Pariser Historische Studien

Bd. 47

1998

CECIL H. CLOUGH

Federico da Montefeltro's concept and use of history

Aldo Manuzio commissioned the printing of his tract, on the education of a young prince, some seven years after he had addressed its text to Caterina Pio in the form of a letter testifying to his capacities as tutor, having written it in the hope of her patronage. Unsurprisingly the printed pamphlet was ephemeral – there remain but six copies, which while undated can be assigned to about 1490 and to the press of Baptista de' Tortis of Venice. My supposition is that the tract was printed to promote Aldo's renewed search for patronage as a teacher, since his post with the Pio had ceased; presumably his bid proved unsuccessful, as he turned to printing as a career[1]. It is to be remarked that writing and distributing a tract of this nature was not so unusual in late-fifteenth-century Italy, when there was a superfluity of teachers seeking employment with princely families[2]. Aldo's letter introduced

[1] Aldo Pio MANUZIO, Musarum Panagyris [Venice, Baptista de' Tortis, after March 1487, before March 1491]; the copies are: Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria; Cracow, Bibljoteka Jabiellońska; Manchester, John Rylands University of Manchester Library; Naples, Biblioteca Universitaria; New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library (A.A. Renouard's copy); Sélestat (Bas-Rhin), Bibliothèque Humaniste (Beatus Rhenanus's copy). A copy formerly in Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, now appears to be missing. C.F. BÜHLER, Early Books and Manuscripts: Forty Years of Research, New York 1973, pp. 129–130, 137 Note, 300–302, which dates the printed tract 'c.1490'; M. LOWRY, The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice, Oxford 1979, pp. 56–57; H.G. FLETCHER III, New Aldine Studies: Documentary Essays on the Life and Work of Aldus Manutius, San Francisco 1988, pp. 2, 72; Martin DAVIES, Aldus Manutius, Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice, London 1995, p. 11. These authorities consider the printed tract as Aldo's advance propaganda when he had abandoned teaching and turned to a career as a printer. The letter was written several years prior to printing, BÜHLER, pp. 134–137, assigns it to 1484; the stress on Federico's recent death inclines me to suggest rather that it was composed shortly after that death, when Manuzio had returned to Carpi in the autumn of 1482, cf. FLETCHER, p. 72; this date would accord well with the age at which a boy of the nobility was expected to be learning Latin and to start Greek, see C.H. CLOUGH, Daughters and wives of the Montefeltro: outstanding bluestockings of the Quattrocento, in: Renaissance Studies 10 (1996) p. 39.

[2] Cf. Antonio BONFINI, De instituendo nuovo principe, written before late 1486 to suggest the author's suitability to teach Giovanni Corvinus, the illegitimate son of King Matthias of Hungary, see C.H. CLOUGH, Il Bonfini, Ungheria e le "Rerum Ungari-

models for a young prince to emulate, three being of Antiquity: Philip I of Macedon, Alexander, Caesar. Federico da Montefeltro was the only modern example, and he had died in September 1482, shortly before the letter's composition. Federico was stressed as the outstanding military ruler of his day, famous also for his culture – had he not formed an exceptional library of mainly classical texts at the cost of some 40,000 ducats? Implied was that such a library was an essential adjunct for a ruler[3]. Prefacing the letter as it was printed about 1490 was Aldo's Latin poem "Musarum Panagyris", concerned with his former pupil Alberto Pio, Caterina's son, where in turn the nine Muses of Antiquity praised the youth's achievements, at the same time advising him how best to use in princely duty cultural attainments, obviously fostered by Aldo[4].

Aldo's emphasis on Federico's dual distinction as warrior and man of letters was a well-worn theme, for already in 1453 Flavio Biondo's "Italia illustrata" had made the point, reiterated by several subsequent writers[5]. Giovanni Garzoni's undated dedication letter (c.1482–1486) to Federico's son, Duke Guidobaldo, which prefaced his "Libellus de principis officio", stressed that the son could do no better than model himself on his deceased father, unequalled in both military skill and learning; the classical models likewise furnished by Garzoni included Hannibal, Pompey and Caesar[6].

Quattrocento humanistic culture on the Italian peninsula adapted the manifold aspects of the Classical World. Machiavelli's "Prince",

carum Decades": I, Genesi, forma e natura dell' opera, in: ID. (ed.), Studi su Antonio Bonfini, Loc. Negarine di S. Pietro in Cariano,Verona, 2 vols., forthcoming 1998; cf. also Garzoni's treatise indicated in the text below at n. 6.

3 Musarum Panagyris (n. 1): *Aldus Mannuccius Bassianas latinus Catharinae Piae Principi clarissimae ac prudentissimae, S.P. D.*, (heading of undated letter from Aldo to Caterina Pio, ff.a4 1.26 to a8 1.25): (. . .) *Nostro autem tempore unum tantum vidimus, qui nuper excessit e vita, Federicum Urbini Ducem, qui pariter et armorum et liberalium disciplinarum gloria excelluit; quique bonas artes tanta fuit benivolentia prosecutus, quod bibliothecam etiam quam magnificentissimam sibi construxit: in qua quidem comparanda circiter quadraginta millia nummum aureorum exposuit, longe etiam plura impensurus, nisi illum mors crudelis et inexorabilis invidisset hominibus studiosis. O iacturam grandem, o factum male, o damnum irreparabile! Tantum profecto hominem mori nunquam oportuisset, quem quidem unum ex principibus nostra aetate doctissimum exstitiasse mirabile est (. . .).*

4 Ibid. ff. a2-a3v 1.6.

5 Cited by F. ERSPAMER, Il "Lume della Italia": alla ricerca del mito feltresco, in: G. CERBONI BAIARDI, G. CHITTOLINI, P. FLORIANI (ed.), Federico di Montefeltro: Lo Stato, Le Arti, La Cultura, 3 vols., Rome 1986, III, pp. 470–474 and also N. GUIDOBALDI, La musica di Federico: Immagini e suoni alla corte di Urbino, Florence 1995, pp. 13–14.

6 G. GARZONI, Letters, L.R. LIND (ed.), Atlanta 1992, p. 393 no. 461; Introduction, p. xxviii dates the letter "After 1482", and also p. 560 note to the letter. I am unconvinced that in the letter the reference to *Alium rerum suarum commentarios scripsisse constat* is to Vespasiano da Bisticci's "Life of Federico" as the editor suggests likely.

Chapter XIV, admirably encapsulates sentiments regarding the importance of that past, which serve as a gloss on the emphasis on models evident in the educational writings of Aldo and of Garzoni[7]:

> "A prince ought to read history, and mull over the actions of the very best of men [it is essentially those of Antiquity intended in context]; he should note how they conducted war, examine the reasons for their victories and their defeats, so as to avoid the latter and achieve the former. Above all else he should imitate actions of a deceased great man who attained praise and glory, as it is reported that Alexander the Great modelled himself on Achilles, Caesar on Alexander, Scipio Africanus on Cyrus [the Elder]".

Machiavelli went on to state that Scipio had been a constant reader of Xenophon's "Cyropaedeia", so that he could model himself on its Hero, Cyrus the Elder, in all respects. My purpose is to investigate Federico da Montefeltro's concept of the past, see whom it was that he sought to imitate and in what ways as a princely ruler he utilised history. An initial clarification appears necessary. Here 'prince' complies with Renaissance usage on the Italian peninsula; hence it is applied generically to a ruler of a state and his male progeny, including those illegitimate (as Federico was), and the English 'princesses' takes in the prince's wife, legitimate and bastard daughters. Accordingly prince/princess is not as today restricted to the status accorded a monarch's legitimate sons and daughters[8].

Who was Federico da Montefeltro? He was born in 1422, the illegitimate son of Guidantonio da Montefeltro, count of Urbino and papal vicar of various fiefs including Urbino. In 1424, since the count then had no legitimate male heir, he took the precaution of obtaining a papal bull legitimizing Federico so that he could succeed to the vicariates, should no son subsequent-

[7] Niccolò MACCHIAVELLI, Il principe, Rome, A. Blado, 1532, f. 20r-v; the work was written over the years 1513–1516. The information regarding Scipio and Cyrus derived from Cicero, Ad Quintem fratrem, I, letter i.8, cf. in: Cicero, Epistolarum ad Atticum, ad Bruttum, ad Quintem fratrem, libri xx, Venice, A. Manuzio, 1513, f. 294.

