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The Funerary Monument of Bona Sforza in the Basilica of San Nicola in Bari: History and Background of a Royal Mausoleum of Polish Patronage

The funerary monument of Bona Sforza, Duchess of Bari and Queen of Poland, in the Basilica of San Nicola in Bari has been a subject of discussion since the uncovering, in 1918, of documents which assign the marble authorship to a team of minor sculptors working in Naples around 1589–1593. Whilst research has focused on the history of this sepulchre, the name of the architect whom the queen's daughter and heir, Anna Jagiellon, commissioned to design the tomb has remained unknown. Zygmunt Waźbiński, in 1979, proposed to attribute the project to Tomasz Treter, a canon from the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome; this attribution, however, can no longer be upheld. This essay reviews the history of Bona's monument and reassesses the question of its authorship. New evidence sheds light on the tomb’s models and reconnects its design to late-sixteenth-century tomb sculpture in Naples.

Keywords: Bona Sforza; Anna Jagiellon; Pope Sixtus V; Basilica of San Nicola in Bari; Tomasz Treter, Late Renaissance sculpture

Walking in dim light through the barren naves of the Basilica of San Nicola in Bari, one of the main pilgrimage landmarks in the Mediterranean since the eleventh century, a visitor heading towards the high altar would notice a sumptuous two-tone marble tomb with statues, mostly hidden behind an austere Romanesque ciborium. This is all that remains of a majestic Renaissance monument dedicated to Bona Sforza, Queen of Poland and Duchess of Bari; it once took up the apsidal wall and was thoroughly surrounded by paintings and stuccos (fig. 1).

The royal mausoleum, celebrated by local authors since the seventeenth century, rests on a high white Carrara marble plinth and has an unusually concave structure that suits the niche layout (fig. 2). Four Bardiglio columns stand on Portovenere marble dados, and articulate three niches in the wall. The queen's velato capite effigy protrudes from the central section. She is represented with her hands together in prayer, kneeling on a dark slate sarcophagus sustained by lion paws. The statues of St Nicholas and St Stanislaw, the patrons of Bari and Poland respectively, are set in the two side niches. Bona’s dedicatory inscription, carved in a lavishly dark tabula with gold lettering, lies underneath. It is flanked by The Kingdom of Poland and The Duchy of Bari, two semi-recumbent female personifications who are nude from the waist up. The monument is enclosed above by an entablature marked by Doric triglyphs. Until 1939, a pilaster-striped aedicule, crowned by a broken tympanum, sat on the architrave. It framed the white Carrara marble high-relief panel of the Resurrection, today located in the south transept of the church (fig. 3). Two small obelisks, no longer in place, also bore dark marble spheres at the high ends of the cornice.

Bona’s tomb represents one of the most important and best-documented works of Counter-Reformation sculpture in the South of Italy. In
1 View of the funerary monument of Bona Sforza, before 1928. Bari, Basilica of San Nicola
2 Andrea Sarti, Francesco Zaccarella, Ceccardo Bernucci, and Clemente Ciottoli, Funerary monument of Bona Sforza, 1589 – 1593. Bari, Basilica of San Nicola
1918, Giovan Battista D’Addosio uncovered the names of masters Andrea Sarti from Carrara, Francesco Zaccarella from Terni, and Ceccardo Bernucci, who, between 1589 and 1590, received payments via the Banco di Napoli (Bank of Naples) for the execution of the marbles. A few years later, archival research clarified the history of the monument between Bona’s death (†19 November 1557) and the founding in the church of the hereditary chapel of the Jagiellonians, the ruling house created after the marriage between the Duchess of Bari and the King of Poland, Sigismund I.

The debate over the genesis of the queen’s tomb followed the publication of an indispensable essay by Zygmunt Waźbiński in 1979. Based on a letter of 1590 that contained Anna Jagiellon’s directives for the inscription of Bona’s monument, Waźbiński attributed its design to Tomasz Treter, a Polish canon of the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome, who worked as a draughtsman and painter between 1569 and 1593 and also served as Anna’s artistic consultant in Italy. Waźbiński’s supposition has been accepted in most studies on Queen Bona, and it has never been questioned, though no proof of Treter’s di-
rect involvement in the monument building in Naples or Bari has ever come to light.7

The present essay reviews the history of the ducal tomb and discusses its attribution. A thorough cross-referencing of iconographic and documentary data casts light on the models which may have inspired the tomb design and identifies a link to the late-sixteenth-century art scene in Naples. Finally, new evidence challenges Tomasz Treter’s alleged role as the monument’s designer and suggests this work should be re-assigned to an anonymous architect of non-Neapolitan background, who eventually must have moved to the Kingdom of Naples and become familiar with its artistic milieu.

The History of the Monument through the Documents (1557–1650)

In her second testament of 18 November 1557, which largely rectified the will that she had dictated a day before, Bona Sforza, Queen of Poland and Duchess of Bari, ordered that “her body should be brought to the venerable church of the Annuntiata in Naples”, and that her “funerals would be celebrated there at the discretion of her son and heir the king [Sigismund II Augustus]”. The queen also instructed that “a royal and sumptuous chapel under the title of Saint Stanislaw should be built in that church at His Most Serene King’s discretion”, and ordered the
payment of “300 ducats a year, to be taken from the Customs of Bari […] for the service of that chapel and for the prayers that will be continuously made”.

Due to a legal controversy over the validity of her will between her son Sigismund Augustus, appointed as universal heir of the Polish domains, and the King of Spain Philip II, to whom Bona herself had previously returned the Duchy of Bari and other territories, the queen’s last wishes were not fulfilled. When Sigismund died unexpectedly on 7 July 1572, his mother’s tomb was still to be erected.

Bona’s body was laid in a coffin and temporarily kept in the sacristy of the Cathedral Church of Bari. On the way back from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land on 10 March 1584, Prince Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, Duke of Olyka and Palatine of Vilna, saw it wrapped in black velvet: “It is still intact, except for the upper part of her lips slightly dropping”, Radziwiłł noted in his travel diary, published a few years later.

That left Anna Jagiellon, consort of King Stefan Báthory and third-to-last daughter of Bona, to take charge of the sepulchre. An unpublished letter from the Archbishop of Naples Annibale di Capua, who served as an Apostolic legate to the royal court of Poland, to his friend Archbishop of Bari Antonio Puteo, reveals Anna’s intention in summer 1587 to have the queen’s
body removed from the Cathedral Church of Bari and “have it buried in another place […] because of the quarrels in Naples on the validity of Queen Bona’s testament”. Di Capua reassured Puteo that he would discuss with Anna her mother’s burial and would dissuade her from moving Bona’s body out of the Cathedral, “as per His Lordship’s [the Archbishop of Bari] requests”.

The intervention of the Archbishop of Naples, however, did not return the expected results. On 17 May 1588, Anna obtained permission of Pope Sixtus V, “rationibus omnibus intellectis”, to transfer the queen’s body from the Cathedral of Bari to the Basilica of San Nicola, “along with the funeral pallium, the precious stones and other relevant jewellery for the grave to be adorned”. In a letter dated 28 May 1588, the Jagiellon ruler
requested the Pope’s protection over the “transfer of the body of holy Queen Bona, my very beloved mother”, and communicated that she had recently arranged funds for “a monument of not modest expense” in her memory. The papal brief confirming the body’s transport was issued on 29 December 1588, accompanied by an exequatur [i.e., the command] of the Viceroy of Naples Juan de Zuñiga, count of Miranda. An unpublished document records the commission of the monument to the sculptors Sarti and Zaccarella on 16 January 1589. The contract was signed by a queen’s internuncio, Filip Owadowski, who also was a resident in Naples.

