

Committenza roveresca e committenza delle botteghe maiolicarie del Ducato di Urbino nell'epoca roveresca

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The potters of the Duchy of Urbino in the High Renaissance elevated their product to a level at which princes and princesses took an active interest in its design and used it for gift-giving at the highest social and diplomatic level. Such was the celebrity of sixteenth-century Urbino maiolica that, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, “Urbino ware” dominated the idea of Renaissance maiolica in the minds of collectors across Europe. Appreciation of Urbino *istoriato* was bolstered by the belief that Raphael and other famous artists had not only designed but actually painted it: for generations of English collectors, “Raphael ware” became the common term used for all *istoriato* maiolica¹. This essay examines the evidence that in some degree this lasting success was due to direct support from the Della Rovere dukes and duchesses.

In the 1480s and 1490s Pesaro was producing the finest maiolica in the region and perhaps the most sophisticated in Italy. *Terra da Pesero* was already recognizable to an inventory clerk at Lorenzo de' Medici's villa at Poggio a Caiano in 1480². It was probably Pesaro potters who won the commission for a table service for Matthias Corvinus King of Hungary and his wife Beatrice d'Aragona³, and in 1494 a Pesaro workshop, perhaps that of the Fedeli, made pavement tiles with arms and *imprese* for Marquess Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua and his wife Isabella d'Este⁴. Around 1500-1510 Pesaro ceded pre-eminence to Castel Durante and Urbino⁵. Urbino itself was already a centre of fine maiolica production by 1501, when the Urbino potter Francesco Garducci was commissioned by Cardinal Ludovico Podocattario, secretary to Pope Alexander VI, to make an ambitious service of 91 pieces that were to be “beautiful and well-painted and of good colours with the arms of the said cardinal and other paintings to earn the praise and approval of one skilled in the art”⁶.

The most spectacular example of the virtuosity achieved by Castel Durante pottery in the early sixteenth century is the bowl now in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 1). It has the Della Rovere arms beneath the papal crossed keys and tiara, for Pope Julius II. Beneath is a shield of arms of Manzoli of Bologna; it is likely that the bowl was a gift to the Pope from Giorgio Manzoli, whom Julius had appointed to the Bolognese senate after the coup of 1506, which expelled the Bentivoglio from that city⁷. The bowl is dated 12 September 1508 and marked as made in Castel Durante by *Zouâ Maria vrô*, presumably denoting a potter (*vasaro*) named Giovanni Maria. Though archival research has not yet conclusively identified Giovanni Maria⁸, the artist who decorated this bowl produced one of the great masterpieces of Renaissance maiolica. One may,

¹ John Evelyn in 1650 described having seen “many Vasas designed by Raphael”; in 1678 Cesare Malvasia provoked an acrimonious debate by describing Raphael as *boccaliaio urbinato* in his book *Felsina Pittrice*. See Norman 1976, pp. 19-28; Wilson 1996, pp. XVII-XVIII.

² Cora 1973, I, p. 419; Spallanzani 1983; Berardi 1984, p. 33.

³ Bettini 1997; Wilson 1999, p. 6, with further references.

⁴ Gardelli 1993, pp. 95-9; Mallet 1997, pp. 260-2.

⁵ For possible reasons for the decline, see Berardi 1984, pp. 35-6.

⁶ Rossi 1889; Wilson 2003B, pp. 152-3.

⁷ Rasmussen 1989, no. 62,

⁸ See Negroni 1985, p. 17; Wilson 1993, p. 132, on Giovanni Maria di Mariano of Urbino. Balzani and Regni 2003 suggest Giovanni Maria Perusini of Castel Durante.

however, wonder why Manzoli - if indeed he was the originator of the commission - placed the order in Castel Durante, rather than Faenza, which is closer to and within the artistic ambit of Bologna. The exact circumstances are unknown, but one wonders if the Pope's nephew Francesco Maria Della Rovere, who had succeeded his uncle Guidubaldo da Montefeltro as Duke of Urbino in April 1508, and travelled to Bologna to be invested as Captain-general of the Papal armies in San Petronio on 4 October, might have had a role in the matter.

