

Classical Legacy and Imperial Ideal in the Early Renaissance: the Artistic Patronage of Alfonso V the Magnanimous

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ABSTRACT

A very influential aspect of the classical legacy during the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance was its association with imperial concepts. The reign of Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1416-1458), King of Aragon, Sicily and Naples, involved an imperial project that aimed to integrate several populations, territorial and cultural identities and superimpose a powerful centralized court over a polycentric system of government institutions. Within this framework art had a decisive role and a diversity of media, artists and languages served Alfonso's policy, providing an imperial art inspired by the classical legacy. The use of humanism and the Roman classical tradition is the specific focus of this study as it reveals one of the first attempts of the Renaissance to define an imperial political programme. Our initial hypothesis is that the king drew on the stock of knowledge of the humanists and on the work of artists with a practical outlook, always opting to put his personal interests before coherence. In this way, Alfonso V handed down a valuable legacy for European empires both in terms of a flexible combination of diverse cultural traditions and in the idea of an imperial power based on widespread territories linked by sea routes and a network of ports.

La supervivencia de la tradición clásica a lo largo de la Edad Media es uno de los grandes temas de la historia cultural de Europa. Un aspecto muy influyente del legado clásico en la Edad Media y el Renacimiento es su vinculación con la idea de imperio. La noción de la unidad perdida de la Cristiandad y el deseo de incorporar diversas identidades y tradiciones propiciaron intentos sucesivos de reivindicar la tradición del Imperio Romano con el propósito de afirmar la supremacía de un poder único, personal y dinástico, de alcance teóricamente universal, opuesto a la tendencia de división de poderes políticos y territoriales en diferentes niveles característica de la Edad Media. El reinado de Alfonso V el Magnánimo (1416-1458), rey de Aragón, Sicilia y Nápoles supuso un proyecto imperial que debía integrar identidades ciudadanas, territoriales, culturales y superponer una poderosa corte

centralizada a un sistema policéntrico de instituciones de gobierno. En este contexto el arte tuvo un papel decisivo al servir a la política de Alfonso con diversidad de medios, artistas y lenguajes como un auténtico arte imperial inspirado en el legado clásico, al estilo de los que se formularán en la Europa de la Edad Moderna. Precisamente la utilización del humanismo y de la tradición clásica romana son los aspectos que centrarán este estudio en la medida en que pueden servir para revelar uno de los primeros intentos en el Renacimiento de definición a través de ellos de un programa político imperial. La hipótesis de partida es que el rey se sirvió del bagaje de los humanistas, del trabajo de los artistas y de los medios de expresión con sentido práctico, libertad de prejuicios y siempre anteponiendo sus intereses a una presunta coherencia de opciones. Se plantea incluso la posibilidad de que el rey y sus cortesanos entendieran la tradición clásica de modo muy diferente no sólo a como la definimos actualmente sino también a la concepción histórica que se abría paso en el Renacimiento de otras regiones de Italia. Esta manera de entender y apreciar el legado clásico concierne más a las funciones que a las formas; más a los contenidos ideológicos que a los logros artísticos y nunca es excluyente, sino más bien integradora con otras tradiciones medievales que fueran también útiles para el programa político de Alfonso el Magnánimo.

Así Alfonso V ofreció a su vez un legado valioso para los imperios europeos tanto en la combinación flexible de tradiciones culturales diversas como en la idea de un poder imperial basado en territorios dispersos conectados por una red de puertos y rutas marítimas.

INTRODUCTION

The survival of the classical tradition throughout the Middle Ages is one of the great subjects of European cultural history and art in particular. Unlike the vision propounded by the humanists and Renaissance historians of the Middle Ages – a parenthesis between classical Antiquity and the revival of its legacy through philology and archaeology – modern historiography has shown the continuity of the tradition and the multiple forms of recycling, reference to and assimilation of Roman and Greek models both in Latin and Byzantine Europe¹. A very influential aspect of the classical legacy during the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance was its association with imperial concepts from the time of Charlemagne or Frederick II up to Charles V of the Habsburg dynasty, who may be considered the first emperor of the Renaissance in Europe. The notion of the lost unity of Latin Christendom and the desire to incorporate diverse identities and traditions favoured successive attempts to vindicate the Roman imperial tradition and the desire to affirm the supremacy of a single, personal and dynastic power of theoretically universal scope, as opposed to the tendency for division of political powers at different levels, characteristic of the Middle Ages². As a result, imperial projects frequently resorted to some form of classical tradition as a mean of legitimizing and asserting a policy of international unity under a single strong authority.