It took some time before work began. The Cathedral Chapter of Bari initially resisted the Pope’s and the viceroy’s commands, which they claimed would undermine the church’s royal dignity and the financial privileges stemming from the queen’s burial. When procurator Scipione Pulpo turned up on 11 May 1589 to receive the Bona’s remains, the canons denied him the pallium, the precious stones and other ornaments which were part of the royal funerary dowry. Nevertheless, the body was transferred to the Basilica of San Nicola, where on 9 June 1589, Queen Anna finally obtained the concession for a chapel. This was located by the high altar, the most important area in the church topography, namely “in the place inside the choir where the divine offitii are continuously celebrated […], and precisely in the place called the ‘cocchiara’ […] under the expressed agreement that the reverend chapter or others may never remove [the royal chapel] from there”. On 7 July 1589, Anna and her descendants were granted all rights in perpetuity over the chapel.

The building works took place between August 1589 and December 1590. Receipts from the Bank of Naples note the lead sculptors Andrea Sarti and Francesco Zaccarella, who had been in partnership since 1586, and master Ceccardo Bernucci, who participated as a subordinate marble worker. Stylistic analysis, supported by a new array of close-up photographs, identifies two homogeneous groups across the work allocation. The Carrarese Sarti was most likely responsible for the effigy of Queen Bona (fig. 4), the statue of St. Stanislaw (fig. 5), and the personification of the Duchy of Bari on the right side of the monument (fig. 7). Zaccarella from Terni carried out the personification of the Kingdom of Poland (fig. 6) and the statue of St. Nicholas in the left section (fig. 8), along with the marble relief of the Resurrection on the lintel (figs. 3, 9). This panel, dismantled in 1939 and later moved to the south transept, was aligned in axis with the queen’s portrait below. Bernucci, whose documented catalogue does not include any figurative work, was probably in charge of the squares and the barren parts of the tomb. Other payments record the participation of the Carrarese marble-carver Clemente Ciottoli between September and December 1589, and of the axe master Dionisio di Bartolomeo Nencioni, to whom

10 The high altar and the choir of San Nicola in a plan of 1647. Naples, State Archive
Sarti likely delegated the wooden model.\textsuperscript{25} By the end of 1590, Sarti and Zaccarella were paid the enormous sum of 1840 ducats for the delivery of the tomb.\textsuperscript{26}

In spring 1591, the internuncio Jan Zolczyński (Italianised in the documents as Giovanni Solcinio) engaged the two lead masters again for some adjuncts. They were commissioned to create the dark slate base and its funerary inscription in gilded letters, and “le banche seu sedie”, i.e., the pendant of marble seats located at the ends of the mausoleum. Additionally, they were ordered to create a set of balustrades (the “imbalagustate”),\textsuperscript{27} and two large marble coats of arms of the Jagiellon house, which are still embedded at the top of the apsidal wall.\textsuperscript{28} The balustrades and the marble seats were lost during the restoration campaign of the 1930s, which swept away the Baroque design of the monument and rendered the Romanesque facies of the Nicolian apse.\textsuperscript{29} The funerary inscription commemorates the tomb setup in 1593. Between 1594 and 1595, the niche, in which the mausoleum sits, was adorned with “stucco, painting and gilding works” by Orazio Vannucci from Lucca, an obscure decorator who is documented in Naples in the early 1590s.\textsuperscript{30}

In 1637, two Carrara marble workers, Jacopo Lazzari and Francesco Valentino, were paid to make new balustrades that would enclose the choir area behind the iconostasis.\textsuperscript{31} This work, documented by a church plan of 1647 (fig. 10) and by a few photos of the beginning of the last century (fig. 11), was removed around the 1930s. Finally, the apsidal wall was thoroughly painted up to the conch with portraits of the ruling fam-

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\caption{Tomasz Treter, Civitas Cracoviae or Patria et Natalis Dies, 1588, incipit of the Theatrum virtutum ac meritorum Divi Stanislai Hosi. Warsaw, Biblioteka Seminarium Metropolitalnego Archidiecezji Warszawskiej}
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ily and their tutelary saints during the reign of Jan II Kazimierz (1649–1668), the last descendant of the Jagiellon-Vasa house. At this stage, the iconographic program of the monument was redefined and the theme of glorification of the Jagiellon-Vasa house replaced the memory of Queen Bona alone.

The Tomb Design and the Role of Tomasz Treter

Documents from Neapolitan archives have revealed the identities of the artists who made the marble, the gilded stuccos, and the decorations of the Sforza mausoleum. However, the architect whom Queen Anna ordered to design the tomb remains unknown. Zygmunt Waźbiński, in 1979, attributed the project to Tomasz Treter, a Polish canon of the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome, who also served as a painter, an engraver, and an advisor to Anna Jagiellon. According to Waźbiński, Treter provided a drawing from which the sculptor Andrea Sarti made a wooden model of the tomb in August 1589. This theory is based on a letter dated 26 May 1590. Queen Anna sent three draft texts for Bona’s funerary inscription to Treter, who was a resident in Rome, and instructed her trustworthy collaborator to hand them over for review to “one, at most two intendants who understand about it”. She requested that “one of those drafts, that one that they [i.e., the experts] will like the most”, would be forwarded “without delay and corrections” to Father Jan Zółczyński, who had been supervising the progress of works in Naples, and asked the
canon to let her know “which of the three drafts they have picked”. Finally, the queen encouraged Treter to share his own opinion if he wanted and enclosed in the delivery “a portrait of Bona” to be used as a specimen for the marble effigy in Bari.34

It must be pointed out that the letter of 1590 does not prove Treter’s involvement in the project. In fact, it depicts a middleman role with no decision-making power – the queen explicitly requests the draft chosen by the experts to be sent to Naples “without delay and corrections”. Ważbiński, however, believes that the project should be attributed to the Polish canon, and remarks on some “direct and indirect evidence” which, for the reader’s knowledge, may be worth summarising.

The representation of the queen kneeling in prayer in a niche was probably inspired by the portrait of Pope Sixtus V, set in his funerary monument in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (1586–1591). Anna must have received information about this work, which was publicly unveiled in the presence of the Pope himself on 27 December 1589,35 through Father Stanisław Reszka and Tomasz Treter, her two most reliable agents in Rome, who also were familiar with the artistic circle in the service of Pope Sixtus V.
The Sforza’s tomb layout also may have derived from an etching (fig. 12) of the *Theatrum virtutum Divi Stanislai Hosii*, the biography of Cardinal Stanislaw Hozjusz published by Treter in 1588. The *incipit* of this volume shows a monument which, to some extent, recalls Bona’s sepulchre, i.e., the so-called Civitas Cracoviae or “Patria et Natalis Dies”, the personification of the royal city of Krakow seated on a throne in the midsection of a tripartite mausoleum. This is flanked by a pair of allegorical figures standing in niches; a winged lion and a river deity lie at their feet. Waźbiński argues that such a syntactical array may prove a preliminary version of the Apulian tomb which originally was meant to display the dedicatee seated on a throne. Eventually, the seated effigy was turned into a genuflexing type after the portrait of Pope Sixtus V was unveiled and set up in the Liberian Basilica, in December 1589.