Francesco Maria was first and foremost a soldier and spent much of his reign away from Urbino on military duties. The *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* comments that he *non prosegue il mecenatismo culturale montefeltresco, né s'intende gran che d'arte*. There is little tangible evidence that he himself took much interest in maiolica, and no Urbino or Castel Durante *istoriato* maiolica survives with his arms⁹, but in the thirty years of his reign the maiolica industry in three towns of the Duchy - Urbino, Castel Durante, and Gubbio - achieved unequalled artistic heights.

The man who more than anyone else established the "Urbino manner" of *istoriato* was Nicola di Gabriele Sbraghe, who signed "Nicola da Urbino". It was to Nicola that Eleanora Gonzaga Duchess of Urbino turned when she decided to commission an example of the best Urbino production. On 15 November 1524, Eleanora wrote from Pesaro to her mother, Isabella d'Este in Mantua: *Pensando io di volere visitare V. Ex.tia cum qualche cosa de quelle che dano questi paesi, et chi gli potessero piacere a questi tempi non trovando cosa che mi paresse al proposito: Ho facto fare una credenza de vasi di terra, Quale la mando a v. Ex.tia per Baptista mio Credentiero pnte exhibitore, per havere li maestri de questo nostro paese qualche nome di lavorar bene, et se piacerà alla ex.tia v. mi sera di contento, et lei se ne fara servire a Porto per essere cosa da villa accettando el Bono animo mio in cambio de quanto vorrei chella fusse..*¹⁰. At least twenty-two beautiful pieces from this service survive in collections round the world [CAT. NOS XX,YY]. Most have Ovidian or other classical subjects, appropriate for a *cosa da villa*, or scenes after Raphael-school engravings, but one (in the Louvre¹¹) has an Old Testament subject after Raphael's Vatican Logge; Nicola may have owed his knowledge of this composition to Giulio Romano, who passed through Urbino on his way from Rome to Mantua in autumn 1524¹².

About 1533, another armorial set was made, probably also in Nicola's workshop, for Isabella's son Federico Duke of Mantua and his wife Margherita Paleologo¹³[CAT. NO. ZZ]. One might have guessed this to have been a gift from his sister the Duchess of Urbino; but a letter written from Pesaro in August 1530 by Giovan Francesco Calandra to Federico's secretary shows that the secretary at that time was interested in prices in a way that suggests that Federico himself was intending to place an order

⁹ For the alternative view, that Francesco Maria I was actively involved in maiolica, see the eloquent studies by Dr Cioci: Cioci 1987; Cioci 1997; Cioci 2002, pp. 86-8.

¹⁰ Palvarini Gobio Casali 1987, pp. 211-2.

¹¹ Giacomotti 1974, no. 819; see Mallet 1981, p. 166.

¹² Wilson in Ausenda 2000, pp. 182-4; Casati Migliorini 2003, pp. 42-5.

¹³ There are four pieces by Nicola or his workshop with the arms of Gonzaga impaling Paleologo (Mallet in Chambers and Martineau 1981, nos. 194, 195; Norman 1976, no. C92; one in the Hermitage F3030); three with Paleologo alone (Piatkiewicz-Dereniowa 1975, no. 22; Ivanova 2003, no. 36; and Liverani 1939, p. 14); and two with Federico's Olympus *impresa* (Mallet in Chambers and Martineau 1981, no. 197; Liverani 1939, p. 13). All perhaps formed part of the same commission, as may one, with the impaled arms, by Xanto dated 1533 (Mallet in Chambers and Martineau 1981, no. 196).

from Mantua: *Io sono stato in Urbino et ho visto vasi veramente eccellentissimi et dipinti a paesi, fabule et istorie, sopra tutta bellezza a li ochij mei e fatoli intendere de la Credenza ne avete scritto. La risposta è stata che non pono dirmi el pretio, se non sanno la qualità e quantità... perchè valiono assai et poco secondo la molta e poca manifattura, ma non s'io ho detto perchè io voglia dita Credenza, ma s'io avesse avuto 25 o trenta scudi comperava tanta maiolica et me ne veniva trovarvi, che so che vi saria piaciuto, et cossì al nostro Ill^o S. Duca¹⁴.*