[8] In the case of Federico, for instance: Galeazzo MARZIO, Refutatio obiectorum in librum de homine a Georgio Merula, Venice, *J. Rubens*, 1476, copy in London, British Library, shelfnumber 1A.20093, f. a2: Galeotti Martii Narniensio Epistola Ad Illustrissimum Principem Federicum Ducem Vrbini, and n. 19 below. In the case of Gealazzo Maria Sforza, when count of Pavia, Guglielmo Ebreo's dedication poem addressed him: Ad Illustrissimum Principem et Excelentissimum Dominum, Dominum Galeacium Vicecomitiem Comitem Papiae, Guglielmo EBREO, De pratica seu arte tripudii, B. SPARTI (ed.), Oxford 1993, p. 80; in the case of Caterina Pio see n. 3 above. How the style 'prince' was assumed by a ruler ('duca di Benevento') appointed by the king of the Lombards in the ninth century is mentioned by L.A. MURATORI, Delle antichità estensi ed italiane, 2 vols., Modena 1717–1740, dissertazione v.

ly be born in wedlock[9]. There is no account of the instruction that Federico received in the 'studia humanitatis', though evidently his early education was typical of his day for a prince's son. Hence from an early age, probably about five, Federico would have been taught to read and write in the 'volgare' and in Latin[10]. At the age of two Federico was placed in the care of the widow of Bartolomeo Brancaleoni, lord of Sant' Angelo in Vado and of Mercatello, both near Urbino; on 12 May 1424 Federico's father had been appointed by the pope as guardian of Brancaleoni's daughter[11]. Presumably under the care of Brancaleoni's widow Federico was privately tutored.

Seemingly for a time – it is most likely to have been between 1428 and 1432 – Federico remained a hostage in Rimini for his father's good faith in keeping a truce with the Malatesta; no doubt his tutor accompanied him[12]. On 28 February 1433 Federico was consigned to the procurator of the doge of Venice to be a hostage in consequence of a quarrel between the pope and count Guidantonio. He remained fifteen months in Venice, again one can believe with his tutor; certainly he sufficiently impressed the doge for the latter to predict the boy's eventual fame[13]. In consequence of an outbreak of plague in Venice Federico's father obtained permission for his son to reside in Mantua, its ruler, marquis Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, standing surety for him. There, in the villa known as the 'Casa Gioiosa', Federico was taught by Vittorino da Feltre, for some two years with Gonzaga youths and those of noble families of Mantua, perfecting his Latin and probably learning some Greek, perhaps while residing in Vittorino's own house[14]. Francesco Prendi-

[9] C.H. CLOUGH, Federico da Montefeltro: The Good Christian Prince, in: The Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester 67 no. 1 (1984) pp. 296–297.

[10] ID. (n. 1) p. 39.

[11] For Federico in the care of Giovanna Alidosi, widow of Bartolomeo Brancaleoni, see W. TOMMASOLI, La vita di Federico da Montelfeltro, 1422–82, Urbino 1978, p. 11; for the vicariates that Brancaleoni had held, and for count Guidantonio as guardian of Brancaleoni's daughter, Gentile, see Philip J. JONES, The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State: A Political History, Cambridge 1974, p. 160. These authorities correct J. DENNISTOUN, Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, 3 vols., London 1851, I, pp. 59–60, with no source.

[12] A. POLIZIANO, I detti piacevoli, M. FESTA (ed.), Montepulciano 1985, p. 81 no. 288, where the occasion is stated to be when Federico was *picciolo di anni dieci*, which would be the year from June 1432; the Malatesta in question is not specified, but likely to have been Sigismondo Pandolfo. For strained relations between Federico's father and the Malatesta between 1428–1432 JONES (n. 11) pp. 161–163, 170–171. This episode has not previously been noticed by Federico's biographers.

[13] TOMMASOLI (n. 11) p. 12; for Doge Francesco Foscari's prediction DENNISTOUN (n. 11) I, p. 64, without a source.

[14] TOMMASOLI (n. 11) pp. 12–13; F. PRENDILACQUA, De vita Victorini Feltrensis Dialogus, N. LASTESIO and G. MORELLI (ed.), Padua 1774, published from a MS. originally in the ducal library of Urbino; the work, dedicated to Federico, indicates its author had been a fellow-pupil with him; see also P. ZAMPETTI, Vittorino da Feltre e Federico da

lacqua, a contemporary pupil, was to stress the master's part in shaping Federico's natural abilities, remarking that as a result posterity would become aware of the exceptional qualities of both[15]. Certainly the teacher made a lasting impression on Federico. From about 1474 Vittorino's portrait, with those of twenty-seven scholars (each – save Moses with his tablets – bearing a book in testimony of his learning) ranging chronologically from the ancient world to contemporary, enhanced Federico's "Studiolo" in his Urbino Palace, and all had been chosen consciously by Federico as personal models (plates 1 and 2). Strikingly Vittorino had a place of honour, his portrait being immediately to the left of the dynastic panel that depicted Federico and his son and heir, Guidobaldo. Below it a Latin inscription read[16]: "To Vittorino, most saintly of teachers, this portrait was placed [by Federico] to commemorate his humanistic culture, transmitted by his writings and example".

When he was almost sixteen Federico began his military training, already having married Brancaleoni's daughter; from June 1438, on attaining his sixteenth birthday, he ruled the small vicariates of the Brancaleoni as count of Sant'Angelo in Vado and of Mercatello[17]. Even so, on the testimony of Vespasiano da Bisticci of Florence, who sold Federico manuscripts for his library over some two decades, and who certainly visited the court of Urbino shortly before Easter 1482, Federico throughout his life retained an intense curiosity and also an interest in literature[18]. Indeed according to Prendilacqua Federico read omnivorously "by day and by night"[19]. Vespasiano also

Montefeltro, in: N. GIANNETTO (ed.), Vittorino e la sua scuola: Umanesimo, pedagogia, arti, Florence 1981, pp. 257–261.

15 The text from PRENDILACQUA (n. 14) is quoted in GUIDOBALDI (n. 5) p. 21.

16 C.H. CLOUGH, Art as Power in the Decoration of the Study of an Italian Renaissance Prince: The Case of Federico da Montefeltro, in: Artibus et Historiae 31 (1995) pp. 26–27.

17 For the marriage to Gentile Brancaleoni on 2 December 1437 TOMMASOLI (n. 11) p. 14; for his military apprenticeship commencing in May 1438 ibid. pp. 15–18, 23–27; he commanded 800 cavalry under Niccolò Piccinino, when the latter was in the service of Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan. In 1443 he held a personal 'condotta' in the service of Galeazzo Malatesta, 'Signore' of Pesaro, ibid. pp. 27–28, and also C.H. CLOUGH, 'Federico da Montefeltro and the kings of Naples: a study in fifteenth-century survival', in: Renaissance Studies 6 (1992) pp. 113–114, 118 n. 27.

18 Vespasiano DA BISTICCI, Commentario de la vita del Signore Federico, Duca di Urbino, in: ID., Le vite, A. GRECO (ed.), 2 vols., Florence 1970–1976, I, p. 380: *Attendeva del continuo a fare che lo negno suo et la sua virtù andassi sempre inanzi a imparare ogni dì cose nuove*; the entire biography, pp. 354–416, testifies to Federico's interest in literature. For the visit of Vespasiano to Urbino and his sale of manuscripts C.H. CLOUGH, The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance, London 1981, item III, p. 492, especially n. 106.

19 A. CINQUINI, Spigolature da codici manoscritti del secolo XV: Il codice vaticano urbinate latino 1193, in: Classici e Neolatini 6 (1910) pp. 89–90, Carme CLI: *Copia quanta tibi est librorum, maxime princeps,/ si, Federice, leges omnia canus eris,/ sed legis atque legis noctuque dieque legendo.*

intimated that when Federico was in residence in his Urbino Palace a reader was appointed to declaim a passage of Livy in Latin to all present in its dining hall during the midday meal (the formal one of the day); during Lent it was the New Testament that was read[20]. The twin strands of Livy and the New Testament were at the heart of Vittorino's teaching, and Federico remained a devout Christian throughout life[21]. The world of Antiquity provided examples of virtue that included Christ's ministry. Furthermore, did not imperial Rome become the centre of the Western Christian world? On 23 July 1444 Federico unexpectedly came to rule his deceased father's state, following the wicked government and consequent assassination of Oddantonio, the legitimate son who, some four years younger than Federico, had succeeded as 'Signore'. Federico ruled his papal vicariates centred on Urbino first as its count, then from 1474 as its duke. In the course of almost forty years, when Federico constantly had to fight to retain possession of his vicariates, he further extended his state territorially, achieving international fame as a warrior; in the mid-1460s he initiated a vast building programme, and thereafter for almost two decades his state was *the* cultural centre of the Italian peninsula, and his 'Magnificence' there paramount. Accordingly one can appreciate that he was fittingly selected by Aldo as a model for the young Alberto Pio to emulate[22].

