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The Triumph of Alfonso of Aragon in Naples: From Living Images to Pictorial Representations

*Alfonso of Aragon's triumphal entry into Naples on 26 February 1443 marked the end of Angevin rule and the beginning of fifty years of Aragonese dominion in southern Italy. In various ways, Alfonso's entry was an epoch-making event. A highpoint of the celebratory program was the Florentine merchants' presentation of tableaux vivants or living images. This article concerns the depiction of the event in a Florentine cassone that offers us an extraordinary example of the representational strategies of the city of Florence within the context of the festivities surrounding the triumphal entry and its pictorialization. Alfonso of Aragon's classically modeled triumphal procession was itself innovative, and the process of its manifold perpetuation in written and pictorial media endowed the representation of the ruler with unprecedented argumentative force. In its antique formal language, the relief on Alfonso's triumphal arch at Castel Nuovo is oriented toward both the Neapolitan populace and the Italian elite. This image is doubled in a smaller relief in the sala dei baroni, which draws the triumph into the castle's interior and serves as a reference to the monumental triumphal arch. A medal by Pisanello presents an emblematic image that takes up antique elements of the iconography of victory. Manuscript miniatures correspond to the books' authors or patrons: the work of the physician Gaspare Pellegrino is illustrated in the style of a chivalric novel; an urban chronicle employs a documentary mode; and Gaspare de Santangelo furnishes the panegyric text of the court humanist Panormita with a miniature that interprets the pictorial formula of the triumphal entry in a new way, and with antiquarian ambitions. All of these images can be ascribed to the vicinity of the Aragonese court to the city of Naples; the cassone can be distinguished from them in its representation of Alfonso's triumph from the perspective of the Florentines.**

The theme of the triumphal procession entered Italian Renaissance art and culture by many different routes¹. Triumphant classical rulers, mythological figures, allegories, and personifications all became frequent subjects for decorated *cassoni*, or marriage chests. *Cassoni* belonged to the representative furnishings of a patrician house and were destined for a limited circle consisting of family, friends, and visitors². Allegorical subjects and the theme of love dominated in the first half of the fifteenth century; ancient mythological and historical topics emerged as preferred subjects in the second half. The long, rectangular format of the *cassone* was particularly well suited to representing processions. Depictions of contemporary triumphs have only survived on two pairs of Florentine *cassoni*. One set represents the entry of Frederick III into Florence and the cavalcade that followed his 1452 coronation in Rome; the other pair depicts the battle for Naples and the festive entry of the victorious Alfonso of Aragon in 1443³. The following discussion will concern the depiction of Alfonso's Neapolitan triumph (fig. 1). Neither the artists nor the workshop are known; nevertheless the *cassone* offers us an extraordinary glimpse of both the Florentine festivities that accompanied Alfonso's entry and modes of visualizing those events.

The *cassone* treated here must be seen in the context of other pictorial representations of the event, because the entry of Alfonso is characterized by its multiplication and translation into representations in a whole range of media and formats, from relief sculpture to medals to manuscript illuminations. Here, the *cassone* and its transformation of the subject of Alfonso's entry for new political aims will be studied alongside other representations of the triumph, exploring in particular their visual and performative relationships to the entry itself, and how each medium and format in which the subject appears reshapes or adapts or enhances meaning.

If we approach this *cassone* without any knowledge of the historical event in question, the scene is difficult to understand. The protagonist, Alfonso of Aragon, is hidden among the crowds of people depicted in the image; he can be found, with some effort, in the left margin of the panel. Eventually, he will reach his goal, the city of Naples, through a breach in the wall on the right. Many aspects of the narrative, however, remain unclear. Who are the many accompanying figures that fill the space between the triumphant king and the city walls? What is the meaning of the empty throne and the two figures standing on floats?

Before we tackle these questions, we must take a look at the historical circumstances. Alfonso of Aragon's triumphant entry into Naples on 26 February 1443 marked the end of Angevin control and the beginning of fifty years of Aragonese rule in southern Italy. In 1421 Joanna II of Anjou promised to adopt Alfonso in exchange for his military support; but the alliance later fell apart, and after Joanna's death in 1435, René of Anjou, or rather his wife Isabella of Lorraine, took power. In the following years Alfonso, from the House of Trastámara, the reigning house of Castile, king of Aragon and count of Barcelona, conquered the Kingdom of Naples bit by bit, finally taking the city itself on 12 June 1442⁴. The rule of the Aragonese in Italy was characterized by a high degree of acculturation⁵. Alfonso and his circle of humanists took up local artistic and scientific discourses and helped to define them in an authoritative way. This is especially apparent in Alfonso's entry into Naples, which blended the medieval *adventus* ceremony, a festive entrance, and the ancient triumph, marking a turning point in the history of such events and their visual representation. The medieval *adventus* was a political ritual that marked the transfer of power to a new ruler of the city, and is characterized by an entrance through the city gate, the presence of the citizenry, a procession of the clergy, and a religious ceremony. The ancient triumph was the solemn entry of a victorious military commander into the city of Rome that consisted of the progression of the senators, magistrates and horn blowers, followed by the display of prisoners of war and booty, and finally the appearance of the army and the *triumphator* borne

on a *quadriga*.

On the basis of textual sources describing the event in Naples from various perspectives – a letter from the ambassador Antonio Vinyes to the city of Barcelona, a report by an anonymous Sicilian, a gloss by the poet Marino Jonata, and literary descriptions by the court humanists Bartolomeo Facio and Antonio Beccadelli, called Il Panormita – the phases of the entry can be reconstructed as follows⁶. Arriving from Aversa and Benevento, Alfonso of Aragon first lodged at the monastery of St. Anthony outside the city gates on 23 February 1443. From there he entered Naples three days later. At the Porta Carmelitana, in the vicinity of the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, the walls were breached; there the citizens of Naples were waiting for Alfonso with a magnificent triumphal chariot. Having dismounted from his horse, the king promoted some of his followers to the ranks of *conti* (lords) and *cavaglieri* (knights) before he mounted the chariot⁷. According to Panormita, whose description is paraphrased below, four white horses with golden bridles were harnessed to the chariot, which featured a gold and purple throne. In front of the throne was a representation of the king's device known as the *siti perillós*, which derived from King Arthur's legendary *siège perilous*, or dangerous throne, whose flames allowed only heroes to ascend it⁸. A golden baldachin was suspended above the wagon by means of poles held by twenty (or perhaps twenty-four) noblemen. The king wore a carmine red cloak and a sable train, but had declined the laurel wreath. Before the chariot began to move, the Florentine and Catalanian merchants living in Naples appeared with their *rappresentazioni* or pageant floats.

The Florentines began with a show by ten or twelve purple-clad youths on horseback; they demonstrated their equestrian skills using ornate red lances. Then a personification of Fortune entered the scene on a painted platform covered with carpets. Long locks of hair covered her face while the back of her head was bare; she stood on a large golden globe supported by an angel. Fortune was followed by six young women on horseback whose attributes identified them as Hope (*Spes*), Faith (*Fides*), Charity (*Caritas*), Fortitude (*Fortitudo*), Temperance (*Temperantia*), and Prudence (*Prudentia*). The seventh virtue, Justice (*Justitia*), appeared on a richly decorated stage, with an unsheathed sword in her right hand and a scale in her left. Three angels seemed to descend from heaven toward the throne that accompanied Justice. This platform was followed by a large group of costumed riders, playing the part of various races, princes, and noblemen. Caesar came next, on a very high and richly decorated platform approached by carpet-covered steps. Dressed in armor, he wore a laurel wreath around his head and a commander's cloak over his shoulders; he held both the scepter and the impe-

rial orb. He addressed several verses to Alfonso of Aragon while a globe revolved beneath his feet⁹.

This form of festive representation was specific to fifteenth-century Italian culture: pageantry that did not involve theater or pantomime but living images or costumed actors arranged as *tableaux vivants*¹⁰. As was the case with the 1443 entry, participants would sometimes come to life and recite verses, but as a rule the *tableaux vivants* were neither theatrical nor dialogic. Instead, figures addressed the public or those who were being honored. This semi-dramatic mode was an important experimental field for artists, who were called upon as designers. In these pageants, gods, pagan allegories, and antique personalities were literally brought to life. They could be integrated into architecture, set on stage, or, as in Naples, carried on mobile platforms. In order to intensify the effect of movement and animation, the men carrying the floats were sometimes hidden; on the *cas-sone* panel, for example, only the feet of the porters are visible below the hanging cloth.

Returning to the festive entry into Naples, we find that following the Florentines came the Catalanian merchants carrying a tower, or *castellum*, and the *siège perilous*. The door of the tower was guarded by an angel; standing upon it were four virtues, Clemency (*Clementia*), Constancy (*Constantia*), Magnanimity (*Magnanimitas*), and Liberality (*Liberalitas*). They took turns praising the king in verse. Alfonso had, in a sense, earned the *siège perilous* by taking Naples¹¹. The tower of the Catalanians served as a pendant to the throne of Justice presented by the Florentines. Once these delegations had processed, a battle between knights and Turks or barbarians was performed¹². Festivities often included such staged battles. However, in this case, the juxtaposition of a transnational community of Christian knights with «unbelievers» served to mask the foreignness of the new ruler. By making visible the threatening alien, the staging of this performance promoted the usurper, Alfonso, whose own land of origin was especially affected by the conflict between Christianity and Islam¹³.