ALFONSO V THE MAGNANIMOUS: IMPERIAL IDEAS AND ARTISTIC PATRONAGE IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396-1458) was King of Aragon, Catalonia, Majorca, Valencia and Sicily from 1416. Following its conquest in 1442, Naples became more than just the new domain of the Spanish monarch and seemed destined to become the centre of a Mediterranean empire spreading north towards Corsica and Provence (on account of Alfonso's rivalry with the Angevins, with whom he had disputed the right to the Neapolitan throne), southwards to the coasts of Tunisia and Morocco and eastwards to Hungary, Croatia and Albania, though Alfonso was wary of conducting a crusade against the Turkish empire, in spite of the urgings of the Papacy. On casting his nets in *Mare Nostrum* and setting foot on the Italian peninsula, it is no surprise that he came up against all the powers present in this scenario: Genoa, Florence, Venice, Milan, the Angevins and the Papacy. On the death of the king, his inheritance was divided up between his brother John II, King of Aragon and Navarre (1458-1476), and Alfonso's illegitimate son Ferdinand, King of Naples, and the project to construct a Mediterranean empire based in southern Italy had to wait until the generation of Ferdinand II the Catholic (King of Sicily from 1468 and Aragon from 1479 to 1516, King of Naples from 1504), when Iberian horizons had broadened dramatically following the discovery of America. However, the figure of the monarch and his reign occupy a distinguished place in the history of Mediterranean culture as it served to strengthen relations between humanist Italy and the Iberian peninsula within the framework of an imperial project designed to integrate populations, territorial and cultural identities and superimpose a powerful centralized court over a polycentric system of government institutions³.

As indicated by Evelyn Welch, southern Italy was then "the possession of a crown, often a non-Italian crown, which required an image of rulership that reflected both the institutional nature of kingship and the personal qualities of the incumbent"⁴. Within this context, art played a decisive role and a diversity of media, artists and languages served Alfonso's policy, providing a form of imperial art inspired by the classical legacy and in the style of those that would be formed in Europe in the early Modern Age. The use of humanism and Roman classical tradition is the specific focus of this study as it reveals one of the first attempts of the Renaissance to define an imperial political programme by these means. In this way, Alfonso the Magnanimous similarly handed down a valuable legacy for European empires both in terms of a flexible combination of diverse cultural traditions and in the idea of an imperial power based on widespread territories linked by sea routes and a network of ports: a seaborne empire.

In the historiography of art in the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous, focus has frequently ranged from 15th-century Spain, marked by its medieval past, and the political formation of the Crown of Aragon⁵, to its setting in 15th-century Italy, and compari-

sons with the republics and princely courts to the north of the peninsula, such as Florence, Venice and Milan⁶. The combination of Spanish and Italian elements in the Kingdom of Naples has held greater weight with political and economic historians⁷ than with cultural historians, as the latter have simply observed a juxtaposition of scarcely compatible traditions or have placed emphasis on the transfer of Italian humanist tendencies to the Iberian peninsula through the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous⁸. The relationship of humanists and court historians with art and, particularly, the manner in which this was represented by the King's artistic patronage, has been explored by various historians⁹, but the specific significance of the use of the classical legacy is the subject of our study. Our initial hypothesis is that the king drew on the humanists' stock of knowledge, on the work of artists and on their means of expression in a manner not unlike that employed in economic and institutional affairs, that is to say, with a practical outlook, free from prejudice and always following his personal interests rather than opting for any apparent coherence influenced by the anachronistic concepts of historians. The possibility has also been raised that the king and his courtiers understood the classical tradition in a very different way both from that defined today and from the historical concept forged during the Renaissance in other Italian regions. This approach to understanding and appreciating the classical legacy placed greater emphasis on function over forms, regardless of how admirable these might have been, and on ideological content over artistic achievement. This was never conducted in an exclusive manner but rather with an integrating approach, drawing on other modern and, specifically, gothic traditions, which were also useful for the political programme of Alfonso the Magnanimous. These characteristics were soon seen as limitations by latter day humanists and historiography, relegating the Neapolitan court of Alfonso V to a secondary role in the general context of the *rinascita dell'antichità* [rebirth of Antiquity] in the Italian *Quattrocento* [15th-century] art.