The concept of imitating the conduct of exceptional individuals so as to improve one's own in order to attain eternal life was the life-blood of the Middle Ages, no less than of Antiquity. The former placed emphasis above all on Christ and on his extraordinary saintly followers, but did not entirely forget heroes of the Classical World, such as Alexander. Here a note of caution is introduced. The "Vœux du paon" (otherwise "Roman de Cassamus"), written about 1312, became a popular late-medieval romance north of the Alps, noteworthy for introducing the "Nine Worthies". This romance had no influence on the literature and art of the Italian peninsula, so that the "Nine Worthies"

[20] DA BISTICCI (n. 18) I, pp. 404–405.

[21] For the twin strands of Vittorino's teaching W.H. WOODWARD, Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators, with preface by E.F. RICE (ed.), New York ²1963, pp. xxvii-xxviii, 1–92; for Federico a devout Christian CLOUGH (n. 9) pp. 293–249, especially 346–347.

[22] For Federico's succession and for him extending his state see ID. (n. 17) pp. 113–119; for his international reputation – he was a Knight of the Garter and of the Ermine, elevated to the rank of papal duke and Gonfaloniere of the Church – ibid., pp. 134–138, 159–160. For Federico's patronage of the arts ID. (n. 18) items VIII and IX; for a definition of 'Magnificence' see ID., Federico da Montefeltro e l'Umanesimo, in: Res pubblica litterarum 16 (1993) p. 122.

can safely be dismissed from consideration here[23]. During the Italian Renaissance there was a shift of emphasis in terms of the models, those associated with the Cult of Antiquity being revitalised; however, the models of Christianity were also stressed – witness Vittorino and Federico da Montefeltro.

In the twelfth century John of Salisbury praised historical writings and records of the past in the 'Prologue' to the first book of his "Polycraticus". He asked: *Who could have known of Alexander the Great and of Caesar without written testimony? Who could imitate the Apostles if Divine Letters had not immortalised them for posterity?* Triumphal arches – John had seen at least that of Constantine on his several visits to Rome – he believed contributed no less than literature to the fame of illustrious men, as their inscriptions recorded to whom, and for what reason, they were erected[24]. Federico da Montefeltro left no such apposite written remarks on the value of the past. As a ruling prince and a military commander he was not inclined in any way to scholarly writing, and presumably would not have deemed it fitting, given his other responsibilities, that he should have been. As far as I know there are no marginalia in his hand in any manuscript. Federico, though, was devoted to the spoken word, or what in context can be termed 'rhetoric'. On the evidence of Vespasiano he was wont to discuss Holy Scripture and philosophy with Fra Lazzaro Racanelli[25]:

> "[Federico] was instructed by Maestro Lazzaro in the Ethics of Aristotle, with and without commentary, and he would also dispute over the difficult passages. He began to study logic with the keenest understanding,

[23] For the "Vœux du paon", written by Jacques de LONGUYON, G. CARY, The Medieval Alexander, D.J.A. ROSS (ed.), Cambridge 1956, p. 32, where it is stated: "The Nine Worthies were unknown to Italian writers" (cf. p. 262). A unique example of art on the Italian peninsula features the Nine Worthies (as also Nine Worthy Women), this is a mural painted to represent a tapestry, c.1416–1430, attributed to Aimone Duce, seemingly commissioned by Valeriano, the illegitimate son of marquis Tommaso III (1396–1416) of Saluzzo, for the Baronial Hall, Castello di Manta, near Saluzzo, P. D'ANCONA, Gli affreschi del Castello di Manta, in: L'arte 8 (1905) pp. 94–106, 183–198, and N. GABRIELLI, Arte nell'antico marchesato di Saluzzo, Turin 1974, plate at p. 57 and for detailed plates at pp. 55, 56, 60, 61; also CARY, pp. 261 n. 343. Saluzzo was much influenced by French culture directly through contact with the French court, and indirectly from the neighbouring duchy of Savoy; the marquis Tommaso III wrote a work "Le chevalier errant" featuring the Nine Worthies, M. SCHERER, The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature, London 1963, p. 48, plate 47 and cf. plate 48. The "Vœux du paon" was not in Federico's Library.

[24] John of SALISBURY, Policratici sive de Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum libri viii, C.C.J. WEBB (ed.), 2 vols., Oxford 1909, I, p. 13.

[25] DA BISTICCI (n. 18) I, p. 380; translation into English by W.G. and E. WATERS as: The Vespasiano memoirs . . ., London 1926, p. 99.

> and he argued with the most nimble wit that was ever seen... He requested Donato Acciaiuoli, who had already commented on the Ethics, to write comments also on the Politics ... The duke ... wished next to read the Natural History and the Physics".

Federico, Vespasiano reported, discussed geometry and arithmetic, the basis of building, with Paul of Middleburg, and also was able to provide the measurements required for the buildings he commissioned from his architects, first Laurana, subsequently Francesco di Giorgio Martini. It is recognized that Vespasiano was eulogistic, but the picture is broadly acceptable: throughout Federico's life he continued studies, in that time allocated to the 'vita contemplativa', as convention required[26].

As Federico wrote nothing at all about his concept of history, our understanding of it can only be inductive, which obviously is not without its dangers, and remains heavily dependent on his artistic commissions. Moreover, turning to what was written of him by contemporary biographers – Francesco Filelfo, Paltroni, Gaugello Gaugelli – while these provide a narrative of his actions, notably military campaigns, they throw but little light on the motives behind his activities. Vespasiano remains the exception, indicating the nub of what can be deemed Federico's concept of history[27]:

> "It now seems meet to say something of his [Federico's] knowledge of the Latin tongue, taken in connection with military affairs, for it is difficult for a leader to excel in arms unless he be, like the duke, a man of letters, seeing that the past is the mirror of the present. A military leader who knows Latin has a great advantage over one who does not. The duke wrought the greater part of his martial deeds by ancient and modern example; from the ancients by the study of history, and from the moderns through nurture in warlike practices from early infancy under the discipline of Niccolò Piccinino".

Clearly such sentiments had their propaganda value for Vespasiano, as they promoted classical texts which he sold. Equally they epitomised the theoretical view of the art of war reiterated by fifteenth-century Italian humanists, who deemed that classical Antiquity furnished models in most aspects of life for adoption on the contemporary Italian peninsula. Machiavelli's "Art of War" in the light of its fifteenth-century forerunners, such as that of Bruni,

[26] DA BISTICCI (n. 18) I, pp. 382–383; for the importance of the 'vita contemplativa' see P. O. KRISTELLER, The active and contemplative life in Renaissance Humanism, in: B. VICKERS (ed.), Arbeit Muße Meditation: Vita activa – Vita contemplativa, Zurich 1985, pp. 133–135.

[27] DA BISTICCI (n. 18) I, p. 379; English translation (n. 25) p. 99.

was not innovative, rather traditional[28]. The recommendation to learn warfare from the ancients is visually depicted in a miniature attributed to Giovan Pietro Birago of about 1490, which portrays the successful condottiere Francesco Sforza, who had gained and held the duchy of Milan by military skill (plate 3). Federico, be it noted, served under Sforza after his training with Piccinino[29]. The miniature shows a rather bemused Sforza listening to the advice of such classical generals as Alexander, Hannibal, Scipio and Caesar, all of whom are speaking at once.

