus* here is a clear sign of the high social status they had achieved, as well as of their desire to preserve their collective unity in the region in which they had settled.[27]

These foreign 'nations' were numerous and flourishing in certain regions in southern Italy, such as Puglia and Sicily.[28] Their communities enjoyed certain privileges, such as the right to choose their own representatives to manage any legal disputes which arose among their members. Much evidence survives of the presence of these nations in urban centres and more documentary sources are being published. Their presence also had an impact on the material urban scene: in the towns where these communities were particularly large and economically significant, as well as long-established, the names of neighbourhoods and streets conserved their memory with references to the 'natio'. For example, the Amalfitan community 'cemented' their identity in the town by establishing churches dedicated to the saints who were part of their own devotional traditions. In other words, these mercantile communities formed *insulae* in those areas which were important for their commercial, industrial, and economic affairs in the wider sense: near to ports and markets, or in the vicinity of city gates where there was access to roads connecting with other centres. The Amalfitan presence remains in many placenames (the term 'Amalfitan' also includes the inhabitants of Scala and Ravello, who participated in what was an authentic diaspora across southern Italy; the neighbourhood they lived in Naples was known as the 'Scalesia').[29] There is the *vicus* or *ruga Amalfitanorum* in Palermo and Messina, the *ruga Ravellensium* in Trani, the *contrada amalfitana* in Cosenza, the *plathea Amalifitana* in Capua, and the *Porta Amalfitana* in Reggio Calabria,[30] while in Monopoli the Amalfitan community founded a church dedicated to the Madonna. Also, the Florentines, Genoese, Pisans, and Venetians established their own neighbourhoods in Naples and elsewhere—Bari, Trapani, Messina, Syracuse, Palermo, etc. In Trani, in addition to the *ruga Ravellensium* just mentioned, in 1275 the monarch allowed a loggia belonging

26 Vitale 2016, 96–97, 106–109.

27 Guidoni 1978, 84.

28 Camera 1860, II, 351; Yver 1903, *passim* and in particular chapter II: *Nations et consuls*, 193–215. For an overview of the situation in southern Italy in the context of Mediterranean commerce see Bresc 1983.

29 Capone and Leone 1996, 173–186.

30 Currò and Restifo 1991, 25.

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to the *Massilienses et alii Provinciales* to be built on domanial land, near the already existing *logia Venetorum*, which itself was attached to the church of S. Leone, the centre of the Venetian community's religious and commercial life. Similarly, a *plathea Lombardorum* took shape in an area of urban development, and there is also evidence for a commercial edifice housing ten shops run by the Veronese community. These placenames for the most part originated in the medieval period and survive today to indicate where these communities once lived. Prominent members of these communities who had had successful careers and were well-known in the Kingdom also aspired to display their status in their adopted cities by building imposing private residences, as in the case of the palaces built by the Bove family from Amalfi in Bitonto and the Tanzi family from Milan in Bari.[31]

Moving into Towns from Surrounding Areas: Bisceglie and Trani

Among the best illustrations of the way in which material and written sources can be used to decipher the creation and significance of urban structures is the case of Bisceglie. Even today it is possible to see in the urban fabric an ordered and regular network of streets, almost as if the place had been constructed to a pre-conceived design. The surviving documentation shows us that this layout was undoubtedly connected to an important and well-known episode in the town's history, when the inhabitants of the surrounding territory moved into the walled centre.[32] The documents show us that an entire social community, with its leading lay and ecclesiastical figures, transferred to the already existing centre of Bisceglie on the Adriatic coast. The inhabitants from various *loci* in the interior territory built their own churches inside the town after their move and in 1074 obtained from Bishop Dumnello a *scriptum libertatis*. The bishop, in agreeing a series of *libertates* to those who by common agreement and at their own expense had built a church dedicated to S. Adoeno, listed the names of fifty-three men, adding that all of them came "de loco Ciriniano et de loco Priminiano" but now belonged to the town. Another forty-two men came "de

31 For the Bove and Tanzi families see the HistAntArtSI database.

32 Prologo 1879, doc. I, 149–153; docs. II–III, 154–158, 159–63; Cosmai 1960, 29, n. 4; Cosmai 1960, 29, n. 4; Cosmai 1976. The distances of the villages discussed from Bisceglie are 7 km in the case of Sagina, 5 for Cirignano, 5 for Zappino and for Pacciano, 3 for Salandro and for Giano, and 2 for S. Nicola. On the church of S. Maria di Giano see Belli d'Elia 1975. On the church of Ognissanti in Pacciano, see Belli d'Elia 1975; Venditti 1981, 242. For the identification of the places see Colella 1941; Cosmai 1960.

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loco Zappino". If we add their respective families to the number of names in the list and also take into account the fact that the named individuals, who were perhaps the first-born sons, often have the phrase "and their brothers" added to them, then it is a plausible assumption that the entire population of a village transferred into the town. The remains of walls and church buildings, along with place-names, survive today in the countryside a few kilometres from Bisceglie. In 1099, the then Bishop Stefano in granting a similar *concessionis scriptum*, with which the church dedicated to S. Matteo by his predecessor was declared *liberam et exemptam*, listed three heads of families, who, as various indications show, were, as we would expect, accompanied by their wives, sons, brothers, and cousins, whose names were not noted down because they had not contributed money as individuals to the foundation of the church. Giano, Sagina, S. Nicola, and Salandro, all near to Bisceglie, are named as the *loci* from which these people came. Again in 1099 the same bishop recognized the church of S. Nicola in Bisceglie as *liberam et exemptam* for the inhabitants of S. Nicola and Salandro, again in the environs of Bisceglie. Here, too, seventy-one heads of families are named, accompanied by their brothers and nephews, and guided by a *turmarch*,[33] a judge, and various other individuals of significant status.

In this way, impelled for various reasons, economic or military, to move into nearby walled towns, homogenous units of population, once within the town, maintained their cohesion and group solidarity, focused around the churches which they built at their own expense in their newly adopted place of residence.

Another example in Bisceglie is the neighbourhood of S. Giacomo (in the Middle Ages known as the 'burgus novus') where the area of the new settlements shows a regular plan of buildings in rows, almost all of the same rectangular dimensions, with the narrow end of the rectangle fronting the principal road into the town.

In Trani, too, there is evidence of family groups who arrived in the town from the surrounding areas maintaining their community after their arrival by living close together; an example is the inhabitants of Casamassima who are referred to as having moved to the town.[34] In the case of Barletta, historians have suggested that, after nearby Canne was almost completely razed by Robert Guiscard

33 Within a Byzantine territorial district called *thema*, a *turmarch* was a subordinate officer ranking between a *strategus* and a *chiliarch*, who ruled over the military division present in that district. Treadgold 1995, 99.

34 In the surviving documents there is a reference to "terre de hominibus de predicto loco Casamaxima". *Codice diplomatico barese*, IX, 5.

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in 1083, all its inhabitants moved to be under the protection of *castrum Baroli*.[35] Written sources refer only to the siege and destruction of Canne and not to the exodus of its entire population to Barletta though what does emerge from other documents is the existence of a migratory flow of people over a long period of time from the *casali* of Canne to Barletta; these people were seeking to improve their economic conditions but were also determined to maintain their group identity.

These migratory movements during the Middle Ages both in Bisceglie and Trani also helped shape the form of these centres during the 15th and 16th centuries, and it is probable that an analogous phenomenon was a determining factor in the development of other urban centres across southern Italy between the medieval and early modern periods.

Economic Exploitation of Urban Spaces: The Case of Trani Again

An important role in urban development was played by the control over the spaces used for markets and fairs, which were frequently the cause of bitter conflicts. An interesting example of the ways in which this relationship between economic interests and urban spaces worked is the complicated episode in Trani involving the Church, the owners of commercial buildings and areas, and both local and foreign merchants.[36] The essence of the conflict related to issues to do with the commercial use of urban spaces. In 1360 the Venetian consul who represented Venetian merchants in the town was granted by the royal authorities the right to transfer the fair of S. Nicola, which had until then been held *extra moenia*, to the area adjoining the cathedral, where the fair of S. Leucio was already held. The reason given was the need to protect the fair from brigands who caused serious damage for the merchants. The transfer of the fair provoked violent reactions at all levels of Trani society. The archbishop carried out a series of speculative initiatives that aimed at securing a monopoly over the plots of lands which were intended to house commercial activity, an exploitative strategy which he had already begun to pursue before the decree on the transfer of the S. Nicola fair. A series of transactions carried out by the archbishop in 1362 and recorded in contemporary documents should be seen in the light of this strategy: having seen the opportunity to build in the spaces adjoining the cathedral suitable edifices to house the town's market, the arch-

35 Iorio 1983, 27.

36 See Vitale 1912; Vitale 2016, 169–172.

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bishop bought up existing buildings and had them demolished, and also had other buildings belonging to the dean transferred to his ownership. He then, at his own expense, had loggias for trading activity constructed in the spaces he had acquired.[37] There was also a significant legal dispute in which the archbishop was involved when in 1362 he claimed the right to control several loggias in the Calmarini neighbourhood, which were used as a slaughterhouse during the period of the fairs held at the port. While the dispute was still ongoing, a decree issued by Queen Giovanna I in 1377 upset all social classes in the town who found it unacceptable. It established that only after the archbishop had finished assigning spaces to foreigners and to whosoever wished to take part in the fair, and assuming there were free spaces remaining and the installation of uncovered wooden loggias did not obstruct the passageway, the inhabitants of Trani could apply to the archbishop for a *licentia* for the use of a *locus*, for a price to be agreed with him. In essence, as earlier disputes had also shown, the archbishop was reluctant to acknowledge that the spaces adjoining the cathedral had the status of a *locus publicus*. Trani citizens who owned buildings in the area must have found Giovanna's decree damaging to their interests since not only did it deprive them of the possibility of making money by renting out commercial edifices that belonged to them, but it even obliged them to rent buildings prepared for commercial purposes by the archbishop. The *cives* of the town argued that Trani's right to hold annual fairs, which had been granted by Charles II of Anjou, was intended for the benefit of everyone whereas the new provisions only served the archbishop's interests. They declared that fairs should be held anywhere within the town and the municipal council accordingly indicated that it would boycott the archbishop's demands and use other areas and private buildings in the rest of the town. In 1378, after violent unrest against the archbishop occurred in the initial phase of the crisis,[38] and following the mediation carried out by local individuals at the royal court in Naples, an agreement was reached: the right of the citizens of the town to rent from the archbishop buildings and loggias on the occasion of the fairs, as was customary, was recognized, whereas the *pauperes*, who could not afford to rent a loggia, could offer a pound of candlewax instead. A further success for the archbishops' strategy of fiscal exploitation of the terrain adjoining the cathedral came in 1429, when Queen Giovanna II accepted the request of the then archbishop, Giacomo Barile, who came from an influential Neapolitan family, to grant the holding of a third fair similar to the other two which would increase the reven-

37 Prologo 1879. doc. XIX, 70–73.
38 Beltrani 1879, doc. XXXVI, 138; doc. XXXV, 122–137.

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ues of the Church. The new fair would be held from 1 October for a period of eight days, in perpetuity.[39]

Urban Space and Society in Ambrogio Leone's *De Nola*

Ambrogio Leone's *De Nola* is an exceptional source of information on the social and anthropological aspects of urban aggregation in southern Italy between the Middle Ages and the early modern period (fig. 25). Leone's description of the typology of family settlement within the urban centre of Nola, with its various socio-economic complexities, sheds light on a phenomenon which has already been explored in Naples and other towns in the Kingdom, though in the case of Nola it appears to be less applicable, at least as far as the close connection between a family's place of residence, the length of time they had lived there, and their membership of a political and administrative body such as the *seggi* in Naples is concerned.[40] Leone makes no reference to such rules being applied in Nola (relating to the neighbourhood where a family resided and its membership of a *seggio*) and the surviving sources do not provide further detail. But at the same time he describes the selection and election of members of the municipal administration, which perhaps as a consequence of the town's small size, involved the whole community not in terms of the areas where they lived but on the basis of their social class.[41] In connection with this it is important to note that Leone does not use the term *nobiles* for the local citizens who belonged to the elite class, however they achieved this status, but classifies them as *primarii* in distinction to the *plebei*.

The fact that a political/administrative distinction based on different neighbourhoods in the town did not exist in Nola is confirmed by the presence of a single edifice intended for municipal meetings. In his focus on mapping the different locations in the town, Leone notes the existence of a *Porticus*—or *seggio*—without saying what it is used for, presumably because he takes its purpose for granted; he gives instead a highly detailed description of the location and architectural design of the building, which resembles the many other *seggi* known about in towns and cities throughout the Kingdom—raised a few steps above street level and with a stone bench running round the interior

39 Beltrani 1879, doc. XCV, 369–371. On the confirmation of the privilege granted by Ferrante I to the archbishop relating to the location of the fairs see ibidem, doc. CLXXXV, 617–620 (dated 30 December 1471) and CXCIV, 645–647 (dated 25 September 1474).

40 Vitale 2003, 147; de Divitiis, Lenzo, and Miletti 2018.

41 Vitale 2016; Vitale 2018.

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walls, clearly indicating that the building was used for meetings.[42] The importance Leone gives to the *Porticus*—also on the engraved plan of the town in his book where it is shown in a prominent central position facing the cathedral (fig. 25)—suggests that its function was comparable to that of a *palazzo della Città* (town-hall), where the meetings of the entire administrative body which ran the *universitas* of Nola were held. This body was made up of six individuals who were 'elected' every four months by the citizens of the town, three from the *primarii* and three from the *plebei*; they were responsible for the administration of the town and represented its highest authority.

Leone's account of the town makes it clear that its residences were located on the basis of family clans; his use of the term *tribus* to define the different neighbourhoods shows he was aware of this form of social organization. Only in the case of a handful of families—the Tansillo, Scriniario, Mastrillo, Grifo, Mennato—had one of the branches split away from the main family group and moved to another street.[43] The link between urban space and local society is shown by the fact that several streets were named after the important families who resided there: Via Scriniaria for example certainly takes its name from the family, whose presence is documented in Naples in the second half of the 13th century and in Nola in the following century,[44] who lived on it. Similarly, Via Chiarastella is connected to the name of a family whose presence in Nola is documented in deeds dating to the 14th century, which show that they were prominent long before Leone included them among the *egregiae* of the town.[45]

However, Leone makes no reference to any connotation of social distinction the various neighbourhoods and streets may have had. Only the via Vicanziana is described as being *nobilior*,[46] not on account of the fact that aristocratic families had their houses there but because it was the most important thoroughfare in the town; as the engraved plan in the book shows, the road, running as it did right across the town from the Porta Samuelina to the Porta Vicancia,

42 Leone 1514, bk. II, ch. 10, fol. 30^{r}; Lenzo 2014, 107–108, 121–122, 179–180, 202.

43 This can be seen in the case of the Tansillo, Scrinario, Mastrillo, and Grifo families who owned houses both in the *regio* Cortefellana and in the *regio* Vicanziana, and the Mennato family with houses in the Samuelitana and in the Vicanziana. Leone 1514, bk, III, ch. 3.

44 For the Scrinario family see Leone 1514, bk. III, ch. 3, fol. cxxxvi-verso. See also Vitale 2003, 38, 48, 81; table III; Buonaguro 1997, nn. 102, 111, 133, 177, 272. On the Tansillo see, Leone 1514, bk. III, ch. 3, fol. xxxxvii-verso. On the presence of the Church in Nola see Giovanni Vitolo's introduction to Buonaguro 1997.

45 Bonaguro 1997, nn. 192, 197, 418. For references to the name Chiarastella in the area from the 14th century onwards see nn. 284, 334, 360, 381, 390, 394, 398.

46 Leone 1514, bk. II, ch. 10, fols. xxx recto-verso.

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formed the principal access to the surrounding territory (the Vicancia gate led to Naples and was next to a turreted *arx*). Locals and outsiders alike would need to use the road in order to cross the town. Along its length (connecting to other important streets: del Portello, Chiarastella, and Cortefella) there was the customs house, the cathedral, and the *episcopium*, the main square, the church of S. Felice, and the aforementioned *Portico*. In Leone's view, the fact that the town's leading families had chosen to build their residences on this street was the consequence of its important role as a thoroughfare. It is also worth pointing out in this connection that Leone attributes no particular importance to the area known as the *regio Portellana*, even though this was where the palace or *regia* of the town's ruling family, the Orsini, was situated (fig. 25).[47] The family is listed as one of six with their residence in this part of Nola, two of whom were very prestigious: the Correale, who had risen to power in the 15th century under the Aragonese, and the Albertini, who, with their estates and the leading roles they played in the central administration of the Kingdom, were perhaps one of the most significant local families from the early 16th century onwards.[48] It is interesting to speculate why Leone downplayed the *regio Portellana*: perhaps the fact that it covered a smaller area than the other neighbourhoods or perhaps because it was marginal to the town's commercial activities. It was not in fact a thoroughfare since the nearest gate in the section of the town walls which bounded the area, known as the *Porta clausa*, gave no access into or out of the town.

The highly detailed and contemporary image of the urban landscape drawn by Leone is just one of the many ways in which his up-to-date and evidential approach to the subject manifests itself, characteristics which link it to humanistic writings such as those of Antonio de Ferraris known as Galateo.[49] Applying the detailed analysis that characterizes his approach, Leone describes in chapter XV of the second book of his work a typical private residence in Nola, clearly based on the houses which belonged to the families of the local elite and lined the town's most prestigious streets. Leone's model *domus* reveals a comfortable and refined way of life within the family and in society as a whole, with its design reflecting an aesthetic concern for the organization of daily life. Leone discusses the etymology of the names of different rooms to illustrate their separate functions: the loggia was where one went for conversation and

47 de Divitiis 2018. See also de Divitiis in this volume.

48 On the Correale (or Curiale) family see Aldimari 1691, III, 622. On Palazzo Alberini see de Divitiis in this volume.

49 Defilippis 2006; Defilippis 2008.

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allowed one to enjoy the view and the fresh breeze, the library was where the family and its guests would go to study, to reflect, and to discuss.[50]

From the detailed verbal description which Leone gives a picture emerges of two-storey houses, sometimes with a third floor added on, arranged around one, two, or three sides—only rarely on all four sides—of a courtyard. Behind the house there is a garden. A wide passageway paved *ad astraco*—Leone uses the technical term—occasionally with a vaulted ceiling including the first floor, leads into the courtyard, off which there are the stables and the cellar where wine is kept. In the courtyard there is also a freshwater well and other spaces for the family's needs. On the first floor of the *domus*, there is a large rectangular dining room, with a hearth, a ceiling twice as high as the width of the room and large windows giving on to the street. At least one of the bedrooms is attached to the dining room while the others, which have smaller windows, are arranged in a row or can also adjoin the dining room. The dining room has an outside single or double-arched portico and a fine wooden ceiling. Adjoining this room there are the kitchen and pantry as well as other rooms (*coenacula et coenationes*) less frequently used. Leone's description of the Nolan *domus* as the type of elegant urban residence concludes with a description of the second floor, where there is a storeroom (called 'the ship' because of its long shape) with a sloping roof in which goods were stored such as the hazelnuts which grew abundantly in the Nolan countryside and were a source of income for families with agrarian property. Leone stresses that houses fortified with towers—typical of urban centres riven by internal conflict—were extremely rare in Nola.

In this way Leone develops 'a unified object of knowledge' derived from documents, urban topography and houses and their furnishings which, together with his systematic analysis of Nolan society, constructs a remarkable picture of the town as it was in his own day.

Conclusions

The complexity of southern Italy, which over the centuries between the Middle Ages and the modern period comprised a variety of different socio-economic and political contexts in continuous development, impossible to assimilate into a single phenomenon, has meant that it has not been feasible until now to construct an overall comparative picture of all the different urban centres in

50 Leone 1514, bk. III, ch. fols. 386–387. See de Divitiis 2018. See also de Divitiis in this volume.

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the region. From the preliminary investigations essayed here we can perhaps conclude that, as in other areas of Europe in the past, also in southern Italy between the late Middle Ages and the early modern period the way the inhabitants of an urban space were physically located within it is an important indication of the town's socio-economic structures as well as of the deep-rooted cultural attitudes which governed relations between different social classes and also within them. A town's patterns of habitation are one manifestation, among many others, of such structures and attitudes, within the limits of each specific context. Where the elite chose to build their houses had a symbolic value since their residences represented—and not only in the eyes of their owners—a family's social position and its genealogical antiquity and prestige.

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CHAPTER 9

Factional Conflict and Political Struggle in Southern Italian Cities and Towns

Francesco Storti

Preliminary Observations

Research into political conflict in southern Italian cities and towns during the Renaissance is still at a formative stage. Only recently have some scholars started to investigate the subject seriously although not on its own and not systematically. Yet enough has been done to mark out a promising field for research, as Marco Gentile has pointed out; he has spoken of a vibrant but as yet unknown political life in the towns in the Kingdom of Naples between the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern period.[1] Gentile also makes the observation that although the terms *guelfo* and *ghibellino*, traditional designations for opposing political parties in Italy, were seldom used in the southern part of the peninsula, they were nonetheless assimilated into the terms *filoangioino* and *filoaragonese*. It is helpful then to begin with questions of terminology although it is risky to assume there is an equivalence between the two sets of classifications for political factions. It is clear, as has been recently recalled, that the opposition *guelfo*/*ghibellino* affected the history of southern Italy at certain periods but it is equally evident that they were always borrowed terms.[2] A consideration of political conflict in the cities and towns of the Kingdom which begins with the actual terminology used means placing that conflict in the correct context and revealing its deep causes. We need to see the discussion in its wider context: the opposition of Angevin and Aragonese unleashed by the War of the Sicilian Vespers (1283–1372). This was a war or rather a system of conflicts which acted as a complementary and alternative trigger to that which gave rise to Guelf and Ghibelline factionalism in central and northern Italy.[3] It has in part already been shown how the various stages of the conflict which followed the Vespers and the dynastic issues which were connected

1 Gentile 2014, 292.
2 Vitolo 2014, 130–135.
3 Tramontana 1989.

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to them influenced the growth of feuds within towns and cities by stimulating the differences which fed them. This opposition, of which the division of Sicily from the Kingdom represents merely the initial phase, and which would only conclude with the Italian Wars (1494–1559), was the framework within which the reasons for urban conflicts in southern Italy took shape: it was the context and often the pretext for them. This is because the decision to support a branch of the Angevin dynasty or the Aragonese party screened deeper motivations driven by social class and by long-standing disputes over social status and the control of power in the towns and cities. What the nature of this power consisted in is a different question and one to which historians have only recently started to pay attention. The control of the roles of representation within a town, through which the town negotiated with the Crown its degree of autonomy and divided up the fiscal burden, was certainly important.[4] Yet the constant presence of the monarchy in the dynamics of municipal politics tends to obscure the forms which local power took; nor do the available historical sources, which were generally produced by the royal administration, shed light on these. Be that as it may, the very dimensions of political conflict give us the measure of the strength of the interests which were at stake.

The Extent and the Development of Urban Conflict in Southern Italy

Seen as a whole, the presence of political conflict in the towns and cities of southern Italy is notable, first and foremost for how widespread it was. From peripheral provinces to the remote eastern margins of the Kingdom, and the Principalities in Campania and Basilicata, no part of the Kingdom appears to have been immune from factionalism. Within each of the twelve provinces which made up the Kingdom internal conflicts affected not only the large and ancient municipalities but also the *borghi* and *castelli* with middle-sized or small populations, and even the *casali*, whether these formed part of the nearby town or were independent. Conflict appears to have been endemic: the historian sometimes has the impression that it is only the scarcity of contemporary sources which limits our sense of it as a living force.

The presence of factional struggle can be traced from the 13th century onwards, continuing until the early decades of the 16th century; this chronological span can be linked, as we have already alluded, to specific historical

4 Vitolo 2005; Vitale 2016; Senatore 2018.

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episodes. Leaving aside the earlier instances of conflict, this essay will focus on a period of approximately a hundred years, from the beginning of the 15th century to the early 16th century, with occasional references to later developments. This is a choice made partly out of the constraints of space but it is also opportune from a methodological point of view. The hundred years which elapsed between the war of conquest waged by Alfonso the Magnanimous and the early decades of the reign of Charles V show homogeneous features which make the period a coherent object of study, while from the 1530s onwards the phenomenon of political conflict appears to have been completely extinguished. The stability of dynastic expansion and consolidation in the transition from Aragonese to Spanish rule together with the substantial stability of the families which were involved in urban uprisings are the main continuous characteristics which make the period coherent.[5] Furthermore, over the course of these hundred years, the century of Aragonese domination as it might be called, there are at least three specific historical episodes which tended to spark conflicts across the Kingdom: Alfonso's war of conquest, the war of succession which followed his death, and the principal phases of the Italian Wars.

Factionalism in Calabria

As we have said, urban conflict affected every province in the Kingdom. Yet factionalism was perhaps at its fiercest and most bitter in Calabria. There are many reasons for this degree of intensity but it is certain that the proliferation of conflict among the inhabitants of Calabrian towns was triggered by the violence which swept the region during the War of the Sicilian Vespers.[6] Traditional loyalty to the Swabians fed into the party which supported the Aragonese, who were seen as ideal inheritors of the Swabian legacy, while the pro-Angevin faction was sustained by Charles d'Anjou (1226–1285) and his heirs, as well as the Church and the leading feudal aristocracy.[7]

With the detachment from Sicily and its distance from Naples, Calabria became a frontier region and from early on a perfect environment for social unrest. Political conflict, besides, was merely one expression of the violence which was widespread over the entire Calabrian territory.[8] For the first half of the 15th century, our knowledge of the extent of urban political conflict in

5 Del Treppo 1969, 259–300.
6 Carucci 1932; Russo 1961.
7 Galasso 1992, 879–880.
8 Colesanti and Santoro 2008.

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Calabria and the forms it took are derived from a precious documentary source, the register of the chancellery of Louis III of Anjou (1403–1434).

Louis III was named as heir to the throne and duke of Calabria in 1423, after Giovanna II d'Angio-Durazzo's (1371–1435) adoption of Alfonso of Aragon was annulled. He ruled over the duchy for more than a decade, from 1423 to 1434. The acts promulgated under his rule, at the beginning of the conflict between Angevins and Aragonese to succeed the Durazzo, draw a precise map of factionalism in the region.

In October 1423 the duke ordered his provincial officials to prevent pro-Angevin exiles from Rossano from returning to the town before his arrival in the region in order to avoid further violent clashes with the Aragonese faction. The fact that this order was sent to all the officials in the region indicates that these individuals, who are listed by name, were to be found over a wide area, helped by family connections and their links with other exiles.[9] These inhabitants of Rossano indeed only returned to their houses in the following year, after their assets, which had been confiscated by the opposing party, had been restored to them.[10]

The confiscation and redistribution of land is the most thoroughly documented issue in the registers produced under Louis III and provide the main indication for assessing how widespread the conflict was. Louis himself once he had taken up his position in Calabria confiscated the assets of Aragonese supporters to give them to his own followers: we find this in Reggio in 1423 and in Tropea in the period between 1423 and 1429.[11] Tropea appears to have been a hotbed of conflict. On Louis's arrival, many Aragonese supporters in the town were targeted for confiscations and it is evident that they were prominent figures since their property was held over the entire region and not just in the *contado*,[12] which also indicates the thriving economic as well as political activity in the town which at that time did not have more than 4000 inhabitants.[13] Another document in the register also reveals the intensity of the political conflict in Tropea: it is an order to restore the confiscated assets of a certain Patrizio di Diano to his widow and children after his 'execution'. A 'pro-Aragonese' tribunal must therefore have condemned Patrizio when the Aragonese faction was dominant.[14] When, as is usually the case, contemporary sources are

9 Orefice 1977–1978, 285–286.
10 Ibid., 306.
11 Ibid., 288–289.
12 Ibid., 295, 304–305, 364.
13 Cozzetto 1086, 153.
14 Orefice 1977–1978, 319.

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so scarce for southern Italy in this period, such documents provide important evidence of actual circumstances.

A year after Louis took up his position it appears that the political situation in the region was still unsettled: the new duke ordered his lieutenant to send him the names of all pro-Aragonese rebels in the duchy.[15] There are also other clear indications that his political opponents were still capable of exerting pressure. In March 1425, for example, a Catalan merchant who had been arrested was released, not on the authority of the duke, on payment of a ransom while the commissioner who had been appointed to manage the assets which had been confiscated from Aragonese supporters fled in mysterious circumstances.[16] The conflict therefore had not been extinguished and the embers flickered on. It is also the case that in certain towns the pro-Aragonese faction must still have been in a pre-eminent position: Castrovillari on the borders with the principality of Citra, for example, was forced in May 1424 to accept the return of a citizen who had been expelled years earlier.[17] On the other hand, the constant presence of Louis in Cosenza, the largest domanial city in Calabria, during the period from 1428 to 1434, the year of his death, helped to strengthen the city's pro-Angevin loyalties.[18] Cosenza was the capital of the duchy and in effect more a complex urban and territorial system than a city in the strict sense: it consisted of 69 *casali* grouped together in 19 *baglive* (a territorial unit originally created for the administration of tax but which over time acquired wider powers).[19] The monarchs of the Angiò-Durazzo dynasty had worked to bring this surrounding territory under their control, increasing the number of villages belonging to the *città madre* and, during the reign of Giovanna II, granting the citizenship of Cosenza to all the inhabitants of the *casali*. The result was a solid but extensive urban network reaching to the villages in the foothills of the Sila mountain range and the valleys which led down to Amantea on the Tyrrhenian coast: stretched like this between the mountains and the sea it could be seen as dividing the region in two. This political-cum-urban development fostered a sense of identity among the *casali*; these formed links with the inhabitants of mountain villages, where they could exercise their own independent influence and expand their own territory, outside Cosenza's hegemony. However, this development did not suffice to dampen the dynamics of political conflict; Cosenza might have presented itself

15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., 332.
17 Ibid., 307.
18 Galasso 1992, 881–882.
19 Cozzetto 2005, 275.

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as a pro-Angevin city, but factionalism was alive and well within its walls. As early as June 1422 Louis had ordered that all the exiles from the pro-Aragonese party who belonged to the city or its *casali* and who had been led by Antonuccio dall'Aquila be banned from the entire region and stripped of their assets, rights to immunity, honours, privileges, and offices;[20] two years later the sales of the assets of pro-Angevin supporters which had been carried out in the city by the followers of Alfonso were annulled.[21] Pro-Aragonese factionalism in Cosenza also involved prominent personages such as the archbishop, the Neapolitan Francesco Tomacelli.[22] The pro-Angevin sympathies of the *casali* were however notable. In a document dated 2 December 1423 Louis ordered the restitution of assets which had been confiscated by Alfonso to no fewer than 120 named citizens from the *casali* of Cosenza.[23] Forms of pacification however were also practised in the *casali*, with the restoration of assets and granting of pardons to several Aragonese supporters, indicating a lessening of tension under the hegemony of pro-Angevins.[24] Despite this approach, in Tessano, a *casale* of the *bagliva* which went under the same name,[25] many exiles were still active; the great condottiere Francesco Sforza (1401–1466), later, from 1450, duke of Milan, even interceded on their behalf.[26] Another town which contrasted with and compensated for the pro-Angevin grip on Cosenza's territorial network was Amantea, which was solidly loyal to the Aragonese. In 1423 the town was pardoned for having sided with Alfonso and the pardon was renewed in 1425 (followed by Oppido, which had been pardoned in 1424).[27]

The already mentioned political vitality of the *casali* in Calabria is unsurprising since factionalism was widespread in the region and affected all its inhabitants and all social classes. An eloquent example is the case of Cerchiara, a small *borgo*,[28] where the assets of the rebels Andrea and Durante Ciccino were handed to two pro-Angevin supporters, Pietro di Champagne, a baker, and Luigi Arcuccio, the lord of Torrenes[29]—a commoner and a minor feudal baron who shared the same political loyalties (it should be noted that the government of

20 *Privilegii* 1982, 16.
21 Orefice 1977–1978, 300.
22 Ibid., 296.
23 Ibid., 291–292.
24 Ibid., 299, 315, 353.
25 Cozzetto 1986, 144.
26 Orefice 1977–1978, 307, 329.
27 Ibid., 329.
28 Cozzetto 1986, 147.
29 Orefice 1977–1978, 299.

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many towns and cities in Calabria, including Cosenza and Catanzaro, was made up of members of the *Popolo* and of the *Gentiluomini* working together).[30]

The long war of succession for the Neapolitan throne which followed the death of Alfonso the Magnanimous was the other episode, as already mentioned, which encouraged political strife in the towns and cities across the Kingdom. Indeed, this took forms which were even more dramatic than in the past given the nature of the conflict which saw blocks of the population made up of barons and cities opposed to each other.[31]

Factional conflict in Cosenza reached a new intensity after the inhabitants of the *casali* in their struggle against the Catalan castellan of the city joined forces with the anti-taxation uprising of the inhabitants from the villages of the Sila mountains, leading to what was an organised campaign of aggression against the Aragonese authorities from 1459 onwards.[32] On this occasion the pro-Angevin exiles of the *casali* came together in a league and managed to muster an army of 500 combatants.[33] It should also be noted that, in addition to their personal participation in military action, they also enrolled troops of professional soldiers drawn from the large number who were present in the region and native to it.[34] In short, the exiles from the Cosenza *casali* formed a political group which acted like an autonomous and itinerant civic association determined to regain power in the Cosenza network with the help of its own army. For their part royal officials sent groups of 'partisan soldiers' to take control over the areas threatened by the exiles, meaning that the monarchy became directly involved in these urban political conflicts and exploited factional struggles.[35] Ferrante did not hesitate to ask the supporters of his dynasty to intervene on his behalf. On 6 January 1459 he ordered Gautiero and Piero Pogherio, followers of 'his' party in Taverna, near Catanzaro, to seize control of the town from the Mazza who led the pro-Angevin faction. On that occasion the king called the Pogherio "partiales et fideles nostri dilecti", a remarkable definition since it describes belonging to a political grouping in terms of the loyalty of vassals and of service to the State. It is a kind of institutionalisation of factionalism and at the same time a way of bringing it under control, the more so because on the same date Ferrante also wrote to Artusio Mazza, a member of the opposing faction, declaring himself astonished that Mazza's

30 Galasso 1992, 884.
31 Storti 2000, 325–346; Senatore and Storti 2002.
32 Pontieri 1963, 221–225, 242–243; Storti 2000, 340–341.
33 Messer 1912, 361.
34 Storti 2016, 76–77.
35 Storti 2016, 77–78.

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relatives had taken possession of the town by armed force.[36] The existence of political militancy was thus admitted and acknowledged by the monarchy as long as it did not lead to subversive activity. It is also the case that it remained possible for individuals accused of crimes relating to political activity to regain their former legal status: in 1444, for example, when Alfonso the Magnanimous granted privileges and freedoms to the town of Cirò, which had become part of the royal domain, he allowed those exiles who within three months of the grant agreed to submit to his authority to return to their houses and have their assets restored to them.[37]

We have spoken of the monarchy's 'control' of factionalism and it is true that from the outset of Ferrante's reign it had become clear that Calabria could no longer be governed without the direct involvement of the monarchy. In 1462, Ferrante's son Alfonso, who had just turned fourteen, as the new duke of Calabria was sent to rule over the region beset by rebellion. Years later he returned and in 1472 promoted the reform of the statutes in Cosenza as well as those of the other domanial towns of Stilo, Reggio, and Catanzaro. All these towns saw the introduction of governments which were made up of equal numbers of representatives of the *Popolo* and *Gentiluomini*. The idea was to create a system which would ensure a more equitable distribution of municipal powers among the different social classes.[38] This 'remedy' appears to have had a beneficial effect on political conflicts, which declined. In 1497, however, after the invasion of Charles VIII and the Aragonese reconquest of the Kingdom, "various Angevins" in exile were banned in perpetuity from Cosenza at the request of the municipality,[39] the same fate which had befallen the pro-Aragonese supporters at the time of Louis III. Seventy-five years on, conflict was more contained and the equilibrium between the opposing sides had changed but political loyalties persisted.

Parties and Leagues between Cities

We have dwelt on the situation in Calabria for its illustrative force. It is also the case that even at the time the region was seen as a significant theatre of political struggle between opposing factions. In the summer of 1458, at the beginning of the war of succession, a citizen of Teramo called Antonello Russo

36 Storti 2016, 74.
37 Mazzoleni 1957, 42.
38 Storti 2017, 66–69.
39 *Privilegii* 1982, 67.

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journeyed to Calabria in order to incite the pro-Angevin party in Tropea to rise up against the new king Ferrante,[40] an episode which should once more give us pause for thought on the degree of coordination between political forces throughout the Kingdom, the more so in this case since Abruzzo and Calabria were regions which differed considerably in terms of their municipal traditions and freedoms.

The provinces in Abruzzo were intensely feudalized but they also contained towns with ambitious plans for autonomy and in which there was fierce political conflict from the early Angevin period onwards.[41] They also tended to become hubs of political identity. This dualism of towns and fiefdoms worked in favour of the former; the towns won the support of the monarchy against the feudal barons on several occasions.[42] It is not possible here to explore the specificity of conflict in each provincial area. Yet the specificity of Abruzzo as a whole, though not unique, is relevant to the issue of political coordination and therefore is worth emphasizing since it was this tendency, more evident in Abruzzo than elsewhere, which lay behind the constitution of leagues.

We have seen how the *casali* in Cosenza which rebelled against the king formed a league among themselves. In the same period the king promoted the formation of a league among the domanial cities in the Puglian provinces of Capitanata and Terra di Bari.[43] As far as Abruzzo is concerned, again in the context of the war of succession after the death of Alfonso, in 1459, Berardo Gaspare d'Aquino, marquis of Pescara (d. 1461), formed a league with Chieti and other pro-Aragonese towns, while a few months later, Chieti with its castles and the town of Caramanico as its ally agreed a truce with the towns that made up the Angevin league, Bucchianico, Francavilla and Villamagna, the activities of which were coordinated by L'Aquila. During the war of succession, as indeed in the period of the big baronial rebellion (1484–1486), L'Aquila was the true political centre of all the rebel forces, both urban and baronial, and the direct opponent of the monarchy in Abruzzo.[44]

Chieti in this period then, as a pro-Aragonese town in a territory that tended to be pro-Angevin, was at the centre of feverish efforts at political organisation. In 1461 it collaborated with Matteo da Capua, the viceroy in Abruzzo (d. 1481) and Francavilla, which had joined the opposing league some time earlier, against Ortona and the baronial de' Ricciardis family, unswerving Angevin loy-

40 Messer 1912, 53.
41 Galasso 1992, 849–857.
42 Vitolo 2014, 172–186.
43 Messer 1912, 379.
44 Terenzi 2015.

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alists. The conflict lasted until 1463. In 1461 the *universitas* of Lanciano, which had declared itself on the pro-Aragonese side, requested the support of Chieti against Ortona.[45]

Thus, across southern Italy political groupings, triggered by dynastic wars, surmounted the walls of each town and the borders of *borghi* and *casali*, coordinated among themselves, crossed provincial and regional spaces, joined with the feudal aristocracy, sided with the reigning dynasty or took up arms against it, and came together in a league.

Each party knew their own strength and their own role and were also informed about the conditions of other communities across the Kingdom, even the most distant ones.

When we consider the complex political and military actions which were undertaken, it is plausible to think that the factions in the Kingdom had a stable network of communication they could use. As we have seen, there were entire towns on one side or the other and they did not operate alone. We have seen the example of Chieti; the already mentioned Amantea is another (though in 1460 its political loyalties seemed less ardent) as well as Oppido;[46] another pro-Aragonese town was Cava,[47] in the province of Principato Citra, and the already cited Caramanico, the inhabitants of which described themselves in 1463 as "fervid supporters of his majesty."[48] It is hard to imagine a more explicit assertion of political partisanship and even though Caramanico's support for the king might have been opportunistic, as such moves often were, its unrestrained expression is still significant.

To sum up: factionalism was part of the Kingdom's politics, shaping both the sequence of events and the form they took. One example of this occurred in 1493 when the activity of the pro-Angevin faction in Abruzzo became a factor in the tense relations between the Aragonese dynasty and the papacy, part of the train of events at the end of the century which would eventually lead to the Italian Wars. The intervention of the Abruzzesi was on a large scale: it provoked the transfer of a large number of royal militia into the region and led to the expulsion from the Kingdom of all "the exiles who supported those bands in Abruzzo."[49]

45 *Epitome* 1823, 67–68, 80.
46 Pontieri 1963, 237.
47 Senatore 2012.
48 Storti 2016, 70–71.
49 *Codice* 1870, 365.

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The Beneventan Paradigm

If we shift our perspective away from networks of towns to what was happening inside the town walls, it is worth repeating how sizeable the phenomenon of factionalism was in the period under consideration. We will look at some examples selected from a vast range of cases. It is useful to focus on Benevento in particular, a papal city with a long municipal tradition and an object of contention between the papacy and the monarchy, since it provides a kind of compendium of the various forms of political conflict which emerged in the towns of southern Italy.

In Benevento political conflicts either arose independently or occurred in connection with external events. They could spread outside the town walls and they took different forms within the populace who lived inside the walls. At the end of the 14th century, for example, during the clash between Urban VI (1378–1389) and the anti-pope Clement VII, two factions were formed in Benevento, one on the side of Urban, called 'the red rose faction' and the other in favour of the anti-pope, the 'white rose' party. Feolo Citrullus, "*factionis rosae rubeae*", left the town with his supporters to join forces with Raimondo Orsini Del Balzo (1355–1406), who was hurrying to defend Urban under siege in Nocera.

The 18th-century historian Stefano Borgia recounts how the 'rose' factions, which in the 13th century were called '*estrinseca*' and '*intrinseca*', still existed in the 15th century, fifty years after the Western Schism, even though municipal statutes prescribed the imposition of fines on anyone who used these terms in order to incite conflict.[50] It is not possible to identify which faction the unnamed citizen belonged to who in 1441 helped Garçia Cabanyells, a captain in the service of Alfonso of Aragon, to seize control of the castle of Benevento from the Sforza, though he must have been a prominent citizen of the town. Twenty years later his three sons, one of whom was the abbot of Santa Sofia in the town, were found to have been involved, together with the local bishop, Giacomo della Ratta, in the rebellion instigated by the '*partito popolare*' against King Ferrante (1429/1431–1474).[51] The three men, who had been in close alliance with the rebel aristocracy during the war of succession, ended up as the victims of their ambitious designs. They were accused of being spies for Ferrante and captured; in 1461 the eldest, Gorone, was strangled by the count of Campobasso, a baron on the Angevin side, "with his own hands" while a ransom of 5,000 ducats was demanded for his two brothers.[52] Meanwhile factional unrest

50 Borgia 1769, 410.
51 Vergineo 1986, 104–105.
52 Storti 1998, 123–124.

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continued in the town, only coming to a halt in 1462 when the Aragonese victory at Troia concluded the struggle with Angevins and rebels.

'*Estrinseca*', '*intrinseca*', white rose and red rose, Aragonese supporters, '*partito popolare*': factionalism in Benevento was a complex business. One senses that ancient oppositions underlay the conflict, adapting to political circumstances as these developed and also changing designation. Making the situation even more complicated, we can note that the uprisings which took place between 1458 and 1462 were directed, it is true, against Ferrante but also against Pope Pius II (1458–1464), opposed by the bishop of Benevento, which might lead us to wonder if at this point the pro-Angevin faction had an anti-papal tendency. In the event the anti-papal front in later years was consistently associated with the pro-Aragonese faction as a result of the difficult relationship between Ferrante and the Holy See over the decade 1482–1492.

It is plausible then that there were two ongoing and interwoven contests in Benevento which changed designation and gave rise to clashes: the opposition of the populace and the nobility and the struggle between supporters and opponents of the papacy.

The anti-papal party, which aimed to make the town part of the political framework of the Kingdom, emerged repeatedly after the uprisings which occurred during the war of succession.

One episode which fired up conflict among the inhabitants of the town was the War of Ferrara (1482–1484), when Sixtus IV (1471–1484), allied with Venice, refused to allow royal troops to cross Beneventan territory on their way to defend Ercole d'Este (1431–1505), the duke of Ferrara. The reaction to the pope's decision was immediate: a rebellion led by the citizens Tirello Mansella and Andrea Mascambruno helped Niccolò Allegro, the royal commissioner, to occupy the town.[53] Allegro remained in charge for only a few months, from August to December 1482, but he left an aftermath of tension between the opposing sides which ten years later, in 1492, erupted in even more bitter conflict. In April of that year serious incidents occurred in the course of which several members of the Mansella family, supporters of the monarchy, were wounded and the pro-Aragonese inhabitants expelled from the town. The king then enabled his adherents ("*gentiluomini nostri servitori*"), including Tirello Mansella, the brothers Francesco and Roberto d'Aquino, and Giovan Tommaso Connestabile, to move to Naples and wrote to the pope demanding the return of the exiles to their hometown and the restitution of their confiscated assets. The pontifical governor of Benevento, for his part, was completely unintimid-

53 Vergineo 1986, 106–107.

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ated by the king's protests and took action against the members of the faction who had remained in the town, arresting Tommaso d'Aquino, a move which should have resulted in a definitive end to the unrest. This was not the case: Tirello Mansella, the leader of the expelled faction, in a daring surprise attack re-entered the town, killed his enemy Bartolomeo Capobianco, and ransacked his house. The town was now in a state of critical unrest; in the following year, after the murder of a nobleman by the son of Francesco d'Aquino, a military man in the service of the king, even more violent clashes took place between the *parte di sotto* and the *parte di sopra* (indicating the neighbourhoods of the town where the opposing factions at that time lived). What was to all intents and purposes a battle took place, widely reported in the whole of Italy, which induced the powers of the League to accuse Ferrante of getting his soldiers to fight alongside his faction within the town.[54]

With the French invasion under Charles VIII new conflicts arose between the pro-Aragonese faction, traditionally led by the Mansella and d'Aquino families, and the already pro-papal adherents of the French cause, supported by Giuliano della Rovere, the abbot of Santa Sofia, who would go on to become Pope Julius II (1503–d. 1513).[55]

The restoration of Aragonese rule however saw the anti-papal party prevail once more, this time with Francesco d'Aquino, a veteran captain in the royal army,[56] who with the support of the king Frederick III took control of the municipal government, ousting the papal governor.[57] Nor did internecine conflict die down in the early decades of the 16th century (Francesco d'Aquino was killed during public tumults in 1502), when the factions called 'di Castello' and 'della Fragola' opposed each other.[58] There was an increase of violence and in 1511 the *capo di parte* Ettore Sabariani beheaded Andrione di Ravenna, the governor of the town, and gruesomely displayed his head, wearing a *biretta*, at a window of the papal palace, the apartments in which he went on to ransack. Sabariani was subsequently banished from the town and was captured five years later in 1516 and put to death by the new governor Maso di Luca degli Albizi. His followers, however, were not discouraged; in April 1517, led by one Paolo Scantacerro, they scaled the walls of Benevento at night, attacked the castle and ransacked the houses of many wealthy commoners.

54 *Codice* 1870, 67, 82–83, 94, 112–113, 148–153, 154–156, 158, 215–219; *Codice aragonese*, II/2, 105–107, 109–111, 120.

55 Vergineo 1986, 108.

56 Storti 2017, 151.

57 Borgia 1769, 433–437; Vergineo 1986, 109.

58 Vergineo 1986, 114.

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The last episode of public unrest in Benevento of which we have a record was instigated by Alfonso Mascambruno, who belonged to a family, like the Mansella, of longstanding Aragonese loyalty. The violence broke out in 1526 but it proved to be the final manifestation of political conflict in the papal city: in 1530, two hundred years after the beginning of internal conflict, a perpetual peace was agreed between the factions. Not even the words "parte di sopra e di sotto, *vel quecumque partialium nomina*" could be uttered.[59]

Diversity of Interests and the Connections between Them

The history of Benevento shows how opposing parties were able to adapt both to the changing political context in the Kingdom and to the town's internal politics, with its complex dialectic of papal *rettori*, kings and factions. The town constitutes, as we have said, a summary of the various forms that political conflict assumed in southern Italy in the 15th century, characterized by the many interests which were at stake and the diverse forces engaged in conflict. These characteristics are found elsewhere too, even in towns where the circumstances were more straightforward and which above all were unaffected by the legal anomalies which mark the history of Benevento.

Take the example of Trani, where in the middle decades of the 15th century the town's politics were dominated by the conflict between the popular faction led by the Caccetta family and the aristocratic one led by the Palagano.[60] At first sight it seems an evident case of opposed social classes but the reality was more complex. The struggle waged by Simone Caccetta (c. 1397–1459) in Trani over the period 1440–1460 was not so much an attempt to assert the right of his social class to access new spaces of power as an effort to achieve personal hegemony through an alliance with prominent families who were opposed to the powerful Palagano clan. In this context the term 'popular' is superimposed on older conflicts within the town's patrician class and reveals the inclusion, on the part of one of the factions, of new elements from the mercantile and professional sectors. Simone himself had been a steward for the Palagano family and had managed to carve out a career for himself thanks to securing important administrative posts (he was the castellan of the fortress in Trani and the governor of Corato) and to his astute marriage arrangements for his three daughters, all of whom married influential members of the Neapolitan nobility *di seggio*. In

59 Borgia 1769, 444–486; Vergineo 1986, 116–118.
60 See Vitale in this volume.

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short, he was pursuing a path of *anoblissement*, which did not prevent him from undertaking such lucrative activities as piracy and which led to him attaining positions of power such as the *Maestro Portolano* of Puglia, in charge of the region's ports and harbours.[61] In 1454 Simone felt the time was ripe for him to confront his opponents and he prevailed, defeating the enemy faction in a violent street battle and killing Palamide Palagano. But the story of factionalism in Trani does not end here since there are further aspects to take into account. The Palaganos, for their part, could count on the support of the monarchy since they had fought in the royal cavalry troops (like the d'Aquino family in Benevento). On Ferrante's accession to the throne and during the early years of his reign he needed the support of all those loyal to him, including the Palagano family, in fighting the opposition of the barons and the Angevin threat; in this way the Palaganos were able to re-organize and reconquer their supremacy in Trani to the detriment of the Caccettas. The Palaganos also helped to create a 'factional' regiment so to speak within the royal army—a cavalry regiment which also included the Della Marra family, who were the leaders of the Aragonese faction in Barletta, together with soldiers from the same province who were also pro-Aragonese in their sympathies. In effect the noble faction in Trani joined a provincial network of pro-Aragonese supporters in Terra di Bari.[62] This was a clever political move since all those who opposed the Palaganos would be seen as pro-Angevin and therefore potential rebels. Not by chance, when Simone and his supporters succeeded in taking back control of Trani on 3 July 1459, with an extraordinary uprising in the streets of the town, an account of which can be found in diplomatic despatches of the time, they lost no time in declaring that they had fought not because they were opposed to the king but out of the desire to return to their homes.[63] Despite this, the monarchy's response was unhesitating. Troops were sent to Trani on 9 July and the instigators of the disturbances were put to death, thrown into captivity, or tortured. Among them were Simone Caccetta and his sons together with Luigi Capra, who had assassinated the royal governor of the town the previous year:[64] a grimly determined and politically motivated reaction. But the person concealed behind the disturbances in Puglian towns in this period was the Prince of Taranto, the leader of the nobility which opposed Ferrante's succession, who had helped to bring the Trani exiles together in Bisceglie where they had been waiting since 1458

61 Vitale 2016, 225–229.
62 Storti 2017b, 40–41.
63 Senatore 2004, 302–304.
64 Senatore 2004, 309–310.

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for the right moment to strike.[65] In addition, the conduct of the royal castellan in Trani, Johan Antoni Fuxar, during the conflict had been far from limpid; two years later the king had him arrested at the hands of Giorgio Castriota Scanderbeg (1405–d. 1468), the heroic Albanian condottiero.[66]

Coordination of factions across the province, the interests of the monarchy, relations with the feudal barons, the involvement of royal officials in factionalism, shifting party loyalties: many of the elements found in Benevento can be seen again in these events in Trani over a handful of decades. But there is a further episode we need to take into account.

On 5 July, two days after the uprising which had brought Simone Caccetta back to the town and four days before the repression ordered by Ferrante was carried out, a spectacular truce between the opposing parties had taken place in Trani. This is how the town described the event to the king: "they met with each other all together, in the presence of the whole populace, in front of your castle, and they kissed each other on the mouth and made peace."[67] This reconciliation had taken place thanks to the intervention of the archbishop of Benevento, the same Giacomo della Ratta who, as we have seen, was involved with the rebellion of the popular faction in Benevento against Ferrante. This is further confirmation of the extraordinary ramifications of political conflict in southern Italy during the Aragonese period. The activities of the factions in Trani are also interwoven with those in nearby towns, and not only in connection with the soldiers belonging to the same party. In August 1459, the exiles of Barletta were interrogated by the royal authorities seeking information on Caccetta's uprising in July.[68] What took place in Trani is reflected for the most part in the political history of many other Puglian towns, such as Giovinazzo, where struggles between different social groupings based on class occurred between the 14th and 15th centuries,[69] Foggia, overrun by clashes between dynastic factions until the beginning of the 16th century,[70] or Guglionesi and Monte Sant'Angelo, both in the province of Capitanata, small towns in which the political conflict between dynastic parties raged from the mid-15th century onwards.[71]

65 Ibid.
66 Storti 1998, 379–381.
67 Senatore 2004, 305.
68 Storti 2016, 76.
69 de Ninno 1880. On conflicts in Giovinazzo see de Divitiis and Montuori in this volume.
70 Storti 2016, 73.
71 Storti 2000, 327.

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Conclusions: Fifteenth-Century Patterns and Sixteenth-Century Transformations

This rapid exploration is far from being an exhaustive analysis of a subject the study of which, as was said at the outset, is still only in its early days but it enables us to fix some firm points of orientation.

That factionalism was both widespread and significant in southern Italy during the late Middle Ages is clear from the evidence itself. What needs emphasizing however is the fact that, for the 15th century, it is probably not feasible to write a political history of the Kingdom of Naples without taking into account the factions in its towns and cities. Factional conflict must therefore become an essential component of the overall historical interpretation, alongside and completing the binary opposition of monarchy and barons which historians have generally focused upon. Urban political conflict was not dependent on external and dominant forces—monarchical or baronial—but an autonomous political phenomenon connected with, but not derived from, these. It was not a product of circumstance but an expression of a structural reality. This is suggested, even at this early stage of research into the phenomenon, by the close links between the ruling dynasties and the factions, the relationship of these to the local aristocracy, the capacity for coordinated action of urban factions across the Kingdom and their willingness to form leagues, undertake military campaigns and infiltrate institutions. On this last point it is worth highlighting the fact that the towns and cities most prone to political conflict were for the most part domanial or, as in Benevento, subject to external powers. As we have seen, this is the case with Caramanico, Bucchianico, Teramo, Cosenza, Trani, Barletta, Foggia, Monte Sant'Angelo, Guglionesi, Chieti, etc.

The presence of royal institutions and direct connection with the monarchy did not extinguish but rather encouraged a political dialectic, provoking it to react at moments of crisis. This was perhaps a specific characteristic of the Aragonese dynasty, with its explicitly anti-baronial ideology which therefore looked favourably on municipal freedoms.[72] It is also the case that the Aragonese monarchs looked after their domanial towns and cities and oversaw the operation of hybrid municipal governance which brought together as participants members of the aristocracy and of other social groups (we have seen how this provision was introduced by the duke of Calabria in the renewal

72 Storti 2014.

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of the statutes of the domanial towns of Stilo, Cosenza, Reggio and Catanzaro but the same is also true of L'Aquila and Giovinazzo).[73]

Yet the fundamental factor is another. When urban political conflict, in its complex manifestations and with its interconnections with other powers, is seen as part of an organic whole, it becomes hard to say whether it is the monarchy and the barons who are exploiting factions in the cities and towns or whether it is the citizens who are using monarchical and feudal institutions in the pursuit of their own aims. It is our conviction that the game being played among these different forces was one between equal contenders. The power of the king was undoubtedly vast and pervasive, and the monarchs attempted to control and direct factions but it should not be forgotten that in the period of Ferrante's succession the rebellion of the towns and cities signalled what was almost the fall of the monarchy or that when one faction prevailed over another in a single city such as L'Aquila or Cosenza this could determine the loss of an entire province.[74] As for the barons, it is true that they were able to infiltrate themselves into municipal politics but they were precluded from control of the towns unless they formed part of the local nobility. Future research will shed more light on these interwoven forces and interests; in our present state of knowledge we can emphasize once more that in the 15th century the dialectic of opposing factions both within urban centres and outside them is a fundamental constituent of the Neapolitan state—as the monarchical authorities were very well aware. This can be seen clearly in the oath sworn to the king by a public official, Maffeo Brancia, on the day he was installed as captain of the fortress in Bitonto:

> I will guard and watch over […]. the castle […] of Bitonto, for you, most serene King […] and I shall do this […] loyally, not intervening to favour, aid, or support any of the factions of this town, nor of its neighbours and their inhabitants, attending solely to the tranquillity and welfare […] of the republic of [Bitonto].[75]

Brancia's oath is a significant piece of evidence both for its institutional acknowledgement of factions within a town and, in particular, for the clear dis-

73 Terenzi 2010; de Ninno 1880, 48.

74 Storti 2000, 326–334.

75 "terrò e guarderò […] il castello […] di Bitonto, per voi, serenissimo Re […] e questo farò […] lealmente e non mi intrometterò in favore, aiuto o sostegno di nessuno dei partiti della detta terra, né dei vicini e abitanti di quella, ma solamente attenderò a quello che sia il bene e tranquillità […] della repubblica di quella terra." Messer 1912, 166.

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tinction it draws between royal power and urban political spaces. Nonetheless, the very dynamics which produced this state of affairs would contribute to its extinguishment. In the early decades of the 16th century, factional conflict in the towns and cities of the Kingdom and the political dynamics which accompanied it unexpectedly disappeared.

The peace within its walls which was celebrated in Benevento in 1530 after two centuries of feuding was mentioned above. An analogous event took place in Giovinazzo in Puglia. Here, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, after a brutal intensification of political conflict, a perpetual peace was signed between the popular party led by the Rizzi and their aristocratic opponents headed by the Zurlo.

The chroniclers commented on this epilogue: "It came about that the Catholic king gave Molfetta and Giovinazzo to his sister, queen Giovanna, the wife of the late king Ferrante the first [and] in changing condition their way of life also changed and factions were set aside in order to attend to more important matters".[76] A laconic and banal explanation—but one which, on a closer reading, secretly contains all the reasons for that sudden transformation and could indeed serve as a general interpretative model.

The dialectic of factionalism vanished in Giovinazzo as in the other cities and towns of southern Italy because the monarchy in Naples, which had regulated and mediated factional struggles, left the stage while the feudal establishment, fragmented but with their power reinforced, gathered round a king outside the Kingdom and his delegates within it, transforming the old fiduciary relationship with his subjects. It was already the case that Ferdinand the Catholic was no longer a natural sovereign but now under the Habsburgs the distance between the cities and monarchical authority became unbridgeable and the political dialectic impracticable. The ancient opposition of pro-French and pro-Aragonese supporters, which ever since the Sicilian Vespers had been the principal context for political conflict in the Kingdom's towns and cities, no longer had any meaning under an imperial regime which grew in stability and power throughout Italy and Europe, transforming southern Italy in the process into just one of its many peripheral regions.

Yet it would be mistaken to think that the political experiences described here, which, with their deep roots in the urban social context, had been capable of orchestrating the actions of thousands of citizens, left no trace at all.

76 "Successe ch'il re Cattolico donò Molfetta e Iovenazzo alla sua sorella regina Ioanna moglie fu del re Ferrante primo mutando stato si mutò vivere e si lasciarono li partiti, e si attese a cose di più importanza". de Ninno 1880, 52.

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The idea that they just disappeared, from the point of view of how we rationally interpret the sequence of historical events, is highly implausible and is opposed to the very nature of socio-political process. It is more probable that these experiences continued to be manifested in different ways. This would seem to be the conclusion which emerges from recent studies of banditry in southern Italy and in the rest of the peninsula in the 16th century, which suggest that the phenomenon cannot simply be ascribed, as is generally the case, to popular discontent or common delinquency, but had a quasi-political function connected to the urban context and to different social classes. There is moreover a close connection between banditry and banishment from the community, which, as we have seen, was one of the principal expressions of urban political struggle throughout the Kingdom.[77] In addition, it was noted more than thirty years ago how the ferocious revolts against the barons which punctuated the course of the 16th century and in which so many towns and cities in southern Italy participated were not exclusively popular uprisings as well as how often they coincided with specific phases of the Franco-Spanish conflict.[78] It is possible therefore that in the future, as a result of advances in studies of the medieval period, the social analysis of that category of individuals known as bandits at the beginning of the early modern period—and of those obscure phases of local history which saw the rise of factions favourably disposed or opposed to these controversial figures—might reveal interesting connections and unsuspected combinations.

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77 Gaudioso 2005.

78 De Frede 1984, 9–83.

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CHAPTER 10

Jews, *Conversos*, and *Cristiani Novelli* in the Kingdom of Naples

David Abulafia

In memory of Cesare Colafemmina

∴

The Jewish presence in the cities of southern Italy was a constant feature of urban life from late antiquity to the expulsions of the 16th century. It is reasonable to assume that the Jews comprised up to 5 per cent of the urban population during the central and late Middle Ages, though exact figures are only available for the period around 1500. Their occupations ranged widely from the textile industry, trade, and medicine to scholarly activities; they were scattered across a large area of the *Regno*, particularly in Naples itself and Puglia; they were accepted as part of the fabric of society, deeply rooted in the regions where they lived, even if they were distinctive by religion and legal status. Later, the arrival of the Spanish and Sicilian Jews around 1492 introduced a substantial non-native element into the region's Jewries; during the 15th century German Jews were also arriving in the Mezzogiorno. Throughout the Middle Ages this was a land of ethnic and religious diversity. A substantial Greek-speaking population persisted, though in declining numbers, throughout the period, with a major ecclesiastical base at Rossano, and the 15th century saw the arrival of Albanian and Greek refugees from the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans.[1] The Jews were, if anything, one of the more stable elements in this shifting population. This fact helped protect the Jews. They were not, as in northern Europe, outsiders who had been pushed to the margins of society, forced into unpopular occupations such as moneylending: Thomas Aquinas states that moneylending was not in his day their major occupation, though it increased in importance during the 15th century and became even more important in the

1 Selleri 2019, 83–109; Mazur 2013a, 215–234. See Montuori in this volume.

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early 16th century. Rather, they were another distinctive group among the many in medieval southern Italy, even if their special relationship with the Crown distinguished them from other groups.

The arrival in 1442 of Alfonso of Aragon as conqueror of Naples posed little threat to the Jews of southern Italy. The last-but-one Angevin ruler of Naples, Giovanna II, whose heir Alfonso professed to be, had generally shown sympathy for the Jews, although she briefly fell under the spell of a leading anti-Jewish preacher, Giovanni da Capestrano. René of Anjou actively protected the Jews of Provence, and there is no reason to suppose that he adopted a different policy during his brief period in control of Naples.[2] The guarantees that Giovanna II gave to the Jews of their right to live in peace provided a firm base for the policies of the new Aragonese dynasty; *condotte* were issued in favour of Jewish bankers. The arrival of Jewish moneylenders from central Italy (and even from Germany), such as Ligucio di Dattolo's family in Abruzzo or the Jewish settler at Cosenza, Mosé de Gauy da Cesena, shifted the emphasis in royal taxation. In June 1452 Alfonso confirmed the right of the south Italian Jews to lend at interest, following the payment of a fee of 1,000 ducats.[3] Moneylending grew in importance, but was by no means the sole occupation of Jewish *regnicoli*. Whereas in northern and central Italy, Jewish moneylenders were generally granted time-limited *condotte* rather than permanent rights of residence, the Aragonese kings of Naples regarded the Jews as an integral part of their subject population, reflecting the fact that moneylenders were a minority among the south Italian Jews.

The art lay in taxing the Jews sufficiently to keep the king's finances afloat, without destroying the wealth of the Jewish communities, and here long experience in Aragon and Catalonia ensured that a balance was achieved. In 1464 the Jews of Naples, Aversa, and Capua complained to King Ferrante that the *vigesime* demanded of them were so oppressive that many would simply have to emigrate. The king decided that this was against everyone's interest: the Jews must be treated *humanamente*. But when the Turks attacked Otranto in 1480–1481 Jews all over the Kingdom were obliged to render substantial sums, 2,600 ducats from Calabria alone. An enormous sum, supposedly 80,000 ducats, was apparently levied by Alfonso II when Charles VIII entered Italy.

In 1468 King Ferrante assured the Jews that they could enjoy the same rights and privileges where they lived as the Christians; later the Jews were promised that extraordinary taxes imposed on the Christians would not be levied

2 Iancu 1998.

3 Ferorelli 1990; Colafemmina 2012, doc. 379, 435 (Moyses de Gauy was a supporter of the Aragonese against Charles VIII in 1497).

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automatically on the Jews; "let them be free and exempt [from taxes]" (*siano franchi et exempti*) so that "they may always be free, secure, protected, and exempt" (*semper moveant franchi, liberi, securi, tuti et exempti*). The Jews paid their own extraordinary taxes that the king chose to impose on them. The fundamental principle was that the monarchy had possession of the Jewish communities, and expressed its control through its decisions about when, where, and how much to tax the Jews. New research by Vincenzo Selleri suggests that this was a new development, and that the separation of Jewish from general taxation was disputed by many cities.[4] Christians constantly demanded contributions from the Jews to special taxes, keeping the government busy with instructions to observe Jewish exemptions. There are examples of coercion of Calabrian Jews at Nicotera in 1453, at Mileto in 1455, at Squillace and Catanzaro in 1490 and 1491. Such disputes created tension between Jews and Christians and generated popular animosity.[5] The problem was that separate taxation and total exemption from taxation were not by any means the same thing. Seeking popular support after the French invasion, King Federico decreed in 1497 that Jews were henceforth to pay the hearth tax of 15 *carlini* just like Christians.[6]

The Jews knew that they were safest when they lay under the direct authority of the king. In 1465, King Ferrante promised to retain direct authority over all Jewish communities, though in some of the provincial cities the royal administration found itself in competition with local bishops whose ancient rights over the Jews, often stretching back at least as far as Norman times, still existed, as at Trani.[7] The positive disposition of the Aragonese kings, especially Ferrante I, towards the Jews certainly reflects an awareness of their productivity. Giuseppe Petralia has summarized this outlook by stating: "Jews represented money for the king" (*gli ebrei erano per il re moneta*).[8] But they had other uses: privileges conferring the right to practice medicine were granted to several Jewish doctors, such as Abramo de Balmes. The most successful physicians received exceptional privileges, such as Neapolitan citizenship, offered in 1479 to David Calonimos of Bari and his family, along with exemption from a wide range of commercial taxes; such rights were especially valuable for someone who would need to import several of his drugs. David Calonimos also sought to exercise his

4 Selleri 2019.
5 Selleri 2017, 1–22.
6 Ferrante 1979, 131–184.
7 Colafemmina, 1992, 279–303.
8 Petralia 1996, 79–114.

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art in Bari, for in 1498 he requested the Sforza duke of Bari to confer on him the same special rights in Bari that he already possessed in Naples.

Alongside this elite profession, Jews were involved in the widest range of economic activities. In Puglia, Jewish advance purchases lubricated the trade in cereals and oil; Jews acted as intermediaries with Florentines and Venetians in Lecce and elsewhere. Increasingly, however, Jews were seen as a source of credit; in Abruzzo Jews who did not lend money were exempt from taxes on the grounds that they must be indigent. A major factor in demand for loans was the periodic shortage of specie in western Europe; the Dalmatian writer Benedetto Cotrugli states that barter became increasingly widespread among merchants in southern Italy.

Naples emerged as a great centre of Hebrew printing. Its presses were managed by German as well as south Italian Jews, and the Jews also played a significant role in the south Italian book trade as a whole. One reason was that books were often used in medieval Europe as a gage in loans. A moneylender could end up with a pile of books of which he wanted to dispose. The monarchy recognized the profitability of the printing industry; in 1491 Davit Bono, a Jew from Naples and a "bookseller" (*mercator librorum de stampa*), received a royal privilege allowing him to take his books for sale throughout and beyond the Kingdom, free from customs duties. The Hebrew books printed in southern Italy were often massive and expensive. The first Hebrew book known to have been printed in southern Italy was the commentary on the Pentateuch (*Torah*) written by the medieval French rabbi Rashi, a text for which there was always strong demand. The initiative passed by the mid-1480's to the German family of Joseph ben Jacob Gunzenhausen. His output included printed texts of the books of *Job*, *Chronicles* and *Proverbs*, all in 1486. In 1489, he was joined in Naples by Joshua Solomon Soncino, an established printer from Soncino in northern Italy, who had transferred his business to the supposed safety of the Italian south; his first book appears to have been a prayer-book according to the Sephardi [Spanish] liturgy.[9]

The range of books produced went some way beyond religious texts. The *Makre Dardeke* (Teacher of Children) consisted of glosses of biblical Hebrew words in Italian and Arabic, though each language was printed in Hebrew characters. Not surprisingly, given the presence of successful Jewish physicians in the *Regno*, medical texts, including a Hebrew translation of the Arabic *Canon* of Avicenna, figure prominently. Although all the books cited so far were aimed at Jewish readers, there was some interaction with Christian printers, which is

9 Bloch 1942, 489–514; Frattarolo 1956.

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hardly surprising, bearing in mind the role of Jews as booksellers. A Hebrew Bible was printed in Naples in 1488 using woodcuts prepared for the workshop of the Christian printer Francesco del Tuppo; he had used these images for an edition of Aesop's *Fables* printed in 1485. No one seems to have minded that among del Tuppo's woodcuts there were images of the pagan god Cupid.[10]

The openness of Jewish scholarship to the wider world of learning varied between the narrower and more rigorous perspective of the German Jews (Ashkenazim) and the broader vision of the Iberian Jews (Sephardim); Italy became a meeting point for these diverse Jewish cultures. Isaac Abravanel, the courtier of Ferdinand and Isabella, brought his library to Naples when he left Spain in 1492, but it was destroyed soon afterwards, during the French invasion of Naples in 1495. Abravanel was typical of high Sephardi culture, with his knowledge of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca, but his value to the royal court was as a financial adviser rather than as a scholar. He remained in the south of Italy for another seven and a half years, but under Venetian protection as a resident of Monopoli, one of the Puglian towns that had been ceded to the Venetians by the Aragonese rulers at the time of the French invasion.[11] He had already written in his commentary on *Kings*, written while serving the Aragonese kings of Naples, that "the existence of a king is not at all essential for a people"; his favourite constitution, he said, was that of Venice, "a princess among the nations".[12]

The Jews of southern Italy were not immune from the pressures that afflicted their brethren in Spain and northern Italy in the late 15th century. As early as 1463, while Ferrante was still trying to establish his claim to rule, the Jewish quarters of Bari and Lecce had been put to the sack (there were no walled ghettoes in the *Regno*, so areas mainly inhabited by Jews were easily accessible). The years after the ritual murder accusation of 1475, at Trent in the far north, were difficult ones for the Jews of all Italy. The next twenty years saw constant demands to expel the Jews, for instance at Ravenna in 1491 and Florence in 1494. The Trent case produced ripples as far south as Abruzzo. Frate Gaspare, a Dominican, travelled through the towns of Abruzzo in 1491 to deliver his message *contra hebreos*; Ferrante ordered the towns that had listened to Gaspare and passed edicts against the Jews to revoke those measures.[13]

10 Frojmović 1996, 87–109.
11 Cohen and Skalli 2020.
12 Abulafia 1998, 35–53.
13 Bonazzoli 1979, 495–559.

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The contrast between Ferdinand II of Aragon, 'the Catholic', who in 1492 decreed the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Sicily and Sardinia, and his cousin Ferrante I of Naples is striking. In 1476 Ferrante expressed his very positive verdict on the Jews: "We, however, love and delight in those same Jews, each and every one of them; and we have always shown and will show favour and support towards those same Jews, each and every one of them" (*nos tamen ipsos iudeos et quemlibet ipsorum amamus atque diligimus, et ipsis iudeis et cuilibet eorum favori et auxilio semper fuimus et erimus*).

Ferrante eagerly welcomed the Spanish exiles into his Kingdom. In addition, many Sicilian Jews, expelled at the end of 1492 under similar orders from Ferdinand and Isabella, headed northwards in search of asylum. Reggio became the home to large groups of Jews from eastern Sicily, such as the exiles from Syracuse. Ferrante assured the refugees that they could enjoy the same privileges as the *antiqui*, and that they would be treated exactly as if they were natives of the *Regno*. One motive is clear from the king's insistence that his officials should record not merely how many Jews had arrived and from where their ship had come, but "what craft or trade" the head of each household practised (*de che artificio o mercancia sia*). Conscious of the threat to public order if large numbers of Jews arrived in towns where trouble had occurred in the past, the king solemnly forbade any act of violence to be committed against them; they must "live under the protection of the aforesaid sovereign" (*vivere soptu la protepcione de la prefata Maiestà*).[14] In Portugal a time-limit was placed on the Jewish refugees from Spain, but Ferrante had no intention of imposing one in southern Italy. Their contribution to the economy was intended to be a permanent one, as artisans and merchants.

The newly arrived Jews therefore did not find it easy to establish themselves in several towns. At Pozzuoli there already existed a small Jewish community in 1489; but, as numbers increased, the city authorities ordered their expulsion from the town in January 1493. The Crown countermanded this order; but the attitude of the *universitas* of Pozzuoli was symptomatic of wider attitudes, including the accusation that the Spanish Jews had brought plague into the Kingdom. Meanwhile, a political storm was gathering that would remain over southern Italy for decades. The short reign of Alfonso II saw no significant change in royal policy towards the Jews, but outrages continued to occur in every corner of the *Regno*: in Salerno, at Lecce, at Altomonte, at San Severino. Royal commands to respect the rights of the Jews were ignored at Bari, Bitonto, Tricarico. The reality was that "the rumour spread before the arrival of the

14 Abulafia 2000, 82–106.

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French king that [Jewish houses] were to sacked" (*se spase la fama innante la venuta de re de Francza che li iudei deveano essere sacchizati*). A few days before Charles's army reached Naples, in February 1495, the Jews of Naples found themselves under attack from Christian inhabitants of the city, who sacked the Jewish quarter. As the news came of the fall of Naples to Charles VIII's troops on 22 February 1495, attacks intensified. At Lecce the crowd shouted "let the Jews die or become Christians" (*moiarono, moiarono li iudei, hover se facciano cristiani*), and raided the synagogue. In the whole of Puglia, enormous damage was done: fiscal records of the next few years allude constantly to the poverty of the Jews, and their inability to pay taxes. The Calabrian banker Jacopo de Angelo di Cosenza had become "extremely poor because his goods had been plundered" (*poverissimo per essere stato sacchizato*). Occasionally there are signs, as at Barletta, that Jewish pawnbroking was one of the issues stimulating hatred: there the Jews were frightened enough to destroy their records of debts owed to them, but failed to return pawned items, resulting in an appeal to Charles VIII to expel the Barlettan Jews "because they are the enemies of the Christians and would set a bad example for those who have recently converted to Christianity" (*actento sono nemici de cristiani et dariano mal esempio ad alcuni quali sono facti novamente cristiani*). But the new government, no doubt to the amazement of the Barlettan Christians, forbade anyone to be expelled. Whether mass conversions took place in 1495, and on what scale, is not clear. If so, this would have been the result of popular pressure; Charles VIII had other things on his mind.[15]

Perhaps the worst feature of these years, for the Jews as for many other *regnicoli*, was the sheer uncertainty of their position, the constant oscillation in government as the Aragonese returned, the French invaded again, and the Spanish finally took over. For fifty years the Jews had benefited from the continued existence of an autonomous Aragonese government that not merely respected their privileges but extended them. After 1494, even the Aragonese became less enthusiastic in their support for the Jews, seeing them as a liability, because the house of Aragon was now desperate to win back the loyalty of the south Italian majority. Moreover, the Crown regarded them as less of an asset than before because much of their wealth had been expropriated or destroyed. In his will, Alfonso II expressed doubts over the great generosity of his and his father's privileges to the Jews. Ferrandino's return to Naples after the departure of the French, in July 1495, did not lead to an immediate improvement in the status of the Jews. The Venetian governor of Monopoli expropriated the money and goods of the Jewish community. In 1496 the last Aragonese king of

15 Zeldes 2019, 227–262.

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Naples, Federico, approved the expulsion of the Jews from the capital, hoping to appease his Christian subjects at a time of immense turmoil; within a few months, however, his policy went into sharp reverse, and generous privileges were extended to the Jews of Calabria and Puglia, while those of Naples were allowed to remain in peace. Nonetheless, the evidence from Calabria suggests that there were considerable numbers of *Cristiani novelli* who had only very recently converted, in the turmoil of the French invasion and the Aragonese recovery.[16] Federico clearly felt that he had now gained charge of his realm.

Around 1500 the south of Italy was one of the few areas of western Europe in which Jews could carry on their business and practise their religion with few impediments, and in which they enjoyed many of the rights of the general population. But soon after gaining control of the Kingdom of Naples the Catholic Monarchs resolved to expel the Jews:

> You already know for how many years we have ordered the expulsion from all our Kingdoms of all the Jews who lived there, to excuse the offences to our Lord that derived from their presence; and, as we do not wish there to be any Jews in any part of our kingdom, much less so in that Kingdom [of Naples], we seek to clean it of all the things which offend our Lord, and command that, in due time, you will take measures to expel all the Jews from the said Kingdom [Barcelona, 11 July 1503].[17]

Despite its severity, this letter permitted the viceroy to decide the right moment for expulsion; and thereafter expulsion decrees were repeatedly deferred or modified by viceroys with their own local priorities. The first viceroy, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, had defended the Jews of Córdoba from their enemies as a young man, and made use of a Jewish physician, Joseph Abravanel, in Naples. Gonzalo insisted that the number of Jews in southern Italy was not large, while there were many *convertiti* who were a much more important issue (they were often called *Marrani* in Italy). In fact, the Jewish population had risen considerably in 1492–1493, though it may have fallen back after the con-

16 Colafemmina 2012, docs. 384–385 and 387–391, 437–446.

17 "Ya sabe quantos años ha que mandamos echar de todos nuestros reynos los iudios, que en ellos havia, per escusar las offensas de Nuestro Señor, que se seguian de su estada dellos; y, porque no queremos que haya iudios en ninguna parte de nuestros reynos, y mucho meños en aquel reyno, querriamos trabajar de alimpiarle de todas las cosas que offendan a nuestro Señor, yle mandamos que, quando el viere que sea tiempo, provea en echar todos los iudios de dicho reyno." Ruíz Martín 1949, 28–76 and 179–240; Paladino 1913, 616.

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versions of 1495. In addition, *El Gran Capitán* undermined his case by arguing that the expulsion of the Jews would damage the economy, since many would take their skills and assets to Venetian territories.[18] Here and there, individual towns expelled their Jews; but Ferdinand the Catholic actually ended up confirming the privileges conferred on the Jews by Ferrante and his successors, beginning in 1504. In May 1507 the Neapolitans asked for a series of guarantees for the Jews, and in December 1508 the crown's protection was conferred once again on native and Spanish Jews in the *Regno*. One motive was to ensure that Jewish bankers recovered their old debts, a substantial portion of which would then be turned over to the royal fisc, which was always short of funds.[19]

Ferdinand still intended to expel the Jews, but he was reluctantly willing to tolerate the presence of Jews so long as it was finite in time, and this marked a clear break with the policies of King Ferrante. Ferdinand expressed fury at the procrastination of his Neapolitan subjects, and indeed his viceroys, over the expulsion of the Jews.[20] Yet Ferdinand was more ready to compromise this policy than is often realized. He had already refused to include the Muslims of Valencia in the religious purification of Spain; after its conquest in 1509, Jewish families were allowed to linger in Oran and even acted as agents and ambassadors of the Crown (a time limit was imposed by Charles V, but renewed again and again until 1669), and Ferdinand explicitly permitted Jews to live in Mostaganem and Mazagán after their conquest in 1511.[21] In 1506 Ferdinand insisted that the Jews of Naples must wear "the sign of the red circle on pain of a fine of ten *once*" (*lo signo del tundo rosso a la pena de onze dece*). But this policy proved unenforceable, and by early 1509 the penalty was reduced to one *oncia*.[22] This pragmatism re-emerged when the Jews were ordered out of southern Italy by the viceroy Ramon de Cardona in 1510; as a reward for accepting this decree, the south Italians were assured that the Inquisition, to which there was intense hostility, would withdraw from the *Regno*.[23] The majority of the Jews scattered towards northern and central Italy and the Balkans, but two hundred Jewish families were allowed to stay, subject to payment of a 3,000 ducat annual tribute.[24]

18 Bonazzoli 1981, 180–181.

19 Ruíz Martín, 1949, 40–44; Bonazzoli 1981, 183, 186.

20 Dauverd 2019, 138.

21 Meyerson, 1991; Schaub 1999; Abulafia 2006; Devereux 2020, 112–113.

22 Bonazzoli 1981, 184.

23 Colafemmina 2012, doc. 476, 552–556; on the effects in Gravina (Puglia), see Colafemmina 1991, 24–28.

24 Colafemmina 2012, doc. 477, 556–558, correcting Ferorelli 1990, 213–214; cf. Paladino 1913, 619.

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In a situation where he had been assured by the viceroy that the Jews were few in number while the *Conversos* were numerous, Ferdinand felt bound to concentrate on the latter. The expulsion from southern Italy was supposed to include *Conversos* who had fled from the Spanish Inquisition. In Puglia, *Marrani* were accused of holding incestuous orgies on Good Friday and other acts of sacrilege. Thus they too were ordered to leave in 1510, an act which was never undertaken in Spain itself, because it was thought that the Inquisition could deal with them by other means (how many actually left is doubtful).[25] By contrast, in southern Italy the expulsion of the *Conversos* was presented as a way of dealing with the problem of Judaizing heretics, which would avoid the deeply unpopular measure of introducing the Inquisition. The expulsion of the *Conversos* was not confined to suspect Spanish refugees. As will be seen, it appears that the ancient *Cristiani novelli* or *neofiti* of Puglia were also affected. The exact balance between the different groups of New Christians is impossible to determine.

The long land border with the Papal States meant that the *Regno* was not hermetically sealed. A trickle of Jewish immigrants can be detected after 1510, and it grew into a wave: at Lanciano Jews were permitted to attend the annual fairs; Jews arrived in the Puglian ports from Dubrovnik in 1515 after a local expulsion; meanwhile the towns insisted that they needed their Jews back—in 1520 the citizens of Naples warned the Crown of "their great need for the Jews'" (*il bisogno grandissimo che teneno de li hebrei*).[26] In Puglia, Christian usurers filled the gap left by the Jews; but they showed far less consideration to their clients. Among communities which re-emerged around the time of Ferdinand's death in 1516 were those of Lecce, Taranto, Otranto, Brindisi, Sulmona, Castrovillari, Ostuni, and Nardò. In Bari, Jews were engaged in financial business of various sorts by 1518, enjoying equable relations with Christian business partners; in January 1519 a canon of San Nicola di Bari declared that he owed a debt of 24 *tarí* to the Jew Garzone Zizo, covering the cost of silver objects he had acquired.[27] So long as wealthy Jewish families existed legitimately in the *Regno*, it was impossible to prevent the return of other Jews to the Kingdom. The protection, explicit or tacit, of the viceroys, and their close relations with the Abravanel family, meant that a minor Renaissance of Jewish settlement occurred.

A royal edict of Charles V, of 23 November 1520, based on Ferrante's privileges, confirmed the right of those Jews who lived in the *Regno* to live there and trade, open banks or lend money during the next five years, subject to a tribute of 1,500 ducats per annum; this was a smaller tribute than the one paid

25 Bonnazoli 1981, 190 and 193; Ruíz Martín 1949, 74–75.

26 Ferorelli 1990, 220; Bonazzoli 1981, 204.

27 Colafemmina 1981, 64–66, docs. 37–38.

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in the past by a much larger community (often set at 3,000 ducats), but the amount became the subject of hard bargaining in later years.[28] Charles therefore placed a time limit on Jewish residence in the Kingdom, as in the north Italian *condotte*. Since many of the Jews who had been allowed to stay after 1510 had been reduced to poverty and found it difficult to pay the tribute, forty or fifty more Jewish families were to be allowed to enter the Kingdom; these included German and other Jews with no ancestry in the *Regno*, further shifting the demography of the Jewish community and further strengthening the emphasis on moneylending. According to the viceroy Ramón de Cardona, the expulsion of 1510 had caused greater ills than the retention of the Jews would have done; Christians had turned to moneylending at peril to their souls—the absence of Jews was a greater threat to Christianity than their presence.

Another viceroy, Pedro de Toledo, condemned the Jews in 1533 for their failure to reach [*il*] *cognoscimento de la verità*. He claimed that the reason the monarchy had permitted the Jews to remain was the expectation of their conversion. Don Pedro was not uniformly hostile to Jews: Isaac Abravanel's son kept him supplied with funds, and Samuel's wife Benvenida was esteemed at court for her learning. In 1533–1534 Samuel vigorously presented the case for Jews to be allowed to remain. Don Pedro promised that the Jews could remain for ten more years; but the next eight years saw constant attempts to increase pressure, raising their annual tribute to 2,000 ducats and tightening the regulations for running loan banks. Jewish men were ordered to wear a red or yellow beret.[29] Short of money, the rulers of Naples held on to the Jews; Charles V's expedition to Tunis in 1535 was partly funded by Jewish loans. The emperor was trying to raise money to pay for 25 galleys, and Pedro de Toledo argued that recourse should be had to *los gudíos*. At the same time, popular suspicion of the Jews as secret agents of the Turks became widespread. The continuing economic importance of the Puglian Jews can be detected in 400 entries in six notarial registers from Bari between January 1540 and August 1541. Loans might be used to enable a Christian to buy Abruzzese saffron, Calabrian linens, or Venetian woolen cloth.[30] It is clear from these records that the number of Jews had grown steadily after the selective expulsion of 1510.

By the middle of 1541 the main item of business was the recovery of debts, as the Jews of Bari gave up hope of remaining.[31] Charles V was the most eminent debtor of the Jews, mainly to Samuel Abravanel, so the Abravanels were

28 Ferorelli 1990, 221.

29 Bonazzoli 1981; Paladino 1913, 620–622.

30 Colafemmina et al. 1981, 109, doc. 97; 118, doc. 143, p. 118; 120, doc. 120.

31 Ferorelli, 1990, 228; Colafemmina et al. 1981, 91–167.

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permitted to remain for another two years, until the king could pay back what he owed. Interestingly, in at least one notarial act the possibility that the Jews might return to southern Italy within the next three years was mooted. After so many false starts, and after so much criticism of Christian moneylenders, the Jews thought they might yet be allowed back, in the same way that they had been welcomed, expelled, and welcomed back in some north Italian towns. Therefore, what was perhaps most surprising to everybody was that after forty years of failing to decide to expel the Jews, expulsion was firmly and irrevocably decreed by 31 October 1541.[32] Thereafter the occasional Jewish businessman was permitted to enter the *Regno*: Jews attended the Lanciano fairs in 1543.[33] Despite occasional reports of crypto-Judaism in southern Italy, especially around 1570, the overt practice of Judaism only remained possible north of the border between the *Regno* and the Papal States. Inquisitors and officials continued to identify *Marrani* who practised Judaism (in one case supposedly worshipping the Sun) or were guilty of usury; but the Inquisition's attention became increasingly focused on Protestants, following Charles V's insistence that the 'Lutheran heresy' must be exterminated. Interestingly, Charles did not expel the Jews from Germany.

Changes in finance and the economy had deprived the Jews of their value as a source of loans and income both to the government and to the wider population. New sources of funds promised better results (as had happened in England when the Italian bankers had displaced the Jews in the 13th century); the Jews became superfluous and, as Céline Dauverd has ably demonstrated, the Genoese propped up state finances in southern Italy, as elsewhere in the Habsburg world. Small loans to *regnicoli* were increasingly provided by the *Monti di Pietà*.[34] As in much of northern and central Italy, the *Monti* made it possible for loans to be advanced on terms acceptable to the Church and the government.[35] Even if the origins of the *Banco di Napoli* were more complex than these remarks imply, the proximity of the traditional date for its foundation, 1539, to the date of the departure of the last Jews is significant. However, as will become clear, there were other bankers of Jewish descent who became increasingly important within the *Regno* and the rest of the Habsburg Empire—the Portuguese Marranos.

The Jews had managed to remain in the Kingdom of Naples because a combination of circumstances in their favour—financial need arising from the

32 Bonazzoli 1981, 281.

33 Ferorelli 1990, 237; Marciani 1963, 167–196.

34 Di Meglio 2018, 55–70.

35 Ruíz Martín, 1949, 228–229; Dauverd 2019, 133–154; Dauverd 2020, 64–102.

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Turkish threat, support for a Jewish presence in some quarters, a favourable outlook by at least one viceroy, a willingness to leave incomplete the expulsion from the Spanish territories, even a sense that the expulsion from Spain and Sicily had been ill-advised—counterbalanced the negative aspects of the Jewish presence, as seen by their detractors: the link between Jews and *Converso* crypto-Judaism, the moral 'evil' of usury, the suspicion of sympathy for the Turks, the awareness that in virtually all other parts of the Spanish dominions Judaism had officially been expunged. This was an exceptionally fine balance, and in 1541 the scales became weighted against the Jews, and they were forced to make their way northwards and eastwards into renewed exile.

The history of the Jews in southern Italy also encompasses the history of Jewish converts to Christianity, whose role in the Kingdom's affairs extended beyond 1541. These converts fall into three groups: the *neofiti*, long established in Trani and other Puglian cities; the *Conversos*, who left Spain and Sicily around 1492, to escape the attention of the Inquisition; and a later influx of Portuguese *Marranos*. In each of these cases it is impossible to prove adherence across the generations to anything more than vestigial Jewish practices; but some of those of Jewish descent were attracted back to their ancestral religion long after their family had converted.

To understand the role of the Puglian New Christians, it is necessary to go back in time to the mass conversions that took place around 1290, when King Charles II, newly returned from captivity in Catalonia, and from his county of Anjou (from which he had expelled both the Jews and the Lombard bankers), decreed that all Jews must convert, leave, or die. This formed part of a programme of religious purification that included the suppression of the Muslim colony at Lucera in 1300. The forced conversions marked a decisive break with the policies of the Normans and the Hohenstaufen, and they seem to have been motivated by ritual murder accusations similar to those levelled nearly two hundred years later against the Jews of Trent. Somehow Judaism did survive and recover after the 1290's; in the early 14th century King Robert the Wise encouraged Majorcans to settle, and by the mid-15th century, as has been seen, there existed large and flourishing Jewish communities in cities right across the *Regno*.

The best evidence that conversions took place and left a residue of *Cristiani novelli* or *neofiti* can be found in the towns of Puglia, particularly Trani.[36] There, the *Scolagrande* (which became the church of Santa Anna) and the *Scolanova*,

36 Scheller 2009, 405–430; Scheller 2013.

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or 'the new synagogue', still stand as reminders of the longstanding presence of Jews in Trani before 1292. The *neofiti* by and large continued to inhabit the Jewish quarter of the town, the *Giudecca*, and this aroused the suspicion of the Inquisitors as early as 1311. By the late 15th century, just under half of the property they owned was to be found in the *Giudecca*, with just over half elsewhere. In the face of accusations that they were Judaizing heretics, they appealed to Pope Eugenius IV (1431–1447) in 1446, insisting that they were loyal Christians; the pope was sympathetic.

In 1413 King Ladislaus reformed the city council that governed Trani; the city was to be governed by eight nobles, six *populares* and two *neofiti*. Under Alfonso the Magnanimous and Ferrante, the concord broke down and the *neofiti* became the target of campaigns to exclude them from public office; their enemies insisted that they had never abandoned Jewish practices, and they migrated to Barletta until King Ferrante intervened in their favour. He initiated a further reform of the government of Trani, in which power was shared equally among patricians, plebeians, and *mercatores*. As Benjamin Scheller has shown, these *mercatores* were predominantly *neofiti*. They formed a tight group who mainly did business with one another, and who inter-married with one another, whether because of social exclusion or because some may have maintained secret Jewish practices. This reform fits well with Ferrante's policy of building an alliance across the *Regno* with the merchant class, as well as his tolerance of Jews. Meanwhile they had ascended the social ladder, acquiring such titles as *egregius mercator* and *nobilis vir*. The *neofiti* continued to play a role in the government of the city until the end of the century, when local tensions led to their expulsion.

Suspicion of the *Cristiani novelli* prompted the humanist Antonio De Ferrariis (an early member of the Accademia Pontaniana) to pen his tract *De Neofitis*, in which he defended the *neofiti*, arguing that the Jews were in fact "the most virtuous and just among the barbarians," better suited to Christianity than any other people.[37] His motive in writing this tract was to support the Duke of Nardò, who wanted his son to marry a woman of Jewish descent. Back in Spain, Ferdinand of Aragon appears to have been confused about who the south Italian *Marrani* were—members of long converted families, or recent Spanish immigrants? As a result, the *neofiti* were caught up in the expulsions of 1510, though how many left the *Regno* is uncertain: Tristano Caracciolo (1439–1517) and the Notar Giacomo spoke of the departure of all the *neofiti* of Puglia and Calabria, and the former does not even mention the Jews, but Jéronimo

37 On Galateo see Cappelli, Iacono, and Miletti in this volume.

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Zurita (1512–1580) thought that the decree only applied to recent converts in southern Italy from the time of the French invasion, and Spanish *conversos* who had arrived in and after 1492.[38]

The third group of New Christians in southern Italy consisted of Spanish and Portuguese *conversos* who settled in the Kingdom of Naples under Spanish rule, and in several cases occupied important positions at court.[39] They too closed ranks; they married and often conducted business among themselves, thus creating boundaries around themselves, even though they were anxious to avoid being defined as a distinct group. The most powerful *Conversos* enjoyed the protection of the viceroys, who were not willing to lose their skills in finance and administration; indeed, as Peter Mazur and Céline Dauverd have shown, they sometimes acted as financial and commercial intermediaries between Castile and Naples. Among the *Converso* families that achieved prominence in Naples during the reign of Charles V, that of Alfonso Sánchez (whose family had migrated from Zaragoza) stands out. He and his son became Treasurer-General of the Kingdom of Naples. Peter Mazur has observed that "it is difficult not to recognize in Sánchez (and then in his son) a sort of New Christian replacement for Abravanel." This mirrored what had happened in Spain after 1492, when *Conversos* slotted neatly into financial roles previously occupied by professing Jews; in both Spain and southern Italy, the *Conversos* formed a new *noblesse de robe*, offering administrative and financial skills that the ancient *noblesse d'épée* did not and could not provide. The Sánchez family acquired landed estates and aristocratic titles. Lesser offices were occupied by other *Conversos*: Baltazar Galzerano ran the customs house at Barletta, Galzerano Villagut was *razionale* of the *Sommaria*, and so on. The Villaguts made excellent marriage connections, including the Carafa family. Sometimes there were attempts to mask Jewish ancestry, as when Francesco Carafa, whose mother was a Villagut, denied Jewish connections in order to apply for membership of the Order of Santiago. Knowledge or suspicion of *Converso* origins could be utilized against unpopular officials. From 1567 onwards the Neapolitan Inquisition, modelled on that of Rome, began to arrest *Conversos*, many of whom were of Catalan descent, and a more concerted campaign against crypto-Judaism (if indeed it existed) was soon under way. Mazur writes of the "anti-Marrano fury of the 1570's," though it was often possible to elude the Inquisition through bribes, through political influence or through elaborate legal arguments.

38 Scheller 2013, 300; cf. Colafemmina 2012, 46–47.

39 Mazur 2013b; Dauverd 2019, 133–154; Dauverd 2020, 64–102.

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The *Converso* community grew in the early 17th century, as the Spanish monarchy encouraged Portuguese Marranos to enter the territories of the Spanish Crown—the attraction of the financial support that could be offered by this increasingly successful community could not be ignored, and the 'Portuguese Nation' began to replace the Genoese bankers who had given such valuable support to the Crown in the late 16th century. Peter Mazur considers that the *Conversos* were more successful in the Kingdom of Naples than Jews and *Conversos* were in Livorno or Venice; living in a Kingdom that contained a myriad of feudal estates, and that was closely integrated into the political world of the cash-strapped rulers of Habsburg Spain, they could seize any number of opportunities. One family, the Vaaz, reaped particularly valuable rewards, culminating in the acquisition of feudal estates that included the port of Mola di Bari in the early 17th century, a valuable outlet for the commerce in grain, which they increasingly dominated. In the mid-century, however, the Vaaz did become targets of the Inquisition and suffered disgrace. Most of the accusations against the Vaaz were motivated by resentment against their apparently inexorable rise to power and influence. Duarte Vaaz, who in 1661 admitted that he followed Jewish practices, had most probably rediscovered Judaism after many decades during which the family had lost contact with their ancestral faith. There were certainly *Marranos* who maintained, or turned back to, Jewish practices, but the focal points of their activities by this time were Amsterdam, London, and Hamburg.

The special relationship between the Crown and the Jews was perpetuated when the Crown came to the aid of the *neofiti* in Puglia, and again when *conversos* received the patronage of the 16th- and 17th-century viceroys. Some rulers, notably King Ferrante, had been genuinely well-disposed towards their Jewish subjects and to the *Cristiani novelli*. Those who were less sympathetic to Jews or *Cristiani novelli* could still see how advantageous their presence might be, from the perspective of government finances. However, even the renewal of Ferrante's privileges in the early 16th century was qualified by the imposition of a time limit on Jewish residence in the Kingdom; the Jews were now squatters rather than citizens, uncertain of whether they would be allowed to remain in southern Italy. The expulsion of the Jews by Ferdinand the Catholic did not leave the Kingdom free of Jews, and even the expulsion of 1541 could not prevent the *Conversos* from finding a place for themselves in the economic and political life of the *Regno di Napoli*.

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CHAPTER 11

Territorial and Urban Infrastructures: Ports, Roads, and Water Supply

Fulvio Lenzo

In the mid-15th century, Leon Battista Alberti in the preface to his *De re aedificatoria*, the first modern architectural treatise, claimed the primary role of architecture as the origin of all civilizations. Since cities, society, art, and culture could emerge only after wildness had been overcome, architecture was the starting point for every civilization and history, being the means by which humanity imposed its power over Nature.[1] "By cutting through rock"—Alberti writes—"by tunnelling through mountains or filling in valleys, by restraining the waters of the sea and lakes, and by drawing in marshes, through the building of ships, by altering the course and dredging the mouths of rivers, and through the construction of harbours and bridges, the architect has not only met the temporary needs of man, but also opened up new gateways to all provinces of the world".[2]

These ideas were the legacy of ancient authors who had praised the construction of infrastructure as the main task of architecture. In the 1st century BCE, the Greek historian and rhetorician Dionysius of Halicarnassus declared that "the three most magnificent works of Rome, in which the greatness of her empire is best seen, are the aqueducts, the paved roads and the construction of the sewers."[3] According to Strabo, Roman prudence was more particularly employed on matters which had received little attention from the Greeks, such as "paving their roads, constructing aqueducts, and sewers," and Cicero, for his part, wrote that it was more valuable to build aqueducts, ports, and city walls than any other buildings.[4]

In the early modern period, the remains of huge Roman infrastructures were still admired by humanists; their magnificence was still on display not only in Rome, but also in southern Italy, where many of them were clearly visible and

1 On the multiple implications of this notion in Alberti's thinking, see Tafuri 1992, 60 and the English translations in Tafuri 2006, 50.

2 Alberti (ed. Rykwert et al.) 1983, 3. See also Alberti (ed. Orlandi) 1966, 9–11.

3 *Dion. Hal. Ant.*, iii 67 5.

4 Cicero, *De Officiis*, II, 60. Strabo, 5.3.8.

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some structures were still performing the functions they had been built for.[5] In this chapter we will focus on the ports, roads, and aqueducts of the Kingdom of Naples between the 15th and 16th centuries. We will see how, rather than being most remarkable for their innovations presumed to be characteristic of the Renaissance, such works were notable for a continuity with antiquity and medieval times; even if they were less appealing in appearance than palaces or churches, they still acquired a literary renown, being celebrated in inscriptions, civic chronicles, and poems. In addition, although southern Italy contains many famous individual buildings, the enormous extent of the Kingdom, stretching from Sicily to Rome, made interventions in the territorial infrastructure take on even greater importance.

Travelling across Seas: Ports

The Kingdom of Naples occupied the southern portion of the Italian peninsula, jutting out into the centre of the Mediterranean with a coastline measuring about 2,500 km: it is quite obvious, therefore, that maritime connections played a pre-eminent role.[6] The main ports were in the Terra di Lavoro (Gaeta, Baia, Naples), Terra di Bari (Trani [fig. 26], Barletta, Bari) and Terra d'Otranto (Brindisi, Taranto).[7] The rest of the coast was served by a minor network of marinas and harbours used by medium-sized and small boats for trading agricultural and handcrafted products.[8] In mostly mountainous regions, such as Calabria and Abruzzi, even these short-distance maritime connections had a great importance for assuring the exchange of goods.[9]

Several ports in southern Italy had been famed since antiquity. A few of them had declined in importance, such as Pozzuoli, where, however, the ruined arched structures of the Roman pier—the so-called 'Bridge of Caligula'—continued to excite the admiration of Neapolitan and foreign architects (fig. 29).[10]

The natural port of Brindisi had been one of the most famous in antiquity: located at the eastern end of the Appian road, it was the link between Rome

5 Günther 2008.
6 Braudel (1949) 1995.
7 Simoncini 1993, 1–13.
8 Sirago 1993a; Sirago 1993b.
9 Figliuolo 2015. See Sakellariou in this volume.
10 Palladio 1570, 214; Fontana 1604, fol. 26r; Scamozzi 1615, 293, 295. See Spampanato 1926, 266–267; Buccaro 1993, 129–131.

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and the eastern provinces of the Empire. In medieval times it became a main point of departure for the Crusades, and it was from there that Frederick II embarked for the Holy Land.[11] It preserved its importance under Angevin rule, when Charles I built the dockyard, and in 1278 had a massive iron chain made which could be used to close the entrance to the port in case of necessity.[12] With the connection to Angevin Greece, the Dalmatian coast, Hungary, and Jerusalem assured, the port flourished but went into rapid decline after 1446 when Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo (1401–1463) deliberately obstructed its channel of communication with the open sea.[13] Yet its fame did not diminish and indeed expanded beyond the boundaries of the Kingdom. The Ottoman mapmaker Piri Reis (d. 1533) made a schematic representation of it, focusing on the exact location of the fortress and the appearance of the chain which was used to close access to the port.[14] The architect Andrea Palladio (1508–1580), a cultivated antiquarian, also became interested in the port, which he depicted in an elegant woodcut made for the new illustrated edition of Caesar's *Commentaries* published in Venice in 1575 (fig. 28).[15]

Palladio would later publish another etching of a port in southern Italy, the image of Taranto in antiquity, as one of the illustrations made for a new edition of the *Histories* of Polybius (fig. 27).[16] Taranto was a natural alternative to Brindisi for connections with the eastern Mediterranean, but unlike Brindisi it retained its importance during the 15th century, as demonstrated by a chronicle of 1444 which lists it among the leading cities of the Kingdom.[17] It was formally the capital, if not the residence, of the powerful Princes of Taranto, the Orsini Del Balzo, who in 1459 led the rebellion against Ferrante. After they were defeated and the city became part of the royal domain, fortifications and other facilities for the port were enhanced. Between 1481 and 1492 the castle was rebuilt and a new canal constructed between the town and the mainland, thus transforming it into an island.[18] It is worth noting that the information we

11 Sirago 2000.

12 Sirago 2000, 86–87. For chains enclosing ports, see Zorić 1989.

13 Della Monaca 1674, 52–66, 508–510; Pigonati 1781, 1, 3; Vacca 1956, 373–378; Sirago 2000, 89–90; Alaggio 2009, 227–245.

14 Baltimora, Walters Art Museum, manuscript W.658, fol. 205a. See Ventura 1988; Bausani 1990; Ventura 1991; Soucek 1992.

15 Caesar (ed. Palladio) 1575, plate between 204 and 205; Beltramini 2009b, 177–225, in particular 212, tav. 29.

16 Beltramini 2009b, 85–176, in particular 160–161, tav. 36. For a discussion of Palladio's illustration for modern editions of classical authors, ibid., 12–77.

17 Fouchard 1877, 744.

18 Porsia and Scionti 1989, 52–53, 55; Kassler-Taub 2019.

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have about this project comes from a literary source, the *De situ Japigae*, written around 1511 by the Puglian humanist Antonio de Ferraris, known as Galateo.[19] Galateo compared the plan of Taranto to the form of a ship and wrote that on the side of the town that corresponded to the poop Ferrante and his son and heir Alfonso had a canal (*fossa*) excavated which was wide enough to allow the passage of "long ships".[20]

Between 1487 and 1497 a similar feat of engineering was achieved not far from Taranto, in Gallipoli, where again a canal was constructed, which detached the town from the mainland and thus transformed it into an island.[21] Both these engineering exploits were part of a new and wider concern for fortifying the coastline of Puglia after the fall of Otranto to the Turks in 1480: this traumatic event triggered a large amount of fortification construction in almost every town along the coast.[22] After the danger had retreated, the feverish drive to renovate the ports and fortresses of Puglia subsided. It was probably because it no longer served a useful purpose that the similar project undertaken in Bari by Isabella of Aragon soon after her return to the city in 1501 was never completed.[23] Her plan was to cut the isthmus linking Bari to the mainland in order to obtain a navigable channel between the two harbours of the city, one on the east coast and the other on the west. The work stopped after her death, and the parts which had already been carried out were destroyed in a torrential rainstorm in 1567.[24]

While such large-scale projects or improvements were financed by the crown or local barons, the ordinary maintenance of ports, instead, was the responsibility of urban communities, which often negotiated with the king in order to obtain fiscal privileges which would allow them to undertake the work. For instance, in 1444 Alfonso I exempted Trani from customs tariffs so that the town could use the money it retained for repairing the port, and this privilege was renewed in 1468 by Ferrante.[25] Similar measures are documented in 1458,

19 See Iacono and Miletti in this volume.

20 Galateo 1558, 32: "Urbs circunflua, seu (ut Graeci dicunt) amphitalassa, oblonge insulae, aut longae navis habet speciem. A puppi manufacta est fossa longis navibus permeabilis, quae utrunque mare committit. Hanc Marcus Antonius Philomarinus, Ferdinandi et Alphonsi iussu, mira arte et ingenio perfodi curavit." Marco Antonio Filomarino was not the architect, but the governor of the town, as specified in Galateo 1558, 42.