Reference is frequently made to the formal triumph of Alfonso as King of Naples on 26 February 1443 as a clear example of the idea of royal power modelled on the empire of the Caesars and many aspects of the staging of this event corroborate this interpretation. However, the idea of a royal entry draws on local traditions in many Mediterranean cities (traditions remotely based on the Roman precedent of *Adventus*) in which the population established or renewed their ties as subjects of the prince, and on much genuinely medieval imagery: the king was dressed in a red tunic lined with ermine and tucked into a highly jewelled belt, and the royal carriage was set under a canopy held by twenty-four of the leading citizens. There was a feudal investiture ceremony of nobles, a display of relics, Arthurian emblems such as that of the Siege Perilous, allegorical figures of Christian virtues by way of interlude, a mock battle of knights and a concluding ceremony in the cathedral of Naples¹⁰. A figure dressed as Caesar handed the sceptre and a laurel wreath to Alfonso and hailed him as the Most High and pacifying King worthy of the title of new Caesar¹¹. Curiously enough, the triumph, which also included laurel

wreaths, images of the 12 Caesars and Aristotelian virtues as well as ambivalent elements such as Fortune, was commemorated over the following years by a procession in which the image of the Virgin handed the city over to Alfonso, intending to confirm the divine intercession in the monarch's victory with an appearance befitting Late Gothic paintings¹².

The great hall of the Castel Nuovo combined different medieval traditions of the Mediterranean, such as the Islamic *qubba* [dome] and the main halls of European palaces with the intention of evoking ancient monuments, with cubic proportions, a high gallery and the central opening of an oculus in the rib vault in the fashion of the Late Gothic style and technique. Furthermore, the recourse to a model generally applied to religious architecture (chapter houses and funeral chapels), the decoration with tapestries of the Passion by Roger van der Weyden and Valencian ceramic paving with tiles bearing the motto *Dominus mihi adiutor et ego despiciam inimicos meos* ['The Lord is my helper and I will look down on my enemies', Psalms 117 (118): 7], echoed in the inscriptions borne by angels and prophets sculpted in the hall windows, all served as a means of exalting the monarch's power, in keeping with the policy of Alfonso the Magnanimous, who did not hesitate to enter into conflict with the papacy, which opposed his ambitions and, instead, aspired to demonstrate a direct relationship with divinity¹³.

The royal collection of manuscripts assembled by Alfonso and later extended by his successors Ferdinand and Alfonso II, retained some of the character of the prince's library because of its title and its location in the royal residence. It was organised to a certain extent according to inherited interests, largely court literature, but it also contained books expressly produced for the library shelves and had a specialized staff to attend to it (librarians, illustrators, copyists, bookbinders). Moreover, it had the dual function of serving the court humanists and the interests and prestigious intent of the sovereign. This collection prefigured what was to become the Vatican Library, under Pope Sixtus IV: an ideological mirror and symbolic portrait of a supreme power¹⁴. In this project the contribution of the classical legacy was dominant and, in addition to the selection of authors and subjects in accordance with the *studia humanitatis* [classical studies], also embraced the script and presentation of the texts with their Roman style ornamentation, added by the miniaturists at the service of the court. In this latter regard, however, it is possible to discern the fascination that other artistic forms and, particularly, Flemish painting, continued to hold over the miniaturists and the monarch's tastes¹⁵. However, it was impossible to renounce the idea of a book as a treasure and an expression of royal power as demonstrated by the motto and icon *Liber sum* ['I am a book', but also 'I am free'] and in the reading times staged for the greater glory of the monarch: *Vir sapiens dominabitur astris* ['A wise man can rule the stars']. From the Psalter-book of hours of Alfonso the Magnanimous (London, British Library, ms. Additional 28962), illuminated by Leonardo Crespi, the *Satyrae* by Francesco Filefo (Biblioteca històrica de la Universitat de València, ms. 772) and the Virgil of Valencia (Biblioteca

històrica de la Universitat de València, ms. 837) to the exquisite manuscripts decorated on the basis of Florentine models such as the works of Seneca now at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (ms. Latin 17842), illustrated by Matteo Felice shortly before the death of the king of Naples, one may observe the various decorative styles of the luxurious books of Alfonso the Magnanimous.