The preliminary project should be dated around 1584–1586. Duke Radziwiłł’s report of 1584 to King Stephen Báthory on the preservation of Bona’s corpse in the Cathedral of Bari, given during a personal meeting at the royal residence of Grodno (in today’s Belarus), must have impressed the royal family of Poland so much that around that time – almost thirty years after Bona’s death – Queen Anna allowed for the construction of a memorial to her mother. The tomb design was presumably commissioned to Treter, who had recently returned to the royal court together with the king’s nephew, Cardinal Andrea Báthory. The canon had likely attracted the rulers’ attention thanks to the publication of a number of books with illustrations that fully embodied the spirit of Counter-Reformation in Poland. Also, a recommendation letter from the chapter of Santa Maria in Trastevere could have guided the rulers’ decision in July 1585. In this letter, in fact, the Roman canon praised their Polish confere for his distinguished service to the basilica, and especially for having “taken care” of the burial of the “Cardinal of Warmia” (i.e., Stanislaw Hozjusz). Such an unexpected eulogy must have persuaded Anna Jagiellon to assign the project for Queen Bona’s monument to Treter.

The list of suggestive arguments fielded by Waźbiński in support of his attribution of the Sforza’s tomb design to Treter does not appear to be fully convincing. One would notice, in the first instance, that the funerary monuments of Sixtus V and Bona Sforza share nothing but the two sitters genuflecting in prayer (figs. 13–14). The Liberian sepulchre is an imposing square made of marble, split into two registers entirely nestled with ancient-coloured spolia. This work is also articulated by telamons on the upper architrave and is surrounded by five large narrative panel reliefs around the central niche from which the pontiff’s statue protrudes (fig. 15). By way of contrast, the Apulian mausoleum is a mighty concave wall conceived *ab imis* to be
placed in the hollow of the basilica’s apse, and it is embedded with two-tone dark and white marbles. Moreover, a 1909 watercolour painting by Mario Prayer (fig. 16) and early 1930s photographs show that the original design was pyramidal (fig. 17). It included a three-niche arch-traveled register which sustained the Resurrection aedicule in the middle; two pilasters ending in large spiral volutes on the sides linked this aedicule to the lower cornice. Between 1595 and 1650, the tomb’s pyramidal concept was radically altered by wall paintings, which covered the apsidal wall up to the conch and denied the plastic autonomy of the monument (fig. 1).

It is not sufficiently clear what may have prompted Treter, a loyal advisor of the Polish crown who was resident in Rome and almost certainly was well acquainted with the circle of artists in the Pope’s service, to appoint a team of barely known sculptors in Naples. Since the commission of Bona’s tomb was worthy of royal dignity and enormous value (i.e., about 1840 ducats), there were more suitable workshops that could have taken this job in Rome. By way of illustration, Giovanni Antonio Paracca, called Valsoldo, and Leonardo Sormani stood out among the most prominent artists who gravitated around Domenico Fontana, the Pope’s architect who designed the Sistine Chapel in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. For this worksite, Valsoldo and Sormani were ordered to make the two tomb ef-figies of Popes Sixtus V and Pius V, respectively. If Bona’s tomb had been designed in Rome after the mausoleum of Sixtus V, therefore, one would expect that any of these quite renowned workshops would be engaged. This, however, was not the case because the elaboration of the Sforza’s monument design did not transit through the Papal city.

Furthermore, Treter’s sojourn in Poland between 1584 and 1586 does not match the timing for the tomb’s commission. A letter from Queen Anna to Pope Sixtus V on 28 May 1588 suggests that the allocation of funds for the erection of the funerary monument had been arranged late-ly. On the other hand, there is little reason for backdating the plan to the time of the encounter between Báthory and Radziwiłł in Grodno in 1584 at which Anna, the patron who personally ordered the tomb, was not present. The commission of a marble sepulchre for the Duchess of Bari, to be built in the heart of the former dominions of the Polish crown in the South of Italy, entailed much more practical and cynical meaning than the filial pietas envisioned by the Duke of Olyka. It aimed to remark on the inalienable rights of the Jagiellonian house over those domains in a delicate period of political and financial instability that had followed the death of King Báthory (†1586) and the war for the succession to the throne of Krakow between the Vasa and Habsburg houses (1587–1589). The Jagiellon prerogatives in Italy included the reinstatement of a censo, the imposition of a yearly fee upon the ducal lands inherited by Bona (unpaid since the death of Sigismund II in 1572), and the return of the so-called ‘Neapolitan sums’, the exorbitant loan of 430,000 ducats that Bona herself had lent to King Philip II of Spain shortly before she passed away in 1557.

Nothing is known of Treter’s activity in Naples or Bari, and it is unlikely that he attended any stage of the monument’s construction. This is a flagrant silence for an architect who presumably designed such a work. The lack of documented connections between the Polish canon and the Neapolitan background also appears to be in contradiction with the cultural policy of the Jagiellonian house, which between the summer of 1589 and the winter of 1595 ‘settled’ in the Kingdom of Naples thanks to a host of resident agents and intermediaries. Archival documents indicate the internuncio Filip Owadowski, who signed the primary contract with the sculptors Sarti and Zaccarella (January 1589); Scipione Pulpo, the procurator to whom Queen Anna entrusted the transfer of Bona’s body from the Cathedral Church to the Basilica of San Nicola.
Jan Zołczyński, who was tasked with the work’s supervision (1590) and later ordered a few adjuncts to Sarti and Zaccarella (1591); and the abbot Stanisław Reszka, who commissioned the stuccos and the gold decorations over the apsidal wall (1594). The presence of these agents in Naples and a certain level of familiarity with its cultural environment played a crucial role in the progress of the work. Zołczyński, for example, had lived in the city since 1572. Here, he carried out diplomatic activity for Viceroy Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle and devoted himself to literature.

After a short sojourn in Płock (1585) and Włocławek (1586), he returned to Naples, where he died in 1591. Likewise, Stanisław Reszka, who moved to Naples in 1592 at the behest of Anna Jagiellon and King Sigismund III Vasa, became so intrinsic to its artistic milieu that the Sorrento poet Torquato Tasso dedicated an octave of his *Gerusalemme Conquistata* to him in 1598, and the erudite writer Giulio Cesare Capaccio described him as one of the most eminent personalities of the Neapolitan culture of the time. When Reszka died in 1600, the Bishop of Troia Jacopo Aldobrandini ordered a tomb in his honour, today lost; this was set in the church cloister of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Caponapoli, where the abbot had requested to be buried.