21 Bacile di Castiglione 1915, 80; Bacile di Castiglione 1927, 148–149; Kassler-Taub 2019.

22 Bacile di Castiglione 1927; Adam 1994, 127–138; Brunetti 2006.

23 See Cappelli and De Divitiis in this volume.

24 Beatillo 1637, 189–190.

25 Vitale 1912, doc. XIII; Sirago 1998, 123–124.

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1465, and 1481 at Barletta, where a specific tax was created to support the maintenance of the jetty and port basin.[26]

The ports on the Adriatic were more exposed to attacks from the Turks, but were also preferred by the merchants trading on the route between Venice and the East. From 1494 until the defeat of Agnadello (1509) many important seaside towns such as Trani, Barletta, Monopoli, Brindisi, and Otranto were under the control of the Republic of Venice.[27] The Venetians invested in their recent acquisitions: in 1496 they enlarged the jetty at Monopoli and in 1503 built a new arsenal in Trani.[28] It was during this period of Venetian dominion that the medieval *Ordinamenta et consuetudo maris* of Trani were printed.[29] During the War of the League of Cognac (1526–1530), Brindisi and other Puglian ports were taken again by Venice, but it was a short-lived conquest. The Spanish soon regained these towns and in 1532 included them among those needing fortification against the possibility of Turkish attacks. The list included the ports of Manfredonia, Barletta, Trani, Bisceglie, Monopoli, Brindisi and Otranto on the Adriatic Sea, Gallipoli, Taranto, and Crotone on the Ionian Sea and Gaeta, Ischia, and Reggio on the western coast.[30]

The main aim of the Spanish government was not to develop port facilities, but to fortify the coastline and the ports in order to face the assault of enemies, in particular the Turks, coming from the sea.[31] During the long peace which followed the battle of Lepanto in 1571, while the network of watch towers was expanded, the attention paid to the ports on the part of the Spanish diminished.[32]

At the very end of the 16th century, however, it became impossible to ignore the need to repair the port facilities in southern Italy. However, the main efforts of the viceroys would be focused on the port of Naples. The great number of manuscript documents and drawings left by the Neapolitan and foreign architects who were commissioned to work on these projects in the city give us an idea of their professional and artistic calibre and attainment, men such as the former papal architect Domenico Fontana (1543–1606), renowned for raising

26 Loffredo 1893, I, 309, 327, 384, 399, 419; II, 323–335; Rivera Magos 2009, 55, note 44.

27 Jacoviello 1986; Jacoviello 1992.

28 Giustiniani 1797–1805, IX, 234; Jacoviello 1986; Labrot 1992, 215–292, 238; Sirago 1993a, 362.

29 Beltrani 1873; Fonseca 1984, 267–276; Sirago 1998, 127.

30 Sirago 2000, 94, who quotes from documents in the Archivo General de Simancas. On the fortification works undertaken under the Spanish, see Hernando Sánchez 2000a; Hernando Sánchez 2000b; Brunetti 2006.

31 Sirago 2005; Sirago 2009.

32 For watch towers in southern Italy, see Pasanisi 1926; Valente 1960; Gambacorta 1965; Santoro 1967; Faglia 1969; Faglia 1977.

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the Vatican obelisk, the Nolan mathematician Colantonio Stigliola (1546–1623), a member of the Accademia dei Lincei and friend of Galileo Galilei, the architect Fabio Borsotto (d. 1608), who had also worked on rebuilding the ports of Palermo and Malaga.[33]

In the same period Domenico Fontana was asked to provide a project for the port of Bari, of which the little we know comes only from what the architect himself wrote in his *Secondo Libro*.[34] However, it can be inferred that this project had close links to the one carried out for the port of Naples and also involved improvements in the overland connections between the two cities. In the Kingdom of Naples the network of ports was interlinked with the network of roads. For instance, in 1552 the French traveller Charles Estiennes described what was at that time the only route between Paris and Naples, i.e. to Venice overland, and then by boat as far as the port of Ortona, in Abruzzo; from there again by land crossing the Apennines as far as Capua and then finally on to Naples.[35] Sea and land offered alternative routes both for people travelling and for goods being transported, in their efforts to evade the dangers from the brigands found in the inner mountain regions of southern Italy, or the Moorish pirates who infested the Mediterranean.[36]

Travelling by Land: Roads

In the early modern period the road network in southern Italy was based on the ancient Roman ways, apart from some roads that had been abandoned, such as the Via Domitia, which passed through unsafe marshy terrain and had been destroyed by the Huns in the 5th century. The most important road was the Via Appia (or Appian road), which was the main link to the North, running from Rome southwards along the western coast to Gaeta, then turning east to Capua, from Capua to Benevento and finally, after passing through Venosa, to the ports of Taranto and Brindisi on the east coast. From Benevento to Brindisi there was also an alternative road, the Via Traiana (or Trajan's road), which passed through Canosa, Bitonto and Egnazia.[37] In order to reach the other coast, it was necessary to go along the Via Popilia, which connected Capua to Reggio (fig. 30).

33 Fontana 1604, fols. 25^{r}–27^{r}; Spampanato 1926, 241–348; Colletta 1989; Pessolano 1993; Rinaldi 1999, 45–82; Cámara Muñoz 2008; Lenzo 2011.

34 Fontana 1604, fols. 27^{v}–28^{v}.

35 Estienne 1552, 62–65; Giannetti 1985, 257.

36 De Rosa 1982.

37 Ashby 1916.

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These ancient ways had been renamed *Strada di Roma* (the Rome road), *Strada delle Puglie* (the Puglian road) and *Strada delle Calabrie* (the Calabrian road). Besides these three, the other main road was the *Strada degli Abruzzi* (the ancient Via Valeria), which climbed over the Apennines further north, running from Isola del Liri to L'Aquila and Cittaducale, while a secondary alternative route separated from the main one at Popoli, then went as far as the coast and, passing through Chieti and Pescara, reached the borders of the Kingdom at the mouth of the Tronto river.[38] Capua was the main hub of the Kingdom's road network, and would remain so until the 16th century.

The first three Angevin kings tried to improve the road system. After the restitution (1266) of Benevento to the Pope, Charles I of Anjou opened up an alternative route to the Puglian ports passing through Avellino and Ariano. His son Charles II ordered the repair of the streets in the centres of Capua, Salerno, Cava, and Nocera, the road between Capua and Aversa and that from Nocera to Maiori. In the early 14th century King Robert repaired and maintained the streets of Benevento, Serra di Montuori, Atripalda, and Avellino, the road from Naples to Nola, and the road to Molise and Val Fortore.[39] Under Aragonese rule no major road improvements were carried out, apart from the works promoted in 1445 by Alfonso I to the *Crypta Neapolitana*, the Roman tunnel linking Naples to the Phlegraean Fields. This road was the object of notable humanist and antiquarian interest both from within Italy and elsewhere: the Slovenian humanist Agustinus Prygl Tyfernus even considered the *Crypta* to be one of the seven wonders of the world.[40] In 1466, as part of a determined effort to reshape state bureaucracy, Ferrante reorganized the ancient and complicated system of tolls and fees which operated throughout the Kingdom and which were a source of income for a multitude of feudal lords.[41] In the same year, perhaps because of the need to improve the communications between Naples and the important long-distance roads which intersected in Capua, Ferrante ordered the drainage of the marshes in the Terra di Lavoro and the excavation of the channels known as Regi Lagni, or Lanyos, as they are called in the map of the *Ager Nolanus* published by Ambrogio Leone in 1514 (fig. 12).[42]

The situation changed under viceroyal rule throughout the 16th century. Aiming to relaunch the city of Pozzuoli after the eruption of Monte Nuovo

38 Brancaccio 1986; Ostuni 1993, 41.

39 Ceva Grimaldi 1839, 23–26.

40 D'Ovidio 2013; de Divitiis 2015, 207–210.

41 Iacovetti 1792; Vultaggio 1982; Vultaggio 2000; Dalena 2007; Dalena 2017.

42 Ceva Grimaldi 1839, 31; Fiengo 1988, 21–22. On the map of the *Ager Nolanus* see Lenzo 2018b.

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(1538), in 1548 the viceroy Pedro de Toledo widened the *Crypta Neapolitana* and restored the ancient via Domiziana, which had linked Rome to Naples along the coastline, passing through Pozzuoli.[43] Until then travellers coming from Rome had approached Naples from the east, entering the city through the Porta Capuana, the area circumjacent to which was not by chance chosen by Alfonso II for his main residence of Castel Capuano and the villas of Poggioreale and La Duchesca.[44] But the reopening of the road from Pozzuoli inverted the traditional entrance to the Kingdom capital; now the garden of Castelnuovo, which had been so to speak in the city's backyard, was the first sight which travellers encountered on entering Naples. It was here that Pedro de Toledo ordered his architect Ferdinando Manlio (d. ca. 1570) to build the new viceroyal palace; fifty years later, on the same site Domenico Fontana built a larger royal palace which can still be seen today.[45]

It was especially after the middle of the century that the scale of the interventions began to take on greater importance. In 1559 the viceroy Pedro Enriquez y Afán de Ribera duke of Alcalà (1509–1571) not only engaged in a campaign against brigands across the whole Kingdom but also invested heavily in long distance connections and also reorganized the toll system. In order to combat the famines which regularly occurred in Naples, good transport facilities were needed to connect the capital to the rest of the Kingdom. He ordered the roads from Capua to Abruzzi, from Fondi to Rome, and from Avellino to Puglia, to be rebuilt. Three years later also the *Strada delle Calabrie*, i.e. the ancient Via Popilia, which ran from Portici to Salerno and then on to Cosenza and Reggio, was included in this large-scale programme of improvements. The works continued for more than twenty years, including the reinforcement of the road slopes, and the building of new bridges. The overall plan entailed a reorganization of the administrative structure with the creation of two viceroyal commissioners—one with responsibility for the roads to Puglia and Calabria, the other for those to Rome and to Abruzzi—who headed a complex bureaucratic apparatus including accountants (a *credenziero* and a *percettore* for each road), as well as many engineers and several minor surveyors (*misuratori*).[46]

43 Giannetti 1985, 264–272; Ostuni 1993, 45. The restoration of the *Crypta Neapolitana* promoted by Pedro de Toledo began on 4 January 1548; see Di Catania (ed. Pelliccia) 1780, 45; De la Ville sur Yllon 1900; Pane 1975, 91.

44 de Divitiis 2013.

45 For the change of the principal entrance to the city, see Brancaccio 1986. For the viceroyal palace, see Fiadino 2016. For the royal palace see Verde 2007; De Cavi 2009.

46 Strazzullo 1969, 126–135; Giannetti 1985, 278–279.

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Initially, in 1559, the architect in charge of the entire project was Francisco de Aghilera (documented 1559–1573). However, in 1562, when it became clear that it was impossible for one man to oversee the works which were going on throughout the whole of southern Italy, the Viceroy Alcalà divided up the tasks: the financing of the *Strada di Roma* and *Strada d'Abruzzo* was supervised by Bernardino Moccia, and the architects Francisco de Aghilera and Pietro Antonio Lettieri (d. 1562) worked under his control; the latter, however, died shortly after being appointed and in 1566 his place was taken by the Capuan architect Ambrogio Attendolo (1505–1585). The work on the roads to Puglia and Calabria was instead controlled by Ascanio Capece; under him another pair of architects worked, Giovan Francesco De Palma Mormando (d. 1572) and Jacopo Lantari (d. ca. 1570), replaced after their deaths, respectively by Andrea Sinisio Mormando (d. 1577) and by Pietro Antonio De Sanctis (d. 1589). The work on these roads needed more attention, and so as a result from 1572 to 1579, the two architects were supported by a third, Benvenuto Tortelli (1533–1594).[47] The architects became an active part of the bureaucracy of a modern state and were paid in relation to their position within the administrative hierarchy.

The provinces which would be served by the renewed road system contributed to the expenses thanks to a specific tax created to finance the work. During the 1560s and 1570s the amount of work increased, with work focusing particularly on the road to Puglia. In 1560 Philip II ordered the viceroy Alcalà to re-establish and make safe the overland connections between Naples and Puglia to ensure that there would be an uninterrupted supply of wheat for the capital.[48] In addition to serving Naples's need for food, the road to Puglia also connected the main ports on the Tyrrhenian Sea to those on the Adriatic, enabling advantage to be taken of southern Italy's position at the centre of the Mediterranean. Given this background it is easy to understand why, while he was occupied on the works for rebuilding the port of Naples, Domenico Fontana was also commissioned to come up with a plan for the port of Bari, located at the other end of the *Strada di Puglia* and closer to Naples than the ports of Taranto or Brindisi.

In 1564 the two principal guidebooks on European roads, by Giovanni Herba and by Cherubino Stella, indicated as the main road the one leading from Rome to Naples and from Naples to Messina and also mentioned it was divided in forty-eight stopping points; at the twelfth of these travellers arrived at the

47 Strazzullo 1969, 131–132; Birra 2015, 126–162.

48 The king ordered to "adereçar los caminos que vienen de Pulla cerca de Asculi [Satriano] … de manera que pudiendose carretear como se hace en Alemania y otras partes, se trayga el trigo por ellos à Napoles". See Braudel (1949) 1995, I, 283.

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Garigliano, "a wide river which can only be crossed by boat".[49] A secondary road from Rome to Naples passed through Valmontone and Selva di Saglieri, with a total of sixteen stopping points, while the road from Naples to Puglia had twenty-two.[50] Not many years later the result of this massive campaign of road rebuilding promoted by the Spanish Viceroys was evident. The architect Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616), who travelled from Vicenza to Naples in 1579, wrote that he had seen in the Terra di Lavoro "several public roads of great length and admirable width; they are worth close examination: since they are so straight and smooth and slope at the edges. It is obvious that they have been built with skill by a regal hand".[51] Technical skill and astute politics seem to link Scamozzi's times to the glories of ancient Rome; this connection between the present and the past appears even more strongly in the case of aqueducts.

Living in the City: Water Supply

In the cities of southern Italy water supply was for centuries a significant problem, which perhaps explains why even in medieval times the techniques for ensuring water supply were not forgotten. The bridged aqueduct built in Salerno during the Lombard period (10th century), with pointed arches resting on slim pillars testifies how Roman infrastructures were still imitated.[52] Attitudes to the problems of water supply in southern Italy were given new life by the contact with Islamic culture.[53] The system of 'Qanat' or 'ngruttati' of Palermo, built between the 9th and 10th centuries, was one of the most sophisticated water supply systems in medieval Europe.[54] The argument for Arabic influence has been convincingly made for the many private baths documented in the palaces of Amalfi and Ravello, as well as in the castles of Frederick II at Caserta and Lagopesole.[55]

49 Herba 1564, fols. 16^{r}–17^{r}; Stella 1568, fols. 9^{r}–10^{r}.

50 Herba 1564, fols. 17^{v}–18^{v}; Stella 1568, fols. 10^{r}–11^{r}.

51 Scamozzi 1615, bk. VIII, ch. XXVII, 360: "alcune strade pubbliche di molta lunghezza e di bellissima larghezza, le quali sono degne di essere osservate: poiché sono dirittissime e piane, quanto pendenti da' lati, e invero si conosce che furono fatte con giudicio e da reggia mano". See Giannetti 1985, 252.

52 Schiavo 1935; Castellucci 1955; Bocchi 2013, 291–293. The aqueduct was praised in Leone 1525, ch. XLII, fol. Hiiiv; see Miletti in de Divitiis 2016, 178.

53 Bruun and Saastamoinen 2003.

54 Todaro 1989; Bocchi 2013, 293–295.

55 Calò Mariani 1992; Caskey 1999.

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If the continuity with antiquity in the matter of water supply through medieval practical knowledge was enriched by contact with other Mediterranean cultures, it was later further enhanced by the rediscovery of ancient techniques thanks to new studies on Roman aqueducts and by the reading of ancient texts. Obviously, the authorities were the *De architectura* of Vitruvius and the *De aquaeductis* of Frontinus, but useful information could also be extracted from other classical literary sources. For instance, when Alfonso of Aragon conquered Naples by entering the city through its aqueduct at the beginning of June 1442,[56] humanist scholars soon associated this plot with the episode told in Procopius's *Gothic War* about the Byzantine general Belisarius, who in 536 had conquered Naples in the same way.[57] The Aragonese army entered into Naples through one of the two Roman aqueducts of the city, that of the Bolla, still in use at the time. The late medieval *Cronaca di Partenope* had praised the underground channels of the aqueduct as a miracle wrought by the "magus" Virgil, while Pontano later described in detail this subterranean network of tunnels and praised it for being an "extraordinary document of a certain ancient magnificence".[58] The other Roman aqueduct of Naples, the *Aquaeductus Claudius* or Serino aqueduct, had been abandoned for a long time, but it would play a more central role in the humanistic debate. It ran from the source of the Serino in the Apennines as far as the port of Miseno, covering a distance of more than 100 kilometres; it passed through several towns in Campania, such as Sarno, Pompei, Palma, Nola, Naples, Pozzuoli, and Cuma, ending in the *Piscina mirabilis* at Capo Miseno (fig. 35). The route of this complex system was almost entirely hidden, but its importance was recognized, and the investigation into the aqueduct involved humanists and architects, both local and from elsewhere, over a period of eighty years. As early as the 1480s, Giovanni Pontano and Jacopo Sannazaro had studied and visited the aqueduct trying to understand its ancient route. They were probably accompanied by the antiquarians and architects Fra Giocondo (1433–1515) and Francesco di Giorgio (1439–1502).[59] Francesco di Giorgio was at the time regarded as the leading expert on systems of water supply, having worked to improve the underground

56 The main sources on the episode are: Duca di Monteleone (ed. Manfredi) 1960, XXI/5, 177–180; Facio (ed. Pietragalla) 2004, 292–300; Pellegrino (ed. Delle Donne) 2007, 295–299. Important information derived from now lost documents can be found in Faraglia 1908, 279–292. See also Senatore 2010.

57 Procopius's *Gothic War* (I, 10). See Polara 2015. For the reception of Procopius in the 15th century, see Ianziti 2012, 278–299; Miletti 2015.

58 Kelly 2011, ch. XVII, 184 (ll. 9–15); Pontano 1509, book VI, fols. A3^{v}–A4^{r}. See de Divitiis 2015, 197.

59 De Divitiis 2015, 199–202.

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late medieval aqueduct of Siena, the 'Bottini', while Giocondo, who would go on to publish in Florence a revised edition of Frontinus's treatise, had transcribed in Naples some inscriptions carved on lead pipes which named the emperors Claudius and Hadrian.[60] The portion nearer to Naples was depicted in the 1514 map of *Ager Nolanus* engraved by Girolamo Mocetto for the *De Nola* of Ambrogio Leone.[61] Here the Serino aqueduct is wrongly identified as the Sebeto, and represented as an overground river, but with the series of intermediate outlets typical of underground water conduits known as *spiraculi* (fig. 33).[62] Leone described the route of the Serino aqueduct when he wrote about the nobility of architecture in his *De nobilitate rerum*, posthumously printed in Venice in 1525.[63]

Material remains of ancient aqueducts were studied also in order to acquire a better understanding of literary questions. For instance, a matter of important concern in the humanistic debate centred on the aqueduct of Nola, because of a late antique legend linked to Virgil. According to his annotator Aulus Gellius, the poet erased the name of Nola in a passage of his *Georgics* in order to condemn the city for denying him the concession of public water for a farm he possessed in the nearby countryside.[64] At the end of the 15th century Giovanni Pontano tried to disprove this tradition, and his example was enthusiastically followed in 1514 by Ambrogio Leone. He asserted that in ancient times Nola had only one small aqueduct used mainly for ornamental purposes—in other words for public fountains—and therefore would not have been able to supply water to private citizens.[65] However, Jacopo Sannazaro was of a different opinion. In about 1528 he wrote a poem accusing the Nolans of having denied hospitality to Pontano during an outbreak of plague in Naples in 1493 and, recalling the anecdote about Virgil, declared Nola to be a town which was known to be hostile to poets.[66] We do not know the origin of this sourness against the Nolans, or why Sannazaro referred to an episode which had as its protagonist Pontano, who, as we have seen, did not himself believe the story about Virgil and the water from Nola. Sannazaro had an expert knowledge of ancient aqueducts. He certainly knew those of Naples and according to later witnesses he had also found some remains of the Roman aqueduct which went through

60 CIL X, 1496; CIL X, 1900. See de Divitiis 2015, 200.
61 Lenzo 2018b.
62 For the *spiraculi* or sfiatatoi see Fontana 1604, fols. 23$^{r–v}$; Magnusson 2001, 84–91.
63 Leone 1525, ch. XLII, fol. Hiiiv; see de Divitiis and Miletti 2016, 178.
64 Miletti 2016.
65 Leone 1514, fols. viiv–viiir. The debate reached the ears of Erasmus of Rotterdam, who was in correspondence with Ambrogio Leone. See Defilippis 1991; Vecce 2000; Miletti 2016.
66 Miletti 2016.

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Palma and Nola.[67] Besides, being a friend of Fra Giocondo, he must have been aware of an ancient inscription in Nola which had been copied by Giocondo and which named the local aqueduct precisely in connection with the concession of part of the public water supply.[68] The information about aqueducts he accumulated would inspire Sannazaro to set some episodes of his *Arcadia* in the mysterious underground caves and tunnels which crisscross the soil of Campania stretching from Vesuvius as far as Pozzuoli.[69]

Around 1549 the viceroy Pedro de Toledo gave an order that the Serino aqueduct for the water supply to Naples should be restored and entrusted the responsibility for the project to the architect Pirro Antonio Lettieri.[70] This was just one part of a greater plan for the improvement of the capital city and its surroundings.[71] The historian Benedetto di Falco, in his *Descrittione di Naples* published in 1549, ascribes the merit for the revival of good architecture to the viceroy, as well as re-opening ancient water conduits, converting barren land for cultivation and having marshes drained and thus enabling the inhabitants to breathe fresh air.[72] The project to restore the Serino aqueduct was never carried out, but even its failure was celebrated in literature by Luigi Tansillo in his poem *Il podere* (1560).[73] The final report completed by the architect Pirro Antonio Lettieri in 1560 provided the most detailed description of the ancient aqueduct there had ever been and, even though it remained unpublished for almost over two centuries, its findings must very soon have been known about, since the entire route of the Serino aqueduct is clearly shown in the map of Campania engraved in 1616 by Alessandro Baratta for the *Panegyricus* of Garcia Barrionuevo (fig. 32).[74]

The project undertaken by viceroy Toledo was not so unusual as it might appear at first glance, since we know from surviving documents that restora-

67 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. *San Martino* 442, fol. 81^{v}; Lettieri 1803, 399. See de Divitiis and Lenzo in this volume.

68 The inscription is CIL X, 1285. See Remondini 1747–1757, I, 33; Lenzo 2014, 179.

69 Sannazaro (ed. Vecce) 2013; Prose 12, 289–306; de Divitiis 2015, 202–204.

70 The project by Toledo is cited for the first time in Di Falco 1549, fols. Cviir–v; see also Pane 1975, 90.

71 Strazzullo (1968) 1995, 3–27; Pane 1975.

72 Di Falco 1549, fols. K ii$^{r–v}$: "agli edifici le forme antiche si rendono, a le acqua gli usati antri chiusi ingegnosamente si appalesano, la terra già sterile si coltiva, le paludi ingorgate si spediscono, e l'aria agli abitanti sana e chiarissima si rende".

73 Tansillo wrote: "Oh, se la Parca non avesse mozzo / il filo della vita del gran Pietro / che ebbe sì in odio il viver rude e sozzo / chiare onde e fredde più che ghiaccio e vetro / avrian forse e Paulisipo e Sant'Ermo." The poet remembers also the "good [architect] Lettieri", who "scoperse le vie meravigliose che da Serino a Napoli fea il fiume". See Zazo 1977, 123.

74 Barrionuevo 1616; Lettieri 1803.

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tion work was carried out in the 15th and 16th centuries on ancient and medieval aqueducts. In 1256 the otherwise unknown architect Durante built the new aqueduct of Sulmona, ending in a monumental series of arches resting on huge pillars, and the event was celebrated by the inscription which was placed on the aqueduct itself.[75] The medieval aqueduct, which probably reused and incorporated parts of ancient conduits, was extended in 1474 to provide water for the new Fontana del Vecchio.[76] Similarly, in 1334 an aqueduct was built in Taranto on the orders of the Princess Catherine of Valois (1301–1346), second wife of Philip of Anjou, and was later restored in 1460 by the Prince Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo.[77] Other Renaissance aqueducts probably corresponded to the reconstruction of Roman and medieval ones, as for example in Sessa Aurunca, where the work for the new aqueduct was authorised by Ferrante in 1480, but only begun in 1493 because of the opposition of the nearby town of Teano, which claimed rights to the same spring. Sessa won this controversy only after it was demonstrated that the town had been using water from the spring since 1170.[78] The underground aqueduct of Irsina, called the Bottini, may have had similar antecedents (fig. 34). The arched bridge of Vietri's aqueduct too, which in its present state apparently dates back to the late Renaissance period, was part of a system built in 1320 using mainly clay pipes ("tufolos creteos seu cannellas vel cantras").[79] In Capua three successive aqueducts were built over the centuries. An infrastructure providing water to the Roman port of Casilinum—on whose site the town was built in the 10th century—had certainly existed since antiquity; the springs, described as medicinal waters by Marcus Velleius Paterculus, were located near the temple of Diana Tifatina.[80] After the fall of the Roman Empire the temple was transformed into the church of Sant'Angelo in Formis, whose name derived from the term *formali* which refers to water conduits.[81] The aqueduct was repaired in 1273 by order of Charles I of Anjou, who specifically identified it as the "aqueductus veteres".[82] In 1472 Ferrante

75 Mattiocco 1994. The inscriptions reads: "A.D. MCCLVI / +LABITVR HIN FLVMEN P(RE)CELSVM CACVME / HIVS STRVCTVRE MVRALIS NON RVITERE / SVLMONTINORVM LAVS EST INDVSTRIA QVORVM / HOC FIERI IVSSIT FORMEQ(VE) REDVXIT / VRBIS ADORNATVM / DVRANTIS ET ARTE LEVATVM".

76 Mattiocco 1994, 131.

77 Alaggio 2004, doc. 7, 14–16; Alaggio 2014, 279, n. 107.

78 Pellegrino (ed. Pratilli) 1750, 273–276; Masi Del Pezzo 1761, 187, 262–266; Tommasino 1997, 149 and 155.

79 Schiavo 1935, 69–80.

80 Velleio Patercolo (*Hist. Rom.*, II, 25): "aquas salubritates in medendis corporibus nobiles".

81 De Franciscis 1956; Di Resta 1985.

82 Faraglia 1883, 50–51.

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authorised the rebuilding of the aqueduct, which, as we know from later documents, was carried out using clay pipes.

Completely new water supply systems could be difficult and very expensive to build. An interesting example of the difficulties faced in building a new aqueduct is the one on Ischia, which was begun by order of the Spanish governor Orazio Tuttavilla in about 1571–1575.[83] Two miles of the bridged conduit were built, and the arches are clearly shown in the map of Ischia engraved by Mario Cartaro in 1586.[84] However, it proved too costly and after some years had passed the work stopped. Almost a century elapsed before the Bishop Girolamo Rocca (1623–1691) decided to restart the work, thanks to a special and exorbitant tax on wheat; the fountain at the end of the aqueduct has an inscription which reads that drought has taught the inhabitants of the island to tolerate starvation.[85]

In addition to the expense, the many technical problems connected to the supply of water were not easily solved; as a consequence, therefore, more than any other architectural construction, ancient or modern, aqueducts seemed fascinating and mysterious. As was the case with the aqueduct of the Bolla in Naples, which the *Cronaca di Partenope* said had been magically built by Virgil, also in Salerno the medieval aqueduct was believed to have been built by the legendary local magician Pietro Barliaro in a single night thanks to help from the Devil.[86] In the town of Corigliano, in Calabria, an aqueduct provided with an arched bridge was built in about 1480, and soon after it was completed a legend began to circulate according to which it had been built through the miraculous intervention of St Francis of Paola (1416–1507) (fig. 31).[87]

When a city could not rely on saints or wizards, it was compelled to look for someone who possessed the rare skill of finding and transporting water. The transmission of knowledge travelled together with the migrations of workers, masters, and architects. In 1437 the architect from Cava, Onofrio di Giordano (d. ca. 1463), was asked to journey across the Adriatic to Ragusa (present-day Dubrovnik) in order to build a new aqueduct and two fountains. Having suc-

83 Iasolino 1588, 45; D'Ascia 1867, 62; Monti 1980, 425–430.

84 The map is signed "Marius Cartarius F[ecit]" and dated "Neapoli, XV Cale[n]das Sextilis salutis anno [M]DLXXXVI"; the aqueduct is indicated by the number 112, which corresponds to the caption "Aquaeductus novus". See Iasolino 1588; Vannereau 1961; Lenzo 2018a, 87.

85 Ughelli (ed. Coleti) 1720, VI, 237: "Has sudavit aquas Cereris patientia curtae, / Edocuitque famen ferre magistra sitis".

86 D'Ancora 1883; Giardullo 2005; Senatore 2005.

87 Perrimezzi 1707, 217; Amato 1884, 83–87. An 18th-century engraving of the aqueduct is published in Saint-Non 1783, vol. III, plate 51 (after 94).

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ceeded in providing water to the city, he was granted the citizenship of the maritime Republic, his work was praised in the *Laudatio urbis* (1440) by the humanist Philippo de Diversis, and his name was celebrated in the elegant inscription composed by Ciriaco d'Ancona (1391–1452) and carved in Roman capitals on the main fountain of Ragusa.[88] In 1514 the city of Capua sought to engage the services of an unnamed "Lombard master" who was skilled in finding water and constructing aqueducts and was then living in Abruzzo, in the fiefdom of the Conte of Popoli.[89] However, he never managed to travel to Capua so in 1518 the *Eletti* commissioned the work from the "Florentine master Romolo", who can be identified as Romolo Balsimelli (born 1479, documented until 1519), at the time working in Naples. The works, which as we have seen started after 1472, went on for almost a century and a half, involving many architects, both local and from outside the Kingdom, such as Tommaso Martirano, Vincenzo Casale (1539–1593), Ambrogio Attendolo, Benvenuto Tortelli, and Domenico Fontana. Soon after its completion, the aqueduct was mentioned by the Capuan poet Carlo Morello in a sonnet published in 1613.[90] The text is not in fact a celebration of the achievement, since Morelli emphasises the huge expense (*immenso sumptu*) incurred in having to bore through the mountains; in addition, he complains that the water from the spring would if left in its natural state be eternal, but once transformed into a human artefact is condemned to run dry and perish, as all human things do. What is interesting is that the collection of poems in which this sonnet is included is dedicated to the ancient monuments of Capua (*Veteris Capuae monumenta*): from this it is possible to infer that an aqueduct, even of recent construction, was regarded as so great an achievement that it could be considered on a par with monuments from antiquity.

88 de Diversis (ed. Brunelli) 1882, 47–54; Seferović and Stojan 2007; Ghisetti Giavarina 2007; Grujić 2008; Gudelij 2014, 448–451.

89 Manna 1588, fols. 103^{r}–105^{v}; Fontana 1604, fols. 23$^{r–v}$; Di Resta 1985, 59–61; De Rosa 2002; Robotti 2002; Robotti 2007; Senatore 2018, 340, 834–835.

90 Morelli 1613, 202: "In aquae ductum forati montis. / Ne gelidam Campanus aquam desideret Urbi, / Quae Tiphatorum terga rigabat aqua, / Immenso sumptu montem forat, inde reducit / In faciem, domus haec ampla fovebat aquam. / Laeta per euripos viderunt moenia ductam, / est ea nunc nusquam, quae ante perennis erat. / Urbs omni si digna perit, cui ducitur, aevo, / Debuit ipse etiam iure perire latex".

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Conclusion: The Pride of the Architect

That the urban and territorial infrastructures constructed in southern Italy in the Renaissance were seen in the terms used by Leon Battista Alberti quoted at the beginning of this essay is proved by the fact, unusual for this region during this period, that we know many of the names of the master masons and architects involved in such works. As we have seen, information about the building of ports, roads and aqueducts, comes not only from archival documents, but also from literary sources such as those written by Pontano, Galateo, Sannazaro, Tyferno, de Diversis, Leone, Tansillo, Beatillo, and Morello, as well as from architectural treatises such as those by Palladio, Scamozzi, and Domenico Fontana. To these printed and manuscript texts can be added the inscriptions carved on marble and stone. From these it is evident that architects wanted their names to be associated with such great feats of construction.

Inscriptions naming and praising architects and included in their masterpieces are a frequent occurrence, and in the Kingdom of Naples ancient models for this practice were probably known to them.[91] Architects also used the tombs they designed, their own or those of other people, to advertise their merits, as Antonio Baboccio da Piperno did in the Aldomorisco tomb (1421) or Pietro di Martino da Milano in his own tomb (1470).[92] In the following century, Ferdinando Manlio commended his own achievements as a architect in the tomb of his son Timoteo (d. 1553). Manlio was the favourite architect of the Viceroy Pedro de Toledo, whose great but only partially completed programme of architectural and urban improvement has long been praised by modern as well as contemporary historians, starting, as we have seen, with Benedetto di Falco.[93] In the text he composed, Manlio declares he has built royal palaces, opened tunnels, constructed roads and bridges, and drained marshes in order to provide safe routes for travellers and clean air for the inhabitants.[94] Here he

91 Beltramini 2009a; de Divitiis 2012.

92 Baboccio claimed that he was a painter and sculptor in 'every kind of stone and metal': "Abbas Antonivs Bamboccivs de Piperno pictor, et in omnibvs lapidibvs, atqve metallorvm scvltor, anno settvagenario aetatis fecit 1421"; see Bock 2001, 11, 329; Bock 2009. The epitaph carved on the no longer surviving tomb of Pietro da Milano praised him as the creator of the triumphal arch of Castel Nuovo: "Petrus de Martino Mediolanensis, ob triumphalem arcis novae arcum solerter structum, et multa statuariae artis suo munere huic aedi piae oblata, a divo Alphonso rege in equestrem adscribi ordinem et ab ecclesia hoc sepulcro pro se, ac posteris suis donari meruit, mcccclxx". See Summonte 1675, III, 14 s.

93 Strazzullo (1968) 1995, 15, 17, 20; Strazzullo 1969, 208–212, 215; Capparelli 2007; Fiadino 2016, 637, 648–649, note 5.

94 "D.O.M. Ferdinandvs Manlivs Neap. / Camp. Architectvs /qvi Petri Toleti

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is clearly following the eulogy of Pietro de Toledo written by di Falco, but it is interesting that among the many buildings Manlio could have claimed he was proud to have built, he chose to cite only the royal palaces and the infrastructures he constructed. In 1585, composing the epitaph of his architect father Ambrogio, the Capuan humanist Giovanni Battista Attendolo praised him as the creator of the fortresses of Capua, Crotone, and Gaeta, and of the road from Naples to Rome via Pozzuoli.[95]

Architects shared with their patrons the merit for the building of great works. A more arrogant man, such as Domenico Fontana, even had bronze medals cast with his portrait on one side and on the other the plan of his project for the new port of Naples (fig. 36).[96] Furthermore, in the second edition of his book, printed in Naples in 1604, he dedicated specific chapters to the ports of Naples and of Bari, and to his project for the aqueduct of Capua. In contrast, Fontana's severest detractor, the Nolan architect and philosopher Colantonio Stigliola, claimed that architects should be modest and pursue only public utility rather than personal glory.[97] However, he too had no doubt that the main tasks of architecture were to drain marshes, to build ports and to fortify cities.[98] If it was the duty of the king and his representatives to govern the state through political action and wisdom, it was architects who through their knowledge and understanding were able to conceive, plan and bring to fruition the physical conditions for an ideal state.

Neapolitan. Pro R. / Avspitio / regijs ædibvs extrvendis / Plateis sternendis / Cryptæ aperiende vijs, & pontibvs / In ampliorem formam restitvendis / Palvstribvsq. aqvis dedvcendis / Præfvit. / Cvivs alaboratvm indvstria / Vt tvtivs viatoribvs iter / Loci colonis salvbriores essent / Timotheo enciclico Mathemat. / Pietatis rarissimæ filio. / Qvi vixit An. xix.m.vi.d.v. Sibi, ac svis vivens fecit. / A Christo nato m.d.l.iii". See De Stefano 1560, 51r; Engenio Caracciolo 1623, 404; Strazzullo 1969, 210; Fiadino 2016, 637, 648–649, n. 5.

95 "Io. Baptista Attendolo Pavli fil. Cotignola orto / qvi sportia dvm avita domo a Lvd. Gall. Rege xii pene vastata / Capvam cvm Maria Vicecomite matre confvgit svam svorv(m)q. fortvna(m) /alto animo perferens restitvto Mediola. ditioni Francisco ii / de reditv ad svos cogitans morte praeventvs est / hic svos cineres servari cvravit / Ambrosivs filivs / qvi ob intemerat. fide Philippo ii Hisp. Regi praeclarvs / eivsq. in Neapolit. Regno svmmvs architectvs / Capva Crotone Caietaq. mathematica ratione mvnitis / Neapoli Romam Pvteolosa stratis vii pietate clarvs / hic parentis cineribvs contvmvlatvs est / Gaspar Patri avoq. P. / obiit An. D. Mdlxxxv. aet. s. lxxx".

96 De Cavi 2003; Lenzo 2011.

97 Rinaldi 1999, 25–31.

98 Ibid., 26.

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CHAPTER 12

Architectural Patronage and Networks

Bianca de Divitiis

Introduction

The territory of southern Italy contains and could be said to conceal important monuments from the 15th and 16th centuries, many of which have been overshadowed by works from later periods, while the few which are known about have often been misunderstood in their specific nature and considered as vernacular forms of Renaissance art. While new trends in the history of art have recently dismantled the monolithic image of the Renaissance as exclusively Florentine and Roman, new studies on cities and the elites of southern Italy have also opened the way to a new and more balanced consideration of 15th- and 16th-century art and architecture in southern Italy.[1]

The examples presented in this essay, although far from exhaustive, form part of an initial attempt to construct a balanced picture of the region of southern Italy in the period between the 15th and 16th centuries, as a diverse territory, invigorated by a network of urban centres, where members of the royal family and a heterogenous elite invested in *all'antica* works of art and architecture to display their social prominence and to adorn their cities and the surrounding landscape. Few of the artists and architects who were involved in such projects have been identified, but the works themselves make us rethink our normal parameters of evaluation and attribution, and explore new ways of understanding and appreciating them, centred on the patrons who commissioned them and the cultural contexts and social networks in which they were created.

In particular, an attempt will be made to bring out the specific nature of the Renaissance culture in southern Italy as *another Renaissance*, which is to say a type of culture that was fully aware of the new ideas and trends that were emerging in other parts of Italy, but at the same time was autonomous and alternative in the ways in which such ideas were developed. As we shall see, rather than the imitation of classical orders, other factors took priority, such as the impact of the conspicuous presence of surviving antiquities, the strength of local medieval traditions, the existence of a dense network of urban centres

1 Previtali 1976; Abulafia 2005; de Divitiis 2019. See the Introduction in this volume.

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that shared the exceptional condition of being part of the sole Kingdom to exist in the entire Italian peninsula.

The territory of southern Italy was distinguished for the impressive concentration of ancient monuments both on a large and small scale which had remained visible across the centuries, while its soil covered other vestiges of the region's ancient past and offered the opportunity for a continuous rediscovery of the antiquities hidden within it.[2] The presence of antiquity was so pervasive that it led to its precocious recovery already during the medieval period, as we can see from the works of the Lombard princes in Salerno and Benevento (9th century), the Norman cathedrals in Aversa (ca. 1053–1070), Salerno (ca. 1080), and Gerace (11–12th centuries), the castles created by the Swabian emperor in Andria and Frederick's Gate in Capua (ca. 1233), and lastly the monumental churches and tombs of the Angevin sovereigns (13th–15th centuries).[3] Throughout the 15th and 16th centuries monuments from antiquity and also those from the more recent medieval past were at the centre of a vibrant antiquarian and humanistic culture and provided models for new works of art and architecture.[4]

The pioneering character of Renaissance culture in southern Italy can be clearly detected in the works commissioned by the royal family in Naples; yet, as we shall see, the patronage of new works was by no means a prerogative of the monarchy and went far beyond the capital, involving different social categories and networks across the whole of the Kingdom's territory. Starting with the large territorial estates which belonged to the ancient noble families who ruled extensive territories, and continuing to the small fiefs of newly created lords, in this essay I will first consider the artistic patronage of the so-called barons, a variegated and heterogeneous 'class' including families and individuals from very different backgrounds, some of whom followed the royal model, while others acted independently as true antiquarian aristocrats, in a way which is comparable with the lords of small regional states in central and northern Italy. Even if most of the southern territory was fragmented in fiefdoms, by looking in detail at the cities and towns of southern Italy this essay will also consider the patronage practised by the non-noble local elites, made up of *milites*, merchants, jurists, and physicians, as well as lettered people and humanists, who were active in both local political and cultural life and involved

2 See de Divitiis and Lenzo in this volume.

3 On Salerno see Delogu 1977; Braca 2003. On Aversa see D'Onofrio and Pace 1981. On Gerace see Zinzi 1991. On Frederick's works see D'Onofrio 2005. On Angevin buildings see Bruzelius 1999; Bruzelius 2004. See de Divitiis and Lenzo in this volume.

4 De Divitiis 2021.

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in new artistic and architectural works. Particular attention will also be devoted to the delicate period of transition between the end of Aragonese rule and the Spanish conquest of southern Italy in 1503, in an effort to identify how artistic production reflected the Kingdom's change of status from being independent to becoming the viceroyal territory of an empire which in the same period was expanding across the Atlantic.

The King and the Barons

The specific nature and degree of Renaissance experimentation in southern Italy is well expressed in San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples (1414–1428), the last monumental church built by the Angevin dynasty, and in particular by the huge monument of Ladislaus d'Angiò Durazzo, which occupies the entire wall of the apse (fig. 37a). The general formal conception of the monument for Ladislaus directly refers to the Neapolitan model of the tomb of Robert of Anjou in Santa Chiara (ca. 1343–1345), a hundred years earlier; this acted both as a monumental altarpiece for the main altar and as a screen separating the church from the choir chapel at its rear.[5] At the same time the monument in San Giovanni shows important iconographic innovations, such as the presence of superimposed centered arches, a coffered ceiling and the equestrian statue of the king with an inscription calling him "Divus Ladislaus".[6] The work was commissioned by his sister, the last queen of the Angevin dynasty. Giovanna II, portrayed in the central arch sitting on the throne next to her brother. Giovanna seems to have deliberately adopted the medieval royal model in order to claim, by means of visual continuity, her legitimate inheritance of the Kingdom. The ideological nature of the operation becomes even more clear if we look at the choir chapel behind the monument for Ladislaus, which was commissioned by Sergianni Caracciolo (ca. 1427–1441), a leading member of Giovanna's court. Sergianni's monument was created in the same years by the same group of artists who were working on the royal monument; it explicitly redeploys *all'antica* features and is placed within a circular chapel which parallels the nearly contemporary rotunda of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence (ca. 1434).[7] Taken together, the monuments of Ladislaus and Sergianni Caracciolo located in the area of the apse both re-read in accordance with new Renaissance ideas the model of the choir mausoleum, adopted in the royal pan-

5 For tombs and altarpieces see De Divitiis forthcoming.

6 Bock 2001; Donati 2015, 37–39.

7 Nichols 1988; Sabatino 2002; Donati 2015, 83–88; Tufano 2015.

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theons in the previous Angevin churches of Naples, and re-elaborate the royal English model of the Lady Chapel, those large royal chapels placed eastwards of the high altar, which formed a projection from the main building.[8]

When Alfonso V of Aragon first stayed in Naples between 1420 and 1423, as the adopted son of the last Angevin queen Giovanna II, the construction of the monument for Ladislaus and the Caracciolo chapel were well under way. Twenty years later, when he completed his conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, the new Aragonese king reconstructed the royal residence of Castel Nuovo, for which he claimed to have found inspiration from his reading of the *De architectura* of Vitruvius (1st C BCE), the one architectural treatise which had survived from antiquity. In order to establish the authority and legitimacy of his monarchical rule, the monumental marble arch at the entrance of the castle deliberately evokes in scale and form the monuments of Alfonso's predecessors, such as the gate of Frederick II in Capua (ca. 1233) and the tombs of Robert and Ladislaus of Anjou. On the other hand, it features innovations in artistic language inspired by Roman triumphal arches, such as Trajan's Arch in Benevento and the Arch of the Sergi in Pola, which reinforced the image of a king imbued with the new humanistic culture, who ruled his newly acquired transnational Mediterranean Kingdom inspired by an ethical system of classical virtues.[9]

While Alfonso was constructing Castel Nuovo in Naples, in other parts of the Kingdom baronial families whose existence long predated the arrival of the Aragonese continued to practise artistic patronage throughout their large estates while also having a presence in major cities which were instead under the direct control of the monarchy.

This is the case, for example, of the Sanseverino family, whose lineage was more ancient than the Kingdom itself, as they had arrived in southern Italy in the 11th century as part of the Norman vanguard which conquered the Lombard territories in southern Italy.[10] By the 15th century the family were divided in two main branches, each of which owned what was nearly a small state within the Kingdom, one comprising most of southern Campania and Basilicata, and the other most of Calabria.[11] The Sanseverinos always kept abreast of the most recent trends in patronage: throughout the Middle Ages they favoured the creation of several new urban centres, and marked their extended territories by building castles, churches and large monasteries, such as the Certosa of Padula

8 On Angevin tombs see Michalsky 2000. On the Lady Chapels see Lewis 1995.

9 Di Battista 1998–1999; Beyer 2000, 13–58; de Divitiis 2013.

10 Corolla 2008.

11 Natella 1980; Manzo 2007; Pollastri 2009; Mele and Tufano 2014 (2017).

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founded south of Salerno in 1305 by Tommaso Sanseverino, while their monumental tombs, inspired by Angevin models, vaunted their power which represented a constant challenge to royal authority.[12] Steeped in the new humanistic culture, in the 15th century they expressed their royal attitude (*mos regalis*) by promoting the creation of new *all'antica* works of art and architecture and extended their presence also beyond their own feudal possessions, displaying their power in Naples and Cosenza. The most prominent example of this is Antonio Sanseverino (1430–1472), duke of San Marco and count of Altomonte in Calabria, who commissioned the same Tuscan sculptors who were working on the monument for Ladislaus to build the tomb for his father Ruggero Sanseverino in the new chapel of Santa Monica in Naples (1445–1450), adjoining the church of San Giovanni a Carbonara.[13] In the same period, Antonio also founded the convent of San Domenico in Cosenza (1449) and renovated the medieval church, adding on the side of the square apse a new octagonal space, probably intended for the family tombs (fig. 37c). It is interesting to note that the Sanseverino rotunda has a double significance in the context of San Giovanni in Naples: while inspired by the Caracciolo del Sole chapel in the Neapolitan church, it may in turn have later influenced the construction of the Caracciolo di Vico chapel (1506–1513) in the same church, which has a circular plan in the same off-centre position at the side of the apse (fig. 37a–c).[14]

In the same period, between 1440 and 1450, in Galatina in southern Puglia the prince of Taranto, Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo (1406–1463), added a new monumental rotunda to the nave of the Basilica of Santa Caterina of Alessandria (1384–1450) which he intended for use as the family mausoleum (figs. 37b–38).[15] The basilica had been commissioned at the end of the 14th century by his father, Raimondo Orsini Del Balzo (also known as Raimondello; 1350–1406), while his mother Maria d'Enghien (1367–1446) was responsible for commissioning the impressive fresco cycle dedicated to the Apocalypse (c. 1418) which decorated the vault.[16] Alongside the tower in Soleto (1397), the basilica was intended as a magnificent expression of Orsini's dream of establishing a long-lasting dynasty. The Orsini Del Balzo had only recently emerged

12 On Padula see Bruzelius 2004.

13 Donati 2015.

14 Mormone 1983; Tarallo and Milone 2014 (2017).

15 Canali and Galati 1997; Sabatino 2002.

16 On Maria d'Enghien see Kiesewetter 2008. On Raimondello see Kiesewetter 2013; Toomaspoeg 2013; Petracca and Vetere 2013. For the frescoes see Cucciniello 2002. See also Zezza in this volume.

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from the complicated vicissitudes of inheritance of two of the most ancient families of the Kingdom, and in the space of a few years had acquired control of a vast area including the county of Lecce, the princedom of Taranto and the duchy of Bari, organized according to a structure of a modern state.[17] In reinterpreting the idea of a choir mausoleum, with the rotunda in Galatina Giovanni Antonio created a new Renaissance space inspired by the circular plan of the Caracciolo del Sole chapel as well as its position behind the church's apse. One of its innovations was the type of funerary monuments displayed there, including a life-size statue of the defunct Raimondello kneeling in prayer towards the altar, as we can still see in the surviving portrait statue of him executed in painted stone.[18] In other funerary contexts, similar statues began to be seen as independent parts of more complex settings displayed within the three-dimensional space of the church, as first adopted by Giovanni Antonio himself in the church of Sant'Antonio da Padova in Taranto (1444–1448), and by his relatives, such as Tristano Chiaromonte in the Church of Santa Maria della Neve in Copertino (ca. 1460), Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva and Caterina della Ratta in the Church of Santa Maria dell'Isola in Conversano (ca. 1528), and later Belisario Acquaviva in the church of Sant'Antonio da Padova in Nardò (1545).[19] It is interesting that this kind of setting was readily imitated by the royal family in Naples, as the no longer surviving statue of Alfonso II in the chapel of the Duchesca, and the magnificent marble statue of cardinal Oliviero Carafa in the Succorpo Chapel in Naples (1497–1508) show.[20]

The new geography of feudal territories which resulted from the war of succession to the throne after Alfonso's death in 1458 and the first baronial rebellion (1458–1465), also lay at the origin of new patterns of patronage in which cultivated barons sponsored new works which in some cases followed royal models, but in many others were inspired by their own individual knowledge of antiquities and epigraphs and by the expert advice of humanists.

To gain an idea of the extent of contemporary experimentation in new *all'antica* projects it is useful to look at the renovation carried out by the count Orso Orsini (d. 1478) in the small but powerful fiefdom of Nola, near Naples,

17 On Soleto see Pollini 2019. On the Orsini Del Balzo see Allegrezza 1998; Cassiano and Vetere 2006; Petracca and Vetere 2013; Somaini 2013.

18 Coniglio 2017a.

19 On Sant'Antonio in Taranto see, with previous bibliography, de Divitiis and Coniglio 2015 (2017); de Divitiis 2020a, 102–103. On Santa Maria dell'Isola: Gelao 2005. On Copertino see Verdesca, Cazzato, and Costantini 1996; de Divitiis 2020a, 104. On Nardò Gelao 2004, 42–44; Gaballo 2006.

20 On the statue in the Duchesca see de Divitiis 2010, 329; Caglioti 2020. On Oliviero's statue see Caglioti 2015; Caglioti 2020.

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between 1463 and 1478 (fig. 39).[21] Few feudal lords succeeded in changing so many aspects of the town they ruled over in such a short time as Orso did and his project of urban renewal in Nola can stand comparison with similar but much better known undertakings, such as the renovation of Urbino carried out in the same years by the duke Federico da Montefeltro (1422–1482), who like Orso was an illegitimate son who became a count and who also shared with Orso a prominent position within the military hierarchy of the Aragonese court.[22] Orso's cultural sophistication and intelligence, as shown by the remarkable library he put together and by the pioneering military treatise he wrote during his rule of Nola, can also be seen in the great care he took to carry out new *all'antica* works using authentically ancient materials.[23] His palace was constructed according to the Vitruvian technique of *opus isodomum* using blocks which came from what was then believed to be the ancient amphitheatre of Nola, while the new regularly planned square in front of the cathedral was decorated with ancient statues of *togates* placed on pedestals bearing ancient inscriptions in an attempt to recreate the appearance of a Roman forum.[24] Orsini's reuse of ancient material in new projects, which at first sight might appear to be the mere continuation of the medieval practice of reusing *spolia*, should be seen instead as a different and localised way of conceiving a new model of *all'antica* art and architecture, in which a conspicuous number of antiquities available locally were regrouped or 'restaged', so to speak, in line with new philological concepts. A proof of the humanistic awareness which guided Orso's urban and architectural projects can be seen in the long inscription in Roman capitals running along the façade of his palace where, rather than having a new text composed for the purpose, he carried out the complex epigraphic operation of copying on a monumental scale epigraphic texts relating to two founders of the *gens Ursina*, Ursus Alus and Vituria. At the time the two texts were at the centre of a humanistic debate on the Roman origins of the Orsini family.[25] Far from being a naïve and unreflective operation on Orso's part, the extensive use of authentically ancient stones in new architectural works seems have been a common fashion among the elites of southern Italy, as we can see in the church of Santa Maria dell'Assunta in Fondi (ca. 1490) commissioned by the count Onorato II Caetani (1414–1491), which

21 De Divitiis 2016.

22 Tufano 2018.

23 For Orso's treatise see Cappelli in this volume; for his library see Abbamonte and D'Urso in this volume.

24 Clarke 1996; de Divitiis 2016.

25 Clarke 1996; de Divitiis 2016.

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uses ancient *isodomus* blocks from the town's forum.[26] Further evidence of this practice comes from the account books of the prince of Salerno Antonello Sanseverino, which show how in 1485 he refashioned his suburban property on Lago Piccolo, a lake to the south of Salerno, using blocks of ancient travertine from Paestum.[27] Unfortunately, nothing remains of what seems to have been planned as an *all'antica* villa. This project is further evidence of the cultural sophistication of the Sanseverino family, which also emerges in other works and projects they were involved in during these years, such as the church of the SS. Pietà in Teggiano (1470–1476) or the transfer of an ancient inscription dedicated to Pomona from Rome to Salerno (ca. 1476).[28]

Looking more broadly it appears that to express their authority, legitimacy, and connection to their fiefdoms the barons in the Kingdom had recourse to a wider concept of antiquity which did not only include the Roman period, but extended to early Christian and medieval times, in ways which recall Alfonso's use of medieval models for the arch in Castel Nuovo, which we have discussed above. It has also recently been shown that when the count of Venosa Pirro Del Balzo (ca. 1430–c. 1490), celebrated as the first patron of the humanist Jacopo Sannazaro, built the new cathedral in Venosa (1463–1470) he took as a model for its construction the Norman abbey of the SS. Trinità (11–12th centuries), the earliest royal pantheon in the Kingdom.[29] Another interesting case of how a new Renaissance work is rooted in the medieval history of southern Italy is that of the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Riccia in Molise built in about 1500 by the count Bartolomeo III De Capua (ca. 1460–post 1522).[30] A family of jurists originally from Capua, the De Capua had been promoted to baronial status in the 13th century thanks to the services the protonotary Bartolomeo de Capua (1248–1328) had provided for the first Angevin monarchs, and subsequently acquired control over extensive territories in the county of Molise.[31] The Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie was conceived as the core of the project of urban renewal carried out at the turn of the sixteenth century by Bartolomeo III. The Renaissance façade, which faintly recalls the work of the Sienese architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini, gives no indication of

26 Pesiri 2017; de Divitiis 2020b, 56–59.

27 De Divitiis 2020b, 50–51.

28 On the Sanseverino in Teggiano see Macchiaroli 1868; Braca 2010; Ambrogi 2010; On the Sanseverino and Salerno see de Divitiis 2018.

29 Marchi and Salvatore 1997, 118–119; de Divitiis 2019, 87–89; de Divitiis 2021, 95–98.

30 De Divitiis 2021, 98–101. For Bartolomeo III Di Capua see Tufano 2017. On the church see Spallone 1997; Vignone 2010; Milone 2016 (2019).

31 See Vitale in this volume.

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the interior of the edifice which explicitly refers to the medieval origins of the family (fig. 40).[32] Designed to evoke the space of a crypt, the choir displays on either side two pairs of classicizing arcosolia fronting each other as in early Christian catacombs. At their base these arcosolia enclose the tombs of the last four generations of the De Capua family, which all take the form of sepulchral benches, according to the model which had become highly fashionable among the Neapolitan elite since 1470.[33] The De Capua benches display long epitaphs which celebrate the merits of the respective generations as officials in the Angevin and Aragonese governments. By combining early Christian and contemporary features of funerary monuments, together with short humanistic biographical epigraphs, Bartolomeo implies that the history of the De Capua family corresponds to the history of the Kingdom, both rooted as they are in the Middle Ages; by placing his own floor slab at the centre of the choir he also inserts himself into the continuity of this genealogical sequence.[34] It is interesting to note that in creating this line of succession Bartolomeo did not claim direct inheritance from the founders of the lineage but, by excluding earlier important ancestors, deliberately begins from the end of the 14th century, in other words from a time when, during the repeated conflicts for succession to the Neapolitan throne, the De Capua family managed to maintain its position on the side of the winning party, skilfully surviving the difficult transitions between the different branches of the Angevin dynasty, the arrival of the Aragonese and also Charles VIII's conquest of the Kingdom. This capacity for survival enabled Bartolomeo to acquire a prominent position as the governor of Molise in the new political context of the Spanish kingdom. It is not by chance that the *fluotuante regn* ('floating/unstable Kingdom') is explicitly mentioned in the epitaph for Francesco, Bartolomeo's father, in reference to the continuous political upheavals of the period.[35]

The examples of Venosa and Riccia show how the early Christian and medieval past and its models were as important as Antiquity for the self-identity of the noble families of southern Italy. Rather than being seen as a dark age which was best disregarded, the Middle Ages were the period in which the Kingdom was created and the fortune of many families and urban centres originated or were consolidated. Even steeped in a new humanistic culture, as many of them were, the families of the southern Italian elite still felt the need to place their

32 For Francesco di Giorgio in the Kingdom see de Divitiis and Lenzo in this volume.
33 Michalsky 2005.
34 De Divitiis 2021, 98–101.
35 Tarallo 2016 (2019); de Divitiis 2021, 101.

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connection with antiquity within a long medieval tradition in order to emphasize their continuous presence in the territory and in its governance, as well as their success in surviving the Kingdom's continuous vicissitudes and dynastic changes. If Del Balzo's interest in Norman monuments finds parallels in the works of humanists such as Biondo Flavio and Giovanni Pontano, who stressed the importance of the early periods in the Kingdom's history, the theme of instability explicitly referred to in the epigraphs at Riccia reflects a real concern in the lives of the barons, corresponding to Tristano Caracciolo's description in his treatise *De varietate fortuna* (1509–1511), in which he illustrates the theme of Fortune's vicissitudes by pointing to the lives of the Kingdom's rulers and baronial class.[36] In many ways, it was the uncertainty of their situation which led the barons to seek strength and support in the past, both classical and medieval; at the same time, their success and sense of importance induced them to challenge changing circumstances with audacity and to embark on large-scale artistic enterprises which by necessity assumed that their descendants would be similarly committed.

This can be seen in the case of the Acquaviva family, who acquired notable power in Abruzzo at the turn of the 14th century, controlling towns such as Atri and Teramo.[37] Before his death fighting against the Turks in Otranto in 1481, Giulio Antonio Acquaviva (ca. 1428–1481) had expanded the family's territorial possessions as far as Puglia, in the process sponsoring notable works of art and architecture in both regions, as shown by the construction of the Church of Santa Maria dell'Isola in Conversano (1462–1463) and his involvement in the fresco cycle carried out by Andrea Delitio in the choir of Atri cathedral (last quarter of 15th century; fig. 80).[38] But his greatest achievement was the foundation in 1470 of a new town in Abruzzo named after him: Giulianova (fig. 63).[39] Giulianova shows that the creation of new towns was not a royal prerogative, as the examples of Alfonsina in Calabria (1447) and Ferrandina in Basilicata (1494) might suggest.[40] Baronial interest in founding new urban centres can also be seen in the later example of Acaya in Puglia, established by count Gian Giacomo dell'Acaya (1521–1536).[41] Planned as a defensive outpost on the Adriatic coast, Giulianova was at the same time a humanistic architectural pro-

36 On Pontano and the Middle Ages see Miletti 2018. On Caracciolo see Corfiati 2009.

37 Storace 1738.

38 For Giulio Antonio Acquaviva see Coniglio 1960; de Divitiis and Milone 2014. For Atri Georgetti 2006; Coniglio 2016. See also Zezza in this volume. For Santa Maria dell'Isola Gelao 2005; de Divitiis and Coniglio 2014 (2017).

39 Bevilacqua 2002.

40 Figliuolo 2012.

41 Gelao 2005; Brunetti 2006.

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ject comparable to Senigallia or Cortemaggiore; that Pienza, established by Pius II, was a direct inspiration can be proved by the close connection between Pius and the humanist Giovanni Antonio Campano (1429–1467), at the time bishop of Teramo, and author of the verses celebrating Giulio Antonio's foundation of Giulianova which were displayed on the town's gate.[42] A sense of the design of Giulianova comes from the exceptional illuminated title-page of the *Etica Nicomachea* commissioned by Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva (1458–1529), Giulio Antonio's scholarly and turbulent son: here we can recognize the buildings positioned on a radial pattern dominated by the imposing dome of the octagonal church of Santa Maria and surrounded by walls and towers.[43] Like other urban projects which were started at this time in Italy, the construction of Giulianova was affected by contemporary vicissitudes, in this case in the Acquaviva family's fortunes. By the time of Giulio Antonio's death, the town was already recognizable as a growing urban entity, but the completion of its monumental centre and of the residential neighbourhoods for the new inhabitants were delayed by the political upheavals which led to Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva being imprisoned on several occasions and the confiscation of his fiefs (they were later restored) for first challenging the Aragonese monarchs and then supporting the French in their attempted conquest of the Kingdom at the beginning of the 16th century.

The difficult period between the invasion of Charles VIII and the gradual establishment of Spanish power has long been regarded as a bleak period for art and architecture in southern Italy, yet the advanced condition of artistic endeavour in these years is evident in several projects carried out both by the barons who remained faithful to the Spanish monarchy and those who rebelled against it. Despite the destruction caused by the *damnatio memoriae* of the count of Venafro Enrico Pandone (1494–1528), found guilty of abrupt betrayal when he switched his support from the Spanish to the French at the time of Lautrec's invasion of southern Italy in 1528, notable fragments remain of the magnificent frescoes Pandone commissioned between 1521 and 1527 in his castle in Venafro.[44] In imitation of the more famous frescoes by in the Gonzaga residences in Mantua, and especially those by Giulio Romano in Palazzo Te (1526–1527), the frescoes in Venafro consist in a series of life-size portraits of the finest horses belonging to Pandone: these were all identified with an inscription including their name, breed, the date of the depiction made *al naturale* and in

42 Bevilacqua 2004. On Campano see Miletti 2013 (2017) and see Miletti in this volume. On the inscription see Bevilacqua 2004, 99.

43 ÖNB, Phil. gr. 004. On Andrea Matteo see Abbamonte, D'Urso and Iacono in this volume.

44 See Zezza in this volume.

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many cases also of the powerful friends to whom they had been donated, which also included the Emperor Charles V.[45]

The lavish crypt created in the same period in the cathedral of Acerenza by the count Giacomo Alfonso Ferrillo (1526–1528) met a more fortunate fate (fig. 41).[46] This was modelled on the crypt of the Succorpo in Naples, but re-elaborated according to a model from classical antiquity with four columns (tetrastyle): this type of plan recalled both local Byzantine churches, many examples of which survived in the area, as well as the classical model of the tetrastyle atrium of the Roman domus illustrated in Cesare Cesariano's edition of *De architectura* of Vitruvius (1521; fig. 42).[47] It is worth noting that Cesariano's woodcuts were highly influential in the erudite and artistic milieux of southern Italy, as is also shown by the presence of tombs displaying caryatides and telamons in Puglia, as well as the fountain in Gallipoli, which were directly inspired by his illustrations (fig. 43).[48]

Within the new geographical arrangement of the Empire, many fiefdoms in southern Italy fell under the control of families from outside the Kingdom, such as the Gonzaga, whose palace can still be admired in Giovinazzo (post 1531), and the Scanderbeg, who redesigned the entrance to the castle in Copertino (ca. 1535–1540).[49] A particularly interesting case is that of the family of the Gran Capitán Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1453–1515) who obtained Sessa in 1503 from Ferdinand II as a reward for his conquest of southern Italy.[50] The persistent attachment of the family to the town over the following generations is demonstrated by the fact that Sessa was most probably intended as the site for the erection of the funerary monument for Elvira de Córdoba, daughter of the Gran Capitán, and her husband Luis Fernández (fig. 44); Michelangelo was initially consulted on the monument, which was subsequently designed by Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni.[51] While completing the family chapel in Naples which the Gran Capitán had left unfinished in 1508, the governor of Milan Gonzalo II de Córdoba (1520–1578) also decided, with the help of the historian Paolo Giovio, to celebrate his grandfather by commissioning from the sculptor Annibale Caccavello (1515–1570) in about 1550 a trophy inspired by the ancient model of the Trophies of Marius in Rome, which was displayed in the

45 Della Ventura and Ferrara 2014; de Divitiis 2021. On the Pandone family see Morra 1985.
46 Barbone Pugliese 1982; Belli D'Elia and Gelao 1999; de Divitiis 2019a.
47 Cesariano 1521, bk. III, fol. LIIr: "Ex aedium sacrarum principiis, ex quibus co[n]stat figurarum aspectus et primum in antis quod græcæ ναός ἐν παραστάσιν dicitur".
48 Vetrugno 1996.
49 For Giovinazzo see Milone 2014 (2017). For Copertino see Ghisetti Giavarina 2006.
50 Agosti, Amirante, and Naldi 2001.
51 Shearman 1994.

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Baths of Mondragone, near the site where Gonzalo I had defeated the French troops in 1503.[52] In 1558 pieces of the trophy were reused as modern *spolia* to decorate the city gate in Sessa, known as Porta del Trionfo, thus reinforcing the city's association with the de Córdoba family and the Spanish monarchy.[53]

In Puglia in the meantime the Duchy of Bari, which after the disappearance of the Orsini Del Balzo family had fallen under the control of the Dukes of Milan, was restored to the Aragonese dynasty, namely to Isabella of Aragon (1470–1524) as a compensation from Ludovico il Moro (1452–1508) for the marriage dowry she had brought to Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1469–1494). Part of a network of erudite women who were patrons of art and architecture, which included her cousin the Marquess of Mantua Isabella Gonzaga (1474–1539) and the Countess of Acerra, Costanza d'Avalos (1460–1541), Isabella carried out an urban renewal of Bari. This included the plan of creating water-courses to isolate the medieval castle, a project that recalls both earlier Aragonese work in Taranto and Gallipoli and was possibly also inspired by the engineering projects carried out by Ludovico il Moro in Vigevano.[54] Isabella's architectural and artistic patronage was carried on by her daughter Bona Sforza (1494–1557), who ruled Bari after fleeing the Kingdom of Poland.[55] During her more than thirty years' reign as Queen of Poland, Bona had been responsible for important artistic undertakings, some in conjunction with her husband King Sigmund I, such as refashioning the Grand Ducal palace in Vilnius (ca. 1520–1530), and the Wawel palace in Cracow (1534–1535), and others in her own right, such as the tomb of Bishop Piotr Gamrat in Wawel cathedral (1545–1547), all works combining the most advanced features of Renaissance architectural style in Italy and Eastern Europe.[56] After she had returned to southern Italy, Bona was responsible for architectural projects throughout the Duchy of Bari, in Ostuni, Palo del Colle, Manduria, and Laterza, and she also continued to construct new buildings in Bari itself. Her work on the castle in Bari is recorded in the monumental *all'antica* inscription, originally in bronze capitals, which runs round the courtyard walls, while the creation of a new commercial and admin-

52 Agosti, Amirante, and Naldi 2001; Amirante and Naldi 2007.

53 Parolino 1992; Lenzo 2012b (2019).

54 On Isabella see Cioffari 1994; Welch 1995; de Divitiis, Lattanzio, and Mele 2015 (2017). On the works commissioned by Isabella see Gelao 2005, 260–261. On the Aragonese project see Lenzo in this volume. On Isabella's literary patronage see Cappelli and Miletti in this volume.

55 Cioffari 1994; Barycz 1969; Lattanzio and Mele 2014 (2017).

56 On the palace in Vilnius see Kitkauskas 2009. On the palace in Cracow see Paszkiewicz 1973; Kuczman 2004. On Garmat's tomb see Markham Schulz 1998, 267–305. On patronage in general see Górszczyk 2018.

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istrative centre is recalled by the *Colonna della giustizia* still standing in Piazza Mercantile (fig. 45).[57] Bona's imposing sepulchral monument is located in the apse behind the high altar of the Basilica of S. Nicola in Bari and was commissioned by her daughter Anna Jagellona (1523–1596) twenty years after her death, between 1570 and 1589.[58] Executed in white Carrara marble and black Portovenere marble, the monument is divided in three parts by four Doric columns and bears five life-size statues, with the effigy of Bona at the centre shown kneeling in the act of prayer towards the altar, the statues of St Nicholas and St Stanislaus in lateral niches, while allegoric nude statues representing the Kingdom of Poland and the Duchy of Bari rest on the base below the sarcophagus. With its location in the apse, kneeling life-size statue, and complex iconographic programme, Bona's monument once again drew for inspiration on the royal model of the choir-mausoleum; at the same time it is a remarkable epilogue to three generations of female patronage across Europe. It also marks the culmination of a long tradition of patronage in southern Italy, which was animated by transnational networks of artists, humanists and patrons and where local issues were always merged with Europe-wide ones.

Professional Elites

Looking more closely at the towns and cities of southern Italy, we find alongside the still little-known patronage of the baronial nobility also that of the local non-noble elites. In a society such as the Kingdom of Naples, which was still principally founded on a military ethos, a career as a soldier was one of the main channels for social mobility. But just as in the rest of Italy, there are instances of remarkable social advancement among categories such as jurists and doctors, as well as humanists, achievements which were promptly publicized in magnificent chapels and palaces.[59] These works are important and often unique historical testimonies, which show not only how variegated local elites were, but also their tastes and aspirations, expressed through a strategic use of images and texts. They give us valuable information on aspects of these local elites—their concerns with legitimacy, patterns of social mobility, their affinities and conflicts with each other.

In Capua, a city which had never been subject to baronial rule but was governed by a city council consisting of eighty members, the presence and strength

57 On the castle Todisco 1994; Gelao 2005, 260–261.

58 See with previous bibliography Gelao 2005, 295–297.

59 De Divitiis 2018.

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of the local elite is particularly evident in the more than twenty palaces constructed between the 15th and 16th centuries which still line the streets of the town's historical centre.[60] Among this conspicuous group of buildings, at least fourteen palaces adopted a common feature which consists in the portals of their entrances resting on ancient *spolia*, such as stone blocks from the amphitheatre, funerary inscriptions, and *stelae* with life-sized togated figures, all with a clear local provenance. The presence of such *spolia* is made even more striking by the contrast between the white limestone of the antique elements and the dark grey local stone in which the rest of the portals is constructed, a two-colour scheme that seems to have become a local fashion used in palaces of different dimensions and in different architectural styles. The systematic nature of this phenomenon, which must have been far more extensive and consistent than the examples which survive today, is a further confirmation that what we see here is a highly self-aware manifestation, the result of a conscious strategy of individual and collective self-representation on the part of those belonging to a heterogeneous elite.[61] That there was an awareness governing these choices becomes even more evident by comparing this series of palaces in the town with the one featuring a refined use of the classical Doric order in via Pier delle Vigne. As an authentic example of Tuscan Renaissance style imported into the city, this palace confirms that the Florentine stylistic vocabulary was just one of many possible ways of choosing to be *all'antica*, and one moreover that did not necessarily meet the requirements of the Capuan elite, who preferred to incorporate into their residences, in the manner of relics, antique material found locally. This incorporation amounts to an implicit claim that the communities of families who lived in those palaces were rooted in an ancient and glorious past, to which the stones themselves testify and which justified the contemporary privileges enjoyed by Capuan citizens throughout the entire Kingdom.

In Nola, where fewer 15th- and 16th-century palaces survive and those which do are in poorer condition, a sense of the affinities in architectural taste shared by a variegated elite, similar to that in Capua, emerges from an exceptional literary source: the description in Ambrogio Leone's *De Nola* of the *domus nolana*, a typical Nolan house which Leone based on his analysis of the many examples, seven hundred according to his undoubtedly hyperbolical estimate, of 'noble' houses existing in the city. His description uses a precise lexicon taken from the treatises of Vitruvius and Alberti.[62] Differing in size and magnificence, accord-

60 Di Resta 1985, 37–41; Pane and Filangieri 1990, *passim*; de Divitiis 2018a, 57.

61 De Divitiis 2018a, 54.

62 De Divitiis 2018b; Vitale 2018. On the Nolan house see also Vitale in this volume. On the survey of palaces in Nola see Avella 1996–1999.

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ing to Leone these houses were an indirect proof of the high standard of living shared by the citizens of Nola who, despite baronial rule, are all regarded as belonging to the nobility, one that did not necessarily derive from birth, but was achieved through excellence in the liberal and also the mechanical arts, and included soldiers, jurists, physicians, notaries, merchants, lettered people, philosophers, musicians, actors, surveyors, and architects, all categories which are specifically named and listed in his work.[63]

There is some evidence to show that, as in Capua, *all'antica* elements in Nola were obtained by incorporating ancient stones into portals or façades, some of which, as Leone states, had possibly been donated by the count Orso Orsini. This must have been the case for the palace of the Albertini family, which apart from being one of the few surviving Renaissance palaces in the town, offers a striking example of ancient material of local provenance used strategically (fig. 46). Created in around 1470 by Cubello Albertini, a member of the court chancery of Orso Orsini, the palace still features at its base a sequence of ancient triglyphs and metopes decorated with panoplies and togated figures arranged systematically so as to recreate an ancient Doric frieze.[64] Such a prominent base made of *spolia* subsequently became an integral part of the mid-16th-century building constructed by Giacomo (d. 1508) and his son Gentile Albertini (d. 1539), both jurists and city councillors. The two brothers renovated the palace by surmounting the Doric frieze with a system of two orders of composite pilasters, as well as creating a new Ionic portal in the style known as *mormandeo*, from the name of the architect Giovanni Donadio known as Mormando (1455–1530), who had first used it in Naples.[65] By maintaining the 15th-century frieze made of *spolia* within such a quasi-philological superimposition of orders, the Albertini seem not only to want to show the family's uninterrupted presence in Nola, but also to give a visual summary of the social ascent of their family, which, from remote military origins, had succeeded, thanks to their profession, in attaining the highest ranks of local administration, even surviving the city's difficult transition after the fall of the Orsini in 1528. Such an interpretation is confirmed by their chapel in the nearby church of San Francesco, where the marble sepulchral benches of the jurists Giacomo and Gentile and a third member of the family, the *miles* Fabrizio Albertini (d. 1513), each individually celebrated for their professional achievements, were originally grouped around an inscription which recorded the military prowess

63 Vitale 2018.

64 Avella 1997, III, 430–440; Mollo 1996; Campone 2007; Lenzo 2012 (2019).

65 I am grateful to Fulvio Lenzo for sharing with me his thoughts on the palace, which are part of a forthcoming work. See Blunt (1975) 2006, 35; 48, note 52.

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of Ubertino Albertini, the soldier from Lombardy who had arrived in Nola in the 13th century following Charles I of Anjou, and who had initiated the rise in the family fortunes.[66]

In addition to recounting their family's history and cultural preferences, by means of complex iconographic programmes, members of the elite could reach beyond the personal and local sphere to a wider political dimension. This is what we find in the monumental palace belonging to the two brothers Lucio and Giampasquale Vulpano in Bitonto, created between 1500 and 1502 (fig. 47).[67] Both brothers were jurists who had actively challenged the baronial power of Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva. At the centre of the quadrangular courtyard we find a loggia formed of three arches and surmounted by a parapet carrying a frieze in which the family's conscious strategy of social ascent and securing their position is embodied. Here a complex narrative is unfolded not through *spolia*, as we saw in the Albertini palace, but by linking inscriptions to what is a programmatic collection of newly executed portraits made according to all the possible types of *all'antica* sculptural portraiture and arranged on three levels. At the base of the frieze we find a marble tablet where Lucio and Gianpasquale are depicted almost as if they were reading an inscription out aloud.[68] The inscription on the marble tablet declares that the importance of the family has been achieved because of its upright way of life and its bloodline and testifies to the enduring fame that the "noble kingdom" has been ruled by both brothers with justice, rigour, prudence and loyalty. The suggested parallel in the text which is drawn between the 'noble kingdom' and the Vulpano family projects the specific story of the family into a wider mythological and historical dimension represented by the set of images systematically displayed on the central frieze, featuring sculpted images of the gods Apollo and Mars, the military leaders Scipio and Hannibal, four Roman emperors, Alexander, Darius, Nero, and Antoninus Pius, and lastly busts of two medieval rulers of southern Italy, probably to be identified with Peter III of Aragon and Charles I of Anjou. The setting was completed by three further 16th-century busts representing Julius Caesar, Augustus, and the Emperor Constantine, which were once also displayed on top of the cornice of the frieze but are now dispersed in private collections. By carefully displaying such *all'antica* portraits in sym-

66 Toscano 1996; Naldi 2007; Loffredo 2012 (2016).

67 Sylos Labini 1990; Todisco 1999; Gelao 2005, 205–211; Maselli Campagna 2006; Pice 2009; de Divitiis, Lenzo and Coniglio 2013 (2017).

68 "MORIB[US] ET VITA CLARA EST / ET SANGUINE PROLES / VULPANA ET TITULUS / FAMA PEREMNIS ERIT / FRATRIBUS AMBOBUS / REGERETUR NOBILE REGNUM / IURE ET CENSURA / CONSILIIS ET FIDE. 1502". De Divitiis 2019, 37.

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metrical and opposing positions, the Vulpano brothers seem to have wanted to create a kind of illustrated history book telling exemplary stories of rival factions, ranging from mythical to nearly contemporary times. An interpretative key to the entire programme is provided in the inscription carved on the lower cornice of the loggia, a quotation from Sallust, which declares that "concord makes small things grow, while discord destroys even the greatest".[69] In addition to displaying the brothers' classical culture, the quotation seems to suggest a parallel between a desire for political harmony, typical of the peace-loving ideology of the administrative rather than military elite, and for family harmony, as the main antidote which, alongside personal virtues and professional excellence, allowed families to survive and prosper socially. Such a powerful invocation to concord and the overall ensemble of images and texts makes the Vulpano loggia a significant testimony to the political instability faced also by non-noble families in the difficult final years of the Kingdom, which recalls the similar architectural and sculptural ensemble created in the same period in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Riccia by Bartolomeo III De Capua.

In addition to expressing affinities of social category or testifying to a family's achievement of social status, palaces can also offer interesting evidence of another important aspect of the political life and culture of the Renaissance in southern Italy: the endemic conflicts which spread across cities between pro-Angevin and pro-Aragonese, and later between pro-French and Spanish, factions.[70] A prominent example is that of the palace of the Saraceno family in Giovinazzo (late 15th–16th centuries): isolated on three sides with its facades entirely covered with *isodomus* stone, the building offers an image of the social pre-eminence and cultural sophistication attained by the Saraceno family through the exercise of their profession as jurists.[71] Inlaid in the main and lateral façades, we find two monumental inscriptions in Roman capitals: on the main façade there is an intimidating inscription addressed to the families of the opposing party. The words of the inscription, written in dialect, are arranged on two line, and warn all those who wish to harm the Saraceno family: "EL SARACINO TE[N]GE & SE[M]PRE C[O]CE / ET QVA[N]TO PIV LV TOCCHI PIV TE NOCE" (fig. 2). Such an inscription seems to emerge directly from the aggressive and everyday experience of the clashes that took place in the streets and squares of Giovinazzo and is complemented by the inscription on

69 "CONCORDIA PARVAE RES CRESCUNT DISCORDIA MAXIMAE DILABUNTVR". De Divitiis, Lenzo, and Coniglio 2013 (2017); de Divitiis 2019, 37.

70 See Storti in this volume.

71 On the palace and inscriptions see de Divitiis and Milone 2014 (2017).

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the side façade, this time not in dialect, but in Tuscan: "TEMER SI DEE SOL DI QVELLE COSE / CHANNO POTENSA DI FAR ALTRVY MALE / DE LALTRE NO CHE NO[N] SO PAVROSE." (fig. 3).[72] To warn citizens to fear danger, the Saracenos used a tercet from Dante's *Inferno* inscribed on a monumental scale and arranged on three lines. In addition to offering evidence for the reception of the *Commedia* in this part of Italy, the two inscriptions from Palazzo Saraceno provide an exceptional historical, linguistic, and artistic document of the conflicts between opposing factions which are also narrated in several 16th-century chronicles of Giovinazzo, while showing at the same time an accomplished use of the medium of monumental epigraphy to express strength and status.[73]

Similar narrative content produced by the inclusion of extremely dense texts within new artistic works can also be found in the funerary monuments built for members of the elite classes. One interesting example is the tomb of Orso Malavolta (d. 1488), in the cathedral of Teggiano, a doctor who belonged to a family that had moved from Siena to southern Italy in the 14th century and had flourished under the Sanseverinos (fig. 48).[74] Possibly constructed around 1494, the monument underwent various restorations. Its present configuration consists of a two-order structure: slender pilasters and elongated stems with female heads support a cornice and the funerary chamber, where a pulvinated and coffered arch encloses the sarcophagus and bas-reliefs of three angels, with the middle one carrying the Malavolta arms. Two elaborate inscriptions, one on the sarcophagus and the other on the lower cornice, give us a sense of the social status which lies behind the monument: Orso is first described as being famous for his medical, scientific, and physical arts, and as a doctor of medicine; then, in a rhetorical crescendo of repeated hendiadys, he is celebrated as a "*decor* for the city" and a "refuge for citizens", and finally compared to a *vallo munitus* or bastion, alluding to his role of defender "who fought at the time of king Ferrante."[75] As with the Vulpano loggia, an individual career is again projected onto

72 See Montuori in this volume.

73 For a linguistic analysis of the inscriptions see Montuori in this volume. For the chronicles of Giovinazzo see Volpicella 1874 and Miletti in this volume.

74 Loffredo 2013 (2016). On the Malavolta Didier 1985; Aschieri 2010.

75 'P[RO]H DOLO[R] VNVS ERAT MEDICINE DOCTOR ET ARTIS | SV(M)MVS, ET HIC PATRIE NV(N)C IACET VRS(VS), HONOS | QVI MALAVOLT[ORVM] NOM[EN] PRODVXIT AD ASTRA, NVNC TENET ELISEOS, REGNA BEATA, LARES. | OBIIT MCCCCLXXXVIIII, XVIII APRILIS.' 'HIC IACET ANTIQV[E] MALAVOLTOR[VM] GENT[I]S VRSVS DE S[CI]E[NTI]IS PH[YSI-CI]S MEDIC[VS] Q[VE] ARTIVM ET ME|DICIN[E] DOCTO[R] P[RE]CLARISSIM[VS] VRBIS DEC[VS] CIVIV[M] CONFVGIV[M] ELOQ[VI]O CLAR[VS] CO[N]SILIO PO|LLE[N]S, DIVINA-R[VM] HVMANAR[VM] Q[VE] SCI[ENTI]A RER[VM] M[V]LTO P[RE]STA[N]TIOR ANIMI

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the wider scale of the Kingdom's history: it is tantalizing to suppose that the defensive role mentioned in the epitaph refers to Malavolta's possible support of the king against the Sanseverino, who in 1485 had risen against the monarchy. While the emphasis on virtue and professional excellence as factors of ennoblement finds parallels in the literary and artistic works of the time, the reference to Orso as an "ornament to the city", using the concept of *decorum*, creates an interesting interplay between the life of the deceased and the function of his marble monument, in a way which is reminiscent of Giovanni Pontano's argument in his *De magnificentia* that tombs should be built for worthy men since these could rouse people to the pursuit of virtue and glory.[76]

The use of the concept of *decorum* is found in the *all'antica* tomb of another physician Eustachio Paulicelli in the Church of San Francesco in Matera, datable to the early 16th century. The tomb was celebrated in a contemporary poem by the local poet Pierangelo Piera (mid-15th–mid-16th century) who played on the concept of *decus urbis* to celebrate both Paulucelli's qualities and those of his marble sepulchre, of which today only the elegant marble sarcophagus decorated with winged sphinxes survives.[77]

The professional status and *ingenium* of the deceased as well as his proximity to the royal family are the key elements which explain the highly refined craftsmanship found in the tomb of the jurist Jacopo da Gayano in the church of the convent of the Trinità in Baronissi, to the north of Salerno (fig. 49).[78] Executed between 1506 and 1512, the monument merges elements from Andrea Bregno's milieu in Rome such as the type of base, the design of the sarcophagus, and the *gisant*, all in white marble, with those derived from Florentine sculpture, namely the framing structure executed in grey sandstone. The overall bichromal structure of the Gayano tomb thus reflects the multiple contacts, artistic exchanges, and quality of workmanship which could also be achieved in what might seem today to be a remote area of the Kingdom and what is more during a critical time of political transition.[79]

The advanced level of humanistic culture which was nourished by a dense circuit of intellectual exchange is brought to the fore in the unified architec-

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Q[VE] SAPI[ENTI]A Q[VAS]I VA|LLO MVNIT[VS] Q[VI] S[V]B DIVI ET INCLITI X FERDINA[N] DI REGIS IMP[ER]IO B[E]NIVOLE CERTABAT'. On the inscription see Miletti 2013 (2016).

76 Pontano (ed. Tateo) 1999, 192.

77 On the tomb see Loffredo 2013 (2017). On Piera and the epigram see Miletti 2013 (2017); Miletti 2013a (2017). Matera, MAN, ms. Fondo Gattini 3343, Canzoniere di Pierangelo Piera, fol. 23^{v}: *Ad sepulchrum Eustachii Paulicellis*. The inscription and epigram were first published in Gattini 1882, 342.

78 Abbate 1992, 66 note; Loffredo 2012 (2019).

79 Loffredo 2012 (2019).

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tural space of the chapel of the Annunziata commissioned by the notary Marco Sanitate in the cathedral of Matera (1538–1544; fig. 50).[80] While carried out by local sculptors and architects from the Persio family, with its rectangular plan covered by a barrel-coffered vault and shelled niches framed by pilasters on its sides, the chapel reflects the cultural liveliness both of its patron and of Matera, which was at the time part of a wide network of exchange involving centres throughout Italy and also from across the Adriatic sea. In addition to its artistic references to the Succorpo in Naples, and to the atrium of the Farnese palace in Rome (ca. 1513), the most striking comparison suggested by the Sanitate chapel is with the chapel of the blessed Giovanni Orsini in the cathedral of Traù (Trogir) executed between 1468 and 1482 by Andrea Alessi and Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino.[81] Marco Sanitate had planned to have a painted altarpiece from Venice, but in the end used a bas-relief Annunciation by Altobello Persio (1507–1593). However, Sanitate's original idea is indicative of the notable traffic of paintings which were coming from Venice to this area of the Kingdom and especially Puglia where, from the mid-15th century onwards the works of Venetian painters, such as Bartolomeo Vivarini and Giovanni Bellini, were highly sought after for the chapels constructed by elite families in the region. This phenomenon was intensified by the notable presence of Venetians in the area and the fact that several Puglian towns at the turn of the 16th century were under the direct control of the Serenissima.[82] In addition to the panel of San Pietro Martire by Giovanni Bellini from the Church of Santa Maria la Nova in Monopoli (1480–1485), possibly commissioned by the local magistrate Leo Arpona, this traffic of paintings included Lazzaro Bastiani's San Girolamo commissioned for the chapel of the 'spetiale' Saladino Ferro (1475–1480 c.) originally from Ascoli in the cathedral of Monopoli (now in the Museo Diocesano), and possibly the painted panel for the monument of Giacomo Buongiovanni, Bona Sforza's teacher, still displayed in the Basilica of San Nicola in Bari (after 1510), executed by an unknown master from the circle of Bellini.[83] Later works to arrive in this way include the painted panel by Paris Bordon for the altar commissioned by the Tanzi family originally from Milan, which was in Bari cathedral (1550–1555).[84]

80 Lanzilotta 2010; Restucci 1998; Fonseca, Demetrio, and Guadagno 1999; de Divitiis and Lenzo 2013 (2017); Loffredo 2013 (2017).

81 Restucci 1998; de Divitiis and Lenzo 2013 (2017).

82 Ceriana 2019.

83 On the Bellini, now in the Bari Pinacoteca, see Gelao 2005, 142–146. On the Bastiani, now in the Museo Diocesano in Monopoli, see Vinco 2019. On the Buongiovanni monument see Gelao 2006, 27. Tarallo 2015 (2017).

84 On the Bordon, in the Bari Pinacoteca, see Gelao 2013.

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The artistic impact of the foreign merchants, city governors, and church officials who spent long periods of residence in the Kingdom has still to be fully explored. But a hint of how such presences could lie at the origin of interesting artistic work can be seen in what we know of the unfortunately now lost works commissioned by Bishop Giannozzo Pandolfini (mid-15th century–1525) in the major chapel of the cathedral in Troia.[85] A member of the Florentine mercantile family with specific commercial interests in the Kingdom and close connections with the Medici, Pandolfini seems to have spent a notable amount of time in Troia, where he played host to powerful and learned friends, such as the humanist Bishop Buonsignore Buonsignori.[86] In 1504 Pandolfini had the cathedral's major chapel decorated with a mosaic, which was destroyed between 1607 and 1622.[87] Even though we have no further information at present on the iconography and artists involved in Pandolfini's project, the evidence of the existence of mosaics in the cathedral means that Troia was part of the interesting artistic phenomenon of the Renaissance revival of mosaic decoration. Here too we can trace a further aspect of Venetian influence, when we recall that in the Basilica of San Marco mosaic technique was employed uninterruptedly throughout the 15th century, as shown by the Mascoli chapel (1450), and by the fact that mosaics were considered for the new decoration of the basilica's main apse in 1507.[88] At the same time, the revival of mosaics was encouraged by the Medici milieu in Florence, as we can see from the remains of the Zanobi chapel in the Duomo.[89] As part of the same revival, at the beginning of the 16th century Raphael designed pseudo-mosaics in the Vatican *Stanze* (1508–1512) and a mosaic was executed to decorate the dome of the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo (ca. 1511).[90] If we recall that Raphael also designed for Giannozzo Pandolfini his palace in Florence (ca. 1517), Troia's lost mosaic becomes an important piece of the overall picture of the Renaissance revival of this decorative technique.

As we have seen, the apse in a church was in most cases the privileged location for the burials of the royal family as well as of leading barons who strategically adopted this royal custom for their own purposes. There is some evidence to suggest that even members of the non-noble elite could rise in the social scale to such a degree that they too could obtain a tomb in a church apse.

85 Lenzo and Miletti 2014 (2017).
86 Figliuolo 2009; Sartore 2019, 23.
87 Rosso (ed. Beccia), 1904–1907: XXI, 155–156, note 4; Lenzo and Miletti 2014 (2017).
88 Demus 1984.
89 Haines 1994.
90 Rowland 2005; Kutbay 2019.

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In the Museo Diocesano of Teggiano we find fragments of a collapsed arch from the cathedral bearing a monumental inscription which records Orso Malvolta's provision for his family of an altar and a tomb under the pulpit designed by the medieval sculptor Melchiorre.[91] The decoration of the arch and its dimensions suggest that it was not the entrance to a private chapel, but probably, before it collapsed during an earthquake in the 18th century, marked the passage to the major chapel of the cathedral. Malvolta's control over the location of his family tomb in the major chapel as the most important part of the church, which is suggested by the surviving inscription on the arch, is possibly an indication of the importance he and his family had achieved after the fall of the Sanseverino dynasty in 1486.[92] An interesting comparison is the triumphal arch in the cathedral in Teano commissioned in 1525 by Goffredo Galluccio, who monumentalized the apse with a division into two parts, formed by inserting another smaller arch; he then had an antique sarcophagus transferred there which was reused for the burial of his ancestor, the *miles* Goffredo Galluccio the Elder, who had died in 1476 (fig. 51).[93]

More partial evidence comes from the apse of the Church of San Francesco d'Assisi in Cosenza, which seems to have been a space which was highly sought after by prominent members of the local elite. In his will dated 1521 the humanist Giano Aulo Parrasio (1470–1521), who was living at the time in Cosenza, where he had founded a humanist academy, allocated the notable sum of 400 ducats to construct the high altar in the apse of the church of San Francesco d'Assisi, where he wanted his bones to be preserved, and stipulated that the altar was to be executed in "marmore bono et fino lavorate in Fiorenza" (good quality fine marble worked in Florence) and should follow a precise iconographic programme, including a scene of the *Nunziata et lo angelo* (Annunciation) and a *Pietà*.[94] It is still unclear whether Parrasio's altar no longer survives or was never constructed, but the instructions he leaves for his tomb is further evidence that humanists could also be patrons in their own right. As we know from the Pontano chapel and the monument for Jacopo Sannazaro in Naples, such patronage could achieve results which were comparable to works commissioned by the highest-ranking nobility.[95] The design of Parrasio's monument also raises interesting questions in relation to the relative importance

91 Macchiaroli 1868, 134–135.

92 Macchiaroli 1868, 150–159; Ambrogi 2010, 103–134; Milone 2016 (2019).

93 Pane 1957; Zarone 1963; Lenzo 2012a (2019).

94 Milone 2014 (2017); Miletti and Milone 2014 (2017). Coniglio 2017. For Parrasio's library see Abbamonte in this volume; for his academy in Cosenza see Iacono in this volume.

95 Deramaix and Laschke 1992; de Divitiis 2010.

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of the factors of money, social status, and erudition or artistic cultivation as these elements overlapped and interacted across the different social categories of persons who commissioned works of art.

Thirty years after Parrasio's will, in 1554, on the wall to the right of the entrance into the same apse in San Francesco the magnificent marble tomb of the jurist and questor of Calabria *citerior* Bartolo Arnone (d. 1554) was erected, possibly the work of the Florentine sculptor Giovann' Angelo Montorsoli (1507–1563) and his pupils, such as Giuseppe Bottone (1539–1575) and Andrea Calamech (1524–1589), who at the time were working in Messina (fig. 52).[96] The tomb remained standing in San Francesco until the earthquake of 1854, after which its fragments were kept in the church cloister. The tombs of Parrasio and Arnone, as well as showing us how marble monuments of great artistic sophistication created for prominent members of the administrative and intellectual elite, could also occupy the spaces reserved for the monarchy and aristocracy, might also indicate that in a city like Cosenza, historically free from baronial rule, the apse of an important church was seen as a space where several monuments could be located side by side, even possibly in competition with each other.

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96 Coniglio 2017. I thank Paola Coniglio for the image of the sepulcher.

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PART 3

Histories and Narratives

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CHAPTER 13

Historiography from the Aragonese Kingdom to the Spanish Viceroyalty

Fulvio Delle Donne

Historiographical writing in southern Italy during the Renaissance period is notable in specific and innovative ways. With the arrival of Alfonso the Magnanimous, who completed his conquest of the Kingdom of Naples in June 1442, there was a sudden outpouring of historical works which are significant for two reasons. Firstly, on account of their sheer quantity together with the complex literary structures they employ: even if their pages are dedicated to recounting the feats of the new Aragonese monarch, their overall perspective is wide, taking in the circumstances of the Kingdom as a whole. They are also important because they helped to shape in incisive ways a redefinition of what the writing of history involved, which up to this period had been an ill-defined activity.

These works have on occasion been described as 'courtly' productions. The condemnation of them pronounced nearly a century ago by Eduard Fueter was for a long time influential,[1] but recent studies have clearly shown that his judgement is today unacceptable.[2] In effect, these texts, especially those by Antonio Beccadelli, known as Panormita (1394–1471) and Bartolomeo Facio (ca. 1410–1457), who both wrote in Latin, are frequently implicit *specula principum*, describing patterns of virtuous behaviour for rulers, even when they appear to be justificatory accounts of the monarch's actions. And even though their primary purpose was to build consensus around the policies pursued by the Aragonese monarchy, they also provided the king with guidelines so that his actions might conform to the system of virtuous conduct which had been developed by humanist scholars in this period. As a result, there is a multiplicity of interconnections between historical account and celebration, between narration and 'propaganda', between ethical ideals and political practice. These works did not only lay down the ethical rules for how a king should behave; they also established the principles of narrative organization and rhetorical presentation for a genre which only now was being defined with precision. These new

1 Fueter 1946, 1. 45.

2 See Resta, *Introduzione* to Panormita (ed. Resta) 1968; Tateo 1992; Ferraù 2001; Albanese 2000; Delle Donne 2015a; Delle Donne and Cappelli 2021.

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principles above all emerged from the reflections of a group of 'professional' humanist historians in Neapolitan court circles. These men came from all over Italy, the most prominent being Bartolomeo Facio and Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), who engaged in a fierce debate with each other on the question of how history should be written.

The subsequent development and conclusion of the extraordinary period, short-lived but intense, under Aragonese rule led in other directions. Above all, from the 1470s onwards, during the reign of Ferrante, fewer historiographical texts were being produced. There were still significant works in the genre, but it lost its edge in favour above all of works of ethical and political theory.[3] This shift is summed up by the career of Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1429–1503), who wrote important narrative and theoretical works of historiographical interest. Then, between the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century, there was a complete change of direction in historiographical writing. With the Kingdom in crisis there was no longer any possibility of celebrating its present unhappy state; instead, it became a matter of urgency to reflect on the past and analyse it in order to understand the evolution of events. The rhetorical and narrative structures too in such writing became less prominent and for the most part they were composed in the Italian vernacular. Yet the most significant reconstructions of the past were not produced in the Kingdom but outside it: Pandolfo Collenuccio (1444–1504) was the first to write, at the beginning of the 16th century, an overall account of the Kingdom's history but he wrote it in Ferrara, at the Estense court, to which he belonged. Collenuccio's reconstructions, however, provoked violent responses within the Kingdom itself, from Angelo Di Costanzo (1507–1591), for example, who at the end of the 16th century was responsible for changing the nature of the way the history and social organization of the Kingdom was thought about.

The Debates on History and Historiographical Writing in the Age of Alfonso the Magnanimous: Iberian Tradition and Humanist Innovation

The reason for the sudden large increase in historiographical writing during the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous is part of an intricate and complex issue to do with cultural politics and strategies of legitimacy. Alfonso's conquest of the Kingdom of Naples was completed in 1442 after about twenty years of warfare

3 Cappelli 2016a.

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against the descendants of the Angevin dynasty: at first Louis III (1403–1434) and then his brother René (1409–1480). Alfonso based his claims on the throne of Naples partly on the fact that the Aragonese sovereigns were distantly descended from Manfred of Hohenstaufen (1232–1266), whose daughter Costanza (1249–1302) had married the king of Aragon (1276–1285) but above all on his contested adoption as heir in 1420 by the queen of Naples Giovanna II (1414–1435), a move which perhaps was rapidly revoked. In short, Alfonso's possession of the Kingdom rested on a very fragile legal basis. Furthermore, the long war of conquest had caused much destruction and not only in its final years; there had been a devastating conflict in Naples in 1423. Alfonso therefore needed to reinforce his authority with a deliberate campaign of 'consensus-building', fusing Iberian traditions with the models taken from Roman antiquity which humanist scholars were exploring and reviving in the same period. The solemn Triumph which Alfonso celebrated in 1443 to mark the end of the war of conquest is emblematic in this regard: it is the first example of an imitation of the triumphs of ancient Roman emperors but at the same time it contained traces of the public ceremonies with which the Aragonese had celebrated coronations and royal entrances into cities.

In the last analysis, historiographical works were also intended to celebrate Alfonso and his dynasty as the holders of power, but it is important to bear in mind the mingling of very different political and cultural traditions which in southern Italy produced remarkable results. The period of Alfonso's reign saw an astonishing number of celebratory historical accounts of the new king's undertakings, including, to name only a few, the *Gestorum libri* by the Sicilian Tommaso Chaula (1424), the *Historia Alphonsi* by Gaspar Pelegrí (1443), Lorenzo Valla's *Gesta Ferdinandi* (1445–1446), Bartolomeo Facio's *Historiae Alphonsi* (1455), the *De dictis et factis Alphonsi* by Panormita (1455), as well as the epic poem the *Alfonseis* by Matteo Zuppardo (1455–1456), and the great number of minor works, of which many remain unpublished to this day, by such figures as Lorenzo Bonincontri (1410–1489) or Ciccolino Gattini from Basilicata. Gattini has been proposed as the author of a work on Alfonso's military expedition to Tuscany (1447) which appears almost identical to the first book of a work by Mattia Palmieri, the *Bellum Italicum* (1457–1471). After Alfonso's death the stream continued with more works by Panormita, Giovanni Albino Lucano (1478–1495), and the writings by Pontano already alluded to, which recount with great accuracy several of the episodes which occurred in the regions and towns and cities of southern Italy.[4]

4 Delle Donne 2016; Delle Donne 2018b.

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Celebratory historiographical works were produced in the 12th century in southern Italy understood as a geographical area in the Norman period: examples are the works by Guillelmus Apuliensis (1095–1099), Alessandro da Telese (1136), and the pseudo-Falcandus (1169); at the time of Henry VI of Hohenstaufen (1165–1197) and his fleeting presence in Italy, there is the historical epos by Pietro da Eboli (1197). But these works were too remote to serve as inspiration for historiographical writing in the Aragonese period and in any case must have had a very limited circulation given the scarce manuscript tradition for each of them. Any attempt to trace such a tradition of historiographical writing in celebration of the figure of the ruler would come up against an interruption which lasted for two and a half centuries, from the end of the 12th century to the middle of the 14th.

It is easier, on the other hand, to show that the seeds of the huge wave of celebratory historiography in the 1480s were imported directly into Italy by Alfonso the Magnanimous and his fellow countrymen who accompanied him on his long military campaign of conquest. In Catalonia and Castile—the regions where the Trastàmara family, Alfonso's dynasty, came from—there is abundant evidence of historiographers such as Desclot (1283–1288) or Álvar García de Santa María (1455–1460) who were more or less officially employed and who wrote works recounting the sovereign's deeds. There is also an inventory of Alfonso's belongings dating from 1417 which includes a list of about 60 books, among which there is a large number of historical works.[5] The list reveals how interested Alfonso was in historiographical production and this interest is probably also reflected in the circulation at his court of Álvar García de Santa María's work, the *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla*. In short, given these precedents and the tradition of production of historiographical works that had some kind of official status or purpose of dynastic celebration, it is natural to assume that Alfonso would have had the idea of encouraging in his court at Naples a similar historiographical literature which would form part of the dynasty's propaganda. It is true that there was no formal role for an official historiographer in Naples, contrary to what has often been inaccurately asserted (the first to hold such an office was Jerónimo Zurita (1512–1580) and his duties were different) but the conferment of special assignments together with specific payments to Lorenzo Valla and Bartolomeo Facio confirm the hypothesis that there was an original Iberian model behind the humanistic historiography of Alfonso's court, essentially intended to justify and legitimize the Aragonese monarch.

5 Delle Donne 2015b.

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Yet the works written in southern Italy were decidedly innovative: whatever experience, Italian or 'Iberian', was antecedent to them, it underwent the transformations effected by the Italian intellectuals who were active at Alfonso's court—Panormita and Bartolemeo Facio the most prominent among them—whose reading and thinking had been shaped by classical authors. Alongside the actual works which were produced, the theoretical discussions *de historia conscribenda*, on the formal rules for the composition of historical works, which arose from the ferocious polemic between Valla and Facio, were also highly significant. This debate found a particularly fertile territory at the Neapolitan court and from it emerged a model of historiographical writing that rapidly inspired other writers in different institutional contexts and in every part of Europe. Historiography at Alfonso's court—and subsequently elsewhere—became an integral part of a strategic campaign of propaganda knowingly constructed by the king in order to legitimize his conquest and his new role. But grafted on to this political project were the long-ruminated intellectual schemes of writers who applied the rules of classical rhetoric to historical writing,[6] a genre of literature which at the time still had a lowly status, the consequence of lacking a classical formalization of the rhetorical rules which might govern it, a project Cicero intended to carry out but never accomplished. In short, the debate that raged in that period on how history should be written was not conducted at the level of mere learning—or rather, while the aspect of erudition, the display of knowledge, and of familiarity with classical sources, was certainly present, it was subordinate on the one hand to the political and cultural strategy of legitimizing the sovereign and on the other to the desire or, more accurately, the need for men of letters to ingratiate themselves with the king in order to obtain tangible favours and benefits: after all, they too had to earn a living. Extremely generous stipends were paid at Alfonso's court, notably higher than the average on offer elsewhere.

Looking at the works in greater detail, one stands out within the context we have just outlined: the *Historia Alphonsi primi regis* by the royal physician Gaspare Pellegrino (or, in its Catalan form, Gaspar Pelegrí). It was finished in 1443 and thus stands at the beginning of the new period of historiographical production under Alfonso, preceded, in part, only by the *Gestorum libri* of the Sicilian poet laureate Tommaso Chaula (1424), which also recounts, with a similar rhetorical and poetical style, Alfonso's undertakings from May 1420 to June 1424.[7] It has now been shown beyond doubt that Pelegrí came from Montblanc, in

6 Cotroneo 1971; Cochrane 1985; Regoliosi 1991.

7 See the Introduction of Chaula (eds. Delle Donne and Libonati) 2021.

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the region of Tarragona, a fact which allows us to see his *Historia*—comprising ten books written in a somewhat stilted Latin prose, with marked Virgilian echoes—as the link between two traditions: the Iberian tradition of dynastic celebration and the more elaborated humanistic tradition, in Latin, of Italian origin, created out of the reading and study of the classics, used as a model for aspiring humanist authors.

Pelegrí's work focuses exclusively on the actions that led Alfonso to obtain the throne of the Kingdom of Naples. In fact, it begins with the episode when Alfonso is asked to succeed to Giovanna II on the throne as her designated heir (1419) and in effect ends with the description of the triumph celebrated by Alfonso on conquering the city of Naples, the last bulwark of Angevin resistance (1443). The chronological span covered by the work already reveals its implicit celebratory purpose. Alfonso is shown as the Christian king *par excellence*, in whom all the virtues are found which have made him favoured by God. This characterization is naturally connected to the wish to justify Alfonso's future role as the ruler of the Kingdom of Naples; he is systematically compared to Aeneas, the founder of the Roman Empire. Like Aeneas, Alfonso cannot oppose the will of God, who has called him to undergo the labours and dangers of a lengthy war which Alfonso has undertaken only in response to the pleas of the Kingdom's subjects and above all of its queen, Giovanna, helplessly in thrall to both internal and external enemies. The work contains many descriptions of places in southern Italy where the various events of the story occur. Pelegrí presents his work as the beginning of a historiographical tradition as yet unknown in Italy, but it did not in fact provide an enduring model. It was soon pushed into obscurity by the upcoming avantgarde led by the high-profile and sharp-witted intellectuals whom Alfonso had invited to join his court. It was above all Bartolomeo Facio and Antonio Beccadelli, known as 'il Panormita', who took up Pelegrí's Catalan model and, it could perhaps be said, were responsible for perfecting it.

It was Panormita in particular (he was born in Palermo but received his education in the most famous humanist schools of central and northern Italy) who in his *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis* encapsulated the main elements in the representation of Alfonso. The work, probably written in 1455, made a major contribution to the development of the myth of Alfonso's 'magnanimity'. The author's implicit aim was to compose a *speculum principis* beneath the surface of what appeared to be a generally historiographical text.[8] He declares that

8 See Ferraù 2001, 40–41; Delle Donne 2022. On Panormita see also Iacono and Miletti in this volume.

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his model was Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and in using this source Alfonso will appear as an *alter Socrates*, a second Socrates.