Lorenzo Valla, Antonio Beccadelli, known as *il Panormita*, and Bartolomeo Facio would benefit from this library and direct the reading of Latin texts of the Roman Imperial code, translations of the Greek classics and geographical treatises such as Ptolemy's *Cosmografia* and the maps of known or unknown lands, almost always tempting for the extension of Alfonso's domains (a map of Italy made in Valencia, a map on fabric showing Ethiopia). The three men placed philological arms at the service of Alfonso by declaring that the presumed donation by Constantine was a fake (Valla), and by constructing the figure of an imaginary Alfonso V through the *De Rebus Gestis ab Alphonso Primo Neapolitanorum Rege* (Beccadelli) and the *De dictis et factis Alphonsi* by Facio together with the supplement *De Viris Illustribus* (1456). All these texts served purely as propaganda for a monarch and attempted – with success – to show him as a pious, cultured, decisive and impartial ruler and as a perfect synthesis of Christian principles and the Roman Caesar.

The medals retained something of the noble and antique nature of classical coins with the effigy of the king in profile, the pertinent message in the inscriptions and the symbols accompanying the portrait. These medals were made to order and could be adapted in form and content for the recipient of the gift. The medal and the coin were taken as exclusive forms of the imperial portrait and their revived form in the Renaissance was not dissimilar to the figures of the Eastern emperor, John VII Palaeologos, and in the West, Sigismund. For these very same reasons, the humanist Guarino da Verona preferred medals over painting and sculpture as a means of transmitting the image of the prince. The medals, showing a profile of Alfonso V with the motto *Divus Alphonsus triumphator et pacificus* [Holy Alfonso, victor and peacemaker], are reminiscent of the portraits of the Roman emperors but with additional features such as the helmet and open book. On a medal dated 1449, the eagle and the inscription *liberalitas augusta* [august liberality] illustrate the magnanimity of a king who let his subjects share the spoils of the kill.

In the case of a medal held in the British museum (Inv. Coll. George III Naples M2) a bust of Alfonso above a crown appears on the obverse and the motto *Divus Alphonsus Aragoniae Utriusque Siciliae Valentiae Hierosolymae Hungariae Maioricarum Sardiniae Corsicae Rex, Comes Barcinonae Dux Athenarum et Neopatriae ac Comes Roscilionis Cerdaniae* [Holy Alfonso, King of Aragon, Two Sicilies, Valencia, Jerusalem, Hungary, Majorca, Sardinia and Corsica, Count of Barcelona, Duke of Athens and Neopatria and Count of Roussillon and Cerdanya]. On the reverse of the medal a triumphal chariot pulled by four horses carrying a figure with a sword aloft bears an accompanying

inscription proclaiming the divine help received in the victory: *Fortitudo mea et laus mea Dominus et facus est michi in salutem* [‘The Lord is my strength and my praise and he is become my salvation,’ Exodus 15: 2], in spite of the adverse conditions represented by the carriage’s progress over rough ground¹⁶.

The medals exalting the king as an intrepid hunter, *venator intrepidus*, show on the obverse an image of Alfonso based on a medallion of the emperor Trajan and, on the reverse, a hunting scene inspired by a Roman sarcophagus, one which Pisanello copied: it shows a heroically naked young man completing a boar hunt, one of the king’s pastimes, and evoking the classical characters of Meleager and Hercules¹⁷. Cristoforo di Geremia designed a medal at the end of Alfonso’s reign, depicting the monarch as a Roman emperor crowned by Mars and Bellona and bearing the inscription *Coronant victorem regni Mars et Bellona* [Mars and Bellona crown the victor of the kingdom] on the reverse, claiming the legitimacy of a king who was never crowned and here shown with a shining crown such as that of Apollo, while on the obverse the legend *Rex regibus imperans et bellorum victor* [King, ruler of the princes and victor of the wars] accompanies the bust of Alfonso (London, Victoria and Albert Museum)¹⁸.

