

Exorcising the Borgia from Urbino: Timoteo Viti's Arrivabene Chapel

ROBERT G. LA FRANCE, *David Owsley Museum of Art, Ball State University*

Bishop of Urbino Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene selected the foreign saints Thomas Becket and Martin of Tours as patrons for his burial chapel. Montefeltro court artist Timoteo Viti decorated the chapel with the saints' images, including a fresco of Saint Martin exorcising a demon from a cow. This article argues that the chapel's unusual, allegorical iconographic program condemns Cesare Borgia's campaigns to dominate Central Italy. It also proposes that the kneeling figure in the altarpiece's lower right register portrays the bishop's heir. Finally, the accomplishment of the Arrivabene chapel demonstrates Timoteo Viti's artistic independence from his famous colleague and collaborator, Raphael.

INTRODUCTION

IN 1504, FOLLOWING Duke Guidubaldo da Montefeltro's (1472–1508) triumphant recapture of Urbino from Cesare Borgia (1475–1507), the city's dying bishop, Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene (1439–1504), selected two foreign saints, Thomas Becket and Martin of Tours, as patrons for his burial chapel in the cathedral. The Montefeltro court artist Timoteo Viti (1469–1523) painted an altarpiece with their images (fig. 1) and designed the chapel's now-lost fresco decoration, in which the main scene portrayed St. Martin exorcising a demon from a cow.¹ This article argues that the unusual iconographical choices for both the altarpiece and fresco represent a rare allegorical condemnation of Cesare Borgia's campaigns to dominate

I would like to thank *Renaissance Quarterly's* anonymous readers as well as Babette Bohn, Bonita Cleri, Areli Marina, Heather Hyde Minor, Vernon Hyde Minor, Emanuel Rota, Carlo Taviani, and Timothy Wilson. Research for this article was conducted during a Hanna Kiel Fellowship at the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies at the Villa I Tatti and with funding provided by the Campus Research Board at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

¹The major sources on the commission include Hollingsworth, 346; Moroni, 51–53 and 122–25 (cat. no. 4); Ferriani, 2009; Cleri, 2005, 407–26; Ferino Pagden, 1979; Pungileoni, 11; Vasari, 4:268. Scholars often follow Vasari and unfairly characterize the elder Viti as an unimaginative follower of the younger Raphael, despite evidence of bias and manipulation in Viti's biography in the *Lives of the Artists*. See La France.

Renaissance Quarterly 68 (2015): 1192–226 © 2015 Renaissance Society of America.

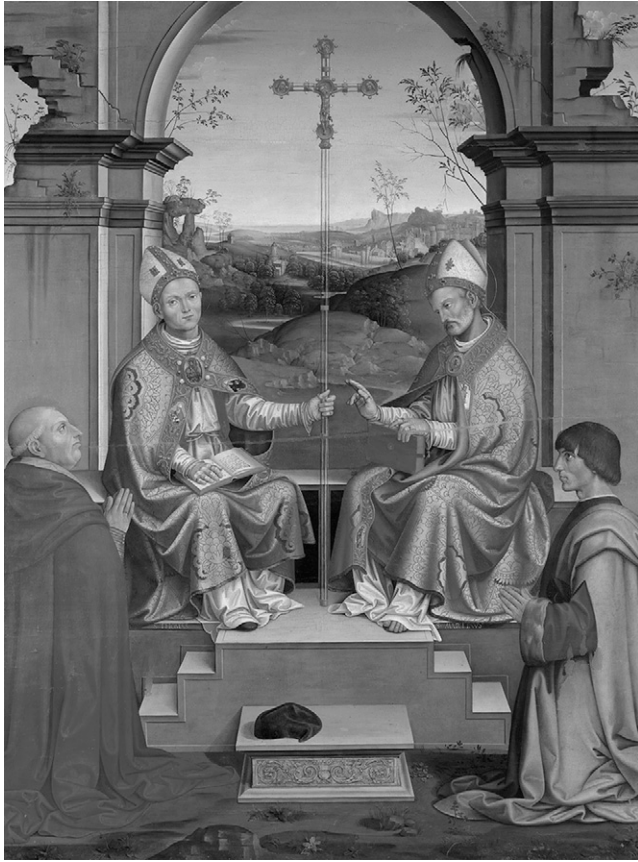


Figure 1. Timoteo Viti. *Saints Thomas Becket and Martin of Tours with Two Donors* (the Arrivabene altarpiece), 1504. Oil and gold on panel, 204 x 156 cm. Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, 1990 DE 234. Mondadori Portfolio / Electa / Art Resource, NY ART433987.

Central Italy, and exculpate the bishop from the taint of collaboration with the Borgia regime. It further proposes a new identification for the young man accompanying the bishop in the Arrivabene altarpiece.

The Mantuan prelate Giovanni Pietro (alias Giampietro) Arrivabene served as bishop of Urbino from 1491 until his death in 1504.² His last will and testament, written eight days before his death on 25 March, ordered the construction of a new chapel dedicated to Saint Martin, bishop of Tours, and Saint Thomas, archbishop

²Surprisingly, the early volumes of the venerable *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* omit Arrivabene. For the bishop's biography, see Chambers, 1984; Ligi, 1953, 2:120–26.

of Canterbury, near the cathedral's crossing.³ The document provided an endowment of 300 gold ducats and a full complement of liturgical vestments, furnishings, missals, and a portable altar for the chapel. It also earmarked an additional 100 gold ducats for the chapel's decoration, stipulating that an altarpiece depict both saints, and that a tomb slab be placed in the floor before the altar.⁴ The will charges two powerful executors, Duchess of Urbino Elisabetta Gonzaga and the city's podesta Alessandro Ruggieri, with carrying out the bishop's wishes.

On 15 April 1504, the executors contracted to pay the painters Timoteo Viti and his assistant Girolamo Genga (ca. 1467–1551) sixty-five ducats — to be subtracted from the designated 100 ducats — for their work on the altarpiece and for the purchase of plaster, sand, and scaffolding to fresco the chapel.⁵ An episcopal visitation in 1657 revealed that these frescoes, which depicted Saint Martin's Miracles, once filled the chapel walls, the arch, and the vault or vaulted opening, but had been whitewashed at the time of Bishop Benedetto Ala (1610–20) because of their poor condition.⁶ On 12 January 1789, the cathedral's dome collapsed adjacent to the chapel, and the frescoes were lost during the reconstruction of the church in the neoclassical style by Giuseppe Valadier (1762–1839).⁷ The altarpiece survived with minor damage, and is currently displayed in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche.

³See the document (Urbino, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Notarile, Notaio Federico di Palo da Monteguiduccio, *Testamenti*, 1496–1520, vol. 239, fols. 25^r–30^r) as excerpted from the original Latin, summarized in English, and translated into Italian in Ferino Pagden, 1979, 137–38 and 141–42nn49–51; Chambers, 1984, 435–36; Cleri, 2005, 420–26, respectively. The will was written and notarized on 17 March 1504, and an ambiguous addendum by the notary suggests that the bishop died on the evening of 18 March. See *ibid.*, 426. This date of death was first reported by Pungileoni, 11–13; while Ligi, 1953, 2:125, asserts that the bishop expired on 19 March. Yet the trustworthy anonymous chronicler of Urbino clearly states that Bishop Arrivabene died on 25 March: Madiati, 451. For the chronicle's reliability, see Clough, 1981d.

⁴See Ferino Pagden, 1979, 142n51. The testament instructs that the tomb slab resemble the one the bishop had previously commissioned for his brother Giovanni Arrivabene in the church of S. Maria del Popolo in Rome: Cleri, 2005, 420. Documentation of Giovanni Arrivabene's lost sepulcher has yet to be uncovered.

⁵See Ferino Pagden, 1979, 142n52. The duchess was absent and Alessandro Ruggieri acted on her behalf.

⁶Cleri, 2009, 75; Cleri, 2005, 408–10, esp. 410; Ferino Pagden, 1979, 138.

⁷Prior earthquakes on 24 April 1741 and 3 June 1781 had weakened the structure, and cracks appeared in the vaults in 1787: Negroni and Cucco, 7; Negroni, 127–43. For the location of the chapel, the last on the right side of the nave before the crossing, see the plan and elevation of the pre-collapse church as depicted in two late eighteenth-century engravings based on drawings by Giuseppe Valadier in Negroni and Cucco, 2 (cat. nos. 2–3); and in Negroni, 194–95 (pl. 2–3) (both after the examples in Urbino, Museo Diocesano Albani).

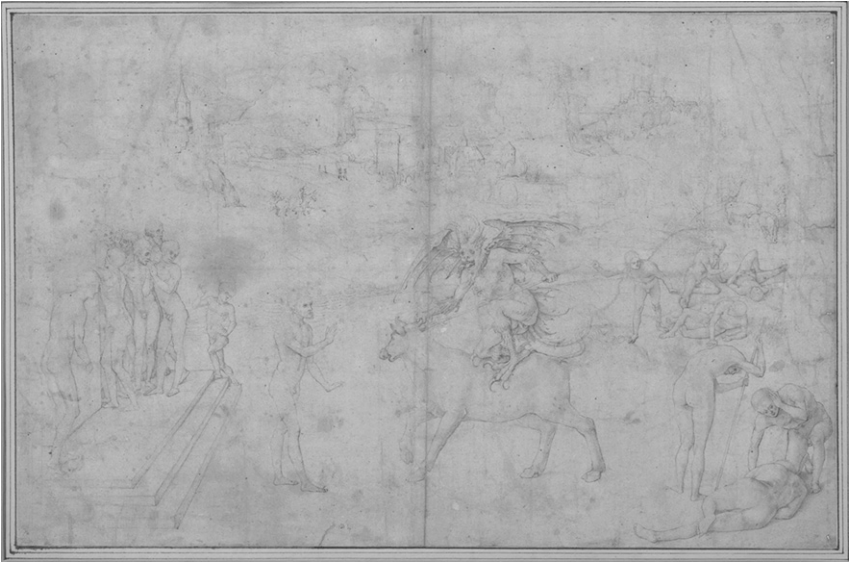


Figure 2. Timoteo Viti. *Miracle of Saint Martin Exorcising a Demon from a Cow*, 1504. Pen and ink on paper, 265 x 410 mm. Vienna, Albertina, 1458. © Albertina, Vienna www.albertina.at.

In 1979 Sylvia Ferino Pagden identified a pen drawing in the Albertina, Vienna, as Timoteo Viti's compositional study for a *Miracle of Saint Martin* frescoed in the Arrivabene chapel (fig. 2).⁸ The drawing displays more than a dozen nude figures in various poses along with the saint, a demon, and a cow. These are set into a broad landscape that was likely intended to cover a wide surface area. Ferino Pagden also associated several individual figure studies with the scene, including detailed drawings of the collapsed bodies in the right background, which suggests that even these subsidiary figures were greatly enlarged for the fresco.⁹ Given these reasons and the modest postwar budget for the decoration, the Albertina drawing most likely depicts the main or largest scene frescoed in the chapel.