It is above all in the work's introduction and in its fourth and final book that Panormita makes what is a fundamental connection between the grandeur of the Kingdom (or perhaps Empire) of Naples and that of the Roman Empire, or rather of the Italy which was once part of the Roman Empire and is now ruled over by Alfonso as its new king, almost its emperor: "Only Spain customarily provided Rome and Italy with emperors and kings. But which emperors and which kings? Trajan, Hadrian, Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, the second Theodosius. And lastly Alfonso, the living embodiment of all virtue, who […] cannot be deemed inferior in any praiseworthy regard to these figures from antiquity".[9] Pelegrí invoked the mythical figure of Aeneas in speaking of Alfonso, but Panormita makes his comparisons with verifiable historical personages.

The list of illustrious Roman emperors makes Panormita's meaning clear beyond any possibility of misunderstanding and it was one which helped to place Alfonso in a well-defined dynastic lineage. The propagandistic message Panormita wishes to convey is subtle and well thought-out: he wants to put on record Alfonso's Iberian ancestry, but his actual family lineage, the Trastàmara, is placed in the background while prominence is given to an ideal, Italic, descent from the ancient Roman emperors. In other words, the author glides over Alfonso's foreign (Gothic, barbarian) origins in order to promote his Italic role, which is presented implicitly not only as local or indigenous but also 'supreme', in this way providing legitimacy to Alfonso as king above all in ideological as well as juridical terms. Alfonso is grafted directly onto the lineage of ancient emperors; he comes after them, but he is also greater than they were. In short, Alfonso should not be seen as a foreign king, a barbarian, a Goth, from the opposite shore of what would in effect become a Catalan lake, but must be recognized as the worthy successor to the ancient Roman emperors. Alfonso's historians served not only to give legitimacy to his noble royal destiny—which was in fact the result of violent and bloody dynastic conflict—but also transform their writing on him, with foresight, into a further 'accessory of power',

9 "Sola Hispania Romæ atque Italiæ imperatores ac reges dare solita est. At quales imperatores aut quales reges? Traianum, Adrianum, Theodosium, Archadium, Honorium, Theodosium alterum. Postremo Alfonsum, virtutum omnium vivam imaginem, qui … superioribus his nullo laudationis genere inferior extet." Panormita (ed. Vilallonga) 1990, 250–252: the text has been collated with the ms. in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 1185, transcribed by Pietro Ursuleo, one of the most important copyists in the Library of the Kings of Aragon.

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which could be displayed and was immediately recognizable as such, a tangible object like a crown or a sceptre.[10]

Thus, the task facing historians—involving politics, propaganda, and culture at the same time—was an ambitious and sensitive one. It was initially entrusted to the leading representative of the new humanist approach, Lorenzo Valla, who was a member of Alfonso's entourage from 1435. In 1445–1446 Valla wrote three books of the *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum*. But Valla's conception of literature was perhaps too abstract, and alien to the actual context in which he was being asked to work. The intention in the work, clearly agreed with Alfonso, was to create a new historiographical ideal, modelled on the already mentioned Catalan and Castilian precedents, which would recount the king's undertakings starting with the story of his father, Ferdinand I. The results however must have fallen short of expectations since the work was never continued as planned to include Alfonso's own career. Valla either would not or could not bend his prose to exalt the Trastàmara dynasty, focused as he was on creating a new ethical ideal, for which historiography, in its search for truth, would be seen as superior to poetry and philosophy. Yet there are discrepancies in this vision: in Valla's—at times still immature—reasoning, insofar as history should offer universal lessons then it can and indeed must elaborate on truth. This is the weakness or ambiguity in Valla's historiographical thought which spelled the end of his career as a historian at the Aragonese court. His work indeed provoked a ferocious debate on how history should be written, which saw Valla losing out to the approach taken by Panormita and Facio, more compliant but also more linear and consequential in the presentation of rhetorical arguments—whose works were undoubtedly better suited to furthering the 'consensus-building' set in motion by Alfonso.[11]

In order to complete the picture, without going into too much detail, it is important to add that Facio shows great skill in his *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi regis libri*, finished in 1495, in handling the techniques of historical narration. His work indeed initiates a progressive refinement of the genre. These techniques were explicitly discussed in his ferocious opuscules attacking Valla—the *Invective in Vallam*—to which Valla responded with his own *Antidotum in Facium*. The two protagonists of this clash come to a diametrically opposed definition of how history should be written. The starting point of the discussion is the specific concepts of elegance (*elegantia*) and *decorum*, as well as of brevity (*brevitas*), all qualities Facio deemed to be absent from Valla's *Gesta Ferdinandi*

10 Delle Donne 2015a, 19–63. See also Stacey 2011; Bentley 1987.

11 Delle Donne 2018a. See also Baker 2016.

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regis. But their argument is most interesting in their closely related reflections on truth and verisimilitude, which develop, with originality and freedom, the rhetorical precepts Cicero devised for judicial rather than historiographical discourse.

On occasion in his work Valla had undoubtedly been ruthless in his characterisations, above all in his portrait of Martin the Humane, Ferdinand's predecessor on the Aragonese throne, which described all Martin's weaknesses. Facio contested some of these characterizations as indecorous and inappropriate. If Valla had adhered to the principle of *brevitas* and not dwelt on shocking details (which may have been veracious but were not verisimilar) he would have preserved the dignity (*dignitas*) of the work. In effect, Facio uses *brevitas* as a way of omitting any reference to the indecorous, in obedience to the rule which says that not everything that is true should be recorded because this would conflict with verisimilitude: "Indeed, the narrative that wants to convince its readers must not only be veracious but also verisimilar,"[12] Facio ambiguously asserts in his second *Invectiva*, as though laying down a non-negotiable law.

This is a law which amounts to a kind of formal theory of historiography as rewriting, if not actual deliberate falsification, of reality and the legitimacy of the new 'monarchical' humanism of the Aragonese period rested on it—a humanism adapted to the representation of the principles of royal authority in contrast to 'civic' Florentine humanism.

Historiography in Theory and Practice during the Reign of Ferrante

'Monarchical humanism' with its highly particular and innovative characteristics attained refined levels of political and literary speculation, evident in the remarkable theoretical reflections found in Giovanni Pontano's works of political and social philosophy.[13] In the period of Ferrante's reign, works of political theory made the predominant contribution to the representation of royal power but the production of historiographical texts did not dry up. Panormita continued to write such works, even though his interests had shifted to fields where didactic and prescriptive compositions were more efficacious; nevertheless, in the final years of his life, when his influence had started to wane,

12 "Non enim solum veram, sed etiam verisimilem narrationem esse oportet, si sibi fidem vendicare velit": Facio (ed. Rao) 1978, 97. For an English translation see Mc Gregor and Nichols 2019, 142.

13 See Cappelli in this volume.

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he wrote, in 1469, the *Liber rerum gestarum Ferdinandi regis*. The work was intended as a *tyrocinium Ferdinandi*, focused on giving an account of Ferrante's upbringing and education: his arrival as a small boy at his father's court, his schooling, the first signs of his skills in the martial arts, and his embodiment of virtue are all characterized by striking analogies taken from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*.[14] In other words, it is not a biographical reconstruction modelled on the lives by Suetonius or Plutarch (whose text had recently been rediscovered and disseminated) but is intended to be exemplary by drawing an idealized portrait based on type. The *Liber* looks at only two decades of Ferrante's youth, from his arrival in Italy in 1438 to the death of Alfonso in 1458, but it is likely that the sole manuscript copy of the work (Bitonto, Biblioteca Comunale, A 54), in which the final leaves are missing, included at least the celebration of the new king's installation on the throne, as a symbolically important episode that fittingly concludes the young man's *tyrocinium*. We also know that Panormita planned to write a further volume which would have taken the story up to the war against Jean of Anjou (1460–1464), in other words, the completion of Ferrante's conquest of the Kingdom. But his death in 1471 is probably the reason he never wrote it; the subject of the work, to which he planned to give the title *De bello Neapolitano*,[15] was in effect taken up by Giovanni Pontano, who gave his own composition, probably not by chance, the same title.

The six books which comprise the *De bello Neapolitano* cover, taking a more or less annalistic approach, the period from 1458 to 1465, from the events which led up to the war between Ferrante and Jean of Anjou to the conclusive victory over the rebel Joan de Torrelles. It has generally been assumed that Pontano wrote it late in his career, between 1494 and 1503 (a posthumous printed edition, which also partly altered the arrangement of the text, was published, by Pietro Summonte, in 1509).[16] This dating has influenced the scholarly evaluation of the work since it has been seen as an exercise in applying the rhetorical precepts on how to write history correctly, which Pontano had outlined in his dialogue *Actius*. However, a closer examination of the autograph manuscript (Vienna, ÖNB, Lat. 3413), which reveals the complex process of editing the text both by Pontano and then by the publisher Summonte, has enabled scholars to date the composition of the work before the *Actius*, at least as far as the plan-

14 Resta, *Introduzione* to Panormita (ed. Resta) 1968, 43–44.

15 Panormita (ed. Resta) 1968, 132 ("de hoc autem fœdere atque eius legibus quoniam in *Bello Neapolitano* scripturi sumus …"), 137 ("in alio volumine, cum de *Bello Neapolitano* dicemus, explicabimus").

16 Pontano (ed. Germano, Iacono, and Senatore) 2019a.

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ning of the book and the earliest drafts are concerned.[17] Yet it seems certain that Pontano carried out a later revision of the work, both from an ideological perspective, involving a re-assessment of his judgement of Ferrante, as can be deduced from the critical conclusion, and in formal terms, with the addition of new sections, especially geographical and aetiological digressions.[18] Some of these, added by Pontano in the final phase of revision, are especially interesting in offering 'antiquarian' descriptions of towns such as Canosa, Barletta, and Troia[19] (as well as of Naples). Pontano's antiquarian interests, however, do not focus only on recovering traces of classical antiquity and observing long-term historical transformations; they also pay attention to the detailed rhetorical rules for how history should be written—rules which Pontano himself was devising in the *Actius* and which stipulate that these descriptive and erudite *excursuses* are an essential component of historiographical writing.

The *Actius*, composed between 1495 and 1499,[20] is a dialogue in which Pontano provides a comprehensive list of topics such as brevity (*brevitas*), speed (*celeritas*), clarity (*claritas*), dignity (*dignitas*), etc., which emerge from the theory of judicial narrative (*narratio iudicialis*) and revolve, as was customary, around the principles of *veritas* and 'objectivity'. The classical model therefore is dominant and Pontano's discussion of syntactic style is characterised by his preference for *brevitas* and the related *celeritas*, qualities for which Pontano finds inspiring examples in the works of Sallust, in striking contrast to Facio's pragmatic deployment of them.[21]

Among 15th-century treatises tackling the problems of historiographical writing, which had been largely neglected in theoretical works in Latin, the *Actius* was undoubtedly the most successful. Yet Pontano did not write the text as a prescriptive one: the range and abundance of his citations makes the dialogue more of a rhetorical anthology than a manual, intended to encourage the application of rules derived directly from a reading of the texts Pontano gathered from the classical tradition. His approach in the *Actius* would also appear to have some connection with the much more theoretical one taken

17 Monti Sabia 1995; Monti and Monti Sabia 2010; Germano and Iacono, Introduction to Pontano (ed. Germano, Iacono, and Senatore) 2019a.

18 The digression at the end of the last book, on the origin, antiquity, beauty and nobility of Naples, was probably a later editorial integration by the author: see Monti Sabia 1995, 58; Iacono 2009, 562–586.

19 Miletti 2018.

20 Pontano 1943, 125–239, and now Pontano 2018. For the dating see Monti 1969, 259–292; Tateo, Introduction to Pontano (ed. Tateo) 2018; and Pontano (ed. Tateo) 2019b.

21 Pontano (ed. Tateo) 2018, 160–167.

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by the Byzantine humanist George of Trebizond or Trapezuntius (1395–1473), who had dedicated a section of his *Rhetorica* to the discussion of specific rules for historiographical composition, substantially reproducing Cicero's teaching on oratorical narration.[22] Trapezuntius had written his manual as early as 1434 and had presented a copy to Alfonso; much later, Pontano was able to talk with him in person when Trapezuntius lived in Naples between 1452 and 1455.

The final production from the period of Aragonese historiography, both in chronological and ideological terms, was the *De gestis regum Neapolitanorum ab Aragonia libri* by Giovanni Albino known as Lucano because he was from Lucania (largely present-day Basilicata but which in Albino's day also included part of the Cilento where the author was born). The work was compiled after 1495 and was originally in six books, of which the third and the fourth have been lost. Each book has a separate subject while the work as a whole provides important information on all the regions of southern Italy: *De bello Hetrusco*, on the military expedition of Alfonso duke of Calabria (and the future king of Naples) in Tuscany in 1478–1480; *De bello Hydruntino* on the Ottoman occupation of Otranto and its liberation at the hands of Alfonso (1480–1481); *De bello intestino* on the civil war or so-called second baronial rebellion in 1485–1487, the longest part of the entire work; *De bello Gallico*, on Charles VIII's invasion of the Kingdom and the subsequent restoration of Ferrante to the throne (1494–1495).[23]

Albino's work remained unpublished for nearly a century when a grandson, Ottavio, had a printed edition published. In the dedicatory letter in the edition, to Girolamo Aquaviva, duke of Atri, Ottavio explains the reasons which lay behind the publication and, in the initial part of the letter, speaks of his ancestor's book in connection with Pontano's work, almost as if the later work were its continuation. In reality Albino was working in a context which is rather different from Pontano's and his work records the beginnings, development, and culmination of the profound and inexorable political crisis which overtook the Kingdom to the point of break-up following the French invasion in 1494. The sequence of the various phases of Albino's work on the book is not known exactly and it is possible that it was never definitively concluded; however, setting aside the possibility of occasional formal revisions, it is probable that the greater part of the work, except for the final book, was written after the repression which followed the Barons' Conspiracy of 1485–1487, because Albino consistently appears to exclude any positive view of the baronial faction. In the

22 Tateo 2015, 357–379; Monti Sabia 1995, 2–7; Ferraù 1983, 91–98. See also Monfasani 1976.
23 See Dall'Oco 2001; Dall'Oco 2011; Germano 2004.

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final book, on the other hand, written after the French troops had invaded and then abandoned the Kingdom, we find the author revising his judgements on past Aragonese monarchs in the light of the radical transformation in circumstances.[24] The outlook was not hopeful and, although Albino continued to depict the king in a heroic light, the disappointment of his expectations meant that he could not prevent himself from expressing criticism.

The End of the Kingdom and a Reversal of Perspective

As we have just said, Albino's work records the beginnings, development and culmination of the profound and inexorable political crisis which overtook the Kingdom to the point of its break-up following the French invasion in 1494. Girolamo Borgia (1475–1550), like Albino from Lucania, did the same in his still unpublished *Historia* in 21 books, taking the story up to 1547.[25] Some decades later, for Camillo Porzio (1526–1580) in his study on *La congiura de' baroni* (1565) the crisis was still a fundamental episode since he makes it clear that the conspiracy lay at the origins of Charles VIII's fatal invasion (1494). In effect the Italian Wars were an important watershed which also affected historiographical practice from the beginning of the 16th century. The celebratory approach re-surfaces, this time round not for the king but for the first viceroy of Naples, the Gran Capitán Gonzalo Fernández de Cordoba, who was perhaps seen by the population of a former Kingdom demoted to the rank of a Viceroyalty as a surrogate for a king. This trend is exemplified by Giovanni Battista Valentini, known as Cantalicio (he was born in Cantalice which at that period was in Abruzzo; ca. 1450–1515), the bishop of Atri and Penne and the author of *Gonsalvia*, also titled *De bis recepta Parthenope* (1506), which describes many places and events in Puglia,[26] and by Giovan Paolo Certa, who manages to frame his *Discorso delle cose del Regno di Napoli* (1550)[27] in such a way that the king of Spain Ferdinand the Catholic appears as a legitimate and fitting successor to Alfonso the Magnanimous who in his direct Neapolitan descent had been followed by only illegitimate offspring and incompetent rulers. It was perhaps the demotion to the status of viceroyalty which caused some writers to look back with nostalgia at the brief half-century of Aragonese rule to the degree that

24 Ferraú 2001, 201.
25 See De Nichilo 1989.
26 Cf. Delle Donne 2017.
27 See Cappelli 2016b.

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subsequent historical memory of it became altered—men such as Velardiniello, about whom we know only his name, who wrote a *Storia de cient'anne arreto* in the late 1540s,[28] or Benedetto Di Falco, the author of *Descrizione de' luoghi antiqui di Napoli* (1535).

It is certainly true that in this period of fragile transition the sense of a wider perspective that had led historians to see the events and episodes of each monarch's reign as a whole and therefore also of the entire Kingdom shifted focus towards the narration of individual events. Furthermore, from a linguistic point of view, from the end of the 15th century onwards, the tradition of writing histories in Latin, which had characterized the period under Alfonso, was in decline; except for very rare exceptions, the use of Latin, which had been a fundamental component of historiographical production, was mostly abandoned.[29] An important mid 16th-century example, however, of its survival is the *Historiarum sui temporis libri XLV* by Paolo Giovio (1550–1552), which shows that the choice of writing in the vernacular was not invariable. It was however commonly used in many chronicles, such as those by the Neapolitans Melchiorre Ferraiolo (1442–1498) and Notar Giacomo (whose narration goes up to 1511) or by Gasparro Fuscolillo (1531–1581) from Sessa Aurunca, or others by Loise De Rosa (1385–1475) and the Catalan Lupo de Spechio (1468).[30] These works repurposed historical narrative writing from the point of view of a transformed sense of social identity on the part of citizens. Several of the most significant historiographers, such as Camillo Porzio and Angelo Di Costanzo, made an explicit choice to write in the vernacular; they were heavily influenced in their decision by the cardinal and humanist Antonio Seripando (1476–1531).

Yet the most comprehensive and innovative historical account of southern Italy comes from a writer who was not native to the region: Pandolfo Collenuccio, the author of the *Compendio de le Istorie del Regno di Napoli*, which was begun in 1498 at the wish of Duke Ercole d'Este (1431–1505) and left unfinished on Collenuccio's death in 1504. It was published posthumously in Venice in 1539.[31] The work comprises six dense and clearly structured books. Collenuccio is guided by his ideologically inspired conviction that the history of southern Italy has always been characterized by political instability which prevented the formation of a strong sovereign power capable of preserving its territory and

28 Velardiniello 1789, 8. About some redactions of the text see Croce 1914. On Velardiniello see also Montuori in this volume.

29 Besomi 1966.

30 On the vernacular historiography of this period see De Caprio 2012; De Caprio 2014; De Caprio 2017; Senatore 2014.

31 See Masi 1999.

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ensuring dynastic continuity. Collenuccio's account of the Aragonese period does not depart from this overall approach although his portrayal of Alfonso the Magnanimous is certainly favourable, explicitly revealing the author's wish to present Hercules, the dedicatee of the work, as the effectual and worthy heir of the Aragonese king's prestige. Collenuccio's account of Alfonso's career is highly celebratory of his virtues but he does not draw on the historiographical works, such as Facio's, which contributed most decisively to the contemporary representation of Alfonso, using instead as his source the *de Europa* by Pius II (the humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini, 1405–1464).[32] This is a significant detail since Collenuccio was an historian who prided himself on his knowledge of sources: it shows that he was not concerned with Alfonso as an individual but rather with exploring the principles—consensus, stability, and, ultimately, loyalty—on which an orderly state could be constructed. In order to do this, he did not need to refer to minutely detailed chronicles; brief summaries, such as Piccolomini's, whose work was widely esteemed, were enough for his purposes.

Direct continuity with the works of the leading historians of the Aragonese period, like Panormita and Facio, is not found either in the work of Angelo Di Costanzo, whose historical reconstructions rely on a variety of different sources, not all of them identified. Like other writers who came after Collenuccio, such as Tommaso Costo (1545–1613), Di Costanzo wanted to rebut not only the inaccuracies found in Collenuccio's work but also his negative judgements on the political inconstancy and mutability of the Kingdom's populace. His primary aim was to rehabilitate the idea of 'patria' (this important term is present in the title of the first printed edition of the text, *Dell'istorie della sua patria*, published in Naples by Matteo Cancer in 1572) by showing the strength of the aristocratic class, who were the true guarantors of the Kingdom's stability. Yet, at the same time, Di Costanzo also wanted to create a literary work which adheres to firm rhetorical and historiographical principles, and which in consequence is pervaded by a high degree of ethical tension.

It is possible that Di Costanzo drew on Giacomo Mauro's translation of Facio's work, which appeared in 1579 and could therefore have been used in the preparation of the final 1581 edition of *Dell'istorie della sua patria*. The previous edition of the latter work had been published in 1572 but an earlier version, datable to 1557–1559, can be found in the manuscript C.X.5 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples.[33] There is not enough evidence to show that Di Costanzo did indeed read Mauro's work but the latter helps us to see distinctly the results

32 Delle Donne 2018b.

33 Farenga 1991; Colapietra 1960.

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of the radical reversal of the historiographical framework which had been constructed during Alfonso's reign. In Facio's work an ideal of supreme sovereignty had been given concrete expression and sophisticated theoretical justification: the king was the embodiment of all virtues, specifically chosen and placed on the throne by God in order to carry out a heavenly mission of peaceful governance in the world. Mauro's translation overturns this view, as can be seen in his dedication of the work to Ferrante Carafa, prince of Soriano.[34] As in Gian Battista Carafa's *Historie del Regno di Napoli* (1572), the focus of interest shifts away from the king to the nobility, whose relationship with the Kingdom is twofold: they have undoubtedly been bestowed with privileges by the king, but they have also given him their service in return, creating obligations which should always be acknowledged and duly honoured. In short, though Mauro's work purports to be a translation of Facio's original, his political ideal is turned upside down: the protagonist of the story is no longer the king, now seen at such a remove that he is in effect absent, but the Kingdom, formed and fortified by its aristocracy who have both the standing and the capacity to take charge of its governance, as well as the duty to do so.

Vernacular translations are outside the specific focus of this essay but there are still works in this category which are worthy of note. One such is the prose translation, with many significant interpolations, of Cantalicio's already mentioned poem *Gonsalvia* published in 1595 by Sertorio Quattromani, a native of Cosenza.[35] He also began the *Istoria della città di Cosenza* which remained unfinished. Yet it was clear that the 'monarchical humanism'[36] developed in such original fashion by Facio and Panormita could no longer thrive after the profound transformations which took place from the end of the 15th century onwards. In reality, it was unviable even during Ferrante's reign because of the urgent need to develop a political theory which saw the king not merely as a paragon of virtue but also the sole and absolute guarantor of a state structure in which the aristocracy would collaborate but only if subordinated by peaceful means.[37] Throughout the 16th century, for contrary reasons, the unviability of the approach was defined by the increasing dominance of the aristocracy, who were able to unite not around the king but around an abstract ideal of the Kingdom. It was during this period that a determined search began to be carried out into the Kingdom's origins, the more remote in time the better (even

34 Mauro 1580, a2^{r}–a3^{v}.
35 Petteruti Pellegrino 2016; Delle Donne 2017.
36 Delle Donne 2015a.
37 Cappelli 2016c.

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going back to the Lombards in the 6th century) in order to exalt it through the evocation of an antique past which would confer consolation and a sense of nobility. From the 17th century onwards, after the publication of the *Historia della città e regno di Napoli* by Giovanni Antonio Summonte (d. 1602) in 1601 and the scholarly works of Camillo Tutini (1594–1667), the direction changed again, this time towards an ideal of the Kingdom which could justify the participation of social classes beyond the aristocracy. This led to a reinterpretation of Alfonso's reign as a golden age, before decline set in as early as Ferrante's rule.[38] Here however the ideological and theoretical construction so solidly built by the historiographers of the early Aragonese period no longer had any appeal and indeed was not even recognizable: the works of Facio and Panormita are still cited but only as sources of specific information, extracted and redeployed for quite different historiographical purposes.

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38 Musi 2016, 80–82.

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CHAPTER 14

Political Treatises

Guido Cappelli

Introduction

The 15th and 16th centuries saw many profound changes in the Kingdom of Naples, of which the most important was the one which took place at the turn of the century when the Kingdom lost its independence, which had reached its apogee under the Aragonese after they had come to power to 1443 and came under the rule of the Spanish monarchy in 1503 as a Spanish viceroyalty. This change of dynasty had significant repercussions on the Kingdom's cultural life. As a result, it is hard to trace an unbroken line persisting across the two centuries, aside from the common and generic use of the term 'Renaissance', and despite the existence of certain elements of continuity, above all at an administrative and institutional level. The rupture caused by the collapse of Aragonese rule and the new Spanish regime seems unbridgeable.[1] It had an impact on the cultural life of towns and cities across the Kingdom and even on where writers emerged: at the height of the Aragonese period Naples was the indisputable centre of cultural production, but already by the final years of Aragonese rule and then increasingly in the sixteenth century writers on political thought could be found across a Kingdom-wide network of urban centres and courts. However, it is also true that this undeniable discontinuity in the history of the Kingdom also presents us with a challenging opportunity to understand how, over the longer term, the culture of southern Italy slowly evolved with the approach of the modern age. Therefore, this study begins with the period of Aragonese rule, continuing up to the Spanish conquest of the Kingdom, distinguishing between an initial phase of optimism and energy and a final period of retrenchment and disillusion; it then moves on to consider political philosophy in the early 16th century, more or less until the arrival of Pedro de Toledo as viceroy, to conclude with the period of the Counter-Reformation up to the end of the century.

1 De Lisio 1974, 146–147.

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The Aragonese Period: Beginnings and Maturity

In the second half of the 15th century Naples was in the vanguard in terms of the production of political, legal, and military treatises, something which can be seen already in the choice of literary genres. One of the most widely used means of expression in political philosophy in the 15th century was the epistle, the form of communication most highly favoured by humanists as "one half of a dialogue", in Politian's phrase. Letter-writing was a privileged tool for the informal discussion of complex ideas apparently between equals but in reality framed in such a way that only the preceptor's voice was heard, placed as it was in a position of authority in respect to the recipient. Such a choice of form is found, for instance, in the humanist Elisio Calenzio (1430–1503), a native of Fratte (present-day Ausonia in the Terra di Lavoro), who was tutor to the prince Federico, with whom he spent long periods in Puglia when the prince was the lieutenant for the region between 1465 and 1473 and who then embarked on a solid administrative career as governor of Squillace. Calenzio addressed a large number of letters to the prince on political and ethical questions, full of advice covering all aspects of good governance, to the point that the letters as a whole formed a kind of *De principe*[2] treatise. The epistolary form was also chosen by Giovanni Pontano (Cerreto di Spoleto, Umbria, 1429–Naples 1503) in his well-known work *De principe*. Yet it was not an invariable choice for writers of political theory in the Kingdom as a whole, who also use orations, historical accounts, and actual treatises as vehicles for political thought. The early texts of Bartolomeo Facio in particular stand out: these were written to accompany his translation of Isocrates' oration *A Nicocle* (1444) and together form what is in effect a *speculum principis*.[3] The cleric Angelo de Grassis addressed his *Oratio* praising Alfonso of Aragon to the king himself on the occasion of his triumphal entry into Naples in 1443; this composition used for the first time the ancient rhetorical corpus of *Panegyrici latini*, which had only shortly before come to light.[4]

Another writer of epistles and orations on political questions was Giovanni Brancato (Policastro, ca. 1440–ca. 1485), who was a middle-ranking court official but also a librarian, translator, man of letters, and even orator, capable of

2 Monti Sabia 1964–1968, 175–251; Caruso 2016, 113–138. On Calenzio's biography (including the question of his name, which for a long time was thought to be Gallucci) see Foà 1998. See also Miletti in this volume.

3 Albanese 2012, 59–115.

4 Delle Donne 2007, 327–349.

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tackling creatively subjects commonly treated by humanists.[5] In the 1470s and 1480s, at the height of Aragonese power, Brancato worked for the monarchy as a gifted writer and propagandist, as we can see from the manuscript volume, which collects together the eight short works by him which have come down to us. In terms of Brancato's contribution to political philosophy, this is found essentially in two of his texts, both addressed to King Ferrante: a commendation (*commendatio*) written in the form of a letter and an oration (*oratio*). The *commendatio* (1473–1476) starts from the translation of Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, commissioned by the king, on which Brancato was working at the time, with the skilful elaboration of a parallel between the monarchical political system and the social organisation of a beehive, a topos which was fairly common in political philosophy and can be traced back to Cicero (*De officiis* I, 157), Seneca (*Ad Lucilium* CXXI, 22) and Pliny himself (XI, 4–23). The purpose of Brancato's discourse was to show that a stable social structure does not need to resort to violence; in terms of theory the idea is translated as clemency (*clementia*) and, in particular, the ability to control anger (*ira*). The oration was given by Brancato in Ferrante's presence in January 1472 on the occasion of the signing of the treaty of alliance with Burgundy under the rule of Charles the Bold. Brancato skilfully surveys the key concepts of humanist political thought and adds references to contemporary facts such as the public works carried out under Ferrante (like the construction of the *lazzaretto* or the building project to expand the port) and the alliance with Burgundy itself.[6] Brancato lists the *virtutes* that were familiar in the humanistic tradition, matching each *virtus* not only with examples drawn from Antiquity but also—and especially—referring to Ferrante's methods and achievements. The figure of Ferrante represented in ideal terms a convergence between the practicalities of governance and the theoretical aspirations of intellectuals. Brancato espouses the approach largely shared by humanist political thinkers and originating with Cicero (*De officiis* 1.89) in seeing *ira* as radically incompatible with the concept of *maiestas* (explained in detail below) and excluding it completely in his efforts to form a model of a hieratic and impersonal monarch who stands above the fray.

The greatest humanist scholar and political thinker under Aragonese rule (and indeed in the whole of Italy), however, was Giovanni Pontano, the author of two fundamental works of political philosophy in which conceptual lucidity is matched by the author's brilliance of style.[7] The *De principe* was written in

5 Cappelli 2002, 64–101. For the English translation of parts of the *De principe* see Mc Gregor and Nichols 2019, 121–138.

6 Ibidem.

7 See Delle Donne in this volume.

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about 1464 following the war of succession which had plunged the Kingdom into turmoil; it is a literary epistle addressed to Pontano's pupil, Alfonso duke of Calabria and heir to the Aragonese throne (born in 1449, and therefore about fifteen years old when the work was composed).[8] Pontano would later become Alfonso's leading counsellor.

Written in a supple humanistic Latin, the *De principe* combines instruction and theoretical reflection in order to provide a *summa* of the moral and political qualities needed for good governance as well as to illustrate their utility by a mixture of *rationes*—or theoretical argument—and *exempla*, exemplary figures and episodes drawn from antiquity and the contemporary world. The structure of Pontano's discourse proceeds from the inside out, so to speak—from interior moral and political virtues to precepts on external demeanour, dress, and speech—and from the universal to the particular, in other words, from a general exposition of each virtue to explanations of how they might be applied in different sets of concrete circumstances. The system of the *virtutes* develops and adapts for Pontano's own times the original Aristotelian and Ciceronian scheme, with the central and exemplary figure of Scipio Africanus, the embodiment of the virtuous ruler, both in monarchical and republican terms, with whom, following Livy, the treatise opens. There follows an exposition of the *virtutes* needed for good governance: liberality (*liberalitas*), clemency (*clementia*), keeping your word (*fides*), and so forth, all virtues based on the fundamental presuppositions of justice (*iustitia*) and piety (*pietas*), as an eloquent quotation from Virgil emphasises. In parallel to this, the pupil is instructed to beware of dangerous vices such as listening to flatterers, ambition, and, above all, *ira*. The virtue of wisdom (*sapientia*) has a central and formative significance but the love of the king for his subjects is even more important—a relationship of 'mutual aid' (*caritas*), of reciprocal affection, which holds the social fabric together. Yet the theoretical core of the treatise is the concept of *maiestas*, which first and foremost signifies that the *princeps* should be aware of himself and his role, capable of self-control and both inwardly and outwardly coherent. These characteristics produce *gravitas* and *constantia*, which in turn win the people's admiration—their attentive reverent gaze and gratitude. *Maiestas* is significant both in the public realm—in the way the king conducts himself with foreign ambassadors; in the rules for the administration of justice; in his relations with the populace—and in the sphere of 'private' interactions—the king's behaviour towards foreigners, his choice of magistrates who will be loyal, competent, and above all upstanding, or his relations

8 Pontano (ed. Cappelli) 2003.

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with the members of his own court (*aulici*). Pontano's letter concludes with precepts on the external appearance of the *princeps*: his way of dressing, of speaking, and of moving. This final section is an anticipation of the popularity that 'etiquette' manuals would acquire over the course of the 16th century.

Pontano's principal work on political and social theory (and probably the most important humanist treatise on political matters) is without a doubt his *De obedientia*, a wide-ranging treatise, which was completed and circulated in manuscript in 1470 and printed in Naples in 1490 at the press of Mattia Moravo. The book is an ambitious re-examination of the humanist political theory advanced in the *De principe* and seeks to broaden the earlier treatise's study of the individual sovereign's *maiestas* into an analysis of the political organisation of society as a whole. This makes the *De obedientia* a unique achievement and the pinnacle of 15th-century political philosophy. The work is dedicated to Roberto Sanseverino (1430–1474), prince of Salerno, and is divided in five parts, each discussing different manifestations of obedience (*obedientia*) and the related socio-political problems. The first book serves as introduction and lays out the overall framework for the concepts which will carry the argument over the entire treatise, in particular the fundamental one of *iustitia*, understood in its double Aristotelian sense (*Eth.* 5. 1–2) of justice as absolute, corresponding to virtue in general, and as particular, subdivided in turn into distributive and corrective justice. Books II and III then deal with obedience within the family (understood as the household, including servants) and political obedience, in other words relating to various social entities basically grouped around the category of those who are *subiecti* in respect of the constituted authority. The discussion passes on to the obedience due from those who hold various official posts (councillors, governors, tax officials, etc.) while also examining several issues of principle such as the limits of false-speaking or the right attitude to adopt in the face of orders which are clearly unjust (Book IV). The fifth and final book looks at the obedience owed by private citizens to state officials and other socially prominent figures (tutors, the elderly) and concludes with a lengthy section on military obedience (*De obedientia militari*).[9]

Pontano seeks to adapt philosophical and juridical speculation to the communicative schemes practised by the humanists: eloquence (*eloquentia*) is sought not for the sake of mere rhetorical display but rather in an effort to identify a wider public and forge a different kind of political language. His explicitly declared *auctores* are Aristotle (the *Politics* and the *Ethics*), Cicero (*De legibus*, *De officiis*, and other works), and Seneca (*De clementia*), but in reality

9 Cappelli 2016, 98–161.

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Pontano draws on other sources, in particular the medieval theorists of monarchy such as Thomas Aquinas and Egidio Colonna as well as, though to a much lesser degree, Plato's *Republic* and other so-called 'minor' Greek texts. Operating alongside these *auctoritates* in Pontano's work there is the *scientia civilis*, the classical and modern body of legal knowledge. The outstanding merit of the *De obedientia* lies in the lucidity with which it traces an autonomous political theory, freed from all reference to transcendence and based only on the legitimation derived from reason, nature, and virtue. It is this which makes the *De obedientia*—which, as the frequent reprints and editions over the course of the 16th century suggest, had an important impact on political theory in the early modern period—a key text in the paradigmatic shift away from medieval pluralism to the centralisation of the modern state.

An innovative follower of Pontano was Francesco Patrizi (Siena, 1413–Gaeta, 1494).[10] Patrizi had been a pupil of Filelfo; a friend of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (later Pope Pio II), he was a member of the political elite of his native city. He first appeared in the Aragonese milieu in 1461 when he was appointed as bishop of Gaeta, carrying out various diplomatic missions and pursuing his own studies with dedication for the rest of his life. Patrizi's *De regno et regis institutione*, which became the third most popular book of political theory in the 16th century after Aristotle and Machiavelli,[11] draws on the possibilities offered by the literary heritage and classical political philosophy in a particularly wide-ranging and intense way. It is a monument to political classicism and to the inexhaustible humanist faith in the formative possibilities of a well-rounded education of the *princeps* as man and as ruler. The work is long (the Paris edition came to 406 pages) and divided into nine books (from which it acquired, presumably from the publisher, its title of *Enneas*) but the structure is simple and basic, almost mechanical: a general definition of a given question or concept is usually accompanied by an abundant range of *exempla* and *loci* drawn from the classical world, sometimes succinctly and sometimes in more extended form. It opens with an introductory book on the general characteristics of monarchy and its superiority to other forms of government; the second book examines the cultural education of a *princeps*, the third his physical education (riding, hunting, etc.), the fourth and fifth moral defects and vices, with particular attention paid to the practice of *veritas* or truth-telling and the avoidance of flatterers; the sixth book is about the competition between the active

10 Battaglia 1936; Quintiliani 2014. On Patrizi see also Miletti in this volume.

11 Hankins 2010: 468–469. The first edition is dated 1519; quotations here are taken from the Paris edition Patrizi 1531.

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and contemplative lives and, once the pre-eminence of the first has been established, discusses the concept of civil prudence (*prudentia*) and temperance (*temperantia*) and the associated virtues. The seventh book tackles the concept of strength (*fortitudo*), its subtle relationship with *ira* and other passions, and its corollary virtues from magnanimity (*magnanimitas*) to magnificence (*magnificentia*) and constancy (*constantia*) and so forth. The eighth book is on justice (*iustitia*), both natural and positive, on the friendship (*amicitia*) which derives from it, in particular its 'social' variety, and other associated qualities such as *religio*, *humanitas*, and *fides*. The last book is dedicated to the duties of the citizen (*civis*), the *premia* or rewards which a virtuous monarch might hope to reap, and on the choice of his successor; it concludes with a short section on 'the last day of life' (*de ultimo vitae die*). Patrizi's work is less an autonomous theoretical construct as an erudite reflection of humanist political doctrine at its most highly developed, translated into the terms of an all-pervasive classicism. It is this which gave Patrizi's approach, in itself innovative, the potential, which it fulfilled, of becoming a best-seller, a standard manual which would be found on the shelves of all sixteenth-century bookshops.[12]

Diomede Carafa (Naples, 1408–1487) is striking for his originality in this group of thinkers. Carafa belonged to the so-called Seggio nobility in Naples, who had been brought up at the court of Alfonso I.[13] A high-ranking official and political counsellor, greatly esteemed by the monarchs in whose service he worked, Carafa was also an intellectual who wrote a series of little 'manuals', of varying length and on different subjects, all however related to political, diplomatic, and military questions and including observations on contemporary society and its costumes. The different works, known under the collective title *Memoriali*, are written in a lively Neapolitan vernacular, a southern Italian *koine* which is of a piece with the practical purposes of these works.[14] This purpose can also be seen in the fact that each is addressed to a particular individual, members of the royal family above all, but also to one of Ferdinand the Catholic's courtiers and to Carafa's own son.[15] Carafa was a "political technician",

12 Cappelli 2016, 163–175.

13 Petrucci 1976. On the seggio nobility in Naples and the Kingdom see Vitale in this volume.

14 Carafa (ed. Petrucci Nardelli) 1988. This edition has an overvalued and somewhat misleading *Prefazione* by Giuseppe Galasso (i–xxv); the philological and textual history of the *Memoriali* is complicated, based on a single unreliable manuscript, while in some cases a *a posteriori* reconstruction of the text took place making it impossible to recover the original vernacular version. On Carafa's "southern Italian koine" see Antonio Lupis' essay in Carafa (ed. Petrucci Nardelli) 1988, 387–410.

15 Persico 1899; Cappelli 2016, 175–187.

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in Dionisotti's words,[16] who was loyal but also critical and who was especially concerned with social equilibrium and the role played by the feudal aristocracy whose needs and positions it is clear he understands very well and into whose ranks he himself aspired to enter. His choice of writing in the vernacular—also found in Giuniano Maio (discussed below), in whom, in stark contrast to Carafa, it is inspired by an intense classicism—was principally determined by the practical purposes of his texts, though at the same time it marked out the difference of what he was doing from the Latin treatises.[17] Carafa shared some of the underlying assumptions of this genre but, unlike its authors, he did not aspire to provide a comprehensive model of the *res publica*. His reflections are characterized by an acute awareness of the delicate balance of political forces in the Kingdom. The texts explore "a vast range of examples covering the most varied forms of social life",[18] but the author does not seem entirely convinced by the Aragonese project to centralise the state, preferring rather to trust the complex pattern of alliances and compromises.[19] Though it is clear he shares the general political conceptions which are fundamental to humanist thought (in particular with Pontano's *De principe*), the main thrust of his interest is in the economic factor of taxation, which he sees as a potential threat in so far as it incites conflict: subjects "should attend to their own business rather than tumult".[20] As a *scrivano di ratione*, an official responsible for economic affairs, Carafa was aware of the court's financial needs and refers explicitly to the problem of establishing accurate control over income and expenditure. It is the duty and the utility of political power to encourage native entrepreneurial capabilities—as well as avoiding foreign 'colonisation' of the economy. Yet in the end the surety for good governance, also at the economic level, remains the humanist ethical code, which Carafa sums up in the Livian injunction to "overcome oneself" (*vincere se ipsum*), in effect to impose limitations on oneself in order not to fall into arbitrariness and thus tyranny. Carafa's approach is less a coherent political theory like that expounded by the humanists and more a system of practical knowledge in which classical culture is certainly present but in diluted form within a web of concrete precepts and advice focused on immediate action—warnings (*avvertimenti*) which owe their efficacy in no small part to the fact they are couched in a vivid and expressive vernacular.

16 Dionisotti 1980, 113.
17 Miele 1989, 33.
18 Miele 1989, 13.
19 There are many texts on military subjects, for example *Memoriali* I, II, X, XI.
20 *I doveri del principe*, § 4, in Carafa (ed. Petrucci Nardelli) 1988, 125.

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The treatises written by Orso Orsini and Paride Dal Pozzo concern quite different interests, focusing as they do on military and chivalresque matters from a juridical perspective. Orsini (b.?-d. Viterbo, 1479) was one of the leading noblemen in the Kingdom in the 1470s, who had been granted by the king possession of the powerful feudal territory of Nola, over which he proved to be a sagacious ruler.[21] In close and continuous contact with the royal court, Orsini was the author of a treatise on the *Governo et exercitio della militia*, which he dedicated to Ferrante in 1477; the work, teeming with classical references (Orsini was a bibliophile), deals with the organization of the army and military strategy, in a well-balanced combination of classical erudition and technical innovation (see for example the importance the author gives to the bombard).[22]

Paride Dal Pozzo's work is altogether more wide-ranging. Dal Pozzo (Castellammare ca. 1413–1493?) was a jurist from Castellamare, near Naples, who worked as a high-ranking administrator and tutor to Ferrante. He was the author of a book *De re militari*, which was subsequently translated and summarised in another publication, *De Duello*. The treatise, however, goes far beyond questions of the technicalities of warfare; Dal Pozzo includes many elements from contemporary political thought, above all when he discusses the relationship of the king to his feudal lords and the concepts of nobility and the military profession. He argues that a man accedes to the rank of the robe nobility either through military service or through exercising the profession of jurist and so affirms the superiority of civil law, though the military remains the government's principal guarantee of enforcing obedience since it defends the State from both internal and external aggression. In short, in line with Bartolo's viewpoint, it is political power which defines nobility of rank.[23] Dal Pozzo's juridical and political interests can also be seen in his brief treatise *De Sindicatu*, on the figure of the *sindicus*, a royal official responsible for supervising the activities of the legal profession.

The Aragonese Period: Crisis and Decline

In his late work *De magnanimitate*, on the *vir magnanimus*, Pontano laid stress on the figure of the heroic *condottiere* endowed with uncommon virtues which

21 Senatore 2018, 1459–1484. On Orso Orsini see also Abbamonte, de Divitiis, and D'Urso in this volume.

22 Pieri 1933, 99–212, with an edition of the text; Miele 1989a, 64–105.

23 Persico 1899, 29–30.

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render him capable of confronting an age which was now felt to be new and unprecedented.[24]

The last attempt at a relaunch of the Aragonese sovereignty is represented by the *De maiestate* of Giuniano Maio (Naples, ca. 1430–Naples, 1494). Maio was a philologist and lexicographer, as well as a professor at the *Studium* in Naples and tutor to the royal offspring:[25] he was a humanist scholar who in writing this treatise was putting his knowledge at the service of the declining Aragonese dynasty. The work, which probably never circulated, is written in the dignified vernacular in use at the Neapolitan court and is dedicated to Ferrante of Aragon.[26] It takes up a key concept that Pontano had examined in his *De principe*, but, in contrast to Pontano's approach, Maio's portrait of a *princeps* lacks the conceptual elements of sovereignty and is both more rigid and more defensive. From the range of the various traditional formulations of *maiestas* and *virtus* Maio selects those which more directly pertain to power ("de la fortitudine contra la fortuna", chapter VI; "de la magnificenza", chapter XIX) and self-control ("de non propulsare la iniuria", chapter II; "de non montare in ira", chapter XIV; "de la modestia de li gesti", chapter XVI).[27] The structure of the argument adopted by Maio consists in a series of definitions of each respective *virtus* accompanied by an *exemplum* from Antiquity and then a modern *exemplum*, which always refers to Ferrante and has the title 'Esemplo'. These references contain interesting information on the king's activities and deeds, such as the foundation of the Ospizio dell'Annunziata (chapter VIII), his magnificent hunting expeditions (chapter XIX), memories of the war of succession fought against the Angevins (chapters IX, X), and the arrest of the rebel barons. Maio's work does not aim to construct a theoretical system or to contain doctrinal significance. The rigidity of the classifications betrays the author's wish, even an anxiety, to construct an apology (*apologia*) for the Aragonese regime rather than mere propaganda: Pontano's confident vision no longer applies and the last treatise of the Aragonese age seems to want merely to build, using the resources of classicism and the rigid deployment of *exempla*, as sealed a defensive wall as possible around the monarchy.

The awareness of crisis marks, much more explicitly and with flashes of bitter sarcasm, the writings of Antonio de Ferraris known as Il Galateo (Galatone, 1448–Gallipoli 1516), the last great intellectual of the Aragonese era and a royal

24 Cappelli 2016, 203–208.

25 De Frede 1960, 35–112; Caracciolo Aricò 2006.

26 The only manuscript of the work is ms. Par. It. 1711, Bibliothèque nationale de France, an official copy intended for the royal library; it was published only in 1956.

27 Cappelli 2016, 189–195.

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physician. He survived the fall of the dynasty and outlived Pontano. A humanist and a scientist (he had studied medicine at the university of Ferrara), versed in Latin and the vernacular, Galateo came from what was one of the liveliest regions of the Kingdom, the Salento or southern part of Puglia, a thriving and by no means minor centre of cultural activity, shaped by its Greek tradition and open to innumerable cultural influences. He witnessed not only the decline of the Aragonese dynasty but also the fading of the ethical, political and educational vision of humanism.[28] He wrote only one work of political theory in the closing years of the 15th century, addressed to the last duke of Calabria, Ferrante, the extremely youthful and unfortunate son of Federico who would end his days as the viceroy of Valencia.[29] Like Pontano, Galateo expounds his precepts using the epistolary form but the contrast with the fervent optimism of the *De principe* could not be more stark. At the centre of the whole work is the Senecan idea of power as servitude (*servitus*). The *imperium* entails the obligation to acquire and maintain consensus, both internal and external, both of which make the exercise of power extremely difficult. The crisis of the ruling class emerges also in Galateo's focus on it in his *Lettere* and on the specific duties he believes pertain to it;[30] he demands from them a "moral rigour which the youngest in the lineage must adhere to if they are to achieve superior status". The denunciatory and bitterly satirical text of *L'Eremita* (1496–1498), a Lucianesque fable about a hermit, the author's literary alter ego, allows the reader to catch glimpses of the painful events of Galateo's own time. The hermit arrives at the gate of heaven where he enters into a sustained argument with St Peter and others among the blessed urging his right to be admitted to Paradise, which in the end he obtains through the intercession of the Virgin Mary. Against this background the dialogue opens up "a vast and complex fresco of society at the end of the fifteenth century",[31] in which themes and concerns relating closely to the debate *de principe* emerge. Seen from this political angle the most relevant passage occurs in the conversation between the hermit and John the Baptist. The latter here embodies the implacable critic of the powerful, who ends up paying with his life for his courageous candour, betrayed by a naïve belief that the powerful are amenable to advice and correction.

28 For the biography of Galateo see Romano 1987; Iurilli 2006, 265–272. On the culture of the Salento De Blasi and Varvaro 1988, 283–286; Petracca 2012, 214–228. On Galateo see also Miletti in this volume.

29 *Epistola* X, in Galateo (ed. Altamura) 1959, 81–84. See also Tateo 1984, 3–20; Cappelli 2016, 195–199; Valerio 2016, 87–103.

30 Tateo 2004, 268–269.

31 Valerio 2004, 10.

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Another work by Galateo, his only text in the vernacular (though declaredly anti-Tuscan), the *Esposizione del Pater Noster* (1507–1509),[32] dedicated to Isabella of Aragon (1470–1524), the daughter of Alfonso II and the duchess of Bari, also contains much that is relevant for the author's political thinking. The text of the Lord's Prayer serves almost as a pretext for Galateo to touch on burning issues such as the state of servitude to which Italy has been reduced or, in terms of theory, the question of the natural equality of human beings.[33] The work presents its readers with an apocalyptic—and Augustinian—vision of human history.[34]

The Early Sixteenth Century

After the Kingdom, assailed by instability and conflict, lost its political and cultural autonomy, in the early decades of the 16th century its culture faced stagnation and disorientation. "The viceroy's court remained extraneous or at best was perceived as one among many courts in Naples or so at least the city's aristocracy saw it".[35] In this context cultural activity in the early 16th century became dispersed among different centres both within Naples—the academy and the university, with diminished and faltering publishing activity—and outside the capital, across various towns and cities in the Kingdom, from Nardò to Bari and Salerno.[36] The nobility—both in the city (the 'Seggio nobility') and the feudal barons—were seen as responsible for the cultural crisis but at the same time they held out hope of emerging from it. After the attraction of Naples as a political and cultural centre had waned, the spotlight shifted to the other centres, where several intellectuals continued their activities under the protection of local courts. Political thought was now characterised either by the repetition of Pontano's framework, adapted to a greater or lesser degree to fit the contemporary situation, or by expedience and the quest to establish the grounds for the social hegemony of a particular class.

This latter solution is clearly seen, in Neapolitan circles, in the work of Pietro Iacopo De Jennaro (Naples, 1436–1508). He belonged to the ancient Seggio nobility in the city, was a member of Pontano's academy and an Aragonese offi-

32 De Filippis 2016, xxviii.
33 Persico 1912, 111–114.
34 De Filippis 2016, lxxiv–lxxvi. On Isabella's patronage see de Divitiis and Lenzo in this volume.
35 Spagnoletti 1988, 383.
36 De Lisio 1974, 147; Toscano 2018.

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cial. In addition to a collection of *Rime*,[37] which also included poems on political subjects, De Jennaro wrote, after the fall of the Aragonese, a book entitled *Libro terzo del Reggimento* in the form of a commentary to the first, third, and fourth decades of Livy.[38] This text contains many elements from the classical tradition of thought on *de principe*, but refracted through the interests and attitudes of the social class to which the author belonged, the city's nobility whose members hoped to secure prestigious roles in public affairs. This explains De Jennaro's interest in certain central concepts of the humanistic tradition such as the political *corpus* or the reciprocal love (*amor*) which subsists between the government and its subjects.

Another writer who enquires into the role and destiny of the class to which he belonged was Tristano Caracciolo (Naples, 1437–1528), a polygraph and autodidact born into the same rank of the seggio nobility as De Jennaro. His long life was marked by his 'Angevin' sympathies and the intellectual influence of the Pontano academy, but also by a network of connections which extended far beyond the capital to include other centres in the Kingdom.[39] On the occasion of the coronation of Alfonso II in 1495 he addressed the king with an oration which was sharply critical of Aragonese rule because of its foreign origins; only the second Alfonso, he declared, can ensure the happiness of the Kingdom because he is the first Aragonese monarch to be born in Naples.[40] But Caracciolo's reflections in his other writings focus above all on how Neapolitan society will fare under the new Spanish regime, when the Kingdom has lost its central place and its influence. In an earlier work, the *Nobilitatis Neapolitanae defensio*, written in the turbulent years of the French invasion (1495), he expresses his concerns for the role played by the Seggio nobility, defends its political presence and importance while at the same time precluding its participation in any form of commercial activity in the name of humanist principles such as 'mutual aid' (*mutua caritas*) and magnanimity (*magnanimitas*).[41] These same concerns are found—though in more flexible form, more attuned to the new times—in a series of subsequent brief works such as *Quid sit in tot variis artibus a iuvenibus amplectendum* (Of the great variety of human activities which should be undertaken by the young) or the opuscule addressed to the marquis of Atella (*Ad Marchionem Atellae*): in these works we find a "versatile

37 De Jennaro (ed. Corti) 1956.
38 Santangelo 2018.
39 On the Pontano academy see Iacono in this volume.
40 Cappelli 2016, 201–202.
41 Tufano 2013, 109–117.

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concept of nobility which can be adapted either to the feudal nobility in the Kingdom [...] or the Neapolitan nobility understood in the widest sense and also including the urban categories of the Seggio nobility or the military and administrative nobility and therefore also the author himself".[42] Yet Caracciolo also follows in the footsteps of Pontano's last works or of Galateo in questioning the vicissitudes of fortune which were so marked a feature of the persistent instability of his own times: the *De varietate fortunae* (1509–1511) is an authentic work of historiographical reflection centring on the destiny "of the noble families in the Kingdom from Aragonese times' in which 'evil fortune does not consist in a bloody or unjust death but the loss of privileges, anxiety for their posterity, the extinction of their family line".[43] Lastly, the letter *De Inquisitione*, in which he supports the uprisings caused by the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition in Naples in 1509, reveals Caracciolo's strong sense of civic commitment.

The work of another Neapolitan, Giano Anisio (Naples, 1465–ca. 1540), belongs clearly to the tendency inspired by Pontano. His *De principe* was printed by Sulzbach in Naples in 1532 as part of his *Satyrae* in verse, but the ideology it expresses and the cultural climate it evokes mean that it was certainly composed earlier, probably in 1511–1513.[44] The lengthy work takes up the original theoretical framework of Pontano's letter, the title of which Anisio reproduces, and various concepts from which he echoes in his own work but at the same time almost overturns by emphasising the obscure and problematic features of Pontano's thinking. Anisio's idea of what it means to be a prince is intrinsically defined by unhappiness (*infelicitas*), while the positive aspects of regality are confined to a past which is now beyond reach or restoration. The central characteristic of Anisio's *De principe* is his markedly pessimistic vision of the contemporary world, seen as driven by violent and irrational impulses. Anisio's work is balanced between "the lament for a past which has been lost and the hope that a new equilibrium can be found."[45]

The noble Aquaviva family, which came from Puglia and the Abruzzo and which had been granted the right to add d'Aragona to their name, had important connections with the Kingdom's leading humanist intellectuals and were energetic patrons of art. They—and in particular Andrea Matteo III—stand alongside other families like the Carafa or the Avalos and their patronage can

42 Tufano 2013, 246.
43 Corfiati 2012, 7.
44 Valerio 2012, 1165–1167.
45 Valerio 2012, 1167.

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be likened to the notion of 'diplomatic patronage' which had long been recognized as one of the ways in which the aristocracy seeks legitimation.[46]Andrea Matteo III (Naples 1458–1529) had been educated together with his brother Belisario by Pontano (who would dedicate the *De magnanimitate* to him); the owner of a large library, he devoted himself to the pursuit of *litterae* after abandoning political life (he had always been a supporter of the French). His version of Plutarch's *De virtute morali* with a commentary survives.[47] But it is his younger brother Belisario (Naples 1464–1528) who stands out for his political and cultural importance. Belisario was a leading patron not only in Naples but also—above all—in his fiefdom in Puglia, Nardò, where he was buried (his tomb survives today).[48] Here he re-founded the Accademia del Lauro in 1507, celebrated in one of Sannazaro's epigrams and described by Galateo in his *De situ Iapiagiae* as a centre for the study of Greek. It was possibly frequented by academicians from Pontano's academy.[49] Belisario was also the author of four works on the education (*institutio*) of a man of high rank: *De instituendis liberis principium*; *De venatione et de aucupio*; *De re militari et singulari certamine*; *Paraphrasis in Oeconomica Aristotelis*. The first of these is his most significant work, a brief political and pedagogical treatise on the education of a prince. There was a single edition of the text published in 1519 by Pasquet de Sallo in Naples, but it was probably written about a decade earlier. The subjects and concerns of humanists during the Aragonese period take up a large, even ostentatious, part of this short book—the ideas around *virtus* and *mutua caritas*, *maiestas*, and *otium*[50] Belisario revives in both theoretical and literary terms themes from Pontano's work (to the point of direct quotation), but from a neo-feudal and aristocratic point of view: there are important details which are new, such as the emphasis given to religion (*religio*), the minute classification of *prudentia*, and the much greater attention, compared to previous work, which the author pays to military aspects (Belisario's interest in these is evident from another of his short works, the *De re militari*, which tackles the concept of honour, reflected in the practice of duelling).[51] In both these latter cases we find the figure of the *miles literatus*, a category that includes men such as Garcilaso de la Vega (Toledo 1501/03–Nice 1536), Onorato Fascitelli (Isernia

46 Visceglia 2006, 78.
47 Tateo 2009, 15–27. See also Abbamonte and D'Urso in this volume. On patronage see De Divitiis in this volume.
48 Tarallo 2015 (2017).
49 Furstenberg-Levi 2016, 164–166. See Iacono in this volume.
50 Miele 1994, 11–28.
51 Ferraú 1991, 88–102.

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1502–Rome 1564) or, earlier, Michele Marullo Tarcaniota (Constantinople 1453–Volterra 1500) and, to some degree, the above mentioned Orso Orsini.

Agostino Nifo's background is very different. The Campanian writer (Sessa ca. 1469–Sessa 1538) was by far the earliest author to engage with Machiavelli's work. Although his education took place outside the Kingdom (he studied in Padua under Nicoletto Vernia), he maintained significant professional and political contacts with his native town (and was buried there).[52] As a member of the restricted city council (an *eletto*) for Sessa, for example, he was responsible for the epigraphs written on the occasion of Charles v's visit to the town.[53] He advanced his career in Rome and Pisa as a successful teacher of scholastic philosophy; before he returned to the Kingdom he dedicated a book *De principe* (1521) to the dukes of Sessa (from the family of the *Gran Capitán* Fernández de Córdoba) in which he included various paratexts written by celebrated humanists from Pontano's late circle, such as Pontano's young pupil Girolamo Borgia, himself the author in 1525 of a *Monarchia* addressed to Charles v expressing his loyalty to the Aragonese.[54] Nifo's *De principe* echoes humanist themes such as the standard conflict between *amor* and *timor* and the exaltation of *clementia* and *pietas*. Nifo's subsequent work, the *De rege et tyranno* (1526) is similarly conventional in approach; it is modelled on the 15th-century text by Poggio Bracciolini *De infelicitate principum* though the Italian situation at the time when Nifo was writing darkens its view of things. Nifo also took part in the debate over the relative importance of arms and letters, a common topic in the Kingdom, taking the traditional position in favour of the feudal nobility. His disposition to become involved in contemporary debates, bringing his extensive philosophical knowledge to bear, can be seen in the curious opuscule entitled *De regnandi peritia*, published in Naples in 1523 and dedicated to Charles v. For a long time, it was thought to be a plagiary of Machiavelli's *Principe*. It is certainly one of the earliest readings of Machiavelli's work but is not so much a straightforward act of plagiarism as a rewriting of the text: Nifo alters and rearranges Machiavelli's material in order to confute the Florentine writer's boldest theories—in other words, Nifo adopts the methods of scholastic dispute in order to rebut and overturn the answers which are put forward in the *Principe*.[55] An example is Nifo's censure of Machiavelli's favoured image of the centaur Chiron. Nifo maintains that simulation is tyrannical and expresses a straightforward preference for love (*amor*) rather than fear (*timor*) in the rela-

52 For Nifo see Miletti in this volume.
53 Lenzo 2014, 117; 190.
54 Toscano 2018, 265.
55 Pedullà 2004, 796–804.

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tionship of a sovereign to his subjects. Thus, Nifo can be said to inaugurate the anti-Machiavellian school of thought of subsequent centuries.

The Later Sixteenth Century

A historical text, now seen as a classic, has stated that "the climate of the 1540s in Italy was genuinely ambiguous: declining political passion, a sense of abandonment, the desire for peace, and at the same time a confused expectation of renewal."[56] The Kingdom can be included in this diagnosis; indeed, the signs of a hardening of the general climate are probably more visible and painful here than elsewhere in Italy. The restrictions enacted by the Viceroy Pedro de Toledo over the course of his long period in office (1532–1553) sealed the transformation of literary culture and had an even more marked impact on political philosophy. Here too, in the new Spanish viceroyalty, the theory of *raison d'état* and Tacitism prevailed but attention focused even more on the concept of nobility (as well as on the history of dynasties, families and heroic individuals) in tune with the preoccupations and aspirations of the 'togati', the urban nobility who sought social hegemony in rivalry with the feudal nobility, though both categories shared the same courtly and subordinate ambition to serve the established Spanish authorities. Seen in this light, the publication of a curious manual on the selection of public officials just before Toledo took up his tenure seems symbolic: *Utili instructioni et documenti per qual se voglia persona ha da eliger officiali circa il regimento de' popoli* [...], published in Naples in 1517. The authorship is unclear, given that the text derives from a 15th-century work which was later expanded by the Neapolitan jurists Giovanni Galluccio and Cesare de Perrinis. It contains a few chapters on general political principles, based on legal and political *auctoritates* from Thomas Aquinas to Baldo. An economic focus characterises the approach with its emphasis on the connection between the well-being of the populace and of the ruling classes, a framing which recalls Diomede Carafa's approach in several of his *Memoriali* in the 15th century.[57]

An emblematic figure of this examination into the function of the ruling class is the jurist Giambattista Nenna (1509/13–not after 1565) from Bari, who was a member of the court of Isabella of Aragon (and later of her daughter Bona Sforza), the duchess of Bari, one of the most celebrated courts in southern

56 Donati 1988, 66.

57 Persico 1912, 182–186; see above.

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Italy.[58] Nenna tended to be pro-Spanish (he was made a knight by Charles V) and acquired a degree of fame for his edition with commentary of Lombard statutes. In philosophy he was trained at Padua and influenced by Pietro Pomponazzi; in literature he was a follower of Sperone Speroni in his belief that the vernacular was useful in theoretical discourse. Taken as a whole, Nenna's work represents both a humanistic culture with its roots in the Aragonese period and a juridical and scholastic one, developed in Padua. His philosophical reflections are centred on the concept of nobility, following in the tradition which began in the early 15th century with the work of Bonaccorso da Montemagno and had been pursued in the Kingdom with such writers as Galateo, Caracciolo, and Francesco Elio Marchese (Naples 1448?–1517). The latter's 1496 work *De nobilium familiarum origine libellus*, which circulated in manuscript and won plaudits, was not in fact published until 1653, most probably because, rather than focusing on the theoretical definition of nobility Marchese concentrates on criticising (and on occasion exposing) the genealogical history of Neapolitan noble families.[59]

Nenna takes a different approach in his dialogue in three books entitled *Nennio, nel quale si ragione di nobilta*, dedicated to Bona in about 1529 but only printed by the Vavassore brothers in Venice in 1542. The dialogue, which remained almost completely unnoticed in Italy but was translated and commented upon in France and England, is the first of its kind in the vernacular to have a southern Italian setting. It is symbolically structured around an actual and historically recorded outbreak of plague in Padua in the summer of 1528 which leads the protagonists of the dialogue to escape to the countryside near Bari, a *locus amoenus*, where, like the narrators in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, they can pursue the *civil conversazione* as a moral antidote to the epidemic. The text is a hybrid and not without originality: set against the background of the renewed debate over the relative superiority of the military and lettered professions, a very popular argument, as we have seen, in southern Italy, it is a kind of 'novel' but based on the techniques of scholastic disputation, and also a treatise of ideas, with echoes of Boccaccio and above all, the atmosphere of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*.[60] In linguistic terms Nenna, unlike Galateo, favoured the Tuscan vernacular over the 'natio' or southern Italian one, even though for the rest of Italy it was not a mother tongue but a language to be learnt using Fortunio's celebrated grammar.

58 Girardi 1994, 297–301.

59 De Lisio 1974, 97–141; Girardi 1988, 82–88. On 15th-century treatises in general, which have connections with political topics but are not wholly about them, see Muto 1990, 321–343.

60 Tateo 2004, 263–275.

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From the point of view of theory, *Nennio* is "a game involving rival concepts' of nobility".[61] Two of the characters, Posidonio and Fabrizio, confront each other: the first, supported by other interlocutors in the dialogue, maintains a social and biological conception of nobility, based on bloodlines and material assets. Fabrizio evokes humanity's common descent from Adam in order to refute the idea of biological differences and deny the validity of heredity in the name of individual virtue, which is above all manifested in the study of *litterae*. In the third book, Nenna himself, in the guise of a character in the dialogue, mediates between the two positions, with an inclination toward Fabrizio's point of view. Seen as a whole, the text is structured as a battle between ancient and modern and around the idea that once humanity had left the happy state of nature behind it began to organize social existence based on the concept of honours (*onori*). Nenna's idea of nobility is essentially "composite, tending to absorb within itself the two contrasting positions in the dialogue and supersede them in an ideal of synthesis and equilibrium, of decorum, harmony and magnificence" typical of 16th-century thought.[62] Though *Nennio* cannot be called a political treatise in the proper sense of the term, it is undeniable that it contains "a programme of civil renewal"[63] of which an integral part is Nenna's impassioned and almost unworldly defence of *litterae* as a way of acquiring noble status. This appears to echo Galateo's position in his celebrated letter to Bona Sforza but on closer analysis it is clear that the values are in fact reversed: Nenna "links back to a courtly perspective, even including its most characteristic element, the identification of a composite nobility",[64] in other words, a 'civil nobility', an emanation of the *princeps*, capable of satisfying the aspirations of the 'togate', the urban patrician class which sought social recognition from the political authorities, an idea already adumbrated in the work of Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1314–1357) two centuries earlier. It is interesting that Nenna develops the argument by taking up some of the classical foundational myths (from Cicero's *De inventione* and the fifth book of the *De rerum naturae* of Lucretius) in order to justify the guiding role he envisages for the nobility (in which category he also places the physicians, as we have seen). But the influence of humanism is also seen in Nenna's relativist approach, following Poggio Bracciolini: "I cannot name a city to you where the emergence and practice of such nobility is matched" ("nomare non vi saprei una città che nel nascere et

61 Girardi 1988, 298.
62 De Lisio 1974, 155.
63 Girardi 1988, 299.
64 Tateo 2004, 272.

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costumare di questa nobilitade fosse conforme").[65] Taking as its starting point a moderate Aristotelianism and with an unquestioned assumption of the preeminence of the nobility, Nenna's work advocates the need for the renewal of the ruling class in an age of social uncertainty and upheaval.

In Naples the university chair of humanities was vacant from 1541 to 1564. The capital city no longer acted as a magnet for intellectuals, who returned to the places where they had been born and where they became responsible for interesting initiatives.[66] There were still writers who stand out for the originality of their ideas though they lack incisiveness and did not become widely known and read. One such man is the Cosenza jurist Bernardino Bombini (1523–1588). He wrote the little-known *Discorsi intorno al governo della Guerra et Governo domestico*, *Theorica dell'Agricoltura*, *Reggimento regio, il Tiranno et L'Eccellentia de l'humano genere*, published in Naples in 1566 with another edition in Venice in 1583. The text shows a pronounced interest in the art of warfare but what is most striking is Bombini's degree of closeness to Machiavelli's thought and his discreet references to the Florentine author's works as well as the boldness of some of the thoughts, for examples in the pages on tyrannicide. Different traditions of political thought—juridical, scholastic, and humanistic—merge in Bombini's text with a degree of originality but also of confusion.

In 1554 Giulio Cesare Caracciolo (1495–1568) wrote a *Ragionamento sulle condizioni del Regno di Napoli* criticising the actions of the viceroy (the work was never published). Caracciolo was a leading member of the city's aristocracy whose career spanned the period between the viceroyalty of Toledo, whom he fiercely opposed, and 1572. In the *Ragionamento* he laments the marginalization of his social class and analyses the Kingdom's manifold problems from the exclusive point of view of the nobility. The work sets out a series of reforms in the economy, society, and military policy (especially the creation of a navy) which also reveal Caracciolo's awareness of the Kingdom's provinces and their difficult relationship with the capital.[67]

The Kingdom however was no longer a centre for political thought as it had been in the second half of the 15th century. Scipione Ammirato wrote in Florence (a city with which Toledo had connections) and the Augustinian Scipio di Castro (1521–1583), born in Policastro in Basilicata and educated initially in Naples, pursued an adventurous and somewhat unscrupulous career between Switzerland and Rome (with a lengthy sojourn in Sicily), where he

65 Donati 1988, 69.

66 De Lisio 1974, 147–148; Girardi 1988, 83–84.

67 Biographical profile in Parenti 1976; Muto 1990, 338.

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became a political advisor to the papacy. His reports were published posthumously in the great compilation entitled *Tesoro politico*, the first part of which contains his theoretical essay *Delli fondamenti dello Stato et instrumenti per regnare* (1589), a work impregnated with the theory of *raison d'état* and Counter-Reformation thinking. The text enjoyed considerable European success despite being placed on the Index of prohibited books.[68]

Scipione Ammirato (Lecce, 1531–Florence, 1601) too pursued his philosophical career outside the Kingdom to the extent that it is perhaps not possible to speak of him as belonging to the category of the Kingdom's political thinkers. His *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito*, published by the Giunti firm in Florence in 1594, is among the most lucidly written political treatises from the Counter-Reformation period.[69] A key exponent of Tacitism, Ammirato's principal concerns were the maintenance and security of the State, a defensive approach which betrays his sense of contemporary crisis. He proposes, for example, the feudalization of domanial territory.[70] Ammirato adheres to the basic idea, derived from Botero, of a 'mediocre' state which, in applying a form of prudence (*prudentia*), does not seek to be expansionist (it is this belief which lies behind the praise of Venice in the sixth *Discorso*). His ideas belong in the context of absolutist ideology and as such show the influence of Botero, in an anti-Machiavellian perspective which, far from ignoring the Florentine author, reinterprets him in the light of a 'moral' way of doing politics which can be seen as justifying power: a way of satisfying the dictates of *raison d'état* clearly seen in Ammirato's defence of the Church from the Machiavellian accusation that it had blocked the unification of Italy. Yet Ammirato's conception of *raison d'état* is more understated and moderate than the approach taken by Botero, whose work, as is well known, was only published in 1589. Ammirato defines it thus: "the contravention of ordinary law for the purposes of the public good or to respect greater and more universal reason": in short, the derogation of the legal order (the sole limit being 'divine reason') or a state of exception. It is a way of 'getting round' the demands of morality without subverting them, an attitude which is also seen in the importance Ammirato gives to military issues. As a theorist of the 'secrets of power' (*arcana imperii*), he advocated an authoritarian state but one which was less repressive than Botero's model; Ammirato supported a monarchy which showed itself to be moderate in its attitudes and behaviour. For this reason, unlike Botero, he repudiates simulation even though he admits the existence of dissimulation. Thus, Ammirato seems

68 Zapperi 1979.
69 Tateo 2003, 3–18.
70 D'Addio 2002, 162–163.

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to renew, with due adaptations in line with contemporary circumstances, the aristocratic and Ciceronian idea based on *concordia ordinum*, under the rule of the nobility, in which the supreme virtue is a form of prudence inspired by *medietas* and caution. Perhaps this allows us to trace in Ammirato some remote inheritance from the key political theorists of the Aragonese humanist tradition.[71]

By the end of the 16th century few vestiges of the Aragonese political order remained in the Kingdom. The uprising against the Spanish in 1547 ended in substantial defeat and the victory of the viceroy Toledo. In 1549 Benedetto di Falco in his *Descrittione* proffered, under the veneer of conventional urban eulogy, "a heartfelt apology for the City" as a loyal part of the Spanish Empire, impeccable in its orthodoxy.[72] In 1550, Pedro de Toledo brought two decades of difficult relations with the Kingdom's cultural life to a fitting climax by introducing censorship before publication for all works intended for print.[73] The places frequented by intellectuals in Naples such as the academies—at first the Pontaniana and later the Sereni—found it impossible to continue functioning, while the cultural liveliness of provincial centres also seemed to go into decline. The glories of the Aragonese period faded into the past: "the grey times began, the period of the alliance between Catholic reaction and Habsburg absolutism, the period of Italy's immobile peace".[74]

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71 Persico 1912, 207–224.

72 Toscano 2018, 275.

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CHAPTER 15

Writing about Cities: Local History, Antiquarianism, and Classical Sources

Lorenzo Miletti

This chapter is dedicated to a heterogenous corpus of texts—histories, biographies, letters, poems, etc.—written, mostly in Latin, in the 15th and 16th centuries in the Kingdom of Naples. All these works, regardless of their differences, share the purpose of describing and/or celebrating specific cities or areas of the Kingdom; they also all approach their subject matter from an antiquarian perspective, influenced by the reading of classical authors and, more generally, by the diffusion of humanistic culture. Literature narrowly dedicated to the city of Naples will be set aside, and the focus will be exclusively on the other centres of the Kingdom.[1]

The late Middle Ages, from about the death of King Robert of Anjou to the beginning of the Aragonese reign in 1442, were a period of political instability for the whole Kingdom of Naples. Culture did not flourish constantly or uniformly throughout the whole territory, over which political control by the court of Naples was incomplete, as witnessed by the growth of the Princedom of Taranto, which was in fact a "state inside the state".[2] In this complex scenario, the questions of whether and how humanism and the 'cult' of the classical past developed throughout the Kingdom in the period preceding Alfonso's conquest are hard to answer. Though hints of the dissemination of humanism are detectable in more than one episode, it was far from being uniformly widespread. As a

1 The varied corpus of works at the core of the present paper has been mostly gathered and studied during my participation in the five-years ERC project HistAntArtSI, coordinated by Bianca de Divitiis, to whom I wish to extend my thanks. I am aware of no previous attempt to analyse these works taken together and from the perspective adopted here. See, however, Tommaso Pedio's attempt to furnish an overview of the development of local historiography (Pedio 1973), and Francesco Tateo's discussion of how local historians searched for the ancient origins of their own cities (Tateo 1990, 59–80, which is however largely focused on Naples). Bentley 1995, though mostly devoted to Naples, offers brief discussion of works connected to other centres of the Kingdom. The impressive amount of sources translated into English, contained in Mc Gregor and Nichols 2019, mostly refers to the city of Naples, with a few exceptions.

2 On the characteristics of this Princedom see the essays collected in Petracca and Vetere 2013 and Colesanti 2014.

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matter of fact, one may note that literary production devoted to local history—used here to mean every literary work, written in any genre, which explores the ancient and more recent past of a city—was scarcely influenced by the development of a renovated historical and/or antiquarian method based on the critical reading of ancient sources. Before Alfonso's arrival, in the various centres of the Kingdom of Naples a 'medieval approach' to the writing of chronicles and histories is largely attested, but one finds no historical work clearly modelled on the classical authors comparable, for instance, to what Leonardo Bruni achieved by writing, from 1415 onwards, his *Historia Florentini populi*.[3] Nor do we find encomiastic descriptions of cities such as Bruni's *Laudatio Florentinae urbis* (1403–1404), or Pier Candido Decembrio's *De laudibus Mediolanensium urbis panegyricus* (1435–1436), i.e. *all'antica* works praising the political and cultural identity of a single centre,[4] nor antiquarian-chorographic works such as Iacopo Bracelli's *Orae ligusticae descriptio* (1418), in which a city or a region is described in its material aspects with reference to ancient sources and mention of ancient and modern topography.[5] In the Kingdom of Naples this kind of literature flourished only after the Aragonese conquest was complete and even more, as we shall see, after the end of the so-called war of succession and first baronial rebellion (1458–1465).

A Starting Point: Biondo's *Italia illustrata* and Valla's Letter on Sulmona

The historical works which were produced at Naples by the humanists gathered around Alfonso the Magnanimous after the Aragonese conquest mostly aimed at celebrating the new king; as a result only a limited space was dedicated to local history, i.e. the thorough description of single cities or regions of the kingdom.[6] A first attempt at a large-scale antiquarian inquiry into the Kingdom's territory (within the wider framework of the Italian peninsula) was achieved by Biondo Flavio of Forlì (1392–1463) in his *Italia illustrata*, a work that was

3 The Trecento chronicles and historical works dealing with the Kingdom of Naples have recently been listed and discussed in Musto 2018, which also includes works that can be dated to the early 15th century such as the *Chronicon Suessanum* or Angelo Crassullo's *Annales de rebus Tarantinis*. Bruni's *Historia* is edited in Bruni (ed. Hankins) 2001–2007.

4 Bruni (ed. Baldassarre) 2000; Decembrio (ed. Petraglione) 1907.

5 On Bracelli see Grayson 1971. The text, printed several times, is available in Andriani 1924, 233–248. More generally, a modern outline of the development of chorography (in a perspective that fully includes southern Italy) in Defilippis 2009.

6 See Iacono and Delle Donne in this volume.

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originally inspired by and dedicated to Alfonso the Magnanimous (1451).[7] A probable major 'harbinger' of Biondo's method, especially as regards southern Italy, was Ciriaco of d'Ancona's *Itinerarium*, a sort of ideal journey inspired, in turn, by Petrarch's work of the same title,[8] but despite this model the systematic perspective assumed by Biondo had no strict precedent. In the *Italia illustrata*, this humanist, after describing several other regions of Italy, passes on to a consideration of the Kingdom, where he draws a remarkable portrait of Naples, in which several historical episodes from both the classical and the medieval past are reported; several *realia* are also mentioned. Given his systematic method, Biondo also focuses on all the areas and cities of the kingdom, providing descriptions which would constitute the basis for later chorographic inquiry. As is well known, Biondo did not complete his work, leaving the regions south of Salerno on the western coast, and south of Mount Gargano on the eastern coast unexplored.

Another, albeit minor, work is worth mentioning as a forerunner of how later humanists dealt with the local past, namely a letter written by Lorenzo Valla (1406/7–1457) to Alfonso's secretary Giovanni Olzina, dated 4 July 1438, when the Roman humanist was completely immersed in political life at the itinerant Aragonese court.[9] Unlike most of Valla's letters which have come down to us, this one seems to have been directly conceived as a public text, an instrument of Alfonso's political propaganda.[10] Valla describes the king's triumphal entrance into Sulmona, a city which was an important 'hub' in the interior of the Abruzzo, i.e. in the northern part of the Kingdom. Most of the epistle is taken up with an encomium of Sulmona, in which some episodes of its ancient history are mentioned, among which the fact that it was Ovid's birthplace. Remarkably, we learn from this letter that the 'cult' of Ovid was so deeply felt locally that the acronym *SMPE* from the Ovidian phrase 'Sulmo mihi patria est' (*Tristia* 4.10.3) appeared in the city's coat of arms in exactly the same way—Valla notes—that ancient Romans wrote *SPQR* in their own *vexillum*.[11] This practice has been confirmed by modern scholars and dates back to the late 14th century, when the city, during the reign of Charles III of Anjou-Durazzo (1382–

7 Biondo (ed. Castner) 2005–2010, and Biondo (ed. White) 2005–2016. For a critical edition, with the final volume on southern Italy forthcoming, Biondo (ed. Pontari) 2011–2017.

8 Ciriaco d'Ancona (ed. Mehus) 1745. Though it was written in 1441–1442 and dedicated to Pope Eugene IV, Ciriaco's *Itinerarium* is based on the author's various travels, the last of which dates back to 1431.

9 The epistle is edited in Valla (ed. Besomi, Regoliosi) 1984, nr. 9, 165–169. A more extended commentary in Regoliosi 1982.

10 See Marsico 2017, 101.

11 See Valla (ed. Besomi, Regoliosi) 1984, ep. nr. 9, ls. 106–112, 109.

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1386), began to mint coins engraved with the image of Ovid. Subsequently, Charles's son Ladislaus granted the city, in 1410, the use of a coat of arms which included a portrait of Ovid with the aforementioned acronym *SMPE*.[12] In the mid-14th century a major and influential personality was Barbato of Sulmona, a Latin writer and close friend to Petrarch and Boccaccio, who probably inspired the adoption, some years after his death (1363), of the Ovidian verse as the city's motto: an allusion to this fact may be read in Petrarch's *Epistolae metricae* 2.15, where the poet describes Barbato by claiming: "Sulmo sibi patria est, atque is, michi crede, Pelignis / Naso secundus adest".[13] One of Barbato's disciples, Giovanni Quatrario (1337–1402) was also a Latin writer and a follower of Petrarch.[14] A disciple of Quatrario was active in Sulmona when Valla arrived, namely Antonio Marianico, thanks to whom several works by Barbato and Quatrario were preserved.[15] The close association of Ovid and Sulmona continued throughout the 15th century, as shown by the poem *Ovidias* by Pietro Odo da Montopoli 1420/25–1463, a friend of Valla and Giovanni Tortelli, written at Sulmona in 1452, in which the author also exhorts the citizens of Sulmona to erect a statue to Ovid, as the Mantuans have done for Virgil.[16]

Valla's epistle had two reprises in later Neapolitan and pro-Aragonese literature: Antonio Beccadelli, called the Panormita (1394–1471), who was also at Sulmona in those days, describes the episode in more or less the same terms, also stressing how Ovid was at the core of Alfonso's interest;[17] Giovanni Pontano, in his *De principe*, says that Alfonso would have renounced a large part of his kingdom in order to possess Ovid's birthplace.[18]

In short, Valla's epistle and its reprises clearly show how Alfonso, through the cultivated men of letters who accompanied him, aimed to bolster his connection with the cities he ruled over and to promote his image as a king who was interested in the classical past.

12 Data collected and discussed in Campana 1959.

13 "His homeland is Sulmona, and I can vouch that for the Peligni he is a second Ovid". Petrarch dedicated to Barbato five of his *Epistolae metricae* (1.1, 2.7, 2.16 3.18, and 3.19: see Gibertini 2012). On Barbato see also Faraglia 1889, Campana 1964, and the essays collected in Mattiocco 2005.

14 Biographical profile in Ciccone 2016.

15 See Campana 1964.

16 *Ovidias*, vv. 431–442, modern edition in Graziosi Acquaro 1970. On the statues of Ovid see Campana 1959 and Papponetti and Ghisetti Giaravina 1986. On Pietro Odo see also Donati 2000 and Blasio 2013.

17 Panormita's epistle has no modern edition. See Beccadelli 1553, fol. 121^{v}.

18 Pontano (ed. Cappelli) 2003, 34–35.

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Humanist Bishops as Local Historians: The Influence of Pius II's Policy

After the death of Alfonso (1458), his son Ferrante had to fight a long war to confirm his succession to the throne of Naples. In this war, he was supported by Pope Pius II, the humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405–1464).[19] As regards the Kingdom of Naples, Pius II bestowed more than one diocese on friends of his, such as Niccolò Perotti, Francesco Patrizi, Bartolomeo de Scalis called Philalites, Giovanni Antonio Campano, all humanists whose writings encouraged the development of literary works on the subject of towns and local history.

Niccolò Perotti of Sassoferrato (1429/30–1480), the personal secretary of Cardinal Bessarione, was granted by the pope the bishopric of Siponto, in northern Puglia, an ancient diocese whose main centre *Sipontum* had fallen into disuse and then disappeared during the early Middle Ages, after which the bishop took to residing in the nearby city of Manfredonia, without however losing the ancient diocesan name.[20] Perotti never went to visit his seat, but thereafter he always signed his works as Sipontinus, and with this name he was referred to by his contemporaries. He also wrote an entry on 'Sipontum' in his monumental lexicographical work *Cornu Copiae*.[21]

Francesco Patrizi of Siena (1413–1494) was a youthful friend of Pius II. His literary production was vast and varied and has only been partially explored. He was appointed bishop of the important port city of Gaeta. From 1463, the date of his appointment, until his death in 1492–1494, Patrizi was in constant residence in his see and also worked to improve the city's cultural life. He wrote several epigrams dedicated to the historical and mythical memory of Gaeta, stressing the Virgilian memories which pervaded the whole area; since only a small percentage of his poetic production is known, the possibility cannot be excluded that other compositions dealing with the city will emerge in the future.[22]

Bartolomeo de Scalis from Sulmona (called Philalites, i.e. 'Truth-Lover' in Greek; d. 1491) was a friend and disciple of Lorenzo Valla, whom he probably

19 Biographical profile in Pellegrini 2015. On Panormita see Delle Donne and Iacono in this volume.

20 Mercati 1925; D'Alessandro 2015.

21 See Perotti (eds. Charlet et alii) 1987–1998, vol. 3, chap. 3.111, 44.

22 Profile of Patrizi in De Capua 2014, 25–221 and in Quintiliani 2014. Some of the elegies (fewer than 10 per cent) are published in Smith 1968, who, however, lists all the two-verse incipits.

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met when Alfonso arrived in Sulmona in 1438, as mentioned above, and under whose influence he wrote an interesting *ars grammatica* which was also printed.[23] After being created bishop of Sulmona by Pius II, he wrote several works on various topics, and also an epic hexametric poem on the *condottiero* Iacopo Piccinino, introduced by an extended antiquarian section on the mythological foundation of Sulmona.[24]

Giovanni Antonio Campano (1429–1477) became bishop of the important diocese of Teramo in upper Abruzzo, a delicate role, since, according to the local custom, the bishops of this city were also temporal barons with their own extensive financial resources, and were even allowed to carry a sword and command a personal troop of guards.[25] In 1463, shortly after his appointment, Campano wrote a long letter to Cardinal Giacomo Ammannati Piccolomini, in which he furnished a meticulous antiquarian description of Teramo, perhaps the first 'monographic' humanistic description of a city in the Kingdom of Naples; especially noteworthy are the descriptions of the cathedral and the surviving Roman ruins.[26]

In this way the presence of such humanists at the heart of the Kingdom contributed to an increase of antiquarian interest in each urban centre. The methodology of Ciriaco's, Biondo's, and Valla's enquiries into southern Italy began to be more systematically developed.

Describing a Unified Kingdom: From the 'Golden Age' of Ferrante to the Fall of the Aragonese Dynasty

At the end of the War of Succession in 1464, the large Princedom of Taranto, whose ruler Giovanni Antonio Orsini had been Ferrante's most implacable enemy, had been divided into smaller units and assigned to officials and barons loyal to the king. The Aragonese re-conquest of the Puglian Princedom inspired several literary works, among them a hexametric poem called *Tarantina* written in classical Latin by another of Pius II's friends, Fosco Paracleto Malvezzi of Corneto (1408–1487), bishop of Acerno, who described the war in vivid terms as

23 Papponetti 1984 and Papponetti 1991; more bibliography and full list of works in Miletti 2016. On his grammatical work see Keith Percival 1978.

24 The poem to Piccinino is conserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Paris. Lat. 8372 and is edited in Keith Percival and Pascal 1985, 167–173.

25 Biographical profiles in Di Bernardo 1975; Cecchini 1995; De Beer 2012.

26 Campano (ed. Mencken) 1707, 25–35. An edition of this letter with commentary is in preparation by Bianca de Divitiis and the present author.

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a struggle between 'Good' (King Ferrante) and 'Evil' (Giovanni Antonio Orsini), partially echoing the model of Lucan's *Pharsalia*.[27]

The city of Taranto was temporarily bestowed on a member of the royal family, Ferrante's young son Federico, who would go on to become the last king of the Aragonese dynasty of Naples. Since Federico was a teenager, he was accompanied by several courtiers, including his preceptor Elisio Calenzio (1430–1502/3), a poet and humanist who was a close friend of Panormita and Pontano.[28] During this period in Taranto, which began in 1465 and lasted for several years, Calenzio worked as an official on behalf of his lord, Federico, but also wrote several Latin poems praising Federico's new role in Puglia. In more than one poem, Calenzio offers an antiquarian view of the Puglian region, though principally of Taranto, by evoking mythological and historical episodes, and describing the city itself.[29] Unfortunately, we can only read the late revision which was made by the author himself at the end of his life (about 1503), so critical analysis of this work has to take into consideration the fact that the poems were written and re-elaborated over a considerable period of almost forty years.[30]

Besides Calenzio, other humanists were active under Ferrante and nurtured antiquarian and chorographic interests: here we will indicate the most significant among them.

Born in Palermo, Pietro Ranzano (1426/7–1492/3) received a full humanistic education, and at the same time had a remarkable career as a friar of the Dominican Order.[31] He became preceptor to Ferrante's son Giovanni, and Neapolitan ambassador at the court of king Matthias Hunyadi (Matthias Corvinus) of Hungary. In 1476 he was also appointed bishop of Lucera, in Puglia. From the late 1460s onwards, he was engaged in writing a monumental historical and geographical work (which remains unpublished for the most part), a sort of *chronicon universale*, which was influenced both by the historical works of the Dominican tradition, and by the most up-to-date humanistic works on

27 Edition in Malvezzi (ed. Martucci) 1899; Malvezzi (ed. Poretti) 2019. The poem was written in Acerno and, despite its title, does not refer to the history of Taranto, but merely mentions the main episodes of the war. On Malvezzi's biography see Corfiati 2014.

28 Biographical profile in Foà 1998, to be largely integrated and updated with Caruso 2015 (2018). See also Cappelli in this volume.

29 See Calenzio 1503, the elegies *Ad Hiaracum* (fols. C1^{r}–C2^{r}); *Laus Tarenti* (fols. C2^{v}–C3^{r}); *De puellis Tarentinis* (fol. C4$^{r–v}$). Calenzio also wrote an epistle which contains an accurate description of the city (ibid. fols. C2^{v}–C3^{r}).

30 An overview of the current state of scholarship in Calenzio (ed. Monti Sabia) 2008, 39–41; 105–108.

31 Biographical profile in Termini 1915, 7–76; Figliuolo 1997, 87–276.

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geography and history.[32] Considerably before Raffaele Maffei's more famous *Commentarii* (published in 1506), Ranzano was the first humanist to complete the description of Italy made by Biondo, and to integrate it with references to more classical sources, including above all Strabo, whom Biondo had been able to draw on only in a very limited way.[33] Ranzano also wrote monographic works on single cities or regions: a description of his birthplace Palermo, another of Hungary, commissioned from him by Matthias Corvinus, and a description of his diocese Lucera, no longer extant, but the loss of which is compensated for by the thorough description of Lucera found in his *Annales*.[34]

Angelo Catone of Benevento (ca. 1440–1496), one of the most intriguing personalities of the period, was a humanist, book editor, physician, astronomer, and also politician.[35] In 1474 he edited a printed edition of a medieval medical treatise by Matteo Silvatico (ca. 1280–after 1342), introduced by a long prefatory epistle, addressed to Ferrante, in which he develops a very interesting description of the Kingdom of Naples.[36] In this preface, written in a refined humanistic Latin, Catone, after celebrating Ferrante's restoration of the Neapolitan *studium*, praises the Kingdom as a whole by describing it and enumerating its treasures and qualities. Remarkably, the focus is not on the capital of the Kingdom, Naples, but on its entirety, without excluding any region, in line with the author's clear intention to celebrate a reconstructed territorial and political unity.

In roughly the same period, this chorographic and antiquarian focus on southern Italy was also adopted by the major humanist of that time in Naples, Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1429–1503), who studied and collected local inscriptions and who also wrote, within his impressive corpus of works, a history of the 1460–1464 War of Succession, which he worked on over a very long period

32 The work is conserved at Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, ms. 3.Qq.C.54–60. An overview of this work's content in Termini 1915, with a description of the manuscripts.

33 Critical edition of the part of the work which describes the whole Italian peninsula in Ranzano (eds. Di Lorenzo, Figluolo, and Pontari) 2007.

34 The Latin description of Palermo survives in four manuscripts (see Di Lorenzo 2020, 64) and was also published in Ranzano (ed. Mongitore) 1737 and in later reprints; Ranzano also made a vernacular translation of his own work, published in Ranzano (ed. Di Marzo) 1864 and later in Ranzano (ed. Sciascia) 1982, vol. 2, 39–77. Full *status quaestionis* in Di Lorenzo 2020. The work on Hungary, which is also included in the *Annales*, books 1 and 60, is edited separately in Ranzano (ed. Kulcsár) 1977. For the description of Lucera in the *Annales* see Ranzano (eds. Di Lorenzo, Figluolo, and Pontari) 2007, bk. 14, caput X, chs. 52–57, pp. 244–247.

35 Catone's detailed biography in Figliuolo 1997, 276–401. A first positive re-consideration of this humanist in Croce 1947.

36 Silvatico (ed. Catone) 1474.

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and left unpublished at his death (1503).[37] The later layers of this stratified work show a specific interest in chorography and for the antiquities found in centres throughout the Kingdom: we not only find a noteworthy description of Naples, which surpasses in detail the ones by Biondo and Ranzano, but also descriptions of smaller scale urban centres such as Canosa, Barletta, and Troia, in Puglia, among others.[38]

In short, the age of Ferrante corresponds to a moment in which humanists associated with the court tried to represent the historical and geographical complexity of the Kingdom as a whole, adopting an antiquarian methodological approach which relied on both the reading of classical sources and the actual observation of ancient ruins and monuments of the past.

The Southern-Italian Avant-Gardes of the Antiquarian Method: Antonio Galateo, Ambrogio Leone, and Giano Parrasio

Charles VIII of France's campaign of 1494–1495 and his—shortlived—conquest of the Kingdom of Naples caused the beginning of a political and military crisis which eventually led to the country being annexed to the crown of Spain in 1503. Such a huge transformation left profound traces also on the intellectual life of the Kingdom, but it is also the case that, in the early years of Spanish rule, the humanists at the heart of Neapolitan culture were mostly the same men who had been active in the late 15th century, and many of them were members of Pontano's academy. Thus, several 'Pontaniani' were extremely active during the first quarter of the 16th century in Naples, and often continued to explore cities and regions of the country from an antiquarian perspective: Jacopo Sannazaro (1457–1530) wrote epigrams mentioning antiquities, including one on the ruins of the amphitheatre in Capua;[39] Pietro Summonte (1463–1526) sent a famous epistle to the Venetian nobleman Marcantonio Michiel describing the monuments, works of art and antiquities of Naples and Campania;[40] Francesco Peto (died after 1531) celebrated his native town Fondi by re-writing

37 Biographical profiles in Kidwell 1991; Figliuolo 2015. On Pontano's antiquarian interests see de Divitiis in press and De Divitiis-Lenzo in this volume. Edition of *De bello neapolitano* in Pontano (ed. Germano, Iacono, and Senatore) 2020. On Pontano writings and academy see Cappelli and Iacono in this volume.

38 For Pontano's description of Naples see Iacono 2009; for the Puglian cities see Miletti 2018b.

39 Epigr. 2.35. On Sannazaro see Vecce in this volume.

40 Edited in Nicolini 1925.

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the Virgilian myth of ancient Amyclae, a legendary Spartan colony in Southern Lazio whose inhabitants, or so Peto opined, later founded the city of Fondi;[41] Pietro Gravina (1452/54–ca. 1528) wrote an encomium of Aversa which included an antiquarian profile of the city, based on many ancient and medieval sources, and an antiquarian letter on ancient Venafro which gathered all the extant Latin sources on this centre;[42] he also wrote a descriptive (and encomiastic) elegy on Sorrento.[43]

It is however three other great humanists who mark the most complete development of Renaissance antiquarianism in relation to enquiry into the regions and cities of the kingdom, namely Antonio de Ferrariis Galateo, Ambrogio Leone, and Aulo Giano Parrasio.

Antonio de Ferraris (1444/48–1517) was born in southern Puglia, at Galatone (hence his humanistic name Galatheus).[44] He was a physician and resided in Naples, where he attended Pontano's academy, for a long period of time, before moving to Lecce, where he played an active role in the Academia Lupiensis.[45] Galateo's work consists above all in Latin epistles in prose; the one entitled *De situ Iapygiae*, datable around 1510, is a small masterpiece of chorographic-antiquarian literature:[46] Galateo describes all the main urban centres, mentioning not only ancient literary sources but also inscriptions. He even transcribes a noteworthy Messapian text by reproducing the exact characters of the Messapian script.[47] He mentions ancient myths and describes ruins, which he attempts to date back to extremely remote times in order to reinforce the idea that the Salento was a very ancient (and therefore very noble) region. He also wrote a description of the city of Gallipoli.[48]

In about the same period, in Venice, a friend of Galateo, who was also a physician, was writing his own chorographic work about his native town of

41 On Peto's writings see Miletti 2015. The section on Amyclae of Peto's elegy is edited in Miletti 2018a.

42 On Gravina see Cerroni 2002 and Miletti 2015 (2017a). The speech on Aversa is in Gravina 1515; the epistle on Venafro in Gravina 1589, 182–185.

43 The elegy on Sorrento is edited in Nassichuk 2011.

44 On Galateo's life see Romano 1987. See also Cappelli, Iacono, and Vecce in this volume.

45 Pontano dedicated the *Hendecasyllabi* 2.20 to Galateo, see Pontano (ed. Dennis) 2006, 136–137. On his role in the academy of Lecce see Iacono in this volume.

46 Galateo (ed. Defilippis) 2005.

47 The effort is clearly visible in the mss. which contain the work: see especially the ms. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (hereafter BNN), S. Martino agg. 22, fols. 26^{v}–27^{r} (probably the presentation copy for Giovan Battista Spinelli). On Galateo's antiquarian interest see de Divitiis and Lenzo in this volume.

48 See Galateo (ed. Paone) 1974.

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Nola, in Campania. Ambrogio Leone (ca. 1460–1525) lived for a long period between Nola and Naples, also coming into contact with some of the 'Pontaniani', before leaving the Kingdom and moving to Venice, probably at the outbreak of the Franco-Spanish war or slightly before.[49] In Venice he was taught Greek by Marco Musuro and became a close friend of such humanists as Aldo Manuzio, Girolamo Aleandro, Giovan Battista Egnazio, and even Erasmus of Rotterdam.[50] In 1512, when he was more than fifty years old, Leone began to write the *De Nola*, a chorographic antiquarian work in three books, which included a thorough reconstruction of Nola in Roman times, and a very detailed description of the city as it was in his own times.[51] The work is full of quotations from Latin and Greek authors, often taken from the recent editions of these writers published by Manuzio.[52] The edition is also very significant in the history of antiquarian studies for Ambrogio's inclusion in the work of four engravings created with the contribution of Girolamo Mocetto, a pupil of Mantegna, two of which depict a virtual reconstruction of the Roman town of Nola and a plan of the contemporary urban centre.[53]

The cultural activity of Aulo Giano Parrasio (including his foundation of the academy of Cosenza) is discussed elsewhere in this book, so we will merely point to his antiquarian interests.[54] His philological competence combined with his predilection for his birthplace led him to write about ancient Calabria. One of his noteworthy productions is, for instance, a long erudite epistle on the ancient Italic inhabitants of the region, the Bruttians or *Brutii*, in which Parrasio gathers together a remarkable amount of historical evidence and also refutes the hypothesis, adopted by Perotti for instance in his *Cornu Copiae*, according to which their name derived from the Latin word *bruti* ('rough', 'brutish', and hence 'uncivilized').[55] Probably in 1512, Parrasio also started to write a treatise on the area of Magna Graecia between the rivers Sibari and Crati, which

49 For an accurate biography of Leone, with discussion of his works, see Sica 1983.

50 Erasmus (ed. Allen) 1913, ep. 854 (Leone to Erasmus); ep. 868 (Erasmus to Leone). The *Adagia* in which Leone is praised are nos. 163 and 1250.

51 Leone 1514. A provisory transcription of the Latin text, with an Italian translation, is in Leone (ed. Ruggiero) 1997. On this complex work see the essays collected in de Divitiis, Lenzo, and Miletti 2018, which also offers an edition of the prefatory epistle and chapters 2.15 and 3.3.

52 Leone's humanistic method is discussed in Miletti 2018c.

53 On the engravings see Lenzo 2018a.

54 See Abbamonte and Iacono in this volume. On Parrasio's design for a sepulchral monument see de Divitiis in this volume.

55 Edited in Parrasio (ed. Ferreri) 2012, 292–304. See Perotti (eds. Charlet et als.) 1989–2001, vol. 2, ch. 2.518–519, 192.

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both flow into the Ionian sea, and on the site of the ancient pan-Hellenic colony of Thurii: this unfinished and still unpublished work, entitled *De Sybari et Crati*, is a thoroughgoing analysis of the extant topographical data drawn from classical sources.[56]

Investigating the Local Past during the Cultural Crisis of the Mid-Sixteenth Century

It is a widespread opinion that the terrible Sack of Rome of 1527 marked the end of the Renaissance. Certainly, the long War of the League of Cognac (1526–1530) marked a turning point in the cultural life of the Kingdom of Naples, the territory of which was heavily affected by the French campaign led by Odet de Foix count of Lautrec, whose troops laid siege to Naples. Even by the time the Imperial-Spanish troops had brought the region under control, the war had already caused many towns and cities to become impoverished.

The war however was not the sole cause of instability. From the early 1530s, the Viceroy Pedro de Toledo applied a severe internal policy which influenced profoundly the social and cultural life of the kingdom.[57] On the one hand, Toledo encouraged several poets (Luigi Tansillo, Bernardino Rota) and artists (Girolamo Santacroce, Giovanni da Nola), and allowed his 'minister' Bernardino Martirano (1490–1548) to promote what turned out to be a not insignificant chapter in the literary history of Naples, but, on the other hand, he also aimed at imposing a stricter control on the circulation of ideas, to the point of abolishing the city's academies in 1543.[58] In line with the countries which were part of the Spanish-Habsburg Empire, furthermore, Naples was affected by the ecclesiastical demands which issued from the Council of Trent (1545–1563): Pedro de Toledo tried to establish the Inquisition in Naples, provoking a huge protest throughout the entire Kingdom (1547).

The overall picture of southern Italy after the late 1520s is very mixed, especially from a cultural and literary point of view, and a good 'guide' to the Kingdom's (and indeed the whole of Italy's) conditions in those years is Leandro

56 The manuscript of the work is held in BNN, ms. XIII.B.16, fols. 1r–20r.

57 On don Pedro see Hernando Sánchez 1994. A cultural portrait of Naples under Pedro de Toledo can be found in the essays collected in the recent volume Sánchez García 2016.

58 On Martirano's literary circle see Iacono in this volume. On Pedro de Toledo's censure of the Neapolitan academy, and on its consequences for the literary life of the Kingdom, see De Blasi and Varvaro 1988, 313–315.

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Alberti's *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*, a chorographic work the purpose of which was to bring Biondo's *Italia illustrata* up to date and which enjoyed great success and renown.[59] Some centres entered on a period of serious crisis: this was the case, for instance, of L'Aquila, whose economic and social problems brought an end to the long tradition of local chronicles which had flourished throughout the late Middle Ages and the whole of the 15th century.[60] Other centres proved more resilient: at Sessa (present-day Sessa Aurunca), where the famous philosopher Agostino Nifo (ca. 1469–1538) had been active for so long, a degree of literary life continued thanks to Galeazzo Florimonte (1484–1565). This humanist, a pupil of Nifo, had a remarkable ecclesiastical career and established important connections with several literary circles in northern Italy: he had a profound influence on his friend Giovan Battista della Casa, who even gave the title *Galateo* to his famous work in homage to Galeazzo (Galathaeus) Florimonte.[61] He also took part in the Council of Trent and was appointed bishop of Sessa in 1552. He himself wrote a historical and antiquarian work on his city, in the form of a dialogue, *De situ et de pulchritudine civitatis Suessae*, which is unfortunately lost.[62]

Other courts across the Kingdom experienced remarkable, albeit often shortlived 'local Renaissances', thanks above all to the patronage of single charismatic aristocrats such as the famous examples of Giulia Gonzaga at Fondi (1526–1535) or Vittoria Colonna on Ischia (especially in the years 1526–1532),[63] and above all Ferrante Sanseverino at Salerno (1507–1568), although this cultivated and enlightened baron was mostly active at Naples before being forced into exile by Pedro de Toledo.[64]

An interesting case of this kind of 'sudden flourishing' is that of a town south of Salerno, Campagna, where Giordano Bruno sang his first mass as Dominican friar in 1572. Campagna was elevated to the status of diocese by Pope Clement VII, who accepted the petition of his 'abbreviator' Melchiorre Guerriero

59 Alberti 1550, on whose method see Petrella 2004.

60 On L'Aquila see Terenzi 2015, with bibliographical references to the local chronicles. It is noteworthy that the last of a long series of chronicles, namely the so-called *Cronica di San Basilio*, ends with Philibert of Chalon's punishment of the city in 1529. The cultural crisis which began in this year would last, at least, until the local 'Renaissance' which took place under Margaret of Augsburg (also known as Margaret of Parma, 1522–1586), daughter of Charles V, from 1562 onwards.

61 On Florimonte see Pignatti 1997.

62 See Chioccarelli (ed. Meola) 1780, 191.

63 On Giulia Gonzaga see Dall'Olio 2002; Russell 2006. On Ischia see Iacono in this volume.

64 On Ferrante see Addante 2017.

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(1525), who was a native of the town.[65] Campagna largely benefited from this new status: within a couple of decades, the local elite founded an academy and a local *studium*, where Law, Latin and even Greek were taught.[66] Between 1545 and 1548, and again in 1569–1570, the city also hosted a typography which printed several books, mostly dedicated to the study of law, probably connected with the activity of the local university. Among these editions, an interesting collection of letters was also printed, in which many aspects of the city are described: these are the epistles of a local humanist, Marco Filiuli, who usually signed his works with his Greek classical pseudonym Φιλητός (*philetós*, i.e. 'lovable' or 'affable').[67] Filiuli was also the author of an epigram describing and celebrating Campagna, which appeared in 1545, in one of the books printed in the town.[68]

The most significant examples of 'local Renaissances' in these years, however, are Bari and Cosenza.

Bari was ruled by Isabella of Aragon, daughter of King Alfonso II, and then, after her death (1524), by her daughter Bona Sforza, who had already become queen of Poland in 1519 by marrying Sigismund I the Old.[69] Bona's wise rule of the city stimulated the growth of a local leading class who engaged in a lively cultural life. This rebirth of the city is shown above all by the production of sophisticated poetic works like those of Colantonio Carmignano (died not later than 1544) and Giovan Battista Nenna (1509/13–not later than 1565),[70] but also by the growth of antiquarian interest in Bari's ancient history. Local antiquarians strove to explore the remotest past of the city, in the process even forging the existence of mythical founders such as Iapyx and Barion on the basis of a tendentious reading of Strabo and Pliny the Elder.[71] Although the first systematic historical survey of the city is found in the work of the Jesuit author Antonio

65 On this episode and more in general on Campagna's history see Carlone 1984.

66 This *studium* was quite active. See Luongo 2014, 143–144.

67 Filiuli 1545. On this humanist and his letters see Luongo 2014. The only two surviving copies of his work are conserved in the Vatican Library and in the Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini at Naples.

68 Text in Luongo 2014, 181 note 119.

69 For Isabella see Cappelli, de Divitiis, and Lenzo in this volume.

70 Carmignano 1535; Nenna 1542, modern edition: Nenna (ed. Girardi) 2003. In general, on the cultural life at Bari under Bona see Defilippis 2020.