The arch of the Castel Nuovo has an evident precedent in the great funerary monuments of the Angevin kings of Naples and, particularly, the tomb of King Ladislao of Durazzo in the church of san Giovanni Carbonara (1428) with its equestrian statue and the glorification of the virtues of the monarch through allegoric figures. To a certain extent, the inspiration in these models also reinforced the ever questionable dynastic legitimacy of Alfonso. The king wanted Donatello to make a statue of him on horseback, or a portrait, but the project did not materialize. The triumphant and imperial connotations were taken from Roman arches such as that of Trajan in Benevento, within the Kingdom of Naples and that at the gate of Capua raised by Frederick II (1198-1250), though reference may also be made to the Arch of the Sergii in Pula (Croatia). The work on the arch began in 1453 under the direction of the Dalmatian architect Onofrio di Giordano, who was later joined by his fellow countryman Pietro da Milano and by Francesco Laurana, Paolo Romano and the Catalan Pere Joan. The triumphal frieze dated back to the end of Alfonso’s reign and was sculpted by the Roman sculptors Isaia da Pisa and Andrea dell’Aquila. These architects and sculptors managed to adapt a classical model to a new function and a difficult setting and the humanist Antonio Beccadelli was responsible for composing the two inscriptions celebrating the triumph and the culmination of the work the Castel Nuovo. These inscriptions read: *Rex hispanicus sículus italicus pius clemens invictus* [King of Spain, Sicily and Italy, pious, merciful, unconquered] and *Alfonsus Regum Princeps hanc condidit arcem* [Alfonso, first among the kings, built this castle]¹⁹.

The Greek humanist Manuel Crisolaras, who had a considerable influence over Italian writers, referred to the triumphal arches, describing the images they bore and their purpose to reveal the true past: “but in these sculptures one can *see* all that existed in those

days among the different races, so that it is a complete and accurate history, or rather not a history so much as an exhibition, so to speak, and manifestation of everything that existed anywhere at that time"²⁰. In this regard, Alfonso the Magnanimous wrote to the painter Leonardo da Besozzo on 19 September 1449, declaring that remembrance of past exploits should not be left to poets and historians alone, that it was not beyond the scope of painters; as the ancients testified, *poesis nichil aliud est quam pictura loquens*²¹ [poetry is no different from eloquent painting]. This sentiment of the Greek author Simonides, commented on by Plutarch in his *Moralia*, is repeated in *De Viris illustribus* by Facio²². In this way the humanists wished to leave for all posterity an image of the king that would legitimise their past action and glorify their memory in the future.

THE IMAGE OF ALFONSO V

The image that the humanists and works of art commissioned by the king presented of Alfonso the Magnanimous was one of a heroic figure in the mould of the Roman emperors, the knights of Arthurian legends and the wise kings of the Old Testament. The king had overcome and would continue to defeat his enemies through divine will, as Alfonso also took care of his pious image. Alfonso wished to be seen as a courageous knight, a hunter and as a man of both letters and arms, as in Italy at that time these attitudes could confer prestige on a foreign king of debatable legitimacy. His leaning towards a classical past also reveals a recognition of Italian sentiment which viewed Roman heritage their own, as against other foreign powers. These associations with the imperial past strengthened the authoritarianism of the monarch while offering a common heritage and one that attempted to underline the Spanish element through the personalities of Hadrian or Trajan.

Alfonso's attitude towards the classical legacy may be demonstrated by his reading of *De Architectura* by Vitruvius, written in the times of the emperor Augustus but never forgotten during the Middle Ages. This treatise defined the institutional and even political meaning of architecture as a technique and art at the service of power. Both the concept of architecture as an expression of royal majesty and its value as a source of knowledge of Roman buildings made Vitruvius's text one of essential reading for a humanist prince, as Alfonso saw himself. The official court biographer, Antonio Beccadelli, recalled that the king, when ordering the reconstruction of the Castel Nuovo in Naples, held up a creased and unornamented copy of Vitruvius's work and considered it unfitting that such an important book should lack a proper cover, though, in reality, the influence of the Roman author is in no way evident in the royal residence. The rebuilding work was more a self-serving association by the monarch with the imperial Roman heritage and one where architecture was less an expression in itself and more a statement of power. The example of the Castel Nuovo should be classified as a hybrid as it combines Gothic, Mudejar (particularly in the wooden ceilings), 'Neapolitan' and 'Catalonian' elements as well as classical intentions to recall the grandeur of Roman architecture²³.