The documents do not identify the location of these spectacles. They must have taken place either before the breach in the wall, where the chariot waited, or in the nearby Piazza del Mercato, where the foreign merchants were located¹⁴. The Florentines and Catalanians placed themselves at the head of the procession¹⁵. They were followed by dignitaries and ambassadors arranged according to rank. In first position was Alfonso's son Ferrante, who would be given the title of Duke of Calabria on that same day. The procession passed by the Piazza del Mercato; a later, unreliable source speaks of an ephemeral triumphal arch being erected there¹⁶. Although the parade route cannot be reconstructed exactly, we can

assume that it led through the five festively decorated city quarters, termed *seggi* or *sedili* after their assembly buildings, whose inhabitants paid tribute to the king with music and dancing¹⁷. A representative from each of the *seggi* had also helped to organize the triumphal procession¹⁸. Once the king reached the cathedral of Naples, he entered and offered a prayer before knighting the Florentine citizen Gianozzo Ricci. Alfonso then climbed back onto the chariot and proceeded to the Capuan castle, the former Angevin residence, where the procession ended¹⁹.

The entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples was an epoch-making event. Since the 1237 triumphal procession of Frederick II into Rome, no entry that referred so explicitly to antiquity had taken place in Italy²⁰. In the Middle Ages, a white horse had been introduced for the official functions of both pope and emperor; the horse became a symbol of power, indispensable in all city entries²¹. The breaching of the wall and use of a chariot also gave the entry into Naples the *all'antica* quality noted in all the accounts. Yet Alfonso omitted specific elements of ancient triumphal processions such as the laurel wreath, the display of prisoners and booty, and the participation of the military. We can conclude that the king did not wish to be seen as a conqueror but rather as the city's legitimate heir.

The pageant floats invented by the Florentine merchants were a high point of the 1443 celebratory program. The design of the floats derived from their city's own festival tradition, most notably the annual procession for the city's patron, Saint John the Baptist, as well as the staging of the plays of the Annunciation and the Ascension²². The unusually large expenditure was most likely motivated by the fact that the Florentines had taken the side of the Angevins and now feared that their Neapolitan trading privileges would be compromised²³. The parade apparatus was not only iconographically innovative, but also served as a catalyst for Italy's festival culture in general. In the second half of the fifteenth century, living images emerged as an essential element of both republican and courtly celebrations.

The entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples also has a special role in the context of written and pictorial representation. In the fifteenth century, no other entry into a city was reported on so thoroughly or celebrated in so many panegyrics²⁴. We find very few descriptions of such entries by contemporary rulers before 1500. One reason for this might be Christianity's primordial desire to set itself apart from pagan antiquity, resulting in a reversal or alteration of the meaning given to the triumphal entry: Christ's entry into Jerusalem was understood as an example of humility and as a counter model to the magnificent entries of the antique emperors. Christian art from late antiquity through the Middle Ages offers only a few depictions of entry ceremonies by secular rulers, whereas the depiction of

the Christian religious counterpart was quite frequent²⁵. In both word and image the model here was the antique *adventus*, the ruler's arrival and ceremonial reception; at the same time, the mount used for Christ's entry into Jerusalem, the donkey, marked a considerable distance from the model²⁶. The antique triumphal procession²⁷ was described for the first time since antiquity by Petrarch, who both wrote about the phenomenon (in his work on Scipio Africanus) and addressed it thematically (in his *De viris illustribus* and the *Trionfi*).

First and foremost due to Petrarch's writing, the idea of the triumphal procession spread throughout Italy and manifested itself in many illustrations, especially of the *Trionfi*, which themselves served as models for a wide range of descriptions of the same theme. But the poetry of Dante and Boccaccio also had an influence on pictorial elaborations of the triumphal procession – most notable here is the depiction of the *gloria mundana* originating from the text of the *Amorosa Visione*²⁸. Initially, however, the protagonists were merely allegorical, mythological, and historical figures. *Trionfi* of contemporary rulers, that is to say their depiction on *all'antica* chariots, only emerged in 1474 with Piero della Francesca's *trionfi* on the reverse of the portrait diptych for the Duke and Duchess of Urbino. Starting in the second half of the fifteenth century, antiquarianism in Italy led to the pictorial reconstruction of the classical triumphal procession²⁹. Book illumination was then the main medium for pictorial renditions of actual processions by contemporary rulers, both secular and clerical. This was a medium not designed for a broad audience but for limited and exclusive access, in sharp contrast to the wider public reception of the frescoes and sculptures decorating palaces and churches. At this historical moment, then, not only Alfonso of Aragon's classically modeled triumphal procession itself represented a novelty, but even more so its manifold perpetuation in written and pictorial media – a process endowing the representation of a ruler with unprecedented argumentative force.

The Relief on the Triumphal Arch: An Image for the Urban Public

Soon after his conquest of Naples, Alfonso the Magnanimous began rebuilding the Castel Nuovo. The military quality of the fortress was mitigated by the addition of an elegant sculpted portal facing the city that promised a peaceful regime³⁰. The chief adornment of the portal is a relief depicting Alfonso's triumphal entry that spans the space between the two defensive towers. While plans for the relief sculpture were probably initiated in 1450, its execution was interrupted by Alfonso's death in 1458 and was not completed until 1471. The procession consists of relatively few figures in a clear arrangement that can be taken in easily from a distance (fig. 2). The musicians, who are referred to only in passing

in the documentary sources, take up a large amount of space in the composition. They lead the procession in two groups, with mounted trumpeters arriving at the top, followed by other trumpeters on foot. In contrast, the sculpture omits the clerics, as well as the Florentine and Catalan pageant floats. The female personification who appears in *all'antica* drapery leading a *quadriga*, or four-horse team, displays neither the attributes of a classical Victory, nor those of Fortune, as recorded in Alfonso's actual procession³¹. While in the sculpture the triumphal chariot appears with two wheels and is decorated with garlands and *bucrania*, Alfonso's real carriage had four wheels³². The temple architecture shown behind the procession cannot be an explicit depiction of Naples but rather functions as part of a complex referential system³³.

A large group of people walks behind the wagon; the individual figures can be identified from the textual sources: first we see the nobility, followed by the ambassador of the king of Tunis with his retinue, and then the representatives of the Neapolitan populace³⁴. Like the entire portal, the triumphal relief adapts the iconography and formal language of ancient monuments³⁵. It is unique, however, in that it presents the scenes and figures as recognizable parts of the contemporary fifteenth-century world: the figures wear the clothing of the period, and citizens carry laurel branches, as was customary in the medieval *adventus*. Despite appearances, however, the image does not reconstruct the actual entry event, but rather endows the representation of rule with a Humanist aura. Alfonso locates himself in the tradition of Roman emperors, but at the same time the readily comprehensible image points to the contemporary world.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Antonello Coniger of Lecce described the relief as a literal record of the actual event: «The said king Alfonso conquered Naples and entered with his triumphal chariot and the whole triumphal procession is sculpted in marble before the gate of the Castello Nuovo»³⁶. Alfonso's military victory and his glorious entry into Naples are thus fused in the collective memory into an event that takes abiding form in the monument. That very monument is evoked as historical evidence, just as the image of the triumphant ruler is meant to recall the entry in the mind of the observer. In its size and its prominence, the relief is truly exceptional in Renaissance Italy; that such a work was created precisely in Naples is a result of Alfonso's extraordinary position as a king in an Italy characterized by mostly small city states ruled by communal regiments or *condottieri* and *signori* that were sometimes devoid of legal provenance and aristocratic ancestry³⁷. The triumphal arch is much more than a visual record of the entry itself, which did not include an ephemeral arch. Rather, it represents the moment in which the Aragonese dynasty was established in Italy, and

in some ways became the visual evidence for the legitimacy of a usurper who was never actually crowned as king of Naples by the pope³⁸. The iconography of the program could only have been planned, however, after a certain consolidation of Alfonso's authority, such as the acknowledgement of Pope Eugene IV in the summer of 1443, and the reconfirmation of papal favor by Nicolaus V in 1448³⁹.

The Sala dei Baroni Relief: An Image for Representatives of Kingdom and City

Dedicated by Alfonso in 1457, the elaborately vaulted Sala dei Baroni is located on the first floor of Castel Nuovo, accessible directly from the courtyard by a staircase⁴⁰. The Sala was one of the most important sites for events in Aragonese Naples; banquets, tribunals, theatrical performances, wedding celebrations, and memorial services all took place there. Its walls were probably not frescoed, but rather decorated with the magnificent carpets mentioned in the sources⁴¹. The door leading to the royal chambers was framed on both sides by acanthus foliage and crowned by a triangular gable flanked by two portrait medallions. The two faces of the doorway were each decorated with a *sopraporta* or carved lintel⁴². Approaching the Sala dei Baroni from the royal chambers, the king would have seen a relief of the conquest of Castel Nuovo by his troops. The carved lintel inside the Sala dei Baroni echoed the procession from the triumphal arch on the exterior of the building (fig. 3)⁴³. We find in the two lintels the same thematic combination of battle and entry as in the *cassone* pair.

The overdoor reliefs were created in 1457-1458 by the Lombard sculptor Domenico Gagini, who had also worked on the triumphal arch⁴⁴. In Gagini's relief of the entry, Alfonso's procession moves from left to right, led by musicians and a crowd of people set before an urban backdrop. As in the relief of the triumphal arch, a woman dressed *all'antica* leads the horses of the triumphal chariot, but here a group of trees is located on the right side. Amid these trees we find a small figure standing on a globe: this is Caesar, one of the Florentine living images that had appeared in the 1443 pageant standing on a painted revolving terrestrial globe. He played a key role in the presentation and may have attracted Alfonso's special interest, given the king's admiration for the Roman emperor⁴⁵. In the *sopraporta*, Caesar emerges as something like a counterpart to the entering ruler. But his appearance demands explanation: why was an element of the Florentine pageant memorialized in the center of royal power? One explanation for its prominence might be that the spectacular terrestrial globe – which in the *sopraporta* appears much larger in relation to the figure of Caesar than on the *cassone* panel – coincided with Alfonso's interest in cartography, documented in his acquisition of maps and Ptolemy codices⁴⁶. This ephemeral globe was the earliest of its kind in

Italy, even though as an ephemeral object it would not have met scientific standards⁴⁷. In the relief panel Alfonso moves outside the city in direction of the globe with Caesar, perhaps demonstrating not only the king's knowledge but also his imperial ambitions. Another possibility is that the artist was acting on his own initiative. Domenico Gagini was trained in Florence by Filippo Brunelleschi between 1440 and 1446⁴⁸. Brunelleschi, who is credited with inventing the stage machines for the Florentine plays of the Annunciation and the Ascension, also may have been responsible for inventing the revolving mechanism for the terrestrial globe in Naples in 1443⁴⁹. If Gagini as his apprentice had participated in the artistic realization of the event's staging, the representation of Caesar would have served, in a way, as a monument to himself.