⁸Ferino Pagden, 1979, 128 (fig. 1), captions "*Wunder des hl. Martin*" from the *Golden Legend* and identifies its ultimate source in Sulpitius Severus, 11:42–43 (*Dialogues* 2.9).

⁹See the *Study of Nude Male Leaning Forward, Seen from Front*, black chalk on white paper glued to backing, 255 x 208 mm, Florence, Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 15817F in Ferino Pagden, 1979, 129 and 131 (fig. 5); Ferino Pagden, 1982, 131–33 (cat. nos. 81–82; fig. 101); Malke, 144–45 (cat. no. 70). Also the *Study for Two Nude Male Figures on Ground*, black chalk, 240 x 363 mm, Paris, Louvre, 1870 RF 45 in Ferino Pagden, 1979, 129 and 130 (fig. 3); Bacou, 17–18.

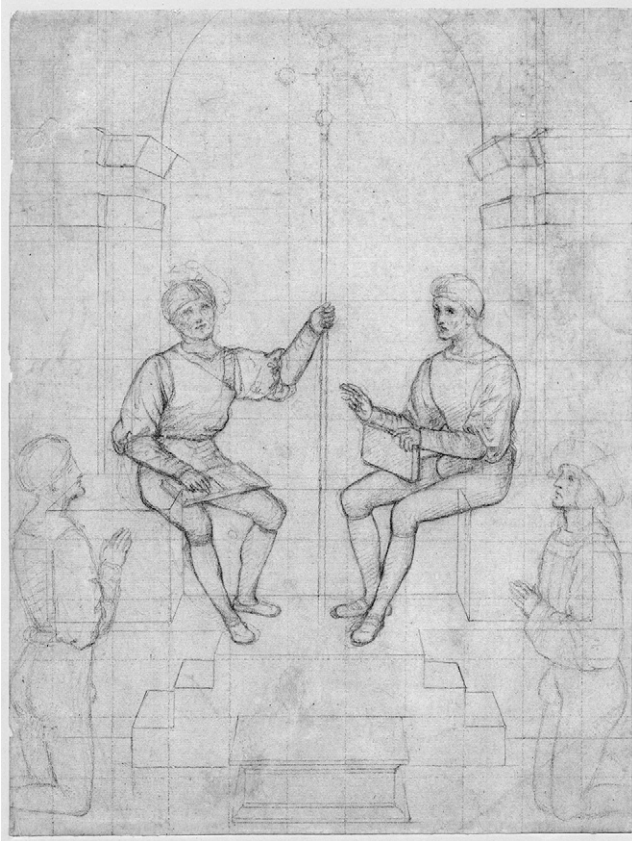


Figure 3. Timoteo Viti. *Compositional Study for the Arrivabene Altarpiece*, 1504. Black chalk on paper, 342 x 260 mm. London, British Museum, 1895-9-15-606. © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY ART477862.

The April 1504 contract also mentions designs for the chapel, which may have included the Albertina drawing and a compositional study for the altarpiece in the British Museum, London (fig. 3). In addition, writers and art historians from Vasari forward agree that, despite Genga's documented participation in the project, Viti alone painted the altarpiece, and they attribute all known preparatory drawings for the altarpiece and the main fresco to him.¹⁰ Scholars also agree that the young Raphael, Timoteo Viti's friend and subsequent collaborator, had nothing to do with the Arrivabene commission's planning or

¹⁰Vasari, 4:268, adds that Timoteo painted the middle of the chapel, while Pungileoni, 12, asserts that Genga painted all of the frescoes. Genga apprenticed with Signorelli and Perugino before returning to Urbino and collaborating with Viti. See Petrioli Tofani, 1969a, 20–23; 1969b, 39–40 and 44.

execution.¹¹ At the time, Viti was the principal Montefeltro court painter, a position he obtained after the death of Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi (1430/40–94).¹²

In Arrivabene's altarpiece, Viti depicted the bishop-saints Thomas and Martin seated side by side on a raised dais in front of a partially ruined, classicizing architectural backdrop that opens onto an extensive landscape. The figures' elegantly restrained poses paired with the glowing palette of saturated colors and minutely detailed, verdant topography reveal Viti's training in Francesco Francia's studio and preference for the decorous *maniera devota*, or devout style.¹³ The saints wear the gloves, rings, and miters characteristic of their offices, and are wrapped in gold damask copes lined with colored silk and edged with embroidered orphreys. Saint Thomas grasps the transparent shaft of an elaborate rock crystal and gold processional cross while pressing a liturgical book open on his lap, whereas Saint Martin rests a closed volume on its edge on his thigh. The pale, tonsured, gray-haired man in red kneeling on the lower left is a posthumous portrait of Bishop Arrivabene, while the younger figure at bottom right is often identified as the then-living Duke Guidubaldo da Montefeltro.¹⁴

Prior studies have noted that Arrivabene, Saint Thomas, and Saint Martin all held episcopal office, and proposed that the bishop of Urbino modeled his life after these saints' examples.¹⁵ There has been, however, no further

¹¹Raphael spent most of 1504 away from Urbino, as he is documented in Perugia in early 1503 and likely resided there through 1505, before departing for Florence: Henry and Plazzotta, 33. Vasari states that Raphael later called Timoteo to Rome to assist him with the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria della Pace (ca. 1510–14): Vasari, 4:267; Hirst, 165–68; Henry and Plazzotta, 58.

¹²Jones and Penny 8; Henry and Plazzotta, 18.

¹³For Carlo Cesare Malvasia's reliable account of Viti's training and Francia's devout style, see Dempsey, 64–70.

¹⁴Cleri, 2005, 417–18; supported by Ferriani, 2008, 151; Ferriani, 2009, 140. The figure is first identified as Guidubaldo by Pungileoni, 12–13. An alternate identification as the subsequent Duke Francesco Maria I Della Rovere is chronologically impossible: Lazzari, 9–10.

¹⁵Chambers, 1984, 436: "It was to these two saints (as well as to the Madonna and St. Crecentino) that Giovan Pietro commended his soul, though just why he regarded them as his special protectors (apart from the fact that both were bishops) is not clear." Similarly, Ferriani, 2009, 140, states: "The chapel's two titular saints thus derive from Arrivabene's choice, which in these two figures of bishops he appears to want to state that he had always followed their example." She cites Moroni, 124, who asserts, without explaining, "By choosing these two titular saints for the chapel he founded, Bishop Arrivabene demonstrated that his position as bishop of Urbino accorded with the two saints' economic and political situation."



Figure 4. Timoteo Viti. Saint Thomas's cope button with an image of Saint Crescentinus, and embroidered orphrey panels with images of Saints Blaise and Francis on the left, and the Blessed Mainardo and Saint Stephen on the right (detail of fig. 1). Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo — Soprintendenza per i Beni Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici delle Marche — Urbino, Archivio Fotografico.

explanation for the bishop's selections from the vast community of bishop saints, nor any indication that any chapel in the cathedral had ever been dedicated to Thomas or Martin. Indeed, their presence was so uncommon and their correct identification so important that Viti labeled them with gold letters, an infrequent practice for the artist. Closer examination reveals that Saint Thomas's jeweled cope button represents Urbino's patron Saint Crescentinus (ca. 276–303) lancing a dragon (fig. 4).¹⁶ In addition, the saints' orphreys bear tiny, indistinct images of saints identifiable by their attributes and context: Blaise, donning a miter and clutching the wool card of his martyrdom; Francis, dressed in a brown cassock holding a crucifix; the Blessed Mainardo, bishop of Urbino, with crook and miter, featuring a long white beard and brown robes; Stephen, in a red dalmatic with

¹⁶As identified by Ferriani, 2009, 140, who considers this unobtrusive image of the Roman soldier, dragon slayer, and martyr Crescentinus a reference to Urbino's liberation from Cesare Borgia. For the cult of Saint Crescentinus in Urbino, see Ligi, 1968, 13–26. Vickers, 309–10, argues for an Anglocentric interpretation of the panel, and accordingly identifies the cope button as Saint George and the dragon, the insignia of the English Order of the Garter. He recognizes Saint Sebastian in the painted orphreys, but sees Saints Augustine and Gregory the Great, and discerns unlikely representations of Canterbury Cathedral and Stonehenge in the background landscape.



Figure 5. Timoteo Viti. *Figure Study for Saint Martin in the Arrivabene Altarpiece* (a.k.a. *Study of a Seated Youth*), 1504. Black-and-white chalk on pale brown paper, 262 x 178 mm. London, British Museum, 1953-12-12-2. © The Trustees of the British Museum / Art Resource, NY ART477829.

a stone on his head; Anthony of Padua, wearing a gray hooded mantle over a brown tunic and holding a lily; and Sebastian, nearly nude and bound to a tree. These marginalia confer local citizenship upon the two foreign saints by literally cloaking them in popular city and regional cult images.¹⁷

Viti reinforced Saints Thomas's and Martin's equal status and significance in the altarpiece by seating them on the same level and providing them with

¹⁷Saints Crescentinus, Blaise, and the Blessed Mainardo were long venerated in Urbino's cathedral, while Sebastian's, Francis's, and Stephen's cults were ubiquitous throughout the Italian Peninsula. See Negroni, 74–75.



Figure 6. Timoteo Viti. *Drapery Study for Saint Martin in the Arrivabene Altarpiece*, 1504. Black-and-white chalk with wash on white paper, 237 x 164 mm. Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, 137. © Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro.

comparable meaningful gestures. Saint Thomas looks toward the viewer, and Saint Martin bestows a two-fingered benediction on the departed patron. Several surviving preparatory drawings trace the nonlinear development of these figures. In Saint Martin's case, both a black-chalk individual figure study of the artist's hollow-eyed shop assistant (fig. 5) and the squared compositional drawing depict a studio stand-in gazing into space. A black-chalk drapery study with white heightening (fig. 6) and the final painted altarpiece show that Viti first tentatively experimented with Saint Martin's gestures, then ultimately adjusted the saint's head and hand to bless Bishop Arrivabene. Each drawing displays Timoteo's distinctive style through a combination of reinforced contours and nearly horizontal, rigidly parallel hatching lines.