Other *istoriato* table services were made in Urbino in the 1520s and 1530s for rich and important individuals through Italy. Examples are services by Nicola for a member of the Calini family of Brescia¹⁵ and for Valente Valenti Gonzaga of Mantua around 1525¹⁶; services by Francesco Xanto Aveli for a member of the Pucci family of Florence in 1532¹⁷ and for the Venetian Jacopo Pesaro, Bishop of Paphos, in 1535¹⁸; and a service by another painter for Francesco Sforza II, Duke of Milan, around 1530-35¹⁹. There is no proof whether Francesco Maria took an active part in any of these commissions, or whether any of them were official or diplomatic gifts.

Duchess Eleanora may have been more actively involved in the promotion of this local industry, and in its diplomatic potential, than her husband. In a letter written to her from the papal court in Viterbo, in 1528, soon after the Sack of Rome, the Urbino ducal agent Giovanmaria Della Porta reported that he had asked Pope Clement VII's steward why the Pope did not eat off *piatti di terra... dipinti a figure*, and the reply had been that he used such plates only when dining with cardinals. Della Porta went on to suggest to the Duchess that it would be advantageous to send a service of pottery quickly to the Pope: *non potriano venire più a tempo, essendo quasi alla fin d'una che gli venne sì fatta a Faenza... presto, presto, che'l tempo ne serve²⁰*. In 1535 Della Porta wrote again, this time to Francesco Maria's son Guidubaldo, asking for help in meeting the desire of an unnamed count in Rome for *una Credenza con Figure al modo che si fano in Urbino²¹*.

In the light of documents like this, it seems possible, although no specific documentation has yet been found, that the *istoriato* services bearing the arms of two of the most influential people at the French court, Cardinal Duprat, Chancellor of France, and Anne de Montmorency, *Grand Maître* of France [CAT. NO. YY], both made in the workshop of Guido Durantino in 1535, were in some degree diplomatic gifts, whether from Francesco Maria or from someone else²².

¹⁴ Campori in Vanzolini 1879, II, p. 215; Mallet 1981, p. 167.

¹⁵ Most recently studied by Hess 2002, no. 25.

¹⁶ Palvarini Gobio Casali 1989-90; Wilson in Ausenda 2000, no. 193.

¹⁷ Triolo 1988; Triolo 1992; Cioci 1997; Spallanzani 1999.

¹⁸ Triolo 1996, pp. 352-60; Wilson 1996, pp. 198-201.

¹⁹ A plate with the arms of Francesco Sforza, probably by the "Milan Marsyas painter", is in Kunstindustrimuseet, Copenhagen (Rackham 1928, tav. IVD); another was sold at Semenzato, Florence, 19 December 2002, lot 172.

²⁰ Spallanzani 1994, p. 129; Mallet and Dreier 1998, pp. 36-7.

²¹ Mallet and Dreier 1998, p. 37.

²² Crépin-Leblond and Ennès 1995, pp. 56-7; compare Spallanzani 1980.

