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The Italian Poetic Triumvirate Realized:
Visualizing the '*Trionfi*' of the '*tre corone*'

by

Kristen S. Keach

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Italian Studies

and the Designated Emphasis

in

Renaissance and Early Modern Studies

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Albert Russell Ascoli, Chair

Professor Todd Olson

Professor Emanuele Lugli

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Spring 2022

The Italian Poetic Triumvirate Realized:
Visualizing the ‘*Trionfi*’ of the ‘*tre corone*’

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Kristen S. Keach

Abstract

The Italian Poetic Triumvirate Realized:
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“The Italian Poetic Triumvirate Realized: Visualizing the '*Trionfi*' of the '*tre corone*,’” is the first study to analyze the mostly unexplored fifteenth-century visualizations of Francesco Petrarca’s unfinished poem, *I Trionfi* (1351-1374), through an intermedial lens. While the intertextual references to two prior works, namely Dante Alighieri’s *Commedia* (1321) and Giovanni Boccaccio’s *l’Amorosa visione* (c.1342), have been studied in some detail, my project is the first to locate the intermedial ties between Boccaccio and Petrarch. Additionally, I am the first to explore the imagery for the *Trionfi* and its tie to both literary and visual elements in the *Commedia*. I develop a new reading of these canonical works by tracing various *macchine*, or ‘machines,’ such as God’s chariot located in the Book of Ezekiel, medieval French literary automata, and civic-sacred public pageantry, that intertextually appear in Dante’s and Boccaccio’s poems. I further examine how contemporary visual examples, such as Buonamico Buffalmacco’s *Triumph of Death* in the Pisa Camposanto (c.1336-1340) and Giotto di Bondone’s *Triumph of Vainglory*, originally depicted in Azzo Visconti’s palace in Milan (c.1336), similarly portray these *macchine* and serve as artistic interlocutors for Boccaccio’s “triumphs.” It is only through Petrarch’s mediation of these mechanisms from Dante, Boccaccio, and contemporary visual artists that his readers, and those who later attempt to depict his poem visually, acquire an image of the *Trionfi*.

It is apparent that this intermedial triumphal discourse does not cease with fifteenth-century Italian visualizations of Petrarch’s text. As a further point of comparison, I conclude by demonstrating how the “triumph of the *tre corone*” extends and is re-integrated into other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century poems, artworks, and public festivals on a broader European scale. My methodology brings the textual and visual *Trionfi* in conversation with works that implicitly adhere to the same composite triumphal dialogue, allowing us to reconsider and enhance our reading of later texts.

Though I offer the case study of the visual reworking of “Petrarch’s” Triumph of Chastity in Queen Elizabeth I’s *Sieve Portrait* (c.1583) by Quentin Metsys the Younger, my dissertation invites audiences to regard other examples, including Angelo Poliziano’s re-writing of the hybrid “Trionfi” in Part II of his *Stanze per la giostra* (1478), Sandro Botticelli’s *Primavera* (1477-1482) and triumphal entrees at least as far away in time and space as those of Henri II into Rouen (1550), along similar lines.

The broader implication of this project is that it explores what happens when there is no longer a one-to-one correspondence between textual model and visual representation or between visual model and successor text. My project underscores the intermedial value of equal parts text and image from another source. Through distinct, yet complimentary approaches, each chapter questions the dominant discourses of transmission and reception as direct models for representation to uncover the multi-layered dimensions embedded within a singular textual or discursive example. This critical analysis complicates conventional methodologies for literary and visual analysis which may take for granted the inherent meaning of a particular text or material object. By proposing new angles through which to consider the relationship between literary and visual histories, this research accentuates their interconnectedness as part of a broader, sociopolitical and cultural history. Such mutual dialogues of exchange bolster opportunities for analytical evaluations of the role of intermediality across numerous disciplines, in both early modern and contemporary contexts.

For my parents,
Marty and Kathy Keach
my first readers and guides on my own journey to the stars

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INTRODUCTION

Are These *Trionfi* Really Petrarch's?

An art historian working in the field of Italian studies often confronts unsatisfying explanations for visual translations of literary texts. This problem is magnified and remains unresolved when defining the visual portrayals of Francesco Petrarca's unfinished poetic project, the *Trionfi* (1351-1374). Instantly received as an accomplishment by Petrarch in the vernacular and disseminated across Europe, numerous artists in a variety of media shortly began depicting the *Trionfi* on *cassoni*, or marriage chests, as manuscript illuminations or late woodcut and engraved prints, as woven tapestries, and in other forms. However, upon close examination of the typical iconographic structure of each of the triumphs, such as the *cassone* by Domenico di Michelino (1442) or the Apollonio di Giovanni illustrations (1442), it is evident the imagery does not directly emanate from Petrarch's text. Scholars such as Lucia Battaglia Ricci and Edith Wyss acknowledge the disparity between these visual portrayals and Petrarch's text but offer no clear explanation or conclusion for the true source of the images.¹ Thus, the question remains, from where does the visual iconography derive?

My dissertation, *The Italian Poetic Triumvirate Realized: Visualizing the 'Trionfi' of the 'tre corone,'* examines the textual and visual iterations of Petrarch's *Trionfi*. A composite poem of six successive "capitoli" using the "terza rima" scheme invented by Dante Alighieri, the *Trionfi* showcases the trials of human beings struggling to overcome the limitations of their post-lapsarian condition, progressing from sinful carnal lust to reach God's Eternity. While the intertextual references to two prior works, namely Dante's *Commedia* (1321) and Giovanni Boccaccio's *l'Amorosa visione* (c.1342), have been studied in some detail,² my project is the first to locate the intermedial ties between Boccaccio and Petrarch. Given that Boccaccio's title, *l'Amorosa visione*, speaks of a "vision," and that the subjects of both poems function with the space of dreams, Boccaccio's and Petrarch's works invite readers to consider images and, more broadly, the tight connection between visual and the verbal media. Additionally, I explore the imagery for the *Trionfi* and its tie to both literary and visual elements in the *Commedia*. I assert that the manner in which Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch inscribed triumphal imagery into their three poems exposes a shared and mutually conditioning vocabulary that fuses them into an inseparable entity now known to us as the *tre corone* or "three crowns" of Italy. In particular, since Petrarch's text does not offer any visual cues beyond the band of followers for five of his six triumphs, the *macchine*, or mechanics, of the triumph are taken over from Dante and Boccaccio. I develop a new reading of these canonical works by tracing various 'machines,' such as God's chariot located in the Book of Ezekiel, medieval French literary automata, and civic-sacred public pageantry, that intertextually appear in Dante's and Boccaccio's poems. I further examine how contemporary visual examples, such as Buonamico Buffalmacco's *Triumph of Death* in the Pisa Camposanto (c.1336-1340) and Giotto di Bondone's *Triumph of Vainglory*, originally depicted in Azzo Visconti's palace in Milan

¹ Lucia Battaglia Ricci, "Immaginario trionfale: Petrarca e la traduzione figurative" in *I trionfi di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. Claudia Berra (Bologna: Istituto Edizionale Universitario-Monduzzi Editore S.p.A, 1999), 255-298; Edith Wyss, "Matthäus Greuter's Engravings for Petrarch's 'Triumphs,'" *Print Quarterly* 17 no.4 (December, 2000), 347-363.

² Dorothy C. Shorr, "Some Notes on the Triumph of Fame," *The Art Bulletin* 20 no.1 (Mar., 1938), 100-107; Theodor E. Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua," *The Art Bulletin* 34 no. 2 (June, 1952), 95-116.

(c.1335), similarly portray these *macchine* and serve as artistic interlocutors for Boccaccio's "triumphs." It is only through Petrarch's mediation of these mechanisms from Dante, Boccaccio, and contemporary visual artists that his readers, and those who subsequently attempt to depict his poem visually, acquire an image of the *Trionfi*.

Furthermore, I hope to demonstrate that the intermedial triumphal discourse of the *tre corone* does not cease with visualizations of Petrarch's text. Rather, it is re-integrated into later poetic, painted, and public projects, such as Angelo Poliziano's *Stanze per la giostra* (1478), Sandro Botticelli's indisputably Poliziano-esque painting, *Primavera* (1482-86), feast day celebrations such as those for Corpus Christi, and triumphal entrees as far away in space and time as those performed by Henri II into Rouen (1550).

In the grand scheme, this project demonstrates the importance of the crossover from the intertextual to the intervisual to an intermedial exchange, operating at the juncture between literature and art. Since Homer, the relationship between the visual and the verbal world has been of interest.³ On the one hand, *ekphrasis*, or the visual representation of a verbal text or the verbal representation of a visual art, and the *paragone*, or rivalry between the arts, isolate the arts in a competitive nature but, at the same time, create the impetus to represent the visual verbally, and the verbal visually. While these are not novel methodological approaches, what happens when the lines between the visual and verbal are blurred? What changes when there is no longer a direct one-to-one movement from text to image or image to text but rather an intermedial influence of equal parts text and image on another source? These are some of the questions I will develop throughout my project.

ORIGINS OF THE PROJECT, METHODOLOGY, AND REVIEW OF SCHOLARSHIP

This project arose from a seminar I took with Dr. Henrike Lange in Spring 2016 at UC Berkeley in which we read Petrarch's *Trionfi* in its entirety while tracing the history of "triumph" from its origins as an ancient Roman phenomenon through modern iterations of the term.⁴ It is thanks to the ongoing conversations I had with my colleagues in regard to the evolution of the ancient Roman military triumph into a Christian intermedial expression of civic-sacred societal values that led me toward my soon to be triumphal dissertation. Mary Beard offers the most insightful account of Roman triumphs. Her main argument throughout her book, *The Roman Triumph*, is that triumphs of ancient Rome provide not only a ritual procession, but also a historical context through which to challenge values associated with triumphs. While Beard reconstructs the triumphal path the ancient Romans followed and gives an account of the sequence to which Petrarch closely adheres when writing Scipio's triumphal procession in the *Africa*,⁵ Andrew Martindale notes the inaccuracy in Petrarch. Instead, Martindale asserts that Petrarch followed the example of Livy in documenting a non-classical processional mode.⁶ Accordingly, there remains a scholarly dispute over triumphal processions, which suggests no definitive conclusion for either the procession

³ G.E. Lessing, *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. Edward Allen McCormick (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984); James A.W. Heffernan, *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

⁴ Henrike Lange, *Giotto's Arena Chapel and the Triumph of Humility* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

⁵ Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

⁶ Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller, 1979).

itself, or the triumphal ideologies offered by ancient Romans. Rather than attempt to establish a common ideological or processional element that is historically accurate, it is more appropriate to trace the similarities in representing ancient Roman triumphs across the Tre- and Quattrocento. What are the typical recurring elements of the Roman past that early modern Italian poets and artists reproduce? In particular, this dissertation investigates the communal triumphal ideologies within the texts of the *tre corone* to pinpoint their origins within and outside of the ancient world.

While Roman military processions set the initial stage for how a triumph could be generated via mobile art, this ancient precedent underwent notable re-fashioning in later centuries. The Roman tradition grew more vibrant and carried stronger civic-religious weight with the introduction of Christianity, during which we can locate the fusion of Roman imperial practices with Christian ideology. Scholars such as Massey Shepherd and Robert Baldwin note the fusion of ancient Roman and early Christian triumphal, militaristic imagery. Shepherd's history of triumphs focuses on Constantine as the intermediary between ancient Roman imperial values and a new Christian ideology. He suggests that while Constantine promotes Christian ideologies of peace and the pursuit of the divine in God, the Roman emperor outwardly remains ambivalent toward Christianity so as to maintain pagan loyalty.⁷ On the other hand, Baldwin generally discusses the adoption of Roman militaristic vocabulary within a Christian context. He proposes that early Christians remodel the figure of Christ into an imperial force, similar to a Roman general, trampling over the defeated. This Christian triumphal imagery no longer characterizes Christ as humble or "weak" in appearance. Instead, Christ is an imperial authority and the Christian "military" victory triumphs over Satan, sin, and paganism.⁸ While both Shepherd and Baldwin state that early Christian triumphs portray Christ and the Church as the new triumphators over sin, they do not mention the significance of ultimate triumph of Christ, the Last Judgment and there is no notice of the Christian dream-vision, a major source for the triumphs of the *tre corone*.⁹ This dissertation evaluates the transition from ancient Roman to early Christian to Renaissance triumphs through the allegorical nature of a Christianized triumph within the dream vision. For Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch, the dream becomes an active, generative agent in reconfiguring the mechanics of the Roman triumph within each text, such as the processional route, the monuments, and the chariot, blending history and fiction through Christian allegory.

Although the importance of Dante's, Boccaccio's, and Petrarch's interest in ancient Roman and Christian triumphs cannot be denied, I assert that contemporary festival, feast day pageants, and public funerary rituals become more influential for defining the triumph of the *tre corone*. By the thirteenth century, processions became an ingrained part of public ceremonies that conveyed not only a sense of authority, but also the power to spiritually and emotionally influence their audience. The colorful pageants, with their loud sounds, festive music, and ritual objects, dynamically drew a wide public community into visual spectacle.¹⁰ At the same time, specific parts of the procession, such as the *carro trionfale* of ancient Rome, underwent technical revisions,

⁷ Massey H. Shepherd, "Liturgical Expressions of the Constantinian Triumph," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967), 57-78.

⁸ Robert Baldwin, "I slaughter barbarians": Triumph as a Mode in Medieval Christian Art," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* LIX no. 4 (1990), 7-13; Robert Baldwin, "Triumph and Rhetoric of Power in Italian Renaissance Art," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 9 no. 2 (Winter, 1990), 7-13.

⁹ Maria Cecilia Bertolani, *Il corpo glorioso: studi sui Trionfi del Petrarca* (Roma: Carocci editore S.p.A., 2001).

¹⁰ Kathleen M. Ashley, Wilhelmus Norbertus, and Maria Hüsken, eds., *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Leeds: Brill, 2001).

assuming new life as the *carroccio*, or four-wheeled wagon.¹¹ In addition to civic-sacred public rituals, more quotidian parades, such as funerary processions, aided in influencing literary and visual media, particularly at times of heightened distress and anguish such as the moment surrounding the Black Death of 1348.¹² Meaning is communicated through technology and movement. This same sense of movement underlies each of the poems and is key to our understanding of triumph more generally, as it evolved from Roman antiquity to the time of the *tre corone*.

Although the notion of the *tre corone* is not inherently new, much of the focus lingers on the relationship strictly between Dante and Petrarch, with slightly more attention given to Boccaccio in recent years. Throughout my research, I began to see the essential role Boccaccio plays in solving the visual discrepancies in those works representing Petrarch's poem. Scholars repeatedly mention the dependence on Dante in Petrarch's *Trionfi*.¹³ While Vittore Branca and Martin Eisner reveal the structural reliance on Boccaccio's *l'Amorosa visione* for the frame of the *Trionfi*,¹⁴ no scholar considers the subject matter of the *Trionfi* as Petrarch's reading of and responding to *l'Amorosa visione*. Boccaccio began the *Amorosa visione* while living in Florence between 1327 and 1340. While there is much debate as to whether Boccaccio's or Petrarch's poem came first, Boccaccio sent Petrarch a copy of both his *Amorosa visione* and Dante's *Commedia* while Petrarch was immersed in, and concentrating on, the re-writing and expansion of his *Trionfi*.¹⁵ The mere fact that there are structural parallels between the two texts should indicate there are strong intertextual correlations.

¹¹ Diana M. Webb, "Cities of God: The Italian Communes at War," in *The Church and War: Papers Read at the Twenty-First Summer Meeting and the Twenty-Second Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W.J. Sheils (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 111-127; Luciano Artusi and Silvano Gabbriellini, *Le feste di Firenze: dalla Candelora a Berlingaccio, dal Palio di San Giovanni al Calcio fiorentino, dallo Scoppio del Carro al Calendimaggio, un viaggio pittoresco attraverso i giochi, le festività, le ricorrenze tradizionali di questa bellissima città* (Rome: Newton Compton Editori, 1991); Gerald Parsons, *Siena, Civil Religion, and the Sienese* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004); Jenna Soleo-Shanks, "From Stage to Page: Siena's *Caleffo dell'Assunta*, Spectacular Machines, and the Promotion of Civic Power," in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, eds. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 281-301.

¹² Sharon Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Samuel Cohen Jr., "Burial and the Early Renaissance: Six cities in Central Italy," in *Riti e rituali nella società medievale*, eds. Jacques Chiffolleau, Lauro Martines, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1994), 39-58.

¹³ Paolo Trovato, *Dante in Petrarca: per un inventario dei dantismi nei Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1979); Claudio Giunta, "Memoria di Dante nei *Trionfi*," in *Rivista di letteratura italiana* XI no. 3 (Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori, 1993); Fabio Finotti, "The Poem of Memory," in *Petrarch: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, eds. Victoria Kirkham and Armando Maggi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 63-84; Giuseppe Mazzotta, "Petrarch's Dialogues with Dante," in *Petrarch and Dante: Anti-Dantism, Metaphysics, Tradition*, eds. Zygmunt G. Barański and Theodore J. Cachey Jr. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 177-194; Zygmunt G. Barański, "The *Triumphs*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Petrarch*, eds. Albert Russell Ascoli and Unn Falkeid (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 74-84.

¹⁴ Vittore Branca, "Introduction," in *Giovanni Boccaccio: Amorosa visione*, eds. and trans. Robert Hollander, Timothy Hampton, and Margherita Frankel (Hanover: University of New England, 1986), ix-xxix; Martin Eisner, "Petrarch Reading Boccaccio: Revisiting the Genesis of the *Triumphs*," in *Petrarch and the Textual Origins of Interpretation*, eds. Teodolinda Barolini and H. Wayne Storey (Boston: Brill, 2007), 131-146.

¹⁵ Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca Letterato: I. Lo scrittoio del Petrarca* (Rome: Istituto Grafico Tiberino, 1947); Vittore Branca, *Boccaccio: The Man and his Works*, ed. Dennis J. McAuliffe and trans. Richard Monges (New York: New York University Press, 1976); Theodore J. Cachey Jr. "Between Petrarch and Dante: Prolegomenon to a Critical Discourse," in *Petrarch and Dante: Anti-Dantism, Metaphysics, Tradition*, 3-49; Martin Eisner, *Boccaccio and the Invention of Italian Literature: Dante, Petrarch, Cavalcanti, and the Authority of the Vernacular* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

In Boccaccio's text, the pilgrim-poet, guided by a mysterious Lady, encounters Fiammetta, his love-object, in an imagined, paradisiac garden. Although framed within a Christian allegorical dream-vision, Fiammetta does not accompany Boccaccio toward Heaven nor do the pilgrim's final moments in the dream reveal the ultimate Christian triumphal vision of God, unlike Dante's *Commedia*. Petrarch's *Trionfi* also deviates from Dante. In the *Triumphus Eternitatis*, Petrarch diminishes the Christological significance of Eternity to promote the final vision of his love-object, Laura, over God, thus adhering to and more closely resembling Boccaccio's *l'Amorosa visione*. To advance my initial interest in Boccaccio's influential role for Petrarch's poem, it is interesting to note that in later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century printed editions of *l'Amorosa visione*, the publishers chose to include the subtitle: *Ridotta in luce, nella quale si contengono cinque Triomphi. Triompho di Sapientia, di Gloria, di Ricchezza, di Amore, e di Fortuna*. Although the structure of Boccaccio's poem is a journey from the earthly realm of sin toward Heaven, the publishing houses expand upon Boccaccio's initial title to hint at the fact that the majority of the text is devoted to these five triumphal pageants and the fallen victims of Wisdom, Glory, Wealth, Love, and Fortune.

The visual images for the *Trionfi* receive less attention than the text of Petrarch. It is not enough to claim the visual portrayals do not accurately offer an account of Petrarch's words. While Petrarch offers few, if any, visual clues in regard to the allegorical figures of his *Trionfi*, Boccaccio provides extensive visual detail for each allegorical personification. Despite the fact that Boccaccio and Petrarch witness different triumphs, I will emphasize that it is precisely Petrarch's reading of and intertextual reliance on Boccaccio's imagery that inspires the visual interpretations of the allegorical figures in Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis*, *Triumphus Pudicitie*, *Triumphus Mortis*, *Triumphus Fame*, and *Triumphus Temporis*. This dissertation further considers how the visuals promote the ubiquitous triumphal language of the *tre corone* as an intertextual, intermedial, and intervisual discourse that later artists integrate into their poetry and art.

My methodological approach not only considers the role of *ekphrasis* within each textual and discursive model, but also examines the role of and play between *ekphrasis* and imitation theory.¹⁶ Within *ekphrasis*, it is necessary to understand how textual sources imitate and receive other sources, textual and visual. Through the intertextuality of the *tre corone*, the triumphal descriptions share similar constructs, blurring the distinction between a Dantean triumph, a Boccaccian triumph, and a Petrarchan triumph. In some cases, such as Boccaccio's allegories, the triumphs exist as explicit *ekphrases*. At other times, their triumphal prose easily lends itself to visual representations, promoting the *ekphrases*. Later poets, such as Poliziano, re-integrate the intertextual triumph in their works, demonstrating the immediate reception and imitation of this meshed triumphal language.

By the end of my dissertation, I will have shown how the intertextualities, intervisualities, and intermedialities of the *Commedia*, *l'Amorosa visione*, and the *Trionfi* create a sustaining triumphal vocabulary that evolves across media throughout the Renaissance. The merged triumphal dialogue of the *tre corone* does not end with the artistic renditions of Petrarch's poem. Rather, there is a wide reception and integration of the composite triumph by later poets, artists, and within various pageants. While scholars such as David Quint and Christina Storey highlight allusions to Petrarch's *Triumph of Love* and *Triumph of Chastity* in Poliziano's *Stanze*,¹⁷ in

¹⁶ Thomas Greene, *In the Light of Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

¹⁷ Eugenio Donato, "Death and History in Poliziano's *Stanze*," *MLN* 80 no.1 Italian Issue (Jan., 1965), 27-40; Christina Storey, "The Philosopher, the Poet, and the Fragment: Ficino, Poliziano, and *Le stanza per la giostra*," *The*

actuality, Book II reconfigures the hybridized *tre corone* version of the *Trionfi*, starting with Love and ending with Fortune. If we believe the *Stanze* serves as a key source for Botticelli's *Primavera*, it seems appropriate to re-read Botticelli's painting in a new light. Taken at face value, the figures in the *Primavera* represent a mythological scene. On closer inspection, it seems as though the figures mirror characters and moments mentioned in Dante's Earthly Paradise, the garden of Boccaccio's *l'Amorosa visione*, and Petrarch's description of Laura as *primavera* within the *Triumphus Mortis*.

Due to the incredible success of Petrarch's poem, festivals incorporated elements from the *Trionfi* into their sacred processions, such as the *carri figurati*.¹⁸ Specifically, the carts transported allegorical figures across the cityscape, recreating a live "triumph." As Jochen Becker notes, the only precedent for these figures was the imagery found in the fifteenth-century visualizations of Petrarch's *Trionfi*,¹⁹ which, as I will prove, materializes thanks to the triumphal exchange of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch. The allegorical pageant evolved outside of the Italian context and was included in various pageants and entrees for figures such as Queen Elizabeth I (1578)²⁰ and the Princess of Orange (1660), showcasing the widespread dissemination of not only Petrarch's text, but also, the imagery of the communal triumph of the *tre corone*.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The first chapter, "Making the "Immobile" Mobile: the Intermedial *Triumphus Eternitatis*," traces the mechanical apparatus of the chariot and the processional route from ancient Rome and medieval civic-sacred pageants, as they appear, in a variety of ways, in these visual representations. While Roman triumphs came from a Greek phenomenon of celebrating victories, the Roman triumph evolves as a distinct ritual apart from its Greek precedent. In particular, the Greeks commemorated victory in battle through the installation of "trophies" that had both a secular and spiritual connotation, either honoring a military victory or symbolizing a loss due to the demonic forces working against them.²¹ The Romans, on the other hand, offered more pageantry to their victories, lauding not only the general or triumphator, but his men, the victims conquered, the *spolia* acquired, and the power of Rome. The procession allowed the most important figure to follow last in a chariot, while the spoils, army, and victims preceded him.²² The parade moved through the triumphal arches toward the temple of Jupiter where a ritual sacrifice ended the victory celebration. While Romans had a procedure that differed from the Greeks, there is a shared spiritualized history that becomes more precise and elaborate in the Christian era.

Modern Language Review 98 no. 3 (Jul., 2003), 602-619; David Quint, *The Stanze of Angelo Poliziano* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2005).

¹⁸ Virginia Garrone Galante, *L'apparato scenico del drama sacro in Italia* (Turin: Tip V. Bona, 1935); Henri Zerner, "Looking for the Unknowable: The Visual Experience of Renaissance Festivals," in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, eds. J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, Margaret Shewring, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 75-102.

¹⁹ Jochen Becker, "The Princes of Orange's Welcome into Amsterdam in 1660," in *Europe Triumphans*, 575-583.

²⁰ Francis A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1975); Roy Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 1995-1998).

²¹ Anthony Spalinger and Jeremy Armstrong, eds., *Rituals of Triumph in the Mediterranean World* (Boston: Brill, 2013).

²² Robert Payne, *The Roman Triumph* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, Ltd., 1962); H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970).

Given the civic and spiritual nature of ancient triumphal parades, it seems appropriate that triumphs could function for a Christianized sacred “victory.” Early Christianized triumphs deviated from the pageant scene and reverted to the use of “trophies” in the form of crosses to symbolize the sign of a Christian triumphal victory, blurring militaristic vocabulary with sacred emblems. Initially, there was no clear difference between ancient Roman and early Christian triumphs other than the processional mode versus the triumphal “trophy.” By the thirteenth century, the merged Roman-Christian idea of a “triumph” inspired a new mode of public pageantry. Processions become ingrained in public ritual as a means of expressing political, social, and religious authority.

The civic-sacred nature of such public pageantry inspires the processional motif present first in Dante’s *Commedia*, followed closely by Boccaccio’s *l’Amorosa visione* and Petrarch’s later *Trionfi*. Refracted through a reading of Ezekiel’s mechanical descriptions of God’s chariot and wheels, the *tre corone* manipulate these “machines” to reciprocally redefine their understanding of the triumph as it evolves across their poems. Specifically, it is Dante’s initial reading and integration of Ezekiel’s apocalyptic vision as a historical precursor to his parade in *Purgatorio* XXIX that informs how Dante’s chariot “moves” across time and space to land in Boccaccio’s *Amorosa visione* and Petrarch’s *Trionfi*. It is precisely Ezekiel’s notion that the “word” of God must become “flesh” in order for God’s chariot to acquire both its form and function that Dante,²³ and later Boccaccio and Petrarch, rely on in depicting their triumphal carts. Dante takes this idea one step further by blurring Ezekiel’s machine, the chariot, with Saint John’s vision of the Apocalypse from the Book of Revelation in shaping the *Purgatorio* XXIX procession as a complete vision of the “word made flesh.”²⁴

Ezekiel’s prophetic, mechanical vision also alludes to Christ’s entry into Jerusalem,²⁵ which not only intertextually draws the reader to Dante’s *Paradiso* Canto XXIII and the Triumph of Christ in Heaven, but also provides a historical model to which Boccaccio, Petrarch, and visual artists may turn when accurately rendering the *tre corone* triumphal cart: the feast day celebration of Palm Sunday.²⁶ The physical demonstration of Ezekiel’s vision—the street parade for Palm Sunday—thus decelerates the chariot and allows the “triumph” to reach beyond a pictorial frame to encourage active audience participation.

The intermedial confluence of Dante’s literary pageants in *Purgatorio* XXIX and *Paradiso* XXIII with the Palm Sunday pageant culminate in the case study of Petrarch’s *Triumphus Eternitatis*. While Petrarch’s journey to the stars seemingly emulates Dante’s *Commedia*, the ending of the *Triumphus Eternitatis* does not provide the reader, nor the pilgrim-poet, with a vision of God as the ultimate “l’amor che move il sole e le altre stelle.” Rather, I argue that Petrarch

²³ Robert Hollander, *Allegory in Dante’s Commedia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); Peter Hawkins, *Dante’s Testaments: Essays in Scriptural Imaginations* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

²⁴ Teodolinda Barolini, *The Undivine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Brenda Deen Schildgen, “John, St.,” in *The Dante Encyclopedia*, ed. Richard Lansing (New York: Routledge Press, 2010), 539-541; Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez, eds. and trans., *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Purgatorio* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2011).

²⁵ Julian Morgenstein, “The Gates of Righteousness,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 6 (1929), 1-37.

²⁶ Charles Singleton, *Dante Studies 1. Commedia: Elements of Structure* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954); Charles Singleton, *Dante Studies 2. Journey to Beatrice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958); Charles Singleton, “In Exitu Israel de Aegypto,” *Seventy-Eighth Annual Report of the Dante Society* (1960), 1-24; Ronald L. Martinez, “L’amoroso canto: Liturgy and Vernacular Lyric in Dante’s *Purgatorio*” *Dante Studies with the Annual Report of the Dante Society* no. 127 (2009), 93-127; Giuseppe Ledda, *La bibbia di Dante* (Torino: Claudiana, 2015); Max Harris, *Christ on a Donkey: Palm Sunday, Triumphal Entries, and Blasphemous Pageants* (Kalamazoo: Arc Humanities Press, 2019).

concludes his *Triumphus Eternitatis* at the same moment Dante completes his twenty-third *canto* in *Paradiso*, allowing the pilgrim-poet Petrarch to witness the triumph of Laura instead of God, in a similar fashion to that of the pilgrim-poet Dante witnessing the ascension of the Virgin and Beatrice in *Paradiso* XXIII. My reading of Petrarch's final triumph thus sheds new light on how viewers could interpret the iconographic choices visual artists made in their renditions of Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis*. The public memory and intermedial evocation of Ezekiel's chariot and the feast day celebration for Palm Sunday visually come to life in the imagery for Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis*.

Chapter two, "Boccaccio's Pisan Allegory of "Death" and Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis*," suggests that after Boccaccio turned to public funerary processions and Buonamico Buffalmacco's *Triumph of Death* fresco for the *Amorosa visione*'s "Triumphs of Death and Fortune," artists then fuse these ideas to intertextually, intermedially, and intervvisually present Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis*. Throughout the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, the image of Death evolved from the idea of a biblical Fourth Horseman of the Apocalypse into a terrifying, monstrous harbinger of death for all individuals. This evolution is both a reflection of the social crises brought about by various contagions and plagues, most immediately the Black Death of 1348, and alterations to public rituals, such as the rise, fall, and return of funerary processions and rituals for honoring the dead.²⁷ As a result of the mass destruction and devastation wrought by this particularly distressing historical moment, frescoes located in cathedral complexes and as parts of religious sites began to depict subjects that offered to the living a didactic message of the impending doom about to befall them.

These socio-political changes felt throughout Italy, in particular Tuscany, lead us to the Pisa Camposanto. The Camposanto was a novel architectural structure not only for its time, but also remains a unique space within Italy. Though burials near cathedrals were common practice throughout the medieval period, circa 1203, the archbishop of Pisa, Ubaldo Lanfranchi, brought earth from Jerusalem upon which he imagined building a cemetery or *campus sanctus*. In addition to housing tomb monuments and memorial slabs, the Camposanto also showcases numerous antique sarcophagi that were reused throughout the medieval period. However, construction of the Camposanto did not begin until 1277 and the majority of the frescos were not painted until the 1330s. Painters from different generations and across various regions came together to create a one-of-a-kind visual program comprised of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, allegories, and ancient Roman poetry.²⁸ The sheer volume of artistic genius in a singular location speaks to the Camposanto's role as a major site for artistic innovation during the fourteenth-century.

Buffalmacco's *Triumph of Death* fresco takes center stage as the initial Italian model in understanding this new interpretation in the role of Death and her destruction of those who lie in her wake. Part of the larger fresco cycle for the funerary complex, the *Triumph of Death* worked hand in hand with public funerary pageants where the mourners both performed and witnessed their fears and anxieties before them, intermedially and didactically enacting audience participation and reflection.²⁹ The play between the iconography initiated in Buffalmacco's scene and the textual phrases in both Latin and the vernacular further instilled a level of audience

²⁷ Diane Owen Hughes, "Mourning Rites," in *Riti e rituali nelle società medievali*, 23-38; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996).

²⁸ Joachim Poeschke, *Italian Frescoes the Age of Giotto 1280-1400* (New York, Abbeville Press, 2005).

²⁹ Alberto Tenenti, ed., "Introduction," in *Humana Fragilitas: The Themes of Death in Europe from the 13th century to the 18th century* (Clusone: Ferrari Editrice, 2002), 1-24; Pierroberto Scaramella, "The Italy of Triumphs and Contrasts," in *Humana Fragilitas*, 25-98. Lorenzo Carletti and Francesco Polacci, "Transition between Life and Afterlife: Analyzing *The Triumph of Death* in the Camposanto of Pisa," *Signs and Society* 2 no. 51 (2014), 84-120.

participation into the theme and promoted the message of ubiquity, regardless of wealth, fame, or status, in all of Death's victims. The Pisa Camposanto thus becomes the exemplar for representing Boccaccio's "Triumphs of Death and Fortune" and, ultimately, Petrarchan "Triumph of Death."

Though scholars such as Liliane Brion- Guerry, Lucia Battaglia Ricci, and Lina Bolzoni, have studied the relationship between Boccaccio's *Decameron* (c. 1353) and the Pisa Camposanto,³⁰ their focus has been on delineating a clear point of influence from Buffalmacco's presentation of a *brigata* in a garden setting amidst terror and destruction to Boccaccio's choice thereof for his *magnum opus*. What I suggest is that there is another textual precedent and contemporary influence, Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* and his, what I term, "Triumphs of Death and Fortune" that further demonstrates a close tie and collective understanding of Death between Buffalmacco and Boccaccio. It is apparent that both artists utilized public funerary pageantry and changing social and religious beliefs to portray the same idea of Death across their works. The blurring of live-action pageantry in the visual and discursive models then informs our reading and viewing of Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis*.

As with all but the *Triumphus Cupidinis*, Petrarch provides few visual descriptors for how to present the allegory of Death and does not explicitly mention a triumphal procession or parade associated with Her "triumph." However, by examining the intertextual clues Petrarch embeds within his third chapter, it is clear that his interpretation of Death and her triumph evolved out of the intermedial dialogue of public funerary processions and Buffalmacco's *Triumph of Death* as mediated through Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione*. Though Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis* is divided into two distinct parts, I will show how each unique understanding of Death further reflects the changing attitudes and representations of Death mutually promoted by Buffalmacco and Boccaccio.

My chapter ends with an examination of the later fifteenth-century visualizations for the *Triumphus Mortis* and additionally recalls the fusion of live-action funerary pageantry with the iconographic standards established visually by Buffalmacco and textually by Boccaccio. However, there is another visual precedent to which we may turn as a parallel source for representations of Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis*. With the rise of technological apparatuses and an increased interest in engineering practices, artist-engineers also utilized similar types of carts pulling objects to portray how these machines operated and functioned. Treatises, such as those from Mariano Taccola, offered another outlet for depicting a moving, three-dimensional cart, in a two-dimensional medium.³¹ I conclude my analysis of the imagery for the *Triumphus Mortis* by demonstrating that a shared interest in technology and machinery further reflects a desire to transcribe live-action pageantry into the Petrarch visualizations while striving to maintain the allegorical and didactic messages of Petrarch's poem.

My third chapter, "Ekphrastic "Robots" or Petrarch's Triumphators?," continues to show the intermedial influence of Dante and Boccaccio on textual and visual representations of Petrarch's *Trionfi* through the case study of the *Triumphus Fame*. While each standard iconographic representation of the *Trionfi*, whether as a manuscript illumination, a painted *cassone*

³⁰ Liliane Brion-Guerry, *Le Thème du "Triomphe de la Mort" dans la Peinture Italienne* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1950); Vittore Branca's *Boccaccio visualizzato: Narrare per parole e per immagini fra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 3 vols., (Torino: Einaudi, 1999) offers many visual examples of the inclusion of a representation of the "Triumph of Death" within illuminated manuscripts of the *Decameron*.; Lucia Battaglia Ricci, *Ragionare nel Giardino: Boccaccio e i cicli pittorici del Trionfo della Morte* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2000); Lina Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini. Predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002).

³¹ Frank D. Prager and Gustina Scaglia, *Mariano Taccola and his Book 'De ingeneis'* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972).

panel, or a printed woodcut or engraving, showcases an allegorical figure atop a chariot in the act of processing from one triumph to the next, the allegories themselves are extremely inanimate, rigid, and “robotic.” This does not seem to be due to the limitations of the medium of the visual arts, but, as I argue, an intentional choice and an intermedial reference to the medieval French literary tradition of automata. In the earlier French model, automata most commonly appeared within literary *ekphrases* as sculptural machines, crafted out of metal and precious stones, whose purpose in the text served a didactic function for the characters within the story as well as the reader.³² This phenomenon was not an esoteric poetic device, but rather a popular choice and appeared in many texts that would travel across Europe, such as the story of *Le Conte de Fleur et Blanchefleur* (c. 1150-1170). While it is unclear whether Dante directly read these texts or solely was familiar through intertextual sources, it is documented and proven that Boccaccio not only read many of these works while residing in Naples, but also re-wrote his own versions of the tales in vernacular Italian, such as the story of Florio e Biancifiore in his *Filocolo* (c. 1336). By reading Dante’s *Commedia* and Boccaccio’s *Ameto* (c.1341) and *l’Amorosa visione* through the lens of medieval automata, it is evident that their ekphrastic, allegorical “robots” intertextually become the visual precedents for many of the “triumphators” of Petrarch’s *Trionfi*.

After establishing a connection between the automata tradition and Boccaccio’s representations of his allegorical triumphators in the *Amorosa visione*, I then turn to his representation of Gloria in Canto VI, which, scholars note, is the direct source for Petrarch’s Lady Fame in the *Triumphus Fame*.³³ Upon close examination of the description of Boccaccio’s Gloria, it is apparent that her persona actually accords with previous representations and iconographies for the allegory of Justice. This chapter thus examines the manner in which Boccaccio intertextually models his character of Emilia, the nymph who represents Justice, from the *Ameto* on Dante’s example of connecting Justice with Glory in his *Purgatorio* XI and *Paradiso* XIX. Within these two parts of the *Commedia*, Dante defines how one may obtain glory both on earth and in the afterlife. For Dante, poetic and artistic glory can only be achieved by one who is “just.” Boccaccio thus follows suit, and crafts his figure of Justice, Emilia, in accordance with Dante’s textual model.

Though the personality traits and characteristics of Emilia originate from Dante’s textual example, the physical attributes of Emilia derive from Boccaccio’s interest in the visual arts. Specifically, I argue that Boccaccio turned to Giotto’s *Arena Chapel* (c.1305) and the figure of *Giustizia* when detailing Emilia’s physical appearance within the *Ameto*. Boccaccio was extremely interested in the visual arts and was familiar with Giotto and his works, as is evident in his description of Giotto in the *Decameron*. The merging of a visual exemplar with a textual precedent

³² J. Douglas Bruce, “Human Automata in Classical Tradition and Mediæval Romance,” *Modern Philology* 10 no. 4 (Apr. 1913), 511-526; Merriam Sherwood, “Magic and Mechanics in Medieval Fiction,” *Studies in Philology* 44 no. 4 (October, 1947), 567-592; John Cohen, *Human Robots in Myth and Science* (South Brunswick: Barnes, 1967); Penny Sullivan, “Medieval Automata: The ‘Chambre De Beautés’ in Benoît’s *Roman de Troie*,” *Romance Studies* 3 no. 2 (1985), 1-20; E.R. Truitt, “Fictions of Life and Death: Tomb Automata in Medieval Romance,” *Postmedieval: a Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 1 (2010), 194-198; E.R. Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

³³ FitzRoy Carrington, “Florentine Studies II: The Triumphs of Petrarch Engraved by the Master of the Larger Vienna Passion,” *Art & Life* 11 no. 8 (Feb., 1920), 437-443; Mary Powell, “The Triumph of Fame,” *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis* 34 no. 2 (Spring 1949), 30-33; Aldo S. Bernardo, “Petrarch’s Attitude toward Dante,” *PMLA* 70 no. 3 (June, 1955), 488-517; Aldo S. Bernardo, *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974); Philip Hardie, *Rumor and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

allows Boccaccio to sculpt his image of Emilia as an intermedial, “robotic” allegory of Justice within the *Ameto*.

If we return to the image of Gloria in the *Amorosa visione*, it is evident her attributes and triumph intermedially arrive from Dante, Giotto, and the earlier Boccaccian narrative. However, Boccaccio makes one final move and binds Emilia/Justice with not only his Glory but also the visual precedent of Giotto’s Glory in the *Triumph of Vainglory* to complete his *ekphrasis* for Gloria. Scholars note the close relationship between Boccaccio’s and Giotto’s Glory³⁴ but this chapter expands and explains each nuance behind the iconographic and intermedial choices that will ultimately inform Petrarch’s description, representation, and visualizations thereof for his *Triumphus Fame*. Though I focus on the case study of Petrarch’s “Triumph of Fame,” I believe this intermedial methodology can be utilized to explain the visualizations of Petrarch’s other allegorical triumphators, specifically those from the *Triumphus Cupidinis*, the *Triumphus Pudicitie*, and the *Triumphus Temporis*.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that not only do the *tre corone* initiate and establish a set of principles for how to portray a triumph in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy, but also that their ideas and legacy transcend time and space. My conclusion will focus on how the intermedial triumph of the *tre corone* surpasses historical and cultural bounds to become ingrained in the iconography associated with Queen Elizabeth I, specifically within her *Sieve Portrait* by Quentin Metsys the Younger of 1583. After historicizing the presence of and immense interest in Petrarch and his *Trionfi* within not only British intellectual circles but, more specifically, the Tudor Court,³⁵ I examine the ways in which the iconography of the cult of Elizabeth centered on principles found in Petrarch’s *Trionfi*, and especially the *Triumphus Pudicitie*.

Initially, pageants in Elizabeth’s honor connected the queen’s chaste image with the Petrarchan model. In the performances, Chastity conquered Cupid and brought the *spolia* to the Virgin Queen, selecting Elizabeth as the inheritor of Chastity’s legacy. However, after several failed marriage attempts and an ultimate desire to remain unwed, the iconography of Elizabethan portraiture shifted and transfigured Elizabeth directly into the allegory of Chastity herself. This is apparent in her various *Sieve Portraits* from the late sixteenth century.

Though there are several elements included in the *Sieve Portrait* that are strictly Petrarchan and from the *Triumphus Pudicitie*, such as the sieve that reminds the viewer of the Vestal Virgin Tuccia,³⁶ other aspects of the painting, such as the inclusion of scenes from Virgil’s *Aeneid* Book IV on the pillar behind Elizabeth or the procession of the courtiers in the far right background, are

³⁴ J. von Schlosser, “Ein Veronesisches Bilderbuch und die höfische Kunst des XIV. Jahrhunderts,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* XVI, 1895; Creighton Gilbert, “The Fresco by Giotto in Milan,” *Arte Lombarda Nuova Serie* no. 47/48 (1977), 31-72; Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *Studies on Petrarch and Boccaccio*, ed. Aldo S. Bernardo (Padua: Antenore, 1978).

³⁵ Ernest Hatch Wilkins, “The Fifteenth-Century Editions of the Italian Poems of Petrarch,” *Modern Philology* 40 (1943); Robert Coogan, “Petrarch’s ‘Trionfi’ and the English Renaissance,” *Studies in Philology* 67 no. 3 (Jul., 1970), 306-327; Andrew Hadfield, Neil Rhodes, and Alessandra Petrina, eds., *Petrarch’s Triumphs in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2020).

³⁶ Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Random House, 2003), Barbara Baert, “Around the Sieve. Motif, Symbol, Hermeneutic,” *Textile* 17 no.1 (2018), 4-27; Sarah Eycken, “Tuccia and her sieve: the *Nachleben* of the Vestal in art,” PhD Diss., (Ku Leuven, 2018).

not in-line with Petrarch's narrative. My conclusion argues that these intentional choices on the part of Quentin Metsys the Younger reflect the intermedial blurring once more of Dante's *Commedia* and Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* within a singular image of triumph related to Queen Elizabeth I. The fictionalized Dido appears in both Dante's *Inferno* Canto V and Boccaccio's "Triumph of Love" in the *Amorosa visione*, but is in direct opposition to how Petrarch views Dido.³⁷ Rather, Petrarch places Dido among the female followers of Chastity and espouses that the historical Dido is one who should be honored for her chastity and virtue. As my conclusion will show, these diametrically opposed views on Dido collide in the *Sieve Portrait* to intermedially present an image of the Elizabeth triumphing over Love as the ideal figure of Chastity, like Petrarch's Dido. Once Elizabeth is transfigured into Chastity herself, she may then adopt her final persona, Astraea,³⁸ which, as my dissertation proves, further derives from the intermedial dialogue of justice and glory from Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch.

The shift from the ancient Roman triumph to the Christian allegorization of triumph institutes a happy medium within civic and sacred public pageantry that resonates most with Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch. As a result of his secularizing of Dante's *Commedia*, Boccaccio affords the closest textual source from which Petrarch devises his *Trionfi*. With the emphasis on a reciprocal relationship with Boccaccio and a minimized role played by Dante, Petrarch's text acts as the interface of ancient Roman and Christian triumphal ideology. While Petrarch's text does compete with Dante's and Boccaccio's, it additionally allows all three texts to enhance one another through a shared triumphal discourse. As such, the Tuscan poets taken together furnish a comprehensive representation of triumph for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Rather than strictly adhering to Petrarch's text, visual artists turn toward the shared interest in public processions and mutual iconographic references within these three poems for inspiration and craft a new image of Petrarch's *Trionfi*. With the visuals and poems in circulation, poets, artists, and public parades across time and space ultimately rejuvenate the *Trionfi* of the *tre corone*.

³⁷ Deanne Williams, "Dido, Queen of England," *ELH* 73 no. 1 (Spring, 2006), 31-59.

³⁸ Francis A. Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10 (1947), 27-82; Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

CHAPTER ONE

Making the “Immobile,” Mobile: The Intermedial *Triumphus Eternitatis*

It is difficult to disassociate the word “triumph” from its roots as a mobile production proudly displaying a victorious Roman general for all to see. Flaunting victims and spoils alike, triumphs invite audiences to partake in a moving spectacle, while not actively participating in the hard-won victory. The ancient Roman triumph followed a prescribed path in the Eternal City toward the Temple of Jupiter atop the Capitoline hill, carrying along the way various wagons that hoisted up spoils, exotic animals, musicians, dancers, captives, alongside the “winning” team of victorious soldiers.¹ At the end of this production would have stood the exalted general, who paraded slowly across the city in a *quadriga*, a four-horse chariot pulled by white horses.² Such a mode of public display shaped the triumph as a portable instrument: the ritualized spectacle of victory decelerates and reactivates the action of the battle, authorizing the people of Rome to visually and collectively experience the singular moment of triumph as a form of shared living history.

While Roman military processions provided the first iteration for how to emblemize a triumph as mobile art, this ancient precedent underwent notable re-fashioning in later centuries. The Roman tradition grew more vibrant and conveyed stronger civic-religious messages with the introduction of Christianity, during which we can locate the fusion of Roman imperial practices with novel Christian ideology.³ Metaphorically adopting the appearance of a victor-general, Christ was no longer viewed as the humble son of God, but was depicted as an imperial force trampling over sin, paganism, and the new enemy Satan.⁴ Beginning in fourth-century Italy, Christian military triumphs not only traced the same topographical path as the Roman triumph, but also repurposed some of the same material objects, such as wagons and chariots. The reliance on such forms of transport preserved the spirit of the “militaristic” action of sin, even as it highlighted Christ as the ultimate “triumphator” on behalf of his spiritual followers. By the thirteenth century, processions became an ingrained part of public ritual that communicated not only a sense of supreme political authority, but also the power to spiritually and emotionally invite audiences into a collective experience.⁵ These colorful pageants, with their boisterous sounds, festive music, and ritual objects dynamically drew a wide public community into a visual living spectacle.⁶ Although there are resonances with traditions from Roman antiquity throughout Francesco Petrarca’s *Trionfi* (c.1351-1374), Petrarch’s triumphal vision also relies on the technologies of contemporary civic and religious pageantry. The pages ahead will demonstrate that the technologies of triumph

¹ Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 81.

² Robert Payne, *The Roman Triumph* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, Ltd., 1962), 38; Beard, 81; Max Harris, *Christ on a Donkey: Palm Sunday, Triumphal Entries, and Blasphemous Pageants* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), 30.

³ Robert Baldwin, “Triumph and the Rhetoric of Power in Italian Renaissance Art,” *Notes in the History of Art*, 9 no. 2 (Winter 1990), 7-8.

⁴ Massey Shepherd, “Liturgical Expressions of the Constantinian Triumph,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 21 (1967), 71; Robert Baldwin, “‘I Slaughter Barbarians’: Triumph as a Mode in Medieval Christian Art,” *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, 4 (1990), 4.

⁵ Kathleen M. Ashley, Wilhelmus Norbertus, and Maria Hüskens, eds., *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Leeds: Brill, 2001), 9.

⁶ Kathleen M. Ashley and Pamela Sheigorn, “*Sainte Foy* on the Loose, or, the Possibilities of Procession,” in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 33.

embedded in Petrarch's text do not strictly conform to the Ancient Roman standard. What I will argue is that this intertextual and intervisual work inaugurated a new intermedial form: a "hybrid" collective triumph of the *tre corone* (Dante Alighieri, Giovanni Boccaccio, and Petrarch).

Such contemporary appropriations of the idea of triumph inspired Dante's literary triumphs within his *Commedia* (1321). As a way of framing his "Procession of the Church Triumphant" of *Purgatorio* XXIX, Dante evokes Ezekiel's apocalyptic vision as a historical precursor to specific moments detailed in the parade—via the particular representation of the four symbols of the Evangelists and the gold chariot. Thus, it is worthwhile to begin with an analysis of how certain biblical sources informed Dante's representation of triumph in his *Commedia*. The manner in which Ezekiel describes the mechanical motion of his prophetic, visionary chariot resonates from Dante's representation of the triumphal chariot through its later, albeit modified, appearances in Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* (c.1342) and Petrarch's *Trionfi*. For Ezekiel, the allegorical "word" must become "flesh" in order for the chariot to acquire both its form and function. Dante not only adopts this idea from Ezekiel, but also blends the image of the biblical prophet's chariot with Saint John's vision of the Apocalypse from the Book of Revelation in shaping the procession as a whole as an embodiment of God's "word made flesh." Though Dante's pageant in *Purgatorio* XXIX is the most elaborate triumphal parade of the *Commedia*, Ezekiel's prophetic, mechanical vision and the allusions to Christ's entry in Jerusalem intermedially reappear within Dante's *Paradiso* XXIII and its triumph of Christ in Heaven. While Christ's triumph is a parade expressed concisely, the elements that Dante includes either revert directly to the *Purgatorio* pageant or to Ezekiel's mechanics.

Although much of Dante's pageant in *Purgatorio* XXIX is modeled after Ezekiel's and Saint John's⁷ apocalyptic, revelatory visions, several elements included in Dante's episode were immediately located in the live-action procession to celebrate Palm Sunday. The role of Ezekiel, to an arguably greater extent than Saint John, will prove to be fundamental in linking Dante's poetic triumph of the Church with the street festival for Palm Sunday and its correlative relationship to the Annunciation celebration, since his vision of the chariot may be seen to foreshadow Christ's entry into Jerusalem.⁸ I will argue that Dante recalls a physical demonstration of God's "word made flesh,"—the Palm Sunday and Annunciation celebrations in particular—to decelerate and reanimate in verse the mobile street pageant, allowing the "triumphs" to reach beyond the frame of the literary page and encourage active reader participation. Since the feast day celebration functioned as both a civic and a sacred public ritual, the examples from Palm Sunday and the Annunciation served as fitting "living" counterparts to Dante's textual model, while still engaging with Ezekiel's prophetic vision of God's return to the New Jerusalem.

While several scholars have noted the close relationship between the subject matter of Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis* and Dante's *Paradiso* XXXIII,⁹ what still remains understudied

⁷ Teodolinda Barolini, *The Undivine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 78; Brenda Deen Schildgen, "John, St.," in *The Dante Encyclopedia*, ed. Richard Lansing (New York: Routledge Press, 2010), 540. It should be noted that in Dante's time, it was understood that Saint John was the Evangelist, the author of the Gospel, and the visionary of this Apocalyptic prophecy. It was not until later when many theologians generally agreed that a different John, John of Patmos, was the true author of the Apocalypse vision. Since Dante believed Saint John to be all three of these figures, my interpretation and inclusion of Saint John will follow this line of thinking.

⁸ Julian Morgenstein, "The Gates of Righteousness," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 6 (1929), 1.

⁹ Aldo S. Bernardo, "Petrarch's Attitude toward Dante," *PMLA* 70 no. 3 (June, 1955), 508; Theodore J. Cachey Jr., "Between Petrarch and Dante: Prolegomenon to a Critical Discourse," in *Petrarch and Dante: Anti-Dantism, Metaphysics, Tradition*, eds. Zygmunt G. Barański and Theodore J. Cachey Jr. (Notre Dame: University of Notre

are the visual discrepancies between Petrarch's text and the supposedly corresponding images. Though Petrarch's final triumph reveals a glowing vision of his love-object Laura—and not God—as the ultimate symbol of divine love, artists who realized this triumph in visual form replaced the image of the poet's muse with the Christological iconography of Heavenly bodies. Rather than utilize Dante's *Paradiso* XXXIII as the model upon which to construct the conclusion of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, the *Triumphus Eternitatis* turns instead to the intertextual themes present in *Paradiso* XXIII—such as the appearance of Christ and his glowing demeanor, the ascension of the Virgin and, as I will argue, of Beatrice too—as inspiration for Petrarch's concluding ascending vision of Laura. Given the association between Beatrice and Christ and the live-action Palm Sunday and Annunciation celebrations in both *Purgatorio* XXIX and *Paradiso* XXIII, Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis* may follow this precedent set by Dante in the *Commedia*, but draws an earlier visual conclusion than *Paradiso* XXXIII. I submit that Petrarch designed this imitation-via-revision of Dante in order to conclude his visionary poem with a triumphal imagine of Laura, rather than of God, in Heaven.

Both the *Commedia* and the *Trionfi* are metaphysical journeys that guide readers to experience a collective spiritual awakening through the successive acts of reading and interpretation. This communal experience that underscores both poems is communicated through technology and movement, an operative pair key to our understanding of the triumph more broadly considered, as it evolved from Roman antiquity to the time of the *tre corone*. Our viewing of images associated with Petrarch's final triumph thus may be informed by an understanding of the intermedial references to Dante's textual and corresponding images for *Purgatorio* XXIX and *Paradiso* XXII–XXIV and of the public memory of the feast day celebrations, such as those for Palm Sunday.

THE MECHANICS OF EZEKIEL IN THE CHARIOT OF THE 'TRE CORONE'

Let us begin with Dante's *Purgatorio* XXIX, which sets the stage for Petrarch's poem. After making the ascent up Mount Purgatory, Dante arrives at the garden of the Earthly Paradise. While walking along the stream of the rivers Lethe and Eunoe, the pilgrim-poet suddenly hears the sound of voices singing in the distance. He turns his attention toward the music and witnesses the following procession: seven candelabra carried by nymphs, twenty-four elders walking two by two, four animal figures, an empty gold, two-wheeled chariot pulled by a gryphon—a hybrid animal with the head of an eagle and the body of a lion—three women dancing on one side of the chariot and four women dancing on the other, and seven men trailing closely behind (lines 43–154).¹⁰ While several elements from this visualization remind the reader of actualized pageants, such as ancient Roman processions¹¹ or those designed for the later Corpus Christi,¹² the

Dame Press, 2009), 14; Christian Moevs, "Subjectivity and Conversion in Dante and Petrarch," in *Petrarch and Dante*, 235.

¹⁰ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Purgatorio*, eds. and trans. Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 494–500.

¹¹ Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez, eds. and trans., *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Purgatorio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 507.

¹² Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 247–248.

procession usually has been identified as the Triumph of the Church in Eden.¹³ This triumph is divided into three parts: the figures preceding the chariot are allegorizations of the books of the New Testament, the gryphon recalls the duality of Christ as both human and divine, the cardinal and theological virtues are represented by the seven dancing women appearing on either side of the chariot, and the figures of the Old Testament complete the parade. Together, these elements give shape to the whole pageant as a figural crucifix. The empty gold chariot and the crucifix symbol further function as signals of life after death, a possibility only realizable after the arrival of Christ.

As Dante stands within the Earthly Paradise on the cusp of being reunited with Beatrice, the pilgrim-poet witnesses the first grouping of figures who lead the parade—those meant to represent the Old Testament. Following the Old Testament are the Books of the Gospels. These are the four animal symbols that immediately precede the appearance of the chariot, causing the pilgrim-poet to turn from the immersive experience of observing the pageant's progression to addressing his reading audience. This interruption reflects at once upon the images that appear before the poet-pilgrim's eyes and the Biblical sources from which they are taken:

Ognuno era pennuto di sei ali;
 le penne piene d'occhi, e li occhi d'Argo,
 se fosser vivi, sarebber cotali.
 A descriver lor forme più non spargo
 rime, lettor, ch'altra spesa mi strigne
 tanto ch'a questa non posso esser largo;
 ma leggi Ezechiel, che li dipigne
 come li vide da la fredda parte
 venir con vento e con nube e con igne,
 e quali i troverai ne le sue carte
 tali eran quivi, salvo ch'a le penne
 Giovanni è meco e da lui si diparte.

(*Purgatorio* XXIX, lines 94–105)¹⁴

It is revealing that Dante chooses to invoke the prophet Ezekiel as his counterpart and visionary expert for the intervisual representation of the four “animals” and the chariot in his procession. The remaining elements from the pageant biblically conceptualize the Book of Revelation and

¹³ Peter Armour in *Dante's Griffin and the History of the World: A Study of the Earthly Paradise* ('*Purgatorio*,' *Cantos XXIX-XXXIII*) (New York: Clarendon Press, 1989), argues against a Christological reading of the griffin and pageant and suggests that the griffin is representative of an idealized Rome; Durling and Martinez, 505.