71 The idea (based on a misreading of Pliny) of a certain Iapyx who was the founder of Bari is already in Galateo (ed. Defilippis) 2005. The theme is also found in Nenna (ed. Girardi) 2003, 7. The myth of the hero Barion is very current in the 17th century, to the extent that Barion becomes a character in a work on Bari written by Fabrizio Veniero (Veniero 1658). Full discussion in Porsia 2010.

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Beatillo, in 1657,[72] erudite remarks on Bari's past occur often in the legal and antiquarian works of Vincenzo Massilla (1550), who also wrote a treatise on the families of Bari.[73]

Cosenza flourished in this period thanks to the activity of the Academia Cosentina, which continued even after the death of its founder Parrasio. It is not possible here to mention all the members who produced literary works dealing with their hometown or with Calabria in general. Here we limit ourselves to a single poet, Niccolò Salerno (or Salerni), whose collection of Latin poems, the *Sylvulae*, provides a wealth of information on Cosenza and upper Calabria.[74] One of the *Sylvulae* is dedicated to Cosenza: a long *prosopopoeia* of the personified city, who speaks about herself and praises her benefactors. In another poem he describes the territory of the cities of Rossano and Corigliano, in Calabria, an area which was under the rule of the Sanseverino of Bisignano family. In this poem Salerno also mentions the Castle of San Mauro, a monumental villa where Pietro Antonio Sanseverino and his wife Giulia Orsini hosted, in 1535, Charles V in magnificent pomp for several days. In another poem, the author describes in detail the town of Aiello, ruled by the Siscar, a family who had arrived in the Kingdom from Catalonia together with Alfonso the Magnanimous, and under whose patronage Salerno worked for a long time: the edition of his book is dedicated to Gaspare Siscar.

From the mid-16th century onwards, the Cosentine scholars found a powerful protector in Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–1585), a man of great learning, who was born in a small town in Calabria and was keen to encourage the cultural development of his native region. He had an impressive ecclesiastical career; among his other achievements he was appointed Librarian of the *Bibliotheca Vaticana*. Under his patronage, the Calabrian antiquarian Gabriele Barrio, who lived in Rome, wrote the first complete antiquarian description of the entire region, adopting an antiquarian methodology of the purest kind, the development of which is discussed in the next section of this chapter. This work was already complete by the mid-1550s but was published only in 1571.[75]

72 Beatillo 1637, recently edited in Beatillo (ed. Lassandro and Ostuni) 2018.

73 Massilla 1550. Biographical profile in Spagnoletti 2008. The treatise on the families of Bari, which dates from 1567, is published in Massilla (ed. Bonazzi) 1881.

74 Salerno 1536. Biographical profile in Di Mare s.d.

75 Barrio 1571. On Barrio's relation with Sirleto, testified by several letters, see Clausi s.a.

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The 'Antiquarian Turn' of the Late Cinquecento

In the late 16th century, the methods of antiquarianism spread across the whole of Europe, an international debate promoted by scholars whose shared personal connections helped to shorten the cultural distances between country and country.[76] The wide circulation of classical authors via printed editions had made it possible for a wider community of scholars to study not only the texts but also the material remains of classical antiquity, as well as ancient institutions, rituals, feasts, calendars, and so on. The fact that southern Italy was a territory full of Greek and Roman antiquities contributed to the creation of a network of relations among antiquarians from inside and outside the Kingdom. In many centres we find learned scholars who were active at a local level, studied local history, investigated local ruins, and disseminated their conclusions in wider contexts, both by writing works and sending letters to other antiquarians. Limited space means that we can only deal, here, with some of the most intriguing figures.

A first group of antiquarians are all connected with a specific area: Capua and its territory, north of Naples. In the second half of the 16th century, Capua harvested the fruits of a long period of cultural activity which had been a vital element of its local life since the first half of the 15th century, when the town notably grew in extent thanks to its privileged connections with the Aragonese court of Naples.[77] In 1562, the government of Capua financed the publication of an antiquarian work entitled *Campania*, which had been composed some years before by the Franciscan friar Antonio Sanfelice of Naples, called 'Fra Plinio' (Brother Pliny, 1515–1570) on account of his erudition.[78] This work describes the whole of ancient *Campania felix*, but gives pride of place to Capua and its monuments, and is opened by an epistle to the People and the *senatus* (i.e. the *Consiglio degli Eletti*: the local executive) of Capua, in which the city is praised.[79] Slightly later, the rediscovery of some medieval chronicles, encour-

76 The phenomenon of early modern antiquarianism in Europe has been investigated starting from the seminal studies of Arnaldo Momigliano (see especially Momigliano 1950 and Momigliano 1990, 54–79) and today constitutes a highly developed field of inquiry: see the still useful work of Weiss 1969 and, more recently, the essays collected in Enenkel and Ottenheym 2018; Christian and de Divitiis 2019; Stenhouse in press, which all encompass a wide European perspective.

77 A profile of this city in Senatore 2018, with ample bibliography.

78 Sanfelice 1562.

79 On this episode and, more generally, on Capuan antiquarianism of this period see Miletti 2012.

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aged by the jurist and antiquarian Marino Freccia of Ravello (1503–1566),[80] enabled local scholars to construct a historical continuity between the ancient and the medieval periods of the town's existence: in fact modern-day Capua was built a few miles away from the Roman Capua (today Santa Maria Capua Vetere), and the memory of this displacement, carried out by the Lombards in the 10th century, had temporarily vanished. Thus the Capuan Scipione Sannelli wrote the first history of the town, entitled *Annali della fidelissima città di Capua*, a work which survives today in manuscript and which traces the continuity between the ancient and the medieval re-foundation of the town.[81] At the end of the century, the intellectual elite of Capua, who had also formed an academy known as the Accademia dei Rapiti, gathered around the authoritative archbishop Cesare Costa (1530–1602), who contributed to the study of local history and local antiquities by encouraging the work of antiquarians and poets like Giovan Battista Attendolo (1536–ca. 1593), Camillo Pellegrino Sr. (1527–1603), and Giovanni Carlo Morelli (died after 1613).[82] The culmination of this intellectual trend was the publication, in the seventeenth century, of three treatises on Capuan antiquities: Fabio Vecchioni's *Discorsi istorici di Capua* (unfinished, conserved in manuscript form), Michele Monaco's *Sanctuarium Capuanum* (1630), and Camillo Pellegrino Jr.'s *Apparato alle antichità di Capua* (1651).[83]

A major and pivotal figure in (not only southern) Italian antiquarianism was Quinto Mario Corrado of Oria (1508–1575), an inland city close to Brindisi, built on the site of the archaic Messapian centre of Uria, recorded by Herodotus (7.170).[84] Corrado was a scrupulous investigator of inscriptions: as some of his letters show, he was interested not only in Greek and Latin, but also in Messapian inscriptions, like his 'predecessor' Antonio de Ferrariis Galateo. He wrote a hagiography of the Blessed Francesco da Durazzo in which he describes the

80 Biographical profile of this complex figure of jurist and humanist in Cernigliaro 1998.

81 Sannelli's work dates from about 1571, but was left unfinished and only completed a couple of generations later, in the first half of the 17th century, by one of the author's nephews, who was himself a Capuan antiquarian and historian. The text is preserved in a ms. held by the Biblioteca del Museo Campano at Capua, and another two mss.: BNN, XV.F.62; Naples, Società Napoletana di Storia Patria (hereafter SNSP), XXII.B.4.

82 A systematic inquiry into antiquarianism in Capua in the 16th and the 17th century has still to be written; several entries included in the HistAntArtSI data base (db.histantartsi.eu) constitute a good starting point. More specifically, on Cesare Costa and his cultural activity in Capua see Miletti 2014 and Lenzo 2018b; on Attendolo see Di Zenzo and Nappi 1982, and Miletti 2012, 137–142. On Pellegrino Sr. see Riga 2015.

83 Monaco 1630; Pellegrino 1651. On Vecchioni see the bibliography in Miletti 2012 (2016).

84 A profile of life and works in Tateo 1983 and in the essays collected in Palazzo 1978.

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history of Oria and its antiquities.[85] Corrado was in contact with almost all the other local antiquarians, but he also communicated with leading personalities from outside the Kingdom, above all with Paolo Manuzio and Aldo Manuzio the Younger.

Another scholar who was connected to both Corrado and the Manuzio family was Giovanni Antonio Paglia of Giovinazzo (1505–1579/84), a town slightly to the north of Bari, on the coast.[86] Paglia was a first-rate antiquarian, whose epigraphic notes were used by Theodor Mommsen in compiling the ninth volume of his monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1883). Paglia sent to Paolo and Aldo Manuzio the Younger his epigraphic discoveries relating to the whole of the Kingdom and, above all, to Puglia.[87] At the request of the latter, he also wrote a noteworthy description of Giovinazzo, in which he not only reconstructs the more ancient historical periods of the city but also describes the chance discoveries of antiquities made during excavations. This work has been preserved thanks to a late 19th century transcription made by the historian Luigi Volpicella, who also edited it.[88]

Quinto Mario Corrado is the dedicatee of the comprehensive antiquarian work on Brindisi written by Battista Casmirio in 1567.[89] This encomiastic work aims to collect and discuss the ancient documentary sources on the city as well as to describe its material antiquities. A noteworthy instance is Casmirio's discussion of the obverse of an ancient coin from Brindisi, in which he interprets the figure of a young boy riding a dolphin as the hero Brentos, and the lyre held by the boy as the two famous columns which symbolized the identity of the town and are still standing today.[90] In some cases Casmirio disagrees with his friend Corrado, if only for the reason that Brindisi and Oria were rival towns, while the two dioceses too were involved in a long drawn out dispute about boundaries and privileges.

Other meaningful examples of antiquarian literature in southern Italy can also be found in the works of Ercole Ciofano on Sulmona (1578),[91] and of Giovan

85 Corrado 1571.

86 Up-to-date biographical profile in the Introduction of Paglia (ed. Nuzzolese) 2012.

87 Paglia's collection of inscriptions and unpublished letters to Paolo Manuzio is in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), ms. Vat. Lat. 5241, fols. 283^{r}–309^{v}. An index to these inscriptions is contained in BAV, ms. Vat. Lat. 5237, fol. 288^{r}; this ms. also contains, at fols. 283–290, the letters to Paolo and Aldo Jr. edited in Paglia (ed. Nuzzolese) 2012, 277–282.

88 SNSP, XXV.C.13, edited in Volpicella 1874.

89 Edition in Casmirio (ed. Sernicola) 2017, to be consulted also for a biographical profile.

90 The episode is fully discussed in Tuccinardi 2018.

91 Ciofano 1578, then republished in Ciofano 1583, text reprinted, with an Italian translation,

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Giovine of Taranto (1589). The latter's work, entitled *De Antiquitate et varia Tarentinorum fortuna*, is divided into eight books and describes the history of Taranto from its mythical foundation until 1589, the year Giovine's book was published.[92]

Thanks to their breakthroughs, these antiquarians had made Alberti's *Descrittione d'Italia* an obsolete work, the approach of which, with its 'bird's-eye view', now appeared too superficial. Fully aware of this, Aldo Manuzio the Younger started to plan, from 1580 onwards, his own *Descrittione d'Italia* in order to replace and supersede Alberti.[93] He proceeded by asking his numerous contacts all over the Italian peninsula for reports of discoveries, transcriptions of ancient inscriptions, and descriptions of towns and cities in order to gather materials for the project. Aldo never achieved his ambitious goal since he died before he could give a shape to the huge number of sources he gathered, but a similar project was undertaken by one of his friends in Rome, the Augustinian friar Angelo Rocca, who, from 1583–1584 on, began to collect descriptions of towns and cities, especially from southern Italy, some written by scholars, in other cases by amateurs.[94] Like his predecessor, Manuzio, Rocca never managed to publish his work, but these urban descriptions, to which valuable (though often rather simplistic) drawings and sketches depicting the towns are attached, are still conserved in the General Archive of the Augustinian Order and in the Biblioteca Angelica of Rome, and have still only been partially published.[95] The requests which first Manuzio and then Rocca sent out across Italy encouraged a proliferation of these descriptive overviews, often naïve and inaccurate, of towns and cities, a long-lasting trend as shown by the existence of works of this kind from the 1580s, such as Giuseppe Marinelli's account of Molfetta (1583) and Andrea Tommaso Cappellano's of Venosa (1584),[96] but also from as late as the 1590s (Eustachio Verricelli on Matera, slightly before 1599),

in Ciofano (ed. Papponetti) 1991. Biographical profile in Lettere 1981. On his role in the development of Marino D'Alessandri's typography at Sulmona see Capezzali and Mattiocco 2010.

92 Giovine (eds. Fonseca et al.) 2014.

93 See Russo 2007.

94 On Rocca see Nanni 2017.

95 The sketches are published in Muratore and Munafò 1991.

96 The description of Marinelli is conserved in the same manuscript which contains Paglia's description: Naples, SNSP, XXV.C.13, fols. 82r–94v. The description of Venosa by Cappellano is conserved in two versions: a more correct one (edited in Cappellano [ed. Nigro] 1985), which was sent by the author to Angelo Rocca and is today conserved in BAR, ms. Lat. 237; and a more provisional version, which is conserved in anonymous form in Venosa, Biblioteca Rocco Briscese, without shelfmark (a description of this ms. in Miletti 2012 [2017]).

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and even the first decade of the 17th century, like Matteo Girolamo Mazza on Salerno and Antonio Molegnano on Sorrento (1607).[97]

Though such materials have still only been partially explored, it is already clear that they were often written for a merely practical purpose such as defending a town's (or a single family's) privileges before a court of law. They also frequently, though not invariably, draw on a range of different kinds of sources, from classical authors to traditional folkloric themes, family tales, or the legends of improbable mythical founders and so on, a characteristic that marks a retrograde step when compared to the sophisticated antiquarian achievements of such figures as Paglia or Corrado, whose practical and political aims did not entail the abandonment of rigorous scholarly inquiry. In other words, these late 16th-century works reveal both the wide dissemination of classicism and antiquarianism in local communities across southern Italy, and, at the same time, the 'popularization' of antiquarian methodology, a fact which leads on to cultural phenomena which characterise the early modern period in its late development but go beyond the purposes of the present study.[98]

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97 See Verricelli (eds. Moliterni et alii) 1987; Molegnano 1607. On Mazza see Senatore 1991 and de Divitiis 2020.

98 On local history in southern Italy in its proper context in the early modern period see the essays collected in Lerra 2004.

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CHAPTER 16

Written and Oral Culture: Oral Narratives, Administrative Texts, Vernacular Historiography in Southern Italy

Chiara De Caprio

Voices and Writings in the Kingdom

Taking into account the production of texts throughout the Kingdom, this essay analyses how oral and written cultures, spoken and written languages became superimposed in the lower-to-middle cultural ambiences of urban centres. In order to carry out this analysis, the essential differences and potential convergences between different kinds of texts have been explored. In particular we look at *cantari* or *lamenti*, *memoriali* and chronicles, and, finally, administrative texts produced by the local town authorities.

In order to familiarise ourselves with such questions, we will begin with a close examination of the *Cronaca* of Ferraiolo, written in Naples between 1494 and 1498. With its openness to different narrative traditions, the *Cronaca* is a highly significant piece of evidence for our attempts to trace the complex borders between urban spaces which were dominated by voices and those in which words were mediated by writing. Indeed, Ferraiolo's chronicle is a valuable compendium of the oral materials and written texts which were in circulation at the end of the 15th century. It includes a prose adaptation of a lost *cantare* on the re-conquest of Otranto, which fell to the Ottomans in 1480–1481, and a *strambotto* mocking the French troops, which in 1495, during Charles VIII's invasion of Italy, attempted to capture the island of Ischia. As the *strambotto* hyperbolically and ironically relates, the French troops were so weak that the island was defended not by soldiers, but by donkeys who drove back the enemy "a ·ppedita, a ·mmuciche et a ·rraglia" ("with farts and bites and brays").[1] But the chronicle also includes administrative texts from a variety of sources: some printed, some which circulated in the milieux round the chancellery, some transmitted orally. Among the printed texts we find, for example, extracts from a printed edition which had been disseminated for

1 Ferraiolo 1987, § 83; see also Coluccia 1987, xxxvi–xlviii, De Caprio 2012, 62–68.

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political purposes: the report of the trial proceedings against the barons who had rebelled against Ferrante (1485–1487), published by Francesco Del Tuppo in July 1487;[2] the chronicle also includes portions of official announcements and extracts from the diplomatic letters, which were sent back and forth as Charles VIII's troops descended the Italian peninsula in 1494. By selecting, transcribing, and adapting them in his own composition, Ferraiolo salvaged these texts, all of which exploit the interplay between the spheres of the oral and the spoken, on the one hand, and the written on the other, from oblivion.

But before analysing more closely the interplay between the oral, the spoken and the written in the context of the Kingdom, two clarifications need to be made. This essay takes into consideration only a few of the many possible figures, both lay and religious, found outside the cultural and linguistic spaces of the literary elites. For example, we will not examine the work produced by the mendicant orders or the preachers and other personalities belonging to religious institutions. Conversely, we will look closely at a specific category of readers and writers who worked in the towns' lay ambiences: *mastri di casa*, artisans, and shopkeepers, middle to low-ranking civil servants, royal revenue agents, and notaries.

A clarification is also necessary on the use of the terms 'popular' and 'middle class' as applied to the writers examined here. Given the problems of definition of the term 'popular', here it has been used—for example in referring to the Kingdom's chroniclers—explicitly in a political sense, to denote those urban ambiences which were close to the *parte popolare* and which in the capital city found active political expression through the so-called *Seggio del Popolo*, the political institution re-founded by Charles VIII in 1495 that provided a platform for their political activism in the capital.

The terms 'popular' and 'middle class' also define and articulate the intermediate linguistic and cultural space between the chancellery and court on one hand, and on the other the *piazza* and the streets. The *caveat* expressed by Senatore (2014) should be borne in mind: it is not always the case that social prominence in the institutions of local government and in urban politics was accompanied by an elevated cultural and literary formation. Given this, it would be a mistake to push the identities of notaries, the *eletti* in the *universitates*, tax contractors, merchants too far into lower social categories: all were producers of written texts who, while certainly not prominent in cultural and literary terms, were active in their towns' administration.

2 Coluccia 1987, xxxix.

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The exploration of this finely nuanced intermediate space helps to reveal two important aspects. First, there were several communicative practices in the urban ambiences in which these intermediary figures worked, which brought together speech and writing: the writing down of words spoken aloud; the public reading of legal and administrative texts; setting narrative forms belonging to oral traditions down in writing. Secondly, these practices allowed the type of textuality characteristic of administrative communication to become a potential model for other types of writing, such as chronicles. Thus, while it is true that in these lower-to-middle-urban ambiences there existed a repertory of oral narratives which lent themselves to the power of speech and recitation, it is also the case that the same listeners to these narratives were exposed, together with readers, to a "world of paper" ("mundo de carta") consisting of *litterae clausae*, official announcements, *bandi*.[3] This meant that the repertoire of oral grassroots narratives was reshaped by the circulation of texts of quite different kinds, subject to the influence of other styles of rhetoric, other narrative models, other textual forms. This also explains why, in the written production of writers of lower-to-middle socioeconomic backgrounds, narrative modes and textual strategies could co-exist in shifting and dynamic ways, now closer to oral and spoken forms, and now to the modes of writing.

Given these aims, the ways the spoken and the written connect have been traced by identifying within the composition of the texts the persistence of the practices which are seen as being most closely associated with the oral and the spoken.[4] This approach is also an established part of the Italian linguistic tradition, as shown both by the numerous studies and analyses of texts which employ median-low linguistic registers.[5] Following this approach, for the various areas of the Kingdom, this essay analyses two types of texts: on the one hand, texts which exemplify what can be defined as 'formalised oral forms', such as *cantari* and *lamenti*; on the other, texts which contain residual traces of spoken language or rather what we might call "parlato riferito": i.e. speech which has been filtered or mediated through a process of written codification, such as the non-formulaic parts of petitions or the minutes of citizens' assemblies.[6]

3 "Uno mundo de carta" is the suggestive title of Senatore 1998.

4 See Ong 1982 and Zumthor 1983, ch. vii. On the spoken, see Halliday 1985 and Koch and Oesterreicher 1990.

5 See Nencioni 1983; De Blasi 1982; Sabatini 1996a; D'Achille 1990; Palermo 1994, Testa 2001; Telve 2014.

6 See Zumthor 1983, 33 for the notion of fomalised orality, i.e. "une énonciation formalisée de façon spécifique". For "parlato riferito" see Nencioni 1983 and Telve 2014.

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At the same time this range of texts can also be seen as a tool with which to understand the ways authors and consumers interacted in urban spaces. Texts written for entertainment, *memoriali*, administrative texts superimpose the different dimensions of spoken and written language and were part of the intermedial flow through urban ambiences. Indeed, these texts gave form to the urban linguistic landscape, that is to say, to the entirety of written texts 'displayed' in the urban environment.[7] In this way this survey brings together a linguistic approach with those research methods which seek to understand the "media flows within the urban society of early modern Europe" and which see early modern cities as "a resonating box" within which "the echoes of different media reverberated incessantly".[8]

Voice and Writings: Conceptual Tools and Methods

It needs to be made clear at the outset that the concepts of orality and spoken language are not superimposable. In both ordinary language and specialist (academic) language, the terms orality and spoken language have a technical usage which foregrounds semiotic and cultural dimensions on the one hand and specific uses of the language on the other. It also needs to be stated that the relationship of orality and spoken language to writing can be interpreted in different ways, depending on whether one is focusing on the material support or the communicative parameters and the conception of the message itself.

Let us look more closely at the first point: the distinction between orality and spoken language. In this essay the notion of orality refers to the persistence of collective cultural habits which used oral/aural and gestural means for the following aspects of communication: a) production; b) transmission and reception; c) conservation and repetition of knowledge and past memories, prescriptions and narrations. This definition has a corollary. If cultural discourse is entrusted to voices, the texts which are produced are not only infused with a collective *connaissance* but are also formally fixed as part of a strongly framing tradition.[9] Oral texts are characterised by recognisable rhetorical/stylistic features and syntactic/textual patterns. For example, patterns typical of formalised orality can be seen in the repetitive rhythms of the *ottava rima stanza* composed in response to the Turkish attack and adapted by Ferraiolo.

7 Coulmas 2013, 23.
8 Rospocher 2018, 13.
9 Zumthor 1983, 34.

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As we shall see, in these genres which were designed, at least initially, for recitation it is fundamental that the form is instantly recognisable and memorable. It is also the form which evokes collective memories and constructs "un savoir social relatif à des actions tenues pour significatives" as a way of responding to political and emotional needs at times of crisis, such as the Turkish invasion of the Kingdom.[10] Thus the notion of orality refers to textual morphologies and cultural dimensions more generally; spoken language on the other hand indicates features which in a strict sense have to do with language or the way language is used in order to produce texts in communicative situations which are centred on the immediate experience of individual speakers. In particular we will follow here the model proposed by Koch and Oesterreicher (1990), which sees the prototypical forms of the spoken and the written take concrete shape in situations characterised, respectively, by 'communicative immediacy' or 'communicative distance'. There are several parameters which mark the distinction between the two 'communicative situations', including the public or private nature of the communicated message; the degree of linguistic control and *Reflektierheit* (reflexivity); the weakness or strength of the emotive charge of the subjects being talked or written about. These and other macro-features have an impact on the linguistic dimension: from them linguistic strategies derive which then differentiate the texture of 'nearness' and 'distance'.

With this distinction in mind, we can further clarify the opposition between orality and spoken, on the one hand, and written on the other. There are three possible aspects in the way this opposition manifests itself: the physical means of transmission (that is, the medium through which a text is transmitted); the way texts are conceptualised; a variety of language. From an initial point of view, the difference between (orality/) spoken and written hinges solely on the means of transmission. In this case, texts are spoken if they use a phonic-aural medium, while texts are written if they use a graphic-visual medium. In a second and more fertile line of approach, the categories of spoken and written reflect two different ways of conceptualizing a text, which we can associate with 'communicative immediacy' and 'communicative distance' respectively. These two conceptions affect the structure of the text, since in their more prototypical uses, spoken and written modes privilege very different ways of organising texts. Finally, a third way of interpreting the opposition of spoken and written is to see these designations as indicating the varieties of spoken and written language in some portions of a linguistic space—for the material

10 Zumthor 1983, 47. On Otranto see Palmieri in this volume; on the effects of the French invasion see Abulafia and Senatore in this volume.

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looked at here, the local vernaculars spoken in the different parts of the Kingdom, and the attested varieties in written texts.[11]

Forms of Orality and Spoken: Short Poems, *cantari, lamenti, memoriali*

What follows is a description of features of formalized orality in genres which maintain a link with oral culture or involve reading out aloud and recitation: *cantari*, *lamenti*, short poems in *ottava rima*. By looking at some paradigmatic cases, we can also analyse the interconnections between oral-aural and graphical-visual channels of transmission. We will then examine chronicles and other such historical accounts (*memoriali*) produced by writers who did not have a literary formation and were far removed from the concerns of humanist historiography. Such works richly display the narrative aspects which are typical of oral culture as well as textual strategies influenced by 'spoken modes'.

We should begin by noting that *cantari* and *lamenti* were composed to be recited in front of a diverse audience, but were also modified and adapted, for example, as part of a chronicle's narrative. Ferraiolo's chronicle has already been cited as an example; a further example are the fragments of *lamenti* composed on the occasion of the deaths of Ferrante I and Ferrante II of which we have indirect evidence from different regions: in the Latin chronicle of the Franciscan friar De Ritiis (written in Abruzzo perhaps between 1485 and 1497), the *Giornali* of the saddler Giuliano Passaro in Naples (perhaps compiled between 1510 and 1527), the so-called *Memorie del Regno* by the Duke of Ossuna, for which we have no definite dates for composition but which recount events up to 1535.

Linguistic elements that are typical of an oral conception of the text can be found, for example, in the account of the death of king Ferrandino (1496) in Passaro's *Giornali*, such as the addresses to the *audituri* ("credite, magnifici auditori" ["believe, o distinguished listeners"]), phrases that signal a change of topic and refer to the present moment ("hora decimo …" ["let us now speak of …"]), the use of rhetorical questions, also in the direct speech of individual characters ("Dove èi la tua gloriosa fama […]?"; "A chi ci lassi?" ["Where is your glorious fame?"; "Under whose power do you leave us?"]), memorable diction focusing on weeping and its semantic associations ("lo gran pianto et lamento"

11 See Montuori in this volume.

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["the great weeping and lamentation"]; "piangono la luna co· le stelle" ["the moon and stars are weeping"]). These lexical choices are memorable in their pathos and hyperbolic tone, capable of expressing the dismay of a community in its bewilderment for the death of a king: "magnifici signori auditori, fo tanto lo pianto che per tutto lo Regno se faceva che credo che mai fo visto lo semele!" ("distinguished listeners, there was so much weeping throughout the Kingdom that nothing like it had ever been seen!").[12]

To explore these aspects further, we can look again at the cultural repercussions of the Ottoman capture of Otranto on the Puglian coast. From a diplomatic dispatch written by the Milanese ambassadors in Naples on 20 February 1482 we know that during the Carnival season in the city there were "rapresentatione de Ottranto" ("staged performances of the events at Otranto"); these may be linked to the *ottava rima stanzas* which Ferraiolo adapted in his chronicle.[13] Furthermore, it is possible to trace a connection between the events in Puglia and the Sicilian tradition of *cantari* which included elements typical of plays. This emerges from a reading of the *Tractato della laudanda vita de la Illustrissima Madonna Ypolita* composed by the Sicilian friar Bernardino de Renda (1488) as a tribute to the deceased Ippolita of Aragon.[14] In the 480 verses of the short poem the tones of a *planctus* occur at intervals in the narrative sequences of edifying lives and the evocations of historical episodes; this structure explains why Ippolita is celebrated by recounting her prayers for the re-conquest of Otranto. However, another element in the text is of interest for our purposes. There is such a close resemblance between Bernardino's verses and Ferraiolo's prose version that it is plausible to conjecture they shared a common source. Not, however, in the sense that they both carefully worked on such a source 'at their desks': both Bernardino and Ferraiolo re-used the assonances and formulaic expressions found in their oral source precisely because they listened to the verses and then transcribed them from memory.[15]

This example brings together three elements—the sheer resonance and diffusion of the news of the events in Puglia; cultural traditions local to Sicily, such as the tradition of *cantari sacri*; texts which circulated in the piazzas of towns—and gives rise to three general considerations. On the one hand, there is a link between events, narrative forms, and places dispersed across the territory of the

12 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (hereafter BNN), Ms. Branc. IV B 10, fols. 64^{r}–65^{v}, quoted in De Caprio 2014, 57–63.

13 Coluccia 1987, XLV–XLVI.

14 Abbreviated from the incipit of the only manuscript witness of the text BNN, ms. XIX 67, fol. 2^{r}, transcribed in Ciampaglia 1995.

15 Ciampaglia 1995, 53–54.

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Kingdom, while, on the other, it is possible to identify the movement of news and narratives not only in space and time but also between oral and written dimensions. Lastly, the example of Bernardino demonstrates the crucial role played by 'itinerant' figures, thanks to whom spoken words and texts in writing left traces across a cultural network with different hubs across the Kingdom, from Abruzzo to Puglia.

It is also the case that during the 15th century in some parts of the Kingdom we find examples of the works of versifiers which share to some degree the features of 'formalized orality', but also try to reflect the cultural canons prevalent in courtly circles and the linguistic options which were "in vogue in the capital".[16] One instance of this is the *Balzino* (ca. 1498) by Rogieri di Pacienza, a verse composition which recounts the journey of Isabella Del Balzo, wife of king Federico, from the Salento to Naples. Another, from Calabria, is the *lamento* composed on the death of Enrico of Aragon, marquis of Gerace (Reggio Calabria), the natural son of Ferrante. The single printed edition of this work which appeared in Cosenza in 1478 shows us that the work was circulating in Calabria, though in our present state of knowledge it is only possible to hypothesize that it was part of "a wider popular and local production, of which it might be the sole survivor".[17]

Abruzzo, especially L'Aquila and its surroundings, presents a different picture. Theatrical and para-theatrical production was significant here, stemming from the activities of the mendicant orders, not just in L'Aquila, but across the dense network of Franciscan monasteries. However, there are examples from L'Aquila which have vestiges of the connections we have identified between entertainment, historical narratives, and the ways news was communicated in the Kingdom: one such is the *cantare* presumably written by the *cantastorie* Cola da Borbona. They recount an important episode in the Kingdom's history: L'Aquila's victory over the army of Braccio da Montone in the battle fought on 2 June 1424. In his evocation of the stupendous conflict, the *cantastorie* mixes together the stylistic features from different genres. The civic resistance to Braccio is narrated using a repertoire of hyperbolic modes and images typical of *cantari*; at the same time the invocations typical of local devotional poetry coexist and are intertwined with the epic and civic tone characteristic of L'Aquila's chronicles (which were also customarily written in verse).

Other genres can be used to foreground the interplay between formalized orality and the spoken: *memoriali* and chronicles. Their authors were of humble

16 Coluccia 1994, 390.
17 Librandi 1992, 761.

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extraction and worked above all in Naples. They include the anonymous author of the *Diurnali* (1390–1460), Loise De Rosa (1385–1475) from Pozzuoli, who was a *mastro de casa* for monarchs, prelates and noblemen in Naples, Ferraiolo once more, and the saddler Passaro. On one hand, their works "open up a space for the legendary and fantastic, along the well-worn medieval boundary between *historia* and *fabula*"; on the other hand, they adopt linguistic strategies and features typical of 'communicative immediacy'.[18]

It is worth remembering that in a typical spoken text the situational macrotraits of communicative immediacy favour the following strategies: a low degree of syntactic integration, redundancy and repetition, the use of rhythm and prosody as a device of textual cohesion, a greater reliance on deictic elements, a certain degree of implicitness. By contrast, the typical written text tends to exploit the opposed modes of construction: a high degree of syntactic integration, the use of hypotactic structures to establish an informational hierarchy, lexical density and variety, and explicitness (i.e. making all those elements explicit which cannot be understood outside the context in which the enunciation takes place).

With these distinctions in mind, we can look more closely at the texts. The mastery of a narrative technique closely related to *cantari* is among the distinguishing features of the anonymous *Diurnali* referred to as the *Diurnali* of the Duca di Monteleone (ca. 1415) since he owned a copy. Aimed at a minimally educated audience, the *Diurnali* offer a summary history of the Kingdom alternating between 'popular fantasies' and 'participation' in the events.[19] The liveliness of tone is achieved by adopting various strategies: the additive and paratactic organization, the repeated use of "mo" ("now") at the beginning of sentences, the use of direct speech to heighten the sense of involvement and drama at significant moments.

Narrative modalities which are typical of prevalently oral ambiences and culture can be traced in the ways in which collective memory and individual experience are codified in the five *memoriali* which make up De Rosa's *Ricordi* (1452–1475). Characterized by the re-use of heterogenous narrative forms, the *Ricordi* at times read like a dialogue with an interlocutor, at times like a chronicle, at times like a *libro di famiglia*. The use of oral materials is accompanied by simplified narrative schemes, characteristic of traditional stories transmitted orally. Typical of the dialogue-like quality of the spoken language are phatic formulas ("What do I mean to say?"), the appeals to the reader ("you who are

18 Musto 2019, 275.

19 Sabatini 1996b [1992], 564.

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reading"),[20] the use of direct speech and the presence of popular proverbs and metaphors. While De Rosa's kind of narrative can be derived from "an unlettered tradition with marked residual features of orality", nevertheless 'the emergence into writing' represents a significant achievement on the author's part.[21] De Rosa's use of an oral narrative presentation and of textual techniques typical of 'communicative immediacy' should not lead us to overlook his conscious choice to entrust his history to a written medium.

Another excellent example of the interconnection between oral traditions and the emergence into writing is found again in Ferraiolo's chronicle. Composed in a plain Neapolitan vernacular, the chronicle contains features which are typical of 'communicative immediacy': redundancy and repetition ensure memorability and cohesion, as shown by the use of "dove" and "lo quale" to move the narration forward: "A li xviii de agusto 1492 in la cità de Napole intraro li iudie […], *lo quale* venevano con nave, caravelle et barcie, *lo quale* le aveva caciate lo illustrissimo signiore re de Spagnia […]; *lo quale* tutte se arredussino in Napole" ("on the 18th day of August the Jews arrived in the city of Naples […], *they* arrived on ships, caravels and boats having been expelled by the most illustrious king of Spain […] *they* all together took refuge in Naples").[22] Yet as was mentioned above parts of Ferraiolo's text show the influence of the administrative documents he used as sources. Here we find textual and syntactic strategies which differ from those found in the rest of the chronicle and which are characteristic of the style of writing practised in the chancellery: among many linguistic features, in these paragraphs we find a more complex and hypotactic syntax, and the formulaic expressions of chancery records. Nevertheless, this stylistic dimension (of chancellery writing) remains an inert insertion into the chronicle, heard but not read or assimilated and enacted in any more effective way (for example, when Ferraiolo copies a letter from the Marquis of Mantua, he introduces mistakes and misinterprets the abbreviations).

Ferraiolo's incomplete familiarity with chancellery style serves to explain one of his characteristic ways of working: the more he fails to break down the documents which he is using and digest them into his prose, the more he tends to isolate them as extraneous insertions; the harder these texts are for him to imitate stylistically, the more he makes them into monumental blocks. Chroniclers like Ferraiolo are in essence writers who belong to an intermediate territory: they sometimes used words full of immediacy, sometimes they were

20 Formentin 1998, 61.
21 Formentin 1998, 57.
22 Ferraiolo 1987, § 47.

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'imprisoned by borders' and by linguistic and stylistic barriers.[23] By treating a banal diplomatic missive as if it were a precious relic, Ferraiolo shows us how complex the interplay of forces is between the spoken and the written word. He also reveals how lower social categories of the populace were aware of the connection between writing information down and its reliability, as well as their feeling that they needed to know about the rules of the sophisticated 'grammars' of political communication, at least in their basic forms.

Intermedial Flow between Administrative Writing and Chronicle Accounts

In addition to texts in verse and *memoriali*, administrative documents were part of a complex intermedial system which involved different areas and had different epicentres. These epicentres can be identified with the local courts and chancelleries which in the 15th century were at the forefront in establishing traditions of administrative writing: Popoli (Pescara) under Restaino Cantelmo (d. 1514), Taranto under the powerful prince Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo (1401–1463), and Nardò under Angilberto Del Balzo (d. 1487). But administrative texts also circulated in various town councils, as the registers of the *universitates* demonstrate, from those in Abruzzo to the *quaterni del sindaco* in Capua and other towns in Terra di Lavoro, and the *libri rossi* in Puglia.

In addition to private and mercantile letters and the writings produced in the climate of renewal led by the Franciscan Observants, there was an increase in the number of vernacular texts in the public sphere: commandments and prescriptions, deliberations and contracts, reports and petitions. With their different linguistic registers, these textual forms were both used and imitated by those who needed to write in order to inform, negotiate, appeal, witness or promise.[24] As Senatore (2014) and Montuori (2017) point out, there was a constant flow of requests addressed by communities to the king and his officials, mostly in the form of *littera clausa* or petitions. In addition, after an official document—emanating from royal or local authorities—had been drawn up, it could be circulated and transmitted in different urban milieux and in different ways. For example, chancellery letters and acts were copied and paraphrased in different types of municipal registers; at the same time, such documents were read aloud and commented on in town councils. From these more restricted

23 De Caprio 2019, 632.
24 Vignuzzi 1992, 606.

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milieux the information could then be disseminated down through wider sections of the populace, either in spoken form or in writing. Furthermore, *bandi* and many other kinds of documents (capitulations, sentences, public oaths, etc.) were displayed in the streets and squares where again they were copied down or reported on verbally, so that the information they contained once again spread even more widely. Lastly, there was information which circulated only through spoken communication (or the written source was so remote that it existed merely as an unconfirmed rumour). Let us look at some concrete examples of these forms of spoken and written circulation, bringing together the clues which can be found in the writing practices themselves of the chroniclers.

An interesting example of the public dissemination of administrative texts is the surviving inscriptions found in different localities in Abruzzo. In this part of the Kingdom the vernacular was not only used in elite milieux such as the chancelleries of Iacopo Caldora or Restaino Cantelmo but could also be found in public urban spaces. An example is seen on the façade of the *Taverna Ducale* in Popoli, where, engraved on a stone plaque, the tolls for individuals, animals, goods, and prostitutes are set down in Latin and then in the vernacular.

The presence of such mural inscriptions containing administrative texts in Abruzzo can be compared with what characterized the linguistic landscape of an interior region like Basilicata. What we find here are *graffiti* on the walls of rural churches which reflect the Franciscans' use of the vernacular for communication: examples include the *graffiti* in the small church of San Donato in Ripacandida (datable to after 1450) or those in the monastic church of San Francesco in Pietrapertosa (after 1474). While these are religious texts, they are nevertheless an indication that Basilicata was "undergoing a decisive transformation from the phase of single oral messages … to that of permanent communication": in other words, a communication which is not only entrusted to an 'event', the act of a person speaking, but functions "through the stability" of writing.[25]

Having seen the importance of texts carved in stone, we need to recognize how publicly displayed writings could themselves become, when read by more informed individuals, the first step towards more complex activities of writing which established a fertile short-circuit between information which was read and information which was heard. This passage from readers and listeners to writers is exemplified in the chronicle of the Neapolitan Notar Iacobo (1511–ca. 1524). From the way Iacobo narrates the discovery of letters of excom-

25 De Blasi 1992,728.

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munication on the door of the cathedral in Naples, it would appear that he saw these letters with his own eyes: not only are parts of the excommunications transcribed, he even copies a material feature of the letter addressed to the king Federico—the presence of a blank space before the name of the king: "una de carta de coyro directa a lo illustrissimo *** Federico de Aragonia, stando e dictando dicto spacio ut supra" ("a parchment document addressed to the illustrious *** Federico of Aragon, with the blank space as above in the original").[26] Moreover, Iacobo goes on to report the Aragonese reaction using words from a *bando* and also refers to rumours coming from Rome. This section of the chronicle thus shows stratified levels of information, taken from texts displayed in public and texts written to be read, as well as from hearsay.

Furthermore, the circulation in spoken forms of written sources is sometimes confirmed by the poor quality of some of the facts reported in the chronicles: in some cases the reporting of events is characterized by a degree of inaccuracy which makes the idea the author was taking them from a written text implausible. Take the example of Ferraiolo's account of the battle of Fornovo studied by Senatore. The battle "is confused with two other events" and "is mentioned in an imprecise manner": such historical inconsistences show that "Ferraiolo did not make use of written documents about such an important event" but came to know about it through the circulation of hearsay among the populace.[27]

Furthermore, notes could also be taken from local registers, as is shown in the work of the chroniclers from Terra di Lavoro and Abruzzo. As well as Iacobo, these include Angelo di Tummolillo from S. Elia (1397–1477?), a scribe in Giovanna II's chancellery; the merchant Francesco d'Angeluccio of Bazzano, the author of the *Cronaca delle cose dell'Aquila* (1442–1485); Guarino, a member of the *Eletti* of the *universitas* of Aversa, who compiled diaries for the period from 1492 to 1507. It is highly probable that these chroniclers noted both what they read in town registers and what they heard from town clerks and other officials on what we might call "cartucze de appuntature" ("loose sheets of paper for notes, which could be discarded"), to use the expression of Gaspare Fuscolillo, the canon of Sessa Aurunca, who himself wrote a chronicle covering the period up to 1571.

To sum up, seen as a whole, administrative documents were the object of linguistic strategies which went to the heart of the relationship between the spoken and the written; by means of verbalizations and paraphrases, words

26 BNN, Branc. II F 6, fol. 120^{v}, quoted in De Caprio 2012, 104–105.

27 De Caprio and Senatore 2016, 141.

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shifted from voices to writing and back again. A second characteristic needs to be underlined. As the examples of Naples, Aversa, and L'Aquila show, *litterae clause* and municipal registers were not only a source of information and an ideological key for the narration of events but also provided a formal model for the way chronicles were structured. Municipal registers and letters served to stabilize the fluidity of the traditional vernacular chronicle: both of them were, in some sense, a compass which could be used to navigate the waves of rumours circulating in the streets and squares. In this perspective, documents and historical narratives can be seen as two sides of the same coin, used to acquire duration, secure from the erosions of time.

Another consideration to take into account is that, while *bandi*, *capitoli* and other such texts were read aloud in public, their composition had nothing to do with "the natural parameters of speech" and the "communicative immediacy" which typically marks the spoken.[28] This is because when they were being written they were heavily influenced by stylistic features from specific rhetorical traditions, such as the one embodied in a typical prescriptive public text. On the other hand, we have to recall that, as far as the semiotic modes and the conception of a text is concerned, we need to understand the opposition between the spoken (immediacy) and the written (distance) as a graduated scale: there are texts which emphasise the features of one or other of the two poles and others which are located at some intermediate point of the continuum which exists between these two poles and combine the characteristics of both.

Bearing these distinctions in mind, let us look at some of the characteristic types of texts familiar to the middle classes in the Kingdom: the minutes of assemblies, the letters that the *universitates* wrote to the King or his inner circle, the petitions which individuals or communities sent in writing. Looking at this last type in more detail, it can be shown that the way petitions are structured as texts is the result of the intersection of textual strategies which partake alternatively of the immediacy of speech and the distance of writing.

If we look more closely at certain features of the communicative situation, we can understand why petitions use linguistic strategies which are characterized by 'distance': the most obvious reason is the official nature of the communication and the need to adhere to *convenientia* in dealing with a monarch or an institution. These aspects required the use of strict codified structures which drew on formulas which had been refined over centuries. On the other hand, in the freer parts of the text related to the *narratio* or narration of events,

28 Voghera 2017, 68.

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the organisation of the themes was characterized by strategies of 'immediacy', because of the convergence of three elements.

First, the role played in the adoption of these strategies by the textual competencies of the writers, who were not men of letters but average producers of written texts, accustomed to reading and composing practical and administrative texts but not skilled enough to deploy complex concepts as part of an overall line of argument. Secondly, in the part of the petition dedicated to the narration, there was more freedom in constructing the text; the writer could not take refuge in formulas but had to confront the more exposed task of relating new events. Thirdly, precisely because the *narratio* was rooted in the specific experience of an individual or a community, it was the part which was open to reflecting a greater emotional investment in the events which were being recounted.

Whether it is an account of the ravages wrought by a plague outbreak, of the oppressions of tax collectors or customs officers, or of a local community attacked and plundered by enemy troops (as we find in the copy of the petition sent by the communities of Stigliano, Riace, and Camino in Basilicata on 25 September 1498 to the treasurer Battista de Arena and subsequently transcribed in a register at the *Sommaria*) makes no difference.[29] Because there are fewer constraints in the construction of the *narratio* and it can be shaped by a greater emotive force, the boundaries set by conventional administrative writing tend to give way and the text becomes less linear/straight, coherent and clear, in what is a possible echo of the conversion of spoken discourse into a written document.

The same can be found in analysing the minutes of citizens' assemblies, such as those of the *universitas* of Capua edited by Senatore (2018): shifts between direct and indirect discourse, tenses which oscillate between present and past, abrupt changes in the use of first and third persons—all these are elements which reveal the complexities involved in transforming the fluctuating organization of speech into writing. Also, in the case of this kind of document we can find thematic clusters which are either conceptually more complex or emotively more charged for the original speaker or the person writing it down, giving rise to narrations which either clog the text or cause it to unravel.

Finally, examining these dynamics whereby words spoken aloud are converted into written form we need to recall the central role played by notaries in southern Italian society. They were responsible for the production of a varied range of texts for private individuals, local courts, and different local public

29 Naples, Archivio di Stato, *Sommaria*, *Partium*.

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institutions. Looking at the registers published by Coluccia (2011) and Castrignanò (2015) relating to Capitanata, Terra di Bari, and Terra d'Otranto, we can extract some of the kinds of texts connected with local municipal activity, with the dates of the earliest such documents which have come down to us and have been studied or published: *capitoli* (San Pietro in Galatina—Lecce, 1464; Bitonto, 16th century); statutes (Molfetta 1474), petitions (*universitas* of Galatina to Ferrante, 1463) and letters to the king (the *universitas* of Barletta to Federico, 1507). It is also possible that in the Kingdom notaries were responsible for writing up the reports of pastoral visits. There is the example of the notary who in 1457–1458 accompanied the archimandrite Atanasio from Reggio Calabria to the Cilento on his visits to Basilian monasteries. The notary drew up an account of the visits together with transcriptions of the testimonies heard by the ecclesiastical inspectors.

Thus, the notary is an intermediary, working between and across different spheres, above all in a political sense. As the types of texts just listed show, notaries played a role in the negotiations between the central authorities and the *universitates*. In addition, in carrying out their responsibilities notaries brought spoken communication into contact with written communication. Under various circumstances notaries wanted to convey a linguistic realism and documentary authenticity, by transcribing, for example, direct speech, since they felt the need to attribute unambiguously certain words to a particular speaker. An example can be found in the insults transcribed in direct speech in the section on the 607 accusations reported by the Nardò notary Giampaolo de Nestore which forms part of a judicial register in the Salento, the *Registro della corte del capitano di Nardò* (1491).[30] Finally, as the examples from Iacobo's chronicle show, notaries also played an intermediary role in the dissemination of information and codification of written historical accounts. As we have seen, in the composition of chronicles notaries were collectors of information derived from many different sources: they could fix in writing the news which came down to them from political authorities and likewise give written form to the rumours which were circulating among urban networks.

Conclusions

Relying on different genres (*cantari* e *lamenti*, chronicles and *memoriali*, administrative documents, and chancery records), this contribution has exam-

30 Castrignanò 2016.

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ined how in the urban milieux of the Regno different communicative practices and narrative strategies coexisted and interacted exploiting the interplay between orality, speech, and writing.

Bringing together the forms of texts with the ways and spaces in which they were received has enabled us to draw a map of the Kingdom showing its intermittent peaks and faults. Both in terms of the traces of oral cultural dimensions and the emergence of a historiographical production which shows some homogeneous characteristics, the vitality of various centres outside Naples, in Abruzzo, Terra di Lavoro, Terra di Bari, and Terra d'Otranto, has been shown, while these elements appear less prominent in other areas of the Kingdom, such as Basilicata and Calabria.

One common element, however, is the role played by notaries and other officials in the Kingdom. These figures were responsible for the way texts circulated in different environments; in their "encounters with an unlettered populace [...] they were able to adjust their register so that it was neither too high nor too low".[31] They wrote for a variety of institutions and for textual communities which were culturally contiguous with middle and low social classes, producing a rich variety of texts destined to circulate either in writing or by oral transmission. They were able to create a network which connected on the one hand the palace and the chancellery and on the other the squares and crowded urban streets.[32]

The contribution has reconstructed the ways in which oral, spoken, and written words were sometimes close and sometimes separate. This has been carried out by investigating the persistence over time of words and the dynamics through which an understanding of how words persisted developed, entrusting what needs to be preserved to writing and, by contrast, invoking the voice, its corporeal quality, its "puissance transformatrice", its capacity to make the words which inhabit it live again.[33]

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31 De Blasi 2014, 146.

32 De Blasi 2012, 63.

33 Zumthor 1983, 16.

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CHAPTER 17

Literacy and Administration in the Towns of Southern Italy

Francesco Senatore

In this contribution we shall explore literacy and administration in three senses. First, a survey of the primary schools—those known to us—which were funded by the *universitas*, the local government of a town. Secondly, we shall see how, as part of the distribution of civic offices, there was in some towns a special place reserved for the so-called *litterati* ('lettered' persons, who could read and write to a high level of competency). And thirdly, we shall observe how the processes of administration demanded at least a minimal level of literacy among a large number of the town's male citizens and also how the production of administrative documents played a very significant role in the development of literacy among the population of a town. By way of conclusion, we will look at a technical skill practised by the *tavolari*, whose job it was to measure and estimate, which was essential for urban life.

Education in Towns

No general study of primary education in southern Italy has yet been produced. Studies of schooling in Renaissance Italy completely overlook this part of the country because of the lack of research into the subject and the difficult availability of what work has been done.[1] It is certain, however, that towns in southern Italy, as in the rest of Europe, customarily appointed public teachers, even more than one at the same time and on occasion appointing a 'tutor' (*repetitor*) to work alongside them. The municipality paid their salary, which could be supplemented with fees paid by their students and could also provide them with lodgings and rooms for their classes. There is consistent evidence for the fairly continuous presence of such teachers and schools in various towns: L'Aquila

1 Black 2001; Grendler 1989. Neither author has read De Frede 1960. Of use, but largely on the 17th and 18th centuries, the volume ed. by Pelizzari 1989. For more recent bibliography see Ferrari and Piseri 2013.

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(1467–1502), Capua (1471–1474), Cava [de' Tirreni] (1516–1600), Sessa [Aurunca] (1542–1558),[2] and more occasionally in Bitonto (1454), Brindisi (1547), Cosenza (1489, 1584), Giovinazzo (15th century), Monopoli (1497), Salerno (end of the 16th century), [Mercato] San Severino (1563), Sorrento (1491), Trani (1555), as well as in smaller places such as Castel di Sangro (1538, 1548).[3]

Public schools which were not funded by the town or city, such as the one which in Naples belonged to the grammarian Lucio Giovanni Scoppa, the compiler of a successful Latin-Italian dictionary (1512), are not included in this survey.[4] Likewise, we will not consider other forms of education which functioned without public funding—religious schools and the private lessons which were provided by teachers from assorted backgrounds—priests, humanists, professors at the *Studium* in Naples.[5] It is worth mentioning in this connection that private teaching offered excellent educational opportunities in various towns across the Kingdom, though Naples, with its large number of noble families and enormous population from the 1500s onwards, probably had the highest concentration of such teachers; the city has long been known to scholars for the research carried out there into Latin grammar.[6]

Some examples of the cultural richness to be found elsewhere, in the provinces of the Kingdom, may be useful: Giovan Battista Cacciaguerra from Gubbio, known as Musefilo (born ca. 1450), was a tutor to the sons of Iñigo d'Avalos, the marquis of Vasto, in Giffoni, where Bernardino Linguito, the father and first teacher of Pomponio Gaurico, also taught. Giovanni Antonio Campano (1429–1477) was initially taught by the priest in the village where he was born and he supported himself at university in Naples by teaching the sons of Carlo Pandone, count of Venafro. Giovan Paolo Parisio, known as Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470–1522), was educated at Cosenza and Lecce and became tutor to the sons of count Siscari in Aiello. He also taught at Taverna.[7]

2 Terenzi 2020; Senatore 2018a, 346; Milano 1988, 233–262; Fuscolillo 2008, 43–44, 118, 156.

3 Caldarazzo 2017, 24–28 for Bitonto, Giovinazzo, Monopoli and Trani. For the other towns see, respectively, Balzano 1915, 39, 50; Trinchera 1866–1874, III, 72; De Frede 1960, 18–27; Del Grosso 1987, 163; Galasso 1967, 270–271 note (on the funding provided by Cosenza for a third public school, run by the Jesuits; for the presence of Aciarini in Cosenza in 1487–1489 see Fiaschi 2014 and below); Silvestri 1950.

4 On Scoppa: Barone 1893; Montuori 2017; Valerio 2007; Vecce 2006.

5 In the case of religious schools we know about the one in Mileto Calabro, where two teachers were paid, at the bishop's express wish, from the revenues of a local monastery. See Manacorda 1978, II, 307.

6 De Frede 1960; Fuiano 1973; La Torraca 2006, and the works cited above, note 4.

7 Bacchelli 1999; Fuiano 1973, 32–40; Hausmann 1974, Silvestri 1950, 103–104, Stok 2014, Vecce 2006, 659–660. The Dominican friar Nicola de Aymo was active at the court of Giovanni Anto-

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As for teaching in public schools, we know of prominent humanist scholars who were appointed to teach in them in the larger towns, such as Antonio Calcillo from Sessa, who taught in Capua in 1472–1474, taking the place of a Dominican friar who was a doctor of theology, or Tideo Acciarini (1430/1440–post 1490), from the Marche, who was appointed as teacher by the municipality in Cosenza in 1487–1489 after a period tutoring the sons of the prince of Bisignano.[8] It is possible to discern a degree of rivalry between teachers who were local to a place and those who arrived from outside. The latter moved from place to place across Italy while the former tended to stay in the same position for long periods: in L'Aquila we have evidence for a teacher called Lepido in 1482, 1494, 1498, and 1502;[9] in Cava there was Simone di Giffoni (1519, 1531), then the local citizens Nicola Quaranta (1559, 1563–1564), Giovanni Benedetto Ferraro, and Silvestro Della Monica (who were also both clerics, 1584, 1586, 1600). Also in Cava, a conflict broke out between the local teachers and Sebastiano Damiano, a Sicilian: in 1563 defamatory notices were posted in the town attacking Damiano and the local authorities for agreeing to appoint him, while, twenty years later in 1584, students abandoned his classes in order to attend those given by three local teachers, despite the fact they were more expensive, while Damiano was forced, out of prudence, to send one of his remaining students round to collect his fees.[10]

As the example of Acciarini, just cited, shows, teachers moved between private tutoring in aristocratic families and public employment. In Cava in 1565 the authorities thought of appointing to the local school the tutor who had worked for the royal governor of the town.[11]

Some of the surviving evidence reveals the difficulties towns had in paying for a teacher out of public funds, although it is not possible to say precisely when or why, also because the local provision of primary education could differ widely from place to place. Furthermore, it is certainly impossible to draw up a quantitative analysis of the levels of literacy in southern Italy during the Renaissance period. It is probable that it was subject to significant fluctuations over the course of time; the hypothesis that it worsened with the eco-

nio Orsini, prince of Taranto, where he served as chaplain to Orsini's mother Maria d'Enghien and was also the author of a Latin-Italian grammar (1444), Greco 2008. Cf. Coluccia, Greco, and Scarpino (2005).

8 Senatore 2018a, 346; Volpicella 1916, 161–162. For the first one: Gentile 1960–1964. For the second one: Fiaschi 2014.

9 Terenzi 2020, S182 (08.12.1482), S521 (20/04/1494), S680 (09/04/1498), S886 (20/07/1502).

10 Milano 1988, 241–255.

11 The governor was Hernan Zapata, ibid., 249.

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nomic crisis of the 17th century and the cultural restrictions introduced by the Counter-Reformation cannot be excluded. Nevertheless, at the end of the 16th century the signatures and other statements given by the accused in trials held by the Holy Office in Naples draw a varied picture of individuals coming from the middle and lower social classes who could read and write or who were just capable of signing their names.[12]

As in the rest of Europe, it seems that these teachers largely taught Latin or, as it was called, *grammatica*. The vernacular could be used as a tool for learning Latin.[13] In L'Aquila, which is noteworthy for the classical style of the minutes of its council meetings, the teacher of elementary pupils had the title *ludi magister* and the primary school was called *ludus litterarius*, both terms taken from Quintilian. The expression *praeceptor communitatis* was also used.[14] In Capua in 1471 the school syllabus, taught by a Dominican friar, consisted of three levels and used traditional texts: beginners (*minimi eruditi*) studied the grammars of Villedieu and Eberhard of Béthune and read the *Distica Catonis*, a Latin version of Aesop, the *sententiae* of St Augustine in the compilation made by Prosper of Aquitaine, the pseudo-Ovidian epistles. The pupils were encouraged to write brief compositions in imitation of these authors.[15] The students at the second level (*introducti*) went on to study syntax using Priscian together with more complex grammars and read Virgil's *Bucolicae*, the *memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus, the comedies of Terence and satires of Persius, ending with a selection of Ciceronian works: *De Officiis*, *De Amicitia*, *Paradoxa stoicorum*, and the *Epistulae ad familiares*. The advanced level comprised *lectiones* of philosophy (which they studied *in loycalibus*) of Petrus Hispanus, the commentaries on Aristotle by Paolo Veneto and Radulphus Brito, together with works of moral edification.[16] It is probable that Calcillo, when he succeeded the Dominican, chose a more 'modern' syllabus but unfortunately no information survives. In

12 Sallmann 1989, 79–98.

13 Coluccia 2009, 91.

14 Berardi 2012, 199, 203. Angelo Fonticulano and *maestro* Lepido were called "litterarum ludum publicum", "ludum litterarium", and Giovanni di Beffi "magister ludi". Terenzi 2020, S517 (08/04/1494), S521 (20/04/1494), S680 (09/04/1498), cf. S149 (30/09/1477). See Fuiano 1973, 19–58.

15 "Regulas quascumque in differentia cum thematibus et examinacionibus ut moris est". Senatore 2018a, 766.

16 Probably the *Liber de bono conscientiae* attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of St Victor or Augustine. In Cava, in 1561, the three levels of the curriculum, each requiring students to make a separate payment, were distinguished as follows: "concordati et latinandi de prime regole", "latinandi di altre regole" and "lezionanti". Milano 1988, 246.

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Scoppa's school in Naples, there was a wider choice of classical texts as well as an emphasis on using the vernacular as a tool for learning Latin.[17]

It is exceptional that the third level of the syllabus was taught at Capua in 1471 since this part of the programme was typical of the university curriculum. Normally the municipal schools taught as far as the second level, which prepared students to undertake university studies, a requirement which is found even in smaller places, as the contract for a private teacher in Giffoni (1507) shows.[18] It appears that the towns supported their citizens financially if they undertook a protracted and costly course of university study; we know this was the case in Capua (1473), Taranto (before 1491)[19] and in Sessa, where the local bishop funded an individual citizen's medical studies in Padua and organized a ceremony when the newly graduated citizen returned home, which involved his giving a ninety-minute sermon in the bishop's residence followed by the local teacher reciting verses composed in his honour (1559).[20] Under Aragonese rule the monarchy also supported students, with an exemption from the payment of customs duties for the books they took or brought back with them when they attended the *Studium* in Naples or in other cities.[21]

When the town councils met to decide on the appointment of a teacher, usually annually, their deliberations were not only about educating the local citizens but also reflected a conviction that the provision was beneficial to the entire community. In Capua in 1471 the initiative was said to enhance the town's reputation or "fama" and set its youth on the path of erudition ("dottrina") and expert knowledge ("ottima scienza").[22] In Cava in 1565 it was declared that literacy (*literature*) and lettered people (*litterati*) had brought and would continue to bring "honour and utility" to the town, as experience had shown.[23] In Sessa a

17 Barone 1893; Vecce 2006.

18 The contract for the *maestro* Giovanni Battista de Russis di Valle *de valle Giphoni* stipulates that he should teach "grammar, rhetoric and poetry" ("gramatica et … arte oratoria et … poesia") in order that, within two years, his pupils could attend without difficulty classes in any discipline ("intrare facelemente ad audere cossa sufficiantemente, como èi dicto la Instituta o Logica o altra sciencia chi volessero exeguire"). Silvestri 1950, 112. See note 24 below.

19 Senatore 2018a, 847, § 360; Vitolo 2008, 176.

20 The newly graduated doctor's name was Cesare Ferrante. Fuscolillo 2008, 91.

21 Vitolo 2008, 176–177.

22 "Se provedesse de qualche valente homo mastro de scola, el quale pro fama de questa magnifica cità regesse et tenesse scola, actale che quisti figlioli et iuvini potessero octenire con la gratia de nostro signore qualche doctrina bona et pervenire ad quale che bona et optima sciencia". Senatore 2018a, 765. Cf. Grendler 1989, 16, 25.

23 Milano 1988, 249.

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wealthy citizen, Marco Romano, left his property to the town in 1542 on condition that it was used to pay for the appointment of a doctor and two teachers, one to teach beginners (at an annual salary of 40 ducats) and one for those students who intended to go to university (at a salary of 100 ducats). In the first instance the two teachers would be selected by the executor of his estate, who was the town's physician; after his death the choice would be made by the town council and the bishop. Ten years later, in 1552, rooms to house the school were constructed in a palace in the centre of the town, the Palazzo della Polita, which had once been the *seggio del Popolo* and was now also the civil law court (*bagliva*). A text was written on the external wall of the school facing onto the piazza, although we are not told what it said. In order to record the gift the town commissioned a bust of Marco Romano with an inscription carved in elegant Roman capitals (fig. 53a–b), both still visible today on the façade of San Giovanni in Piazza.[24] The presence of teachers and doctors was seen both by the monarchy and the town's elites as an essential criterion of urban life; their appointment was seen as a duty for the city, although we do not know how long this feeling endured and in which places.

The *litterati* in Towns and Cities

Those individuals known as *litterati* played a significant role in the administration of certain towns. The term primarily indicates those citizens with legal training, either theoretical or practical, such as jurists and notaries, and physicians. In L'Aquila one of the five elected representatives who worked alongside the chamberlain (*camerlengo*) in the *Camera*, the town's executive committee, was reserved for a *litterato*, with the expression *quinque literatus*.[25] In Capua in 1488 it was established that the executive committee of six *eletti* should be made up of three noblemen (*gentiluomini*), two citizens, and a notary or "another literate citizen of the same standing and quality",[26] a clear indication

24 "Uno mastro che interducha li scolari allo imparare per fine alle lectioni, l'altro mastro che impara de audire le lezioni che possa andare allo studio". Fuscolillo 2008, 43–44. See also 118, 156. Cf. Di Marco 1992–1993. Marco Romano also appears as a character, conversing with the personification of the city of Sessa and with the classical Neapolitan character of Pulcinella in the *farsa* or *pazzia* written in dialect and entitled *Ri paisi*, a popular play which was performed regularly in the town until 1991. Ciampaglia 2014, 249, 256–258. On the reconstruction of Palazzo della Polita: Lenzo 2014, 187.

25 Terenzi 2015, 2–23.

26 "Overo un altro citatino litterato de quella portata et qualità". Senatore 2018a, 379–380.

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of the importance of literacy—not necessarily connected with legal learning—in the town's governance. In 1471 the procession for the inauguration of the fair in Capua—an important civic ceremony—was led by the mayor carrying the town's standard, the nobles, the *eletti*, and the officials who administered the fair. They were followed on horseback by the merchants, the *litterati*, and finally some armed citizens.[27]

Doctors in law and medicine were customarily addressed as *dominus* or *messer* but they were not automatically considered to be part of the nobility. They certainly enjoyed high social status in the town, though in different degrees depending on the individual.[28] It is worth bearing in mind that doctors had a theoretical training which was very different from the practical knowledge of notaries. For doctors in law, whether civil or canon law or both (*utriusque iuris doctores*) there was a variety of attractive openings in the royal courts or in the local tribunals where the judges who sat alongside the town's governor and bailiff would serve on an annual basis before stepping down.[29] They would travel round the Kingdom moving from one appointment to another (including town governorships) or they occupied official posts in their native towns, such as the municipal advocate or the attorney.

In general, as figures who enriched council debates with their technical expertise, they were points of reference for the whole community; they could be consulted for legal advice and if they were in the service of the king or the local baron, they could provide mediation between these authorities and the town.

The notaries were a ubiquitous presence in municipal administration. In the first instance, the local government, like any private client, used them to certify all the acts which needed to be enacted in law (contracts, appointments of officials, powers of attorney, the publication of regulations, etc.).[30] Secondly, notaries were frequently found in the various offices of the town as professional scribes, who wrote in both Latin and the vernacular. They acted as chancellery clerks in the courts of justice (*mastri d'atti*), and for the duration of the local fairs, which had legal autonomy, they served as secretaries to the various governing bodies and councils (usually with the title *cancellieri*) for whom they minuted the meetings, wrote letters and other documents, compiled registers of all kinds, and created and maintained archives. Such func-

27 Ibid., 368–369.
28 Senatore and Terenzi 2018, 252–253.
29 See Senatore Chapter 7 in this volume.
30 Senatore 2009, 484–485.

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tions formed part of all public administrations, including those of the monarchy, the barons and the Church. A notary could easily find employment in the royal or baronial administration as a treasurer (*erario*), an accountant (*credenziere*), a steward for farms and livestock (*maestro massaro*, *massaro*), a chancellery clerk (*cancelliere*) to public officials of various kinds or to tax farmers, etc.[31]

Notaries and *litterati* (who shared the same ability to write and keep accounts) had many career opportunities. Different jurisdictions (municipal, feudal, ecclesiastical, royal) were juxtaposed and often overlapped and the monarchy's fiscal and administrative organisation was a huge presence with which all the different authorities in the Kingdom were in constant contact; it was natural for officials to move from one place to another and between different administrations. A notary could pass from the service of the feudal baron to that of the king, from managing a contract for a town council to acting as a steward for a farm belonging to a monastery, etc. Nor for that matter were there sharp separations between the various systems of public administration which could be found in the Kingdom—of towns, fiefs, religious bodies, and the monarchy, which influenced them all. It was completely standard practice for the bureaucratic apparatus of the monarchy to liaise with local authorities over matters of taxation (the payment of the *focatico* and the salt tax) and justice (first-degree), reserved for cases either directly pertaining to the king or transferred upwards from local tribunals on the basis of the principles of *praeventio*, denied justice (*denegata iustitia*) or because they related to royal taxation; second and third-degree courts of appeal.[32]

Naturally the best opportunities for *litterati* were to be found in Naples, in the chancelleries of the king and the viceroy and of the principal courts of justice: the *Sacro Regio Consiglio* and, especially, the *Regia Camera della Sommaria* and the *Gran Corte della Vicaria*. Here the clerks (*mastri d'atti*, *actuarii*, *subactuarii*) would not only write and transcribe documents for the authorities but also prepare copies for third parties who had paid a fee for the rights to own a copy. They kept legal records and transmitted them to their successors, a regular and generous source of income. The *mastri d'atti* who were employed in these leading institutions needed advanced skills in writing and linguistic as well as legal and administrative expertise. They had to possess a perfect familiarity with the formulas and other languages, Latin above all but also, in the mid-15th century Catalan, and Castilian in the 16th and 17th centuries.

31 Senatore 2017, 116–117.

32 Cassandro 1934, 111; Cernigliaro 1986; Sakellariou 2011; Senatore 2018a, 44, 152, 451–452.

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In order to find employment in the various administrations it was necessary to work there from a young age or receive specific training which certainly was not available through public schools. In the Vicaria tribunal, it was common for the *mastri d'atti* who in the 16th century (though not before) had purchased their posts to be accompanied by their sons as soon as they were 14 or 15 years of age. In this way the youngsters learnt 'on the job' and prepared themselves eventually to undertake the same career as their fathers. This practice was so widespread that in 1560 it was denounced by an inspector who had been sent from Madrid, to whom it was proposed that he should arrange a meeting of all the employees. On doing so he realized immediately that it was not an organized group of officials but rather a school for their sons.[33] We can suppose that the children of officials were also to be found in the municipal and feudal administrations.

The other possible route was to take lessons from a private tutor. Some examples of this practice: in 1498 the notary Angelo Guardia of Naples undertook to teach "littera cancilleresca" to a young apprentice over a period of two years. The agreement he offered specifies the goal of his tutoring: to learn how to write privileges and other documents correctly.[34] It is probable that "littera cancilleresca" refers to chancery hand, the style of handwriting used in legal documents. In Giffoni in 1488 Bernardino, the father of the humanist Gaurico, agreed to provide training in grammar to the son of Scavo di Napoli from Giffoni so that the boy would acquire the skill to draw up notarial contracts as they should be done. As with Guardia, what is being taught is both the style of handwriting and the way of formulating the contents of the document, so much so that Bernardino and Scavo agreed that they would choose a notary who would examine the boy and see that he had successfully attained the objectives of the course.[35] Again in Giffoni, in 1492, Renzo Marotta undertook to instruct a pupil in how to read and write administrative registers and other unspecified documents, in the style of the *litterati*.[36]

33 "Troverria più presto essere scola de figlioli che ordinatione de tribunali de Justicia". Astolfo de Camera to Gaspar de Quiroga, quoted in Pilati 1999.

34 Leone 1990, 72–73.

35 After two years' lessons in Latin grammar and the art of public speaking in Latin ("elococtione Latina"), the student was able to speak in a cultivated fashion and manage grammatical constructions so well that he could work as a notary and write contracts in a good hand, according to a notary's assessment of him ("recte parlare licterato adeo che sia sufficiente in gramatica per exercitare lo officio de lo notariato et che sappia scribere che sia bona lictere per instrumento, ad provisione et iudicio de uno notaro da se elegere comonamente"). Silvestri 1950, 109.

36 "De scrivere et de legere in modo che poza et sapia fare quaterno et provedetura de homini litterati". Ibid., 106–107.

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These few episodes suggest there was professional training for notaries and *litterati* that was somewhat repetitive and rule-bound, similar to the training merchants received. In southern Italy merchants must also have had apprentices in their warehouses and in their shops but, unfortunately, because of the almost total absence of surviving merchants' archives, very little is known about them. A systematic analysis of notarial acts in Salerno in the decade 1520–1530 reveals numerous examples of private teachers of 'professional' writing aimed at aspiring merchants, artisans, and clerics.[37]

Administrative Literacy

Between the 14th and 16th centuries in Italy, chancellery clerks, notaries, and merchants were the leading professionals for whom writing was an essential activity. They were much influenced by administrative and *cancelleresca* writing, in other words, by the language, Latin, and vernacular, which was customarily used in the offices of local and central administrations.[38] Compared with other parts of Europe, the long-standing statutory traditions in southern Italy meant that linguistic and textual models of administrative writing derived from the royal administration at the apex.

The influence of the monarchy manifested itself in several ways: in the rules imposed through legislation and the requirements to satisfy the checks made during an audit, and as spontaneous imitation inspired by the prestige of the royal chancelleries and the wide dissemination across the whole territory of the documentation produced there. The term 'royal chancelleries' here refers not only to the highest offices (the King's chancellery and that of the central courts of justice) but also the many small chancelleries which supported officials across the Kingdom.[39]

From earliest times the monarchy intervened in the forms of both public and private documents, as these terms are understood in diplomatics: documents issued by a public authority and documents issued by a notary. On 22 January 1277 Charles I of Anjou established the set form for the composition of the receipts which were issued by the *giustizieri*, the officials who were at the head of the provinces, or their dependents, to the representatives of local communities when they delivered the revenues from direct taxation. It was stipulated that

37 Del Grosso 1987.

38 Palermo 2010; Senatore 2017, 118–120.

39 On what follows see Senatore 2017, 118–120 and Senatore 2018b.

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the receipt should be written by a notary, that it should be issued, on the day itself the tax was collected, for each single instalment of the tax revenue, that it should include the seal of the *giustiziere* and the seal and signature of his magistrate, that no fee was payable for the receipt, that a copy of it should be made in the notarial register, authenticated by the seals of the notary and the magistrate. When we consider that every community in the Kingdom received and preserved these receipts, it is obvious that the form they took had an influence on receipts issued in other spheres of activity.

In 1470 Ferrante of Aragon established the rules for compiling the tax census, in other words the register containing the list of all households subject to taxation, together with a sample, provided free. In 1477 he established the form which the registers kept by bailiffs, officials who worked with feudal lords and the towns, should take; the sample showed the form of heading to be used and the list of acts which should be recorded, and stated that the register, once it had been bound, numbered, and stamped with the town's coat of arms on each leaf, should be presented to the *Sommaria*, obviously to be authenticated.

In 1231 Frederic II of Swabia laid down that notarial contracts were to be considered valid only if they had two or three signatures of literate witnesses; they also had to be written on parchment and the use of the hard-to-decipher hand called *curiale*, still widespread in the former Byzantine duchies in Campania, was forbidden. In 1477, Ferrante of Aragon, in imitation of what his father Alfonso had done in the kingdom of Sicily *ultra Farum* (i.e. the island of Sicily itself), issued four laws (*pragmaticae*) on notarial practice, of which one stipulated that a notarial protocol should be presented, bound and numbered, to the official who was responsible for keeping the register of notaries in each locality. The form the heading should take was fixed; it also needed to be in the notary's own hand and bear his *signum*.

As for the second way in which the monarchy influenced writing. All those who had posts in the royal administration or were contracted as its tax-farmers were obliged to present the registers they kept with the necessary supporting documentation to the accountants who worked for the king (originally known as the *magistri rationales*, later the *Regia Camera della Sommaria*) for the regular audit. The procedural checks were painstaking. If the payment order was missing or unclear or if the receipt of an employee, a supplier, a worker had not been written correctly, it was the official or the contractor who had to pay. It will be obvious that this resulted in a direct adherence to the textual forms and terminology used by the state administration. Merchants too, even though they had their own traditional procedures, had to fulfil these requirements if they had contact with the monarchy as officials, contractors, or suppliers of goods and services.

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But quite apart from officials and contractors, a great number of people came into contact one way or another with the royal administration and were therefore influenced by its ways of doing things. This occurred for example whenever a case was brought before the royal courts or when a petition was presented to the king or one of his delegates (viceroy, lieutenant, *udienze*, i.e. the provincial courts) or when tax payments were made. The form petitions took remained surprisingly consistent for centuries, even if they were not intended for the king but, for example, a bishop, a hospital, or a feudal baron. The *procuratori* or official representatives of the feudal barons probably had formularies to hand whenever they had to make a request for feudal succession (*peticio relevii*) since such requests could be rejected if they were not written in the style used by the *Sommaria*, which had published a guide to its complex procedures, the *Ritus*.

The mayors of even the smallest hamlets would receive written instructions on the procedures to be adopted for the collection of direct tax and the compilation of the land register (*apprezzo*). They were careful to keep receipts for the payments made to the king's tax commissar as well as those made for permission to collect salt from the state warehouses. Their own degree of literacy varied depending on the size and social complexity of the community they represented: some were notaries, perfectly familiar with managing records, others could read but not write, and then there were the completely illiterate, who needed help when they had to put the registers in order. However, all of them were familiar with written records and knew how to recognise their authenticity and significance.

Finally, the influential role played by the epistolary correspondence sent out by all the royal chancelleries, central and peripheral, is obvious. The composition and rhetorical style and also the language of the letters sent out by chancelleries across Italy were very similar.

In southern Italian society administrative writing appears to have been a daily reality, even in rural areas such as Tortorella, a remote village in the province of Salerno.[40] Any shepherd would recognize the receipt the king's official would make out on payment on the right to pasture during the transhumance of the sheep flocks from Abruzzo to Puglia. Anyone who had to travel during an epidemic knew that they needed to obtain an authorisation (*bollettino*) from an official to enter a town. Everyone needed to use a notary not only to draw up deeds of sale, arrange dowries, write wills, and work contracts, and so forth but also to draft a formal complaint whenever an individual had suffered wrong or damage.

40 Leone 1983, 103–181.

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It is to be expected that the chancelleries of the feudal and ecclesiastical lords and the municipal governments were also influenced by the documentation produced by the monarchy. Perhaps it would be more accurate to speak not so much of influence as of the existence of a single and largely unified framework of verbal communication taking effect on three levels: in terms of language (lexis, expressions, formulas, the inclusion of Latin to a high degree in vernacular texts), in terms of textual content (sequence of topics, focus of argument, use of sources), and in terms of *mise en page* (the arrangement of the text block, subdivision into items, use and function of marginal glosses). The homogeneity is clearly seen in letters and in petitions, which, by their transactional nature, involving senders and recipients, require there to be linguistic and textual convergence, but it is also found in registers, which were never removed from the municipal chancelleries where they were housed. Even when they were not drawn up by a notary in the employ of the municipality, the registers containing minutes of proceedings and deliberations (*libri de annotamento*, *quaterni di sindacato*, *libri di cancelleria*, *libri reformationum*)[41] had headings which were analogous to those found in notarial protocols and the registers kept by *baglivi* or bailiffs. In terms of the *mise en page*, some resemble the registers of income and outgoings compiled by royal officials and contractors in that they have the same clear division in separate transactions in chronological order and preceded by the date ("Adì …/Die …"), in the manner of a diary, where the text has been pieced together retrospectively from notes and other documents. In effect the chancellery clerks who worked in municipal government and the officials and contractors who worked for the king not only had frequently received the same training as notaries and administrators, but were carrying out similar tasks. The clerks gathered and transcribed in order the minutes, perhaps expanding them from notes made on the spot, letters received and dispatched, information relating to notarial contracts and receipts, which were kept separately (fig. 54). The officials and contractors did the same with letters of appointment, details of income and outgoings, which were already listed on loose sheets or in abbreviated form, and duly inserted cross-references in the proper places to receipts and other documents given to the auditors together with the account book (fig. 55).

This combinatory approach can also be found in the chronicles of certain towns such as those by Ferraiolo and Notar Giacomo for Naples, Silvestro Guarino for Aversa, Gaspare Fuscolillo for Sessa, Angelo Tummolillo for

41 Senatore 2009, 459–465.

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Sant'Elia, and Alessandro De Ritiis for L'Aquila.[42] These works reveal the clear influence of the language and textual patterns of administrative documents, also because the authors drew copiously—often transcribing them at length—on documents in the municipal chancelleries. Entire sections of the minutes can be found inserted whole in their works, as we find in Fuscolillo's text. All this favoured the use more generally of administrative language with which the authors were in any case accustomed. Writing was for them—as far as we know, they all came from the middle social ranks in their local communities—above all identified with the experience of administrative writing. Literacy was a practical requirement, an attainment which formed an intertextual part of a continuing and regulated communicative tradition of administrative procedure. It could be said that they learnt how to narrate an event, exploring its causes, and tracing its consequences, by reading and writing letters, official reports, judicial files, financial accounts. These were types of written communication in which certain operations frequently appeared: the citation of several documents arranged chronologically, either transcribed in their entirety, paraphrased or summarized; the collation of information from different sources; the easy passage from one language to another, from Latin to Italian, from Italian to Latin, from Catalan and Castilian to Italian and vice versa.[43]

The importance of administrative writing offered an unparalleled opportunity to acquire literacy to large swathes of the population. The headings, stylistic features, textual organisation of administrative writing can be found in urban chronicles, erudite genealogical compilations, legal and political treatises, private correspondence, and even, though in much smaller measure, in literary compositions. Only authors who had benefited from a sophisticated literary education and were able to draw upon the resources of classical Latin texts and the Tuscan literary tradition succeeded in escaping the automatic conditioning of administrative writing as a prevalent model. This is true of those important figures whose writings, even though they spent long periods of time or even entire careers working in administration, show no trace of the compositional models practised there: authors such as Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503) and Jacopo Sannazaro (1457–1530) in Naples, and in the rest of Italy, Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), Matteo Maria Boiardo (1441–1494) and Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533).[44]

42 See De Caprio in this volume.

43 Senatore 2014, 279–333; De Caprio and Senatore 2016, 129–144.

44 Senatore 2017, 118–120.

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The Technical Knowledge of the *tavolari*

One professional producer of written records was fundamental in the daily administration of towns and cities: the *tavolario*. He was not included, as far as we know, in the administrative category of *litterati* yet he was certainly literate. A *tavolario* was a sort of land-surveyor, whose job consisted in measuring property (land, buildings) and valuing it (*apprezzo*).[45] His written reports were used in the courts in cases involving renting and conveyancing private and feudal property, but they could also be used to avoid disputes coming to court in the first place and in general for contractual arrangements between private individuals (sales, gifts, building work, etc.). In the 16th century the *tavolari* in Naples were organized as a closed guild. The head *tavolario* was described as *primario*. By the 17th century there were 9–10 members. They had a monopoly over the issuing of reports on the cases which came before Neapolitan courts. The guild was controlled by the city, which granted a license to exercise the profession.[46] Periodically—in 1564, 1576, 1608, and 1626—the responsibilities and the prerogatives of the *tavolari* were regulated by the viceroy. The viceroy's interventions, made usually in response to petitions from the city, gave the *tavolari* the task of overseeing building works together with, as we have seen, a monopoly on the provision of technical advice in court cases, a responsibility which was assigned to the *tavolari* by means of a ballot.[47] Historians have focused on the provisions issued by the viceroy, which were mainly concerned with Naples, and on the conflict between the *tavolari*, who were defended by the city's government, and "architects in the service of the king" ("los arquitectos ingegneros de su Magestad") who claimed that they alone had the right to plan and survey.[48] The origins of the *tavolari* in the 15th century and their presence in the rest of the Kingdom remain to be explored.[49] There were *tavolari*

45 Used here in a different sense from *apprezzo* signifying the register of landed property and household wealth.

46 Miletti 2006, 175–205, which supersedes Strazzullo 1968, 27–53 and Brancaccio 1991, 239–253. See also Capasso 2011, II, 68–71, 182–185.

47 *De tabulariorum collegio*, Pragmaticae I–II (1564–1608), in Vario 1772, IV, 85–90; Miletti 2006, 179–182.

48 Petition to the viceroy, 22 August 1628. The Spanish definition of the petitioners was translated into "architetti ingegneri salariati". Pragmaticae, IV, 99.

49 The early evidence for the existence in Naples of a *tabularius* [...] *civitatis* (1432) and of the establishment, granted by the king, of an *officium tabulariatus* (1466–1467), as well as of what seems to be a kind of commission given to two *tavolari* and one *primario* (1487) comes from Chiarito 1772 44–45, who consulted documents which have since been destroyed.

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elsewhere in Campania: in Aversa, Capua, Cava, Nocera, Salerno, and Torre Annunziata.[50] In Cava, where the role passed often from father to son, there is evidence of *tavolari* from 1530 onwards. There is an archival series of the registers of the *tavolari* from 1595, a unique collection in the whole of southern Italy.[51]

The technical literacy of the *tavolari* was close to the literacy of notaries and architects (*mastri fabbricatori*) but very largely removed from the humanist educational tradition; the skills involved were transmitted exclusively through apprenticeship. In the mid-18th century, a Neapolitan *tavolario* had to pass an oral and written exam in front of two professors of mathematics, two lawyers, and two *tavolari*.[52] In Cava, in the same period, the exam was organized by the town council.[53] We do not know how recruitment to the ranks of the *tavolari* was organized before this period but it would seem that it was linked to the town authorities in some way. In addition to their obvious skills in writing and drawing, the *tavolari* also had knowledge of mathematics, geometry, building and law, since they needed to know about the quality of constructions, the price of materials, the local usages around measurements and building regulations, and the property market. Their reports were drawn up after onsite inspections and were accompanied by plans and drawings; the texts are written with a specific vocabulary which has been little studied. 'High' culture did not take kindly to these practical types, who were seen as "improvised jurists and rather full of themselves" and half-ignorant of the law ("semidocti in iure"), as they are described in texts from the 17th and 18th centuries, when royal engineers were expected to have superior cultural standing.[54]

The kind of knowledge *tavolari* possessed can be seen from the treatise on arithmetic, geometry, and metrology written by Giorgio Lapizzaia from Monopoli (died 1593). He was of Albanian origin, a canon in Monopoli, and an apostolic protonotary. His *Opera d'arithmetica et geometria* was revised by a fellow citizen by the name of Annibale Balice and was printed in Naples by the Sulzbach press in 1542, with a privilege issued by the viceroy Toledo which protected its copyright for a period of ten years. Seven or eight new editions of the work were published over the next two and a half centuries, up to 1784.

50 Filangieri 1891, VI *ad indicem*, Miletti 2006, 178 (from Chiarito 1772), Vario 1772, 100. For Torre Annunziata see Di Martino and Malandrino 1986.

51 Cava de' Tirreni, Archivio Comunale (hereafter ACCdT), XV classe (*Libretti degli apprezzi*).

52 Miletti 2006, 181.

53 Letters relating to the examination are held in the ACCdT. Taglé 1986, 23.

54 Miletti 2006, 185–186. Nevertheless, in the public library of Cava there is a copy of Palladio's Dell'Architettura with the possession's mark by Giovan Berardino Buongiorno, a tavolario. I thank D. Cantarella and S. Milano for the information.

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Lapizzaia's manual contained basic introductions to practical arithmetic and geometry, tables of measurements and conversions, precise instructions on how to calculate the measurement of objects and land, and problem-solving examples referring to real-life situations a *tavolario* would come across in his activity (figs. 56–57).[55]

It is possible that Lapizzaia was himself a *tavolario* in Naples;[56] his book certainly reflects standard practice in the city[57] where it would seem the author had opened a school.[58] The nobleman to whom Lapizzaia addresses the work's dedicatory epistle, Alfonso Castriota (of Albanian origin), marquis of Atripalda, lived in Naples. The edition of 1575 was dedicated to Marzio Carafa, duke of Maddaloni. Here Lapizzaia refers explicitly to the practice of the celebrated architects in Cava de' Tirreni and that of the *regio doganiere di Puglia*, who was the official responsible for the pasturing of the sheep who were transported from Abruzzo during the winter.[59]

Lapizzaia's approach is not particularly original, following as he does in the venerable tradition of the *Liber abaci* and Leonardo Fibonacci da Pisa's 13th-century *Pratica geometriae*. These two works enjoyed a vast readership and were soon translated into the vernacular and taken up by other authors as well as in texts which were aimed at merchants.[60] The printed works attributed to Fibonacci are innumerable: among them there is the *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportioni et proportionalità* by Luca Pacioli (1494) and the *Libro de abaco* by Gerolamo Tagliente (1515).[61] Each author tended to update and adapt for his intended readership Fibonacci's examples of problem-solving, and Lapizzaia, whose work came to dominate the southern Italian market, does the same.

The literacy of chancellery clerks, notaries, merchants and *tavolari* was essential for municipal administration and at the same time was shaped by it on a daily basis, creating the cultural infrastructure of political society.

55 Lapizzaia 1542, description in Manzi 1970, 96–97. See Luisi 1988 and Morgante 1994.

56 It is unlikely that the Lapizzaia recorded as *tavolario* in 1585 is a namesake, Filangieri 1891, vol. 6, 52.

57 The "usitata prattica all'usanza napolitana". Lapizzaia 1542, 51.

58 Luisi 1988, 1051, the source of the information is Bartolomeo Chioccarello.

59 "La misura delle fabriche a costumanza della capi mastri fabricatori della virtuosa città della Cava … et il modo della misura de' territori si dispensano per lo regio doaniero dei Puglia". Lapizzaia 1575, 1.

60 Ulivi 2013. See also Bocchi 2021.

61 Van Egmond 1981.

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PART 4

Cultural Patterns

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CHAPTER 18

Literature and Theatre

Carlo Vecce

Another Renaissance

From the 13th to the end of the 16th century (and beyond), southern Italy was the centre for a long Renaissance in literature and the arts, with its own original characteristics, and in dialectical relationship with other centres in Italy and across Europe. These centuries can be divided into three distinct periods, which, with continuities and discontinuities, are concomitant with the succession of dynasties and ruling houses: the Angevins from 1266–1442, the Aragonese from 1442 to 1503, and the Spanish era from 1503 to 1713. The period also saw the establishment of Naples as a powerful political and administrative centre. Both the Kingdom and its capital city can be described as one of the most active and fertile laboratories in which the civilisation of the Renaissance developed, a privileged space for the encounter and exchange of different experiences and cultures, not only Italian but also from the wider Mediterranean area and across Europe.[1]

One fundamental element in this development was the export of what Fernand Braudel called "the Italian model"[2] or rather what was perceived as Italian from abroad, to a large extent an ensamble of specific characteristics more accurately seen as 'Mediterranean' rather than merely 'Italian'. We should therefore speak of a 'southern Italian' or 'Neapolitan' model, with special connections to the Iberian region, the Levant, and North Africa. The emergence of this model as part of European civilisation can be dated with some precision to the period between 1494 and 1528, during the Italian Wars, which were waged predominantly to gain dominion over Naples and its Kingdom.

The main characteristic of this southern Italian laboratory was the encounter between different languages, cultures, religions and traditions, and the development of sophisticated forms of cosmopolitanism. The origins of some of the defining cultural issues of modernity can be found here: the critical awareness of the role of intellectuals with reference to the dialectic of social

1 Galasso 1975; Galasso 1998.

2 Braudel 1989.

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class and to the right to freedom of action in the face of secular and ecclesiastical authority; political theory and the presentation of power relationships as spectacle in the new dimensions of mass communication (civic and religious festivities, architecture, the figurative arts); the development of new literary and communicative genres (such as Sannazaro's renewal of pastoral tradition in his *Arcadia*); and lastly the practice of civil conversation, which was codified first at the end of the Aragonese period (before this occurred in the rest of Italy and Europe) thanks to the work of Giovanni Pontano. It was the Renaissance of a 'form of life' based on the rebirth of the moral and intellectual legacy of Antiquity, crystallized and transmitted to modern times through the transformations in society and in courtly culture which took place under the Ancien Régime.[3]

The Angevin Period

In the polyphonic weave created by the different centres in which the Renaissance took place, Naples begins to play an important role in the first half of the 14th century. Until a few decades earlier, the city, which was not then a capital city, was neither large nor particularly important. However, Frederick II had established a *studium* for civil law in 1224 and in nearby Salerno a leading school of medicine was active, the first such school in the whole of Europe. Naples became the capital of the Kingdom in 1266 under Charles of Anjou and entered on a period of rapid expansion which led it to become one of the most important cities in Italy and in the Mediterranean area, the hub of the Guelph alliance thanks to its close links to the economic and financial power of Florence, whose bankers and merchants became leading figures in the management of the Kingdom's finances and which itself in the 14th century was governed by Angevin princes. The Angevin period can be said to have reached its zenith in the long reign of Robert of Anjou known as Robert the Wise. The *studium* boasted jurists such as Bartolomeo De Capua, protonotary and logothete in the Kingdom, Andrea d'Isernia, and for a short period, Cino da Pistoia, a friend of Dante, and, in the field of medicine, the Catalan Franciscan Arnaldo da Villanova. Operating in parallel there were the *studia* of the religious orders, San Lorenzo Maggiore for the Franciscans, San Domenico Maggiore for the Dominicans (where Thomas Aquinas, the father of Scholasticism, taught for a brief period), Sant'Agostino for the Augustinians (with the

3 Marino and Vecce 2012.

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presence of Agostino d'Ancona and Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro, who was one of Petrarch's correspondents).[4]

In the 1320s and 1330s, Naples must have resembled a vast construction site. More than any other Italian city at the time it was above all new, modern, tumultuous, and cosmopolitan. Alongside the local populace there were numerous foreign colonies from the French to the Catalans and Greeks, neighbourhoods where merchants and bankers lived who came from the rest of Italy—Pisa, Genoa, Florence, Lombardy, and Amalfi—and the Giudecca, the Jewish quarter. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), the illegitimate son of a Florentine banker, spent nearly fifteen years, from 1327 to 1340, in his prime of life in the network of streets that formed the crowded neighbourhood of Portanova. In his close contact with the Angevin court and its leading intellectuals (Andalò del Negro, Fra Paolino da Venezia, and Paolo da Perugia) this was perhaps the most significant period in Boccaccio's development as a writer; it was here that he began his intensive study of classical authors, as his youthful notebooks reveal.[5]

It was in Naples that the young Boccaccio, a great reader of medieval Latin texts, of romances, and above all of Dante, began to write some works in the Florentine vernacular which brilliantly mingle different traditions in experimenting and creating forms and genres which would become part of Italian literary culture. In prose, there was the novel *Filocolo* and the *Elegia di madonna Fiammetta*, an autobiographical account of a love affair told by its female protagonist, together with the short allegorical poems in tercets, the *Caccia di Diana*, and the narrative epic work in verse *Filostrato e Teseida*, based on the invention of a new stanza form—*ottava rima*—adapted to oral recitation and memorisation, which immediately became the basic form of popular chivalresque poetry. Boccaccio's period in Naples continued to influence the works he composed after he returned to Florence in about 1340: the *Ninfale fiesolano*, the *Commedia delle ninfe fiorentine* or *Ameto*, and the *Amorosa visione*, but above all the *Decameron*, in which his memories of the city emerge vividly in several of the tales, such as the one about Andreuccio da Perugia. Boccaccio went on hoping that he might be able to return to live in Naples, counting in vain on the support of his old friend Niccolò Acciaiuoli, who had become the powerful Seneschal in the Kingdom during the reign of Giovanna of Anjou. In his final visit to Naples in 1370, he took with him his manuscript of the *Genealogiae deorum gentilium*, which aroused the interest of Boccaccio's friend the

4 On the Angevin period see: Sabatini 1974; De Blasi and Varvaro 1987, 457–477.

5 Alfano, D'Urso, and Perriccioli Saggese 2012; Alfano et al. 2015.

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jurist Pietro Piccolo da Monteforte as well as of Guglielmo Maramauro (both men were also close readers of Dante's *Commedia*).

The political and intellectual primacy of Angevin Naples also attracted the most celebrated contemporary writer, Petrarch (1304–1374). With his early poems in Latin (in particular the historical composition *Africa*) Petrarch had won renown across Europe and chose to be crowned as poet laureate in Rome having first undergone an examination in Naples carried out by Robert in 1341. He returned to the city in 1343 on a sensitive diplomatic mission to Queen Giovanna, who had succeeded her father Robert, but left after two months dismayed by the sudden decline in the city, which had also been struck by a disastrous storm. Yet he maintained the links he had forged during that visit with Angevin humanists (Giovanni Barrili, Barbato da Sulmona, Niccolò d'Alife, Maramauro) as well as the enduring memory of his personal discoveries of the great vestiges of antiquity in the Phlegrean Fields: Pozzuoli, Baia, Miseno, Cuma, the Lake Avernus, and the ancient baths which had still been in use in the Middle Ages and were restored under Swabian rule, as Pietro da Eboli's short verse composition *De balneis Puteolanis* informs us. This is a parallel journey to the one Petrarch had undertaken among the ruins of Rome and led to a discovery of a world which was partly different from the one he had found there, involving Greek antiquity and mythological traditions. He saw with new eyes the places Virgil had described in the *Aeneid* or of which other ancient writers, such as Seneca, had also given an account.[6]

The development of the vernacular was, on the other hand, impeded by the prominent use of Latin and of French in cultural and religious institutions, in the royal court and among the aristocracy. Only towards the middle of the 14th century did some texts in the vernacular begin to appear: various translations (of the *De balneis Puteolani*, the *Regimen sanitatis* from Salerno, and the *Libro de la destructione de Troya* from the work of Guido delle Colonne) and some compositions in verse. The most interesting literary indication of an emerging civic self-awareness was the *Cronaca di Partenope*, a heterogeneous compilation of texts on the origins of Naples, its legends (the sequence of chapters on the figure of Virgil as sorcerer are celebrated), and its contemporary history (in part derived from Villani's *Cronica*). In the rest of the Kingdom, a similar sense of civic identity emerged in L'Aquila, in the pages of Buccio di Ranallo's *Cronaca Aquilana*.[7]

6 Kirkham and Maggi 2009.

7 De Blasi and Varvaro 1988, 463–468; 473–474.

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In the second half of the 14th century, during the reigns of Giovanna I, Ladislaus of Anjou-Durazzo, Giovanna II, and the final Angevin king, René of Anjou, the Angevin dynasty entered into a period of terminal crisis and decline. This turbulent period saw the devastation of Naples and the Kingdom at the hands of foreign armies (from the Hungarians to the Aragonese), with the loss of the cultural and artistic prominence which had been acquired during the reign of Robert the Wise. Yet Naples as the capital continued to be a Mediterranean hub, at the centre of Italy, the Iberian peninsula, southern France, Greece and Asia, and it played an important role during the events affecting the papacy at the time of the Western Schism. It also maintained a certain cultural continuity with its past in its grammar schools, colleges of jurisprudence, theological faculties and other centres for the education of the clergy.

The Aragonese Period

In 1442 when Alfonso of Aragon conquered Naples, the humanists in his retinue had the idea of organising his traditional 'entry' into the city (the late medieval ceremony which confirmed the new rulers' assumption of power through a show of public display) not in the usual form of a cavalcade but as a hitherto completely unprecedented 'Triumph', inspired by classical models. Thus, on 24 February 1443, for the first time ever during the Renaissance, Alfonso celebrated his entry into Naples as a condottiero or Roman emperor in a Triumph *all'antico*. For contemporaries, the event was so extraordinary to behold that it was commemorated in the great entrance arch of the Castel Nuovo, rebuilt as the royal palace and seat of government, as its most prominent feature. Yet in reality Alfonso had started planning his future state and influencing the culture of southern Italy when he had returned to the region in 1432 and in 1435 set up what was already a proper court in Gaeta.[8]

From that time onwards he pursued a policy of co-opting contemporary humanists to create and promote an ideal image of the sovereign, one who was virtuous, pious, and modern, while also being based on models of rulers from antiquity.[9] Alfonso's communicative strategy, working in tandem with his political and military actions, used words as its weapon of choice, with genres such as epistolography, oratory, poetry, translations from Greek. Ancient histor-

8 On the Aragonese period see Santoro 1974; De Blasi and Varvaro 1987; Villani 1996. See Delle Donne and de Divitiis in this volume.

9 Ryder 1990; Delle Donne 2015.

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ians such as Livy were read aloud and commented upon in the presence of the king in the so-called 'book hour'. The university was reopened and new educational institutions established, including in Castel Nuovo itself, where a royal library was created which over time acquired the characteristics of a modern 'national library'.[10]

An initial contribution to the myth of the 'magnanimous' prince (the epithet which subsequently became permanently linked to Alfonso's name) was made by the leading humanist, and later royal secretary and ambassador, in Alfonso's circle from the court in Gaeta, Antonio Beccadelli, known as the Panormita (1394–1471), whose reputation had been established earlier as a Latin poet and the author of the licentious *Hermaphroditus* in 1425. His *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis* (1455) is less a work of historiography than a kind of treatise 'de principe' inspired by Xenophon, who also provided the model for Panormita's later work on the education of Alfonso's son and successor Ferrante the *Liber rerum gestarum Ferdinandi regis* (1469). Alongside Panormita there was also Bartolomeo Facio (1410–1457), the author of the *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi regis libri* (1448–1455), in which the figure of the king, even in the accounts of contemporary events, is cast in an idealizing light, following classical models.[11]

The leading figure in Italian humanism, Lorenzo Valla (1405–1457), also became part of Alfonso's circle while he was in Gaeta; once in Naples he promoted a wide-ranging programme to re-establish an independent lay culture in the city. Valla started (or brought to completion) various significant works there, aimed at demolishing the foundations of medieval culture: the *De voluptate* or *De vero buono*, against Stoic and Christian asceticism; the *De libero arbitrio* and the *Dialectica* (1439) against the Aristotelian philosophical tradition; the *De professione religiosorum* (1442) against the religious orders; and above all the *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione* (1440), in which he demonstrated the inauthenticity of the so-called Donation of Constantine, the central reference for medieval canon law and the church's claims to legitimate its temporal power. Valla's demonstration was made possible by his profound philological and historical understanding of the Latin language, which also bore fruit in his most important work the *Elegantiae latinae linguae* (1441–1449).[12]

Valla was forced to leave Naples in 1448 following criticisms from Panormita and Facio of his historiographical work for the Aragonese dynasty, a bio-

10 De Marinis 1947–1952.

11 *La storiografia umanistica* 1992; Albanese 2000. See Delle Donne in this volume.

12 Santoro 2007.

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graphy of Alfonso's father, Ferdinand of Trastámara (*Gesta Ferdinandi Regis Aragonum*, 1445–1446), which had not satisfied the expectations with which it had been commissioned. His intellectual legacy in Naples however continued into the second half of the century, with figures like Aurelio Bienato (1440–1496) and Giuniano Maio (1430–1493), who both taught at the *studium*, Antonello Petrucci (d. 1487), who from humble origins had become secretary to the king, Ferrante, the highest political position in the Kingdom, Giovanni Brancato from Policastro (the royal librarian), and Pietro Gravina (ca. 1454–1528), while his reputation spread throughout Europe thanks to the transfer of many of his autograph manuscripts (once part of the Aragonese royal library) under Charles VIII and Louis XII.[13]

Thanks to Alfonso's generosity and patronage, Naples attracted many other Italian humanists who paid brief visits to the city (Poggio Bracciolini, Biondo Flavio, Francesco Filelfo, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Pier Candido Decembrio) or settled there, like the Florentine Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459) who wrote his *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* (1452) in Naples. The arrival of Byzantine scholars such as George of Trebizond (1395–1484) and Theodorus Gaza (1414–1475) stimulated interest in Greek studies, which until then had been almost entirely neglected, despite the Greek tradition in southern Italian regions like Calabria and Salento.

Alfonso's son and successor, Ferrante, continued his father's cultural policies and encouraged the rise of a new class of officials recruited from Naples and the Kingdom rather than outside it.[14] After an interruption caused by the long war of succession, the *studium* reopened in 1465, this time with a greater emphasis on jurisprudence. With the support of the king the new technology of printing was introduced into the city and the immigration of foreign printers encouraged—Sixtus Riessinger, Arnaldus de Bruxella, Mathias Moravus, to whose number the Neapolitan Francesco Del Tuppo (1443–1498) can be added.[15] The royal library housed in Castel Nuovo was directed by humanists such as Brancato, Maio, and Francesco Pucci (1463–1512), a pupil of Politian. The frequent exchanges with Pomponio Leto's academy in Rome and the presence in Naples of Fra Giocondo da Verona and Filippino Bonomi stimulated archaeological and antiquarian studies.[16]

In terms of cultural institutions the most important event in this period was the creation of a *sodalitas* of intellectuals which saw itself as an 'academy' (one

13 On Gravina see Miletti in this volume. On Brancato see Cappelli in this volume.

14 Bentley 1987.

15 Santoro 1984.

16 See de Divitiis and Lenzo in this volume.

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of the first in Europe) which was independent of the court even though the humanists who belonged to it all had close connections to court affairs. The circle of humanists which used to meet in Alfonso's presence and which saw itself as a reincarnation of the academy of ancient philosophers moved to the centre of Naples, under the portico of the palace belonging to its most prominent member, the royal secretary Panormita (from whom the new meeting place took its name, *Porticus Antoniana*).[17] The *sodalitas* thus operated in a space which was simultaneously public and private, open to free-ranging intellectual discussion but also to casual daily talk. The model behind this idea was the *sedili* or *seggi*, a centuries-old form of civic association in Naples, with political and administrative responsibilities and involving the participation of the nobility and the populace.[18] The location of the *Porticus Antoniana* directly opposite the ancient Seggio di Nilo (one of the most illustrious *seggi* in the city, situated at the crossing of the Decumanus inferior and the Via Nilo) was not chosen by chance: it was a way of advertising itself as a symbol of a cultural aristocracy which was also a ruling class, alongside the traditional urban patriciate.

When Panormita died in 1471 the humanist scholar Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503) succeeded him. Pontano had been born in Umbria but had come to Naples to serve Alfonso in 1448. The academy under its new leader moved to his residence on Via Tribunali (*Porticus Pontaniana* or *Accademia Pontaniana*). As Pontano himself noted in his work *De prudentia* (and as the works the academy produced and the questions they discussed also confirm) the academy chose to follow the Aristotelian model in contrast to the Platonic model which inspired Marsilio Ficino's Florentine academy.[19]

Pontano was deeply involved in the political life of his time; a secretary and tutor to the Aragonese princes, extremely close to Alfonso duke of Calabria and to his wife Ippolita Sforza, he became royal secretary after the death of Petrucci, who had participated in the second baronial rebellion (1485–1486) but was distanced from power after the failure of Charles VIII's invasion in 1495 (according to Guicciardini, Pontano may have addressed an oration in Naples Cathedral to Charles).

In addition to his public career as a politician Pontano was prodigiously productive as a writer of literary, poetic, and historiographical works as well as moral and political philosophy and astrology—a textual laboratory the production of which was exclusively in Latin (though one should not discount the substantial number of letters in the vernacular which Pontano wrote on behalf

17 See Iacono in this volume.

18 Vitale 2002; Lenzo 2014. See Vitale in this volume.

19 See Cappelli, de Divitiis and Lenzo, Delle Donne, Iacono, and Miletti in this volume.

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of the Aragonese princes as well as his remarkably eloquent private correspondence). This range of works, balanced between the classicizing imitation of ancient authors and their innovative recreation in modern form, aimed at the renewal of the existing system of genres. Pontano was famous among his contemporaries as a great lyric humanist poet whose Latin verse was original. In prose, he introduced innovations to the genre of dialogue with the series of works *Charon*, *Antonius*, *Asinus*, *Actius*, and *Aegidius*, which used Lucian as a model (as well as Alberti's *Intercoenales*). In historiography he wrote a history of the war with Jean of Anjou (1458–1464), the *De bello Neapolitano*, to which he later added a sixth and final book which contained a long celebratory and antiquarian digression on Naples.[20] The experience acquired during his long political and civic career was expressed in a series of fundamental treatises which influenced later thinkers in Italy and Europe from Machiavelli to Castiglione. The first phase of this production consisted of two works—*De principe* (1464) and the *De oboedientia* (1470)—which were comprehensive explorations of the relationship of a prince to his subjects, in a secularized version of the concept of the organic harmony of all the different elements of society. Then, after a series of brief treatises on social and civic virtues and following the failure of the Aragonese political project in Naples, Pontano, by now an old man, dedicated himself entirely to the composition of three works in which we seem to see the reflection of the changed times and the crisis of a civilisation: *De prudentia* (1501), *De sermone* (1502), and *De fortuna* (1503). For almost four decades Pontano dominated Neapolitan intellectual circles, shaping the fundamental development of Latin poetry (Elisio Calenzio and Gabriele Altilio), philosophical writing (Francesco Patrizi and Tristano Caracciolo), and historiography (Pietro Ranzano and Giovanni Albino).[21]

The new development during Ferrante's reign was the increasing importance of the vernacular as a means of communication and cultural expression. This increasing salience was characterized by widespread experimentation and the fluidity of genres. The age of Alfonso had been dominated by Latin humanism, even though Catalan and Castilian played a limited role, with the circulation of literary texts such as those by Juan de Mena (1411–1456) and the presence of poets like Carvajal. Under Ferrante, on the other hand, the vernacular was used both in the chancellery as well as for literary and poetic production. It was a dignified version of common speech or *koiné*, a mixture of Neapolitan dialect and the other dialects in the Kingdom, devised as a way of facilitating

20 Pontano (eds. Germano, Iacono, and Senatore) 2020.

21 Parenti 1983; Monti Sabia 1995; Monti and Monti Sabia 2010.

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communication with the court and the State administration.[22] The influence of Tuscan literary models was also evident in the steady interest in manuscripts and printed editions of the work of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and it was encouraged by the close political links between the Aragonese dynasty and Florence as well as the large number of Florentine merchants in the city. Vernacular translations also reappeared, such as the Petrarchan *Itinerarium* (with a long section praising the beauties of Naples and Campania, which in some manuscripts is inserted alongside the *Cronaca di Partenope* or the *Bagni di Pozzuoli*), the *De regimine principum* by Egidio Colonna (translated by Pietro Iacopo De Iennaro for Alfonso duke of Calabria), and the *Storia naturale* by Pliny the Elder (partially translated, in a 'hybrid' vernacular, by Brancato as a result of his proposal to revise Cristoforo Landino's translation, which had been commissioned by Ferrante, printed in 1476, and heavily criticised by Brancati).