In order to allow the artistic expression of such a political programme, the king adopted means befitting imperial art. Local identities were sacrificed at the altar of a higher unity, bound to his personal power. This unity was defined by the court on the basis of both classical and modern models, such as Flemish painting, of which Alfonso showed particular appreciation following the conquest of Naples. Commissioning letters and orders were dispatched by Alfonso requesting the attendance of artists (Guillem Sagrera, Jacomart, Pere Johan, Pisanello, including Donatello or Dello Delli, if possible) and all manner of materials and manufactured products were shipped out, such as the Gerona or Majorca stone employed to build the Castel Nuovo²⁴ or tiles from Manises in Valencia²⁵. Models were built to allow the supervision of works from afar²⁶ and all the resources available to the king in all his territories were pooled for this purpose. Artistic media were directed towards exalting the power of the king and his triumph through words and ideas: the inscriptions on medals, the triumphal arch, the figures of angels and prophets in the great hall of the Castel Nuovo, all transmitted a clear and categorical message reinforced by eloquent images (emblems, mottoes, scenes of supernatural assistance to Alfonso in his book of hours in London or the Virgin of Peace painted by Jacomart) in parallel with the pomp of the court, in keeping with late medieval tradition, with its accumulation of jewels, splendid gowns, tapestries and precious objects²⁷.

In conclusion, while the artistic language used by Alfonso the Magnanimous resorted to some classical elements, it also drew on contemporary elements (painting, heraldry or the pomp of the court) and cleverly combined these features in accordance with the political interests, local traditions and the public circles whom it addressed. The classical tradition acted as a stabilizing and legitimizing element for a new and foreign power, and one that appealed to the Roman imperial antecedent and that of Frederick II, with the undying values that these represented²⁸. In addition to *audivitas* [authority], this legacy also bore a share of *vetustas* [antiquity], forming part of a model past worthy of study, yet different and closed, with a sense of historic distance. This made it possible to adapt the tradition for different purposes in the new period of the Renaissance.

NOTES

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² A. Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250-1450*, Cambridge 1992.

³ A. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458*, Oxford, 1990. See also by the same author A. Ryder, *The kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous: the making of a modern state*, Oxford 1976.

- ⁴ E. Welch, *Art and society in Italy, 1350-1500*, Oxford 1997, p. 22.
- ⁵ F. Español Bertrán, *La cultura figurativa tardogótica al servicio de Alfonso el Magnánimo. Artistas y obras del Levante peninsular en Italia*, in J. Alemany, X. Barral, J.E. García Biosca (eds.) *Mediterraneum. El esplendor del Mediterráneo medieval siglos XIII-XV*, Barcelona 2004, pp. 161-171; J.V. García Marsilla, *El poder visible. Demanda y funciones del arte en la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo*, "Ars longa. Cuadernos de arte", 1996-1997, 7-8, pp. 33-47; J.V. García Marsilla, *La estética del poder. Arte y gastos suntuarios en la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo (Valencia, 1425-1428)*, in *XVI Congreso internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Napoli 1997)*, 2, Naples 2001, pp. 1705-1718.
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- ¹⁰ Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous* cit., F. Massip Bonet, *La monarquía en escena: Teatro, fiesta y espectáculo del poder en los reinos ibéricos. De Jaume el Conquistador al príncipe Carlos*, Madrid 2003; A. Pinelli, *Fatti, parole, immagini. Resoconti scritti e rappresentazioni visive del trionfo napoletano di Alfonso d'Aragona*, in G. Alisio, S. Bertelli, A. Pinelli (eds.), *Arte e politica tra Napoli e Firenze. Un cassone per il trionfo di Alfonso d'Aragona*, Modena 2006, pp. 33-75.
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- ¹⁷ D. Cordelier, P. Marini, *Pisanello. Le peintre aux sept vertus*, exhibition catalogue, Paris 1996, pp. 435-439.
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- ²⁷ García Marsilla, *El poder visible* cit., pp. 33-47.
- ²⁸ S. Settis, *Continuità, distanza, conoscenza. Tre usi dell'antico*, in S. Settis (ed.), *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana III: Dalla tradizione all'archeologia*, Turin 1986, pp. 484-486.

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