¹⁴ Dante, 496; Barolini, 154-163; Peter Hawkins, *Dante's Testaments: Essays in Scriptural Imaginations* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 64; Albert Russell Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of the Modern Author* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 377. Dante mentions another figure during this call to the reader whose prophetic vision informs ours and the pilgrim-poet's viewing of the pageant. Though Dante refers to Ezekiel's vision for the symbols of the Evangelists and the chariot, he is quick to mention that there is one element of Ezekiel's prophecy that he disagrees with, the number of wings on the four figures. In this regard, Saint John is with Dante and supports Dante's claim. The inclusion of Saint John in the call explicitly reminds the reader that the bulk of the pageant derives from the Book of Revelation's apocalyptic vision of John. At the same time, Dante reminds the reader that John was the seer who relived Ezekiel's apocalyptic vision. By inserting Saint John's alteration to Ezekiel's description, Dante aligns himself as the inheritor of their prophetic genealogy, further justifying the Christological significance of not only this pageant, but also his entire *Commedia*.

figures from the Apocalyptic vision of Saint John. These details will be especially pertinent to later sections of this chapter.

In Ezekiel's Chapter 1, the prophet testifies to an extraordinary vision of Yahweh. The first image the prophet sees flying across the sky from the north wind are four figures, each with four faces and four wings, moving in tandem with fiery torches surrounding them. Immediately following these figures, there appears a chariot with four wheels—two wheels located within two larger wheels—and a throne cast in the color of sapphire suspended above the chariot, upon which a human form sits (Ezekiel, 1:4–28).¹⁵ Several church leaders, theologians, and biblical scholars have interpreted Ezekiel's opening vision as a mechanical tour de force in which motion, the wheels, and technology fuse with the spiritual word of God.¹⁶ According to Christian interpretations of the Old Testament prophecy, the four figures serve as emblems for both the four Evangelists and their corresponding symbols as individual facets of Christ.¹⁷ However, what is perhaps most striking in Ezekiel's account is the description of the allegories' wings and the movements they control. Not only do the figures have four faces, but also each has four wings whose movements up and down in flight synchronize with the wheels of the chariot.¹⁸ When the figures lower their wings, the chariot and throne come to a halt; it is only when the figures lift their wings to touch the wings of the opposite figure—an act which creates a perfect ring around all the figures included in the procession—that the chariot and entire procession are reactivated into motion again. The allegorical significance of this operation suggests that both the wings and the wheels may only advance when their movements are in perfect kinetic harmony with the Holy Spirit, the force which unites and moves them.¹⁹ The movement of the wings symbolize the way in which the followers of God worship Him. When the wings are down, man contemplates his own virtues rather than considering those of God and His goodness. This action results in a lack of “spirit” capable of moving the chariot towards God's triumph. When the wings are lifted, God's people stand in contemplation of His lofty achievements and thus the chariot may make its way once more toward Heaven.²⁰ The interdependence between man's actions and the divine triumph's progress, according to Ezekiel's vision, proved to be fundamental for the lessons it yielded among Christians in later centuries.

The interpretation of Ezekiel's prophecy offered by Gregory the Great suggests that the wheels allegorically serve as the word of God, which spiritually reaches both children and adults alike.²¹ According to Gregory, the structure of the parade is such that the wheels must follow the figures so that we may learn God's Law (the Old Testament) through the first four books of the New Testament—the Gospels.²² In other words, the Gospels interpret the word of God from the

¹⁵ *Tanakh: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1985), 893-894.

¹⁶ Grover A Zinn, ed. and trans., *Richard of St. Victor: The Twelve Patriarchs, The Mystical Ark, Book Three of the Trinity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979); Theodosia Gray, ed. and trans., *The Homilies of Saint Gregory the Great: On the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (Etna: The Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1990); Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdsman Publishing Company, 1997); Paul M. Joyce, *Ezekiel: A Commentary*, (New York: T & T Clark International, 2007).

¹⁷ Gray, 40-42; Abigail Ann Young, “The Fourth Gospel in the Twelfth Century: Rupert of Deutz on the Gospel of John,” *A Page Concerning Theology and Exegesis, Mostly Mediaeval*, 1998, home.chass.utoronto.ca/ (accessed February 25, 2022).

¹⁸ Block, 101.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Gray, 83.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 56.

²² *Ibid.*, 59.

Old Testament and breathes life into it for the salvation of Christian people. The wheels cannot move without the wings of the four figures, just as God cannot appear seated upon His throne without His word being contemplated fully by His followers. As Gregory suggests, it is only when the Holy Spirit touches the soul of the followers of Christ when the pilgrim—in this case, the reader too—directs their attention from earthly affairs to God, mobilizing the wings and the wheels of His “triumph.” Thus, the mechanics of the apparatus and, indeed, the entire production may only function when the word of God is made “flesh;”²³ when there is a coherent connection between the subject of men’s contemplation and the spiritual movements of the divine pageant across time and space.

This vision returns to Ezekiel two more times throughout his Chapter. In Chapter 10, Yahweh, who is guided and transported by the four figures and the chariot, leaves the Eastern gate of “New Jerusalem.” This procession will not return in Ezekiel’s account until Chapter 43. Through a Christological reading of Ezekiel’s Chapter 43, the return of Yahweh foreshadows Christ’s entry into Jerusalem, since Christ will enter through the same Eastern gate, an act that will ultimately lead to his crucifixion, death, and resurrection.²⁴ However, in the later iterations of this vision, Ezekiel substitutes the four faced figures and the chariot with the term “cherubim,” suggesting that this type of angel sits adjacent to the chariot’s wheels (Ezekiel, 10: 1–22).²⁵ Due to Ezekiel’s claim in 8:4—“And the Presence of the God of Israel appeared there like the vision that I had seen in the valley”²⁶—the reader understands this to be the same vision witnessed earlier in Chapter 1. To be sure, all the individual elements included in the pageant remain consistent across these three books, aside from the detail concerning the cherubim/four faced figures. Ezekiel describes the “cherubim” the same way he presented the four faced figures, thus superimposing the cherubim onto the figures from Chapter 1 and aligning the cherubim with the same mechanical force as these figures.²⁷ What is unique in this account, though, is that the cherubim become at once the apparatus that moves the machine and the platform upon which God’s throne rests. In this way, the cherubim evolve into the entire mechanism responsible for transporting God in triumph. As we know from the medieval commentaries on Ezekiel’s prophetic vision, this account allegorically sets the procession into motion through the spirit of God’s word imparting itself onto His followers and their redirecting their contemplation of God away from earthly goods. Now, however, rather than focus on the Evangelists as the active agents in the procession, it is God’s followers—those imbued with the spirit of His word—who support God. The substitution of the cherubim for the four faced figures transforms the word of God into “flesh,” while constructing a more compelling message to the reader that stimulates active participation in the procession.

While some scholars claim that Dante’s address to the reader is a rhetorical device that reflects back on the poet’s particular style,²⁸ it seems, in this particular instance, to be both a visual and spiritual invitation for the reader to transition from a more passive form of reading to an active mode of participating in the pageant ceremony. Utilizing the liturgy of Ezekiel, Dante not only justifies his parade as an authentic spectacle, but also invites the reader to consider that his “poema sacro,” and in particular this pageant, may function according to a fourfold interpretation of Old Testament Scripture, whereby the literal vision of Ezekiel appears within Dante’s parade, the

²³ Block, 97.

²⁴ Morgenstein, 1.

²⁵ *Tanakh*, 903-905.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 902.

²⁷ Joyce, 69.

²⁸ Erich Auerbach, “Dante’s Addresses to the Reader,” *Romance Philology* VII (1953-54), 268–271; Leo Spitzer, “The Addresses to the Reader in the *Commedia*,” *Italica* XXXII no.3 (1955), 153.

allegorical significance of the chariot's motion propelled by the Evangelists' wings represents our salvation through the contemplation of Christ over earthly goods, the moral interpretation is that of the conversion of the soul from sin to grace, and the anagogical meaning occurs as the ultimate passing of the soul from corruption on earth toward everlasting glory with God. By first overwhelming the senses of both the pilgrim-poet and the reader, Dante blurs the boundaries between literature and reality, which guides his readers into this "private" display made public. Now, Dante shapes the arrival of his actualized chariot as a communal event by joining his procession with the "word" of the prophet Ezekiel, participating alongside this biblical prophet in further transfiguring God's word into "flesh."²⁹

This is not the first instance in which Dante invokes Ezekiel's prophetic structure as an interpretive tool for his *Commedia*. Let us recall that in *Purgatorio* II, we see the arrival of the souls on the boat at the base of Mount Purgatory. The souls' singing the "*In exitu Israel de Aegypto*" demonstrates, as several scholars note, Dante's possible invocation of the fourfold principles of biblical exegesis, which, due to the singing of Psalm 113, underlines the theme of Exodus present throughout Dante's "sacro poema."³⁰ While this is one of the most pertinent examples cited as Dante's potential interest in the fourfold scriptural interpretation,³¹ the role of the angel on the boat further mirrors the mechanical interpretation of Ezekiel's cherubim that Dante inscribes into his pageant in *Purgatorio* XXIX. As Peter Hawkins notes, "the boat of Casella has neither a sail nor oar, but it races to shore by the fan of an angel's 'etterne penna'" (*Purgatorio* II, lines 43–48).³² While the literal "wings" of the angel "move" the marine apparatus forward, the allegorical significance is that the wings control the speed at which the souls may participate in the conversion and spiritual transformation. As Hawkins further notes, through this controlled

²⁹ Barolini, 159. As we know, in *Purgatorio* Canto XXXIII, Beatrice will instruct Dante to write his vision so that he may instruct the lost souls on Earth, adhering to the role of the prophet.

³⁰ Charles Singleton, *Dante Studies 1. Commedia: Elements of Structure* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954); Charles Singleton, *Dante Studies 2. Journey to Beatrice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958); Johan Chydenius, "The Typological Problem in Dante," in *Societas Scientiarum Fennica Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 25 (Helsingfors, 1958), 1-159; Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays*, (New York: Meridian Books, 1959); Charles Singleton, "In Exitu Israel de Aegypto," *Seventy-Eighth Annual Report of the Dante Society* (1960), 1-24; Dunstan J. Tucker, "In Exitu Israel de Aegypto: The Divine Comedy in the Light of the Easter Liturgy," *American Benedictine Review* 11 (1960), 43-61; A.C. Charity, *Events and Their Afterlife: The Dialectics of Christian Typology in the Bible and Dante* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966); Robert Hollander, *Allegory in Dante's Commedia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); Jean Pépin, *Dante et la tradition de l'allégorie* (Montreal: Institut d'Études Médiévales and Librairie J. Vrin, 1970); Robert Hollander, "Dante 'Theologus-Poeta'," *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society* no.94 (1976), 91-136; John G. Demaray, *The Invention of Dante's Commedia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); Giuseppe Mazzotta, *Dante: Poet of the Desert: History and Allegory in the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); Peter Armour, *The Door of Purgatory: A Study of Multiple Symbolism in Dante's Purgatorio* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); Albert Russell Ascoli, "Access to Authority: Dante in the *Epistle to Cangrande*," in *Seminario dantesco internazionale international Dante seminar 1: Atti del primo convegno tenutosi al Chauncey Conference Center, Princeton, 21-23 ottobre 1994*, ed. Zygmunt G. Barański (Florence: Casa Editrice le Lettere, 1997), 316; Albert Russell Ascoli, "Tradurre l'allegoria: Convivio II, i," in *Critica del testo, xiv 1, 2011: Dante, oggi 1*, eds. Roberto Antonelli, Annalisa Landolfi, and Arianna Punzi (Rome: Viella, 2000), 169-171; John G. Demaray, "In exitu Israel de Aegypto," in *The Dante Encyclopedia*, 506-508; Albert Russell Ascoli, "Performing Salvation in Dante's *Commedia*," *Dante Studies, with the annual report of the Dante Society* 135 (2017), 76-78.

³¹ Hawkins, 39. Albert Russell Ascoli, "Dante and Allegory," in *The Cambridge Companion to Dante*, ed. Rachel Jacoff (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 131. Giuseppe Ledda, *La bibbia di Dante* (Torino: Claudiana, 2015), 46.

³² Dante, 36; Hawkins, 43.

process, the “souls discover how private speech becomes the corporate Word of God.”³³ To further Hawkins’s and other scholar’s interpretations of this moment in *Purgatorio*, it is evident that Dante imbeds Ezekiel’s representation of movement—both mechanical and spiritual—into his creation of Purgatory’s angelic ferryman.³⁴ In this regard, the vision of Ezekiel no longer remains strictly vital for our unfolding of the pageant in Canto XXIX, but Ezekiel’s mechanical structures underscore the way in which Dante, the other souls, and his readers may “move” out of *Purgatorio* and proceed into *Paradiso*.

To return to *Purgatorio* XXIX, Ezekiel’s vision arrives at the moment just before the central image (i.e. the chariot) appears directly before the pilgrim-poet on the opposite riverbank, serving as a visual clue to what will soon appear. In lines 106–108 Dante describes the chariot pulled by the gryphon as: “Lo spazio dentro a lor quattro contenne/ un carro, in su due rote, triūnfale,/ ch’al collo d’un grifon tirato venne.” He continues this description in lines 115–120: “Non che Roma di carro così bello/ rallegesse Affricano o vero Augusto,/ ma quel del Sol saria pover con ello:/ quel del Sol, che svāando fu combusto/ per l’orazion de la Terra devota.”³⁵ Dante provides the reader with a vivid depiction of his triumphal vehicle: a two-wheeled, flaming gold chariot designed with greater brilliance than ancient precedents, which shines with more luminance than the sun itself. Although Ezekiel includes multiple references to the structure’s wheels throughout his visions, the actual word “chariot” does not appear in the prophet’s Chapter 1, but is interpolated by the figures who later interpret Ezekiel’s vision.³⁶ Thus, for Dante, Ezekiel’s model is somewhat incomplete: the implied structure with four wheels that supports God’s throne is remodeled in Purgatory in such a way as to recall the contemporary chariots that were seen in celebratory triumphal parades—a vision that would have been familiar among Dante’s medieval readers.

By including the term “triūnfale” and referencing the Roman emperors Augustus and Scipio Africanus, Dante’s first description of the procession machine imagines an imperial triumphal cart. Though Dante missed the opportunity to witness an Ancient Roman chariot in action by a number of centuries, it is likely that his configuration of the “carro trionfale” in motion derived from the bas-relief on the *Arch of Titus* in Rome (figs. 1 and 2).³⁷ Dante would have traveled to Rome as a literal “pilgrim” during the Christian Jubilee of 1300.³⁸ As the pilgrims marched along the streets of Rome, passing the Arch of Constantine, their journey slowed as they forced their way through the *Arch of Titus*.³⁹ Not only was the *Arch of Titus* constructed for an imperial triumphal parade, but also its particular triumph celebrates the sack of Jerusalem, among whose many spoils was the seven-pronged menorah hoisted up by the defeated. It is most likely

³³ Hawkins, 44.

³⁴ Ronald L. Martinez, “L’amoroso canto: Liturgy and Vernacular Lyric in Dante’s *Purgatorio*,” *Dante Studies with the Annual Report of the Dante Society* no. 127 (2009), 101. Martinez, though he does not discuss the role of Ezekiel, affirms and suggests that the arrival of the souls on the boat anticipates the pageant in the Earthly Paradise and the arrival of Beatrice.

³⁵ Dante, 496–498.

³⁶ Joyce, 71.

³⁷ Peter Armour, “Canto XXIX: Dante’s Processional Vision,” in *Lectura Dantis Purgatorio, A Canto-by-Canto Commentary*, eds. Allen Mandelbaum, Anthony Oldcorn, and Charles Ross (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 333; Christopher Kleinhenz, “The City of Rome in Dante’s *Divine Comedy*,” *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 28 (2012), 56–57.

³⁸ Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 2; Henrike Lange, *Giotto’s Arena Chapel and the Triumph of Humility* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 58.

³⁹ Kessler and Zacharias, 91–92.



Fig. 1. *Arch of Titus*, detail of inner [N.] facing of arch showing “Triumph of Titus” relief panel, 81 C.E., concrete and white marble, 50 feet. Rome. Image via Artstor.



Fig. 2. *Arch of Titus*, detail of Menorah Procession, 81 C.E. Image via Artstor.

that Domitian funded the construction of the *Arch of Titus* after Titus's death and deification. The arch itself is a single bay design with engaged columns, with reliefs located inside the central bay and on the spandrels and small frieze. While most of the elaborate decoration is confined to the reliefs in the central bay, the spandrels are carved with Victories carrying Roman banners, trophies, laurel wreaths and palm branches while the small, encircled frieze details the joint triumph of Vespasian and Titus over Jerusalem in 71 CE.⁴⁰

On the right side of the central bay (fig. 1), one passing through the arch would see the moment after the emperor had claimed victory. Titus rests in a chariot pulled by four horses and receives the laurel crown from the goddess Victory. Behind Titus are twelve lictors, each holding fasces, as they accompany the Roman general in procession toward a group of citizens and a personification of the Roman senate. The right side panel foreshadows the duality of Titus as he will be deified upon his death. The moment of Titus's deification, his apotheosis, is located centrally in the vault of the arch, surrounded by coffered panels decorated with rosettes. Within the scene, the viewer sees Titus, dressed in a toga, as an eagle—representing the god Jupiter—which both bestows divine power onto and carries Titus into Heaven. The location of the apotheosis in the central vault connects the battle (on the left side of the central bay) to the triumph (on the right side) that earned Titus his place among the stars. As Diana Kleiner notes, the inclusion of the apotheosis further elevates the status of the object, the arch, into a sacred, consecrate monument.⁴¹

Though much of the arch was restored in the nineteenth century by Raffaele Stern and Giuseppe Valadier, many details were still recognizable during the time of Dante. In the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* from circa 1143, a text that chronicles the topography of Rome during the medieval period, the author documents all the foundational structures of Rome and lists the arches one would encounter within the city. Among the arches listed is Titus's, whose description contains more detail than the others: "at Santa Maria Nove between the Greater Palace and the Temple of Romulus, the Arch of the Seven Lamps of Titus and Vespasian where is found Moses' candlestick with seven branches with the Ark, at the foot of the Cartulary Tower."⁴² On the central left relief panel, the pilgrim walking through the arch would see the *spolia* of Titus's triumph over the Jews. Several men in short tunics lift a table with objects pilfered from the Temple of Jerusalem, including a large menorah, while others play trumpets. Titus and his army in tow follow behind the roan attendants. While both central relief images lead toward the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill—the final stop during a triumphal parade—the *spolia* landed in Vespasian's Templum Pacis.

The most striking detail of the left side relief is the menorah (fig. 2), while on the right it is the chariot and four horses, both for their size and centrality within each respective bas-relief. The menorah is the most ancient symbol associated with Judaism,⁴³ and thus it became a fitting image to include in Dante's pageant. At the same time, the *quadriga* became a standard for Roman triumphs and was included in many visual and architectural structures.⁴⁴ Dante, therefore, not only utilizes Ezekiel and the Book of Revelation to construct his Christological "triumph," but also

⁴⁰ Diana Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 183-187.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Francis Morgan Nichols, ed. and trans., *The Marvels of Rome: Mirabilia Urbis Romae* (New York: Italica Press, 1986), 6.

⁴³ Dalia Marx, "The Missing Temple: The Status of the Temple in Jewish Culture Following Its Destruction," *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe* 46 no. 2 (Autumn 2013), 73.

⁴⁴ H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development, and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 59-60.

incorporates the visual memory of Rome's civic-sacred ancient parades, textually recalled in the citation of such imperial figures as Augustus and Scipio. In witnessing both bas-reliefs, Dante would have been able to visualize the chariot "in motion" and also consult an image that possibly influenced his representation of the seven flaming candelabra.⁴⁵

At the same time, however, the details Dante includes—"Sol saria pover con ello:/ quel del Sol, che svïando fu combusto/ per l'orazion de la Terra devota"(lines 118-120)—engineer the chariot as a divine machine⁴⁶ similar to Phaeton's mythological cart.⁴⁷ By suggesting that the chariot blazes before his eyes, just as Phaeton's did at the moment when he lost control of his machine, the chariot becomes an active, moving apparatus, not a static structure.⁴⁸ This emphasis on action and active movement parallels Dante's call upon his readers to actively engage with his literary-visual spectacle.

The poet's emphasis on the technical structure of the procession and its fundamental importance in the triumph sequence further hybridizes the "carro" in the canto immediately following. Though the pageant comes to a stop at the conclusion of Canto XXIX, the triumphal procession has not yet finished: "fermo s'affisse, la gente verace/venuta prima tra 'l grifone ed esso,/ al carro volse sé come a sua pace" (*Purgatorio* XXX, lines 7–9).⁴⁹ After recalling the final vision the pilgrim-poet had witnessed in the previous canto, Dante notices a group of angels singing *Hallelujah*. When the lead angel invites all those surrounding to join the group in song, Dante's "carro trionfale" is relabeled as a new kind of apparatus: "la divina basterna," upon which "si levar cento, *ad vocem tanti senis*, ministri e messaggier di vita eterna" (line 16–18).⁵⁰ Originally, a "basterna" was an Ancient Roman device specifically used to transport women. Instead of wheels, two animals—either oxen or mules—supported and ferried the "basterna" across the streets of Rome.⁵¹ Although the "carro" of Canto XXIX has wheels, it may only move when the gryphon "pulls" the cart forward. When the "carro" arrives in Canto XXX, the gryphon is no longer attached to the chariot but is, instead, tied to a nearby tree (*Purgatorio* XXXII, line 48–51).⁵² It is at this moment when Dante's "carro" transforms into the "divina basterna." Under

⁴⁵ Barolini, 155. Barolini offers an alternate reading to suggest that, rather than seeing seven candelabra, perhaps it is one candelabra with seven prongs.

⁴⁶ Dante, 498. It is important to note that Dante includes another biblical flaming gold chariot: that of the prophet Elijah, in *Inferno* XXVI lines 34–39, eds. Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 400. As John Freccero in the *Poetics of Conversion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 19–20, and Peter Hawkins in "Virtuosity and Virtue: Poetic Self-Reflection in the 'Commedia'," *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society*, no. 98 (1980), 12, suggest, the inclusion of Elijah at this moment before we meet Ulysses serves as a model for what Dante must become on his road to conversion in the manner of Augustine.

⁴⁷ Durling and Martinez, 508.

⁴⁸ As Robert Hollander notes in his edited and translated *Dante Alighieri: Purgatorio* (New York: Doubleday, 2003), the tri-partite structure of the chariot and the inclusion of Phaeton reminds the reader of God's mercy (the glory of the first two) and his justice (the tragedy of the last), 614. See also Kevin Brownlee, "Phaeton's Fall and Dante's Ascent," *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society* no. 102 (1984), 135–144.

⁴⁹ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 510.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*; Durling and Martinez, 562. Along with the "carro trionfale" into the "divina basterna," Dante offers other vocabulary words for a cart throughout the remainder of the *Purgatorio* such as "plaustrum" (Canto XXXII, line 118), "veiculo" (Canto XXXIII, line 129), and edificio (Canto XXXII, line 142).

⁵¹ William Smith, "Basterna," in *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, (John Murray: London, 1875), Retrieved from penelope.uchicago.edu/ (accessed February 25, 2022). As Hollander notes in *Dante Alighieri: Purgatorio*, Dante specifically did not want his readers to assume the visual of an "ox-cart" and invoked the Ancient Roman triumphal cart instead in the previous canto, 614. However, given this shift in vocabulary, this does not entirely seem to be the case.

⁵² Dante, *Purgatorio*, 550.

this revised designed, the machine's dependence upon the "animals" crystallizes, for it is only as a result of their actions that the wagon may mobilize. The hybridization of Dante's chariot thus combines multiple layers into one object: it resonates not only with the machines used in Roman triumphs, but also with elements of Ezekiel's mechanics.

Dante inserts another mechanism from Ezekiel's vision that further hybridizes his figure of the chariot. In lines 16–19, a throng of angels appears on the wagon singing "*Benedictus qui venis*."⁵³ As its verses suggest, Ezekiel's prophetic vision occurs multiple times throughout his Chapter, with the cherubim replacing—as we have seen—the four faced figures in Chapters 10 and 43. At the same time, Ezekiel's cherubim supplants the physical cart responsible for lifting the throne of God. Though Dante's explicit reference to Ezekiel is brief—with the arrival of the four animal figures and the chariot in *Purgatorio* XXIX—the emphasis on the angels overwhelming the cart resonates with a description from Ezekiel's account, thereby agreeing with the prophet in suggesting that the "divina basterna" may only move through the workings of the angels. The importance of the angels becomes all the more apparent when, in Canto XXXII, the physical cart and the gryphon disappear into the Earthly Paradise, after which the angels serve as both the "wheels" and the "machine" that will shuttle Beatrice and Dante into *Paradiso*—actions which fulfill more of Ezekiel's prophecy than was explicitly mentioned.

If we return to the significance of Dante's word choice for the chariot image, though the term "carro" recalls a machine used most often to transport a victorious male emperor, the "basterna" was a vehicle that carried women. This distinction is suggestive when considering that it is only upon the platform of the "divina basterna" that Beatrice will finally appear before Dante. The idea of a "triumph" is a modality for the construction of class or prestige. The emperor, the king, even the military or religious figures following in procession were recognizable and their power and status grows through collective viewing of them. Within the Earthly Paradise, Beatrice and her "triumph" maintain this modality. She not only serves as a counterpart to the Virgin Mary, but also as an avatar for Christ. As several scholars have shown, Beatrice's arrival into Dante's life and her role within the *Commedia* is analogous to Christ's arrival into the lives of Christians.⁵⁴ Though Ezekiel's vision constructs a vehicle capable of transporting Christ, Dante transfigures God's "chariot" such that it maintains some elements of ancient Roman design (the "carro") and other elements of the more contemporary, gendered "basterna," a vehicle more suited for transporting women like Beatrice, in order to commemorate her entrance into this part of the poem. Dante's need to hybridize his cart stemmed, in part, from his design to have Beatrice, his female "Christ" figure, enter into the Earthly Paradise in "triumph." This is further emphasized in Dante's shift from the adjective "trionfal" when describing the "carro" to "divina" when embellishing the "basterna." Beatrice's role as the Christ avatar and her arrival parallels with that of Christ especially in light of the pageant as a visual counterpart to the Feast Day for Palm Sunday, which I will discuss in the following section.

While both the "carro trionfale" and the "divina basterna" are apparatuses from antiquity,⁵⁵ the hybrid imagery of the wagon invites Dante's readers to also recall the "carroccio,"⁵⁶ a four-wheeled wooden structure originally used in military and sacred services, which carried men while

⁵³ Ibid., 510. I will return to this line later in the chapter.

⁵⁴ Singleton, *Journey to Beatrice*; Joan M. Ferrante, "Dante's Beatrice: Priest of an Androgynous God," in *CEMERS Occasional Papers*, 2 (Binghamton: CEMERS, 1992), 3–32; Barolini, 158.

⁵⁵ Smith, "Basterna."

⁵⁶ Durling and Martinez identify that a contemporary reader of Dante would have an image of a war-cart in mind for his triumphal chariot but do not suggest a particular pageant or event out of which this particular *carroccio* arrives (507).

displaying religious objects in battle.⁵⁷ Given the influential spiritual associations of the “carroccio,” warring opponents often sought to seize the other’s “carroccio” as a form of religious *spolia*, stripped of its mobility and transformed into a display of conquest in a rival baptistery.⁵⁸ As it evolved into the model for feast day carts,⁵⁹ the captured apparatus decelerates its militaristic function in order to embody the singular spirit of triumph.⁶⁰ The “carroccio” synecdochally serves to represent the whole of a feast day pageant, fusing into a singular machine ancient Roman and Christian victory with a civic and sacred ritual.⁶¹

The shift from a “carro trionfale” to a “divina basterna” further confers onto Dante’s machine certain connotations associated with both ancient Roman and Christian victory carts and contemporary civic and sacred wagons. Such fusion of temporal and spiritual elements evolved in real time during live medieval street festivals, in particular, during the feast day for Palm Sunday. The extra-textual dimensions of Dante’s “carro” thus overlap with broader triumphal traditions, employing a message larger than itself of a hybrid, prophetic, imperial, and contemporary machine that mobilizes across literary, visual, and historical contexts. The blended imagery offered by Dante’s transformation of the “carro trionfale” into the “divina basterna,”—allowing Boccaccio and later Petrarch via, at least, Boccaccio, to imitate the hybrid chariot—visually reflected in the contemporary collective memory of the “carroccio” as a mobile embodiment of civic, sacred, and prophetic victory compressed into a single object.

When Boccaccio read Dante’s *Purgatorio* XXIX for inspiration for his *l’Amorosa visione*, he utilized ekphrasis—the verbal representation of visual art—to generate audience involvement in his literary triumphs. In Canto IV of the poem, after meeting his female guide, Boccaccio faces the choice between the heavenly and the earthly paths toward eternity. It is within the “earthly” threshold that Boccaccio experiences the first four of his triumphs: Wisdom, Glory, Wealth, and Love, which are carefully visualized on the walls of an “enchanted” chamber. Boccaccio emphasizes the magical quality of these ekphrases by claiming that they were not painted by any human hand, but are the work of a higher creator (lines 13–15).⁶² A likely model for Boccaccio’s representation of divine art may have been Dante’s Terrace of Pride in *Purgatorio* X, where the poet depicts three triumphs of humility as bas-reliefs carved by God’s hand (lines 31–33, 94–96). Dante suggests that the stones that make up the relief come to life, representing a “visibile parlare” (line 96),⁶³ or moving, visible, speech, that only God’s art may produce. Boccaccio’s “visibile

⁵⁷ Diana Webb, “Cities of God: The Italian Communes at War,” in *The Church and War: Papers Read at the Twenty-First Summer Meeting and the Twenty-Second Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W.J. Sheils (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 115; Luciano Artusi and Silvano Gabbrielli, *Le feste di Firenze: dalla Candelora a Berlingaccio, dal Palio di San Giovanni al Calcio fiorentino, dallo Scoppio del Carro al Calendimaggio, un viaggio pittoresco attraverso i giochi, le festività, le ricorrenze tradizionali di questa Bellissima città* (Rome: Newton Compton Editori, 1991); Gerald Parsons, *Siena, Civil Religion, and the Sienese* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 5; Jenna Soleo-Shanks, “From Stage to Page: Siena’s *Caleffo dell’Assunta*, Spectacular Machines and the Promotion of Civic Power,” in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, eds. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 289.

⁵⁸ Webb, 116. An example of this is when the Sienese captured the Florentine *carroccio* during the Battle of Montaperti in 1260.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 118; Artusi-Gabrielli, 1991.

⁶⁰ Parsons, 5; Soleo-Shanks, 289.

⁶¹ Webb, 118; Giovanni Villani, a contemporary of Dante, offers a detailed recollection of witnessing the Florentine *carroccio* within the Baptistery before the Florentines transported the machine into battle in his *Nuova Cronica*.

⁶² Giovanni Boccaccio, *l’Amorosa visione*, eds. and trans. Robert Hollander, Timothy Hampton, and Margherita Frankel (Hanover: University of New England Press, 1986), 18.

⁶³ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 160-162.

parlare” follows Dante’s example to synesthetically draw both the pilgrim-poet and the reader into a series of ekphrastic triumphs.

While Boccaccio mentions the “quickened pace” (line 5)⁶⁴ at which he and his guide walk to arrive at the chamber, the triumphs are spread slowly over thirty of the fifty cantos of his poem. This extended representation indicates Boccaccio’s active participation in God’s “moving” frescoes and his deceleration of the processions that will soon unfold. Following his predecessor, Boccaccio affirms that his “triumphs” demonstrate God’s “word” made flesh. Because his *ekphrases* were created by a higher being, they imitate the prophets in communicating God’s message as visual, actualized imaginations. In this way, Boccaccio adorns his processions with a prophetic quality that mirrors Dante’s invocation of the prophets within the *Purgatorio* XXIX pageant.

Unlike Dante’s procession, however, Boccaccio does not articulate at length the meaning behind the figures that precede each “triumphator.” Instead, Boccaccio provides a detailed description of the allegorical figures and devotes the majority of his triumphs to the list of followers who have fallen “victim” to that allegory. More importantly, Boccaccio only explicitly refers to a chariot in his “Triumph of Glory.” In Canto VI, Boccaccio notices a “triumfal carro” (line 53) and suggests that the female figure of Glory rests on a gold chariot pulled by four snowy white steeds (lines 61–63).⁶⁵ Though the horses draw an immediate association between Glory’s chariot and the ancient Roman triumphal *quadriga*, the allegorical figure of Glory is female, and thus invites a comparison between this cart and Dante’s “basterna” from *Purgatorio* XXX. While the chariot is no longer a “flaming” figure, Boccaccio’s imagery maps onto Dante’s chariot in its suggestion that the horses “burn” as they pull the cart forward (line 63). At this point in the text, Boccaccio incorporates the language and function of Dante’s chariot, but does not clearly communicate a direct one-to-one correlation.

While there is no explicit reference to a chariot outside of the “Triumph of Glory,” the cantos that begin and end Boccaccio’s “Triumph of Love” (i.e., Cantos XV and XXIX) mention important individual parts of a “carro.” In Canto XV, Boccaccio claims that the male allegory of Love sits on top of two eagles, while his feet rest on two lion cubs (lines 13–18).⁶⁶ Although a minor detail, this image is intertextually significant. If we return to Dante’s procession in *Purgatorio* XXIX, Dante’s chariot is pulled by the gryphon—half-eagle, half-lion.⁶⁷ Boccaccio now doubles the number of animals to create four creatures that support the allegory of Love without detailing explicitly, however, a physical structure. In Canto XXIX,⁶⁸ Boccaccio concludes his triumph with a description of Love’s many victims who trail behind his “triumfal ruote,” or triumphal wheels (lines 85–88).⁶⁹ The adjective “triumfal” suggests there is, indeed, a structure, such as the “triumfal carro” from the “Triumph of Glory,” attached to the wheels. Boccaccio first represents Glory’s chariot with intertextual references to Dante’s flaming gold hybrid cart. Later

⁶⁴ Boccaccio, 18.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁶⁷ Robert Hollander, Timothy Hampton, and Margherita Frankel, eds. and trans., *Giovanni Boccaccio: l’Amorosa visione* (Hanover: University of New England Press, 1986), 227. In the notes to their translation of the *Amorosa visione*, Hollander, Hampton, and Frankel, wonder whether the eagle and lion imagery evolves from Dante’s *Purgatorio* parade, but do not make a definitive claim as such.

⁶⁸ It is also no coincidence that Boccaccio ends his Dantean triumph in Canto XXIX, directly corresponding with *Purgatorio* XXIX.

⁶⁹ Boccaccio, 120.

in his triumph, Boccaccio borrows from the intertextual memory of Dante as he crafts the machine and designates the agents who conduct the “trionfal ruote.”

The animals at the beginning of the triumphal sequence become synonymous with the “trionfal ruote,” further blurring the boundaries between a “carro” and “basterna” in order to reinforce the intertextual reference to Dante’s cart in *Purgatorio*. At the same time, the fusion of the two eagles and two lion cubs with the term “ruote” brings to mind the prophetic visionary apparatus recalled by Ezekiel, Dante’s Biblical counterpoint for his triumphal parade. Boccaccio further extends Dante’s intertextual resonances with the Biblical prophet by ascribing the movement of the cart in his poem to specific animal figures that make it possible for the machine to mobilize. By directly substituting the animals for the wheels, the animals not only literally pull the cart, but also support the base of the structure and physically raise the allegory of Love. Since we know that Boccaccio’s triumph is prophetic in its representation of God’s art, it is fitting that Boccaccio would incorporate the prophetic mechanics of Ezekiel’s chariot, as a way of conveying a vehicle of spirituality that leads his pilgrim-poet’s journey towards God.⁷⁰

The function of the chariot at the end of the “Triumph of Love” sequence informs our understanding of the visual elements associated with the machine. In this particular triumph, Fiammetta appears to Boccaccio for the first time (Canto XV), at which point she describes her place in Heaven. At the end of the Triumph (Canto XXIX), Boccaccio not only places himself among the list of Love’s victims, but also notes that Fiammetta appears alongside Love atop the triumphal chariot. The chariot is no longer meant to transport the allegory of Love alone, but now assumes an intertextual role that recalls Dante’s “carro/basterna”— the mobile object that will transport Fiammetta, similar to how it had transported Beatrice. Like Dante’s reader, the poet-pilgrim of Boccaccio’s text joins the procession by becoming an active follower, keeping pace behind the four “wheeled” vehicle. Dante’s prophetic, Ezekiel-inspired “carro” from *Purgatorio* XXIX–XXX resurfaces in Boccaccio’s *l’Amorosa visione* in lieu of a direct reproduction in poetry and image.

To trace Boccaccio’s reading of Dante in Petrarch’s reading of Boccaccio, it is necessary to look at the ways in which *l’Amorosa visione* directly influenced Petrarch’s *Trionfi*. While Petrarch does not include a synesthetic ekphrastic reference to God’s art similar to what readers find in Dante’s *Commedia* and in Boccaccio’s poem, he does follow previous examples set by these two poets, particularly for what concerns the blurring of literature and history. At first glance, the pilgrim’s muddled vision imagines a “lifelike” ancient Roman “trionfal carro” moving toward the city’s Capitoline hill (*Triumphus Cupidinis* Part I, lines 13–15).⁷¹ By this point in fourteenth-century Italy, Petrarch had received the laurel crown on this very hill, where he invoked the spirit of the Roman triumph for his poetic “victory.”⁷² Rather than include all the elements of the Roman triumph, however, Petrarch lists only the “duce” and the chariot as proxies for the entire procession, a further case whereby a triumph decelerates into parts that seek to represent the whole. While recalling both Roman antiquity and a more contemporary historical present, Petrarch and his reader become active witnesses to the triumphs.

⁷⁰ Readers are made aware, however, that the pilgrim-poet never reaches God’s Eternity.

⁷¹ Francesco Petrarca, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, eds. F. Neri, G. Martellotti, E. Bianchi, and N. Spaegno (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1951), 481.

⁷² Ernest H. Wilkins, *Studies on Petrarch and Boccaccio*, ed. Aldo S. Bernardo (Padua: Antenore, 1978), 65; Gerhard Regn and Bernhard Huss, “Petrarch’s Rome: The History of Africa and the Renaissance Project,” *MLN* 124 no. 1 Italian issue (Jan., 2009), 87.

Like Boccaccio's, Petrarch's triumph is composed of far more victims than of victors; he does not include figures in the pageant outside of those defeated by each allegory and devotes each triumph almost entirely to a list of conquered subjects. The only allegory that explicitly sits on top of a chariot is, however, Love.⁷³ Immediately juxtaposed with the "trionfal carro" of line 15, Love's chariot appears as a cart pulled by four snowy white horses (lines 22–23),⁷⁴ recalling similar elements used to describe Boccaccio's chariot for Gloria. As per the details listed in the preceding line, the function of Petrarch's Roman chariot is to "bear [a leader] to glorious honor" ("a gran gloria conduce") (line 15).⁷⁵ The use of the word "gloria" intertextually reminds the reader that Boccaccio's "Gloria" also rests on a "carro trionfal"—a visual equivalent to Petrarch's ancient *quadriga*. However, Love's chariot is no longer "trionfal," but is rather "un carro di fuoco," or a "chariot of fire." While the "carro di fuoco" encourages the reader to recall the fiery chariot found in Dante, the imagery also connects to the burning action performed by the horses of Boccaccio's "Triumph of Glory." At the same time, Petrarch locates his only example of an actualized chariot within his "Triumph of Love." By engaging with the very language of triumph through the term "trionfal," Petrarch binds Dante's multifaceted "carro" to Boccaccio's hybridization in his "Triumph of Love," uniting all three machines under the term "carro di fuoco." Neither Petrarch nor Boccaccio explicitly state whether their chariots are two or four-wheeled, unlike Dante and his precision in numbers. Boccaccio, however, utilizes the hybridity of Dante's chariot image and his mediation of Ezekiel's mechanism of the cart to transform his animals into mobilizing "wheels." Boccaccio does not mention a chariot with wheels, but instead has features of a "carro trionfale" and "trionfal ruote" as two separate parts. Similar to Boccaccio, Petrarch also mentions the idea of a "carro trionfale" separate from the agents who would pull the cart—the "quattro destrier"—without referencing explicitly any "ruote." Petrarch's "triumph" thus may fully realize itself via the implicit intertextual linkage with Boccaccio and Dante, generating the potential for a "triumph" of the *tre corone*.

At the same time, though Petrarch does not explicitly mention a chariot at any other moment in his *Trionfi*, the poet allows Love's machine to travel into the *Triumphus Eternitatis*, where it further parallels Ezekiel's prophetic vision and of Dante's procession in the Earthly Paradise. Upon witnessing the completion of the *Triumphus Temporis*, the pilgrim-poet is transported alongside Time into the realm of Eternity. Moments after arriving, the pilgrim expresses: "e sento quel ch'i' sono e quel ch'i' fui,/ e veggio andar, anzi volare, il tempo,/ e doler mi vorrei, né so di cui" (lines 7–9).⁷⁶ These verses return the reader and the pilgrim-poet to the previous visionary canto of fleeting Time. Petrarch opens his *Triumphus Temporis* with a dialogue initiated by the personification of Time himself, in which Time poses to pilgrim-poet a series of questions about fame on Earth as opposed to immortal life. From the outset, Time notes that he has "quattro cavai con quanto studio como" (line 16).⁷⁷ Though the number of horses recall the four horses from the *Triumphus Cupidinis*, at this point, there is no concrete evidence to suggest these might be the same equines. By the time we reach the *Triumphus Eternitatis*, Petrarch reduces the description of Time's animals to solely focus on their movement as an "alpestro e rapido

⁷³ FitzRoy Carrington, "Florentine Studies II. The Triumphus of Petrarch Engraved by the Master of the Larger Vienna Passion," *Art & Life* 11 no.8 (Feb., 1920), 440; Edith Wyss, "Matthäus Greuter's Engravings for Petrarch's 'Triumphs,'" *Print Quarterly* 17 no.4 (December, 2000), 356.

⁷⁴ Petrarch, 481.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 548.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

torrente” (line 47).⁷⁸ Time’s downward motion allegorically communicates that “earthly” Time will run out, leaving only Eternity. However, as we learn in the *Triumphus Temporis*, Time may only “move” via his four steeds whose operations function as a snowy or alpine torrent. The mechanical description of Time’s horses as “snowy or alpine” equally recalls the snowy horses from the *Triumphus Cupidinis*, implicitly transferring both the animals and the machine thereof into the *Triumphus Eternitatis*.

The intentional choice to refrain from inserting a physical structure explicitly calls to mind Boccaccio’s and Dante’s underlying Ezekiel mechanical structure for their apparatuses. Petrarch—following, in reverse order, Boccaccio, Dante, and Ezekiel—replaces the physical structure of the cart with the animal-allegories, such that the “quattro cavài,” which serve as both the “wheels” and the “cart” that support Time, and transport the pilgrim-poet swiftly into Eternity. Petrarch goes as far as to document the rotational aspect of Time by implying that the metaphorical function of the “wheels of Time” become the physical “wheels of the triumph.” This comparison emerges in Time’s narration:

Or conven che s’accenda ogni mio zelo,
 sì ch’al mio volo l’ira addoppi i vanni,
 ch’io porto invidia agli uomini e nol celo,
 de’ quali io veggio alcun dopo mille anni
 e mille e mille, più chiari che ’n vita,
 ed io m’avanzo di perpetui affanni:
 tal son qual era anzi che stabilita
 fosse la terra, dì e notte rotando
 per la strada ritonda ch’è infinita

(*Triumphus Temporis*, lines 22–30).⁷⁹

In describing Time’s movements upon his horses, Petrarch recalls the allegory’s circular nature that “wheels” and “rounds”—the movements that Time makes across the sky towards Eternity. Petrarch’s word choice further invokes Ezekiel’s mechanics both through the invocation of the wings⁸⁰ and through the animals’ service as the stimulants of the allegorical figure.

Ezekiel’s prophecy functions as a didactic text intended to inform those in exile about how they erred in their devotion to God. When interpreted through the lens of the New Testament, Ezekiel’s prophecy became a guide for Christians to follow so that they could avoid falling victim to the same mistakes. Time serves this purpose for Petrarch in that Time instructs the pilgrim-poet of his folly—the envious desire for fame on Earth—so that by the time the pilgrim-poet reaches Eternity, Petrarch may acknowledge and correct his errors. Thus, Petrarch channels the prophetic message of Ezekiel’s vision through the didactic warning invoked by Time and his chariot across Dante’s and Boccaccio’s texts as a way of ensuring his place in Eternity. The physical chariot of the *tre corone* thus may be seen to glide across the pages of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch in order to land figuratively in Eternity. As we will soon see, the *Triumphus Eternitatis* not only

⁷⁸ Ibid., 556.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 548-549.

⁸⁰ “Vanni: Vocabolario on Line,” *Treccani*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani S.p.A., 2021, [treccani.it](https://www.treccani.it) (accessed February 25, 2022). According to Treccani, “vanni” is a description of something that moves similarly to wings.

intertextually arrives at the conclusion of Petrarch's *Trionfi* with the chariot, but also with the entire procession crafted by Dante, which appears in the final canto of Petrarch's poem.

DANTE'S CIVIC-SACRED "PALM SUNDAY/ANNUNCIATION PAGEANT"

Let us return once again to the pageant offered in Dante's *Purgatorio* XXIX. Though several scholars support a strictly Christological interpretation of the pageant sequence and its central gryphon,⁸¹ others offer an alternate reading of the scene in which Dante inscribes civic imagery into his divine parade.⁸² David Ruzicka argues that Dante's pageant and gryphon implicitly celebrate the civic values of empire and the Florentine republic, similar to contemporary street processions.⁸³ In his analysis, however, Ruzicka is unable to locate a particular event or pageant that might serve as a point of reference for the specifics included in Dante's parade.⁸⁴ My intention is not to suggest that one interpretation of the pageant is more accurate than the other, or that Ruzicka is entirely wrong in his analysis of the reliance on civic public pageantry in Dante's procession; rather, it seems that the procession includes elements of both a religious and civic nature, mimicking the function of feast day pageants. Scholars who support this argument have proposed that the Corpus Domini operates as the live-action point of reference for Dante.⁸⁵ While Pope Urban IV (1195–1264) made the Corpus Christi a formal feast day in 1264⁸⁶ and the Corpus Christi received its official sanction in 1311,⁸⁷ Miri Rubin notes that the earliest example of the festive procession was in 1320.⁸⁸ Though it is possible the liturgy alone of the Corpus Christi gave shape to Dante's triumph in *Purgatorio*, for it is reasonable that Dante's text stimulated the production of the Corpus Christi processions in the fifteenth century, it is impossible for the procession itself to have facilitated Dante's imagined scene, given its inexistence as a mobile spectacle. Rather than suggest the Corpus Christi procession inspired Dante's *Purgatorio* parade, instead, I will argue that the pageants for Palm Sunday and the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary influenced the design of Dante's triumph.

⁸¹ Joseph Chierici, *Il grifo dantesco: unità fantastica e concettuale della Divina Commedia* (Rome: De Luca, 1967); Erich von Richthofen, "Traces of Servius in Dante," *Dante Studies* 92 (1974), 117-28; Sergio Critaldi, "'Per Dissimilia': Saggio sul Grifone dantesco," *Arcadia: Accademia Letteraria Italiana, Atti e Memorie*, series 3, vol. 9, fasc. 1 (Rome, 1988-1989), 57-94; Lino Pertile, *La puttana e il gigante. Dal "Cantico dei Cantici" al Paradiso Terrestre di Dante* (Ravenna: Longo, 1998), 143-62, 205-13.

⁸² Adolph Napoleon Didron, *Iconographie chrétienne: Histoire de dieu* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1843), 229-30; Frédéric-Guillaume Bergmann, *Vision de Dante au Paradis terrestre* (Paris, Imprimerie impériale, 1865), 9; Gabriele Rossetti, *Comento analitico al Purgatorio di Dante Alighieri*, ed. Pompeo Giannantonio (Florence: Olschki, 1967), 367-69; Armour, *Dante's Griffin*; John A. Scott, *Dante's Political Purgatory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 189; Diana Modesto, "The Rainbow and the Griffin," in *Dante Colloquia in Australia (1982-1999)* eds., Margaret Baker and Diana Glenn (Adelaide: Australian Humanities Press, 2000), 104-5.

⁸³ David Ruzicka, "Si ch'a nulla, fendendo, facea male": Dante's Griffin and Florentine Civic Ritual (*Purgatorio* 29.109-11)," *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society*, no.130 (2012), 2.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 15-20.

⁸⁵ Lizette Andrews Fisher, *Mystic Vision in the Grail Legend and in the Divine Comedy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1917), 92-113; Joan Isobel Friedman, "La processione mistica di Dante: allegoria e iconografia nel canto XXIX del *Purgatorio*," in *Dante e le forme dell'allegoresi*, ed. Michelangelo Picone (Ravenna: Longo, 1987), 127.

⁸⁶ Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 223.

⁸⁷ Ruzicka, 20.

⁸⁸ Rubin, 243. Edward Muir claims the Corpus Christi was not officially transformed into a liturgical procession until 1407 (223).

Following the gospels of the four Evangelists, the feast of Palm Sunday commemorates Jesus Christ's entry into Jerusalem. The earliest iterations of the feast day began between 350–380 C.E. After Constantine initiated the revitalization of sacred spaces, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, pilgrimages proceeded along the route traveled by Christ, prompting the inauguration of events surrounding Holy Week. While the earliest iterations of the Palm Sunday procession served the primary purpose of encouraging communal worship and contained little to no civic or military pomp, by the time of Charlemagne in the eighth and ninth centuries, the liturgical symbolism for Palm Sunday began to include elements associated with military victory. Blurring the boundaries between civic and religious imagery, the Emperor and his military prowess were seen to parallel Christ's triumph. By the end of the tenth century, political leaders elected to enact their triumphal entrees on Palm Sunday, solidifying the union of civic and religious ideals as a prominent feature for this particular feast day.⁸⁹ While there is much debate around Dante's procession and whether it is strictly sacred or inherently political, the fusion of political and religious ideology that the pageant for Palm Sunday publicly expresses aligns with the procession's ambiguity, as well as with the underlying hybrid functionality of the chariot, further indicating Dante's reliance on street and festival pageantry for his text's inspiration.

One record from the Benedictine Abbey in Fruttaria from 1003 suggests that the Palm Sunday procession proceeded as follows: monks and choir boys met at the abbey and processed across the city, hoisting a crucifix, candelabra, the books of the gospels, and palm fronds.⁹⁰ As the group marched along their triumphal route, the crowd chanted "Hosanna," which, as prophesized by Zechariah, recalls the greeting Christ received as he entered Jerusalem.⁹¹ Upon arriving at a designated spot, the group laid the "Osanna," or a painted image of Christ on a panel, on a cushion in the center of a carpeted area with the books of the gospel and the candelabra carefully arranged in a circle.⁹² Though Fruttaria is unlikely to have been a place Dante visited, it is possible, and most likely, that Petrarch traveled here and perhaps witnessed this event. At the same time, there are records noting Palm Sunday festivities from the middle of the thirteenth century through the eighteenth century in other areas throughout northern Italy such as Udine, Bolzano, Chiavenna, and Verona—where Dante spent several years during his exile.⁹³ However, there is another pageant that bears similar structures, themes, and motifs, which Dante most likely did witness, the Annunciation of the Virgin in Padua.

The feast day celebration of the Annunciation of the Virgin celebrates the moment at which the Angel Gabriel informs the Virgin Mary of the word of God and reveals she will bear the Christ child. In other words, it is a physical manifestation of God's "word" made "flesh." Though celebrated throughout Italy, the Annunciation Day procession was especially significant for the Veneto region, in general, as it corresponded with the founding of Venice, and Padua, in particular, as the Virgin Mary was the patroness of the city.⁹⁴ The oldest record of the procession is from 1277, yet references to this particular event can be found up until 1600. The celebration, always on March 25 and thus part of the Lenten and Easter period, consisted of a large parade from the cathedral to the Palazzo della Ragione, ultimately ending at the Arena.⁹⁵ At the Palazzo della

⁸⁹ Harris, 46-55.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 58.

⁹¹ Durling and Martinez, 504.

⁹² Harris, 58.

⁹³ Nick Havely, *Dante* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 27-28; Ibid., 197.

⁹⁴ Michael Viktor Schwarz, "Padua, Its Arena and the Arena Chapel: A Liturgical Ensemble," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 73 (2010), 40.

⁹⁵ Laura Jacobus, "Giotto's Annunciation in the Arena Chapel, Padua," *The Art Bulletin* 81 no. 1 (Mar., 1999), 93.

Ragione, two boys dressed in costume assumed the roles of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary. They waited patiently as the remaining group departed the cathedral in procession to greet them in the Palazzo della Ragione. The group consisted of the bishop, the captain, and the clergy of Padua, with the cathedral's processional cross leading the charge. Once the group arrived at the Palazzo della Ragione, the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary joined the parade, seated on heavily ornamented chairs. At this point, the *podestà*, judges, knights, doctors, and other notable citizens of Padua entered into the pageant as they moved toward the prepared location in the Arena. Once inside, the actors of the Angel and Mary re-enacted the moment of the Immaculate Conception.⁹⁶ Similar to the pageant for Palm Sunday, the Annunciation celebration tied civic and sacred values together in one public parade.

What is most significant about this event, in particular for my reading of Dante and Petrarch, is that in 1300, the Arena chapel was purchased by Enrico Scrovegni, and remained in their family through the fifteenth century.⁹⁷ Scrovegni, most famously known for his commission of the Arena Chapel, painted by Giotto, emphasized the importance of both the feast day for Palm Sunday and the Annunciation of the Virgin in the last lines of his inscription on his funerary monument in the Arena Chapel of 1305:

CUM LOCUS ISTE DEO SOLEMNI MORE DICATUR
ANNORUM DOMINI TEMPUS TUNC TALE NOTATUR
ANNIS MILLE TRIBUS TERCENTUM MARTIUS ALMAE
VIRGINIS IN FESTO CONIUNXERAT ORDINE PALMAE⁹⁸

(When this place was dedicated to God in a solemn manner, the time of the year of the Lord was then noted such: in the year thirteen hundred and three, March joined with the celebration of Palm Sunday on the feast of the Virgin)⁹⁹

The inscription herein indicates that on this particular year, the Palm Sunday and the Annunciation Celebration were on the same day, March 25, 1305. As Lange argues, the two events are reciprocals—the Annunciation is Mary's "triumph" of Humility while Christ's entry into Jerusalem recalls the inverse image of a proud "triumphator," Christ riding on a donkey.¹⁰⁰ This historical year is significant not only for the coinciding of these two feast days and the dedication of the Arena Chapel but also for the fact that Dante was most likely in the Veneto at least between 1304 and 1306 and would have made trips to Padua.¹⁰¹ Even more important is that the suspected meeting between Dante and Giotto and his potential viewing of the Arena Chapel coincides with this timeline.¹⁰² Even if Dante were not present at this particular celebration of 1305, it would seem evident that Dante witnessed such an important festival to Padua, the Annunciation celebration, at

⁹⁶ Ibid.; Schwarz, 40-42.

⁹⁷ Schwarz, 42.

⁹⁸ Andrea Moschetti, *The Scrovegni Chapel and the Frescoes Painted by Giotto Therein* (Florence: Fratelli Alinari, 1907), 18; Lange, 199.

⁹⁹ All translations, unless otherwise noted, are by the author. See also Laura Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel: Art, Architecture & Experience* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008), 385.

¹⁰⁰ Lange, 199.

¹⁰¹ Havelly, 31-33.

¹⁰² Ibid. In Benvenuto da Imola's commentary on the *Commedia* he remarks how Giotto's vision of Hell informed Dante's poetic intermedial translation within his *Inferno* and suggests Dante visited Giotto around this time. See *Comentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comoediam*, ed. J.P. Laciata vol. 3, (Florence, 1887), 313.

least once, and by having been aware of the Arena Chapel, would have understood the close relationship between the Annunciation and Palm Sunday celebrations.

In *Purgatorio* XXIX, Dante initially takes note of the procession when he hears the sound of *Hosanna* being sung by the group in unison (lines 49–51).¹⁰³ The specific use of *Hosanna* as the ritual chant that inaugurates his identification of and participation in this parade draws an immediate association with the feast day for Palm Sunday. While the pilgrim-poet's journey throughout the *Commedia* occurs over the course of the Holy Weekend, Palm Sunday begins Holy or Passion Week. Though it seems out of temporal sequence from where the pilgrim-poet began in *Inferno*, especially since Dante arrives on the Mountain of Purgatory on the morning of Easter Sunday, the theme of Palm Sunday is significant as it signals the moment before Beatrice arrives to lead Dante (and the reader) toward Paradise and God. The sound of *Hosanna* is that which prepares Beatrice's "entry" into the Earthly Paradise, the point at which Dante is reunited with his poetic muse who will lead him to a "vita nova" and their entrance into the heavenly Jerusalem.

Given this chapter's investment in the question of mobility as it relates to poetic triumph, it is worth noting that the speed of Dante's procession "che si movieno incontr'a noi sì tardi" (*Purgatorio* XXIX, line 59)¹⁰⁴ allows for the pilgrim-poet to engage individually with each component of the scene. Not only does Dante comment on the sonority of the ritual singing, but also he elaborates upon the vibrant colors that paint the sky, as the flaming candelabra move along the riverbank (lines 73–75).¹⁰⁵ Movement here is represented as a decelerated phenomenon for the pilgrim-poet and for the reader of the *Commedia*, crystallizing Dante's synesthetic participation in the production that unfolds here in the Earthly Paradise. Once Dante activates each of his senses within the narrative, he then turns his attention to his reader as a way of extending his gaze upon the spectacle.

This idea is explicitly iterated in the following Canto XXX. After the transformation of the "carro trionfale" into the "divina basterna," the reader learns that the angels upon the wagon sing: "*Benedictus qui venis*" (line 19)¹⁰⁶ in anticipation of what will be the arrival of Beatrice. The Psalm 117:26 from which this phrase derives is sung on Palm Sunday and signals the arrival of Christ into Jerusalem.¹⁰⁷ During the procession in the previous canto, the twenty-four elders sang, "*Benedicta tue/ ne le figlie d'Adamo, e benedette/ sieno in eterno le bellezze tue!*" (lines 85–87),¹⁰⁸ which, as a reference to Mary and the Annunciation,¹⁰⁹ inaugurates the presence of a female figure within the pageant—not the Virgin, but Beatrice. It is in this moment where Dante explicitly demonstrates the reciprocal dialogue and textual interest in what he might have witnessed on the live stage in Padua—the Annunciation celebration and the feast day for Palm Sunday.