Finally, Treter’s skills as an architect cannot be demonstrated. To date, it is held that the canon designed the funerary monument of Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz in Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome (1580–1581) and that he authored the iconographic program of the Altemps chapel in that church (1586–1590) before focusing on the tomb of the Queen of Poland. This assumption is based on a few documents which mention the canon’s presence on both the Roman worksites. However, no record explicitly refers to Treter as an “architetto”, a title which is solely assigned to the basilica’s official architect Martino Longhi the Elder. Treter’s tasks, instead, sound closer to a site supervisor and payment administrator on behalf of the basilica’s chapter, an interpretation which is supported by the account book of the Altemps chapel. This sheds light on a delegation practice to other canons of Santa Maria in Trastevere who, just like Treter, had some knowledge of art and were involved in supervision roles. One of these was “master Diego d’Avila, canon and head of fabrication”, who assisted “master Martino our architect” and estimated the work by “Melchiorre scarpellino [stonemason] for carving our chapel and high altar, the door and counter-door with the arms, and other work that he has done in our chapel”; another was “Hercule Foldi, canon of Santa Maria di Trastevere”, who supervised the works by “Giovanni Antonio da Varese, painter and gilder” in December 1590.

In summary, evidence challenges Treter’s alleged authorship of Bona Sforza’s funerary monument and raises questions about his architectural skills. Assumptions about the involvement of the Polish canon in the tomb’s design ought to be discarded.

### Bona’s Tomb in the Context of Sixteenth-century Neapolitan Sculpture

A shortage of comparable models seems to also have inhibited a thorough understanding of the Apulian monument culture. The mausoleum of the queen of Poland, in fact, constitutes a *hapax* in the context of sixteenth-century Neapolitan sculpture, though this work was unquestionably made in the Kingdom of Naples. Take for instance the original mid-height Doric triglyphs entablature, which until 1939 split the monument into two equal registers. The tomb’s concave layout is also unprecedented. And no other examples of half-naked female personifications are attested in Southern Italian funerary sculpture; these recall the pair of Roman Virtues designed for the papal sepulchres of Paul III in St. Peter’s Basilica in the Vatican, by Guglielmo Della Porta, and of Paul IV in Santa Maria so-
pra Minerva, by Giacomo da Cassignola and Tommaso Della Porta.\textsuperscript{57}

In addition, the Sforza monument diverges from the Neapolitan tradition of royal wall tombs for major church areas (i.e., high altars or choirs). Since the Angevin age, dynastic legitimation and royal power had been entrusted to the iconography of the sitter on the throne and also to the presence of Cardinal Virtues, which were tasked with conveying the ruler’s moral qualities. The tombs of Robert of Anjou in Santa Chiara (ca. 1343–1346)\textsuperscript{58} and of Ladislaus and Joanna II of Anjou-Durazzo in San Giovanni a Carbonara (ca. 1428–1432) are to be accounted amongst the oldest and most pertinent examples in Naples.\textsuperscript{59} The sepulchre of viceroy Don Pedro Álvarez de Toledo and María Osorio de Pimentel in San Giacomo degli Spagnoli (1541–1550) also shows the royal couple kneeling in the middle of a quadrangular plinth, surrounded by four standing Virtues in the corners and a set of bas-relief plaques (fig. 18).\textsuperscript{60} This legacy was challenged by the queen of Poland’s funerary monument. The ruler’s dominating pose on the throne, in fact, was turned into a genuflected effigy in prayer, elevated as an exemplum of religious pietas. Yet, no Virtues were displayed, and the theme of royalsacred dignity was delegated to a couple of patron saints in charge of physically guarding the dead queen, namely Sts. Nicholas and Stanislaw. Two semi-nude personifications – for the first time set by the high altar of a Counter-Reformation Dominican church in the South of Italy – replaced the Virtues. They no longer alluded to the queen’s moral qualities but to her dominions, i.e., the Kingdom of Poland and the Duchy of Bari.

The anomalies which prevent the Apulian mausoleum from thoroughly fitting within the Neapolitan sepulchral tradition have been clear to most scholars who have dealt with its attribution. It is no coincidence that until the uncovering of payments that assign the statues to
Sarti and Zaccarella, two sculptors of Tuscan and Umbrian-Roman background working in the Kingdom of Naples, Bona’s tomb used to be attributed to Venetian masters based on a longstanding tradition of commercial and artistic relationships between Venice and Bari dating back to the fifteenth century. As late as the 1940s, when documented evidence left little doubt about the marble’s authorship and provenance, Leo Bruhns still attributed the tomb design to “a skilled architect, probably Venetian of the school of Jacopo Sansovino”, as he observed, certainly with a degree of embarrassment, that this monument had “little to do with the Neapolitan school”.

It seems worth reconsidering the background of the Sforza monument, which ultimately is of Neapolitan inspiration. By the time that Sarti modelled Bona’s effigy, in fact, Neapolitan sculpture accounted for a vast assortment of life-size funeral portraits of noblemen praying on their knees, some of them deferentially depicted with one hand on their chest, others with their hands together in a prayer like the Sforza duchess. Among the former group, one might mention the sculptures of Riccardo Rota from the Basilica of San Pietro a Majella, at present in a private collection (ca. 1540–1550); the consorts don Pedro de Toledo and María Osorio Pimentel in San Giacomo degli Spagnoli (ca.
1541–1550) by Giovanni da Nola and his workshop; the marble effigy of Fabrizio Brancaccio in Santa Maria delle Grazie a Caponapoli (1577–1583) by Geronimo D’Auria; the bronze statue of Fabrizio Pignatelli in Santa Maria Materdomini (1590–1611) by the Florentine Michelangelo Naccherino; and the late marble portrait of Vincenzo Carafa, part of a grandiose mixed-coloured marble tomb by D’Auria and Silvestro Ferrucci in the Basilica of Santi Severino e Sossio in Naples (1603–1611). On the other hand, the list of kneeling effigies with hands together in prayer includes the statues of Oliviero Carafa in the Cathedral of Naples (1511–1512; fig. 19) by Matteo Lombardo, the Michele D’Afflitto Count of Trivento in Santa Maria la Nova (1580–1586; fig. 20) by Francesco Cassano, and the Antonio Lauro Bishop of Castellamare by D’Auria in the church of Grazie a Caponapoli (1584–1586; fig. 21) by D’Auria. This iconographic tradition of kneeling sitters may even have inspired the effigy of Sixtus V in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Since the 1550s, in fact, Pope Sixtus V, formerly known as Cardinal Felice Peretti Montalto, had cultivated consistent relationships with Naples, where he had been regent of the Studii (i.e., the old University of Naples) at the Franciscan convent of San Lorenzo Maggiore (1553–1554) and later, general vicar of the friar order (1567–1568).

Bona’s mausoleum can be reckoned among the latest epilogues of tripartite-section tombs with life-size effigies in niches, a model introduced in Naples by the sepulchres of Galeazzo and Colantonio Caracciolo Marqueses of Vico in San Giovanni a Carbonara (ca. 1547–1557). The queen kneeling between the figures in niches of Sts. Nicholas and Stanislaw serves as a significant variatio to the traditional standing portrait and particularly relates to the most recent tomb types of Fabrizio Brancaccio and Michele D’Afflitto.

Nonetheless, the monument’s concave shape could be compared to a quite rare example, that is the illustrious curved altarpiece of Sts. Francis, Lawrence, and Anthony in the Basilica of San Lorenzo Maggiore (1528–1537) by Giovanni da Nola. A mid-seventeenth-century engraving by abbot Pompeo Sarnelli shows the superimposition of a marble relief representing the Madonna in Glory with Child on the entablature. Although this panel and its aedicule are not original parts...
of the Laurentian altarpiece, their stacking on the cornice – as in the case of the Sforza monument’s Resurrection relief – correlates with the most up-to-date trends of Neapolitan sculpture between the end of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century.