Prendilacqua reported that when Federico was a boy and had read an account of Scipio (probably that of Livy) he woefully asked Vittorino if he would ever be able to look back with pride on his own deeds, remarking that as a youth Scipio had led armies, whereas *as yet I have not even experience of a military encampment*. Vittorino consoled his pupil: *I do not want you to be Scipio but Alexander, for he like you was the son of a prince.* Thereafter on occasion Vittorino would affectionately ruffle Federico's hair saying: "You will be a Caesar". Leaving aside the eulogistic content it is evident that as a youth Federico was aware of the military actions of the generals of Antiquity and consciously desired to emulate them – sentiments typical, one can suppose, of young princes of his day[30].

Vespasiano informs that Federico had read the standard classical histories of the 'studia humanitatis', including Livy, Sallust, Tacitus and Suetonius, and that he praised most highly Caesar's "Commentaries"[31]. This should cause no surprise, as Federico's protector of the 1450s, Alfonso V, king of Naples, was reputed to have had this text always at hand so that he could dip into it as opportunity offered[32]. Vespasiano added that Federico, who did begin soldiering young, sought to imitate the actions of Scipio[33]. There is some tangible evidence in support. A bronze medal cast by Clemente da Urbino in 1468 bears the inscription around Federico's bust on its obverse: *On this side Federico is present as the Roman Scipio-Caesar, and on the other side as*

[28] F. GILBERT, Machiavelli: The Renaissance of the Art of War, in: E.M. EARLE (ed.), Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler, Princeton N.J. 1941, pp. 3–25. For Bruni C.C. BAILEY, War and Society in Renaissance Florence: The 'De Militari' of Leonardo Bruni, Toronto 1961.

[29] The miniature is in Florence, Uffizi, one of nine cut out from a vellum manuscript, nos. 4423–4430, 843, Arte lombarda dai Visconti agli Sforza (Exhibition catalogue), Milan 1958, pp. 141–142 item 453, plate CLXXVIII. For Piccinino, under whom Federico fought for some five years, n. 17 and DA BASTICCI (n. 27).

[30] Quoted by L. CHELES, The Studiolo of Urbino: An Iconographic Investigation, Wiesbaden 1986, p. 74, n. 85.

[31] DA BISTICCI (n. 18) I, p. 382.

[32] J.C. ROVIRA, Humanistas y poetas en la corte napoletano de Alfonso el Magnánimo, Alicante 1990, p. 37, citing the contemporary Panormita.

[33] DA BISTICCI (n. 18) I, p. 355.

he who gave either peace or cruel war. The reverse has on it the symbols of peace and war in fortunate conjunction beneath the Montefeltro eagle (plate 4a, b)[34]. It seems highly improbable that this medal was issued other than with Federico's authority, and hence it appears iconographical testimony that Federico's conscious models were Scipio and Caesar. The medal throws a sidelight on the controversy among humanists as to which of these two Roman generals was most to be admired: Federico inclined to both[35].

Contemporary Italian commanders believed that they fought by 'Italian' rules, which supposedly found justification in classical models. So a condottiere general waited for the opposing commander to make the first move; pitched battle was avoided and took place only after a formal challenge given and accepted, which was when each side judged victory a certainty in the light of supposed military superiority in numbers or position. In practice, at least as recorded by contemporaries (one never knows how far in the writing they were conforming to classical models rather than actuality) Federico's strategy and tactics followed this pattern, so different from the so-called 'Continental' fighting introduced to the peninsula by the French invasion of 1494. Significantly the latter's mode of fighting by might and terror was seen by the Italians likewise in classical terms, as being 'a gorgia', an allusion to Plato's "Gorgias", which denied morality and natural justice[36].

As part of the decoration of the Urbino Palace Federico commissioned a frieze comprising seventy-two reliefs to serve as back-rests to a stone bench for public use along the outside wall that fronted the piazza. These reliefs were taken from drawings in the copy of Roberto Valturio's military treatise in Federico's library (plate 5a, b); this work, in its turn, was inspired by the classical texts of Frontinus and Vegetius[37]. Thus there is evidence that Federico was familiar with the warfare of Antiquity, at first hand from classical texts, at second hand from works like that of Valturio. He probably did apply what he learnt to contemporary circumstances, as Vespasiano asserted, or claimed to do so[38]. His men-at-arms (*lance*) fought on horseback with the

[34] G.F. HILL, A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini, 2 vols., London 1930, I, p. 75 no. 304; II, plate 48.

[35] M.G. PERNIS, Fifteenth-century Patrons and the Scipio-Caesar Controversy, in: Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship 6 (1994) pp. 181–195.

[36] C.H. CLOUGH, The Romagna campaign of 1494: a significant military encounter, in: D. ABULAFIA (ed.), The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494–95: Antecedents and effects, Aldershot 1995, pp. 193–194.

[37] G. BERNINI PEZZINI, Il fregio dell' arte della guerra nel Palazzo ducale di Urbino: Catalogo dei rilievi, Rome 1985, particularly pp. 25–29; cf. also R. WEISS, The Adventures of a First Edition of Valturio's "De Re Militari" in: Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro De Marinis, 4 vols., Verona 1964, IV, pp. 297–304.

[38] The extent to which in practice Renaissance generals drew on the examples of Antiquity in conducting war cannot be resolved conclusively; cf. F.L. TAYLOR, The Art

lance and sword, in the tradition of classical Rome. Eventually a contingent of his cavalry and some infantry had crossbows, but seemingly only in the last twenty years or so of his life did Federico appreciate the value of hand-guns, which then were adopted by some infantry under his command[39]. Machiavelli was so enamoured with the theory of fighting in the classical mode, with the short sword, that he totally underestimated the effectiveness of fire-power, and his soldiers of the Florentine militia were picked off by the Spanish force attacking Florence in September 1512 – they had no chance to use their swords[40]. Federico knew full-well that artillery was fundamental in siege warfare, utilising it efficiently at Volterra in 1472; he had forts protecting his state built in the 1470s so that their bastions could deflect cannon shot[41]. Such was the application of modern example alluded to by Vespasiano. Federico judiciously drew on both ancient and modern examples.

of War in Italy, 1494–1529, Cambridge 1921, pp. 176–179 and M.E. MALLETT, Mercenaries and their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy, London 1974, pp. 156–159, incline to the view that neither classical writings nor contemporary theorists much influenced the conduct of war.

39 Federico's permanent force comprised heavy cavalry (*lance*), the infantry being recruited as required. From the 1440s hand-guns played an ever increasing part; by the time of Federico's death in 1482 the heavy *scioppietti* were being replaced by arquebuses, but they remained the weapon of infantry, not cavalry. Federico on occasion commanded contingents of *scioppiettieri*, as for instance: at the siege of Fano in September 1463, GAUGELLO GAUGELLI, Il Pellegrino, in: G. VITALETTI (ed.), Il giornale dantesco 24 (1921) p. 319, *Spingarde, cirabotane longhe e corte, Bombarde grosse, balestri e schioppecti, A molta gente fen sentir la morte*; he had a force of 200 *scioppiettieri* sent by the duke of Milan to assist at the siege of Volterra in 1472, E. FIUMI, L'impresa di Lorenzo de' Medici contro Volterra (1472), Florence 1948, p. 128; a larger force with hand-guns fought under Federico and the duke of Calabria against Florence, 1478–1479. Eventually Federico did have a contingent of mounted crossbow-men and recruited infantry with crossbow expertise.

40 Cf. A.H. GILBERT, Machiavelli on firepower, in: Italica 23 (1946) pp. 275–285.

41 For artillery at Volterra FIUMI (n. 39) p. 128, and Biagio LISCI of Volterra, Il sacco di Volterra (MS. Urb. lat. 1202), L. FRATI (ed.), in: Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare dal secolo XIII al XIX 74, dispensa 114 (1886) p. 14; artillery was used also, for instance in 1478, TOMMASOLI (n. 11) pp. 296, 302. Cf. MALLETT (n. 38) pp. 159–162. For forts built by Federico from 1476 M. DEZZI BARDESCHI, Le rocche di Francesco di Giorgio nel ducato di Urbino, in: Castellum 8 (1968) pp. 97–140, and N. ADAMS, L' architettura militare di Francesco di Giorgio, in: Francesco di Giorgio architetto (Exhibition catalogue), F.P. FIORE, M. TAFURI (ed.), Milan 1993, pp. 126–139. Cf. TAYLOR (n. 38) pp. 154–155, where it is stated that there is no evidence Francesco di Giorgio's designs were ever executed, which errs; Francesco di Giorgio's designs were claimed to be irrelevant by J.R. HALE, The early development of the bastion: an Italian chronology, c. 1450-c. 1543, in: ID., R. HIGHFIELD and B. SMALLEY (ed.), Europe in the late Middle Ages, London 1965, pp. 484–485; the dates there suggested for the building of Montefeltro forts are actually a number of years late.