However, the shift from the feminine *Benedicta* to the masculine *Benedictus* has much to say regarding the role Beatrice plays as the avatar of Christ in Dante's poem. As Teodolinda Barolini notes, since there would be no impact on the rhyme scheme, there was no reason why Dante could not have changed the *Benedictus* in Canto XXX to *Benedicta*, which would accord

¹⁰³ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 494.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 510.

¹⁰⁷ Martinez, 101; Ledda, 73-74.

¹⁰⁸ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 496,

¹⁰⁹ Durling and Martinez, 506.

with the gender of the arriving figure¹¹⁰ However, the term *Benedictus* now genders Beatrice as masculine.¹¹¹ The double gendering of Beatrice, combined with the appearance of Palm Sunday rituals at this point in the poem, further maps the arrival of Beatrice onto Christ's entry into Jerusalem, upon which both figures will lead their followers toward salvation. Since Palm Sunday is the festival that begins the holiest of weeks that leads Christ's followers to remember His ultimate sacrifice and eventual triumph—the resurrection on Easter Sunday,—in the same way the Annunciation celebration signals the Virgin Mary's ultimate triumph—Dante creates a temporal and spatial mimesis so that the arrival of the procession signals to the reader a direct intermedial connection to their contemporary feast day pageants.

Though the examples from neither Fruttaria nor Padua specify the exact number of participants in the Palm Sunday and Annunciation processions, since it is likely that there was not an assigned number of individuals who could partake in each celebration, the objects the men carry reappear in Dante's divine pageant. Rather than portray a direct one-to-one relationship between his triumphal parade and that of Palm Sunday, however, Dante inserts the symbols of the four Evangelists as proxies for their respective books, depicting an ekphrastic parade that visualizes the various books of the Christian faith rather than the literal "books" that were included in live-action pageant sequences. Dante's entire procession operates, therefore, as a manifestation of each pageants' mutual interest in God's word made flesh, wherein each figural group (in the form of men) represents the books of the Bible.

As a structural unit, the procession in Dante's *Purgatorio* XXIX–XXX assumes the form of the crucifix, recalling the crucifix that men would carry throughout the Palm Sunday and the Annunciation processions. The crucifix form presents the reader or "viewer" with an image that embodied Christ, as did the "Osanna," before we meet Beatrice, the counterpart to the Virgin and surrogate for Christ. As a visual emblem for both the Virgin Mary and Christ as the ultimate "triumphators," the structure of Dante's pageant as a crucifix aligns militaristic connotations¹¹² with Christological associations of triumph. This allows the actualized objects included in the procession to become metaphorical and ekphrastic constructions in Dante's literary example.

The only element that is unique to Dante's pageant is the chariot pulled by the mythical gryphon, which is included for the purpose of fusing practices from Roman antiquity, militaristic tradition, and Christian ideology into a singular object.¹¹³ However, the idea of the "Osanna," like the one located in the Fruttaria example, could have served as the inspiration for the chariot and the gryphon before Beatrice's arrival. As mentioned, an "Osanna" typically depicted a painted scene of Christ's entry into the city of Jerusalem. The "Osanna" was located at the center of the parade and served as a visual emblem to which those participating in the procession could turn and worship as the artistic embodiment of Christ and God.¹¹⁴ Similarly, Dante's gryphon and chariot occupy a central position in his procession in *Purgatorio* XXIX. Just as Christians were called to worship Christ at the sight of the "Osanna," following the Palm Sunday tradition, Dante summons the reader to join in the celebratory arrival of the chariot and the gryphon in this episode. Once Beatrice arrives in the following *canto*, her placement in the chariot directly mirrors the figure of the Virgin Mary seated on an ornamented chair in the Annunciation celebration. She then replaces

¹¹⁰ Robert Pogue Harrison, *The Body of Beatrice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); Ferrante, 3-32; Teodolinda Barolini, *Dante and the Origins of Literary Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 369.

¹¹¹ Singleton, *Journey to Beatrice*, 79-82.

¹¹² Shepherd, 71, Baldwin, "I Slaughter Barbarians," 4.

¹¹³ Durling and Martinez, 507.

¹¹⁴ Harris, 58.

the emblem for Christ with a physical body serving as a proxy for Christ in this episode and further underscores the significance of the Annunciation as a counterpart to Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. Dante's hybrid construction of the chariot and the gryphon blend the traditions borrowed from the Palm Sunday feast day rituals with the moving spectacle of triumph conveyed in Ezekiel's prophetic vision of the return of God to the New Jerusalem. At the same time, Dante demonstrates a shared understanding and connection between Christ's and the Virgin's triumphs and marries the two events through the figure of Beatrice.

THE MOVEMENT OF THE PROCESSION INTO *PARADISO* XXIII-XXIV

While Dante's *Purgatorio* procession appears to be confined within the boundaries of the Earthly Paradise, since the poet does not explicitly mention this pageant at any other point in the text, the procession of *Purgatorio* XXIX is in dialogue with Dante's *Paradiso* XXIII. After completing his journey through the seven planetary spheres, Dante ascends Jacob's ladder and enters the Heaven of the Fixed Stars. Before Dante describes the spectacle that will unfold before his eyes, the pilgrim-poet makes a pivotal move to address the reader—thus repeating the action he had done in *Purgatorio* XXIX—such that those reading Dante's poem may participate alongside its protagonist:

S'io torni mai, lettore, a quel divoto
trïunfo per lo quale io piango spesso
le mie peccata e 'l petto mi percuoto:
tu non avresti in tanto tratto e messo
nel foco il dito, in quant'io vidi 'l segno
che segure il Tauro e fui dentro da esso

(*Paradiso* XXII, lines 106–111).¹¹⁵

Similar to the triumph in *Purgatorio* XXIX, Dante encourages active reading and viewing on the part of his audience. However, rather than rely on the word of a biblical eyewitness, Ezekiel, which would usher in the validity of the anticipated procession, Dante's allusion to a similar scene in *Purgatorio* suggests that he must continue the process of purgation by atoning for his sins. Dante situates this paradisiac triumph not only within the vocabulary of *Purgatorio*, but uses it to remind himself, and the reader, of Purgatory's function, as well as of the need to repent as a precursor to witnessing the pageant.

After Dante welcomes the reader into the triumphal scene, Beatrice commands Dante and, by proxy, the reader to redirect their gaze toward Earth in order to behold the “turba trïunfante” (*Paradiso* XXII, lines 124–132),¹¹⁶ soon to appear in the next canto. The procession evolves as follows: the armies of Christ display the “spoils” they acquired as a result of their many victories, thousands of lanterns shine underneath an even more glorious Sun, and a bright “Sustanza” overpowers the eyes of the pilgrim-poet (*Paradiso* XXIII lines 28–45).¹¹⁷ While there are very few objects present within this “procession,” Durling and Martinez offer the interpretation that the

¹¹⁵ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Paradiso*, eds. and trans. Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 442.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 458–460.

imagery is based on the liturgy associated with Christ's entry into Jerusalem.¹¹⁸ As the analysis above demonstrates, this particular triumph marks the celebration that stands at the center of the events around Palm Sunday. This intertextual connection to the visual procession in *Purgatorio* XXIX, which similarly recalls the live-action elements of the festival for Palm Sunday, hinges on the shared elements of the Palm Sunday procession that symbolically reference the arrival of Christ in Jerusalem.

The procession in *Paradiso* XXIII opens not with sound, but with sight. Dante observes the change in atmosphere: "Quale ne' plenilunii sereni/ Trivïa ride tra le ninfe etterne/ che dipingon lo ciel per tutti i seni" (lines 25–27).¹¹⁹ This reference to a visual illumination of the sky recalls the flaming candelabra in *Purgatorio* XXIX, which "e vidi le fiammelle andar davante,/ lasciando dietro a sé l'aere dipinto,/ e di tratti pennelli avean sembiante" (lines 73–75).¹²⁰ The lanterns that light up the sky make a further reference to the Apocalypse, a textual interlocutor fundamental for how the procession evolves in this episode. Dante once again comments upon the tempered pace of the procession when he notes: "così le donna mia stava eretta/ e attenta, rivolta inver' la plaga/sotto la quale il sol mostra men fretta" (lines 10–12).¹²¹ Rather than propose a specific number of allegorical figures that participate in the pageant, Dante suggests a seemingly infinite number of figures under the umbrella term "le schiere," or "the armies of Christ's triumph" (line 19–20).¹²² Unlike *Purgatorio* XXIX, the emphasis is now placed on the participants, or the community of believers in Christ, over the ekphrastic books. This, in effect, reminds the reader of Ezekiel's mechanics for his visionary triumph, in that the Holy Spirit gives life to the objects through communal comprehension and devotion to Christ over worldly goods. By emphasizing the role occupied by the believers in Christ, Dante's emphasis in this moment speaks to the underlying mechanics at play that help drive the "pageant" forward. At the same time, the "schiere" are what allegorically "support" Christ and the word of God. In other words, the "schiere" here in *Paradiso* are those souls who support the figure of Christ. This detail is significant for its transparent textual-visual dialogue with the vision of Ezekiel, alluded to, as we saw, in Canto XXIX of *Purgatorio*. Just as the chariot figure of the *Purgatorio* procession transformed from a "carro" into a "divina basterna" comprised of angels, so too here in the *Paradiso* pageant do we see angels lifting Christ up through their light, similar to how the angels had raised Beatrice earlier in the poem.

The central figure of this triumph is Christ, who, like the gryphon, is represented in dualistic, though distinct, terms as the "Sapienza e la Possanza" or the "Wisdom and the Power" of God (line 37).¹²³ Since Christ assumes the role of the gryphon that pulls the chariot from Dante's *Purgatorio* forward, His glowing appearance accords with the description of the chariot, outshining the Sun to such a degree that it blinds the pilgrim-poet. At the same time, Christ now also plays a similar role to Beatrice in the pageant from Purgatory. When Dante's muse emerges atop the golden chariot in *Purgatorio* XXX, she surfaces out of "una nuvola di fiori" (line 28), veiled and burning as brightly as a "fiamma viva" (line 33).¹²⁴ The image of luminous Beatrice

¹¹⁸ Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez, eds. and trans., *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Paradiso* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 468.

¹¹⁹ Dante, *Paradiso*, 458.

¹²⁰ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 496.

¹²¹ Dante, *Paradiso*, 458.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., 460.

¹²⁴ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 510–512. Beatrice, even more so in *Purgatorio* XXXI, is described as "O isplendor di viva luce eterna" (line 139), 536.

overpowers the pilgrim-poet. Beatrice, now aligned with Christ, grants Dante the opportunity to see her smile, since Christ has now become “la viva luce” through which “trasparea/ la lucente Sustanza tanto chiara/ nel viso mio che non la sostenea” (lines 31–33).¹²⁵ Although Christ’s brightness is veiled underneath clouds, it is still too powerful for the pilgrim-poet’s eyes, just as Beatrice’s veiled brightness initially overwhelmed the pilgrim-poet in Purgatory. Thus, the triumphal arrival of Beatrice in the Earthly Paradise anticipates the triumphal arrival of Christ in *Paradiso* XXIII. The Purgatory procession in its entirety is channeled in Paradise via parts: the pilgrim-poet experiences similar reactions to both triumphal episodes, just as the reader is invited in both instances to recall at once Ezekiel’s prophetic vision and the street celebrations for the feast day of Palm Sunday.

At the same time, throughout Canto XXIII, Dante does not witness one triumph of Christ, but two; the ascension of the Virgin Mary evolves in the form of a second triumph. While the procession of Christ is modeled upon the procession the Church Triumphant in *Purgatorio* XXIX, the ascension of the Virgin Mary shares many similarities with the arrival of Beatrice in *Purgatorio* XXX, inspired by the live-action celebration of the Virgin’s “triumph,” the Annunciation. Although in *Paradiso* XXIII Christ is now the figure whose presence overwhelms Dante, the descriptions of the Virgin invite comparisons with the floral imagery that surrounded Beatrice; she ascends as a “prato di fiori” (line 80).¹²⁶ Yet, in the following canto, Beatrice embarks upon her own ascension or “triumph” (lines 19–24)¹²⁷ in the moment when she acts as a mediator between Dante and the Saints Peter, James, and John. Before the pilgrim-poet undergoes his series of exams on the theological virtues—posed by Saint Peter (Faith), Saint James (Hope), and Saint John (Love)—Saint Peter encircles Beatrice in his brightness three times, and calls her his “holy sister,” claiming that it was Beatrice’s love that encouraged him to accept the task of examining the pilgrim-poet (lines 22–30).¹²⁸ It is thus a divine status that Beatrice acquires immediately following the triumphs of Christ and the Virgin, before eventually taking her place in Heaven in *Paradiso* XXXI. This moment in the text symbolically signals the approaching end of Beatrice’s role as a guide for Dante, for he will be led through the remaining sections of *Paradiso* by Saint Bernard. Though this detail may seem less essential for Petrarch, the triumphs of the Virgin and of Beatrice in *Paradiso* become key textual interlocutors for his *Triumphus Eternitatis*.

PETRARCH’S *TRIUMPHUS ETERNITATIS*

Although entitled the “Triumph of Eternity,” the subject matter of Petrarch’s final section of his *Trionfi* seems to share little in common with previously established Christological and Dantean notions of “Paradise.” However, Petrarch includes several implicit intertextual clues that may inform not only a reading of his text, but also later visual depictions of this particular section of the *Trionfi*. After witnessing Time’s swift destruction and subsuming of the previous four triumphs (i.e., Love, Chastity, Death, and Fame), the pilgrim-poet reaches the sixth and final triumph in the sequence. Petrarch begins his *Triumphus Eternitatis* by questioning why Earthly realms are

¹²⁵ Dante, *Paradiso*, 460.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 462; James I. Wimsatt, “Beatrice as the Figure for Mary,” *Traditio*, 33 (1977), 405; Ralph McInerny, “Dante and the Blessed Virgin” *Jacques Maritain Center*, University of Notre Dame, 2020, maritain.nd.edu (accessed February 25, 2022). This imagery also reminds us of Beatrice’s coronation in the Celestial Rose of *Paradiso* XXI line 70, further drawing the connection between Beatrice and the Virgin.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 478; Durling and Martinez, *Paradiso*, 477.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 478–480.

unstable and in whom he, or rather we, should trust (lines 1–3).¹²⁹ Petrarch immediately answers his own question and acknowledges that he, and the reader, must trust in God (line 4).¹³⁰ The pilgrim-poet then accepts that he is at fault for passively waiting rather than actively participating in God’s pageant (line 10) and must “apr[ire] gli occhi, e non tardar al fine” (line 11).¹³¹ The poet-pilgrim reverts his gaze toward the previous five triumphs and recognizes a “mondo/ novo, in etate immobile et eterna/ e ’l sole e tutto ’l ciel disfar a tondo/ con le sue stelle, ancor la terra e ’l mare,/ e rifarne un più bello e più giocondo” (line 20–24).¹³² This description intertextually recalls the triumphal sequence of Dante’s *Paradiso* XXIII. Like Dante, Petrarch must shift his gaze toward both the “base appearance” of the Earth and the previous seven spheres of the Heavenly realm before he can fully participate in the triumphs in *Paradiso* (Canto XXII, lines 124–134).¹³³

Both poets intertextually conjure the image of the Creation of the World from Genesis as the launching point for their triumphs in “Paradise.” For Petrarch, the intertextuality is doubled, evoking both biblical and Dantean imagery in Eternity. In *Paradiso* XXIII, Dante admits that he passively waits before actively partaking in the spectacle by saying, “Ma poco fu tra uno e altro *quando*—/ del mio attendere, dico, e del vedere/ lo ciel venir più e più rischiarando—” (lines 16–18).¹³⁴ Once Dante experiences the triumph of Christ in *Paradiso*, Beatrice then commands the pilgrim-poet to “apri[re] li occhi e riguarda[re] qual son io” (line 46).¹³⁵ Petrarch imitates Dante in his passive willingness to wait on Earth, but will now actively participate by opening his eyes to behold the splendor of Eternity. Petrarch intertextually calls to mind this moment from Dante’s *Paradiso* XXII–XXIII to introduce his triumph along Dantean/Christological lines and bring a tangible, communal image of Christ’s triumph to the forefront of the reader’s mind before fully immersing his poem in the *Triumphus Eternitatis*.

Throughout his final triumph, Petrarch consistently juxtaposes Eternity’s “slowness” with Time’s “swiftness,” suggesting that Eternity moves gradually forever (lines 25–30), while Time quickly moves as an “alpestro e rapido torrente” (line 47).¹³⁶ Indeed, the lingering pace of Petrarch’s Eternity, as opposed to Time’s velocity, brings the reader back to Dante’s *Paradiso* XXII–XXIII. At the end of *Paradiso* XXII, Dante says, “E tutti e sette mi si dimostraro/ quanto son grandi e quanto son veloci,/ e come sono in distante riparo” (lines 148–150),¹³⁷ indicating that the previous seven “triumphal planets” rotate quickly, in contrast to the Heaven of the Fixed Stars. The swift rotation of Dante’s triumphal planets, in tandem with Petrarch’s Time traveling rapidly in space, takes root in Ezekiel’s engineered prophecy, according to which speed, motion, and wheel-like rotation may only activate when the followers of Christ renounce worldly possessions and direct their attention to God. As a principle in the prophet’s text, those who wish to approach God seek to do so at a rapid pace, similar to the souls that sing on the boat of *Purgatorio* II. Like the chariot and gryphon of *Purgatorio* XXIX, the image slows the closer it gets to reaching God—until we arrive at the Primum Mobile, which moves at an extraordinary pace. It is through the underlying message of Ezekiel that the mechanics and structural movement of Dante’s and Petrarch’s Triumphs—literal and figural—are given physical life. The stalled action of Christ’s

¹²⁹ Petrarch, 554.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Dante, *Paradiso*, 442.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 458.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 460.

¹³⁶ Petrarch, 555–556.

¹³⁷ Dante, *Paradiso*, 444.

triumph not only calls to mind the decelerated pace of the pageant of *Purgatorio* XXIX, but also creates the mechanical, intertextual dialogue that permeates the *Triumphus Eternitatis*.

Although Dante paints a more vivid picture of a parade in *Purgatorio* XXIX than what appears in *Paradiso* XXIII, Petrarch most clearly invokes the Ezekiel-Dantean imagery found in *Paradiso* XXIII in his final triumph. Even if the physical chariot is only implicitly detailed in the *Triumphus Eternitatis*, Petrarch refers to angels and the most blessed souls throughout this episode. While this coheres to an image that communicates the Christological life of the soul after death, Petrarch employs a particularly Ezekiel-informed interpretation of the angels' function in the procession:

Quei che governa il ciel solo col ciglio,
che conturba ed acqueta gli elementi
al cui saver non pur io non m'appiglio,
ma li angeli ne son lieti e contenti
di veder de le mille parti l'una,
ed in ciò stanno desiosi e 'ntenti...

(*Triumphus Eternitatis*, lines 55–60)¹³⁸

Petrarch acknowledges that God's image overwhelms him, but that the angels are content to be able to understand a marginal portion of the power of God. Petrarch embeds his representation of the paradisiac triumph with the message inherent in Ezekiel's chariot and the prophet's use of angels. In this instance, the specific use of the "angeli" draws a parallel to the cherubim who support God's chariot according to the Biblical source. The angels replace the cart and use their bodies and wings to propel God forward as He progresses toward the New Jerusalem. Now, rather than explicitly construct a chariot, Petrarch utilizes the angels as the "support" system that both turns toward and transports God, mechanically moving forward at the same time when Christian followers return their attention to His divine power. Petrarch devises the majority of his *Triumphus Eternitatis* as a warning to his reader in the same prophetic manner in which Ezekiel's visions of God offered warning to those experiencing exile. Petrarch's placement of the angels within the text and the larger Ezekiel-inspired message it conveys thus reminds the reader of Dante's precedent, specifically of Dante's Ezekiel.

Petrarch further aligns his *Triumphus Eternitatis* with Dante's two models of triumph from *Purgatorio* XXIX and *Paradiso* XXIII by situating his *Trionfi* within the dates of Holy Week and Easter Sunday. What is of particular note regarding the revisions Petrarch made to Dante's text, however, concerns the reversal with which Petrarch begins his *Triumphus Eternitatis*: the sequence commences with the questioning of faith, then proceeds to mention the vision of God, the "armies of Christ" following God's image, and concludes with a vision of Laura in Heaven. After the series of questions self-directed by the pilgrim-poet, Petrarch envisions the "mondo novo" from Apocalypse 22.1¹³⁹ and draws an immediate locative association between what he is about to witness and the vision offered by Saint John. Indeed, Saint John's vision is that which Dante replicates in the *Purgatorio* XXIX pageant, which appears in a modified form again in *Purgatorio* XXXII. Dante will turn again to Saint John's source for his triumph of Christ in *Paradiso* XXIII. Without expanding upon any specific details, Petrarch utilizes the synecdoche of the term "mondo

¹³⁸ Petrarch, 556.

¹³⁹ F. Neri, G. Martellotti, E. Bianchi, and N. Sapegno, eds., *Francesco Petrarca: Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine* (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1951), 554.

novo” to situate his viewing within the previously established iconographic bounds that accord with the other intertextual moments of his *Triumphus Eternitatis*.

A revealing detail that Petrarch does include, however, regards the armies of Christ—specifically the apostles—now known in the *Trionfi* as the “più fidi compagni,” or “His trusted comrades” (line 101).¹⁴⁰ These figures also remind us of the army of Christ (“le schiere”) in Dante’s vision of *Paradiso* XXIII. For Dante, the Petrarchan “fidi compagni” were those whom Christ saved during the Harrowing of Hell or whom the Holy Christians saved by Christ’s passion, which later became a feast day celebrated in the liturgy of Palm Sunday.¹⁴¹ When the armies of Christ appear as apostles in Petrarch’s text, they include at least two of the Evangelists—Matthew and John—who further enhance the visual parallels with the figures and “carro” from *Purgatorio*, as well as with the “carroccio” and imagery of Palm Sunday, and Christ’s triumph in *Paradiso*.

Though Petrarch includes subtle intertextual references to the procession of Dante’s triumph of Christ, such as a brief allusion to the Last Judgment (lines 103–120),¹⁴² the *Triumphus Eternitatis* more directly cites the triumph of the Virgin Mary, exemplified by the Annunciation, and Beatrice’s placement as mediator to the most holy figures in Dante’s poem. Rather than strictly revere God in “Eternity,” Petrarch repeatedly returns to thoughts of Laura: “e tra l’altre leggiadre e pellegrine/ beatissima lei che Morte occise/ assai di qua dal natural confine!” (lines 85–87).¹⁴³ Laura no longer appears in the singular role as Petrarch’s guide, but now undertakes the novel responsibility as the ultimate symbol of divine love:

Tanti volti, che Morte e ’l Tempo ha guasti,
torneranno al suo più fiorito stato,
e vedrassi ove, Amor, tu mi legasti,
ond’io a dito ne sarò mostrato:
“Ecco chi pianse sempre, e nel suo pianto
sopra ’l riso d’ogni altro fu beato!”
E quella di ch’ancor piangendo canto
avrà gran maraviglia di se stessa,
vedendosi fra tutte dar il vanto.

(*Triumphus Eternitatis*, lines 91–99)¹⁴⁴

Petrarch situates Laura among the figures who receive the highest divine praise. Regardless of the instability of Earth and Time’s destruction of the first four triumphs, Laura’s image will persist throughout history in order to conquer Time itself. Her ability to self-preserve in Petrarch’s poem is one reason why the unfinished *Trionfi* conclude with a vision of Laura, and not God, as the final image in Eternity:

è quella che piangendo il mondo chiama
con la mia lingua e con la stanca penna;
ma ’l ciel pur di vederla intera brama.
A riva un fiume che nasce in Gebenna

¹⁴⁰ Petrarch, 558; Neri, Martellotti, Bianchi, and Sapegno, 558.

¹⁴¹ Durling and Martinez, *Paradiso*, 468.

¹⁴² Petrarch, 558.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 557.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 558.

amor mi diè per lei sì lunga guerra
 che la memoria ancora il cor accenna.
 Felice sasso che 'l bel viso serra!
 che, poi ch'avrà ripreso il suo bel velo,
 se fu beato chi la vide in terra,
 or che fia dunque a riverderla in cielo!

(*Triumphus Eternitatis*, lines 136–145)¹⁴⁵

Laura is the flower for whom Petrarch's pen, and the reader, weep. Though veiled by death, her position in Heaven renews her life and restores her beauty so that the pilgrim-poet may admire her once more. As noted earlier, Dante also compares Beatrice to the Virgin through floral imagery. Now, Petrarch intertextually imitates Dante to invoke a Laura-Virgin comparison, just at the moment when he locates Laura's place in Heaven alongside the most divine figures. Though Beatrice's beauty was too overwhelming for the pilgrim Dante in *Purgatorio* XXX, once Christ becomes the blinding agent in *Paradiso* XXIII, Beatrice instructs Dante to "open his eyes" so that he may once again admire her beauty: "per aiutarmi, al millesmo del vero/ non si verria cantando il santo riso/ e quanto il santo aspetto facea mero" (lines 58–60).¹⁴⁶ Petrarch intertextually follows suit and inserts Laura in place of Beatrice. For both Dante and Petrarch, it is only after observing their respective triumphs of Christ in "Paradise" that they may behold the everlasting beauty of their beloveds.

Instead of undergoing a series of challenges ordered by other Saints, Petrarch questions himself at the beginning of this *canto* on the idea of faith, which is the first examination posed to Dante by Saint Peter in *Paradiso* XXV. This act eliminates the need for Laura to fulfill the secondary role Beatrice acquires, which results in Laura assuming her "proper" place in Eternity more quickly than Beatrice. Even more so, as Barolini notes, the triumph of Christ in *Paradiso* XXIII additionally serves as a rehearsal for the final vision in *Paradiso* XXXIII¹⁴⁷ and illustrates an image of Christ that, through the intertextual connection to the parade of *Purgatorio* XXIX, visually comes to life in the mind of the reader/viewer. It is thus fitting that the *Triumphus Eternitatis* represents the symbolic end of Dante's journey with Beatrice, passing over the remainder of the Fixed Stars in order to arrive directly before the Empyrean.

VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE *TRIUMPHUS ETERNITATIS*

A close visual reading of the standard imagery associated with the *Triumphus Eternitatis* reveals noticeable discrepancies between the text of Petrarch and the visual representations attributed to this particular triumph. There are two typical, iconographic forms that regularly appear in representations of the *Triumphus Eternitatis*. The first follows the iteration of the *Triumphus Eternitatis* originally established by the manuscript illuminator turned cassone workshop leader Apollonio di Giovanni in the 1440s (fig. 3).¹⁴⁸ In MS Med. Pal. 72 in the Biblioteca Medicea

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 559.

¹⁴⁶ Dante, *Paradiso*, 460.

¹⁴⁷ Barolini, *The Undivine Comedy*, 223–229.

¹⁴⁸ Simona Cohen, *Transformations of Time and Temporality in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 304.

Laurenziana in Florence, belonging to Guido di Francesco Baldovinetti,¹⁴⁹ di Giovanni showcases God, resting above a series of concentric spheres, symbolic of His domain over the universe and the creation of the world,¹⁵⁰ as angels playing trumpets flank both sides. It is clear in this image that God is the main focus of the scene. Beneath the concentric spheres is an abstract landscape representative of the earthly world, separating Petrarch's one divine triumph from his five previous triumphs. Although this imagery seems closely associated with Petrarch's text, there is still no inclusion of Laura or of the personifications of the other triumphs, which feature prominently throughout much of the *Triumphus Eternitatis*' poetry.



Fig. 3. Apollonio di Giovanni, *Triumph of Eternity*, c. 1442, tempera colors, ink. MS Med. Pal. 72, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

Instead, the imagery here draws heavily upon the images for Dante's *Paradiso*, and Canto XXXIII specifically. The concentric spheres were included in several manuscripts, drawings, and other illustrations as readily identifiable symbols of Paradise. At the same time, the floating image of God above the concentric spheres, or the image of God surrounded by the concentric spheres, also became a mainstay for various portrayals of *Paradiso* XXXIII (fig. 4). This is intriguing because Dante, too, does not describe a physical being as "God," but rather presents His body strictly as a tour de force ray of light. Though in this artistic rendition the human characteristics attributed to

¹⁴⁹ Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, http://www.bml.firenze.sbn.it/animalifantastici/LaBibliotecainMostra/Schede_ing/med_Pal_72.html (accessed March 18, 2022).

¹⁵⁰ Giuseppe Mazzotta, "Cosmology and the Kiss of Creation (*Paradiso* 27-29)," *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society* no. 123 (2005), 7-8.

God and the concentric spheres derive from previous Christian iconography for presenting “God the Father” and Heaven, these emblems offered an unmistakable understanding of Eternity that additionally would have been ingrained in the visual vocabulary for Dante’s *Paradiso* by the time artists began to depict the *Triumphus Eternitatis*. This is especially important as we know that the particular manuscript of MS Med. Pal. 72 contained the text for both Dante’s *Commedia* and Petrarch’s *Trionfi* within its pages. However, while there are small figural initials for each *cantica* in the *Commedia*, there are no miniatures or illustrations included that visualize each *canto*. Rather, di Giovanni only included unframed miniatures for each of Petrarch’s six *Trionfi*.¹⁵¹



Fig. 4. Woodcut of *Paradiso XXXIII* in *La Commedia*. Vinegia: Petrus de Plasiis, 1491. BANC f118.V3P6.1491d.
Image by author with permission from the Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

If we examine a woodcut representing Dante’s *Paradiso XXIII*, we first notice God, seated on a throne, crowns a woman labeled “Madonna,” who then takes her rightful place enthroned next to him. In between the thrones floats a figure labeled as Saint Bernardo, Dante’s final spiritual guide who leads the pilgrim-poet in *Paradiso XXXIII*, and the pilgrim himself, kneeling before the Madonna enthroned, awaiting his anointed blessing. The figures all float or rest above nine concentric spheres, representative of Dante’s nine heavenly realms (minus the Empyrean), with

¹⁵¹ Ellen Callmann, *Oxford Studies in the History of Art and Architecture: Apollonio di Giovanni* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1974), 11-12.

angels sketched inside each circle. Though this woodcut is later than di Giovanni's miniature, the iconography accords with earlier visualizations of this particular canto.¹⁵²

If we compare the two, it is evident that di Giovanni inserts the same basic schema from Dante into his model for rendering Petrarch's Eternity. Though the Dantean woodcut contains characters specific to Dante, the Petrarchan illumination presents the same visual understanding for the construction of Eternity and follows the conventional model of Christ enthroned as one would see in a *Last Judgment* surrounded with two angels, who may serve as stand-ins for the larger throng of the "fidei compagni" present in Heaven.¹⁵³ Di Giovanni, as a manuscript illuminator himself, was familiar with the earlier Christian and Dantean traditions¹⁵⁴ and his visual image for Petrarch perhaps demonstrates the infiltration of standard discursive source material onto diverse textual models.

At first glance it seems that only the visual counterparts of Heaven, in general, and Dante's *Paradiso* XXXIII, specifically, motivated the iconographic choices for the set of images labeled the *Triumphus Eternitatis*. Though the visual iconographies originate from generalized depictions of Heaven, their shared use across representations of Dante's and Petrarch's poems forces the viewer to consider if there might also be textualities in common between the two works. Upon closer examination, it seems that intertextualities with Dante's *Paradiso* XXII–XXIV might also inform our viewing of this standard for Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis*. Visually and artistically, the pattern accords when we consider that the "Triumph of Christ" in *Paradiso* XXIII is a precursor event to *Paradiso* XXXIII. God, seated centrally above the universe, represents God/Christ in Triumph. At the same time, His looming over the concentric spheres intermedially calls to mind both Petrarch's gaze back toward the "world made new" and the idea of the Creation of the Universe (lines 20–24) in the *Triumphus Eternitatis*,¹⁵⁵ as well as Dante's reverted glance toward the previous seven spheres in *Paradiso* XXII. For both pilgrim-poets, the "turning away" motion was a vital step for each to experience their respective triumphs in full. The angels and saints who surround God remind the viewers of the literary participants included in Dante's and Petrarch's poems who experience these triumphs, further emphasizing an active role on the part of the reader/viewer and recalling the collective memory of public feast day celebrations.

At the same time, by eliminating the chariot and overwhelming the scene with angels and saints, the imagery returns to Ezekiel's vision in Chapter 10 that transforms the four faced figures and chariot/wheels into angels and wings, which now operate as the means of motion and the vehicle itself of the triumph. In fact, Dante alludes to this Ezekiel-inspired vision through the theme of Palm Sunday in *Purgatorio* XXX, just before he introduces Beatrice as Christ arriving in the New Jerusalem. Here, the vision of the angels surrounding Christ now becomes the physical support that lifts Christ up, allegorically representing the souls who turn away from earthly delights to focus solely on God, whose light shines brilliantly at the center of these figures. The combination of Ezekiel's mechanics, Dante's textual references thereof in connection to Palm Sunday, contemporary feast day celebrations witnessed, and the elements included in Petrarch's Eternity all harmonize through this image, inviting the reader and the viewer to reconsider their behaviors on earth and redirect their contemplation towards God.

¹⁵² For reference, see MS. Holkham misc. 48, 14th century, from the Bodleian Library, <http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>.

¹⁵³ As this iteration evolves across manuscripts and *cassoni*, artists will expand on di Giovanni's model and include many angels flanking God, rather than solely two, such as Francesco Pesellino's *cassone* from 1450.

¹⁵⁴ Callmann, 12–13.

¹⁵⁵ Petrarch, 554.

Another key to the intertextual dialogue between Dante's *Paradiso* XXII–XXIV and Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis* is the two angelic figures who appear on either side of God. These divine figures are both women, and while the iconography does not immediately suggest that one of these figures is the Virgin Mary, based on an intertextual and intervistual reading, these two angels could symbolize the Virgin and Beatrice/Laura. Dante first references the Virgin's triumph via the live-action celebration of the Annunciation in his introduction to Beatrice in *Purgatorio* XXX. Then, in *Paradiso*, both the Virgin Mary and Beatrice ascend in triumph alongside Christ in Dante's Heaven of the Fixed Stars and the Primum Mobile. Petrarch immortalizes Laura by placing her alongside the "most blessed" of all figures in Eternity. Within the Petrarchan images, there is a clear iconographic reference to the archangel Gabriel, an important figure for the Annunciation and whose voice appears in Dante's *Paradiso* XXIII during the Virgin's triumph (line 103–105).¹⁵⁶ The manuscript of *Paradiso* XXXIII highlights the Virgin Mary enthroned next to God. Though the script labels the female kneeling in front of God as "Madonna," she could also substitute for Beatrice, the Dantean counterpart to the Virgin, who is then anointed by God to ascend in triumph. Such details indicate quite convincingly that in this standard representation of Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis*, one of the two women surrounding God is the Virgin, while the other is Laura. The careful placement of the female angel/saints next to God visually narrates the poetic elevation of Beatrice/Laura to Heaven offered by Dante and Petrarch.

The second iteration complies with the triumphal chariot procession seen in visuals for the preceding five Petrarchan triumphs. As we see in the woodcut from the fifteenth-century by an anonymous Italian, most likely Florentine, master (fig. 5), God occupies the center of the chariot, enclosed in the mandorla. He no longer floats, but rests on top of a small orb that contains an image of the Earthly realm, similar to what appears in the center of the concentric spheres in di Giovanni's representation. The Trinity appears as Jesus Christ and the dove are located centrally with God the Father while the four symbols of the Evangelists, Matthew (the man or angel), Mark (the lion), Luke (the ox), and John (the eagle) pull the triumphal chariot. Angelic figures, saints, and other religious imagery encircle the chariot. Engulfing the scene are clouds, flora and fauna, and a contemporary castle, which reproduce the atmosphere and domain of the divine. However, these images feature neither Laura, nor any of the previous five allegorized triumphs mentioned within the *Triumphus Eternitatis*. When the chariot of God statically faces the viewer, this signals the end point of the procession and thus the enduring, overwhelming power of Eternity over the other allegorizations.

While the artworks clearly convey the message of Eternity and the divine, these visuals do not invoke any of the explicit textual imagery provided by Petrarch. Rather, the images rely on previously established Christian imagery located within the iconographic standard for Dante's *Commedia* and the live-action pageant of Palm Sunday, both of which intertextually and intervistually exist within Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis*. Let us recall that the only reference to Palm Sunday within the *Triumphus Eternitatis* is the implicit mention of the poem's historical setting (line 40).¹⁵⁷ Given Petrarch's indebtedness to Dante's *Paradiso* XXIII–XXIV and, by extension, to its indirect references to *Purgatorio* XXIX, as well as to Petrarch's reading of Boccaccio's adaptation of the Ezekiel-Dantean chariot, imagery already present within the artistic canon of Dante's "Earthly" and "Divine" Paradise blended with the collective memory of street pageants referenced therein might enhance our comprehension of the iconographic choices

¹⁵⁶ Dante, *Paradiso*, 462; Durling and Martinez, *Paradiso*, 473.

¹⁵⁷ Petrarch, 555.

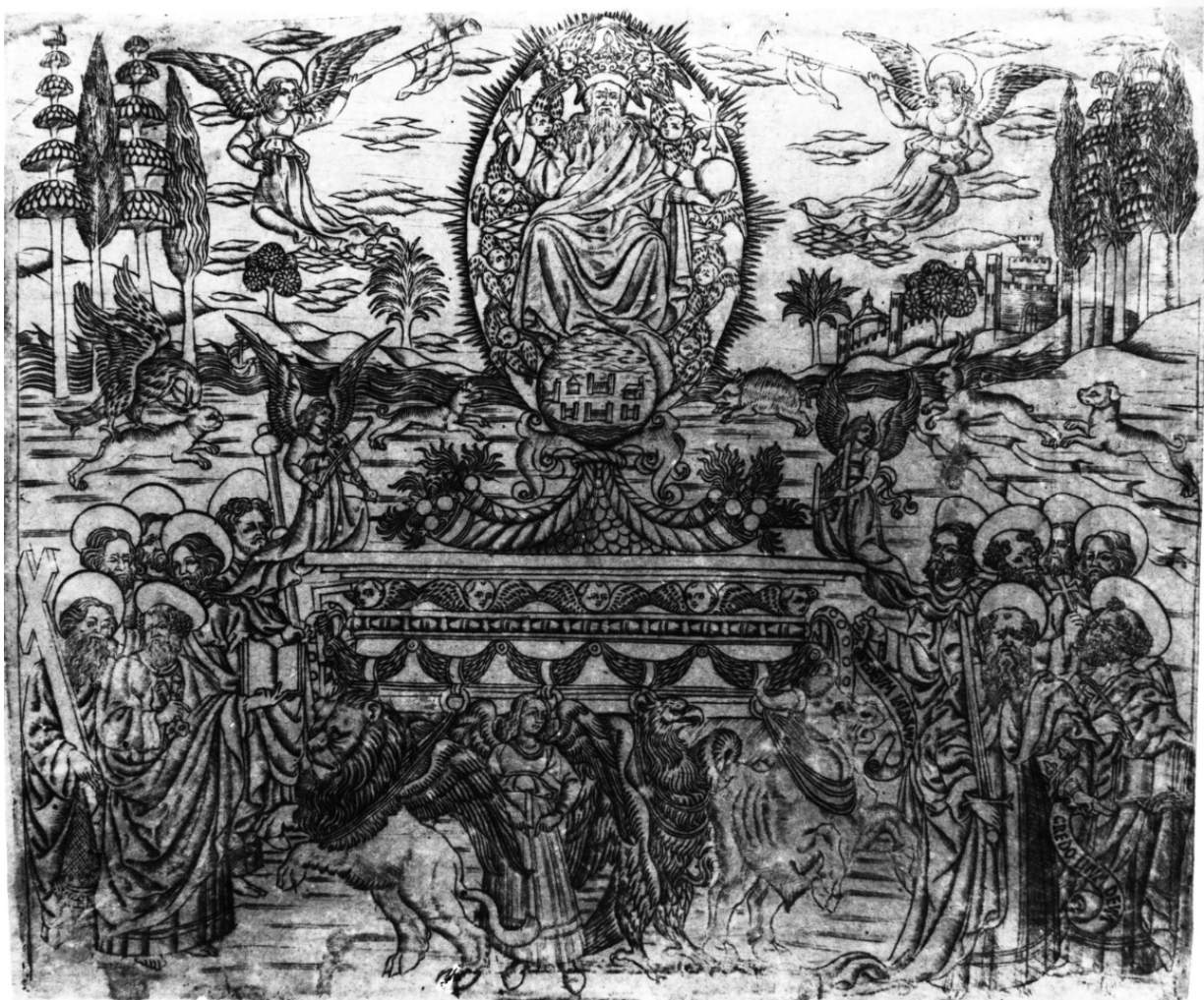


Fig. 5. Anonymous Italian Master, *Triumph of Eternity*, fifteenth century, woodcut engraving. From the *Illustrated Bartsch* Vol 24. Image via Artstor.

included here. Moreover, artists' representations of Petrarch's triumph of Eternity seemingly embrace an interpretive key similarly informed by Ezekiel's prophecies.

There are several figures present in Dante's text who reappear in the triumphal chariot scene of the *Triumphus Eternitatis*, with the images of the four symbols of the Evangelists taking center stage.¹⁵⁸ Petrarch's visual synthesis of Dante's and Boccaccio's images evolves implicitly in the *Triumphus Eternitatis*. Though the apparatus of the chariot is the most prominent object within the scene, the presence of the four symbols of the Evangelists in front of the cart, and at times, as the agents who pull the cart, visually becomes a reconstruction of Petrarch's reading of Boccaccio's reading of the Ezekiel-Dante hybrid cart. Instead of emphasizing the movement of the wings of the four figures, as per Ezekiel's vision, the visual artists further transfigure the hybridity of the *tre corone* chariot image to suggest that it is only through Ezekiel's four faced figures that the cart transporting God may advance in space and time. In fact, the majority of

¹⁵⁸ Aldo S. Bernardo in his *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974) discusses the similarities to Dante's chariot from *Purgatorio* in the visualizations of the *Trionfi* (144).

images do not show wheels attached to the cart, offering further visual parallels between Ezekiel's depiction of divine motion and the images associated with Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis*. Through the visual insertion of the chariot into the imagery, a symbiotic dialogue between word and image occurs, whereby the poets' readings of one another's works inform artists' readings of those same poets in their works.

Given that there is an intertextual exchange between Dante's and Petrarch's poems, viewers are called to consider that there may also be an intervisual exchange among representations of the *Commedia* and the *Trionfi* that informs the mutual reliance on previous Christian iconography for each distinct scene. Upon comparing the *Triumphus Eternitatis* with manuscript illuminations of *Purgatorio* XXIX (fig. 6), in the Dantean woodcut, we notice that the the four Evangelists are located in front of the triumphal chariot, similar to how they are positioned in visualizations based on Petrarch's text. Within this woodcut, the viewer sees the empty chariot, pulled by the gryphon, in the upper left hand corner, flanked by the cardinal and theological virtues. As the chariot moves across the grassy landscape toward Dante and Virgil, identified by the "D" and "V" overhead on the right side, the viewer observes the figure of a glowing Beatrice floating above the scene. In the foreground on the left side of the river Lethe are, once again, Dante and Virgil, now accompanied by Matelda and, who the reader knows to be Statius, while the opposite bank shows a truncated rendition of the twenty-four elders who lead the charge.



Fig. 6. Woodcut of *Purgatorio* XXIX in *La Commedia*. Vinegia: Petrus de Plasiis, 1491. BANC f118.V3P6.1491d.
Image by author with permission from the Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

While the Evangelists are not the agents who directly pull the chariot—since Dante’s gryphon is the figure that carries out this role in the text—the presence of the Evangelists in front of or leading the cart, as Dante’s use of Ezekiel demonstrates, communicates the cart’s mobile engineering and its role in the text. The shape of the chariot structure, as well as the addition of flora, further heightens the visual elements present in the Petrarchan woodcut. As both of these woodcuts derive from Florentine workshops, it once again alludes to a probability of simply reutilizing previous discursive materials to convey texts which might have similar subjects, though, in the case of the *Triumphus Eternitatis*, this is only part of the story.

In other instances of the *Triumphus Eternitatis*, artists do depict a chariot where, rather than indicate that the Evangelists acted as the agents pulling the cart, they insert images of angels and Saints as the locomotive forces. Girolamo da Cremona, a manuscript illuminator initially working in the Northern Italian courts of Ferrara and Mantua,¹⁵⁹ presents a chariot procession for his *cassone* panel from the 1460s (fig. 7). Given the approximate dating and the presence of two coats of arms—one for the Gonzaga family located within the image for the *Triumphus Fame*—,¹⁶⁰ this *cassone* was probably commissioned by the Duke of Mantua, Ludovico III, for the marriage of his daughter, Dorotea to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the Duke of Milan in 1466.¹⁶¹ God, seated on a throne and encircled by flames, is now pulled by a group of human-like figures. Based on the fact that these figures appear with halos encircling their heads, we can assume them to be members of the “armies of Christ” or for Petrarch, the “più fidi compagni.” However, the symbols of the Evangelists remain in front of the “compagni,” more accurately conforming to the previous established visual ideation for *Purgatorio* XXIX.

In this particular case, the remainder of Dante’s pageant biblically references the Apocalypse. Through another interpretation of Ezekiel’s final vision of the return of God to the Temple of the New Jerusalem (Chapter 43), Dante indirectly alludes to the coinciding of Palm Sunday with the Annunciation celebration and later reaffirms this implicit interpretation by calling to Beatrice as “*Benedictus qui venis*” (line 19).¹⁶² The overwhelmingly bright rays of light that exude from God, as well as the angelic figures painted in the hues of red, orange, and yellow that surround God, call to mind the sky-painting candelabra in Dante’s procession. This image further calls upon Ezekiel’s account of God “gleam[ing] of amber” on his sapphire throne. (Ezekiel, 1:26–28).¹⁶³ Both the pageants of *Purgatorio* and Palm Sunday function as the intertextual and intermedial sources for Christ’s Triumph in *Paradiso* XXII–XXIV and offer another means for viewing objects which depict *Purgatorio* XXIX and as a result, the *Triumphus Eternitatis*. Through these intermedial points of contact, a tangible image of triumph that was already embedded in the cultural, social, and visual memory of the time emerges in the *Triumphus Eternitatis*.

The most apparent evolution of this intermedial dialogue lies in the development surrounding the chariot. Similar to the manner in which the chariot evolves out of the vision of

¹⁵⁹ “Girolamo da Cremona,” The J. Paul Getty Museum, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/artists/3302/girolamo-da-cremona-italian-active-about-1450-1485/> (accessed March 18, 2022).

¹⁶⁰ “The Triumphs of Love, Chastity, and Death and the Triumphs of Fame, Time, and Divinity,” Denver Art Museum, <https://www.denverartmuseum.org/en/edu/object/triumphs-love-chastity-and-death-and-triumphs-fame-time-and-divinity> (accessed March 18, 2022).

¹⁶¹ Christopher H. Johnson, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Francesca Trivellato, eds., *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 58.

¹⁶² Dante, *Purgatorio*, 510.

¹⁶³ *Tanakh*, 894.



Fig. 7. Girolamo da Cremona, *Triumph of Eternity*, c. 1460, oil on panel, *cassone*. Denver Art Museum. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

Ezekiel in Dante into the hybrid “carro/carroccio” across Boccaccio’s and Petrarch’s texts, the chariot that appears in the Petrarchan images functions as a hybrid synecdoche of the parts of Ezekiel’s vision and the contemporary feast day pageants. The chariot itself—a gold, four-wheeled structure designed either with physical wheels or with the Evangelists/“compagni” pulling the cart—is a flat-topped structure supporting the figure of God. While the previous two examples demonstrate Christ in majesty via the mandorla or enflamed, there is another iteration where the Trinity appears as the form of the crucifix (fig. 8). Let us examine Francesco Rosselli’s, the principal engraver in Florence during the 1480s and 1490s, engraving of the *Triumphus Eternitatis* for a printed edition of the *Trionfi*. As a student of Francesco di Antonio del Chierco, perhaps this book was also commissioned by a member of the Medici family.

In Rosselli’s engraving, the viewer visualizes the same basic structure of Girolamo da Cremona’s *cassone* in which the chariot platform is pulled by the “fidi compagni,” now with the symbols of the Evangelists leading the brigade. Rather than depict contemporary flora and fauna, the sky shows the sun and the moon juxtaposed with the desert landscape of Earth below the feet of the pilgrims. However, in the center of the platform rests God the Father, holding God the son



Fig. 8. Francesco Rosselli, *Triumph of Eternity*, fifteenth century, woodcut engraving. The British Museum. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

(i.e. Christ) on the cross, with the Holy Spirit dove located between the two figures. Surrounding this figural group are angels, with their wings forming a rose like shape.

While the *Triumphus Eternitatis* serves as the spirit for the whole of Dante's pageant from both *Purgatorio* XXIX and *Paradiso* XXII–XXIV, it is possible that visual artists inserted the

form of the Trinity to reproduce the crucifix form that Dante's procession takes as it moves along the Edenic rivers. Moreover, when the Trinity appears with Christ on the crucifix held by God the Father, the viewer recalls that Christ is the "Son" of God, and through His sacrifice becomes the supreme triumphator. This emblem emphasizes the message of Palm Sunday and recalls the "Osanna" and crucifix that would have been carried during the feast day festival. Rather than portray a linear pageant, the artists condense, synthesize, and reproduce a non-linearly perspectival image of the hybrid pageant as it evolved from Dante through parts of Boccaccio's and Petrarch's poems.

It is worthwhile to note that, once again, not only is there a textual reference but also a visual precedent for the Trinity's construction as a crucifix in other images for Dante's text, this time for *Paradiso XXXI* (fig. 9). While representations of the Trinity in this manner were standard parts of Christian iconography at this point, in this instance, the inclusion of the crucifixion Trinity encircled within the celestial rose looks identical to the placement of the crucifix in the visual *Triumphus Eternitatis*. Within this woodcut, the viewer witnesses two figures, labeled "Saint Bernard" and "La Madonna" located below a series of circles placed together to form a floral like shape. On the ground next to these two figures is a contemporary cathedral. Within each smaller circle is a soul turning toward the central image of God, holding Christ on the cross, with the Holy Spirit Dove in between. The celestial rose is flanked by various hatches to create a glowing appearance while Beatrice, Dante, and Saint Bernardo gaze toward the bright figuration.



Fig. 9. Woodcut of *Paradiso XXXI* in *La Commedia*. Vinegia: Petrus de Plasiis, 1491. BANC f118.V3P6.1491d.
Image by author with permission from the Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

Since this is the moment in Dante's text in which Beatrice explicitly ascends to her "proper" place, the visual continuity between the images for *Paradiso* XXXI and those of the *Triumphus Eternitatis* reinforces the Christ-Beatrice-Virgin-Laura connection and subtly calls to mind Laura's literary triumph in the final passage of the *canto*. Through the combination of textual and live-action sources, the visuals of Petrarch's poem align with the artistic *Triumphus Eternitatis* within the visual iconographic Christian and Dantean canons of the time, bringing before the viewer's attention the intervisual-intertextual imagination that gave initial shape to Petrarch's poem. The subtle nuances in the images allow the intertextual and intermedial sources to shine through Petrarch's complex vision of Eternity.

CONCLUSION

It is Dante's initial call to Ezekiel in *Purgatorio* XXIX and Boccaccio's interpretation of the Dante-Ezekiel chariot that sets Petrarch's *Triumph of Eternity* in motion. Since Petrarch does not provide an inherently visual analysis of Eternity, it was somewhat challenging for visual artists to faithfully illustrate the *Triumphus Eternitatis* in a directly recognizable manner.¹⁶⁴ Although Petrarch's *Triumphus Eternitatis* features many complex negotiations of standard Christological significance¹⁶⁵ generally afforded to the concept of "Eternity,"¹⁶⁶ the implicit references underlying this triumph visually imagine it as an Ezekiel-inspired spectacle. Illustrators of Petrarch's text may choose to rely on previously established, iconographic imagery of "Paradise" from both Dante's text and images of the *Commedia*. By examining the shared intertextual and intermedial clues that derive from Ezekiel's prophetic vision and the contemporary feast day for Palm Sunday and the Annunciation, and which reappear in Dante's *Purgatorio* XXIX, Boccaccio's *l'Amorosa visione*, Dante's *Paradiso* XXII–XXIV, we might better grasp the richness of Petrarch's textual and visual *Triumphus Eternitatis*. In doing so, we might also reinforce the symbolic meaning of the images, align Petrarch's *Trionfi* with Dante's *Commedia*, and bolster the intertextual, intervisual, and intermedial connections between medieval poetry and contemporary pageantry.

¹⁶⁴ Carrington, 440.

¹⁶⁵ Bernardo, "Petrarch's Attitude toward Dante," 608.

¹⁶⁶ Pamela Williams, *Through Human Love to God: Essays on Dante and Petrarch* (Leicester: Troubador Publishing Ltd., 2007), 110.

CHAPTER TWO

Boccaccio's Pisan Allegory of "Death" in Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis*

From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, literary and visual representations of Death rose in both number and popularity. New social, political, and economic conditions, such as those initially sparked by the Black Death of 1348, brought the idea of Death to the forefront in the minds of late medieval and early Renaissance European individuals. Initially seen incorporating one of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse from the biblical tradition, the early thirteenth-century image of Death—as either a clothed woman or a skeleton riding on horseback—offered artists a compelling model into which to visually embed the concerns one might face in preparing to transition to the afterlife. While each region devised their own strategy for how to portray Death, it seems that Italy—more than other areas—expressed some of the earliest iterations of the notion of the impending, unavoidable image of Death: the “Triumph of Death.” The “Triumph of Death” demonstrated the role that Death plays in the transcendence of the soul out of the physical body into the spiritual world and Last Judgment of God. Oftentimes situated in church complexes, such images served important purposes for large public audiences, as well as within the space of public funerary processions. The “Triumph of Death” image never waned, but rather, followed suit and conformed to the changing attitudes of post-Black Death life in Italy. In particular, artists turned to one poignant literary source for inspiration in new visual conceptions of the “Triumph of Death,” Francesco Petrarca’s *Triumphus Mortis* (c.1369). This chapter will trace the evolution, from thirteenth-century processional displays of death to fifteenth-century visual depictions of Petrarch’s *Triumphus Mortis*. This civic-artistic dialogue reflects, more broadly, in the intertextual and interviusal influence traceable among Petrarch’s *Trionfi*, Giovanni Boccaccio’s *l’Amorosa visione* (c.1342), and the fresco known as the *Triumph of Death* by Buonamico Buffalmacco in the Pisa Camposanto (c.1336–1340) (fig. 10).

With the Black Death and various plagues thereafter—leading to the demise of hundreds of thousands of victims across the Italian peninsula—came a heightened attention to the swiftly destructive, unforgiving nature of Death.¹ In response to the overwhelming number of lives lost, modifications to public funerary processions and mourning rituals altered and adapted to accommodate new attitudes that placed less value on honoring the dead. These adjustments to funerary public pageantry were reflected in the literary and visual cultures of the time. Since funerary processions and mourning rituals remained common practice throughout the Tre- and Quattrocento—though they were altered slightly during the years surrounding the Black Death—it is evident that aspects of live processions also informed Buffalmacco’s painting, Boccaccio’s “Triumphs of Death and Fortune,” and Petrarch’s ideation of the *Triumphus Mortis*.

It is especially clear from reading the *Decameron* that Boccaccio was familiar with both the pre-Black Death rites and rituals and the changes brought about by the plague. Rather than claim that Boccaccio’s interest in the “Triumph of Death” in the *Decameron* is strictly a result of

¹ Throughout the fourteenth century, plagues and “pestilenza” (pandemic, in general), repeatedly struck the city of Florence. From 1340 through 1527, there were at least nineteen additional outbreaks, including the plagues of 1361 and 1363. See Francesco Rondinelli’s *Relazione del Contagio Stato in Firenze L’anno 1630 e 1633* (1634).



Fig. 10. Buonamico Buffalmacco, *The Triumph of Death*, 1336-1340, fresco. Camposanto monumentale, Pisa. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

the the presence of the Pisa Camposanto, I will further show that Boccaccio's engagement with funerary rituals informs his *Amorosa visione*, his viewing of the Pisa Camposanto, and his later *Decameron*. This fusion of live-action pageantry and the visual "Triumph of Death" textually present in the *Amorosa visione* and the *Decameron* allows Petrarch to further synthesize and subtlety mirror his *Triumphus Mortis* on Boccaccio's model. In doing so, Petrarch's reading and mediation of Boccaccio's "Triumph of Death" brought future artists to consider intertextual and intervisual clues from Buffalmacco's *Triumph of Death* and Boccaccio's literary oeuvre, but also to draw upon their knowledge of contemporary funerary pageants.

There has been considerable debate concerning the intertextual and intervisual relationship between Boccaccio's *Decameron* (c. 1353) and the Pisa Camposanto fresco. While Liliane Brion-Guerry, Lucia Battaglia Ricci, and Lina Bolzoni argue that the Pisa Camposanto dates to 1336-1340² and thus served as a visual influence for Boccaccio's description of the plague in the *Decameron*'s Introduction to Day I, as well as for the author's depiction of the *brigata* within his macro-text structure, no scholar has yet investigated the relationship between Buffalmacco's *Triumph of Death* and Boccaccio's representation of the "Triumphs of Death and Fortune" in his *l'Amorosa visione*. This essay will demonstrate how and why the intermedial dialogue between Boccaccio's and Buffalmacco's respective representations of Death resurfaces in Petrarch's *Trionfi*, a text which includes Death as part of the pilgrim-poet's triumphal procession toward Eternity. It is my intention to show that it is this close relationship between the Pisa Camposanto and the *Amorosa visione*—both precursor texts to the *Trionfi*—that Petrarch intertextually and intermedially refers to within his *Triumphus Mortis*.