The *Memoriali* of Diomede Carafa (1406–1487) were written in the vernacular and emerged from within the ambience of the court. Carafa was a loyal servant of the Aragonese dynasty and from 1467 onwards wrote a series of texts on political action and court life, addressed directly to the Aragonese royal house (Alfonso, Federico, Francesco, Giovanni, Beatrice, and Eleonora, to the last of whom Carafa dedicated in particular the *Memoriale dei doveri del principe*).[23] These works circulated widely beyond their originally intended readership, both in Italy and across Europe, including in Latin translation and in print. For example, Carafa's reflections on the figure of the courtier (which anticipates Castiglione's treatment) in the *Trattato dello optimo cortesano*, addressed to his son Giovanni Tommaso (1479) became a significant text.

Also linked to the ambience of the court was the lively chronicle written by Loise De Rosa (1385–1475), a majordomo in both the Angevin and Aragonese courts; as such he inherited a long collective memory. The manuscript of the chronicle (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [hereafter BnF] Paris it. 913) is dedicated to Ippolita Sforza, the wife of Alfonso duke of Calabria from 1465, who knew both Latin and Greek (her tutor had been Costantino Lascaris who had been briefly responsible for introducing the teaching of Greek in the *studium*). Ippolita was an important figure also in encouraging the development of vernacular literature.[24]

Ippolita was indeed the dedicatee of the *Novellino* by Tommaso Guardati known as Masuccio Salernitano (1410–1475), the first such 'novella' of its kind in

22 See Montuori in this volume.

23 On Carafa's *Memoriali* see Cappelli in this volume.

24 Robin and Westwater 2017.

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Naples.[25] Although inspired by Boccaccio, Guardati's work also has its original elements, such as the absence of a framework, which is replaced by a series of dedications to princes and other contemporaries (including Pontano) and an authorial commentary which highlights the moralistic nature of the tales, which are presented as true, exemplary episodes, strongly marked by an anti-religious and misogynistic intent. Del Tuppo, who as we have seen was one of the first group of printers in the city, was the first to publish Masuccio's book in Naples in 1476. Del Tuppo was an official and humanist scholar as well as being the court's official printer; he published important editions of Dante's *Commedia* (1478) and Boccaccio's *Elegia di madonna Fiammetta* (1480) and was the author of a richly illustrated vernacular translation of Aesop's fables (1485). Ippolita was also the dedicatee of the most important manuscript copy of the first version of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (Vaticano Barberiniano lat. 3694, ca. 1486).

The influence of other models of Tuscan prose can be seen in Angelo Caracciolo's version in Neapolitan vernacular of Leon Battista Alberti's *Deifira*, with the title *Dialogo di Palimacro et de Piliarcho* (published between 1473 and 1475), and in Ceccarella Minutolo's letters on the subject of love, based on Ovid but with references to Petrarch and Boccaccio. Chronicles continued to be written, such as the so-called *Diurnali del Duca di Monteleone*, on the period of Alfonso's conquest of the Kingdom (1420–1457), the *Summa dei re di Napoli e Sicilia e dei re d'Aragona* by the Valencian Lupo De Specchio, which is written in a curious hybrid of Catalan and Neapolitan (1468–1470), the *Ephemeridi de le cose fatte per el duca di Calabria* by Joampiero Leostello da Volterra, secretary to the duke Alfonso (1491), and the chronicle of Ferraiolo, which survives in an illustrated manuscript (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 801) and tells a complex story made up of text and images, with especially dramatic sections on the final years of the century and the period of Charles VIII's invasion of the Kingdom (1495).

A significant episode in the development of lyric poetry in the vernacular was the meeting between Federico of Aragon and Lorenzo the Magnificent in Pisa in September 1476 which, on Federico's suggestion, led to the compilation of a large anthology of Italian lyric poetry (from the origins, the Sicilian and Tuscan poets up to Lorenzo's own verse compositions) in a sumptuous presentation manuscript sent to Naples in 1477. The so-called *Raccolta aragonese* opens with a preface, probably written by Politian, on the nobility and worth of the Tuscan literary tradition. In actual fact the *Raccolta* was created in a cultural

25 For English translations of parts from Masuccio see Mc Gregor and Nichols 2019, 149–164.

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ambience which had for several years been imitating Tuscan and courtly models of writing, in particular Petrarch and Giusto de' Conti, as various works show: the contemporary manuscript miscellanies BnF, Paris it. 1035, from 1468, which belonged to Giovanni Cantelmo, count of Popoli, and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 10656, and the early canzonieri of Giovanni Aloisio, the *Naufragio* (ca. 1470), and of Pietro Iacopo De Iennaro, who also wrote other vernacular works in both prose and verse, including a Dantesque poem entitled *Le sei etate della vita umana*, and the *Pastorale*, a bucolic prosimetrum.

These were 'gentlemen poets', with links of varying closeness to the court and characterised by their belonging either to the provincial or urban nobility or to the rank of government administrators. Their poetry oscillated between a courtly experimentalism and Petrarchism and between high and popular culture, from which they borrowed linguistic features in order to parody them, in the metrical forms of the *strambotto* or a type of *frottola* in dialect, known as *gliommeri* or 'elbow', in which the hendecasyllable lines had the rhyme in the middle. These texts circulated widely: examples include Francesco Galeota's *Colibeto* and the *Compendio de sonecti et altre rime* of Giuliano Perleoni known as Rustico Romano (printed 1492), both of whom were connected to Federico, the poems written by Giovanni Antonio Petrucci (the son of Antonello) during his time in prison before his tragic death (1486), and Giovan Francesco Caracciolo's work *Amori*. The cultural ambience of Naples was an important factor in the development of the leading courtly poet and improviser at the end of the 15th century, Serafino Ciminelli or Aquilano, who stayed in the city on various occasions between 1480 and 1494.[26] Finally there is the Catalan Benet Gareth known as the Cariteo (1450–1514) who in his work entitled *Endimione* (1506) created a new style of Petrarchan imitation, less experimental and more selective, based on images and metaphors, which seems to open the way for the poetry which would be written in the following decades.[27]

The most important poet in Aragonese Naples after Pontano also emerged in this context, Iacopo Sannazaro (1457–1530), the only writer whose achievements, recognized throughout Italy and Europe, encompassed both humanistic Latin (with the collections *Elegiae*, *Epigrammata*, *Eclogae piscatoriae*, and the religious poem *De partu Virginis*) and a substantial production of vernacular verse (*Sonetti e canzoni*).

26 Santagata 1979.

27 Parenti 1993.

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His most celebrated work was the *Arcadia*, of which a first version was written between 1482 and 1486 and a second version published in 1504; it would go on to revolutionize the bucolic genre and the literary pastoral imagination and became one of the most read, published, imitated and translated of Italian works.[28] Sannazaro also became involved in the most interesting theatrical experiment in Aragonese Naples, the performance of the so-called *Farse*, a series of hybrid spectacles linked to the court in the 1480s and 1490s, which contained a notable vernacular element, including in dialect (even entire comic monologues almost wholly in dialect which took the name from the metre they were written in, 'Gliommeri'). Other contemporary contributing writers to this genre included Pietro Iacopo De Iennaro, Pietro Antonio Caracciolo, and Giosuè Capasso.[29]

Everything which has been mentioned so far would seem to relate only to the intellectual life of the capital city. In reality, over the whole of the Aragonese period, the relationship between the capital and other centres, or rather between the principal centre and other centres, appears to have been a constitutive element in the emergence and mobility of a class of intellectuals within the Kingdom. Several towns and cities in southern Italy became significant cultural centres which sprang up round the courts of prominent feudal families (Orsini Del Balzo, Sanseverino, Acquaviva; see Plate 3) or round civic institutions such as schools and academies.

The ancient Greek heritage in Salento and Calabria was explored both by local humanists (Antonio Galateo) and Byzantine scholars such as Giano Lascaris (1445–1535) during his journey to the countries in the East promoted by Lorenzo the Magnificent in search of Greek manuscripts. The areas along the Kingdom's Adriatic coast had links with the Levant, Byzantium and the eastern Mediterranean, Dalmatia, Ragusa, and Albania yet it was also seen in the contemporary imagination, through the widespread production of historical and literary texts, as the region where such tragic episodes occurred as the plundering and war of Otranto (1480–1481).

In Taranto the court of Raimondo Orsini Del Balzo had a profound influence on literary and visual culture in Puglia and Basilicata. In Venosa, at the court of Pirro Del Balzo, an extremely youthful Sannazaro organized in 1477 a Neapolitan 'farsa' for the wedding of Pirro's son, Federico, to Costanza d'Avalos. After Pirro fell into disgrace following the repression of the second baronial rebellion in 1487 poets continued to work at the Del Balzo court, such as Rogieri de

28 Dionisotti 1963; Vecce 1998; Vecce 1998; Sabbatino 2009; Sannazaro (ed. Vecce) 2013.
29 Addesso 2011.

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Pacienza di Nardò, the author of a short poem in *ottava rima* called *Balzino*, an account of the journey of Isabella Del Balzo (Pirro's daughter who had married Federico of Aragon and become queen) from Salento to Naples in 1497.[30]

Also from the Kingdom's provinces and along its borders came the voices of two 'living saints', St. Giacomo della Marca (1393–1476) and St. Francis of Paola (1416–1507), as well as those of preachers which adopted, in line with the precedent set by St. Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444), explicitly theatrical forms of presentation: at the beginning of the 15th century, Giovanni da Capestrano, vicar-general of the Observant Franciscans, and then in later figures such as Fra Antonio da Bitonto (one of Valla's opponents and also a vicar-general of the order), the Franciscan Roberto Caracciolo from Lecce (who served at the court of Ferrante from 1466 to 1473), and Fra Jacopo Mazza from Reggio Calabria in the early 16th century.

Among educational institutions in southern Italy Cosenza played a leading role; Giovanni Crasso from Serra Pedace and Tideo Acciarini from Sant'Elpidio both taught in the town. Both men had Giovanni Paolo Parisi as a pupil: Parisi, using his humanistic name Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470–1522), would go on to become one of the leading philologists of the early 16th century.[31] After long periods spent teaching in Naples, Lecce, Milan, the Veneto, and Rome, Parrasio returned to Cosenza to establish the Accademia Cosentina in 1511, a centre for studies which was later continued by Antonio and Bernardino Telesio (1509–1588), and Sertorio Quattromani (1541–1603).[32]

However, the most illustrious exponent of so-called 'provincial culture' in the Aragonese period was without doubt Antonio de Ferraris known as the Galateo, a native of Galatina (1448–1517).[33] Galateo studied medicine and natural philosophy in Ferrara, with Ermolao Barbaro, but also drew on the Greek tradition of his native region, present in the Basilian Abbey of San Nicola di Casole near Otranto. Galateo was the royal physician and a member of the household of Alfonso duke of Calabria, was welcomed into the academy by Pontano and Sannazaro, and spent his career moving between Naples and Salento, where in the early 16th century there were the courts of Isabella of Aragon in Bari, of Belisario Acquaviva in Nardò, and of Giovanni Castriota in Galatina. His writings include medical, philosophical, and chorographic treatises (in the latter category, the *De situ Japygiae*) but above all correspondence with contemporary

30 For the *Balzino* see De Caprio in this volume. For Pirro Del Balzo see de Divitiis in this volume.

31 See Abbamonte, Iacono, and Miletti in this volume.

32 Tristano 1988.

33 See Cappelli and Miletti in this volume.

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intellectuals based elsewhere. In the vernacular he also wrote an *Esposizione del Pater Noster*. A large part of Galateo's work was composed (or substantially revised) after the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Aragonese dream had collapsed, and taken as a whole it constitutes the most important record we have of how Galateo's contemporaries viewed the crisis. A representative example of this production is the short work *De educatione*: in appearance it is a pedagogic epistle addressed to Ferdinand of Aragon the son of Federico (exiled in Spain) but in reality it is a passionate defence of Italian humanism at a time when the Kingdom was being torn apart by war and the French and Spanish occupation (1505).[34]

The Spanish Period

1503 marked the beginning of a long period of Spanish domination. Naples was no longer the residence of the sovereign, but it continued to be the capital of the southern Italian viceroyalty, part of the Spanish imperial system. In the sixteenth century the long wave of the Renaissance continued, drawing new force from the impetuous growth of the city, but the road forward proved difficult. There were violent conflicts between the viceroyal government under Pedro di Toledo and both the ruling classes and the city's intellectuals. At other times, the viceroys encouraged and financed the city's development, promoting the activity of the academies and the arts and re-establishing the university. The vast intellectual legacy of the late Renaissance and of Classicism influenced literature and philosophy to the time of thinkers such as Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) and Tommaso Campanella (1568–1539) and, with Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) and Giambattista Marino (1569–1625), shaped the development of artistic language in the direction of Mannerism and the Baroque but it also led to an acute crisis in the way humanism had envisaged communication between intellectuals and power, culminating in the deep denunciation contained in Torquato Accetto's work *Della dissumulazione onesta*.[35]

The viceroyal court was no longer a centre and a focus as the Aragonese court had been and the city's intellectuals were obliged to gather round the academies or under the patronage of various aristocratic courts such as that of the d'Avalos family on Ischia and in Naples (with the outstanding figures

34 Griggio 1986; Galateo (ed. Vecce) 1993; Dall'Oco and Reggio 2019.

35 On the Spanish period see Cortese 1965; Badaloni 1972; Petrocchi, 1972; Vecce 2002; Vecce 2018.

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of Costanza d'Avalos and Vittoria Colonna), the Sanseverino in Salerno, the Acquaviva in Abruzzo and in Puglia, or simply move elsewhere in Italy.[36]

The continuity of Latin humanism was ensured by the presence of one of Pontano's former pupils, Pietro Summonte (who edited Pontano's work and also Sannazaro's *Arcadia*) and above all Sannazaro after his return in 1505 from France where he had followed the king Federico into exile. Sannazaro became the moral leader of the academy until his death in 1530. A series of editions based in Pontano's original manuscripts sought to ensure the continuity of his intellectual legacy while philological studies also revived, with Sannazaro's discovery of unknown classical texts in France and with Francesco Pucci, a former pupil of Politian, and the teacher of the future cardinal Girolamo Seripando and his brother Antonio. Subsequently Antonio would inherit Parrasio's extraordinary library and bring it to the Augustinian convent of San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples.[37] In the *studium* teachers included Summonte, Giovan Battista Musefilo (a former member of the d'Avalos court), Pomponio Gaurico (1482–1530), the author of Latin elegies, the *De sculptura* and a commentary on Ovid's *Ars poetica*, and Giovanni Tommaso Filocalo from Troia. Elementary grammar schools also flourished, such as the one run by Lucio Giovanni Scoppa.[38]

The interests of the academy were both humanistic and scientific and its members included Ambrogio Leone in the field of medicine (Leone corresponded with Erasmus and wrote an important historical and antiquarian book on his native town *De Nola*), Agostino Nifo (1473–1545) from Sessa in philosophy, Luca Gaurico (1476–1558) in astrology, Alessandro D'Alessandro in jurisprudential studies, and Simone Porzio (1496–1554) in medicine and physics. Almost all of them were obliged to spend periods of varying length away from Naples in order to advance their studies (Leone in Venice, Nifo in Padua, Rome and Pisa, Gaurico in Padua and Rome, D'Alessandro in Rome, Porzio in Pisa). On the other hand, in about 1530 Naples attracted the German humanist Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter, one of the first men to expound the Copernican system.

Poetry in Latin remained a lively tradition following in the footsteps of Pontano and Sannazaro, with Girolamo Carbone, Pietro Gravina, Giovanni Cotta, Girolamo Borgia, Girolamo Angeriano, Decio Apranio, Giano and Cosimo Anisio, Coriolano Martirano. Scipione Capece sought a poetic afflatus beyond the

36 De Lisio 1976; Toscano 1999.
37 Vecce 2002.
38 Vecce 2006.

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genres of elegy and epigram by writing poems on scientific and cosmological themes (the *De principiis rerum*, a critical discussion of Lucretius' Epicurean physics) and religion (the *De vate maximo*, on St John the Baptist). Capece, a renowned jurist and a member of the viceroyal council, had also succeeded to the leadership of the Pontaniana, a role he held until Pedro di Toledo had him removed from governmental office which in turn also led to what was in effect the dissolution of the academy in 1543.

The question of what the relationship was between Neapolitan and southern Italian literature and 'Italian' literature was a source of debate in the 16th century. The way for the reception of Bembo's teachings in Naples and southern Italy[39] could be said to have been prepared by the late 15th-century generation of writers who had sought to write according to the models (Sannazaro and Carteo) and to follow Pontano's humanistic tradition, which was based on the rhetoric of George of Trebizond and on the principles of a Ciceronianism not seen as an absolute model but as a school of style to be freely followed.

Poetry in the vernacular in the early 16th century remained a courtly phenomenon, with Girolamo Britonio (b. 1491) from Sicignano at the d'Avalos court in Naples and Ischia, and Colantonio Carmignano (d. ca. 1544) known as Partenopeo Suavio at the court of Isabella of Aragon in Bari. Following the publication of Bembo's *Prose* in 1525 and the poetry of Bembo and of Sannazaro in 1530, however, there was a general conversion to Petrarchism.[40]

The young Vittoria Colonna (1492–1547), who had arrived on Ischia as the wife of Francesco Ferrante d'Avalos, had started her poetic career by writing an Ovidian *Epistola* in tercets addressed to her husband, who had taken part in the battle of Ravenna in 1512.[41] After Francesco's death in 1525, her poetry gradually took on an exalted tone of religious intensity, mirroring the moral and religious questionings inspired by the figure of Juan de Valdés in Naples and her own profound relationship with Michelangelo.[42] The intellectual circle which gathered round Vittoria in Ischia and Naples was one of the liveliest in this period, attracting intellectuals such as Paolo Giovio (who acted as an intermediary between Colonna and Bembo), Teofilo Folengo, and Bernardo Tasso (1492–1569).[43]

The writing of poetry was accompanied by intense reflections on language, grammar and rhetoric, with the production of grammars (Marcantonio Carlino

39 Sabbatino 1986.
40 Raimondi 1973.
41 Mc Gregor and Nicols 2019, 186–189.
42 See Palmieri in this volume.
43 Vecce 1993; Vecce 1990.

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known as the Ateneo, Gaetano Tizzone, Paolo Del Rosso, Andrea Guarna), dictionaries (Benedetto Di Falco's *Rimario* and Fabricio Luna's *Vocabolario*), Petrarchan commentaries (Silvano da Venafro, Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo), and treatises on poetry (Giovanni Bernardino Fuscano's *Della oratoria e poetica facoltà* and the two works *De poeta* and *Arte poetica toscana* by Antonio Sebastiani known as the Minturno).

Petrarchism in southern Italy, represented by the new generation of Berardino Rota (1509–1574), Angelo Di Costanzo (1507–1591), Luigi Tansillo (1510–1568), Fabio Galeota, Ferrante Carafa (1509–1587), only fully developed after the 1550s with the Venetian publication in 1552 of Lodovico Dolce's Giolito edition of *Rime di diversi illustri signori napoletani e d'altri nobilissimi intelletti*. The poets who figured most conspicuously in the anthology were Alfonso d'Avalos, Di Costanzo, Rota, Minturno, Tansillo, and Carafa. Dolce also included unpublished juvenilia by Vittoria Colonna as well as nine poems by the unfortunate poet Isabella di Morra, the authentic literary 'coup' of the volume (Isabella was a young poet from Basilicata, the daughter of the lord of Favale, who had been killed by her brothers on account of an exchange of love letters between her and the Spanish nobleman Diego Sandoval de Castro). The inclusion in the same anthology of 'humanist' Petrarchans (Epicuro, Rota, Minturno) and 'new' Petrarchans (Carafa) offered a non-southern Italian readership an unorthodox and stylistically varied production, with distinctive characteristics of classical regularity, experimentation with new stylistic devices, and a ludic and communicative approach to writing.[44] The 1552 edition did not include any texts by the Calabrian baron Galeazzo di Tarsia, an indication of his isolation, both as a person and as a writer, which is mirrored in his development of an idiosyncratic and artificial Petrarchan style.

In the first half of the 16th century vernacular chronicles (Giacomo Gallo, Silvestro Guarino, Giuliano Passaro, Notar Giacomo) sought to interpret from a 'popular' perspective a political and civic reality which was in fact increasingly more difficult to understand. After the uprising of 1547, Benedetto De Falco composed a proud defence of Naples, *Descrittione de i luoghi antichi di Napoli e del suo amenissimo distretto* (1549), which was probably sent to the emperor as a token of the city's political loyalty.

The great tradition of humanist historiography had come to an end with the lifelong and unsuccessful attempt of Girolamo Borgia (1475–1550), a pupil of Pontano, to write the work *Historiae de bellis italicis*, destined to remain unfinished and unpublished. It was only at the end of di Toledo's period as

44 Quondam 1972; Quondam 1975; Ferroni and Quondam 1973.

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viceroy that Angelo Di Costanzo (1507–1591), responding to the proposal the elderly Sannazaro had addressed to him many years earlier, finished his *Istoria del regno di Napoli* (1572–1581) and Camillo Porzio (1525–1580), the son of the scientist Simone Porzio, wrote his celebrated book on the *Congiura dei Baroni* (1565), which he interpreted as the first in a series of events which had led to the collapse of the Aragonese dynasty and to the crisis of the programme of political and cultural modernity which Aragonese Naples had embodied.

Certain literary genres which were flourishing in other parts of Italy appear to be almost completely absent in southern Italy in the 16th century, such as narrative forms including tales (there is a single exception, Girolamo Morlini, the author of the Latin work *Novellae* in 1520) and popular literature in general. From the point of view of publishers southern Italy represented a market rather than a centre of production. The role of the writer who was independent of any subordinate relation to those in power, free to earn his own living by means of his own work and by negotiating with publishers failed to emerge. The academy remained the space where writers could gather. After the decline of the 'Pontaniana' in the 1540s following Capece's disgrace, three 'sister' academies succeeded it in 1546, the Sereni, the Incogniti, and the Ardenti (which was shut down immediately by Toledo in 1547) and subsequently the intellectual activity of the academies continued with the Lauro, the Segreti, and the Svegliati.

As for theatre in the early 16th century, there was still an echo of the elaborate spectacles of the Aragonese court and the farces organised by Sannazaro, in the striking cultural and linguistic combinations found in polyglot plays such as Anton Francesco Rainieri's *Altilia* or Bartolomeo de Torres Naharo's *Propalladia* (1517), a depiction of refined aristocratic society also found in *Questiòn de amor* (1513) and in Giuliano Passaro's *Giornali*.[45] Some of the most successful plays in contemporary Venetian theatre originated in Naples such as the tragicomedy *Cecaria* and the pastoral fable *Mirzia* by Marcantonio Epicuro (1472–1555), a humanist from Abruzzo. These were experimental texts which sought, using the vernacular, to cross different genres, from Petrarchan lyric poetry to the humanistic moral tradition. This was the context in which the invention of pastoral drama emerged, the natural development of an element which had always been part of classical bucolic poetry (in Theocritus and Virgil) and which had then resurfaced in the 15th-century tradition of dramatized eclogues in the form of dialogues.

45 Croce 1922; Croce 1966.

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But it was not until the 1540s that theatre in the true sense of the word emerged, when the prince Ferrante Sanseverino (1507–1568), influenced by the activities of the Sienese academy of the Intronati, organised a series of theatrical performances in the state room of his Neapolitan palace. While these occasions took place only infrequently between 1540 and 1547, they were enormously successful with the public. The figures on stage were a mixture of semi-professional actors such as the Sienese players nicknamed Calandro and Beco, musicians such as Scipione Del Palla, literary dilettantes, and noblemen such as Luigi Dentice and Brancaccio. Among the plays they performed was a successful revival of the *Ingannati*, Mariconda's *Philenia*, and Di Costanzo's Plautus-inspired *Marcelli*. Two of Rota's lost pieces may also have been put on, the *Scilinguato* and the *Strabalzi*. It was a brief flowering which came to a sudden end with the events of 1547 (which led to Sanseverino having to escape from the city) but the desire for theatrical performance among Neapolitans remained unextinguished.

Sanseverino's patronage of the events had a strong symbolic value. The performances were open to the public: "On the day that the plays were performed, he would stand at the door in order to welcome in the inhabitants of the city so they could watch and listen to the performances in comfort."[46] Over the following decades theatres and permanent companies of actors were established in Naples (for example, the Commedia dell'Arte company founded in 1575) and great authors like Giambattista Della Porta (1535–1615) produced works for the stage. A marked element of 'spectacularization' also entered into public and religious life—religious processions and ceremonies, public tortures and executions, trials, the Inquisition's early burnings at the stake (Aloisi and Gargano in 1564), as well as cruel public lynchings such as that which befell the Eletto Storace in 1585: all these seem to foreshadow the dramatic events of Masaniello's revolt in the 17th century, which were also narrated as spectacle in the news sheets of the time. Giordano Bruno, who had fled from Naples and then Italy, chose to write a play, *Il Candelaio* (1582), in which to communicate his first great denunciation of society and its religious and political institutions, a terrifying eruption of a work—also in its language and style—which he set against the dark and emblematic background of Naples as a vast "theatre of the world".[47]

46 Summonte 1675 IV, 235.

47 Pestilli, Rowland, and Schütze 2008.

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CHAPTER 19

Philosophy in the Kingdom of Naples: The Long Renaissance from Giovanni Pontano to Giambattista Vico

Guido Giglioni

Introduction: The Philosophy of the Kingdom

A chapter dedicated to the history of early modern philosophical traditions in the Kingdom of Naples immediately evokes the names of illustrious representatives of European thought during the early modern period. I am thinking here of such philosophers as Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503), Bernardino Telesio (1509–1588), Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639) and Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), whose lasting impact on the international landscape of philosophical inquiry is testament to their enduring value. In particular, we are accustomed, beyond the physical and ideal boundaries of the Kingdom, to regard Telesio, Bruno, and Campanella as the philosophical leading lights of the Italian Renaissance. In fact, this view is a later acquisition in philosophical historiography. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the impact of Telesio's, Bruno's, and Campanella's thought was discussed abroad more than in Italy. Through Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Tobias Adami (1481–1643), Telesio's ideas circulated in England and Germany and became part of a distinctive natural philosophical vulgate.[1] In Italy we can trace a specific Telesian line of philosophical investigations when we concentrate on the works of Marco Aurelio Severino, Tommaso Cornelio, and Leonardo Di Capua, but we owe the rediscovery of *De natura iuxta propria principia* (1565, 1570, 1586) as a classic of philosophical literature to the 19th-century historian Francesco Fiorentino and his monograph *Bernardino Telesio*.[2] Regarding Bruno, he lived as an expatriate in Europe for the greatest part of his life and his philosophical and historiographic fortunes revived only later between the 18th and the 19th centuries, in large part in Germany through the likes of Johann Jakob Brucker (1696–1770), Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819) and Friedrich

1 Giglioni 2020.

2 Fiorentino 1872–1874.

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Schelling (1775–1854).[3] The philosophical fame of Campanella, finally, travelled in England, where it was perceived as a contaminated product of Counter-Reformation propaganda and political Machiavellianism, while in France his renown depended on a composite philosophical pastiche that those French thinkers we have become accustomed to call erudite libertines made out of the Italian traditions of heterodox thinking. By contrast, Campanella's theory of universal sentience spread in a more sporadic way through less well-trodden paths.[4]

And so it happened that, while the ghosts of Telesio, Bruno, and Campanella were—in different fashions and at different times—haunting the European Republic of Letters, the early modern philosophy of the Kingdom of Naples was in fact being shaped by the autochthonous tradition of juridical thinking, by the influence of such intellectual trends as the philosophical movements initiated by Galileo, Descartes, Gassendi, and Newton and by different strands of physical, chemical, and medical corpuscularianism. If the philosophical Quattrocento and Cinquecento of the Kingdom have a place within the major intellectual developments of the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe, it is because of the persistence and continuity of the humanist traditions of natural history, chorography, meteorology, political and historical inquiries, ethnography, and rhetoric. Telesio himself had important links with the rich milieu of Southern humanism through his uncle Antonio Telesio (ca. 1482–1534) and, more generally, through the scholarly expertise of the *literati* who gathered around the Accademia Cosentina, founded between 1511 and 1512 by Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470–1521).[5]

In this chapter, I will certainly mention any contribution by Pontano, Telesio, Bruno, Campanella, and Vico every time this is demanded by the circumstances of my account, but my focus will be on the discussion of ideas, sites of knowledge, and those connective figures—the philosophical networkers, as I would call them—whose action prompted exchange of knowledge and movements of people. My decision is based on three principal reasons. The first is that secondary literature on Pontano, Telesio, Bruno, Campanella, and Vico is vast and a valuable treatment of their works and legacy, however succinct, would take up too large a part of this chapter. The second reason is that in my contribution I prefer to trace some of the principal tendencies and developments

3 Canone 1992.

4 Ernst 2010; Giglioni 2015.

5 Sergio 2007; Fanelli 2010. For the Accademia Cosentina and Parrasio see Abbamonte, Iacono, Miletti, and Vecce in this volume.

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within the philosophical culture of the Kingdom of Naples using works and authors as signposts of intellectual dissemination rather than opportunities to dwell on personalities and individual accomplishments. The third reason, finally, has to do with the very nature of the Kingdom of Naples understood as a uniquely composite body politic resulting from the slow accretion of centuries of debate concerning legislation and policymaking. Philosophers were especially interested in delineating the essence and limits of *imperium* understood as a living institution in constant negotiation between the representatives of divine, secular, and local powers.[6]

The first aspect to keep in mind when outlining the defining characteristics of the philosophical knowledge produced in the Kingdom of Naples is therefore the political and institutional changes that the state underwent over the centuries, from the Renaissance (the 15th century) to the Enlightenment (the 18th century). As will become apparent in the course of this chapter, philosophical reflections were inescapably intertwined with the evolution of the administrative framework, policy-making strategies and the definition of the state's jurisdiction vis-à-vis the life and organization of the Church. After the War of the Sicilian Vespers (1282–1302), the southern part of the Italian peninsula without Sicily became the Kingdom of Naples, ruled for more than one hundred and fifty years by the French house of the Angevins. The period of the Aragonese dynasty began in 1442, when King Alfonso V conquered the Kingdom of Naples. After a complicated series of territorial disputes between Spain and France during the Italian Wars (1494–1559), the state remained under Spanish control as a viceroyalty within the administrative system of the Spanish empire. With the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the Kingdom passed under the rule of the Austrian Habsburgs until 1735, when King Philip V of Spain, of the French House of Bourbon, became King of Naples and Sicily. Finally, after a series of twists and turns due to the events of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, King Ferdinand IV, son of Philip V, ruled the Kingdom until its demise in 1816.[7]

This brief summary of the principal political and dynastic events of the Kingdom is necessary to gauge the distinctive and remarkable features of the philosophical reflection developed by the learned elites of the Kingdom. As we will see in the rest of this chapter, the thinking activity of a long line of intellectuals immersed in the institutional and civic life of the Kingdom was always—directly or indirectly—connected to the structural characteristics of

6 Croce 2005 [1924]; Galasso 1977; Galasso 1989.

7 Galasso 1977; Galasso 1997; Galasso 2006–2007, II–IV.

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its governance and was a response to major political events, including the relationship between the centre and the periphery of the Kingdom (Naples and the other principal cities) and between its interior and exterior (the rest of the Italian peninsula and the wider European context). By and large, the focus of the philosophical production in the Kingdom lay therefore at the intersection of precise social forces deriving from four major political and institutional realities: the city of Naples, the Catholic Church, the most powerful aristocratic families and the monarchy (in its various dynastic enactments corresponding to the houses of Anjou, Aragon, Habsburg and Bourbon). This means that a large amount of philosophical knowledge was inevitably marked by the constant tensions inside the system: privileges and local liberties, enhanced by the persistence of the feudal past; the autonomous character of the royal jurisdiction; and the authority of the old canons of the Church of Rome in the Kingdom of Naples. The time-honoured weight of the juridical tradition of the Kingdom, its *scientia iuris*, depended on this rich cultural legacy and it necessarily affected the development of philosophical thinking.[8] It also explains why in this chapter it is necessary to speak of a Long Renaissance, joining the Quattrocento to the Settecento. As I am going to argue in the rest of my contribution, the philosophical tradition of the Kingdom is marked by un uncanny level of continuity and consistency.

As a result, it wouldn't be too much of a sweeping generalization to say that the growth of philosophical knowledge in the Kingdom of Naples betrays a particular penchant for scholarly, forensic, and civic concerns. From Pontano to Vico—the two authors I have chosen as my flexible chronological markers in this chapter—the expressions of metaphysical thinking, even at their most speculative level, always reveal a close connection between abstract reflection and the material and concrete conditions of its production, in this case a secular interplay of jurisdictional claims and statutes. For instance, the reception of Telesianism in the Kingdom of Naples immediately took on all sorts of social, religious and political nuances. Campanella was certainly not the only author who understood the revolutionary potential of combining Telesio's naturalism with instances of social and political renewal.[9] What is more, the expansion of public happiness was always associated with an effort to secularize the sphere of thought and political action. In addressing the question of how to handle the interplay of pleasure, usefulness and virtue in the most convenient and rational way, the mathematician and philosopher Paolo Mat-

8 Ajello 1968; Cochrane 1986.

9 Galasso 2012; Brancaccio 2019.

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tia Doria (1667–1746) significantly presented the study of metaphysics "as the most useful science for human beings and the State."[10] It was through metaphysics, he argued, that one could arrive at those "laws, orders and customs with which peoples are to be led to their virtue and happiness."[11] According to Doria there was a direct link between metaphysics (the laws of being) and the orderly life of a state based on morals, politics, and religion ("l'idea della civile società").[12]

Finally, one of the most characteristic aspects of the philosophical experience cumulated in the cultural history of the Kingdom is closely related to its social fabric. A sharp division separated the popular classes, the aristocracy and the so-called *ceto civile*, that is, men of letters, professors, lawyers, and judges who were actively involved in the social and political life of the Kingdom. In these circumstances, culture was perceived and used by the *ceto civile* as a powerful means of self-fashioning and self-promotion.[13] Within this context, the dimensions of practical judgment (*prudentia*) and deliberation (*consilium*) were major areas of interest for the Kingdom's philosophers. The philosophical civil servant was constantly at work providing advice, weighing options, negotiating agreements and planning strategies of decision-making at many levels, in princely courts, universities, boards, tribunals and courts of justice. This emphasis on norms and customs helped to promote the intellectual figure of what I would call the philosophical antiquarian. Moreover, as religion was perceived as a central institution and a pervasive practice in the Kingdom, the philosophical cleric, that is, the religious leader with a profound awareness of the theological, social and political implications of his faith, was, not surprisingly, another element to reckon with. Finally, two more philosophical figures need to be mentioned to complete the picture—the philosophical experimentalist and the philosophical networker—for, as we will see in the course of this chapter, philosophy was practiced in the Kingdom also by means of scientific investigations whose results were weighed and discussed through an elaborate system of cultural venues—more or less organized, institutionalized and public—where intellectual collaboration and sociability could be expressed at large.

10 Doria 1732–1733, I, a1*r*.
11 Doria 1732–1733, I, a1*v*.
12 Doria 1732–1733, I, 185.
13 Mastellone 1965; Ascione 1990; Ventura 2009.

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The Philosophical Civil Servant

A significant number of philosophers in the Kingdom had to think about—when they did not have to deal first hand with—baronial revolts, delicate relationships with the Roman Curia and the handling of foreign affairs. In some cases (such as Pontano), philosophers were directly involved in these dealings; in others (such as Vico), they reflected nonetheless these particular tensions in the ways in which they pondered on matters of jurisprudential and political interest in their philosophical works. Most philosophers of the Kingdom, such as Francesco D'Andrea (1625–1698), Giuseppe Valletta (1636–1714) and Vico, shared the Stoic and Ciceronian view that reason was the foundation of the law and, in line with the teachings of Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), they assumed that an original tie based on the idea of universal justice (*ius naturae et gentium*) linked nature to human customs. The historian Giuseppe Maria Galanti (1743–1806) would later confirm this view by saying that the laws regulating a just and prosperous commonwealth represented the first principles of human nature and society. The history of the Kingdom of Naples could therefore be seen as the story of a thriving civilization whose well-being, however, resulted from the intertwining of layers and layers of different ordinances and legal traditions such as feudal law, Roman law, and canon law.[14]

Pontano had arrived in Naples as part of the entourage of Alfonso v King of Aragon and Naples, and immediately joined the circle of Antonio Beccadelli called the 'Panormita' (1394–1471).[15] As a member of the royal chancery, Pontano took part in numerous diplomatic and military missions and later was appointed secretary of Ferrante I, who had become king of Naples in 1458.[16] Among the friends and associates of Pontano, Giovanni Albino (ca. 1445–after 1495), who wrote a history of the political events in which he had taken direct part (*De gestis regum Neapolitanorum*), also acted as a key diplomat, travelling in Italy between Ferrara and Florence, Urbino and Rome, and abroad in Albania.[17] The most significant changes in the governance of the Kingdom of Naples were often associated with the enlightened activity of learned and enlightened civil servants. The political career of the professor of law Bernardo Tanucci (1698–1783), active during the reign of Charles of Bourbon (1734–1759), can be seen as a final instantiation of the philosophical civil servant: together with promulgating a new legal code and reaching a concordat with the Roman

14 Galanti 1781, II, 99–100.

15 On Pontano see also Cappelli and Iacono in this volume.

16 Kidwell 1991; Roick 2017.

17 Altamura 1941, 108–109. On Albino see also Delle Donne in this volume.

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Curia, Tanucci had a decisive role in promoting the study of the papyrus scrolls that had recently been found at Herculaneum in an ancient Roman villa.[18]

Humanist inquiries into the history of the Kingdom led to the emerging of the discipline of political geography, where the medical tradition of environmental public health merged with the study of economy and social norms. The philosophical civil servant was also interested in studying the expansion of commerce and, when possible, promoting agricultural and economic reforms. In his *Considerazioni politiche sopra i vantaggi e gli svantaggi del Regno di Napoli* ('Political Considerations about the Advantages and Disadvantages of the Kingdom of Naples', 1761), Galanti argued that the historical and geographical assessment of the region was the premise to apply "the principles of a judicious economy based on a modernized agriculture".[19] In his capacity as general inspector of the kingdom, he insisted on the need to establish new schools to improve the level of farming: "[a]gricultural economics calls for competencies, knowledge, activities and experiences".[20]

Whether a courtier, a secretary, a counsellor, a diplomat, a teacher or a professor, the philosophical civil servant was fully aware of the importance of promoting education for the cultural flourishing of the Kingdom and its economic prosperity. From a pedagogical point of view, the eighteenth-century agronomist Bartolomeo Intieri (1677–1757) underscored the necessity of linking mathematics with economy and agronomy. As the tutor of Marquis Cavaniglia's children and as the administrator of the estates of Prince Corsini and Marquis Alessandro Rinuccini, Intieri applied his ideas about science, governance and economy while managing the area between San Marco dei Cavoti and Baselice, near Benevento. To this end, he even designed and assembled machines that could improve the farming activities of the region. In the *Nuova invenzione di fabbricar mulini a vento* ('A New Way of Building Windmills'), published in 1716, he championed the study of mathematics and mechanics as a tool to be applied for the prosperity of the state, that is, *il Pubblico*.[21]

The Philosophical Antiquarian

The passion for philosophical inquiry (through the scholarly activities of counsellors and teachers) and the actual engagement in political action (through

18 Ajello 1976, 229–272; Galasso 2006–2007, IV, 259–486.

19 Galanti 1781, II, 5.

20 Galanti 1781, II, 93.

21 Intieri 1716, a1 *recto*-b4 *verso*; Ajello 1976, 397–400; Ferrara 1996.

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the training of jurisprudential expertise) naturally converged in the discipline of history. For many thinkers of the Kingdom, history meant both a method and a source of reliable knowledge based on trustworthy witnessing and experimental observation. Seen in this light, historical investigations could also be exercises in critical analysis concerning the past in the form of myths, rituals, religious beliefs, customs, and languages, archaeological and antiquarian inquiries into the origins of human culture, research programmes premised on the careful inspection of natural phenomena, geographical settings, and chronological patterns. Sometimes, the interest developed by humanists in local traditions, religious hagiography and the remnants of the feudal way of life could be used to counter the cultural hegemony of Naples. The 1480 Ottoman invasion of the city of Otranto in Puglia, for instance, led a part of the local intelligentsia to meditate upon the broader implications of an event which in itself had not been particularly relevant. In this case, the repercussions were a lingering nostalgia for chivalric ideals mixed with a characteristically humanist attention for the cultural aspects of the invading civilization.[22]

A survey of the intellectual apprenticeship of most thinkers in the Kingdom brings a recurring framework to the fore. Still in the 18th century, a philosopher's training often included a solid education in eloquence, literature and history, grounded in Greek and Latin classics, the study of law, a good grasp of scholastic logic, sometimes even Thomistic Aristotelianism, and up-to-date information concerning the latest progress in medicine and mathematics. As a result, the philosophical attitude of many thinkers depended on a good command of law, poetry, and science. The physician Gregorio Caloprese (1654–1715), for instance, assigned a pre-eminent epistemological role to rhetoric in the teaching curriculum of the private school he had set up in Scalea near Cosenza.[23]

Not a few thinkers of the region were convinced that the philosophy studied and practised in the Kingdom issued from a venerable fount of autochthonous wisdom going as far back in time so as to reach the very rudiments of Pythagorean and pre-Socratic knowledge.[24] According to a recurring motif within the philosophical tradition of the Kingdom, modern philosophy was in fact presented as the return of a most ancient kind of wisdom. The Dominican friar Campanella, for instance, had defended this thesis in his *Philosophia sensibus demonstrata* (1592). In his historical survey of philosophy (*Istoria filosofica*), the lawyer Giuseppe Valletta argued that the 'Italian philosophy' had

22 Tateo 1982, 11–15.

23 Quondam 1973.

24 Casini 1998, 145–196.

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been born in the most ancient times in the geographical area corresponding to the Kingdom of Naples.[25] The professor of rhetoric Vico had insisted on this theory in his *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia* ('On the Most Ancient Wisdom of the Italians'), published in 1710. Indeed, when grafted onto the myth of a primordial fount of sapiential knowledge, the most advanced and innovative results of philosophical reflection were seen as harmoniously linked to this most ancient beginning. In the Kingdom, the clash of the ancients and the moderns was often re-enacted as a battle between scholastic Aristotelians (who were surprisingly alive in the Kingdom still during the 18th century) and the advocates of the pristine learning of the ancients. Even among the most avant-garde philosophers of the Kingdom, the recovery of the past could be presented as intellectually revolutionary. The celebrated anatomist and experimental physicist Tommaso Cornelio (1614–1684) inaugurated his investigations on natural philosophy by discussing the ancient notion of antiperistasis.[26] To make the panorama even more complicated, philosophical modernity could be seen by some as irredeemably associated with sceptical outcomes every time the hallowed burden of history was discarded in favour of the most recent trends in science and philosophy. Doria, for instance, would later complain that 'the modern philosophical and mathematical wisdom' was continually engendering novel systems of thought which in fact responded to a general drift into relativism. In the Republic of Letters, he warned, 'a monstruous diversity of opinions is being introduced'.[27]

Against this background of battling philosophical trends, the data gathered from field research in the domains of antiquarian and ethnographic knowledge could be used to reaffirm the civilizing power of custom as the historically constructed embodiment of natural and social rationality. This approach to philosophical research is especially evident in Antonio de Ferrariis, known as 'il Galateo' (1444/48–1517). After having studied in Nardò, which at the time was the most important cultural centre in the Salento in Puglia, De Ferrariis went to Naples to continue his studies. There he met the most distinguished representatives of southern humanism, such as Pontano, Theodorus Gaza (ca. 1398–ca. 1475), Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530), Giovanni Attaldi (d. 1493), renowned for his knowledge of Aristotelian philosophy, and his brother Paolo Attaldi, philosopher, and physician.[28] In Naples, he also met Ermolao Barbaro (1454–

25 Valletta 1975: 224–231; Comparato 1970, 195–243.

26 Cornelio 1648.

27 Doria 1731–1732, I, b1 *verso*; c3 *recto*; 1–2.

28 D'Afflitto 1782–1794, I, 464. On Galateo see Cappelli, Miletti, Iacono, and Vecce in this volume.

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1493), who was in the city between 1471 and 1473. After travelling in various parts of Italy, including Ferrara and Venice, he settled in Gallipoli, near Lecce. With a few friends, he founded the Accademia Lupiense in Lecce in 1495. De Ferrariis fully embodies the figure of the humanist as archaeologist, antiquarian, and natural historian. In his *Liber de situ elementorum* (containing the cosmological divisions corresponding to the four natural elements) and *De situ Japigiae* (a geographical and historical survey from Taranto to Nardò of the region known as Iapygia, today's Puglia), he put forward an idea of nature and history seen as powers involved in a cyclical vicissitude of growth and decay.[29] Three centuries later, but along the same lines of antiquarian and archaeological inquiry, the research undertaken by Galanti into the history and geography of the region of Samnium led him to recognize the historically multi-layered and geographically oriented nature of *costume*: 'customs constitute veritable power and solid virtue. This is the reason why the greatest lawgivers have aimed at moulding customs'.[30]

Examples of philosophical antiquarianism are numerous among the thinkers of the Kingdom. Vico's is probably the most famous and influential of them. In *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia*, he took up the august tradition of philosophical etymology and announced his project to draw a system of philosophical knowledge from the study of Latin language (*ex his ipsis latinae linguae originibus*) understood as the confluence of Ionian and Etruscan wisdoms. In the *Scienza nuova* (1725, revised 1730, 1744), he presented the cultural heritage of the pre-Roman civilization, whose ideas could be recovered by focusing on an etymological investigation of Latin, as the core of a far-reaching philosophical project.[31]

The Philosophical Cleric

The religious history of the Kingdom of Naples abounds with churchmen and a variety of spiritually minded people involved in the practice of philosophical teaching and action. In this instance, too, the Kingdom offers a series of case studies. As we will see in the next section, the Church was in principle contrary to the diffusion in the Kingdom of Cartesian and atomistic Lucretian theories, which were among the most popular trends in science and philo-

29 Galateo 1558; Galateo (ed. Grande) 1867–1868; Romano 1987.

30 Galanti 1781, I, 116.

31 Badaloni 1961; Stone 1997; Rossi [1969] 1999; Marshall 2010; Battistini 2020.

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sophy. This attitude, however, was often the expression of a broader reaction on the part of the aristocratic and the ecclesiastic classes against monarchic jurisdiction as the viceroyalty tended to protect and patronize brilliant exponents of legal and scientific research. Of the many disputes that took place between the monarchy and the ecclesiastical administration concerning revenues, jurisdiction and clerical appointments, the most notable from a cultural point of view involved the Inquisition. The complex history of the resistances to the institution of Holy Inquisition tribunals in the Kingdom of Naples affected many a life in the philosophical community. To give a few examples, the atomist and anatomist Marco Aurelio Severino (1580–1656) was denounced to the Inquisition in 1640.[32] Between 1688 and 1691, four members of the already disbanded Accademia of the Investiganti—Filippo Belli, Giacinto De Cristofaro, Basilio Giannelli and Francesco Manuzzi—were taken to trial and then arrested by the Inquisition under the charge of spreading views in support of heretical doctrines (concerning, mostly, atomistic materialism and the belief in the mortality of the soul). This episode, known as the trial against atheists, marked one of the highest levels of tension in the history of the relationships between the Roman Curia and the Kingdom of Naples.[33]

Ecclesiastical censure and control were not limited to curbing the excesses of philosophical and scientific rationalism. Most energies were spent on disciplining or suppressing attempts at reformation with the Church. The Spanish religious reformer Juan de Valdés (ca. 1490–1541) was in Naples during the 1530s, where he inspired a movement of spiritual regeneration to be extended to the whole of the Catholic Church. As a result, Valdés's house became a centre of religious and biblical discussions. Among those who frequented his place in Naples were Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562), at the time abbot of the monastery at San Pietro ad Aram, Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564), a preacher and itinerant reformer who in Naples delivered two memorable sermons (in 1536 and 1539), accused by some witnesses at the time of showing Lutheran leanings, and Giulia Gonzaga (1513–1566), a pious noblewoman who at the death of Valdés became the keeper of the latter's teachings.[34] A similar need for religious regeneration, which the ecclesiastical powers perceived as a form of heterodox protest, was pursued by the jurist Scipione Capece (1480–1551). At the court of Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno (1507–1568), Capece was on close terms

32 Amabile 1892, II, 66–68; Garin 1993 [1970], 93.

33 Osbat 1974; Comparato 1970, 138–194. See Palmieri in this volume.

34 Firpo 2016.

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with Bernardo Tasso (1493–1569). With the Prince, Scipione shared the interest in a renewed search for spiritual reformation.[35]

By and large, if it is true that philosophers criticized the constant interferences by the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the field of political administration, they also recognized the social and cultural relevance of the religious phenomenon. Pontano is a good case in point. With other members of King Alfonso's court, he shared a Lucretian sentiment against the tyranny of superstitions and the formal constraints of religious rituals. In the dialogue *Charon* (1469) and the poem *Urania* (1476), he discussed many aspects affecting the popular religiosity of his time.[36] And yet his attacks were not directed at religious devotion as such, but at the instrumental uses of piety encouraged by the Church as an institution of power. Two centuries later, relying on his investigations concerning the historical, geographical and economic characteristics of the Molise province, Galanti would praise a kind of religion that, expressing 'natural good sense' not yet corrupted by the dogmatic abstractions of theological doctrines, could teach human beings how to realign the cultivation of nature with the progress of civil society. Within this scheme, the parish priest of Montagano, near Campobasso, was held by Galanti as a paragon of genuine religious truthfulness.[37]

In addition to being a matter of historical, antiquarian, and anthropological inquiry, religion was also a powerful force in society, especially after the Protestant reformers in the north of Europe had demonstrated the impact that systems of beliefs exerted on everyday life and political organizations. Girolamo Seripando (1493–1563), the Augustinian Prior General, was well aware of the influence that the 'spirituali' led by Valdés were having in the Kingdom of Naples and tried to mediate between the harshest forms of persecution launched by the Roman Inquisition and the attempts at jurisdictional control by the Emperor Charles v. During his tenure as Archbishop of Salerno, Seripando applied his theological and exegetic views to further a more effective exercise of his pastoral duties. Open to a reform from within the Catholic Church and relying on a philosophical view that reconciled Platonic philosophy with Pauline Christianity, he understood the potential of transformative change inherent in the principle of justification by faith.[38]

35 Parenti 1975; Del Grosso 2020. On Ferrante Sanseverino see also Vecce in this volume.
36 Pontano 2012–2020, I, 2–120; De Nichilo 1975.
37 Galanti 1781, II, 97–98.
38 Seripando 1567; Vitale 2016.

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The Philosophical Experimentalist

Further evidence supporting the argument that the philosophers of the Kingdom were actively engaging in the contemporary debate about the alleged superiority of the moderns over the ancients is provided by their wide-ranging responses to the latest achievements in the field of natural science coming from the rest of the Italian peninsula and from Europe. As I have already suggested, in the Kingdom the study of nature was generally considered to be as important as the study of the cultural expressions of humankind. From this point of view, the world of the senses was perceived as a flexible and porous interface to mediate between the natural and the social dimensions of human life. In the many intellectual and experimental activities that thinkers of very different origin and formation regarded as a necessary prerequisite in order to acquire scientific knowledge, the senses were especially valued. Indeed, one could study the philosophy of the Kingdom by exploring the various accounts that different authors offered of the senses and their contribution to the production and preservation of knowledge. Several humanists, from Pontano to Vico, praised the senses as those faculties of the soul that were able to reconcile the intellect with both the emotions and the will in the process of rhetorical persuasion. Telesio and his followers exalted the senses as the cognitive and transformative pathways to nature. Jurists as well as historians regarded the senses as the foundation of reliable witnessing. What is more, historians could present themselves as the privileged observers of both natural and civic phenomena, as De Ferrariis had demonstrated in his works. Finally, from an epistemological and methodological point of view, a trustful acceptance of the reliability of sense perception could lay the foundations for a variety of approaches that were presented as programmatically observational, probing, and experimental. This is particularly evident in the celebrated polymath Giambattista della Porta (1535?–1615), who extended his positive view of the senses to many disparate domains such as natural magic, meteorology, poetry and technology.[39] Within this universe of exalted sensory experience, grafted onto a conjectural and fact-finding attitude to learning, anatomy, practical medicine and chemistry were among the disciplines that the philosophers of the Kingdom followed with special interest and sometimes directly cultivated with remarkable assiduousness.

Since the beginning of the early modern period, medical, and anatomical investigations worked as a connective element between the University of Naples and a panoply of scientific societies active within and outside the city.

39 Balbiani 2001; Piccari 2007; Tarrant 2013; Refini 2017.

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Anatomical practice, in particular, demonstrated that all kinds of possible links could be established with chemistry, mechanical philosophy and extensive research programmes devoted to exploring the nature of matter.[40] In his *Zootomia Democritaea* ('Democritean Anatomy of Living Beings'), Marco Aurelio Severino, who also worked as a physician at the Ospedale degli Incurabili in Naples, proposed a universal model of nature based on anatomical practice, in which innumerable kinds of living beings (*animantia*) were deemed to have emerged from stable agglomerations of particles.[41] Among the physicians and philosophers who played a crucial role as mediators between the intellectual culture of the Kingdom and the major scientific trends in Europe, Tommaso Cornelio was certainly one of the most influential. His original contributions in the domains of philosophy, science and medicine resulted from the way in which he had melded the epistemological and metaphysical principles underlying Telesio's philosophy of the senses with Galileo's emphasis on mathematics and experiments, on the one hand, and Descartes's mechanical philosophy, on the other. Born in 1614 in Rovito, near Cosenza, Cornelio studied medicine in Rome between 1637 and 1643, then moved between Florence and Bologna. He was in close contact with the mathematician and cardinal Michelangelo Ricci (1619–1682) and the celebrated antiquary Cassiano Dal Pozzo (1588–1657). Among his European correspondents, we can mention here John Dodington (1628–1673) of the Royal Society of London.[42]

Precisely because of its eclectic suppleness, anatomical research at the University of Naples was extremely receptive of and responsive to the latest results in Italian and European medical research. Authors as different as Jan Baptista van Helmont and René Descartes could act as legitimate sources of inspiration. Sebastiano Bartoli (ca. 1629–1676), personal physician of Viceroy Pietro Antonio of Aragon (1611–1690), in 1668 was appointed professor of medicine at the University of Naples, where he pursued the experimental study of anatomy by endorsing the Helmontian theory of vital unification centred around the Paracelsian notion of archeus.[43] After having taught in Rome, Venice and Vienna, Lucantonio Porzio (1639–1724), a student of Cornelio, became professor of anatomy at the University of Naples in 1694. There, working within the framework of Cartesian physics, he conducted ground-breaking research on the physical and biological phenomenon of capillarity.[44]

40 Conforti 2017.
41 Severino 1645, 6–7; Schmitt and Webster 1971.
42 Cornelio 1672; Torrini 1977; Cocco 2013, 466.
43 Serrapica 2012; Spruit 2017.
44 Torrini 1979, 147–237; Contarini 2006, 39–60.

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Following the illustrious tradition of anatomical research initiated by Severino, the study of anatomy and chemistry in the kingdom was often associated with the inquiry into the allegedly particulate nature of matter. The lawyer Francesco D'Andrea was among those who participated in the meetings of the academy established around Camillo Colonna (ca. 1645–1657), where the topic of atomism and corpuscularianism was often at the centre of the discussions held by its acolytes. On this topic, D'Andrea wrote an *Apology in Defence of the Atomists*. Sent by the viceroy in Abruzzo to exercise the function of tax collector, in Chieti he delved into the knowledge of Cicero and Campanella, which is yet another instance of the characteristic interlacing of humanism and natural philosophy in the Kingdom.[45]

To many philosophers of the Kingdom, the various results coming from the anatomical, chemical and experimental investigations seemed to confirm the reality of the corpuscularian structure of matter. Unsurprisingly, Lucretius' poem continued to attract the interest of a large number of philosophers and physicians. The fascination with the Lucretian model, already evident in Pontano, kept haunting many thinkers in the Kingdom.[46] In the poem *De principiis rerum* (1546) by the jurist Capece, Lucretian ideas were used to mitigate the impact of materialistic determinism. When the mathematician Alessandro Marchetti (1633–1714), a pupil of Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (1608–1679), completed his Italian translation of *De rerum natura* in 1669, the manuscript circulation of the vernacular version was wide in Italy and helped spread ideas on the particulate nature of matter. In the Kingdom of Naples, however, Epicurean atomism merged with both Platonic motifs and the persistent tradition of Telesian sensism. What Eugenio Garin once wrote to characterize the philosophical profile of the French libertines—"under the tutelage of the great shadows of Democritus and Lucretius resurrected, of Plato and Epicurus sanctified"—comes in handy when we describe the evolution of the philosophical culture of the Kingdom between Campanella and Vico.

Undoubtedly, Vico knew about these discussions on anatomy and atomism when in his *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia* outlined his physics of centripetal and centrifugal motions.[47] For Vico, the science that human beings had slowly constructed out of the observed phenomenal reality was "a sort of anatomy of the works of nature". Vico wondered whether in fact this *anatome rerum* could grasp the real essence and life of things. As is well known,

45 Borrelli 1995; Ascione 1990; Mazzacane 1986.

46 Goddard 1991, 251.

47 Capece 1546. Garin 1993 (1970), 80. Vico 2010, 12–13; Vico 2020, 12.

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he argued that knowledge did not coincide, as Descartes had thought, with the power of self-reflection (*cogitandi conscientia*), but with *scientia*, which for him could only result from a painstaking dissection of reality leading to the original principles of things.[48] The philosopher Antonio Genovesi (1713–1769) learned and practised philosophy by following this model espoused by Vico. Through Celestino Galiani (1681–1753), rector of the University of Naples, he was appointed professor of metaphysics and later economy. The characteristic amalgamation of anatomy, atomism and chemistry is once again evident in his *Disputatio physico-historica de rerum corporearum origine et constitutione* ('A Physical and Historical Discussion of the Origin and Constitution of Corporeal Things'), published in 1745.[49]

The shared belief in the permeability and connectivity of all disciplines—a recurring feature in the approach to learning which we have observed in numerous philosophers of the Kingdom—allowed several thinkers to connect more sciences together. Giacinto De Cristofaro (1650/64–1721), whom I have mentioned above as one of the many philosophers investigated by the Inquisition of Naples, studied as a lawyer, but divided his intellectual pursuits between anatomical investigations (on the nature and motion of the blood) and mathematical inquiries (the application of the calculus to the solution of trigonometry problems). The positive reception of Newtonian physics in the Kingdom turned an already variegated situation into an even more composite picture.[50] It is significant to note that in this case, too, traces of Platonism were difficult to erase. De Cristofaro's *Della dottrina dei triangoli* (1720) includes a letter to the reader by his friend Costantino Grimaldi, who explains that the main aim in De Cristofaro's use of mathematics was to combine Plato's and Descartes's mathematical philosophical programmes in order to show that all kinds of shifts and overlaps could be envisaged between the realm of knowledge (the *scibile*) and that of action (the *agibile*).[51]

Another instance of the characteristic blend of philosophical, medical, rhetorical, and juridical concerns within this complex system of interrelated disciplines is provided by Caloprese, already remembered as a typical representative of the antiquarian and rhetorical approach to knowledge. Born in Scalea, near Cosenza in 1650, where he also died in 1715, he studied medicine in Naples. After having gained the degree, however, he decided to go back to his hometown, where he founded a celebrated 'school'. This does not mean that he cut his many

48 Vico 2010, 33; Vico 2020, 24.
49 Marcialis 2002.
50 Ferrone 1982; Addabbo 2017.
51 De Cristofaro 1720, 1 *verso*–2 *recto*, 4 *verso*; Grimaldi 1703; Meschini 2002.

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ties with the learned societies of Naples (the Accademia of the Infuriati and that of Medinaceli, in particular) as well as with Rome, where his cousin Gian Vincenzo Gravina (1664–1718), one of the founders of the Academy of Arcadia, was living since 1689. As a follower of Descartes's philosophy—yet another so-called *renatista* of the Kingdom—he was known for his penetrating reading of *Les passions de l'âme*, seen as a key text to mediate physics with poetry.[52] His school in Scalea was attended by many intellectuals who later would become major figures in and outside the Kingdom, such as Gravina, the librettist Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782), the anticurialist Alessandro Riccardi (1678–1726), the poet Saverio Pansuti (1666–1730) and the physician Nicolò Cirillo (1671–1735). Significantly, the teaching method and the curricula in Caloprese's school were based on an original hybridization of Lucretian, Baconian, and Cartesian texts and ideas, while Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso were used as literary models.[53]

A large number of philosophers trained as jurists and drawn to the world of natural sciences were willing to use Descartes's philosophy as background metaphysics. Cirillo, strongly influenced by Cartesian ideas, studied and taught medicine at the University of Naples. He was an accomplished medical practitioner, as is evidenced by his *Consulti medici* ('Medical Consultations'), published posthumously in 1738. And yet, in this case, too, the embracing of Descartes's metaphysics did not prevent him from devoting himself to the art of sensible observations and natural history. A correspondent and then member of the Royal Society of London, he wrote a report on the 1730 earthquake in Puglia and on the eruption of Mount Vesuvius that occurred in the same year.[54] Among those who reacted to the pervasive nature of Cartesian philosophy in the Kingdom, finally, we also should remember Doria. Rebelling like his contemporary Vico against the philosophical rule wielded by Cartesianism in the Kingdom, Doria thought that one should recover the ancient philosophical traditions restored by humanists and historians during the 15th and 16th centuries. Against the primacy of Descartes's cogito, he argued that the mind had to follow "one and only Wisdom, truthful and natural."[55] Doria rejected Descartes's metaphysics as an expression of mental subjectivism and sensory relativism. By contrast, he recommended a return to Platonism to defend the idea of an ontological resemblance between God's wisdom and the human mind.[56]

52 Ferrara 1996.
53 Della Casa 1694; Quondam 1973.
54 Cirillo 1731; Cirillo 1732.
55 Doria 1731–1732, I, 182.
56 Doria 1731–1732, I: b1 *verso*.

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The Philosophical Networker

So far we have surveyed the philosophical panorama of the Kingdom by focusing on philosophical civil servants, antiquarians, clerics, and experimentalists. Before concluding the chapter, it would be fitting to say a few words on another philosophical character in the intellectual life of the Kingdom: the philosophical networker. As summed up by Maurizio Torrini, "one cannot cut the tie that connects science, philosophical renewal, the exercise of professions and civil society."[57] The best way of examining this tie is through the academies. In the previous sections, the intellectual careers of several authors operating in the Kingdom have shown us how various ideas coming from different philosophical contexts (Galileo, Gassendi, Descartes, Helmont, Newton, to mention only a few) could overlap, mix, and merge, especially through the vehicle of learned academies and informal gatherings. While the Kingdom had long been a land of philosophical cross-pollinations and original experiments in cultural hybridizations, this trend continued throughout the Renaissance and the Enlightenment.

The sheer number and variety of associations, academies, clubs, and salons that were active in the Kingdom during the early modern period are bewildering. The learned societies were especially concentrated in Naples, but other cities in the Kingdom such as Cosenza and Lecce, hosted their own academies. In varying degrees, they all had political significance. Be they princely courts, aristocratic circles, gatherings involving bureaucratic and popular elites, societies more or less open to the faithful, they reflect the social force field that was typical of the Kingdom. Three recurring patterns can be detected: the literary society sponsored by royal, aristocratic, or ecclesiastical patronage; the natural philosophical gathering interested in discussions of scientific and experimental matters; the official institution working as a representative of the state.[58] In privileging the oral medium of conversation and dialogue, the academies epitomize one of the most distinctive features of the philosophical production of the Kingdom: rhetorical proficiency.

A quick look at some of these academies allows us further to follow the intersecting paths of ideas and individual lives. The Accademia Antoniana, named after Antonio Beccadelli, in turn an offshoot of the humanist circle gathered around King Alfonso, became the Accademia Pontaniana when Pontano was appointed its president in 1471. Between the 15th and 16th centuries, the activ-

57 Torrini 1981, 847.
58 Comparato 1973; Torrini 1981; Testa 2015.

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ities of the society displayed a broad array of intellectual pursuits that reflect the variegated interests of their members: astrology, didactic poetry, oratory, and history. After the death of Jacopo Sannazaro (1530), the meetings of the academy were held in the house of Capece, until the learned society was dissolved by Viceroy Pedro de Toledo, who ruled the Kingdom from 1532 to 1552.[59]

The Accademia of the Oziosi, established in 1608 under the auspices of the Viceroy Pedro Fernández de Castro y Andrade, known as the Great Count of Lemos (1576–1622), was devoted to philosophy, poetry, rhetoric and mathematics. The activities included sets of questions periodically suggested by Giambattista Manso (1567–1645), the Academy's 'Prince', to be debated by the academicians. Francesco De Pietri, one of its members, compiled a collection of such questions, *I problemi accademici* (1642), whose topics range from a discussion concerning the nature of human *ingegno* to the issue of the limits of human knowledge,[60] from the interplay of wisdom and luck to the relationship between rhetoric and logic,[61] from whether alchemy should be considered a proper science to the difference between the senses of sight and hearing.[62] Although written in the vernacular, the format is scholastic. The Accademia of the Oziosi was meant to be a model of intellectual organization that, despite being officially sponsored by the viceroyalty, was not supposed to get involved in political and religious matters.[63]

The Accademia of the Investiganti, founded by Tommaso Cornelio in 1650, was disbanded during the plague of 1656 to be later reconvened in 1662. Held in the lodgings of Andrea Concublet, Marquis of Arena (d. 1675), the meetings saw the participation of such notable figures of the philosophical milieu of the time as Porzio, Leonardo di Capua (1617–1695), Giovanni Caramuel (1606–1682), and Borelli. The topics addressed by the participants in the meetings included physics, optics, mechanics, and anatomy. Some members conducted experiments on the material qualities of heat and cold, rarity, and density. A question that drew significant attention concerned the nature of the vapours of carbon dioxide that were rising from the floor of the Cave of Dogs, a small cave near the Lake Agnano, in the Phlegraean Fields near Pozzuoli, Naples. Unlike the members participating in the activities of the Accademia del Cimento (1657–1667), which depended on the direct sponsorship of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the 'Investigators' were relatively free to explore subjects of their

59 Nicolini 1957; Goddard 1991; Furstenberg-Levi 2016. See Iacono in this volume.
60 De Pietri 1642, 142–145; 110–112.
61 De Pietri 1642, 59–60; 127–129.
62 De Pietri 1642, 16–17; 138–140.
63 Comparato 1973.

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own interest and they did not confine their conversations and inquiries strictly to the domain of nature.[64]

The extraordinary profusion of early modern academies in Naples and other cities of the Kingdom is one of the most remarkable features in the intellectual life of the region. Reasons of space prevent me from delving more into the subject. Here it is important to stress the fact that they are clear evidence of the networking abilities of the philosophers of the Kingdom. Academies represented sites of knowledge production involving the principal forces of society—the monarchy, the nobles, the *ceto civile*, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. One final example confirms this pattern. The Accademia of Medina Coeli (also known as Accademia Palatina) was created by Luis Francisco de la Cerda y Aragón, Duke of Medinaceli. Beginning in 1698, its sessions consisted of regular meetings held in Palazzo Reale in the presence of the viceroy. Discussions were focused on matters of poetry, eloquence and philosophy. For the most part, the participants were young and promising jurists who would later become part of the Neapolitan government during Austrian Habsburg rule. As such, the Accademia of Medicina Coeli acted as a veritable laboratory in which jurisdictionalist doctrines and political lines of action were suggested and tested.

Another site of knowledge production in which we can observe the action of philosophical networkers was the University of Naples. Together with the medical school of Salerno, the University was among the oldest learning institutions of the Kingdom. Unlike other universities in Italy, though, it depended directly on the crown and its professors were appointed by the viceroy. Although some of the major representatives of the philosophical culture of the Kingdom held distinguished and high-ranking positions and chairs at the University, this institution remained largely conservative during the early modern period. And yet, as we have seen in the previous sections, the University formed generations of acute thinkers while facilitating exchange of knowledge. Private schools were another medium of philosophical conversations and meetings. In the teaching curriculum of his private school in Scalea, Caloprese assigned a special role to rhetoric precisely because he acknowledged the irreplaceable function of this discipline in perfecting the arts of arguing and debating. In 1727, Intieri inaugurated a school in Naples—a *studio di negozio* (a business school)—in which young people were trained in the professions of trade and economic management. At the end of the 1740s, Intieri settled in Massaquano, near Vico Equense and his palace became a learned society attended

64 Fisch 1953; Torrini 1981.

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by, among others, the young Genovesi, who, too, opened a private school in 1739, in which he addressed issues concerning philosophy and theology. Finally, we should remember here the diffusion of philosophical knowledge through libraries, printers, and journals. Valletta's library in his palace in Naples was a local resource for people interested in philosophical research and debates, and it was visited by European scholars and philosophers such as Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), Anthony Shaftesbury (1671–1713) and Jean Mabillon (1632–1707).[65] The Società Letteraria e Tipografica of Naples, established by Galanti in 1777, was connected to Swiss publishing companies in Neuchâtel and Lausanne. In general publishing and bookselling enterprises, often through the medium of learned journals, were powerful tools in fostering the early modern commerce of ideas from the Kingdom to the rest of the Republic of Letters, and vice versa. European journals, too, acted as means of disseminating philosophical information. For example, it was in the *Bibliothèque universelle* that Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736) positively reviewed *La vita civile* by Doria.[66] In the end, this view of learning as acquired knowledge imparted through teaching and conversation was a lasting legacy of the humanist and rhetorical tradition underpinning the philosophical culture of the Kingdom.

Conclusion: The Philosophy of the Kingdom as a Philosophy of Governance

Throughout its long history from the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 19th, the Kingdom of Naples kept a distinctive intellectual physiognomy, in which a particular kind of philosophical commitment—scholarly, institutional, and political—played a key role in shaping the cultural traditions of the country, so much so that it wouldn't be too much of a stretch to call the Kingdom a philosophical kingdom. Philosophy was pervasive in that it filtered through the many administrative crevices of the ruling system relying on the actions of a variety of enterprising and enlightened civil servants: secretaries, courtiers, jurists, physicians, professors. For specific historical reasons, this system coincided with the construction of a composite body politic made up of many organized corporations and societies, including the academies animated by relentlessly debating and conversing thinkers. Given these premises, legal discourse proliferated in many areas of the Kingdom, which, as I have detailed

65 Pii 1984; Robertson 1987. For Valletta's library see Robertson 2005, 139–140.
66 Calaresu 2013; Luna-Fabritius 2017, 169; Lomonaco 2021, 83–12.

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in this chapter, was a political reality that was indeed formidably litigious. As aptly summed up by Galanti, "the State was a combination of different classes of people, enemies of each other, but each intent on usurping the assets of the commonwealth" (Galanti 1781, I, 218). The distinctively civic nature of the intellectual undertakings that characterized the majority of the philosophers of the kingdom is manifest in such recurring endeavours as the safeguarding of the political sphere in its many expressions in civil society, the defence of the rights and prerogatives of the State against the claims of the Roman Curia, and the study of the political significance of religious rituals. These institutional and legal constraints framed a large part of the inquiries into the interrelated domains of history, science and religion.

The philosophers of the Kingdom were reminded by the time-honoured art of history that the reality of human thinking lay in the multifarious creations of language, the power of custom to shape communities and the constant evolution of the natural environment surrounding these communities. For many thinkers, the distinctive pairing of observation and argument, which was a defining trait of both historical inquiry and rhetorical analysis, also represented the most revolutionary aspect of the new science of nature. Finally, we have noted the extent to which for several thinkers religion was a social and cultural phenomenon that had to be approached from different points of views: the heart of the worshipper, the inquiring intellect of the scholar and the legislating will of the jurist. Philosophers as different as De Ferrariis and Valletta thought that religion was a unique watershed to understand the power that beliefs held in society, the relationship between credulity and enlightenment and the force of heterodoxy in promoting free thinking. When contextualized within this type of epistemological discourse, Vico should not be seen as an anomalous and isolated occurrence in the philosophical panorama of the Kingdom, but represented the reaffirmation of a tradition in which there could not be any significant engagement with metaphysics without undergoing a thorough appraisal of the latest accomplishments in the interdependent fields of science, jurisprudence, and literary criticism.

I can therefore confirm at the end of this chapter what I have suggested at the beginning: the early modern philosophical production of the Kingdom of Naples needs to be understood in terms of a Long Renaissance, stretching from the 15th to the turn of the 18th century. In the title of this chapter Vico stands for a possible chronological limit, but in fact the end of this particular way of doing philosophy in this particular area of the Peninsula—a jurisprudential, philological, and evidence-based way of philosophizing—coincided with the institutional end of the Kingdom in 1816, after the Napoleonic turmoil. Ironically, the economic and administrative backwardness of the Kingdom saw to

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it that a distinctively humanistic approach to philosophy, which in the rest of Europe had slowly petered out after the affirmation of new approaches in philosophy, science, technology, and bureaucracy, could continue uninterruptedly since the Quattrocento and indeed be revitalized by those specific issues that were being reinforced by the Enlightenment movement, such as plans to expand instruction, measures to increase the level of political justice, and reforms to facilitate the process of secularization in many areas of civic life.

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CHAPTER 20

The Academies from the Death of Pontano to the End of the 16th Century

Antonietta Iacono

The First Academy in Naples: Panormita and Pontano

In the changed historical, economic, and social circumstances that followed the death of Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (17 September 1503) and the end of the Trastámara dynasty on the throne of Naples, the new leaders of the 'Accademia pontaniana'—at first Pietro Summonte (Naples 1463–1526) and Girolamo Carbone (ca. 1465–1528) and then Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530), were nevertheless undefeated by the challenges they faced under the new situation of maintaining Pontano's wide-ranging cultural project.[1]

Without a doubt the transformation from Kingdom to Viceroyalty also had an impact on the cultural life of the 'Civitas Neapolitana'. When Tristano Caracciolo (Naples ca. 1437–1522) described the situation in Naples in the immediate aftermath of Ferdinand the Catholic's visit to the viceroyalty (which lasted from 1 November 1506 to 4 June 1507) it is not by chance that he paints a picture of a city which was profoundly affected by the loss of its royal court. In the six decades of Aragonese rule the court and its policies had been the driving force behind a period of great economic and cultural activity.[2]

The close involvement of the Aragonese monarchs in the formation of a circle of humanist scholars is clearly seen in the way the Neapolitan Academy came into existence in the first place, since its origins lie in the group of scholars who were active in Alfonso's court and who used to meet on an almost daily basis in the library in Castel Nuovo which Alfonso was restoring and enlarging. The first academy, largely set up by Antonio Beccadelli known as the Panormita (Palermo 1394–Naples 1471) was called the Alfonsina precisely because of the involvement and support of Alfonso the Magnanimous. Panormita himself in his *De dictis et factis Alfonso regis* recalled how the king liked to be present at the meetings of poets, philosophers and theologians and participate in their dis-

1 Furstenberg-Levi 2018, 89–90.

2 Caracciolo 1935, 153–155.

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cussions,[3] while Iacopo Curlo (Genoa ca. 1400–ca. 1465) in his *Epitoma Donati in Terentium* evoked the king's enthusiasm for promoting studies with his participation immediately after dining in the meetings of men of letters.[4] Pontano himself in a passage in the *De principe* underlined Alfonso's pleasure in listening to Panormita talk about ancient historians and comment on their works in the so-called 'book hour'.[5]

After the death of Alfonso the meetings no longer took place in the royal palace, but in Panormita's house in the neighbourhood known as 'del Nilo' (behind the marble statue which can still be seen today) or in his villa in Resina which he called *Plinianum*. As Panormita himself explained in a letter to Pontano, this name derived from the identification of the site with the place where Pliny the Elder had died.[6] Under Panormita's direction, the academy was characterized by a growing openness to Neapolitan society and it became the intellectual centre of the city; it was referred to as the *Porticus Antoniana*, an erudite reference comparing it to the meeting places of learned conversation in the ancient world such as the Peripatos or the Stoà. The transition to Pontano's leadership, which officially occurred when Panormita died in 1471, was also marked by its acquiring the new name of *Accademia Pontaniana*; this was encouraged by Panormita, who in the last years of his life explicitly designated Pontano as his successor and introduced to him various individuals with erudite enquiries or an interest in doctrinal controversies.[7] With Pontano's increasing reputation the Academy institutionalized its meetings and its structure and created its own statutes. Antonio de' Ferraris, known by his academic name of Galateo, recalls in a letter he wrote to Girolamo Carbone that it was Pontano himself, while Panormita was still alive, who "adorned and enhanced the Academy with statutes and customs" ("legibus et institutis adornavit et auxit").[8] According to the statutes, the members of the Academy had to assume a pseudonym which alluded to and represented in varying ways each individual's gifts or abilities: so Pontano, for example, was called

3 Panormita 1485, III, *proemium*.

4 Curlo (ed. Germano) 1987, 3–4.

5 Pontano (ed. Cappelli) 2003, § 24, 26. On Alfonso as patron see Delle Donne 2010, 255–270.

6 "Plinianum cum venissem, sic enim appellare res placet in quo Plinium occubuisse constat satis, venit ad me ex proxima Francisci aede visitatum Rogerius eiusdem Francisci sacris initiatus …" Panormita 1746, 407. See Sciancalepore 2012, 977–985. See also Pontano (ed. Cappelli), 2003: § 43, 50; Pontano (ed. Tateo), 2019, 130.

7 Pontano (ed. Lupi and Risicato) 1954, VI 4, 9, 197.

8 *Hieronymo Carbone de morte Pontani*, in Galateo (ed. Altamura) 1959, 117–120. See also Percopo 1938, 117.

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Iovianus, that is to say "sub signo Iovis natus" ("born under the sign of Jove"), a name which alluded to both his jovial character and the beneficial influence of the planet Jupiter on his birth;[9] Jacopo Sannazaro had the double name Actius Syncerus, of which the first term was perhaps derived from the familiar diminutive of his own name Jacopo/Jacobaccio and the consecration to Apollo Actius (from 'acta' = 'beach'), or alluded to Sannazaro's *Eclogae Piscatoriae*, while the second, used in his *Arcadia* (VII, 27) indicated his openness and sincerity;[10] Benet Gareth (Barcelona ca. 1450–Naples 1515) was called Chariteus since he was favoured by the Charites on account of his large production of lyrical poetry in the Petrarchan style;[11] Antonio de' Ferraris (Galatone 1444–Lecce 1517) was named Galateus, after his birthplace in the province of Lecce; Pietro Golino, a close friend of Pontano's, was called Compater, a Latinized form of the dialect term 'compare', stressing his irreverent madcap character and facetiousness that enlivened the Academy's meetings.[12]

Pontano liked to gather the members together in his house on via de' Tribunali, as the dialogue *Aegidius* tells us,[13] or—in the 1490s—in the chapel he had had built near to his house, next to the church of S. Maria Maggiore, known as the 'Pietra Santa', which is the setting for the *De prudentia*,[14] or in his villa at Antignano on the Vomero hill.[15] The meetings of the academicians also took place in other places in the city. For example, when the Augustinian friar Egidio Canisio da Viterbo (Viterbo 1469–Rome 1532) visited Naples, this must have been an occasion for the convent of San Giovanni a Carbonara to host their meetings, as Pontano recalls in his dialogue dedicated to the illus-

9 Soranzo 2014, 98; Rinaldi, 2004, 79; Percopo 1938, 118.

10 Mauro 1955, 219–242; Vecce 2017, 262.

11 Percopo 1892, I, XV–XXVII; Parenti 1993, 8. The poet himself in *Pascha* VI 177 derives his name from the Charites ("Le Charite ond'io fui Chariteo"). Percopo 1892, second part, 424.

12 Pontano (ed. Monti Sabia) 1978 (I 9); Pontano (ed. Monti Sabia) 1974, II 19; Pontano (ed. Lupi and Risicato) 1954, lib. IV 3, 36, 137; lib. VI 4, 20, 199–200; Pontano, *De obedientia*, lib. III 43^{v}. See also D'Alessandro 1522, IV 8, 147 ^{r}, and Sannazaro, epigramma II 15 (*De Peto Compatre*, vv. 1–6). On his ironic and shrewd personality see Altamura 1941, 190–191.

13 Pontano, *Dialoghi*, 658.

14 On the chapel see de Divitiis, 2012, 1–36. Pontano indicates the *sacellum* as the place where the academicians would meet and converse in *De prudentia*, lib. I, a2^{r-v}; lib. V, g1^{v}.

15 See Pontano, *Asinus*, in Pontano (ed. Tateo) 2019, 338–340. See also D'Alessandro 1522, I 1, 1 *recto*–2 *recto*.; Chariteo, *Sonetto* XCIII 5; *Canzone* XVI 42–43, in Percopo 1892, II, 113–114; 175–178; and Giano Anisio, *De Antiniano colle* in Anisio 1531, lib. III, c5^{r}-7^{r}, 37–39.

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trious guest,[16] while the famous convent of San Domenico Maggiore in the heart of the 15th-century city with its magnificent library must have been, in Pontano's lifetime, an important point of reference for the members of the Academy. It is unsurprising, therefore, that Summonte chose to leave the autograph manuscripts of Pontano's works, which were the basis for the posthumous edition he edited, to the convent library.[17]

The meetings of the Academy—which while Alfonso was on the throne took place in the court after a light meal shared by all the members,[18] or in the Porticus Antoniana under Panormita's direction and in Pontano's house and other properties either while supper was served[19] or before the meal[20]—followed a strict schedule in which priority was given to questions of grammar, as Pontano himself points out in a passage in the *Actius*, in words spoken in the dialogue by Pietro Summonte, one of his closest followers:

> I in truth, since I have no intention of not following the customs of this Academy and its founding principle, above all because we are gathered here after eating, believe that we should follow the established practice, which was followed by men most deserving of respect, that is to say, discussing matters of less moment, in particular grammar, after a meal [...].[21]

After this linguistic and grammatical opening free discussion would follow on a variety of topics ranging from literary and philological questions to theoretical and theological issues, as well as what was happening in the contemporary world outside.

16 Pontano (ed. Tateo) 2019, 736.

17 Monti Sabia 1986, 191–204, in particular 191–192.

18 The custom of meeting after a meal in Alfonso's presence is referred to by Curlo in the dedication to the *Epitoma in Terentium* (*Prologus*, 3).

19 The custom of eating "dum coena apparatur" is described by Alessandro D'Alessandro in *Dies geniales*, who recalls one such meeting in the villa at Antignano on the occasion of Pontano's birthday. See D'Alessandro 1522, I 1, 1^{r}.

20 D'Alessandro (D'Alessandro 1522, II 1, 38^{r}–40^{r}) recalls a meeting in Sannazaro's house to celebrate the festival of *Saturnalia*, and another in the house of Altilio (D'Alessandro 1522, V 1, 186^{r}), who, since it was getting late, invited the company to dine with him.

21 Pontano (ed. Tateo) 2019, 499–500: "Ego vero, quoniam a consuetudine huiusce Porticus meoque ab instituto recessurus non sum, praesertim cum pransi hic consederimus, sequendum illud arbitror quod praestantissimi viri secuti leguntur, uti levioribus de rebus deque grammaticis praecipue post accubitum dissererent [...]".

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Pontano's Legacy in Naples and Its Surroundings

The death of Pontano was a watershed in the Academy's existence even though the dedication of its members ensured that it continued for over forty more years before falling into decline after 1547.[22] In this, the figure of Summonte, alongside Sannazaro, whose authority as an intellectual and as a poet was recognized as absolute, took on a leading—and acknowledged role—in the renewal of the *sodalitas* formed by the intellectuals and other prominent individuals who promoted culture in the transition to the Spanish Viceroyalty.[23] That the practice of meeting and debating was tenaciously continued in the years after Pontano's death is also documented by the works which intellectuals in Naples were variously involved in between the very end of the fifteenth century and the first two decades of the sixteenth century, such as the *Dies geniales* by Alessandro D'Alessandro (Naples 1461–Rome 1523)[24] and the *De poeta* by Antonio Sebastiani Minturno (Traetto, present-day Minturno, 1497–Crotone 1547),[25] both works inspired by a revived ideal of the humanistic model of the Academy. D'Alessandro's and Minturno's texts seek to connect back to the cultural identity which derived from the ideological model of Pontano's academy, an identity which—even years after the death of Pontano—maintained its vigour and was still actively present in the literary, philological, and aesthetic debates in which the surviving protagonists of the circle engaged. From 1535 onwards and throughout the 1540s the last remaining members of the Academy (Giano and Cosma Anisio, Girolamo Borgia, Marc'Antonio Epicuro and Giovanni Filocalo) revived the meetings and discussions in the villa known as Leucopetra belonging to Bernardino Martirano (Cosenza 1490–Naples 1548). The villa was situated a few kilometres outside Naples in the pleasant dis-

22 The idea that the Accademia Pontaniana was closed down because of suspected heresy in relation to Scipio Capece (Parenti, 1975, 425–428) and that similarly the Neapolitan academies were shut down after the 1547 uprisings against the Inquisition is rejected by Toscano 2000, 291–292.

23 On Summonte see Iacono 2019.

24 Dedicated to Andrea Matteo Acquaviva, Alessandro D'Alessandro's *Dies geniales* is a work characterized by a pronounced interest in legal and historical subjects. The author evokes meetings and discussions which took place in Naples and Rome involving humanists such as Pontano, Sannazaro, Ermolao Barbaro, Gabriele Altilio, Bartolomeo Platina, Francesco Elio Marchese, Domizio Calderini, to mention only a few. See De Nichilo 2012, 207–235.

25 Published in Venice in 1559 and set in 1526, the *De poeta* recounts the cultural debate in Naples in which the surviving members from the earliest period of Pontano's academy and the younger generation of the renewed school both took part. On the dialogue see Colombo 2002, 187–200.

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trict of Portici. Seen then as an academy in its own right, it was in reality the last refuge of the *sodales* of the Academia Pontaniana, gathered around the charismatic figure of Martirano, a pupil of Aulo Giano Parrasio and himself a poet.[26] It was not the sole attempt to keep the model of Pontano's *Sodalitas* alive; in the second half of the 16th century new academies were formed (Sereni, Ardenti, Incogniti) which all saw themselves as the heirs of Pontano's example.[27] These academies favoured music, theatre, and poetry. Direct testimony of the Accademia dei Sereni survives in particular from a speech given in 1546 to the assembled members by the 'prince' of the academy and one of its founders, Bernardino Rota.[28] Rota was standing down from his double role as 'consul' and 'prince' of the academy (the date of the meeting was either the very end of November or beginning of December in 1546) and he used the occasion to praise the Accademia Pontaniana for the lustre it has shed on the city of Naples and to pay homage to Pontano, the "princeps Musarum", as its founder.[29]

In the castle on the island of Ischia, near to the capital and of military strategic importance, a lively *cenacolo* had as its patron Costanza d'Avalos d'Aquino (1460–1541), an aristocrat of noble lineage who, as her name shows, belonged to the two leading families in the Kingdom, the d'Avalos and the Aquinos. Costanza was highly educated, as Vespasiano da Bisticci mentions,[30] and gathered round her humanists and grammarians, such as Giovan Battista Musefilo as well as poets such as Beneth Cariteo, Giovanni Antonio Petrucci, Pietro Jacopo de Jennaro, and Jacopo Sannazaro. Sannazaro paid homage to Costanza, together with another lady, probably to be identified as Ippolita d'Avalos, in the sonnet *Due peregrine qui dal paradiso*[31] and in his *Piscatoriae*, where she is evoked under the *nomen loquens* of 'Hyale', the 'Crystalline', in particular in connection with Ischia of which in 1497 Costanza became the commander, getting the island ready to defend itself against the French blockade (*Piscatoria* 3, 72):

26 Minieri Riccio 1880, 143; Valeri 2008a; Toscano 2000, 265–298; Toscano 2013, 115–128.

27 Toscano 2000, 322–323.

28 A prominent role in the Accademia dei Sereni was played by the prince and patron Ferrante Sanseverino, who led the opposition to the viceroy Pedro de Toledo'a authoritarian rule. Toscano 2004, 273.

29 The complete text of the speech can be read in Toscano 2000, 308–325.

30 Vespasiano da Bisticci (ed. Greco) 1970, I, 127. For a biographical profile of Costanza d'Avalos see Mutini, 1962, 619–620; Colapietra, 1999, 103–125. The humanist Tommaso de Moncada wrote a celebratory biography of her: *De vita illustris Costantiae Davalos comitissae Acerrarum*, in ms. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms X.B.67, fols. 395^{r}–414^{v}. In connection Papagna, 2008, 539–541.

31 Sannazaro (ed. Mauro) 1961, sonnet 32, 157–158.

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"As long as the beautiful Hyale holds the port of Enaria / Neither Samos nor powerful Lemnos will be able to overcome it."[32]

The circle became a new point of reference for the city's intellectuals and its activities were further enhanced by the contributions of Vittoria Colonna (Marino 1490/1492–Rome 1547), the widow of Alfonso d'Avalos, who was Costanza's favourite niece and an accomplished poet in her own right. As the renewed "Parnassus of the southern Muses",[33] the circle played an important role in southern Italian culture in the early 16th century, a role celebrated in Girolamo Britonio's sonnet (numbered 174 in his collection *La Gelosia del Sole*), dedicated to Vittoria and published in 1519[34] and also reflected in the work by Paolo Giovio entitled *Dialogus de viris et feminis aetate nostra florentibus*, commissioned by Colonna and set in Ischia in 1527.[35]

Puglian Fellowships: The Academy of Lecce and Sergio Stiso's *scriptorium* in Salento

Humanists who had had close and fruitful connections with Pontano and his academy revived the model of the *sodalitas Neapolitana*, often introducing innovations, in other parts of the Kingdom, either the places where they originally came from or to which, for a variety of reasons, they had chosen to retire. Galateo, for example, a man of letters and physician with a keen interest in Greek-Byzantine culture, was the moving spirit in a small local academy in Lecce, to which he refers in a letter to Crisostomo Colonna, *De academia Lupiensi et de Ingenuo*, where he describes it as an "academiola".[36]

The letter tells us there were eight members (including Galateo himself) who met in Lecce in a *cryptoporticus* belonging to Girolamo Ingenuo. It appears that Galateo held Ingenuo in high esteem, given that he describes him as not only hosting the academy's meetings but also the guiding spirit of the small group who gathered daily to converse and eat a frugal meal together. Galateo's portrait of Ingenuo stresses his temperance and his love of philosophy, which had been instilled in him by his education. In the letter Galateo nowhere says that he founded the academy but writes as a simple member, implying that

32 "Aenariae portus Hyale dum pulchra tenebit, / nec Samos Aenariam vincet nec maxima Lemnos." See also Sannazaro (ed. Martini) 1995, II 23; III 65.

33 Marrocco 2016, 1.

34 Furstenberg-Levi 2018, 87–88.

35 Vecce 1990, 7; Toscano 2000, 13–120; Ranieri 2010.

36 Galateo (ed. Altamura) 1959, 147–150, especially 150.

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Ingenuo was, if not the actual founder, the main point of reference for the group.[37] He also lists his fellow-members, some of whom are readily identifiable: 'Sergius' (who is also mentioned in the letter on the death of Pontano's son as belonging to the Accademia Pontaniana in its earliest form) was most probably Sergio Stiso (Zollino 1458–ca. 1531), a leading and authoritative scholar of Greek humanism in Salento,[38] while 'Maramontius' (who was interested in agriculture like the 'Raimondo' mentioned later in the list) came from the powerful Maramonti family, which had properties and business interests in the province of Lecce and numbered famous *condottieri* among its members, and can be identified with the addressee of Galateo's short work *Ad Maramontium de pugna singulari veterani et tyronis militis*, which examines in detail the ritual of duelling.[39] The other names in the list remain obscure: 'Spineto' and 'Raimondo' (also interested in agriculture) and the two 'Donati', one a lawyer and the other a merchant.

The restricted and isolated character of the 'academiola', emphasized by their choice, reflecting both Galateo and Stiso's interests in Greek humanism in Salento, of the Greek phrase *oudeis kakos eisoito* ('no wicked person may enter here') as their motto (a novel element not included in the statutes of the Accademia Pontaniana), and the declaration "neminem admittimus",[40] did not prevent the writings of its members from being disseminated across their wider networks. Galateo's allusion in his letter *De neophytis*, addressed to Belisario Acquaviva, to his text *De falsa nobilitatis appellatione*, suggests as much: "I have written extensively about the false definition of *nobilitas* in an epistle I composed for Gelasio in Girolamo's Porticus, and also elsewhere".[41] This passage enables us to identify the work in question with Galateo's epistle to Gelasio, but it also reveals how Galateo thought of it as a product which emerged out of the discussions of *nobilitas* which had taken place among the members of the *Porticus Hieronymiana*.[42]

37 Ingenuo is also mentioned in another of Galateo's letters to Crisostomo on the occasion of the death of Pontano's son in a list of members of Pontano's academy datable to 1497 (when Lucio Francesco died). Alongside Tristano Caracciolo and Francesco Puderico, Galateo lists Girolamo Ingenuo, Sergio Stiso, and himself as the surviving members of the earliest phase of Pontano's academy. See Galateo (ed. Altamura) 1959, 101–103.

38 Lo Parco 1919, 217–236.

39 Galateo (ed. Altamura) 1959, 191–194.

40 Furstenberg-Levi 2016, 160–161.

41 Galateo (ed. Altamura) 1959, 220–225, *especially* 220: "nos de falsa nobilitatis appellatione satis multa diximus in epistola, quam quondam sub Hieronymiana porticu ad Gelasium tuum scripsimus; nec non et alibi hunc locum tractavimus".

42 Galateo (ed. Altamura) 1959, 267–280. See also Tateo, De Nichilo, and Sisto 1994, 107–176.

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The identification of the name 'Sergius' in Galateo's list with Sergio Stiso sheds light on both the originality and specific interests of the academy in Lecce. Coming from a Greek family in Gallipoli, Stiso's formation as a humanist was entirely Greek: he was a refined scholar and a passionate collector of Greek manuscripts, at the centre of a closely linked network of other Greek humanists such as Giano Lascaris, Demetrius Chalcondylas, and cardinal Bessarion. His most famous pupil, Aulo Giano Parrasio, in his memories of his former teacher, stressed his supreme and exclusively Greek erudition, in favour of which it had been his deliberate choice to exclude the study of Latin.[43]

Stiso's cultural formation is not atypical and can be found in other intellectuals in Salento. It is not by chance that Stiso, as a teacher of Greek in Lecce at the beginning of the 1480s, created, in Lecce, Zollino, and Soleto, what was an authentic *scriptorium*, specializing in the production of copies of ancient Greek manuscripts.[44] This activity acquired missionary urgency when Turkish forces captured Otranto in 1480 and set fire to the library of the nearby monastery of Casole, where Stiso had studied and been trained for the priesthood, when he took it upon himself to save its books. Thus Stiso, together with Galateo, whose career and work are better known, represents one of the presiding spirits of both southern Italian humanism the Hellenistic interests of Puglian humanism in particular, a link to both the group of scholars concerned with philology such as the Greek Nicola Petreo from Curzola[45] and the already mentioned Aulo Giano Parrasio, the founder of an academy in Cosenza, which we shall return to below, and those humanists who occupied themselves with philosophy, such as Matteo Tafuri from Soleto and physicians/jurists such as Marcantonio Zimarra from Galatina.[46] Many aspects of the careers of these intellectuals remain to be explored, but they were significantly united by their work on collecting manuscripts, their commitment as teachers to cultural transmission, and, above all, their sense of their roots in the beloved Greek tradition as the source of their identity.

The letter has been transcribed from the manuscript Vatican City, Vatican Library, ms Barb. Lat. 1902 in Colucci, 1939, 26–50. According to Colucci 1939 (97–250, especially 102), the work might have been written during the French invasion of Puglia: this dating would also mean that the 'accademiola' in Lecce was not founded after the death of Pontano but was already active at this time.

43 Claudiano 1505, c3^{r}

44 Speranzi 2007, 77–111; Pellegrino 2012.

45 Arnesano and Sciarra 2010, II, 425–473, especially 430–431.

46 Tasselli 1693, 532.

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The Academy in Cosenza

The destiny of the intellectuals who received their formation in the Kingdom of Naples in the second half of the 15th century under the tutelage of great scholars such as Stiso in Lecce, or Giovanni Crasso Pedazio and Tideo Acciarino in Cosenza, is exemplified in the life and career of Aulo Giano Parrasio (Cosenza, 1470–1521). Parrasio was a teacher, a philologist of both Greek and Latin, a textual editor, and a passionate seeker-out of manuscripts; born in Calabria he followed his father, Tommaso Parisio, a jurist, first to Lecce in about 1483 and then to Naples about 1492. He spent the period between 1488 and 1489 in Corfù at the school of the Greek humanist Giovanno Mosco to perfect his knowledge of Greek.[47] In Naples he came into contact with Pontano and other academicians such as Francesco Pucci (Florence 1436–Rome 1512), Jacopo Sannazaro, Gabriele Altilio (Caggiano 1436–Policastro 1501), Mario Equicola (Alvito 1470–Mantua 1525), and Antonio Seripando (1476–1531). With Seripando he struck up a friendship which endured for the rest of their lives. Parrasio, who adopted the Latin form of his real name Giovanni Paolo Parisio while in Naples, recounts his contacts with Pontano and with the Academy in the discourse *Ad Patricios Neapolitanos*, which he gave when preparing to teach a course on the *Silvae* of Statius.[48] His strained relations with the Trastámara princes, despite his friendship with Ferrante II, who however died young in 1496, and his presence in Naples during the turbulent months of the French occupation created a series of difficulties for him and he decided to leave the city for Rome, where he came into contact with Pomponio Leto and Tommaso Fedra Inghirami. From Rome he went on to Milan where he undertook an intense activity as a teacher and collaborator with printers and publishers, at first with the teacher of rhetoric and printer Alessandro Minuziano and later with his pupil Catelliano Cotta. After various other travels between Vicenza, Padua, and Venice, in 1511 he began a long journey back to southern Italy, at first staying in Naples and then moving to Calabria, where he remained until 1514, when the pope, Leo X, offered him a teaching post at the *Studium* in Rome. It is during the three years in Cosenza, between 1511 and 1514, that we can date the establishment of the 'Accademia Cosentina' or 'Parrasiana', which was closely connected to the teaching undertaken by Parrasio and his loyal assistant Giovanni Antonio Cesario,[49] and then to the activities of his pupils,

47 Stok 2014; Formentin 2005, 1–9.
48 Gatti 2018, 170–212.
49 Vigilante 1980.

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including Antonio Telesio, the already mentioned Bernardino and Coriolano Martirano, Vincenzo di Tarsia, Sertorio Montano Quattromani,[50] and Niccolò Franco.[51] The academy did not have a strong institutional presence; its activities centred on the school for Greek and Latin which Parrasio, whose intense philological studies had always been closely interwoven with his teaching,[52] had set up in the city. In a letter to Vincenzo di Tarsia, baron of Belmont and father of the poet Galeazzo di Tarsia,[53] Parrasio proudly paid tribute to the culture of Cosenza and Calabria's glorious past, elaborating a learned theory on the origins of the name 'Brutii'.[54] He paid special attention to Calabria's Greek past, as seen for example in his short treatise *De Sybari et Crati ac Thurio* in which he discusses the ancient site of the town of Sibari and which he perhaps intended to dedicate to Antonino Siscari, count of Agnello, whose sons he had tutored in 1512.[55] Parrasio transformed his pride in the ancient origins of Magna Graecia into an authentic programme of cultural and spiritual renewal which found its highest manifestation in his activity as a teacher. His claim, in a letter written from Cosenza to Andrea Pugliano, an old friend and follower, who had also in his turn become a teacher, that he had played a central part in the cultural project both men had shared was therefore no idle boast.[56]

The cultural trajectory followed by Parrasio's career is both perfectly representative of the first two decades of the 16th century in Italian history and a central factor in the formation of the academy in Cosenza around his authoritative presence. The membership of the academy was made up mostly of the individuals he taught, who in their turn went on teach, augmenting and enriching the original and paramount vocation for philology and literature with philosophical, medical, and legal interests of their own.[57]

50 De Frede 1999; Nuovo 1988, 249–270.

51 Niccolò Franco, a native of Benevento, had important connections with the members of Pontano's circle and in Casale Monferrato founded—and presided over with the pseudonym 'Cloanto' the 'Accademia degli Argonauti'. On Franco see Franco (ed. Falardo) 2007; Pignatti 1998; Toscano 2004, 79–102.

52 Munzi 1999; Munzi 2000.

53 Toscano 2004.

54 Parrasio (ed. Ferreri) 2012, 38. See Stok 2015.

55 See Miletti in this volume.

56 Parrasio (ed. Ferreri) 2012, 67–68.

57 Furstenberg-Levi 2016, 166–169.

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The Academy of Nardò

Returning to Puglia, the academy in Nardò in the province of Lecce was connected with Belisario Acquaviva (1464–1528), a man of letters and a military figure, who had been formed under Pontano's guidance and had remained in close contact with activities in Naples and with leading members of the academy such as Pietro Summonte and Antonio Galateo (Plate 3).[58] He had remained loyal to the Aragonese monarchy throughout the turbulent period of the French invasion of the Kingdom, in particular to the youthful Ferrante II, and after his death, to his successor Federico. He subsequently allied himself with Consalvo di Cordova, known as the 'Gran Capitán' and, as a consequence, when Cordova fell into disfavour with Ferdinand the Catholic and was recalled to Spain, Acquaviva decided to retire completely from political activity and dedicated himself to the promotion of the academy named 'del lauro' (of the laurel). His own written production consists of four pedagogical treatises entitled *De instituendis liberis principum; De Paraphrasis in Oeconomica Aristotelis*; *De venatione et aucupio*; *De re militari et singulari certamine* and the two parts of the work *Expositio orationis Dominicae Pater Noster libri duo*.[59] The foundation of the Academy is dated either to 1497, when the Nardò fiefdom was acquired by Acquaviva, or 1506–1507, when Belisario retired into private life.[60] The earlier date seems more plausible, given that one of Sannazaro's epigrams (II 43) contains a reference to Acquaviva's early use of the laurel as an academic emblem:[61] "*On the laurel. To the condottiere of Nardò* / The laurel, once held aloft in the joyful triumphs of the gods /and famed for honouring the hair of Phoebus, / badly cultivated for so long had ceased to produce / new branches and bud with new berries. / Now helped by your tears it becomes green again /And fills with its fragrance the leafy grove, / but persistent weeping does not nourish it so much /as being honoured in a song destined to endure in time. / The *condottieri* and Phoebus himself owe this / to you, Acquaviva: since thanks to you the laurel grove flourishes."[62] Sannazaro's

58 ** 'Acquaviva, d'Aragona, Belisario'; Cappelli 2020, 203–215. See Cappelli in this volume.

59 Acquaviva (ed. Miele) 1997.

60 Giustiniani 1804, 7–8; D'Afflitto 1782, 56–57.

61 Tafuri 1848, 75.

62 *De lauro ad Neritinorum ducem* in Sannazaro 1535, 54 (= c/vi *recto*): "Illa deum laetis olim gestata triumphis / claraque Phoebeae laurus honore comae, / iampridem male culta novos emittere ramos, / iampridem baccas edere desierat. / Nunc lacrimis adiuta tuis revirescit et omne / frondiferum spirans implet odore nemus. / Sed nec eam lacrimae tantum iuvere perennes, / quantum mansuro carmine quod colitur. / Hoc debent, Aquivive, duces tibi debet et ipse / Phoebus: nam per te laurea silva viret".

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verses refer to the laurel, the emblem of the Academy, in decline and celebrate its return to strength because of Acquaviva. There is reason therefore to believe that Acquaviva was not the actual founder, but was responsible for its rebirth and the revived tradition of classical studies in Nardò. The tradition of classical studies in the town was proudly highlighted by Galateo in a well-known passage in *De situ Iapigiae*, in which he also refers to himself: "hic et ego prima literarum fundamenta hausi; Galatena me genuit, haec urbs educavit et fovit et literis instituit" ("Here I learnt the rudiments of letters; Galatona gave me birth; Nardò educated me, supported me and trained me in humanistic studies").[63]

Thus, once again a text by Galateo brings together the various cultural and historical strands found in this province. In this passage the humanist draws a picture of the liveliness of culture and education in Nardò, which had originally been a fiefdom of the Sansevero family before passing, bestowed by Ferrante in March 1497, to the Acquaviva and in particular to Belisario (ca. 1464–Naples 1528) who was ennobled with the title of count. As was customary in the *laus urbis* genre, Galateo records the province's *viri illustres*, including the celebrated Franciscan preacher Roberto Caracciolo from Lecce[64] and Francesco Securo, a theologian and teacher of metaphysics in the University of Padua,[65] before adding an autobiographical reference to his own education in Nardò.[66] In promoting the revival in the fortunes of this small centre dating back to the Messapic-Greek era in Puglia, Acquaviva (whom Galateo always refers to in tones of admiration)[67] revived a tradition of studies which had deep roots and had never been completely extinguished and transformed the town into the seat of an academy which was modelled on the style of intellectual encounter and conversation found in Pontano's academy, but which also took into account the academy in nearby Lecce, adopting its local character and proud adherence to Puglia's cultural traditions. The academy's links with Naples certainly drew on its unfading connections to the surviving members of Pontano's circle, above all Pietro Summonte, but, more importantly, by the way it actively revived the philosophical and ideological approaches outlined by Pontano in his treatises. Summonte himself, at the beginning of his prefat-

63 Galateo (ed. Defilippis) 2005, 18, 26, 64.

64 Zafarana 1976, 446–452.

65 See Defilippis' introduction to Galateo (ed. Defilippis) 2005, 136.

66 Galateo (ed. Defilippis) 2005, 18, 29, 65.

67 For example, in the *Vituperatio litterarum* Galateo refers to Belisario praising his military prowess and his learning at the same time. In this connection see Galateo (ed. Andrioli Nemola) 1991; Tateo 1991, 63–81.