In the marquetry of Federico's "Studiolo" of both his Gubbio and Urbino Palaces were overt references to Virgil's "Aeneid". In the former on a lectern Virgil's text is at Book X, lines 459–491 (plate 6), the significant passage in which alludes to bravery in battle as the surest way of achieving fame beyond life; the text is beneath a mirror inscribed 'Guidobaldo', an allusion to Federico's son, a juxtaposition presumably associating the son with fame in battle[42]. I will consider the text with its like message in the Urbino "Studiolo" shortly. On the basis of Virgil's work, which Federico obviously knew intimately, he had a timescale – the foundation of Rome assigned to B.C. 753. As previously mentioned the early Church was deemed a part of Antiquity, but while the Roman Empire in the West had ended, Christianity endured, the fundamental guide for life on earth and also for eternal life. Understandably Federico looked to the centre of Western Christendom, Rome, to promote his endeavours to be a good Christian prince, for was he not answerable as ruler not only to his subjects but primarily to God? The portraits in his Urbino "Studiolo" of such exceptional Christians as St Augustine and Gregory the Great underline this breadth of chronological range, which was not limited to the Antique or to the contemporary world[43].

When in political terms did the Empire in the West end? Petrarch's focus on its aftermath, which we call 'The Middle Ages' was vague on this point. On the basis of the texts in his Library Federico could have known that Florentine humanists, namely Bruni and Poggio, deemed the Roman Empire to have ended with Charlemagne[44]. Federico appears to have been little interested in the Middle Ages save for the period's remarkable Christian thinkers, Dante included, for the philosopher Pietro d'Abano, and for the lawyer, Bartolo da Sassoferrato. His Library provided no chronicle in Latin or in the 'volgare' relating to the period, not even that of Villani. As there was no tradition of historical writing in Urbino, or in the other smaller towns of the

42 For the passage from Virgil CHELES (n. 30) p. 63, and for what appears to be its crucial lines (467–469) in the context of the *Studiolo*, p. 63 n. 32.

43 For the arrangement of the portraits in the *Studiolo* plates 1 and 2 and CLOUGH (n. 16) pp. 22–28, 42–43; for reproductions of the individual portraits CHELES (n. 30) pp. 130–136 figs. 8–36; these plates are of superior quality to those in L. CHELES, Lo studiolo di Urbino: iconografia di un microcosmo principesco, rev. ed., trans. from the English, Modena 1991, figs. 13–40.

44 N. RUBINSTEIN, Il Medio Evo nella storiografia italiana del Rinascimento, in: V. BRANCA (ed.), Concetti, storia, miti e immagini del Medio Evo, Florence 1973, pp. 429–448; for the histories of Bruni and of Poggio in Federico's Library, respectively: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS. Urb. lat. 464, 491, indicated in: C. STORNAJOLO, Codices Urbinates Latini recensuit, 3 vols., Rome 1902–1921, I, pp. 474, 497.

state, there was no significant chronicle of local interest[45]. Historians in Antiquity put the emphasis on near or contemporary events. This was what Vespasiano had in mind with his 'ancient and *modern* example'; drawing models from both was typical of the Renaissance, witness the tract of Aldo already mentioned[46]. On the Italian peninsula in the fifteenth century the classical cyclical view of history – known to Federico at least from his Aristotle – further emphasised both ancient and contemporary events, for had not the wheel come full circle with Antiquity being reborn in the present?[47] Federico certainly was aware of the significance of contemporary events. Following Oddantonio's assassination, when on 23 July 1444 Federico was invited by the citizens of Urbino to become 'Signore', he was given a copy of the town's privileges and other conditions to sign, wherein on occasion reference was made to what had been customary in the good rule of Count Antonio and of Count Guidantonio, Federico's grandfather and father respectively. In signing each clause Federico himself thrice added words to the effect that what was stated had pertained in the past[48]. The

[45] The twenty-eight portraits of outstanding thinkers in the *Studiolo* of the Urbino Palace comprised: Moses, Solomon, seven Greeks and three Romans of Antiquity; there were nine Church Fathers, as well as Dante, Petrarch, Bartolo da Sassoferrato; the four contemporaries were Vittorino, Bessarion, Pius II, Sixtus IV. Federico's Library included writings of most of these. The only known Urbino chronicle of the fifteenth century in origin probably covered 1404–1444 and beyond, but was extended subsequently by several compilers to 1578; a copy appears to have been acquired by Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere, Cronachetta d'Urbino (1404–1578), G. BACCINI (ed.), in: Le Marche illustrate nella storia, nelle lettere, nelle arti I (1901) pp. 61–62, 119–120, 134–137, 155–157. There is no evidence that Federico owned a copy of the earliest portion, or knew of it.

[46] For the passage see VESPASIANO quoted in the essay below n. 27; for Aldo's tract the text above at n. 1.

[47] For the classical cyclic concept Aristotle, Politics, III, xv, 1286b and following, and also Polybius, History, Bk. VI; Federico's Library contained both. For Aristotle Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, see MS. Urb. gr. 46, and C. STORNAJOLO, Codices Urbinates Graeci recensuit, Rome 1895, p. 501; VESPASIANO (n. 25) indicates that Federico was familiar with the "Politics". For the styled "Excerpta Antiqua" of Polybius, see MS. Urb. gr. 102, STORNAJOLO, pp. 156–158, and J. M. MOORE, The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius, Cambridge 1965, pp. 19–20, and cf. also F. W. WALBANK, Polybius, Berkeley, Calif. 1972, pp. 130–132. For the concept as a feature of Machiavelli's view of history, as also that of other of his contemporaries, Niccolò MACHIAVELLI, Il principe, L.A. BURD (ed.), Oxford 1891, pp. 206–208, editor's commentary to Chapter VI.

[48] The original Latin "Capitoli" signed by Federico now appears lost, though according to DENNISTOUN (n. 11) p. 417, it existed in the 1840s. It is known from an early eighteenth-century transcript in Urbino, Biblioteca Universitaria, Fondo del Comune, busta 132, fasc. viii, and also from a notarial copy of May 1450 (TOMMASOLI n. 11 pp. 55–58, where the explanation provided for the existence of this latter is not entirely convincing). For the nature of the "Capitoli" TOMMASOLI, pp. 31–50. There is no edition

contemporary past of his father's rule was the model for that of Federico, while by implication the immediate past of his half-brother's misrule was obliterated. Clearly here political pressures were involved, yet nevertheless one selected what was good from history, rejecting evil. Elsewhere I have made the case that Piero della Francesca's "Flagellation" was placed in the 1470s in Federico's Urbino "Studiolo" under his dynastic portrait (plate 2), where it was to serve as a personal reminder of the dangers of corrupt rule; as a visual model it was an unusual combination of Christian Antiquity and the near past[49].

The portal of the Iole Suite at the head of the Grand Staircase of the Urbino Palace was sculpted shortly after 1474 with war trophies of Imperial Rome (plate 7a, b, c). Some ten years later Mantegna began to paint for the marquis of Mantua that famous series "The Triumphs of Caesar", where the dress and accoutrements of individuals of Imperial Roman legions were essentially historically accurate (even if one bore a contemporary decoration in the form of an honorific collar): a source was Valturio, be it noted[50]. Throughout the entire Middle Ages and early Renaissance prior to this series by Mantegna there appears to have been little sense of the anachronistic. Take, for instance, the Bible prepared at Vespasiano's order for Federico between 1476 and 1478: a miniature attributed to Biagio di Antonio is of the Battle of Bezek, when the Israelites gained impressive victory over the Canaanites and Perizzites (Judges, 1,4) (plate 8). In its anachronism it is typical of all the miniatures of that Bible. Both armies comprise men-at-arms in armour on horseback, bearing lances, with infantry likewise in contemporary dress and with contemporary arms[51]. On 13 July 1476 Federico paid probably the final of three annual instalments for a set of eleven tapestries of the Siege of

of the entire "Capitoli", but for their English translation in full DENNISTOUN, Appendix IV, pp. 417–42; Federico referred back to his father, p. 417, Clause II: "... privileges shall be those possessed during the time of our father of happy memory", and likewise p. 418, Clause VI, p. 419, Clause XVII.