In all likelihood, Petrarch did not begin the *Trionfi* until roughly 1352; the poet completed his *Triumphus Mortis* around 1369, well after the Pisan *Triumph of Death* fresco and both Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* and *Decameron*.³ Similar to Petrarch's other allegorical figures and triumphal "parades" located within his vernacular poem, *I Trionfi*, Petrarch offers few visual clues for how to represent the personification of Death and gives no indication of a historical pageant or parade for Death. Rather, his text, which is divided into two parts, focuses on Death's "conquering" of Laura-Chastity (*Triumphus Mortis* Part I) and a dream-within-a-dream conversation between the pilgrim-poet Petrarch and his love, Laura, as she now embraces her second role as the poet's spiritual guide toward God's Eternity (*Triumphus Mortis* Part II).⁴ Yet, while all images of the

² Liliane Brion-Guerry, *Le Thème du "Triomphe de la Mort" dans la Peinture Italienne* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1950); Lucia Battaglia Ricci, *Ragionare nel Giardino: Boccaccio e i cicli pittorici del Trionfo della Morte* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2000); Lina Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini. Predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002). Though most scholars today now agree that the "Triumph of Death" in the Pisa Camposanto is the work of Buonamico Buffalmacco from around 1336–1340, we cannot ignore Millard Meiss's seminal work, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: The Arts, Religion, and Society in the mid-Fourteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), in which he attributes this work, which he dates to 1350, to Francesco Traini and argues that it is an expression of changing attitudes and reversion of style due to the Black Death.

³ The circulation history of the *Amorosa visione* in relation to Petrarch's *Trionfi* is the subject of much debate. While previously scholars had thought the *Trionfi* predated the *Amorosa visione*, Giuseppe Billanovich, Vittore Branca, and Martin Eisner argue that the *Trionfi* came after the *Amorosa visione* (Billanovich, 1946; Branca, 1976; Eisner, 2007). For my chapter, I will follow the argument posed by these three scholars and suggest that the *Trionfi* follows the *Amorosa visione*. For a brief overview of the *Trionfi* and visual iterations thereof, see Esther Nyholm's essay, "Triumph as a motif in the poems of Petrarch and in contemporary and later art," in *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium*, eds. Flemming G. Andersen, Esther Nyholm, Marianne Powell, and Flemming Talbo Stubkjær (Odense: Odense University Press, 1980), 70-99.

⁴ John Finlayson, "Petrarch's 'Trionfo della Morte' and the 'Somnium Scipionis'," *Romance Notes* 15 no. 2 (Winter, 1973), 391; Aldo Bernardo, *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1974), 122; Roberto Andrea

new idea of the “Triumph of Death” are labeled with direct references to Petrarch’s *Triumphus Mortis*, or exist within a larger six-part painted *cassone* or illustrated manuscript for the *Trionfi*, each image portrays a chariot participating in a procession-like format for Death’s “triumph.” This begs the question, how do the new “Triumph of Death” images appear in dialogue with Petrarch’s *Triumphus Mortis*, and from where do the painted elements that are not explicitly present in Petrarch’s *Triumphus Mortis*, such as the chariot, derive? By synthesizing these previous visual and discursive models, the viewer may reconstruct the allegory of Death in visualizations of the *Triumphus Mortis*.

The details from the intermedial dialogue among Buffalmacco, Boccaccio, and Petrarch continues to shape visual depictions of Petrarch’s *Triumphus Mortis*, beginning in the fifteenth century. Since the images of the *Trionfi*, and in particular the *Triumphus Mortis*, began in and were extremely popular throughout the Quattrocento, I will conclude by showing how the technical models offered by engineering treatises, such as Mariano Taccola’s *De ingensis* (c.1433) were in dialogue with and demonstrate a mutual interest in articulating a mobile object or pageant. Though Taccola’s text did not include a funerary pageant, his treatise does feature visual representations of both a wagon or cart and the ox used to pull the cart, turning the apparatus of the live-action contemporary funerary procession into a standard, schematic image that seeks to reflect the mobility inherent in the procession witnessed during the mourning ritual. Taccola’s drawings thus may inform our understanding of how artists and engineers alike attempted to transcribe a three-dimensional procession onto a two-dimensional space while preserving the message communicated in the live-action model. In this case, the mutual model is the funerary cart, and in Petrarch’s *Triumphus Mortis*, the message is the earlier intermedial and ambulatory “Triumph of Death.” Such intertextual, intervocal, and intermedial dialogues across civic life, art, and poetry provide compelling exempla for communities striving to overcome the uncertainty of Death and the fear of disease during particularly precarious historical times.

FUNERARY RITUALS AND DEATH IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES: PRE- AND POST-BLACK DEATH

Though generally following a prescribed order, funerary rituals and death rites in late medieval and early modern Italy varied by city or region and adapted with the uncertain socio-economic, environmental, and political climate of any given moment. At the same time, the previously established practices of funerary rites from the ancient world seemed anachronistic for the late-thirteenth-century audience.⁵ Throughout the Due- and Trecento, death became a highly sacred and spiritual practice that transformed private displays of grief and mourning into opportunities

Lorenzi, “L’antropologia Cristiana nel “Triumphus Mortis” di Francesco Petrarca,” in “*Noi spregieremo adunque li denar...*” *Danze macabre, Trionfi e Dogma della Morte*, eds. Mino Scandella, Roberto Andrea Lorenzi, Gabriella Ferri Piccaluga, Gianfranca Martineghi Rossetti, Laura Moreschi, and Fulvio Sina (Brescia: Pisogne, 2022), 12. In dividing the *Triumphus Mortis* into two sections, Petrarch hints at the notion that death is both a singular moment in time and a “moving” element that launches one’s journey toward Eternity. This idea is not new, and we can trace this within Dante’s *Commedia* and the “death” of Beatrice, Boccaccio’s *l’Amorosa visione* and Fiammetta’s “death,” and ultimately within Petrarch’s *Trionfi*.

⁵ Diane Owen Hughes, “Mourning Rites,” in *Riti e rituali nelle società medievali* eds. Jacques Chiffolleau, Lauro Martines, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’alto Medioevo, 1994), 25.

for public viewing.⁶ To incorporate both public and private means of honoring the dead and to ascribe both civic and sacred values to the mourning procession, funerary rites consisted of two parts: the procession to the church (the funeral) and the mass within the church (the requiem). The funeral, which took place throughout the city streets, separated mourners based on their social status, emphasizing the divide between social classes and gender.⁷ Within the procession were distinct clusters. The first half of the parade included members of the clergy, whose presence in the parade visually communicated the physical “death” of the body and the passing of the soul into the afterlife. Following the clerics were individuals bearing flags, banners, swords, shields, or emblems representative of the family of the deceased. In the center of the procession stood the figure of most importance—the corpse—that appeared cleanly dressed and heavily ornamented,⁸ slowly transported through the streets on an oxen-pulled wagon or funeral bier.⁹ The final section of the procession included the mourners, the members of the family, neighbors, and professional acquaintances of the deceased.¹⁰ Form followed function in the placement and order of the procession; the ritual publically put on display the rankings of social order and the civic contours of a sacred pageant.¹¹ Per the ritual, the procession would “pause” momentarily as the requiem took place, before proceeding from the church to the final burial site as a unique form of civic-spiritual spectacle.¹²

Though the funeral was a “private” event made “public,” not all members of society could participate in every part of the funeral. Over the course of the medieval period, the ritual of mourning became a rigidly gendered practice. By 1277, male mourners could no longer demonstrate public displays of grief and were, instead, expected to behave as poised, dignified members of society.¹³ For a short time, women were permitted to cry in public; however, by the mid-fourteenth century women’s expression of lament was limited to private quarters.¹⁴ Prior to the funeral, women helped prepare the corpse for burial, but were forbidden from participating in the procession to the church.¹⁵ Women could stand outside before the beginning of the parade, but could not accompany the men or the participants in the funeral march to the church. It was expected

⁶ Bartolomeo del Corazza, *Diario Fiorentino (1405-1439)*, ed. Roberta Gentile (Rome: De Rubeis, 1991), 29-30; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 30; Peter F. Howard, “The Aural Space of the Sacred in Renaissance Florence,” in *Renaissance Florence*, eds. Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 381.

⁷ Sharon Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 6-7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁹ Brion-Guerry, 85-91; Pierroberto Scaramella, “The Italy of Triumphs and of Contrasts,” in *Humanas Fragilitas: The Themes of Death in Europe from the 13th Century to the 18th Century*, ed. Alberto Tenenti (Clusone: Ferrari Editrice, 2002), 54.

¹⁰ Strocchia, 7-8.

¹¹ Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti, “Introduction: Florence- The Dynamics of Space in a Renaissance City,” in *Renaissance Florence*, 2.

¹² Kathleen M. Ashley, Wilhelmus Norbertus, and Maria Hüsken, eds., *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Leeds: Brill, 2001), 11.

¹³ Hughes, 26; Natalie Tomas, “Did Women Have a Space?,” in *Renaissance Florence*, 315. Though painted scenes of mourning, in particular Biblical subjects such as the *Crucifixion* or *Lamentation*, include both men and women, this could be due to the fact that the narrative to which the painting refers details specific men and women participating in that event. These images often were in church complexes and thus would have been seen by both men and women during the requiem.

¹⁴ Tomas, 315.

¹⁵ Binski, 52; Strocchia, 51.

of women to remain on separate benches along the sides of the street.¹⁶ Once the funeral began, women went inside their homes to mourn privately behind closed doors so as not to disturb the public with their cries of grief.¹⁷ The absence of women in the “public” sphere and their seclusion from certain rituals within contemporary society—specifically those in which women would, indeed, be expected to mourn—speaks to women’s marginal social status.¹⁸ Though the funerary rites and rituals evolved over the course of these centuries, Boccaccio’s and Petrarch’s poetic works refer to the seemingly unaltered attitudes towards the roles of female mourners.

While the public funeral procession evolved as a strictly a male-dominated space and practice, the requiem, on the other hand, offered a more inclusive sense of community through its emphasis on death as the great equalizing force among all Christians. The focus of the requiem was on those who survive the deceased—the kin and family members, including women—whose actions would determine the continued legacies of the loved ones they had lost.¹⁹ Since women were present during the requiem, their clothing served as a visual sign of grief: women’s headdresses were often colored black,²⁰ which allowed women to participate visually—if inaudibly—in this “private” ritual made “public.”

Unsurprisingly, the Black Death of 1348 disrupted much of the civic and sacred ritual aspects of honoring the deceased, temporarily altering the status of the dead themselves. The Introduction to Day I of Boccaccio’s *Decameron* illustrates what some of these historical alterations involved.²¹ The narrator reports that the Black Death forced the community of Florence to reassess the nature and value of funerary practices and rituals within the city, out of sheer necessity and concern for public health. Boccaccio gives a long and detailed description of the shifting attitudes toward death, in which he notes that funerary pomp decreased and,

Le quali cose, poi che a montar cominciò la ferocità della pistolenza, o in tutto o in maggior parte quasi cessarono e altre nuove in lor luogo ne sopravvennero. Per ciò che, non solamente senza aver molte donne da torno morivan le genti, ma assai n’eran di queglii che di questa vita senza testimonio trapassavano...Né erano per ciò questi da alcuna lagrima o lume o compagnia ornorati, anzi era la cosa pervenuta a tanto, che non altramente si curava degli uomini che morivano, che ora si curerebbe di capre.

(*Decameron*, Introduction Day I)²²

According to Boccaccio, decaying bodies inundated the streets of Florence. People piled not one, but several bodies on top of each other onto the funeral bier. What is missing from Boccaccio’s narration is any mention of the particularly elaborate clothing or advanced preparation that had

¹⁶ Strocchia, 10.

¹⁷ Ibid., Aldo Bernardo, ed. and trans., *Francesco Petrarch: Letters of Old Age X-XVIII* (New York: Italica Press, 2005); Tomas, 315; Francesco Petrarca, *Res Seniles: Libri XIII-XVII*, eds. Silvia Rizzo and Monica Berté (Florence: Le Lettere, 2017), 201. Petrarch agreed with this idea of women no longer “wailing” in public. In his letter to Francesco da Carrara (*Seniles* XIV.1, 245-248) in 1373, Petrarch advocates that an “honorable society and worthy government” should enforce that women remain in the home and not in public places.

¹⁸ Strocchia, 11.

¹⁹ Ibid., 7, 24.

²⁰ Hughes, 33. Strocchia, 7, 24. Hughes also notes that mourning clothes for women, in particular those pieces for widows, were meant to humiliate women within the public space.

²¹ Meiss, 65; Strocchia, 57.

²² Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, eds. Amedeo Quondam, Maurizio Fiorilla and Giancarlo Alfano (Milan: BUR Rizzoli, 2017), 173-175.

once been customary in mourning rituals. Women no longer were responsible for tending to the bodies of the deceased, thus permitting gravediggers to move the body from the street to the bier and treat the corpse as if it were not all that distinct from a dead goat, “che non altramente si curava degli uomini che morivano, che ora si curerebbe di capre.”²³ The plague’s rapid, sheer devastation of Florence occurred at a pace incompatible with the standard practices designed to mourn and prepare the dead. Civic and sacred processional rituals diminished during times of contagion in form and number, reflecting the need to economize human life; the most accessible method of honoring the dead was through the use of communal monuments erected to recall a collective loss, rather than through individualized ceremonies.²⁴

However, immediately following the Black Death, there was a return to splendidly ornamented displays within funerary pageants, even more so than was evident in the decades leading up to the plague. Such ornamentation included objects such as candles, bier cloths, horses, and an array of material goods.²⁵ This revival of funerary processions was, in part, due to the rise of social mobility and the redistribution of wealth.²⁶ At the same time, however, contagion’s mass destruction innovatively transformed both reading and viewing practices where art imitated the anxieties and devastation experienced in life.²⁷ The return to a more public, traditional funerary ritual ingrained several key iconographic images, or *memento mori*, into the cultural memory of the Quattrocento, such as skulls, skeletons, reapers, and scythes. Rather than solely serve funerary processions, these objects invoked a communal memory that, when referenced in a painted or literary work, recalled at once the collective vulnerability inherent in mortality and the everlasting bond between the living and the dead.²⁸ The reliance on public displays of funerary processions allowed Boccaccio, Petrarch, and later visual artists wishing to represent Petrarch’s *Triumphus Mortis*, key points of reference for their imagined and ritualized “Triumph of Death.”

THE “NON-PETRARCHAN” *TRIUMPH OF DEATH*

The Due- and Trecento mark a shift in the visual arts that reflected new reading practices of the medieval period. Large-scale public paintings no longer merely portrayed *historia*, but evolved into narrative “fiction,” or allegory, intended to offer *exempla* and to serve as a bridge between form and meaning, stimulating active interpretation on the part of the viewer.²⁹ By the

²³ Ibid., 175; Strocchia, 51.

²⁴ Samuel Cohen Jr., “Burial in the Early Renaissance :Six cities in Central Italy,” in *Riti e rituali nelle società medievali*, 44-45.

²⁵ Boccaccio, in his letter to Zanobi da Strada of 1353 (Epistle VIII), remarks on the lavish funerary ritual prepared for their mutual friend, Lorenzo di Niccolò Acciaiuoli. See Giovanni Boccaccio, *Opere Latine Minori*, ed. Aldo Francesco Massera (Bari: Gius, Laterza & Figli, 1928).

²⁶ Strocchia, 55-57.

²⁷ Meiss, 65. Leading up to the Trecento, tombs were not lavishly decorated but might have showcased either a portrait of or inscription about the deceased. This practice diminished during the medieval period, leaving most tombs anonymous and non-descript. *Transi* images, or images representing different aspects of death and the decaying process, primarily existed in France and Germany and did not become a prominent aspect of Italian funerary monuments until after the sixteenth century. See Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).

²⁸ Strocchia, 31-32.

²⁹ Hans Belting, “The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: “Historia” and Allegory,” *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1985), 154-155; Hans Belting, “Das Bild als Text: Wandmalerei und Literatur im Zeitalter Dantes,” in *Malerei und Stadtkultur in der Dantezeit: Die Argumentation der Bilder*, eds. Hans Belting and Dieter

Quattrocento, there was already a visual subject known as the “Triumph of Death” woven into the cultural memory of Trecento Italy, through which audiences engaged with ideas associated with life, death, and the afterlife. The earliest images in Western Europe that depict the idea of the macabre and personifications of Death are from thirteenth-century Italy.³⁰ The idea of the macabre arose out of the court and chivalric tradition of Frederick II and his interest in the portrayal of Death as a universal force against “Everyman”³¹ that exuded throughout twelfth-century French texts such as Helinand de Froidmont’s *Les Vers de la Mort* and Robert Grosseteste’s *Chateau d’Amour*.³² These images focus primarily on the “Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead,” exemplified in the fresco located in the church of Santa Margherita in Melfi from 1225 (fig. 11).³³



Fig. 11. *Incontro dei tre vivi e dei tre morti*, thirteenth century, fresco. Chiese rupestre di Santa Margherita, Melfi. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

Blume (Munich: Himer Verlag, 1989), 39; Anne Dunlop, “Allegory, Painting and Petrarch,” *Word & Image* 24 no. 1 (2008), 83-84. For more on the question of allegory, see Theresa Holler’s *Jenseitsbilder: Dantes Commedia und ihr Weiterleben im Weltgericht bis 1500* (Deutscher Kunstverlag (DKV)), 2020.

³⁰ Binski, 158; Scaramella, 26.

³¹ Ibid., 148.

³² Scaramella, 26.

³³ Brion-Guerry, 45-57; Binski, 158; Scaramella, 26; Christine M. Kralik, “A Matter of Life of Death: Forms, Functions and Audiences for ‘The Three Living and the Three Dead’ in Late Medieval Manuscripts,” Ph.D Diss., (University of Toronto, 2013), 6. Early critical attention to this legend traced its connection to French and English literary and visual contexts (Kastner, 1852; Glixelli, 1914; Rotzler, 1961), yet this was contested by Pietro Vigo (1901) and later disproven by Brion-Guerry and Hellmut Rosenfeld (1954). Binski notes that medieval artists also chose to include the personification of Death encircled by various vices, such as pride and humility. This figuration would match their location and appearance on Fortune’s Wheel, further indicating the close relationship between Death, Fortune, Pride, and Humility (146).

Historian Pietro Vigo suggests that the legend originated from a twelfth-century version of the *Cum apertam sepulturam*.³⁴ The allegory tells of three noblemen pursuing a hunt, when they encounter three corpses in open coffins, each representative of different moments in the decaying process. The living and the dead begin to dialogue with one another, in which the latter offer cautionary warnings about life's precariousness to the former. With the assistance of a hermit, who instructs the three living men to reflect on what they have seen, the legend concludes with the hope that the living will seek to conduct a better life and thus avoid a similar fate.³⁵ Within the Santa Margherita fresco, the viewer witnesses three elite members of society, thought to be Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, his wife Isabel, and their son Conrad, dressed in colorful clothing, as they approach two white, emaciated skeletal bodies with maggots covering their abdomens.³⁶ Though the fresco differs slightly from the textual model—for it does not include representations of the coffins nor hermit³⁷—the allegorical warning to the patron and viewer remains consistent with later Italian and Western European iterations of the tale. The image conveys Death's presence, even if Death itself does not feature as a concrete figure in the story. However, as the "Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead" and images of the macabre became more commonplace, artists began to insert the personification of Death as a central figure within the fresco cycle,³⁸ such as in the Pisa Camposanto.³⁹

By the fourteenth century, the personified allegory of Death earned its place in the Italian visual canon as the "Triumph of Death." There are two standard iterations of the early-fourteenth-century "Triumph of Death." Some visual translations of the personification of Death depicted a figure—either a clothed woman or a skeleton—riding on horseback, as it moves swiftly across the painted scene, such as the fourteenth-century fresco attributed to Bartolo di Fredi of the *Triumph of Death* in the Church of Saint Francis in Lucignano (fig. 12).⁴⁰ Located inside the church, members of the clergy could gaze upon the figures and inscriptions as they reflected on the

³⁴ Vigo, 82; Pavel Chihaiia, *Immortalité et décomposition dans l'art du Moyen Âge* (Madrid: Foundation Culturelle Roumaine, 1988), 43-70; Kralik, 3-5. The earliest surviving copy, which is located in Ferrara, dates from the fourteenth century.

³⁵ Kralik, 7; Sarah Briggs, "The Three Living and the Three Dead," *Medieval Manuscripts Blog*, British Library, 2014. blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2014/01/the-three-living-and-the-three-dead.html (accessed February 25, 2022).

³⁶ Scaramella, 26. Though Scaramella argues for a date of 1258-1266, the painting would still be under Frederick II's rule.

³⁷ There are other painted editions of the "Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead" that do include corpses in coffins and the hermit, such as within the Pisa Camposanto.

³⁸ Scaramella, 25.

³⁹ Outside of the Pisa Camposanto, the legend motif was not familiar to a Tuscan audience, nor widespread in Central and Northern Italy. See Hayden B. Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto: A Historical Reevaluation* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 158-163. Another example of the legend can be found in the Atri Cathedral from 1358-66. See Scaramella, 25. Additionally, there is a Northern European illuminated manuscript of the *Decameron* which features the "Legend of the Three Living and Three Dead" within the "Introduction." See *Decameron (traduzione in francese di Laurent de Premierfait)*, c. 1460. MS 133 A5-N. f. 3v. L'Aia, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Flanders, found in Vittore Branca, ed., *Boccaccio visualizzato: Narrare per parole e per immagini fra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 3 vols., (Torino: Einaudi, 1999), 238.

⁴⁰ Though I will only analyze di Fredi's representation, it is important to note other examples of this motif which survive, such as the *Triumphs of Death* in Subiaco (Rome) and Palermo, both from the second half of the fourteenth century. See Giuseppe Carta, "L'Affresco del Trionfo della Morte (1441) nell'Ospedale Grande e Nuoto di Palermo," in *Il trionfo della morte e la danze macabre*, ed. Clara Forte (Clusone: Città di Clusone, 1997), 113-124 and Scaramella, 25-98.



Fig. 12. Bartolo de Fredi, *Triumph of Death*, c.1360s, fresco, Lucignano (Arezzo), Church of Saint Francis. Image via Wikimedia commons.

underlying message of the Christian mass performed each week. A student of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, di Fredi surrounds his protagonist with various groups of individuals. Behind Death on her horse stands an elderly crowd of beggars who pleads with Death and directs the viewer's attention toward the throng of lifeless bodies lying under her black horse. In Death's hand is a bow and arrow (her scythe safely tucked into her belt), pointed toward a group of young noblemen enjoying leisurely activities and exclaims: "Io non bramo se non di spegner vita/ e chi mi chiama le piu volte schivo/ giungendo spesso a chi mi torcie il grifo." In the top left hovers the image of Christ as he warns the youths and the external viewer of the impending power of Death fast approaching: "O tu che leggi ponchura ai colpi di/ chostei chocise me/ cheso signior di/ lei."⁴¹ The scenery surrounding the central action is either desert landscape or a fiery red color that could symbolize an infernal setting.⁴²

This image of Death mirrors the description of Death as one of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse from the Book of Revelations 6:8;⁴³ the inclusion of the scythe further enhances the idea of the apocalyptic death as it represents the apocalyptic harvest. Given this fresco's location on the walls of a sacred space, the emphasis on the Biblical ideal of a "Triumph of Death," accords with its function as a religiously didactic tool for the specific congregation of viewers. At the same

⁴¹ Lorenzo Carletti and Francesca Polacci, "Transition between Life and Afterlife: Analyzing *The Triumph of Death* in the Camposanto of Pisa," *Signs and Society* 2 no. 51 (2014), 113.

⁴² Alberto Tenenti, "Introduction," in *Humanas Fragilitas: The Themes of Death in Europe from the 13th century to the 18th century*, 14. There is a fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript of the *Decameron* which features an image of the "Triumph of Death" within the Introduction, though this time, it accords with Bartolo di Fredi's model. See *Decameron*, c. 1430. MS It. 63-P, fol. 6r. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, found in Branca, 104.

⁴³ Binski 158; Tenenti, 14.

time, though, the inclusion of Christ elevates the allegorical nature of the scene where the figure of Christ personifies the moralizing element and serves as a visual example of the message conveyed within.⁴⁴ Death comes for all, including Christ, regardless of age, fame, wealth, or gender.

Much of the imagery, including the reliance on play between text and image, intervisually arrives in di Fredo's example from Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Allegory of Sin and Redemption* from 1342 (fig. 13). Unlike his pupil's example, Lorenzetti's painted panel was a free-standing image that perhaps was part of a larger visual program. While the precise dating of this image has been contested,⁴⁵ this is among the earliest examples of Death as a floating fury. Across the panel, the viewer follows a continuous narrative in which Death appears three times. On the left, we see Death inserted into a scene of the "Temptation and Fall of Adam in Eve" in which She accompanies the sinners out of the Garden of Eden. Death does not act alone, but has a companion, a red winged monster contrasted to her black body and bat-like wings, carrying a large scythe.



Fig. 13. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Allegory of Sin and Redemption*, c. 1342, tempera with gold on panel, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena. Image via Artstor.

Beneath the "Fall," the viewer encounters the first homicide and identifies the figures of Cain and Abel. The Old Testament narratives direct the viewer's attention toward the central image in which Death hovers above Christ on the cross. Death not only claims the mortal life of Christ, but also those once belonging to a large crowd of people who are strewn around the base of the cross. Similar to Bartolo di Fredi's painting, surrounding the dead are figures representing various strata of society, from the poor and beggars to women, to a falconer and wealthy elite. Some of the "living" carry scrolls in their hands, indicating a written message might have once been included in each space. The final scene offered in the image on the far right shows a condensed vision of the "Last Judgment" in which Death, counter to the bright angels dressed in white who raise up the cross, shepherds the sinners down into the depths of Hell. Christ in majesty appears above the

⁴⁴ Tenenti 36, 40-41.

⁴⁵ Tenenti and Scaramella argue that Lorenzetti's work dates to 1330 and is the earliest iteration of the idea of Death personified as a rebellious angel (36). Other scholars, however, tend to agree that Lorenzetti's painting is slightly after the Pisa Camposanto and attribute it to the 1340s (Frugoni, 2002; Carletti and Polacci, 114).

cross, encircled by angels with the Virgin Mary on his right and Saint John on his left. The entire narrative structure is set in a contemporary Italian country setting, complete with hillsides and a medieval stone castle in the background juxtaposed with drier desert landscape in the foreground.

Though it is unclear who originally commissioned this panel or what purpose it might have served, given the subject matter, it was most likely a panel for a larger altarpiece and, like di Fredi's fresco, became an emblem representing the allegorical message offered by the corresponding Biblical messages heard during the sermons. Though Bartolo di Fredi's fresco represents one narrative to convey the "Triumph of Death," Lorenzetti offers a sequential vision of the origin story of "Death" and Her eternal power. The division of scenes from "Original Sin," which brought about death to all human beings, to the "Crucifixion," and ending with the "Last Judgment" visually marks the direction in which the viewer must engage with the scene; the left side as the past or prehistoric time, the "Crucifixion" serving as the present or historical time, and the "Last Judgment" as the future or metaphysical time.⁴⁶

Bartolo di Fredi includes the image of Christ *after* his triumph of death in Heaven and as a figure who visually speaks to the broader community of viewers about Death's imminent destruction for all individuals. Lorenzetti's crucifixion in the center also functions as a visual go-between from life to the afterlife. The explicit form of this scene models the function and purpose of the medieval shift in no longer painting strictly *historia* but allegory as a means of instilling the message into the public audience.⁴⁷ However, as the subject represents Biblical history, Lorenzetti teeters on the boundaries between narrative "fiction" and reality. By inserting a contemporary background and modern dress and occupations, like a falconer, Lorenzetti emphasizes the truth-value of the didactic message offered by the painting, diminishing the "fictive" nature of allegory and transcribing a past moment into present history. The communal presence of Death repeated across each scene further underscores the allegorical message that death is a collective experience, "leaving no room for individual meanings of death and the dying."⁴⁸ There are no words decipherable on the scrolls but perhaps quotes from the Bible or sermons would have been inserted here to further reinforce the allegorical message of the ubiquitous and all-encompassing force of death. The broader message of Lorenzetti's panel clearly inspired Bartolo di Fredi's own imaginative interpretation of the *Triumph of Death*.

While Lorenzetti's image is entirely unique, much of Lorenzetti's work with the *Triumph of Death* derives from one earlier, almost contemporaneous example found in the Pisa Camposanto. Though the subject of long-standing debate and inquiry among scholars, most scholars now agree that the Pisa Camposanto *Triumph of Death*, *Last Judgment*, and *Hell* cycle is by the hand of Buonamico Buffalmacco from 1336-1340.⁴⁹ Buffalmacco's painted scene follows a linear, left to right narrative structure from the *Triumph of Death* to a fresco of the *Last Judgment*, and concludes with a representation of *Hell*.⁵⁰ The placement of the fresco within the tri-partite

⁴⁶ Carlotti and Polacci, 114-116.

⁴⁷ Belting, 157-158.

⁴⁸ Scaramella, 36-37.

⁴⁹ As mentioned previously, Millard Meiss started the conversation by positioning the Pisa Camposanto as an exemplar of post-Black Death art, with a date of 1350 and by artist Francesco Traini. However, in various discussions and examinations of the painting, Lucia Battaglia Ricci, Lina Bolzoni, Alberto Tenenuto, and Pierroberto Scaramella, among others, agree that the painting is not a post-Black Death work but rather a pre-Black Death fresco from the 1330s by artist Buonamico Buffalmacco.

⁵⁰ While I will focus on the Pisa Camposanto for my chapter, it is important to note that around the same time as the Camposanto, Andrea Orcagna also painted a *Triumph of Death* (1344-45) in Santa Croce (Meiss 14, Joachim Poeschke, *Italian Frescoes in the Age of Giotto: 1280-1400* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2005), 324-

cycle and its location within the entire Camposanto complex allows the viewer to move from left to right, with this three part series located at the beginning of a different wall that immediately precedes the scene of the *Crucifixion* and *Resurrection*. Since the Camposanto was the main burial site for the Pisa Cathedral, the *Triumph of Death* was part of a larger visual program within the space, designed specifically so that those who marched in procession, especially during funerary pageants, throughout the complex could view the fresco images.⁵¹ The viewing of the images influenced those parading within the space and added another visual layer to the meaning behind the processional process, the allegorical significance of death, and the transition from life to afterlife. Buffalmacco's "Triumph of Death" will become the iconographic standard for pre-Petrarchan imaginations of Death in Triumph.⁵² The *Triumph of Death* fresco also includes certain features that appear in dialogue with poetic texts (a point to which I will return), contributing to a further level of mediation and engagement on the part of the viewer.⁵³

If we look at the *Triumph of Death* painting, starting from lower left and proceeding to the right, the viewer first encounters the "Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead," which includes the corpses at different stages of the decaying process within their coffins and a hermit who outstretches a scroll toward the noblemen. Depicted above the legend is a scene of the anchorites at different stages of prayer, meditation, and attention to the nearby animals.⁵⁴ Various members of society including aristocratic men, women, and clergy approach the encounter of the three living and the three dead with a group of beggars behind them, suggesting that these figures are pleading or potentially negotiating their fates with Death. The central image features Death, an old woman, dressed in tattered black clothing, with long, loosely-cast white hair. This figure then flaps her large wings in flight toward a group of ten joyful youths sitting in a garden in the right corner of the fresco. Death raises her scythe in the air as if about to strike the group, towering over a pile of lifeless bodies that have already fallen subject to her violent blows. Surrounding Death are both angels and demons alike, who carry away the souls of her victims toward the *Last Judgment*. Despite the looming threat cast upon their surroundings, the young *brigata* remain peacefully cheerful as they sing and dance in the garden, seemingly unaware of Death's executions and impending menace nearby.

Unlike Lorenzetti's and di Fredi's frescoes, which detail Biblical *historia* through an allegorical lens, Buffalmacco's fresco is an entirely "fictitious" narrative that strives to communicate the same message to its viewers as its later counterparts. While Hans Belting argues that there is no unity of action nor space within Buffalmacco's image, each figural group works together to communicate to the viewer the spiritual idea of one's transition from their mortal "body" to the raised "soul"⁵⁵ upon their death. By also including a representation of the "Legend

325) following the same thematic progression of *Death*, to *Last Judgment*, to *Hell*. In fact, Vasari attributes the Pisa Camposanto to Orcagna, further demonstrating the extremely close similarities between these two frescoes. Since most of Orcagna's painting is lost, my only complete visual point of comparison to the Pisa Camposanto is Lorenzetti's fresco, in which he also includes the same iconographic details for the allegory of Death and creates a continuous narrative scene to lead his viewer through the various stages of Death's triumph.

⁵¹ Christine Boeckl, "The Pisan Triumph of Death and the Papal Constitution Benedictus Deus," *Artibus et Historiae*, 18 no. 36 (1997), 55.

⁵² Tenenti, 13.

⁵³ Lina Bolzoni's first chapter of *La rete delle immagini* suggests that the text and painted scene within the *Triumph of Death* fresco recall the Dominican sermons heard in the cathedral. Through the use of the spoken word, the written word, and visual iconography, Bolzoni argues that this fresco speaks to a multi-literate crowd to reinforce the didactic messages offered by the Dominican priests of the time.

⁵⁴ Carletti and Polacci, 101.

⁵⁵ Belting, "'Historia' and Allegory," 162; Boeckl, 55.

of the Three Living and Three Dead,” the cycle further emphasizes the significance of textual narrative in this sequence, since the figures of the “Legend” verbally warn others about Death and personify a message that reaches both the figures depicted within the painting and, it would appear, viewers within the Camposanto. Through hierarchy of scale and the centrality of Death, it is clear that Buffalmacco’s fresco illustrates this figure’s importance in the triumph narrative. That figures from diverse social statuses are threatened by Death’s violence effectively conveys how this allegory serves as the great equalizer of all individuals. Like Lorenzetti’s and di Fredi’s examples, these figures and the setting are also contemporary with the Trecento audience, further bridging the gap between visual imagination and historical reality.

Death is no longer a skeleton but emerges as a familiar image of an elderly woman. Rather than ride on horseback, like a Fourth Horseman of the Apocalypse that Bartolo di Fredi demonstrated, Death now has black bat-like wings and swiftly flies through the Italian city and countryside. Such a revision to the traditional depictions of Death as a Fourth Horseman suggests that this figure might now resemble a rebellious angel or, as Lina Bolzoni notes, remind viewers of the demons found in Dante’s Malebranche (*Inferno* XXI-XXII).⁵⁶ The image of the demons or figures with bat-like wings repeats across the *Hell* fresco, drawing a linear, narrative line between the *Triumph of Death* and the *Hell*. The rebellious angel will also reemerge in Lorenzetti’s fresco, following the Pisan model. However, Buffalmacco’s Death carries the scythe as the weapon of choice as a means of connecting the viewer to previous iconographic representations and continues to be a symbol associated with Death in later images, such as we find in Lorenzetti’s and Bartolo di Fredi’s adaptations.

However, just as Boccaccio represents his storytelling *brigata* as having little concern for Death’s terrorizing advances, the fresco restricts the allegory’s fatal influence from disturbing sites that recall literary and artistic refuge. While there is close relationship between Introduction to Day I and the *brigata* of the *Decameron*, and the scene offered by the Pisa Camposanto, Battaglia Ricci and others ignore another Boccaccian text that is even closer in time to the Pisa Camposanto and explicitly refers to a triumph of Death, *l’Amorosa visione*. What I will argue is that Battaglia Ricci is not incorrect in her assumption that there are elements from the Pisa Camposanto that may inform our reading of the *Decameron*, but that the *Triumph of Death* painting in Pisa acts as an intermedial model for Boccaccio’s imagination of both his “Triumph of Death” and “Triumph of Fortune” in the *Amorosa visione*. The Pisan painted example of the *Triumph of Death* is then mediated by Boccaccio in his *Decameron*,⁵⁷ and by Petrarch in his *Triumphus Mortis*.

BOCCACCIO’S *L’AMOROSA VISIONE*: THE FORTUNE OF DEATH

It is evident from the detailed accounts of Buonamico Buffalmacco’s many pranks played on Calandrino in the *Decameron* that Boccaccio not only knew of the name “Buonamico

⁵⁶ Bolzoni, 13. Bolzoni claims that it is not just the figure of Death who reminds us of the Malebranche but that there are several allusions to the *Commedia* within the *Triumph of Death*, *Last Judgment* and *Hell* frescoes in the Camposanto.

⁵⁷ Richard Kuhns in his chapter, “The Writer as Painter: Observations on Boccaccio’s *Decameron*,” in *Malerei und Stadtkultur in der Dantezeit*, notes that there should be no doubt Boccaccio knew Buffalmacco (69), but does not provide concrete evidence to confirm this. Janet Levarie Smarr in her Introduction to *Boccaccio: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, eds. Victoria Kirkham, Michael Sherberg, and Janet Levarie Smarr (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) notes that it is not uncommon for Boccaccio to refer to his earlier works throughout the *Decameron* (5).

Buffalmacco” but also may have met him or interacted with members of Buffalmacco’s close circle.⁵⁸ Lucia Battaglia Ricci makes a compelling case for why Buffalmacco’s *Triumph of Death* influenced Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, rather than the other way around: the manner in which Boccaccio describes Florentine life—in particular, the difficulties suffered as a result of the plague—juxtaposed with the gaiety of the *brigata* in their new bucolic location, directly mirrors the visual narrative of the Pisan fresco.⁵⁹ While this is true, it has not yet been observed that this visual-literary structure, in which the figure of Death appears adjacent to the *brigata*, existed already within Boccaccio’s allegorical *l’Amorosa visione*, beginning with his “Triumph of Death” in Canto XXX and ending in the paradisiac garden in Canto XXXVIII. My reading seeks to expand the intermedial coordinates therein that map elements from the Pisa Camposanto onto our reading of not only Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, but also the *Amorosa visione*’s “Triumph of Death” and “Triumph of Fortune.” This reciprocal relationship also informs our reading of Petrarch’s *Triumphus Mortis* and our viewing of the corresponding images for Petrarch’s poem.

Boccaccio composed the *Amorosa visione* while living in Florence between the years of 1340 and 1343.⁶⁰ Boccaccio had recently moved to Florence from Naples and wished to delve deeper into Tuscan and Florentine society, particularly via his engagement with the works and legacy of Dante Alighieri. He embraced Dante’s dream-vision allegorical poetic style and wrote his *Amorosa visione*.⁶¹ Given Boccaccio’s desire to further his engagement with Dante, it seems appropriate that a painting which included several references to Dante’s *Commedia* (1321),⁶² like the Pisa Camposanto *Triumph of Death* tri-partite cycle, would be of interest to him at this particular moment. Though the completion of the Pisan painting predates the final composition and initial circulation of the *Amorosa visione*, chronologically, there was a year of overlap between Boccaccio’s and Buffalmacco’s works, suggesting the possibility that the *Triumph of Death* remained a pressing image in Boccaccio’s mind while writing his allegorical poem.

In Canto XXX of the *Amorosa visione*, immediately following the conclusion of Love’s triumphal parade, the pilgrim-poet marvels at the wonders of the previous four ekphrastic triumphs, momentarily losing sight of the fact that these triumphs do not adequately represent the ideals of Christian truths (lines 7-18).⁶³ At this point in the poem, Boccaccio’s unidentified female guide quickly rebukes him for believing in the false nature of these triumphal images, and reminds him that these ekphrases drew the pilgrim-poet away from the Christian love of God and too closely towards earthly passions and possessions. The female guide continues to criticize the pilgrim-poet, urging:

Adunque torna in te debitamente:
ricorditi che morte col dubbioso

⁵⁸ Boccaccio mentions Buonamico Buffalmacco in Day VIII.3, VIII.6, VIII.9 and Day IX.3, and IX.5.

⁵⁹ Battaglia Ricci, 173. It is also interesting to note that in a later illuminated edition of the *Decameron*, there is an image of the “Triumph of Death” within the “Introduction” which accords with the Pisan Camposanto fresco and the space’s function as a site for funerary processions. See *Decameron*, fourteenth-century. MS Ital. 482, f. 6r. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, found in Branca, 66-68.

⁶⁰ Giorgio Padoan, *Il Boccaccio, le muse, il parnaso, e l’arno* (Florence: Olschki Editore, 1978), 103.

⁶¹ Vittore Branca, “Introduction,” in *l’Amorosa visione*, eds. and trans. Robert Hollander, Timothy Hampton, and Margherita Frankel (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986), ix.

⁶² Roger Tarr, “‘Visibile parlare’: The spoken word in fourteenth-century central Italian painting,” *Word & Image* 13 no.3 (1997), 236; Bolzoni, 13; Battaglia Ricci, 61.

⁶³ Giovanni Boccaccio, *l’Amorosa visione*, eds. Robert Hollander, Timothy Hampton, and Margherita Frankel (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986), 122.

colpo già vinse tutta questa gente.
Ver è ch'alcun più, ch'altro valoroso
meritò fama, ma se 'l mondo dura
e' perirà suo nome glorioso.

(*l'Amorosa visione* XXX, lines 19-24)⁶⁴

Without mentioning any explicit physical characteristics or identifying features reminiscent of the visual vocabulary associated with Death, the guide describes this allegory as a chilling force who annihilates anyone who participates in one of the previous four triumphs. Boccaccio's guide further explains that, regardless of one's fame and glory acquired in life, death is a collective, ubiquitous experience. Though there is no explicit image of the personification of Death offered in Boccaccio's description, the use of "dubbioso colpo" recalls Death's forceful blow as she strikes her "victims." The reader digests the allegorical message implied by Boccaccio's text and thus conjures the image of an overwhelming figure on the hunt, prepared to quickly seize the life of its next victim, such as we find within the Pisa Camposanto.

However, Boccaccio does not require his readers to rely solely upon his intermedial interpretation of previous iconography for the *Triumph of Death* in the imagination of Death in his *l'Amorosa visione*. Rather, the author follows suit with earlier precedents that had established visual association between Death and Fortune,⁶⁵ uniting the two allegories in one personification. Following the brief mention of the "Triumph of Death," Boccaccio's female guide further scolds the pilgrim-poet for his blind attitude toward the previous four triumphs. She then proceeds to vaguely describe an ominous, violent force, without explicitly naming the allegory:

e mosterrotti contra a quel ch'or senti,
mostrandoti la gioia e 'l lieto canto
de' tristi, che 'n tal cose ebbene già fede,
cangiarsi in brieve in doloroso pianto.
Portrai veder colei, in cui si crede
essere ogni poter di ben mondani,
quanto arrogante a suo mestier provvede,
or dando a questo, or ritornando vani
ciò che diede a quell'altro, molestando
in cotal guisa gl'intelletti umani.
[...]
onde, seguendo que' beni imperfetti
con cieca mente, morendo perdeti
il poter acquistar poi li perfetti

(*l'Amorosa visione* XXX, lines 45-54; 58-60)⁶⁶

This fatal figure both gives and takes from everyone. When one's soul dies, one not only loses their possessions and titles, but must face God's judgment for pursuing her earthly possessions and impulses. There is no name or identity associated with this ambiguous figure; the explicit directive returns us to consider the veiled didactic allegory presented within the Pisa Camposanto. At the

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Binski, 146.

⁶⁶ Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 124.

same time, Boccaccio intertextually embeds a Dantean echo into his carefully crafted image of “cangiarsi in brieve in doloroso pianto:” one cannot help but return to *Inferno* V: “Or incomincian le dolenti note/ a farmisi sentire; or son venuto/ là dove molto pianto mi percuote” (lines 25-27).⁶⁷ The painful notes “sung” and tears cried are the pilgrim-poet’s first aural introduction into Hell proper⁶⁸ and the eternal suffering imposed upon death’s victims, in particular those who turned away from Christian values. The sounds heard throughout *Inferno* audibly remind the viewer of the “inaudible” yet terrific expressions and laments expressed in the inscriptions of the Pisa Camposanto as Death decimates each individual. Boccaccio includes his shared synesthetic imagery as a way to follow the path of Dante in introducing the horrific events one might experience at the end of their mortal life. By briefly noting the events that follow one’s death in this description, the author of *l’Amorosa visione* subtly implies that this could be Death personified, or at least, that Fortune and Death are co-conspirators in the destruction of all earthly goods, including the body itself.

In the following canto (XXXI), the female guide leads the pilgrim-poet into another chamber in which a fifth ekphrasis “moves” across the wall. Boccaccio immediately comments upon the stark contrast between the pleasant scenes of the previous four triumphs and the sorrowful, melancholic figures that appear within the parade visualized in this fifth image. The pilgrim-poet then observes a female figure located in the center of the ekphrastic fresco:

Ivi vid’io dipinta, in forma vera,
 colei che muta ogni mondano stato,
 tal volta lieta, tal con trista cera,
 che, sopra trionfal carro tirato
 da due fiere, ch’ogni color pareo
 d’altrui pigliar il lor color macchiato,
 horribile in la fronte sol avea
 li capei volti, e a nessun priego fatto
 e sorda e cieca mai si rivolgea

(*l’Amorosa visione* XXXI, lines 16-24)⁶⁹

Once more, Boccaccio does not clearly state who the female figure is but directs his attention to her physical appearance. In the painting, a woman with a horrific demeanor sits atop a chariot pulled by multi-colored beasts. She has wild hair, is both blind and deaf, and appears unsympathetic to the cries of her next victims. The specific identity of this figure is not revealed, yet the reader might well assume this is the body of Boccaccio’s Death.⁷⁰ Her eerie and frightening appearance, nearly bald with a tuft of wild hair loose in the wind, and her menacing gaze upon those who fear her also align with images of Death. More importantly, everyone will face her and be subject to her will, just like everyone must heed Death’s call.

At this point in the description, the only distinction between Boccaccio’s female figure and previous images of the *Triumph of Death* is his inclusion of a chariot pulled by “fiere.” The term

⁶⁷ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno*, eds. and trans. Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 86.

⁶⁸ Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez, eds. and trans., *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 94.

⁶⁹ Boccaccio, *l’Amorosa visione*, 126.

⁷⁰ It was not until the sixteenth century, with Andrea Alciato’s book of emblems, that a bald patch with a tuft of wind-blown hair became closely linked with the iconography for Occasio. (Daly, 2008; Caldwell, 2014).

“fiere” recalls at once the wild features of this figure’s physical form, as well as the animalistic significances her body conveys. Let us recall that, at the time of Boccaccio’s text, the funeral bier of wagon would be pulled by oxen, thus providing a historical image in the reader’s mind for what they might have witnessed on the streets during an actualized “Triumph of Death,” or a funerary procession. While not included in the Pisa Camposanto fresco, the space of the Camposanto itself and the movement of participants from the live-action funerary procession aligns with Boccaccio’s rationale for the additional chariot.

What is of particular importance is that, just after this description, the reader learns that this figure’s “weapon of choice” is a wheel (line 29).⁷¹ Such an iconographic indication confirms that this mysterious woman is indeed Fortune, not Death,⁷² though these figures’ juxtaposed iconographies may synthesize the two allegories into one. If we return to Dante’s *Inferno* VII, we recall that the avaricious and prodigal sinners of Circle Four are not only deaths victims, but also eternally punished by Fortune:

Similmente a li splendor mondani
ordinò general ministra e duce
che permutasse a tempo li ben vani
di gente in gente e d’uno in altro sangue,
oltre la difension d’i senni umani;
per ch’una gente impera e l’altra langue,
seguendo lo giudicio di costei,
che è occulto come in erba l’angue.
Vostro saver non ha contasto a lei;
questa provvede, giudica, e persegue
suo regno come il loro li altri dèi.
Le sue permutazion non hanno triegue;
necessità la fa esser veloce,
sì spesso vien chi vicenda consegue.
Quest’ è colei ch’è tanto posta in croce
pur da color che le dovrien dar lode,
dandole biasmo a torto e mala voce;
ma ella s’è beata e ciò non ode;
con l’altre prime creature lieta
volve sua spera e beata si gode.

(*Inferno* VII, lines 77-96)⁷³

As Virgil explains to the pilgrim-poet Dante, Fortune, a divinely provident figure⁷⁴ who governs earthly affairs, swiftly casts her judgment on those who then blame her for their ill rewards. Fortune’s power and continuous aid in destroying those after death underscores the first three sins of incontinence. As Robert Durling and Ronald Martinez note, “the sequence of Cantos 5, 6, and 7

⁷¹ Boccaccio, *l’Amorosa visione*, 126.

⁷² Boccaccio will not actually name Fortune until Canto XXXII.

⁷³ Dante, 116.

⁷⁴ Robert Hollander, *Dante Alighieri: Inferno*, eds. and trans. Robert and Jean Hollander (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 131. As Hollander notes, this idea of Fortune derives from the medieval text by Boethius, the *Consolation of Philosophy*.

is also one of growing scope: the domestic tragedy of Francesca in Canto 5 is followed in Canto 6 by civic disturbances in Florence, and in Canto 7 by the universal pattern by which Fortune distributes good and ill to the world.”⁷⁵ Virgil’s mentioning of her wheel as her weapon of choice and her placement in Hell as an accomplice to Death thus serves as an intertextual counterpart for Boccaccio’s inclusion of her within his “Triumph of Death and Fortune.”⁷⁶

Boccaccio further extends the union of Death with Fortune by the fact that Fortune does not actually have a triumph, but rather what Vittore Branca calls an “anti-triumph,”⁷⁷ where the “followers” of Fortune’s parade experience unfavorable outcomes due to the spinning of her wheel, and thus become Fortune’s unfortunate victims.⁷⁸ During Boccaccio’s time, Fortune and Death were “equivalent instruments of Providence and divine justice” ravaging vain thoughts and mortal pleasures and leaving only the “virtuous” to pursue the path toward God.⁷⁹ Dante’s *Inferno* validates the interest in Death and Fortune as allies in the destruction of sinful ideals. With Boccaccio’s allegorical poem modeled after Dante’s dream-vision, it further confirms the close relationship between Death and Fortune located within the *Amorosa visione*. Boccaccio alludes to this idea explicitly in the middle of Fortune’s triumph in Canto XXXV, “ma quel che costei/ non fé, morte privollo d’ogni stato” (lines 11-12).⁸⁰ Though there are key iconographic standards for Death that are distinct from Fortune’s, such as the scythe and the wheel, the physical body of the Boccaccio’s Death-Fortune becomes transferrable for both allegories.

To further illustrate the close connection between the Pisa Camposanto and this section of Boccaccio’s *l’Amorosa visione*, let us look at the how Boccaccio transitions out of Death-Fortune’s “anti-triumph” toward the next phase of his journey. At the conclusion of Fortune’s ekphrastic procession in Canto XXXVIII, the female guide leads the pilgrim-poet into a *hortus conclusus* in which he finds a fountain, decorated by sculptures of seven ladies and diverse animals. Battaglia Ricci suggests that the inclusion of the *brigata* in the Pisa Camposanto serves as the intervisual model for the garden of the *Decameron* Day III and represents both spring and the Earthly paradise becoming a site for the storytellers to contemplate their “escape” from Death and ultimate salvation.⁸¹ While I do not disagree with this argument, my reading expands upon this interpretation to consider Boccaccio’s other poetic texts, in particular the fountain and garden scene in his *Amorosa visione*.

One key argument for why the Pisa Camposanto directly influenced the *Decameron* was due to the painting’s striking visual juxtaposition between Death’s “triumph” and the *brigata* in the *hortus conclusus*.⁸² However, in the *Amorosa visione*, Boccaccio offers a similar literary

⁷⁵ Durling and Martinez, 123-124.

⁷⁶ Branca, *l’Amorosa visione*, xv.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, xxix.

⁷⁸ Both Boccaccio’s and Petrarch’s *Triumphs of Love* also present Love’s followers as “victims” of their infliction by Love. However, in the case of Love’s triumph, the “victims” are not physically punished and their love does not lead to the cause of their deaths.

⁷⁹ Branca, *l’Amorosa visione*, xix.

⁸⁰ Boccaccio, *l’Amorosa visione*, 142.

⁸¹ Battaglia Ricci, 167-168. Battaglia Ricci also claims this is the same function and symbolism for second garden in the *Decameron* Day III while Giuseppe Mazzotta in his *The World at Play in Boccaccio’s Decameron* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) argues that Boccaccio actually mocks the “quest for Eden” found in previous literature, such as the *Roman de la Rose* (110).

⁸² Although outside the scope of this investigation, Battaglia Ricci’s second claim for why the Pisa Camposanto influences the *Decameron* is that only the second garden of the *Decameron* Day III looks like the garden offered by the Camposanto. She claims that Day III’s new garden is unlike any other *locus amoenus* from either previous literature (a point which Giuseppe Mazzotta shows that the garden is like previous imagery for a *locus amoenus*

paradox as a clear visual sign-post of his text's intermedial dialogue with the Pisa Camposanto. After examining the fountain in depth, the pilgrim-poet then immediately notices a parade of ladies:

Hor oltre con costor tosto passai
in su la riva del bel fiumicello
ov' eran donne ch'io conobbi assai;
e riguardando lor con occhio isnello,
qual gía cantando e qual cogliendo fiori,
chi sedea, chi danzava in bel pratello.

(*l'Amorosa visione* XL, lines 22-27)⁸³

These women dance, collect flowers, and sing in a circle around a figure who will soon be revealed to be Fiammetta. Just as a viewer would move around the space in Pisa from the "Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead" on the left, to the image of Death standing at the center, and finally to the garden scene in the right corner of the fresco, so too does Boccaccio's narrative move linearly from "left" to "right"—from the "Triumph of Death-Fortune" to the *brigata* in the garden. It is after this moment in the *Amorosa visione* when Fiammetta becomes Boccaccio's spiritual guide, hoping to lead him to God's Paradise. Yet, the pilgrim-poet Boccaccio cannot free himself of his carnal desires: just after acting upon his lustful thoughts, the pilgrim is immediately awoken from the dream (Canto XLIX). Though this is not explicitly a "Last Judgment" and "Hell" moment for the pilgrim-poet, Boccaccio's sequence of events—starting from the "Triumph of Death" through the end of the poem—directly follows the spatial movement and progression of Buffalmacco's three part painted narrative in Pisa Camposanto. It is clear that Boccaccio thought profoundly about the role of Death prior to his composition of the *Decameron*. Boccaccio turns to visual moments from Buffalmacco's *Triumph of Death* fresco as well as elements from live-action funerary processions and Dante's prior literary examples to clearly communicate an image for both the personification of Death and Death's allegorical meaning as an imminent presence and triumphator over all people, regardless of status or fame

PETRARCH'S *TRIUMPHUS MORTIS*, BOCCACCIO'S *L'AMOROSA VISIONE*, AND THE PISAN TRIUMPH OF DEATH

The effects of Boccaccio's and Pisa's influence on Petrarch's allegorical dream-vision, *I Trionfi*, illustrate an intermedial dialogue born at the crossroads of artistic and literary innovation. Though Esther Nyholm suspects that Petrarch witnessed and was inspired by Buffalmacco's fresco for his understanding of Death,⁸⁴ Petrarch and Boccaccio were close friends⁸⁵ and Petrarch received both

(175)) or Boccaccio's earlier works, citing only the *Corbaccio* and the *Ameto*. She quotes the example of the presence of a fountain with lots of animals as her evidence for why this garden is entirely new and thus could only come from the Pisa Camposanto. However, she ignores the *Amorosa visione* as a possible point of reference for the *Decameron* Day III.

⁸³ Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 162.

⁸⁴ Nyholm, 80. Though Nyholm has no doubt as to whether Petrarch saw the fresco or not, she does not provide any definitive evidence to prove this.

⁸⁵ Aldo Bernardo, ed. and trans., *Francesco Petrarch: Letters of Old Age I-IX* (New York: Italica Press, 2005), xx; Hannah Chapelle Wojciehowski, "Petrarch and his friends," in *The Cambridge Companion to Petrarch*, eds. Albert

a copy of the *Amorosa visione* and the *Commedia* from Boccaccio.⁸⁶ In a letter from 1363 between Petrarch and Boccaccio, *Seniles* III.1, Petrarch recounts his feelings during the plague and offers a detailed description of the power of Death:

Sic, amice, nobiscum ludit mors lethales ictus ingeminans nec nos differt nisi ut
supplicio longiore confecti nostrorumque omnium spectatores cinerum effecti et
diutius et sepius moriamur. Sed ut libet: ego enim iam obtorpui, iam sentire nichil
incipio et in usum versus dolor non iam dolor sed consuetudo flebilis ac natura est.

(So, my friend, death plays with us, repeating her deadly blows,⁸⁷ nor does it spare us except to have lingering death again and again, overcome by prolonged anguish, as we behold the ashes of our dear ones.⁸⁸ But just as it pleases [her]: I am now numb, and have now begun to feel nothing, and the grief out of habit has been changed and is no longer a grief but a tearful habit and nature.)

(*Seniles* III.1, 24-25)⁸⁹

In this letter, the duality of Death-Fortune hints toward both a neo-stoic topos and Boccaccio's imaginative text. Though Death enjoys manipulating her victims in impish games, Petrarch notes that this female rapidly strikes her victims, leaving those on Earth with prolonged sadness and grief that acts as an additional death. The image of Death toying with her prey invokes the image of Fortune haphazardly turning her wheel. At the same time, Petrarch joins the "Fortune-like" image with that of the aggressive nature of Death and her ability to negatively affect those whom she encounters. If we agree with the dating of the *Triumphus Mortis* offered by Brion-Guerry, by the time this letter reached Boccaccio, Petrarch would have already begun his *Trionfi* and likely knew of Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione*.

Roughly ten years later, Petrarch reveals to Boccaccio in *Seniles* XVII.3 that, while he admits to not having read all of the *Decameron*, he did read the Introduction to Day I. Petrarch specifically comments on Boccaccio's accurate description of the Black Death: "quorum in altero patrie nostre statum, illius scilicet pestilentissimi temporis, quod pre omnibus nostra etas lugubre ac misere mundo vidit, meo quidem iudicio et narrasti proprie et magnifice deplorasti"⁹⁰ (of which, in my opinion, in the other you had perfectly described and magnificently deplored our mournful and miserable paternal state, that is to say of that plague-ridden time, which, in fact, our age witnessed worse than before all the world) (*Seniles* XVII.3, 7). This letter further shows Petrarch's admiration for and reliance on Boccaccio's text, and in this case in particular, for the latter's interpretation of death during the plague, which has echoes of the *Amorosa visione* within it.