In 1538 Francesco Maria I died and Guidubaldo II succeeded to the Duchy. There is evidence that, though his own preferred residence was Pesaro²³, he took a more active role in promoting the Urbino maiolica industry than his father had. It seems that Guido Durantino (d. 1576) and his son Orazio Fontana (d. 1571) were the principal beneficiaries of ducal patronage. Around 1607 Bernardino Baldi, in his *Encomio della Patria* addressed to Guidubaldo's son Francesco Maria II, noted the unprecedented prestige of the products of Orazio's workshop: *Nell'arti men nobili, nobilissimo in quella del far Vasi di terra cotta e porcellane fù Horatio Fontana; il quale si portò di maniera ne tempi di Guidobaldo Padre della Altezza Vostra, che le Credenze sue erano del detto Principe, come cosa rara, mandate in dono a gran Signori, al Rè di Spagna, & all Imperatore medesimo*²⁴. Orazio Fontana was already a skilled maiolica artist by 1541, the date of the earliest of a series of plates bearing his monogram *ORATIO*²⁵; one of these, formerly in Berlin but destroyed in World War II, bore the date 1542 and an inscription stating that it had been made in the workshop of Guido Durantino; about the same time father and son seem to have adopted the surname "Fontana"²⁶. From the first marked piece bearing the name of Guido's workshop (a plate in the Bargello dated 1528, painted by Nicola da Urbino) to the 1560s, the Fontana family workshop produced many fine *istoriato* services, some of them armorial. Sixteen plates have the arms of Guidubaldo and inscriptions indicating that they were presented by him to Andrea Ghetti da Volterra, an Augustinian *frate* and preacher (fig. 2). Although Ghetti enjoyed some celebrity, the motive for this exceptional gift has not been discovered. The service is undated but Guidubaldo's arms are surrounded by the Order of the Golden Fleece, to which he was appointed in 1559; it was probably painted in the Fontana workshop shortly after this date²⁷.

In the second (1568) edition of his *Vite*, Vasari relates how the Venetian-born painter Bartista Franco was summoned to Urbino by Guidubaldo and painted the vault of Urbino Cathedral, but the results were deemed disappointing: *La qual cosa conoscendo quel Duca, e pensando che i suoi disegni, messi in opera da coloro che lavoravano eccellentemente vasi di terra a Castel Durante, i quali si erano molto serviti delle stampe di Raffaello da Urbino e di quelle d'altri valentuomini, riuscirebbono benissimo, fece fare a Battista infiniti disegni, che, messi in opera in quella sorte di terra gentilissima sopra tutte l'altre d'Italia, riuscirono cosa rara. Onde ne furono fatti tanti e di tante sorte vasi, quanti sarebbero bastati e stati orrevoli in una credenza reale; e le pitture che in essi furono fatte non sarebbero state migliori quando fussero state fatte a olio da eccellentissimi maestri. Di questi vasi adunque... mandò il detto duca Guidobaldo una credenza doppia a Carlo Quinto imperadore, et una al cardinal Farnese, fratello della signora Vettoria sua consorte*²⁸. Guidubaldo married Vittoria Farnese in 1548; Franco's drawings of Trojan War scenes, and the first *credenze* made from them, were probably made about that time. Although Vasari implies the Duke's *credenze* were made at Castel Durante, Clifford and Mallet have

²³ It is probably no coincidence that the Pesaro maiolica industry was reinvigorated, with *istoriato* production flourishing in the workshop of Girolamo dalle Gabicce, around the time of Guidubaldo's accession (Bonali and Gresta 1987).

²⁴ Baldi 1706, pp. 130-131. This work is dated 1607 by Zaccagnini 1902, pp. 55-7.

²⁵ Mallet 1987 is a thorough account of work attributable to the workshop of Guido. An unpublished dish with the Last Supper and Orazio's monogram is in the Museum of Applied Arts, Prague, 89.954.

²⁶ If correctly recorded by Scatassa 1908, p. 168, a document records the name *Oratio Fontana* in 1541.

²⁷ Wilson 2002, pp. 125-31, lists and discusses the service.

²⁸ Vasari 1966-87, V, p. 465.

provided arguments instead that they were made in Urbino in the Fontana workshop, possibly painted by Guido's nephew Camillo Gatti²⁹ [CAT. NO. ZZ].

It was not only the Ducal family but civic authorities who used their local speciality for diplomatic purposes. In 1556-7 the French Cardinal de Tournon stayed in Castel Durante and the town authorities offered him *un qualche donativo onorifico fin dove potranno giungere le finanze del Comune prendendosi a norma il già fatto in altra e simile occasione pel cardinal d'Urbino* (the Duke's brother Cardinal Giulio Della Rovere); this took the form of a maiolica vase, no doubt from a Castel Durante workshop, with military subjects, grotesque ornament, and heraldic devices³⁰.