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ory letter to Acquaviva's *De instituendis liberis principum*, stressed the shared ideological position of the two academies amid the general decline in humanistic studies brought about by the reduced attention to classical authorities ("litterarum et bonarum artium studia [...] a regibus ac principibus viris derelicta").[68] Evoking Belisario's military career, Galateo lists his works which, he opines, restore its former lustre and dignity to an otherwise forgotten literature ("ab humili loco ac sorde in veterem dignitatem ac solitum decus vindicari"). It is true that Belisario's writings engage in dialogue, on various levels, with contemporary literary production and express a particular sensibility and ideology which had emerged in the new cultural and social contexts of the Viceroyalty and the position of the nobility within it.[69]

The close connections of the Acquaviva family with Pontano's school of thought and with the legacy of the master can also be seen in abundance in the activities of Belisario's brother, Andrea Matteo III (1458–Conversano 1529). He too was distinguished for his literary education, received for the most part in Naples, and his military abilities, which made him one of the hardiest *condottieri* of the period. While he did not always follow the Aragonese 'line' and was occasionally in open conflict with the monarchs, he was known as a splendid prince, patron, humanist, and bibliophile.[70] Summonte in the dedication of his edition of Pontano's *De fortuna* (to Giacomo Alfonso Ferrillo count of Muro) stresses his gratitude to Acquaviva who had paid for the printing.[71] He was also a theoretician of music[72] and had an excellent knowledge of Greek, learnt at Stiso's school, as his translation, with commentary, of Plutarch's *De virtute morali* shows. His patronage extended to setting up a printing shop under the direction of Antonio Frezza from Corinaldo, in the family palace in Naples.[73] In recognition of his philosophical interests, Pontano dedicated to him one of his last works of moral philosophy, the *De magnanimitate*.[74]

68 *Bellisario Aquivivo Neritonorum duci P. Summontius s.*, in Acquaviva 1519, A/1 *verso*.

69 Tufano 2013, 211–261.

70 In his palace in Atri Acquaviva assembled a very fine library rich in valuable manuscripts, for example, Naples, Biblioteca dei Girolamini, ms. CF.III.6, containing the works of Pliny the Younger, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Paris. Lat. 10764, containing Ptolemy's *Geographia*. See Bianca 1996, 39–53; Tateo 1983, 371–384. For Andrea Matteo III see Abbamonte, de Divitiis, and D'Urso in this volume.

71 Summonte dedicated to Acquaviva his edition of Pontano's monumental work of scientific and astronomical/astrological interest, *De rebus coelestibus*.

72 He wrote a treatise in Latin *De musica*; see Fabris 1988, 67–87.

73 Manzi 1971, 165–220.

74 Pontano (ed. Tateo) 1969, *Prologus*, 1–2.

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The Circles of Fondi and Benevento

The circle which gathered in Fondi between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century also took shape around one of the most famous *condottieri* of the time, Prospero Colonna, and was ideologically linked to the Neapolitan school of Pontano. It was not an academy in the proper sense of the term, but rather a culturally lively court, marked by a humanism which, with the presence of poets such as Francesco Peto (Fondi 1470/1480–after 1531), with his connections with Pontano's teaching, and Agostino Nifo (Sessa 1469/1470–1538), was recognizably derived from Pontano.[75] Colonna had acquired the *contea* of Fondi by force of arms from the Caetani during the invasion of Charles VIII; under his rule it became an obligatory stopping-off point for any intellectual journeying to and from Naples and Rome. After the death of Prospero's son, Vespasiano, his widow Giulia Gonzaga (1513–1566), known for her noble descent, cultural accomplishments, and great beauty, revived the circle between 1528 and 1535,[76] inviting such guests as Francesco Maria Molza, Bernardo Tasso, Annibal Caro, Luigi Tansillo, Matteo Bandello, Giovanni Betussi, and Ippolito de' Medici. In contrast to the use of Latin which had characterized the circle in Prospero's time, there was a preference for the vernacular, deemed "more appropriate in a circle led by a woman, but also more adapted to the contemporary cultural context to which the new writers in Fondi belonged".[77] The profound crisis of religious faith which engulfed Giulia Gonzaga in 1536, her support for the movement for spiritual reform led by Juan de Valdés, and her departure from Fondi to take up residence in Naples, led to the decline of the circle there.

Alongside academies which had established identities and programmes, there were other circles whose formal presence is harder to define given the lack of associated documentary sources. The circle formed in Benevento by Vincenzo Franco (Benevento ca. 1500–1556), the brother of the better-known Niccolò, is worth mentioning in this context. Franco was a teacher who wrote commentaries on classical texts, an antiquarian, epigraphist, and, like his brother, a poet.[78] Again, rather than an academy in the formal sense, this was a circle of young men connected to leading Beneventan families—the better known figures include Antonio Soriceo, Rainiero Mansella, and Giampietro

75 Miletti 2018, 146–149.
76 Dall'Olio 2001.
77 Miletti and Milone 2013 (2016).
78 Miletti 2015, 804–810.

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Carafa (who became pope Paul IV)—who gathered round their charismatic and beloved teacher Vincenzo Franco, who died in 1556.

The continuity with which the Accademia Pontaniana was remembered and imitated by the actual academies and more informal circles which came after it and wished to renew its model, above all the role it played in a wider culture, allows us to reconstruct, piece by piece, the map of humanism in the Kingdom of Naples, with a particular focus on the intellectual exchanges which took place between the capital and the provinces in the early decades of the 16th century. The history of the academies in the Kingdom reveals the cultural aspirations and developments of the region and also enables us to draw a detailed map of their geographical distribution, including specifically local interests, schools, tastes and attitudes: it traces, in short, a cultural history, part of a highly significant historical and political context, which made a valuable contribution to European culture between the 16th and 17th centuries.

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CHAPTER 21

The Libraries of Humanists and of the Elites

Giancarlo Abbamonte

The Ambiguous Concept of 'Library' in Humanistic Studies

The purpose of this essay is to shed light on some libraries in southern Italy during the Early Modern Age. But, since scholars have given many different meanings to the word 'library', we first of all need to show the significance of the term 'library' in the present essay. In a recent Italian book entitled *Biblioteche nel Regno tra Tre e Cinquecento*,[1] in which both the subject and time frame are very close to those which are going to be discussed here, the word 'library' is used in different ways by the various contributors to the volume. In some essays the term 'library' corresponds to the sources quoted or used by an author in his works: thus quotations would reveal the books read by the author and provide a way of knowing about his library.[2] Other contributors make use of the word 'library' in order to illustrate the presence of a classical author in the works published in southern Italy during the early modern age.[3] Sometimes 'library' refers to the works which circulated either as manuscripts or printed editions in southern Italy and which might reveal the literary preferences of southern Italian readership.[4]

The first meaning in particular given to the word 'library' can be problematic, as we see from Palumbo's essay on the humanist Giuniano Maio (ca. 1430–1493) in the above-mentioned book.[5] Maio's major work is the Latin lexicon entitled *De priscorum proprietate verborum*, printed in Naples in 1475 by Mathias Moravus (ISTC im00095000). In the dedication to the Aragonese King Ferrante, Maio lists a huge number of authors he claims to have consulted.[6]

1 Corfiati and De Nichilo 2009.

2 See De Nichilo 2009; partially Haywood 2009 and Palumbo 2009, who focus on the works quoted by the grammarian Giuniano Maio (on Maio see below).

3 Iurilli 2009.

4 Girardi 2009.

5 See Palumbo 2012, but also Palumbo 2009.

6 The dedication was edited by Ricciardi 1968, 302–303, and Palumbo 2009, 86–87; Maio lists the following works: the commentaries of Servius on Virgil, of Donatus on Terence, of Porphyrio and the Ps. Acron on Horace, of Asconius Pedianus on Cicero. The grammar texts of Priscian, Varro on the Latin language, the lexicographical works of Nonius and Paul

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However, as Palumbo rightly points out, the list represents a sort of 'alleged library' rather than the real sources used by Maio, who neither mentions most of the ancient works listed in the dedicatory letter in the entries of the lexicon, nor uses them elsewhere.[7] Maio included this list because he wanted to locate his work as part of the most advanced trends in fifteenth-century lexicography, represented by Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantie*, Giovanni Tortelli's *De orthographia*, Giovanni Pontano's *De aspiratione*, all of which drew on an extremely wide range of Latin sources. Moreover, Maio's dictionary depends, to a degree which still needs to be properly evaluated, on an unpublished lexicon written by his teacher, Antonio Calcillo da Sessa (first quarter of the 15th ca. after 1475).[8] In particular, many quotations in Maio's entries are taken from Calcillo's works: as a result they cannot be seen as evidence of what was actually in Maio's own 'library'.[9]

Since the word 'library' can have different and ambiguous interpretations, the present essay will focus exclusively on libraries, of which the existence in early modern southern Italy is proved either because there are a certain number of copies from them which survive or because lists of the books which were once contained in these libraries have been preserved. In this way, by referring to actual libraries (whether they still exist or not) I hope to shed light on the cultural interests of their owners.

However, I am aware that this choice also raises questions, for the existence of a library in a particular house does not imply *ipso facto* that the owners and their families read the books contained in their library: the only evidence that a book has actually been used remains the presence of notes added by a reader.[10] Nevertheless, the foundation of private and public libraries is a characteristic aspect of fifteenth-century Italy. In 1444 Cosimo de' Medici inaugurated in Florence, at the convent of San Marco, the first library open to Florentine citizens. Subsequently many Italian rulers regarded the presence of libraries in

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the Deacon, miscellaneous works of Gellius and Macrobius, Strabo's *Geography*, translated from Greek into Latin by Guarino Veronese and Gregorius Tiphernas (born in Città di Castello, Lat. *Tifernum*).

7 On the 'library' of Maio see Palumbo 2009, 14–19.

8 On Calcillo see Ricciardi 1968.

9 In Ricciardi 1968 it is convincingly argued that Maio's lexicon is a forgery of Calcillo's unpublished work.

10 Although the humanist Giovanni Pontano had a large library in his house, he testifies that in his old age he used to spend much time in the library of the convent of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples. For this reason it is difficult to establish through Pontano's citations alone if he owned a copy of the book he is quoting from or read it elsewhere. See De Nichilo, 2009, 154–160.

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their palaces as a distinctive sign of the new image of enlightened politicians[11] elaborated in Italy by humanists since Petrarch and Colucci Salutati.[12] In his treatise *De magnificentia*, Pontano lists the establishment of libraries among the duties of modern politicians, referring to the precedents of the ancient rulers Ptolemy, Lucullus, and Augustus:[13]

> In our time Cosimo de' Medici imitated ancient magnificence by building temples and villas and by establishing libraries. Ptolemy spent a great deal of money collecting books and organizing the library of Alexandria. Alongside other reasons to praise Lucullus for his splendour and magnificence can be added the merit of having set up a rich and beautiful library, which was accessible to all. For this library he built arcades in which to walk. Augustus, not content with having built the very famous temple dedicated to Apollo on the Palatine, decided to build a portico for the Greek and Latin library.[14]
>
> PONTANO, *Magnif*. 11, author's transl.

However, libraries became status symbols not only for the ruling dynasties, but also for noble families, who based their power on the traditional feudal control of territory. Unfortunately, we are far from having comprehensive information on the libraries which were created in all the towns, castles, and palaces by the feudal nobility of southern Italy. Even when there are sources which provide information about the existence of a library, we are often unable to estimate the quantity and quality of the books these libraries contained for many reasons.

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11 The library of Malatesta Novella in Cesena, of Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, now in the Vatican library, and the manuscripts and inventories of the first Vatican library, founded by Pope Nicholas V survive today. Instead, the libraries of Alfonso of Aragon, king of Naples, and of the Visconti and Sforza ruling families in Milan are largely lost.

12 I refer here to the theory proposed in Ullman 1963.

13 On the relationship between the cultural models described in the works written by Pontano, Galateo, and Tristano Caracciolo and the noble circles of the Aragonese kingdom see Vitale 1987.

14 "Aetate nostra Cosmus Florentinus imitatus est priscam magnificentiam tum in condendis templis ac villis, tum in bybliothecis faciendis […]. Sumptuosissimus fuit in cogendis libris Ptolemaeus statuendaque Alexandrina bybliotheca. Tulit Lucullus, inter alias splendoris ac magnificentiae laudes, hanc quoque comparata numerosa et ornata bybliotheca, quae cunctis pateret, statutis etiam porticibus ad deambulandum. Parum contentus Augustus templum illud nobilissimum Apollinis in Palatio aedificasse […] ac porticum cum Latina Graecaque bibliotheca […] aedificanda curavit". Pontano's *De magnificentia* was edited in Tateo 1965.

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Therefore, the present essay will focus on five libraries, the patrimony of which is well documented: they will be seen as being representative of different models of collecting books, and as individual collections will shed light on the interests and the literary education of their owners. Thus, the libraries of humanist scholars will be represented by the collection of books which belonged to Aulo Giano Parrasio. The libraries of the feudal lords Andrea Matteo Acquaviva d'Aragona and Giovanni Caracciolo represent two different models of noble libraries in southern Italy. Both are testimonies to their owners' interests in classical authors and the education they received which was inspired by humanistic values, but each owner, Acquaviva and Caracciolo, paid different attention to the external aspects of books. As we will see, Acquaviva collected only precious and richly illuminated manuscripts on parchment. His collection of books served to display its owner's nobility and power and corresponds to the ethical model of the magnificent man sketched by Giovanni Pontano in his treatises entitled *On magnificence*. In this work Pontano states that precious books should be regarded as one of the ways to display externally the interior sense of magnificence.[15] Pontano took the ideal model for this kind of magnificence from the Aragonese kings, who possessed an extraordinary collection of precious books in Castel Nuovo. As we will see, this model of what constituted a valuable library was imitated by several noble families throughout southern Italy and by other influential personalities in the Aragonese court, such as the royal secretary Antonello Petrucci. Later on, magnificent libraries were also built by other Italian rulers, such as Federico da Montefeltro, the duke of Urbino, and the Malatesta family, the lords of Rimini and Cesena.[16]

But not all the noble families in southern Italy imitated the Aragonese model: Giovanni Caracciolo's library contained many classical authors, but he seemed not to take any interest in the artistic and economic value of his books, which are often manuscripts on paper without illumination. We cannot exclude the possibility that Caracciolo and other families, like Del Balzo and Gesualdo, whose origins in southern Italy went back centuries and who still felt tied to the Angevin dynasty, did not recognize the validity of the Aragonese model of a library as a display of royal magnificence and their political legitimacy.

15 See Pontano (ed. Tateo) 1965, ch. 11, 101–102. Throughout the chapter Pontano gives examples of ancient and contemporary rulers who founded libraries to show their magnanimity.

16 See Peruzzi 2004, 35–37.

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The library of another nobleman, Orso Orsini, the list of whose books dates from 1476, will be analysed here not only for its contents, but in particular because Orsini's collection was innovative in including printed books, which had been introduced in Italy only some years earlier. Finally, several examples of libraries belonging to members of the intellectual professions, such as physicians and jurists, reveal their particular interests and confirm that humanistic values were not necessarily shared by these classes in southern Italy.

It is also the case that religious libraries played an important role in the dissemination of culture in southern Italy. Nevertheless, the information we have about these libraries is sparse and relates to different periods across the territories of southern Italy: as a result, it does not yet allow us to draw any firmly based conclusions about these libraries.[17]

The Library of a Southern Italian Humanist: Aulo Giano Parrasio

Unfortunately, the libraries of famous Neapolitan humanists such as Panormita, Pontano, and Sannazaro no longer survive. As far as we know from the extant literary sources, they were very rich collections, but today only some manuscripts and incunables remain scattered in different libraries around the world.[18] The libraries of other humanists living in Naples or in the towns of southern Italy have also left no trace with the exception of the extraordinary library which belonged to the humanist Aulo Giano Parrasio (Cosenza, 1470–1521).[19] Parrasio spent his life teaching Latin in many Italian towns (Milan, Vicenza, Padua, Rome, Cosenza), and during his sojourns in these places he collected an impressive number of manuscripts and printed books, which he brought back to his native town, Cosenza, when he retired there in 1519. In his will Parrasio left the entire library to his friend Antonio Seripando,[20] who

17 For Abruzzo we have a catalogue only of the manuscripts belonging to the libraries of the Franciscan monasteries (see Cenci 1971); on the religious libraries of Basilicata see Nigro 1981, 31–49.

18 A list of Pontano's books was compiled by his daughter Eugenia, and published by Filangieri 1985, 50–55. More recently Rinaldi 2007–2008 has discussed Filangieri's results. For Pontano's library see also De Nichilo 2009. Sannazaro's library was studied by Vecce 1987 and Vecce 1998.

19 On Parrasio's life see Lo Parco 1899 and Stok 2014.

20 Parrasio's testament can be found in MS. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Lat. 61 (ex Vindob. Lat. 5559), fol. *28r–v*, and was edited by Tristano 1988, 43–45. On Parrasio see also Iacono, Miletti, and Vecce in this volume. For Parrasio's design for a sepulchral monument see de Divitiis in this volume.

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brought it to Naples after the death of Parrasio,[21] and merged it with his own books; the Parrasio-Seripando library is still partially preserved today in the National Library in Naples. Parrasio's inventory lists 749 items, corresponding to about 543 works. The catalogues of the National Library of Naples record 280 manuscripts and printed books which are subscribed or copied by Parrasio; we are therefore certain that they come from Parrasio's library. A further 80 books, which come from Seripando's library, probably belonged to Parrasio. Thus, we can draw the corresponding conclusion that almost half of Parrasio's original library seems to have been lost.[22]

Notwithstanding this very considerable loss, Parrasio's extant books still allow us not only to explore their owner's intellectual tastes and interests, but also to study how he prepared his works and lessons, as well as how he read, edited, and commented on classical works.[23] The library of Parrasio is a significant case-study of a private collection gathered by an Italian humanist from the generation born in the last decades of the 15th century. Parrasio started to collect books when he was a young student of Greek in Puglia, near Lecce, and then in Corfu.[24] His library contains one of the richest collections of Greek works known to us not only because he studied Greek, but also because of his marriage to Theodora Chalcondila, the daughter of Demetrios Chalcondila, a famous professor of Greek at the university of Milan. During his stay in Milan (1499–1507) Parrasio was involved in the publishing firm run by the Puglian humanist Alessandro Minuziano,[25] where he became aware of the opportunity offered by printed books. He accordingly collected a great number of incunables, which today form the core of the incunable section in the National Library of Naples. In Milan Parrasio also had the chance to buy part of the medieval library of the monastery of Bobbio, which was brought to Milan by the duke Gian Galeazzo Sforza. Parrasio selected many grammatical texts for his own library.[26]

21 Tristano 1988, 17 note 30, wonders whether Seripando immediately acquired Parrasio's library on his death or, as another source suggests, the books were still in Cosenza in 1529.

22 See Manfredini 1985–1986, 139–141, but the data are very uncertain. A catalogue of Parrasio's and Seripando's books is an important *desideratum* in this field of studies.

23 Manfredini 1985–1986 and Tristano 1988 have published the list of books which was annexed to Parrasio's will. The two scholars also tried to identify the entries in the will with the actual manuscripts and printed books which Parrasio possibly owned. Studies on Parrasio's library were published in the books edited by Abbamonte, Gualdo Rosa, and Munzi in 2002 and 2005.

24 See Formentin 2005.

25 On Minuziano see Pellegrini 2010.

26 See the books edited by Gualdo Rosa, Ingegno and Nunziata 1996, and Gualdo Rosa 1999.

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But the library of Parrasio is not only important for its Greek and Latin manuscripts and printed books. His volumes also contain evidence of his scholarly activities with the series of marginal notes or commentaries on classical authors (often still unpublished) which he wrote in them.[27] In particular, Parrasio was interested in ancient history, geography, and mythology and, in order to carry on his researches in these fields, he prepared some manuscripts which were intended for his own use and that of his collaborators, and his most advanced pupils. These manuscripts contain very long lists, alphabetically ordered, of historical, mythological, and geographical names, followed by the names of the ancient authors whose works mention them, together with references to the pages of the manuscript or printed edition in Parrasio's own library where the names are mentioned.[28]

Libraries of the Humanistic Noblemen: Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva d'Aragona's and Giovanni's Caracciolo Lists of Books

As we can see also in the rest of Europe, the nobility of southern Italy spent their lives partly in their palaces in Naples, the capital, and partly in their feudal possessions, dispersed over the Kingdom's territory. The libraries of the two noblemen, Andrea Matteo Acquaviva and Giovanni Caracciolo, are deliberately compared here, since Acquaviva's library belonged to a nobleman who spent the greater part of his life in Naples and housed his books in the libraries of his various residences (in Naples, Atri, and perhaps Conversano), while Caracciolo gathered together his library in the family castle at Melfi (in present-day Basilicata). Although their libraries were located in different geographical contexts, they have many aspects in common and also some differences.

Although Acquaviva (1458–1529) was a man of arms as well as ambassador, he can certainly be considered a humanist, for he was educated by Pontano, knew Greek and translated from Greek into Latin. He also wrote a work on ethics in the form of a lengthy commentary on Plutarch's treatise *On Moral Virtue* (*De virtute morali*).[29] Acquaviva had not only strong interests in literary cul-

27 In his commentary on Parrasio's *De rebus per epistolam quaesitis*, Ferreri 2012 establishes a strong link between this work, written for publication, and the writer's unpublished commentaries.

28 On the method elaborated by Parrasio for tracing the source of an item of information see Abbamonte 2005; Abbamonte and Miranda 2017.

29 On Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva, duke of Atri and prince of Teramo see Miletti, de Divitiis,

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ture, but also in printing: in 1512 he financed the printer Mayr in the reprint of two works which Pontano had dedicated to him (namely the treatises *De rebus coelestibus* and *De magnanimitate*). After about 1519 he installed a press inside his palace in Naples and appointed as manager of this enterprise the humanist and typographer Antonio Frezza da Corinaldo. His press published editions of Pontano's treatises *De fortuna*, *De immanitate*, *De astrologia*, Sannazaro's *De partu Virginis* of (1526),[30] and two works by Acquaviva himself, namely a prayer book (1519)[31] and his masterpiece, the already mentioned Latin translation, accompanied by the Greek text and philosophical commentary on Plutarch's *De virtute morali* (1526).[32]

Acquaviva's rich collection of manuscripts, praised at the time by the humanist Cantalicio,[33] is now scattered in many libraries. Most of the books are preserved in the Austrian National Library in Vienna, the city to which his manuscripts had been taken by Sambucus (1563), and in the library of the Oratorian convent of the Girolamini in Naples, whilst other manuscripts are now in the main libraries of Berlin, London, Paris, New York and in other smaller libraries.[34] The 35 manuscripts which are still extant contain only classical works in Greek and Latin, namely Xenophon, Plutarch, Isocrates, Aristotle and his commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias, the paraphrases of Aristotle's works made by Themistius and translated into Latin by Hermolaus Barbarus, Ptolemy's *Cosmography* translated into Latin, and among the Latin authors Apuleius, the

Milone 2014 (2017). To the bibliography mentioned there can be added Tateo 2009. His political career was characterised up until 1485 by the alliance with the Aragonese king Ferrante, whose niece he married; after that date he dramatically changed course and organised the so-called Conspiracy of the barons against the king. After the failure of the rebellion Acquaviva fought for the rest of his life to keep his territorial possessions against the Aragonese and later Spanish power. Pontano dedicated in 1495 the first book *De rebus coelestibus* and in 1499 the *De magnanimitate* to Acquaviva; Alessandro d'Alessandro dedicated his *Dies geniales* to him and his treatises *De venatione* and *De re militari* to Acquaviva's brother Belisario. Matteo Cantalicio, Minturno, and the Roman Marcello Palonio dedicated poems to Andrea. Among his works, Mazzuchelli mentions a treatise now lost, which was entitled *De equestri ordine*, while Paolo Giovio recalls his otherwise unknown encyclopaedia. On Andrea Matteo III see also de Divitiis, D'Urso, and Iacono in this volume.

30 See CNCE 64246.

31 The book is entitled *Inter dira et orrida Martis arma officium pro cunctis diebus*. See Manzi 1971, 189, and CNCE 235.

32 See CNCE 41642.

33 Acquaviva loved his library, as is shown by an episode told by Croce 1943, 66–68.

34 See Hermann 1898, D'Urso 2020, 228 and the list of Acquaviva's manuscripts published here in Appendix 1. See D'Urso in this volume.

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version of Aratus, Celsus, Cicero, Eutropius, Frontinus, Livy, Pliny the Younger, Seneca, Suetonius.[35] Alongside these still existing manuscripts, the poet Cantalicio, who eulogized Acquaviva's library in a poem, mentions many other Latin works which were present in the library. He refers to Virgil's epic and bucolic works, and the poems of Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Lucretius, while among prose authors he mentions Caesar together with Apuleius and Livy, manuscripts of whose works which once belonged to Acquaviva's collection are still extant.[36]

Although the extant manuscripts provide only a very limited image of the whole library, partially integrated by the information Cantalicio gives us, it would appear that Acquaviva had a preference for works on ethical and scientific subjects. This impression is also confirmed by the selection of Pontano's works which he had reprinted, and by his own commentary on Plutarch's *De virtute morali*. The surviving manuscripts from Acquaviva's library give the impression that this was the typical collection of a wealthy Italian nobleman, who had received a humanist education and had acquired a very good command of Greek and Latin. As with other Italian noblemen in the Quattrocento, it would seem that Acquaviva was not only interested in the content of the classical works he owned, but also in their elegance as manuscripts. Although, as we have seen, he was very familiar with the opportunities offered by the printing press and gave his personal support to this kind of activity, all the extant books from his collection are in fact richly illuminated manuscripts on parchment. In this respect, Acquaviva's collection cannot have been very different from the other libraries built up by Italian noblemen in the Quattrocento, such as Federico da Montefeltro, the duke of Urbino, who wanted only parchment manuscripts, preferably illuminated, in his famous library.[37]

However, the model for Acquaviva's library can be found not in Montefeltro's collection, but in one which was much closer to him, namely the library established by Alfonso the Magnanimous in his castle in Naples and added to by his successors. Indeed, the Aragonese collection of precious manuscripts represented a model not only for Acquaviva, but for many noble families across southern Italy.[38] From what we know about the royal library, Alfonso preferred

35 See Appendix 1.

36 On the manuscripts of Apuleius and Livy which belonged to Acquaviva see D'Urso 2020, 219, 223, and Appendix 1.

37 See Peruzzi 2004, in particular 76–78, the section entitled *Il libro ideale per la corte*, and for Acquaviva D'Urso, in this volume.

38 The Aragonese library was one of the political symbols of Trastámara magnificence: see d'Alós-Moner 1924 and Ruggiero 2009, 171–174.

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to have parchment manuscripts in his collection.[39] The monetary value of this library is shown by an episode which occurred during Ferrante's reign: in 1481, he used the books of the royal collection together with other precious objects as warranty for a war loan of 38,000 ducats requested from the Florentine banker Battista Pandolfini, in order to finance a military expedition against the Ottoman troops which had occupied Otranto.[40] Also Ferrante's successor, Alfonso II, like his grandfather and namesake collected splendid manuscripts and emulated his father, as Pontano reports in his *De splendore*:

> Alfonso, son of Ferdinand, followed his grandfather in his passion for collecting books, which he wanted not only to be numerous, but also richly illuminated, in order to rival in magnificence not only all other such collections, but also his own father's.[41]
>
> PONTANO, *De splendore* 4; author's transl.

Moreover, other members of the Trastámara family collected precious books: the young and short-lived cardinal Giovanni of Aragon (1456–1485), son of Ferrante and brother of Alfonso II, owned a collection of books which included both magnificent parchment manuscripts, mostly illuminated, and printed books, which were illuminated at the expense of Giovanni of Aragon.[42]

Even an individual like the influential counsellor of the king Antonello Petrucci (1420–1487), who did not come from the nobility, imitated the magnificence of the royal library in collecting precious illuminated parchment manuscripts. Some of Petrucci's manuscripts were included among those offered by Ferrante in 1481 as warranty for the above-mentioned war loan.[43]

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39 Lorenzo Valla argued against Bartolomeo Facio that his historical work on the father of Alfonso, Fernando I of Antequera, had not been definitively published, because the manuscript containing this work, offered by Valla to Alfonso, was written on paper rather than parchment. As a consequence, it was considered not to be worth keeping this manuscript in the royal library. See Valla (ed. Regoliosi) 1981, 14, and Facio (ed. Rao) 1978, 122, 23–123, 30.

40 The list of the books given by Ferrante as warrant was first published by Omont 1909, 456–470, and then by De Marinis 1969, I, 187–192.

41 "Secutus est avum Alphonsus, Ferdinandi filius, in excolendis libris, quos non solum multos, sed luculenter ornatos habere voluit, ad quod tum alios quosdam, tum etiam patrem provocavit". Pontano (ed. Tateo) 1965, 152.

42 On the collection of Giovanni of Aragon see Haffner 1997, in particular 108–113 on the presence of incunables in Giovanni of Aragon's collection.

43 They are the *item* in the list published by Omont 1909 (see above note 40), where we read the word *Secretario*.

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Petrucci's entire library, which contained both Greek and Latin works, was subsequently confiscated by the king after Petrucci was indicted for taking part in the second baronial rebellion and executed.[44]

The economic value of the books in a private collection is sometimes the reason why we know about the collection, as we can see in the case of the books which belonged to the nobleman Giovanni Caracciolo. Caracciolo took part in the second Conspiracy of the barons against Ferrante and was arrested in 1487. Among Caracciolo's goods, which were confiscated by the King, there were also twenty-five manuscripts found in his castle at Melfi, which were selected by the royal officers and sent to Naples; a list of them survives.[45] Later these manuscripts were taken by the king of France, Charles VIII, and transferred to France, where they are still to be found, in the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF).[46]

Giovanni Caracciolo (b. at some point in the first half of the 15th century-d. after 4 July 1487) was a member of one of the most influential families in southern Italy from the time of the Anjou dynasty. His ancestor, Sergianni, was the lover of the Durazzo-Anjou queen of Naples, Giovanna II. During the first half of the 15th century, Caracciolo's family supported the Anjou side in the war of succession for the Kingdom of Naples.[47] After the victory of Alfonso the Magnanimous, Giovanni was initially loyal to both Alfonso and to his son, Ferrante, when he succeeded his father (1458). However, as early as 1460 and then again in 1486 Caracciolo took part in the two Conspiracies of the barons against Ferrante. He was forgiven by Ferrante on the first occasion but after the second rebellion he was arrested on 4 July 1487 and later died in prison.[48]

Caracciolo's goods, found in his castle of Melfi, were confiscated by Ferrante and then sold. In the list of the confiscated items the king's officer in charge of the operation recorded the presence of two boxes containing books: "A box containing 31 books: some of these books have a cover, some are loose quires; there are also some written documents, 36 bound books in small and large sizes" (author's transl.).[49]

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44 On Petrucci's collection see Ruggiero 2009 and De Marinis 1969, vol. 1, 143–259, where the author writes about the libraries confiscated by Ferrante.

45 The list was published by De Marinis 1969, vol. 1, 151, and is published below in Appendix 2.

46 Thanks to the lists of confiscated books Tammaro De Marinis was able to reconstruct the library of Ferrante: see De Marinis 1969 and Vitale 1968, 64–73.

47 Giovanni Caracciolo's mother was the daughter of Giacomo Caldora, a nobleman from Abruzzo and a fierce enemy of the Aragonese family: see Petrucci 1976.

48 On Giovanni Caracciolo see Petrucci 1976.

49 "una cassa con xxxi pezi de libri intavolati et certi altri squaternati et altre scripture,

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We cannot say if the abovementioned twenty-five manuscripts which are still extant today were found in these boxes. They were, however, taken by the King and added to the royal library. Caracciolo's collection raises the general question of how best to interpret lists of confiscated books. This kind of document does not represent the owner's entire library, but only the books which were selected by whoever carried out the confiscation.[50] In the case of the twenty-five manuscripts which belonged to Caracciolo, they give only a partial image of his whole library (and we cannot exclude the possibility that they were acquired for his brother Giacomo who was intended for the Church as a profession).[51] Nevertheless, since we have to rely on what remains of Caracciolo's collection, it is justifiable to note that the subjects of the extant manuscripts are not too remote from what we know about Giovanni's own interests and education. Although he was above all a politician, a feudal lord, and a soldier,[52] he was also a member of the Pontano academy and seems to have received some sort of humanistic education, inferior in terms of quality and duration to that of Acquaviva and Petrucci, but not essentially different from their formation. Therefore, while we do not find among Caracciolo's books Greek manuscripts (since he did not study the language), the majority of the works nevertheless are either classics, sometimes translated into the vernacular, or commentaries on classical texts: Aesop, Aristotle translated into Latin, many works of Cicero with the commentaries on *Laelius* and *De officiis*, Ovid's *Epistle*, together with part of the same poet's *Metamorphoses* and translations of the *Ars amatoria*, Livy, Seneca's tragedies, texts by Lucan with commentaries on Lucan, Terence, Valerius Maximus, and Virgil.

Some works clearly answered an educational purpose, like the commentaries on classical texts, Nicolas Trevet's commentary on Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, the grammar of Alexander of Villedieu entitled *Doctrinale* and the *Derivationes*, a Latin lexicon compiled by Hugo of Pisa. Among the other manuscripts belonging to Caracciolo there are also legal texts and some theological works by Thomas Aquinas; the latter were probably intended for his

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xxxxvi pezi de libri legati tra pizoli e grandi". See Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli (hereafter ASN), *Informazioni dei rilevi*, vol. 252, fols. 189 and 198. The text was published by Vitale 1968, 64 and De Marinis 1969, vol. 1, 147.

50 On the problems of interpreting a 'library' on the basis of any kind of selection of books from it see Vecce 2017, 7–8.

51 Nigro 1981, 28.

52 Vitale pays scarce attention to Giovanni 's humanistic education, insisting instead on the practical aspects of his life. For a different point of view see Nigro 1981, 25–31.

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brother Giacomo's use. The manuscripts belonging to Caracciolo which survive today do not have the elegant appearance of those in Acquaviva's and Petrucci's collections.

Closely resembling Caracciolo's collection of manuscripts is the list of books belonging to another nobleman and fellow-conspirator of Caracciolo's, Angilberto Del Balzo (Naples ?–1487), which were similarly confiscated by Ferrante when Angilberto was arrested in 1487 accused of being a member of the Conspiracy of the barons.[53] This list reveals the interests of a nobleman such as Del Balzo in classical Latin authors, whose works we have already found in the books belonging to both Caracciolo and Acquaviva: Cicero's *Laelius*, Seneca's tragedies, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In addition, Del Balzo collected the works of Augustine and shows a special interest in theology and Jewish religious texts. Again, like Caracciolo's, his manuscripts have no value as artefacts.

In general, if Caracciolo's (and Del Balzo's) manuscripts are not so far removed, in terms of their content, from those possessed by Acquaviva and Petrucci, their material appearance seems to be different. Most of Caracciolo's manuscripts are not written on vellum and nor are they illuminated. In this respect, they do not satisfy the social function of representing the magnificence of their owner, as we have seen to be the case with Acquaviva's, Petrucci's, and the royal collections. The possibility cannot be excluded that the ancient families in the southern Italian nobility, like the Caracciolo, Del Balzo and Gesualdo, did not pay much attention to the new symbols of power, such as magnificent display, which were promoted by the Aragonese family and their court, whose legitimacy all these families questioned fiercely. The lack of interest of Caracciolo in the external appearance of his books is shown not only by the fact that most of them are on paper, but also by the presence of several printed books. One is an incunable edition of Terence's *Comedies*, still extant in Paris (see Appendix 2 *item* 17), while another printed book, now lost, is recorded in the list of confiscated items as "[a] printed book containing Cicero's speeches" (author's transl.).[54]

53 On Angilberto Del Balzo see Petrucci 1988. In Appendix 3 below there is the list of Del Balzo's books confiscated by Ferrante.

54 "Un altro libro a stampa che so le oracioni de Tulio". See Naples, Archivio di Stato, *Informazioni dei rilevi*, vol. 252, f. 198.

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The Library of a Nobleman Interested in Printed Books: Orso Orsini

While Caracciolo was ready to acquire printed books for his library, the arrival of the printing press in Italy did not mean that printed books were admitted *ipso facto* into the most prestigious Italian libraries. On the contrary, in the *De magnificentia* Pontano does not mention printed books; in the list of books confiscated by Ferrante from the rebel barons we find hardly any entries referring to printed books: it is possible that the king ordered such books to be omitted; Acquaviva financed a printing house but preferred richly decorated and bound manuscripts for his own library. Many episodes would seem to indicate that printed books were scarcely admitted into the magnificent libraries which existed in the Kingdom.

It is therefore very interesting that in a list of books belonging to Orso Orsini (d. 1479), lord of Nola, we find many printed books.[55] This list was officially prepared and dated by Orso himself on 10 May 1476, three years before his death. Among the 34 books listed by Orso, 13 are certainly printed books while one (item 21) was probably printed,[56] the remaining 20 are mostly manuscripts on parchment. Orso Orsini was a nobleman who spent his entire life on military service and was a successful captain. He was initially an enemy and then a strong and loyal ally of the Trastámara kings: in 1477 he dedicated to Ferrante a military treatise in the vernacular entitled *Governo et exercitio de la militia*.[57]

We do not have any information about Orso's education except what we can derive from his treatise and from the abovementioned list of books.[58] We know for certain, however, that he was not educated by famous humanists as Petrucci and Acquaviva were, nor does he seem to have had any knowledge of Greek, Orso's literary and cultural interests in classical texts are in line with the tastes of other southern Italian noblemen. Moreover, the list of Orso's books contains

55 On Orso Orsini, whose year of birth is unknown, see Vitale 2013, and Senatore 2018. The list of Orsini's books has been published by Senatore 2018, 1482–1484, and is published again here in Appendix 4.

56 The entry says: "it(em) Tullio d(e) Officiis, de Amicitia, d(e) Senectute et le Paradoxe". While the other entries referring to manuscripts generally mention title and author, this item lists the four works of Cicero contained in the book: probably they were listed by hand on the back cover or on the first page, which is blank, of the printed edition. Cicero's works listed in the item were printed together with *De natura deorum* and *De divinatione* by Sweynheym and Pannartz (Rome 1471) (ISTC ic00558000).

57 The text was edited by Pieri 1933, 126–179.

58 De Divitiis 2016, and Senatore 2018, 1467–1470 refer to the works of art commissioned and financed by Orso for his palaces in Naples and Nola.

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so many classical authors, both Latin and Greek (in Latin translation), that his interests in these works actually come across as much stronger than those we can assume from Caracciolo's and Angilberto Del Balzo's lists: the prevalence of classical texts in Orso's library makes his collection closer to those of Acquaviva and Petrucci.

In particular, Orso seems to prefer classical authors who provide scientific information on the ancient world: he acquired Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, Lactantius' *Divine Institutes*, and both Strabo's *Geography* and Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of Philosophers* translated into Latin. He also paid great attention to ancient history, as is shown by the presence of works by Caesar, Livy, and Curtius Rufus, as well as Justin's *Epitome*, Plutarch's *Lives*, Augustine's *City of God*. Orso's list contains also rhetorical and philosophical works by Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca, and many Christian works: namely, the Old and the New Testament, a Psaltery, the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Jerome's *Letters*, Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, and what was probably a life of Saint Francis.[59]

As has already been pointed out, we cannot assume from lists of books included in a library that the owner actually read these texts, but in the case of Orso his interests in the classics seem genuine, as is confirmed by two books, Cicero's *Orations* and Frontinus' *Strategemata*, which he borrowed from the royal secretary Francesco Scales, in order to read them.[60]

Unfortunately, Orso's library no longer survives. Of the listed books only two manuscripts have been identified thanks to the presence of his coat of arms: the MS. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereafter BNE) Res. 43, containing Seneca's *Opera* and corresponding to item 17 of the list;[61] the MS. BNE, VITR/22/9 containing Curtius Rufus's *Historiae Alexandri Magni* and corresponding to item 20 of the list (fig. 64). In addition, the presence of the inscription 'duca d'assolo' has enabled Teresa D'Urso to identify Orso Orsini's own copy of his treatise *Governo et exercitio de la militia*, with ms. BnF, *It.* 958.[62]

What makes Orsini's collection exceptional and extraordinarily modern for his times was his choice of collecting for his library the first productions of the printing press in the early 1470s. The first printing house was established in Italy at Subiaco, near Rome, by two German collaborators of Gutenberg, Con-

59 From the meagre information given in the entries in the list the supposition is that Orsini mainly bought editions printed in Rome by Sweynheym and Pannartz and by Ulderich Han, since almost all the listed works had at least one edition produced by these printers.

60 Senatore 2018, 1472.

61 Senatore 2018, 1476 and 1483.

62 I am grateful to Teresa D'Urso for giving me this information.

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rad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, around 1465.[63] In 1468 they moved to Rome, where in the early 1470s other printers also arrived from the German area.[64] The presence of many printed editions in Orso's list as early as 1476 shows that he was aware from a very early stage of the opportunities which were offered by the new technology for producing books. As Francesco Senatore has pointed out, Orso had a great capacity for the wise administration of his territorial possessions and was able to restore and embellish his palaces in Naples and in Nola.[65] It is probable that his preference for printed books, which were much cheaper than manuscripts, corresponds to the same attitude shown towards his palaces. Orso wanted to provide his family with a good library, in terms of content, and in a short time and with a limited budget. Faced with these conditions, Orso invested in printed books in order to bridge the gap which separated his branch of the Orsini family from the other noble families in Naples, proud of their rich libraries.

In the years after Orso we encounter an increasing number of printed books in the libraries of the southern Italian nobility. Thus, in the list of the books confiscated by Ferrante in 1494 from Loise Gesualdo, a member of the powerful family which controlled the territory round Avellino, the majority of the 168 books found in the three libraries which belonged to the family were printed (132).[66]

Books of Physicians and Doctors in Law

Collections of books change dramatically in terms of the cultural and literary choices they reveal when we look at lists of books belonging to members of the so-called professional middle classes in southern Italy. They are usually physicians and jurists, who acquired their training at university and earned their

63 At Subiaco Sweynheym and Pannartz published Lactantius's *Divine Institutes* (1465 ISTC il00001000), Augustine's *City of God* (1467 ISTC ia01230000) and perhaps Cicero's *De oratore* (1465 ic00654000). The works of Lactantius and Augustine are included in the list of Orso Orsini's books.

64 On the introduction of printing in Rome see the volumes edited by Massimo Miglio, in particular Bussi (ed. Miglio) 1978, Miglio 1992, and by Miglio and Rossini 1997.

65 See Senatore 2018, 1473–1474.

66 The list was published by Del Treppo 2001. The three libraries belonging to the Gesualdo family were in the palace of Calitri (59 books), the most important family residence, in the monastery of Santa Maria in Elce (89 books), and in the palace belonging to Loise's brother at Fontanarosa (20 books). Some books were confiscated also from the castle of Palo.

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living thanks to practising their professions. Some lists of the books belonging to such figures can be found in public registers, where they were usually annexed by notaries to the legacies they had drawn up.[67]

Thus, in the inventory of the goods belonging to the physician Antonio Damiano from Teggiano (Diano), compiled by his widow on 10 October 1499, there are entries for books, although it is not easy to identify the corresponding works:[68]

i. A book by the physician Giacomo da Forlì;
ii. A book by the physician Ugo Benzio from Siena;
iii. Niccolò Falcucci from Florence's *De membris exterioribus*;[69]
iv. Averroes's *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*, translated into Latin;
v. Avicenna's *De viribus cordis*, translated into Latin by Arnaldo de Villanova;
vi. An unidentified work of Thomas Aquinas;
vii. Ugo Benzio's *Expositio super aphorismos Hippocratis et super commentum Galeni*;
viii. Niccolò Falcucci from Florence's *De febribus*;[70]
ix. Giovanni Arcolano from Verona's *Expositio in Avicennae canonis quarti fen primum*;
x. Niccolò Falcucci from Florence's *Third Part* of the *Sermones medicinales*;
xi. Niccolò Falcucci from Florence's *Fourth Part* of the *Sermones medicinales*;
xii. Niccolò Falcucci from Florence's *Seventh Part* of the *Sermones medicinales*;
xiii. Avicenna's *Canon medicinae*;
xiv. Niccolò Falcucci from Florence's *Third Speech* of the *Sermones medicinales*;
xv. An unidentified work, whose *incipit* is: *obmissis superfluis narrationibus quibusdam* (Giacomo da Forlì?);
xvi. An unidentified work, whose *incipit* is: *aliquid vero talia dicuntur piczulo* (probably Petrus Hispanus's *Tractatus* III, 17);

67 Some lists of books belonging to members of the middle class were published by Bresciano 1901.

68 The inventory is transcribed by Bresciano 1901, 27–31. Here only the titles of the works which Bresciano and I have been able to identify are given.

69 A part of the *Sermones medicinales*.

70 A further part of the *Sermones medicinales*.

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xvii. A work of Giovanni Arcolano;
xviii. A *Liber viatici*;
xix. John Canonicus's *Quaestiones super Physica Aristotelis* (printed);
xx. An unidentified work of Egidius Romanus;[71]
xxi. An unidentified work, whose *incipit* is: *he natura sciencia fere plurima videtur*;
xxii. An unidentified work entitled *comientum* (sic) *super libros phisicorum*;
xxiii. An unidentified work, whose *incipit* is: *postquam vidi librum diascoridis et librum G.*;
xxiv. An unidentified work entitled *Nove traslacionj de phisico auditu*;
xxv. A work written by an unidentified author: *libro scripto ad mano per Roberto gallita de caua quale ey intitulato liber posteriorum*;
xxvi. A work written by an unidentified author: *libro scripto ad mano per rogiero cocio de neapoli*;
xxvii. An unidentified work entitled *Liber vicesimo posteriorum et vltimjs*;
xxviii. An unidentified work, whose *incipit* is: *vomentes periculo quicquid exit*;
xxix. Ps. Aristotle's *Liber sex principiorum*, translated into Latin.

In some cases, the entry specifies whether the book was printed or manuscript. The collection of books belonging to Damiano contains only specialised titles connected with his profession of physician. The same specialization can be seen in the list of books belonging to another physician, who was a contemporary of Damiano and lived in Naples.[72]

When we look at the libraries belonging to jurists the same focus on professional specialization can be found among the titles of the books which are listed, as can be seen in the inventory of books belonging to the jurist Marco Scannapeco from Cava (present-day Cava de' Tirreni), whose books were deposited in three boxes in the monastery of San Marcellino in Naples, where a relative of Scannapeco's was probably resident. The inventory is dated 1st September 1491:[73]

i. A parchment manuscript containing the *Constitutions* of Pope Clement v and other juridical works on paper;
ii. Bartolo di Sassoferrato's *Lectura super primam partem Digesti* (paper manuscript);

71 Bresciano 1901, 30, suggests that this item can be identified as the printed edition of the *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*.

72 See the list of the physician Gabriel Nicia, annexed to his will and dated 20 May 1460, which was published by Bresciano 1901, 4–5.

73 See Bresciano 1901, 21–24. In this case the notary records also the material features of the books.

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iii. *Decisiones Rotae Romanae* (printed book);[74]
iv. An unidentified work of the jurist Andrea of Isernia (paper manuscript);
v. Bartolo di Sassoferrato's *Consilia* (paper manuscript);
vi. Bartolo di Sassoferrato's *Lectura super tribus libris codicis* (paper manuscript);
vii. Martinus de Laude's *Tractatus de primogenitura*;
viii. *Septe peczi de repertorio squaternati* (?);
ix. Durante's *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (parchment manuscript),
x. Azzone's *Summa super novem libros Codicis et quatuor Institutionum* (printed);
xi. Bartolo di Sassoferrato's *Lectura super primam partem codicis* (printed);
xii. *Decisiones sive Conclusiones Rotae Romanae* (printed).
xiii. Bartolo di Sassoferrato's *Lectura super secunda parte digesti veteris* (printed);
xiv. An unidentified work by Bartolo di Sassoferrato (parchment manuscript);
xv. *Consuetudines feudorum*;
xvi. Filippo Decio's *Commentaries on* Digest and *Codex* (*De testamentis*);
xvii. Bartolo di Sassoferrato's *Lectura super prima parte Infortiati* (printed);
xviii. Anonymous works.

As we can see from the list of books belonging to Scannapeco, he specialized in civil and canon law and his education followed the models of the medieval university system rather than the humanistic curriculum.[75] In general, we have the impression that these professional men from the middle classes (whether they were living in Naples or in small urban centres elsewhere in the Kingdom) did not collect books for leisure but only for purposes of their work.

In conclusion, libraries existed in southern Italy and played a meaningful role in the cultural life of the region. The libraries can be classified in terms of their contents and also in terms of the importance given to the external value of the books as objects or artefacts, which itself reflected social distinctions. Thus, the southern Italian nobility collected especially classical works written

74 The *editio princeps* of this work was printed in Rome [around 1470] (ISTC id00103990) and then was reprinted many times until 1491.

75 Bresciano 1901, 18–20, includes the inventory of a Neapolitan from the lesser nobility, Francesco Mormile. Although Mormile shows a certain interest in classical literary works, his inventory contains mostly vernacular authors (Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio) and some religious or scholastic texts in Latin.

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in Latin: although only a few of them knew Greek, many showed interest in Greek literature by reading works translated into Latin. From this point of view the nobility of southern Italy seems to have been deeply influenced by the humanistic ideals developed during the 15th century with their recommendation for the imitation of classical models. Thus, the possession of copies of Cicero's and Seneca's works as part of their libraries became a particular aspect of being noble, a connotation of nobility.

Moreover, in order to stress the magnificence of their family, some noblemen, like Acquaviva, imitated the model of the Aragonese library, where the books were held in regard not only for their content but also for their external beauty. In the library of the Aragonese monarchs, preference was given to richly illuminated manuscripts on parchment. Manuscripts on paper and printed editions were also included in the prestigious libraries of the kings and of their relatives, like the rich collection which belonged to Cardinal Giovanni of Aragon, but they were regarded as products of inferior quality. The collections of other southern Italian noblemen, like Giovanni Caracciolo, Angilberto Del Balzo and Loise Gesualdo, differed from the aesthetic standard of the royal library: they did not pay too much attention to the artistic quality of their books. We cannot exclude the possibility that they were not interested in this aspect of the books because their sense of their noble lineage was such that they felt they did not need to make use of external signs in order to symbolize it.

In this connection, where the external aspects of books had a social role to play, the nobleman Orso Orsini represents an exception with his preference for acquiring printed editions only a few years after the printing press was introduced in Italy. Analogously, the humanist Parrasio understood the increasing role of printed books and collaborated with the printer Minuziano in Milan. Furthermore, he collected not only manuscripts, but also a huge number of printed editions.

In complete contrast to the book collections of the nobility are the libraries which belonged to the so-called middle class, represented by physicians and jurists who had received a university education. The libraries of these professionals correspond precisely to their working interests and contain only books dealing with subjects that were strictly connected to their professional activity. The absence of Greek and Latin authors in these libraries shows on one hand that for these men reading was part of their work and not a leisure activity, while on the other the absence of classical works from their collections is evidence that the universities, where these men received their professional training, remained extraneous to the spread of humanistic values and did not educate their students in the appreciation of the contents of Greek and Latin culture.

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Appendix 1: The List of manuscripts from the Library of Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva

Greek Manuscripts

1) Plutarch, *Moralia*. Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Gr. 119 = α. P. 5.9.
2) Aristotle, *Physica*, *De generatione et corruptione*, *De anima*, copied in 1496 by the priest Roberto Maiorano di Melpignano. Acquaviva commissioned and owned this manuscript. Parchment. fols. 150. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter ÖNB), Phil. gr. 2.
3) [Plut.], *Vitae decem oratorum*; Philostr., *Vitae sophistarum*, Dion. Halic., *De Isocrate*, Isocr. *Opera*, copied and signed by A. Costantino from Otranto. Hermann, *Miniaturhandschriften*, 50, suggests Aquaviva's ownership. Parchment. fols. 188. ÖNB, Phil. gr. 3.
4) Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, copied and signed by Angelo Costantino from Otranto (Ἄγγελος Κωνσταντῖνος ἀπὸ χώρας Ὑδρούσης ἐκ χώρας Στερναδίκτας). Acquaviva commissioned and owned this manuscript. (fig. 63). Parchment. fols. 90. ÖNB, Phil. gr. 4.
5) Aphtonius. ÖNB, Phil. gr. 18.
6) Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, copied and signed by A. Costantino from Otranto. Acquaviva commissioned and owned this manuscript. Parchment. fols. 93. ÖNB, Phil. gr. 29.
7) Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, copied and subscribed by A. Costantino from Otranto. Hermann, *Miniaturhandschriften*, 51, suggests that Aquaviva was its owner. Parchment. fols. 95. ÖNB, Hist. gr. 2.

Latin Manuscripts

1) Eutropius. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, 78 B 23.
2) Sallustius, *De Coniuratione Catilinae*, and *De Bello Iugurthino*. Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale (hereafter BMB), 842.
3) Iustinus. Bloomington, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Poole 13.
4) Lucretius. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 154.
5) Livy. Holkham Hall, 346.
6) Virgil, *Works*. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 6B.
7) *Historia Augusta*. London, British Library (hereafter BL), Add. 19904.
8) Petrarch, *Epistolae familiares*. BL, Add. 22555.
9) Frontinus, *De re militari*. BL, Harley 5221.
10) Svetonius, *De vita Caesarum*. BL, Harley 5342.
11) *Liturgica ad usum ecclesiarum Italo-Graecarum*. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli (hereafter BNN), II. A. 35.

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12) Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Quaestiones*. BNN, III. D. 12
13) Parchment. Themistius, *In Aristotelis Physica*, translated into Latin by Ermolao Barbaro. The manuscript contains also the preface by Ermolaus Barbaro. Acquaviva owned and commissioned this manuscript. fols. 293. Naples, Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini (hereafter BOG), Num. 221 XV/XII.
14) Calcidius, *In Platonis Timaeum*. The manuscript is dated 1507 through the subscription (fol. 139): *Calcidii Commentarium in secundam partem Timaei Platonis finit anno MCCCCCVII die quarto mensis novembris, XI indictione, Aquevive scriptum est per manus domni Viti ad instantiam illustrissimi domini nostri Andrae Mathei de Aquaviva, ducis Hadriae, etc.* (Hermann 1898, 47). Acquaviva owned and commissioned this manuscript. Parchment. fols. 139. BOG, Num. 219, XVI/XVIII.
15) Parchment. Cicero, *De oratore*. Acquaviva owned and presumably commissioned this manuscript (see Hermann 1898, 48–49). fols. 133. BOG, Num. 223, XI/IX.
16) Pliny the Younger, *Letters* and the *Panegiric of Trajan* (copied from the printed edition dated 1501). The manuscript contains Acquaviva's coat of arms and some annotations in the hand of Andrea Matteo.[76] Parchment. fols. 288. BOG, Num. 222, XI/VII.
17) Apuleius, *Metamorphoseos*. The manuscript belonged to Acquaviva. Parchment. fols. 288. BOG, Num. 237, IX/VIII.
18) Aratus, *Astronomica*. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (hereafter PML), M. 389.
19) Cicero, *Letters*. PML, M. 403.
20) Ant. Lepidus Vestinus, *Iulia Nova*. BNF, Lat. 8375.
21) Ptolemy's *Geographia* translated into Latin by Iacopo d'Angelo; the manuscript was copied and illuminated by Bernardo Silvano around 1490.[77] Parchment. fols. 296. BnF, Lat. 10764.
22) Celsus, *De medicina*. BnF, nal 1706.
23) *Officia varia*. San Marino (California), Huntington Library, San Marino (California) (hereafter HLSM), Hm 1046.
24) Cicero, *Letters to his Friends*. HLSM, Hm 1028.
25) Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium*. Acquaviva owned and presumably commissioned this manuscript. Parchment. fols. 195. ÖNB, 7, Phil. 9.

76 On this manuscript see Miletti, de Divitiis, Milone 2014 (2017); Tateo 2009, 24.
77 On this manuscript see De Marinis 1956; Bianca 1985–1989, 159–173, and the description of the manuscript given by the Bibliothèque nationale de France website: https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc724641.

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26) Livy's *Decas* 3, XV sec., the illuminator is Giacomo da Fabriano (ca. 1466). The manuscript belonged to Acquaviva. Parchment. fols. 285. ÖNB, 14 (Hist. Prof. 63).
27) Themistius, *Paraphrasis in tres libros Aristotelis de anima*, translated into Latin by Ermolaus Barbarus. Acquaviva owned and perhaps commissioned this manuscript, which is dated 1514. Parchment. fols. 138. ÖNB, 36, Phil. 41.
28) Livy's *Decas* 3: Liv. III *Decas*, XVI sec., the manuscript was copied and signed by the scriber Clemente from Salerno. It belonged to Acquaviva. Parchment. fols. 285. ÖNB, 45 (Hist. Prof. 64).

Appendix 2: List of the Manuscripts from the Library of Giovanni Caracciolo and Confiscated by King Ferrante[78]

1) Latin translation of Aesop's *Fables*. Signed by *Johannes de Grossido castellanus Candidum tenens*. Paper. 14th century. BnF, Lat. 8509.
2) Alexander de Villadei, *Doctrinale*. Signed by Jerolimus [sic] homo fidelis., BnF, Lat. 8155.
3) Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* translated into Latin. With many subscriptions: *Iste liber est Johannis e Aquilegia … Ethica Aristotelis et est mei Baltasari* [*Offeriano* supposed De Marinis] …. *Hunc librum Ethicorum emi ego frater Alexander de Hydrunto, sacre thelogie professor, pro ducatis tribus, dum essem regens Neapoli anno Domini 1476*. Parchment. 14th century. BnF, Lat. 6306.
4) Commentary on Cicero's *De officiis*. Paper. BnF, Lat. 6359.
5) Cicero, *De officiis*. With the following subscription: *Tulius receptus a domino Bernardo pro recordatione deche sibi concesse, die 21 augusti 1425*. BnF, Lat. 6352.
6) Cicero, *Ad familiars*. With the following subscription: *Tulius receptus a domino Bernardo pro recordatione de che sibi concesse, die 21 augusti 1425*. Paper. BnF, Lat. 8612.
7) Commentary on Cicero's *Laelius sive de amicitia*, Horace's *Epistle*, Ovid's *Epistle*, Ovid's *Metamorphoseis* (imperfect) and Virgil's *Eclogue*, Cicero's *De officiis*. 14th or 15th century. BNF, Lat. 6363.

78 See De Marinis 1956, 151. The list is published also by Nigro 1981, 28–31, who gives information on the material features of the manuscripts. When no specific date is given for a manuscript, it is a 15th-century copy.

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8) A collection of juridical works by Leonardus De Lama, Ubertus de Bobbio, Andreas Mariconda, *Reportata clarissimi iuris utriusque interpretis … de verborum obligationibus*. BnF, Lat. 4507.[79]
9) Commentary on Gregory IX's *Decretalium liber tertium*. BnF, Lat. 4038.
10) Hugo of Pisa, *Derivationes*. 14th century. BnF, Lat. 7625.
11) John of Soncino, Commentary on Prudentius' *Dittochaeon* and *Versus differentials*. BnF, Lat. 7554. 14th century, with the following subscription: *Regule Sunzini, scriptum Eve columbe, versus differentiales mei Nicolai, condam Mathei de Sollima de Cicilia et de Messana*.
12) Livy, *First Decas* translated into the vernacular, with the following subscription: *Tulius receptus a domino Bernardo pro recordatione de che sibi concesse, die 21 augusti 1425*. BnF, Ital. 121.
13) Commentary on Lucan's *Pharsalia*, with the following subscription at f. 1r: *Dignum putans ut antiquorum doctus laboribus posteris prolaboret, ego B. existimavi Lucanum exponere*. fourteenth century. BnF, Lat. 8047.
14) Theological Miscellany containing Constantinus de Insula's *Passio Antonii de Ripolis*, the *Epitaphia* of Julius Caesar, Augustus, Furius Camillus and Tiberius, Andrea de Sancto Victore's *Expositio in Isaiam* and *Expositio in Danielem* Paulus de Sancta Maria's *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, Anonymous *Scholia in Hieremiam*. BnF, Lat. 574.
15) Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, translated into vernacular. Parchment. 14th century. BnF, Ital. 591.
16) Seneca, *Tragediae*, translated into vernacular. Paper. With the following subscriptions: *Anno domini mccccxxxiiii, xiii ind., die viii mensis novembris dominus rex Ludovicus, filius domine regine Johanne secunde adoptivus, obiit Cusencie febre … in principio mensis decembris eiusdem anni arenavit quedam balena in plagia Salerni prope Sanctum Leonardum excelse magnitudinis … Anno domini mccccxxxv eiusdem indictionis Johannes Cassanus de Neapolis vicemgerens Calabrie pro domina regina abiis de Salerno versus Calabriae die ultimo decembris*. BNF, Ital. 1096.
17) Terence, *Comoediae*. This is the edition printed in Rome by Johannes Hugonis de Gegenbach about 1481 (ISTC it00080000).[80] BnF, Lat. Y 647.
18) Commentary on Terence's *Comedy*. With the following subscription: *Valete vos auditores; ego Calopius recensui*. BnF, Lat. 7922.
19) Thomas Aquinas, Commentary on the book of Job. Parchment, 1280, with the following subscription at fol. 107bis *verso*: *Scriptus Fogie anno Domini*

79 De Marinis 1956, 151, transcribes a poem in the vernacular dedicated to the Virgin and composed in 1475.
80 See Nigro 1981, 29.

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M°CC°octogesimo primo mensis Januarii, and subscription at fol. 121: *Hunc librum excellentis doctoris sancti Thomae de Aquino emi ego frater Alexander Ydruntinus, sacre thelogie professor, ordinis praedicatorum pro tarenis decem anno Domini 1464*. BnF, Lat. 606.

20) Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula*. Paper. 14th or 15th century. BnF, Lat. 6738A.
21) Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super IV libro sententiarum*. BnF, Lat. 3045.
22) Nicolas Treveth, Commentary on Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*. Parchment. 14th or 15th century. BnF, Lat. 6407.
23) Commentary on Valerius Maximus' *Facta dictaque memorabilia*. Paris, BNF, Lat. 5865.
24) Valerius Maximus, *Facta dictaque memorabilia*. With the following subscription at fols. 1 *verso*–2 *recto*: *Maximi Valerii suavitas me inducit et quorundam dilectorum fratrum caritas me compellit ut operi prefati auctoris jungam ego frater Giuncta inventarium sive tabulam*. 14th century. BnF, Lat. 5846.
25) Virgil, *Aeneid*. 14th century. BnF, Lat. 7952.[81]
26) Jacobus de Varagine, *Legenda sanctorum*. With the following subscription at fol. 584[v]: *Hic liber est scriptus, qui complevit sit bendictus; si nomen queris Nicolaus vocor*. Parchment. 14th century. BnF, Lat. 5631.

Appendix 3: The List of the Manuscripts from the Library of Angilberto Del Balzo and Confiscated by Ferrante[82]

1) Augustinus, *Civit. Dei*, translated into vernacular. BnF, Ital. 87.
2) Augustinus de Licio, *Dialogus inferni Dei*. BnF, Lat. 3453.
3) Beda, *De temporibus*. (preceding Beda's text Paul Deacon's *Ordo gentis Langobardorum* with the following subscription: *a transitu sancti Gregori pape ante CCLII anni Domini VCCCLV ind. III VCCCLX ind. VIII hoc anno comprehensa est civitas Barum ab imperatore*). BnF, Lat. 6161.
4) Biblia, II–III, *Esdras*, translated into vernacular. with the following subscription: *completum est hoc opus per me fratrem Nicolaum de Neritono, ordinis praedicatorum, anno Domini 1466, die ultima octobris, indict. XV* (fol. 219). BnF, Ital. 3–4,
5) Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, translated into vernacular. BnF, Ital. 906.

81 On the back cover we read: *Portare in lo castello de Mele per rotella … die XV novembris, XI ind., die sabati.*

82 When no specific date is given for a manuscript, it is a 15th-century copy.

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6) Cicero, *Laelius sive de amicitia*. 14th–15th cent. BnF, Lat. 6618.
7) Anonymous commentary on Boccaccio's *Teseida*. 14th–15th cent. BnF, Ital. 581.
8) *Constitutiones Regni Siciliae*. 14th–15th cent. BnF, Lat. 4625,
9) Isidorus of Sevilla, *Etymolog*. 14th–15th cent. BnF, Lat. 7676.
10) [Theological Miscellany]. Fragments of Hugutio's *Derivationes* and Iulianus Toletanus' *Prognosticon*. BnF, Lat. 2338.
11) Ovid, *Metamorphoses*. BnF, Lat. 8015.
12) Petrarch, *Trionfi*. BnF, Ital. 1016.
13) Rabbi Samuelis, *Epistula de adventu Messiae*, Petrus de Cavalleria, *De zelo Christi contra Iudaeos*. BnF, Lat. 3362.
14) Ripelin Hugo de Argentina, *Compendium Theologicae Veritatis*. 14th–15th cent. BnF, Lat. 3432
15) Seneca, *Tragoediae*. 14th–15th cent. BnF, Lat. 8263.
16) Seneca, *Tragoediae*, *Moretum*. 14th–15th cent. BnF, Lat. 8264.

Appendix 4: The List of the Books Belonging To Orso Orsini (10 May 1476)

ASN, *Sommaria, Dipendenze*, I 649/7 (= Senatore 2018, 1482–1484).

	Item of Orso Orsini's list	Hypothetical identification with an incunable edition printed before 10 May 1476 (place, year, ISTC reference)
1.	It(em) Plinio d(e) Naturali Historia d(e) sta(m)pa	Plin, *Nat.*: Venice 1469 (ip00786000); Rome 1470 (ip00787000), Venice 1472 (ip00788000); Rome 1473 (ip00789000).
2.	it(em) le opere d(e) Seneca ad sta(m)pa	Sen. *Opera*, Naples 1475 (is00368000).
3.	it(em) Agostino de Civitat(e) Dey ad stampa	Aug. *Civit*. Subiaco 1467 (ia01230000), Rome 1468 (ia01231000), 1470 (ia01232000), Venice 1470 (ia01233000), Rome 1474 (ia01234000), Venice 1475 (ia01235000), 1475 (ia01236000).
4.	it(em) le Vite d(e) Plutarco ad stampa in dui volumi	J.A. Campanus's edition, Rome [1470] (ip00830000)

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(*cont.*)

	Item of Orso Orsini's list	Hypothetical identification with an incunable edition printed before 10 May 1476 (place, year, ISTC reference)
5.	it(em) Strabone ad stampa	Strabo, *Geogr*. Latin transl. (see note 6), Rome [1469] (is00793000), Venice 1472 (is00794000), Rome 1473 (is00795000).
6.	it(em) li Morali d(e) Santo Gregorio ad stampa	Greg. *Moralia in Iob*, Nuremberg 1471 (ig00427000), Basel 1472 (ig00427200), Rome 1475 (ig00428000).[83]
7.	it(em) Tito Livio ad stampa	Liv. Rome 1469 (il00236000), 1470 (il00237000), Venice 1472 (il00238000), Rome 1472 (il00239000).
8.	it(em) la Pandetta ad stampa	Matt. Silvatico, *Liber Pandectarum* (?), Naples 1474 (is00510000), Modena 1474 (is00511000).
9.	it(em) Lattantio ad stampa	Lact. *Opera*, Subiaco 1465 (il00001000), Rome 1468 (il00002000), 1470 (il00003000), Venice 1471 (il00004000), 1472 (il00005000), Rome 1474 (il00006000).
10.	it(em) Presciano ad stampa	Venice 1470 (ip00960000), Venice 1472 (ip00961000).
11.	it(em) lectura d(e) tre libri d(e) lo Cotico ad sta(m)pa	Iustin. *Codex* (?), Mainz 1475 (ij00574000), Nuremberg (ij00575000).
12.	it(em) uno libro ad stampa d(e) Vita ph(ilosoph)or(um)	Diog. Laert., Latin transl. by Ambrogius Traversari, Rome 1472 (id00219000), Venice 1475 (id00220000), or Walter Burley's *De vita et moribus philosophorum* (?) Cologne 1470 (ib01315000).
13.	it(em) le Regole d(e) miss(er) Barthomeo [sic] ad stampa	?
14.	it(em) l'Epistole d(e) Santo Geronimo d(e) carta d(e) coyro guarnito d(e) argento,	Parchment manuscript.

83 The first two editions of the work had minimal circulation in Italy.

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(*cont.*)

	Item of Orso Orsini's list	Hypothetical identification with an incunable edition printed before 10 May 1476 (place, year, ISTC reference)
15.	it(em) una deca de Tito Livio d(e) carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.
16.	it(em) una Bibia d(e) carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.
17.	it(em) le Opere d(e) Seneca d(e) carta d(e) coyro	Parchment manuscript.
18.	it(em) la Ethica d(e) Aristotile d(e) carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.
19.	it(em) li Commentarii d(e) Cesare d(e) carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.
20.	it(em) Quinto Curcio[84] d(e) carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.
21.	it(em) Tullio d(e) Officiis, de Amicitia, d(e) Senectute et le Paradoxe,	Printed? Rome 1471 (ic00558000).[85]
22.	it(em) Iustino de carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.
23.	(32^{r}) it(em) la Rethorica di Tullio in carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.
24.	it(em) una opera d(e)l Valla d(e) carta d(e) coyro d(e) Falso creditu donacionis Constantini,	Parchment manuscript.
25.	it(em)^{b} la Historia Ierosolomitana[86] in carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.
26.	it(em) lo Testamento Novo in carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.
27.	it(em) lo Salterio in carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.
28.	it(em) uno libretto d(e) carta d(e) coyro donato al duca d(e) suis laudib(us),	Parchment manuscript.
29.	it(em) Catone in carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.

84 The item refers to Quintus Curtius Rufus *Histories of Alexander the Great*.
85 See above note 56.
86 The item refers to the *History of Hierusalem* written by Fulcher of Chartres.

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(*cont.*)

	Item of Orso Orsini's list	Hypothetical identification with an incunable edition printed before 10 May 1476 (place, year, ISTC reference)
30.	it(em) Visa [*sic*] maior[87] in carta d(e) coyro,	Parchment manuscript.
31.	it(em) Prisciano in carta de ba(m)bace, no(n) ad stampa,	Paper manuscript.
32.	it(em) lo Petrarcha in carta d(e) coyro cioè li sonett(i) et le canzon(e) et Triu(m)phi,	Parchment manuscript.
33.	it(em) Bonifatio †d(e)l q(u)alberti† d(e) mirabilib(us) mu(n)di d(e) carta d(e) ba(m)bace,	Fazio degli Uberti, *de mirabilibus mundi*, paper manuscript?[88]
34.	it(em) lo Borchiello in carta d(e) bambace,	Paper manuscript.
35.	it(em) lo mappamu(n)do et la carta d(e) navigar(e),	
36.	it(em) lo stipo dove stanno li libri,	
37.	it(em) uno calamare p(e)'l s(igno)re duca fornito.	

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87 The item could refer to either the *Vita* or *Legenda maior* of St Francis, written by Bonaventura di Bagnoregio.

88 It is probable that two items are combined here: the first records Bonifacio's work while, the second records the *De mirabilibus mundi*, often attributed to Albertus Magnus.

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CHAPTER 22

Manuscript Illustration in the South of the Italian Peninsula

Teresa D'Urso

To this day, our knowledge of the production of illuminated manuscripts in southern Italy between the late Middle Ages and the early modern period remains scant. While general surveys are missing, specific studies have failed to take into consideration prominent urban centres such as Benevento and large geographical areas such as the Calabrian region. For a long time, the prevailing historiographical tradition has focused its attention on royal patronage, the history of the library of the Aragonese kings of Naples,[1] the collections of the major barons of the Kingdom, and the service books of renowned religious foundations. This type of investigation has privileged luxury books—either painted by artists who were active in Naples or purchased in the major centres of production in Italy—and prestigious choir books, such as the liturgical series made in the Benedictine Abbey of Montecassino in the early sixteenth century.[2]

In addition to the disregard for a production that could hardly compete with the manuscripts made for the Royal library and the Benedictine Abbey, structural factors also account for the lack of scholarly literature, such as the scarcity of documentary sources and the precocious and substantial dispersions suffered by book collections in the south of Italy.[3]

In keeping with these premises, the aim of this essay is not to offer an exhaustive survey, but rather to explore a selected series of cases that are particularly relevant for their wider cultural implications. Looking at the history of patronage within the historical development of specific geographical areas, this study will focus on the role played by urban centres, feudal barons, major monasteries, and monastic networks. While this selective approach is necessary to begin to chart the boundaries of this field of research, it is important to highlight that the production of illuminated manuscripts in southern Italy was probably much more articulated than it is possible to reconstruct today on the basis of extant sources.

1 On library of the Aragonese kings see De Marinis 1947–1952; Toscano 1998.

2 On this liturgical series see Perriccioli Saggese 1991a; Sricchia Santoro 1995; D'Urso 2011.

3 For an overview of the question see Perriccioli Saggese 1991b; Gamberini ed. 2018.

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This investigation discloses a lively cultural circulation marked by the ancient polycentric character of southern Italy, relatively independent from the influence of Naples and open to significant exchanges with the rest of the peninsula. Although as a whole the production of illuminated manuscripts appears to be quantitatively limited and not always of a high quality, in several urban centres it reveals a distinctive cultural character, sometimes with significant implications in terms of local history and identity.

Late-Gothic Flowering, Observant Scriptoria, and Municipal Traditions in Abruzzo Region

Within this framework, a notable exception is represented by a number of vital centres of manuscript production situated in the north-eastern part of the Kingdom, brought out by the flourishing of studies on Abruzzo over recent decades.[4] The case of Abruzzo is particularly interesting: stemming from a strong medieval tradition, during the 15th century the manuscripts painted in this region developed a peculiar yet diversified artistic physiognomy, open to external influences from central and northern Italy. Especially during the first decades of the century, Abruzzo was characterised by a vigorous late-Gothic output, among the most interesting in the peninsula.[5]

In keeping with its 14th-century precedents, at the beginning of the 15th century the Adriatic region—centred around the cities of Sulmona and Teramo—shows a particular vitality and a significant openness to extra-regional influences, as demonstrated by the Bolognese and Adriatic-Emilian influences that characterize the work of the Master of Beffi. Late-Gothic miniatures in Abruzzo is particularly shaped by the work of this artist—named after a triptych (ca. 1410–1415) from Santa Maria in Ponte at Tione, near Beffi—who can probably be identified with Leonardo da Teramo, an artist documented in Sulmona and Guardiagrele between 1385 and 1435.[6] Not by chance, the work of the Master of Beffi fits within the larger pattern of Abruzzo artists who were active as both painters and illuminators. Among the works of outstanding formal quality attributed to the hand of this Master are the surviving pages of an antiphonary for a Benedictine monastery commissioned at the end of the 14th century by a member of the Acquaviva family, Dukes of Atri and Lords of Teramo, as well

4 Pasqualetti 2011; Curzi, Manzari, Tentarelli, and Tomei 2012.

5 Manzari 2012.

6 Pasqualetti 2010a; Pasqualetti 2012.

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as some initials in a luxurious missal for the church of San Francesco in Guardiagrele (AAC, 3) in the southern Adriatic area, commissioned by Napoleone II Orsini in around 1400.[7]

Among the manuscripts made in this region, most are liturgical books intended for old or new religious foundations, occasionally patronised by the local nobility or by leisured individuals. Sets of choir books were also made or completed for collegiate churches, such as Santa Maria Maggiore in Guardiagrele. Painted between the first and second decades of the 15th century, the Psalter hymnal of Santa Maria Maggiore betrays distinct influences both from the Bologna region—in line with the Master of the Brussels initials, *alias* Giovanni di fra' Silvestro—and from Padua and the Veneto, reminiscent of the Novella Master.[8] Such cultural openings were likely to have been the consequence of a 'Carrarese connection,' due to the presence in this area, between the second and third decades of the 15th century, of Conte da Carrara and of his cousin, Stefano da Carrara, Bishop of Teramo from 1412 to 1427.[9] The latter is the patron of a rich Missal with fine miniatures painted by artists in the circle of the Master of Beffi (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Glazier 16).[10]

The cultural ascendancy of the Master of Beffi persisted during the first half of the century. It can be seen in the work of the Master of the Judgement at Santa Maria in Piano in Loreto Aprutino, and particularly in the Acquaviva Missal (Atri, Archivio Capitolare, A.19), made in around 1420–1440, most likely for a Franciscan community in Teramo.[11] Once more, the close parallels with contemporary monumental painting—a distinctive trait of manuscript painting in Abruzzo—confirm the mutual influence of painters and illuminators in the workshops of the region.

Between the mid-1410s and the beginning of the 1420s, the goldsmith and painter Nicola da Guardiagrele—possibly educated in the workshop of the Master of Beffi at Sulmona—was the author of a luxurious prayer book (Chantilly, Bibliothèque et archives du Musée Condé, 100) which is a masterwork of late-Gothic art in Abruzzo (fig. 58).[12] In it, the refined layout of the illustrations echoes transalpine models, while the figures of the saints show an 'international' type of elegance in the vein of Gentile da Fabriano. Made for

7 Manzari 2007.
8 Corso 2010, 53–60; Pasqualetti 2010a, 13.
9 Pasqualetti 2003, 63, 87 note 1.
10 Manzari 2007, 114–115; Pasqualetti 2011, CVI–CVII.
11 Pasqualetti 2012.
12 Toscano 2000.

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a distinguished patronage, the *Offiziolo* is also an outstanding example of the diversified technical skills developed in Abruzzo workshops.[13]

A Psalter-hymnal originally from Santa Maria delle Grazie in Teramo (Biblioteca Provinciale di Teramo, s.s.), dating from the 1480s–1490s, reveals a knowledge of prints from Northern Europe. The *incipit* of the *Beatus vir* features a King David modelled after an engraving by the Master 'E.S.' and framed by a frieze decorated with Franciscan saints revered by the Observants, showing the impact of Crivellian models, on a complex central-Italian background.[14]

The development of illumination during the second half of the century remains relatively under-researched. In this perspective, one important area of investigation is the composition and artistic character of the decorations presented by manuscripts included in the libraries that developed in several monasteries belonging to the Franciscan Observance. Most of the over 200 manuscripts coming from the library of San Bernardino are works of either minor artistic quality or decorated elsewhere in the peninsula before the friars brought them to Abruzzo. In that context, however, the circulation of the so-called *De arte illuminandi*—the most important surviving treatise on manuscript painting, compiled between the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century—suggests that the *scriptoria* connected to the Observance played a significant role in the making of decorated choirbooks.[15] Among the several illuminated manuscripts that have been associated with the *scriptorium* of San Bernardino, a convent founded in 1472, three at least warrant particular attention: a Gradual commissioned by Jacopo di notar Nanni (died 1504), a merchant from L'Aquila, and two choirbooks (L'Aquila, Biblioteca Provinciale "S. Tommasi", 11 and 3, 5) that Cardinal Amico Agnifili, Bishop of L'Aquila (died 1476) offered to the Cathedral. Lay illuminators were involved in these endeavours, as indicated by the illustrations of Gradual 11, the work of an artist from northern Europe active mainly in the Roman circle of Jacopo Ravaldi (fig. 59).[16]

Another important, but still understudied centre is the convent and library of San Francesco in Capestrano, which absorbed the collection of manuscripts of San Giovanni da Capestrano. This "pulchra libraria"—built in 1456 by Cobella di Celano (d. *post* 1462) upon the request of the founder—housed two legal manuscripts from the 15th century (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale [hereafter BNN], I. H. 6 and III. A.2) that suggest the significance of the Capestrano

13 Pasqualetti 2010a, 13–16.
14 Collareta 2013.
15 Pasqualetti 2011, XXXVI.
16 Improta 2015, 172–178.

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collection. The former is a volume by Baldo degli Ubaldi, illuminated by the Bolognese Master of 1446; the latter is a book by Bartolo da Sassoferrato, decorated by another Bolognese illuminator and by a Master working in Abruzzo between the 1420s and 30s—an artist building upon the precedent of the Beffi Master, who nonetheless appears to be conversant with the developments of late-Gothic painting in the Marche.[17]

L'Aquila, the most independent city in the Kingdom, also witnessed an interesting production of non-religious manuscripts, a consequence of the increased political autonomy and economic standing that the city attained during the Aragonese period. In the poem in ottava rima known as "Guerra dell'Aquila" (The War of L'Aquila) (L'Aquila, Soprintendenza per i Beni Architettonici e Paesaggistici, 3061), the coloured drawings illustrating the siege led by Braccio da Montone (1424) fully express the civic pride taken in the city's victorious response. Painted in around 1440, the illustrations depict the main events taking place against the backdrop of L'Aquila's symbolic monuments, such as the Basilica of Collemaggio (fig. 60).[18]

Manuscripts that are closely connected to secular institutions include the "Codice dei privilegi" ("Book of privileges"), granted to the city between the reign of Charles II of Anjou to that of Ferrante of Aragon, together with the foundation privilege (L'Aquila, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Civico Aquilano [hereafter LAS, ACA], V 35). Written on parchment between 1458 and 1465, the Book features painted initials in the *incipit* of several documents, portraying the princes according to classical imperial iconography. Commissioned by the city government, it was decorated by local artists with an abundance of gold leaf and recurring political symbols, as well as the coats of arms of the city and of the Aragonese family.[19]

As with the monumental arts, eminent individuals fostered the production of illuminated manuscripts in L'Aquila. The aforementioned Jacopo di notar Nanni, in particular, is documented as a patron and supporter of remarkable manuscripts. Among them is the so-called *Offiziolo of the Beata Cristina da Lucoli* (L'Aquila, Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo), left unfinished before 1504 by an illuminator trained in the Florentine and Roman styles, who also had a hand in the decoration of some choirbooks for San Bernardino.[20]

Dating from 1544, the *Statuta Artis lane* (LAS, ACA V 12) shows an elegant frontispiece and a rich decoration of foliate initials in colours and gold. The

17 Guagnozzi 2017.
18 Pasqualetti 2010b.
19 Berardi 2005, 74–75, pls. 8–10, 12.
20 Zonetti 2016, 178–180.

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incipit page is framed by a full foliate border including the patrons of the city's four neighbourhoods: the Virgin and Child, St John, St Peter, and St George.

A key region at the crossroads between the Kingdom and the centre of the peninsula, Abruzzo demonstrated an outstanding vitality in the field of illuminated manuscripts, fostered by the porousness of its commercial and 'artistic' boundaries, especially along the 'Abruzzi road' and the Adriatic coast.

The Patronage of a Lettered Baron: Painted Books for Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva (1458–1527)

Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva, the Duke of Atri, inherited domains that included a fiefdom which covered large sections of Abruzzo. He also commanded the county of Conversano, in the Puglian region, inherited from his mother, and expanded his domains in Campania, Basilicata, and Calabria.

A translator from Greek, in contact with such humanists as Pontano and Sannazaro, acquainted with leading cultural figures such as Aldo Manuzio, Acquaviva amassed an extraordinary library, celebrated by the humanist Cantalicio for its profusion of classical *auctores*.[21] Up until the 1490s, his tastes in the matter of illuminated manuscripts coincided with those of the court of Naples. He appreciated the humanistic white-vine decoration and later the *all'antica* style that was fashionable in the Veneto, Rome, and Naples. His preferred illuminator was Cristoforo Majorana (active ca. 1472–1503), also a longstanding collaborator of the Neapolitan library of the Aragonese Kings of Naples.[22] Among the manuscripts that he commissioned in the last two decades of the century are works such as the *Virgil* (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 6B) (figs. 61A–B) and the *Themistius* (Naples, Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini [hereafter BOGN], CF. 3.4), both reprising the Venetian architectural title-page, in which classical architectural elements, illusionistically painted, form a monumental composition framing the *incipit* pages. After the fall of the Aragonese dynasty in 1501, Andrea Matteo directed his patronage toward artists coming from outside the Kingdom or from the southern areas of his domain. Among the former was the Master of Bolea, who at the beginning of the 16th century painted the *incipit* page of Pliny's the Younger *Epistles* (BOGN, CF. 3.6) and two panels with a *Nativity* and a *Flagellation* for Atri Cathedral.

21 On the library see Hermann 1898; Bianca 1985; D'Urso 2020b. See Abbamonte, de Divitiis and Iacono in this volume.

22 D'Urso 2020b.

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Considered to be Iberian, the artist brought to the Kingdom an up-to-date culture, aware of the work of Donato Bramante, Luca Signorelli, and Pietro Perugino.

The modern language of the Master of Bolea influenced the Dominican illuminator Reginaldo Pirano *Monopolitanus* (active during the first quarter of the 16th century), as suggested by the two *incipit* pages painted by the latter in the *Ethica Nicomachea* (Vienna, Österreische Nationalbibliothek, Phil. gr. 4) and by the *De oratore* (BOGN, CF. 3.5) (fig. 62), which the duke commissioned before 1504 and in 1507–1508, respectively.[23] The extraordinary illustrations of the *Ethica* (fig. 63) offer an original and cultivated introduction to Aristotle's work, and stand out as the highest point in the iconographic programmes that can be attributed to this patron.[24] In addition to its "extremely elegant and luxurious volumes,"[25] the Acquaviva library also included manuscripts not as richly decorated, such as the encomiastic composition *Iulia Nova* by Antonius Lepidus Vestinus and the *De medicina* by Celsus (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [hereafter BnF], Lat. 8375 and nal 1706), enhanced by a simple white-vine decoration.[26]

As for the printed books, we should at least mention the two precious volumes on vellum of the *Homer* printed in Florence in around 1489 (C 6061), illuminated by the Florentine Gherardo di Giovanni and bearing his coat of arms (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Membr. a stampa, Membr. a stampa, 11–12).[27]

Developed over more than four decades, the book patronage of Andrea Matteo Acquaviva reflected his refined literary and philosophical culture, together with his passion for manuscripts which contained effective visualizations of the texts or had white-vine decoration in the humanistic style.

In the Shadow of the Court: The Book Collections of the Barons

In the aftermath of the second baronial rebellion against Ferrante I of Aragon (1485–1487), the king ordered the confiscation of the rebels' fiefdoms and book collections. To this day, despite a number of studies on these events, an assess-

23 On Reginaldo see Elba 2015; Perriccioli Saggese 2015; D'Urso 2020b, 222, 224–225.
24 Hermann 1898; 1933, *passim*. See de Divitiis in this volume.
25 Bianca 1985, 161.
26 D'Urso 2020b, 228.
27 Alexander 2016, 351 note 120.

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ment of the Barons' libraries remains sketchy.[28] Dispersions and a general lack of sources often make it difficult to gain insight into their artistic characters. Such is the case, for instance, of the collections of Restaino Cantelmo, Count of Popoli (died 1514). Of the 34 volumes listed in his property inventory (1494) most were literary works written in the vernacular language, but it remains unknown whether they included any decoration.[29]

Other inventories shed some light on the illuminated manuscripts owned by some of the prominent Barons of the Kingdom. The property of Giovanni II Caracciolo seized by Ferrante in the castle at Melfi included a substantial collection of books (at least 25), but those that have been identified so far carry little or only marginal decoration. On the contrary, we are relatively well informed about the Neapolitan library of Orso Orsini (died 1479), Count of Nola from 1462. Orso's cultural interests can be glimpsed from the library inventory, which in 1476 listed several printed editions just off the press.[30] His acquaintance with classical literary sources is testified by the military treatise he composed, the *Governo et exercitio de la militia*, of which one copy survives (BnF, It. 958) accompanied by a prefatory letter to Ferrante I of Aragon dated 2 January 1477. While painted decoration was planned for the manuscript but never executed, the writing and type of the book suggest that it was realised by one of the workshops active for the court and probably destined for Orsini's own library. The inscription "duca d'àssolo" at the end of the manuscript indicates that it joined the royal library following the confiscation of Orsini property (1485), along with three printed editions of the works of Livy printed in Rome around 1470.[31]

Other volumes mentioned in the inventory, such as Seneca's *Works* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España [hereafter BNE], Res/43) decorated by Cristoforo Majorana, were also made in Naples.[32] Another definite example of Orsini patronage is a *Historia Alexandri Magni* by Curzio Rufo (BNE, VITR/22/9), also mentioned in the inventory and thus completed before May 1476 (fig. 64). This volume confirms Orso's interest in ancient history, in keeping with the antiquarian orientation of his artistic patronage. The *incipit* page and the decorated initials can be attributed to Cola Rapicano, who is documented as working for the Neapolitan Library of the Aragonese Kings between 1451 and 1488.[33]

28 De Marinis 1969; Watson 2007.
29 De Frede 1963, 190–197; Somigli (ed.) 2016, 189–190.
30 Senatore 2019. See also Abbamonte in this volume.
31 On the incunabula see Vagenheim 2009.
32 Senatore 2019, 1471, 1483 note 14.
33 On Rapicano see De Marinis 1947–1952, vol. II, 145–149; Toscano 2004a.

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Of particular interest among the book collections of the rebel Barons is the property of Angilberto Del Balzo (d. *post* 1490), Count of Ugento, Duke of Nardò, and a member of Pontano's Academy, and of his wife Maria Conquesta, the daughter of Giovanni Antonio Orsini. The Del Balzo inventory listed about 100 items, including manuscripts and printed books.[34] The manuscripts contain a theological miscellany and a two-volume translation into the vernacular of the Old Testament prophetic books, copied by the Dominican Nicola di Nardò in 1466 and 1472 (BnF, Lat. 2338 and It. 3–4). Although the latter were transcribed by a copyist coming from Terra d'Otranto, they also show that Angilberto commissioned the decoration from Neapolitan workshops. In fact, while the manuscript of the prophetic books begins with an *incipit* page decorated with white-vine stems that can be attributed to the Master of Isabella di Chiaromonte (active during the third quarter of the 15th century), the decoration of the theological manuscript can be ascribed to the circle of Matteo Felice (active ca. 1467–1493).[35] Among the incunabula, a *De Animalibus* by Alberto Magno, printed in Rome in 1478, features a decoration painted in the Roman region and a shield carrying the Del Balzo arms. Lacking detailed information, we can presume that only some of the manuscripts mentioned in the inventory were actually decorated, such as the books of hours recorded as written on vellum and richly bound. The same inventory is notable for the absence of Greek texts, a penchant for the vernacular literature of the 14th century (Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio), and an interest in geography, suggested by the fact that Angilberto owned several maps and a navigation chart on parchment.

In his renovated Neapolitan residence, Roberto Sanseverino (d. 1474), nominated Prince of Salerno by Ferrante in 1463, also relied on the workshops of the Kingdom's capital for the decoration of his prestigious manuscripts. Among them is a pocket-size Latin translation of a miscellany, which includes, among other texts, the epistles of Diogenes the Cynic (Bibliothèque de Genève, Comites Latentes 269), written in Naples in 1467–1468 and enriched with white-vine stems decoration again by the Master of Isabella di Chiaromonte (fig. 65).[36]

The hand of Cristoforo Majorana can also be detected in a decorated page of the *matricola* of the Neapolitan Confraternity of Santa Marta which states the affiliation of Antonello Sanseverino, Roberto's heir and one of the leaders of the 1485 revolt. A book of hours commissioned by Galeazzo Sanseverino, Roberto's younger brother, and a second book of hours probably made for his

34 Omont 1901; Petracca 2013.

35 On Matteo Felice see Toscano 2004b.

36 Watson 2007, 157; Guernelli 2012, 154.

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mother Giovanna, were also splendidly painted by artists working in Naples. These works testify to the interest of the Salerno branch of the Sanseverino family in this type of richly painted devotional book, which also functioned as a status symbol for its owners.[37] Another precious book of hours mainly decorated by Majorana, whose owner has so far remained unidentified (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms Add. 4105), possibly belonged to Loise Gesualdo, Antonello's brother-in-law.[38]

The appreciation for the manuscripts painted in the workshops of Naples was definitely widespread among the leading Barons of the Kingdom. As suggested by the books commissioned by Orso Orsini, Angilberto Del Balzo, and the Sanseverino family, in the second half of the century the barons acquainted with the Neapolitan court or residing in the capital city shared the desire to conform to Aragonese taste for white-vine decoration and for sumptuously illustrated books featuring heraldic emblems and coats of arms.

Beyond the Capital: Illuminated Manuscripts in the Campanian Centres

Only recently the role played by some important Campanian cities and towns—such as Capua, Nola, Salerno, and Benevento—has begun to receive the critical attention it deserves. Characterized by strong artistic traditions and recognizable urban identities, these ancient urban centres are all the more significant because they are geographically close to the capital and were potentially subject to its influence.

Dating from the final phase of the Anjou-Durazzo dynasty, the decoration of three luxurious volumes made for the Cathedral of Salerno represents an important instance in the production of liturgical illuminated manuscripts, especially considering the scarcity of books painted in Campania during this period. The project takes shape in the circles of the local clergy, "on the request of the cleric Mathie Greci of Salerno" ("ad peticionem dompni Mathie Greci de Salerno"). Together with the mention of the 'pro anima' bequest of the Salernitan clergyman, this notice is recorded in a Missal and a Breviary (Salerno, Museo Diocesano, 3 and 6) transcribed by a Roman copyist, dated 1431 and 1434, respectively. It has been suggested that these books, together with another Missal (ms 4), were prepared in the Cathedral's *scriptorium* by foreign illumin-

37 Watson 2007.

38 On the Gesualdos' library see Del Treppo 2001.

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ators in collaboration with local artists. In any case, this episode demonstrates Salerno's cultural vivacity in the period preceding the arrival of the Aragon dynasty.[39]

It is not known whether any luxury manuscripts were painted in Capua during the Renaissance, but it is most probably during this period that a systematic preservation of documents began in the city, indicating a heightened sense of civic consciousness. This is the context of the *Libretto dei privilegi di Capua* of 20 November 1480, made on the initiative of the mayor and notary Nicola Francesco Pizzolo. In it, the Capua *Universitas* gathered and preserved the most important privileges obtained between 1401 and 1475.[40] On the opening page (fig. 66), an anthropomorphic initial shows Capis, the mythic founder of the city, dressed as an ancient warrior. Despite the modest artistic quality of the decoration, the decision to associate the book's ideological message with the image of Capis can certainly be read as a forthright assertion of Capua's glorious past. Not unlike other European centres, the city claimed its ancient roots went back to the figure of a forefather, who, according to some sources, was even of Trojan origin.

An indirect testimony of the absence of a local tradition of illumination during the Renaissance is offered by two Psalters (Capua, Biblioteca e Archivio Arcivescovile, F.4.2.10, F.4.2.11) probably coming from the Capuan church of San Benedetto but painted by artists active in Naples. One of the two choirbooks, originally bound in a single volume, carries the arms of Giovan Battista de Angelis, who was appointed abbot in 1519, following the transformation of San Benedetto into a collegiate church.[41]

Ambrogio Leone's *De Nola* (1514) sheds light on the presence of *studioli* with libraries in the city's aristocratic residences. Based on the surviving decorated manuscripts—so far largely uninvestigated—Nola appears to be a particularly promising case study.[42] The County of Nola was enfeoffed by the Orsini family from the end of the 13th century up until 1528. As noted above, Orso Orsini's decision to rely on Neapolitan workshops reflected his desire to imitate the same models adopted by the court. By contrast, this is also suggested by the different choice made in the same years by a member of the Albertini family belonging to the aristocracy of Nola. The *Algorismus* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, LJS 27) bearing the family's coat of arms (fig. 67) appears to be the product of a radically different cultural background com-

39 Zanichelli 2019, 78–89, 160–172 (entries 8–10).
40 Senatore 2009; Idem 2016.
41 Di Lorenzo 2007, 62–70; Idem 2013, 19–20.
42 De Divitiis, Lenzo, and Miletti 2018.

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pared to Orso's illuminated manuscripts. In this case, a mathematical handbook is decorated with 54 illustrations, including geometrical diagrams and a series of elegant calligraphic initials in gold leaf. Despite the explicit information provided in the colophon—listing the name of the copyist, Pietro Paolo Muscarello from Nola, and the year when the book was transcribed, 1478—the *Algorismus* has remained an isolated work in the context of southern Italy.[43] Stylistic comparison with the decorated pages of a lesser known Breviary with calendar and litanies with Nolan saints (Nola, Museo Diocesano), made a few decades earlier, demonstrates the existence of a local practice of illumination, definitely modest in terms of its formal values, but distinctly recognizable for its peculiar characteristics. Based on these premises, we can surmise that the manuscript was made either for Jacopo Albertini (1448–1508), a judge of the Magna Curia della Vicaria, or for Covelluccio Albertini, Orso's right-hand man and factotum.[44]

A Franciscan Missal made for Antonello de Castellono di Montefusco, a village on the outskirts of Benevento, can be seen as the product of an artistic milieu that developed at the intersection between the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples. Copied by the friar Giacomo da Tricarico and dated 1421, the manuscript features a fully late-Gothic decoration that suggests close affinities with the illuminated page of Louis II of Anjou in the *matricola* of the Santa Marta Confraternity (1424).[45]

In geographical and political terms, from the end of the 11th century Benevento was a papal enclave within the Kingdom of Sicily and later of Naples. The papal government and the local administration are the two factors behind the *Regestrum privilegiorum* (Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, 63), the only surviving manuscript painted in Benevento at the end of the 15th century. In fact, in the second half of the 15th century, following the end of the golden age of medieval Beneventan illumination, the local *scriptoria* appear to be practically extinct.

Two illuminated pages open the manuscript. In the first, the book's proem mentions the decree dated 1 January 1489 with which the Governor of the city decided to collect in a single register all the Papal bulls and briefs, as well as the royal privileges. The opening scene depicts a session of the city council chaired by the governor nominated by the pope—Francesco Maria Settàla, the Bishop of Viterbo and Toscanella (1472–1491)—and comprised of 48 *senatores* selected

43 For Muscarello see Chiarini 1972. For the Albertini see de Divitiis in this volume.

44 On these figures see Senatore 2019.

45 D'Urso 2015, 86.

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among the four ranks of the local citizenship. Their social status is rendered by the pageant of costumes and hats painted with great accuracy. On the opposite sheet, a full-page miniature shows the governor flanked by several figures and by the city chancellor, the notary Francesco Favagrossa. The official character of the representation is underscored by the display of the coat of arms of Pope Innocent VIII, the city of Benevento, and the noble Lombard family of the Settàla.

The illustrations and the pen initials at the beginning of the documents transcribed in the first section of the register have been attributed to the hand of Favagrossa,[46] who must also have copied most of the documents. However, while stylistic evidence suggests that the notary carried out the calligraphic initials which mark the incipit of the documents in the first part of the *Regestrum*, it remains uncertain whether he was also responsible for the illustrated pages. If this was the case, this work should be regarded as an example of the tradition of notaries-illuminators documented primarily in northern Italy.[47]

The Puglian Region

Historically, the region extending from present-day Molise all along the Adriatic coast of Puglia—from Capitanata to Terra di Bari and Terra d'Otranto—comprised a high number of ancient dioceses, together with old and new religious foundations.

A Missal transcribed by the Minorite friar Cristoforo at Sant'Agata dei Goti in 1458 (Bovino, Archivio Capitolare, ms 1) is a rare testimony of the renewal of the liturgical furnishings promoted by Bishop Pietro de Scaleris (1427–1463) in the Cathedral of Bovino. Missing a number of pages that were probably the most richly painted, the manuscript carries only decorated initials composed of polychromatic flowers and leaves.[48]

So far only partly investigated, the production of illuminated manuscripts in the Puglia region appears to be extremely interesting, both in terms of originality and occasionally for its formal qualities. The decisive factors in the development of the local visual language were Greek culture (particularly in the Salento region) and the spread of Venetian artworks along the Adriatic coast.

46 Zazo 1946.

47 D'Urso 2020a.

48 Magistrale 2000, 19, 27–31, pl. 1–3.

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From the Middle Ages onwards, there was a significant production of liturgical manuscripts in the region.[49] In Terra di Bari, an illuminated choirbook dated 1448 was commissioned from the layman *Johannes Anglicus de Altamura* by Raone da Lecce, the Bishop of Polignano (1424–1460), who required the inclusion of his own heraldic devices.[50] The liturgical books made in Bari between the second half of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries are marked by either sparse decoration or an outdated visual language. Such is the case of the *Breviarium Parvum* (Bari, Archivio di San Nicola [hereafter ABB] 10(39)), the miniatures in which employ a central Italian artistic language. A modest local atelier, instead, is probably at the origin of the Missal of the *Proprio di S. Nicola* (ABB, 12), carrying initials and borders with foliate decoration and golden dots. This small manuscript was made during the rule of Isabella of Aragon (1501–1524), former Duchess of Milan by marriage, whose name occurs in two orations.[51]

A complete survey of Isabella's book patronage is still needed, despite the fact that Bari was at the centre of a fervid cultural environment.[52] On the other hand, some of the books made for the Duchess suggest that her interest in illuminated manuscripts came directly from her parents, Alfonso II and Ippolita Sforza. A translation in the vernacular of the Tale of Psyche (BHUV 449), made around 1486–1487 and dedicated to Isabella, is probably to be identified with the presentation copy. Most likely the manuscript, which opens with an *incipit* page illuminated in the Lombard-Venetian style, was made on the occasion of her wedding to Gian Galeazzo Sforza, which took place in Milan the following year.[53]

The *Orazioni alla Vergine* (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, 2144), executed between 1511 and 1518, during Isabella's rule of Bari, are illustrated with two full-page miniatures imitating large scale paintings, the iconography of which is derived from the aforementioned Master of Bolea. The richly decorated initials, instead, have been attributed to Tommaso da Napoli, an illuminator who was also active in contributing to the choirbooks of the Benedictine Abbey of Cava dei Tirreni.[54]

The activity of Reginaldo Pirano *Monopolitanus* dates from the first quarter of the 16th century. Documented in 1506 as the Prior of the Dominican con-

49 Fabris 1986, 148.
50 Morgante 1985, 9–10, 14.
51 On the Breviarium see Bux 1983, 17; on the Missal see Melchiorre 1986.
52 For Isabella see Cappelli, de Divitiis and Vecce in this volume.
53 On the manuscript see De Marinis 1947–1952, II, 166; Cherchi 2003.
54 Pettenati 1995, 220; Leone de Castris 2001, 170.

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vent of Santa Maria Nova in Monopoli, Reginaldo painted the opening pages of the *Libro della Confraternita del ss. Sacramento* in the same city (Monopoli, Archivio Diocesano), dated 1524. His miniatures are the product of a complex cultural synthesis, originating from the Venetian *all'antica* style and still reminiscent of the lesson of the Master of Bolea.[55]

The making of prestigious official documents reveals the degree of political self-awareness achieved by some of the oldest cities and towns of the region. The Red Book of the Trani *Universitas* (Trani, Biblioteca Comunale G. Bovio, C 20), comprising the concessions and privileges granted to the city by various rulers since 1196, features two pages illuminated in around 1500 in the Venetian style. The first includes the emblems of the city and of the Venetian governor Pietro Priuli (1499–1502); the second, framed by vegetable and animal motifs, shows two angels holding a cartouche with a poetic composition in praise of Priuli.[56]

Between 1532 and 1536, following its annexation to the royal domain, the city of Altamura commissioned two collections of privileges confirmed by the viceroy Pedro de Toledo and the Emperor himself. Known respectively as "Demanio di Altamura" and "Libro Magno", both feature an *incipit* page with *candelabrae*, floral and foliate motifs in the late 15th-century style. In the "Libro Magno", the official and celebratory character of the document is reinforced by the conspicuous display of the emperor's arms and emblems, as well as by repeated emblems of the city.[57]

Testifying to the peculiar cultural identity of the Salento region is the abundance of manuscripts in the Greek language, which continued to be produced until at least the 16th century. Those made in Terra d'Otranto often present patristic or liturgical texts intended for study, but rarely carry significant decoration. A notable exception for the richness and quality of its illustrations is a euchologion (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. 7) originating from Soleto, painted by at least two artists and including a text for the liturgical celebration of the Byzantine mass. The manuscript presents an original coupling of the typical motifs of medieval Salento decoration—such as the intertwined headpieces and the initials with polychromatic bands painted in 'negative'—and the historiated panels with slim and lively figurines and vegetable friezes in the late-Gothic western style. The cultural syncretism evident in the manuscript and the fact that it was present *ab antiquo* in Soleto suggest that

55 On Reginaldo see note 24.

56 Cioffari and Schiralli 1995. The facsimile and a detailed entry on the manuscript is available at: http://www.internetculturale.it

57 Lospalluto 1953.

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it may have been commissioned by an ecclesiastical patron or a high-ranking dignitary in the circle of the Princes of Taranto within the first quarter of the century.[58]

In a larger perspective, up until the 1450s the Salento was marked by the cultural and artistic patronage of the Princes of Taranto—Raimondello Orsini Del Balzo (d. 1406), his wife Maria d'Enghien (d. 1446), and their son Giovanni Antonio (d. 1463). It has recently been proposed that the artist involved in a manuscript of Boccaccio's *Filocolo* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Ital. 85) and a *Divina Commedia* (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, N. VI. 11)—both made for the Gonzaga in the distinctive Ferrarese style—is to be identified with the miniature painter 'Jacobus de Bellantis' from Galatina.[59] Contemporary documents show that the artist had moved to Mantua between 1450 and about 1465, where he was also requested to work as a painter. This episode should be integrated into the overall cultural framework developed by the court of the Princes of Taranto under the rule of Giovanni Antonio—the Kingdom's most powerful Baron—and testifies to the international reach of the local artistic milieu. So far, however, no trace of the artist's work has been located in Puglia, although no later than 1462 Giovan Antonio asked the Marquis Ludovico Gonzaga to let the painter return to his homeland, where he is documented in 1474 at the service of Federico of Aragon.[60]

While it is known that Giovanni Antonio's support of the monumental arts was connected with his parents' role in completing the decoration of the Basilica of Santa Caterina in Galatina, practically no information is available on his patronage of illuminated manuscripts. An important discovery is now provided by the identification of a previously unrecorded manuscript of the *Ab Urbe condita* by Livy (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III" [hereafter BNN], IV. C. 19) bearing Giovanni Antonio's arms (fig. 68). The elegant initials with interlaced knots set against gold panels, the frequent *drôleries*, the disjointed figures spinning around bars decorated with multi-coloured vine branches, are all elements derived from the repertory of 14th-century Angevin miniature, yet with fully late-Gothic accents.

Before Orsini's death, a sumptuous manuscript was made for his wife Anna Colonna, a member of Rome's high aristocracy. In this book of hours (fig. 69), we can see the hand of an artist who is strongly indebted to the Venetian culture of Zanino di Pietro, a painter whose works could be seen in Puglia.