Gagini's relief depicting the triumphal entry was placed in a strategically important position: when Alfonso entered the Sala dei Baroni he did so under the image of his 1443 triumph. He must have expected that other visitors to the Sala, in particular the mighty Neapolitan barons, who represented a continual threat to the Aragonese royal house, would also be reminded of the event. The lintel sculpture also recalled the great relief on the triumphal arch on the exterior of the Castel Nuovo, thereby confirming the image of triumph as the icon of the Aragonese king. At the time of its creation, this multiplication of political imagery was markedly innovative⁵⁰.

The Medal: Mobile Medium of Representation

Between 1448 and 1450, the painter and medalist Pisanello executed a number of works for Alfonso the Magnanimous⁵¹. The verso of one of his portrait medals shows a four-horse chariot with a winged figure holding an unsheathed sword or perhaps a scepter (fig. 4). An inscription across the upper part of the medal reads: «FORTITUDO MEA ET LAUS MEA ET FACTUS EST MICH I IN SALUTEM»⁵². The Latin translation of Moses's song of praise following the destruction of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea (Exodus 15:2) places Alfonso's victory in the context of Christian prefiguration. The preliminary studies for this medal show that other variants were also considered that would have alluded to the triumphal procession in a more overt way (fig. 5). In three of the sketches, the words «TRIUMPHATOR ET PACIFICUS» refer to Alfonso as a peace-loving ruler. The reference to antiquity is enforced by visual means: in the lower right-hand corner of Pisanello's study a *quadriga* with an angel evokes an ancient Victory. The crown shown in two of the other drawings clearly refers to Alfonso's earthly rule. By contrast, the executed medal is rather unspectacular: rather than making reference to antiquity, the medal features a biblical citation and an undecorated chariot with an angel,

together with two accompanying figures who lack any identifiable clothing or heraldry. Nevertheless, the 1443 entry into Naples is implied in the medal by the four-horse chariot associated with Alfonso's triumph. In fact, no representation of a living ruler as *triumphator* existed at this moment, and Pisanello's medal might have been the first take on the theme in relation to a historical event. The medal of Heraclius recorded in the inventory of the collections of Jean Duc de Berry, which were a point of reference for Alfonso⁵³, might be identified as a model in form, but not in content. Whereas the Heraclius medal represents a biblical king, it does not show a triumph but rather the contrary, the humiliation of a proud ruler. However, in contrast to the written source Heraclius drives a chariot, namely a *triga* modelled on antique coins⁵⁴. So it seems that Pisanello transformed this anti-triumph into a positive image of the virtue of rulership by representing not the king but an angel or virtue. This figure might also record the pageantry of the Catalonians with their *castellum* guarded by an angel. In fact, the strange structure of the chariot could be interpreted as an enclosing wall with towers at the corners⁵⁵.

In a smaller medal that is neither signed nor dated but that may have been executed by Pisanello, the motif is more strongly formulated in terms of ancient triumph (fig. 6)⁵⁶. On the verso we find a *quadriga* with galloping horses paired with a winged charioteer who represents Victory. The inscription, «VICTOR SICILIE P[ACE] REGI[T]», again emphasizes the union of victory and peace personified by Alfonso. This small portrait medallion refers to classical models that the king presumably had in his own coin collection⁵⁷. Girolamo Liparolo, who worked in the Neapolitan mint between 1462 and 1497, adapted the design in three variants, starting in 1487. Each was inscribed with «VICTOR ET TRIUMPHATO[R]» and served as the verso of a portrait medal of Ferrante I, Alfonso's son and heir⁵⁸.

The Miniatures: Between Courtly Panegyric and Urban Chronicle

In addition to appearing in monumental relief sculpture and medals, Alfonso's 1443 triumphal entry into Naples was also illustrated in three manuscripts of different textual genres for varying audiences. Gaspare Pellegrino's text describing Alfonso's deeds between the years 1419 and 1443 was written in late medieval Latin. Although the author was part of the immediate court circle it is not considered a contribution to humanist literature⁵⁹. The illumination that opens the section of the book containing the description of the triumphal entry shows not the festive procession but only an abbreviation of the historical event: the crowned king enters the city from the left while a pair of unarmed and crowned figures representing the Angevins retreats toward the right (fig. 7)⁶⁰. Here, then, the conquest of Naples, the flight of René d'Anjou, and the triumphal entry of

Alfonso d'Aragona are brought together in a single, synthetic image that makes do without recourse to the historical circumstances: there is no depiction of the battle leading to the conquest or of the triumphal chariot celebrating it, although both are described in detail in the chronicle. Apparently the artist looked to illustrations of chivalric novels as well as to the medieval tradition of the ruler's entry on a white horse⁶¹.

The *Cronaca del Ferraiolo* was probably written in the 1480s by the son of a goldsmith⁶². The author emphasizes the text's authenticity by referring to his father's eyewitness account of the historical events⁶³. The chronicle was illustrated by an amateur draftsman. In the image representing the triumph, the king sits in an oversized, boxy chariot decorated with garlands and coats of arms looming before a panoramic view of the gulf of Naples, including the city and its harbor (fig. 8). The view of the city in the distance emphasizes the event's liminal character and presents Alfonso as the ruler who comes from the outside. His retinue consists of a small number of baldachin bearers and two columns of lance-bearing men; the welcoming populace does not appear. The chariot is pulled forward by two pairs of horses led by an armored rider. This corresponds with the text of Gaspare Pellegrino, who mentions five white horses⁶⁴. The *Cronaca del Ferraiolo* was not created for the court but was written in the vernacular and addressed to a less educated, urban public.

The description of the triumphal procession by the abovementioned court humanist Antonio Beccadelli or "Il Panormita" was appended to his *De dictis et factis Regis* (On the Sayings and Deeds of the King) of 1455⁶⁵. This panegyric in eloquent Latin quickly became famous; it was copied a number of times and published in many editions and languages. The illustrated manuscript contains both *De dictis et factis Regis* and Lorenzo Valla's *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum* (The Deeds of Ferdinand, King of Aragon) of 1445-1446, an account of the life of Alfonso's father⁶⁶. The miniature, which introduces Panormita's description of Alfonso's triumphal procession, is the only full-page illustration in the entire manuscript (fig. 9)⁶⁷. On the opposite page, beneath the frame's lower border, is a medallion with a portrait of Alfonso modeled on a medal by Cristoforo di Geremia, probably produced in 1458 just before the king's death (fig. 10)⁶⁸. Thus the decoration of the codex must date after 1458, probably sometime in the 1460s. A coat of arms identifies the owner as Gaspare da Sant'Angelo. He probably had the codex made to give to Ferrante I in the hope of advancing his Neapolitan career⁶⁹.

The frontal depiction of the procession shows the silver, box-shaped triumphal chariot with silver-plated wheels advancing towards the observer. The king enthroned in the center wears a crown that intersects the baldachin, thus undermin-

ing the perspectival construction. The pictorial field is bordered on the right by a colonnade that recalls the portico of an ancient temple and on the left by a tall building that resembles a fortress. In the narrow intermediate space on both sides of the chariot only a few accompanying figures can be seen: three horsemen, four trumpeters, and a few unseen porters, whose waving banners indicate their presence. The *quadriga* is led by a rider depicted frontally vis-à-vis the observer. Two of the white horses turn sharply to the left, while the remaining one turns to the right. An attendant's brown horse appears alongside the team on the far right, creating the visual effect of a five-horse team. The illuminator's decision to alter the symmetry of the conventional *quadriga* must be a reflection of the actual staging of the historical event. While the *quadriga* was an established visual motif that indicated honor, the fifth horse contributed to the historicity of the scene.

The motif of the team of four white horses appears in fifteenth-century illustrations for Petrarch's *Trionfi*, in which the poet draws on antique sources to describe the triumph of Amor. In these illustrations, the artistically challenging frontal depiction of the animals is avoided. For the most part, the artists prefer a linear representation of the procession, moving either parallel to the picture plane or diagonally within the image field; occasionally the animals in the team move away from each other in a symmetrical way, so that they are seen more from the side than from the front – a solution borrowed from antique art⁷⁰. The singularity of the composition that introduces Panormita's text can be explained by a rider having actually led the team, just as pictured in the *Cronaca del Ferraiolo*. The artist was thus attempting to integrate the fifth horse into the *quadriga*, fusing an antique formula of honor with an authentic historical event, creating a pictorial innovation of relevance even beyond manuscript illustration.

The three miniatures discussed here represent three different ways of illustrating the triumphal procession that ran parallel to each other in the fifteenth century. As its title implies, the *Cronaca del Ferraiolo* is representative of the illustrated chronicle, valuing documentation over aesthetic considerations. The illustrator limits himself to rendering its central elements, the triumphal chariot and the topographical location. The initial in the edition of Gaspare Pellegrino's text stems from the tradition of courtly chivalric novels, while also revealing a serious effort to individualize the simple pictorial schema in line with the described events. The codex belonging to Gaspare da Sant'Angelo demonstrates the high standards he set, both in the choice of text and design of the codex, and in its illustration. Its reference to an antique pictorial formula reveals its status as innovative contemporary art to be appreciated by an elite audience with a humanistic education.