49 The case was made originally in 1978 C.H. CLOUGH, Federigo da Montefeltro's Artistic Patronage, in: The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts 126 (1978) pp. 728–730; reprinted with a few additions in ID. (n. 18) item IX, pp. 11–13; ID. (1984) (n. 9) pp. 336–341; ID. (1995) (n. 16) pp. 26–27, 30, 31–40.

50 The portal of the Iole Suite is inscribed: FE.DVX, P. ROTONDI, The Ducal Palace of Urbino, English ed., London 1969, pp. 75–76. For the "Triumphs of Caesar" N. GARAVAGLIA, The Complete Paintings of Mantegna, London 1971, pp. 110–112; A. MARTINDALE, The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna..., London 1979; R. LIGHTBOWN, Mantegna, Oxford 1986, pp. 140–153, figs. 101–119; Andrea Mantegna (Exhibition catalogue), J. MARTINEAU (ed.), London 1992, pp. 349–392; cf. also H.R. ROBINSON, The Armour of Imperial Rome, London 1975.

51 A. GARZELLI, La Bibbia di Federico da Montefeltro, Rome 1977, plate III and p. 94 fig. 66; see this work for reproductions of other miniatures. The Bible is MSS, Urb. lat. 1, 2, STORNAJOLO (n. 44) I, pp. 1–6.

Troy from the looms of Jean Grenier of Tournai[52]. Federico's set was for his Urbino Palace and probably was destroyed in the seventeenth century. From existing pieces of other sets and from eight drawings for the original cartoons, ascribed to Henri de Vulcop, it is known what the set was like. They show Greeks and Trojans fighting with weapons and in the armour of Federico's day somewhat fantasized; Troy is a medieval walled city of Western Christendom, the Greeks outside having contemporary field tents (plate 9a, b)[53]. All the evidence points to Federico's view of the past being typical of his day, that is in essence anachronistic.

Federico, like John of Salisbury, was aware of tangible relics of the past. As Castiglione put it, he collected "an infinity of ancient statues in marble and in bronze"[54]. In 1474, for example, the poet Pandoni sent him the head of Minerva, found on the Viminale Hills beyond Rome. According to Pandoni's poem Federico had it mounted below the Montefeltro eagle (the eagle could symbolize Jove), which surmounted Federico's arms as duke and papal Gonfaloniere; these arms were set over the main entry to the Urbino Palace (plate 10a, b)[55]. Latin inscriptions, in the style of those of Ancient Rome, played a part in the palace open to the public, and were even more prominent in Federico's suite[56]. Everywhere in the palace was the visual record that it was built by Federico – the initials F.C. or F.D., his arms, the eagle, his devices, were a repetitive feature of its decoration, and found (excluding the initials F.C.) in the Gubbio Palace (plate 11)[57]. One can assume

52 CLOUGH (n. 18) item III, pp. 503–504, published the deed of payment and see also pp. 487–492; for the eleven hangings see J.-P. ASSELBERGHS, Les tapisseries tournaissennes de la guerre de Troie, Brussels 1972, pp. 14–40, with illustrations, and M.R. SHERER, egends of Troy in Art and Literature, London 1963, pp. 241–243. For the drawings in the Louvre ASSELBERGHS, pp. 13–14, and for their attribution to de Vulcop see N. REYUD, Un peintre français cartonnier de tapisseries au XVe siècle: Henri de Vulcop, in: Revue de l'Art 22 (1973) pp. 6–21.

53 Cf. also the contemporary field tent in Piero della Francesca's "Constantine's Vision", in the Arezzo cycle of the 1450s.

54 B. CASTIGLIONE, Il Libro del cortegiano con una scelta delle opere minori, B. MAIER (ed.), Turin 3rd rev., 1981, Bk.I, ii, pp. 84–85.

55 M. LUNI, Da Federico a Guidubaldo: La riscoperta dell' antico nel ducato di Urbino tra Quattro e Cinquecento, in: P. DAL POGGETTO (ed.), Piero e Urbino: Piero e le corti rinascimentali (Exhibition catalogue),Venice 1992, pp. 62–63, 65.

56 C. H. CLOUGH, Decorative Elements associated with the Cult of Antiquity in the Ducal Suite of the Urbino Palace and an hitherto unknown Inscription relating to its Cappelletta, in: R. VARESE (ed.), Studi per Pietro Zampetti, Ancona 1993, pp. 175–179; C. H. CLOUGH, Il Tempietto delle Muse e Giovanni Santi, in: R. VARESE (ed.), Studi su Giovanni Santi (Conference papers), Urbino (forthcoming 1998).

57 For examples of the visual record in the Urbino Palace the illustrations in ROTONDI (n. 50) plates 251, 254, 259, 263, 272, 299, 307–308, 354–355, 357, 396, 398–410; for those of the Gubbio Palace (without the initials F.C.) see FIORE, TAFURI (n. 41), p. 183.

that this was consciously modelled on Antiquity and reflected Federico's knowledge of the past as it pertained to fame. Federico sought to be remembered for those very qualities attributed to him by Aldo and as foretold by Doge Foscari and Vittorino. One of the freestanding diptych panels by Piero della Francesca, in origin probably located in the Audience Chamber of the Urbino Palace, depicts Federico's "Triumph"[58]. The Virgil passage in the Urbino "Studiolo" can be related to "Aeneid", Book IX, lines 638–644, where Apollo congratulates Aeneas's son on his bravery, adding that by such deeds is achieved the pinnacle of fame, and that his progeny would become Caesars[59]. The analogy to be inferred was that Federico had fame through his military achievements, and that future generations born of his son Guidobaldo would attain even greater glory. For Federico history was also a crystal ball by which the future could be foretold. In the event the crystal ball proved particularly cloudy, as Guidobaldo, who was to suffer from dropsy, never achieved notable military distinction, and since he was impotent proved to be the last of the Montefeltro line[60].

58 This was conjectured by CLOUGH (1978) (n. 49) pp. 722–725.

59 CHELES (n. 30) p. 63, fig. 43.

60 From 1496 Duke Guidobaldo increasingly became incapacitated by dropsy, and he died of it in April 1508, see CLOUGH (n. 18) item XIV, pp. 227–228; the duke's half-brother, Antonio, who fathered no children, died of dropsy in 1500, see CLOUGH (n. 9) p. 298 n. 17; for Guidobaldo's impotence see CLOUGH (n. 17) p. 139 n. 106.

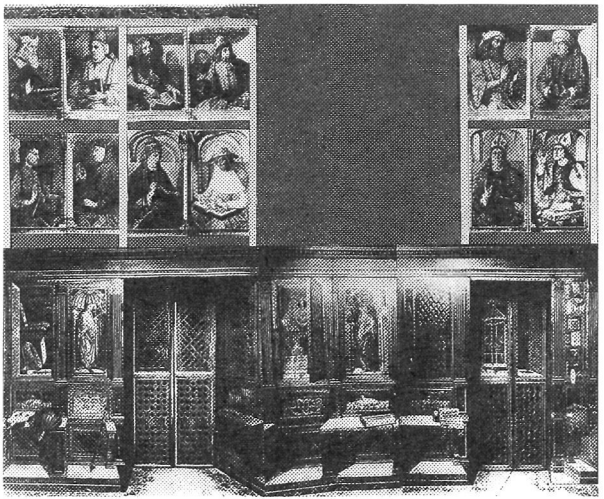

Plate 1: Francesco di Giorgio Martini, designer (attributed); South and West Walls, *Studiolo*, Urbino Palace. Author's reconstruction, photographic montage, University of Liverpool, Arts/SES Photographic Department, Miss Suzanne Yee.

Plate 2: North and East Walls, *Studiolo*, Urbino Palace.