Vasari tells how around 1560 Guidubaldo again commissioned a series of drawings for a prestigious *credenza*, this time from Taddeo Zuccaro; the first *credenza* made from them was sent in 1562 to Spain as a gift to King Philip II, but the drawings were copied and re-used in Urbino maiolica workshops. On 15 January 1563 Annibale Caro wrote from Rome to Duchess Vittoria asking for help in retrieving them for the artist: *Il signor duca suo consorte fece fare qui molti disegni di varie istoriette per dipingere una credenza di maioliche in Urbino. La quale e stata finita, e gli disegni sono restati in mano di quei maestri, i quali ordinariamente non gli hanno ad avere*³¹.

Around 1560 white-ground grotesque decoration superseded *istoriato* as the fashionable mode of decorating the grandest maiolica services. There is evidence that the first services decorated with white-ground grotesques were made by or under the direction of Orazio Fontana³². Orazio, who was evidently an effective businessman, separated his affairs from his father Guido Durantino's in 1565³³; how far he was active independently before that date is uncertain. In 1564-65 Orazio was in Turin in the service of the Duke of Savoy, where he had the title of *capo mastro de vasari de S. Alt.* Two surviving pieces of a grandiose service with the arms of Inigo d'Avalos, Archbishop of Turin, were probably made about this time³⁴. So too, perhaps, was the superb service with scenes from the romance *Amadis of Gaul* and Spanish inscriptions, doubtless made for King Philip II or a grandee of Spain³⁵. [CAT. NO. ZZ]

Explicit testimony of the primacy of Orazio in prestige commissions is a letter written in March 1567 by Felice Tiranni, Archbishop of Urbino, to his patron Cardinal Giulio Della Rovere, brother of Guidubaldo: *Arivato ad Urbino ordinai a. m^o Horatio Vasaro la credenza che .V.S. Ill^{ma}. et R^{ma}. mi comando per Monig' Ill^{mo}. Farnese et*

²⁹ Clifford and Mallet 1976; Lessmann 1976; Ravanelli Guidotti 1983; Mallet 1987, pp. 292-4; Nepoti 1999.

³⁰ Liburdi 1918, p. 59; Piccolpasso 1980, I, p. xxiii. I have not consulted the original documents, but it seems likely that this maiolica vase was the gift resolved upon by the city council in September 1556. It was on this occasion that Cipriano Piccolpasso of Castel Durante compiled at the request of the Cardinal his *Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio*.

³¹ Caro 1957-61, III, p. 147; on the "Spanish service" see Gere 1963; Bojani 1993; Poole 1995, pp. 378-81; Wilson 1996, pp. 371-83; and Vossilla in this volume.

³² Wilson 1996, pp. 368-9 is a more detailed account of these issues.

³³ Rossi 1889.

³⁴ Campori in Vanzolini 1879, II, p. 171; the two dishes are (a) oval dish in a private collection (Robinson 1863, no. 5263; V&A negative 3388); (b) round basin in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rackham 1940, no. 845).

³⁵ Wilson 1987, no. 90; Watson 2001, no. 19; the oval dishes from this set in The Metropolitan Museum of Art resemble the one from the D'Avalos service cited above.

*perche vi seranno tanti vasi lavorati alla grottesca oltra li bianchi quanto quella vederà per l'inclusa lista non ho potuto fare amen di trentasei scudi che se io non me inganno a quello che fa con' altri ci tratta assai beni' et tutti li pezzi bianchi haveranno nel reverso d'el fondo un'armetta di Farnese et mi rendo certo che sarà credenza che piacerà e promettemi di darla finita in poco piu d'Un Mese... che finita che sarà la faro puoi bene incassare dal detto Horatio come e necessario perche vada ben conservata et l'inviaro a Roma secondo l'ordine che piacerà a lei di darmi...*³⁶
 The *Lista delli vasi bianchi con l'arme al reverso al fondo* numbers 201 pieces, alongside the following pieces *Lavorati alla Grottesca: Un Renfrescatoro, Un Bacile et Bocale, Quattro taze dal Piede alto, Un Bacile da Barbiere con la Bronzetta, Due Saliere*. It seems possible, though not certain, that the bowl in Fig. 3, which has the Farnese arms beneath a Cardinal's hat on the reverse, formed part of this commission for the powerful Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, brother of Duchess Vittoria³⁷.