As we have seen, Alfonso's 1443 triumphal procession into Naples was rep-

resented in monumental sculpture, medals, and manuscripts; these genres addressed a wide range of audiences and employed a variety of visual strategies for portraying the festive procession with its attendant political message. While each was based on textual sources or eyewitness reports, the images reveal different emphases. At times the documentary interest was central and less attention was paid to aesthetic qualities. In other cases, artistic innovations were aimed at viewers with a humanist education. Despite these differences, the images discussed so far were all made in the vicinity of the Aragonese court or the city of Naples. The *cassone* panel, our starting point, focuses on the same event but from the unique perspective of the Florentines.

The Cassone: A Vehicle of Patrician Representation

In the anonymous Florentine *cassone* panel representing the triumphal entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples, the patrons were less interested in classicism than they were in the role that Florentines played in the festivities (fig. 1). Let us consider what is depicted on the *cassone* panel in light of the written sources. At the right, all of the young lance bearers ride toward the city gate. The living image of *Fortuna-Occasio*, characterized by her forward-flowing shock of hair, appears next (fig. 11). Caesar follows, standing on a globe that does not bear a cartographic depiction of the world but rather a hilly landscape dotted with towns⁷¹. Of the seven Virtues that we know preceded Caesar in the actual triumph, only Justice is shown on the panel, along with the empty throne reserved for the just ruler. In contrast to the other two living images on the parade floats, Justice faces the viewer and is orientated towards Alfonso, who is shown in profile and brings the procession to a close at the left. The detailed depiction of the triumphal procession suggests that the artist made use of precise instructions or a written report. It would not have been easy for observers to decipher the program if they were not aware of the specifics of the historical event. For example, the cardinal virtues, which had appeared in their conventional iconographic guises in the parade, are missing on the *cassone* panel. At the same time, Justice is shown but is accompanied by a non-canonical attribute, the empty throne.

The representations of *Fortuna-Occasio* and Caesar in the triumphal entry were *invenzioni* that led to varying interpretations in the written reports. Both figures derive from and transform classical tradition. On ancient coins, Caesar, ruler of the world, often places his foot on a globe, but he never actually stands on one. *Fortuna-Occasio* is an entirely new creation. In ancient Rome, the personification of the fleeting Occasion, (from the Greek *kairos*), had no tie with the goddess Fortune⁷². After the 1443 Neapolitan procession, the personification of *Fortuna-Occasio*

would become extremely widespread, far more so than that of Caesar standing on a globe⁷³.

In antiquity, Caesar was seen as favored by Fortune; thus his appearance in Alfonso's triumphal procession complimented the contemporary victor, who was likewise favored by fortune in war. But the multivalence of the comparison is revealed in the verses that Caesar directed to Alfonso during the procession. He addressed him as «Cesare novello», which apparently flattered the Aragonese king. At the same time, Caesar spoke as a representative of Florence; thus, his verses also warned of Fortune's unpredictability and his praise was tinged with a plea to maintain the freedom of the Tuscan city state⁷⁴.

We can identify an ancient source that must have been on hand for the planners of the Florentine program and that intensified this ambivalence. In his *Roman History*, Cassius Dio describes Caesar's triumphal procession in the year 46, including ambiguous and troubling portents. As an extension of the procession and forty days of festivities, the Roman senate decided

that [Caesar's] chariot...should be placed on the Capitol facing the statue of Jupiter, and that his statue in bronze should be mounted upon a likeness of the inhabited world, with an inscription to the effect that he was a demigod, and that his name should be inscribed upon the Capitol in the place of that of Catulus⁷⁵.

Some pages later the historian describes the procession itself:

Now on the first day of the triumph a portent far from good fell to his lot: the axle of the triumphal car broke down directly opposite the temple of Fortune built by Lucullus, so that he had to complete the rest of the course in another. On this occasion, too, he climbed up the stairs of the Capitol on his knees, without noticing at all either the chariot which had been dedicated to Jupiter in his honor, or the image of the inhabited world lying beneath his feet, or the inscription upon it; but later he erased from the inscription the term, 'demigod'⁷⁶.

The mishap before the temple was a divine admonition because Caesar believed himself to be favored by Fortune. According to Cassius Dio, Caesar had made the point several times in his address to the senators on the occasion of his entry into Rome⁷⁷. Alfonso's 1443 Neapolitan triumph referred to the ancient historian's account of Caesar's entry into Rome in a complex way: the statue of Caesar standing on an «image of the inhabited world», was most likely the model for staging the ancient ruler on a painted terrestrial globe on the Florentine parade float. Thus, Caesar appears in two guises; he is simultaneously a living image of the ancient ruler and an animated statue of him⁷⁸. The broken axle before the temple of Fortuna and Caesar's ascension of the Capitol on his knees, as reported by Cassius Dio,

come together in the 1443 Neapolitan procession when Caesar warns Alfonso: «And on Fortuna, who is extending you her tuft, / rely not fully, since she is deceptive, / and forced me, who triumphed, onto my knees»⁷⁹.

The evident reference to Cassius Dio is unexpected, given that the historian's work was little known in Italy and had not yet been translated into Latin or the vernacular⁸⁰. An eleventh-century Greek version of his *Roman History* was in the Medici library in Florence; a copy of the manuscript was made in 1439⁸¹. This date suggests a connection with the Council of Florence; it is likely that the codex was brought from the east by one of the attendees⁸². Once the work of Cassius Dio became available, scholars in Florence would have taken an interest in it, as the so-called Caesar-Scipio controversy was raging at precisely that time⁸³. The arguments that could be raised against Caesar were not only political but also involved sexual promiscuity, a reproach that made the rounds in the form of a topos. «Caesar was the wife of every man and husband of every woman», in the words of the Florentine Giovanni Cavalcanti, in the course of arguing that someone so immoral could not have been the founder of the city of Florence⁸⁴.

Cassius Dio underscores Caesar's moral failing all the more forcefully, since he reports on the mockery of soldiers who sang: «The Gauls were enslaved by Caesar, but Caesar by Nicomedes». According to the historian, the emperor «attempted to defend himself, denying the affair upon oath, whereupon he incurred all the more ridicule»⁸⁵. In such passages, Cassius Dio provided ammunition for Florentines who despised the tyrant. The city's anti-Caesar stance is also evident in the theme of the emperor's assassination that was used for painted *cassoni*⁸⁶. Caesar's appearance in the pageantry of the 1443 Neapolitan triumph was implicitly subversive. On the surface, it seemed to be an homage to the foreign ruler; but for the Florentine organizers, Caesar represented a critique and a warning.

On the *cassone* panel, the emperor occupies the center of the pictorial field together with *Fortuna-Occasio*; the actual protagonist, Alfonso of Aragon, is pushed to the left margin. The placement of a ruler at a triumphal procession's end is also found on *cassoni* with other subjects and suggests an archaeological reconstruction, since in antiquity the victor would appear only at the end after the display of booty and prisoners. But the *cassone* panel also transforms this pattern: the ruler entering the city and those greeting him are combined in a single procession. The Florentine living images thus appear to enter in triumph, an effect that may have been intended. Upon first glance, it is not clear that the king and his retinue are real dignitaries, while Caesar, Fortune, and Justice are costumed performers.

But Caesar and Fortune were marked for Florentine viewers of the *cassone*, since their pedestals displayed coats of arms representing the patrons. Two hy-

potheses have been offered regarding the identity of the couple for whom the *cassone* was made. Callmann proposed a connection to the wedding of Jacopo di Pagnozzo di Bartolomeo Ridolfi and Alessandra di Antonio di Salvestro Serristori in 1452⁸⁷. Pinelli argued for a wedding between the Ridolfi and the Segni family in the following decade⁸⁸. In any case, the involvement of the Ridolfi in Piazza family – active mainly in the wool industry and holders of various public offices – seems to be beyond doubt. We know that Lorenzo di Antonio Ridolfi (1362-1442) had an important role in a diplomatic mission to Naples. His son Antonio di Lorenzo (born in 1408) also held various offices, but there is no documentation to prove that he was in Naples for the 1443 entry. He went there as an ambassador in 1457 and again in 1466; during the second visit Ferrante, Alfonso's son and the current ruler of Naples, made Ridolfi a knight of the Order of the Stola della Vergine Maria. In 1468 the Florentines again chose him for a mission because of his good relations with Naples. If the *cassone* was produced for one of the marriages of Antonio's sons – either Lorenzo and Cosa di Stefano di Francesco Segni in 1463 or Girolamo and Alessandra di Lorenzo di Francesco Segni in 1465 – Antonio must have been involved in the commission. We still cannot say, however, whether the patron of the *cassone* was involved in the actual staging of the 1443 procession in Naples or if the choice of the Neapolitan subject mainly reflects his political or mercantile interest in the city. Whoever designed the program of the *cassone* did so less to honor the king of Naples than to demonstrate the status of the Ridolfi family in patrician Florence. Florentine symbolism can be detected in the orange trees placed behind the procession between Caesar and *Fortuna-Occasio*; these fruits (*mala medica* in Latin) point to the Ridolfi's ties to the Medici family. Thus the painted *cassone* not only documents a historical event but it also reveals a series of domestic political alliances.

In the lavishness of its parade floats, the *nazione fiorentina* distinguished itself from all of the other groups involved in the 1443 festivities, including the Neapolitans and the Catalanians. The Florentine living images can be interpreted as a representational form that allowed a subtle warning to be hidden under the more apparent gesture of ovation to the entering conqueror, staking Florence's claim to its own status as an autonomous republic. In the procession staged in Naples, the living images represented the Florentines as a nation, as a trading colony, and a city state. By depicting the parade floats of Caesar and Fortune and the Florentine couple's coats of arms, the *cassone* brought a great historical event into the intimate space of the bedroom. If we accept the hypothesis that the *cassone* was commissioned for one of the Ridolfi-Segni marriage alliances in the 1460s, then the link to that 1443 event had perhaps lost its subversive power. In the mean-

time, the Medici had established their regime and the allegory of *Fortuna-Occasio* became a symbol of trade and economic success⁸⁹. Even if the pendant of the pair of *cassoni* represented king Alfonso winning the battle and conquering Naples, the picture of the triumphal procession was dominated by Florentine pageantry. Alfonso's military power is contrasted with artistic invention and creativity. Given that the Florentines were famed for their festival culture and for the pageants they staged for political occasions as well as religious feasts, this *cassone* was a demonstration of civic pride. The ephemeral living images were transformed into an enduring representation of the political and cultural significance of the city of Florence and its ruling families. Regardless of the "Florentineness" of the *cassone's* imagery, the program's association with the king of Naples also functioned as an indicator of social status.