Even the two lost marble sediali (seats) on both sides of the duchess’s monument signal a local background. Their structure, recorded in old photographs (fig. 11) as well as in the 1909 watercolour by Mario Prayer (fig. 16), corresponds to the typical late-fifteenth-century funeral bench, endowed with a tripartite backrest (fig. 22). The adjunct of a trio of dark marble (or slate) boards in the Sforza’s spalliera anticipates the seventeenth-century sediale designed for the
Lastly, iconographic references to the oeuvre of Geronimo D’Auria, the preferred sculptor of feudal nobility in Naples between the death of Annibale Caccavello (†1570) and Giovan Domenico D’Auria (†1571) and the career exploits of Michelangelo Naccherino and Pietro Bernini (1590–1605), are worthy of mention. Comparisons between the tombs of Bona and D’Afllito, for instance, involve a set of narrative reliefs displayed above the entablature, commemorative epigraphs carved in gilded letters on dark marble panels, a tripartite layout, and the representation of the dedicatee kneeling between two life-size standing figures. Two ignudi are placed on the sarcophagus, one of whom holds the coat of arms, their gazes converging in the middle (figs. 2, 24). The white Carrara marble panel of the Sforza Resurrection, here attributed to Francesco Zaccarella (figs. 3, 9), also reveals formal analogies with the Mazza altarpiece in Santa Maria Monteoliveto, by Giovan Domenico D’Auria’s workshop (1567; fig. 25). These not only relate to the representation of the Risen Christ, standing in a chiasm-like position on fluffy clouds, his veil fluttering and his flag crumpled by the wind, but also to the soldier in the foreground, almost flattened by the glory of Christ, a bent leg under his fringed skirt and the other leg stretched out. A ‘twin’ soldier also...
leads the wooden *Resurrection* panel in the sacristy of SS. Annunziata by Geronimo D’Auria and Salvatore Caccavello (1578–1580; fig. 26), and a painting by Marco Pino in Santa Trofimena in Minori, near Salerno.⁷⁸

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All things considered, one should conclude that the sepulchre of the queen of Poland was made in Naples and was mostly inspired by local art. Nonetheless, some anomalies prevent us from deeming this work a consistent example of Neapolitan sculpture. Wishing to dedicate a mausoleum of highly symbolic and political impact to the ruler who had bequeathed the old dominions of the South of Italy to the royal house of Jagiellon, around 1588–1589 Bona’s heir, Queen Anna, likely entrusted the tomb design to an architect of ‘foreign’ background – i.e., not locally Neapolitan – who may have trained outside the Kingdom of Naples. After moving to its capital city, he must have eventually become intrinsic to its *milieu*; here he appointed the team of sculptors in charge of making the tomb. It will be up to future research to clarify the identity of this mysterious architect, to whom we owe one of the most elaborate and yet hardly known Late Renaissance monuments in the South of Italy.

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I am thankful to Father Gerardo Cioffari, Candida Carrino, Antonella Dentamaro, Letizia Gaeta, Helen Hills, Grażyna Jurkowianiec, and Patrizia Tosini for the fruitful discussions and their valuable suggestions. Anna Horeczky offered precious support for the translation of documents from old Polish. Father Prior Giovanni Distanti and Sacristan Donato Cassano granted special permission for taking close-up photos of the Sforza tomb in the Basilica of San Nicola.


2. “God Almighty. To Bona Queen of Poland, beloved spouse of Sigismund I, very powerful King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, Russia, Prussia, Mazovia, Samogitia. The Duchess of Bari, Princess of Rossano, daughter of Gian Galeazzo Sforza Duke of Milan and Isabella of Aragon King of Naples, gave splendour to her royal lineage and dignity to her majesty thanks to her excellent qualities. Anna Jagiellon, Queen of Poland, consort of Stephen I, having buried the kings her father, her brother, her husband and also three sisters, erected this monument to her beloved mother and assigned a dowry for holy masses to be perpetually celebrated. In the year of Our Lord 1593. She lived 65 years, 7 months and 10 days” (“D[EO], O[PTIMO], M[Aximo]/BONAÆ REGINÆ POLONIÆ, SIGISMUNDI I. POLONIÆ REGIS POTENTISS[MI], MAG.[NI] DUCIS LITHUANIÆ, RUSÆ, PRUSSÆ, MASOVIDÆ, SAMOGITIAEQUE / CONIUGI DILECTISSIMÆ, DUCISSÆ BARI, PRINCIPIQ[UE] ROSSANI QUÆ IOA[NI]IS / SOROPTI GALEATII DUCIS MEDIOLAN[ENSIS] FILIA EX ISABELLA ARAGONIA / ALPHONSI II. NEAPOLITANOR[UM] REGIS SPLENDOREM GENERIS REGLEQUE / MAIESTATIS DIGNITATEM SUMMIS DOTIBUS ILLUSTRavit, ANNA / IAGELLONIA REGINA POLONIÆ STEPHANI I. CONIUX, PATRE, FRATRE / MARITO REGIBUS, TRIBUSQ[UE] SORORIBUS HUMATIS, MARI DESIDERATISSI / MÆ PIETATIS HOC MONUMENTUM POSUIT, DOTEMQUE SACRIS PER– / PETUO FACIUNDIS ATTRIBUIT. ANNO D[OMINI] M.D.XCIII/ VIXIT ANNO LXV. MENSES VII. DIES X.”).

3. Giovan Battista D’Addosio, *Documenti inediti di artisti napoletani dei secoli XVI e XVII dalle polizze dei*

4 See Giuseppe Ceci, Nella chiesa di S. Nicola: il monumento di Bona Sforza, in: Japigia 11, 1933, 43–53.


8 “I Item lascia et vuole che il corpo suo sia portato alla venerabile chiesa dell’Annuntiata di Napoli, e ivi si facciano le pompe funerali ad arbitrio del detto re suo figliuolo et herede; et vuole et espresamente lascia che in detta chiesa s’habbia da far una cappella reale et ontuosissima ad arbitrio del detto serenissimo re sotto il titolo di San Stanislao, che s’habbia da pregare continuamente per l’anima di essa maestà testatrice et del serenissimo re suo marito di felice memoria; et della venerabile chiesa per il servimento di detta cappella, et per le preghiere che faranno continuamente lascia 300 ducati all’anno sopra la Dogana di Bari.” Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (hence forth BNE), Ms 988, Copia creationis in notarium domini Scipioni Catapani Bassinensis, et testamenti reginae Bonae reginae Bari, fols. 109r–110r, cited after Alfonso Falco, L’ultimo testamento di Bona Sforza, Bari 2000, 164. This testament rectified an earlier will of 17 May 1571, now preserved in the Diocesan Archive of Bari. See Dibenedetto and Melchiorre 1984 (as in note 7), 283–291; Vito Antonio Melchiorre, Documenti baresi su Bona Sforza, Bari 1999, 205–211.