Our information on the collections formed by the Della Rovere dukes and duchesses themselves is disappointingly meagre. The researches of Marco Spallanzani have refuted the old idea that that much of the superb Urbino maiolica in the Bargello was part of the Urbino ducal collections transferred to Florence when the male Della Rovere line came to an end in 1631³⁸; nor has any proof been found for the story that the pharmacy jars at Loreto were gifts to the Santa Casa from Guidubaldo or from his brother Cardinal Giulio³⁹. The Urbino ducal inventories of 1596 and 1609 give the impression of consisting mainly of late 16th-century pieces, rather than of a family collection built up over the entire century⁴⁰; they include numerous sculptural objects characteristic of Urbino production around 1600, such as *un calamaro con un Bacco grande a sedere in su la botte con doi figure, dipinto e dorato*, which sounds similar to an object acquired recently for the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche⁴¹. Some indication of the splendour of what Guidubaldo and his son Francesco Maria II might have owned is a pair of enormous candlesticks in the Hermitage; one (Fig. 4) has Guidubaldo's *impresa*, the *Mete* of the Circus Maximus. Could this have been one of the *quattro candelieri da torce* inventoried in the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino in 1596⁴²?

Francesco Maria II also used maiolica for diplomatic gifts. Following a visit from Wilhelm V Duke of Bavaria in 1585, Francesco Maria sent him some maiolica. An agent in Munich wrote that *I vasi di terra ch'ella mandò quà piacciono tanto al Duca et alla Duchessa che homai il numero non sodisfa all'appetito loro*; they expressed the wish to have more, though stipulating, in good Counter-Reformation fashion, *che sieno avertiti i Pittori a non porvi cosa alcuna che tenga del dishonesto*⁴³. A second consignment was sent to Munich in 1587. A ewer in the Victoria & Albert Museum

³⁶ Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, 375, vol. 6 (Monumenti rovereschi VI), pp. 57-8; transcript by the author; published in English translation by Dennistoun 1909, III, p. 474.

³⁷ Kube 1976, no. 85; Ivanova 2003, no. 64. Unless the bowl is the *bacile* listed, it does not seem to correspond exactly with the document.

³⁸ Spallanzani 1979 and 1994.

³⁹ Grimaldi in Colapinto *et al.* 1994, p. 23.

⁴⁰ Sangiorgi 1976, especially pp. 48, 186-98.

⁴¹ Gardelli 1988, no. 25.

⁴² Sangiorgi 1976, p. 48; Gardelli 1988, p. 127.

⁴³ Gronau 1932; Mallet and Dreier 1998, p. 37; the suggestion of Hager 1942 that this service was *istoriato*, rather than decorated with *grottesche*, seems improbable.

and a flower vase still in Munich (fig. 6?), both painted with grotesques and the arms of Bavaria, were perhaps part of one of these gifts⁴⁴.

In examining the documentary evidence for involvement of the Della Rovere family in the maiolica industry, it is notable how often the names of the Duchesses occur. An indication of the role which the women of the family may have played in promoting the Urbino maiolica industry is to be found in documents recently published by Monsignor Negroni⁴⁵. These record two orders, in 1593 and 1599, on behalf of the Principessa di Bisignano, of maiolica as gifts for the wife of the Viceroy of Naples; these orders were placed with Francesco Patanazzi. The Principessa di Bisignano is probably Isabella Della Rovere, daughter of Guidubaldo II and Vittoria Farnese. The Viceroy of Naples in 1593 was Juan de Zuñiga, Count of Miranda. The plate in fig. 5, which bears the arms of Zuñiga and is Patanazzian in style, may have formed part of this gift⁴⁶.