Russell Ascoli and Unn Falkeid (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 31. Bernardo notes that Petrarch wrote more letters to Boccaccio than anyone else in his *Seniles*, totaling 18 letters.

⁸⁶ Theodore J. Cachey Jr., "Between Petrarch and Dante: Prolegomenon to a Critical Discourse," in *Petrarch and Dante: Anti-Dantism, Metaphysics, Tradition*, eds. Zygmunt G. Barański and Theodore J. Cachey Jr. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 23-24.

⁸⁷ All translations, unless otherwise noted, are by the author.

⁸⁸ For the second half of this line, I have consulted Bernardo, *Letters of Old Age* I-IX, 76.

⁸⁹ Francesco Petrarca, *Res Seniles: Libri I-IV*, eds., Silvia Rizzo and Monica Berté (Florence: Le Lettere, 2006), 184.

⁹⁰ Petrarch, *Res Seniles: XIII-XVII*, 444-446. See also Bernardo, *Letters of Old Age* X-XVII, 655.

In the *Triumphus Mortis*, Petrarch divides the conquest of Death into two distinct scenes. Part I begins with a brief summary of the previous canto and returns to the vision of Chastity's (i.e., Laura's) triumph over Love. Petrarch first provides a description of the female "brigata allegra" (line 29) that bears banners displaying emblems of chastity, such as the ermine, and which follows in line behind Laura-Chastity (lines 1-30).⁹¹ The setting for this triumph imagines the women joining in dance and song, ornamented with floral decorations that evoke springtime (line 25).⁹² However, the cheerful procession comes to an abrupt halt when Death intervenes to speak to the group:

quando vidi un'insegna oscura e trista;
 ed una donna involta in veste negra,
 con un furor qual io non so se mai
 al tempo de' giganti fusse a Flegra,
 si mosse e disse: "O tu, donna, che vai
 di gioventute e di bellezze altera,
 e di tua vita il termine non sai,
 io son colei che sì importuna e fera
 chiamata son da voi, e sorda e cieca
 gente, a cui si fa notte innanzi sera;
 io ò condotto al fin la gente greca
 e la troiana, a l'ultimo i Romani,
 con la mia spada la qual punge e seca,
 e popoli altri barbareschi e strani;
 e giugnendo quand'altri non m'aspetta
 ò interrotti infiniti penser vani.
 Or a voi, quando il viver più diletta,
 drizzo 'l mio corso innanzi che Fortuna
 nel vostro dolce qualche amaro metta"

(*Triumphus Mortis* Part I, lines 30-48)⁹³

There are several subtle intertexts within Petrarch's description of Death that harken back to Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione*, as well as the *Decameron*, and the previous visual tradition of the *Triumph of Death* and live-action funerary processions. Petrarch mentions neither a chariot nor a procession in tow, but instead fixates on the allegorical figure herself. Similar to the other allegorical figures and triumphal "parades" featured in *I Trionfi*, the personification of Death appears without many visual specifics in the text, suggesting very little about the potential historical pageant or parade to which this triumph could refer. Death—a female figure dressed in black, with a dark banner raised overhead—instructs the group of her role as the "destroyer" of human life. It is her mission to seize any sweetness from her victims before Fortune turns these moments into bitterness. Though Death is responsible for the demise of the Greek, Roman, and

⁹¹ Francesco Petrarca, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, eds. F. Neri, G. Martellotti, E. Bianchi, and N. Sapegno (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1951), 517-518.

⁹² Ibid., 517.

⁹³ Ibid., 518.

Trojan warriors, she also actively searches for figures who belong to the “sorda e cieca gente” (lines 39-40),⁹⁴ implying that these souls have been led astray from their Christian duties.⁹⁵

Although Boccaccio’s imagery for the personification of Death-Fortune does not explicitly indicate that she wears a black shroud in the same way that Petrarch’s figure does, the former alludes to contemporary clothes associated with mourning within the “Triumph of Death-Fortune” in Canto XXXV: “In abito dolente e con sospetto/ quivi Asdrubale ancora si vedea,/ con capo basso mirandosi ’l petto” (lines 70-72).⁹⁶ Even more evidently, previous *Triumph of Death* imagery, including the Pisa Camposanto, represented the personified allegory robed in tattered black clothing.⁹⁷ Since black was the color associated with grief and mourning—often related to women’s attire worn during the funerary requiem—,⁹⁸ the visual image offered by Petrarch draws his reader to construct a connection between his personification of Death, visual images of Death, and female mourners in funerary rituals.

While Death describes how she collects her victims’ lives with her “spada” (line 42),⁹⁹ the majority of previous iconography represents Death holding a scythe, though there were some images that included both as scythe and a sword, such as *Triumph of Death* in the Subiaco.¹⁰⁰ The explicit mention of the sword transfigures the image of Death into a female warrior, battling with her victims as if she were among the ancient Greek, Roman, and Trojan figures who fell victim to her fatal hand. Within the triumph of Boccaccio’s Death-Fortune, the female guide narrates to the pilgrim-poet that “—Horribilmente percuote costei—...Così costei con cui le piace giostra,/ sempre abbattendo chi s’oppona ad essa;” (Canto XXXIV, lines 1, 49-50).¹⁰¹ Fortune ravages her victims through a violent blow, as if in a joust. Most commonly using a lance, it was possible for jousts to consist of daggers or a sword as the weapon of choice. This acute depiction of aggressive action intertextually influences Petrarch’s choice of Death’s “spada,” and draws a parallel to the military origins of the triumph as a Roman celebration of conquest.

Though Petrarch claims that Death’s conquests are “sorda e cieca gente,” this imagery also comes from Boccaccio’s personification of Death-Fortune. Prior to encountering the personification of Death-Fortune, the female guide chastises the pilgrim-poet: “Tu t’abbagli te stesso in tanta erranza/ con falso immaginar, per le presenti/ cose” (Canto XXX, lines 40-42).¹⁰² Boccaccio will himself soon become a victim of Death and, as the reader will learn when Fortune arrives, is a current victim of Fortune’s vengeful blows, and thus a member himself of the “cieca gente.” To further illustrate this point, in Boccaccio’s Canto XXXI, the mysterious allegory is described as being both “sorda e cieca” (line 24),¹⁰³ which symbolically represents the “deadly effects of *Fortuna* and her knowing full well her purposes” in “blinding” those followers of hers against moral good.¹⁰⁴ Death-Fortune’s “form” follows her “function” and imitates the folly of man in their desire for earthly goods. As such, Petrarch invokes the Boccaccian theme and imagery

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Lorenzi, 16-17.

⁹⁶ Boccaccio, *l’Amorosa visione*, 144.

⁹⁷ Scaramella, 86.

⁹⁸ Strocchia, 10.

⁹⁹ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 518.

¹⁰⁰ See footnote forty.

¹⁰¹ Boccaccio, *l’Amorosa visione*, 138-140.

¹⁰² Ibid., 122.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 126.

¹⁰⁴ Robert Hollander, Timothy Hampton, and Margherita Frankel, eds. and trans., *l’Amorosa visione* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986), 233.

from his Death-Fortune in the *Triumphus Mortis*'s ideation of Death to further emphasize the two allegories are visually the same.

The dark banner of death, when juxtaposed with the vibrant banner carried by the *brigata* in Laura's-Chastity's triumph, indicates a reliance on public displays of mourning rituals, since banners were traditionally included in funerary procession.¹⁰⁵ However, the somber banner of Death also recalls Dante's *Inferno* III and the non-committals who stand out to the pilgrim-poet:

E io, che riguardai, vidi una 'nsegna
che girando correva tanto ratta
che d'ogne posa mi pareva indegna;
e dietro le venìa sì lunga tratta
di gente, ch'i' non avrei creduto
che morte tanta n'avesse disfatta

(*Inferno* III, lines 52-57)¹⁰⁶

In contrast to the rebellious angels who are wanted by no one, not even death, these figures, the "neutrals," directly follow behind their triumphator, Death, in procession. The first of the lost souls encountered by Dante in Hell, the neutrals experience Dante's first example of *contrapasso*—their inability to choose good or evil and their propensity for indecision force them to run aimlessly in the vestibule of Hell as wasps and flies continuously attack their bodies. The banner which leads the procession is an unidentified, blank canvas, serving as an allegory for their continued anonymity from "life" into "death."¹⁰⁷ While Chastity's banner manifests symbols associated with chastity, Death's banner is also blank. For Dante, perhaps the empty space of the banner communicates Death's role throughout Hell, rather than as a singular experience, and emphasizes the impending *contrapassi* for all of Death's victims. Following suit, instead of inscribing the banner with one word or phrase, Petrarch ventriloquizes Death as she speaks directly to Laura and the *brigata*. Death's discourse further echoes Petrarch's mediation of the Pisa Camposanto fresco through Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* in that certain phrases in the painting, those directly linked to Death, intermedially "appear" in Boccaccio and intertextually come to the forefront in Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis*.

Within the Pisan *Triumph of Death* are several inscriptions, in both Latin and vernacular Italian,¹⁰⁸ that both frame its edges and appear within the painting as scrolls held by angels and other figures. While Bolzoni argues that the interplay between text and image as well as that between Latin and vernacular Italian, play a didactic role in reinforcing ideas from the scripture and sermons of the Dominicans into the minds of the viewer,¹⁰⁹ we might also consider the

¹⁰⁵ Strocchia,, 32.

¹⁰⁶ Dante, 56.

¹⁰⁷ John Freccero, "Dante and the Neutral Angels," *Romanic Review* 51 (1960), 3-14; Bruno Nardi, "Gli angeli che non furon ribelli né fur fedeli a Dio," in *Dal "Convivio" alla Commedia* (Rome: istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1960), 315-330; Giorgio Padoan, "Il canto III del *Inferno*," in *Nuove letture dantesche*, vol. 1 (Florence: Le Monnier, 1966), 47-71; Natalino Sapegno, "Il canto III dell'*Inferno*," in *Lectura Dantis Scaligera: Inferno* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1967), 51-76; Francesco Mazzoni, "Il canto III dell'*Inferno*," in *Saggi di un nuovo commento alla "Divina Commedia"* (Florence: Sansoni, 1967), 314-455; Giorgio Petrocchi, "Dante e Celestino V," in *Itinerari danteschi* (Bari: Adriatica, 1969), 54-74; Steno Vazzana, "Chi sono gli ignavi?" *L'Alighieri* 30 (1989), 3-14; Richard Lansing, ed., *The Dante Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Durling and Martinez, 65.

¹⁰⁸ Bolzoni, 26-27; Carletti and Polacci, 103.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. Boeckl, prior to Bolzoni, offered that the inscriptions reflect the writings of Pope Benedict XII in his *Benedictus Deus* and the eschatological debate about the fate of one's soul upon their death.

inscriptions through the earlier literary and visual traditions that placed emphasis on Death's allegorical role as the great equalizer, the figure who initiates the spiritual transcendence from life to the afterlife.¹¹⁰ The "learned" Latin and the "ignorant" vernacular are made equal, allowing the form to mirror the allegorical function of the scene. As Giorgio Vasari would claim much later, Buffalmacco believed the inclusion of words added a level of authenticity to painted figures,¹¹¹ further bridging the gap between the experiences offered within the "fictitious" narrative and real viewer. The allegorical nature of the relationship between text and image in Pisa emulates more closely the poetic interpretation of both Boccaccio and Petrarch, and intermedially becomes "re-written" into their various "Triumphs of Death. Without analyzing every inscription within the painting,¹¹² I will focus on the scrolls to which Boccaccio intermedially refers, and Petrarch further intertextualizes.

Petrarch's Death first introduces herself by calling out to Laura, commenting upon the seemingly eternal qualities of her beauty and youth:

O tu, donna, che vai
di gioventute e di bellezze altera,
[...]
ò interrotti infiniti penser vani

(*Triumphus Mortis* Part I, lines 34-35; line 45)¹¹³

Though Death directly speaks to Laura, Death uses the impersonal term, "donna," rather than a specified "Laura" or "Pudicitie," thus subtly alluding to not only to Laura, but also to a figure who might represent all women, especially the *brigata* from the opening of the canto. Toward the end of Death's introduction, she concludes that she will end all vain thoughts, underscoring the vanity of female beauty that lies at the heart of her speech. Similarly, when Boccaccio's female guide begins to describe Death-Fortune, she utters the words: "—Voi, terrestri animali, disiate/ i voler vostri tututti seguire/ mediante questa, la qual voi chiamate/ Fortuna bona e rea, secondo ch'essa/ vi dà e tol mondana facultate" (Canto XXXII, lines 2-5).¹¹⁴ Boccaccio's Death-Fortune, like Petrarch's, destroys all vain thoughts that are counter to God's will. Though not explicitly

¹¹⁰ Carletti and Polacci, 87.

¹¹¹ Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite*, ed. W. Gaunt (London, 1970), 512-513; Tarr, 232. Hans Belting famously argues that allegorical narrative is fictitious ("Historia" and Allegory," 154).

¹¹² Carletti and Polacci offer a brief reconstruction of the different types of messages within the fresco: "In particular, proceeding from left to right, the first three scrolls were not visible to both scholars [Bartoli and Morpurgo], and Morpurgo extracted them from the fifteenth-century codex. The first one praises the hermetical life, and it refers to the episode of the anchorites. The second and third give voice to one of the three corpses inside the coffins, and they talk to the noblemen and also to the beholder. The fourth scroll, under the greyhound, recalls the transience of life and warns everybody about the fleeting nature of richness. The fifth, under the beggars, is in Latin, but even Bartoli could read these fragments of verses that can be interpreted as a supplication to death, echoing the longer inscription held by the same beggars inside the fresco. The sixth scroll is just under the heap of corpses, and its writing alludes to death as a leveler of different classes; however it speaks without distinction to rich and poor, because death concerns everyone who was born. The seventh scroll is once again in Latin, and the three verses that Bartoli copied sound like a parable about the unpredictable arrival of Death. The eighth scroll addresses a woman in the orchards as well as every woman in the audience, inviting her to shun vanity and hedonism. The ninth and last scroll—already not readable in Bartoli's time and drawn from the fifteenth-century codex—exhorts everybody to avoid carnal sin because Death could arrive at any moment. We are talking about a literary treasure of at least fifty verses entrusted into the lower frame," 105-106.

¹¹³ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 518.

¹¹⁴ Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 130.

addressed directly at a woman or female audience, the idea of vanity in thoughts corresponds to the vanity of female beauty emphasized within Petrarch's text.

This becomes more apparent when examining the two passages in relation to one of the scrolls from the Camposanto painting. Within the fresco, there is a scroll that is specifically directed toward the *brigata* on the right side of the scene. The Italian text reads: "Femina vana perché ti diletta/ d'andar così dipinta et adorna?/ Che vuoi piacere al mondo più che a Dio?/ Ai, lassa, che sentenza tu aspetti,/ se incontanente lo tuo cor non torna,/ a confessarsi spesso."¹¹⁵ The direct address to the "femina vana" and the use of the Italian vernacular suggests that this admonishing piece of advice reaches beyond the wall of the painting toward a larger female public. Adhering to the precedent set by the Pisa Camposanto, the non-descript "donna" Petrarch's Death uses to address Laura becomes a synecdoche and a message for the larger whole, Chastity's *brigata*.

Following Death's address to the *brigata*, Petrarch's Death then emphasizes that she will arrive whenever she pleases:

e di tua vita il termine non sai,
io son colei che sì importuna e fera
chiamata son da voi, e sorda e cieca
gente, a cui si fa notte innanzi sera;
[...]
e giugnendo quand'altri non m'aspetta

(*Triumphus Mortis* Part I, lines 36-39; line 44)¹¹⁶

This highlights the unpredictability and the swift action with which Death seizes her victims. While not entirely a direct one-to-one relationship, the implication that Fortune strikes at any moment comes into play with the spin of her wheel, in which the female guide of Boccaccio says:

colei che muta ogni mondano stato
[...]
E legge non avea né fermo patto
negli atti suoi volubili e incostanti,
ma come posto talor l'avea fratto:
volgendo sempre ora indietro ora avanti
una gran ruota senza alcun riposo,
con la qual dava or gioia e talora pianti.

(*l'Amorosa visione* XXXI, line 17; 25-30)¹¹⁷

Boccaccio's female guide instructs the pilgrim-poet that none of Death-Fortune's subjects know exactly when or how Fortune will strike. Though Fortune may bring happiness, she could just as easily annihilate her followers, demonstrating the unpredictable, volatile fates she inflicts upon her victims. We recall that this forceful and impetuous nature intertextually returns to Dante, as well as to the active participation Fortune plays following Death's conquering force.

¹¹⁵ All transcriptions of the text within the Pisa *Triumph of Death* come from Carletti and Polacci.

¹¹⁶ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 518.

¹¹⁷ Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 126.

Similarly, within Buffalmacco's fresco, there are two phrases that indicate to the viewer that Death will arrive at any moment. The first phrase appears in the central scroll held by the angelic figures close behind Death:

Scherma di sapere o de ricchezza
Di nobiltà et ancor di gentilezza
Vaglian niente a' colpi di costei.
Dè, che non trovi dunque contra lei,
O tu lector, niuno argomento?¹¹⁸
Or non haver il tuo intellecto spento
Di starci sempre [sì] apparecchiato
Che non ti giunga nel mortal peccato.

The second phrase, however, "Nescit homo finem suum; sed sicut pisces capiuntur amo, et sicut aves comprehenduntur [l] aqueo, ita homines capiuntur in tempore malo" (no one knows when his hour will come: but just as fish are caught in a pall; and just as birds are captured in a snare, so men are caught in evil time[s]), is located in the middle lower frame, directly below Death. Though one text is in the vernacular and the other in Latin, the placement of these two complimentary phrases about the uncertainty of Death corresponds directly with her image rapidly charging toward the *brigata*, allowing all readers and viewers of the scene to comprehend the underlying meaning. As Roger Tarr argues, the inclusion of the scrolls within the fresco demonstrate Buffalmacco's interest in and knowledge of Dante's text, serving as an intermedial model for visualizing the allegorical message of the relationship between what happens to the mortal "body" and the eternal "soul" in the afterlife. According to Tarr, "the way the scene shows the figures pressing forward to importune Death with their words is very reminiscent of the way the souls in *Inferno* press themselves towards Dante to describe their endless torments."¹¹⁹ The Pisan painting is a "visibile parlare" or a poetic fresco designed to educate and enlighten the viewer in the same fashion as Dante's literary journey to the stars. The visual and textual precedent set forth by the fresco and Dante is thus intermedially represented in Boccaccio and later is confirmed and reinforced in Petrarch's image of Death.

The use of both Latin and the vernacular once again aids in addressing a multitude of viewing communities, unlike the previous address that was strictly intended for the "femina vana." This double emphasis on the uncontrollable, sudden nature of Death further leads to the idea of Death as the "equalizer among humans," punishing those privileged and disadvantaged, happy and sad, Christian and not alike.

Petrarch first alludes to this idea by writing,

io ò condotto al fin la gente greca
e la troiana, a l'ultimo i Romani,
con la mia spada la qual punge e seca,
e popoli altri barbareschi e strani;

(*Triumphus Mortis* Part I, lines 40-43)¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Though I do not discuss the call to the reader here, I will soon return to this line.

¹¹⁹ Tarr, 236.

¹²⁰ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 518.

Death instructs Laura that she is the one whom everyone, valiant warriors and commoners alike,¹²¹ fears, an idea which resurfaces during Laura's death later in Part I (lines 73-87).¹²² As Petrarch then reflects on Death's triumph he notes:

Così rispose; ed ecco da traverso
piena di morti tutta la campagna,
che comprender nol po prosa né verso:
da India, dal Cataio, Marrocco e Spagna
el mezzo avea già pieno e le pendici
per molti tempi quella turba magna.
Ivi eran quei che fur detti felici,
pontefici, regnanti, imperadori:
or sono ignudi, miseri e mendici.
U' sono or le riccheezze? u' son gli onori?
e le gemme e gli scettri e le corone,
e l mitre e i purpurei colori?
Miser chi speme in cosa mortal pone
(ma chi non ve la pone?), e se si trova
alla fine ingannato è ben ragione.

(*Triumphus Mortis* Part I, lines 73-87)¹²³

No one may escape Death's unforgiving grip. When Death conquers her victims, an individual's unique features fade away, leaving all earthly and bodily possessions behind. The idea of every man "losing" not only their lives but their goods through Death echoes Boccaccio's description of Death-Fortune in the *Amorosa visione*. Before the "anti-triumph" begins, Boccaccio's guide warns him that every earthly good will be destroyed: "Ogni mondan valor vedrai conquiso/ in termine assai brieve." (Canto XXXIII, line 85).¹²⁴ Upon the conclusion of the parade, the pilgrim-poet turns to his female guide and utters,

Nessun porria pensar che tanta gente,
così famosa e di tanta virtute,
Fortuna avesse oppressa sì vilmente.
Fosse chi nol vedesse? o chi salute
omai qui spererà, se non coloro
che le vere ed etterne han conosciute?

(*l'Amorosa visione* XXXVII lines 34-39)¹²⁵

¹²¹ There is a further parallel between this aspect of Petrarch's Death and Fortune in Boccaccio in that Fortune's list of victims is comprised solely of mythological and historical figures from ancient Greece and Rome.

¹²² Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 519-520.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 136.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 150.

Shocked and in disbelief by Fortune's utter disregard for fame, name, or person, the pilgrim-poet fearfully acknowledges the overwhelming power of Death-Fortune as the earthly executioner. Just as Dante learns that, upon entering the gates of Hell, Death forces one to abandon every abject thought: "ogne viltà convien che qui sia morta," (*Inferno* III, line 15),¹²⁶ Boccaccio intertextually submits that Fortune imposes the same mindset onto her victims. Both Petrarch's Death and Boccaccio's Fortune grasp whomever they want, with little regard to riches, fame, or who the person was on Earth. Leaving all possessions behind, Death and Death-Fortune single-handedly reduce all beings to a level of nothingness.

While this idea intertextually hinges on Petrarch's, Boccaccio's, and Dante's poems, it is also expressed explicitly and allegorically via the Pisa Camposanto. Let us return one more to the previous scroll held by angels in the center of the painting:

Schermo di sapere o de richeça
 Di nobiltà et ancor di gentileça
 Vaglian niente a' colpi di costei.
 Dè, che non trovi dumque contra lei,
 O tu lector, niuno argomento?
 Or non haver il tuo intellecto spento
 Di starci sempre [sì] apparecchiato
 Che non ti giunga nel mortal peccato.

The second half of this inscription addresses the furious role Death plays, while the first half reiterates that no one is immune to Death's blows. While this inscription is in the vernacular, allowing its "form" to appear more accessible than its Latin counterpart, there is also a direct call to the "reader" located in the middle of the inscription. While the text communicates the message to a broader community of viewers—Death comes for all persons, regardless of their wealth, status, or fame on earth—the juxtaposition of this address to the reader behind the central image Death, surrounded by angels and demons, insists upon its didactic message. The angels who hold the scroll visually accord with the angelic figures who transport the virtuous souls toward Heaven, leaving those who remain as the unrepentant victims of the demonic "Malebranche." Like the "Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead," if the "lector"/viewer can learn from their mistakes and alter their behaviors on Earth, when Death arrives to claim her victims, there is hope for salvation in the afterlife. By intermedially referencing the play between word and image and the allegorical meaning of Death offered by the Pisa Camposanto, Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis* assumes another layer of meaning—the potential for Death to bring peace in the afterlife.

The Pisa Camposanto reinforces this idea in another inscription. The scroll under the beggars who turn toward Death as if pleading to her say, "O Mors, bonum est iudicium tuum/ non indigenti cur.../ capite" (Oh Death, your judgment is good, why do you not...from needing...,you all understand). Death heeds no cries and does not offer sympathy to anyone. Through a mediation of the Pisa Camposanto's allegorical meaning, Boccaccio, and ultimately Petrarch, offer clues that inform both the reading of their poems and later viewing of Petrarch's painted *Triumphus Mortis* in an indirect way. Artists then turn to rely on embedded textual clues and their collective memory of previous *Triumph of Death* imagery to accurately inform their depictions of Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis*.

¹²⁶ Dante, 54.

The shared intermedialities between the Pisan fresco and Petrarch's and Boccaccio's poems shed light on one final textual element that Petrarch inserts into his *Triumphus Mortis*. It is important to note that Petrarch specifically uses the term "brigata allegra" (line 29)¹²⁷ when describing the female companions of Laura-Chastity as they continue their triumphal journey before encountering Death. Though the term *brigata allegra* is synonymous with Boccaccio's group of storytellers in the *Decameron*, it is difficult to ignore that the image of a *brigata* taking pleasure in the garden also existed in the *Amorosa visione* and that this earlier text's female *brigata* stands in direct dialogue with the Pisa Camposanto. It is precisely this chain of influences that inspires Petrarch's placement of the *brigata allegra* within his *Triumphus Mortis*.

Although Petrarch introduces his *brigata* before the allegory of Death, the imagery Petrarch uses to describe them follows the pattern provided by the garden of the *Amorosa visione* and the Pisa Camposanto. There are flowers surrounding the joyous movement and possible dancing of the women and the evocation of "spring" as the setting for this triumph (line 25).¹²⁸ Once Death approaches, the remainder of Part I contains an imagined dialogue between Laura and Death in which Laura challenges Death's violent nature, claiming she is not afraid, but ready to depart the Earthly world and fulfill her Christian duty as Petrarch's spiritual guide. Death does not completely triumph over Laura but rather triumphs over the mortal idea of chastity and her body, not her spirit,¹²⁹ in accordance with the message implied by the Pisa Camposanto,¹³⁰ authorizing Death to assume and immortalize Laura's beauty in the process.¹³¹ Upon Laura's mortal "death" the pilgrim-poet reintroduces the *brigata* but this time, in their role as mourners, conforming to the standard practices of contemporary public funerary processions:

Quella bella compagna era ivi accolta
 pur a vedere e contemplare il fine
 che far conveni, e non più d'una volta:
 tutte sue amiche e tutte eran vicine.
 [...]
 Quanti lamenti lagrimosi sparsi
 fur ivi, essendo que' belli occhi asciutti
 per ch'io lunga stagion cantai ed arsi!

(*Triumphus Mortis* Part I, lines 109-112; 118-120)¹³²

Though Petrarch describes the scene as having emotionally moved all the viewers on site, the only people by Laura's side were women. The pilgrim-poet is merely a witness to the funerary ritual of mourning unfolding.

¹²⁷ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 518.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 517.

¹²⁹ Fabio Finotti, "The Poem of Memory (Triumph)," in *Petrarch: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, eds. Victorian Kirkham and Armando Maggi (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009), 79; Sara Sturm-Maddox, "Arbor vittoriosa triunfale: Allegory and Spectacle in the *Rime* and the *Trionfi*," in *Petrarch and Dante: Anti-Dantism, Metaphysics, Tradition*, eds. Zygmunt G. Barański and Theodore J. Cachey Jr. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 122; Lorenzi, 20.

¹³⁰ Boeckl, 58.

¹³¹ Bernardo, *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs*, 122; Lorenzi, 12.

¹³² Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 521.

Similarly, Boccaccio includes this gendered reference to female mourning in his triumph of Death-Fortune.¹³³ After Boccaccio finally begins to catalogue the victims of Fortune's "anti-triumph," he references Tydeus as one of the initial members of Her "parade." Boccaccio details Tydeus's downfall at the hand of Fortune by saying: "Vedi Tideo là, vedi il pianto amaro/ che fer le meste ch'a più compimento, / in ristoro del duol, si consumaro" (Canto XXXIV lines 37-39).¹³⁴ It is only the women who mourn and lament Tydeus's dreadful downfall. Boccaccio clearly distinguishes and includes the gendered dynamics of public mourning rituals within Fortune's "moving" spectacle to draw a further parallel between the role of Fortune and Death and to clearly convey in the minds of his readers an understanding of the public ritual and visual *Triumph of Death*.

Following Boccaccio, Petrarch adapts his words so that the female group mirrors the live-funerary practices, authorizing the validity of the scene unfolding before both pilgrim-poets' eyes. Immediately following the death and initial "funerary procession" for Laura, Part II depicts the pilgrim-poet deep in conversation with Laura. As his Fiammetta- and Beatrice-inspired spiritual guide, Laura will strive to lead the poet toward God's Eternity and salvation. Petrarch adheres to the structure of both Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* and the live-action movement of painted designs of the Pisa Camposanto to create the impression of a funerary/moving "Triumph of Death" pageant within his allegorical journey post-Death. These intertextual, intervisual, and intermedial clues will inform visual artists wishing to represent Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis* and provide insight into how to distinguish the Petrarchan model from the previous *Triumph of Death* iconography.

IMAGERY FOR THE *TRIUMPHUS MORTIS*

While images of a *Triumph of Death* and the macabre were not new to the Italian visual tradition, the heightened communal attention to contagion-caused death and the unpredictability of its spread, particularly after 1348, yielded new stylistic approaches to the themes' representations in art. The rise in popularity of Petrarch's *Trionfi* prompted an additional opportunity to represent this theme through a slightly different lens. Though intending to directly represent Petrarch's words in a visual form, the poet's few explicit details of his allegory and Her "triumph" left artists wanting, spurring them to turn elsewhere for visual inspiration.

There are two standard iterations for representing Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis*. One mode, that which Francesco di Antonio del Chierico and his workshop established in the later fifteenth century (fig. 14), adheres to the visual example initiated in the Camposanto.¹³⁵ From 1460 to 1480, most manuscripts of the *Trionfi* were illustrated by artists associated with del Chierico's workshop, or they indicate the influence of his style,¹³⁶ such as the MS Harley 5761 which was commissioned by the Medici. Here, we find both a historiated initial 'Q'uesta, and a small vignette at the bottom of the page depicting the personification of Death as a swift, demonic figure endowed with large

¹³³ For more on the idea of Fortune, see Howard Patch's *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927).

¹³⁴ Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 138.

¹³⁵ Del Chierico's workshop also produced images for Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis* in which the allegory appears on a chariot, such as the image found in MS 905, Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana, following in line with the prototype initially devised by Apollonio di Giovanni.

¹³⁶ Simona Cohen, *Transformations of Time and Temporality in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 315.



Fig. 14. Francesco Antonio del Chierico, *Triumph of Death*, detail of a marginal vignette, late fifteenth century, tempera colors, ink. MS Hartley 5761 fol. 29, British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

bat-like wings, who wields a scythe in the moments leading up to her potential kill. The border surrounding the page is typical of fifteenth-century Florentine manuscripts and includes flowers, birds, *putti*, and deer.¹³⁷ However, del Chierico also inserts skulls, emblems of death now ingrained in the cultural memory of the Quattrocento, and coral beads strewn across the vignette. Coral beads, a luxury item, served as both a symbol of beauty and as a tool for protection against illness or sudden death.¹³⁸ The presence of the coral beads in this image perhaps demonstrates the elite status of the Medici, yet alerts the reader to the indiscriminate power of Death. This artistic rendition immediately recalls the idea of a dark, menacing Death previously described in the initial encounter offered by Petrarch and Boccaccio and invokes earlier visual images of Death, such as the Pisa Camposanto.

Del Chierico's interpretation of Petrarch's allegory of Death may be more accurately related to the text of the *Triumphus Mortis*. In his initial description of Death, Petrarch labels the personification "con un furor qual io non so se mai/ al tempo de' giganti fusse a Flegra" (Part 1 lines 32-33).¹³⁹ Though Petrarch's inclusion of the noun "furor" may recall Statius, it may also return the contemporary reader to the opening line of Dante's *Inferno* IX ("quel color che viltà di fuor mi pinse" line 1),¹⁴⁰ the *canto* that introduces the Furies who guard the entrance to the City of

¹³⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Canon. Ital. 62, <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/b2590067-583d-492c-a843-80b27ed310f1/> (accessed February 25, 2022).

¹³⁸ Vincenzo Ambroggi, "Piero della Francesca's coral pendants: the hidden bronchial anatomy," *BJM Journals* 69 no. 12 (1 April 2014), 1161.

¹³⁹ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 518.

¹⁴⁰ Dante, 140.

Dis.¹⁴¹ A contemporary audience may thus associate this visual image of Death with Dante's demonic *female* forces that share similar features with the Malebranche. Additionally, the imagery of the Furies and Malebranche implicitly conjured by Petrarch's text further invite viewers to return to the Pisa Camposanto as a direct model for this interpretation of a female "fury" of Death.¹⁴²

In these images in which the figure of Death as a Fury hovers above the victims, del Chierico's workshop attributes to Death characteristics of swift mobility across time and space. While there are bodies lying behind Death's floating figure, there is also often included a group of figures fleeing the personification's threats. In juxtaposition to the skeletal body of Death, the victims, both men and women, are dressed in colorful clothing and demonstrate the wide strata of society called to participate in Death's parade. This active threat underscores the allegorical fate of the mortal "body" visualized in the Camposanto¹⁴³ and intermedially appears in the visual and textual *Triumphus Mortis*. Impending Death corresponds with the image of Petrarch's Death *before* her ultimate "triumph" over Laura as seen in the *Triumphus Mortis* Part I, the section centered on the demise of the physical body of Laura. The emotions sparked in the viewer by witnessing Death in this way imitate Petrarch's intertextual and intermedial connection to Boccaccio's fierce female Death-Fortune and the horrific visual of Death from the Pisa Camposanto.

The second and more common visual iteration of Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis* (fig. 15) follows the basic model initiated by Apollonio di Giovanni and his workshop in the 1440s, which was used for both the earliest manuscript illuminations and *cassoni* thereafter. Until the 1480s, the illuminations for most of the *Trionfi* manuscripts were Florentine and adhered to di Giovanni's model.¹⁴⁴ As we see in the front panel of a *cassone* depicting Petrarch's *Triumphs of Love, Chastity and Death*, attributed to Francesco Pesellino and originally commissioned by Piero de Medici to celebrate his wedding to Lucrezia Tornabuoni in 1448,¹⁴⁵ Pesellino follows di Giovanni's prototype where the allegory is mounted on top of a chariot pulled by either two or four black oxen. Though the personification of Death usually appears clothed in a black shroud and carrying a scythe, Pesellino depicts the allegory as a frail female figure with strands of hair cast wildly into the wind and a dreadful expression painted on her gaunt face,¹⁴⁶ as opposed to a skeleton. Visually, this communicates Petrarch's intertextual hints towards Boccaccio's Death-Fortune and the earlier iconography from Buffalmacco's *Triumph of Death*. Images of crosses, bones, or skulls adorn the black or gold colored chariot. While di Giovanni restricts his vision of the *Triumphus Mortis* to only the allegory riding atop the chariot, in the 1450s and 1460s, such artists as Pesellino, expanded the initial prototype, copying the images of mass devastation brought about by contemporary contagions. We see Death in the process of trampling over its newly conquered victims with the bodies of the personification's earlier "followers" either strewn along the sides of Death's path, underneath the chariot, or lying still behind the "procession." The background setting is often a desolate, desert landscape painted in muted, earth tone colors.

¹⁴¹ Lorenzi, 16. "Furor" is also used by Dante to describe the giant's madness in assailing heaven in *Inferno* Canto XXXI, line 114 (488).

¹⁴² Battaglia Ricci, 61.

¹⁴³ Boeckl, 58.

¹⁴⁴ Cohen, 304.

¹⁴⁵ Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, "The Medici-Tornabuoni Desco da Parto in Context," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 33 (1998), 145.

¹⁴⁶ Some versions from Apollonio di Giovanni's workshop also portray the allegory of Death as a skeleton such as in the MS Pal. 72, fol. 80r, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.

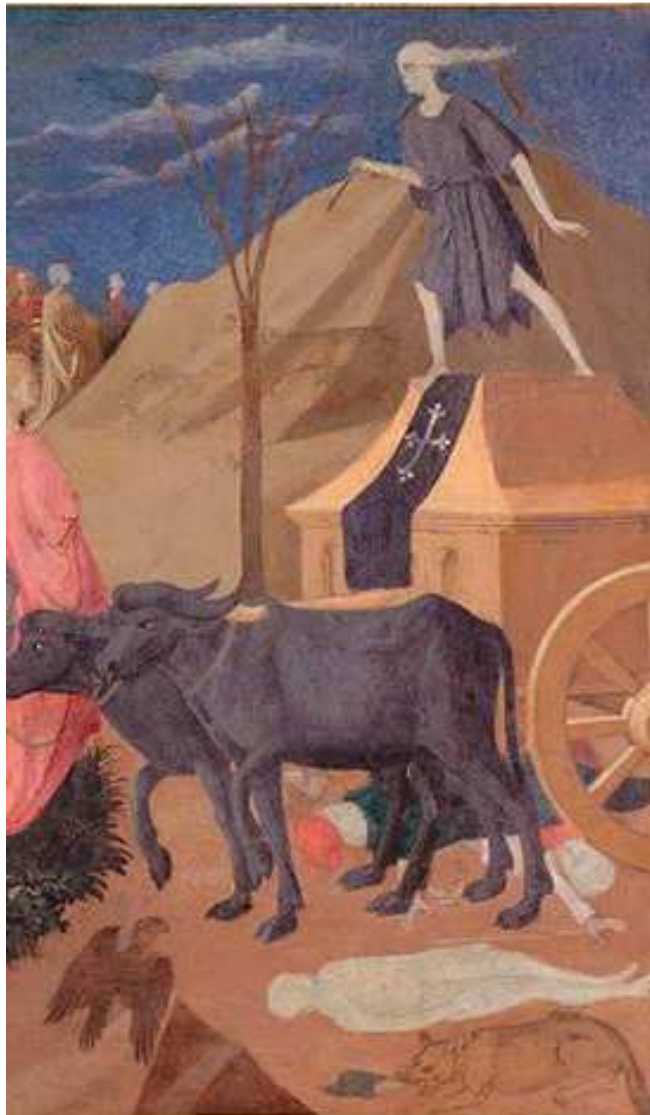


Fig. 15. Francesco Pesellino, detail of *Triumph of Death*, c. 1448, tempera and gold on panel, *cassone*. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Massachusetts. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

The choice between the frail female or the skeleton for the personification of Death seems too disparate for both to be possible visualizations of Petrarch's text. The female figure of Death accords with Petrarch's description of Death as a feminine allegory, shrouded in black. As we see in Pesellino's example the addition of the scythe, her flowing grey locks, and tattered clothes convey Petrarch's intertextual hints towards Boccaccio's *Death-Fortune* and the earlier iconography from the Pisa Camposanto *Triumph of Death*, which each render Death in a similar manner. The image of the skeleton, however, possibly derives from two potential sources. On the one hand, artists return to ideas of the macabre that were already embedded into the visual iconography of the time from the earlier *Triumph of Death* imagery outside of the Tuscan or Pisa Camposanto tradition,¹⁴⁷ which sometimes showcased a skeleton as Death—the symbolic Fourth

¹⁴⁷ Brion-Guerry, 92.

Horseman of the Apocalypse—rapidly riding on horseback toward its next prey. Skeletons entered the visual imagery associated with public funerary pageants in the fifteenth century,¹⁴⁸ and so the return to the image of Death, as a skeleton/Fourth horseman in later imaginations of Petrarch’s “triumphs,” accords with what artists and viewers alike witnessed throughout their local streets. On the other hand, artists did not begin to represent Petrarch’s *Trionfi* until the fifteenth century. In 1425 in France, and later Germany, England, and almost all of Western Europe outside of Italy,¹⁴⁹ the idea of the *Danse de la Mort* developed as a mode of representing the macabre and the transition from life to afterlife (fig. 16-18). Within these images, such as the example from Clusone, Death, always displayed in skeletal form, appears several times within the scene. Death joins arms with different men and women, dressed in contemporary clothing and representative of all strata of society and “dances” in a circle.¹⁵⁰ The theme of the *Danse de la Mort* visually underscores the allegorical message of Death as the equalizer among the masses.



Fig. 16. Giacomo Borlone de Burchis, *La Danza macabra e il Trionfo della Morte*, fifteenth-century, fresco. Oratorio dei Disciplini in Clusone. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

¹⁴⁸ Strocchia, 32.

¹⁴⁹ Binski, 14.

¹⁵⁰ See Arsenio Frugoni, “I temi della morte nell’affresco della chiesa dei discipline a Clusone,” in *Incontri nel Medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1979), 217-249 and Giacomo Scandella, “Danza macabra di Clusone e danze macabre europee: i personaggi a confronto,” in *La Signora del Mondo: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi sulla Danza macabra e il Trionfo della morte, Clusone, Auditorium comunale, 30 lugli*, eds., Giosuè Bonetti and Matteo Rabaglio (Bergamo: Circolo culturale Baradello, 2003), 163-178.

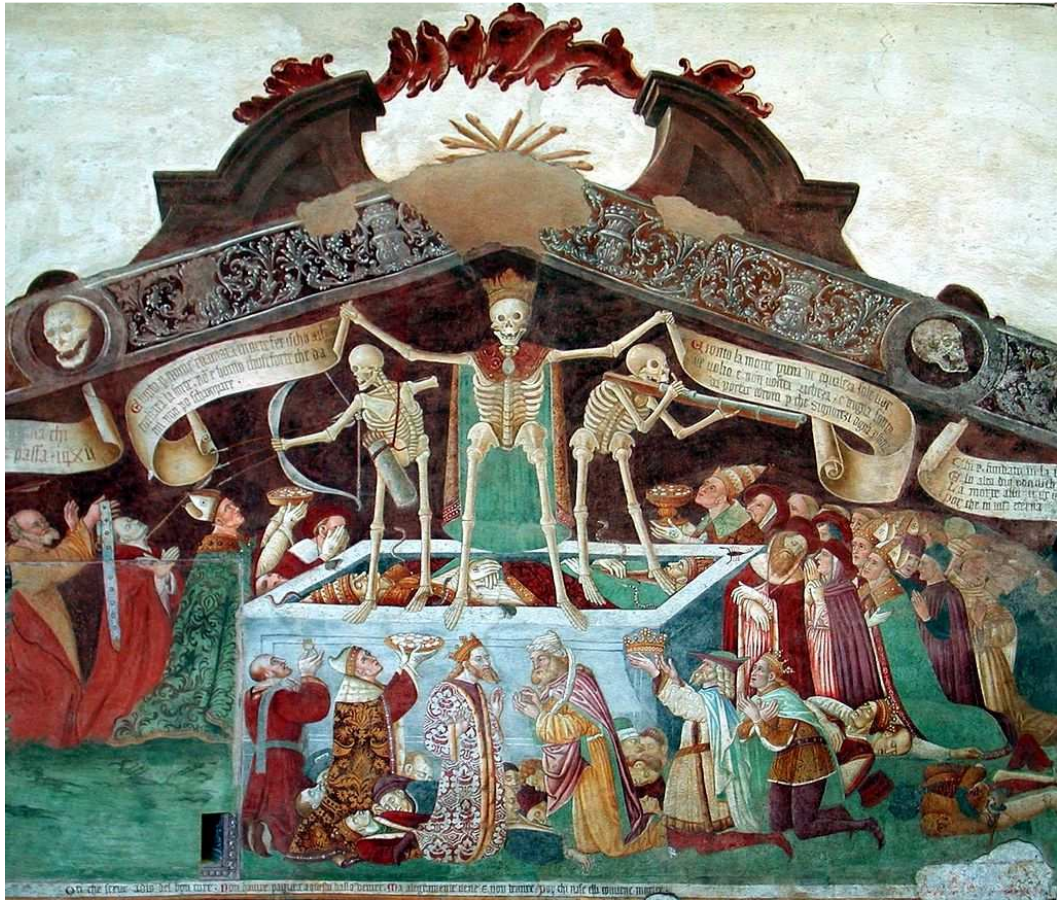


Fig. 17. Detail of the *Triumph of Death*. Image via Wikimedia Commons.



Fig. 18. Detail of the *Danse de la Mort* from the *Triumph of Death*. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

Although the *Danse de la Mort* frequently appears by itself and without other narratives surrounding the scene, the Clusone example is unique in that located directly above the *Danse de la Mort*, is a version of a “Triumph of Death.” The viewer notices Death, as a skeleton, donning a regal crown and cloak and standing, arms raised in victory holding scrolls, atop an open coffin with deceased bodies inside. Flanking Death are the skeletal accomplices who shoot arrows and other weapons toward a crowd of aristocratic, ecclesiastical, and poverty-stricken individuals in the crowd. Several members of the group of “living” lift offerings toward Death as a sign of good faith. In the corner is a scene of contemporary flora and fauna, exempt from Death’s destructive ends. The entire scene of the “Dance” and “Triumph” is framed by a floral border, as one would see in a manuscript text, with skeletal heads scattered within.

The juxtaposition of the *Triumph of Death* and the *Danse de la Mort*, in particular the linear progression of top to bottom, accords with previous *Triumph of Death* literary and discursive material. The *Triumph* visualizes the moment before one’s death, the leaving of the mortal “body” and the last-ditch effort to negotiate a place for the eternal “soul” at the end of one’s life. The message is clear, Death comes for all, without warning or prejudice, and will unite everyone who previously may have been divided by economic, social, or political factors in the final “dance.” Additionally, the Clusone example lies on the border between Italy and France, and thus demonstrates the shared interest in, transmission of, and alterations to the allegory of Death. Though the *Danse de la Mort* did not gain momentum in Italy outside of a few sparse renditions in the northern Alpine border, its prominence across Europe informed artists, especially in the French and northern European illustrated editions of Petrarch’s *Trionfi*,¹⁵¹ on how to best communicate the idea of a “Triumph of Death” for their local audience.

The vision of the female on the chariot as opposed to the floating Fury further brings into relief a reading of Part II of Petrarch’s *canto*. In contrast to the fast Fury of Death who represents the moment *before* the “triumph,” the image of Death in “procession” on her chariot invokes the moment of Petrarch’s *Triumphus Mortis* *after* Death triumphs over Laura-Chastity. Rather than approach her victims, Death is surrounded by those whom she left lifeless in her wake. However, Brion-Guerry argues that these particular images are meant to represent the allegory of Death not as a threatening force set on terminating others, but rather as one that brings peace and solace to souls *after* she triumphs over them,¹⁵² an idea that is at the heart of Petrarch’s *Triumphs Mortis* Part II.

Once Death “conquers” Laura’s physical body and beauty, the pilgrim-poet Petrarch and the dream-spirit Laura engage in a conversation that will lead Petrarch towards his journey to Paradise. After asking Laura whether she is “dead or alive,” Petrarch’s voice serves as a mouthpiece through which his contemporary reading community may “respond” to the devastation caused by the plague. The poet asks Laura whether the experience of Death is as unbearably bitter as it seems, to which she responds:

“Mentre al vulgo dietro vai
ed a la opinion sua cieca e dura,
esser felice non puoi tu già mai.
La morte è fin d’una pregione oscura
all’anime gentili; all’altre è noia

¹⁵¹ See BnF 594, located in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France for reference.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60007856.r=594%20petrarque?rk=21459;2>

¹⁵² Brion-Guerry, 96.

ch'anno posto nel fango ogni lor cura.
 Ed ora il morir mio, che sì t'annoia,
 ti farebbe allegrar se tu sentissi
 la millesima parte di mia gioia."

(*Triumphus Mortis* Part II, lines 31-39)¹⁵³

Laura quickly confirms for the pilgrim-poet that Death, which will be labeled a specifically *Christian* death following God, leads to the end of all suffering and inspires joy that will accompany the spirit throughout eternity (Part II, lines 31–39).¹⁵⁴ The motionless chariot and “non-parade” thus demonstrate the shift from Death as an aggressive agent that extinguishes the lives of her victims to Death who peacefully liberates the soul free from its body (“la morte è fin d’una pregione oscura”). In this way, while the images explicitly call to mind public funerary pageantry, the visuals of the processional “Triumph of Death” also implicitly allude to the allegorical significance of Death offered by Petrarch in Part II of the *Triumphus Mortis*. This idea further returns the reader/viewer to the Pisa Camposanto, reinforcing its scroll’s didactic message “Schermo di sapere o di ricchezza...,” wherein Death is a universal phenomenon experienced by all communities. The two parts of Petrarch’s poem, and their slightly divergent visual examples, additionally recall the relationship between the mortal “body” and the eternal “soul” implicitly offered by the Camposanto image.

In the second visual tradition of Petrarch’s *Triumphus Mortis*, it is impossible to ignore the chariot, most commonly pulled by black oxen, as a typical and repeated element across scenes portraying “Death in Triumph.” The chariot, usually black or gold with dark accents, often includes symbols of bones or crosses as decorative emblems. Though there are a few examples in which the oxen are actually buffaloes,¹⁵⁵ become the standard for Petrarchan *Triumph of Death* images. If we consider, for a moment, the chariot, we may recall that Petrarch does not explicitly mention this object within his *Triumphus Mortis*. In fact, outside of the *Triumphus Cupidinis*, no other allegory from Petrarch’s text is described as riding atop a chariot. What is the reason, then, for including a chariot, especially when earlier iconography associated with the *Triumph of Death* does not portray Death on a chariot pulled by animals?

By the middle of the fourteenth century, *ingegno*, or machines, became a new mode for displaying civic and religious imagery seen throughout Italian city streets, including funerary carts pulled by oxen.¹⁵⁶ Engineering treatises such as Mariano Taccola’s *De ingeneis* and *De machinis* (c.1449) depicted the mechanical transformation of various quotidian objects and invented new ways in which to incorporate technological machines, such as the ox-driven cart prominently featured in funerary processions, to help facilitate the completion of daily tasks. Taccola’s texts not only describe these new technological advances and their importance, but also offer schematic drawings to which people could refer for accurately constructing and utilizing the desired apparatus. Taccola maintained close friendships with many Tuscan artists, including Filippo Brunelleschi,¹⁵⁷ and often engaged in intellectual-artistic exchanges with local Siennese artists of

¹⁵³ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 524-525.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ See Lorenzo Costa’s *Triumph of Death*, 1490, in which he uses buffaloes over oxen.

¹⁵⁶ Jenna Soleo-Shanks, “From Stage to Page: Siena’s *Caleffo dell’Assunta*, Spectacular Machines, and the Promotion of Civic Power,” in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, eds. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 293.

¹⁵⁷ Soleo-Shanks, 293.

the time.¹⁵⁸ Due to the presence of these highly detailed drawings,¹⁵⁹ Taccola's treatise was not only a technical manual, but also was elevated to the level of fine art and was in dialogue with the designs other artists crafted, such as those visualizations of Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis* which similarly redesigned a funerary pageant and oxen-pulled wagon, when rendering their three-dimensional "machines" on paper or canvas.

Taccola divides his first engineering treatise, *De ingeneis*, into four major sections representative of different technological categories or their functions: harbors and their construction, operation, and defense, chemistry, drawings of machines and technical methods, and commonplace devices.¹⁶⁰ While Taccola had little to no formal knowledge of other technical literature and was unaware of the refined or advanced technological apparatuses of antiquity, the engineer's text was unique in that it offered a clear method of communicating ideas about contemporary technological thought. In particular, Taccola's text became the first of its kind to categorize machines based on their common parts, basic functions, and general rules of use. Inspired by drawing from life and what he witnessed on the streets of Florence, Taccola further developed his artistic skills from his connection to local artists of Siena and those traveling or visiting the city, such as Donatello and Lorenzo Ghiberti. Though later engineering treatises quickly surpassed Taccola's, mostly for their engagement with previous technological literature from antiquity, the drawings Taccola offered remained essential tools that could instruct both artists and engineers alike. Taccola often included a short detailed inscription alongside many of the images, relying on the combination of textual and visual sources to inform artist-engineers as to how to appropriately depict the form and function of their technological apparatuses, thus solidifying his texts' place in history as a foundational copybook from which artist-engineers learned.¹⁶¹

Taccola's text predates any imagery associated with Petrarch's *Trionfi*, yet demonstrates a shared interest in transcribing public pageantry into literary and discursive exempla. There are several drawings from Taccola's *De ingeneis* that methodically demonstrate how to represent an ox as a transporter of large, bulky objects on a wagon (fig. 19). As we see in the drawing from Taccola's text, the central image highlights an ox, raising its front left leg to demonstrate motion. The ox has two large, curved horns and a ring pierced through its snout. There is a man on top of the ox, tugging on the reins and forcing the ox's head to thrust back. Taccola first demonstrates how the man may control the ox through the ring in the ox's nose. The gesture of the man tugging at the ox allows the viewer to regard this action as the cause of the ox's movement with its front leg. As communicated in the drawing, the ring authorized one to both control and lead the ox via his nose. At the same time, if the ox pulled a particularly large object, such as a cart, one attached the object behind the ox and tied either the reins or a thick cord through the nose of the ox so that the object moved when the animal moved. The ring through the nose of the ox is thus an essential tool that communicates the function and movement of the apparatus as dependent on, and in relation to, the animal.

¹⁵⁸ Frank D. Prager and Gustina Scaglia, *Mariano Taccola and his Book 'De ingeneis'* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972), 12. One of Taccola's closest friends was manuscript illuminator Jacopo della Quercia who worked on an illustrated edition of Dante's *Commedia*.

¹⁵⁹ Lawrence Fane, "The Invented World of Mariano Taccola: Revising a Once-Famous Artist-Engineer of the 15th century Italy," *Leonardo* 36 no. 2 (2003), 135.

¹⁶⁰ I follow the divisions outlined among the chapters of Prager's and Scaglia's book.

¹⁶¹ Prager and Scaglia, 153-167.



Fig. 19. Mariano Taccola, *De ingeneis*, Book V.11, late fifteenth century. ADD 34113, f. 30r., The British Library.
Image via eCommons, Cornell University Library.

Underneath the central figure is a smaller image of an ox, similarly raising its front right leg, now tied to a flat-topped platform. The wagon is a two-or four-wheeled structures with a flat base, indicating that one could simply position an object securely on top of the wagon. This small, localized example of how the ox becomes an agent for helping to advance construction projects and practices furthers the message offered by the larger central figural group. Though artist-engineers could rely strictly on drawing from live observation of funerary processions of oxen carrying the funerary bier across the city streets, Taccola's treatise provides a modern, schematic, two-dimensional design of mechanical form and function for the cart and wagon from which others

could reference. The sense of motion created by the Taccola offers the reader a demonstration of the functionality of the cart, dependent on the ox to move.

The drawings of Taccola demonstrate a collective memory of funeral carts and wagons inundating Italian streets, especially during times of contagion, and expose a common point of interest for artists wishing to represent Petrarch's *Triumphus Mortis* in a similar fashion. If we reexamine Pesellino's representation, we notice that Pesellino demonstrates a similar interest to Taccola in representing the mechanical functionality of the ox-cart; the artist intentionally includes rings through the oxen's noses with a string attached to each ring. Both oxen raise one leg in the air to communicate movement and progress in the pageant sequence, as they are the agents who pull Death forward while she tramples over her newly "conquered" victims. The chariot of Pesellino is no longer an ancient Roman *quadriga*, or four-horsed chariot, but rather recalls the flat-top structure designed by Taccola and modeled after the funeral cart and bier. Death securely stands in position atop the platform, mirroring the sense of stability similarly presented by Taccola's smaller drawing in the bottom left corner. By comparing Pesellino's rendition to Taccola's schematic drawing, it is clear artists and engineers alike wished to accurately portray elements from public pageantry when devising a three-dimensional object into a two-dimensional drawing. In the case of Pesellino, this allowed the artist to insert another layer of "historia" into the visualization of Petrarch's allegory, further enhancing the didactic message of the *Triumphus Mortis*. This "engineered" image of Death's chariot pulled by oxen ultimately becomes standardized and specific to the Petrarchan iterations of the *Triumph of Death*.

At the same time, however, Petrarch, like Boccaccio, blurs the roles of Death and Fortune within his *Triumphus Mortis* by first suggesting that Fortune subsequently aids Death in their mutual goal toward destructive ends: "drizzo 'l mio corso innanzi che Fortuna/ nel vostro dolce qualche amaro metta" (Part I, lines 46-47).¹⁶² Then, once Laura "dies," Petrarch does not blame Death, but rather substitutes Death for Fortune as the one who seized his beloved from him: "L'ora prima era, il dì sesto d'aprile,/ che già mi strinse, ed or, lasso, mi sciolsi: come Fortuna va cangiando stile!" (Part I, lines 133-135).¹⁶³ In doing so, Petrarch intertextually reminds the reader that his personification of Death adopts the model of Boccaccio's Death-Fortune in the *Amorosa visione*.

If we return to Boccaccio's Death-Fortune, we remember that she rides on a chariot pulled by "fiere" (Canto XXXI line 19-20).¹⁶⁴ As the "Triumph of Fortune" progresses, the reader quickly learns that Fortune's first unfortunate "follower" is Cadmus. Boccaccio, in describing Cadmus's demise, writes, "che Cadmo fece, il bue via seguitando" (Canto XXXIV, line 15).¹⁶⁵ Cadmus, originally cast in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Book III.1, is tasked by Agenor, Europa's father, to save Europa from Jupiter's abduction.¹⁶⁶ Though typically editions of Ovid's text translate Jupiter as a heifer, Boccaccio specifically identifies the transfigured God as an ox.¹⁶⁷ An image of oxen now replaces the "fiere" as the beasts who pull Fortune's chariot and the action of Cadmus acquires another layer of meaning—Cadmus is both an intertext to the Ovidian myth and a downtrodden victim preceding "le bue" in Fortune's dismal funerary ritual. As mentioned, within

¹⁶² Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 518.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 521.

¹⁶⁴ Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 126.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹⁶⁶ P. Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoses*, Book III.1 line 10, ed. Hugo Magnus (Gotha: Friedr Andr. Perthes, 1892), Retrieved from perseus.tufts.edu/ (accessed February 25, 2022).

¹⁶⁷ Hollander, Hampton, and Frankel note that Boccaccio uses the two terms interchangeably because Ovid's first reference to the animal is the term "bos" (235).

public funerary pageants, these parades typically featured a cart pulled by oxen that would transport the corpse across the city to its final resting place. In the case of *l'Amorosa visione*, Boccaccio expands upon the overlapping imageries of Fortune and Death with this subtle hint at a “funerary/Death procession” for Fortune. When Petrarch calls to mind Boccaccio’s Death-Fortune and her “anti-triumph,” the passage offers a tangible, portable, instrument—the chariot pulled by “fiere”—to carry visually Petrarch’s allegory of Death—and along similar lines as such images offered by engineering treatises—within painted renditions of the *Triumphus Mortis*.