Viti's labor-intensive process, which likely included the production of additional full-scale paper cartoons (now lost), was part and parcel of Central Italian practice of the period.¹⁸ Viti's studies of lanky, wiry nudes for the miracle fresco also reveal his admiration for Luca Signorelli's figural style, which had reached the height of its popularity in the years following the unveiling of the spectacular San Brizio chapel in the cathedral of Orvieto (1502).¹⁹ The novelty of the Arrivabene altarpiece and miracle fresco lies not in the individuality of the artist's style or technique, but rather in how the ensemble of figures and actions express the patron's wishes through the chapel's allegorical conceits. Yet the altarpiece's intelligent employment of gesture, sacred legend, and heraldic symbol only becomes apparent after a detailed examination of the complex circumstances surrounding the patron's demise and the chapel's execution.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CAREER OF GIOVANNI PIETRO ARRIVABENE

Arrivabene hailed from a dynasty of Mantuan notaries.²⁰ He studied Greek and Latin in Milan and Pavia with Francesco Filelfo, who nicknamed him Eutybios — Greek for “lucky” and a pun on the auspicious Italian surname Arrivabene, or “fortunate.”²¹ As a newly minted Renaissance humanist scholar, Arrivabene tried his hand at encomiastic Latin poetry, although in the long term he showed his true gifts were for letter-writing and administration.²² He began his secretarial career in the 1460s by serving Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga (1444–83) in Mantua, Bologna, and Rome, while writing gossipy reports to the cardinal's mother, Barbara of Brandenburg. When Cardinal Gonzaga died in 1483,

¹⁸Viti's exact method of transferring designs to panel paintings and frescoes has yet to be confirmed by scientific examination. For Central Italian practices, see Bambach, 33–80. Viti was a prolific draftsman with a high survival rate for his drawings. Anna Forlani Tempesti attributes more than 100 drawings to him, as compared to about seventy extant drawings by Signorelli and his school or about thirty surviving drawings by Genga. Viti displays both a conventional use of black chalk as well as pen-and-ink hatching and a pioneering employment of colored chalks, which Thomas McGrath considers an important Central Italian precedent for Federico Barocci's use of pastels. See Forlani Tempesti, 167 and 179–80; McGrath, 4–5 and 8nn17–18.

¹⁹The similarities are so striking that Bernard Berenson and others attributed some of Viti's drawings to Signorelli. Viti's nudes also demonstrate an affinity with his partner Genga's figural style as derived from Signorelli. See Forlani Tempesti, 175; Ferino Pagden, 1982, 131–33 (cat. nos. 81–82); Henry, 6.

²⁰The family palace in Mantua has been attributed to the architect Luca Fancelli: Marani and Perina, 2:94–95. It displays a large coat of arms and is now a bed and breakfast.

²¹Chambers, 1984, 398n7. I thank Gábor Buzási for his enlightening discussion of the pun.

²²Arrivabene penned his literary works ca. 1459 at the beginning of his career and they include a tribute to Pope Pius II Piccolomini (*Carmina ad Pium II*) and a pseudo-Virgilian panegyric for the Gonzaga family of Mantua (*Gonzagidos*). See Chambers, 1984, 399–412, for an extensive discussion of the letters.

Arrivabene moved to the papal curia where he climbed through the offices of apostolic secretary and chancery abbreviator to protonotary in 1488. His name and notarial sign appear on several papal bulls and briefs and he often acted as de facto Mantuan ambassador to the Holy See.²³

In a biographical study of the bishop, David Chambers describes Arrivabene as a Vatican insider with an office in the Apostolic Palace and direct access to the pope.²⁴ Arrivabene served as secretary to three popes: Sixtus IV della Rovere, Innocent VIII Cybo, and Alexander VI Borgia. He also acted as Sixtus IV's ambassador to King Ferdinand I (alias Ferrante) of Naples in 1484. Although Arrivabene was a possible candidate for cardinal, in 1491 Innocent VIII appointed him bishop of Urbino instead.²⁵ The new bishop remained with the curia in Rome for more than a year before taking up residence in his diocese. In 1498, Pope Alexander VI specifically recalled Bishop Arrivabene from Urbino to Rome to act as his personal secretary for yet another year.²⁶ Arrivabene was proud of his titles, often signed documents as both bishop and protonotary, and instructed in his will that his epitaph list the popes he had dutifully served as well as his chancery, diplomatic, and pastoral offices.²⁷ In the altarpiece, however, there is no sign of his wide-brimmed black protonotary's hat or bishop's miter. Timoteo Viti painted him wearing an episcopal red cloak, but kneeling bareheaded before Saints Thomas and Martin, with only a soft, black skullcap resting humbly on the pedestal at the saints' feet.²⁸

²³Ibid., 429.

²⁴Ibid., 397–438.

²⁵Ibid., 423 and 434, reports rumors that Ferdinand had urged Innocent to award Arrivabene the cardinal's hat in 1491, but was blocked by Sigismondo Gonzaga (Duchess of Urbino Elisabetta Gonzaga's brother), who feared the appointment would damage his own prospects.

²⁶Ibid., 432.

²⁷Cleri, 2005, 420–21, transcribes the instructions concerning the epitaph from Arrivabene's will, which specified that the inscription state that the bishop had served as secretary to three popes and as ambassador to King Ferdinand. Chambers, 1984, 436n224, cites a seventeenth-century record of the actual Latin epitaph, which adds the bishop's year of death (1504), age (64 years, 6 months), and length of reign (13 years, 7 months). The actual tombstone may be immured into the courtyard of the current bishop's palace in Urbino but is too damaged to read: *ibid.*, 436n222.

²⁸Pungileoni, 13, describes the image of the bishop as "wrapped in an ample cloak, rose in color, of a secret pontifical chamberlain [*cameriere pontificio segreto*] with his black biretta resting on a step," which is inaccurate. Likewise, Chambers, 1984, 438, assumes that the black hat depicted on the pedestal is a protonotary's "cap of office." Rather, the crushed hat appears to be a more generic zucchetto (Latin *pileolis*), a type worn by priests and prelates of all ranks. In the sixteenth century, the official ecclesiastical headgear for papal protonotaries was a wide-brimmed black pilgrim's hat with black cords and tassels, as often illustrated in heraldry. Later, seventeenth-century regulations permitted violet cords and red tassels, while modern protonotaries wear purple hats. See Beck, 344; Pasini-Frassoni, 13 and color illus. hat no. 6.

Chambers's analysis of Arrivabene's letters reveals a complex, contradictory character. The secretary-bishop's friends described him as modest, serious, prudent, and learned — though by middle age, he also harbored a “self-righteous sense of persecution” coupled with a perceived need to defend himself from calumny.²⁹ For example, in 1483 he wrote the Marquis of Mantua to vigorously protest against accusations of dishonesty when he was the executor for Cardinal Gonzaga's estate. In 1488, Arrivabene claimed that his close relationship with Pope Innocent VIII sparked jealous slander, and he urged friends to write letters in his defense.³⁰ Arrivabene was fortunate, indeed, to receive the bishop's miter of Urbino, which was closely allied to his native Mantua through Duke Guidubaldo's marriage to Elisabetta Gonzaga. He exercised his authority as bishop conscientiously and energetically. He reorganized the cathedral's account books, enforced careful recordkeeping, hired masters to teach grammar and singing, composed an office for Saint Crescentinus, conducted visitations, and proposed improvements to diocesan churches — in short, he endeavored to make his mark as a dedicated reformer.³¹ But Arrivabene's loyalties to city, office, and the Church itself would be sorely tested when Pope Alexander's son, Cesare Borgia, captured Urbino twice in an effort to establish a monarchy within the Papal States.

THE MILITARY CAMPAIGNS OF CESARE BORGIA

A review of Central Italian geography, as well as relevant military and political history, helps to contextualize the bishop's difficult situation during Cesare Borgia's three major campaigns to subjugate Central Italy in 1499–1502, preceding the Arrivabene chapel commission. Because it controls the mountainous area near a vulnerable bend joining the Renaissance iterations of the ancient Roman Via Aemilia and Via Flaminia (the main arteries connecting Emilia, Romagna, the Marches, and Umbria to the Eternal City), the capital city and entire Duchy of Urbino occupied a strategic location in the Papal States. Local lords, with nominal fealty to Rome as vicars of the pope, ruled the principal city-states in the regions along the Aemilia-Flaminia route; they included the Bentivoglio in Bologna, the Manfredi in Faenza, the Malatesta in Rimini, the Montefeltro in Urbino, and the Varano farther afield in Camerino.³² The young, ambitious Cesare Borgia, with both foreign and papal backing, plotted to seize all of this territory to form a new,

²⁹Chambers, 1984, 413; see also *ibid.*, 418 and 421.

³⁰For these events and others, see *ibid.*, 413, 421–22, and 430, which recounts Mantuan ambassador Gianlucido Cattaneo's accusation that Arrivabene had inappropriately cajoled benefices in the territory of Mantua from Pope Innocent, convincing the Gonzaga to deny Arrivabene income from these papal perks. More than a year later, Protonotary Arrivabene gained the disputed benefices by writing missives persuading powerful friends to intervene on his behalf.

³¹*Ibid.*, 431–33.

³²See the lucid account of the physical and political geography of the Papal States at the start of Cesare Borgia's campaigns in Mallett, 30–35.

hereditary duchy. On his return from France in November 1499, armed with the title of Duke of Valentinois (aka Duca Valentino) and hundreds of French lances provided by King Louis XII, Cesare marched along the Via Aemilia and vanquished the Romagna, taking the cities of Cesena, Forlì, and Imola. He then bypassed Urbino and returned along the Via Flaminia to Rome, where he held his first triumph on 25 February 1500.³³ On 29 March, Alexander VI invested Cesare with the two highest titles in the papal army, captain general and *gonfaloniere* (standard-bearer) of the Church.³⁴

Later that year, on a second campaign to consolidate his conquests, Cesare departed from Rome on 2 October with the papal blessing, financing, and armies, and marched north on the Via Flaminia past Urbino and then along the Via Aemilia into the upper Romagna, threatening Bologna. The following spring he returned with his army toward Rome by taking the direct route to Florence and making for the ancient Via Cassia, striking fear throughout Tuscany. The Florentines protested vigorously to the pope and begged protection from the king of France. Their successful entreaties closed the Cassia to Cesare's army, forcing his troops to continue by boat from Piombino.³⁵ Without the Cassian itinerary as an option, Cesare realized that he would need to secure the Via Flaminia and repeatedly traverse Montefeltro territory, near its capital of Urbino, in order to manage his conquered territories in the Romagna from Rome.

At first, this did not impede Cesare's ambitious plans. As vicar of the Papal States, the chivalrous Duke Guidubaldo da Montefeltro was the pope's vassal. He remained loyal to Alexander VI and subordinate to the captain and standard-bearer of the papal armies throughout Cesare's campaigns to conquer the cities flanking the Duchy of Urbino, despite his previous humiliating capture and ransom while in Borgia service against the Orsini at Soriano in 1497.³⁶ As

³³Ibid., 177–82; Bradford, 109–19.

³⁴Cesare Borgia received his dual titles on Sunday, 29 March 1500. Many secondary sources erroneously report that Guidubaldo held the title of *gonfaloniere* of the Church during the Borgia papacy. Rather, Pope Julius II was the first to invest Guidubaldo with the title of captain general of the papal armies much later on 15 September 1504, after the Borgia defeat: Clough and Conti, 121n26, 131, and 134.

³⁵Mallett, 191–98; Bradford, 152, with campaign summary and maps.