The triumphal procession of Alfonso of Aragon, already exceptional with regard to other contemporary processions because of its spectacular organization and staging, was also unique in its multiplication in various media. Both images and texts reveal a wide range of formal and stylistic characteristics. In its antique formal language, the relief on the triumphal arch is oriented toward both the Neapolitan populace and the Italian elite, which had begun to reanimate the antique past with increasing enthusiasm. This image is, in a sense, doubled in the smaller relief in the *Sala dei Baroni*, which draws it into the room's interior, where it serves as a reference to the triumphal arch on the exterior even as it unfolds its own narrative dynamics. The medal contains an emblematic picture that – especially in the smaller version – takes up antique elements of the iconography of victory. The miniatures correspond to the manuscripts' authors or patrons: the work of Gaspare Pellegrino, with his limited humanistic interests, is illustrated in the style of the chivalric novel; the urban chronicle has a documentary character, without making great artistic claims; and Gaspare da Sant'Angelo furnishes the panegyric text of the court humanist Panormita with a miniature that treats the pictorial formula of the triumphal entry in an innovative way, and with antiquarian ambitions. All of these images can be ascribed to the vicinity of Naples or the Neapolitan court; the *cassone* differs fundamentally from these representations precisely because it reinterprets the event from the perspective of the Florentines. Here, the historical event is characterized by an interaction between different groups with their own political, economic, and cultural interests: civic and religious authorities represented by the *seggi* and the clergy, the Catalonians as the new political power with their own tradition of celebrating the monarchy, the Florentines as a mercantile power with humanistic and scientific interests, and the entourage of Alfonso, the court humanists concerned with classical antiquity. The staging of

the entrance served to signal the beginning of a new reign, and because Alfonso was never actually crowned king of Naples⁹⁰, the procession became even more important after its conclusion. Alfonso's ceremonial entrance was an itinerant procession through the city that brought together a great number of people and that remained the most important celebratory moment of his Italian career. It is perhaps for this reason that the image of the king on the *quadriga* became such an important motif both within and beyond the court and the city. For its spectacularity the entrance became the starting point for Italian festival culture, especially for a new generation of rulers – the entrance of Borso d'Este in Reggio emulated the Florentine representations, for example⁹¹. After Alfonso's own triumphal entry had drawn to a close, processions and entry ceremonies that included the staging of living pictures, semi-theatrical representations, and allusions to antiquity multiplied and spread throughout Italy. With Alfonso's entrance, the literary and humanistic idea of the triumph had become alive.

* L'ingresso trionfale di Alfonso d'Aragona a Napoli il 26 febbraio del 1443 segna la fine del regno Angioino e l'inizio di cinquant'anni di dominio Aragonese sull'Italia meridionale. Uno dei momenti più importanti del programma celebrativo fu la rappresentazione di tableaux vivants organizzata dai mercanti fiorentini presenti a Napoli. Quest'ultima è raffigurata sul cassone fiorentino analizzato nel presente articolo. Il dipinto offre uno straordinario esempio di autorappresentazione fiorentina nel contesto del trionfo Aragonese e della sua riproduzione visiva. Il trionfo di Alfonso, infatti, fu di per sé un evento di portata innovativa; le molteplici testimonianze testuali e visive rappresentano non solo una nuova forma di costruzione della memoria di quei fatti, ma anche dell'immagine del sovrano stesso e del suo potere. Il rilievo dell'arco trionfale di Castel Nuovo, nel suo linguaggio figurativo tutto rivolto all'antico, è indirizzato contemporaneamente al popolo napoletano e alle élite della penisola. Questa immagine è ripresa in un soprapporta nella sala dei baroni all'interno del Castel Nuovo e funge, in piccolo, da riferimento al trionfo raffigurato sull'arco monumentale. Una medaglia di Pisanello la presenta in forma semplificata, basata su elementi desunti dall'antica iconografia della vittoria. Le miniature di tre manoscritti corrispondono invece al punto di vista degli autori o committenti dei volumi: l'opera di Gaspare Pellegrino è illustrata nello stile di una novella cavalleresca; la cronaca del Ferraiolo, cittadino napoletano, adotta una modalità documentaria; Gaspare da Sant'Angelo, infine, fa abbellire il panegirico dell'umanista di corte, il Panormita, con una miniatura che utilizza l'immagine antica del trionfo e la modifica però, per collegarla all'evento contemporaneo. Mentre queste immagini possono essere ricondotte alla cerchia della corte Aragonese e alla città di Napoli, il cassone si contraddistingue nella rappresentazione del trionfo dalla prospettiva fiorentina.

1 Essay translated by Joel Golb, revised by Cristelle Baskins. For a substantially expanded version of this essay, see P. Helas, *Der Triumph von Alfonso d'Aragona 1443 in Neapel. Zu den Darstellungen herrscherlicher Einzüge zwischen Mittelalter und Renaissance*, in *Adventus. Studien zum herrscherlichen Einzug in die Stadt*, ed. by P. Johanek and A. Lampen, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2009, pp. 121-216.

2 Initially the chests were part of the dowry of the bride. During the fifteenth century the

- duty to provide them passed from the family of the bride to the family of the groom; between 1440 and 1470 both kinds of commissions can be found. See C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Les coffres de mariage et les plateaux d'accouchées à Florence. Archive, ethnologie, iconographie, in A travers l'image. Lecture iconographique et sens de l'oeuvre*, actes du séminaire CNRS (Paris, 1991), ed. by S. Deswarte-Rosa, Paris, 1994, pp. 309-323, here pp. 312-314.
- 3 For the Frederick III *cassoni* see C. Baskins, *The coronation of Frederick III in Rome*, in *The Triumph of Marriage. Painted cassoni of the Renaissance*, exhibition catalogue (Boston, 2008-2009), ed. by C. Baskins, Pittsburgh, 2008, cat. 16, pp. 154-157; and Helas, *Triumph*, cit., pp. 178-180. For the *cassone* representing *The Siege of Naples*, Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, see V. Brilliant, *The Siege of Naples*, in *The Triumph of Marriage*, cit., cat. 14, pp. 147-150 with bibliography; for the *Triumphal Entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples*, private collection, see idem, *The Triumphal Entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples*, in *The Triumph of Marriage*, cit., cat. 15, pp. 150-153; and G. Alisio and S. Bertelli, A. Pinelli, *Arte e politica tra Napoli e Firenze. Un cassone per il Trionfo di Alfonso d'Aragona*, Modena, 2006.
 - 4 For the events see H. Hefele, *Alfonso I, Ferrante I von Neapel. Schriften von Antonio Beccadelli, Tristano Caracciolo und Camillo Porzio*, Jena, 1912, pp. XXIV-XXX; E. Pontieri, *Dinastia, regno e capitale nel mezzogiorno Aragonese in Storia di Napoli*, Napoli, 1967-1978, vol. 4.1, 1974, pp. 5-28; E. Pontieri, *Alfonso il Magnanimo, Re di Napoli (1435-1458)*, Napoli, 1975; and A. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458*, Oxford, 1990, pp. 210-251.
 - 5 Aragonese Naples became a point of encounter between the tradition of French court culture, the Castilian-Catalan heritage of Alfonso's homeland and the so-called Italian Renaissance. See most recently J. Barreto, *La majesté en images. Portraits du pouvoir dans la Naples des Aragon*, Roma, 2013; *L'immagine di Alfonso il Magnanimo tra letteratura e storia, tra Corona d'Aragona e Italia*, ed. by F. Delle Donne and J. Torró Torrent, Firenze, 2016.
 - 6 The reports were published by H. W. Kruft and M. Malmanger, *Der Triumphbogen Alfonsos in Neapel. Das Monument und seine politische Bedeutung*, in *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae*, 6, 1975, pp. 213-305, here pp. 289-298. For other sources, which do not add further information, see A. Iacono, *Il trionfo di Alfonso d'Aragona tra memoria classica e propaganda di corte*, in: «Rassegna storica salernitana» 51, 2009, 16/1, pp. 9-57 and F. Delle Donne, *Il trionfo, l'incoronazione mancata, la celebrazione letteraria. I paradigmi della propaganda di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, in «Archivio storico italiano» 169, 2011, pp. 447-476.
 - 7 As reported by the Sicilian observer, see Kruft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., p. 290; the names of the new lords and knights are noted by Gaspar Pelegrí, *Historiarum Alphonsi Primi Regis libri X (I dieci libri delle storie del Re Alfonso Primo)*, ed. and transl. by F. Delle Donne, Roma, 2012, pp. 492-493. For the practice of bestowing knighthoods during the ceremonial entry of a ruler, see G. J. Schenk, *Der Einzug des Herrschers: Idealschema und Fallstudie zum Adventuszeremoniell für römisch-deutsche Herrscher in spätmittelalterlichen italienischen Städten zwischen Zeremoniell, Diplomatie und Politik*, Marburg, 1996, p. 41.
 - 8 For the *impresa* see Kruft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., p. 243; J. Woods-Marsden, *Art and Political Identity in Fifteenth-Century Naples: Pisanello, Cristoforo di Geremia, and King Alfonso's Imperial Fantasies in Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250-1500*, ed. by C. Rosenberg, London, 1990, pp. 11-37, here pp. 14-15, n. 24; J. Molina Figueras, *Un trono in fiamme per il re: la metamorfosi cavalleresca di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, in «Rassegna storica salernitana», n.s., 28, 2011, 56, pp. 11-44.