CONCLUSION

While five of Petrarch’s six triumphs make no direct mention of a triumphal chariot, references—explicit and implicit—the chariot-wagon abound in the poet’s visually textual clues, which would later inform future readings and representations of the poem. Petrarch’s *Triumphus Mortis* may seem non-descript and difficult to represent in a visual mode, but in fact, there are a number of intervisual and intertextual indications woven throughout. Though Boccaccio’s *Decameron* adapts elements and aspects also found in the Pisa Camposanto, it is really Boccaccio’s *Amorosa visione*, and an intermedial reading of Dante’s *Inferno*, that works side by side with the Pisa Camposanto and the post-plague responses to Death in setting the stage for Petrarch’s evolution of this image in his *Triumphus Mortis*. The references to live-action funerary models within each of these two-dimensional media transform not only the Pisan fresco and Boccaccio’s literary “parade,” but also Petrarch’s words into a living, moving spectacle when re-translated upon the visual stage. With an increased awareness to the fatal vulnerabilities to which communities can be exposed, especially during times of disease and contagion, the visual tradition of the *Triumph of Death* evolved stylistically and didactically, as did the visual vocabulary on which artists could rely for depicting their iterations of the *Triumphus Mortis*. With each new approach to representing the personification of Death, visually and textually, its image and descriptions are given new life. It is clear that Petrarch does not offer one singular image of Death; rather, the poet’s borrowing from both earlier and contemporary historical, visual, and literary interpretations opens the doors for artists to creatively contribute new representations of this figure for centuries to come.

CHAPTER THREE

Ekphrastic Robots or Petrarch's Just Gloria? Automata, the *tre corone*, and the *Triumphus Fame*

When observing Domenico di Michelino's painted *cassone* meant to represent Francesco Petrarca's six allegorical parades of the *Trionfi* (c.1450)—an example which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter—it is the triumphators, prominently displayed on an individualized chariot, who captivate the viewer and attract the most attention. These allegorical personifications distinctly emerge out of the throng of “victims or beneficiaries” who join in their “triumphal” ritual, offering the viewer six singular experiences as their eyes move in sequence from one victor to the next. Though given sparse visual descriptions within the poetic *Trionfi* (1351-74), Petrarch's personifications are always active agents as conquerors of their soon to be “followers.” Some artists of the fifteenth century, such as Michelino, attempt to bring these triumphators to life within their visual counterparts, reversing Petrarch's textual structure; the figures toward whom Petrarch devotes much of his attention, the band of followers, become a populous blur, and the non-specific allegory transforms into a prominent and unique figurine. However, within these later renditions of the *Trionfi*, the allegory on display is no longer a lively force, but rather appears as a rigid and mechanical “statue.” Though it is clear these artistic triumphators are not products of Petrarch's poetic imagination, it has not yet been determined from where the majority of Petrarch's triumphators derive.¹ Through the specific case study of the *Triumphus Fame*, I will argue that it is precisely an intermedial exchange between Petrarch's *Trionfi* and representations of “gloria” previously presented in Dante Alighieri's *Commedia* (1321) and Giovanni Boccaccio's *l'Ameto* (c.1341) and *l'Amorosa visione* (c.1342) that aids in our viewing of the standard artistic choices made when portraying Petrarch's *Triumphus Fame*.

One of the most intriguing aspects of *Commedia* is Dante's methodological approach in bridging several literary traditions within one singular narrative. Among the previous textual models Dante references throughout his *magnum opus* is twelfth-century French and Provençal poetry. Similar in style to other poetic forms—such as the *scuola siciliana* or the *dolce stil novo*—, the content of much of these medieval French texts often includes imaginings of android-like figures, known as automata, or self-operating machines. For medieval French and Provençal poets, the textual introduction to an automaton, specifically a human automaton, most often materializes as an *ekphrasis*—the verbal representation of a visual art. Many of these texts, such as the *Roman de Troie* (c. 1160) or *Le Conte de Floire et Blanchefleur* (c. 1150-1170), were extremely popular and widely circulated across Europe, including medieval Italy. Though perhaps Dante only knew of these works indirectly—by reputation or through intertexts—, Boccaccio directly engaged with these two works while in King Robert of Anjou's court in Naples.

While I do not wish to suggest that Dante and Boccaccio definitively manufacture automata in their *ekphrastic* conceptions of “gloria,” I propose that the method in which Dante's and Boccaccio's poems offer didactic messages about one's glory via an *ekphrasis* is in dialogue with

¹ I believe this line of inquiry can also be utilized to determine the source for the allegorical figures in the *Triumphus Cupidinis* and the *Triumphus Pudicitie*. My previous two chapters examine the *Triumphus Eternitatis* and the *Triumphus Mortis*, including their triumphators, in depth. For a thorough analysis of the “Triumph of Time” and the iconography for Petrarch's *Triumphus Temporis*, see Simona Cohen's monograph, *Transformations of Time and Temporality in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Boston: Brill, 2014).

the role literary automata served in the earlier French poetic tradition. For Dante, this occurs in his *ekphrastic* representations of humility and pride on the first Terrace of Mount Purgatory in *Purgatorio* X-XII. Adhering to Dante's model, Boccaccio's *ekphrases*, though "static" images, are suggested to rival Nature in beauty and naturalism, to the point where it is difficult to distinguish between imitation and reality (*l'Amorosa visione* IV, lines 10-17).² The "supernatural" *ekphrases* enliven Dante's marble carvings and Boccaccio's painted frescoes, transfiguring each "object" to function along similar lines as a medieval French automaton.

Though many scholars acknowledge Boccaccio's interest in the visual arts, I further advocate that Boccaccio's interpretation of Gloria in the *Amorosa visione* is also an intermedial move, where Boccaccio links poetic and artistic glory to justice under one personification. The confluence of glory with justice is not a Boccaccian invention, but arrives in Boccaccio's text directly through the poet's mediation of Dante. Dante first articulated his ideas on justice following Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas's reading thereof within Book IV of his *Convivio* (c. 1307) and adopts this structural model for his *Commedia*. Not only is the *Commedia* framed by this notion of justice, but also Dante further intertextually bridges his *Purgatorio* XI with *Paradiso* XIX or the Heaven of Justice.



Fig. 20. Frontispiece to Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*, based on Giotto's *Triumph of Vainglory* originally located in Azzo Visconti's palace in Milan (c.1335), late fourteenth century, tempera colors, ink. MS Latin 60691, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

² Giovanni Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, eds. and trans. Robert Hollander, Timothy Hampton, and Margherita Frankel (Hanover: University of New England, 1986), 19.

While it seems evident that Boccaccio adopts prior literary models for rendering Gloria in his “Triumph of Glory,” from what other sources might inspiration strike for Boccaccio? Some scholars suggest that the *Triumph of Vainglory* fresco attributed to Giotto di Bondone c. 1335 (fig. 20), originally painted in the palace of Azzo Visconti in Milan and visually transmitted through three fourteenth-century manuscripts, is perhaps a representation of Boccaccio’s “Triumph of Glory.” Others, however, suggest that it was, in fact, Boccaccio’s “Triumph of Glory” that inspired Giotto. Though I do not disagree with this scholarly opinion that there is a correlation between Giotto’s *Triumph of Vainglory* and Boccaccio’s and Petrarch’s textual personification of Glory, I would like to expand upon these ideas in two key ways. I will first examine how Giotto’s allegory of Glory also adheres to the literary patterns and descriptions of medieval literary automata and may contribute to an understanding of an intermedial interaction with Boccaccio’s *ekphrastic* “triumphator.”

Secondly, I would like to suggest that Boccaccio independently was aware of and interested in Giotto’s Arena Chapel frescoes (c. 1305), and Giotto’s virtue of *Giustizia* is recalled (fig. 21) when synthesizing the ideals of glory and justice for the representation of Canto VI’s Gloria. Prior to entering into the *Amorosa visione*, however, Boccaccio created a triumphal parade celebrating Glory within Emilia’s, the figure of Justice’s, tale in his *Ameto*, a text that succeeds both of Giotto’s paintings. The intermedial harmonizing of Dante and Giotto will lead to Boccaccio’s conception of Justice/Glory as She travels across the *Ameto* into *Amorosa visione*.

If we assume that Boccaccio’s “Triumph of Glory” evolves into Petrarch’s *Triumphus Fame*, then it is important to scrutinize how each poet characterizes Gloria. Though the pilgrim-poet Petrarch witnesses each of his triumphs, including Fame’s triumph over Death, in “real-time” within his dream-vision, Petrarch subtly guides his readers to return to Boccaccio’s *ekphrasis* as a direct source. While scholars have determined that visual representations of Petrarch’s *Triumphus Fame* seem to rely on Boccaccio’s allegorical figure in the “Triumph of Glory” of the *Amorosa visione* and the visual prototype for Boccaccio’s “Triumph of Glory” via Giotto,³ I will expand upon this scholarly work to consider the intertextual clues Petrarch includes that unites his Lady Fama with Boccaccio’s Gloria from not only the *Amorosa visione* but also the *Ameto*.

The correlation between literary automata, Dante’s and Boccaccio’s poems, and Giotto’s frescoes may also inform our viewing of fifteenth-century visualizations for Petrarch’s *Triumphus Fame*. Artists not only could turn to Boccaccio but also could consider contemporary physical automata constructed throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for inspiration. Many of these “machines,” located in churches, on musical instruments, and within feast day celebrations, share some of the visual iconography for Fame that consistently appeared in the Petrarchan artworks, such as the inclusion of the *mandorla*, or an almond shaped circle, that engulfed Glory, or the presence of winged figures who play trumpets by Fame’s side. As such, Justice/Glory’s final intermedial move will be as the leader of Petrarch’s *Triumphus Fame*, heightening the visual choices made in relation to Petrarch’s Lady Fame in depictions of the *Triumphus Fame*.

³ J. von Schlosser, “Ein Veronesisches Bilderbuch und die höfische Kunst des XIV. Jahrhunderts,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* XVI (1895), 144-230; Dorothy C. Shorr, “Some Notes on the Iconography of Petrarch’s Triumph of Fame,” *The Art Bulletin* 20 no. 1 (March 1938), 100-107; Mary Powell, “The Triumph of Fame,” *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis* 34 no. 2 (Spring, 1949), 30-33; Theodor E. Mommsen, “Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua,” *The Art Bulletin* 34 no.2 (June, 1952), 95-116; Ellen Callmann, *Oxford Studies in the History of Art and Architecture: Apollonio di Giovanni* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); Creighton Gilbert, “The Fresco by Giotto in Milan,” *Arte Lombarda Nuova Serie* no. 47/48 (1977), 31-72.



Fig. 21. Giotto, detail of *Giustizia*, 1303-1305, fresco. Arena Chapel, Cappella degli Scrovegni, Padua. Image by author.

LITERARY AND VISUAL HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE AUTOMATA

The idea of automata has received much critical attention in more recent years, in particular as an early modern literary trope. Assuming a variety of forms, including animals—specifically birds—, the types of automata most relevant to my study are those which mirror human subjects. As early as ancient Greece and Rome,⁴ several mythological narratives intimate at the idea of producing artificial life that demonstrates human characteristics and may perform human activities through sculpture. This includes figures such as Daedalus, who sculpts forms so true to life that they walk forth from the stone or the story of Pygmalion, whose statue of Galatea Venus brought to life.⁵ While there are clear representations of automata-esque statues in the classical poetic world, the figure of the automaton did not become a popular mainstay in literary works until the twelve and thirteenth centuries with such works as Benoît de Sainte-More's *Le Roman de Troie* (1156),⁶ a text to which we will return. Scholars debate as to what might have caused a renewed and heightened interest in automata and suggest one possible outcome was the rising intercultural exchange between the East and West.⁷ While some scholars assume that many universities across Western Europe had access to and collected Arabic mechanical texts, especially texts that might have been dispersed and transported from Spain,⁸ others argue that, due to their various expeditions, diplomats acquired knowledge of Byzantine archetypes that could then be shared with and provide actualized models for the medieval literary automata.⁹

Though Penny Sullivan theorizes that it is difficult to definitively state whether the French poets would have had access to the information provided by diplomats, in the case of Boccaccio, this is a possible source of reference for his knowledge of automata. In 1142, King Roger II commissioned a water clock to be built in Palermo based on mechanical principles and schematics found in Arabic mechanical treatises. Though the water clock is now lost, we know of its existence through an inscription King Roger included at the base of the structure, in which he commemorates

⁴ J. Douglas Bruce, "Human Automata in Classical Tradition and Mediæval Romance," *Modern Philology* 10 no.4 (Apr. 1913), 2; Silvio A. Bedini, "The Role of Automata in the History of Technology," *Technology and Culture* 5 no. 1 (Winter, 1964), 32; Albert C. Smith and Kendra Schank Smith, "Architecture as Inspired Machine," *Built Environment* (1978-) 31 no.1 (2005), 80.

⁵ Smith, 79-80.

⁶ John Cohen, *Human Robots in Myth and Science* (South Brunswick: Barnes, 1967), 27; E.R. Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature, and Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 95; Mary Franklin-Brown, "'Fugitive Figures' On the Modes of Existence of Medieval Automata," *Romanic Review* 111 no. 1 (2020), 70.

⁷ Bruce, 2. Bruce theorizes that the origin of the automata in the Greek and Roman myths also came from influences from the East.

⁸ Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), 19; Merriam Sherwood, "Magic and Mechanics in Medieval Fiction," *Studies in Philology* 44 no. 4 (October, 1947), 576; Theodore Ziolkowski, "Talking Statues?," *The Modern Language Review* 110 no. 4 (October 2015), 955. Merriam Sherwood claims that throughout the medieval period, though Western Europe was not ignorant of the mechanical products built in the East, Western Europeans were able to make their own advancements in technology as well, independent of resources from the East (575).

⁹ Otto Söhring, "Werke bildender Kunst in altfranzösischen Epen," *Romanische Forschungen* XII (1900), 491-640; Penny Sullivan, "Medieval Automata: The 'Chambre De Beautés' in Benoît's *Roman de Troie*," *Romance Studies* 3 no. 2 (1985), 6. Interest in automata continues throughout the Renaissance, such as in William Shakespeare's *A Winter's Tale* and the statue of Imogene. See Leonard Barkan's article, "Living Sculptures: Ovid, Michelangelo, and *The Winter's Tale*," *ELH* 48 no. 4 (Winter, 1981), 639-667.

the construction of the water clock in Latin, Greek, and Arabic.¹⁰ More than century after King Roger, King Robert of Anjou of Naples, who was extremely literate, greatly expanded the library at the University of Naples under his reign.¹¹ While studying law at the Studi in Naples, Boccaccio cultivated a relationship with King Robert and the Angevin court where he learned of many French and Provençal courtly literatures, much of which includes *ekphrastic* references to automata.¹²

However, a second phenomenon that arose in the twelve century may also explain, outside of the French literary tradition, why the *tre corone* at least knew of, if not engaged with, the trope of literary automata. In Naples, specifically, myths surrounding the figure of Virgil emerged which cast Virgil—his body, bones, and spirit—as a magician. Some suggested Virgil utilized his “powers” to endow many Neapolitan statues, monuments, or, in one case, a bronze fly, with magical powers that gave the inanimate object “life.”¹³ Legends of such magicians found in texts circulated throughout Spain and Southern Italy by way of Constantinople, such as the *Arabian Nights*, and prompted the narrative of Virgil as a magician across not only Naples, but also throughout much of the literature of the time.¹⁴ In fact, a thirteenth-century text known as the *Gesta Romanorum* expands upon and retells the myth of Virgil and his “talking statues”¹⁵ where Virgil, at the request of Emperor Titus, employs his magical abilities to construct a statue that could observe each citizen and inform the Emperor of any misbehavior.¹⁶ This text further sparked many studies and a longstanding belief in the magical powers of Virgil while also attributing him as a creator of automata.¹⁷ The cult of Virgil was extremely robust and extensive, to the point that it also may have influenced the depiction of automata in French medieval literature.

The parallel interest across the Italian peninsula in the “magician” Virgil and French medieval poetry seems to be the initial catalyst for perhaps Dante, and certainly Boccaccio, in rethinking the formal elements for representing the idea and allegory of glory in the *Purgatorio* and *Amorosa visione*. The inclusion of an automaton as a literary device is not an isolated phenomenon but exists in numerous French and Provençal poetic masterpieces of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁸ Most often, the arrival of an automaton as a “character” is through an

¹⁰ Sherwood, 582; Ittai Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 166. Weinryb offers a translation of each of the three inscriptions in his chapter entitled “Being” where he suggests each one expresses its own social attitude. I have included the translations here for reference: “*Latin*: Roger, Lord and Magnificent King, ordered that this clock be made in the year 1142 AD, in the month of March, in the fifth indication, in the thirteenth year of his happy reign. *Greek*: New miracle! To the powerful prince, King Roger, God gave the scepter that controls the flow of the liquid element, dispensing precise knowledge about the time of year. The twelfth year of his empire, in the month of March, Indiction 5, year 6650. *Arabic*: Here comes the order given by the most regal presence, from the glorified Roger, the supreme – can God make him immortal and continue his achievements for eternity! – for the construction of this machine for the observation of these hours in the protected city of Sicily in the year 536.”

¹¹ Harry Hearder and Jonathan Morris, eds., *Italy: A Short History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 60.

¹² Elissa Weaver, “A Lovers’ Tale and Auspicious Beginning (*Filocolo*),” in *Boccaccio: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, eds. Victoria Kirkham, Michael Sherberg, and Janet Levarie Smarr (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 87-89.

¹³ J. Cohen, 50; Ziolkowski, 995; Weinryb, 128.

¹⁴ Bruce, 15.

¹⁵ Ziolkowski, 955.

¹⁶ J. Cohen, 52;

¹⁷ Sherwood, 571. Sherwood cites a nineteenth-century treatise by Domenico Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo* (1872) that also discusses the myth of Virgil the magician.

¹⁸ Paull Franklin Baum, “The Young Man Betrothed to a Statue: Additional Note,” *PMLA* 35 no. 1 (1920), 61; Sullivan, 8; Ziolkowski, 953-954. While I will not discuss all of these works in detail, some titles worth mentioning

ekphrastic description¹⁹ where the material object initially appears on par with a work of art but by the end, is transformed into an animated, imitative machine, closely resembling its true to life counterpart in form and action. Though the human automata each mirrored an individual unique to the story, these machines were consistently presented as self-moving mechanisms made of various metals, such as gold or silver, inlaid with enamel or jewels. Often, through the invocation of magic, did the wondrous curiosities “come to life” to perform specific duties such as guarding a tower or castle or entertaining a crowd with their musical gifts, or would be located within tombs.²⁰ However, in whichever “occupation” they served, there is often the additional reliance on automata to function as transporters of didactic messages beyond the page to the medieval reader.²¹

One story that is of particular importance for Boccaccio, and likely was known by Dante, is Robert d’Orbigny’s *Le Conte de Floire et Blanchefleur*. The poem tells of two lovers, Blanchefleur, the Muslim daughter of a handmaid to the emir’s wife and Floire, the Christian son of King Felix, who, after growing up together in the same household, fall in love and wish to marry. Over the course of many trials and tribulations devised by King Felix to tear them apart, such as hiring women to seduce Floire and attempting to marry Blanchefleur to someone else, King Felix ultimately sells Blanchefleur into servitude and convinces his son that she is dead. To cover his tracks, the King erects a mausoleum to Blanchefleur, illuminated by elaborate frescoes of animals and decorated with precious stones and a marble sculpture of the two lovers resting above the tomb. Upon witnessing the false tomb, Floire cannot bear the thought of living without his beloved and attempts to commit suicide. Desperate to stop him, Floire’s mother, the queen, reveals that the tomb does not hold the body of Blanchefleur and that she is alive. In the end, the two reunite, marry, and convert to Christianity.²²

While the episode surrounding the reveal of the fake tomb comprises multiple *ekphrases*, the text introduces the statues of the two lovers as follows: “Li uns des deus Flore sanloit/ plus que riens nule qui ja soit. L’autre ymage ert ensi mollee/ comme Blancheflor ert formee”²³ (One of the two resembled Flore²⁴ so closely that none could have improved on it.²⁵ The other image was equally molded, as if Blanchefleur was formed) (II. 568-569). The sculptures are surrogates for the two people, both still living, where “they comfort the bereaved with delusion and fantasy.”²⁶ The automata not only physically memorialize the figures of Floire and Blanchefleur, but also “speak” and behave as Floire and Blanchefleur would:

Quant li vens les enfans toucoit,
l’un baisoit l’autre et acoloit

that Dante, Boccaccio, or Petrarch intertextually reference throughout their *oeuvres* are *Tristan and Isolde*, the *Roman de Tristan*, the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne II*, the *Roman d’Alexandre*, and *Venus and the Ring*.

¹⁹ Franklin-Brown, 70.

²⁰ Sherwood, 567; Sullivan, 8; E.R. Truitt, “Fictions of Life and Death: Tomb Automata in Medieval Romance,” *Postmedieval: a Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 1 (2010), 195; Franklin-Brown, 66-70.

²¹ Sullivan, 9.

²² Truitt, *Medieval Robots*, 98-99; Charlotte Louise Spencer, “The Art of Flowers, Silks, and Stones: Ekphrastic Literary Fashioning in Floire et Blancheflor and its Receptions in Later French and Italian Medieval Literature,” Ph.D Diss., (Durham University, 2020), 6-7.

²³ All passages of *Floire et Blanchefleur* provided by Truitt, *Medieval Robots*, 98, 192. The French text cited by Truitt is *Le Conte de Floire et Blancheflor*, ed. Jean-Luc Leclanche (Paris: Champion, 1980), 32.

²⁴ All translations, unless otherwise noted, are by the author.

²⁵ For this part of the quote, I have consulted Truitt, 98, 192.

²⁶ Truitt., 98.

si disoient par ingremance
 trestout lor bon et lor enfance.
 Ce dit Flores a Blanche flor:
 ‘Baisié moi, bele, par amour.’
 Blanche flor respont en baisant:
 ‘Je vos aim plus que rien vivant.’
 Tant con li vent les atoucoient,
 et li enfant s’entrebaïsoient.
 Et quant il laissent le venter,
 dont se reposent a parler

(When the wind touched the children, the one kissed and embraced the other, they would speak by magic [ingremance] of all their good and childhood [memories]. That Flores said to Blanche flor, “Kiss me, my beautiful, for love.” Blanche flor responded, while kissing him, “I love you more than any living thing.” So much with the wind the children embraced and kissed each other, but when the wind stopped the figures ceased to speak.)²⁷

(*Le Conte de Floire et Blanche flor*, II. 589-600)²⁸

The statues speak to each other in the present tense, further indicating a lifelike replica of Floire and Blanche fleur. It is only through the supernatural substance of the wind that the inanimate objects in the *ekphrasis* actively perform before Floire. The automata deceive Floire and he utilizes the statue as a proxy through which he may relive his love affair with Blanche fleur. At the same time, the statues comment on their own status as fabricated machines, ironically calling the reader to question the tension between verisimilitude and artifice.²⁹

Several poets reworked the narrative of Floire and Blanche fleur and many interpretations of the tale were widely circulated across Western Europe, becoming extremely popular in Italy.³⁰ Though it is uncertain which version Boccaccio would have read, Boccaccio had access to this text from King Robert’s library and utilized the story of Floire and Blanche fleur as the fictional source for his *Filocolo* (c.1336), a text he wrote while still living in Naples.³¹ It is evident Boccaccio put his own spin on aspects of the text, yet the underlying theme of two lovers, who are committed to each other against all obstacles created by law or class-conscious distinctions, remains throughout the *Filocolo*.³² However, the most striking changes present throughout Boccaccio’s text are his intertextual interjections of Virgil, Ovid, Dante, and mythological anecdotes.³³

Let us now turn to Boccaccio’s rendition of the revealing of the tomb of Biancifiore. In Book III, Boccaccio, rather than offer a longwinded description of a highly embellished

²⁷ I have consulted Truitt for this last line (98, 192).

²⁸ Leclanche, 34; Truitt, *Medieval Robots*, 98, 192.

²⁹ Truitt, *Medieval Robots*, 99-100.

³⁰ Donald Cheney, trans., *Giovanni Boccaccio: Il Filocolo*, ed. Thomas G. Bergin (New York: Garland, 1985), xi; Weaver, 89.

³¹ For the *Filocolo*, see Victoria Kirkham, *Fabulous Vernacular* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001) and Roberta Morosini, *Per difetto rintegrare: una lettura del “Filocolo” di Giovanni Boccaccio* (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2004).

³² Nicolas J. Perella, “The World of Boccaccio’s *Filocolo*,” *PMLA* 76 no. 4 (Sep., 1961), 330. This narrative thread is also one that Boccaccio will rework into his later *Ninfale Fiesolano* and stories in the *Decameron*.

³³ *Ibid.*

mausoleum via various *ekphrases*, merely recounts to the reader that the tomb was inlaid with marble: “E preso questo consiglio, per molti maestri mandò segretamente, a’ quali senza niuno indugio comandò che fosse fatta una bellissima sepoltura d’intagliati marmi, allato a quella di Giulia”(III.57).³⁴ When the queen eventually leads Florio to the tomb, Florio only witnesses an inscription: “Qui giace la tua Biancifiore” (III.63).³⁵ There are no longer the extravagant frescoes and lavish jewels that adorned the temple of Blanchefleur, but most importantly, there are no statues to be found in Boccaccio’s iteration. This might indicate that perhaps the version Boccaccio consulted did not include the sculptures in the rendering of this scene. However, it seems unlikely Boccaccio was entirely unaware of the moving statues, given that he includes several lines in which Florio speaks directly to the inscription as a proxy for Biancifiore:

O bellissima Biancifiore, ove se’ tu? Quali parti cerca ora la tua bella anima?... O inanimato corpo, come non t’è egli possibile una sola volta richiamare la partita anima, e levarti a rivedermi? ... Certo tu se’ stata in parte che essere dovresti pietosa e ascoltare i miseri; ma però che i miseri e quelli che più ti chiamano sono più da te rifiutati, io con aspra mano ti costringerò di farti venire a me -. E posta la destra mano sopra l’aguto coltello, incominciò a dire: – O Biancifiore, leva su, guatami: apri gli occhi avanti ch’io muoia, e prendi di me quella consolazione che io di te avere non potei.

(*Il Filocolo*, Book III.63)³⁶

Boccaccio carefully inserts words such as “inanimato corpo” juxtaposed with “anima” before mentioning specific actions Florio directly will command the avatar of Biancifiore to perform, mirroring the reflective actions executed by the statues in the original French version of the episode. This verbal *ekphrasis* now becomes what Dante will term a “visibile parlare,” or a “visible speech,” a point to which we will return soon, where the words of the inscription materialize into an active display in front of Florio and the reader. Though Boccaccio eliminates the visual details, his tomb of Biancifiore maintains the role of the *ekphrastic* automata offered in the French version, where Biancifiore materializes out of the inscription and Florio stages his final moments with his “love.” It is evident then, that Boccaccio, at the very least, implicitly was aware of the “talking statues,” of *Le Conte de Floire et Blanchefleur*, if not explicitly.

However, another popular medieval French narrative seems to offer an additional, and perhaps direct intertextual reference, for the *ekphrases* Boccaccio creates in his *Amorosa visione* and even an indirect model for Dante’s *ekphrastic* statues on the Terrace of Pride in *Purgatorio* X-XII: the *Roman de Troie*. The *Roman de Troie* is one of three *roman antiques* produced between 1150 and 1170 that offered a new interpretation of classical or later Latin sources to contemporary audiences. Among these texts includes the *Roman de Thèbes*, whose narrative structure derives from Statius’s *Thebaid*.³⁷ Like the *Roman de Thèbes*, the *Roman de Troie* documents an “eye-witness” account of the Trojan War and introduces audiences to the narrative of Troilus and

³⁴ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Filocolo*, eds. E. Quaglio and Vittore Branca (Milano: Einaudi, 1967), 290.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 297.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 298-299.

³⁷ Dante, as we know, was very familiar with the work of Statius and the pilgrim-poet will meet Statius in *Purgatorio* Canto XXI, where he will become a temporary guide for Dante until the end of the canticle.

Brisieda.³⁸ Both of these works were extremely popular and widely disseminated across France and Western Europe,³⁹ thus lending credence to the notion that Dante would have been familiar with each and intertextually incorporates information from these works throughout his *Commedia*, especially when referencing the Trojan War. However, similar to the narrative of *Floire et Blanchefleur*, Boccaccio had direct access to and interest in the *Roman de Troie* through King Robert of Anjou. In fact, King Robert commissioned a prose compendium of human history, beginning with *Genesis*, and inserts several passages from both the *Roman de Troie* and the *Roman de Thèbes* into his narrative.⁴⁰ Following in the footsteps of the Neapolitan court,⁴¹ Boccaccio, in turn, rewrites the story of Troilo and Criseida from the *Roman de Troie* in his 1338 work, the *Filostrato*.

Of most interest to my study is the “Chambre de Beautés” or “Chamber of Beauties” included in the second volume of the *Roman de Troie*. The “Chambre de Beautés” occupies approximately 300 lines of text and, through an extended *ekphrasis*, is said to offer anyone who enters the chamber exceptional marvels. In addition to outlining the extremely rich decoration of the chamber, the episode mainly centers on four androids carefully placed in each corner of the room (11.14657-918). Though the first and fourth statues are “static” objects, the second and third machines encountered by the reader either perform various acrobatics, conjure smaller figures, or play musical instruments.⁴² However, all four automata hold a particular didactic social function and serve to promote the values of courtly life for both those who enter the chamber and the outside reader.⁴³ The role of the “Chambre de Beautés,” though a temporary distraction from the epic battle scenes, also operates as a transitional room where the *ekphrastic* machines educate the narrator/reader and offer each the opportunity for self-growth; the narrator/reader who enters the chamber will leave more socially enlightened. Yet, it is only through one’s viewing and direct interaction with these material objects that self-awareness and self-improvement can occur. Though Boccaccio does not directly re-create the “Chambre de Beautés” in his *Filostrato*, it seems likely he is aware of the automata and its didactic function and will reproduce a similar chamber in his *Amorosa visione*. The *ekphrastic* automata of the *Roman de Troie* elevate the status of the machine as a vital interlocutor for altering one’s moral and spiritual course. It is precisely this kind of relationship that drives the pilgrim-poets of Dante and Boccaccio to synesthetically engage with the “visibile parlare” in the bas-reliefs in *Purgatorio* XI and the “Triumph of Glory” in the *Amorosa visione*.

³⁸ Nathaniel Edward Griffin, trans., *The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. Arthur Beckwith Myrick (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1967), 26. Griffin notes that in the original version of Benoît, the story of Troilus and Brisieda merely serves as an interlude between battle scenes of the Trojan War.

³⁹ Glyn S. Burgess and Douglas Kelly, “Review: *The Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure,” *Parergon* 37 no. 2 (2020), 186; Joan M. Ferrante and Robert W. Hanning, “Review: *The Romance of Thebes (Roman de Thèbes)*,” *Parergon* 37 no. 2 (2020), 187.

⁴⁰ David Wallace, “Love-Struck in Naples (*Filostrato*),” in *Boccaccio: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, 78-79.

⁴¹ Griffin, 24-25.

⁴² Sullivan, 2-3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 3-9. As Sullivan outlines, the first statue, who holds a mirror, references how one should physically appear; the second, who performs acrobatics, informs the viewer of the importance of entertainment, but also demonstrates that entertainment may serve as an educative tool; the third, who plays musical instruments, implies that music’s spiritual qualities promote civilized qualities in the listener and protects its listener from their worst enemies of courtly life; the fourth holds a censer filled with aromatic scents and has the ability to intuit anti-social behavior and whether someone should conduct themselves more appropriately.

Automata, though popularized throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, continued to evolve as active fixtures in Western European visual and festival culture. Beginning in the fourteenth century, physical automata, outside and independent of the literary tradition, appeared in churches and cathedral complexes as mechanical figures who played music or as figurines within large, public clocks.⁴⁴ Though organs and clocks became increasingly more common place between the tenth and thirteenth centuries,⁴⁵ the earliest documented moving, lifelike inanimate objects where those commissioned by churches for their organs. Sometimes featuring the representation of a mechanical bird,⁴⁶ more often people could witness angels lifting horns to their mouths or playing the drums in tandem with organ's chorus.⁴⁷ Slightly trailing the organ "sculptures," mechanical clocks soon graced many international cities, such as the clock built for Azzo Visconti's palace in Milan in 1336 or the clock of Saint Mark's in Venice from 1499, which displayed mechanical puppets moving in unison with the time.⁴⁸ In fact, Dante refers to this new modern technology of a mechanical clock in his *Paradiso X*:

Indi, come orologio che ne chiami
ne l'ora che la sposa di Dio surge
a mattinar lo sposo perché l'ami,
che l'una parte e l'altra tira e urge,
tin tin sonando con sì dolce nota
che 'l ben disposto spirto d'amor turge:

(*Paradiso X*, lines 139-144)⁴⁹

Though Dante's reference becomes an allegorical metaphor for the motion of the sun as well as the motion of the souls in *Paradiso*, the intricate detail of the revolving wheels in perfect harmony with the sounds projected from the mechanical clock demonstrate an intimate awareness of a true-to-life model for the technology offered here and perhaps even an awareness of advancing public automata.

Locations known as "pleasure gardens" embraced the mystical quality of these moving objects and filled their grounds with mechanical fountains, elaborately decorated and covered with "animate" figurines. King Robert of Naples commissioned such a park in Hesdin after witnessing these intriguing sites in Sicily and learning of the marvelous fountain tree made for Mangu Khan's garden in the Mongolian empire.⁵⁰ In fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Rome, public sculptures known as "talking statues" became widespread in which individuals would graffiti text surrounding the sculpture, transforming the *ekphrases* of literary automata into the physical "visible speech" that animated the inanimate stone.⁵¹ Additionally, artist-engineers, most notably in Florence beginning in the 1430s, devised prototypes of various automata that could function in

⁴⁴ Jessica Riskin, "Machines in the Garden," in *Renaissance Futurities: Science, Art, Invention*, eds. Charlene Villaseñor Black and Mari-Tere Álvarez (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), 22.

⁴⁵ Sherwood, 584.

⁴⁶ Sullivan, 6.

⁴⁷ Riskin, 23-24.

⁴⁸ Sherwood, 583.

⁴⁹ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Paradiso*, ed. and trans. Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 212.

⁵⁰ Bedini, 26; E.R. Truitt, "The Garden of Earthly Delights: Mahaut of Artois and the Automata at Hesdin," *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality* 46 no 1 (2010), 78.

⁵¹ Ziolkowski, 950.

pageants for feast day celebrations or transport figures across the architectural space of a church for the *sacra rappresentazioni*.⁵² The most famous example is Filippo Brunelleschi, who, as Giorgio Vasari later notes in his *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (1568), built many industrialized devices for several of these occasions, including a large automated chandelier, functioning as a mechanized vision of Heaven⁵³ and a mechanical *mandorla* to support the Angel Gabriel during the Annunciation celebration held at San Felice in 1439.⁵⁴ I will explore Brunelleschi's designs for the *mandorla* in-depth in my discussion of the visual *Triumphus Fame*, but the physical presence of automata, especially throughout the same historical moment as when artists initially turned to Petrarch's *Trionfi* for visual subject matter, informs our interpretation of some of the iconographic choices included within the standard visual protocol for the *Triumphus Fame*.

DANTE'S PURGATORIO XI AND JUSTICE'S GLORY

Glory acquired by anyone, especially artistic or poetic superiority, is nowhere more present in the mind of Dante than in his discussion thereof on the Terrace of Pride in Cantos X-XII of the *Purgatorio*. After entering through the gates of Mount Purgatory, the pilgrim-poet and Virgil arrive on the first penitential terrace devoted to those repentant sinners who exhibited haughty behaviors and boasted of their greatness on earth, temporarily sentenced to walk around the terrace carrying boulders on their backs of various sizes, depending upon how prideful they were on earth, which contort their bodies and force their gazes downward (*Purgatorio* X, lines 112-120; 136-138).⁵⁵

The pilgrim-poet's stay on this terrace occupies the space of three *canti* in which Dante cleverly bookends his discussion of pride in relation to artistic and poetic glory of Canto XI with two different *ekphrastic* moments sculpted across Canto X and Canto XII. In Canto X, the poet-pilgrim and Virgil immediately notice three large stones blocking their view:

Là sù non eran mossi i piè nostri anco,
 quand'io conobbi quella ripa intorno
 che, dritta, di salita aveva manco,
 esser di marmo candido e addorno
 d'intagli sì, che non pur Policleteo
 ma la Natura lì avrebbe scorno.

(*Purgatorio* X, lines 28-33).⁵⁶

⁵² Philip Steadman, *Renaissance Fun* (London: UCL Press, 2021), 71.

⁵³ Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (Torino: Einaudi, 1986), 325. Vasari describes the mechanics in San Felice as follows, "Dicesi che gli ingegni del Paradiso di Santo Felice in piazza, in detta città, furono trovati da lui per fare una rappresentazione; cosa industriosa a vedere muovere un cielo pieno di figure vive, e i contrappesi di ferri girare e muovere e con lumi coperti e da scoprirsi s'accendono: cose che diedero a Filippo grandissima lode."

⁵⁴ Paolo Galluzzi, *Gli ingegneri del Rinascimento da Brunelleschi a Leonardo da Vinci* (Firenze: Istituto e museo di storia della scienza, 1996), 18-19; Riskin, 21.

⁵⁵ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Purgatorio*, ed. and trans. Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 165.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 158-160.

As Dante and Virgil closely inspect the looming walls of marble whose intaglio designs not only surpass the most famous Greek sculptor, Polyclitus, but also rival Nature,⁵⁷ the pilgrim-poet and the reader learn that the three different moments depicted each demonstrate an exemplar of humility, the antidote to pride. The first sculpture, which derives from the New Testament, is the scene of the Annunciation of the Virgin, the second, depicting an example from the Old Testament, shows King David transporting the ark of the Covenant, while the third portrays an act of humility performed by the Emperor Trajan, showcasing a Roman imperial example on par with the two biblical precedents (lines 34-93).⁵⁸ In addition to utilizing an *ekphrasis* to describe these miraculous works of art, Dante also includes synesthetic details which enhance the pilgrim's gazing at and interaction with each carving, such when he hears the Angel Gabriel's "che non sembiava imagine che tace./ Giurato si saria ch'el dicesse "Ave!" (line 38-41) or smells and feels incense burned during procession of the Ark of the Covenant: "Similmente al fummo de li 'ncesi/ che v'era imaginato, li occhi e 'l naso/ e al sì e al no discordi fensi" (lines 61-63).⁵⁹ It is only after witnessing these scenes that Dante notes a "magical" quality to these engravings, "Colui che mai non vide cosa nova/ produsse esto visibile parlare,/ novello a noi perché qui non si trova." (lines 94-96).⁶⁰ These works are not produced by any human hand, but rather are God's creations, and thus spiritually show a "visibile parlare" as a product of God's work that activates only when the pilgrim-poet engages with the material objects.

While these are not "robots" in the sense of medieval French literary automata, the structure of these bas-reliefs parallels the models of automata from the earlier French tradition. Literary *ekphrastic* automata enliven via magic as a supernatural yet not Christianized force. Dante similarly imbues his *ekphrases* with "magic," though now a spiritual-mysticism, which awakens the objects before his, and the readers,' eyes, so much so that Dante and Virgil not only see the bas-reliefs "in motion," but hear the words and see the actions of these "statues." For Dante, he furthers the mission of French medieval automata in which it is only through a multi-sensory engagement with the *ekphrases* that the pilgrim-poet and the reader may comprehend the edifying message and essential quality of the virtue of humility.⁶¹ In fact, this is echoed in Virgil's rebuke of Dante⁶² when he says, "Non tener pur ad un loco la mente" (line 46).⁶³ Like the chamber of the *Roman de Troie*, the pilgrim and the reader must interact with all of the *ekphrases*, not just one, in order to attain a holistic understanding of humility. The "visibile parlare" is a vital means of communication and transmission that will initiate the moral and spiritual penitential process for Dante so that he, and by proxy the reader, may ultimately reach *Paradiso*. Dante closely mirrors the methodological pattern of ascribing a "magical" quality to his *ekphrastic* machines to enhance their moralizing quality, but now injects into his "automata" a clear Christological function that more appropriately supports the arc of his journey to the stars.

⁵⁷ See Albert Russell Ascoli, "Auerbach fra gli epicurei: dal canto X dell'*Inferno* alla VI giornata del *Decameron*," in *Moderna: Semestrale di teoria e critica della letteratura XI 1-2, 2009*, Erich Auerbach, eds. Mario Domenichelli and Maria Luisa Meneghetti (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2009), 135-152.

⁵⁸ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 160-162.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 162.

⁶¹ Jonathan Usher, "Mural Morality in Tableaux Vivants (*Amorosa visione*)," in *Boccaccio: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, 127-128; Christopher Kleinhenz, *Dante intertestuale e interdisciplinare: Saggi sulla 'Commedia'* (Rome: Aracne, 2015), 385.

⁶² Usher, 125.

⁶³ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 160.

Additionally for Dante, though, the episode of the *ekphrases* juxtaposed with the souls on the Terrace of Pride calls into question what is reality and what is truth where the crafted marbles are now “humanized,” and actual “humans,” the penitent shades, are now:

Io cominciai: “Maestro, quel ch’io veggio
muovere a noi, non mi sembian persone,
e non so che, sì nel veder vaneggio.”

[...]

Come per sostentar solaio o tetto
per mensola talvolta una figura
si vede giugner le ginocchia al petto
la qual fa del non ver vera rancura
nascere ’n chi la vede: così fatti
vid’ io color, quando puosi ben cura.

(*Purgatorio* X, lines 112-114; 130-135).⁶⁴

The poet-pilgrim seeks answers from his guide, Virgil, confused by the sight of these moving boulders that “do not seem like people,” to which Virgil responds by comparing them to architectural supports, perhaps modeled after Atlas or a kneeling sculptural figure who would have appeared on the façade of a Romanesque cathedral, such as on the Basilica di San Zeno in Verona,⁶⁵ further in-animating the souls on the Terrace of pride. This juxtaposition, once again, adheres to the example of previous literary automata where the “robots” become proxies for the people they represent and are, at times, more lifelike than their human counterparts. E.R. Truitt suggests that when the “machines” become stand-ins for an individual in the French literary tradition it, on the one hand, highlights how the characters in the story and the reader have the potential to confuse artifice with nature. On the other hand, Truitt also suggests that the direct substitution of a “machine” for an individual may represent the power of mimetic creation.⁶⁶ Indeed, it is this direct link and connection that Dante promotes, but improves upon, by constructing his “mimetic creations” as the work of God, and not man.⁶⁷ This further pulls the pilgrim-poet and the reader toward the “robots” over the “humans” to gain moral and spiritual insight that will allow them to correct their “sinful” ways and progress on their journey in *Paradiso*. Once Dante begins to understand the message offered by the bas-reliefs, then he will be better prepared to comprehend the analysis of glory and fame offered in the next canto.

Though Dante initially witnesses the repentant souls on the first terrace in Canto X, he will not actually speak with anyone until the following Canto XI. After briefly communicating with Omberto Aldobrandesco, Dante engages in a longer discussion with Oderisi del Gubbio, the great manuscript illuminator. It is in this conversation where Oderisi says to Dante:

Di tal superbia qui si paga il fio;

⁶⁴ Ibid., 164.

⁶⁵ Teodolinda Barolini in *The Undivine Comedy: Detheologizing Dante* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 125, compares this scene to Greek caryatids. A caryatid was a female sculptural figure used as an architectural support for many ancient structures. However, there is no evidence of anyone engaging with caryatids prior to the end of the fifteenth-century, making this an unlikely visual counterpart for Dante’s figures.

⁶⁶ Truitt, *Medieval Robots*, 100.

⁶⁷ Barolini, 126. Henrike Lange, *Giotto’s Arena Chapel and the Triumph of Humility* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 169.

e ancor non sarei qui, se non fosse
che, possendo peccar, mi volsi a Dio.
Oh vana gloria de l'umane posse!
com' poco verde in su la cima dura,
se non è giunta da l'etati grosse!
Credette Cimabue ne la pittura
tener lo campo, e ora ha Giotto il grido,
sì che la fama di colui è scura.
Così ha tolto l'uno a l'altro Guido
la gloria de la lingua, e forse è nato
chi l'uno e l'altro cacerà del nido.

(*Purgatorio* XI, lines 88-99)⁶⁸

As Oderisi explains, pride leads to “vain glory,” or the pursuit of earthly fame, which, though seemingly glorious when one is alive, inevitably will fade and one’s earthly fame is sure to be eclipsed by the success of another. While he begins with the example of Cimabue, the great late medieval artist, ultimately being surpassed by Giotto, known across Italy for his highly naturalistic representations in art, Oderisi then follows with two of Dante’s colleagues, Guido Guinizelli, who is outperformed by Guido Cavalcanti.⁶⁹ However, as most scholars interpret, both of these poets will soon be beaten by Dante. Barolini notes throughout her chapter in *The Undivine Comedy* that Dante’s art, the *Commedia*, rivals God’s art, as a text charged with representing reality and how this passage further confirms this position as Dante celebrates himself as a poetic counter to Giotto, an artist renowned for his verisimilitude in painting.⁷⁰ Oderisi’s analysis of “earthly fame” thus applies to no one more than Dante.⁷¹ However, Dante knows what is at stake and that he himself will have to spend many years on the terrace of pride repenting for his sins (*Purgatorio* XIII, lines 136-138)⁷² so that upon the conclusion of Oderisi’s speech, Dante now says: “Tuo vero dir m’incora/ bona umiltà, e gran tumor m’appiani;” (lines 118-119),⁷³ humbly embracing the lesson offered in Canto XI.

While Oderisi begins his speech by describing “vana gloria” (line 91) as a negative force that ultimately drives one to “superbia” (line 88), by the end, Oderisi switches to simply “gloria” when discussing the role of language and Dante as the ultimate inheritor of this legacy (lines 98-99),⁷⁴ implying a distinction between the two terms. Since its inception as an allegory from ancient poetic works, the idea of *fama*, in particular deriving from Virgil’s horrific winged female who spreads gossip and rumor throughout the *Aeneid* (Book IV, lines 173-197),⁷⁵ and Ovid’s implication thereof in his interpretation of her dwelling in the *Metamorphoses* (Book XII, lines

⁶⁸ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 176.

⁶⁹ Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez, eds. and trans., *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Purgatorio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 185. Durling and Martinez offer that some scholars attribute the first Guido to Guittone d’Arezzo, leaving the second Guido as Guido Guinizelli but then cite Canto XXVI lines 124-26 as the reason for why this attribution does not make sense here. The order in which Dante presents the visual arts prior to the verbal arts also mirrors the principle discussed in these lines and is Dante’s subtle suggestion that visual vernacular will be eclipsed by verbal vernacular.

⁷⁰ Barolini, 126; 134.

⁷¹ Ibid., 134.

⁷² Dante, *Purgatorio*, 194.

⁷³ Ibid., 178.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 176.

⁷⁵ Virgil, *Aeneid: Book IV*, ed. Keith Maclennan (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 56-57.

39-63),⁷⁶ had visually and textually personified the destructive outcomes of rumor and hearsay.⁷⁷ As *fama*'s own reputation developed throughout the medieval literary world, so too did the definition of *fama* evolve, splitting *fama* into two: *fama* and *infamia*.⁷⁸ *Fama* soon became associated with legal jargon and actions⁷⁹ and ultimately shifted from solely representing the derogatory notions of rumor and gossip to also portray one's renown and fame beyond mere terrestrial glory, reaching eternal glory.⁸⁰

If we return to *Purgatorio* X, Dante introduces the third *ekphrasis*, the story of Trajan and the widow as "Quiv' era storiata l'alta gloria/ del roman principato, il cui valore/ mosse Gregorio a la sua gran vittoria:" (lines 73-75).⁸¹ Trajan's humble precedent is one that will lead him to "high glory" in a positive sense, and indeed, the glory achieved by Trajan on earth transcends the terrestrial world and affords him an apotheosis, or the imperial Roman equivalent to "heavenly" glory. At the conclusion of Trajan's educative model, Dante writes: "Or ti conforta; ch'ei convene/ch'i' solva il mio dovere anzi ch'i' mova:/ giustizia vuole e pietà mi ritene" (lines 91-93).⁸² Part of the moralizing message offered through the "visibile parlare" is that Trajan's submitting to justice and duty grants him his humble, eternal "gloria." As Durling and Martinez note, Trajan represents God's power as a political counterpart, and thus manifests the two principles of God's dealing with man, justice and mercy.⁸³

Dante explores the role of justice throughout the *Convivio* and *De Monarchia* (c. 1313), but devotes much attention to the topic in his *Convivio* Book IV. Through the lens of both Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and Thomas Aquinas's reading thereof, Dante outlines that justice, as one of the four moral/cardinal virtues, resides in the will, both in one's intentions and actions,⁸⁴ that ultimately "la quale ordina noi ad amare e operare dirittura in tutte cose" (4.17.7)⁸⁵ Though Dante introduces the concept of justice in his other works, these principles inform the master plan of the *Commedia* and exude throughout specific *canti*. Within *Paradiso* XIX, the Heaven of Justice, Dante elaborates on justice as not only one's moral intentions and actions, but also one's will as directed toward God. Humans should constantly strive to achieve justice through both civic

⁷⁶ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. Hugo Magnus (Gotha: Friedr Andr. Perthes, 1892). Retrieved from Perseus, perseus.tufts.edu/ (accessed April 6, 2022).

⁷⁷ Claire Walker, "Whispering *Fama*: Talk and Reputation in Early Modern Society," in *Fama and her Sisters: Gossip and Rumour in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Heather Kerr and Claire Walker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 9; Lucy Potter, "Telling Tales: Negotiating 'Fame' in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Christopher Marlowe's *Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage*," in *Fama and her Sisters: Gossip and Rumour in Early Modern Europe*, 44-46.

⁷⁸ Dinora Corsi, "Donne medievali tra *fama* e *infamia*: leges e narrationes," *Storia Delle Donne* 6 no. 7 (2011), 107.

⁷⁹ Thomas Kuehn, "*Fama* as a Legal Status in Renaissance Florence," in *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, eds. Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 27-29; Chris Wickham, "*Fama* and the Law in Twelfth-Century Tuscany," in *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*.

⁸⁰ Philip Hardie, *Rumor and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 26.

⁸¹ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 162.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Durling and Martinez, 170.

⁸⁴ Dante Alighieri, *Convivio*, ed. Giorgio Inglese (Milan: BUR, 2018), 122.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 287. See also Charles Singleton, "Justice in Eden," *Annual Reports of the Dante Society* no. 68-72 (1954), 3-33 and Ronald L. Martinez, "'Nasce il Nilo': Justice, Wisdom, and Dante's Canzone 'Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute,'" in *Dante Now: Current Trends in Dante Studies*, ed. Theodore J. Cachey Jr. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 115-154. Dante claims that a later *canzone* and commentary will focus on Justice. This is usually assumed to reference the *canzone* "Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute."

and communal law as well as natural law and revelation.⁸⁶ When placed at the end of Trajan's example of humility, justice then becomes both a civic and sacred "corrective" aid to "gloria" that leads one away from "vana gloria" and redirects one toward the will of God. Through the "visibile parlare" of the story of Trajan, the Roman emperor becomes an active role model who "visibly" practices what he represents for the pilgrim-poet and the reader.

To underscore and reinforce the important role justice plays in granting one "gloria," Dante, at the end of Canto X, and Virgil, toward the beginning of Canto XI, echo one another when pondering the fate of the repentant souls: "non v'accorgete voi che noi siam vermi/ nati a formar l'angelica farfalla/ che vola a la giustizia senza schermi?" (Canto X, lines 124-126) and "Deh, se giustizia e pietà vi disgrievi/ tosto sì che possiate muover l'ala/ che secondo il disio vostro vi lievi" (Canto XI, lines 37-39).⁸⁷ Both Dante and Virgil remind the shades of the role of justice as leading toward the will of God. The connection built between justice and the terrace devoted to pride, humility, and the two types of "gloria" foregrounds the discussion offered by Oderisi in the following lines of Canto XI. It is only through the educative preparation the pilgrim-poet and the reader received from the *ekphrases* in the previous canto that then allow Oderisi's words to resonate with Dante, aiding in the pilgrim-poet's "self-corrective" path toward *Paradiso*.

It is interesting to note that Dante further asserts the association between "giustizia" and "gloria" in *Paradiso* XIX, the Heaven of Justice. As Barolini argues, the intertextual clues of *segno* and *segnare* included by Dante meta-poetically extend and insert the Terrace of Pride into the Eagle of Justice's home. Additionally, Barolini notes that *Paradiso* XIX is the only other section of the poem in which we find the word *storia* utilized, outside of its use in *Purgatorio* X, where *storia* "refers to actual events accomplished on earth by the eagle of justice, events that men praise but fail to emulate."⁸⁸ Though it appears as though Dante's art, the *Commedia*, continues to compete with God's art throughout his poetic journey, the correlation between "vana gloria" or pride, and "gloria" as achieved through just means across these pages reinforces the true antidote, humility, that Dante must embrace; ultimately, Dante will accept that he can never emulate the miraculous art of God.⁸⁹ Thus the pilgrim-poet, and the reader, return to the lessons of the "visibile parlare" and may recall the figure of Trajan when gazing upon the Eagle of Justice. In this move, Dante's pride evolves out of "vana gloria" into "gloria" in the Heaven of Justice.

It is through the combination of *ekphrastic* "machines" and the joining of glory and justice that Boccaccio will ultimately emulate in his "Triumph of Glory" in the *Amorosa visione*. However, these ideas from the *Commedia* do not arrive in Boccaccio's text only as a direct one-to-one correspondence between Dante and Boccaccio. Rather, these principles are interpreted visually in the earlier *Triumph of Vana gloria* by Giotto.

⁸⁶ Alan H. Gilbert, *Dante's Conception of Justice* (New York: AMS Press, 1965); Anthony K. Cassell, *Dante's Fearful Art of Justice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Manlio Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe, 1000-1800* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1995); Edward Peters, "The Frowning Pages: Scythians, Garamantes, Florentines and the Two Laws," in *The Divine Comedy and the Encyclopedia of the Arts and Sciences*, eds. Giuseppe di Scipio and Aldo Scaglione (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1998); Richard Lansing, ed., *The Dante Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 549.

⁸⁷ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 164, 174.

⁸⁸ Barolini, 128.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 140-141.

GIOTTO'S "VANA" GLORIA

Though it is obvious that Dante and his *oeuvre* influence Boccaccio's texts in a myriad of ways, Boccaccio, Dante, and Petrarch were very intrigued by the visual arts. However, out of the three crowns of Florence, Boccaccio seems to be the only one who also dabbled in drawing and included his own sketches alongside the text of many of his manuscripts, including an edition of the *Decameron*.⁹⁰ We suspect that Dante and Giotto knew each other and might have been friends, with scholars noting the influence of Giotto's Arena Chapel, in particular the scene of the *Last Judgment*, on Dante's visualizing of Hell.⁹¹ We also know that Boccaccio and Giotto were in Naples during the same time between 1329 and 1333⁹² and that Boccaccio, similar to Dante, revered Giotto as a great artist gifted with depicting objects as if they were the real thing.⁹³ Boccaccio also includes Giotto, in laudatory yet comedic terms, within his *Decameron* (Day VI.5)⁹⁴ as well as in his *Amorosa visione*, a point to which I will return. Given Boccaccio's interest in the visual arts, and in particular in figures such as Giotto, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that artists, such as Giotto, played an intermedial role in influencing the iconography Boccaccio chooses for his allegorical triumphators in the *Amorosa visione*.

The history surrounding Giotto's original image of the *Triumph of Vana gloria* was highly debated for several years. Though scholars initially argued that Giotto painted the original portrait of "Vainglory" in the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua for Francesco da Carrara in 1367-1374,⁹⁵ it is now generally accepted that Giotto's fresco of "Vainglory" was part of a larger visual program commissioned by Azzo Visconti for his new palace in Milan in 1340.⁹⁶ According to Giovanni Villani's *Nuova cronica* and confirmed by Vasari in his *Lives*, there is an account of Giotto being appointed the supervisor of a pictorial program in Milan and that Giotto arrived in 1337 to begin the project. However, in his fourteenth-century chronicle, Galvano Flamma offers an elaborate description of the palace of Azzo Visconti, and dates the frescoes to circa 1335, claiming that he witnessed an image of Earthly Glory surround by Aeneas, Attila, Hector, Hercules, Charlemagne, and Azzo Visconti.⁹⁷ Given that the earlier dating of the fresco cycle and that Flamma's account of the presence of the personification of "gloriana modana" within the pictorial cycle coincides with the date of Giotto's time spent in Milan, and the fact that the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua

⁹⁰ Victoria Kirkham, "A Visual Legacy (Boccaccio as Artist)," in *Boccaccio: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, 321, 327-339. The edition of the *Decameron* with the sketch thought to be by Boccaccio is MS Ital. 482 fol. 4v. Kirkham also notes that Boccaccio may have included sketches in some manuscripts owned by Petrarch, such as Petrarch's copy of Pliny.

⁹¹ Caron Cioffi, "Giotto" in *The Dante Encyclopedia*, 447; Durling and Martinez, 185. Lange notes that there is no concrete evidence to prove whether Dante and Giotto knew each other (163).

⁹² Creighton Gilbert, 64.

⁹³ Barolini, 311-312.

⁹⁴ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, eds. Amedeo Quondam, Maurizio Fiorilla, and Giancarlo Alfano (Milan: BUR, 2017), 1000-1004.

⁹⁵ Schlosser, 190; Shorr, 103; Mommsen, 107.

⁹⁶ Creighton Gilbert, 31-32. Ernest Hatch Wilkins in his *Petrarch's Later Years* (Boston: Medieval Academy of America, 2013) disproves Schlosser, Shorr, and Mommsen by suggesting that the proposed location offered by these scholars would have had windows that were too high for a fresco to have been painted there (300). Gilbert agrees with Wilkins and further adds that although the Vainglory in the Sala dei Giganti is not the original, it is possible that Giotto's Vainglory from Azzo Visconti's palace inspired the painting in Padua and that perhaps someone from Giotto's workshop might have painted the fresco for Francesco da Carrara (59-60).