³⁶As vicar, Guidubaldo was obliged to provide troops to defend the pope, and had served under another of the pope's sons, Captain General and Standard-Bearer of the Church (also Duke of Gandia) Juan Borgia (1476–97), during the disastrous campaign against the Orsini. Juan's incompetence likely led to Guidubaldo's wounding and capture at Soriano. Pope Alexander VI refused to pay Guidubaldo's ransom, and Duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga produced the 40,000 ducats the Orsini required for her husband's release. See Mallett, 155–61 (he is unclear about Juan and Guidubaldo's respective military titles, and sees Guidubaldo as nursing a grudge after the Orsini campaign); Bradford, 59 (she mistakenly considers Juan Borgia captain and Guidubaldo standard-bearer); Clough and Conti, 128–30 (they demonstrate that Juan Borgia held both titles at that time while Guidubaldo held neither).

a display of his goodwill and allegiance toward the papal family, in January 1502 Guidubaldo spent more than 8,000 ducats feting Lucrezia Borgia while she was en route to marry Ferrante d'Este in Ferrara.³⁷

Meanwhile, in early 1502, Cesare, newly fashioned Duke of the Romagna, expanded into the Marches, laying siege to Camerino. The city refused to fall easily and, in June, Cesare asked Guidubaldo for safe passage of the papal artillery through Montefeltro territory to support the siege. Guidubaldo granted permission, maintaining his loyalty to the Church and its Borgia captain and standard-bearer. He couldn't foresee that on 20 June 1502, Cesare would race from Camerino to join the artillery at Cagli near the city of Urbino, and simultaneously order his forces in Fano and troops from the Romagna to converge on the Duchy of Urbino. Cesare's betrayal shocked Guidubaldo. Unprepared and surrounded, he escaped on horseback disguised as a peasant and rode through the summer night pursued by Borgia soldiers.³⁸ Cesare held Urbino for some months, until several of his captains conspired against him at the Diet of La Magione (held near Perugia) and aided Guidubaldo in retaking Urbino that October. But by December 1502 Cesare convinced the captains to rejoin him and regained control of the city. He then famously deceived, captured, and garroted his former traitors at Senigallia on 1 January 1503.³⁹ For the citizens of the Duchy of Urbino, this period was marked by the loss of lives, property, and livestock. For art historians today, the year 1502 is best remembered for Cesare Borgia's notorious sack of Urbino's ducal palace. He carted away to his fortress at Forlì the art, furnishings, and famous library established by Guidubaldo's father, Duke Federigo da Montefeltro. The booty was valued at an estimated 150,000 ducats and the transport of goods reportedly employed 180 pack mules per day for an entire month.⁴⁰

These events had unfortunate consequences for Bishop Arrivabene. Immediately upon taking Urbino in June 1502, Cesare Borgia used the bishop's palace as an instrument of his new regime. He ordered Arrivabene to

³⁷Madiai, 423; Mallett, 201. Bradford, 172, reads a certain "nervous strain" on Guidubaldo and Elisabetta's part at these festivities, but this is hindsight. In fact, Elisabetta joined the retinue and the two women traveled together as far as Lucrezia's destination of Ferrara; then Elisabetta continued to her native city of Mantua.

³⁸Mallett, 202–05; Bradford, 176–77. Before the end of the week, Guidubaldo found refuge with his Gonzaga in-laws in Mantua, then asylum and employment in Venice. A famous letter of 28 June 1502, written by Guidubaldo while in Mantua and sent to Cardinal Giuliano Della Rovere, is the main source for the detailed description of these events. For the letter's publication history, see Clough, 2002, 37n6. An idiosyncratic English translation is published in Dennistoun, 1:385–91.

³⁹Miretti; Mallett, 206–09; Bradford, 192–93; Dennistoun, 1:395–406 and 2:3–9.

⁴⁰Bradford, 184; Dennistoun, 1:394.

host the Florentine ambassadors Francesco Soderini and Niccolò Machiavelli.⁴¹ This was not unusual, as Cesare often commandeered Church property and persons to govern his Central Italian state.⁴² The diplomatic role presented Arrivabene with a quandary. On the one hand, he had known Rodrigo Borgia (Pope Alexander VI) for thirty years, respected him, had benefited from his favor, and had recently acted as his papal secretary. He had also spied for the Borgia pope in 1499.⁴³ On the other hand, Arrivabene had served the Gonzaga even longer, and shared Mantuan citizenship with the deposed Gonzaga Duchess of Urbino. He was also bishop of Urbino and feared for the safety of his flock. While irreconcilable differences between secular and religious loyalties often characterized Italian Renaissance politics, contrasting allegiances still troubled individual players — particularly those who chose sides.

Previous scholars have been unable to agree whether Bishop Arrivabene resisted Cesare Borgia or, like the legendary English vicar of Bray, nimbly shifted allegiances in order to maintain his office and ingratiate himself with the new ruler.⁴⁴ Circumstantial evidence, however, suggests that Arrivabene opposed Cesare's rule. The bishop was among the first to welcome Guidubaldo upon his brief recapture of Urbino in October 1502.⁴⁵ Moreover, Arrivabene visited La Magione on 9 November, when it served as headquarters for the anti-Borgia conspiracy.⁴⁶ Diplomatic letters confirm that, just before Urbino surrendered to Cesare for the second time, Arrivabene had publicly and privately requested refuge in Florentine territory. Piero Soderini, *gonfaloniere* for life of the

⁴¹Chambers, 1984, 434n210. The ambassadors' letter of 25–26 June 1502 from Urbino to Florence, written in Machiavelli's hand, mentions Bishop Arrivabene's presence: "the Lord [Cesare] made us lodge in the Bishop's Palace with the bishop of the land": Bertelli, 6:296 (letter 7). That Machiavelli's coambassador, Francesco Soderini, was bishop of Volterra may have made this breach of sacred and secular governmental decorum easier for Bishop Arrivabene to justify. Machiavelli's first meeting with Cesare, the model for his ideal Renaissance prince, followed on the morning of 26 June.

⁴²Cesare spent Church monies on his war machine and employed clergymen to govern and administer his newly conquered dominion, such as Giovanni Olivieri, bishop of Isernia; Francisco Lloriz y de Borja, bishop of Elna; and Cardinal Francisco Borgia, among others. See Mallett, 223.

⁴³Chambers, 1984, 434n208.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 434, refuses to speculate on the bishop's role, while Ligi, 1953, 123–25, asserts that Arrivabene resisted Cesare, without presenting evidence in support of this claim (and with errors in chronology). Clough, 1981a, 347; and Mallett, 228, compare other self-interested administrators of Cesare Borgia's state to the vicar of Bray.

⁴⁵Arrivabene welcomed Guidubaldo into the cathedral with great ceremony on Saint Luke's Day (18 October 1502): Madiati, 428.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 430.

Florentine Republic, rebuffed the bishop's entreaties to avoid provoking Cesare.⁴⁷ Arrivabene was conspicuously absent on 9 December 1502, when Monsignore Guido Staccoli officiated the Mass of the Holy Spirit in honor of the Borgia reconquest of Urbino, after which the citizens swore their allegiance to Cesare.⁴⁸ It is likely that Arrivabene had fled to his hometown of Mantua or another location outside Borgia control.

THE BORGIA BULL

Borgia rule was firmly established, and the bishop was elsewhere, when the former Montefeltro court artist Timoteo Viti was paid to paint Cesare's coat of arms on Urbino's palace of the priors and city gates on 31 January 1503.⁴⁹ These murals do not survive, but various other illuminated, painted, and sculpted examples of Borgia coats of arms do. The Borgia arms display a red bull or ox (which are often interchangeable in Renaissance heraldry) grazing on a green field over a gold background surrounded by a border with tufts of grass.⁵⁰ This emblem made its debut in Rome during the reign of Pope Alexander VI's maternal uncle, Pope Calixtus III Borgia (1378–1458). The bull features prominently on the left side of Alexander's coat of arms, while the right half shows the gold and black horizontal bars derived from his great grandfather's marriage to the Doms family, though Alexander favored his connection to

⁴⁷In the summer and fall of 1502, Soderini and the Republic of Florence had taken a cautious diplomatic approach toward Cesare, and promised him their goodwill in exchange for security against an attack. On 7 December, Soderini wrote to Machiavelli at Cesare's court in Imola: "The bishop of Urbino has been pressing me, in public and in private, about wanting permission to be able to live in our dominion: his request has been refused, and it will be refused to him and to others in that state of high rank, until one understands the mind of that lord [Cesare], because this republic is accustomed, when it turns its face in one direction, to proceed with sincerity of spirit and with true benevolence in all of its important actions": Bertelli, 7:149 (letter 72); and with minor variations in Gaeta, 3:158 (letter 62).

⁴⁸Madiai, 435–36. The bishop should have officiated this solemn ceremony. The change of government became official when Cesare's lieutenant, Antonio da Monte San Savino, traded sanctuary in the bishop's palace for quarters in the ducal palace.

⁴⁹The documented payment is cited and partly transcribed in Pungileoni, 10; and completely transcribed in Falcioni, 46 (doc. 73).

⁵⁰Renaissance heraldry does not differentiate between an ox and bull; the Borgia beast is described and depicted as one or the other at various times: Montesano, 759. See the examples of the Borgia beast grazing, charging, and rampant in the coats of arms reproduced for three generations of the family in Borgia, 2002; Borgia, 2005; Galbreath and Briggs, 84 (Calixtus III) and 87 (Alexander VI); McCarthy and Fennely, 1:180 (Calixtus III) and 205 (Alexander VI).

Calixtus (fig. 7).⁵¹ After he obtained French titles in 1499, Cesare Borgia further quartered Alexander's bipartite arms with fleurs-de-lis on blue fields. Then, upon taking command of the papal armies in 1500, he added a central vertical band with the papal pavilion and crossed keys.⁵² The bull remained a preferred family device and is conspicuously displayed in the upper right corner of Cesare's arms, as exhibited in a rare, extant, yet eroded marble relief immured into the fortress at Forlì (fig. 8).

The bull became synonymous with the Borgia family, and its image appears frequently throughout Borgia material culture. In Alexander's Vatican apartments, the Egyptian sacred bull Apis replaced the placid grazing cattle in the old family arms, while oxen, cows, and bulls proliferate in a complex decorative scheme that blends pagan and Christian symbols (fig. 9).⁵³ A bull featured on the huge papal standard mounted atop Castel Sant'Angelo, adorned the papal arms in numerous churches, and even glinted from the blade of Cesare Borgia's ceremonial sword.⁵⁴ To further bind the image of the bull to the Borgia and the family's homeland of Spain (Valencia), Cesare practiced the art of bullfighting in Rome.⁵⁵

⁵¹Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia) was the son of Jofrè de Borja y Doms and Isabel de Borja, the sister of Calixtus III. Thus his coat of arms was split between the Borgia bull on one side and the gold and black bars of the Doms family on the other. In heraldic terms, Alexander VI's arms are as follows: party; dexter; gold on ox gules feeding on a terrace vert; a border gold, charged with eight tufts of grass vert (Borja); and sinister, barry of six gold and sable (Doms): Borgia, 2002, 203–04; Borgia, 2005, 380–81.