- 9 See P. Helas, *Lebende Bilder in der italienischen Festkultur des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1999, pp. 61-86. The vernacular poem written by Piero de' Ricci is found in several Florentine manuscripts. B. Croce, *I teatri di Napoli*, Napoli, 1916, p. 6 published the version from the Magl. VII.1168, BNCF, fol. 95r.: «Sonetto di Piero de Ricci fatto in Napoli per lo trionfo si fece a Re di raona quando entro in Napoli. / Eccelso Re, o Cesare novello, / Giustizia con Fortezza e Temperanza, / Prudentia, Fede, Carità e Speranza, / ti farà trionfar sopr'ogni bello. / Se queste donne terrai in tu'ostello, / quella sedia fia fatta per tua stanza; / ma, ricórdasi a te, tu sarai senza, / se di Giustizia torcessi 'l suggello. / E la Ventura, che ti porge il crino, / non ti dar tutto a lei, ch'ell'è fallace, / che me, che trionfai, misse in dechino. / El mondo vedi che mutazion face! / Che sia voltabil, tienlo per destino: / e questo vuole Iddio perché li piace. / Alfonso, Re di pace, / Iddio t'esalti e dia prosperitate, / salvando al mio Firenze libertate». «Heavenly king, Oh new Ceasar / Justice with Fortitude and Temperance, Prudence, Faith, Charity and Hope, allow you to triumph over all. / If you host these women in your castle / this seat will be destined for your room / but remember you will remain without it, if you break the seal of Justice / And Fortune who holds her tuft out to you / do not trust her completely, because she is fallacious / and forced me who triumphed to my knees / See the mutations the world is passing through! / If it is unsteady take it as destiny / this is the will of God pleasing to him / Alfonso King of peace / the Almighty God keep you in prosperity and my Florence in its liberty».
- 10 Helas, *Lebende Bilder*, cit.
- 11 According to Vinyes, see Krufft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., p. 289; and Woods-Marsden, *Art and Political Identity*, cit., p. 15, n. 25.
- 12 Such war-games are documented on other occasions, for example, for Alfonso's visit to Naples in 1423. For this event, see H. Maxwell, "Uno elefante grandissimo con lo Castello di sopra": il trionfo aragonese del 1423, in «Archivio Storico Italiano», 150, 1992, pp. 847-875.
- 13 This point was made by the personified Magnanimity. See her verses in Krufft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., p. 296; Helas, *Triumph*, cit., p. 136.
- 14 This part of Naples was nearly uninhabited, and thus offered sufficient space for the festive display. For the colonies of foreign merchants, see E. Pontieri. *Dinastia, regno e capitale nel mezzogiorno Aragonese*, in *Storia di Napoli*, Napoli, 1967-1978, vol. 4.1 (1974), pp. 5-28, 81-87.
- 15 At this point in the procession, Fazio describes a group of chanting clerics carrying relics. Summonte also mentions the clerics and the archbishop Gasparo di Diano; see G. A. Summonte, *Historia della città del Regno di Napoli*, Napoli, 1601-1643, vol. 3, 1640, p. 9. Such a reception of the ruler by a group of clerics is a traditional feature for entries in the Middle Ages; see Schenk, *Einzug*, cit. pp. 25-30.
- 16 The description is part of a chronicle compiled at the end of the sixteenth century, but is considered an authentic source by Krufft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., p. 217, G.L. Hersey, *The Aragonese Arch at Naples 1443-1475*, New Haven and London, 1973, p. 15, and A. Pinelli, *Fatti, parole, immagini. Resoconti scritti e rappresentazioni visive del trionfo napoletano di Alfonso d'Aragona* in Alisio et al., *Arte e politica*, cit., pp. 33-75, here p. 42. The account differs in many details from the contemporary reports, for example in saying that the king wore a crown (Panormita, however, is explicit about the king being *capite detecto* or bareheaded) and in mentioning a wine fountain and 400 young men serving plates with sweetmeats (*piatti di diversi confetti*). These additions are not documented in other sources, and seem to be an invention of the author, influenced by the knowledge of later practices

in festive events. According to Vinyes, «...Io dit senyor entrant e passant per la dita placa del mercat ont ere començat lo arch triunfal que fan per memoria de la dita entrada...» («... the lord entered and passed the said Piazza del Mercato where the triumphal arch to memorialize the said entry had been begun...») (Kruft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., p. 289). Panormita reports: «Iam Alphonsus per media sui triumphalis arcus fundamenta cepta, iam iter faciebat, monumentaque rerum suarum paululum conspicatus ...» («Now Alfonso started and took his way through the middle of the foundations of his triumphal arch, looking at the monument and the (representations?) of his deeds ...») (ivi, p. 296). So it seems that the erection of an triumphal arch on the Piazza di Mercato was underway, but nothing is known about the monument. In my opinion, if it had been a prominent ephemeral structure, Panormita would have described it in detail. There is confusion in the scholarly literature with the later arch at Castel Nuovo and with yet another arch that is named without any date by Panormita: «The citizens of Naples had unanimously decided to erect for the memory of the king, who was to be honored for his clemency and justice, a triumphal arch, and they chose a place upside the marble steps of the cathedral» (Hefele, *Alfonso I*, cit., pp. 34-35, my translation). C.L. Frommel, *Alberti e la porta trionfale di Castel Nuovo a Napoli* in «Annali di architettura», 20, 2008, pp. 13-36, here pp. 13-15, combines these two sources and speaks of an arch of 1443 for which, in my opinion, there is no real proof. We know of ephemeral triumphal arches from later times, for example for the papal procession in Rome, documented for the first time in 1492 with Alexander VI. See Helas, *Lebende Bilder*, cit., pp. 110-111.

- 17 For the *seggi* called Capuana, Nido, Montagna, Porto und Portanova, see A. Beyer, *Parthenope. Neapel und der Süden der Renaissance*, München, 2000, pp. 23-28; M. Vencato, *Gittare li porticali et allargare le vie - Raumpolitik und Sozialtopographie im aragonesischen Neapel*, in *Städtische Räume im Mittelalter*, ed. by S. Ehrich, J. Oberste, Regensburg, 2009, pp. 195-210, and F. Lenzo, *Memoria e identità civica. L'architettura dei seggi nel regno di Napoli XIII-XVIII secolo*, Roma, 2014.
- 18 See R. Filangieri. *Una cronaca napoletana figurata del Quattrocento*, Napoli, 1956, pp. 28-29; and Summonte, *Historia*, cit., vol. 3, pp. 6-8.
- 19 S. Bertelli, *The king's body. Sacred rituals of power in medieval and early modern Europe*, new rev. & enl. ed., University Park, 2001, fig. 20, argues that the procession ended at the Castel Nuovo. This does not correspond to the sources and is not probable because the castle was severely damaged during the assault. For the two castles in the Aragonese period see B. De Divitiis, *Castel Nuovo and Castel Capuano in Naples. The transformation of two medieval castles into "all'antica" residences for the Aragonese royals*, in «Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte», 76, 2013, 4, pp. 441-474.
- 20 Nicolao Tegrino reports that in 1325 Castruccio Castracani entered the city of Lucca like an ancient emperor wearing a laurel wreath and driving a chariot with four horses (*Vita Castrucii Antelminelli Lucensis Ducis*, in: Muratori RIS, 1727, XI, coll. 1308-1344, coll. 1339-41). However, Nicolao wrote in 1496 when the reception of classical antiquity had become very common in pageantry, art, and literature. See W. Weisbach, *Trionfi*, Berlin, 1919, p. 13, note. 1; and A. Pinelli, *Feste e Trionfi: Continuità e metamorfosi di un tema in Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, ed. by S. Settis, vol. 2: *I generi e i temi ritrovati*, Torino, 1985, pp. 281-350, here p. 323. Bertelli, *King's body*, cit., pp. 62-63, 71-73, 88 takes Tegrino's description as fact.
- 21 The triumph on a chariot in the Roman mode is documented for the last time in 404 or 416 CE. Subsequently, victorious emperors entered the city on a horse. See J. Traeger, *Der reitende Papst. Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie des Papsttums*, München and Zürich, 1970, pp.