9 Sigismund I’s testament, dated 6 May 1571, omits Bona’s last wishes about her own burial: “All rights, whatever they may be, which by the death of our Most Serene Mother, the Queen of Poland, have been devolved to us on the Duchy of Bari and Rossano and on any movable and immovable assets in the Kingdom of Naples, and whatever share of these assets that we have [are held] by His Most Serene King Philip of Spain or elsewhere, we all give, leave and bequeath them to our Most Serene sisters” (“Ius etiam omne, quodcumque illud sit, quod morte serenissimae matris nostrae Regine Poloniae ad nos in Ducatu Baresi et Rosanensi devolutum est et in omnia bona mobilia et immobilia in Regno Neapolitano, et quicquid occasione eorum apud serenissimum Regem Hispaniae Philippum et alibi habemus, ita totum serenissimam sororibus nostris damus, resignamus, legamus”, cited after Antoni Franaszek, Olga Laszczyńska, and Stanisław Edward Nahlk [eds.], Testamentum Zygmunta Augusta, Kraków 1975, 17).

10 The queen’s coffin was first set by the high altar of the Cathedral, then moved to the sacristy around 1568. See Giovanni Pinto, Riforma tridentina in Puglia: notizie storiche, Bari 1968, 41; Gerardo Cioffari, Bona Sforza: il governo dei feudi minori, in: Nicolaus: studi storici 10, 1999, 211–266.

11 “On 10 March we arrived in Monopoli. [Then] to the town of Mola; afterwards to Bari for the night. This once was the city of the Queen herself. We saw things worthy of a visit, especially the sepulchre of Saint Nicholas, Bishop of Mira. The manna leaks out from his venerable remains, some part of which I took with me to the church of Nieswież. Although I did not reveal who I was, because I disclosed that I had been a courtier of King Sigismund Augustus I was shown the body of Queen Bona, which was placed in a coffin in the sacristy of the Cathedral Church, covered with black velvet. [The body] had not been instructed to be buried yet. It is still intact, except for the upper part of her lips slightly dropping” (“Die decima Martij per rogacionem triduani, hoc est, item confessit in monasterio monopoli, ad medium mercaturae, in vellumbra et laevitate, imprimis in mento, quae quamvis denuo occurrente vidimus, praecipue sepulchrum Divi Nicolai Mireae episcopi; et cuius venerandis reliquis manna stillat, cuius aliquam partem ad ecclesiam NESWIEZH Mecum detuli. Quamvis autem quis esset illis non proderem, quod..."
tamen Sigismundi Augusti regis aulicum me fuisse profitebar, ostensum mihi fuit reginae Bonae corpus, quod in sacristia Ecclesiae Cathedrales est reposatum in tumba, nigro serico villosa coperta. Nondum enim erat sepulturae demandatum. Est adhuc integrum, nisi quod superior labri pars aliquantum delluxit.\footnote{Tomasz Treter, \textit{Hierosolymitana peregrinatio, illustrissimi domini Nicolai Christophori Radzivili ducis in Olika et Nyewiesz}, comitis in Szydlowiec [...] IV. Epistolis comprehensa ex idiomate Polonicio in Latinam linguam translata et nunc prima edita, Branieowo 1601, 266–267.}


14 “Caeterum quod multocies iam ante feci, nunc iterum Neapolitana negotia Sanctitatis Vestrae patrocinio commendo, praecipe vero translationem corporis divae reginae Bonae, matris meae desideratissimae, cui monumentum non mediocri sumptu sumptuare iussi.” Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (henceforth AAV), \textit{Nunziatura di Polonia} 29, 18–19, cited after Jan Wladyslaw Woś, \textit{Annibale di Capua, nunzio apostolico e arcivescovo di Napoli (1544 c.–1595): materiali per una biografia}, Rome 1984, 158, no. 890.

15 The Basilica of San Nicola had belonged to the royal domains of the Kingdom of Naples since 1341, when King Robert of Anjou issued a feudal privilege in favour of the church.

16 “In previous years, they [Sarti and Zaccarella] had signed an agreement with the illustrious lord Filip Owadowski, at the time internuncio of Her Majesty, regarding the building and the making of a chapel and a sepulchre [dedicated] to the most serene Lady Bona Sforza of Aragon, Queen of Poland, in the royal church of San Nicola in the city of Bari, as it clearly appears in the agreement signed before the Acts of the Gran Curia della Vicaria on 16 January 1589 by the hand of the magnificent judge Andrea Terracciano, ‘master of acts’ of the said Gran Corte” (“Annis preteritis fecisse quandam conventionem cum illustris domino Philippo Ovadorio tunc internuntio dicte Maestatis de costruendo et faciendo quandam cappellam et sepulturem pro serenissima quondam domina Bona Sforza de Aragonia regina Poloniae in Reali ecclesias Sancti Nicolai in civitate Bari prout clare apparet per conventionem faciam penses acta Magne Curie Vicarie sub die sexto decimo Januarii 1589 manu magnifici iudicis Andreas Terracciani actorum magistri dicte Magne Curie”). Archivio di Stato di Napoli (henceforth ASNa), \textit{Notai del XVI secolo}, 175, \textit{Pietro De Tranpi}, 17, 22 May 1591, fol. 50r, unpublished document.

17 Dibeneditto 1984 (as in note 7), 301.

18 The events around the translation of Bona Sforza’s body and the concession of the royal chapel in San Nicola to the house of Jagiellon are summarized in Ceci 1933 (as in note 4); Gerardo Cioffari, \textit{Elementi religiosi ed umanitari nella personalità di Bona Sforza}, in: Dibeneditto and Melchiorre 1984 (as in note 7), 9–38, here 37; Melchiorre 1999 (as in note 8), 230.

19 ASNa, \textit{Banchieri antichi}, 172, \textit{Mari e Grimaldo}, year 1586, 211.

20 Aldo Pinto, \textit{Raccolta notizie per la storia, arte e architettura di Napoli e contorni}, parte 1, \textit{Artisti e artigiani}, 2 vols., Naples 2022, vol. 2, 2992–2994 (both volumes available at URL: www.fedoa.unina.it/9622 [last accessed 28 February 2023]).

22 The attribution of the statues of St. Nicholas and the personification of the Kingdom of Poland to Zaccca-rella is confirmed by similarities to the funeral portrait of Paolo Staibano in the Neapolitan church of San Pietro a Majella (1591) and the Virgin and Child tondo above the tomb of Galeazzo Giustiniani in Santa Maria delle Grazie a Capanopoli. These works are documented in 1591 and 1594, respectively. Cf. D'Addosio 1918 (as in note 3), 164.

23 On Bernucci's catalogue, see Pinto 2022 (as in note 20), vol. 1, 987–1012.

24 Ibid., vol. 1, 1995–1996. In January 1590 Ciottoli and Sarti are also recorded in the accounting book of the Basilica of San Paolo Maggiore, Naples "in conto dell'opra di pietre di Caserta per loro cominciata, per la facciata de la chiesa, fenestroni, et nicchie" (ibid).