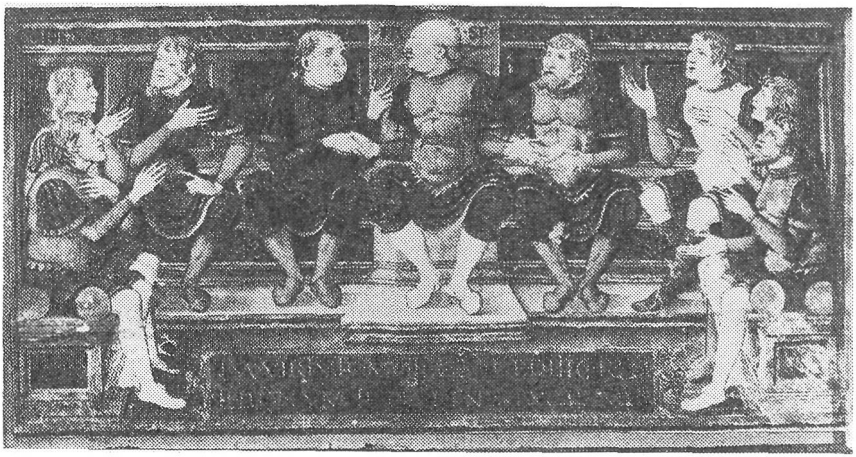

Plate 3: Giovan Pietro Birago (attributed); Francesco Sforza listening to famous generals of Antiquity, cut-out miniature, c.1490; Florence, Uffizi.

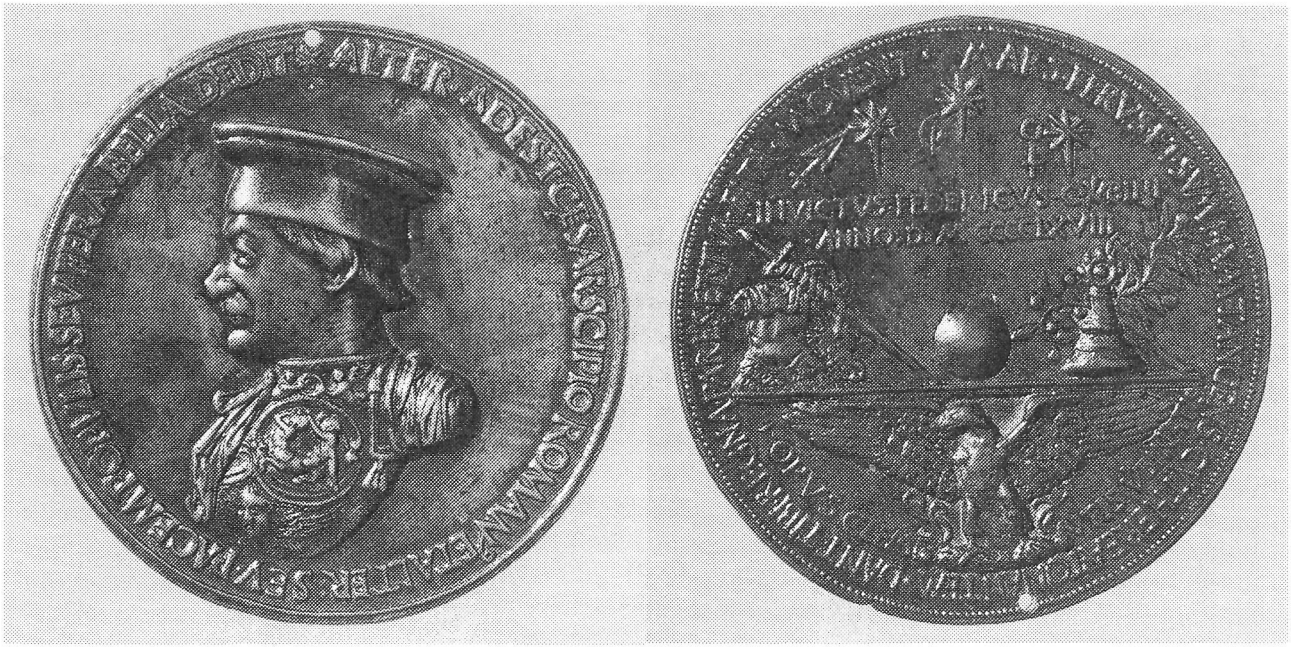

Plate 4: Clemente da Urbino; bust of Federico da Montefeltro (obverse) and symbolic devices of war and peace beneath the favourable conjunction of Jove between Mars and Venus (reverse); bronze medal, 1468, size 9.4 cm in diameter; Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection.

Plate 5a: Francesco di Giorgio, designer (attributed); so-called 'Bastia', Arabic war-machine, carved back-rest for a public seat outside the Urbino Palace, c.1474, size 84 × 69 cm.; Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, inv. no. 772.

Plate 5b: Roberto Valturio, 'De re militari', c.1465; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Urb. lat. 281, f. 148.

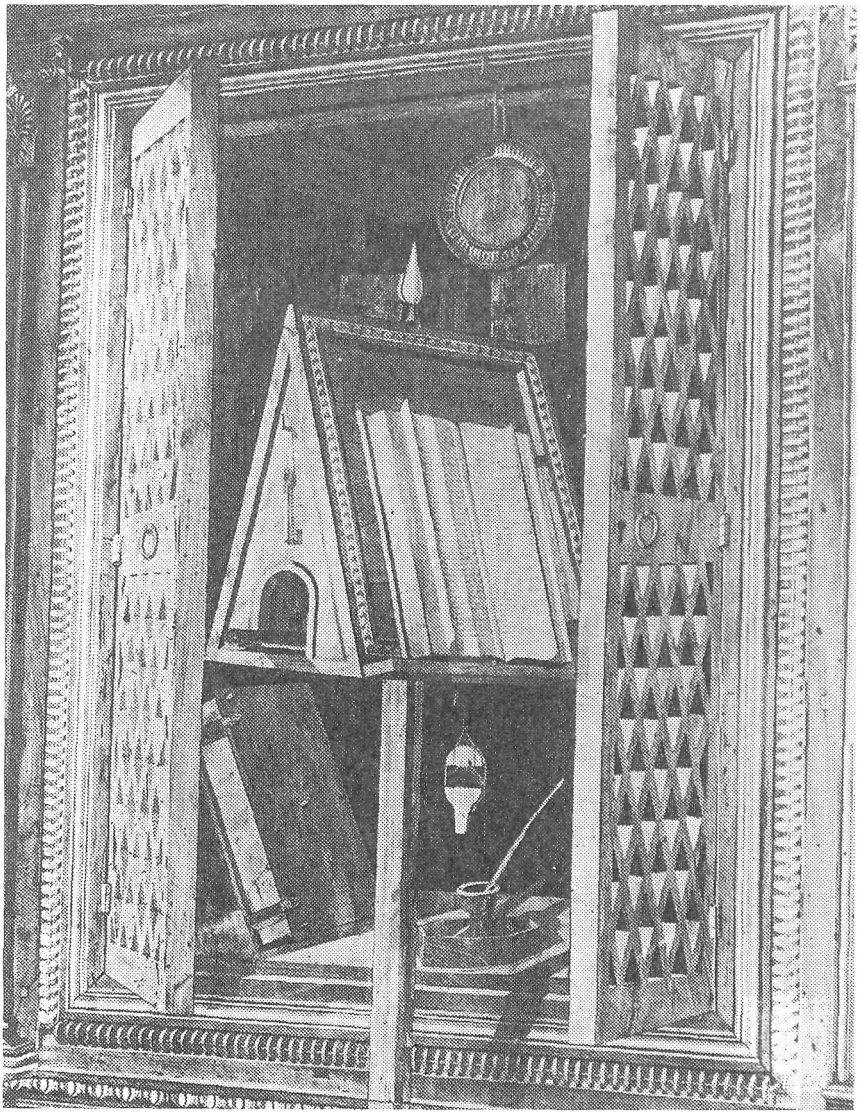

Plate 6: Francesco di Giorgio Martini, designer (attributed); detail of marquetry showing the lectern bearing the text of Virgil's "Aeneid", open at Book X, lines 459–491, and the mirror inscribed G. BALDO DX, window niche, *Studiolo*, Gubbio Palace; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Plate 7a: Ambrogio Barocci, sculpture (attributed); portal with classical war trophies, entrance to Iole Suite, head of the Grand Staircase, *Piano Nobile*, Urbino Palace.