- 10-12.
- 22 For Florentine festival culture see Helas, *Lebende Bilder*, cit., pp. 29-38.
- 23 For the ambivalent relationship between Florence and Aragonese Naples, see F. Tateo, *I miti della storiografia umanistica*, Roma, 1990, pp. 159-162. Until the peace of Lodi, the Italian city states feared conquest by the Aragonese king. See Ryder, *Alfonso*, cit., pp. 252-305, p. 274 who cites a Tuscan versifier saying in 1447 to Alfonso: «Think not to crown yourself Italy's king / through the might of your men / for by your reputation you are unworthy».
- 24 In addition to the sources mentioned in note 5, see Porcellio (Giovanni Antonio de' Pandonni), *Il trionfo di Alfonso I d'Aragona cantato da Porcellio*, ed. by V. Nociti, Bassano, 1895; G. Broglio Tartaglia, *Cronaca malatestiana del secolo XV dalla cronaca universale di Gaspare Broglio Tartaglia*, ed. by A. G. Luciani, Rimini, 1982, pp. 221-222; and G. Distaso, *Scenografia epica. Il trionfo di Alfonso. Epigoni tassani*, Bari, 1999, pp. 11-35. For the glorification of Alfonso the Magnanimous see Tateo, *Miti*, cit., pp. 137-179 and F. Delle Donne, *Alfonso il Magnanimo e l'invenzione dell'umanesimo monarchico. Ideologia e strategie di legittimazione alla corte aragonese di Napoli*, Roma, 2015.
- 25 This is reported by Matthew (21:1-11), John (12:12-16), and Pseudo-Nicodemus, cf. Helas, *Triumph*, cit.
- 26 D. Stutzinger, *Der Adventus des Kaisers und der Einzug Christi in Jerusalem*, in *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, exhibition catalogue (Frankfurt a. M., 1983), Frankfurt a. M., 1983, pp. 284-307; Schenk, *Einzug*, cit., p. 11 with further literature.
- 27 Cf. Helas, *Triumph*, cit.
- 28 Cf. Weisbach, *Trionfi*, cit., pp. 20-21 and A. Ortner, *Petrarcas "Trionfi" in Malerei, Dichtung und Festkultur. Untersuchung zur Entstehung und Verbreitung eines florentinischen Bildmotivs auf cassoni und deschi da parto des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Weimar, 1998.
- 29 Cf. Helas, *Triumph*, cit.
- 30 For the Castel Nuovo, see R. Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo. Reggia angioina ed aragonese di Napoli*, Napoli, 1964; De Divitiis, *Castel Nuovo and Castel Capuano*, cit., pp. 445-462. For the triumphal arch see Hersey, *Aragonese Arch*, cit.; Kruft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit.; Beyer, *Parthenope*, cit., pp. 37-61; and P. Graziano, *L'arco di Alfonso: ideologie giuridiche e iconografia nella Napoli aragonese*, Napoli, 2009.
- 31 Kruft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., p. 243. For Victory as charioteer, see T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana. Archäologische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Wesensart der römischen Siegesgöttin von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 3. Jhs n. Chr.*, Mainz, 1967, pp. 90-91.
- 32 The chariot is described with four wheels in the written sources and is shown this way in Summonte, *Historia*, cit., vol. 3, pp. 11-13, who reports that it was exhibited until 1580 on the inner façade over the door of the church of San Lorenzo. His illustrations refer to an old picture preserved by Marc'Antonio de Cavalieri. A woodcut with the same subject, from the Summonte edition of 1675, was published by Kruft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., ill. 99; and A. Beyer, *"... mi pensamiento e invención ...": König Alfonso I. von Neapel triumphiert als Friedensfürst am Grabmal der Parthenope*, in «Georges-Bloch-Jahrbuch des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars der Universität Zürich», 1, 1994, pp. 93-107 and Beyer, *Parthenope*, cit., fig. 8. An undated print was published by Hersey, *Aragonese Arch*, cit., p. 15, fig. 8 (reversed).
- 33 Beyer, *Parthenope*, cit., pp. 46-52.
- 34 Of those who followed the chariot, the Sicilian observer mentions «lo Ambasciature dj lo Re

- dj Tuniji und Panormita Abranius, regis legatus». Krufft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., pp. 291, 296. For the relations between Alfonso and Tunisia, see Panormita (published by Hefele, *Alfonso I*, cit., pp. 41-42) and Pontieri, *Dinastia*, cit., pp. 127-129.
- 35 Krufft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., pp. 252-257.
- 36 A.A. Pelliccia (ed.), *Raccolte di varie chroniche, diarij, ed altri opuscoli così italiani, come latini appartenenti alla storia del Regno di Napoli*, Napoli, 1782, vol. 5, pp. 3-54, here p. 12.
- 37 For the relation between antique models of rulership and Alfonso's representation cf. P. Stacey, *Roman monarchy and the Renaissance prince*, Cambridge, 2007.
- 38 Cfr. Delle Donne, *Il trionfo*, cit.
- 39 Krufft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., p. 227; Graziano, *L'arco di Alfonso*, cit., pp. 65-91.
- 40 Filangieri, *Cronaca napoletana*, cit., p. 54, fig. near p. 87.
- 41 *Ivi*, pp. 239-240.
- 42 Both lintels were destroyed by a fire in 1919; the remains are preserved *in situ*.
- 43 Filangieri, *Cronaca napoletana*, cit., pp. 55, 201, 203.
- 44 Krufft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., p. 280.
- 45 In the second book of his work, Panormita reports that Alfonso collected «coins of the ancient emperors such as Caesar, along with others», which he kept in a small ivory box, and that he took with him on all his expeditions the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar. A. Beccadelli, *Antonii Panormitae, De dictis et factis Alphonsi Regis Aragonum libri quatuor*, ex off. Hervagiana, Basilea, 1538, pp. 39-40.
- 46 For the 1436 payment to Pere Crespi for a parchment of «tota Ytalia», see G. Toscano in *La Biblioteca Reale di Napoli al tempo della dinastia aragonese*, exhibition catalogue (Napoli-Valencia, 1998), ed. by G. Toscano, Valencia, 1998, pp. 185-219, here p. 191. In 1453 Panormita bought a copy of Ptolemy's *Cosmografia* for the king for 170 ducats. See T. de Marinis, *La Biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, 4 vols, Milano 1952 - 1969, vol. 2, p. 237, doc. 106. In 1458 Alfonso bought for 100 ducats «un libre appellat Cosmografia Tolomei de forma maior» and a map of Ethiopia from a Florentine merchant, Tommaso Artani, *ivi*, pp. 241-242, doc. 168. See also M. Belozerskaya, Marina, *Jan van Eyck's lost «mappamundi». A token of fifteenth-century power politics*, «Journal of Early Modern History», 4, 2000, 1, pp. 45-84.
- 47 Helas, *Lebende Bilder*, cit., pp. 76-77; Eadem, *Der fliegende Kartograph. Zu dem Federico da Montefeltro und Lorenzo de' Medici gewidmeten Werk Le sette Giornate della Geographia von Francesco Berlinghieri und dem Bild der Erde im Florenz des Quattrocento* in «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz», 46, 2002, pp. 270-320, p. 281; Eadem, *Triumph*, cit., pp. 151-152. In the same period, between 1440 and 1444, Guillaume Hobit was paid by Philip the Good for the production of a terrestrial globe. Belozerskaya, *Jan van Eyck's lost «mappamundi»*, cit., p. 69.
- 48 H.-W. Krufft, *Domenico Gagini und seine Werkstatt*, München, 1972, p. 13.
- 49 Helas, *Lebende Bilder*, cit., pp. 73-74.
- 50 With the rise of the new medium of print, this would become characteristic for the image production of the Habsburg court in the sixteenth century. Triumphal chariots and processions with allegorical subjects (as in the case of Maximilian I) or as the documentation of an event (as in the case of the coronation ceremony of Charles V) were depicted and copied in manuscripts, but also printed, sometimes on a monumental scale. In some cases these prints were used as models for wall paintings commissioned by citizens who wanted to

demonstrate their close association with the ruling dynasty. See for example K. Giehlow, *Diverse Entwürfe für das Triumphrelief Kaiser Maximilians I. im Louvre. Eine Studie zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Triumphzuges*, in «Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses», 29, 1910/11, pp. 14–84; S. Lüken, *Kaiser Maximilian I. und seine Ehrenpforte*, in «Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte», 4, 1998, pp. 449–490; in H. R. Velten, *Triumphzug und Ehrenpforte im Werk Kaiser Maximilians I. Intermediale Konstellationen zwischen Aufführung und 'gedechtnus'*, in *Medialität der Prozession. Performanz ritueller Bewegung in Texten und Bildern der Vormoderne*, ed. by K. Gvozdeva and H. R. Velten, Heidelberg, 2011, pp. 247–269.

- 51 On Pisanello's work for Alfonso, see *Pisanello. Le peintre aux sept vertus*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, 1996), Paris, 1996, pp. 413–456; *Pisanello. Painter to the Renaissance Court*, exhibition catalogue (London, 2001–2002), ed. by L. Syson and D. Gordon, London, 2001, pp. 123–130; and Barreto, *La majesté en images*, cit., pp. 95–103.
- 52 G. F. Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, London, 1939, 2 vols, no. 43; Krufft and Malmanger, *Triumphbogen*, cit., p. 242; *Pisanello. Le peintre aux sept vertus*, cit., cat. 303–304.
- 53 For the medal see S. Scher in *The Currency of Fame. Portrait medals of the Renaissance*, exhibition catalogue (New York and Washington, 1994), ed. by S. Scher, New York 1994, pp. 41–43, 375–376, cat. 3. Alfonso's admiration for the collections of the Duc of Berry is attested by G. Pontano, *I libri delle virtù sociali*, ed. by F. Tateo, Roma 1999, p. 239, cf. Adrian Breckenkamp in this volume.
- 54 Helas, *Triumph*, cit., pp. 142–143, ill. 14 and 15.
- 55 On the leaf with the preparatory sketches, the design on the lower right actually shows a tower on the chariot.
- 56 Hill, *Corpus*, cit., nos. 48 and 49, as Neapolitan school; as Pisanello in Barreto, *La majesté en images*, cit., pp. 95–96.
- 57 Images of chariots with horse teams steered by a personification of Victory are widespread on ancient coins, but in most cases it is a two-horse team or four horses side-by-side and not two pairs one behind the other as in the medal by Pisanello. The artist perhaps used a *biga* as a model, as can be found on coins from the Republican era (see Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, cit., pp. 77–78, tav. 8, 4).
- 58 Hill, *Corpus*, cit., nos. 323, 324, 325; and Barreto, *La majesté en images*, cit., pp. 103–104, fig. 46.
- 59 See Pelegrí, *Historiarum Alphonsi*, cit., pp. IX–XIV. A letter from Lorenzo Valla in 1444, with a devastating judgment, demonstrates that the text was known at this time (p. XV). The only existing manuscript is preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, MS. IX, C. 22.
- 60 Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, MS. IX, C. 22, fol. 174v. See *Cimeli di Napoli aragonese*, exhibition catalogue (Naples, 1978), ed. by M. Rosaria et al., cat. 18, p. 14; *Libri a corte. Testi e immagini nella Napoli aragonese*, exhibition catalogue (Napoli, 1997/1998), Napoli, 1997, cat. 2, pp. 107–108; and F. Cacciapuoti, *Il testo e l'immagine: frammenti di un discorso umanistico*, *ivi*, pp. 55–63, here p. 57. The description of the entry is in Pelegrí, *Historiarum Alphonsi*, cit., pp. 490–499.
- 61 Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, MS. IX, C. 22, fol. 2r depicts the entry of Alfonso in Naples in 1421 with the same kind of architecture as the miniature of his entry in 1443 (fol. 158v).
- 62 The chronicle covers the period from 1423 to 1489. Filangieri, *Cronaca napoletana*, cit., pp.