⁵²King Louis XII of France made Cesare Duke of Valentinois in 1498, after Cesare renounced his cardinal's hat (cardinal of Valencia). In 1499, the king granted Cesare the fleur-de-lis for his coat of arms, along with other titles: Borgia, 2002, 210. On the use of the papal pavilion (a.k.a., *umbraculum*, or *ombrellone*) with a coat of arms, see Galbreath and Briggs, 30–31.

⁵³See the recent discussion of the heraldic aspects of the diverse bovine Borgia imagery, particularly in the Hall of the Saints, in Curran, 107–18.

⁵⁴In addition, prominent marble reliefs carved with Pope Alexander VI Borgia's arms are still immured into the central section of the Castel Sant'Angelo. The etched imagery on Cesare Borgia's sword combines images of Apis with scenes from the life of the owner's namesake, Julius Caesar. The Caetani Foundation in Rome currently owns the weapon, a cinquedeua of antique inspiration. Its unfinished leather scabbard, often regarded as the finest piece of Renaissance leatherwork ever produced, resides in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. 101-1869). See Diotallevi, 427–45; Bemis, 10–63; Yorke, 193 (cat. no. 2.9).

⁵⁵Cesare's skill at bullfighting is reported in several places, including a dispatch from the Venetian ambassador in Rome, Polo Capello, to the Senate on 28 September 1500: "The pope [Alexander VI] loves and fears greatly for his son the duke [Cesare], who is twenty-seven-years old, very beautiful of body and large, well made, and better than King Ferdinand [I of Naples]; he killed six wild bulls fighting from the back of a Spanish-style horse, and he cut off one [bull]'s head at the first blow, a thing that seemed great to all of Rome": Von Ranke, 3:7.



Figure 7. Unidentified Umbrian illuminator. *Coat of Arms and Portrait of Pope Alexander VI*, ca. 1492–95, from the *Christmas Missal of Pope Alexander VI*. Vatican City, Vatican Library, Borg. lat. 425, fol. 8^v. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, all rights reserved.

After the family's eventual defeat, the Borgia arms were effaced in Urbino and other conquered cities. But the memory of the Borgia bull's rampage through the cities of the Romagna and the Marches remained fresh in Timoteo Viti's mind during the spring of 1504, when he sketched Saint Martin exorcising the devil from a cow and likely showed it to Bishop Arrivabene's executors. This miracle of Saint Martin appears so seldom in Italian art that scholars have found only one other Renaissance example: a predella compartment painted two decades later in Luca Signorelli's workshop.⁵⁶ According to the story in Jacobus da Voragine's widely known *Golden Legend*, a cow possessed by the devil "roared and raged and gored many people." When the cow turned to attack Saint Martin, he ordered her to halt and identified a demon riding her (visible only to the saint). He then commanded: "Get off her back, O evil one, and stop tormenting this harmless animal."⁵⁷ The demon fled and the cow returned meekly to the herd.

In his compositional drawing in the Albertina (fig. 2) and in the lost fresco for the Arrivabene chapel, Viti represented Martin's horned cow without obvious signs of gender, such as teats. Rather, it takes the iconic pose of an animal emblem that resembles the Borgia grazing bull passant, which the artist transformed into a charging bull trampling the green fields, harming and frightening several men. In the context of Urbino in 1504, viewers would likely

⁵⁶As first noted by Ferino Pagden, 1979, 129 (fig. 2). See the catalogue entry and study of the high altarpiece for the Pieve of San Martino in Foiano, painted in the last year of Signorelli's life (1522), in Kanter and Henry, 254–55 (cat. no. 73/3); Henry, 305 (as "St. Martin Exorcising a Devil from a Bull").

⁵⁷The animal is clearly described as a cow, or *vacca*, in Voragine, 2:297; Varazze [Voragine], 2:1147. The source for the story also specifies a heifer: Sulpitius Severus, 11:43.



Figure 8. Unknown sculptor. Cesare Borgia's Coat of Arms, ca. 1500. Marble. Forlì, Rocca di Ravaldino (author's photo).

have recognized the pointed reference to Borgia heraldry, and interpreted this scene of demonic bovine possession as an allegory of Borgia expansionism and the devastation of the Duchy of Urbino. Arrivabene had served the once-peaceful beast, and the old adage that the devil made him do it provided a convenient excuse for Cesare Borgia's bellicose behavior.⁵⁸

⁵⁸The devil was regularly associated with supernatural events during Alexander's papacy and with the pope himself. Indeed, it was rumored that the Prince of Darkness had taken Alexander's soul in 1503. See Hillgarth, 119; Von Pastor, 5:522 and 6:137.



Figure 9. Bernardo Pinturicchio and workshop. Borgia emblems, ca. 1492–94, Borgia Apartments, Vatican Palace, Vatican City. Scala / Art Resource ART368283.

Arrivabene had additional reasons to identify with Saint Martin and for Viti to paint the saint in the act of blessing the bishop in the altarpiece. Although born in Pannonia and appointed to a French see, Martin grew up in Pavia and performed many miracles in Milan, two cities where Arrivabene had studied in his youth. Also, as Jacobus da Voragine explains in the *Golden Legend*, Martin overcame opposition to his election as bishop of Tours, an example that probably heartened Arrivabene as he endured challenges while reforming his own diocese of Urbino. As a former Roman soldier, Martin traded temporal arms for spiritual ones, and refused to fight when provoked and when barbarians overran the empire's borders.⁵⁹ Arrivabene may have justified his early lack of opposition to Cesare Borgia's army in similar terms.

Perhaps the bishop truly believed that Saint Martin had answered his prayers and pacified the Borgia bull in August 1503. Pope Alexander and Cesare summered at the Vatican that year, despite the notoriously unhealthy air. Both

⁵⁹Voragine, 2:292–300.

became ill; Alexander died on 18 August and Cesare was weakened by fever and medical treatments.⁶⁰ The repercussions were rapid: Guidubaldo recaptured Urbino on 28 August,⁶¹ and Cesare lost cities in the Romagna while recuperating at the Borgia stronghold in Nepi. Weeks later, Cesare returned to lead the papal armies, but his Duchy of Romagna buckled. His enemies closed in during the twenty-six-day reign of Pope Pius III Piccolomini. Pius's successor, the newly elected Pope Julius II della Rovere, imprisoned Cesare at Ostia in November, effectively ending Borgia tyranny (except for control of the castle in Forlì). Before the close of 1503, Guidubaldo had reclaimed the entire Duchy of Urbino. In September of 1504, Julius II appointed Duke Guidubaldo da Montefeltro — who was his relation — captain general of the papal armies.⁶²

Two other events marked the restoration of the Montefeltro in Urbino and Bishop Arrivabene's absolution. On 2 December 1503, Julius II held an audience with Guidubaldo and Cesare in order to negotiate the return of Urbino's looted treasures and library. According to an anonymous chronicler, Cesare threw himself at Guidubaldo's feet, begged for mercy, and blamed Pope Alexander.⁶³ That same day, Duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga returned to Urbino from exile with her family in Mantua. The Mantuan ambassador reported that during the celebration of a thanksgiving Mass in the cathedral, "Bishop Arrivabene came before everyone, adorned ecclesiastically. He took Our Lady Duchess by the hand and went to kneel before the high altar, where all the clergy was, and they began to sing *Te Deum Laudamus*," the joyous hymn of praise to

⁶⁰Von Pastor, 6:131–34; Mallett, 251–53.

⁶¹Guidubaldo returned to power in Urbino on the Feast of Saint Augustine (28 August), afterward celebrated with a fair (Fiera di Sant'Agostino), which is still held annually: Madaia, 444; Ugolini, 2:130; Ligi, 1953, 125.

⁶²Pope Julius II Della Rovere and Guidubaldo were *imparentado*, or related through family ties. In 1474, the pope's younger brother, prefect of Rome and lord of Senigallia Giovanni Della Rovere (1457–1501), married Guidubaldo's older sister, Giovanna da Montefeltro (1463–1514). Giovanni died on 6 November 1501, during the Borgia campaigns, leaving only one legitimate heir, Francesco Maria Della Rovere (1490–1538). The childless Guidubaldo adopted his nephew Francesco Maria as his son and heir in an official ceremony on 17 September 1504, fulfilling Julius's desire to secure the Duchy of Urbino for the Della Rovere family: Clough, 2002, 38–40 and 52–53.

⁶³As reported in a letter that reached Urbino on 10 December 1503: Madaia, 450; summarized in Ugolini, 2:126–28; Clough, 1981d, 77–78. There are at least two sides to the story, as the Mantuan ambassador failed to mention this reconciliation. Pope Julius and Guidubaldo also negotiated with Cesare over the fortresses in the Romagna, several of which were still held by Cesare's castellans: Bradford, 258–59. Guidubaldo did not recover his looted items (including his precious library) until the surrender of the castle of Forlì (now Rocca di Ravaldino) to the papacy in September of 1504.

God.⁶⁴ In one brilliant stroke, Arrivabene employed the liturgy to publicly display his affiliation and disassociate himself from past ties to the Borgia. In private, he undoubtedly reminded the duchess of their shared Mantuan heritage, his long service to the Gonzaga, and his loyalty to the Duchy of Urbino. He cemented this bond a few months later by appointing Elisabetta an executor of his will.

By specifying the subjects for his funeral chapel in his testament, Arrivabene ensured that the chapel and altarpiece would be encoded with visual messages overtly explaining himself to posterity from a conspicuous position in the cathedral. He clearly desired association with Saint Martin, and Viti fulfilled this wish by painting Martin blessing the bishop's effigy and pacifying a cow resembling the Borgia bull. Arrivabene also chose to include an image of Saint Thomas Becket of Canterbury as his saintly guide and example. Despite a strong international cult in the Middle Ages, the English Saint Thomas seldom appears in Italian Renaissance painting.⁶⁵ It is tempting to propose that Guidubaldo's election to the English Order of the Garter in February 1504 resulted in a wave of anglophilia in Urbino that influenced the bishop's choice of Thomas.⁶⁶ While this may be a contributing factor, the saint's image in the Arrivabene altarpiece, and the lessons embedded in Thomas's legend, more likely addressed any lingering doubts concerning the bishop's loyalty to God's Church rather than Cesare's monarchy.

Thomas Becket was a close companion of the young King Henry II and served as his chancellor until the king nominated him for archbishop of Canterbury. The new role changed Thomas, who began to wear a hair shirt and perform acts of humility. According to the *Golden Legend*, he resisted when "the king made every effort to bend Thomas to his will at the expense of the Church. [The king] wanted the archbishop to confirm certain customs that were contrary to the Church's liberties, as his predecessors had done. Thomas

⁶⁴Letter from Ambassador Alessandro Picenardi in Urbino to Marchioness Isabella d'Este in Mantua, 11 December 1503 (Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 1077, fol. 53): "Venne inanti Monsignor vescovo adornato eclesiasticamente. Prese Madonna Duchessa per mano et adò a inzinochiarsi dinanti a l'altar grande, dove hera tutto il clero, et comenzoron a cantare *Te Deum laudamus*." The passage is cited and transcribed in Chambers, 1984, 435, who corrects misreadings published in Luzio and Renier, 150.