In sixteenth-century Europe states, rulers, and important courtiers often tried to introduce and promote luxury crafts in their domains. Guido di Savino of Castel Durante, who had been working in Antwerp since 1508, was invited, in vain, by Henry VIII of England to set up a pottery in England⁴⁷. In France, Anne de Montmorency patronized both Bernard Palissy and the potters who produced the strange pottery known as "Saint-Porchaire"; while Piccolpasso's *Tre Libri dell'Arte del Vasaio* were probably born from a wish by the Cardinal de Tournon to promote in France maiolica production in the Urbino region style. In Italy both glass and porcelain production were promoted by the Medici and other princes. The patronage of maiolica by the Della Rovere dukes of Urbino should be seen in this historical context. In the Duchy of Urbino, potters like Maestro Giorgio in Gubbio or the Fontana family in Urbino owed their success primarily to their own artistic and entrepreneurial skills; but it may be that future archival research will provide more evidence of how the Dukes and Duchesses, and especially Guidubaldo II and his family, deliberately fostered in the Duchy of Urbino one of the most spectacular chapters in world ceramic history.

⁴⁴ Rackham 1940, no. 883; Bayerisches Nationalmuseum Ker 1328.

⁴⁵ Negroni 1998, pp. 108, 114-5.

⁴⁶ One is in Madrid (Ainaud de Lasarte 1952, no. 845); another, sold, with the one here illustrated, at Christie's, London, 29 June 1987, lot 121. The style of painting might, if it were not for possible link to the document, have led one to suppose a date some ten or twenty years later than 1593 for the Ashmolean plate. Research to establish whether the quarterings correspond to those used by the Viceroy and his wife are under way. It is possible that the second service given by the Principessa di Bisignano in 1599 is the one painted with grotesques and the arms of Fernando Ruiz de Castro Andrade y Portugal, sixth count of Lemos, Viceroy of Naples from 1599 to 1601; pieces of this set are in the British Museum (Wilson 1987, no. 208), the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig (Lessmann 1979, no. 254); the Saint Louis Art Museum; and the Fondation Bemberg, Toulouse. The Lemos set has usually been dated c.1580 on stylistic grounds, which should now be re-examined.

⁴⁷ Wilson 1999, p. 9. Compare Goldthwaite 1997, pp. 183-4, and the state promotion of the silk-weaving industry in various parts of Italy, including direct involvement in the industry in Urbino on the part of Francesco Maria II, described by Molà 2000, pp. 30-7.

Captions

1. Bowl, with the arms of Pope Julius I and of Manzoli of Bologna. Inscribed on the reverse *1508 adi 12 de setêb facta fu î Castel durât Zouâ Maria vrô*. Diam: 32.5 cm. Castel Durante, workshop of “Giovanni Maria”, 1508. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1.1015.
2. Plate, with arms of Guidubaldo II. Inscribed on the reverse *.G.V.V.D. Munus F. Andree Volaterrano*. (Guidubaldus Urbini Dux gave this to Andrea of Volterra) *L’Incendio de Troia*: Diam: 45.8 cm. The composition is adapted from Raphael’s *Incendio nel Borgo*. Urbino, probably workshop of Guido and/or Orazio Fontana, after 1559. The Detroit Institute of Arts, 61.168, gift of Mr and Mrs Ernest Kanzler in memoriam Mrs William Clay.
3. Plate with grotesque decoration and Old Testament scenes front and back; on the reverse are the arms of Farnese beneath a cardinal’s hat. Diam: 44.2 cm. Urbino, probably workshop of Orazio Fontana, perhaps 1567. The Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, F3091.
4. Candlestick, with the *Mete* device of Guidubaldo II. The Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. *[NUMBER AND HEIGHT NEEDED FROM SAINT PETERSBURG]*
5. Plate with grotesque decoration and the arms of Zuñiga. Diam: 27.8 cm. Urbino, Patanazzi workshop, perhaps part of the gift from the Principessa di Bisignano to the wife of the Viceroy of Naples, 1593. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 2001.177.
- [6. Vase of flowers with the arms of Bavaria and grotesque ornament. Urbino, perhaps 1585-7. *[HEIGHT??]* Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, Ker 1328.]

[Se ci fosse spazio, o se altre fotografie non saranno pervenute, sarebbe bello aggiungere la foto descritta come n. 6 - sto cercando di ottenere una fotografia direttamente. TW]