25 On 18 August 1589, "Andrea Sarti marmoraro" made a down payment of 6 ducats to Dionisio of Bartolomeo Nencioni "ad conto del prezzo del modello della sepoltura della Regina Bona di Polonia che ha da far fare". Cited after D'Addosio 1918 (as in note 3), 135; see also Pinto 2022 (as in note 23), vol. 1, 860. This endorsement payment suggests that Nencioni may have been responsible for the wooden model of the funerary monument for Sarti. Di Bartolomeo, who switched between the roles of axe-master and worksite supervisor for most of his career, became a specialist in the production of wooden specimens of tombs, altars, and chapels. See Mario Borrelli, L'architetto Nencioni Dionisio di Bartolomeo Nencioni "ad conto del prezzo del modello della sepoltura della Regina Bona di Polonia che ha da far fare". Cited after D'Addosio 1918 (as in note 3), 135; see also Pinto 2022 (as in note 23), vol. 1, 860. This endorsement payment suggests that Nencioni may have been responsible for the wooden model of the funerary monument for Sarti. Di Bartolomeo, who switched between the roles of axe-master and worksite supervisor for most of his career, became a specialist in the production of wooden specimens of tombs, altars, and chapels. See Mario Borrelli, L'architetto Nencioni Dionisio di Bartolomeo (1559–1638), Naples 1967; Franco Strazzullo, La Real Cappella del Tesoro di S. Gennaro: documenti inediti, Naples 1978, 64; Gianluca Forgione, I Girolamini: storie di artisti e committenti a Napoli nel Seicento, Rome 2020, 19–29.

26 The sculptors were paid 1540 ducats on 5 December 1589. Cf. Ceci 1933 (as in note 4), 47. They also received 300 ducats extra on 12 November 1590. This latter payment has never been noticed before. See Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli (henceforth ASBN), Banco del Popolo, 2, Giornale di cassa, 12 November 1590, 966, cited in Pinto 2022 (as in note 20), vol. 2, 2994.

27 The two balustrades by Sarti and Zaccarella were likely set at the two ends of the high altar, as it appears in a church plan of 1647 preserved in the State Archive of Naples. ASNa, Cappellano Maggiore, 1156, "Capitoli risultati dalla visita della Real Chiesia di San Nicola di Bari fatta per ordine di Sua Maestà da don Antonio Del Pezzo arcivescovo di Sorrento, anno 1647."

28 "Nec non promiserunt fare in detta cappella et seputura le imbalagustate et le banche seu sedie conforme al modello, quali ultimamente è stato fatto, seui li desegni et modoli di dette balagustate et sedie, quali restano in potere del detto signor internunto. Promettino fare l'arme et una tavola de pietra maggior di quella ch'era concluso per detta conventione, cioè il scuto de ogniuna de dette arme palmi cinquo e mezo di longezza et tre e mezo di larghezza, conforme alle pietre ch'è al presente sono nella città de Bari; et li segni siano conforme allo che ordinarà detto signor Giovanni. La tavola per le pitaffie sia longa palmi cinquo e mezo et larga palmi dui e mezo, o quanto potrà venire […]; et che siano tenuti essi mastri mettere le lettere de epitaffio in lettere indorate d'oro in pietra nera, conforme alla consignazione facziali de detto pitaffio, et conforme al desegno che detti mastri lassano in potere di detto signor internunto, sottoscritte de loro proprie mani." ASNa, Notai del XVI secolo (as in note 16), fol. 50r – 50v.


30 Ceci 1933 (as in note 4), 47; Pasculli Ferrara and Nappi 1983 (as in note 7), 302, nos. 63–64; Pinto 2022 (as in note 20), vol. 2, 4085–4086.

31 Pasculli Ferrara and Nappi 1983 (as in note 7), 302, no. 66.

32 Cf. Waźbiński 1979 (as in note 5), 72. See also note 25 above.

33 Aleksander Przedziecek, Jagellonki polskie w XVI wieku, vol. 4, Krakow 1868, 325.

34 Waźbiński identifies the "portrait of Bona" as an engraving of 1568 by the Venetian printmaker Nicolò Nelli; see Waźbiński 1979 (as in note 5), 71. We cannot exclude, however, that the model was taken after a medal of 1556 by Pastorino de’ Pastorini which shows close affinities with the marble effigy in Bari and corresponds to the last official portrait of Queen Bona dated the year before her death (Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, inv. no. VII-Md-70, diam. 54.2 mm. Signed "BONA SFOR, DE ARAG. REG. POL. / P. 1556"). Cf. Alfred Armand, Les médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles, 3 vols., Paris 1883–1887, vol. 1, 205, no. 100; Friedrich von Kenner, Bildnismeidaillen der Spätrenaissance, in: Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allhöchsten Kaiserhauses 12, 1891, 84–164, here 102, fig. 7; Philip Attwood, Italian Medals in British Collections, c. 1530–1600, 2 vols., London 2003, vol. 2, 265, no. 571. A medal at the British Mu-seum in London, attributed to Steven Cornelisz van Herwijck, also shares similarities with Bona Sforza's
marble effigy in Bari (coll. no. 1925,0310.151, inscribed "BONA SфорCIA D. G. REGINA POLONIEA").


36 Warsaw, Biblioteka Seminarium Metropolitnego Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, Ms. O.55.20, Theatrum virtutum ac meritorum Divi Stanislaei Hosii […] per Thomam Treterum illustratum, Rome 1588.

See note 11 above.

37 Among the most relevant volumes published by Treter one should recall the Typus Ecclesiae Catholicae (1573), the Allegory of the Sign of the Cross (1574), and the Roma Sancta (1575). These are a trio of printed books also known as the ‘Hozjusz triptych’, commissioned by the Polish cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz, to whom Treter owed his career in Rome since 1569. See Grażyna Jurkowlaniec, L’immagine della Chiesa nelle stampe di Tomasz Treter dedicata a Stanisław Hozjusz: contributo polacco alla cultura artistica europea ai tempi della Controriforma, in: Leszek Kik (ed.), Atti dell’Accademia polacca, vol. 2, Rome 2012, 130–150; Grażyna Jurkowlaniec, Sprawozdanie Rycin: Rzeczy Twórczość graficzna Tomasa Tretera i jej Europejskie oddziaływanie, Krakow 2017, 93–124. The sanctional book Lectiones Sanctorum ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae in Transiberm (Rome, National Library), signed as “Thomas Treterus ecclesiae canonicus”, is also worthy of mention. This is a breviary of sixteen files likely ordered by Cardinal Marco Sittico Altemps around 1580, as his emblem, an ibex head, is displayed in the frontispiece’s frame. It contains prayers to the most venerated saints in Trastevere, the history of the Madonna della Clemenza, and transcriptions from medieval inscriptions of the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere. Lastly, Treter was the author of two illuminated parchment briefs confirming the privileges of the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in Santa Maria in Trastevere. Cf. Bertelli 1977 (as in note 6), 99–100; Grażyna Jurkowlaniec, Cult and Patronage: The ‘Madonna della Clemenza’, the Altemps and a Polish Canon in Rome, in: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 72, 2009, 69–98, here 73.

39 “A long time ago, Treter presented us with an opportunity, for which we should always wish him well, as he took care of the body of the Most Holy Cardinal of Warmia to be buried here in a magnificent tomb, judging that there was no worthier place in Rome where such a great man could rest until his last day” (“De debit etiam mulo pridem Treterus occasione, cur illi bene semper cuperemus, dum Sanctissimi Cardinalis Warmiensis corpus splendidissimo hic condi tumulo curavit, ratus nullum digniorem in Urbe existere locum quo vir tantus usque ad novissimam diem conquesceret”). Rome, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Capitolo di S. Maria in Trastevere, Armadio 11, Busta 9, Fasc. 9, Sepulturae varie, cited after Józef Umiński, Zapomniany rysownik i rytownik polski XVI w., ks. Tomasz Treter i jego “Theatrum Virtutum D. Stanislaei Hosii”, in: Collectanea Theologica 13, 1932, nos. 1–2, 15–59, here 19–20 and n. 23; Henryk Barycz, Polacy na studiach w Rzymie w epoce Odrodzenia 1440–1600, Krakow 1938, 151–153.