⁶⁵Borenus, 16, only lists two Italian altarpieces from this period in which Saint Thomas appears as the main focus of devotion: Viti's Arrivabene altarpiece from 1504, and another by Girolamo da Santacroce in the church of S. Silvestro in Venice of 1520.

⁶⁶So asserts Vickers, 309. A letter from King Henry VII of England dated 20 February 1504, notified Guidubaldo of his election to the order. The duke was not formally invested with the insignia of the Garter until 22 May, nearly two months after the bishop's death. See Clough, 1981c, 206–07.

absolutely refused, thus drawing upon himself the wrath of the king and his barons.”⁶⁷ Misled by counselors, Thomas gave oral consent to the royal demands; but he imposed severe penances upon himself. When the king ordered written consent, and clerics began to conspire against Thomas, the archbishop held the cross of his office high and quit his post to shouts of “hang the traitor!” Thomas went into exile in France, where he was welcomed at Sens by Pope Alexander III. He eventually returned to England, but still refused to comply with the king’s orders and maintained the rights of the Church. The *Golden Legend* recounts that on 29 December 1170, the king’s knights burst into Canterbury Cathedral searching for Thomas, who bravely replied, “Here I am! . . . I am ready to die for God, to defend justice, and to protect the freedom of the Church.”⁶⁸ They split his skull. In the aftermath of this martyrdom, King Henry accepted blame, reconciled with the Church, and submitted to a humiliating penance.⁶⁹

Since his canonization in 1173, Saint Thomas of Canterbury has, in Anne J. Duggan’s words, “encapsulated all the claims of the Church to independence and freedom, and his dispute with Henry II became an inspiration to later primates in their disputes with their own kings.”⁷⁰ During the occupation of Urbino in 1502–03, the story of the saint’s life and martyrdom would have appealed to Bishop Arrivabene, who faced political persecution and was consumed by righteous (or perhaps self-righteous) indignation over Duke Cesare Borgia’s abuses of the Church. Indeed, Arrivabene had plenty of reasons to imagine that his own circumstances vis-à-vis the Borgia mirrored those of Saint Thomas’s life, and to mandate the saint’s eternal presence in his painting.⁷¹ The parallels between them are notable: Thomas was Henry’s chief administrator, as Arrivabene had served as secretary and protonotary to Rodrigo Borgia. Thomas had at first agreed to Henry’s demands on the Church, just as Arrivabene had at least tacitly assented to Cesare Borgia’s use

⁶⁷Voragine, 1:60.

⁶⁸Ibid., 1:61.

⁶⁹Duggan, 2007b, esp. 275. The text of the king’s agreement with Pope Alexander III is reconstructed in Duggan, 2007c, 657–58.

⁷⁰Duggan, 2007a, 30. The political lesson of the Legend of Saint Thomas remained alive in Italy and England. In the *Istorie fiorentine*, Machiavelli characterized the king’s punishment as a shameful act of submission to the Church: Bertelli, 3:73–74. In 1538 King Henry VIII found it necessary to de-sanctify Thomas, suppress the saint’s image, and ban the celebration of his feast day, labeling him a “traytour to his prynce”: Borenius, 109–10.

⁷¹Ferriani, 2009, 140, speculates that the image represents the bishop’s protest against Cesare Borgia’s secular rule, “given that Thomas of Canterbury [is] the saint who opposed temporal authority. That message is perhaps allusive to the liberation of the city [of Urbino] from Valentino [Cesare Borgia].”

of the bishop's palace of Urbino, and watched as the new duke of the Romagna employed the Church's funds and ministers in the administration of a secular duchy carved from the Papal States. As Thomas had refused Henry, Arrivabene defied Cesare by attending the Diet of La Magione. When Urbino returned to Borgia control Arrivabene fled his diocese, as Thomas had left England and, ironically, joined Pope Alexander VI's earlier namesake abroad. It is entirely conceivable that Arrivabene believed, or wanted others to believe, that he had been ready to return from exile and face execution as a traitor by Borgia soldiers in the cathedral of Urbino, as Saint Thomas had been martyred by King Henry's knights at Canterbury. Arrivabene may well have considered Cesare Borgia's capitulation to Pope Julius II and reconciliation with Duke Guidubaldo on 2 December 1503 as a modern analog to King Henry II's submission to Pope Alexander III in 1172.

As outlined in Arrivabene's will, Timoteo Viti portrayed the bishop in the altarpiece kneeling before two saints with whom the patron closely identified: Saint Thomas, the defier of a king who had abused the Church as Cesare Borgia had done, and Saint Martin, the metaphorical tamer of Borgia bulls. Taken in the context of Urbino in the spring of 1504, this altarpiece and the chapel's lost fresco display the bishop's dual concern for his salvation and posthumous reputation. But the decoration of the Arrivabene chapel has greater significance for the history of art beyond one man's message to the future. Both the altarpiece and the preparatory drawing of the miracle of Saint Martin exorcising the devil from a cow are extraordinary allegorical responses to the devastating Borgia campaigns to dominate Central Italy.⁷²

An inscription in the open book on Saint Thomas's lap in the altarpiece corroborates this new interpretation of the highly personal nature of Arrivabene's commission (fig. 10). Written in inverted, abbreviated chancery script, it is a clever game inserted into a monument for a sharp-eyed papal secretary accustomed to deciphering manuscripts. The text begins with the abbreviated Latin phrase "In te domine sperava non confundar," which is the first line from Psalm 31, "In you Lord have I hoped, let me never be

⁷²At least two other works of art also represent contemporary reactions to the Borgia occupation of Urbino. An anonymous chronicle reports that on 19 February 1504 (about a month before Arrivabene wrote his will and two months before Viti began work on the chapel) a historical commedia recounting Cesare Borgia's exploits — from Lucrezia Borgia's passage through Urbino to the death of the Borgia pope and the city's restoration to the Montefeltro — was performed in the ducal palace. See Madiari, 451; Ugolini, 2:128–29; Luzio and Renier, 153; Hollingsworth, 345. The title and playwright remain unknown, and the text is lost, but a similar plot was revisited in Nicola Grassi's fictional-historical play *Eutichia* performed during Carnival of 1513. The protagonist in this second work is named Ocheutico, a stand-in for the unfortunate Guidubaldo: Stefani, 10.



Figure 10. Timoteo Viti. Book in Saint Thomas's lap (inverted), Arrivabene altarpiece (detail of fig. 1). Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo — Soprintendenza per i Beni Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici delle Marche — Urbino, Archivio Fotografico.

confounded.⁷³ The painted inscription fades into hash marks, but the ecstatic Psalm of persecution and righteousness continues: “For I have heard the blame of many that dwell round about. While they assembled together against me, they consulted to take away my life. But I have put my trust in you, O Lord: I said: you are my God. My lots are in your hands. Deliver me out of the hands of my enemies; and from them that persecute me.” These words echo Bishop Arrivabene’s self-righteous nature and paranoia during Cesare Borgia’s occupation of Urbino and his self-exile. The Borgia had tested Arrivabene’s loyalties to church and state, but the bishop refused to be confounded.

A NEW IDENTITY FOR THE SECOND DONOR PORTRAIT IN THE ARRIVABENE ALTARPIECE

A reconsideration of the Arrivabene chapel as a display of the bishop’s personal history and interests leads to a further consideration about the identity of the

⁷³There is a slight discrepancy between the actual inscription on the painting and accepted modern versions of the Psalm’s Latin text: “In te Domine speravi [not *sperava*] non confundar.” I’m grateful to Claudia Chierichini for her invaluable help deciphering this previously unpublished inscription.

man kneeling in the lower right corner of the altarpiece (fig. 11). Viti depicted his face with a naturalism that rivals the precision of Perugino's contemporary Flemish-inspired portraiture, and it stands in stark contrast to the bishop's less detailed, posthumous effigy.⁷⁴ Several scholars have claimed that the young man's carefully delineated profile portrays Duke Guidubaldo da Montefeltro, although three observations challenge this assertion. First, the figure occupies the heraldically junior position of the composition on the saints' proper left (sinister) side, while Arrivabene commands Thomas's and Martin's privileged dexter flank. This location would have suggested that Arrivabene inappropriately placed himself above the duke within a widely understood visual-hierarchical system. Second, the figure bears no obvious sign of ducal rank. Aside from fur cuffs and heavy cloak, he lacks a hat or chain of office, an oddity given that Arrivabene, appropriately bareheaded in the company of the divine, is nevertheless represented wearing an episcopal red robe and near his ecclesiastical black zucchetto. Third, the kneeling figure has dark-brown hair with heavy bangs and an inward lower curl, whereas literary and visual portraits of Guidubaldo depict him with straight blonde or light reddish-brown hair parted in the middle to reveal a broad forehead.⁷⁵ Additionally, the absence of any obvious attributes of political authority in the portrait excludes a recent suggestion that it portrays Alessandro Ruggieri, Urbino's chief magistrate, or podesta, and coexecutor of Bishop Arrivabene's testament.⁷⁶

A stronger argument for an identification of the portrait emerges from a close reading of the bishop's will, an awareness of Arrivabene's nepotistic tendencies, and careful consideration of the figure's clothing.⁷⁷ In addition to naming several

⁷⁴For example, Perugino's nearly contemporary portraits of the Vallombrosan friars Don Biagio Milanese and Don Baldassare di Antonio di Angelo painted ca. 1499–1500 (Florence, Uffizi, inv. 8375 and 8376).

⁷⁵In his biography of the duke, Bernardino Baldi describes Guidubaldo's straight hair as blond in youth, and then reddish brown in maturity: Baldi, 2:237–38. This description and the duke's central hair part are evident in the well-known portrait of him as a boy alongside his father Federigo da Montefeltro, traditionally attributed to Pedro Berruguete (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, inv. 702); the abraded portrait of the mature duke attributed to Raphael (Florence, Uffizi, inv. 8538); the profile portraits on coins minted during Guidubaldo's reign; and a subsequent illumination of the duke wearing a gold chain of office and robes trimmed with ermine in a late sixteenth-century manuscript copy of Castiglione's Latin epistle to King Henry VII of England (Vatican City, Vatican Library, MS Urb. Lat. 1766, fol. 2'). See Christiansen; Simonetta; Montevecchi (cat. no. 40); Reposati, 1:389–92; Stornajolo, 18–19 (pl. 4), with an incorrect early sixteenth-century date for the Vatican manuscript illumination; Clough, 1981b, 257 (pl. 5a).

⁷⁶Moroni, 174–75, proposes this identification based on Ruggieri's role as executor, without providing evidence that the figure wears the uniform or trappings of city office.

⁷⁷For Arrivabene's efforts on behalf of his nephews, see Chambers, 1984, 414–15nn89–96, 431n182, and 435nn215–16.