- 15-18 postulates that one scribe and three illustrators worked on the manuscript produced after a lost original.
- 63 «Lo quale ditto triunfo me l'ave dato mio patre Francisco Ferraiolo, che se trovao a vedere ditto entrata secundo appare» (see Filangieri, *Cronaca napoletana*, cit., p. 29).
- 64 Pelegri, *Historiarum Alphonsi*, cit., p. 490-491.
- 65 Published in Pisa in 1485 and Florence in 1491. In the Basel edition of 1538 (Beccadelli, *De dictis et factis*, cit.) it was entitled *Alphonsis regis triumphus*, pp. 229-239. Antonio Beccadelli joined the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous at the time of the conquest of Naples. See the *DBI* vol. 7, 1965, coll. 400-406; and J. Bentley, *Politics and culture in Renaissance Naples*, Princeton, NJ, 1987, pp. 84-100, 147-161.
- 66 BAV, Vat. Lat. 1565. The codex is written on parchment and begins with an illuminated frontispiece. The description of the entry is appended to the four books of *De dictis et factis Regis* in the manuscript as well as the printed versions of the text. See *La Biblioteca Reale di Napoli*, cit., pp. 79-81.
- 67 BAV, Vat. Lat. 1565, fol. 123v.
- 68 *Ivi*, fol. 124r. For the medal see Hill, *Corpus*, cit., no. 754; Woods-Marsden, *Art and Political Identity*, cit., p. 21; and Y. Shchukina in *The Currency of Fame*, cit., pp. 118-120, cat. 35, as well as Adrian Bremenkamp's essay in this volume.
- 69 Helas, *Triumph*, cit., p. 156-158.
- 70 *Ibidem*, pp. 155, 168-169.
- 71 Florentine paintings and miniatures only begin to depict three-dimensional terrestrial globes with continents corresponding to the geographical knowledge of the time in the 1470s; see P. Helas, *Der fliegende Kartograph*, cit.
- 72 Helas, *Lebende Bilder*, cit., pp. 78-86.
- 73 Helas, *Triumph*, cit., pp. 186-189.
- 74 Helas, *Lebende Bilder*, cit., pp. 71-73.
- 75 Cassius Dio XLIII.14.6, in Cassius Dio, *Dio's Roman History*, with an English transl. by E. Cary. On the basis of the version of H. B. Forster, 9 vols. London and Cambridge, 1970-1979, vol. 4, p. 235.
- 76 Cassius Dio XLIII.21.2-3, in Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, cit., p. 249.
- 77 «I become so elated or puffed up by my great good fortune as to desire also to play the tyrant over you...» and «...I would not think of insulting Fortune, but the more I have enjoyed her favours, the more moderately will I use her in every way». Cassius Dio XLIII.15.5-6, in Cassius Dio *Roman History*, cit., vol. 4, p. 237.
- 78 For a *spalliera* panel representing the triumph of Camillus and a living statue of Juno, see C. Baskins, *Marcus Furius Camillus brings Statue of Juno to Rome in The Triumph of Marriage*, cit., cat. 12, pp. 137-143.
- 79 For the poem see note 8.
- 80 Until 1443 we know of only three copies in Italy, which were owned by Guarino da Verona, Giovanni Aurispa, and Francesco Filelfo. See R. Sabbadini. *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci*, Firenze, 1905, pp. 45, 46, 48, 65; and R. Sabbadini, *Briciole filologiche* in «Studi italiani di filologia classica», 6, 1898, pp. 395-406, here pp. 397-406.
- 81 Sabbadini, *Briciole*, cit., p. 398. Codex 70, 8 from the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Flor-

- ence contains books 36-54; a copy, Vat. Gr. 144, exists in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome.
- 82 C. M. Mazzucchi, *Alcune vicende della tradizione di Cassio Dione in epoca bizantina*, in «Aevum», 103, 1979, pp. 94-139. Mazzucchi (pp. 136-37) argues that the scholar Marcus Eugenius of Constantinople and Ephesus could have brought the codex to Florence and copied it himself.
- 83 In Florence the republican Scipio was considered a model versus the tyrant Caesar. See J.W. Oppel, *Peace vs. liberty in the Quattrocento: Poggio, Guarino, and the Scipio-Caesar controversy* in «Journal of the Medieval and Renaissance Studies», 4, 2, 1974, pp. 221-265. For the representation of Scipio on *cassone* panels, see C. Baskins, *(In)famous men. The Continence of Scipio and formations of masculinity in fifteenth-century Tuscan domestic painting*, in «Studies in iconography», 23, 2002, p. 109-136.
- 84 G. Cavalcanti, *Nuova Opera (chronique florentine inédite du XVe siècle), La Nuova Opera (1440-1447). Une page (critique) de vie florentine*, ed. by A. Monti, Paris, 1989, pp. 17-19 refers to Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*. In chapter 49, Suetonius notes the homosexual relations between Caesar and Nicomedes, ruler of Bithynia, for which he cites various witnesses, as well as the mocking by soldiers during Caesar's triumphal procession. Suetonius, with an engl. trans. by J. C. Rolfe, (The Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge and London, 1979, vol.1, pp. 62-73.
- 85 Cassius Dio XLIII.20.4, in Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, cit., vol. 4, pp. 247-249.
- 86 P. Schubring, *Cassoni. Truhen und Truhenbilder der italienischen Frührenaissance. Ein Beitrag zur Profanmalerei des Quattrocento*, Leipzig, 1923, cat. 363, 364, 366; and Helas, *Triumph*, cit., p. 189.
- 87 Callmann, *Triumphal Entry*, cit., p. 30 argues that Jacopo Ridolfi could have been in Naples in 1443 where he played the part of Caesar. If so, the *cassone* would have been a personal souvenir.
- 88 On the dates of the Ridolfi-Segni engagements, see Pinelli, *Fatti, parole, immagini*, cit., pp. 62-68. The text contains no illustration of the coat of arms of the Segni Family but only a description of them, p. 74, n. 48.
- 89 P. Helas, *Fortuna-Occasio. Eine Bildprägung des Quattrocento zwischen ephemerer und ewiger Kunst*, in «Städel Jahrbuch», 17, 1999, pp. 101-124.
- 90 On this point see F. Delle Donne, *Il trionfo*, cit.
- 91 Helas, *Lebende Bilder*, cit., pp. 98-99.



Fig. 1: *Triumphal Entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples in 1443*, 1460s, cassone painting, private collection.



Fig. 2: *Triumphal Entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples in 1443*, relief from the triumphal arch, Castel Nuovo, Naples.

Fig. 3: Domenico Gagini, *Triumphal Entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples in 1443*, 1457-1458, overdoor relief, Sala dei Baroni, Castel Nuovo, Naples.



Fig. 4: Pisanello, *Triumphal Chariot*, Reverse of a medal for Alfonso of Aragon, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département monnaies et médailles.

Fig. 5: Pisanello, *Preparatory designs for a medal for Alfonso of Aragon*, Paris, Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 2317.

Fig. 6: Pisanello (attributed), *Triumphal Chariot*, Medal for Alfonso of Aragon, London, British Museum.



Fig. 7: *Triumphal Entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples in 1443*, in: Gaspare Pellegrino, *De gestis regis*, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, ms. IX C 22, fol. 174v.

Fig. 8: *Triumphal Entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples in 1443*, in: *Cronaca del Ferraiolo*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.801, fol. 84v.

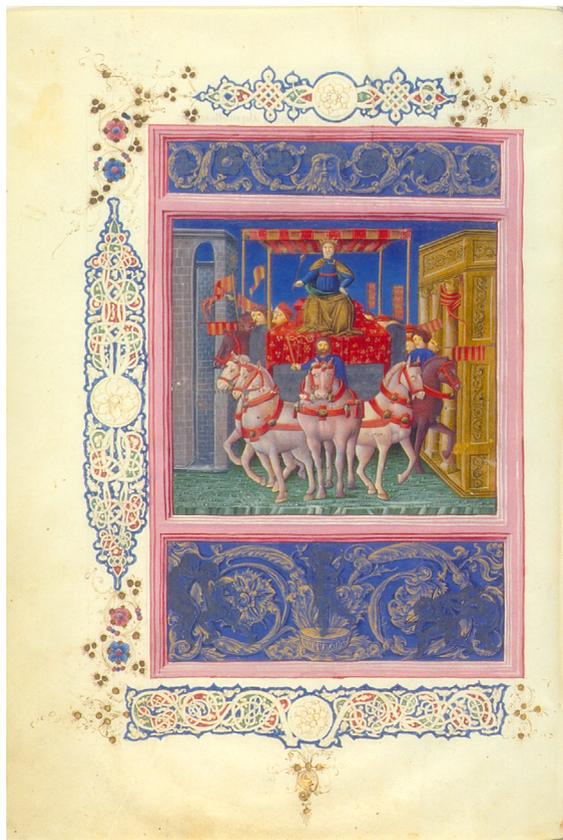


Fig. 9: *Triumphal Entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples in 1443*, in: Panormita, *Alphonsis regis triumphus*, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1565, fol. 123v.

Fig. 10: *Portrait of Alfonso of Aragon*, in: Panormita, *Alphonsis regis triumphus*, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1565, fol. 124r.



Fig. 11: *Justice, Caesar and Fortune*, detail of Fig. 1.