40 Waźbiński 1979 (as in note 5), 72; Mongelli 1984 (as in note 7), 79.


42 Woś 1984 (as in note 14), 158, no. 890.

43 Bona’s loan is noted in her last will of 18 November 1557; see Falco 2000 (as in note 8), 165, Intervening in the dispute between King Sigismund Augustus of Poland and King Philip II of Spain over the validity of the queen’s will, in 1561 Emperor Ferdinand of Habsburg (who was Sigismund’s father-in-law and Philip’s uncle) confirmed the restitution of the Duchy of Bari, the Principality of Rossano, and the lands of Ostuni and Grottaglie to his nephew. He also proposed that the king of Spain should return the money that he had borrowed from Bona. Cf. Ludovico Pepe, Storia della successione degli Sforzeschi negli stati di Puglia e Calabria, Bari 1900, 268–270. The Spanish king ordered an annual payment of 43,000 ducats from the Customs of Foggia (Dogana di Foggia) to the king of Poland. However, the latter was unable to collect the yearly sum mostly because of the opposition of the local population which was also subject to Spanish taxation. Ultimately, in 1571 Philip instructed the Royal Chamber of Naples (the Regia Camera della Sommaria) that “the payment of the forty-three thousand ducats that [the Kingdom of Poland] is due to receive from the Customs of Foggia should not be postponed any further”, cited and translated after BNN, MS XV.B.11, Royal Letters, 234; however, this command did not have any effect.
It seems that the Polish canon never left Rome, except for a short stay in Poland in 1584–1586, and then again after 1593 when he permanently returned to his homeland. Not by chance, Anna requested that her consultant find experts to approve the tomb inscription whilst she personally assigned major roles to her collaborators residing in Naples.

Pasculli Ferrara and Nappi 1983 (as in note 7), 107, 302, nos. 63–64; Pinto 2022 (as in note 20), vol. 2, 4085–4086.


Stanisław Kot, Z dziejów propagandy polskiej w Neapoli w wieku xvi. Dyplomaci polscy w Neapoli, Kraków 1928, 18–20.


Over the last forty years, Italian scholars have often referred to Treter as the creator of the “iconographic program” of Bona Sforza’s tomb, an expression which has been frequently (mis)used to justify the attribution of a royal monument design to a Polish canon who neither sources nor documents ever indicate as an “architect”. It should be emphasised, though, that in post-Michelangelesque architecture the iconographic program of a monument cannot be split from its design since the sole director behind both is the architect himself. Attributing the iconographic program of Bona’s tomb to Treter, thus, means nothing but acknowledging his competence as an architect. However, these skills are challenged by the deafening silence of sources and documents on his account, and also by the lack of comparable works.


See, most recently, Regine Schallert, Et novus ex solido revirescit marmore Phoenix: Das Grabmal für Papst Paul IV in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, in: Joachim Poeschke and Britta Kusch-Arnold (eds.), Grabmäler und Begräbniseremoniell in der italienischen Hoch- und Spätrenaissance (Praemium vir-


59 Ladoslaus and Joanna’s sarcophagus is sustained by four caryatids placed upon a base plinth, which represent Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, and, for the first time in Naples, Magnanimity. Two more couples of Virtues (Hope and a Military Virtue, and Charity and Faith) also flank the royal couple. See Tanja Michalsky, Tombs and the Ornamentation of Chapels, in: Maria B. Hall and Thomas Willette (eds.), The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy, Farnham 2015, 233–298. On Ladoslaus’s tomb see particularly Gabriele Donati, Andrea Guardi: uno scultore di costa nell’Italia del Quattrocento, Pisa 2015, 36–55, 83–107, 183–184 (with further literature).


61 Pompeo Litta, Le famiglie celebri italiane, vol. 1, Milano 1859, pl. 1; Armando Perotti, Bari dei nostri nonni, Bari 1920, 444. Late artistic ties between Venice and Bari are also proved by a Titian-style Venetian painting representing the miracles of St. Nicholas in Rome and Bari, now set on a private altar in the counterfaçade of the Basilica of San Nicola Bari. See Marcello Colusso, Un’opera veneta nella basilica di San Nicola di Bari, in: Notizie da Palazzo Albani 15, 1986, no. 2, 34–36.


64 See Ceci 1906 (as in note 51), 138; Michael Kuhlemann, Michelangelo Naccherino, Münster 1999, 211, n. 137. 


70 The common thread that links the kneeling portrait of Sixtus V to Neapolitan models has already been noticed by Paola Di Giammari, La statua di Sisto V del Valsoldo nella Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore: tra magnificenza, attivismo religioso e scelta spaziale, in: Adriano Amendola (ed.), Lusin- gare la vista: il colore e la magnificenza a Roma tra tardo Rinascimento e Barocco, Città del Vaticano 2017, 165–184.


72 The high-altar chapel was granted to Antonio Cici nellì in 1528, cf. Carlo De Lellis, Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra dell’Engenio Caracciolo [1689], ed. by Elisabetta Scirocco, Michela Tarallo, and Alessandro Grandolfo, vol. I, Naples 2013, 248–249. URL: http://www.memofonte.it/home/files/pdf/DE_LELLIS_AGGI-
The marble panel of the Madonna in Glory with the Child was probably made around 1532 by Giovanni da Nola for his own private chapel in the Basilica of San Lorenzo Maggiore. This was located near the “pon-tone”, a gate which gave access to the convent from the old choir area. See Gaetano Filangieri, Documenti per la storia, le arte le industrie delle Provincie napoletane, vol. 6, Naples 1891, 111; Morisani 1941 (as in note 72), 314–315. The stacking of the marble relief of the Madonna in Glory on the high altar’s cornice dates to around 1654. In the 1930s, this was moved to the southern transept, where it is still displayed. See De Lellis 1689 (as in note 72), 249; Gino Chierici, Il restauro della chiesa di San Lorenzo a Napoli, in: Bollettino d’arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 23, 1929–1930, 24–39.


The D’Afflitto sedila, which was part of the sixteenth-century family chapel setting by the high altar of Santa Maria la Nova, was likely renovated around 1632–1635, when the Lombardi sculptor and architect Cosimo Fanzago transformed the presbytery area of the church. See Viviana Costagliola, La chiesa di Santa Maria la Nova: primo saggio di una topografia storica, PhD dissertation, University of Naples “Federico II”, XXXII cycle, Naples 2020, 153. A payment made in 1642 by Geronimo D’Afflitto, Duke of Barrea, to Fanzago also records the “polishing of the marble memories and statues of his ancestors in Santa Maria della Nova”, and suggests works upon the ancestors’ tomb and the sedila. Cited after Gaetana Cantone, Napoli barocca e Cosimo Fanzago, Naples 1984, 381, n. 36.