Figure 11. Timoteo Viti. Portrait of Giacomo Arrivabene, Arrivabene altarpiece (detail of fig. 1). Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo — Soprintendenza per i Beni Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici delle Marche — Urbino, Archivio Fotografico.

witnesses and the two executors in his testament, Arrivabene bequeathed cash and goods to members of his staff, which included several blood relatives: Scipione, Giovanni Maria, Andrea, Alessandro, and Giacomo Arrivabene. The bishop stated that the first two of these men were his retainers, and he allotted them 200 and 600 ducats, respectively, for their past service, while bestowing other gifts on the third relative, his chaplain Andrea.⁷⁸ He repeatedly refers to the fourth man, Alessandro, as his *nipote* (nephew), who also benefited from the bishop's nepotism. Yet the bishop did not appoint Alessandro, but rather Alessandro's son and the bishop's *pronipote* (great-nephew), Giacomo Arrivabene (1485–1542), as the universal heir of all property not otherwise disposed of in the will. As learned from Giacomo's later inventories and his own testament in 1536, the remainder included a treasure trove of tapestries and valuables once owned by Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga and bequeathed to his

⁷⁸Cleri, 2005, 424–25.

then-secretary Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene, as well as the bishop's large brass papal ring and notable library.⁷⁹ Clearly, Giacomo was Bishop Arrivabene's favorite.

Giacomo Arrivabene inherited not only the bishop's worldly goods, but also his great-uncle's intellectual pursuits. In his will, the bishop proudly calls his great-nephew a *maestro*, specifying that Giacomo was an "esteemed physician and scholar of medicine" who had just graduated from the University of Bologna.⁸⁰ At that time, the Bolognese medical curriculum emphasized theory and humanistic scholarship through the study and translation of the ancients — particularly Galen as recorded in the original Greek — instead of practice and surgery.⁸¹ This is significant for several reasons, which all contribute to the conclusion that the bishop's great-nephew and heir, Doctor Giacomo Arrivabene, appears in the altarpiece.

Whereas a doctor of law was entitled to dress in robes trimmed in ermine, the kneeling man in the lower right corner of the Arrivabene altarpiece wears a pink mantle lined with brown-and-gray mottled fur over a crimson-sleeved garment with matching fur cuffs. This garb resembles the academic costume displayed in two early sixteenth-century images of Bolognese Renaissance doctors. One depicts Doctor Alessandro Achillini (1463–1512), a graduate and professor of medical theory at the University of Bologna during Giacomo Arrivabene's studies, as he appears in a recently rediscovered, posthumous portrait painted by Amico Aspertini now in the Uffizi (fig. 12).⁸² The sitter wears similar scholarly attire in a drawing also attributed to Aspertini in the *Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi* inscribed with Alessandro Achillini's name (fig. 13), but more likely a portrait of his brother Giovanni Achillini (1466–1538), who also graduated from the University of Bologna.⁸³ In the Achillini painting, the

⁷⁹Rebecchini, 2002, 25; Rebecchini, 2011, 82–84 and 82n18, citing Giacomo's will of 1536, which states that the goods were passed down to him from Cardinal Gonzaga through the bishop of Urbino. For the bishop's twenty years of service to the cardinal and the precious inheritance, see Chambers, 1984, 420–22; Chambers, 1992.

⁸⁰Cleri, 2005, 426: "lo spettabile medico scolaro dell'arte medica di maestro Giacomo Arrivabene"; Chambers, 1984, 416.

⁸¹On medical humanism at the University of Bologna, see Grendler, 324–28. I'd like to thank Christopher Carlsmith for sharing his knowledge of the university curriculum.

⁸²The portrait is from Paolo Giovio's collection of images of famous men: Fadda. Faietti discusses and illustrates both the painting and related drawing. For biographical information about Alessandro Achillini, see Nardi.

⁸³For the identification of the drawing as a portrait of Giovanni Achillini of ca. 1508–09, see Faietti, 46; Fadda, 58; Faietti and Scaglietti Kelesian, 43 and 60–61 (cat. no. 47). For biographical information about the sitter, who often visited Urbino, see Basini.



Figure 12. Amico Aspertini. *Portrait of Alessandro Achillini*, before 1521. Oil on canvas, 92 x 82.5 cm. Florence, Uffizi, 10556. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze, Gabinetto Fotografico.

red mantle's lining is turned out at the edges, exhibiting the mixed dusky and pale-brown fur of the freshwater European otter, while the monochrome drawing shows similar fur at the cuffs of baggy sleeves.⁸⁴ Timoteo Viti knew that otter-fur-fringed garments in shades of red constituted the conventional academic dress of the University of Bologna's graduates in medicine, as his older brother Pierantonio Viti (ca. 1459–1500)

⁸⁴Fadda, 56, cites Paolo Giovio's mid-sixteenth-century nostalgic description of his comical teacher, Alessandro Achillini. Giovio remarks that the scarlet dress was out of fashion; identifies its fur trim as *lontra*, or European freshwater otter (*lutra lutra*); and mentions narrow sleeves: Giovio, 166 (*Elogio degli uomini illustri* 57). A later copy of the painting illustrates fur at the cuffs (attributed to Antonio Maria Crespi, called Bustino [1580–1630], *Portrait of Alessandro Achillini*, oil on canvas, 65 x 51 cm, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan, inv. 1392). See the painting's catalogue entry in the Lombardia Beni Culturali database SIRBeC: <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/opere-arte/schede/L0070-00077/>.



Figure 13. Amico Aspertini. *Portrait of Giovanni Achillini*, ca. 1508–09. Red-and-black chalk and wash with pen-and-ink over contours on paper, 393 x 286 mm. Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, 1445F. Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali / Art Resource, NY ART477387.

had studied medicine in Bologna, albeit more than a decade before Giacomo Arrivabene.⁸⁵

In addition to displaying the academic regalia of a doctor of medicine from the University of Bologna, the male portrait in the altarpiece exhibits a youthful,

⁸⁵ Doctor Pierantonio Viti was the first in his family to attend university and master a liberal art. He continued to raise the Viti family's profile as the elected *gonfaloniere* of Urbino in 1492 and 1498, and in 1496 he married Girolama d'Andrea Staccoli, the daughter of a wealthy Urbino citizen. Pierantonio died abruptly on 26 November 1500, leaving behind a short-lived son and a wife who soon reclaimed her substantial dowry of 400 florins and joined a convent: Falcioni, 11.

ruddy complexion and the prominent Adam's apple of a twenty-year-old recent graduate, the approximate age of Giacomo Arrivabene in 1504–05. And the sitter's eyes remain unmarked by the crow's feet clearly visible in the faces of the elder accompanying saints and aged bishop. The identification of the portrait as maestro Giacomo Arrivabene also justifies the figure's heraldically junior position in the painting, which is appropriate for the bishop's great-nephew. Giacomo's presence in the altarpiece best fits patron Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene's desire that his universal heir propagate a dynasty of humanist scholars and kneel in eternal prayer for the bishop's soul.

CONCLUSION

The Arrivabene chapel's decorative program commemorates Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene's life and achievements, testifies to his faith, and condemns Cesare Borgia's predatory actions. Since the bishop died before the decoration began, the question remains as to who deserves credit for its audacious allegorical imagery. Like most major Renaissance commissions, the Arrivabene chapel is the result of collaboration among participants in the enterprise.⁸⁶ The documents state that the patron dedicated his chapel to the bishop-saints Martin and Thomas Becket — the latter saint martyred for resisting secular appropriation of church assets. They make no direct reference to the legend of Saint Martin exorcising a demon from a cow. Whether Arrivabene, his executors, or his heirs specified the scene, the artist Timoteo Viti is ultimately responsible for translating the dying bishop's wishes, the executors' orders, and the heirs' expectations into visual form.

The chapel was the first monumental artistic ensemble produced in Urbino after Duke Guidubaldo da Montefeltro's restoration at the end of 1503. The approximately five years until the duke's death in 1508 were the brief golden age celebrated by Baldassare Castiglione in the *Book of the Courtier*. While the idealized dialogues in that text portray Montefeltro court culture filtered through two decades of the author's hindsight, the chapel's imagery captures the immediate reaction key members of the Urbinate court had to Cesare Borgia's disruption of the precarious balance of power in Central Italy. The recovery of the political and personal messages encoded into the chapel's program illuminates the principled bishop's characterization of the Borgia as possessed by the devil, a judgment shared earlier by Savonarola and several contemporaries. More importantly, the altarpiece's fine execution and the rediscovery of the fresco design's ingenious employment of heraldic symbol reveal an artist of skill and intellect who stretched the affective parameters of the devout style to denounce the Borgia. In this way, the accomplishment of the Arrivabene chapel substantiates Timoteo Viti's position as the foremost artist of the Montefeltro court, independently of Raphael.

⁸⁶Reiss, 23.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bacou, Roseline. *Autour de Raphaël: Dessins et peintures du Musée du Louvre*. Paris, 1983.
- Baldi, Bernardino. *Della vita e de' fatti di Guidobaldo I. da Montefeltro, duca d'Urbino*. 2 vols. Milan, 1821.
- Bambach, Carmen C. *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300–1600*. Cambridge, 1999.
- Basini, Teresa. "Achillini, Giovanni Filoteo." In *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 1:148–49. Rome, 1960.
- Beck, Egerton. "The Ecclesiastical Hat in Heraldry and Ornament before the Beginning of the 17th Century." *Burlington Magazine* 22.120 (1913): 338–44.
- Bemis, Elizabeth. "The Sword of Cesar Borgia: A Redating with an Examination of His Personal Iconography." MA thesis, University of Florida, 2007.
- Bertelli, Sergio, ed. *Opere di Niccolò Machiavelli*. 11 vols. Milan, 1968–82.
- Borenus, Tancred. *Saint Thomas Becket in Art*. London, 1932.
- I Borgia*. Ed. Carla Alfano and Felipe Vicente Garin Lombart. Milan, 2002.
- Borgia, Luigi. "L'araldica dei Borgia dalle origini ai primi anni del cinquecento." In *I Borgia* (2002), 201–13.
- . "L'araldica di Cesare Borgia." In *Cesare Borgia di Francia* (2005), 369–406.
- Bradford, Sarah. *Cesare Borgia: His Life and Times*. New York, 1976.
- Cesare Borgia di Francia, gonfaloniere di Santa Romana Chiesa 1498–1503: Conquiste effimere e progettualità statale*. Ed. Marinella Bonvini Mazzanti and Monica Miretti. Ostra Vetere, 2005.
- Chambers, David S. "Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene (1439–1504): Humanistic Secretary and Bishop." *Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche, linguistiche, filologiche* 8.3 (1984): 397–438.
- . *A Renaissance Cardinal and His Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483)*. London, 1992.
- Christiansen, Keith. "Pietro di Spagna, Federigo da Montefeltro and His Son Guidobaldo." In *The Renaissance Portrait from Donatello to Bellini*, ed. Keith Christiansen and Stefan Weppelman, 287–90. New Haven, 2011.
- Cleri, Bonita. "Timoteo Viti tra Cesare Borgia e Guidubaldo da Montefeltro." In *Cesare Borgia di Francia* (2005), 407–26.
- . "Timoteo Viti." In *Raffaello e Urbino* (2009), 74–77.
- Clough, Cecil H. "V. The Chronicle, 1502–12, of Girolamo Vanni of Urbino." In *The Duchy of Urbino* (1981a), 335–53.
- . "XIV. Baldassare Castiglione's *Ad Henricum Angliae regem epistola de vita et gestis Guidubaldi Urbini ducis*." In *The Duchy of Urbino* (1981b), 227–52.
- . "XI. The Relations between the English and Urbino Courts, 1474–1508." In *The Duchy of Urbino* (1981c), 202–18.
- . "IV. Sources for the History of the Court and City of Urbino in the Early Sixteenth Century." In *The Duchy of Urbino* (1981d), 67–79.
- . "La successione dei Della Rovere nel ducato di Urbino." In *I Della Rovere nell'Italia delle corti*, ed. Bonita Cleri, Sabine Eiche, John E. Law, and Feliciano Paoli, 1:35–62. Urbino, 2002.