58 Elba 2014.

59 Fumian 2014.

60 Braghirolli 1878, 11–12; 36–38.

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The same illuminator was also at work in the decoration of the Missal of San Corrado (Molfetta, Archivio di Stato) and probably the panel with the Trinity in the Museo Diocesano of Barletta, previously attributed to Zanino di Pietro himself.[61] The activity of this artist demonstrates the steady penetration of Venetian culture in the making of illuminated manuscripts along the Adriatic coast, in line with the patterns already noticed in the field of painting.[62]

Liturgical Manuscripts between Basilicata and Calabria

Recent musicological studies have unearthed a significant number of 15th- and 16th-century liturgical manuscripts in Basilicata and Calabria—a territory of ancient dioceses as well as important monastic and conventual foundations. Most often, however, these discoveries concern manuscripts in a poor state of preservation and with no information about their original destination.

Since at least 1756, the parochial archive of the Mother Church of Ferrandina has held 13 illuminated manuscripts thought to be made either for the Collegiate of Ognissanti or the Benedictine abbey of Uggiano, around which the city of Ferrandina was founded at the end of the 15th century.[63] A Gradual [1.1] with the name and emblems of Francesco II Del Balzo, Duke of Andria (d. 1482), together with Francesco's documented connections with the *Universitas* of Uggiano, suggest that he was the donor of the liturgical set.[64] The decorative programme is likely the work of a workshop active in the Murge, between Matera and the Princedom of Taranto, during the first half of the century. In the interlace initials on a gold panel that decorate these choirbooks we can recognize the same distinctive language of the above-mentioned Livy manuscript (fig. 68) which belonged to Giovanni Antonio Orsini Del Balzo, from 1433 the count of Matera.

Based on various documents and sources, scholarly studies have deduced that a *scriptorium* was active between the 16th and 17th centuries in the Benedictine abbey of San Michele Arcangelo in Montescaglioso, not far from Matera.[65] In 1650, Prior Fabiano del Pino recorded the presence of choirbooks "writ-

61 Bagnoli 2005.
62 Cucciniello 2014. On painting see also Zezza in this volume.
63 Palestina 1994, IV, 239.
64 Verrastro 2004.
65 Masini 2016, 322–323.

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ten by highly skilful copyists, the monks belonging to the same monastery, and decorated with richly illuminated figures" ("scritti a mano da valentissimi scrittori monaci professori dell'istesso monasterio, e guarniti di ricchissime figure a minio").[66]

So far, no trace has been found of the 'many books' that according to Giorgio Vasari the Veronese Girolamo dai Libri produced for the abbey in Montescaglioso, which from 1484 belonged to the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua.[67] Nonetheless, Vasari's remark remains particularly important, as it is his only reference to illuminated manuscripts in southern Italy.

It is believed that the nucleus of 15th- and 16th-century choirbooks documented in the Cathedral of Matera since 1783[68] originates from the local Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria della Valle. It has never been noticed that a culture indebted to the language of Girolamo dei Libri and of his fellow countryman Domenico Morone can be detected in some miniatures in the choirbooks 2.1–2.2 of Matera Cathedral. Further studies will ascertain whether they bear traces of the influence of the lost choirbooks by Girolamo, or whether the information provided by Vasari—who had never ventured so far South—was merely an echo of the popularity surrounding the Veronese artist.

Together with the above-mentioned artist clearly trained in the Venetian area, two main illuminators can be seen at work in these manuscripts. The hand of Reginaldo Pirano has been detected in the choirbook 2. 2 (originally bound together with 2.1), particularly in the painted page with an *incipit* suspended from an architectural structure in the Renaissance style, the left pillar of which carries the inscription "HOC OPUS FECIT FRATER R."[69] Here the artist reveals his strong cultural ties with the Venetian architectural titlepage. A more advanced version of the same scheme can be found in the later *Libro della confraternita del ss. Sacramento* (Book of the Confraternity of the Ss. Sacramento) in Monopoli. The cultural synthesis resulting from a complex artistic training can also be seen in the poignant figure of the praying David and in the abundance of mounted pearls, gemstones, and *all'antica* cameo medallions hung in *trompe l'œil*, echoing the ornamental vocabulary displayed in the opening pages of Aristotle's *Ethica* in Vienna painted for Andrea Matteo Acquaviva. In the Matera choirbooks, the illuminator who is most represented is the author of a page with the Vision and other episodes of the Legends of St Eustace, the

66 Leccisotti 1956, 267.
67 Vasari (ed. Bettarini and Barocchi) 1976, 596.
68 Gugliemi Faldi 1978, 159 n. 321.
69 Perriccioli Saggese 2015.

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city's patron, and of several historiated initials that modestly reprise Reginaldo Pirano's stylistic vocabulary.[70]

The choirbooks of Ferrandina and Matera thus indicate that the Materan region was culturally oriented toward Terra d'Otranto, the city's administrative district until 1663.

The general lack of information on provenance makes it difficult to identify the precise origins of a series of recently discovered fragments and manuscripts, such as the richly decorated antiphonary held in the church of San Michele in Pomarico, which shows very close connections with a group of late 16th-century choirbooks made for some southern Italian Dominican monasteries. A close analysis of the antiphonary's miniatures is still needed, but even a cursory look suggests that the manuscript was imported from Campania or from southern Lazio. At least in part, it seems attributable to the hand of 'Anibal,' an illuminator whose name appears in the Antiphonary of the Ss. Annunziata in Gaeta dated 1562 (Gaeta, Archivio storico IPAB Santissima Annunziata, Cor. 2 = n°5).[71]

Calabria remains one of the least studied areas regarding the production of illuminated manuscripts. Mostly liturgical books, these manuscripts contain the names of a substantial number of local copyists, mostly engaged in the transcription of choirbooks for the Mendicant orders.

Despite the substantial number of missing miniatures, one of the most interesting series is represented by the liturgical books of Santa Maria della Consolazione in Altomonte. Built from the 1440s onwards, the church was donated to the Dominicans by Antonio Sanseverino, Count of Altomonte, and by his mother Covella Ruffo. Connected to the donation is an Antiphonary (cod. lit. 4 = n. 10 [13])] with pen decorations carrying the coat of arms of Sangineto-Sanseverino, Ruffo, and Sanseverino, in addition to the Dominican emblem. The liturgical endowment of the new convent also included some choirbooks enriched with filigree penwork decoration, dated 1453 (n. 12 [12]) and 1455 (8 [8]; 9 [16]) and signed by lay copyists Nicola Passarelli and Benedetto Pica from Cetraro, respectively. It is not unlikely that the latter is also the author of the exuberant penwork decoration in the choirbook 9 (16), described in the *colophon* as "inflorectatus". In it, the copyist also notices that the manuscript was made possible by a donation 'pro anima' of Biagio de Salvato, an individual living in Altomonte.[72] The most interesting among the choirbooks of Santa Maria della Consolazione is an unfinished Gradual (5 [2]), mostly illuminated

70 Daneu Lattanzi 1976.

71 Pasqualetti 2014, 152.

72 Guida 2003b; Guida 2009.

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by an artist of Lombard training, with texts framed by naturalistic vegetable friezes animated with *drôleries* of International Gothic taste.

Although lacking appreciable decorations, the set of eleven choirbooks in the Archivio Storico Diocesano of Locri-Gerace represents a document of extreme significance. In fact, these manuscripts attest to the transition from the Greek to the Latin rite promoted, not without fierce opposition, by the humanist Bishop Atanasio Calceopulo between 1480 and about 1482.[73]

During the 16th century, with the increasing involvement of the friars working as copyists and calligraphers, the production of liturgical manuscripts expanded significantly. Among the four choirbooks held in the Museo Diocesano of Rossano are two antiphonaries (RV e RI) undersigned with the formula "factum et completum" by friar "Joannem Pandorphum de Mesoraca ordinis minorum regularis observantis", dated 15 October 1540 and 7 November 1541, respectively. Their probable provenance is the convent of the Observants of San Bernardino in Rossano, but it remains unclear whether the friar was actually the painter or only the supervisor of the decorative programme. It has been pointed out that these choirbooks recall the Roman culture of the Pinturicchio circle and show connections with the development of the Mannerist style in southern Italy.[74]

Dating from the same period are the series of liturgical manuscripts made for the convents of San Domenico and San Francesco in Cosenza, now in the local Biblioteca Civica. Three of the latter were commissioned by the provincial minister of Calabria and signed by Fra Francesco de Serris of Policastro in 1542 and 1543. Stylistic similarities have been found with the contemporary choirbooks of Rossano, suggesting the existence of a Franciscan network.[75]

A notable example of the circulation of Roman artistic culture is offered by a group of about ten charters of the Calabrian confraternities of the Ss. Sacramento, established in 1539 at the instigation of the Roman archconfraternity with the aim of promoting the Eucharistic cult. Dating from the following decades of the 16th century, these manuscripts are characterised by similar iconographic schemes, including frames with candelabra and grotesques in the Mannerist style surrounding images of the Blessed Sacrament, the Virgin, and the saints, together with the symbols of their respective cities. Such is the case, for example, of the parchment document (1555) in the archive of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Corigliano (fig. 70).[76]

73 Scarfò 1997.
74 Guida 2003a.
75 Carlucci 1978; Improta forthcoming.
76 Porco 2009.

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The Production of Liturgical Books in the Monastic Networks

In the course of the 16th century, innovations in worship prompted religious communities to commission new liturgical books, sometimes as a consequence of their inclusion into monastic networks such as the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua, which took the name of Cassinese in 1504. Not by chance, with the expansion of the printed book and the fall of the Aragonese dynasty, the production of illuminated books was progressively confined to religious communities interconnected by extraregional networks.

While this type of production has also suffered substantial material losses, important liturgical sets survive, sometimes still preserved *in situ*. Such is the case of the choirbooks of the Abbey of Montecassino, which are accompanied by a significant number of contemporary documents.[77] The decoration of the choirbooks involved some of the main illuminators of the time and lasted for most of the first quarter of the century. Among the first artists working for the Benedictines was the Master of Bolea, who by the first decade of the 16th century also worked for the Duke of Atri and created a sumptuous Breviary-Missal intended for Ferdinand the Catholic. The Benedictines favoured artists trained in Florence, such as Giovanni and Francesco Boccardi or Matteo da Terranova.[78] The Boccardis, appointed to work in Montecassino on two separate occasions (1508–1509; 1521–1522), left a significant mark on southern liturgical decoration during the first decades of the century. Their ornamental vocabulary, based on the exuberant design of acanthus foliage enriched with a profusion of cameos and gemstones, was widely disseminated through the network of monasteries, from Naples to Cava de' Tirreni and further to Gaeta. Matteo da Terranova, active in Montecassino from 1519 to 1523 and assisted by Aloyse da Napoli, was responsible for the introduction of the 'maniera moderna'—especially the models of Raphael and his followers—in southern manuscript production (fig. 71).[79]

The network revolving around the Abbey of Montecassino was not unique in its protracted promotion of illuminated liturgical books in the course of the 16th century. The signatures left by copyists and/or illuminators belonging to the Dominican order reveal that in order to perform their activities they moved from one convent to the next in the central and southern areas of the region.[80] A notable example is the friar Vincenzo Pontano from Fondi, docu-

77 Caravita 1869–1871, I, 437–466.
78 Perriccioli Saggese 1991a.
79 Sricchia Santoro 1995; D'Urso 2011.
80 Improta forthcoming.

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mented as working in Gaeta and Fondi between 1548 and 1577 and probably active in Somma Vesuviana as well. In 1567, however, the Dominican friar was in Nola, where he signed a Missal for Bishop Antonio Scarampi (Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 83. MG.82= Ludwig V 7), the only surviving evidence of his activity as an illuminator and at the same time one of the major peaks of southern book decoration in the second half of the 16th century (fig. 72).[81]

This survey has shown that the production of manuscript paintings in the Kingdom of Naples during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance was not limited to the capital and for the most part was not immediately dependent on the artistic trends flourishing in Naples. Indeed, the resulting framework is characterized by a cultural complexity that reflects the polycentric history of the South. The substantial implications in terms of local identity and the distinctive artistic languages developed in the main centres of production attest to a layered history that deserves to be further investigated.

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81 Pasqualetti 2014.

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CHAPTER 23

Paintings, Frescoes, and Cycles

Andrea Zezza

Unlike central and northern Italy, neither the city of Naples nor the Kingdom of Naples, before the seventeenth century, had their own school of painting, with recognizable stylistic characteristics and a continuous and autonomous history over time.

This fact was evident to people at the time, such as, for example, Giorgio Vasari, whose judgements on southern Italian artists have for so long influenced studies of painting in the region. Vasari, who had stayed in Naples between 1544 and 1545 and claimed to have had a pioneering role in the dissemination of the art of his time in the south, wrote that "after Giotto"—and until his own arrival—there had not been in Naples "artists" who "had achieved anything of importance in painting, though some works by Perugino and by Raphael had been brought there from outside […]". Writing later about the Calabrian painter Marco Cardisco (ca. 1490–1546)—the only southern Italian painter deemed to be worthy of a short biography—Vasari constructs an ambiguous and highly qualified eulogy, expressing his "joy" but also his "astonishment" that Cardisco's talent could have emerged "in a place where other artists do not exist", while he is even more sharply critical in his life of Polidoro da Caravaggio, in which he extends his severe judgement to cover the whole of southern Italian society and links the lack of success of artists from the region to the absence of patronage, since the local "gentili omini" show "very little interest in the excellencies of painting", so that Polidoro almost ended up dying of hunger in the place until "seeing his skills so little valued, he decided to take his departure from people who thought more highly of a jumping horse than of an artist who could make painted figures appear like living beings".[1]

What lay behind Vasari's evaluation was certainly the profound difference between southern Italian society, largely feudal and agrarian, and the urban and mercantile character of Tuscan society. Despite the frequency and persistence of political and economic contacts between the two regions, this contrast gave rise to a lively rivalry, amply represented in contemporary literature, where the two ambiences, and especially their two nobilities, were often seen as dia-

1 Vasari 1550–1568, VI, 385; IV, 525; IV, 466–467.

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metrically opposed: on the one hand, the Florentine upper classes whose lives centred on the virtue of industriousness and on the other the chivalresque nobility of Naples, lacking occupation and full of pride in their lineage. But Vasari's views also describe a real state of affairs and they were probably shared by a large number of intellectuals in southern Italy: similar assertions were expressed, for example, twenty years before Vasari came to Naples, by one of the Kingdom's leading humanists Pietro Summonte, who, speaking of painters in southern Italy in reply to a correspondent who had asked him about them, wrote that "in this region the art of painting is little prized" and that from the time of Giotto's visit onwards "we have not had in these parts either a foreign or native artist of any eminence", with the exception of Colantonio in the 15th century, whose art however was entirely dedicated to imitating the Flemish masters. Similarly, many years later, the Calabrian Bernardino Bombini, writing his memoirs at the end of the 16th century, was only able to add the name of a single Calabrian painter, Pietro Negroni, to that of Cardisco as local artists worthy of fame.[2]

The Kingdom's Social Structure and Local Histories

The particular social structure of the Kingdom, with its vast capital city with a constantly growing population and less developed urban centres elsewhere in its territory meant that only a very few such towns could nurture autonomous artistic activity, at least as far as painting was concerned. Among all the urban centres in mainland southern Italy, perhaps only in L'Aquila was there a certain continuity of artistic production for most of the period under consideration here.[3] Information about local workshops in the other towns and cities is scarce, and not simply because of the lack of surviving documents and the limited number of studies: in Terra di Lavoro there is information on local artistic workshops which were active in Aversa (the Cardillo and the Mercurio families), Capua (Martucci), Maddaloni (Landulfo, De Carluccio); in Principato Citra there were artists working in Salerno (Pavanino da Palermo) and in Eboli (Giovan Luca da Eboli); in Basilicata, an interior and not easily accessible region, a comparatively high number of skilled craftsmen are recorded, such as Giovanni Todisco, Antonio and Costantino Stabile, and later Giovanni di Gregorio, known as Pietrafesa, while in Calabria the more important paint-

2 Nicolini 1926, 159–160; Agosti 2001, 12; Loconte 2008; Zezza 2013; Willette 2017.

3 Previtali 1978.

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ers (Cardisco, Negroni) moved early on in their careers to Naples although they continued to send works back to their native region.

The Kingdom's regions on the Adriatic coast—Abruzzo, Molise, and Puglia—cut off from the capital city by the Apennines, appear to have been more independent. In Abruzzo there were first the anonymous masters of the late Gothic style known as the 'Maestro di Beffi', who were active between the end of the 14th century and the first quarter of the 15th, followed by the 'Maestro di Loreto Aprutino' (active in the early decades of the 15th century), Andrea Delitio (recorded 1442–1473), the 'Maestro di San Giovanni da Capestrano' (active in the second half of the 15th century), Francesco da Montereale (recorded 1509–1541), Pompeo Cesura (recorded 1565–1571) and others; here in Abruzzo it is possible to speak of a specific regional school of artistic production, at least in the 15th century. In the case of Molise, Michele Greco da Valona's stay in the region (documented 1505) should at least be noted, while Puglia, with its tripartite division into Capitanata, Terra di Bari and Terra d'Otranto, saw a notable flowering of late Gothic artistic expression. Later on in Puglia workshops belonging to local artists as well as to those who came from outside the region operated with continuity and success: in Terra d'Otranto they include Gianserio Strafella (recorded between 1546 and 1573), Giovan Domenico Catalano (ca. 1555–1627?) and Donato Antonio d'Orlando (ca. 1560–1636), and the Greeks Angelo (ca. 1467–after 1532) and Donato Bizamano (for whom there is information for the years 1539–1542), the 'maestro ZT' (documented from 1500–1539) and the Fleming Gaspar Hovic (ca. 1550–1627).

However, paintings from these local workshops were rarely able to satisfy the expectations of the most demanding patrons, so their production was almost always supplemented, in the case of more ambitious projects, with works and artists themselves brought in from outside the region, mostly from Naples but also from other centres. Besides the outstanding and episodic cases of highly prestigious commissions which turned to the acknowledged centres of artistic achievement—Florence, Rome, or Venice—and which resulted in the arrival in the Kingdom of works by Mantegna (Irsina, Naples; fig. 73), Perugino, Pinturicchio (Naples) or Raphael (L'Aquila, Naples), we can also observe a geographical specialization in each region in the importation of works of arts from its closest or more easily accessible neighbours: the areas on the Adriatic coast, for example, looked to Venice but also on occasion attracted works of art and artists from Dalmatia, which has led some scholars to identify a specific "Adriatic Renaissance";[4] inland Abruzzo, linked by road networks and terrain

4 Zampetti 1997.

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more to central Italy than it was to Naples, tended to orientate itself towards Florence, Umbria, or later, Rome; while Calabria Citra was closely connected to Sicily, especially Messina.

The twelve provinces into which the Kingdom was divided thus have features in common, such as their dependency on the capital, but also many distinctive characteristics of their own, especially noticeable in those regions which enjoyed links to other, alternative, centres to Naples, such as Abruzzo and Puglia which both enjoyed periods of artistic autonomy and openness.[5] The map of artistic production appears to be shaped more by physical geography than it was by administrative territorial organization.

The most prosperous and populous region, Terra di Lavoro, was influenced by the close proximity of the capital but also had several urban centres (Gaeta, Capua, Aversa, Nola, Sorrento) with a well-developed social and economic life of their own; this in turn stimulated a comparatively rich artistic production, with the creation, at times, of local workshops. The neighbouring region of Principato Citra also benefited, at least along its coastline, from easy access to Naples, which influenced it from an artistic point of view, while the inland territory of the Vallo di Diano, was advantaged both because the roads to and from the two Calabrias, Citra, and Ultra, ran across it and because it was the main centre of one of the most important fiefdoms in the Kingdom, belonging to the Sanseverino di Salerno. The family's vicissitudes of fortune are reflected in the events of the province's history.[6] Naples was the main point of reference for the inland province of Principato Ultra even with its marked feudal characteristics and it is hard therefore to distinguish instances of independent cultural activity, despite the existence of some fairly large urban centres (Ariano, Avellino).[7] In Calabria, the territory of which was dominated by the presence of vast 'feudal states', a meaningful division can be drawn not only between the administrative provinces of Calabria Ultra in the north and Citra in the south but also between the coastal and inland areas, and again between the Ionian and Tyrrhenian coasts. The Tyrrhenian coast was fairly densely populated with various sizeable urban centres (such as Monteleone—present-day Vibo Valentia—or Paola) and easier access to the outside world and both these factors encouraged the import of significant works of art. In the region's southern part the vicinity to Sicily and to a city like Messina, where artistic activity at times was quite lively, also meant that works of art could be imported

5 Franchi dell'Orto 1983–2006; Maccherini 2010; Gelao 2005.

6 *Storia del Vallo di Diano* 2004.

7 Cucciniello 2012.

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from there. Cosenza, in the middle of the region, was an important domanial city, large enough to enjoy, at least for occasional periods, a thriving cultural life, but in the field of painting it was not especially significant.[8] The inland and mountainous region of Basilicata had no outstanding urban centres (the largest, Matera, was until 1663 part of the province of Terra d'Otranto) but perhaps because of the difficulties of communication beyond its borders had a relatively large quantity of independent artistic workshops as well as a certain number of fresco painters who worked in the area, and, even though the more important works of art were commissioned for the most part from Naples, on its western side the region was also near to Puglia and the Adriatic.[9]

Over the decades the strategy of making Naples the political and administrative centre of the Kingdom, initiated in the mid-15th century with the establishment of Alfonso the Magnanimous and his court in the city (1442), then pursued with varying success by the Aragonese kings and later with single-minded determination by the Spanish viceroys, accentuated the artistic and cultural dependence of other urban centres on the capital. There are rare examples in other parts of the Kingdom of the creation of feudal courts which had their own cultural identity built around a family or a prestigious individual and which flourished in circumstances which in other respects and in other periods remained peripheral, but even in these cases the phenomenon was invariably ephemeral. The most outstanding and best-known examples are the fiefdoms of the Orsini Del Balzo in Salento (see Plate 3) at the beginning of the 15th century, of the Fondi di Onorato II Gaetani on the northern confines of the Kingdom at the end of the century, of the Maddaloni dei Carafa in the 16th century, but there are many others, less immediately visible, such as the Sanseverino court in the Vallo di Diano, or the Acquaviva family in Atri and Conversano, the fiefdoms of the D'Avalos on Ischia, of the Pandone in Venafro (fig. 75), the Di Capua in Riccia, Gambatesa (fig. 76) and Conca—all episodes which require further study.[10]

Even when such courts did not exist or there is no documentary evidence for them, it was still the case that noble families, whether from the feudal nobility or not, provided one of the main channels linking local centres to other, external, places of cultural production; by commissioning paintings or acquiring them by other means these families worked to enrich their lands and their towns. The outstanding example is Giovan Battista Castaldo from Nocera,

8 Valtieri 2003; Anselmi 2009.

9 Grelle Iusco 2001.

10 For the Pandone cycle see de Divitiis 2021.

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who had risen to the ranks of the nobility after a career spent fighting across Europe in the armies of Charles V; Castaldo bestowed on the Olivetan convent in the town one of Raphael's masterpieces, the Madonna later known as the 'Madonna del Duca d'Alba', today in Washington (fig. 74), together with other fine paintings by the Sienese artist Marco Pino (fig. 83).[11] On occasion the changes and the social mobility which accompanied the principal episodes of political and economic turbulence led to fiefdoms being transferred from the families of the old local nobility into the hands of new arrivals, frequently 'outsiders', and, whether this was the result of their military prowess or the power of their money, could mean that there was a significant investment in works of art which would advertise to all the prestige, munificence and piety of the new masters.[12]

The regular clergy played a role which was more important than that of the nobility: the religious orders, above all the Franciscans in all their branches (Conventual, Observant, later Capuchins) were always aware of the communicative power of images, but also the Cassinese Benedictines, Augustinians, Dominicans, Carmelites, and, later, Jesuits developed their own ways of using images. These orders employed trusted artists in the promotion of their particular forms of worship and frequently became closely associated both with the development and dissemination of specific iconographical models and with the circulation of painters; they were the main driving force both before but especially after the Counter-Reformation behind the arrival of sophisticated works of art, created in Naples or elsewhere, in even the remotest parts of the Kingdom. Many of the most important projects in 15th-century painting stem from the process of renewal undergone by the Franciscan Observants, while the reform of the Benedictine monasteries following the incorporation of Montecassino and Cava dei Tirreni into the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua in the early 16th century led to the concerted renewal across different monasteries of monastic buildings, liturgical objects, and church furnishings. The abbeys in Cava dei Tirreni and in Montecassino commissioned great altarpieces for their high altars, in the traditional form of a polyptych but painted in the modern Raphaelesque style by Cesare da Sesto and Andrea Sabatini from Salerno, both exemplary works of high Renaissance style. Later, during the period of the Counter-Reformation, the energetic campaigns carried out by the Dominicans to promote devotion to the Madonna of the Rosary and by the Franciscans to the cult of the Immaculate Conception led to an expo-

11 Zezza 1999.

12 See for example the case of Galatone in Puglia: Pasculli 1991.

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nential increase in the number of painted images, creating work for artists and encouraging artistic innovation.

In some cases a town's secular or ecclesiastical institutions would put public money towards the creation of works of art of better than average quality, appropriate for the size of the community, its piety, its citizens' wealth and aspirations; when this happened, prestigious commissions from external artists were the preferred option, usually from the workshops in Naples, even if this meant having to face the considerable logistical problems in transporting what were often enormous panels across difficult terrain. The altarpiece in the cathedral of Altamura in Puglia is a case in point: it was commissioned in Naples in the mid-1540s and the painting was finished by October 1546; it was then sent by ship to Barletta in mid-December in the same year—a dangerous journey in wintertime right round the Kingdom's coastlines—where it was collected by forty porters who used two carts on which to load the panel's decorative frame and set out on a six-day journey through the hills of the Murge, buffeted by rain and snow, until the work finally reached its destination on 3 March 1547. After this journey the painting needed repair and it was not put in place until 14 June 1548, more than a year and a half after it had left the Neapolitan workshop of the artist Leonardo da Pistoia.[13]

Cases where the central government commissioned works of art are few and far between but striking nonetheless: an example are the rich and extensive frescoes in the crypts in the cathedrals of Salerno and Amalfi dedicated to St Matthew and St Andrew respectively, which were the work of Belisario Corenzio and artists associated with him. These were both royal commissions undertaken by the Spanish viceroy, the sixth count of Lemos, in towns which had only recently come back into the royal domain. These episodes were exceptions to the general tendency of the time which saw a progressive impoverishment of the state patrimony; they occurred in the context of particular historical circumstances and were never repeated.[14]

The Late Gothic Period

The history of painting in mainland southern Italy outside Naples, then, during the Renaissance period is an episodic one, in which "the stimulus for artistic production is not local" but comes from outside, frequently but not always from

13 Santoro 1955.

14 Restaino and Zampino 2012.

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Naples.[15] The common characteristic of southern Italian painting in this period is precisely its openness and receptiveness to new ideas coming from outside the Kingdom, whether from the Mediterranean area, northern Europe or central and northern Italy.

There were of course certain times when specific localities flourished or artists and workshops in a particular place succeeded in establishing characteristic expressive features and creating their own stylistic configuration, but these periods rarely lasted long. The possibility of this was greater in the early 15th century, when Naples as the capital was still only in the process of acquiring dominance; indeed, the eclipse of royal authority which characterized the late Angevin period and the huge growth in the power of the leading feudal nobility favoured the rise of rival urban centres, with the creation of extensive and ambitious signorias which often promoted important artistic initiatives. Thus, the brief artistic flowering in Naples during the reign of Ladislaus di Durazzo had important developments outside the capital,[16] in the remotest provinces of the Kingdom, where a specific variety of the International Gothic style was widespread, characterized by expressive emphases and an openness to the influence of the Adriatic regions, towards Venice and towards figurative painting in Padua in the second half of the fourteenth century. During the same period the dynastic wars between the Angevins, Durazzo, and Aragonese and the turbulence which affected the Church on account of the Western Schism made it difficult to undertake ambitious artistic projects in striking contrast to Salento under the powerful feudal rule of the Orsini Del Balzo family,[17] who, with their support for the evangelical mission of the Franciscans and in their determination to impose the Latin rite on a population belonging to a Greek culture, undertook an ambitious programme of cultural activity, of which one outstanding outcome is the cycle of frescoes in the Basilica of Santa Caterina in Galatina (fig. 77). The cycle is one of the most extensive in Italy and was perhaps begun in the 1380s but only finished in the second decade of the 15th century, together with the smaller but equally important cycle in the chapel of Santo Stefano in nearby Soleto.

For the cycle in Galatina artists from the Veneto area—probably from Padua—and from the territories along the Adriatic coast as well as from Naples came together. Mingling diverse traditions they created a complex stratified culture which formed the basis for the emergence over the following decades of

15 Bologna 1955, 11.
16 Bologna 1969, 343–350; Zappasodi 2018.
17 Aceto 2012.

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what can be described as a specific local school of late Gothic style in Salento.[18] Artists who were probably local developed with their own stylistic autonomy, translating the hieratic serenity of the model into a less restrained, livelier and more joyful style, such as we see in the work of the 'Maestro della Santa Barbara' in Matera (documented in 1435) or, on a more popular level, of the 'Maestro del Messale di San Corrado' in Molfetta.[19]

Less striking but more original results can be seen during the same period on the northern confines of the Kingdom, in Abruzzo, another frontier territory which was continually overrun by armies but where significant artistic projects were also carried out. These drew inspiration not only from the artists at work in the neighbouring region of the Marche but also from Padua (a branch of the Da Carrara family, the rulers of Padua, was settled at the time between Ascoli and Teramo) and kept abreast of new developments in Venice and Gentile da Fabriano's stylistic innovations which were being imitated in Umbria, in Perugia and Foligno. Over the early decades of the 15th century there was a series of outstanding artists, condemned to anonymity by the absence of literary sources and the destruction of local archives: painters such as the 'Maestro di Beffi' or 'di San Silvestro', or the artist who takes his name from the frescoes in the Caldora chapel in the Church of the Santo Spirito in Morrone near Sulmona, or the 'Maestro del Giudizio Universale di Loreto Aprutino'. Taken together these artists, with their intensified expressiveness and taste for a harsh and emphatic style, form a significant chapter in the history of the late Gothic style in Italy.[20]

The same extreme expressive tension is found in the works of the remarkable anonymous artist working in Campania who is known as the 'Maestro di Nola' after the magnificent Crucifix in the Gesù church in the town (fig. 78), one of the outstanding works in what was a period of great artistic ferment, with paintings by, for example, the artist active in the Church of Santa Margherita in Maddaloni, in Sant'Agata dei Goti, in Piedimonte Matese and elsewhere, which re-interpret the late 14th-century artistic culture of Naples in an international style;[21] or the painter active in Piedimonte Matese, Sant'Angelo d'Alife and Pantuliano, whose style is closely related to the works created in the Marche by Salimbene, Pietro di Domenico da Montepulciano, and Giacomo di Nicola da Recanati, but also shows the influence of Masolino da Panicale and Gentile da

18 De Marchi 2001, 78–80; Ortese 2014.
19 Boskovits 1984.
20 Pasqualetti 2003; Eadem 2005; Eadem 2010.
21 Rizzo 2007.

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Fabriano, whose paintings could be seen in Rome under the papacy of Martin V during the Jubilee of 1425.[22]

The Aragonese 15th Century

After Alfonso the Magnanimous came to the throne of Naples in 1442, the political situation in the Kingdom underwent radical change: the establishment of an organized and settled court enabled forceful expression to be given to its 'internationalist' choices also on an artistic level. Paintings from Flanders, who had already been highly prized by the defeated claimant to the throne, René d'Anjou, were still sought after while the presence of Catalan architects and builders followed by Tuscan and Lombard sculptors, called to work on the huge project to build the triumphal arch in the Castel Nuovo and other projects elsewhere, became significant and radically changed the context of Neapolitan art.

Alfonso always showed a sensitive awareness of artists. In the final years of his long military campaign in southern Italy he had already called from Valencia the young painter Jacomart Baço who became a member of his household and was by his side for a long time during the 1440s. In 1446 Alfonso summoned the Florentine painter Dello Delli (1404–after 1466), who had been working in Spain for a long period, and we know that in 1448 Pisanello (ca. 1395–ca. 1455) was in his service. In the same period various masterpieces of the new Flemish style must have reached the Kingdom: the triptych by Jan Van Eyck which was already in the possession of the Lomellino family in Genoa, the celebrated *St George and the Dragon* by the same artist, which was acquired in Valencia, and the 'panni', as they are described in a contemporary document, of Roger Van der Weyden's *Passion of Christ*. This was the spirited and outgoing artistic climate in which the painter Colantonio reached maturity; a great imitator of Flemish artists and the teacher of Antonello da Messina, his works show the influence of artists from Provence and Catalonia, so much so that his paintings have been confused in the past with works by Barthélemy d'Eyck and even by Jacomart himself.[23]

However, this new 'Mediterranean' stylistic language, modelled on imitating the 'cose di Fiandra' and in fashion at the court only slowly and partially filtered through from the capital to the provinces. In 1449, when Jac-

22 De Marchi 1999; Caramico and Zappasodi 2019.

23 Sricchia Santoro 2017, 21–73.

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omart returned to Spain, Alfonso appointed as his court painter the Lombard artist Leonardo da Besozzo, who had been working in Naples since the time of Giovanna II and had painted the frescoes in the enormous mausoleum built by Ladislaus in San Giovanni a Carbonara followed by those, still in late Gothic style, in the Caracciolo del Sole chapel in the same church. Giovanni da Gaeta (for whom we have information dated 1448 and 1472) worked in the same church; he had perhaps been trained in the workshop belonging to the 'Maestro di Nola' and went on to work intensively in his home region, in what is today southern Lazio, between Itri and Fondi, in Salento, and in the Sorrento peninsula, and even, it would appear, as far as Sardinia and the Balearic Islands.[24] The conservative painter Angiolillo Arcuccio acquired an almost similar reputation, though he worked mainly in Naples and its province. He was probably trained in Naples with Jacomart and Colantonio; he is recorded to have worked at court and painted, between 1462 and 1492, a large number of works throughout the Campania region. These paintings were characterized by a strongly old-fashioned style, only slightly enlivened by the artist's never wholly confident attempts to respond to the new style he had seen in Naples in works by foreign artists from Flanders, Tuscany, and central Italy.[25]

Similar phenomena can also be seen further south, in the Salerno region, where towards the end of the century painters such as the anonymous 'Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Eboli' or Pavanino da Palermo (recorded 1472–1499) were working. These artists were still painting wholly in the late Gothic style, although they supplemented this with elements taken from central Italian Renaissance works. Only the triptych of the *Madonna and Child with Franciscan Saints* attributed to the 'Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Eboli', and, with a more coherent application of the model, Angelo Antonelli's triptych *Madonna and Child with St Elijah and St Bartholomew* in the Church of Sant'Elia in Furore, dated 1479, show a confident understanding of the new spatial principles of Renaissance painting, which had also in the meantime been adopted in Naples.[26]

Beyond Campania, Abruzzo stands out among the other provinces in the Kingdom for its independence, vivacity and the quality of the figurative art produced there, in particular in L'Aquila. The city was strengthened by the autonomy it won in 1424 after a siege from which it emerged victorious and

24 Zappasodi 2018; Petrocchi 2013.
25 Ruggiero 2014; Sricchia Santoro 2015, 85–86; De Luca 2020.
26 Ibidem.

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then, driven by extraordinary economic growth, entered on the most flourishing period in its history, from the mid-1440s onwards, with the arrival in the city of Andrea Delitio (ca. 1420–1495), a painter who had been trained in the late Gothic style but who had subsequently come into contact with the lively artistic ambience in Umbria and the Marche (Bartolomeo di Tommaso from Foligno) and then with the perspectival visual idiom of central Italy (Perugia and Siena, but also Florence, with Paolo Uccello and Domenico Veneziano). Delitio's masterpiece was his cycle on the history of the Virgin done for the cathedral in Atri, probably in the second half of the 1460s (fig. 80):[27] it is one of the largest and best preserved pictorial cycles in southern Italy, a kind of summation of the Abruzzo Renaissance school of painting, in which the plastic and spatial innovations of the Tuscan Renaissance and the legacy of Gentile da Fabriano come together to create a narrative which is both realistic and fantastic, told with a liveliness and observation typical of late Gothic style in Abruzzo.[28]

A more decisive turn towards Renaissance style, both in L'Aquila as in Naples, comes after the mid-century. The construction of the basilica dedicated to the great preacher Bernardino of Siena, who had died in L'Aquila in 1444, between 1454 and 1472 can be seen as emblematic of this shift. Alongside Delitio, a painter such as the anonymous 'Maestro di San Giovanni da Capestrano' emerged onto the scene, an artist who marked the turn in the city's artistic culture towards Rome and Perugia with the works of Antoniazzo Romano and Piermatteo di Amelia. It was the beginning of a period which would reach its zenith from the 1470s onwards with the work of the great sculptor and painter Silvestro dell'Aquila (whose paintings however do not survive), Giovanni di Biasuccio, and above all Saturnino Gatti. All these figures were highly aware of Florentine innovations which they applied with vigour and originality, to the point that one can speak of a 'Verrocchio-influenced moment' in the Renaissance in L'Aquila, giving rise to an independent and original style, with works like Saturnino's decoration of the Church of S. Panfilo in Villagrande di Tornimparte (1490–1494), which show a decidedly unprovincial degree of artistic maturity and quality able to stand comparison with the best painting of the time in Naples or in Rome.[29] In the same period along the region's Adriatic coastline it is possible to see the continued connections with the Marche and the importation of works by Pietro Alemanno and Carlo Crivelli,

27 For inscriptions in the frescoes see Montuori in this volume.

28 Benedicenti and Lorenzi 2001; Bologna 2001.

29 Pezzuto 2010.

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whom in 1490 Ferrante of Aragon, duke of Capua, knighted and made a member of his household.[30]

In Naples the renewal of painting more fully in line with Renaissance practice elsewhere takes place from the 1460s onwards and only slowly reaches other parts of the Kingdom. The death of Alfonso the Magnanimous in 1458 followed by the conflicts over the succession and the Conspiracy of the Barons gave rise to serious political disorder and led to a slowing down of artistic production but round about 1465, with the consolidation of Ferrante I's claim to the throne, the capital began to emerge from this phase of transition to initiate a new period of intense artistic activity. The work on the Castel Nuovo began again under the supervision of Pietro da Milano, while Francesco Laurana and, briefly, Leon Battista Alberti also worked in the city. The Aragonese monarchs, now an Italian dynasty, created close political and familial relationships with the dukes of Milan and Ferrara as well as ties to Florence which would become increasingly significant in the closing decades of the century. It is in this period that painting in southern Italy takes a new turn, although today only a few works from this time survive; in them we see a full adherence to the rules of perspective practised in central Italy, something Colantonio in his last works was also attempting.

The effects of Rome's re-acquired importance in the 1470s and 1480s, with the various large-scale urban projects being carried out under Sixtus IV (1471–1484) were soon seen in Campania. A work of first-rate quality by Antoniazzo Romano arrived in Fondi in about 1476 (followed by another in Capua in about 1492),[31] while during the 1480s the brothers Pietro and Polito del Donzello arrived in Naples from Florence to work on, as the sources tell us, the frescoes in the royal villa in Poggioreale. However, the greatest and most influential artist by far from the 1470s onwards was the anonymous 'Maestro dei Santi Severino e Sossio', who has recently been identified with the Venetian painter Costanzo de Moysis, who arrived in the Kingdom from Ferrara. He worked in Naples both before and after an important stay in Constantinople in about 1481 and his production represents the finest achievements of painting in southern Italy in the last three decades of the 15th century.[32]

Round the activity of Costanzo and the commissions from the Aragonese court new workshops sprang up which renewed Colantonio's legacy, taking their lead from the work of the 'Maestro dei Santi Severino e Sossio', run by

30 Tropea 1991; Bologna 1991.

31 Cavallaro and Petrocchi 2013, 84–85, 88–89.

32 Sricchia Santoro 2015.

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such artists as Pietro Buono (fig. 81), Pietro Befulco, both from Salerno, and others who came from outside the Kingdom in the course of the 1480s, such as the Sicilian Riccardo Quartararo, who became Costanzo's business partner, or the anonymous painters of the *Annunciation* in Belmonte Calabro and the polyptych of the *Visitation* in Molfetta. This marked the first time perhaps when, for a couple of decades, a common visual language prevailed throughout mainland southern Italy.

The new stylistic approach which flourished round the court in Naples appears to have spread only partially to the provinces and thanks to figures who were close to the court; for example, in Puglia, the arrival of the highly accomplished diptych of the *Virgin interceding for the town of Andria*, which shows a magnificent view of the town (fig. 79a–b) was probably connected to the feudal baron Francesco II Del Balzo (see Plate 3).[33] The increasing dominance of Venice along the Adriatic seaboard and the intensifying exchanges with towns on the Puglian coast led to the more frequent importation of Venetian paintings, from the workshops of the Vivarini, of Giovanni Bellini, and later Lazaro Bastiani, which were commissioned mainly by Venetians who had settled in the region.[34] The Veronese painter Cristoforo Scacco (recorded 1483), working in the style of Mantegna, settled in Campania, probably coming from Rome; he worked very successfully between the 1480s and the early 16th century, first in the service of the Gaetani family in Fondi and later in Naples, Nola, and the Salerno region.[35]

Given the lack of sources and documents, it is hard to state whether the innovations in the work of local painters was the result of a period of apprenticeship or work in Rome and other centres or arose exclusively from their contacts with artists who came from outside the Kingdom and the imitation of their works. We know of at least one stay in Rome, undertaken by Francesco Cicino da Caiazzo, prior to 1486, in Antoniazzo's workshop,[36] before he painted various works in Naples and Campania and we can presume that other artists could have had similar experiences, such as Cristoforo Faffeo (recorded 1489), whose works found across Campania and Calabria show that he was well acquainted with the new styles of painting in Rome in the period between the 15th and 16th centuries.[37]

33 D'Elia 1969.
34 Barbone Pugliese 2012.
35 Naldi 1986; Petrocchi 2014.
36 D'Avossa 2013, 178–179.
37 Salvatore 2000.

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The First Three Decades of the Sixteenth Century: An Interrupted Artistic Flowering

In 1494 the invasion of Charles VIII's French army brought a sudden end to the large-scale urban, architectural, and artistic projects being pursued by Alfonso of Aragon, duke of Calabria, including the construction of the new royal palace and the city walls.[38] When these projects came to a halt so too did the dialogue between the court and the dynamic artistic changes taking place in northern and central Italy. The celebrated cycles of Neapolitan frescoes in Poggioreale and the Duchesca had no impact on subsequent artists and the acquisition of prestigious works of art for the court came to an end. The leading figures of the last period of Aragonese rule left the scene while the wars, spoliations, and general turmoil of the period led to a visible cultural impoverishment, with the dispersal of painters and the disappearance of the Aragonese library and the prestigious collection of works in Castel Nuovo. Yet there was no real break, no change of direction, in the development of painting in the Kingdom: despite the social and economic difficulties, much remained of the humanistic culture of the late Aragonese period and when Gran Capitán Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba's victory in 1503 brought a provisional end to hostilities, the Spanish conquerors enthusiastically embraced the splendours of the Neapolitan Renaissance, while the nobility in the Kingdom were quick to promote their leading role in society also through the commissioning of important works of art. The eclipse of the royal court in fact led to the emergence of other forces for whom artistic patronage was a way of expressing their personal ambitions—the urban upper class and the nobility, the great merchants, and episcopal sees. Artistic culture in Naples was sustained by outstanding patrons, such as the Cardinal Oliviero Carafa (1430–1511) and the hugely wealthy merchant Paolo Tolosa, who had Perugino's *Assumption* brought to the city to adorn the high altar in the cathedral as well as Pinturicchio's beautiful smaller version of the same subject for the family chapel in Monteoliveto.

Frequent and close contact with Rome seems to have breathed new life into the artistic milieu of Naples: to the 15th-century love of perspective was now added the early classicism of central Italy, that "sweet harmony of colouring" of which Vasari spoke, which became known through the work of Perugino and Pinturicchio and the mediation of artists like the Bolognese Antonio Rimpatta (recorded 15011-1511), Antonio Solario (1465–1530) from the Veneto, and the minor painter Francesco da Tolentino (ca. 1495–1535) from the Marche.

38 Hersey 1969.

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Contrary to what Vasari wrote, at least some of southern Italian ruling classes seem to have taken an early interest in the great changes which were now taking place principally in Rome; the epoch-making artistic revolutions making their presence felt in the Vatican palace were soon known to painters working in southern Italy, at first in the capital and then later and in different ways in the provinces.

Spanish artists, who had been apprenticed in Lombardy or Tuscany and had then been employed on great projects in Rome, acted frequently as intermediaries between the papal city and southern Italy, which now belonged to Spain and offered them an opportunity to further their artistic careers. Among the earliest of these Spanish painters was perhaps the anonymous artist known as the 'Maestro del retablo di Bolea', of whom we find traces in Aragon at the end of the century and then in Naples but also in Abruzzo—where he created a *Nativity* and a *Flagellation* in the cathedral in Atri for the powerful feudal baron Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva—and in Montecassino, where he worked as an illuminator. His striking style, which was probably developed in Rome in the late 15th century, echoes Perugino, Pollaiolo, Pinturicchio, and Ghirlandaio, brought up-to-date in Bramante's style.[39]

What Vasari calls "the modern manner", the style of Leonardo and Raphael, comes to southern Italy with Pedro Fernández, a Spaniard from Murcia but trained in the Milan of Leonardo, Bramantino, Solario, and Boltraffio who after a spell of time in Rome working for Julius II went to Naples where he introduced artists there to the style of Raphael in the works for the Stanza della Segnatura, though seen through his own Lombard interpretation.[40]

Two provincial painters who had come to Naples, Stefano Sparano from Caiazzo and Andrea Sabatini from Salerno, were later referred to by Summonte as the local 'comprimari' who, alongside more significant foreign artists such as Fernández, Cesare da Milano, Bartolomé Ordóñez, and Diego de Siloé, led the renewal of painting in the early decades of the 16th century. These artists were also responsible for the first attempts at the 'modern manner' in the provinces: a series of paintings, often on a gold background, by the less accomplished Sparano are found in Piedimonte Matese, Naples, and Portici, while works by the more gifted Andrea Sabatini, which much later earned him the sobriquet 'the Neapolitan Raphael', were quick to reach a large part of mainland southern Italy, from Teggiano in the Vallo di Diano and Banzi in Basilicata (fig. 82)

39 Sricchia Santoro 2009. For Andrea Matteo III see Abbamonte, de Divitiis, and D'Urso in this volume.

40 Ballarin 2010.

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to Barletta in Puglia and then Cassino, Gaeta, and Cava. These were carried out with the help of Sabatini's workshop which must have had numerous artists working in it.[41]

Over a period of twenty years, until the new French invasion in 1528, the southern Italian artistic ambience appears to have been a dynamic and receptive one, continually in contact with the innovations taking place in Rome and capable of nurturing artists of real worth. It was in the field of sculpture that the best results were achieved, with the works of Girolamo Santacroce and Giovanni da Nola, but painting also thrived, frequently developing highly expressive interpretations of Raphael's most dynamic work in the Vatican Loggias and in the drawings for the engravings of the *Evangelists*. Sabatini completed some of his most dramatic and vivid paintings in this period, such as the *Mystical Marriage of St Catherine* in Nocera (1519) and the *Madonna delle Grazie*, now in Munich. Even a less accomplished artist like Agostino Tesauro seems to have been affected by this expressive intensity, and together with him the Calabrian Marco Cardisco: it has been plausibly suggested that this indicates the presence in southern Italy of the Spanish painter Pedro Machuca, who has been described as "raffellesco de fronda" ("a critical follower of Raphael"). It is possible to perceive echoes of his *Madonna del Suffragio* (1517, today in the Prado) in other works in southern Italy which can be dated to these years (by the 'Maestro di Barletta' and the 'Maestro di Stella Cilento').[42]

When the vitality of artistic culture in Rome faltered, during the papacy of Adrian VI or the plague of 1522–1523 and the years leading up to the definitive rupture of the Sack of the city in 1527, both leading and minor artists moved to southern Italy—painters such as Girolamo da Cotignola (1480?–after 1531) or Giovan Francesco Penni (ca. 1494–1528), a loyal disciple of Raphael who worked for some time for the D'Avalos court on Ischia, and above all the Lombard Polidoro da Caravaggio, who found an informed and receptive ambience in Naples on his first visit to the city in 1523–1524. The *all'antica* style of Raphael's youngest follower aroused the interest both of cultivated patrons who had been taught to value antiquity by Pontano and Sannazaro and of painters themselves, as seen in the best works by the Calabrian artist Marco Cardisco, as well as of sculptors like Girolamo Santacroce, who were already familiar with the 'maniera moderna' as practised by Ordóñez and Siloé and who were now able to update themselves on the innovations of the late Raphaelesque style as seen in the works of Polidoro.[43]

41 Leone de Castris 2017; Zezza 2017.

42 Previtali 1986; De Mieri 2019.

43 Naldi 1997; Zezza 1994.

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The great capital attracted artists from many places, who arrived after they had seen the innovations of Roman art which they then tried to recreate in the works they produced while in southern Italy, not only in Naples but also in the provinces which both acquired works of art from the capital and also attracted artists who were unable to succeed in the city's highly competitive market. Examples include Simone da Firenze, who worked mainly in Basilicata, and Francesco da Tolentino from the Marche who managed for a certain time to obtain some significant commissions in Campania but then, after failing to develop his work further, withdrew to Puglia, where his paintings remained popular until the 1540s.[44]

1528–1532: A Rupture

The four years from 1528 to 1532 mark an important division: first the war and the siege of Naples, followed by an outbreak of plague, and the deaths, almost at the same time, of the leading figures from earlier decades, Jacopo Sannazaro, the sculptor Girolamo Santacroce, and the painter Andrea Sabatini. Moreover, the defeat of the French attempt to reconquer the Kingdom marked the definitive end to the disruptive aims of the Angevin-descended feudal baronry to acquire autonomy. At the same time there were the beginnings of a process of reform and centralization undertaken, with iron determination, by the Viceroy Pedro de Toledo. All these factors amounted to a profound discontinuity in the course of events and served to suppress any promising signs in cultural life.

The provinces felt the force of the centralization of the capital in political, social and economic life. The barons were solicited either to take up residence in Naples, in proximity to the court, or take their chances of glory outside the territory by joining the imperial armies across Europe. Meanwhile forms of local independence were suppressed; some of the most ancient feudal dynasties were overthrown—the Sanseverino in Salerno, the Pandone in Venafro, the Orsini in Nola—and new families, frequently from outside the territory, above all from Castile followed by Genoa, were encouraged to join the ranks of the nobility. This broke ancient patterns of life and ties to the territory while the 'togate' acquired unprecedented scope in the ranks and offices of governmental administration. The social upheaval had a profound impact on artistic production; painting in southern Italy in the 1530s and in part also in the following decade was marked by stagnancy, like that experienced in Rome in the period

44 Naldi 1988; Toscano 1994.

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between the Sack of the city and the advent of the great Farnese commissions. Significant episodes worth singling out in the artistic life of the provinces are few and far between; social disarray and the crisis in general were more evident here than in Naples and the repression of what greater or lesser degree of autonomy had survived from previous decades was fiercely repressed. L'Aquila is an outstanding example: the repression there culminated in the construction after 1534 of the huge castle built to overlook the city, an effective symbol of the end of its independence which had enabled it for a time to thrive as in no other period of its history.[45]

The work of local artists which in earlier decades had attained a good standard of aesthetic quality now declined into substantial repetitiousness. In Campania the most interesting production is that above all of Giovan Filippo Criscuolo, who painted numerous works both in Naples and in the provinces (the polyptych depicting the *Nativity*, done for Aversa and dated 1545), which follow a formulaic and unexciting Raphaelesque style practised by Andrea Sabatini and the Calabrian Pietro Negroni, a follower of Polidoro da Caravaggio.

The first signs of a revival of artistic culture can be observed in Naples from the mid-1540s onwards but now in the spirit of a different style influenced by the success of the new mannerism developed in the courts of Rome and Florence, by the strategic choices of the Viceroy Pedro de Toledo, Cosimo dei Medici's father-in-law, who favoured the new courtly art of Florence, and by the international connections of the new ruling classes, both lay and ecclesiastic.[46] These years are marked in particular by the presence in Naples of the painter Leonardo Grazia from Pistoia and the young Giorgio Vasari whose work for the Benedictine Olivetan order was quickly imitated by local artists ('Leonardo Castellano').[47]

What happened in Puglia was different, though not so much because of how the characteristics of local artistic production changed as for the increasing significance of imports of Venetian works of art: Girolamo da Santacroce, *Polyptych*, Castellaneta, 1531; Pordenone, *Virgin Mary with Child and St John the Baptist and St Francis of Assisi*, Terlizzi, ca. 1529–1531; Lorenzo Lotto, *St Felix*, Giovinazzo, 1542. At the same time and together with other areas along the Adriatic coast Puglia saw a curious revival of late Byzantine culture. This phenomenon can be traced back to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 but it continued and increased over the course of the 16th century with the arrival in the region of growing numbers of Greek migrants escaping the advance of the

45 Maccherini 2010, 13–17.
46 Zezza 2013, 163–165.
47 Naldi 2012.

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Ottomans. With them also came artists entirely formed in the Byzantine tradition, such as the Bizamano, who came from Crete via Dalmatia and settled in Otranto, and Giovanni Maria Scupola (for whom we have information dating from the first half of the 16th century). To their extensive production we can add works by other Greek artists such as Michele Damasceno (ca. 1530–1591?) and Thomas Bathàs (1554–1599), which were perhaps imported from Venice.[48]

The Mid-Sixteenth Century Revival and the Counter-Reformation Project

The vast process of reorganizing society as well as religious practice undertaken with the Counter-Reformation gave a new and central importance to visual images, which now became the object of general attention. The transformation was made up of different processes all of which, however, were directed to a single end: the fight to suppress heresy, the effort to re-evangelize general society, the reorganization of the secular clergy, the new stimulus given to religious orders, both old and new, the huge expansion of conventual life for women with, as a consequence, the large-scale rebuilding of many monasteries and churches and the creation of a vast number of new institutions, the drive to create confraternities, a newly energized promotion of the cults of saints and relics together with the creation of new cults. These processes took on huge dimensions in southern Italy, almost comparable to the efforts to evangelize the 'new world' of the American colonies: the Jesuit fathers responsible for training the young seminarians who were asking to be posted abroad as missionaries described the provinces of southern Italy as the "indie di quiggiù" ("the Indies on our doorstep"). Naples has been described as a "capital of the Counter-Reformation",[49] but the movement for reform pervaded the provinces such as Calabria no less thoroughly than it did in Lombardy under Carlo and Federico Borromeo.[50]

Painting took on an unprecedented central role in society with a proliferation of visual images which multiplied and filled every social space, to the great benefit of artistic production, which once again thrived, helped also by a period of comparative economic prosperity. As early as the 1550s, especially towards the end of the decade, the presence of Marco Pino from Siena (1521–1583) began

48 Cassiano and Vona 2013.
49 De Maio 1983.
50 Agosti 2001, 5.

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to make itself felt. Pino had been a pupil of Beccafumi in Siena, and then a prominent artist in Farnese Rome, after which he settled in Naples where he worked for about thirty years. Alongside Pino there was the Neapolitan Giovan Bernardo Lama, who over several decades would become his principal rival. In about 1557, the year in which Pino is first recorded as working in southern Italy, on the no longer surviving frescoes in the crypt of the Abbey of Montecassino, Lama, barely in his twenties, was working on the decorations for the chapel of the Genoese Pinelli family in San Domenico Maggiore, for which Titian would send his painting of the *Annunciation*. Lama had clearly already acquired the reputation which would accompany him for the rest of his career, making him one of the Neapolitan artists most celebrated in literary sources, despite the variable quality, to our eyes, of his production. Lama and Pino would be the dominant figures in painting over the next two decades, both in Naples and the rest of the territory. Pino's style was based on *bel disegno*, combining the furia of Michelangelo with the *grazia* of Perin del Vaga, while Lama's compositions were simpler, often aiming at an effect of pathos, and his style more delicate and attentive to the realistic reproduction of details.

The well-equipped Neapolitan workshops also produced paintings for the provinces: Marco Pino sent his works to Puglia (Monopoli, Bitonto, Ruvo), Basilicata (Anzi), Calabria (Acquaformosa, Cosenza), and inland Campania (Bagnoli Irpino). The rival Lama-Buono workshop did the same, sending works to Maddaloni, Avellino, Taurano, Monopoli, Caramanico, and Solofra.[51] In L'Aquila the presence of the extraordinarily gifted painter Pompeo Cesura (fig. 84) led to a revival of local artistic production.

Besides Pino and Lama, a new generation of local painters gradually emerged and there were new arrivals from the north, especially from Flanders. Among these groups the two figures of Teodoro d'Errico and Silvestro Buono stand out (fig. 85). D'Errico is recorded as being in Naples in 1573–1574 and during his stay produced some of his most spectacular works, with their soft mellow brushwork, unnaturally bright colouring, and remarkable balance of abstract elegance and microscopically realistic detail. Buono, born around 1551, was Lama's nephew and later his pupil; from the mid-1570s he worked alongside his uncle in managing a constantly busy workshop and helped him to develop a more austere and 'purist' style, with simpler compositions and expressing a pious realism, comparable to the works being created in Rome by a fellow southern Italian artist, Scipione Pulzone from Gaeta. Alongside Buono and Lama, there was also the baroccesco Girolamo Imparato (recorded as active

51 Zezza 2003; Zezza 1991.

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between 1573–1607) and Fabrizio Santafede (ca. 1555–1626), whose paintings have a warm-hearted realism, similar to the works of the Florentine reformed school in the manner of Santi di Tito. Santafede succeeded Lama as a renowned portraitist as well as acquiring a similar reputation among writers and like Marco Pino, who was probably his teacher, his work was much requested by patrons. The most gifted of all these artists was the extrovert Francesco Curia from a younger generation (recorded between 1586–1608); Curia's compositions show the probable influence of the work of Caprarola, Raffaellino da Reggio, and Spranger, as well as of engravings of northern European mannerists from Goltzius to Cornelis Van Haarlem. Some remarkable paintings by Curia were created for the provinces.[52]

The end of the 16th century saw what appeared to be a desire for regularity emerge, for pictorial compositions which were simpler and more balanced, together with a renunciation of more ostentatious or simply more spontaneous decorative elements, in favour of a moderate, approachable realism, following the approach adopted by Silvestro Buono and Santafede. This shift is seen in the later work of Hendricksz and of his fellow Fleming Aert Mijtens, as well as in the production of successful fresco painters such as the brilliant Belisario Corenzio, the less accomplished Giovan Vincenzo Forli, the immigrants Ippolito Borghese and Giovan Bernardo Azzolino, and above all Giovanni Balducci, who settled in Naples in 1597 and continued to work there, without much changing his style, until the 1630s.

For painting in southern Italy, the last two decades of the 16th century were still a period of great dynamism: the Counter-Reformation rebuilding of churches and monasteries, the unprecedented population growth and urban expansion of the capital city, the exceptional wealth of the religious orders and of the larger charitable institutions maintained the demand for works of art and the large number of painters, whether local or from outside the territory to supply them. The variety of styles in which those artists worked are all indications of a fervent ambience, which was ready to welcome the revolutionary innovations brought by Michelangelo da Caravaggio on his arrival in Naples in the autumn of 1606 and which would continue to thrive for the first three decades of the 17th century.[53]

52 Leone de Castris 1991; De Mieri 2009; Di Majo 2002.

53 Previtali 1991.

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CHAPTER 24

Music and Patronage in the Courts of Southern Italy

Dinko Fabris

The Absence of Musical Sources

To write about the patronage of music in southern Italy, excluding the city of Naples, during the Renaissance is a harder undertaking than it is in the case of the other arts, above all because of the almost complete loss of written sources from the period. Of all human expressions, music has always been the most ephemeral and fleeting, even though medieval Europe invented a system of writing to record musical sounds unknown in other continents: musical notation. In reality the system emerged within the Church hierarchy as a way of ensuring that the faithful throughout Christendom sang exactly the same texts to the same intonations. This is the reason why so many liturgical manuscripts containing musical notation can be found even in what were the remotest areas of the Kingdom, where, furthermore, towns like Benevento and Bari became specialized centres, with their own *scriptoria*, for the production of this kind of manuscript.[1] As a result, if we want to start from the current state of knowledge in this field, then we should recognize that the only documented musical patronage anywhere in southern Italy for the whole of the Renaissance period was that of the churches and monasteries for which hundreds of musical liturgical manuscripts were produced and have survived to the present day (often richly decorated with miniatures and capital initials which meant that they were thought worth preserving).[2] It is unfortunate that no single database exists containing even a basic census of all musical liturgical manuscripts produced

1 For Benevento see Kelly 2011; on Bari see Fabris 1993, 19–29. A specific case where the production of liturgical musical manuscripts was common to both *scriptoria* is the *Exultet* rolls on which Cavallo 1973 is still the fundamental study.

2 The studies by Giacomo Baroffio are an indispensable guide to this type of musical source. Baroffio's work constitutes what is in effect an *Iter Liturgicum Italicum* of liturgical manuscripts with music, including the smallest surviving fragments. Publication began in 1988 in the journal *Le Fonti musicali in Italia* and has continued to the present day in different publications (including Baroffio 1999) and the findings are continually updated on the author's website: http://www.hymnos.sardegna.it/iter/iterliturgicum.htm.

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before 1700; these constitute a mine of information on specific local practices right across the territory (thanks also to the frequent additions of modes, sequences, simple—or, more rarely, complex—polyphonies, local chants and so forth). Liturgical manuscripts with musical notation are still not considered to be 'music books' in the accepted sense of the term, meaning there is no special field for them as part of the music database on the 'Internet Culturale' pages of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico (ICCU) for Italian libraries. What information we have for southern Italy is fragmentary and mixed. So far only Puglia as a region has completed a census of the approximately 200 codices which have been recorded there (along with numerous fragments); for the rest of southern Italy there are only exhibition catalogues, single studies of particular localities, and projects still awaiting completion (such as the census in Calabria currently in progress).[3] However, from the, albeit partial, data which is available to us, it is possible to extract references to musical liturgical manuscripts which were produced within the ambience and under the influence of various courts in provincial southern Italy or which are linked to the names of noble patrons.

Another field of investigation, which is valuable precisely because of the lack of written musical sources, is visual iconography. This branch of musicological studies, which has only been part of academic research for a few decades, explores historical visual images of musical performance and instruments and connects them to particular cultural ambiences and patrons. The most striking example of this, which has been surprisingly little studied, is the fresco cycle depicting musical subjects in the church of Santa Caterina in Galatina, a late medieval pictorial treasure house in Salento. The music-making depicted in the cycle forms part of an elaborate system of visual information on various aspects of human life, what is in effect a visual encyclopaedia of human knowledge at the time.[4] The cycle was commissioned by the court of the Orsini Del Balzo family, related to the Enghien family, a leading court in the vast Principato of Taranto. Between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century the Orsini possessed "a fiefdom which rivalled in every regard the royal court and the monarchy".[5] Within the fresco cycle, which is a kind of ideolo-

3 In addition to the list of towns and cities (and associated bibliography) provided in the already cited *Iter Liturgicum Italicum* on the website of Giacomo Baroffio, various studies and catalogues contain information on musical liturgical manuscripts dating from before 1700 and coming from several centres in the Neapolitan provinces: Arnese 1967; *Codici liturgici in Puglia* 1986; Putaturo Murano and Perriccioli Saggese 1991; Pietrafesa and Verrastro 1991; Di Lorenzo 2000; *I codici liturgico-musicali in Calabria* forthcoming.

4 An initial musicological study of the fresco cycle in Castaldo 2006.

5 Vetere 2006, IX.

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gical manifesto for the Orsini family, no fewer than forty scenes depict musical symbols. Practically all the musical instruments played at the time in Europe are shown (figs. 86–87).

The fact that these instruments are depicted with extraordinary attention to their physical detail as artefacts and also, on occasion, to how they were played, has led scholars to see in the frescoes an echo of the music which was actually performed in the court of the Del Balzo d'Enghien family, who commissioned the fresco cycle. Yet so far—as with other southern Italian courts of the time which are also linked to painted depictions of music—no written sources have been identified in connection with the Galatina cycle which confirm that musicians were employed on a permanent basis to perform music for the enjoyment of the court.

Another element in the musical iconography found in the Kingdom of Naples—across the whole of Puglia and a large part of Basilicata—between the 15th and 16th centuries is the abundance of sculpted *presepi* or Nativity scenes which show, with astonishing realism, figures playing musical instruments.[6] The earliest such *presepi* showing musical scenes are attributed to the artist Stefano da Putignano or his imitators in the early decades of the 16th century (in Polignano and Grottaglie) but the outstanding example is found in the cathedral at Matera. Here, in 1534, the cathedral chapter commissioned the sculptors Sannazzaro d'Alessano and Altobello Persio da Montescaglioso to create a Nativity scene 'similar to' the one in the cathedral of Cerignola (which was destroyed in an earthquake in 1723).[7] The *presepe* in Matera is still in good condition and shows the Christ Child being lulled to sleep by human and celestial musicians. The human musician is placed outside the grotto—a shepherd seated in the middle of his flock playing a large set of bagpipes (two chanter pipes are visible). On the border between the two levels in the scene, represented by the rocks of the grotto, a small angel hangs in suspension, joyfully sounding a row of tuned small bells. Inside the grotto itself, around the Holy Family, there are no fewer than six angel musicians, dressed elegantly in Renaissance costume and shown, in realistic detail, performing on instruments which are wonderfully observed and reproduced, as though it were a frozen

6 See the list and description in Fabris 1991. On the general artistic characteristics of Puglian *presepi* see also Gelao and Tragni 1992. Gelao suggests that in their realistic depiction of the figures in the scenes (including the angel musicians who are always dressed like noble pages of the period) Puglian sculptors may have been influenced by the Neapolitan works of the Modenese sculptor Guido Mazzoni, who appears to have followed the duke Alfonso of Calabria to Puglia during his two-month journey in the region in 1492.

7 A description of the *presepe* in Matera and bibliography in Fabris 1991 and Gelao and Tragni 1992.

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image of an actual Christmas concert which took place in 1534. Looking from left to right we see an angel playing a frame tambourine with bells, a group of instruments made up of a *buttafuoco* (or dulcimer with percussed strings) and a recorder, an angel with a psaltery and another with a hurdy-gurdy, then two more angels playing respectively a viola *da braccio* and a viola *da mano* (an instrument known in Spain as a *vihuela*). The choice of instruments depicted (which exclude all the most common instruments of the time, such as the lute, viola da gamba, harp, clavichord, and, indeed, the organ) represent what could plausibly have been an actual concert; these were all instruments which would have been known to the inhabitants of Matera and which they would have heard being played in street processions and on feast days. The ensemble evidently represents the cosmic harmony which has been re-established by the birth of Christ and the depiction obviously was so popular that almost identical copies were made twice in the following decades: in the Nativity scene in the cathedral of Tursi—which belonged to the same diocese as Matera—and then in the cathedral of the nearby town of Altamura, which is dated 1587 and where the angels have the same instruments, clothes, and even faces (fig. 88).[8]

Musicians at the Feudal Courts of Southern Italy

From the end of the 13th century, under Angevin rule, there was increasing musical activity at the royal court in Naples with the presence of important theorists, composers, and performers, but it was the later Aragonese court which promoted the city as a leading capital of European music in the second half of the fifteenth century. The cappella of the Aragonese court was one of the largest and most prestigious of the period, with over forty choristers and instrumentalists of different nationalities (including at least one female singer, Anna Inglese).[9] As a result of the feudal barons and their agents who reported on the legendary performances taking place in the capital, in various parts of the Kingdom circles sprang up which emulated the musical practices in Naples, using musicians who worked for the Church or belonged to the households of the nobility and were summoned from the capital. There were also foreign musicians who had come to the capital hoping to find work but then, faced with the intense competition, were obliged to look elsewhere in the other cities and towns of the Kingdom, where throughout the 16th century

8 Fabris 1991; Gelao and Tragni 1992, 63–75.

9 The classic work on this subject is Atlas 1985. For a list of musicians in the service of the Aragonese court not mentioned in Atlas see Fabris 1996.

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there were numerous *maestri di cappella* from northern Europe categorized generically as 'fiamminghi' or the Flemings. An investigation into these peripheral emulations of the music at the Aragonese court can call on different kinds of sources—archival documents, chronicles, literary texts, printed editions containing dedications to noble patrons of music—but there is an almost complete lack of any written music.[10] Furthermore, the research is made more complex by the dispersal of documents or is forced to rely on the chance discovery of sources, which do not reflect adequately the actual dimensions of the phenomenon. The present essay will provide only some examples of musical activity which took place in peripheral courts and also in the noble palaces of the Kingdom's denizens, which however serve to illustrate how widespread the practice of music was throughout southern Italy during the Renaissance.[11] On the other hand, we will not refer to examples of families who held feudal territories in different provinces but for whose musical activity there is only evidence relating to their palaces in Naples. For example the d'Avalos family, after they had acquired the marquisate of Pescara and Vasto, played an important role in the patronage of music in Abruzzo but there is insufficient testimony of this before 1700.[12] Vittoria Colonna, the marquess of Pescara and wife of Ferdinando Francesco d'Avalos, is well-known for her passionate interest in music (especially in the court she created around her in the castle of Ischia),[13] which was shared by Alfonso d'Avalos, her cousin and her husband's successor,

10 All surviving music sources from the Aragonese age (not all connected directly with the Court of Naples) are listed and commented in the recent thesis by Elmi 2019, with reference to the previous bibliography.

11 A very useful distinction between the production and consumption of music on the part of the Neapolitan 'urban' aristocracy as opposed to the Kingdom's 'feudal' aristocracy is offered in Elmi 2019 (Chapter two: "Poetry and Song among Aristocratic Circles in the Kingdom of Naples": *Naples's Urban Aristocracy; The Kingdom's Feudal Aristocracy; Neapolitan Networks in the Aragonese Kingdom; Music and Self-Fashioning among the Neapolitan Nobility*). Dr Elmi is the first musicologist to have begun to undertake comprehensive programmatic research into the music in peripheral areas of the Neapolitan Kingdom during the Renaissance; the project is currently in progress thanks to a 'Fulbright US Scholarship to Italy' in collaboration with the History of Music chair which the present author holds at the University of Basilicata.

12 As Marco Della Sciucca has explained, a reconstruction of musical life in Vasto before 1566, when the town was burnt and razed by Turkish troops, is impossible. The town was sacked again in 1590 by the brigand Marco Sciarra. Della Sciucca 2014, text available online at the website: http://www.abruzzomusicaantica.org/musica_in_abruzzo.php. The text lists the titles of the 16th-century music editions which were dedicated to the marquises of Vasto, members of the d'Avalos family, as evidence of the family's ties with its feudal territories in Abruzzo.

13 See Donati 2019 (including an updated bibliography on Vittoria Colonna).

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who was also the author of two celebrated madrigal texts which were set to music by several 16th-century composers. We know of traces—on occasion substantial ones—of musical activity in the fiefdoms of great lords such as the Sanseverino family, with two branches in Salerno and Bisignano respectively.[14] The reconstruction of the music which was performed at the court of Pietrantonio Sanseverino di Bisignano is especially interesting; as Cesare Corsi points out, Pietrantonio had organized his various feudal territories "into a compact and coherent block, a sort of state within the State (including an area between Basilicata and northern Calabria which stretched from the Ionian to the Tyrrhenian coast)", choosing Cassano as his 'capital', a town on the Ionian sea which was located at the centre of a network of family castles including Morano and Corigliano, among which the court, including its musicians, moved.[15] After 1540—at exactly the same time as the Neapolitan palace of the prince of Salerno, Ferrante, was at the pinnacle of its reputation for the musical spectacles organized by aristocratic musicians in his household—Pietrantonio reorganized his cappella, which also gave a stimulus to activities in remote provinces of the Kingdom. He invited, among others from Venice, a very well-known Flemish musician, Ihan Gero, to be his *maestro di cappella* between 1540 and 1558. Corsi believes Gero served as a model for a series of composers from the Sanseverino 'state' between Basilicata and Calabria, who published many collections of polyphonic music of high artistic quality, normally unthinkable so far from the capital: the Calabrian Giandomenico Martoretta, who, though he was later active in Sicily, is known to have had links to the Sanseverino family; Giovanni Battista Melfio, who was born in Bisignano and was in the service of the Carafa family in Basilicata (either in Stigliano or Aliano), who were closely related to the Sanseverino; Sebastiano Melfio, a canon at Tursi; and above all Marc'Antonio Mazzone from Miglionico near Matera, a priest and a respected figure in literature as well as being the author of important musical publications. Unfortunately, surviving sources do not contain enough information to reconstruct what musical life was actually like in the courts of the Sanseverino di Bisignano family in Calabria (and Basilicata) during the Renaissance. The family's castle in Saponara (present-day Grumento Nova, in Basilicata), built by the Normans, was in a later period the scene of festivities

14 For both branches of the family the earliest, fragmentary, documents on their musical activities in the 16th century, drawn from the archival collection 'Diversi della Regia Camera della Summaria' in the Archivio di Stato in Naples, have been examined in Corsi 2001 (with a register of the musical documents relating to Ferrante Sanseverino prince of Salerno between 1518 and 1542).

15 Corsi 2001, 12–14.

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and theatrical spectacles, above all during the time of Aurora Sanseverino, a famous poet and patron of musicians, who was born in the castle in 1669.[16]

In the case of the Acquaviva d'Aragona family, there were several branches who patronized musical activity in different towns and cities. Marco Della Sciucca has provided information on the musicians who worked for different dukes of Atri from the Acquaviva d'Aragona family.[17] Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva d'Aragona, duke of Atri and prince of Teramo, was one of the first Neapolitan noblemen to take a serious interest in music, following the advice of leading intellectuals who, in the confusion created after the fall of the Aragonese dynasty and the restrictions imposed on the nobility by the Spanish viceroys, encouraged them to cultivate the arts of singing, dance, and playing musical instruments, as a sign as it were of the cultural superiority of the Neapolitans.[18] Andrea Matteo was also the first Neapolitan to publish a treatise on music, as an appendix to his translation of the *De musica* attributed to Plutarch (Naples: De Frizis 1526), which foreshadowed a similar treatise by another aristocratic Neapolitan musician, Luigi Dentice, published in 1552.[19] Andrea Matteo had asked the printer De Frizis to set up his press in the family palace in Naples, just as Carlo Gesualdo was to do later with the printer Giovan Giacomo Carlino in his castle in Gesualdo. The topics discussed in Acquaviva's treatise are not completely original (it is an anthology of thinking about music from Aristotle and Boethius to Tinctoris and Gaffurio) but the fact that he wrote such

16 The castle was rebuilt and enlarged at the beginning of the 18th century, as the description of 'Saponara' in Pacichelli 1702, 296, shows: "[…] The room is well-suited to entertaining in comfort several baronial guests […] There is a charming theatre for musical dramas or theatrical pieces". The castle was almost completely destroyed in the 1857 earthquake, which also meant that few documents relating to court life in earlier periods have survived. On Aurora Sanseverino see Magaudda and Costantini 2001. An 'insider' view of musical patronage in the Sanseverino di Bisignano family between Saponara and Naples can be found in the autobiography of the singer Bonifacio Petrone also known as Pecorone (Naples 1729). Pecorone (ed. Fabris) 2017.

17 "[In addition to the cathedral and the other churches in Atri for music in the sixteenth century] there was the ducal court, the other important centre of cultural life in the town. It was a resident court, much more so than the D'Avalos court in Vasto": Della Sciucca 2014.

18 See Fabris 1996; Fabris 2016.

19 The first description of the 1526 treatise in Fabris 1988, 70, 74–75 and 86 (with reference also to the two manuscript copies in the Vatican Library and a Dutch reprint in 1609). On the treatise and the Acquaviva musical court in Atri see Della Sciucca 1996. The printed edition was preceded by a manuscript edition of Plutarch's text on its own, intended for limited circulation among the nobility and dedicated by Acquaviva to Traiano Caracciolo, prince of Melfi. See Galiano 1999, 503. On Andrea Matteo III's commissioning of books see the essays by D'Urso and Abbamonte in this volume.

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a work shows how deeply rooted an interest in music was among the Kingdom's aristocracy by this period. In 1519, also printed by De Frizis and commissioned by the duke, a book of motets was published as well as an *Officium*, both of which were possibly intended for use in the cathedral in Atri, where precisely in this period there were the beginnings of intense musical activity. Andrea Matteo died in 1529 in his feudal castle in Conversano in Puglia, where later, in the second half of the 17th century, his successors are known to have held a large number of spectacles involving music.[20] Following Andrea Matteo, two outstanding figures in the family were Giovan Antonio Donato, who had studied music, and especially his son Giovan Girolamo, a poet and musician who gathered together in Atri "an extremely lively court" including the composers Cesare Tudino, Ippolito Sabino and Rinaldo Del Mel. There was also Alberto Acquaviva d'Aragona, to whom Tudino, Sabino and Philippe Rogier, the King of Spain's *maestro di cappella*, dedicated works.

Other dedicatees of musical works from the Acquaviva family in the same decades were the counts of Conversano—and churchmen—Ottavio and Claudio, the son and the brother respectively of Giovan Girolamo. An important episode in the family history was the marriage of don Giulio Acquaviva count of Conversano and donna Dorotea Acquaviva the sister of the duke of Atri in 1687, which united the Conversano and Atri branches of the family. The wedding was celebrated at Conversano with festivities worthy of the capital, with a performance of *Berenice*, an opera composed for the occasion by Gaetano Veneziano (born in Bisceglie and a successful musician in Naples, where he became organist of the Royal Chapel). The opera was preceded by a Prologue and an 'Antiprologo' with texts by Domenico Antonio Mele, a writer employed by the Acquaviva family. This transplantation into the provinces of what was a typical Neapolitan festivity, complete with opera, was not in fact the first instance of such an event; a few years before—and a few miles from Conversano—a similar celebration had been organized in 1682 to mark the wedding of the marquis of Avigliano Giovanni Battista, son of the new prince of Acquaviva, Carlo I de Mari, with donna Laura Doria del Carretto, related to the dukes of Tursi. A proxy marriage in Genoa was followed by a grandiose festivity in Acquaviva (today 'Acquaviva delle Fonti' in the province of Bari). The model for these celebrations was already 'Neapolitan', with the performance

20 Frequent references to public celebrations with music are found invariably from the end of the 16th century in the city's *Avvisi* and *Giornali*. Magaudda and Costantini 2011 (the two authors had earlier carried out a partial exploration of the same phenomenon in Puglia and Abruzzo: Magaudda and Constantini 1988 and 2000).

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of two operas by Alessandro Scarlatti (*L'honestà negli amori* and *Tutto il mal non vien per nocere*), with new music composed for the 'Antiprologo' and the Entr'acte by Giovanni Cesare Netti, who was born in nearly Putignano but had, like Veneziano, become a prominent musician in Naples as the organist of the royal cappella and the 'maestro del Tesoro di San Gennaro'. Netti's early death in 1686 was perhaps the reason why Veneziano was commissioned to compose the music for the subsequent festivities at Conversano.[21]

In addition, we should mention the Carafa, dukes of Andria and counts of Ruvo,[22] and many other families whose musical activities are recorded in the chronicles and newspapers of the Kingdom.[23] It is almost always invariably the case, however, that what surviving documents we have refer to music performed in the family palaces in Naples rather than any musical activity the families commissioned in their provincial fiefdoms.

Music Collections by Musicians from the Same Town: The Case of Puglia

As is well-known, a large proportion of documents dating from before 1600 which were once housed in the State Archives of Naples have been destroyed: the recent deposit of the private archives of noble families is inadequate compensation for their loss. In trying to find traces of musicians who were active in the period in the Kingdom of Naples it is possible to use alternative sources, often those found in archives outside the main centres or indeed outside Italy. Interesting if fragmentary information on music can be gleaned by chance in reading various lists and works by earlier scholars who in the past had access to these documents: for example, the index of musicians and actors in the fifth

21 On these cycles of festive events in the Puglian courts of Conversano and Acquaviva see Mastronardi 1990 and 1999. On the musical component of the festivities Fabris 2009a, and Giovanni Cesare Netti, *Cantate e serenate a una, due voci e basso continuo* (Naples 1676–1682), ed. 2019 (Appendix). Other information on festive events and the circulation of musicians in various towns in the province of Bari can be found in Fabris 1993, to which can be added, on Acquaviva delle Fonti, Liuzzi 2002, 46–67.

22 They belonged to a different branch of the Carafa family (but from the main stock, the 'Carafa della Stadera') in regard to the princes of Stigliano, of which the richest and most powerful member in the first half of the 16th century was Luigi Carafa, who as we have seen was related to the Sanseverino di Bisignano and the Orsini. Fabrizio Carafa, second duke of Andria (succeeding Antonio, who died in 1565), married a daughter of Luigi Carafa of Stigliano, thus uniting, at least provisionally, the two branches.

23 See the information in Magaudda and Costantini 1988, 2000, 2001, and 2011.

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volume of Filangieri's *Documenti per la storia, le arti e le industrie* includes the names of various figures from different places across the Kingdom between the mid-15th and mid-16th century, such as Angelo de Giovanni from Bari, Pietro di Gaeta, Giacomo, Matteo and Salvatore di Capua, Ottavio Cortese from Ascoli, Don Giovanni Battista Cesario from Salerno, Giuseppe Barrone from Seminara near Palmi, Fabrizio Gaetano from Sessa, and so on.[24] It is striking that many of the names cited by Filangieri were, at different times, singing masters in Cava, where for centuries musical activity was associated both with the local Benedictine abbey and with the famous theatrical performances which took place during the Aragonese period.[25] There are also the names of various wind instrumentalists, such Tommaso Ferrillo from Giugliano, an apprentice player of fife and flute together with his partner Menichello Menaro,[26] as well as an interesting section on makers of organs, harpsichords, violins, lutes, guitars, and even bagpipes, as well as of strings for instruments. The activities of these craftsmen meant that the Kingdom's music market was practically self-sufficient and did not have to rely on imports.[27]

Capua is especially interesting. As Bianca de Divitiis has shown, during the Renaissance period the town pursued a policy of constructing its historical and cultural self-identity, part of which involved promoting the importance of its most famous Roman monument, the great amphitheatre. Various men of letters were commissioned to write texts praising the edifice, among them the town's schoolmaster Girolamo Aquino, who wrote a poem entitled *Superbi Sassi* ('Proud stones') which was set to music ("in arte di canto figurato") for six voices, again on commission from the town's 'Eletti' or councillors, by Don Cristofaro Calderino in 1577.[28]

In the courtyard of the palace of the Vulpano family in Bitonto, which in 1530 became the residence of the Spanish nobleman Diego Sylos when he married

24 Filangieri 2002, v, 583–584. See also Ceci 1937; Strazzullo 1954–1955.

25 Croce 1916, 16–20 (on the theatrical performances in Cava from the Aragonese period to Charles v's visit to the town in 1535).

26 Filangieri 2002, 296. The notarial deed included by Filangieri, signed 28 October 1474, says: "[Tommaso Ferrillo of Giugliano, fife player] together with Menichello Menaro will learn to play the fife and the flute, and in partnership with the same will for the period of fifteen years travel around performing and sharing the takings". ("[Tommaso Ferrillo di Giugliano, pifferajo] insieme a Menichello Menaro imparara a suonar di piffaro e di flauto, e fa società col medesimo per anni 15 per andare attorno suonando, dividendone il guadagno".)

27 Ibid., 598–599 ("Organai, liutai, violai, costruttori di cornamuse, fabbricanti di corde armoniche, costruttori di cembali").

28 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 19, fol. 197^{v} (20 January 1563); quoted in de Divitiis 2018, 71.

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the last descendant of the family, one of the scenes among several symbolic figures carved on a fine early 15th-century bas-relief depicts Orpheus playing the lyre surrounded by animals enchanted at the sound.[29] This reference to the most celebrated classical myth involving music reflects the constant presence of music-making in the palace itself, for which however no written documents have yet been found.[30]

The town of Monopoli illustrates a different type of patronage, on the part of a foreign governor rather than a local aristocratic family. In 1553, following the viceroyal governor Andrea Marzato, the Flemish composer Jachet Berchem, among the leading musicians of the time, came to Monopoli from northern Italy. Berchem dedicated his *Primo libro de gli madrigali*, published in Venice in 1555, to his patron Marzato and in a short space of time became a point of reference for music activities throughout the whole area, marrying a local woman and settling in Monopoli where he lived until his death in 1567.[31] In Naples Flemish musicians had played leading roles in the extraordinary artistic flowering which took place under the Aragonese and were subsequently, throughout the 16th century, frequently present in the capital's aristocratic palaces, from where it is possible they made occasional journeys to the families' respective fiefdoms in the provinces. Examples included the youthful page Alardino of Uparch, recruited into his service in 1540 by the prince of Salerno,[32] Giaches de Wert who spent his childhood at the feudal Cardona court in Avellino,[33] as well as the better-known figures of Lasso, Monte, Macque, and others. In the Kingdom's provinces, we have already had occasion to mention various musicians from northern Europe who worked for the feudal nobility in Abruzzo and Berchem was not the first Fleming to travel as far as Puglia. Sometime before 1396 Johannes Ciconia was probably in Trani in the service of his patron since he composed a motet in honour of the town's

29 For the Vulpano palace see de Divitiis in this volume.

30 On musical activities in Bitonto until 1700 see Fabris 1993; Gesuita and Gesuita 2000. The bas-relief showing Orpheus is reproduced and commented on in Sylos Labini 1990, 89.

31 Morgante 1991, I: "Historia d'un musico fiammingo che volle divenir … 'pugliese'", 1–165. The text summarises earlier bibliography up to 1991, also by the same author, and offers facsimiles and transcriptions of documents as well as the photographic reproduction of the whole of the *Primo libro de gli madrigali a quatro voci di Jachet Berchem* (Venice: Scotto, 1555), with the dedication to Andrea Marzato. An important update is found in the essay by Ciliberti 2010, 7–46 (Introduction to the critical edition of Berchem's *Il primo libro de gli madrigali a quatro voci*, with the identification of the individuals to whom single madrigals are dedicated by the composer).

32 Corsi 2001, 10–11.

33 MacClintock 1966, 596 ff.

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patron saint, St Nicholas the Pilgrim. In the Basilica of San Nicola in Bari the appointment of one 'Joanne Franzese' (the Flemish musician Jean Willebroot) is recorded in 1535; Willebroot remained in service until his death in 1566, despite his repeated threats to go and work for the rival cathedral in Bari or even as far as Barletta.[34] A final example is another Fleming, Federico Wynant, who in Trani on 1 March 1597 signed the dedication of his *Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* to the town's archbishop Giulio Caracciolo, in gratitude for his patronage. Frederic Wynants (who in Italy used Federico Wynant as the form of his name) was still a boy when he had become a chorister in Philip II's "Capilla Flamenca". In the dedication of the 1597 book of madrigals Wynant thanks Caracciolo, his ecclesiastical patron, for "deigning to accept me into your service, and for bringing me from Spain to Italy where, in your house, you have made it possible for me to understand and to learn the style and the beauty of Italian musical composition, something I have long and exceedingly desired since I was a boy, when I followed these exercises in the royal cappella of our most sovereign king [...] Trani 1 March 1597".[35]

Musical patronage on the part of ecclesiastics and prelates who were appointed to Puglian sees, where no alternative music activity is recorded, is worth further study: examples include the bishop of Monopoli Antonio Porzio—many years after the presence of Berchem in the town—to whom the 'Roman abbot' Francesco Antonio dedicated his work *Nuove laude spirituali* (Naples: Stigliola, 1594); the bishop of Andria Antonio Franco, who was the dedicatee of Giovan Antonio Cirullo's *Quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Raverii, 1607); and the bishop of Minervino Giacomo Antonio Caporali, to whom Giovan Battista Sandoli in Trani dedicated his *Mottetti e messa* (Naples: Carlino, 1613).

The foreigners who in various ways contributed to musical activity in Puglia were not only Flemish. In marrying in 1530 Isabella de Capua, princess of Molfetta and Giovinazzo, Ferrante Gonzaga acquired for his family—the same Gonzagas who ruled the famous duchy of Mantua—a centre in southern Italy which was both important and remunerative. Even though Hoste da Reggio, who styled himself "Maestro della Musica dello Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo

34 Documents in Fabris 1993, 27–28; 34. Jean Willebroot probably came from a family of musicians from which three members with the same name were employed in the Flemish royal cappella at the time of Charles V. See Van Doorslaer 1939, 96–105.

35 Two copies of this edition survive today, in the Landesbibliothek of Kassel in Germany and in the rich collection of Italian music in Christ Church Library in Oxford. There are no documentary sources on Wynant's activity in Trani.

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Don Ferrante Gonzaga" and dedicated his *Secondo libro delli madrigali a quattro voci* to the princess in 1554, was not a musician from southern Italy, it is possible that he visited the fiefdom in Puglia.[36] When Ferrante died in 1557 Cesare Gonzaga succeeded him as prince of Molfetta: the local composer Matteo Rufilo dedicated his *Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* to him in 1561 (two years later, in 1563, he dedicated his *Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* to a minor figure, signing the dedication from Ariano, of which Gonzaga was the duke).[37] In 1615 Cesare's grandson Cesare II, the son of the new prince of Molfetta Ferrante II Gonzaga, was the dedicatee of a music book published by the composer Giovan Lorenzo Missino, a native of the town.[38] Thus a number of personal links lay behind the persistent musical connections of Puglia to northern Italy, including, above all, with the specialized musical printing houses in Venice.

The reason why foreign musicians such as Berchem may have been attracted by the remote Adriatic region of Puglia was the cultural climate which emerged on Bona Sforza's return to the region. She was the duchess of Bari but, as the wife of Sigismund I the Old, she had been queen of Poland for many years in Cracow, where she had introduced the artistic splendours of Renaissance Italy, including music.[39] Bona and her mother, Isabella of Aragon, had been from the early years of the 16th century leading figures not only in the gossip of the time, for their unrestrained sexual behaviour, but also in large-scale and widely publicized festivities and spectacles, both in Naples and in their feudal territories.[40] In the Spanish novel *à clef*, *La question de Amor*, which narrates the celebrations organized by the Neapolitan nobility on the occasion of Ferdin-

36 *De l'Hoste da Reggio Maestro della musica dello Illustriss. et Eccellentiss. Don Ferante Gonzaga. Il secondo libro delli madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1554, copy in the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona), dedicated "Alla Illustrissima et Eccellentissima Signora la Principessa Isabella di Capua Gonzaga". See De Gioia Gadaleta 2005, accompanied by a CD of music with the title of 'Alla corte di Isabella De Capua'.

37 Rufilo 1561. The only known copy in Florence, Archivio della Santissima Annunziata, dedicated to Don Cesare Gonzaga, Principe di Molfetta, but dated from Naples on 4 December 1560.

38 Missino 1615. The dedication is dated from Molfetta on 25 November 1614. The year before Missino had dedicated, from Naples, an edition of motets for 2,3,4,5 and 6 voices indicated as 'Liber Primus' to Francesco Bovio "patrizio bitontino" (referring to his role as *maestro di cappella* in the cathedral of Bitonto). Missino 1614. From this collection of sacred music only the part of the 'Basso per sonare' survives today in Conversano, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale, as indicated in Del Medico 2009, 34–35.

39 See Fabris 2009a (with related music bibliography). On the multifaceted personality of Bona, see also Calò Mariani and Dibenedetto 2000.

40 See especially Fabris 2000, I, 135–137.

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and of Aragon's visit to the city in 1506, Bona is shown at the centre of dances and musical performances of *romances* and songs for voice and lute.[41]

The lute is the musical instrument which seems to be most closely associated with the court at Bari. In the first book printed in Bari in 1535, the *Operette del Parthenopeo Suavio*, two woodcuts of musical subjects, both showing a lutenist at the centre, from the beginning of the century are re-used (figs. 89a–b).[42]

The lute was a favourite instrument at the court in Cracow in the second half of the 16th century and some of the leading virtuosos of the instrument were active there, such as Valentin Bakfark, Diomedes Cato and the Polish musician Dlugoraj. But as early as 1541, a few years after the Bari edition of Suavio's work had been published, the Polish ambassador on a visit to the castle in Bari noted the progress made by some "pueri Poloni" who had been sent by Queen Bona to her Puglian duchy in order to learn to sing and to play the lute.[43] This episode shows that all the time she was in Poland Bona did not fail to attend to her court in Bari and made sure it maintained an exceptionally high level of artistic quality in musical matters. This has led some to think that the virtuoso Giacomo Gorzanis may have been trained as a musician in Bari. Gorzanis moved to Trieste in 1553—the year Bona returned to Italy via Trieste—and it is possible he went there in the hopes of joining her court. In the books of lute music he published in Venice from 1561 onwards, he describes himself as "cieco, Pugliese" (a blind man from Puglia), declaring his southern Italian origins with pride.[44]

41 *Question de Amor* (ed. Perugini) 1995. On the musical content and the identification of the figures of Isabella and Bona Sforza in the novel see Fabris 1996 and Colella 2016.

42 Carmignano 1535. The two woodcuts appeared for the first time in the 1507 Venetian edition of the *Opere* of Antonio Tebaldeo and in the 1512 edition of the *Opera Nova del facundissimo giovane Pietro Pictore Aretino*.

43 In the *Diario di viaggio dell'ambasciatore di Bona Sforza, Jan Ocieski* (in the original manuscript in Latin: *Itinerarium*) the entry for February 1541 reads: "Pueri Poloni videntur musicae operam dare, nam et cantu et cithararum pulsatione bene profecisse iudicantur". Cited for the first time (from information received from Bronislaw Bilinski) in Fabris 1987, 141.

44 Biographical and artistic information on Gorzanis is summarised in Bagarič 2009 and in part in English in Bagarič 2012. The *Opera Omnia* of Gorzanis are currently being published in the series 'Monumenta Artis Musicae Slovenje' (edited by Tomaž Faganel, Metoda Kokole, and Dinko Fabris). Volumes published so far: *Il primo libro di napolitane* [1570]; *Il secondo libro di napolitane* [1571], vol. 51 (2007); *Intabulatura di liuto. Libro primo* [1561], vol. 53 (2011); *Il secondo libro de intavolatura de liuto* [1562], vol. 58 (2014), the first two volumes are edited by Alenka Bagarič, the third by Bor Zuljan. The series will be completed with an edition of the remaining three books of music for the lute.

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A similar and contemporary case to that of Gorzanis, which also sheds light on musical patronage in 16th-century Calabria, concerns the music academies in Rossano from which one of the leading composers in the second half of the century emerged, Gaspare Fiorino, the author of several books of songs and villanelles which were successful across Europe.[45] Bona had inherited the Calabrian fiefdom of Rossano after her mother Isabella died in 1524 and initially attempted to sell it but the energetic opposition of the inhabitants of the town to her plan persuaded her and her husband Sigismund to grant significant benefices to the local monasteries instead. It is thought that the three liturgical choirbooks with musical notation, dated 1540 and 1541, which survive today in the Museo Diocesano in Rossano, were commissioned with the resources the convent had received and that Bona's involvement may have established the cultural environment from which the academies emerged.[46] During the few years she spent in Bari after her return from Poland, Bona continued to support the arts and music in order to ensure that her court was culturally worthy of her royal status. After she died in 1557, musical life in Bari, far from going into decline, suddenly took on a remarkable new lease of life, with a vitality which was quite unique in southern Italy outside Naples. The ancient rivalry between the two main churches in Bari, the Basilica of San Nicola (which was a so-called 'Palatine' church and therefore not subject to the archbishop's jurisdiction) and the cathedral, seemed to encourage a sudden intensification of musical activity which is reflected in the first published anthologies of compositions by local musicians, almost all of whom were employed in either the basilica or cathedral cappella.

The first product of this local musical ferment was the publication in Venice in 1574 of two books of *Villanelle a tre voci de diversi musici di Barri*, edited by a musician born in Corato, Giovan Giacomo de Antiquis, whose surname however, like that of Gorzanis, suggests his family originated from further north up the Adriatic coast (fig. 90).[47]

Over the following years no fewer than forty musicians from Bari are named as the authors, either singly or in association with others, of editions of villan-

45 On Gasparo Fiorino 'della città di Rossano', one of the most highly regarded composers of villanelles of the time. See *Villanella napolitana* (ed. Borsetta) 1999.

46 Guida 2000. On the feudal possession of Rossano see also Di Dario Guida 2000.

47 On de Antiquis and the collections of musicians from Bari edited by him see Fabris 1993, 43–45, 96 and footnotes p. 102. The only surviving copy of both books of the *Villanelle alla napolitana* (Antiquis 1574) is held in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Pr.51 and can be consulted online: https://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00084750.

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elles as well as of highly elaborate madrigals, of Masses and motets for church use and in some cases of instrumental *ricercari* or music for organ and harpsichord.[48]

In the same years that the first anthologies of music by 'musicians from Bari' were appearing, there was a remarkable flowering of musical activity in Lecce and Terra d'Otranto, which produced a series of anthological publications in Venice. Again, these reflected the activity in a particular town or area even though this was not always made explicit in the titles. The series opened with two publications of works by Francesco Baseo, 'Maestro di cappella nel Duomo di Lecce': *Il primo libro di canzoni villanesche a quattro voci* (with eighteen pieces by Baseo and some by Fabio Pelusu 'da Leccie') which appeared in 1573, and *Il primo libro dei madrigali* in 1581; then there were *Il primo libro dei madrigali a cinque voci* (1575) and the *Terzo libro dei madrigali a cinque e sei voci* (1581) by the friar Benedetto Serafico from Nardò (no copy survives of the second publication); *Il primo libro di canzoni alla napolitana a tre, quattro e cinque voci* and *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* published by Don Agostino Scozzese 'di Leccie' in 1579 and 1584 respectively; and then various publications of pieces by Antonio Mogavero from Francavilla. The first three composers were all ecclesiastics from the area round Lecce which, in the absence of archival documentation on musical practices in that urban context, would seem to show that in 16th-century Puglia church institutions were responsible for musical education.[49] All the information we have comes from the editions themselves, which, although they were all printed in Venice, have dedicatory letters addressed to local patrons.[50] The works of Francesco Antonio Baseo, for example, are dedicated to Antonio Mettula (who belonged to a family originally from Manfredonia but admitted into the rank of nobility in Lecce) and Ferrante Caracciolo duke of Airola and 'preside' of Terra d'Otranto. Scozzese dedicates his pieces to Giacomo De Leone, from a Genoese commercial family who had moved to Salento while Benedetto Serafico

48 See the list of printed works between 1561 and 1700 in Fabris 1993, Appendix 92–96 (with reference to previous bibliographies, in particular RISM and 'Nuovo Vogel', and an indication of the institutions where surviving copies are held).

49 Brindisino 1997 including a complete catalogue of surviving musical sources for Salento, both sacred and profane, from 1573 to 1630 (pp. 240–2590). See also on the same cultural ambience Scozzese (ed. Degli Atti) 2008; Mogavero (eds. Ruggiero and Mogavero) 1993.

50 An initial reconstruction of the links between musicians from Terra d'Otranto and Terra di Bari with the local minor aristocracy and wealthy urban middle class can be found in Pompilio and Vassalli 1988.

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from Nardò—well-known in Naples, where he had ties to Francesco Orso da Celano and his fellow Puglian Stefano Felis—addresses his publications to the prince Nicolò Bernardino Sanseverino di Bisignano and even to Francesco de' Medici, duke of Tuscany. We also have information on the musical entertainments which were organized by Baseo in the Mettula family residence, and the relations with other families in Lecce and Salento of composers from Bari, such as Colanardo De Monte,[51] while Scozzese provides an example of the practice in the opposing direction in dedicating his last known publication in print to Cesare Labini, the 'sindaco' of Bitonto, whose two sons Scozzese had tutored.[52] In his dedication to Labini, dated from Bitonto on 25 October 1584 Scozzese writes: "Among the other praiseworthy qualities which I have known, contemplated and admired in your lordship this has not been the least: your great love of Music and those who practise it, for whose profession your house can be seen as a true refuge, safe port, and honoured residence. I have witnessed for myself the intense delight you take in music, the care you take for your sons to be educated in it, and the way you reward and honour more than others all who teach this expertise". Besides these lay patrons, church patrons were also important for composers 'di Barri' (Bari), as we have seen in Monopoli, Trani, and Molfetta. The promotion of musical activity within the diocese on the part of the archbishop of Bari, Antonio Puteo, was of fundamental importance for local composers. Puteo took the cathedral 'maestro di cappella' Stefano Felis with him to Prague where he was sent as papal nuncio, thus giving Felis the opportunity to meet the celebrated Filippo de Monte, the Emperor's 'maestro di cappella', as Felis himself recounts in the dedication of his *Sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: heirs of Scotto, 1591):[53] "[…] during my stay in Prague with the most reverend Archbishop of Bari and papal Nuncio to the Emperor Rudolph, in whose service there was the prince of music Filippo di Monte, I composed various madrigals, which were praised by him […] and which were inspired by his presence which I admired as the True Idea ('*Vera Idea*' or model [of music]) […]". In contrast, for the musicians in Salento the period of seven years in which the controversial archbishop of Lecce, Annibale

51 Nardo Di Monte 1580. Only the Altus partbook survives in the Bologna, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, today Museo Internazionale della Musica, dedicated from Bari on 15 April 1580 to Giacomo Antonio Mancarella, a lawyer in Lecce from a local noble family.

52 Scozzese 1584. A complete copy is held in Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket.

53 In the 1591 publication Felis also includes a piece by Monte as well as madrigals by his fellow citizens of Bari Rodio and Effrem (complete copy in the British Library, London). On the life and works of Stefano di Maza Gatto (or Stefano Felis) see Pompilio 1983, 5–15; Fabris 1993, 46–56, 92, and 104.

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Saraceno, was absent from his post, suspended by the Roman Curia, offered them a vital opportunity to enjoy greater freedom to publish editions of their music.[54]

Thus, the close of the 16th century saw the end, after just two decades, of the flourishing of local composers from Bari and Lecce with their successes in publishing so many of their works in Venice. In the 1590s a new musical ferment filled the Kingdom's capital city with the arrival of numerous musicians attracted there by the possibility of work, starting with the Fleming Jean de Macque, who had been invited by Fabrizio Gesualdo, the father of the famous composer, prince Carlo Gesualdo. De Macque became the leading composer in Naples until his death in 1614. Carlo Gesualdo's importance was fundamental: on one hand, he revived after half a century the legendary model of the prince of Salerno, Ferrante Sanseverino, whose Neapolitan palace had been the centre for the finest musicians in the city, making it a rival court to that of the Spanish viceroys, while on the other hand, Gesualdo transformed himself into a 'prince of music', neglecting all the other activities appropriate for a nobleman of his rank and, in the last decade of his life, shutting himself away with his court of musicians in gilded isolation in the feudal castle of Gesualdo (Avellino). He had the best music printer in Naples, Giovan Giacomo Carlino, move to the castle and work exclusively for him for several years, thus helping to reduce his own contacts with the capital even further.[55] Carlo's sister, Isabella Gesualdo, who was married at the age of fifteen to Alfonso de Guevara, count of Potenza and the Grand Seneschal of the Kingdom, also continued to promote limited musical activity in her husband's castle in Basilicata (she herself played the harp). Widowed after a few years of marriage, she entrusted her two daughters by de Guevara to the care of her brother Carlo and remarried in 1586 to Ferdinando Sanseverino di Bisignano, count of Saponara, moving to the new fiefdom. The circle around Gesualdo, at first in his palace in Naples and later in the castle in Gesualdo, attracted the most prominent musicians we have already encountered as members of the group active in Bari: Rocco Rodio, Stefano Felis, Pomponio Nenna, Mutio Effrem.[56] Only a few years after, also

54 Brindisino 1997, 232. She emphasizes "the extreme fragility of Annibale Saraceno's period as archbishop of Lecce [...] under whose administration of the diocese the recorded musical output of the three polyphonic composers from Salento reached its peak".

55 The most complete and up-to-date work on the sources for Carlo Gesualdo and his family is Cogliano 2015. On Gesualdo's music the study by Glenn Watkins, the leading Gesualdo scholar, remains unsurpassed: Watkins 1991.

56 For all these musicians see Fabris 1993, with a list of their works and related bibliography. See also new documentary sources in Sisto 2008 and D'Alessandro 2008. It is noteworthy

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Giovanni de Antiquis was active in Naples, appointed the first music teacher in the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo.[57] This marked the end of the brief but miraculous flowering of music, not centred round a court, in Puglia; thereafter Naples resumed its role as the exclusive focus of attraction for musicians.

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and perhaps significant that in the church of San Nicola di Bari in the town of Gesualdo (which still exists today) Muzio Effrem chose to have his son Giovanni Battista baptised in 1601.

57 'D. Gio: de Antiquis di quarato [Corato]' was listed in the payment registers for San Nicola di Bari from January 1565 onwards and remained in the employment of the basilica until 1585. Nothing is known about him after that date until 1606 when he reappears in Naples, the first official music teacher in the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, where "he was appointed to teach the children music and to give them exercises to teach them how to sing" until 1608 (cited in Di Giacomo 1928, 144). Before he left Bari, in 1605, de Antiquis made a will (Bari, Archivio di Stato, Notaio Pietro Ponsi). He must have died between 1608 and 1618; the latter date is attached to a legacy in his name in San Nicola di Bari. Fabris 1993, 102.

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Kings and Viceroys

1350–1650

Angevin Kings of Naples

Charles III of Anjou-Durazzo, 1382–1386
Ladislaus / of Anjou-Durazzo, 1386–1414
Giovanna II / of Anjou-Durazzo, 1414–1435

Aragonese Kings of Naples

Alfonso I, the Magnanimous, 1442–1458 (also Alfonso V of Aragon)
Ferrante (Ferdinand I), 1458–1494
Alfonso II (before known as Alfonso duke of Calabria), 1494–1495
[Charles VIII of France took over Naples from February to July 1495]
Ferrante II (Ferdinand II, also known as Ferrandino), January 1495 -October 1496
Federico, 1496–1501
[France and Aragon/Spain both claimed the Kingdom and fought over it in 1501–1503]

Kings of Aragon and of Spain Who Were Also Kings of Naples

Ferdinand II of Aragon (also Ferdinand the Catholic), 1503–1516
Charles V, Habsburg, Holy Roman Emperor (Charles I as King of Spain), 1516–1556
Philip II, 1556–1598
Philip III, 1598–1621
Philip IV, 1621–1665

Spanish Viceroys of Naples

Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, called Gran Capitano 1503–1507
Juan de Aragón, count of Ribagorza, 1507–1509
Ramón de Cardona, 1509–1522
Charles de Lannoy, 1522–1523, 1526–1527
Andrea Carafa, count of Santa Severina, 1523–1526
Hugo de Moncada, 1527–1528

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Philibert de Chalon, 1528–1530
Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, 1530–1532
Pedro Álvarez de Toledo, marquis of Villafranca, 1532–1553
Cardinal Pedro Pacheco de Guevara, 1553–1555
Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba, 1555–1558
Pedro Afán de Ribera, duke of Alcalá, 1559–1571
Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, 1571–1575
Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, marquis of Mondéjar, 1575–1579
Juan de Zúñiga y Requesens, prince of Pietrapersia, 1579–1582
Pedro Téllez-Girón (y de la Cueva) I, duke of Osuna, 1582–1586
Juan de Zuñiga y Avellaneda, count of Miranda, 1586–1595
Enrique de Guzmán, count of Olivares, 1595–1598
Fernando Ruiz de Castro, count of Lemos, 1599–1601
Francisco Ruiz, 1601–1603
Juan Alonso Pimentel de Herrrera, count of Benavente, 1603–1610
Pedro Fernández de Castro, count of Lemos, 1610–1516
Pedro Téllez-Girón y Velasco Guzmán y Tovar III, duke of Osuna, 1616–1620
Cardinal Antonio Zapata y Cisneros, 1620–1622
Antonio Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba, 1622–1629
Fernando Afán de Ribera, duke of Alcalá, 1629–1631
Manuel de Acevedo, count of Monterrey, 1631–1637
Ramiro Núñez de Guzmán, duke of Medina de Las Torres, 1637–1644
Juan Alonso Enríquez de Cabrera, Admiral of Castile, 1644–1646
Rodrigo Ponce de León, duke of Arcos, 1644–1648
Don Juan José of Austria (illegitimate son of Philip IV), 1648
Íñigo Vélez de Guevara, cont of Oñate, 1648–1653

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Glossary

Baiulatio* (or *bagliva*, or *baiulato*) local office with juridical and fiscal functions which depended originally on the Crown. From the late Middle Ages it was active in each rural and urban settlement of a certain size and was usually under the proprietorship of the local feudal lord in feudal centres, of the king, or of the *universitas** in domanial cities*. It was separated into a minimum of two divisions which could be granted or contracted out to different individuals: the court (*bancum iustitiae*) and the office of indirect taxation (*cabella baiulationis*).