⁹⁷ Louis Green, "Galvano Flamma, Azzone Visconti and the Revival of the Classical Theory of Magnificence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990), 102.

was not completed until after Giotto's death, there is further confirmation that the original location was Azzo Visconti's Palace in Milan.⁹⁸

There has also been significant debate in regard to which text appeared first, Giotto's fresco or Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione*.⁹⁹ However, if we accept the dating offered by Creighton Gilbert of Giotto's fresco of 1335, then it would have been impossible for Boccaccio's text to have influenced Giotto. Vittore Branca, in his introduction to the *Amorosa visione*, notes that Boccaccio probably knew of a painted depiction of Glory before composing his poem, allowing us to reasonably deduce that this was Giotto's "Vana gloria" in the Visconti Palace.¹⁰⁰ In the larger fresco cycle in Milan, the image of Vainglory was juxtaposed with the portraits of great men, all of whom, except Charlemagne, were "pagan princes:" Aeneas, Attila, Hector, and Hercules.¹⁰¹



Fig. 22. Frontispiece to Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*, based on Giotto's *Triumph of Vainglory* originally located in Azzo Visconti's palace in Milan (c.1335), c. 1379, ink. MA Latin 6069f. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

⁹⁸ Creighton Gilbert, 31-32, 50.

⁹⁹ Schlosser, 191; Shorr, 103; Frederic Anatal, *Florentine Painting and Its Social Background: The Bourgeois Republic before Cosimo de' Medici's Advent to Power, XIV and Early XV Centuries* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), 368; Mommsen, 107. All these scholars believe that Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* inspired Giotto's painting.

¹⁰⁰ Vittore Branca, "Introduction," in *Giovanni Boccaccio: Amorosa Visione*, eds. and trans. Robert Hollander, Timothy Hampton, and Margherita Frankel (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986), xiv. Creighton Gilbert notes in his essay that Branca believes this fresco to have been in Padua at the Reggia Carrarese (321).

¹⁰¹ Mommsen, 113.



Fig. 23. Frontispiece to Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*, based on Giotto's *Triumph of Vainglory* originally located in Azzo Visconti's palace in Milan (c.1335), c. 1400, ink. MS 101, Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

These figures, with the inclusion of Visconti, represent the six major nationalities of the fourteenth century and Visconti situates himself as equal to these historical men who achieved glory solely by virtue of their military deeds. Since Visconti includes himself among the list of valiant “triumphators,” the underlying message is not that “vainglory” is a vice but rather that “glory” is a virtue, solidifying Visconti's name among these men who have achieved eternal glory.¹⁰²

Though the frescoes adorning the Visconti Palace were destroyed approximately twenty years after their completion,¹⁰³ there are three late fourteenth-century manuscript miniatures (fig. 20, 22-23), each included as frontispieces for various editions of Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*, which scholars agree are copies of Giotto's *Vana gloria*. Each rendition offers subtle variations, however, it is clear they all derive from the same source text and it is generally agreed that these miniatures would eventually serve as the prototype for the later fifteenth-century imaginations of the *Triumphus Fame*. The earliest manuscript (fig. 22), dating to approximately 1379, is a pen and ink drawing in which the figure of Glory floats above a large crowd of men on horseback. She rests on a two-wheeled triumphal chariot pulled by horses upon whose backs ride two winged figures playing trumpets; the trumpet players reappear flanking Glory. Glory wears a crown and a mantle draped over her dress as she carries laurel wreaths in both hands. She gazes down toward

¹⁰² Creighton Gilbert, 32, 55-56.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 55.; Green, 105.

the crowd and extends her right hand as if she will bestow glory upon one of the many in the group. The men within the group all wear distinct pieces of armor, yet two figures, one on either side of Gloria, hold a laurel wreath in their hands.

The next miniature in the sequence (fig. 20) from the late fourteenth century, follows much of the iconographic pattern provided by the first, but paints the background blue and includes a golden circle or rays of light behind the allegory of Gloria, who now resides within an oblong circle. The illuminator increases the number of winged musicians and laurel crowns, now painted green, within the crowd. The artist further adds a sense of an earthly atmosphere beneath the group by including grass under their feet, distinguishing the earthly realm of the men from the heavenly realm of “Gloria,” who is twice named within the scene. The third manuscript (fig. 23), known as the *Darmstadt* manuscript, offers the most variation in terms of iconography. The artist included a few men on horseback surrounding Gloria who is encircled in a sphere in the middle of the pack. Glory is no longer accompanied by winged musicians but sits alone on a throne, holding a winged figure in her left and what Shorr identifies as a sword in her right, neither of which were included in the previous two representations.¹⁰⁴

For the purposes of this chapter, I will focus on the second representation of Glory (fig. 20) in my analysis. What is most striking about this image is the contrast of the dark lapis lazuli colored background, emphasizing the heavenly realm, with the black and white, neutral toned image of the allegory herself and the men who huddle below, awaiting her praise. The artist includes subtle hints of red to distinguish individual feathers on Glory’s wings, pink in the underside of her mantle, a golden clasp that holds the mantle in place, and hues of green and blue in the laurel wreaths, the grass, and throne upon which she sits. The sparse sections of color compared with the sketched body of Glory draw the viewer’s eyes directly toward the allegory in triumph. At the same time, Glory, stylistically, accords with the virtues and vices Giotto painted across the lower register of the Arena Chapel.¹⁰⁵

From approximately 1303 to 1305, Giotto was commissioned to complete a magnificent fresco cycle in Padua for Enrico Scrovegni. As the son of a well-known banker, and a banker himself, Scrovegni wished to expiate his father’s, and presumably his own, sins of usury, and to demonstrate his piety and devotion to God through the construction of the Arena Chapel.¹⁰⁶ The predominate fresco cycle narrates the lives of the Virgin Mary and Christ, beginning with *The Expulsion of Joachim*, the father of the Virgin, and concluding with the image of the *Last Judgment* on the wall opposite the altar. Beneath the registers devoted to the biblical cycles, Giotto includes a register dedicated to representing various virtues and vices. While the biblical stories are true to Giotto’s naturalistic style, the virtues and vices are depicted far less realistically than their “human” counterparts.¹⁰⁷ Resting within a fictive wall panel replicating the appearance of different types of marble, the virtues and vices also appear as if they were sculpted from stone.¹⁰⁸ Though this stone-like appearance might initially impose an “inanimate” quality to the allegories, Giotto breathes new life into his allegories by representing the meaning of each figure not only through particular iconographic symbols, but mostly through their postures, gestures, and facial expressions.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Shorr, 104.

¹⁰⁵ Creighton Gilbert, 69.

¹⁰⁶ Serena Romano, *La O di Giotto* (Milan: Electa, 2008), 152. See also Laura Jacobus, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel: Art, Architecture & Experience* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008). Lange expands on this to argue that Scrovegni additionally sought a noble pedigree through the dedication of the Arena Chapel (65).

¹⁰⁷ Joachim Poeschke, *Italian Frescoes, the Age of Giotto, 1280-1400* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2005), 189.

¹⁰⁸ Romano, 218.

¹⁰⁹ Poeschke, 189-191.

Additionally, Giotto inscribes the base of each panel with a rhymed description associated with the personification of the virtue or vice, imparting an *ekphrastic* like “visibile parlare” on each allegorical “sculpture.” This mimics both the literary portrayal of French medieval automata and Dante’s parallel structure applied to his *ekphrases* on the Terrace of Pride. Since it is possible that Dante and Giotto were in Padua together while Giotto worked on the Arena Chapel,¹¹⁰ perhaps there is a mutual dialogue and exchange of influence between both artists. Giotto’s statues, through their animated expressions and with the aid of each verbal inscription, “talk” to the viewer; it is only possible to fully comprehend the didactic message of each allegory by way of their communicative actions and “visible speech.”

The carefully organized placement of each virtue or vice further guides the viewer’s interpretation of the frescoes and allows the viewer to internalize the meaning of not only the personification, but also the surrounding biblical narrative to which they are spatially compared.¹¹¹ The stylistic mirroring of the virtues and vices in the Arena Chapel reflected in the image of Gloria and the placement of her name, “Gloria,” across her triumph, superimposing the Arena Chapel’s virtues function as “talking robots” onto the personification of Gloria. It is interesting to note that within the Arena Chapel, there is no image of “Gloria,” nor “Vana gloria” or “Pride,” as we might expect, among the virtues and vices. Giotto’s stylistic mirroring in Glory now extends the allegory into the cycle he began in Padua, allowing the static machine to move and impart “gloria” on to those below.

The use of colors, especially for the distinction between the heavenly realm and the earthly world also emphasizes the two types of Gloria, “vana gloria” and “gloria” found in Dante’s discussion of *gloria/giustizia*. Though Her title across the three manuscripts has been the *Triumph of Vainglory*, the figure herself is not named as “vana gloria.” The presence of the word “GLORIA,” written in gold and located centrally above the oblong shaped circle that surrounds the allegory, promotes a connection between Gloria and the heavenly realm of God in a Christological sense. The atmospheric blue often surrounds celestial and heavenly beings of Christ and the Virgin Mary within church complexes and the gold lettering, as opposed to the neutral colored, yet much larger naming of “Gloria” divided across her body, further distinguishes the duality and double possibility of achieving glory: either a temporary, earthly “vana gloria” or an eternal, heavenly “gloria.” Additionally, the oval surrounding Gloria mirrors a *mandorla*, the almond shaped circle that iconographically encompasses the figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary in majesty. At the same time, Gloria also is surrounded by a golden ray of light. This further calls into question the role of Gloria beyond simply “vana gloria.” As Dante implied in his *Commedia*, Giotto’s visual image of Gloria also advocates for a figure who bestows glory only on those who direct their will (justice) toward God. The men below Gloria who then receive the laurel crown from Her are the ones who, like Trajan, have demonstrated Dante’s concept of justice and mercy, and can achieve a glory that will transcend the earthly realm and reach the eternal.

To advance the connection between this image of Gloria and the principle offered by Dante of glory as received via justice, let us return to the Arena Chapel and the lower register which presents an interpretation of *Giustizia* among the virtues and vices (fig. 21). Gilbert mentions that Justice in the Arena Chapel bears resemblance to the Gloria found in the manuscripts, but does not offer any evidence to prove why these two might look similar to one another.¹¹² Within her

¹¹⁰ Durling and Martinez, 185.

¹¹¹ Andrew Ladis, *Giotto’s: Narrative, Figuration, and Pictorial Ingenuity in the Arena Chapel* (State College: Penn State University Press, 2009), 17-18, 28.

¹¹² Creighton Gilbert, 69.

architectural frame, *Giustizia*, seated on a throne, wears a crown which holds her long veil in place, draping across her back behind her dress, covered by a mantle with a clasp holding it closed. There is a faint line running across the neck of Justice that connects to the two figures she holds in her hands, indicating her iconographic scales of justice. On her right side is a figure who, though now damaged, crowns the righteous, representing Distributive justice, while the figure in her left hand serves as the executioner who beheads the criminals as the figure of Commutative justice.¹¹³ Below the figure of Justice is a *predella* panel that showcases some of the happy consequences one might experience under Justice's rule, such as men and women dancing or enjoying a hunt. Giotto devoted special attention to the figures of Justice and Injustice within the Arena Chapel as a reminder to the viewer of their broader political significance outside of the chapel.¹¹⁴ Their centrality in relation to the other allegorical figures also underscores the importance of Justice and Injustice within the biblical scenes of the upper registers.¹¹⁵ Of all the virtues in the lower register, Justice resides in the largest niche, further indicating her importance over the other six virtues within the sequence.¹¹⁶

By examining the two figures *Gloria* and *Giustizia* side by side, it is clear that the image of Justice from the Arena Chapel correlates with Glory from the manuscripts. Both Glory and Justice wear crowns, holding a veil in place as it drapes across their backs, leading the viewer's eyes to a dress and mantle clasped with a gold brooch in the middle. Even the hairstyle of Justice becomes the hairstyle of Gloria, where the intricately braided and knotted bun reappears in Gloria, though with slightly less detailed attention. The angelic creatures of Distributive and Commutative justice who, as the description below *Giustizia* indicates, "Coronando Bonos Vibrat ensem contra vicia"¹¹⁷ (crown goodness and wields her sword against vices), similarly reflect the dual nature of Justice. The inclusion of the textual action adjacent to the mobile "statue" further activates the machine in an *ekphrastic*, didactic approach; the play between word and image awakens the allegory, as if it were a medieval automata.

The relationship between text and image again comes into play in Giotto's Glory where the two distinct inscriptions of "GLORIA" activate her duality as either the harbinger of "vana gloria" or the herald of "gloria." She, like Distributive justice, crowns "goodness," and wards off "vana gloria," perhaps as a form of Commutative justice, as defined previously by *Giustizia*. Though not entirely discernable, it is possible that the crown Distributive justice holds may even be a laurel crown. It is certainly distinguishable from the royal crown donned by Justice/Glory and

¹¹³ Helene Wieruszowski, "Art and the Commune in the Time of Dante," *Speculum* 19 no.1 (Jan., 1944), 23; Julie F. Codell, "Giotto's Peruzzi Chapel Frescoes: Wealth, Patronage and the Earthly City," *Renaissance Quarterly* 41 no. 4 (Winter, 1988), 603f.; Poeschke, 190.

¹¹⁴ Wieruszowski, 23.

¹¹⁵ Eva Frojmovič, "Giotto's Allegories of Justice and the Commune in the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua: A Reconstruction," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996), 24-47; Eleonora M. Beck, "Music and Justice in Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel Frescoes," in *Giotto's Harmony: Music and Art in Padua at the Crossroads of the Renaissance* (Florence: European Press Academic Publishing, 2005), 125-129; Umberto Vincenti, "La Giustizia di Giotto" in *La Giustizia di Giotto*, eds. Idem and Francesca Marcella (Naples, 2006), 69-92; Ladis, 52.

¹¹⁶ Douglas P. Lackey, "Giotto in Padua: A New Geography of the Human Soul," *The Journal of Ethics*, 9 no. 3/4 (2005), 560.

¹¹⁷ Jonathan B. Riess, "Justice and Common Good in Giotto's Arena Chapel Frescoes," *Arte Cristiana* 72 (1984), 69-80; Peter Bokody, "Justice, Love and Rape: Giotto's Allegories of *Justice* and *Injustice* in the Arena Chapel, Padua," in *The Iconology of Law and Order (Legal and Cosmic)*, eds. Anna Kérchy, György E. Szönyi, and Attila Kiss (Szeged: JATEPress, 2012), 53.

appears not unlike the crowns Glory bestows to the glorious folk below.¹¹⁸ Giotto thus superimposes iconographic features of his Justice onto the image of Glory to blur the two figures together, offering a new visual interpretation of *Gloria*. She is no longer a strictly negative, temporary force, but is now one that, through the aid of *Giustizia*, may embody a positive, animate, and eternal presence.

BOCCACCIO'S "TRIUMPH OF GLORY:" FROM *L'AMETO* TO *L'AMOROSA VISIONE*

Following the precedent established by Dante and Giotto, Boccaccio includes an explicit "Triumph of Glory" within his *Amorosa visione* VI-XII. However, what has been ignored by previous scholarship is the fact that Boccaccio provides an earlier draft of his working through the intermedial Dantean/Giottoesque representation of glory as an eternal reward for just actions in the story of the nymph Emilia, the virtue of Justice, in the *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*, also known as *l'Ameto*. The *Ameto*, completed around 1341, is the first work Boccaccio composed upon moving from Naples to Florence, and is one of the earliest modern pastoral romances in which we find a blending of all of the essential elements that define Boccaccio's poetic style: classical mythology, French and Italian love poetry, allegory, and narrative.¹¹⁹ Fondly referred to as the "piccolo *Decameron*," the *Ameto* tells the tale of a shepherd who, after a successful hunt, stumbles upon a group of seven nymphs in a *locus amoenus*. Ameto falls in love with one nymph in particular, Lia, and though separated throughout the winter, by spring, Ameto rejoins the group to listen to the ladies pass the time by telling stories of their previous histories with love. As each nymph reveals herself to represent one of the seven virtues, either cardinal or theological, their didactic narratives educate Ameto, ultimately saving him. The nymphs and the Goddess Venus "baptize" Ameto in a fountain so that Ameto may be reborn from his "sinful" behavior to intellectually and spiritually journey toward "Paradise."¹²⁰

Before each nymph shares her story with Ameto, which reveals her "virtue," Boccaccio intricately describes Ameto's attentive gazing upon each figure. Ameto discerns specific physical attributes, including unique hairstyles,¹²¹ ascribed to each female, distinguishing one nymph from the next and making one more lovely than her "sister." When Ameto feasts his eyes on the figure

¹¹⁸ As Creighton Gilbert notes, the laurel crown, associated with ancient Roman military and poetic triumphs, may be Giotto's reworking of Dante's passage in *Purgatorio* Canto XI. He goes on to say, "The vast Dante/Giotto literature appears not to have explored its most real component, that Giotto lived for twenty years as a person mentioned in Dante, and as for the object of a prophecy that his fame must fade. Giotto, very obviously, was increasingly conscious of this point, and there is no risk in assuming that, he would very much have liked to prove Dante wrong." (57). Giotto paints his interpretation of Glory after Dante's death and the initial circulation of his *Commedia*. His Gloria now bestows the symbol of poetic glory onto those whom She deems worthy in accordance with Dante's ideas about justice and glory. Giotto now trumps the literary master and visually determines who is worthy of *fama*; it is Giotto's turn to decide whose *fama* will extend beyond the earthly world.

¹¹⁹ Judith Serafini-Sauli, ed. and trans., *Giovanni Boccaccio: l'Ameto* (New York: Garland, 1985), xiv.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, xvi; Jane Tylus, "On the Threshold of Paradise (*Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*, or *Ameto*)," in *Boccaccio: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works*, 134-135.

¹²¹ See Emanuele Lugli's article, "The Hair is Full of Snares: Botticelli's and Boccaccio's Wayward Erotic Gaze," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 61 no. 2 (2019), 203-233, for an in-depth analysis of the different coiffures "painted" by Boccaccio and later Botticelli.

of Emilia, he first notices her blonde hair:¹²² “di quella i biondi capelli, a qualunque chiarezza degni d’assimigliare, senza niuno magistero lunghissimi, parte ravvolti alla testa nella sommità di quella, con nodo piacevole d’essi stessi vede raccolti, ed altri più corti, o in quello non compresi fra le verdi frondi della laurea ghirlanda” (*l’Ameto* XII).¹²³ Her hair, half-tied in a knot with strands carefully intertwined in laurel wreath—perhaps forming the shape of a crown. Ameto then notices: “egli sotto la ghirlanda dello alloro di molte frondi intorno, con sottilissimo velo e purpureo,” which casts a lovely shadow across her forehead and forces Ameto’s gaze to linger on Emilia’s eyebrows and eyes: “sotto le quali due occhi chiarissimi come mattutine stelle scintillanti rimira; nè qui entro nascosi, nè superbi fuor del loro luogo si stendeano, ma gravi e lunghi, e di colore bruno più amorosa davano la loro luce.” (*l’Ameto* XII)¹²⁴ Her brown eyes, no less brilliant than stars, shine the most loving light upon Ameto. He concludes his description of her dress by noticing she wears a: “vestita di sottilissimo drappo sanguineo, seminato di piccioli uccelletti d’oro” and a “purpureo mantello” (*l’Ameto* XII)¹²⁵

As the text vibrantly paints a picture of Emilia so that the reader may visualize her physical body, before revealing her to be the virtue of Justice, Boccaccio first calls to mind the laurel wreath adorning her blonde hair. Though neither Giotto’s *Giustizia* nor *Gloria* wear the laurel wreath, they each confer laurel crowns upon those who demonstrate virtuous “triumphs.” Boccaccio further deviates from the painted models offered by Giotto in that he applies specific colors to each garment worn by Emilia: a purple veil and mantle lay over her red dress which is embroidered with gold birds. However, each article of clothing mentioned by Boccaccio can visually be found adorning both Giotto’s *Giustizia* and *Gloria*. The emphasis on the details and external embellishments of Emilia’s clothing, especially in relation to the descriptions of the first two nymphs, perhaps serves to amplify the active role of Justice, or as Jonathan Usher claims, “the externalization of description echoes the allegorical development from inner motivation towards the more outward virtues of Justice and Hope.”¹²⁶ Unlike Giotto’s “statues” that *ekphrastically* “move,” Boccaccio’s figure is a living allegory. The poet then reverses the automata structure where the imitation is not the “machine,” but the “person,” and thus returns us to Dante’s “humanized” bas-reliefs counter to the “statuesque” shades of *Purgatorio* X. Boccaccio’s color palette is not all that distinct from the manuscript illustration of Glory: in *Gloria*’s mantle, there is a subtle hint at a pink, or quite possibly purple cloth. The description of Emilia’s eyes, though neither shown nor ascribed as markers of Justice or Glory, will intertextually transport Emilia as the Allegory of Justice/Glory into the *Amorosa visione*’s “Triumph of Glory.” The careful inclusion of the words “stelle, amorosa, and luce” textually hint at her movement out of the *Ameto* and into her next allegorical/didactic role, Gloria in the *Amorosa visione*.

Beyond the physical attributes that parallel Giotto’s Glory/Justice, Emilia also details a triumphal parade when sharing her story. The arc of Emilia’s story is that through her role as the figure of Justice, Emilia revives a youth—who symbolizes Pride—brought to her by the goddess

¹²² Lugli notes that Boccaccio’s commencing his description with *a capite ad calcem* is not only a trope of the medieval Romance, but also that studying the human body from their hair to their feet was a conventional approach in medical treatises, yet the amount of detail Boccaccio gives to each hairstyle is unique (214).

¹²³ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Opere Minori: La Fiametta, L’Ameto, Il Corbaccio, Lettera Consolatoria AM Pino de’ Rossi* (Milan, Edoardo Sonzogno, 1879), 164.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Jonathan Usher, “Boccaccio’s Experimentation with Verbal Portraits from the “Filocolo” to the “Decameron,”” *The Modern Language Review* 77 no. 3 (July, 1982), 592.

Venus, and redirects him toward the morally just path.¹²⁷ She first encounters the spirit of the young man when, upon entering the forest, she witnesses the following spectacle:

uno ardente carro, tirato da due dragoni, tale a riguardare, qual forse quello di Medea, fuggente Teseo, fu potuto vedere. Nel quale una giovane donna, nello aspetto altiera, e di fuoco così come il carro lucente, armata di bellissime armi, con uno cappello d'acciajo, con alta cresta, con iscudo vidi reggente quello; e così veloce corrente per l'aere, quali le saette turche, pinte da forte nervo, sogliono senza alcuna comparazione volare; allato alla quale uno spirito bellissimo del suo fuoco accendentesi tutto, vidi sedere;

(*l'Ameto XXI*)¹²⁸

This goddess, dressed in shining armor of a helmet, crest, and shield, flies through the air as quickly as an arrow on a fiery chariot pulled by dragons. Though some scholars have identified this figure as the goddess Astraea—the goddess of justice who first appears in Dante's *Purgatorio* XXII (lines 67-72)¹²⁹—others now identify her as Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, poetry, and war.¹³⁰ The swift and active movement of Minerva on her chariot visually mimics the flight of Giotto's *Gloria* as she glides above the group of men. The presence of Minerva—as one who bestows glory only onto those who demonstrate their virtue—in the vision witnessed by Emilia/Justice allows Boccaccio to subtly imply their connection and mutual helping hand in the process of leading Ameto, and the reader, toward spiritual revelation and correction. This point is directly demonstrated by the fact that the “spirito” seated next to Minerva is the “spirito” of the youth who Emilia reactivates through her role as Justice. The choice of Minerva, the Roman goddess who represents both military and poetic triumphs, further recalls Dante's *Purgatorio* X-XI and the inclusion of Trajan as the roman militaristic exemplar who represents God's power in the political realm,¹³¹ heightening the intermedial roots of Boccaccio's imagination of Justice as Glory.

Boccaccio extends the affiliation between Justice and Glory by pairing the triumph of Minerva/Glory with the song Emilia performs at the end of her tale. When describing the allegory of Justice, Emilia suggests that: “Costei di spada armata, in man tenendo/ Giusta bilancia, graziosamente/ L'umilie esalta, il superbo premendo” (*l'Ameto XXIII*).¹³² Since Boccaccio, in great detail, outlines the physical characteristics and physiognomy of Emilia toward the beginning of his text, he does not need to re-imagine what Justice personally looks like within Emilia's song. Rather, the mentioning of solely her sword and scales of justice finalize the transformation of Emilia into Justice. The final vision we see of “Emilia” then is: a blonde beautiful nymph, dressed as Giotto's Glory/Justice and wearing the laurel crown. She carries the sword of justice in one hand, and the scales of justice in the other. The intentional inclusion of the parable offered by Dante in his *Purgatorio* X-XI—that justice will aid in correcting the “superbi” and exalt the “umile”—further heightens the intermedial legacy of both Dante and Giotto.

Boccaccio reminds his readers of Emilia's intermedial fashioning into Justice one final time toward the end of his text. After Venus and the nymphs “baptize” Ameto in the fountain, the

¹²⁷ Serafini-Sauli, 157.

¹²⁸ Boccaccio, *Opere Minori*, 183.

¹²⁹ Dante, *Purgatorio*, 366.

¹³⁰ Serafini-Sauli, 156. Her identification of this goddess comes from the critical edition offered by Antonio Enzo Quaglio, ed. *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* (Florence: Sansoni, 1963).

¹³¹ Durling and Martinez, *Purgatorio*, 170.

¹³² Boccaccio, *Opere Minori*, 189.

morally and spiritually “reborn” Ameto will sing a song that categorizes all of the nymphs by the virtuous roles they played in his conversion. For Emilia, he sings: “A cui Emilia, come si dovea,/Seguendo, mi rivolse alla tua santa/ Faccia, guidando la spada d’Astrea”(l’*Ameto* XLVII).¹³³ Ameto, guided by the sword of Astraea (Justice), follows Emilia as she redirects him toward God. Emilia is the one whose duty it is to initially launch Ameto, and the reader, on the path toward intellectual and spiritual enlightenment. Dante, similarly, on the initial terrace of Mount Purgatory, first learns the lesson offered to Ameto by Emilia. However, Ameto does not completely listen to the narrative told to him by Emilia,¹³⁴ and while she speaks, Ameto still is overwhelmed by his sexual desires and attraction to her and the other nymphs. Though the reader hopes Ameto fully digests this edifying awakening of which he sings, Boccaccio offers a corrective to the *Ameto*¹³⁵ in the form of the *Amorosa visione*.

Boccaccio began the *Amorosa visione* while living in Florence and completed the text around 1342.¹³⁶ As the pilgrim-poet Boccaccio decides to embark on his own journey to the stars, he first must decide which path he will take on his way to “Paradise.” Presented with the choice to enter one of two doors, a narrow door which guides one toward “the good life” and a broader door that leads toward “life’s pitfalls,”¹³⁷ the pilgrim-poet enters through the broader one, and arrives at a large chamber, elaborately decorated with four extraordinary triumphal frescoes. As we learn in Canto IV, the four allegorical triumphs the pilgrim-poet will witness in the chamber are crafted by:

Humana man non credo che sospinta
mai fosse a tanto ingegno quanto in quella
mostrante ogni figura lì distinta,
eccetto se da Giotto, al qual la bella
Natura parte di sé somigliante
non occultò nell’arte in che suggella.

(l’*Amorosa visione* IV lines 13-18)¹³⁸

The *ekphrases* on the wall of the chamber are not painted by any “human hand,” and yet the only artist comparable to this level of excellence is Giotto, whose figures resemble nature so closely that they are almost lifelike. Yet, these works, in actuality, are the craftsmanship of God. Due to this “visibile parlare” of God’s art, as Boccaccio moves around the room, each allegorical parade will “materialize” and awaken before the pilgrim-poet’s eyes. This type of structure, though parallel to and clearly influenced by Dante’s *Purgatorio* X and the *ekphrastic* sculptures, also reminds the reader of the story of the *Roman de Troie* and the chamber through which one will didactically learn about courtly life as communicated by the machines within the four corners of the room. Boccaccio’s *ekphrases*, though paintings, additionally function like the *ekphrastic* automata provided by the earlier traditions. The pilgrim-poet Boccaccio, like the pilgrim-poet of the *Commedia*, will only learn and dissect the information shown to him directly through an animate engagement with the “inanimate” frescoes on the wall. This, then, sets the expectation

¹³³ Ibid., 251.

¹³⁴ Tylus, 135.

¹³⁵ Usher, “Mural Morality,” 119.

¹³⁶ Branca, ix.

¹³⁷ Usher, “Mural Morality,” 121.

¹³⁸ Boccaccio, *l’Amorosa visione*, 19.

that each allegorical figure within these paintings will also be a “machine,” serving as a robotic avatar for a human counterpart. At the same time, the presence of the name Giotto indicates to the reader that perhaps these images might bear similarities to works of art designed by Giotto. Giotto, as a rival to God’s art and Nature both here and in *Purgatorio* XI, then becomes a further intermedial source upon which the pilgrim-poet and the reader may recall when examining these allegorical frescoes in the coming pages.

Succeeding the triumph of Wisdom on the first wall, the pilgrim-poet approaches the next allegorical figure in the sequence, Lady Fama. Boccaccio introduces this almighty female force in Canto VI as such,

Oltre passai, senza più far dimora,
con gli occhi a riguardar, lasciando stare
quel ch’i’ disio di rivedere ancora,
là dove a colei piacque che voltare
io mi dovessi; e vidi in quella parte
cosa ch’ancor mirabile mi pare.
O Dio! ché mai Natura con sua arte
forma non diede a sì bella figura,
né Venere, allor quando amò sì Marte,
né, quando Adon le piacque, con sua cura
si fé sì bella, quanto infra gran gente
donna pareva leggiadra oltre misura.
Tutt’altri sovrastava veramente,
di ricche gemme coronata e d’oro,
nell’aspetto magnanima e possente.
Ardita e valorosa tra costoro
sovra triunfal carro si sedea,
ornato tutto di frondi d’alloro.
Mirando questa gente ’n man tenea
una lucente spada, con la quale
che ’l mondo minacciasse mi pare.
Il suo vestire a guisa imperiale
era, e teneva nella man sinistra
un pomo d’or di splendor siderale.
Vedeasi poi via più che neve alpestra
quattro bianchi destrier, che ciascun forte
in trar l’aureo carro arde e s’addestra.
Ed entro l’altre cose ch’ivi scorte
allora furon da me ’ntorno a questa
eccelsa donna, nimica di morte
nel magnanimo petto, fu ch’a sesta
un cerchio si moveva alto e ritondo,
da’ piè passando a lei sovra la testa.
Né credo che sia cosa in tutto ’l mondo,
villa, paese, dimestico o strano,
che non paresse dentro di quel tondo.

Era sovra costei, in aureo piano,
 un verso scritto che dicea leggendo:
 “Io son la Gloria del popol mondano”

(*l'Amorosa visione* VI, 37-75)¹³⁹

The reader can precisely picture the image of Fame captured by the words of Boccaccio in this passage. She is beautiful, crowned and covered with jewels and dressed in gold. Seated on a triumphal gold chariot decorated by laurels and pulled by four snowy white horses, encircled in a lofty and round globe, Fame holds a sword in one hand and a golden apple in the other. She calls to the pilgrim Boccaccio through the gold inscription located above, “I am the Glory of the worldly folk.”¹⁴⁰ Boccaccio’s words are so unambiguous that Lady Fame emerges in that moment, allowing the imaginative reader to gaze with the pilgrim Boccaccio upon the glory that is Lady Fame in all her triumphant majesty.

Boccaccio begins his description of the “Triumph of Glory” with a nod to the illuminator of the room “O Dio! ché mai Natura con sua arte/ forma non diede a sì bella figura” (lines 43-44).¹⁴¹ The almost identical phrasing of the painted appearance of Glory rivaling Nature intertextually bridges Boccaccio’s “painting” to an actual image illustrated by an artist whose work is known to rival Nature’s, i.e. Giotto and his *Gloria* from the Visconti palace.¹⁴² Both allegories are crowned with jewels and sit on a regal throne atop a chariot. While the chariot in Giotto’s portrayal is pulled by two horses, Boccaccio doubles the number, mirroring the chariots that would have been seen in imperial Roman triumphs and his contemporary street pageants. The most striking similarity, however, is the inscription in gold located above the figure of Glory that says “I am the glory of the worldly folk.” In Giotto’s image, we similarly see the word “GLORIA” inscribed in gold and located directly above her head. While Branca notes that Boccaccio’s Gloria is distinct from Dante’s “Heavenly Glory,”¹⁴³ the gold lettering and placement might suggest otherwise. The shared golden inscriptions intermedially present across Giotto’s and Boccaccio’s Glories promote a reading of Boccaccio’s Glory along similar lines as Giotto’s, heightening the duality of glory as both “earthly” and “heavenly.” Unlike Dante, who ascends the terraces on the Mountain of Purgatory, Boccaccio must descend in order to learn from the *ekphrases* and cleanse himself of his “sins” to continue his journey toward spiritual awareness.¹⁴⁴ While the “descent” might seem adjacent to the idea of “vana gloria,” here, Glory’s role, in fact, is the opposite, as she delivers her followers, the pilgrim-poet, and the reader, closer to “Paradise.”

Boccaccio subtly unveils this at the end of the previous triumph, the “Triumph of Wisdom.” Though the allegory of Wisdom is not described wearing nor holding a laurel crown, in Canto V, Boccaccio concludes her parade by anointing Dante with a laurel crown, inducting Dante as a poet laureate:

Aveali la gran donna mansueta
 posta d’alloro una corona in testa,
 e di ciò ciascun’ altra pareva lieta.

¹³⁹ Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 26-28.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Schlosser, 191; Shorr, 103; Anatal, 368; Mommsen, 107; Branca, xiv; Creighton Gilbert, 62.

¹⁴³ Branca, 126.

¹⁴⁴ Usher, “Mural Morality,” 123.

E vedend'io così mirabil festa,
 per lui raffigurar mi fei vicino,
 fra me dicendo: "Gran cosa fia questa."
 Trattomi così innanzi un pocolino,
 non conoscendol, la donna mi disse:
 –Costui è Dante Alighier fiorentino,
 il qual con eccellente stil vi scrisse
 il sommo ben, le pene e le gran morti:
 gloria fu della Muse mentre visse,
 né qui rifiutan d'esser sue consorti –.

(*l'Amorosa visione* V, lines 76-88)¹⁴⁵

Within her speech to Boccaccio, Wisdom states that Dante, through his writings about the "highest good," achieved glory both on earth and beyond, merging the triumph of Wisdom with that of Glory and ensuring a smooth transition between one *ekphrasis* and the next.¹⁴⁶ The "highest good," at once recalls Dante's journey to the stars, but additionally substitutes for the idea of justice, an underlying thread throughout the *Commedia*.¹⁴⁷ Immediately in the next canto, the laurel is superimposed onto the chariot of Glory, serving as the symbolic embodiment of the power Gloria wields over those whom she rewards with her "just" laurel; they can achieve "gloria," not just "vana gloria."

It is clear that Boccaccio understands that "gloria," distinct from "vana gloria," relies on justice's support. He therefore explicitly mentions that his personification of Glory carries a "sword," inscribing the iconographic "sword of Justice" into his "fresco." This hybrid image of Gloria further reminds the reader of Emilia from the *Ameto*. Unlike the *Amorosa visione*'s Gloria, where the emphasis is on the clothes she wears, the objects she carries, and her chariot, Boccaccio fully describes the physical features of Emilia from her hair to the bosom. Though Emilia's dress is red with golden birds embroidered throughout, contrary to Glory's gold dress, the image of Emilia, a blonde haired woman, crowned with a laurel wreath and wearing imperial clothes, such as the veil and mantle, becomes the physical body associated with Glory in the *Amorosa visione*.¹⁴⁸ By the end of Emilia's metamorphosis into the allegory of Justice, she, like Gloria, will carry a sword, underscoring the shared didactic function of both figures. Additionally, by blurring the lines between Wisdom's and Glory's triumphs in Canto V of the *Amorosa visione*, in particular poetic wisdom informed by justice, Boccaccio further associates the allegory of Glory in the *Amorosa visione* with Emilia in the *Ameto*. It is important to note that Glory's chariot "burns" as it moves rapidly across the wall in the same manner that Emilia sees Minerva's chariot burn like an arrow shooting across the sky, intertextually transporting the machine from one text to the other. If we consider the *Amorosa visione* to be an extension or correction to the *Ameto*,¹⁴⁹ then it accounts for why Boccaccio does not offer as thorough of a physical description for the woman behind the *Amorosa visione*'s Fama. The reader already will know what she looks like, in detail, from Emilia's physical features.

¹⁴⁵ Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 24.

¹⁴⁶ Gianna Guastella, *Word of Mouth: Fama and its Personifications in Art and Literature from Ancient Rome to the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 214.

¹⁴⁷ Alan Gilbert (1965); Cassell (1984); Peters (1998); Bellomo (1995); Lansing, 549.

¹⁴⁸ Though Emilia wears the laurel crown, here, as in Giotto's image, it merely serves as a decorative element for Glory's chariot.

¹⁴⁹ Usher, "Mural Morality," 121.

The final element that emerges in Boccaccio's depiction of Gloria is "un cerchio si moveva alto e ritondo,/ da' piè passando a lei sovra la testa" (Canto VI, lines 68-69).¹⁵⁰ The circle that encompasses Gloria, once again, harkens back to Giotto's vision of *Gloria* in the Visconti fresco. As previously mentioned, Giotto's *Gloria* is enclosed in an oval, similar to a *mandorla*, the symbol associated with Christ and the Virgin Mary in majesty. In Boccaccio's fresco, the circle that surrounds Glory: "Né credo che sia cosa in tutto 'l mondo,/villa, paese, dimestico o strano,/che non paresse dentro di quel tondo" (Canto VI, lines 70-72).¹⁵¹ While the entire earthly realm may belong within Glory's circle, at the same time, the corollary shape of the *mandorla* allows Gloria, and only those whom she deems "worthy," to ascend into the heavenly realm. The circle's meaning evokes the duality of Gloria. One can either continue to descend, and only realize "vana gloria" on earth, or, like the pilgrims Dante and Boccaccio, may actively participate in and comprehend the edifying message of the *ekphrastic* "robot," ascending to eternal "gloria."

PETRARCH'S INTERMEDIAL GLORIA IN THE TRIUMPHUS FAME

Throughout Petrarch's *oeuvre*, *fama*, as an underlying theme, is not always an inherently negative quality for an individual to acquire.¹⁵² In his Canzone LXXII of the *Rime sparse* (c.1327-1368), Petrarch writes: "Questa è la vista ch'a ben far m'induce/ et che mi scorge al glorioso fine;" (lines 7-8),¹⁵³ defining that the *ben fare* will lead him to glory, as opposed to *mal fare*, which would cause him to stray toward to the sin of pride.¹⁵⁴ Petrarch echoes and expands on this idea in various letters written between 1348 and 1354, such as in his letter to Francesco da Napoli, where he explains how glory is only attainable through hard work:¹⁵⁵ "optabilior est enim non modo labor sed mors quoque cum gloria quam quies ingloria"¹⁵⁶ (not only work, but death with glory is truly more desirable than inglorious rest) (*Familiars* XIII.4.19). Unlike "ingloria," "gloria," is achieved through *vertù*, which, for Petrarch, follows the definition offered by the Stoics and is: "que virtutem esse ait recte sentire de Deo et recte inter homines agere"¹⁵⁷ (and it argues virtue [to be] to feel rightly about God and to act rightly among men) (*Familiars* XI.3.10-11). This meaning of "virtue" accords with the notion of justice proposed by Dante, Giotto, and Boccaccio,¹⁵⁸ in particular as it aids in leading one away from "vana gloria," toward heavenly "gloria." Petrarch furthers this idea by adding that spiritual, eternal glory may only be achieved by both scholarly

¹⁵⁰ Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 28.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Creighton Gilbert, 56.

¹⁵³ Francesco Petrarca, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The Rime sparse and Other Lyrics*, ed. and trans. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 163.

¹⁵⁴ Julius A. Molinaro, "Superbia, Ira, Invidia and Gola in the Orlando Furioso," *Italica* 53 no. 4 (Winter, 1976), 478.

¹⁵⁵ Aldo S. Bernardo, ed. and trans., *Francesco Petrarch: Letters on Familiar Matters IX-XVI* (New York: Ithaca Press, 2005), 180.

¹⁵⁶ Francesco Petrarca, *Le Familiari: Edizione critica vol III: libri XII-XIX*, ed. Vittorio Rossi (Florence: G.C. Sansoni Editore, 1933), 63; Gilbert, 56. See also Bernardo, 180.

¹⁵⁷ Francesco Petrarca, *Le Familiari: Edizione critica vol II: libri V-XI*, ed. Vittorio Rossi (Florence: G.C. Sansoni Editore, 1933), 328; Bernardo, 90.

¹⁵⁸ María Isabel Rodríguez López, "Victory, Triumph and Fame as the Iconic Expressions of the Courtly Power," *Music in Art* 37 no. ½ (Spring-Fall 2012), 20. López suggests that Petrarch turns to his contemporary literary and visual tradition when representing the idea of "gloria," as an alternative to *fama* proposed by Virgil and Ovid, yet does not specify from whom.

and creative pursuits, and thus practices what he preaches throughout his poetic achievements, and most notably within the *Trionfi*.¹⁵⁹

Throughout the *Trionfi*, Petrarch's Fama is a positive life-giving force who, though defeated by terrestrial time, will reign in God's eternal sphere.¹⁶⁰ As the fourth triumph offered in the sequence, Petrarch briefly introduces the personification who will lead the glorious towards God—and textually toward the *Triumphus Eternitatis*—before devoting the majority of this three section *canto* to the list of the most illustrious paragons of “glory.” The collection of souls paraded behind Fama proceeds in this order: Ancient Roman emperors and imperial leaders in Part I, followed by Biblical examples, specifically from the Old Testament, famous women, leaders from the Assyrian-Babylonian world, Christian leaders, and political figures in Part II, and ends with Ancient poets, philosophers, orators, and historians in Part III.¹⁶¹

Within his *canto* dedicated to Fama's triumph, Petrarch repeatedly mentions of the word “vertù” —or various adjectival forms of the word—as a common characteristic shared by each of the members in the “spectacle,” underscoring that one may only join in Fama's brigade toward eternal glory if they achieved “gloria” through virtue/justice. Petrarch illustrates this point in the vision of the six Roman emperors and the first six kings which concludes the first section, all of whom Aldo Bernardo notes “had been outstanding in their justice, piety, and civic duty.”¹⁶² Among this list of figures is none other than Trajan: “e'l buon Nerva, e Traian, principi fidi [...] che bono a buono à natural desio” (*Triumphus Fame* Part I, lines 123, 126),¹⁶³ who, as we learn from Dante's *Purgatorio* X, is the epitome of an imperial figure who performed just actions in accordance with “God's dealings with man.”¹⁶⁴ The fundamental message offered by the “procession,” thus displays the intermedial notion that there is no heavenly glory without justice, and ultimately this must be reflected in the allegory Herself.

Though Boccaccio explicitly affords his reader a thorough characterization of Glory in the *Amorosa visione*'s “Triumph of Glory,” Petrarch does not offer the same detailed analysis nor devote as much attention to the portrayal of Fame's personification. Rather, in the *Triumphus Fame*, Petrarch's encounter with Lady Fame is as follows:

quando, mirando intorno su per l'erba,
vidi da l'altra parte giugner quella
che trae l'uom del sepolcro e 'n vita il serba.
Quale in sul giorno un'amorosa stella
suol venir d'oriente innanzi al sole
che s'accompagna volentier con ella,
cotal venìa, ed oh! di quali scole
verrà 'l maestro che descriva a pieno
quel ch'io vo' dir in semplici parole?
Era d'intorno il ciel tanto sereno

¹⁵⁹ Sara Charney, “Artistic Representations of Petrarch's *Triumphus Fame*,” in *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle*, eds. Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare A. Iannucci (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions Inc., 1990), 223-224.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 230.

¹⁶¹ Aldo S. Bernardo, *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974), 134-137.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁶³ Francesco Petrarca, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, eds. F. Neri, G. Martellotti, E. Bianchi, and N. Spaegno (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1951), 536.

¹⁶⁴ Durling and Martinez, 170.

che per tutto 'l desir ch'ardea nel core
 l'occhio mio non potea non venir meno;
 scolpito per le fronti era il valore
 de l'onorata gente, dov'io scorsi
 molti di quei che legar vidi Amore.
 Da man destra, ove gli occhi in prima porsi,
 la bella donna avea Cesare e Scipio,
 ma qual più presso a gran pena m'accorsi:

(*Triumphus Fame* Part I, 7-24)¹⁶⁵

Although it is clear that Boccaccio's literary work motivated Petrarch, the descriptions offered by the two texts for the allegories of Fame are vastly different, revealing a shared interest in the personification of Fame from distinct perspectives. Where Boccaccio introduces a long, intricate, and highly detailed portrayal of Fame, Petrarch's words present the reader with a short, simple, and impersonal vision of Lady Fame: She is beautiful, vibrant, and accompanied by those whom She deems worthy. Petrarch does not offer any physical attributes nor characteristics to his imagination of Fama but emphasizes her luminous radiance as the one who saves man from the tomb and bestows upon him new life. Both poets accompany their encounters with Fame with a laundry list of souls participating in Her triumphal parade. Boccaccio allots several *canti* for Fame so as to incorporate both a specific image of Fame and an extensive list of people. In comparison, from Petrarch's pithy portrayal of Fame, it is obvious that Petrarch values the procession of souls who attend to Fame's triumph over her physical allegorization.

One obvious explanation for the reliance on Boccaccio in the later fifteenth-century visualizations of the *Triumphus Fame* is that Petrarch provided insufficient visual cues for the illustrators to render Fame in an easily identifiable manner.¹⁶⁶ Boccaccio's text, on the other hand, would supply the illustrators with a step-by-step description for artists to copy when recreating their visual portrayals. However, if we turn directly to Petrarch's introduction to Fama, the reader notices that Petrarch says her glowing appearance is like an "amorosa stella" (line 10).¹⁶⁷ The term "amorosa" immediately could remind the reader, and possibly an illustrator, of Boccaccio's *l'Amorosa visione*, where "stella" subtly substitutes for "visione" as an all-encompassing term for Boccaccio's journey to the stars, the subject of the poem. At the same time, the words "amorosa stella" also recall the eyes of Emilia from *l'Ameto*: "stell[a]....amoro[s]a davano la loro luce,"¹⁶⁸ who functions as the "human" counterpart to Boccaccio's *ekphrastic* automaton of Gloria in the *Amorosa visione*. It cannot be a coincidence that Petrarch directly and indirectly references both the title and the literary person who becomes Gloria from Boccaccio's works. Though it is possible artists independently turned to Boccaccio for visual inspiration when representing Petrarch's *Triumphus Fama*, this intertextual clue might also inform readers and viewers that Petrarch's Fame is visually equivalent to Boccaccio's Gloria.

As Boccaccio's Emilia becomes a "human" avatar for his Gloria, so too does Petrarch include his own "human" avatar for Fama throughout the *Trionfi*: the lady Laura. While Philip Hardie agrees with Aldo Bernardo and suggests that the idea of "fame" underscores the entire

¹⁶⁵ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 531.

¹⁶⁶ Schlosser, 191; Shorr, 103; Powell, 31; Anatal, 368; Mommsen, 107; Branca, xiv; Creighton Gilbert, 62.

¹⁶⁷ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 531.

¹⁶⁸ Boccaccio, *Opere Minori*, 164.

Trionfi, from the *Triumphus Cupidinis* to the *Triumphus Eternitatis*,¹⁶⁹ Bernardo additionally suggests that “fame’s” spirit, which lingers throughout the *Trionfi*, remains through the consistent presence of Laura.¹⁷⁰ Let us examine the *Triumphus Pudicitie* for a moment. We recall that Laura, who also serves as the personification of Chastity, first appears to the pilgrim-poet Petrarch through the simile of “e lei presta assai più che fiamme o venti.” (*Triumphus Pudicitie*, line 24).¹⁷¹ The image of Laura/Chastity moving as quickly as a flame intertextually conjures Emilia’s vision of Minerva on her chariot from *l’Ameto*. As mentioned earlier, Minerva’s “flaming chariot,” will become the apparatus on which the *Amorosa visione*’s Gloria rides within the *ekphrasis*. The association of Laura/Chastity, moving as swiftly as if she were aflame, intertextually joins her to Boccaccio’s Gloria, who, in “human” form, is Emilia.

Following the arrival of Laura/Chastity, Petrarch will consistently discuss her personality and actions as informed by her “vertù,” highlighting the notion that Laura/Chastity, like Emilia/Gloria before her, will maintain her status through justice. Toward the end of Laura/Chastity’s triumph, Petrarch interrupts the procession to note that “Con queste e con certe altre anime chiare/ trionfar vidi di colui che pria/ veduto avea del mondo trionfare.” (*Triumphus Pudicitie*, lines 145-147).¹⁷² The pilgrim-poet witnesses Laura, as Chastity, “triumph” over the world in the same way that Boccaccio’s Gloria “visibly” says, “Io son la Gloria del popol mondano” (*l’Amorosa visione* VI, line 75).¹⁷³ After this point in the narrative, Petrarch will conclude Laura/Chastity’s “triumph” by saying: “Ivi spiegò le gloriose spoglie/ la bella vincitrice, ivi depose/ le sue vittoriose e sacre foglie” (*Triumphus Pudicitie*, lines 184-186).¹⁷⁴ The final vision of Laura/Chastity is of her donning the laurel crown, previously worn by Emilia/Justice, and the symbolic foliage intermedially offered by Giotto’s *Gloria/Giustizia* to those whom she deems worthy. While Hardie notes that the *Triumphus Pudicitie* is, in actuality, the “Triumph of Laura’s fame,”¹⁷⁵ Petrarch textually confirms this within the introduction to the subsequent triumph, the *Triumphus Mortis* Part I: “perché rara è vera gloria,/ ma ciascuna per sé pareva ben degna/ di poema chiarissimo e d’istoria.” (lines 16-18).¹⁷⁶ It is through Laura, as the “real-life” embodiment of Fama, that Petrarch will ultimately receive “eternal fame,” echoed again in the *Triumphus Eternitatis*: “e non avranno in man li anni ’l governo/ de le fame mortali, anzi chi fia/ chiaro una volta fia chiaro in eterno” (lines 79-81).¹⁷⁷ This solidifies Laura’s position as a “human” avatar to Lady Fame in the *Triumphus Fame*, as Emilia is to Gloria.¹⁷⁸

Chastity, as one of the three “earthly triumphs,” will ultimately be defeated by death’s forceful blow in the following *canto*. Though the allegory of Chastity does not appear reincarnated, Laura, as the spiritual guide who will accompany the pilgrim-poet through to the *Triumphus Eternitatis*, regenerates in the *Triumphus Mortis* Part II. Once Laura loses her physical body—the “body” of the allegory of Chastity—succeeding the footsteps of Emilia/Gloria, she can now

¹⁶⁹ Hardie, 44.

¹⁷⁰ Bernardo, *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs*, 131.

¹⁷¹ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 509.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 514.

¹⁷³ Boccaccio, *l’Amorosa visione*, 29.

¹⁷⁴ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 516.

¹⁷⁵ Hardie, 447.

¹⁷⁶ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 517.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 557.

¹⁷⁸ It is important to note that Petrarch thought of himself as the first poet to be crowned with the laurel since antiquity.

assume her role as the model for Lady Fame. Petrarch reminds the readers of Laura's transformation into Fama at the conclusion his *Triumphus Eternitatis*:

E quei che Fama meritaron chiara,
che 'l Tempo spense, e i be' visi leggiadri
che 'mpallidir fe' 'l Tempo e Morte amara,
l'oblivion, gli aspetti oscuri ed adri,
più che mai bei tornando, lasceranno
a morte impetuosa, a' giorni ladri;
ne l'età più fiorita e verde avranno
con immortal bellezza eterna fama.
Ma innanzi a tutte ch'a rifar si vanno,
è quella che piangendo il mondo chiama
con la mia lingua e con la stanca penna;

(*Triumphus Eternitatis*, lines 127-137)¹⁷⁹

Petrarch notes that it is Fama, specifically a “fama” that only exists through those who “merited” fame—the just ones—, which will withstand and outlast Death and Time to become “eternal.” Yet, standing in front of the worthy folk, is Her, the one for whom he writes, the one we, as readers, know will bring him “eterna fama,” Laura. As the final vision of the *Trionfi* comes to an end, we are left with an image of Laura as the physical archetype for Lady Fame.

THE TRIUMPH OF GLORY/JUSTICE REAWAKENS: VISUALIZING THE *TRIUMPHUS FAME*

Although many scholars remark on the profound influence of Boccaccio's *l'Amorosa visione* upon Petrarch's *Triumphus Fame*, Petrarch still distinguishes himself from Boccaccio in focusing on different aspects within his *canto*. The visuals of Petrarch's text should reflect these distinctions, but in fact, as most scholars agree, conform to Boccaccio's imagery rather than remain true to Petrarch's words.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, most scholars attribute the set of manuscript illuminations modeled after Giotto's “Triumph of Vainglory” as the prototype for the *Triumphus Fame* visual images. What has not been studied, and what I will extrapolate in the remaining pages, is the fact that though Fame herself receives little visual treatment within the text, the intermedial clues offered by Petrarch throughout his *Trionfi* further provide insight into why artists may return to Giotto's visual and Boccaccio's textual prototypes for Gloria herself. At the same time, the remaining iconographic elements not explicitly present in neither text nor precursor material object further demonstrate a complementary interest in medieval automata and the fusion of the idea of “heavenly” glory as achieved through justice.

Though scholars focus on the close correlation between Giotto's painting of *Gloria* and Boccaccio's Gloria in the *Amorosa visione*, Petrarch also lived in the Visconti court in Milan in 1353, and would have had the opportunity to witness Giotto's depiction of “gloriana mondana”

¹⁷⁹ Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, 559.

¹⁸⁰ Throughout his essay, Creighton Gilbert discusses the relationship between Giotto and Petrarch. However, in Part V of his piece, Gilbert goes into extensive detail about the image of Gloria as she relates to Petrarch, Giotto, and Boccaccio.

for himself while composing his *Trionfi*.¹⁸¹ Petrarch, like Dante and Boccaccio, was a great admirer and collector of the arts, and owned some works by Giotto.¹⁸² Given the obvious connection between the text of Boccaccio and the image of Giotto, it is likely Petrarch intermedially turns to both examples when imagining his *Triumphus Fame*.



Fig. 24. Domenico di Michelino, detail of cassone panel for *Triumphs of Fame, Time, and Eternity*, c. 1450, tempera on panel. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. Image via Artstor.

Upon close examination of the visual representations documented and attributed to Petrarch's *Triumphus Fame*, several of these iconographic details remind the viewer of Boccaccio's and Giotto's works. Let us begin by examining the *cassone* of Domenico di Michelino (fig. 24).¹⁸³ Perhaps commissioned while Michelino was a member of the *arte dei medici speciali*

¹⁸¹ Creighton Gilbert, 55-56; Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "Giotto's Hero Cycle in Naples: A Prototype of *Donne Illustri* and a Possible Literary Connection," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 43 no. 3 (1980), 316. Though Gilbert argues that Giotto's *Gloria* in Milan also influenced Petrarch's composition of the *De viris illustribus*, Christiane Joost-Gaugier argues that Giotto's *Uomini famosi* cycle, painted for King Robert in Naples in the Castel Nuovo, also might have influenced Petrarch and his *De viris illustribus*.

¹⁸² Mommsen, 97; Joost-Gaugier, 317. Mommsen documents the anecdote that Petrarch owned a painting of the Virgin Mary completed by Giotto, which he bequeaths to Francesco da Carrara.

¹⁸³ Dennis Geronimus in his article "Arbitrating artistry: the case of Domenico di Michelino in 1483," *The Burlington Magazine* 144 no. 1196 (2002), 691, notes that Domenico di Michelino is most famous for painting a portrait of Dante, holding his *Commedia* while standing in front of the landscape for "Inferno," "Purgatorio," and "Paradiso," in Santa Maria del Fiore (1465).

guild,¹⁸⁴ Michelino follows the prototype offered by Apollonio di Giovanni, who inaugurates the iconographic standard for the initial fifteenth-century representations of the *Trionfi*.¹⁸⁵ Fame sits on a throne that, encircled by a sphere, rests on a decorative gold triumphal chariot drawn by two gallant, elegant, exquisite white horses. Two youths walk next to the horses with their hands tied behind their backs. In the background is a dark sky above a landscape of mountains and a variety of vegetation, such as trees and grass. Surrounding her triumphal chariot are the band of followers, both men and women, affording no clear presentation of the people chronicled by Petrarch, such as Scipio and Caesar. In her right hand, Fame holds a sword, steady and unwavering. In her left hand, however, is a small, red winged figure resting on her palm. Flanking the sides of Fame and resting on top of her circular orb are winged figures holding trumpets, sounding victory for all to hear. Fame is presented frontally and motionless to the viewer, rather than in a processional mode, asserting the longevity of Her power, particularly as Fame endures through Eternity in Petrarch's poem.

It is clear that Boccaccio's words and Giotto's visual prototype provided considerable insight for the artistic renditions of the *Triumphus Fame*. The personification of Gloria remains crowned with her hair tied in a knot. There is the subtle indication of a veil as it drapes over her mantle and clasps in the front of her garment, closely adhering to the image offered by Giotto and Boccaccio. The sword of Justice now becomes a prominent feature in the scene, deviating from Giotto's visual prototype. However, the hybridization of Glory, holding Justice's sword, also directs the visual material toward Petrarch's implicit textual message. Rather than hover above the members of her triumph, the men and women crowd around Gloria as her chariot lies on the ground. Though there are fewer men on horseback than Giotto's image, the populous composition remains the same. Similarly, instead of painting four white horses, as Boccaccio claims, Michelino chose to depict two horses and two male figures as the agents who move the chariot forward, somewhat following both Giotto and Boccaccio. The shining gold chariot, though not aflame, radiates and stands in for Gloria's luminous quality, as Petrarch and Boccaccio both mention for their figures of Laura/Fama, Emilia/Gloria.