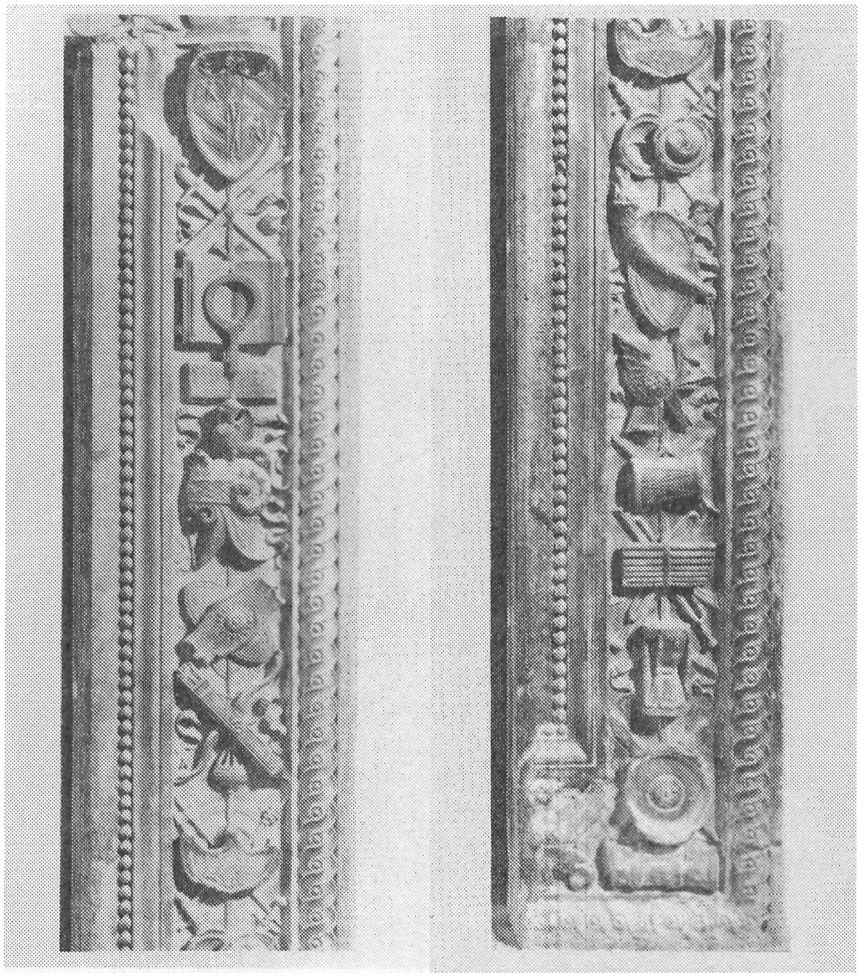

Plate 7b, 7c: Details of the portal.

Plate 8: Biagio d'Antonio (attributed); Battle of Bezek, victory of the Israelites over the Canaanites and Perizzites (Judges, I. 4). Detail of a miniature in the Bible prepared between 1476 and 1478 for Federico da Montefeltro; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Urb. lat. 1, f. 97.

Plate 9a: Henri de Vulcop (attributed); the arming of Pyrrhus, showing also the arrival of Penthesilea at Troy, and a battle between Amazons and Greeks. Drawing for the cartoon of the ninth of the series of eleven Trojan War Tapestries, c.1471; Paris, Louvre, inv. no. RF2145.

Plate 9b: Miniature of a contemporary field tent (the portrait of Federico da Montefeltro stuck on); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Urb. lat. 1193, f. 3.

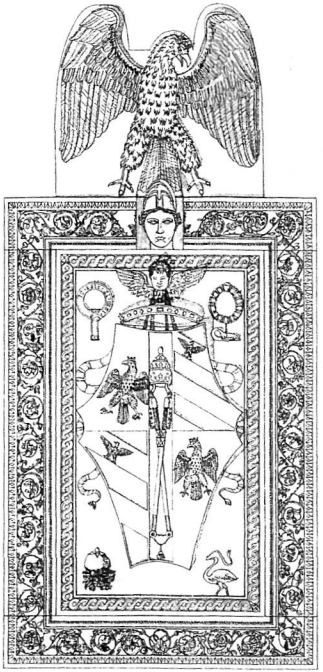

Plate 10a: Reconstruction of Federico da Montefeltro's ducal arms with the head of Minerva, in origin over the main entry to the Urbino Palace. Drawing taken from Mario Luni, '... La riscoperta dell' antica ...', in: Piero e Urbino ..., P. Dal Poggetto (ed.), 1992, p. 63.

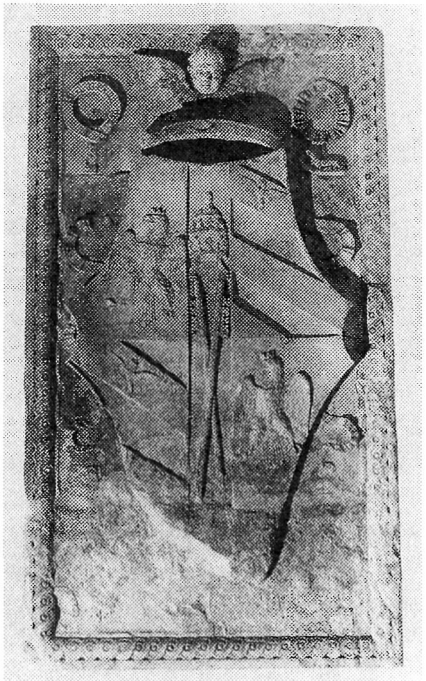

Plate 10b: The arms of Federico da Montefeltro as now located in the Urbino Palace, Sala della Biblioteca.

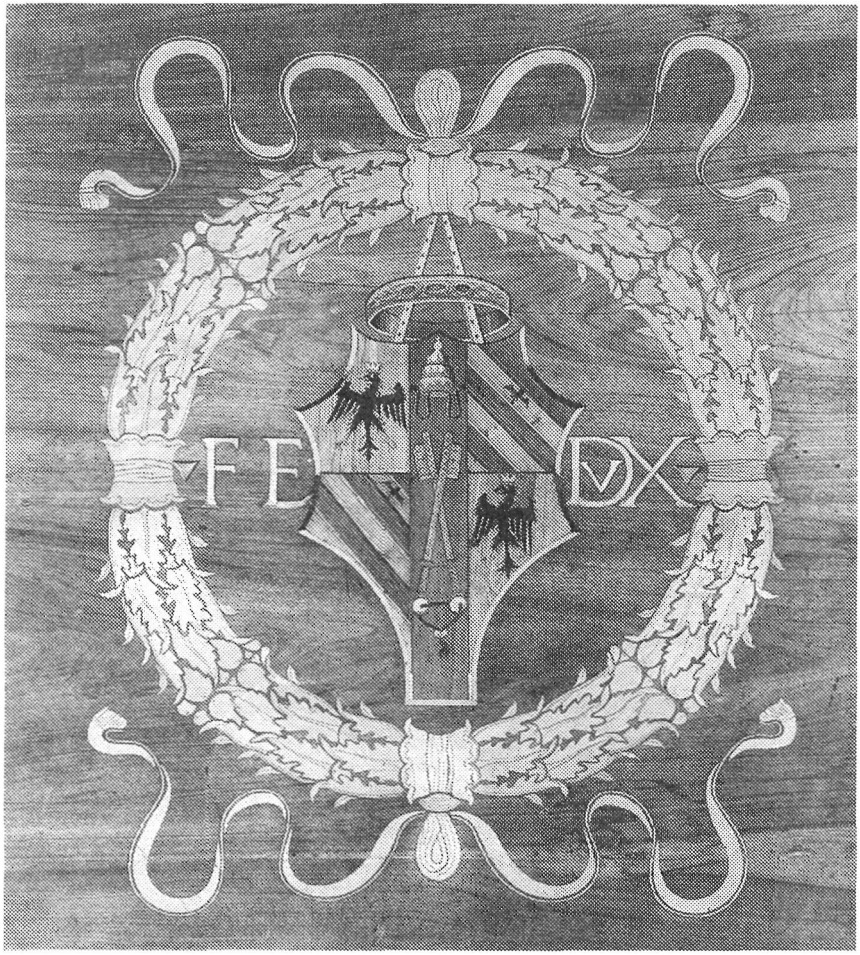

Plate 11: Marquetry with the ducal arms of Federico da Montefeltro, and the letters FE. DVX in the ceiling of the entrance chamber to the *Studiolo*, Gubbio Palace; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.