Bagliva see baiulatio

Bailiff (*baiulo, baglivo*) officer in charge of the *baiulatio**

Camera della Sommaria (*Summaria*) administrative, judicial, and consultative body which supervised and adjudicated every matter to do with the royal estates: taxation, household census, feudal possessions, auditing of royal officers (e.g. the provincial receivers or *percettori**), and tax farmers.

Captain or *capitano* see *capitaneus**

Casale rural settlement (small town, village, hamlet) located in the territory belonging to a town; it is the equivalent of the term 'borgo' used in other parts of the Italian peninsula.

Città demaniali see *domanial city**

Consiglio d'Italia central administrative body created in 1556 by Philip II. The Council, based in Madrid, was responsible for the government of the Italian states, which dynastically belonged to the Crown of Aragon: the Kingdoms of Sicily and Naples, at the time ruled by a viceroy, and the duchy of Milan, ruled by a governor.

Consiglio del Collaterale or Consiglio Collaterale political Council that collaborated with the viceroy of Naples. It was introduced in the Kingdom under Ferdinand II and ranked above the other various administrative, legislative, and financial bodies and officials, working alongside them or superimposed on them. It was made up of two jurists (three under Charles V), two *reggenti* from the Royal Chancery, and a secretary; all members were nominated by the King of Spain. Members, who could be either born in the Kingdom or Spanish natives, came from the feudal aristocracy and later also from the robe nobility.

Corte della Vicaria Royal criminal court for Naples and its territory. It also dealt with the legal appeals which arose across the entire Kingdom. It was directed by the *Gran Giustiziere and administered by a royal officer called Reggente.

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* This Glossary, compiled by Bianca de Divitiis and Francesco Senatore, is not intended as a historical dictionary but a tool which readers can use to understand the historical terms found throughout the present volume.

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Dogana delle Pecore Royal custom office with fiscal, administrative, and juridical responsibilities for the management of the annual transhumance of sheep flocks. The imposition of customs rules resulted from Alfonso I's transformation of the traditional transhumance of sheep between Abruzzo and Puglia into a state monopoly. Based at first in Lucera (1447) and then in Foggia (from 1468), the Dogana delle Pecore regulated the breeding and transhumance of sheep in the Tavoliere delle Puglie, the vast plain in northern Puglia, and enabled the collection of revenue deriving from transhumance and the concession of the right to pasture from the shepherds whose flocks wintered in Puglia. The customs regime was extended also to Abruzzo in 1532 to regulate the movement of cattle from the mountain areas of L'Aquila and Teramo to the hillside and coastal pastures of Teramo and Chieti. The regime provided one of the principal income streams for the Treasury in the Kingdom of Naples.

Domanial city a city or town depending directly on the king. See *feudal city**

Eletti executive council of the *universitas** with restricted membership appointed by election.

Feudal city a city under the control of a baron. Compared to a *domanial city**, in the feudal city the local lord appointed the capitaneus*, was in charge of the baulatio* and other local indirect taxation revenues and granted privileges and statutes to the local inhabitants.

Foria territory surrounding a city. It could also be called 'pertinentiae', 'territorium', 'districtus', 'comitatus'. The city or town with its *foria* formed an *urban district**. In some cities the extra-urban territory could also be divided in sub-districts, e.g. 'terzieri' in Aversa, 'baglive' in Cosenza, 'terre' in Capua.

Focatico a general royal direct tax paid in three installments over the period of a year and based on the number of households (*fuochi**) in a settlement. An obligatory purchase of salt, a state monopoly, was associated with the *focatico*. The *focatico* was also paid by the subjects of a feudal lord. The feudal aristocracy and the clergy were exempt. The *focatico* was paid to royal officers by the *universitas** of each settlement which was collectively responsible for taxation. Each household's effective share depended on the revenues of the individual householder, as recorded in the local land register. The government of the largest cities preferred to use the revenues coming from indirect taxation belonging to the city to pay the *focatico*, instead of collecting it from each household according to the land register.

Fuochi fiscal household or hearth, the unit of calculation used as the basis for the taxation system (*focatico**). The number of households in a centre were periodically counted by royal officials, who drew up a list with the names and ages of the heads and members of each household. According to demographical research during the 15th–16th century each household corresponded on average to 4.5 inhabitants.

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General Parliament of the Kingdom (Parlamento generale del Regno) State assembly, composed by the feudal tenants-in-chief and the representatives of the royal cities. It met regularly from 1443 onwards, just after Alfonso v's conquest of the Kingdom, up until 1642. It was convoked by the kings to enact fiscal reforms in the Aragonese period and for organizing donations to the Crown (*donativi*) under Spanish rule.

Gran Camerario one of the seven Great Offices of the Kingdom, held by a baron. The Gran Camerario headed the *Sommaria, but his functions were in fact exercised by a lieutenant appointed on an annual basis by the king.

Gran Giustiziere one of the seven Great Offices of the Kingdom, held by a baron. The Gran Giustiziere headed the *Vicaria, but his functions were in fact exercised by the Reggente, a lieutenant appointed on an annual basis by the king.

Giustizierato/i see provinces

Great Offices seven magistratures, dating back to the Norman-Swabian period, which represented, together with the Chancery and the financial offices, the highest levels of the Kingdom's governmental structure. All seven offices were held by barons. See Gran Camerario, *Gran Giustiziere.

Justiciar (Giustiziere) head of each of the twelve provinces of the Kingdom in the Middle Ages. The office originated in Norman times. Theoretically the justiciar could not come from the same province over which he was appointed in the role. In Aragonese times the provincial justiciars diminished in importance since their military and political functions were now exercised by the provincial viceroys, while fiscal responsibilities were exercised by the *provincial receivers.

Magister portolanus commissioner with special powers who was responsible for the administration of the ports and coasts of each province. His responsibility could also extend to the streets and other public places in towns.

Masseria a rural enterprise of extensive arable or livestock (mainly sheep) farming, typical of southern Italy.

Mastro d'Atti (or maestrodatti) official responsible for the drafting and custody of documents. He served in local and central courts of the Kingdom. In minor local courts such as the bagliva the office could be contracted out or alienated.

Merum et mixtum imperium function of local administration corresponding to the lower level of civil and criminal justice exercised by feudal lords over the vassals in the area they ruled. In theory it did not form part of the fief, but was first specifically granted to some feudal lords (14th–15th centuries), a grant which was then extended, as decreed in the General Parliament* of 1443, to all the King's tenants-in-chief.

Parliament in the city, the general assembly of the *universitas**, which was composed of all the males who were heads of a household. It met only exceptionally. See * General Parliament of the Kingdom.

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Percettori (tesorieri, commissari) provincial receivers responsible for collecting royal taxes in each province.

Portolania see *magister portolanus**

Provinces territorial subdivision of the Kingdom. Each province was headed by a justiciar* (giustiziere). From the Angevin period onwards the justiciar was flanked by a *magister portolanus**, *percettore** and other commissioners.

Capitaneus the governor appointed for six months or a year by the monarch in the cities of royal domain and by feudal lords in feudal towns. He was responsible for public order and the administration of criminal law and some areas of civil law.

Sacro Regio Consiglio (supreme royal council) supreme court of justice and tribunal which was made up of the king himself, various high officials, Neapolitan barons and jurists, and Aragonese noblemen. It dealt with requests for justice which arose by petitioning the king and with appeals coming from every royal and feudal court in the Kingdom.

Seggio (sedile) The word Seggio ('seat') designates both the institution and the building hosting it. As urban institutions, the Seggi were assemblies in which the members of the leading local families gathered for the purpose of administering the neighbourhood. As a building, the typical structure of a Seggio, defined in late Angevin and Aragonese times, was a square loggia, open on one, two or three sides, and covered by a dome or by a cross vault. From the late 15th century and until 1800, the city of Naples was ruled by five noble Seggi (called Capuana, Nido, Montagna, Porto, Portanova) and a 'people's seggio' (Seggio di Popolo). In the early modern period being accepted as a member of a noble Seggio was a mark of ancient nobility; for the prominent families living in the capital city, particularly Italian and Spanish but also outsiders, securing membership was an overriding goal.

Sommaria see Camera della Sommaria*.

Terra/e general definition for non-fortified settlements (hamlets, villages, towns).

Udienza or Regia Udienza the Udienza was the most important provincial court created during the viceroyal period by Don Pedro de Toledo (1532–1553). It replaced the court of the justiciars* in the provinces* or giustizierati* and dealt with civil and criminal jurisdiction. It judged in the first instance cases in single provinces and decided on the appeals produced against the sentences issued by the royal or baronial courts. The head of the court was the *Preside* (Dean) assisted by three *Uditori* (Auditors) who acted as magistrates and judges: a tax lawyer, public prosecutor, and defender of the interests of the tax authorities; a lawyer for the poor, an official defender. The clerical duties were carried out by a mastro d'atti* and a secretary.

Universitas (*università*) municipal administration of a town or city. The term derives from Roman law and referred to the inhabitants of a town as a whole. Its institution as an established administrative body emerged in the mid-14th century and was

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fully developed between the 15th and 16th centuries: it was regulated by an executive council consisting generally of a few *eletti**, councillors, and officers; it issued officially and legally recognized documents and was located in buildings designed for the purpose. The *universitas* in its entirety or *parliament as a general assembly met only exceptionally.

Urban District the overall territorial unit of a city or town with its *foria**. Towns did not administer their districts, since rural centres maintained a certain degree of autonomy, but they had a protective role and were responsible for supplying and maintaining basic requirements of community life and for managing the payment of taxes and other services.

Vicaria see *Corte della Vicaria*.

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Maps

MAP 1 Reconstruction map of the twelve provinces of the Kingdom of Naples

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MAP 2 Reconstruction map of the fiefs of the Orsini Del Balzo family, early 15th century. From Francesco Somaini. *Geografie politiche italiane fra Medioevo e Rinascimento*. Milan: Officina Libraria, 2013, tav. IX

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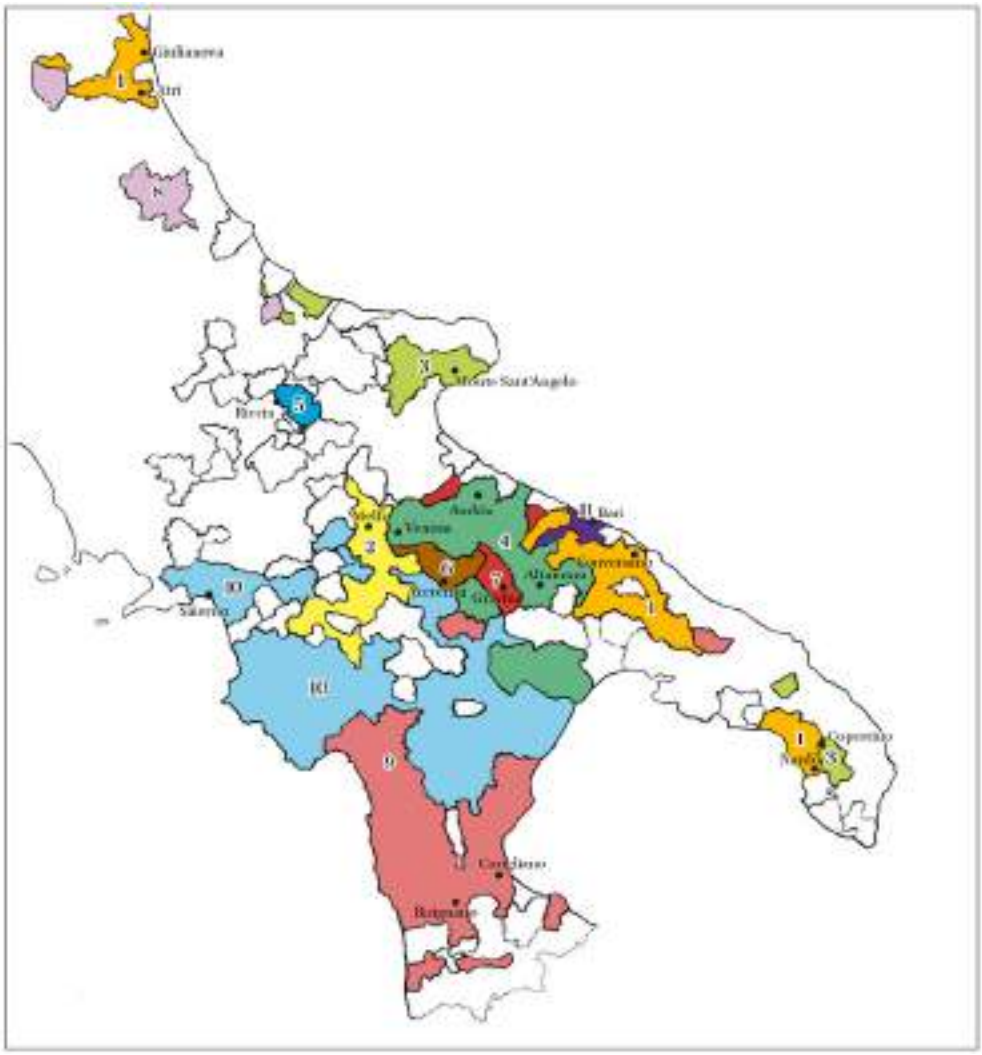

MAP 3 Reconstruction map of the fiefs of the major baronial families between 1463 and 1494. 1. Acquaviva d'Aragona, Andrea Matteo and Belisario; 2. Caracciolo del Sole; 3. Castriota Skandenberg; 4. Del Balzo, Francesco II and Pirro; 5. De Capua; 6. Ferrillo; 7: Orsini of Gravina; 8. Orsini of Manopello; 9: Sanseverino of Bisignano; 10: Sanseverino of Salerno; 11: Sforza of Milan

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MAP 4 Cities in Campania quoted in the volume

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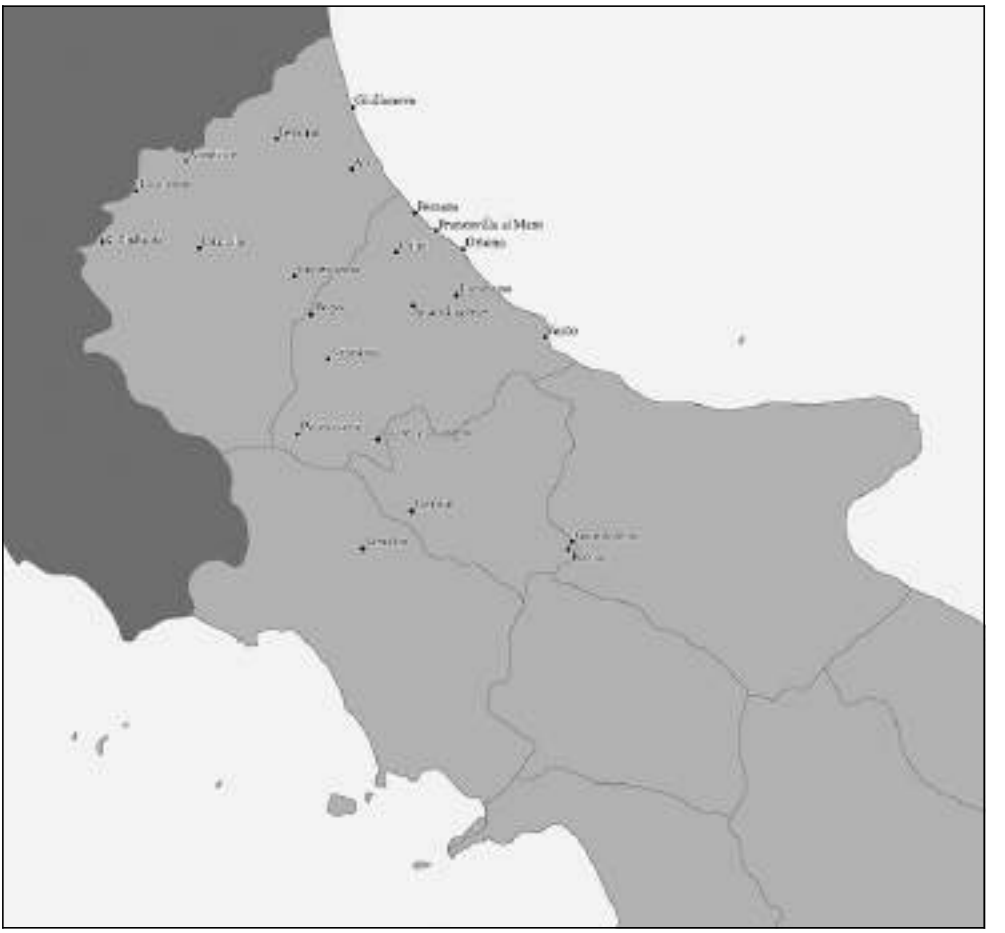

MAP 5 Cities in Molise and Abruzzo quoted in the volume

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MAP 6 Cities in Basilicata and Puglia quoted in the volume

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MAP 7 Cities in Calabria quoted in the volume

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Figures

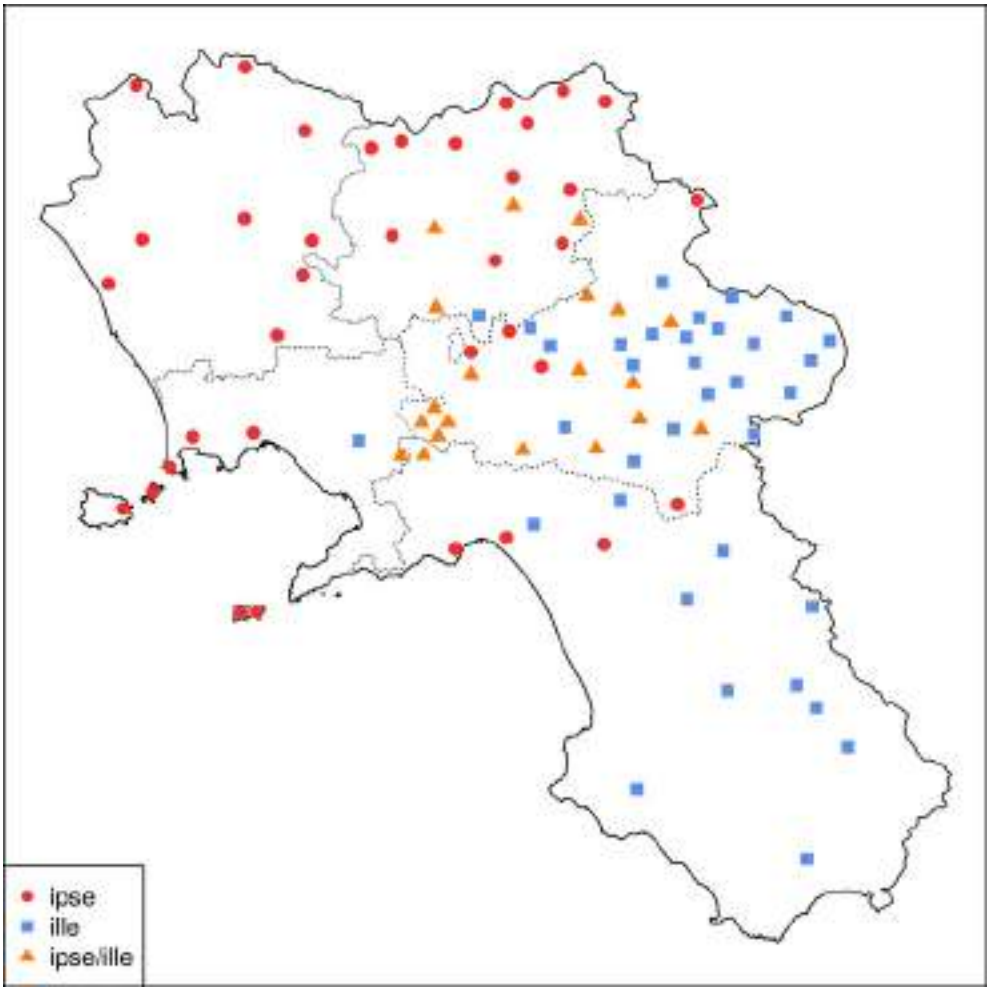

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FIGURE 2 Giovinazzo. Saraceno Palace. Inscription on the main facade, ca. 1500

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FIGURE 3 Giovinazzo. Saraceno Palace. Inscription on the side facade, ca. 1500

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FIGURE 4 Andrea Delitio. Scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* in the apse of the Atri cathedral. 1475–1477. Frescoes. Detail of the painted inscription on the left wall after the restoration

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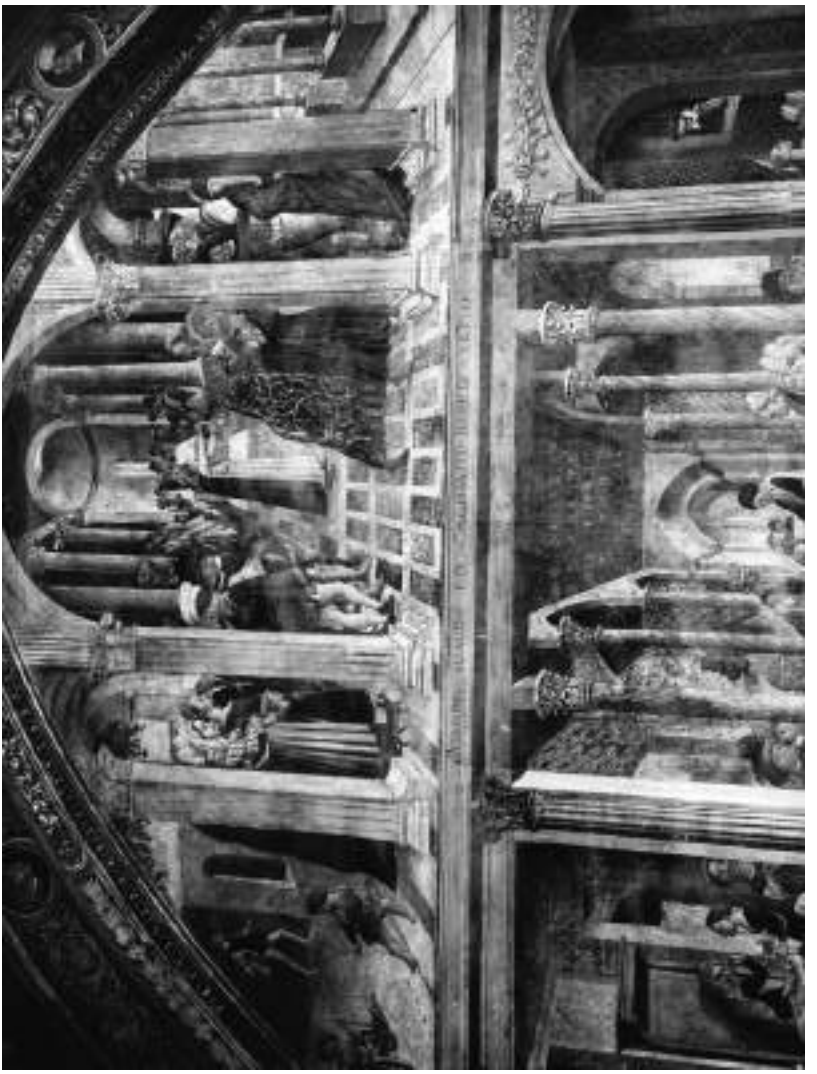

FIGURE 5 Andrea Delitio. Scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* in the apse of the Atri cathedral. 1475–1477. Frescoes. Detail of the painted inscription on the left wall before the restoration

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FIGURE 6 Nicola di Guardiagrele. *Presentation of Jesus to the Temple*. 1433–1448. Plate from the *antependium* of the main altar in the Teramo cathedral. Gilded silver and enamels

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FIGURE 7 Piri Reis. Map of the eastern coastline of Calabria with the towns of Crotone and Catanzaro showing the two Greek columns, *Kitāb-i baḥriye* (*Book of Navigation*), ca. 1525. Ink and pigments on laid European paper. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Walters ms W.658 fol. 211b

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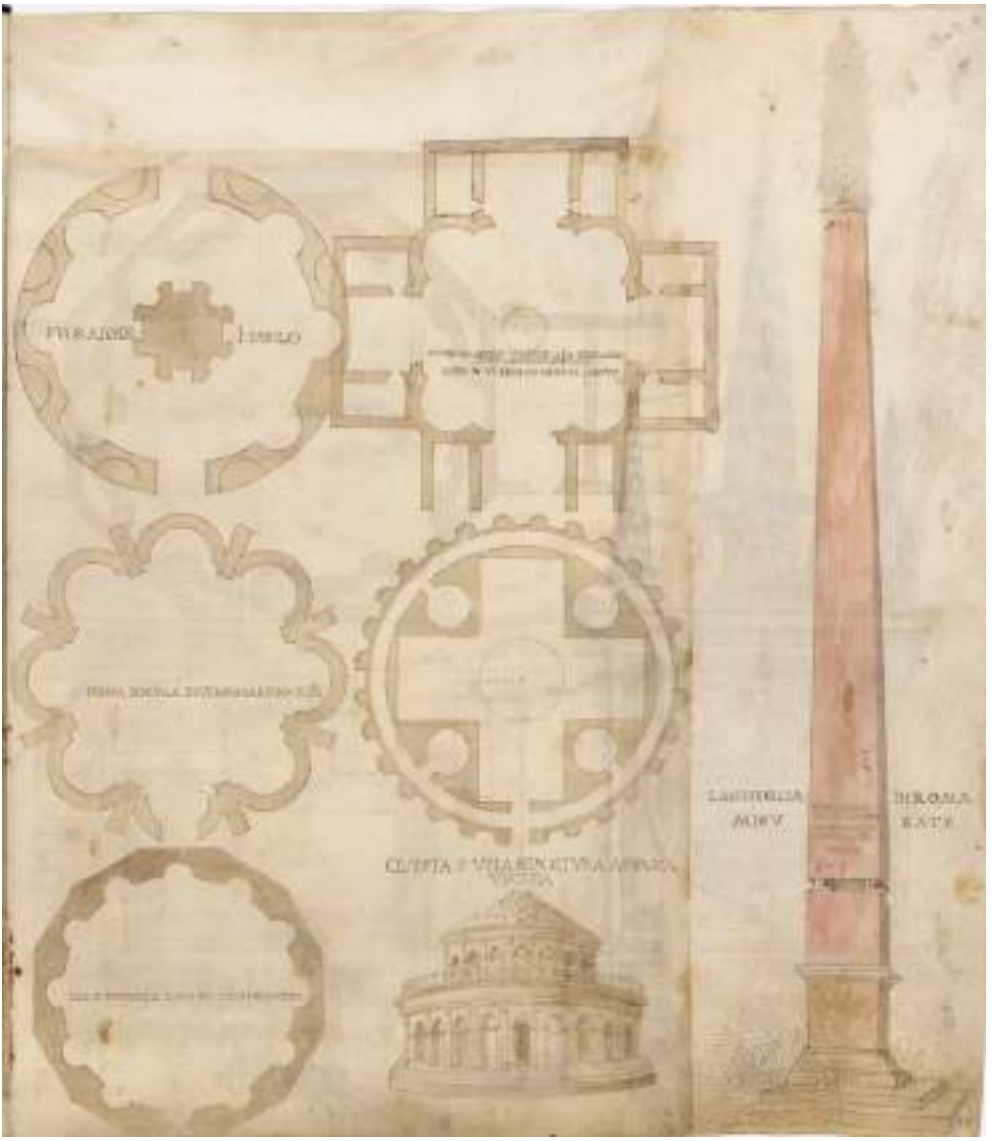

FIGURE 8 Giuliano Giamberti da Sangallo. Ancient monuments with circular plans, including Varro's study in Cassino, the sepulchral monument called "Carceri vecchie" in Capua and the baths of Tripergole in Pozzuoli, ca. 1488. Ink and wash on paper. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Barberiniano Latino 4424, fol. 10r

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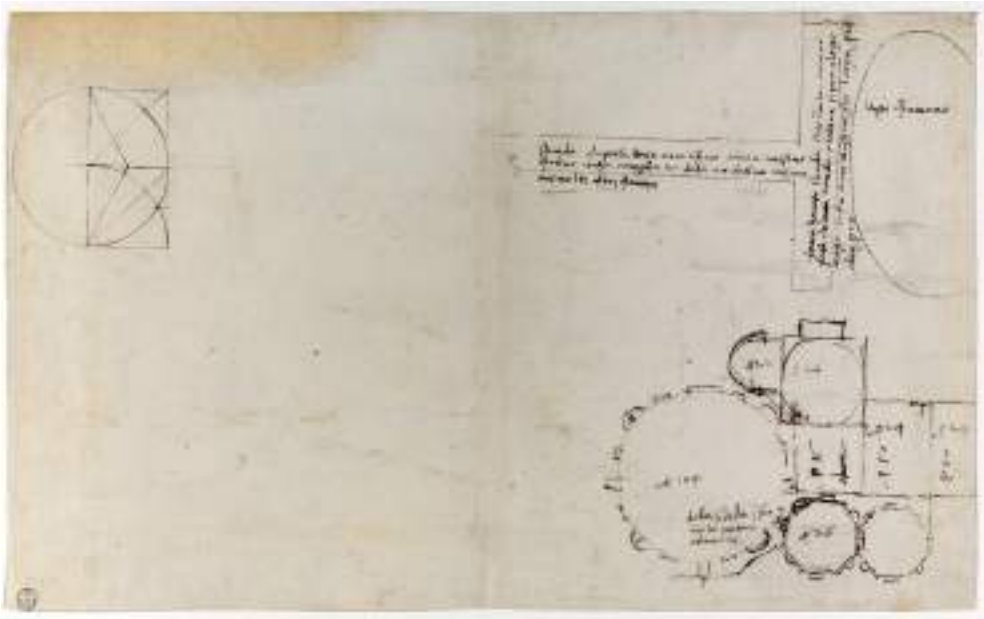

FIGURE 9 Francesco di Giorgio Martini. Topographical sketch of the Lake Avernus ("Lago Chumano") with the adjoining system of tunnels and plan of the "Temple of the Sybil" on the Lake Avernus. ca. 1490. Ink on paper. Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, U329

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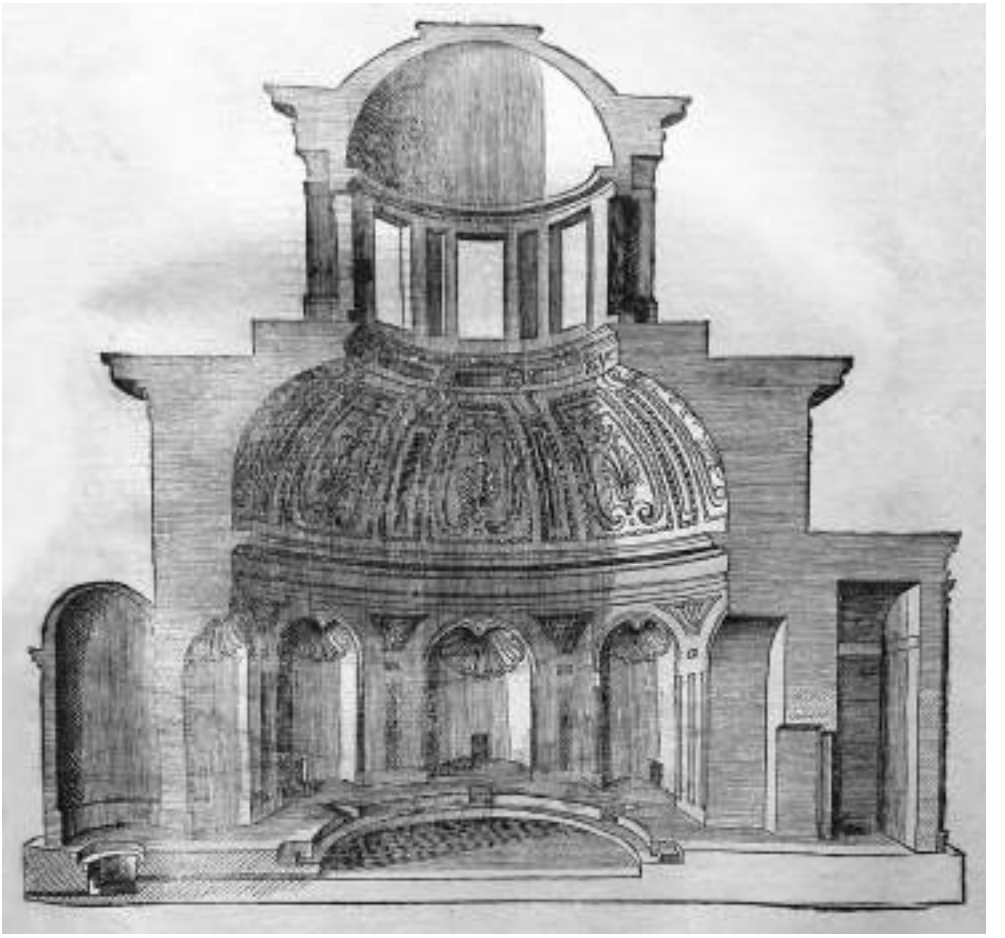

FIGURE 10 Philibert de l'Orme. Interior view of the ancient bath of Tripergole. Engraving. From *Architecture de Philibert de l'Orme*, Paris 1626

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FIGURE 11 Anonymous draughtsman. Map of the *Selva di Maddaloni*. Detail of the river Clanio and Virgil's verse "Clanius non æquus Acerris". ca. 1490. Ink on parchment. Naples, Archivio di Stato, Ufficio Iconografico, n. 65

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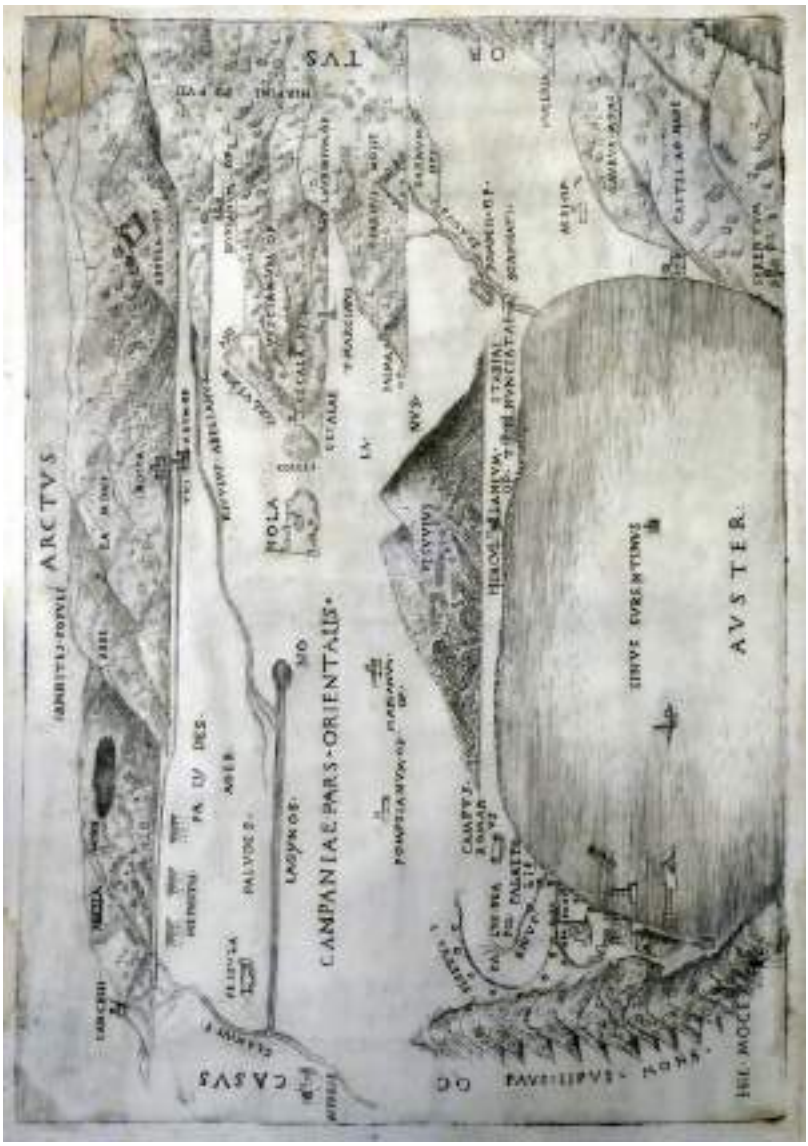

FIGURE 12 Ambrogio Leone and Girolamo Mocetto. *Ager Nolanus*. Engraving. From Ambrogio Leone, *De Nola*. Venice, 1514

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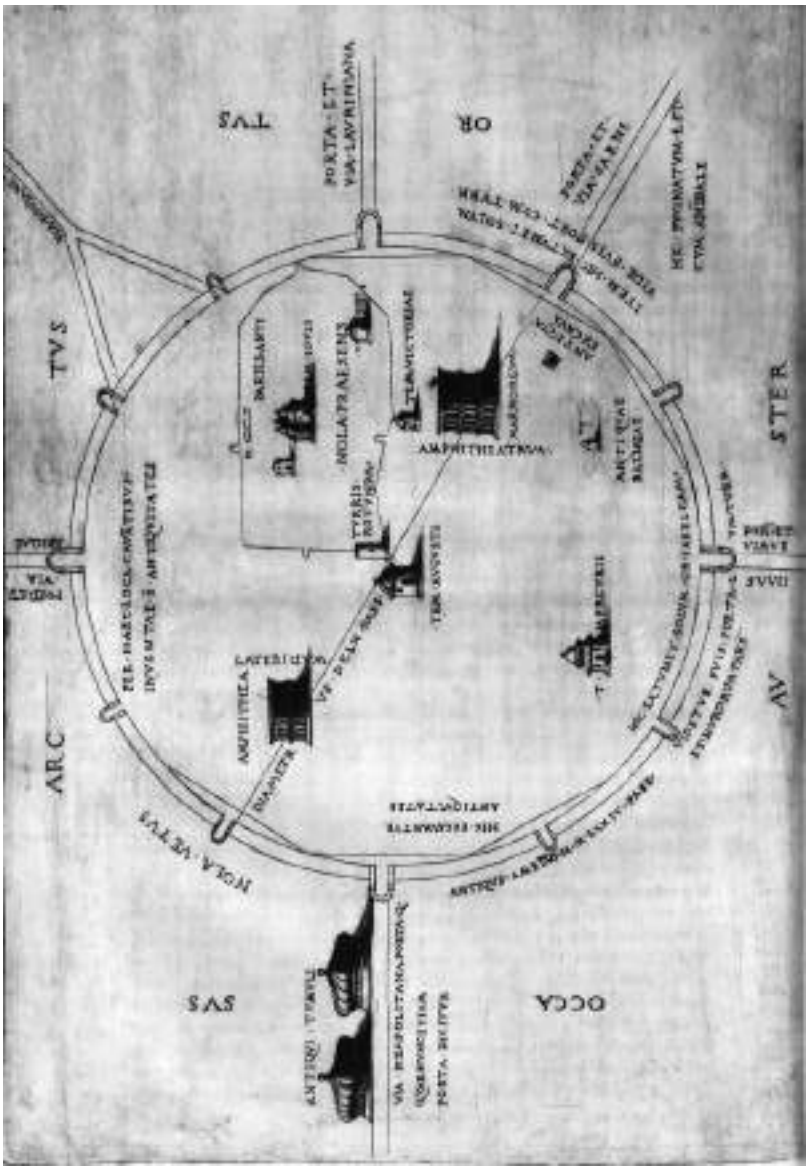

FIGURE 13 Ambrogio Leone and Girolamo Mocetto. Map of the *Nola vetus*. Engraving. From Ambrogio Leone, *De Nola*. Venice, 1514

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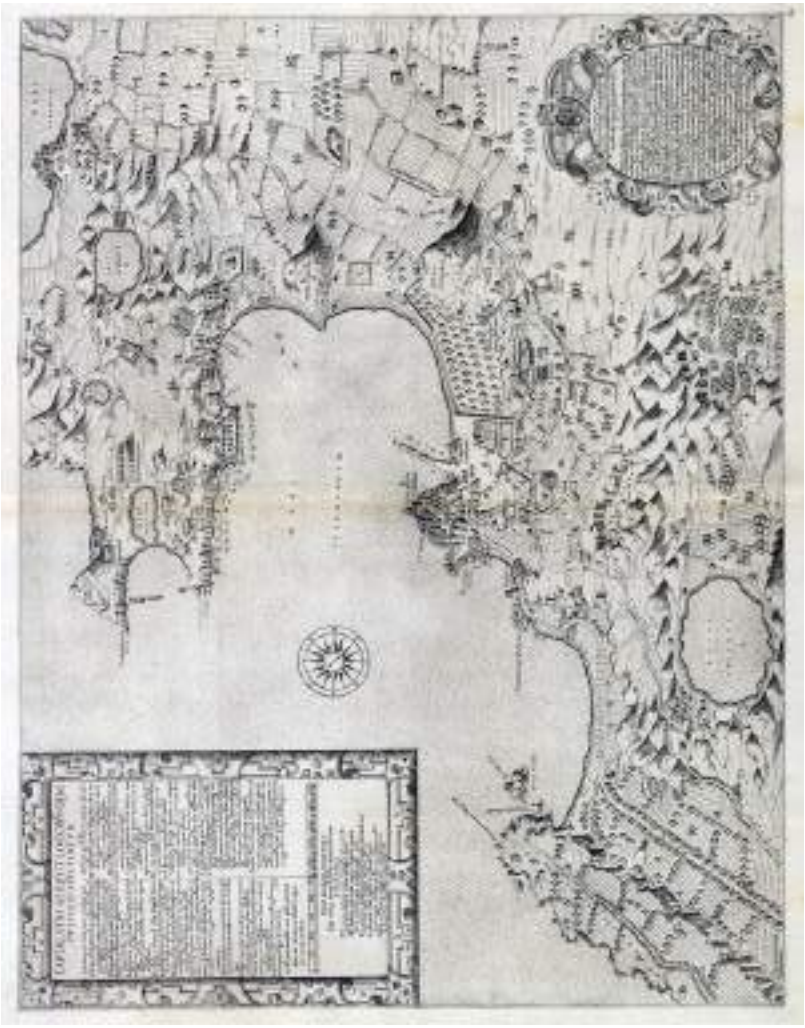

FIGURE 14 Mario Cartaro. Map of the Phlegrean Fields. Engraving. Rome, 1584. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE.DD-626 (7RES)

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FIGURE 15 Mario Cartaro. View of Ischia with the giant Typheus. Engraving. From Giulio Iasolino, *De rimedi naturali*. Naples, 1588

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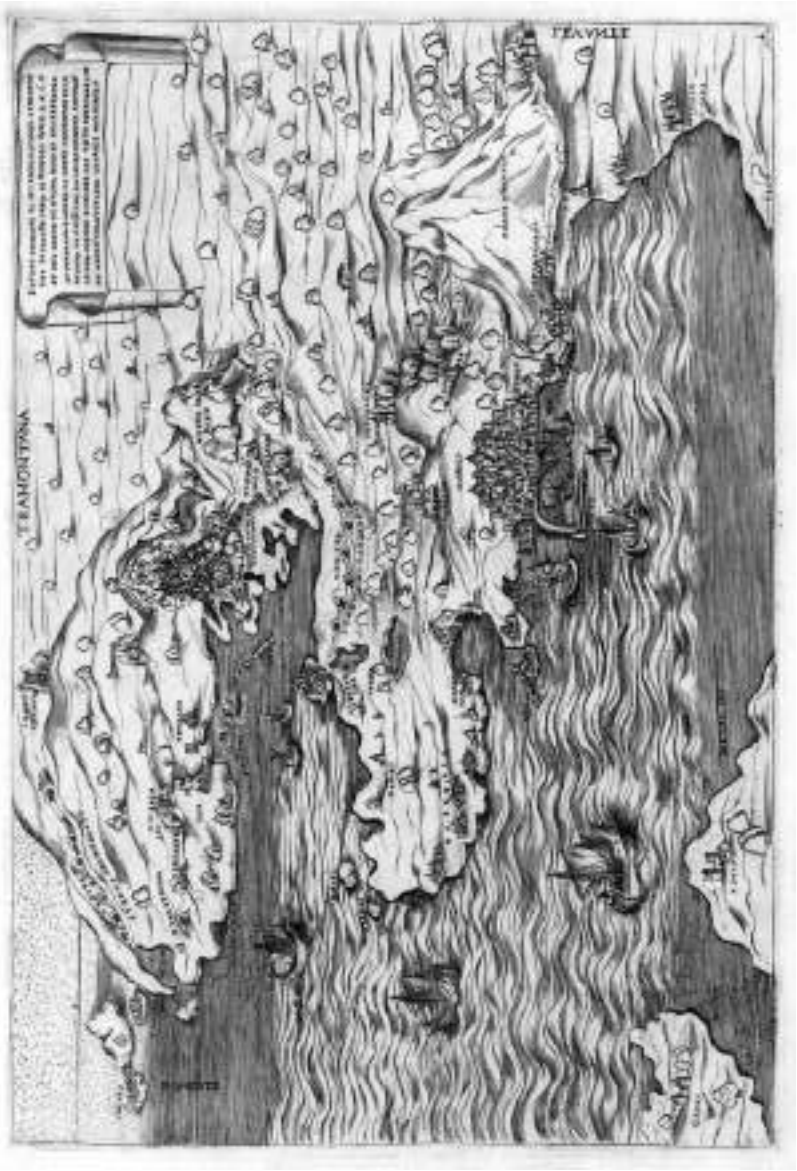

FIGURE 16 G.A. Vico. *Vero disegnio in sul proprio luogho ritratto del infelice paese di Posuolo.* Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE DD-1140 (98RES)

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FIGURE 17 Fabio Giordano. View of Mount Vesuvius. Ink on paper. From Fabio Giordano, *Historia Neapolitana*. ca. 1560. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. XIII B.26

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FIGURE 18 Abraham Hortelius. *Itala nam tellus Graecia maior.* Engraving. Antwerp 1595

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FIGURE 19 Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg. View of Tricarico. From *Civitates orbis terrarum*, VI. Engraving. Cologne, 1618

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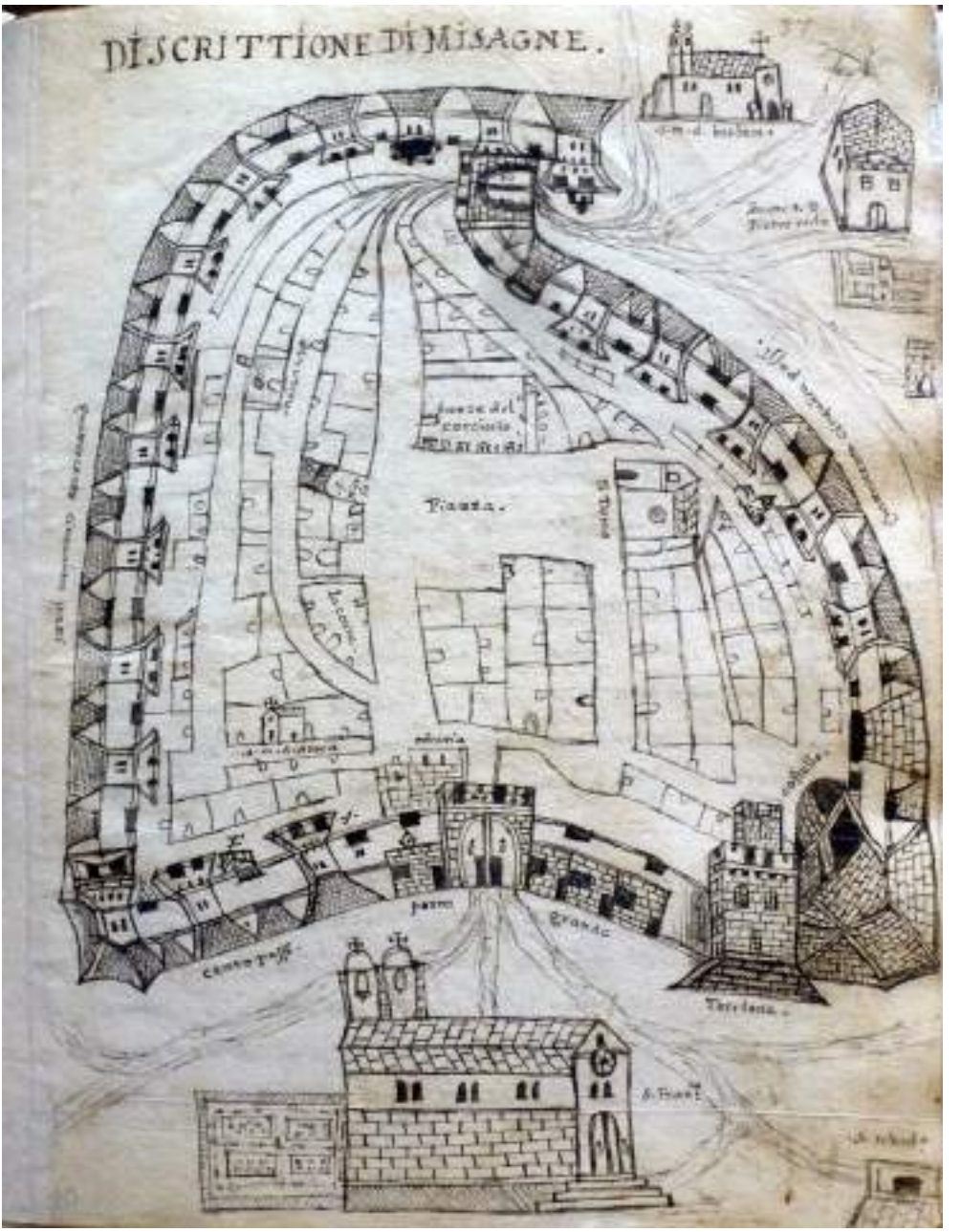

FIGURE 20 Cataldantonio Mannarino. View of Mesagne. Ink on Paper. From Cataldantonio Mannarino, *Storia di Mesagne*, 1596. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. XIV.G.18/2, fol. 37r

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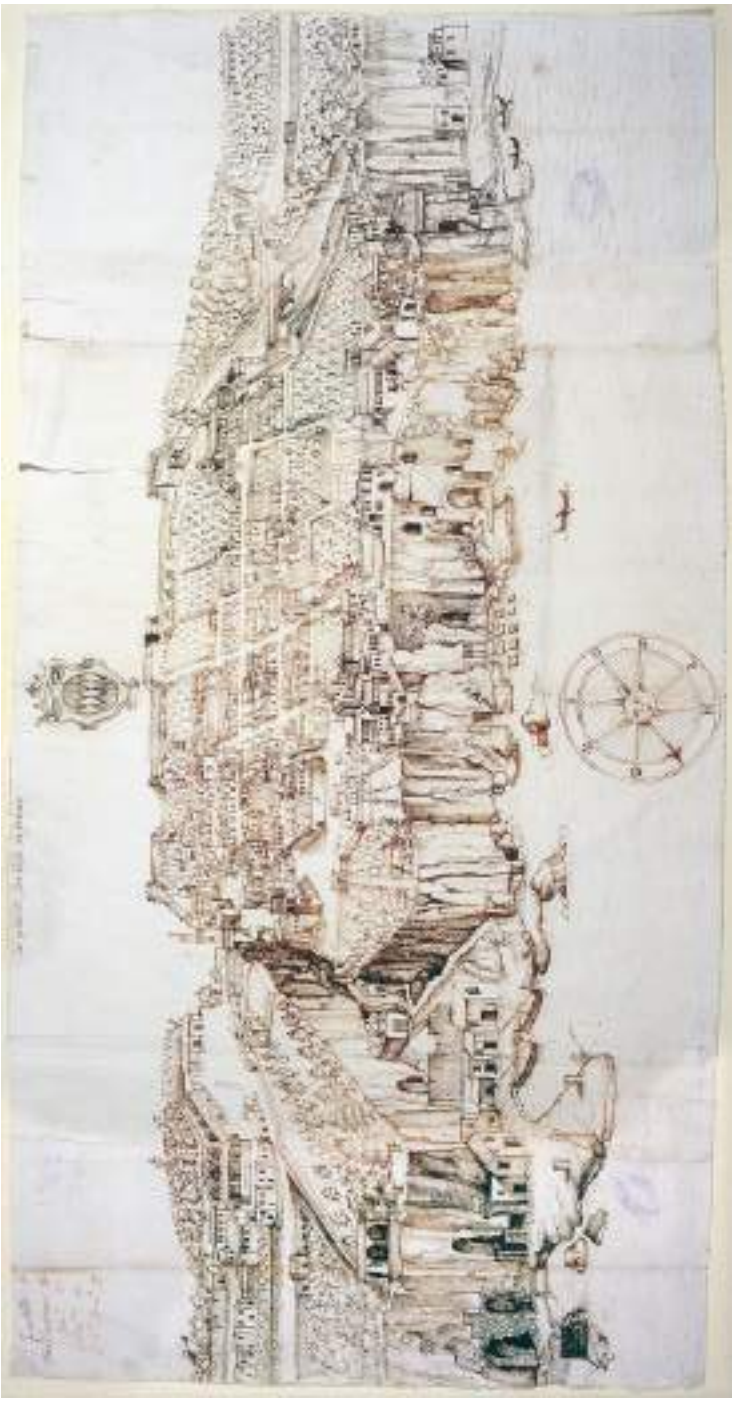

FIGURE 21 Anonymous draughtsman. View of Sorrento. End of the 16th century. Ink on paper. Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Banc. Stampe N.S. 56/88

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FIGURE 22 Nardò. View of the Seggio. 16th–17th century

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FIGURE 23 Capua. Palace of Bartolomeo Di Capua, later Fieramosca. Detail of the tower. 13th–16th century

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FIGURE 24 Trani. Palace of Simone Caccetta. Mid-15th century

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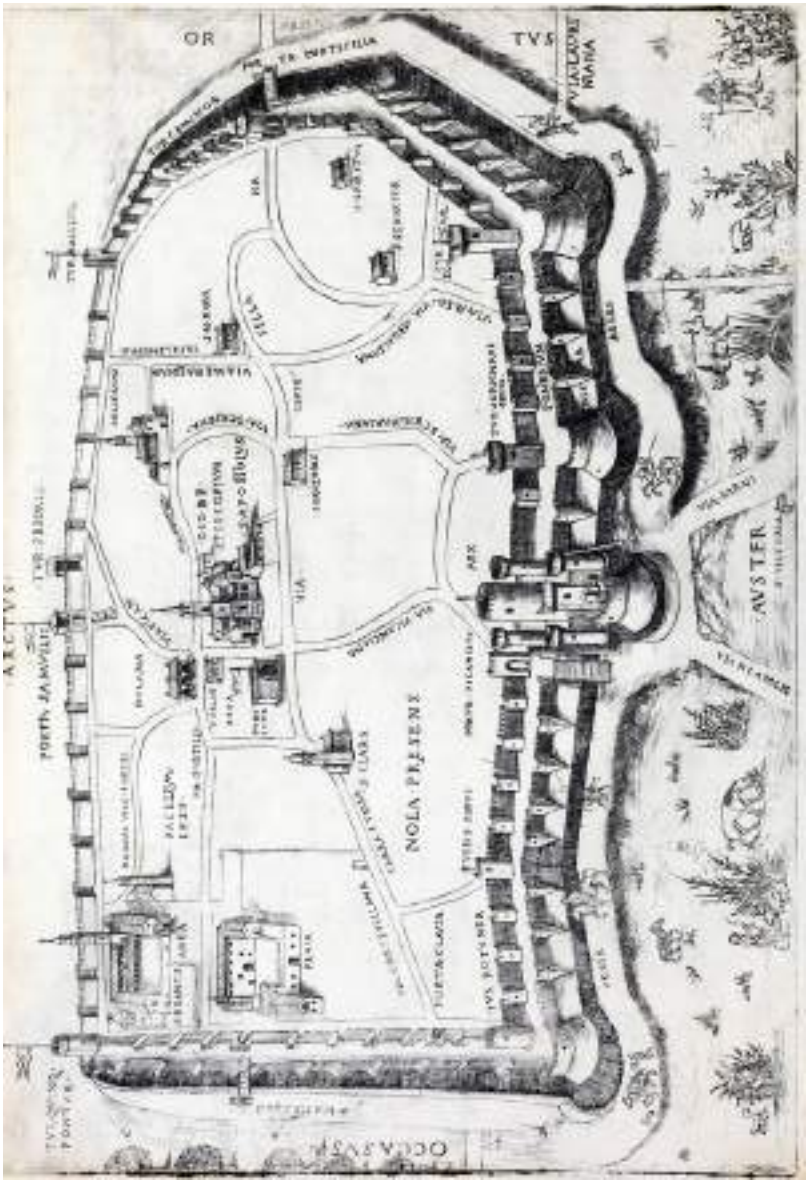

FIGURE 25 Ambrogio Leone and Girolamo Mocetto. Map of the *Nola praesens*. Engraving. From Ambrogio Leone, *De Nola*. Venice, 1514

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FIGURE 26 Anonymous draughtsman. View of Trani. End of the 16th century. Ink on paper. Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Banc. Stampe N.S. 56/58

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FIGURE 27 Andrea Palladio. The harbour of Taranto in Roman Period. Engraving prepared for the edition of Polybius' *Histories*. ca. 1579–1580. (Private collection)

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FIGURE 28 Andrea Palladio. The harbour of Brindisi in the Roman period. Engraving from *I Commentari di Giulio Cesare* [...]. Venice, 1575

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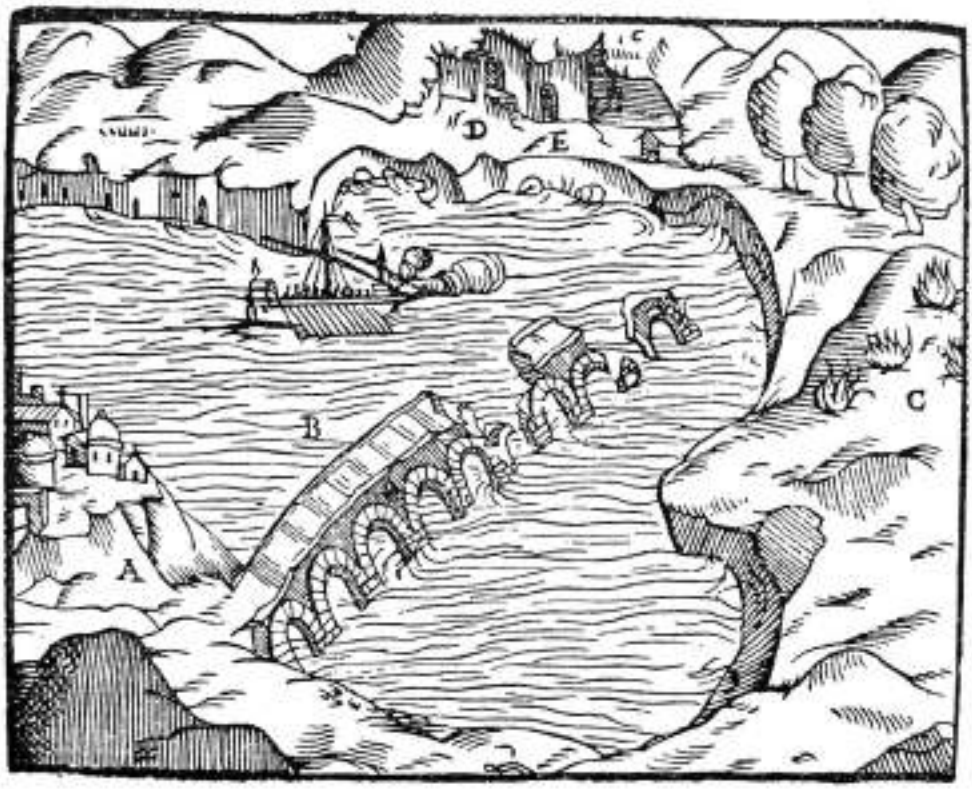

FIGURE 29 Colantonio Stigliola (attributed to). View of the Roman pier of Pozzuoli called "Bridge of Caligula". Woodcut. From Scipione Mazzella, *Sito et antichità della città di Pozzuolo*. Naples, 1594, 32

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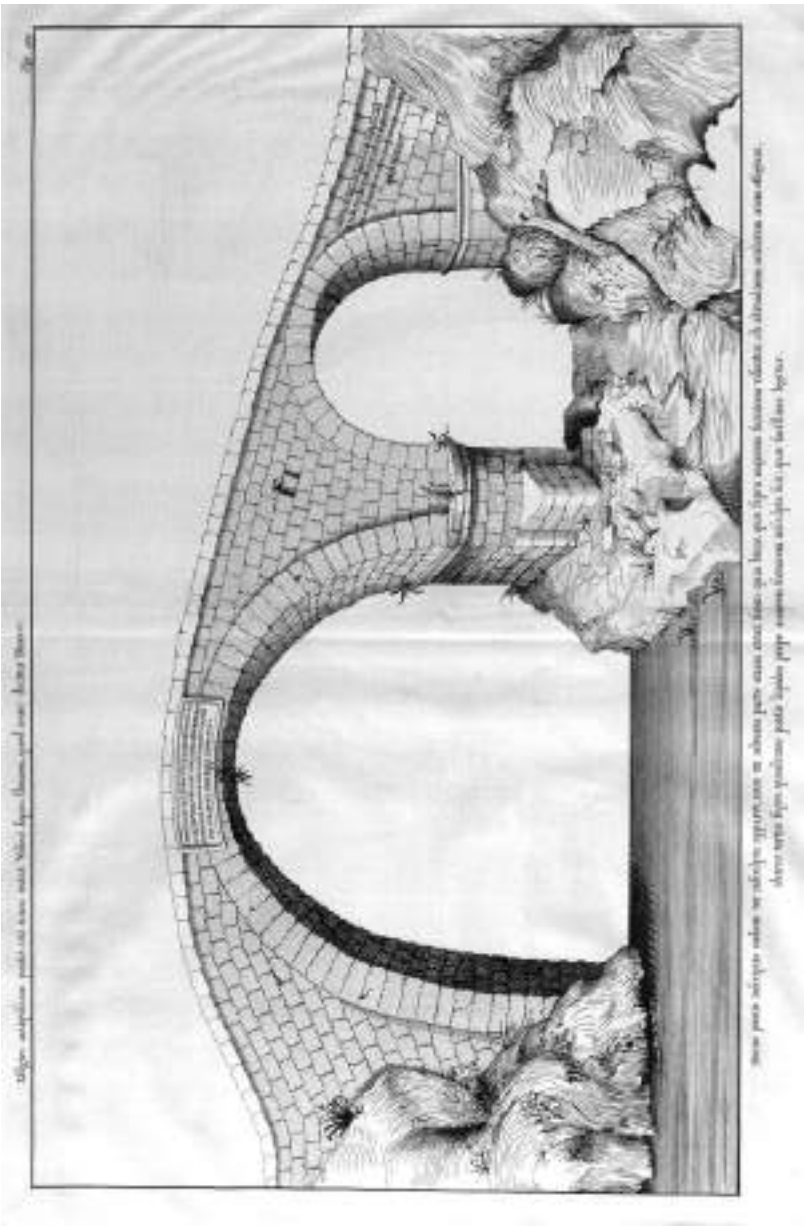

FIGURE 30 Anonymous draughtsman. View of the Roman bridge of Buccino. Engraving. From Jacobi Philippi D'Orville, *Sicula, quibus Siciliae veteris rudera* [...], Amsterdam, 1764, 599

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FIGURE 31 Claude-Louis Châtelet (drawing) and Emmanuel J.N. de Ghendt (etching). View of the aqueduct of Corigliano Calabro. Engraving. From Jean Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage pittoresque ou Description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*. Paris, 1781–1786, vol. 3, plate between 93 and 94

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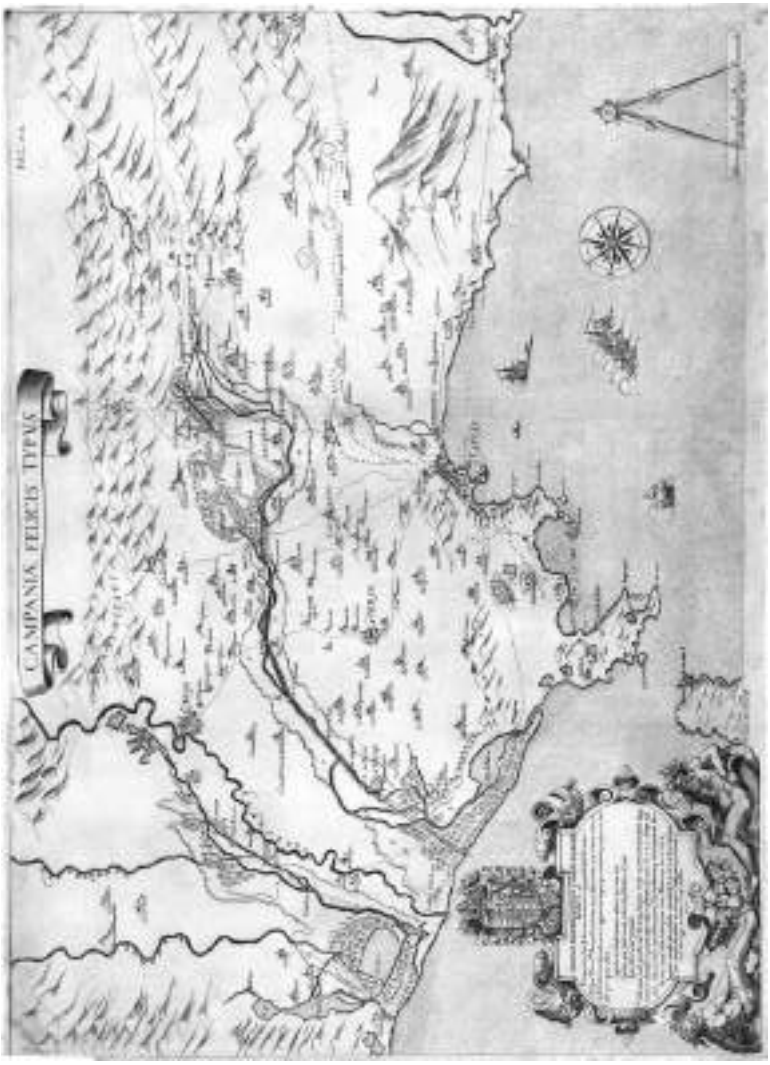

FIGURE 32 Alessandro Baratta. *Campaniae Felicis Typus*. Map of Campania with the Regi Lagni and the route of Serino Aqueduct, 1616. Engraving. From Garcia Barrionuevo, *Panegyricus Illmo. et Exmo. Dno. Petro Fernandez a Castro* [...], Naples, 1616

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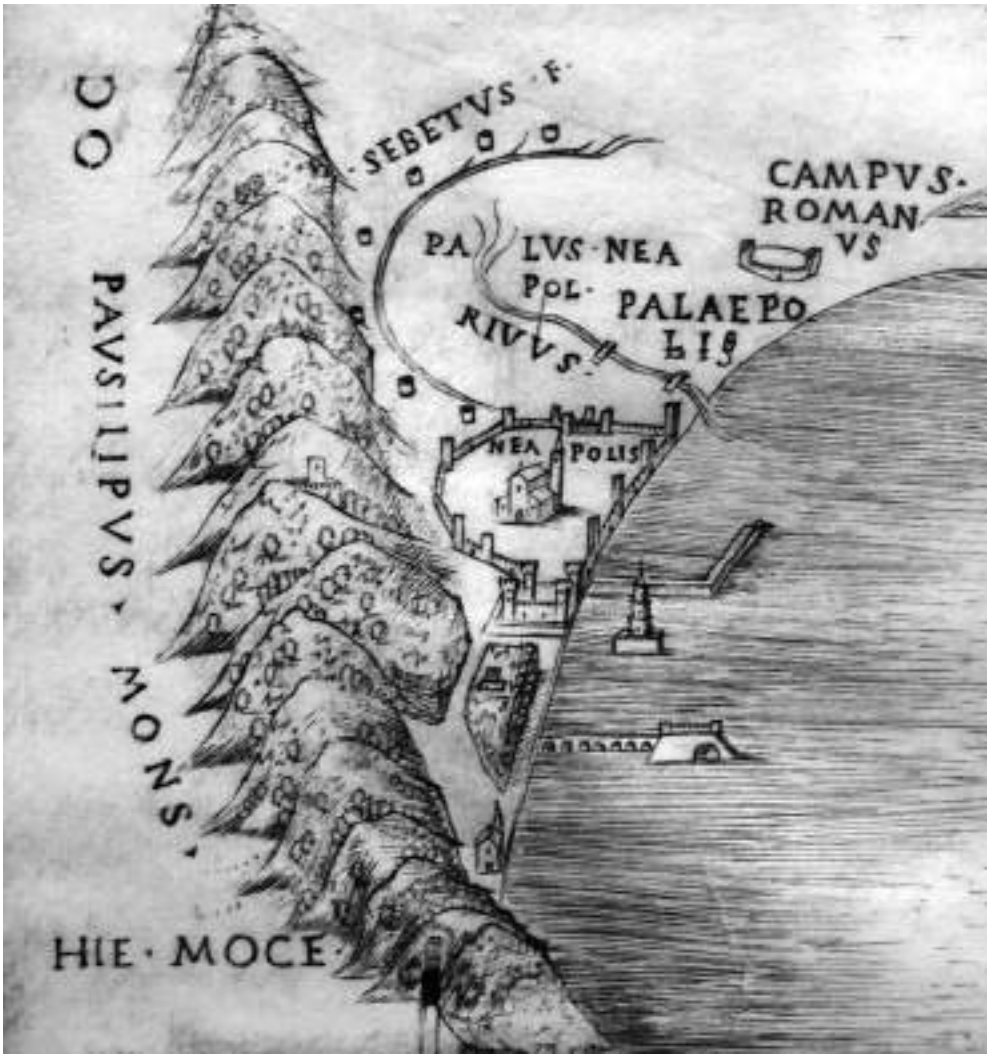

FIGURE 33 Ambrogio Leone and Girolamo Mocetto. *Ager Nolanus*. Detail of Naples showing the *Crypta neapolitana* and the end of Serino aqueduct identified as the ancient river Sebetus. From Ambrogio Leone, *De Nola*. Venice, 1514

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FIGURE 34 Irsina, Renaissance aqueduct called "Bottini". Detail of a *spiraculo*

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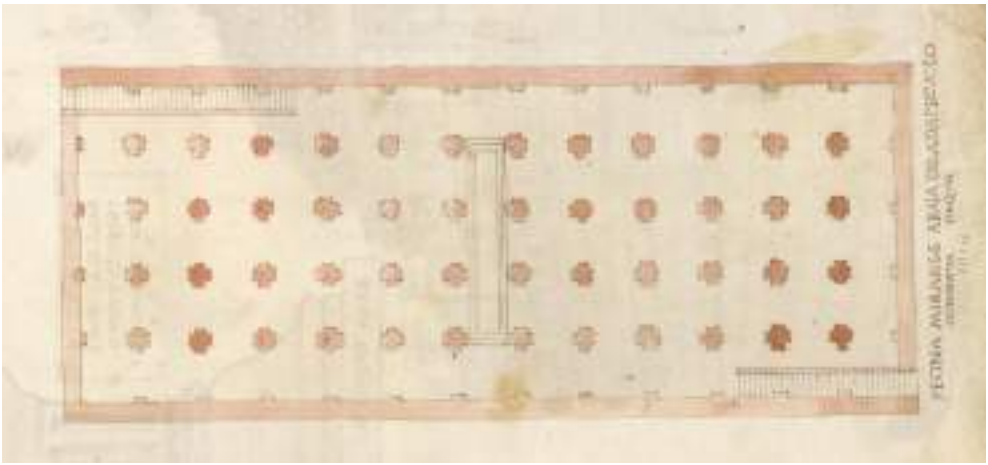

FIGURE 35 Giuliano Giamberti da Sangallo. The *Piscina Mirabilis* in Pozzuoli, ca. 1488. Ink and wash on paper. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Barberiniano Latino 4424, fol. 9r

FIGURE 36 Medal of Domenico Fontana, showing the plan of the harbour of Naples on the *verso*. 1598. American Numismatic Society, 1940.100.1241

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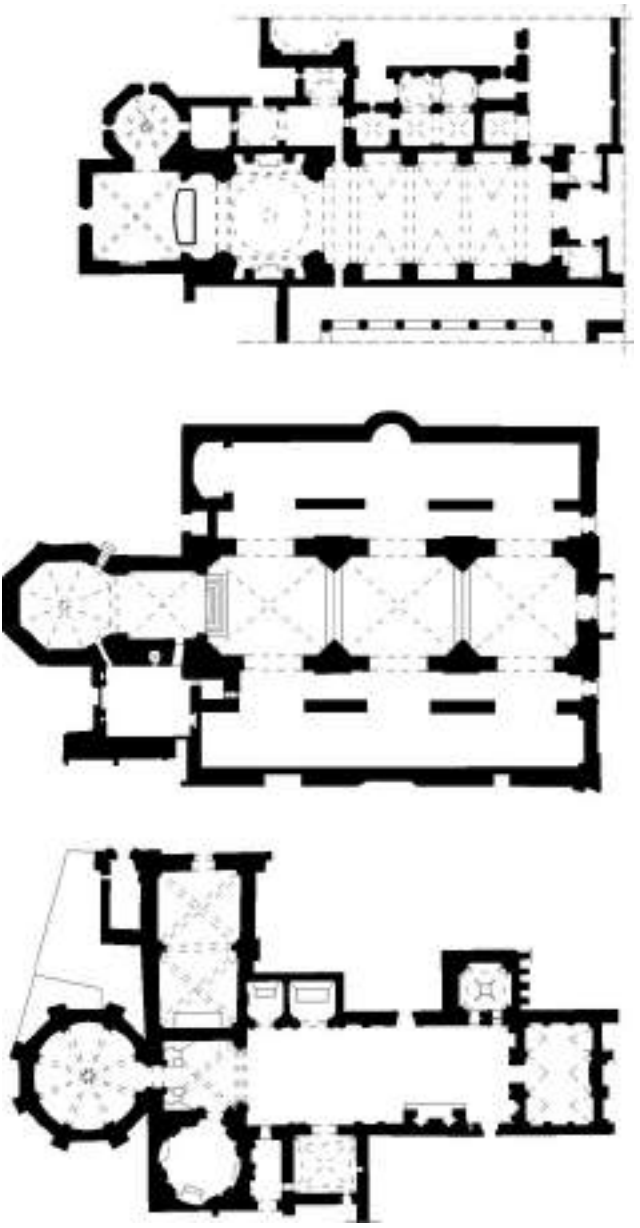

FIGURE 37 a-b-c. Plans of San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples (a), Santa Caterina d'Alessandria in Galatina (b), San Domenico in Cosenza (c)

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FIGURE 39 Nola. Palace of Orso Orsini. ca. 1463–1470

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FIGURE 40 Riccia. Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie. View of the apse with the funerary monuments of the Di Capua family. ca. 1500

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FIGURE 41 Acerenza. Cathedral. View of the Ferrillo Chapel. ca. 1528

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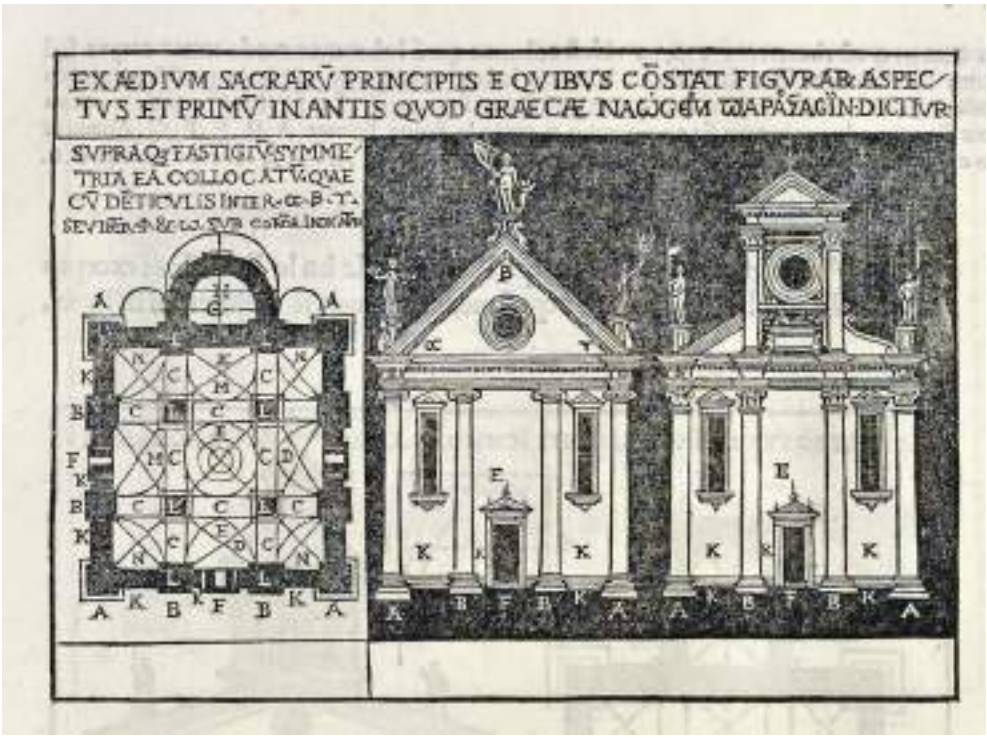

FIGURE 42 Cesare Cesariano. Plan of the tetrastyle atrium. Woodcut. From Cesare Cesariano. *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollio De architectura* [...]. Como, 1521. bk. III, fol. LIIIr

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FIGURE 43 Gallipoli, Fountain. Mid-16th century

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FIGURE 44 Attributed to Gianfrancesco Penni, *Design for the Tomb of the Duke and Duchess of Sessa*, ca. 1525. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, white heightening. Chatsworth. Duke of Devonshire Collection. Inv. 125

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FIGURE 45 Bari. Piazza Mercantile. Justice column. Mid-16th century

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FIGURE 46 Nola. Palace of the Albertini family. ca. 1470–1530

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FIGURE 47 Bitonto. Palace of the Vulpano family. View of the courtyard. 1500

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FIGURE 48 Teggiano. Santa Maria Maggiore. Funerary monument of Orso Malavolta. ca. 1488–1494

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FIGURE 49 Baronissi. Convent of the Trinità. Funerary monument of Jacopo da Gayano. 1506–1512

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FIGURE 50 Matera. Duomo, Chapel of Marco Sanitate. 1538–1544

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FIGURE 51 Teano. Cathedral. Detail of the arch leading to the apse with the inscription of the Galluccio family. 1527

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FIGURE 52 Cosenza. Convent of San Francesco, Cloister. Remains of the funerary monument of Bartolo Arnone. ca. 1554

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FIGURE 53A–B Sessa, Church of San Giovanni a Piazza. Commemorative Inscription (a) and bust of Marco Romano (b). 1543

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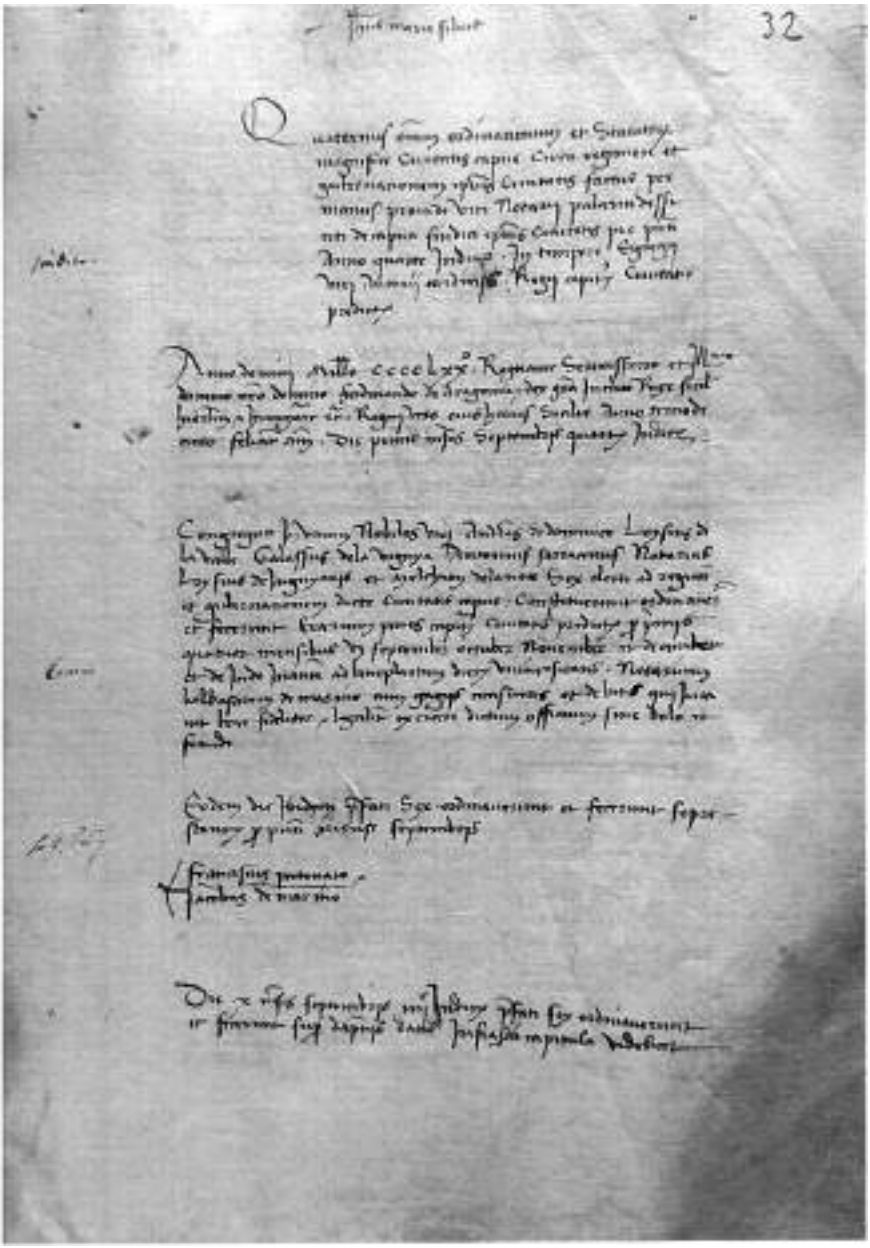

FIGURE 54 Book of the notary Palamide Cito, mayor (*sindaco*) of Capua's municipal government. 1470–1471. Archivio Storico Comunale di Capua, Museo Campano, 5, fol. 32r

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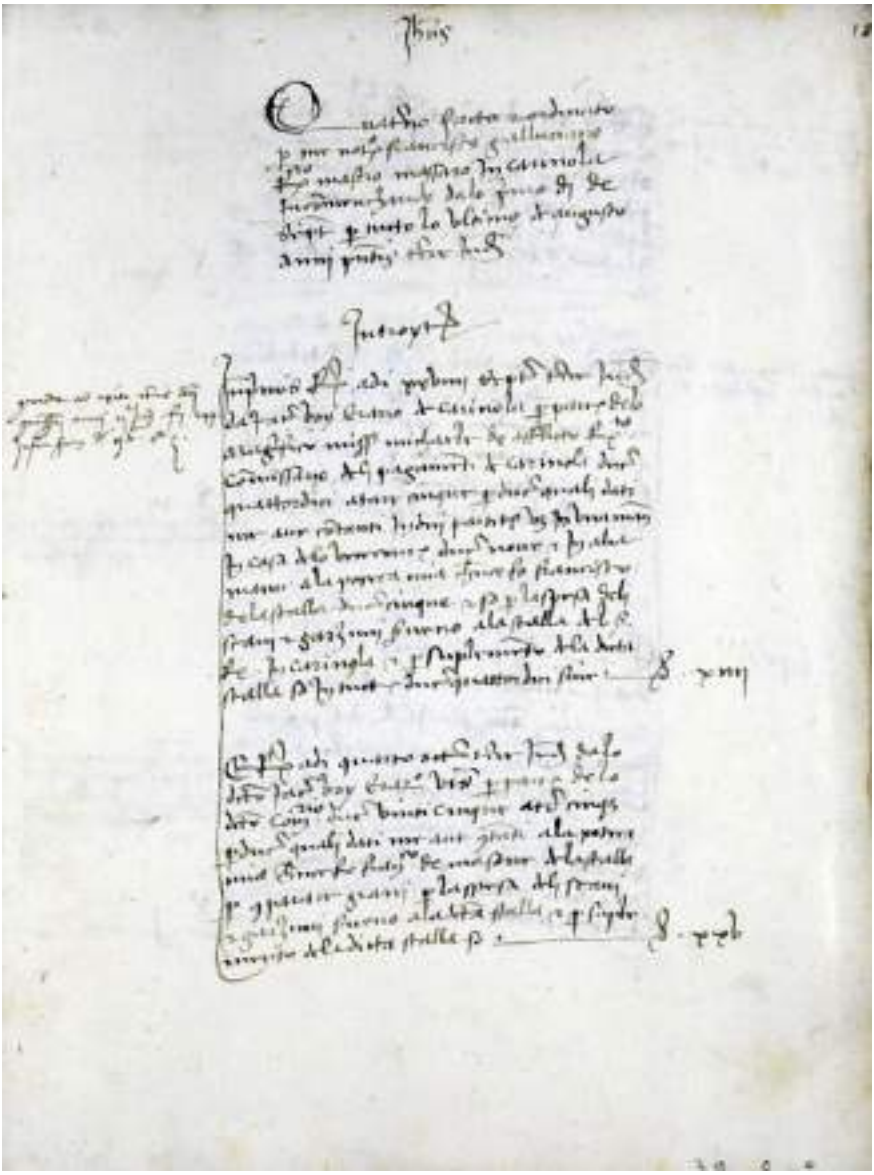

FIGURE 55 Account book of Francesco Gallucciano, notary and royal administrator (*maestro massaro*) of Carinola. 1486–1487. Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Sommaria, Dipendenze, I, 603/3, fol. 18r

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FIGURE 56 Giorgio Lapizzaia, Instructions on how to measure a ditch, a fountain, a tower. From *Opera darithmetica et geometria*. Naples, 1542, fol. 57^{r}

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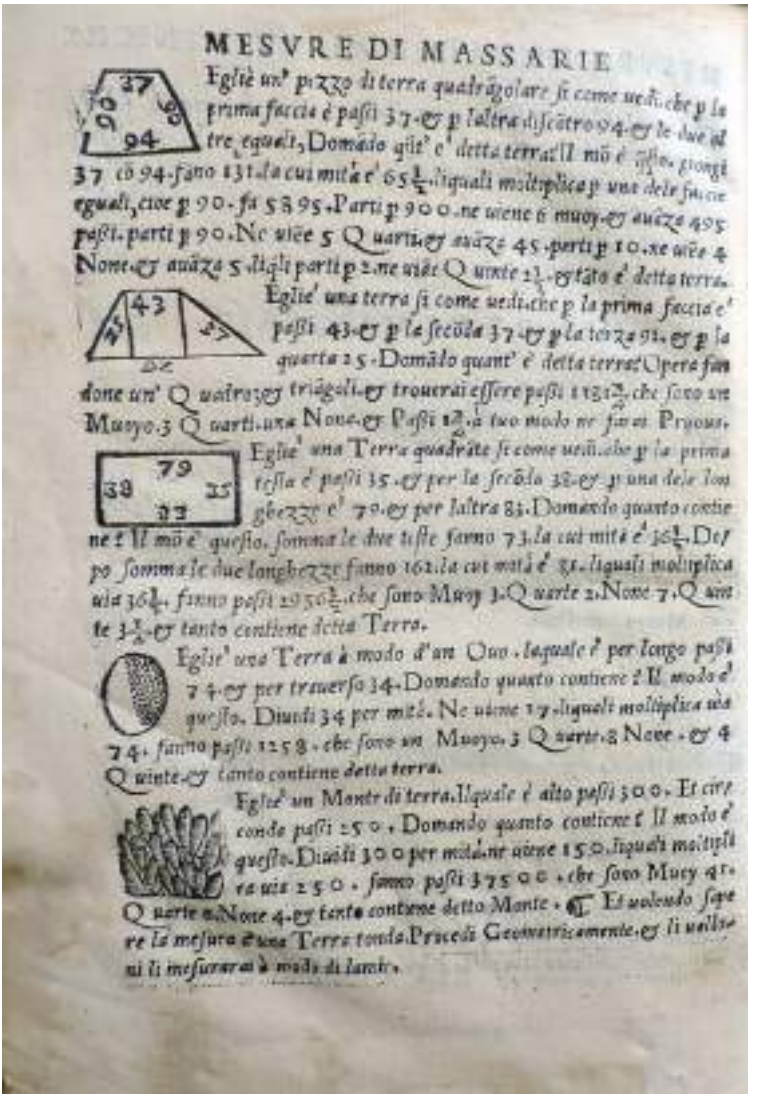

FIGURE 57 Giorgio Lapizzaia. Instructions on how to measure terrains of varying shapes and a hill. *Opera darithmetica et geometria*. Naples, 1542, fol. 62v

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FIGURE 58 Nicola da Guardiagrele. *Saint Peter the Apostole*. Prayer book. Chantilly, Bibliothèque et archives du Musée Condé, 100, fol. C^{v}

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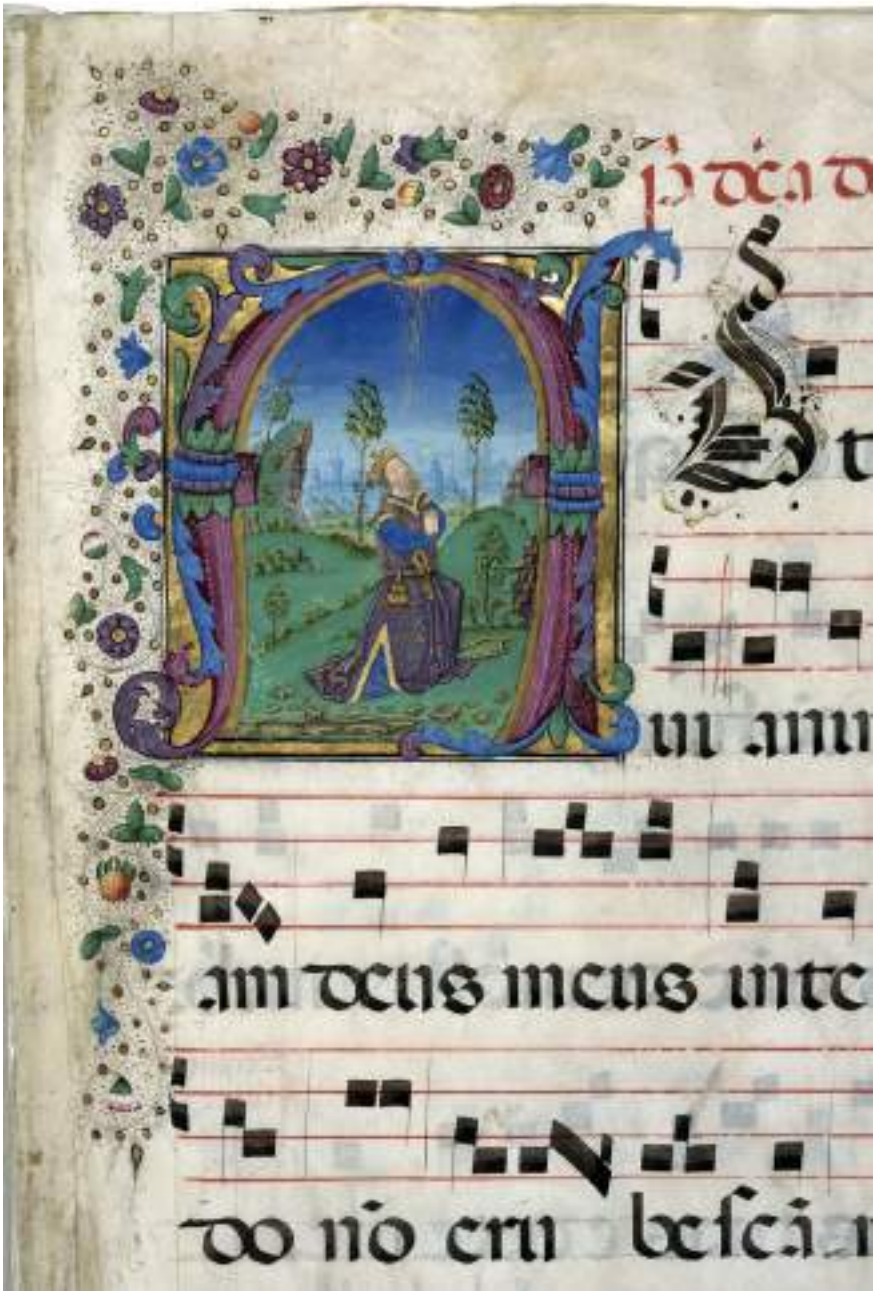

FIGURE 59 French illuminator. *King David in prayer*. Choirbook. L'Aquila, Biblioteca Provinciale "S. Tommasi", n. 11, fol. 1r

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FIGURE 60 Illustrator active in L'Aquila around 1440. *Battle on Collemaggio. Guerra dell'Aquila*. Perugia. Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 3061, fol. 15r

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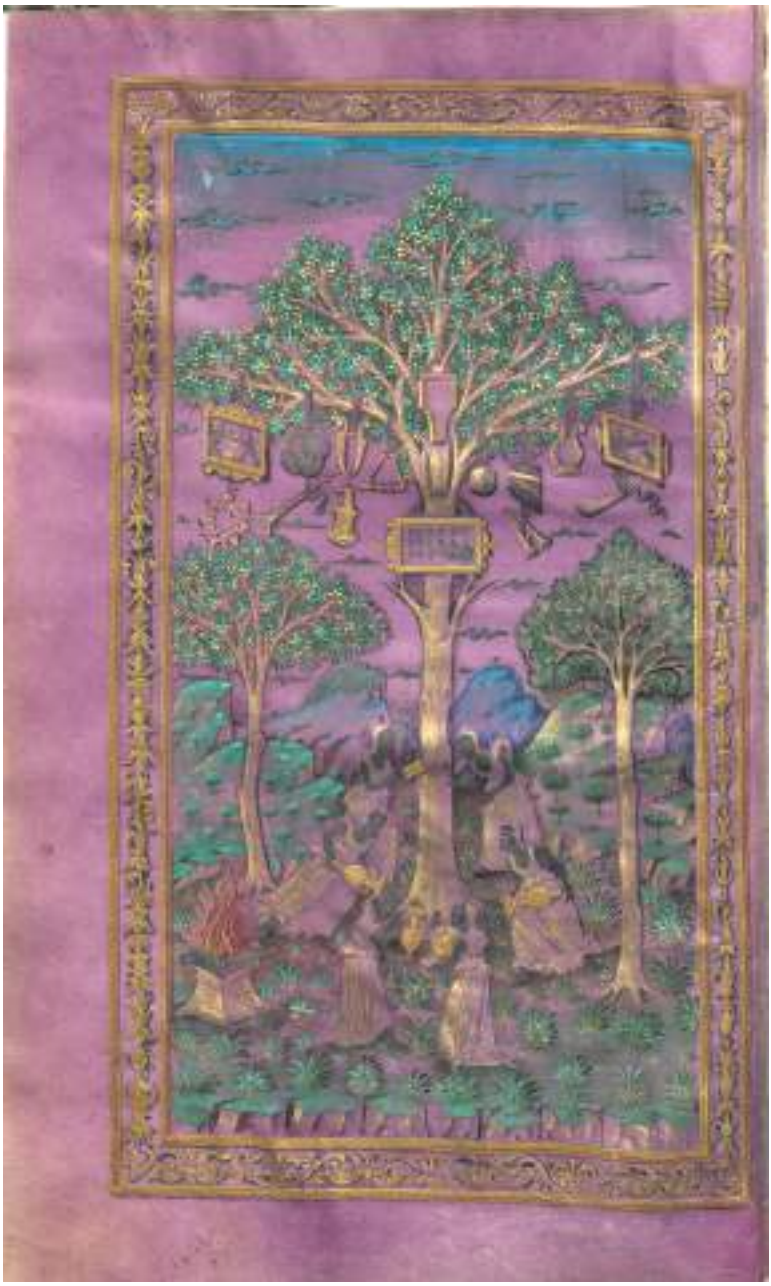

FIGURE 61A Cristoforo Majorana. Poplar consecrated to Virgil. Virgil, *Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis*. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 6B, fols. 1v–2r

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FIGURE 61B Cristoforo Majorana. Architectural title-page with Tityrus and Meliboeus; Virgil, the Nine Muses and satyrs (on the borders). Virgil, *Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis*. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 6B, fols. 1v–2r

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FIGURE 62 Reginaldo Pirano. Architectural title page. M.T. Cicero, *De Oratore*. Naples, Biblioteca Oratoriana dei Girolamini, C.F. 3.5, fol. 1r

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FIGURE 63 Reginaldo Pirano. Architectural title page. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*. Vienna, Österreische Nationalbibliothek, Phil. gr. 4, fol. 80^{v}

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FIGURE 64 Cola Rapicano. Incipit page with decorated borders, initial with the author, winged putti holding a shield with the Orsini arms. Q.C. Rufus, *Historia Alexandri Magni*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, VITR/22/9, fol. 1r

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FIGURE 65 Master of Isabella di Chiaromonte. Incipit page with white vine initial and borders; winged putti holding a laurel wreath with the Sanseverino arms. Diogenes of Sinope, Brutus, and Hippocrates, *Letters* (translated by Francesco d'Arezzo and Ranuccio d'Arezzo; written by Giovan Marco Cinico, 1467–1468). Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, Comites Latentes 269, fol. 1r

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FIGURE 66 Campanian illuminator. *Capis*. From the *Libretto dei privilegi di Capua*. ca. 1480. Capua, Archivio Storico Comunale di Capua, Museo Campano, Pergamene, 335, fol. [11r]

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FIGURE 67 Illuminator active in Nola. Incipit page with initial with the author, decorated borders; winged putti holding a laurel wreath with the Albertini arms. Pietro Paolo Muscarello, *Algorismus*. ca. 1478. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, LJS 27, fol. 1r

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FIGURE 68 Illuminator active in the Pulian region around the mid-15th century. Incipit page with drôleries and a laurel wreath with the Orsini Del Balzo arms. Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV. C. 19, fol. 1r

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FIGURE 69 Follower of Zanino di Pietro. Anna Colonna kneeling in prayer before Saint Peter Martyr, ante 1463. *Book of Hours of Anna Colonna*. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.322, fol. 217^{r}

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FIGURE 70 Charter of the confraternity of the Ss. Sacramento in Corigliano, 1555. Archivio della parrocchia di Santa Maria Maggiore di Corigliano

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FIGURE 71 Matteo da Terranova. Initial B with David playing the harp for Saul. Salterio-Innario. Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, III-13, fol. 6v

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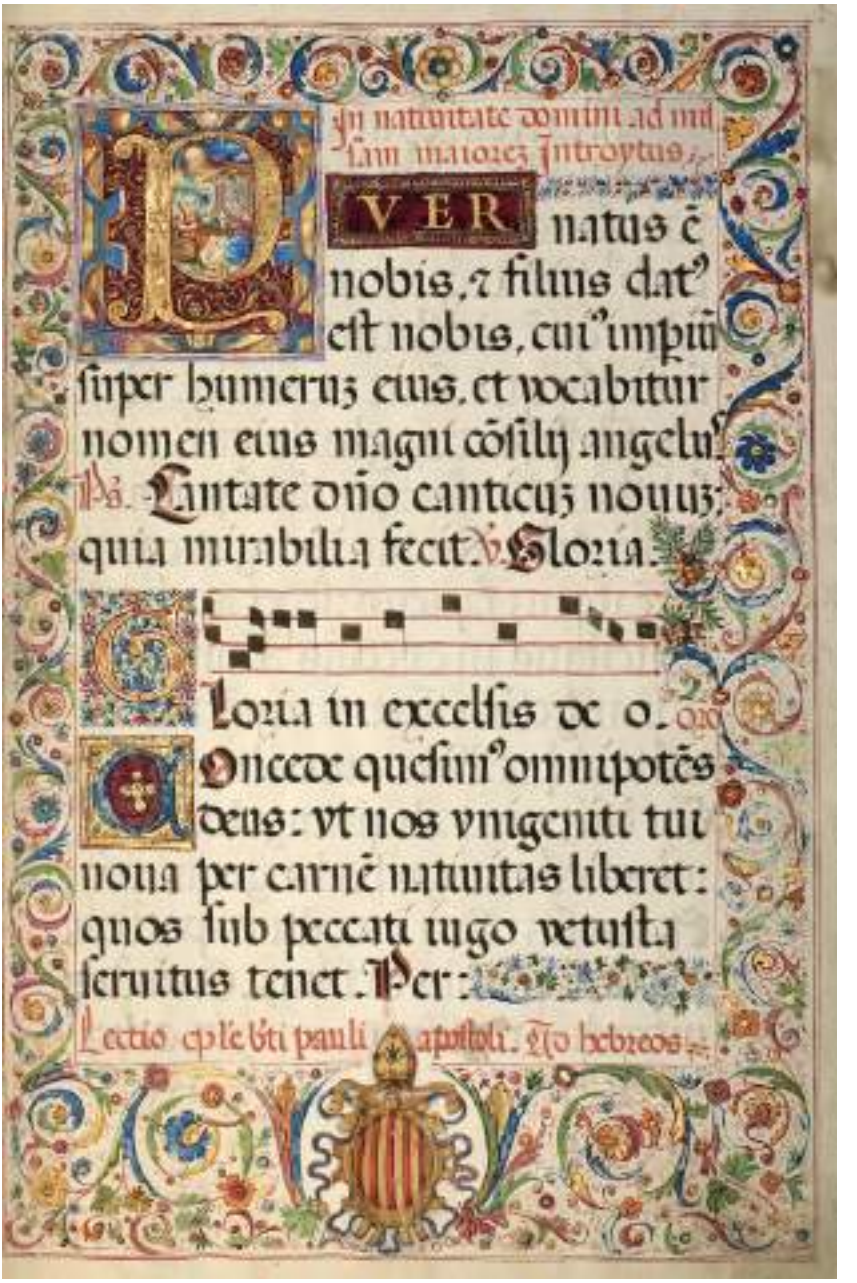

FIGURE 72 Vincenzo Pontano da Fondi. Incipit page with initial with the Adoration of the Child, decorated borders, winged putti holding a laurel wreath with the Sanseverino arms. Messale Scarampi, 1567. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 83.MG.82 (= Ludwig V 7), fol. 2r

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FIGURE 73 Andrea Mantegna. *Sant'Eufemia,* from Irsina (Montepeloso) Cathedral. Oil on canvas. 1458. Naples, Capodimonte Museum

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FIGURE 74 Raphael. *Madonna and Child with the Baptist* (*Alba Madonna*), from Nocera, Church of Santa Maria del Monte Albino. Oil on wood transferred to canvas. ca. 1510. Washington, National Gallery of Art

FIGURE 75 Anonymous 16th-century artist. Horses from the Pandone breeding stock. Fresco. 1521–1527. Venafro, Castle

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FIGURE 76 Donato De Cumbertino. *Paesaggio con le virtù della fortezza e della carità*. Fresco. ca. 1550. Gambatesa, Castle

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FIGURE 77 Anonymous 15th-century artist. *Seven sacraments*. Galatina, Basilica of Santa Caterina d'Alessandria

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FIGURE 78 Maestro di Nola. *Crucifix*. Tempera on wood. ca. 1428. Nola, Church of Gesù

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FIGURE 79A–B Maestro d'Andria. *Virgin who intercedes for the city of Andria.* Tempera on wood. ca. 1490. Andria, Museo Diocesano

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FIGURE 80 Andrea Delitio, *Stories of the Virgin*. Frescoes. Last quarter of the 15th century. Atri, Cathedral, choir

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FIGURE 81 Pietro Buono. *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Theodore and Jerome*, from Laino Castello, Church of San Teodoro. Tempera on wood. ca. 1500. Cassano allo Jonio, Museum

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FIGURE 82 Andrea Sabatini. *Madonna and Child with Saints Peter and John the Baptist*. Tempera on wood. ca. 1513–1514. Banzi, former Badia of Santa Maria

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FIGURE 83 Marco Pino, *Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist and Saint Andrew* from Santa Maria del Montealbino. Oil on wood. Nocera inferiore, Parish Church of Saint Bartholomew

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FIGURE 84 Pompeo Cesura. *Adoration of the shepherds*. Oil on canvas. 1566. L'Aquila, Basilica of San Bernardino

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FIGURE 85 Silvestro Buono. *Madonna and Child with the two Saint Johns*. Oil on canvas. 1575. Sorrento, Cathedral

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FIGURE 86 Anonymous 15th-century artist. Two choirs of angels with musical instruments (left: psalter, portative organ and singers; right: portative organ and singers). Detail from the *Coronation of the Virgin*. Fresco. Galatina, Basilica of Santa Caterina d'Alessandria

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FIGURE 87 Anonymous 15th-century artist. Angels playing musical instruments (one lute and three wind instruments). Detail from the *Adoration of the Lamb*. Fresco. Galatina, Basilica of Santa Caterina d'Alessandria

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FIGURE 88 Altobello Persio, *Presepe*. Overview with six angel musicians: players of tambourine, *buttafuoco*, psalter, crank *gironda*, *viola da gamba*, and *viola da braccio* are visible around the Holy Family; above the cave a shepherd with bagpipe. 1534. Matera, Cathedral

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FIGURE 89A Woodcut with a lutenist from *Operette del Parthenopeo Suavio*. Bari, 1535

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FIGURE 89B Woodcut with a lutenist from *Operette del Parthenopeo Suavio*. Bari, 1535

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FIGURE 90 Title page of the first book of the *Villanelle a tre voci de diversi musici di Barri*. Venice, 1574. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus.Pr. 51

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