- Clough, Cecil H., and Antonio Conti. "Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, duca di Urbino: Fu mai gonfaloniere di Santa Romana Ecclesia?" *Studi montefeltrani* 27 (2006): 115–36.
- Curran, Brian A. *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy*. Chicago, 2007.
- Dempsey, Charles. "Malvasia and the Problem of the Early Raphael and Bologna." *Raphael before Rome: Studies in the History of Art* 17 (1985): 57–70.
- Dennistoun, James. *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, Illustrating the Arms, Arts and Literature of Italy, 1440–1630*. 3 vols. London, 1851.
- Diotallevi, Daniele. "Arte e armi per Cesare." In *Cesare Borgia di Francia* (2005), 427–45. *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance*. Ed. Cecil H. Clough. London, 1981.
- Duggan, Anne J. "IX. The Cult of St. Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century." In *Thomas Becket* (2007a), 21–44.
- . "VII. Diplomacy, Status, and Conscience: Henry II's Penance for Becket's Murder." In *Thomas Becket* (2007b), 265–90.
- . "VIII. *Ne in Dubium*. The Official Record of Henry II's Reconciliation at Avranches, 21 May 1172." In *Thomas Becket* (2007c), 643–58.
- Fadda, Elisabetta. "Amico Aspertini, *Ritratto di Alessandro Achillini*." In *Santi poeti navigatori* (2009), 56–58.
- Faietti, Marzia. "Aspertini e i due fratelli Achillini." In *Santi poeti navigatori* (2009), 42–47.
- Faietti, Marzia, and Daniela Scaglietti Kelescian. *Amico Aspertini*. Modena, 1995.
- Falcioni, Anna. "Documenti urbinati." In *Timoteo Viti* (2008), 5–72.
- Ferino Pagden, Sylvia. "Timoteo Vitis Zeichnungen zum verlorenen Martinszyklus in der Kapelle des Erzbischofs Arrivabene im Dom von Urbino." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 23 (1979): 127–44.
- . *Disegni umbri del rinascimento da Perugino a Raffaello*. Florence, 1982.
- Ferriani, Daniela. "Il Viti fu ritrattista? Un'indagine sul tema." In *Timoteo Viti* (2008), 151–66.
- . "Timoteo Viti, *I Santi Tommaso Beckett e Martino con il vescovo Giovan Pietro Arrivabene e il duca Guidobaldo*." In *Raffaello e Urbino* (2009), 140–41.
- Furlani Tempesti, Anna. "Viti disegnatore." In *Timoteo Viti* (2008), 167–98.
- Gaeta, Franco, ed. *Niccolò Machiavelli, Lettere*. 7 vols. Milan, 1960–64.
- Galbreath, Donald Lindsay, and Geoffrey Briggs. *Papal Heraldry*. 2nd ed. London, 1972.
- Giovio, Paolo. *Elogi degli uomini illustri*. Trans. Andrea Guasparri and Franco Minonzio. Turin, 2006.
- Grendler, Paul F. *The Universities of the Renaissance*. Baltimore, 2002.
- Henry, Tom. *The Life and Art of Luca Signorelli*. London, 2012.
- Henry, Tom, and Carol Plazzotta. "Raphael: From Urbino to Rome." In *Raphael: From Urbino to Rome*, ed. Hugo Chapman, Tom Henry, and Carol Plazzotta, 15–65. London, 2004.
- Hillgarth, J. N. "The Image of Alexander VI and Cesare Borgia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996): 119–29.
- Hirst, Michael. "The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria Della Pace." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961): 161–85.
- Hollingsworth, Mary. "Art Patronage in Renaissance Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini." In *The Court Cities of Northern Italy: Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. Charles M. Rosenberg, 325–66. Cambridge, 2010.
- Jones, Roger, and Nicholas Penny. *Raphael*. New Haven, 1983.

- Kanter, Lawrence, and Tom Henry. *Luca Signorelli: The Complete Paintings*. New York, 2002.
- La France, Robert G. "Timoteo Viti and Raphael." In *Late Raphael: Proceedings of the International Symposium. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, October 2012*, ed. Miguel Falomir, 126–35. Madrid, 2013.
- Lazzari, Andrea. *Memorie di Timoteo Viti di Urbino*. Urbino, 1800.
- Ligi, Bramante. *I vescovi e arcivescovi di Urbino: Notizie storiche*. 2 vols. Urbino, 1953.
- . *I santi protettori di Urbino. San Crescentino, soldato martire, Beato Mainardo, vescovo di Urbino, Maria Assunta in Cielo, San Pietro Celestino Papa, comprotettore*. Urbina, 1968.
- Luzio, Alessandro, and Rudolf Renier. *Mantova e Urbino: Isabella d'Este ed Elisabetta Gonzaga nelle relazioni famigliari e nelle vicende politiche*. Turin, 1893.
- Madiai, Federico. "Commentari dello stato di Urbino." *Archivio Storico per le Marche e per l'Umbria* 3 (1886): 419–64.
- Malke, Lutz S., ed. *Italienische Zeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt am Main, 1980.
- Mallett, Michael. *The Borgias: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Dynasty*. Chicago, 1987.
- Marani, Ercolano, and Chiara Perina. *Le arti*. Vol. 2 of 3 vols. of *Mantova: La storia, le lettere, le arti*, 3 parts in 9 vols. Mantua, 1961.
- McCarthy, Michael Francis, and Alan Fennely. *Heraldica Collegii Cardinalium: A Roll of Arms of the College of Cardinals*. 2 vols. Darlinghurst, 2002.
- McGrath, Thomas. "Federico Barocci and the History of Pastelli in Central Italy." *Apollo* 148 (November 1998): 3–9.
- Miretti, Monica. "Il 'bellissimo inganno': La strage di Senigallia." In *Cesare Borgia di Francia* (2005), 353–67.
- Montesano, Marina. "Il toro dei Borgia: Analisi di un simbolo fra tradizione araldica e suggestioni pagane." In *Roma di fronte all'Europa al tempo di Alessandro VI*, ed. Maria Chiabò, Silvia Maddalo, Massimo Miglio, and Anna Maria Oliva, 759–79. Rome, 2001.
- Montevecchi, Benedetta. "Raphael, *Ritratto di Guidubaldo da Montefeltro*." In *Raffaello e Urbino* (2009), 182–83.
- Moroni, Giovanni. *Timoteo Viti nell'ambiente artistico urbinato tra quattrocento e cinquecento*. Urbino, 2007.
- Nardi, Bruno. "Achillini, Alessandro." In *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 1:144–45. Rome, 1960.
- Negrone, Franco. *Il Duomo di Urbino*. Urbino, 1993.
- Negrone, Franco, and Giuseppe Cucco. *Urbino: Museo Albani*. Bologna, 1984.
- Pasini-Frasconi, Ferruccio. *I cappelli prelatizzi*. Rome, 1908.
- Petrioli Tofani, Anna Maria. "Per Girolamo Genga." *Paragone* 229 (1969a): 18–36.
- . "Per Girolamo Genga II." *Paragone* 231 (1969b): 39–56.
- Pungileoni, Luigi. *Elogio storico di Timoteo Viti da Urbino*. Urbino, 1835.
- Raffaello e Urbino: La formazione giovanile e i rapporti con la città natale*. Ed. Lorenza Mochi Onori. Milan, 2009.
- Rebecchini, Guido. *Private Collectors in Mantua, 1500–1630*. Rome, 2002.
- . "Portraits by Objects: Three Studioli in Sixteenth-Century Mantua." In *Mantova e il rinascimento italiano: Studi in onore di David S. Chambers*, ed. Guido Rebecchini and Philippa Jackson, 77–94. Mantua, 2011.

- Reiss, Sheryl. "A Taxonomy of Art Patronage in Renaissance Italy." In *A Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Art*, ed. Babette Bohn and James Saslow, 21–43. New York, 2013.
- Reposati, Rinaldo. *Della zecca di Gubbio e delle geste de' conti e duchi di Urbino*. 2 vols. Bologna, 1772–73.
- Santi poeti navigatori . . . : Capolavori dai depositi degli Uffizi*. Ed. Francesca De Luca. Florence, 2009.
- Simonetta, Marcello. "Guidovbaldu dvx vrbini: Ritratto del principe da giovane." *Humanistica: An International Journal of Early Renaissance Studies* 4 (2009): 1–18.
- Stefani, Luigi, ed. *Nicola Grasso, Eutichia*. Florence, 1978.
- Stornajolo, Cosimo. *I ritratti e le gesta dei duchi d'Urbino nelle miniature dei codici vaticano-urbinati*. Rome, 1913.
- Sulpitius Severus. "The Dialogues of Sulpitius Severus." Trans. Alexander Roberts. Vol. 11 of *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, 24–54. 14 vols. New York, 1890–1900.
- Timoteo Viti: Atti del convegno. Urbino, Palazzo Albani, Istituto di Storia dell'Arte 25–26 ottobre 2007*. Ed. Bonita Cleri. Sant'Angelo in Vado, 2008.
- Thomas Becket: Friends, Networks, Texts and Cult*. Aldershot, 2007.
- Ugolini, Filippo. *Storia dei conti e duchi di Urbino*. 2 vols. Florence, 1859.
- Varazze [Voragine], Iacopo da. *Legenda aurea*. Ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni. 2 vols. Florence, 1998.
- Vasari, Giorgio. *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*. Ed. Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi. 6 vols. Florence, 1966–87.
- Vickers, Michael. "Saints Martin of Tours and Thomas of Canterbury in Urbino." In *Pagans and Christians — from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Papers in Honour of Martin Henig, Presented on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Martin Henig and Lauren Adams Gilmour, 309–12. Oxford, 2011.
- Von Pastor, Ludwig. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*. 40 vols. St. Louis, 1894–1951.
- Von Ranke, Leopold. *History of the Popes, Their Church and State and Especially of Their Conflicts with Protestantism in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Trans. E. Foster. 3 vols. London, 1847–48.
- Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Trans. William Granger Ryan. 2 vols. Princeton, 1993.
- Yorke, James. "Fodero della spada di Cesare Borgia." In *I Borgia* (2002), 193.