However, some additional pictorial standards present do not explicitly derive from either Boccaccio or Giotto and need further interpretation. While Boccaccio mentions a golden apple,¹⁸⁶ the majority of *Triumphus Fame* visuals insert the figure of the red winged cupid in the palm of Fame's hand. Scholars have associated this figure with the image of Amor/Cupid, theorizing that the "cupid" directly refers to Petrarch's opening of the *Triumphus Fame* and his vision of Venus where Love works side-by-side with Fame in her conquest.¹⁸⁷ This would make sense, given that the first group of illustrious men also all appeared in Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis*.¹⁸⁸ Shorr, on the other hand, argues that illustrators of the *Triumphus Fame* incorrectly translated Boccaccio's words, misreading "pomo" as "uomo" and inserting the figure of the cupid accordingly.¹⁸⁹ However, if an underlying message of Petrarch's *Triumphus Fame* is the same message offered by Dante, Giotto, and Boccaccio in regard to the role of justice in leading one toward "eternal" glory, then this figure cannot help but remind us of the image of *Giustizia* offered by Giotto. We recall

¹⁸⁴ Carlo Fiorilli, "I dipintori a Firenze nell'arte dei medici speciali e merciai," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 78 no. 3 (1920), 15.

¹⁸⁵ Callmann, 12.

¹⁸⁶ There are a handful of representations of the *Triumphus Fame* that show the golden apple, such as the *cassone* panel painted by Francesco Pesellino and located in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (c. 1450).

¹⁸⁷ Shorr, 105; Charney, 226; López, 21.

¹⁸⁸ Bernardo, *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs*, 134.

¹⁸⁹ Shorr, 105.

that Justice holds in the palm of her hand scales weighing the figures of Distributive and Commutative justice. By including this small agent of Justice in the palm of Fama's hand, artists, like Michelino, now intermedially associate the implicit directive offered by Petrarch. Additionally, the two youths who stand next to the white horses of Fame may also underscore this notion as they are perhaps the figures who receive either Distributive or Commutative justice reincarnate from Giotto's *Giustizia*.

Musical horns, though neither described by Petrarch nor Boccaccio, had roots in Ancient Greek and imperial Roman ideas of triumphs where the trumpet symbolized victory for those who triumphed in battle. By the fifteenth century, the victory trumpet and iconography for Fame conjoined and served as both an ode to ancient Roman and contemporary Renaissance symbol for triumph. Therefore, in viewing the other emblematic elements consistently included in images of the *Triumphus Fame* of Petrarch, a definite connection and reversion to imperial Roman triumphal processions emerges.¹⁹⁰ Petrarch's *Triumphus Fame*, in fact, allocates a significant portion of the text (the first chapter and part of the second and third chapters) to highlight famous Roman imperial, military, political, and philosophical leaders as participants in the procession.¹⁹¹ Thus, it seems obvious and appropriate that artists would include unmistakable iconographic images for Roman triumphs in their visual renditions of the *Triumphus Fame*.

At the same time, the image of angels or winged figures blowing horns also exists in the prototype offered by Giotto. As mentioned previously, one of the literary functions of medieval automata was the ability of these machines to play music, most often blowing trumpets or playing horns.¹⁹² For the French medieval literary presentation of these mechanical "musicians," Otto Söhring argues that there were pre-existing automated prototypes from which the poets and intellectuals might have drawn inspiration.¹⁹³ However, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, church organs were produced in bulk across Europe, and many of them featured "mechanized" angels lifting horns to their mouths as they harmonized with sound of the organ, such as we find in the Basilica di San Petronio in Bologna. Built between 1471 and 1475 by Lorenzo di Giacomo da Prato, the Bologna organ is among the oldest organs in Italy¹⁹⁴ and features two sculptural angels resting above the instrument as they raise their horns toward Heaven. The angelic automata from church organs became so popular that they later inspired other types of automata, such as the "puppets" included in the new invention of the mechanical clock for Saint Mark's in Venice in 1499,¹⁹⁵ further transmitting and popularizing these "robots" to an even broader European audience. Given their longstanding and widespread presence, perhaps these automata additionally offered visual artists a live-action model when transferring an image, such as Giotto's prototype, onto Petrarch's *Triumphus Fame*.

¹⁹⁰ FitzRoy Carrington, "Florentine Studies II. The Triumphs of Petrarch Engraved by the Master of the Larger Vienna Passion," *Art & Life* 11 no.8 (Feb., 1920), 440; Powell, 31; López, 22. Mommsen's essay "Petrarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium" emphasizes the Roman nature of Petrarch's *Triumphus Fame* as the key to unlocking the imagery of the Sala Virorum Illustrium.

¹⁹¹ Rocco Montano, "Italian Humanism: Dante and Petrarch," *Italica* 50 no. 2 (Summer, 1973); Bernardo, *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs*, 132-134; Ernest H. Wilkins, *Studies on Petrarch and Boccaccio* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1978) Bernardo and Wilkins note the immensely Roman subject matter of Petrarch's *Trionfi*. Montano argues this is a humanist endeavor by Petrarch to realign with Ancient Rome.

¹⁹² Sherwood, 568; Sullivan, 3; Truitt, *Medieval Robots*, 7; Franklin-Brown, 66.

¹⁹³ Söhring, 491-640; Sullivan, 6.

¹⁹⁴ "Basilica di San Petronio," *Basilica di San Petronio*, <https://www.basilicadisannpetronio.org/basilica/san-petronio-curiosities/the-organ/> (accessed April 6, 2022).

¹⁹⁵ Sherwood, 583; Riskin, 22-24.

This artistic interest in automata may seem more plausible if we also consider the circle that surrounds Fama on her throne. The circle, though textually present in Boccaccio's and visually present in Giotto's works, additionally accords with what Florentine artists, including Michelino, would have witnessed in their contemporary street pageants and within *sacre rappresentazioni*. As discussed with the Giotto prototype, the circle might visually remind one a *mandorla*. However, artist-engineers, especially in Florence and as early as 1430,¹⁹⁶ often created staged structures and complex contraptions that would support the performers within the *sacre rappresentazioni* and those displayed on the carts of civic-sacred street festivals.¹⁹⁷ It is well known that Brunelleschi designed a physical *mandorla* for the Annunciation in San Felice in 1433¹⁹⁸ and Bonaccorso Ghiberti, the grandson of Lorenzo, sketched a copy of Brunelleschi's *mandorla* design in his 1470 journal, the *Zibaldone* (figs. 25-26).

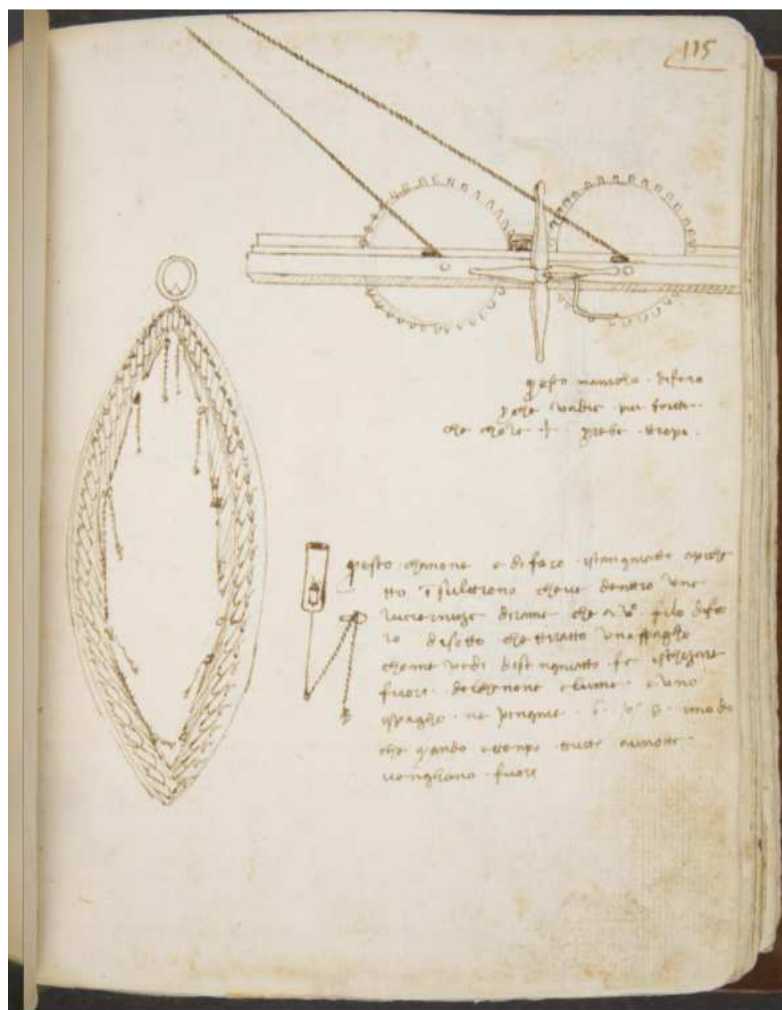


Fig. 25. Bonaccorso Ghiberti, drawings of Brunelleschi's machinery for a religious street procession, c. 1470, ink. MS Banco Rari 228, f. 115r. Image via Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze Digitized Catalogue.

¹⁹⁶ Steadman, 71.

¹⁹⁷ Galluzzi, 18-19.

¹⁹⁸ Riskin, 21; Steadman, 71.



Fig. 26. Bonaccorso Ghiberti, drawings of Brunelleschi's machinery for a religious street procession, c. 1470, ink. MS Banco Rari 228, f. 115v. Image via the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze Digitized Catalogue.

Brunelleschi's machine was constructed to support an actor playing the Archangel Gabriel as he flew down from Heaven to visit the Virgin Mary.¹⁹⁹ As demonstrated by the two sketches in Ghiberti's journal, the *mandorla* was an almond shaped structure made out of copper. The person playing Gabriel sat in the center while a crank turned the lantern gear and moved the object. As the *mandorla* traveled across the space of the church, flames emitted from the device, lighting the path the archangel traversed to spread the news to the Virgin.²⁰⁰ The actualized presentation of the Annunciation scene, with the *mandorla*, transforms the textual or painted narrative into a true "visible speech," where the real automata now adopts the function of the "imitated" literary automata. Machines, like Brunelleschi's design, would have been in the cultural mindset of not only the Florentine artists initially depicting Petrarch's *Triumphus Fame*, like Michelino, but also

¹⁹⁹ Steadman, 71.

²⁰⁰ Frank D. Prager and Gustina Scaglia, *Brunelleschi: Studies of his Technology and Inventions* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), 83; Steadman, 75.

the wider Italian public, as a moving object that aids in transforming all versions of the Annunciation, including Dante's *ekphrastic* sculptural "triumph of humility" of *Purgatorio* X, into a living exemplar for those watching to follow.

When one returns to the image Fama on her throne, encircled by the orb, the viewer immediately confronts a static "machine." In fact, out of all of the visual depictions of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, Fama, outside of the exceptional *Triumphus Eternitatis* image, is the only allegory and "procession" that frontally faces the viewer; the other allegorical "parades" are angled or point to the left or right, perhaps suggesting motion. The halted nature of Fame makes Her and Her triumph appear mechanized and controlled, visually mimicking a fabricated apparatus, such as Brunelleschi's *mandorla*, that one might see in a *sacre rappresentazioni* or civic-sacred street procession. Additionally, the viewer notices in Michelino's image that the orb which "supports" Fame is braced by a stand that rests on the platform of the chariot. Fame's circle now manifests as a mechanical structure meant solely to hold the object on display in place: the *ekphrastic* "robot" Fama.²⁰¹ Though Giotto does envelop his personification of Glory on her chariot in a circular *mandorla*, its continued presence in the visual *Triumphus Fame*, especially at the historical moment in which physical automata, such as Brunelleschi's, appeared, inscribes the intermedial Fama into the world of machines. Thus, the move to incorporate a tangible structure into their recreations of the *Triumphus Fame* is two-fold: on the one hand, it corresponds with the intermedial interest and parallel representation of such objects and their didactic purposes across Dante's, Giotto's, Boccaccio's, and Petrarch's works. On the other hand, it grounds Petrarch's *Triumphus Fame* in communal history, as a physical demonstration of "the Triumph of Fama" that transcends the temporal and becomes eternal.

While the triumphant gold chariot remains, there are several representations, most likely commissioned by the Medici,²⁰² and specifically following the school of Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, such as the *cassone* of Domenico di Zanobi (fig. 27), that replace the white steeds with elephants. Though most of the iconography of the scene accords with the example offered by Michelino, the two elephants add another layer of meaning to the scene offered textually by Petrarch. Most scholars state that the reason for this alteration is due to the fact that artists wanted to clearly distinguish the white horses of the *Triumphus Cupidinis* from the *Triumphus Fame*.²⁰³ Accordingly, artists, like Zanobi, chose the exotic animal of the elephant to differentiate the two scenes. However, the elephant, and the trumpets, remind the viewer of ancient Roman triumphal processions.²⁰⁴ Exotic animals existed in typical iconographic representations of Ancient triumphs since the Hellenistic era. Elephants, in particular, remained pictorially significant in Roman triumphal iconography. Fame was an essential part of the ancient Roman Imperial triumphal

²⁰¹ Sherwood, 589; Bedini, 26; Truitt, "Garden of Earthly Delights," 77; Riskin, 30; Steadman, 111. Though outside the scope of my current investigation, the scholars listed above also thoroughly discuss the influence of mechanized fountains, especially those found in pleasure gardens like the one located in Mangu Khan's garden, on literary depictions of automata. This image of Fame on a pedestal evokes the image of a fountain-like structure, but even more so, it seems the mechanical fountain image informs the visual portrayals for Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis*.

²⁰² Powell, 31; James J. Rorimer, "The Triumph of Fame and Time," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 35 no. 12 (Dec., 1940), 244; Callmann, 13; Thomas Campbell, "New Evidence on 'Triumphs of Petrarch' Tapestries in the Early Sixteenth Century. Part I: The French Court," *The Burlington Magazine* 146 no. 1215 (June, 2004), 377. Ellen Callmann notes that Apollonio di Giovanni was aware of another prototype for the Triumph of Fame by Matteo dei Pasti and commissioned by Piero di Cosimo de Medici in 1441 that included a chariot pulled by elephants.

²⁰³ Powell, 31. Powell discusses Rorimer's understanding of elephants in the *Triumphus Fame* to support her own theories.

²⁰⁴ López, 21. Rorimer, 244.



Fig. 27. Domenico di Zanobi, detail of cassone panel of *Triumphs of Fame, Time, and Eternity*, c. 1465, tempera on gold panel. Image via Wikimedia Commons.

vocabulary and held a significant importance for the Roman triumvirate in establishing their global position of power.²⁰⁵ The inclusion of such inherently ancient Roman regal animals, such as elephants, generally emphasizes the figures included in Part I of the *Triumphus Fame*, but ignores the remainder of Petrarch's *canto*. This, then, forces artists, such as Zanobi, to include other elements, like the scales of Justice found within this image, to return the strictly Roman ideal of militaristic "vana gloria," to the intermedial *Triumphus Fame*.

CONCLUSION

As a final note, let us return to Michelino's interpretation of the *Triumphus Fame*. Though most of the participants are non-specific faces in the crowd, there are two distinct figures within the scene grouped together on Fame's left side: Dante and Boccaccio. The visual inclusion of Dante and Boccaccio as personalized exemplars of glorious poets within Petrarch's *Triumphus Fame*, though not explicitly included in the text, subtly reminds the viewer that Petrarch's Fama is not

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 11. There are several representations of elephants on both coins and sarcophagi from Ancient Rome.

strictly his own, but an intermedial representation of glory that traveled across literary and visual time and space. Though Petrarch's description of Glory initially leaves much to be desired by the reader, the subtle, yet powerful clues scattered throughout his *Trionfi* guide the careful reader and viewer to a beautifully in-depth, complicated, and rich portrayal of Lady Fame and the didactic message she serves. Mechanics, machines, and automata, while bordering on the realm of science-fiction, are the first lines of inquiry that afford a static object to become a living "visibile parlare" on the page. By examining the carefully crafted nature of automata across literary and historical examples, we enhance our reading of Dante's and Boccaccio's *ekphrases* and may further understand the visual choices made by Giotto and artists representing Petrarch's *Trionfi* in the later fifteenth century. It is thanks to Dante's initial mediation of the distinction between "earthly" and "heavenly" glory that Giotto, Boccaccio, and Petrarch intermedially may correct their "vana gloria" ways, and allow justice to redirect their paintbrush and pens toward "gloria." Although Petrarch continued to discuss, ponder, and dream of eternal glory until his death, his textual and visual *Triumphus Fame* transforms those dreams into reality for not only himself, but also the *tre corone*.

CONCLUSION

The Afterlife of the *tre corone*'s "*Triumphus Pudicitie*:" Queen Elizabeth I's *Sieve Portrait* (c.1583)

Though the *fortuna* of Francesco Petrarca's *Trionfi* (1351-74),¹ both literarily and visually, persisted with great force across the Italian peninsula, the influence and power of the composite *tre corone* triumph embedded within the intermedial *Trionfi* was not restricted to Italian soil. Petrarch and "his" *Trionfi* continued to be the subject of several visual examples across France, Spain, England, and Northern Europe for centuries thereafter. With the advent of the printing press and increasing international relations and trade between Italy, particularly Venice, and the rest of the Mediterranean and European world, the image of the *tre corone* triumph infiltrated not only printed editions of Petrarch's text, but also other intermedial sources. In my concluding analysis, I will demonstrate how the composite *Trionfi* witnessed in the fifteenth-century Italian visual tradition transcends borders to become embedded in other cultural processions and paintings outside of the strictly Petrarchan narrative. Though we can locate the intermedial influence of the *tre corone* triumph in other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian poetic, painted, and processional examples, such as Angelo Poliziano's *Stanze per la giostra* (1478) and Sandro Botticelli's Politan inspired *Primavera* (1482-86), or in triumphal entrees across France, such as Henri II's into Rouen (1550), my conclusion will analyze the Tudor court—one of the farthest points the *tre corone*'s, in particular Boccaccio's, ideas traveled—as a final case study.

Specifically, I will examine how the iconography surrounding the cult of Elizabeth I framed the Virgin Queen as a symbol of the *tre corone* triumph via Petrarch's intermedial *Triumphus Pudicitie*. Elizabeth I, in both triumphal processions celebrating her Ascension and her later portraits, such as the *Sieve Portrait* by Quentin Metsys the Younger from circa 1583, is fashioned as and embodies the figure of "Petrarch's" Chastity, a necessary alter ego for the Queen on her way to becoming the new Astraea for Renaissance England. While my conclusion focuses on the *Sieve Portrait*, this interpretive work can be performed on other literary and visual models including Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), Peter Paul Ruben's *Triumph of Henry IV* (c. 1630), or Hans Burgkmair's woodcuts for the Triumphal Procession of Emperor Maximilian (1883-4). As such, it is apparent that the legacy of the *tre corone* triumph lives on and continues in the intermedial world of today.

PETRARCH'S AND THE *TRIONFI*'S ARRIVAL INTO ENGLAND

As early as the fourteenth century, Petrarch's works had traveled across the Mediterranean onto British soil. Petrarch's Latin works initially attracted British intellectuals and literary figures, such as Geoffrey Chaucer, earning a place in Oxford and Cambridge by the end of the fifteenth century.²

¹ Amilcare A. Iannucci, "Foreword," in *Petrarch's 'Triumphs': Allegory and Spectacle*, eds. Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare A. Iannucci (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1988), xii; Andrew Hadfield, Neil Rhodes, and Alessandra Petrina, eds., *Petrarch's Triumph in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2020), 6.

² F.N.M. Diekstra, ed., *A Dialogue between Reason and Adversity: A Late Middle English Version of Petrarch's "De remediis"* (Assen, 1968), 11; Robert Coogan, "Petrarch's 'Trionfi' and the English Renaissance," *Studies in Philology* 67 no. 3 (Jul., 1970), 306-307; Hadfield, 2-3, 10.

Though Ernest Hatch Wilkins notes that throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries *I Trionfi* was the more popular of Petrarch's vulgare works,³ it was not until the sixteenth century that Petrarch's *Trionfi* gained momentum in British academic circles,⁴ leading scholars to assume that Sir Thomas Wyatt first introduced the *Trionfi* into England upon his return from an ambassadorial mission in the papal court around 1520s.⁵ After the arrival of the *Trionfi*, several printed editions could be found across England. However, there are two editions that seem to have been the most popular among British academics and elite members of society, including the Tudor court: the 1488 edition by Bernardinus Rizus, Novariensis, which includes the first full page woodcuts associated with each of Petrarch's six triumphs, and Alessandro Vellutello's commentated edition, *Le volgari opere del Petrarca con la esposizione di Alessandro Vellutello*, first appearing in 1525, and reprinted no less than fifty-two times throughout the sixteenth century.⁶ It is mostly likely Vellutello's edition that most British scholars read and to which authors, such as Roger Ascham, Walter Raleigh, and Edmund Spenser reference.⁷ By the mid-sixteenth century, interest not just in Petrarch, but also in Italy and Italian literature rose with the publication of Thomas Wilson's *The History of Italy* (1549) and *Principal Ryles of the Italian Grammer, with a Dictionarie for the better understanding of Boccacce, Petrarca, and Dante* (1550). Although Dante Alighieri's and Giovanni Boccaccio's works had reached British shores, it was Petrarch and his *Trionfi* that took the British world by storm.⁸

There are three known textual editions of the *Trionfi* recorded in Henry VIII's court: a Castilian translation owned by Catherine of Aragon from 1512, a copy of the *Trionfi* that was published in Milan in 1512, and Alessandro Vellutello's commentated and illustrated edition of 1544, originally owned by Catherine Parr.⁹ Many British scholars read and spoke Italian, either learning the language while traveling, through the business of trade, or by interacting with Italian immigrants to England, and several writers attempted to translate the *Trionfi* into English. The first

³ Ernest Hatch Wilkins, "The Fifteenth-Century Editions of the Italian Poems of Petrarch," *Modern Philology* 40 (1943), 225; Ernest Hatch Wilkins, *The Making of the "Canzoniere," and other Petrarch Studies* (Rome: Lancellotti, 1951), 379. As Wilkins documents, of the 213 editions of Petrarch's vulgare works circulated throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, eighty-five were of the *Triumphs* alone, seventy-nine included both the *Triumphs* and the *Canzoniere*, and forty-nine editions included only the *Canzoniere*. Coogan 309; Hadfield, 4.

⁴ Coogan, 307. Though the *Trionfi* became popular at the beginning of the sixteenth century, interest in Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarum fragmenta* did not arise until the end of the century and it is *Rerum vulgarum fragmenta* that solidifies the cult of Petrarch across England.

⁵ Hadfield, 3.

⁶ W.E. Campbell, ed., *The English Works of Sir Thomas More* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1931), 332-335; Coogan, 310; Giacomo Comiati, Lorenzo Sacchini, Francesco Venturi, Simon Gilson, and Federica Pich, eds., "Petrarch's Exegesis in Renaissance Italy (PERI)," University of Oxford, 2018. <https://petrarch.mml.ox.ac.uk/> (accessed February 24, 2022); Hadfield, 7; Guyda Armstrong, "Re-materialising the Incunable Petrarch: Ernest Hatch Wilkins and the Politics of Bibliographical Description," *Italian Studies* 75 (2020), 55-70. Though I cannot definitively state that every edition of Vellutello contains woodcuts or prints, each edition I have consulted does contain the same printed illustrations for each of the six triumphs.

⁷ Roger Ascham famously is cited for suggesting that English youths, "have in more reverence the triumphs of Petrarche: than the genesis of Moses," in his "Schloemaster," in *English Works*, ed. William Aldis Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), 232; Coogan 306; Hadfield 15-22.

⁸ Coogan, 320. There was little interest in Dante's vernacular works, including the *Commedia*, in England throughout the sixteenth century. As we know, Chaucer was influenced by Boccaccio's *Decameron* for his *Canterbury Tales*. Stephen Hawes in his *The Pastime of Pleasure* (1506) intertextually references both the *Trionfi* and Boccaccio's *l'Amorosa visione*, demonstrating that there was knowledge of and interest in these works in England during the sixteenth century.

⁹ Ivy L. Mumford, "Petrarchism in Early Tudor England," *Italian Studies* XIX (1964), 56-63; Coogan, 316, James P. Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII and his Wives* (London: The British Library, 2004), 44; Hadfield, 22.

complete translation of the *Trionfi* was composed by Lord Morley between 1544 and 1547 for Henry VIII, though not published until 1553-1556, in which he follows Vellutello's text. While Morley's translation contains several errors and inconsistencies from Vellutello's version, Morley's interpretation affirms Petrarch's role as a moralist and lover to Laura, solidifying interest in Petrarch throughout the English Renaissance. After the publication of Morley's translation, several writers utilized Morley's edition to re-translate part, if not all, of the *Trionfi*. This includes Elizabeth I, who translated solely the *Triumphus Eternitatis* at the age of sixteen.¹⁰

Petrarch's *Trionfi* did not remain strictly a literary attraction and the subject of intertextual mentions but also became a popular motif for many intermedial works, such as ceremonial public pageantry and visual artworks, including printed texts and tapestries.¹¹ While it is clear that British intellectuals engaged with Petrarch's works directly from Italy, Petrarch's *Trionfi* had already become popular literary and visual subject matter in France and Spain and granted the *Trionfi* another layer of dissemination into British academic and elite spheres. One of the most apparent examples of British interest in Petrarch's *Trionfi*—by way of French models—can be seen in various tapestries catalogued in possession by the Tudor court. The records from Henry VIII's court indicate that there were eleven tapestries at Westminster, five at Hampton Court, five at Windsor, and six at Lady Elizabeth Guardrobe's home that depicted scenes from Petrarch's *Trionfi*.¹² Based on the stylistic elements and manner in which the weaver portrayed Petrarch's *Trionfi* in each scene, scholars suspect that these series of tapestries originally were commissioned by Louis XII of France in 1507, inspired by French manuscript illuminations of the *Trionfi* and woven by Belgian artisans, and arrived in the English court in 1499 by way of Thomas Ruthal, the ambassador for Henry VIII to the court of Louis XII.¹³

Let us examine the *Triumph of Chastity over Love* (fig. 28), manufactured and woven in Brussels around 1520 and now located in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in which the viewer sees a double-chariot model for portraying the entirety of the *Triumphus Pudicitie*.¹⁴ On the far left side of the tapestry, the viewer first encounters Love/Cupid floating above his flaming chariot, pulled by white horses, with a band of followers, men and women alike, closely behind. Cupid's bow and arrow point directly down toward Chastity as she confronts Cupid, wrapping her hand around Cupid's left arm as she leans against a column made of jasper for support. The scenery surrounding the encounter is a lush green countryside with the subtlest indication of a contemporary town in the distant background. Surrounding Chastity are more victims of Cupid's parade, labeled and distinguished as both men and women. Each follower of Cupid's parade is

¹⁰ Coogan, 316-320; Hadfield, 22.

¹¹ Hadfield, 29.

¹² W.G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry from the Earliest Times until the Present Day* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), 168; Coogan, 312.

¹³ Thomas P. Campbell, "New Evidence on the 'Triumphs of Petrarch' Tapestries in the Early Sixteenth Century: Part I: The French Court," *The Burlington Magazine* 146 no. 1215 (Jun., 2004), 382; Thomas P. Campbell, "New Evidence on 'Triumphs of Petrarch' Tapestries in the Early Sixteenth Century Part II: The English Court," *The Burlington Magazine* 146 no. 1218 (Sep. 2004), 602-603. Campbell's first chapter identifies the source for the tapestries as the illuminations from MSfr.594 fol.101v and 102r. *Pétrarque, Les Triomphes, traduction rouennaise anonyme, avec le commentaire de Bernardo Lapini* commissioned for Louis XII by France by George d'Amboise between 1500-1505, suggesting that it was the French example that led to the Belgian and northern European tapestry tradition of representing the double-chariot motif.

¹⁴ As Ada Labriola notes in her chapter "Da Padova a Firenze: l'illustrazione dei Trionfi," in *Francesco Petrarca. I Trionfi, Commenatrio*, ed. Giovanna Rao (Castelvetro di Modena: Artcodex, 2012), aside from the double-chariot motif, the French visual tradition accords with the iconographic precedent previously established by the Florentines and Apollonio di Giovanni (59).

dressed in various hues of red, blue, and green with gold details scattered throughout while Chastity herself is dressed in a light pink and white dress with a lavish gold headpiece, riding on top of a regal white unicorn. The chariot of Cupid is intricately detailed. The rectangular flat-topped base of the chariot is dark blue, covered by gold filigree. The chariot's platform supports several gold columns with flames bursting from the tops of each structure. These columns then surround a sculptural fountain-like flaming throne upon which Cupid would sit. The two structures nearest the fountain are additionally flanked by golden *putti* who kneel and support each column's base.



Fig. 28. *Triumph of Chastity over Love*, Brussels, c. 1520s, wool and silk, 447 by 823 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

As the viewer's attention gravitates toward the center of the tapestry, the scene becomes inundated with a crowd of women, some of whom have labels, such as Virginia in the lower center. The body language and gaze of the throng of women direct the viewer's eyes toward the chariot in the center where one now finds Chastity in the moment after her victory over Cupid. Chastity stands tall and proud atop a gold and intricately decorated chariot and platform, pulled by four white unicorns. Similar to Cupid's chariot, Chastity's cart is adorned with columns, but now features steps, rather than a singular platform, and two large wheels, all covered by lavish gold filigree. In the double chariot vision, it appears as if Chastity leads and is surrounded by not only women, as detailed in Petrarch's narrative, but that she also bears with her the victims of Cupid's triumph as her *spolia*, including men. This becomes evident when the viewer recognizes the faces of some men scattered in between the women behind Chastity's band of followers. A group of women stand at the far-right of the scene, all lavishly dressed in brightly colored gowns and headdresses, carrying tall fronds of possibly laurel. Chastity, dressed in white or light pink, carries her column of jasper in one hand and a shield in the other as she stares at Cupid, now bound by ropes at his hands and feet. As Chastity's processional moves across the tapestry, she passes in front of an architectural structure reminiscent of an ancient Roman temple with its columns and arches. In the center stands a woman, dressed in shades of red, who holds a golden frond in her

right hand. Under the arches flanking this statuesque figure are two armored men or soldiers. The woman is labeled underneath as “Diane,” the virgin and chaste goddess of the moon.

This image of Chastity defeating Cupid accords with previous Italian visual models: Chastity dressed in white, resting on a chariot pulled by unicorns as Cupid sits bound at her feet, and surrounded by ladies in a country setting. While some iconographic details for Chastity arrive directly from Petrarch’s text—her white gown representative of purity, her column of jasper, a stone that in medieval Christological contexts was one of the third foundations for the Heavenly Jerusalem and served as a symbol of ardent faith and love toward God,¹⁵ her shield or battle “armor,” and the laurel fronds Petrarch associated with Laura—there is one elephant in the room, or rather a unicorn, which is nowhere to be found explicitly in Petrarch. Unicorns regularly appeared in medieval bestiaries as symbols of chastity and would be an appropriate choice as the animal figures who would pull Chastity’s cart. Yet, because of the discrepancy between text and image, the unicorn and chariot must derive from another source, and, as I argue, the intermedial *tre corone* “Triumph of Chastity.”

In Boccaccio’s first “courtly love” poem, the *Caccia di Diana* (c.1334), he not only introduces Diana as the utmost image of chastity: “che ’l tiepido foco/ ne’ casti petti tien” (Canto II, lines 22-23),¹⁶ but also documents how the seven huntresses, following Diana, capture a unicorn in the seventh *canto* of the text. In Boccaccio’s narrative, the unicorn could only be trapped by a maiden, and as Victoria Kirkham argues, a group of virgin-chaste women, numerologically represented by the number seven.¹⁷ At the same time, unicorns were emblems of the moon,¹⁸ the symbol further joining the unicorn with the cult of Diana, or the Goddess of the Moon. Kirkham further demonstrates that, due to the numerological link between Diana, who Boccaccio also assigns to the number seven, and the seven “nymphs” who resurface in Boccaccio’s later *Ameto* (c.1341), there must be a parallel between the two groups and that Diana’s seven huntresses are precursors to the seven nymphs of the *Ameto*.¹⁹ Yet, Kirkham discusses that the nymphs of the *Ameto* strictly follow Venus, and not Diana. However, in Emilia’s story of *l’Ameto* XXI, Emilia recounts how she did not wish to leave Diana for Venus and it was her mother who “forced” her into matrimony: “a mia madre risposi, me presta a’ matrimoni essere, ma non a lasciare Diana per altra Dea, dove da lei rifiutata non fossi.” (*l’Ameto* XXI)²⁰ Even after Emilia marries and becomes part of Venus’s brigade, she further notes how: “E tanto fu di Diana ver me la benivolenza ferma, che già per questo non mi negò la sua compagnia, ma parve che io nella sua grazia crescessi.” (*l’Ameto* XXI)²¹ Although the nymphs of the *Ameto* ultimately serve Venus, Emilia additionally remains among the chaste huntresses of Diana and one who is worthy of capturing a unicorn.

As I argued in my last chapter, it is precisely Emilia from the *Ameto* who intermedially evolves into Laura/Chastity. This link between Diana and Emilia from the *Ameto* with

¹⁵ Hana Šedinová, “The Symbolism of Precious Stones in St. Wenceslas Chapel,” *Artibus et Historiae* 20 no. 39 (1999), 81.

¹⁶ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Caccia di Diana*, ed. Vittore Branca, *Tutte le opere* (Milan: Mondadori, 1967).

¹⁷ Victoria Kirkham, “Numerology and Allegory in Boccaccio’s ‘Caccia di Diana,’” *Traditio* 34 (1978), 314-315.

¹⁸ Shubhangana Atre, “The Harappan Riddle of ‘Unicorn,’” *Bulletin of Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute* 44 (1985), 2. There is at least one example of a fifteenth-century Italian *cassone* that, though not an explicit Petrarchan *Triumphus Pudicitie*, shows Chastity enthroned with the goddess Diana by her side and a unicorn next to Diana, visually joining the unicorn and Diana with Chastity. This example can be found in Margaret Beam Freeman’s *The Unicorn Tapestries* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), 57.

¹⁹ Kirkham, 317-318.

²⁰ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Opere Minori: La Fiametta, L’Ameto, Il Corbaccio, Lettera Consolatoria AM Pino de’ Rossi* (Milan, Edoardo Sonzogno, 1879), 182.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 183.

Laura/Chastity in the *Triumphus Pudicitie* may afford the inclusion of unicorns among Chastity's parade in the visual representations thereof. In fact, if we return to Boccaccio's "Triumph of Love" in the *Amorosa visione* (c.1342), we remember that Love rests his feet upon two lion cubs (Canto XV, line 17).²² The lion, as the symbol of the sun, is the antithesis and enemy of the unicorn.²³ Though I previously argued that the hybrid combination of Love's "imagined" chariot pulled by two eagles and two lions arrives from Dante's *Purgatorio* XXIX, the subtle inclusion of the lion cubs in the "Triumph of Love" also may serve to underscore and heighten the symbolism of the unicorn, Diana, and Emilia as Chastity, strengthening their position when they become part of Petrarch's textual and visual vocabulary. The intermedial movement located in the *Triumphus Pudicitie* not only extends to works explicitly inspired by Petrarch's poem, but, as I will discuss in my analysis of the *Sieve Portrait*, implicitly survives in the formation of the image surrounding the cult of Elizabeth.

THE "TRIUMPH OF CHASTITY" BEFORE ELIZABETH

When Elizabeth I became Queen in 1558, there were several attempts to find her a suitor and potential King of England. After a failed match with Philip II of Spain, her last hope was Francis, the Duke of Anjou.²⁴ Francis traveled to England in 1579 to meet Elizabeth, initiating marriage negotiations. However, due to the Catholic uprisings and pressure from Catholic Spain and the Pope, there was much unrest and turmoil on British soils, igniting fear in the British Privy Council of what might happen should a Catholic French King take the throne. Though Francis returned to England for a second visit in 1581-1582 with the assumption that Elizabeth would marry him, Elizabeth, in fact became more disinterested in the idea of marriage, solidifying her desire to remain unwed and affirming her position as a queen married to her country.²⁵

The consistent and overwhelming specter of Petrarch's literary and visual *Trionfi* influenced and altered the ways in which Elizabeth I was to be presented as the Virgin Queen of England in both processional and portrait modes. Pageants and performances in Elizabeth I's honor highlighted and established Elizabeth as the inheritor and future Petrarchan "allegory" of Chastity who triumphs over sexual or passionate love and, in the case of Elizabeth, sustains political, dutiful love for her nation. One such example is the performance organized by a Mr. Churchyard devoted to Elizabeth I at Norwich on August 19, 1578 in which Cupid, after being thrown out of heaven, seated on a coach, encounters Chastity and her four maidens (Modesty, Temperance, Good Exercise, and Shamefastness). Chastity "triumphs" over Cupid by removing his bow and quiver, and presents this *spolia* to Elizabeth so that the queen "may learn to shoot at whom she pleased, since none could wound her Highness's hear."²⁶ Modesty and "her fellows" arrived behind

²² Giovanni Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, eds. and trans. Robert Hollander, Timothy Hampton, and Margherita Frankel (Hanover: University of New England, 1986), 62.

²³ Atre, 2.

²⁴ Lloyd E. Berry, ed. "John Stubb's Gaping Gulf with Letters and Other Relevant Documents," in *Folger Documents of Tudor and Stuart Civilization* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), ix; Sarah Eycken, "Tuccia and her sieve: the *Nachleben* of the Vestal in art," Ph.D Diss., (Ku Leuven, 2018), 93

²⁵ Eycken, 93-97.

²⁶ "The Elizabethan Court Day by Day-1578," Folgerpedia, The Folger Library, https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/mediawiki/media/images_pedia_folgerpedia_mw/archive/9/94/20170609165556!ECD bD_1578.pdf. (accessed February 25, 2022).

Chastity's "coach," singing a song of a chaste life and the production concludes by directly valorizing the Queen.

Though the description of the performance suggests a more condensed vision of the "Triumph of Chastity," the fundamental elements of the pageant adhere to the Petrarchan narrative. Cupid, set aflame by his desire to overtake Chastity, is thwarted and defeated in what Petrarch outlines as a combative, militaristic battle: "ch'i'vidi Amor con tutti suo' argomenti/ mover contra colei di ch'io ragiono/ e lei presta assai più che fiamme o venti. [...] che via maggiore in su la prima mossa/ non fosse del dubbioso e grave assalto, ch'i' non cre' che ridir sappia né possa"(*Triumphus Pudicitie*, lines 22-24, 28-30).²⁷ Though Petrarch's *Triumphus Pudicitie* concludes with the list of famous women worthy of joining Chastity's triumph, Petrarch dedicates much of this *canto* to the battle waged between Chastity and Love and details how Chastity overcomes Cupid, ultimately removing his bow and quiver and binding his hands and feet, before launching into a detailed list of followers among Chastity's parade (lines 30-135).²⁸

This motif is not unique to Petrarch, but continues to promote an intertextual, and thus intermedial, triumphal legacy of the blended reliance on Boccaccio found in Petrarch. At the end of the *Amorosa visione*, the pilgrim-poet Boccaccio arrives at the "earthly paradise" with his love-object and spiritual guide, Fiammetta. Unable to control his carnal desires: "là fra me dissi: 'I' non so ch'io m'aspetti:/ perché, poi che qui sono, ora non prendo/ di questa i tanto affannati dilette?'" (*l'Amorosa visione* XLIX, lines 13-15), Boccaccio attempts to seduce his love: "lei nelle braccia allor mi reca' istretta,/ e mille fiate credo la basciai/ pria si svegliasse la bella angioletta." (Canto XLIX, line 25-27).²⁹ Fiammetta, the chaste guide on her mission to shepherd the pilgrim-poet toward salvation in a Beatrician-like fashion: "ma sbigottita alquanto a dir: -Che fai?-/ incominciò svegliata,-deh, non fare!" (Canto XLIX lines 28-29) refuses the advances of Boccaccio and forces the pilgrim-poet to awaken from the dream, frustrated and defeated: "Tutto stordito mi riscossi allora/ e strinsi a me le braccia, e mi credea/ madonna in mezzo d'esse avervi ancora. Oimè, quanto angosciosa e quanto rea/ mi fu cotal partita, e quanto caro/ mi fu 'l dormir mentre 'n braccio v'avea!" (Canto XLIX lines 46-51).³⁰ Though this is not explicitly the allegory of Cupid falling at the hands of Chastity, the implication is a triumph of Chastity, Fiammetta, the human embodiment of chastity for Boccaccio, over lascivious desires for the sake of fulfilling her spiritual duties and enlightening the pilgrim-poet in preparation for his entry into Heaven.³¹

However, the *Amorosa visione*'s ending further lays the groundwork for Petrarch's battle between Cupid and Chastity in the language and word choices utilized by Boccaccio. Following the defeat of "Love" by "Chastity," the final lines of Canto L of the *Amorosa visione* initiate and revitalize the journey the pilgrim-poet must complete in order to reach Eternity. As a member of Chastity/Fiammetta's "army" the pilgrim-poet says to her:

Rimirate alla fiamma poi, che ascosa
dimora nel mio petto, ed ispegnete

²⁷ Francesco Petrarca, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine*, eds. F. Neri, G. Martellotti, E. Bianchi, and N. Spaegno (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1951), 509-510.

²⁸ Ibid., 510-514.

²⁹ Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 198.

³⁰ Ibid., 198-200.

³¹ As Robert Hollander, Timothy Hampton, and Margherita Frankel note in *Giovanni Boccaccio: Amorosa visione*, eds., and trans., (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986) this moment is an ironic parallel to Dante's ending of *Paradiso* in which the pilgrim-poet is similarly awoken from the dream at the moment he achieves spiritual ecstasy (246).

quella con l'esser verso me pietosa.
 Amor mi diede a voi, voi sola sete
 il ben che mi promette la speranza
 e sola render me lieto possete.
 Solo mio ben, sola mia disianza,
 solo conforto della vaga mente,
 sola colei che mia virtute avanza
 sete e sarete sempre a me vivente;
 né più disio né disiar più voglio
 fuor ch'essere di tal biltà servente.
 Adunque quell'ardore in cui m'invoglio
 terminate oramai quando vi piace,
 che 'n voi son sempre, e come ancora in scoglio
 immobil, fissa, sarà ognor tenace.

(*l'Amorosa visione* L, lines 79-94)³²

The love that burned like a flame in the pilgrim-poet has been quenched by Fiammetta in the same way the flame of Cupid must be extinguished by Chastity in the *Triumphus Pudicitie*, and ultimately, in the pageant for Elizabeth I. As a new member of her brigade, the pilgrim-poet Boccaccio will turn away from carnal lust and pursue Fiammetta on her path toward chastity and modesty, just like those who Petrarch includes as exemplars of Chastity, and like those who will accompany Elizabeth I. Chastity thus crowns Elizabeth I as the inheritor of this legacy with the passing of the bow and arrows during the procession of 1578. Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* sets the stage for the implicit triumph of Chastity that Petrarch will explicitly offer on the page, and that the Elizabethan court will adapt for their Virgin Queen, the sixteenth-century true-to-life female figure of Chastity.

QUENTIN METSYS THE YOUNGER'S *SIEVE PORTRAIT*: FROM DIDO TO ASTRAEA

As the cult of Elizabeth expands, the image of the young Elizabeth evolves to the point where Elizabeth I is no longer simply a paragon of Chastity, but stands as a new Astraea, the Goddess of Justice, for sixteenth-century England. Despite the transformation in Elizabeth's reputation, the iconographic cult of Elizabeth remains indebted to the composite image of triumph embedded within Petrarch's *Trionfi*. Let us now turn to the *Sieve Portrait* (fig. 29) which was commissioned by Christopher Hatton to praise both the Queen's chastity and her determination in expanding the British Empire,³³ and painted by a Flemish artist of the Tudor court Quentin Metsys the Younger, around 1583.

³² Boccaccio, *l'Amorosa visione*, 198.

³³ Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Random House, 2003), 101; Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins, eds., *Goddesses and Queens: the Iconography of Elizabeth I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 7; Eycken, 106. As Roy Strong notes, this *Sieve Portrait* aids in inaugurating a series of *Sieve Portraits* of Elizabeth and establishes a stylistic turn in her portraiture toward the High Renaissance.



Fig. 29. Quentin Metsys the Younger, *Sieve Portrait of Queen Elizabeth*, c. 1583, oil on canvas. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena. Image via Wikipedia.

In the foreground stands Queen Elizabeth I, dressed in a regal black gown with a white lace over-cloak wrapped around her body. She has a lace collar around her neck and the cuffs of her sleeves are an intricately woven lace design. The queen dons a black pearl necklace, a regal brooch, a gold and black pearl belt, and a jeweled tiara which holds her red curls perfectly in place. Her fair skin accentuates her dark eyes and rouge lips as she stoically gazes toward the artist. In Elizabeth's left hand is a sieve, inscribed with the phrase: "A terra il ben mal dimora in sella." On the lower left side of the canvas below the queen's right hand appears the inscription: "Stanco Riposo e riposato affanno," while a globe, decorated with a map of Europe and displaying ships traveling across the Mediterranean, rests behind Elizabeth's right side. In the background behind Elizabeth's right shoulder is a dark column decorated with roundels of gold, depicting various scenes from the *Aeneid* Book IV, while the right side guides the viewer into a building or temple structure via a series of columns and arches. Inside the architectural monument is a procession of men, finely dressed in outfits of red, gold, and green, who each hold staffs and walk in unison toward the queen in the foreground. These men have been identified as a procession of courtiers within the Tudor court.³⁴

There has been significant scholarship surrounding this portrait of Queen Elizabeth I that analyzes how the iconographic details more generally represent Elizabeth as a chaste, sovereign ruler as well as what aspects originate from Petrarch's literary *Trionfi*.³⁵ The black and white dress and lace worn by Elizabeth are her typical attire and representative of fashion trends of the 1580s,³⁶ where the colors visually symbolize her chastity and regality.³⁷ Similarly, the pearls around her neck, though black pearls, were symbols of purity and chastity but also joined Elizabeth with the persona of Cynthia, the Greek goddess of the Moon (Diana as the Roman counterpart).³⁸ The inclusion of a globe within this portrait not only validates the emerging British Empire, but also, through its roundness, draws the viewer's eyes toward the similarly shaped sieve Elizabeth holds in her left hand and becomes a device that further underscores her chastity as an inherent trait of her imperial authority.³⁹ The sieve transforms Elizabeth into a sixteenth-century avatar for the Roman Vestal Virgin Tuccia, who proved her innocence and chastity by collecting water in a sieve

³⁴ Heather Campbell, "And in the their midst a sun': Petrarch's *Triumphs* and the Elizabethan Icon," in *Goddesses and Queens: the Iconography of Elizabeth I*, 91; Eycken, 111-112.

³⁵ Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 115; Stephen Orgel, "Shakespeare and the Cannibals," in *Cannibals, Witches, and Divorce: Estranging the Renaissance*, eds. Marjorie Garber (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 40-66; Dominic Baker-Smith, "Spenser's 'Triumph of Marriage,'" *Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 4 (1988), 312; Constance Jordan, "Representing Political Androgyny: More on the Siena Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I," in *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon*, eds. Anne M. Haselkorn and Betty S. Travistky (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), 168; Roy Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography Volume II: Elizabethan* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), 12; Barbara Baert, "Around the Sieve. Motif, Symbol, Hermeneutic," *Textile* 17 no.1 (2018), 9; Eycken, 104; Hadfield, 34.

³⁶ Helen Hackett, "A New Image of Elizabeth I: The Three Goddesses Theme in Art and Literature," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77 no. 3 (Autumn 2014), 226.

³⁷ Strong, *Gloriana*, 21; Campbell, 90; Garry Wills, *Making Make-Believe Real: Politics as Theater in Shakespeare's Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 152-153; Eycken, 107.

³⁸ Campbell, 90; Hackett, 26; Eycken, 107; "Symbolisms in Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I," The Royal Museums Greenwich, 2022, <https://www.rmg.co.uk/stories/topics/symbolism-portraits-queen-elizabeth-i#:~:text=The%20sieve,England%20with%20the%20Roman%20Empire>, (accessed February 25, 2022). According to Hackett, the black appearance of the pearls in the portrait *Elizabeth I and the three Goddesses*, located in the National Portrait Gallery, London, is due to oxidization on the canvas. Without any definitive evidence that Elizabeth owned black pearls, it is reasonable to deduce that this occurred in this portrait as well.

³⁹ Strong, *Tudor and Stuart Monarchy*, 98; Strong, *Gloriana*, 107; Baert, 9; Eycken, 109.

from the Tiber River without spilling a drop.⁴⁰ The sieve, then, becomes an iconographic symbol for both chastity and Tuccia as a paragon thereof. Inscribed on Elizabeth's sieve is the phrase: "A terra il ben mal dimora in sella" or "the good falls to the ground while the bad remains in the saddle,"⁴¹ that continues to bind Elizabeth's chastity with her imperial power and adds another symbolic layer to sieve as an instrument representing good judgment and discernment.⁴²

Though the story of Tuccia was well known throughout Italy and a popular subject for *cassoni*,⁴³ scholars attribute the allusion to Tuccia within the *Sieve Portrait* with Tuccia's presence in Petrarch's *Triumphus Pudicitie*: "Fra l'altre la vestal vergine pia/ che baldanzosamente corse al Tibro/ e per purgarsi d'ogni fama ria/ portò del fiume al tempio acqua col cribro" (lines 148-151).⁴⁴ Though Tuccia is not explicitly named, the renowned legend of Tuccia easily identifies her within Petrarch's poem and his deliberate inclusion of her story accentuates the role of Tuccia as an exemplar for virtuous women. The idea that Elizabeth serves as Petrarch's Tuccia, rather than simply the mythological figure, accords with the quote from the *Triumphus Cupidinis* located in the bottom left portion of the canvas: "Stancho riposo e riposato affanno" or "weary sleep and rested grief" (Part IV line 145).⁴⁵ The deliberate inclusion of this line from the *Triumphus Cupidinis* emphasizes Elizabeth's choice to remain chaste over the futility of sexual love and accentuates Elizabeth's position as a rational monarch who values her public devotion to her kingdom over private sexual gratification.⁴⁶ Since Quentin Metsys already turned to Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis* when crafting an image of Elizabeth as a chaste monarch, it aids in affirming that the reference to Tuccia and her sieve derives from Petrarch's *Triumphus Pudicitie*.

While the obvious nods to Petrarch leave little room for interpretation, there is one aspect of the painting that needs further discussion. There has been much debate in regard to the pillar highlighting several scenes from the story of Dido and Aeneas, as constructed by Virgil in his *Aeneid*.⁴⁷ While most scholars suggest that by including these scenes, Elizabeth serves as a modern day Aeneas—through her founding of a new British Empire—,⁴⁸ others offer that Elizabeth may be the historical Dido who resists temptation and would rather die "chaste" than soil her reputation.⁴⁹ While I do not contest either of these two interpretations may be the reason why the Quentin Metsys the Younger chose to paint these scenes from the *Aeneid* juxtaposed with the Queen within the *Sieve Portrait*, what I would like to add is that the presence of Aeneas and Dido reinforces the composite, intermedial triumph of the *tre corone* embedded within the legacy of Petrarch's *Trionfi*. The two versions of Dido installed in the *Sieve Portrait*, the Virgilian and the

⁴⁰ Ibid., 12; Yates, 115; Wills, 194; Baert, 6; Eycken, 68.

⁴¹ All translations, unless otherwise noted, are by the author.

⁴² Helen Diane Russell and Bernadine Barnes, *Eva/Ave: Women in Renaissance and Baroque Prints*, exh. cat. Washington, National Gallery of Art (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1990), 224; Strong, *Gloriana*, 97; Bonnie Lander Johnson, *Chastity in Early Stuart Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 46; Eycken, 102.

⁴³ Baert, 9-11.

⁴⁴ Petrarch, 514.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 507.

⁴⁶ Baker-Smith, 312; Jordan, 168; Hadfield, 34.

⁴⁷ Doris Adler, "The Riddle of the Sieve: The Siena Sieve Portrait of Queen Elizabeth," *Renaissance Papers* (1978), 1-10; Lowell Gallagher, *Medusa's Gaze: Casuistry and Conscience in the Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 123-40. Both Adler and Gallagher argue that Dido's presence in this *Sieve Portrait* allude to the controversy stirred by the French marriage negotiations. See John Watkins, *The Spector of Dido: Spenser and Virgilian Epic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 199.

⁴⁸ Yates, 115; Strong, *Gloriana*, 12; Baert, 9; Eycken, 109.

⁴⁹ Deanne Williams, "Dido, Queen of England," *ELH* 73 no. 1 (Spring, 2006), 40-41.

historical, illustrate Dido's intermedial evolution from Dante to Boccaccio to Petrarch to assert that Elizabeth is the "Petrarchan" *Triumphus Pudicitie*.

If we turn to the pillar, which is made out of jasper, the viewer sees the following scenes:

In the lowest register: Aeneas flees Troy, The Trojans arrive at Carthage, Aeneas meets Dido in the Temple of Jupiter

In the middle register: Dido and Aeneas together, the Banquet at which they fell in love, and Dido and Aeneas on the hunt

The top register shows Mercury warning Aeneas to depart, Dido on the funeral pyre, the Departure of Aeneas and his men.⁵⁰

The nine scenes on the pillar visually reconstruct Virgil's Book IV of the *Aeneid*. Many literary and visual sources adhere to the fictional Dido narrative crafted by Virgil, such as Dante's representation of Dido in Canto V of *Inferno* (lines 64-66),⁵¹ warning readers or viewers against passionate and fleeting lust and positioning sinful Dido counter to virtuous Aeneas, and in the *Sieve Portrait*, virtuous Elizabeth.⁵² However, Petrarch does not chastise Dido in this way and rather presents her as a diametrically opposed example of chastity in his *Triumphus Pudicitie*:

e veggio ad un lacciul Giunone e Dido,
ch'amor pio del suo sposo a morte spinse,
non quel d'Enea, com'è 'l publico grido,
[...]
poi vidi, fra le donne pellegrine,
quella che per lo suo diletto e fido
sposo, non per Enea, volse ire al fine:
taccia 'l vulgo ignorante! io dico Dido,
cui studio d'onestate a morte spinse,
non vano amor, com'è 'l publico grido.

(*Triumphus Pudicitie*, lines 10-12, 154-159)⁵³

Petrarch both begins his second triumph with a reference to the honorable Dido and includes a repeated description of her within Chastity's virtuous band of followers. Rather than mimic Virgil's *Aeneid*, Petrarch advocates for the historical Dido from Justin's *Historiae Philippicae* of the third century who,⁵⁴ upon the assassination of her husband, Sichaeus, flees for Carthage, erects a city, and, rather than remarry, commits suicide, preserving her chastity.⁵⁵ For Petrarch, Dido

⁵⁰ Yates, 115; Strong, 107; Eycken 108-109.

⁵¹ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno*, eds. and trans., Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 88.

⁵² Yates, 115; Strong, 107; Eycken, 109.

⁵³ Petrarch, 509, 514.

⁵⁴ Jan L. De Jong, "Dido in Italian Renaissance Art. The Afterlife of a Tragic Heroine," *Artibus et Historiae* 30 no. 59 (2009), 73; Margaret Franklin, "Boccaccio's Amazons and their Legacy in Renaissance Art: Confronting the Threat of Powerful Women," *Woman's Art Journal* 31 no.1 (Spring/Summer 2010), 111-113.

⁵⁵ J. Simpson, "Subjects of Triumphs and Literary History: Dido and Petrarch in Petrarch's 'Africa' and 'Trionfi'," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35 no.3 (2005), 491; Francisco José Rodríguez Mesa, "Dido en el Triunfo de la Castidad: ¿una diatriba de Petrarca contra Virgilio?," in *Voces de mujeres en la Edad Media*, ed., Esther Corral Díaz (Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 484; Stefan Feddern, "Zur Rezeption von Vergils Dido-Geschichte durch Petrarca und Boccaccio," *Antike und Abendland* 67 no.1 (October 2021), 44.

serves as a paradigm of chastity and a figure who should be emulated and praised rather than castigated, earning her rightful place within the *Triumphus Pudicitie*.⁵⁶ Given that there is much influence of Petrarch's *Trionfi* already present within the *Sieve Portrait*, Petrarch's presentation of the historical Dido would accentuate the image of Elizabeth as chaste and faithful to her country.⁵⁷ However, Quentin Metsys does not visually portray Petrarch's Dido in the background pillar, so what significance does the pillar hold and why include these scenes?

Let us return to Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* XXVIII and XXIX where, toward the end of the *ekphrasis* for the "Triumph of Love," appear Aeneas and Dido as the final pair among the list of "victims" in Love's parade. Before the pilgrim-poet witnesses the "anti-triumph" of Fortune, Boccaccio carefully documents the entire Virgilian narrative from Book IV as a didactic example from which he, and the reader, should learn and correct their own behavior before they may enter the Earthly Paradise.⁵⁸ Spanning the entirety of approximately two chapters of the *Amorosa visione*, Boccaccio's long winded and detailed description of Dido as a lustful victim of Love's triumph both expands on Dante's pithy remarks on her placement in Canto V of *Inferno* and heightens the status of Dido as the essential figure not to emulate on the journey toward salvation.

The manner and order in which Boccaccio portrays Dido's Virgilian affair with Aeneas closely coordinates with the visual examples on the pillar behind Elizabeth in the *Sieve Portrait*. We know that by the end of the fifteenth century, Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* was in circulation in England and was intertextually referenced in other British literary works, such as Stephen Hawes' *The Palace of Pleasure* (1506).⁵⁹ When we examine the pillar within the intermedial context of Dante/Boccaccio alongside the remaining elements of the background of the *Sieve Portrait*, it seems as though Quentin Metsys the Younger visually combines Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis* with Boccaccio's "Triumph of Love." The procession of the courtiers in the right corner of the canvas—though men of the Elizabethan court—becomes a modernized vision of the parade of mostly men whom the pilgrim-Petrarch witnesses as victims of Love's triumph in the *Triumphus Cupidinis*. If we return to the phrase from the *Triumphus Cupidinis* Quentin Metsys explicitly includes in his portrayal of a chaste Elizabeth, "stanco riposo e riposato affanno," we remember

⁵⁶ Aeneas and Dido are nowhere to be found in the *Triumphus Cupidinis* and Dido only appears within the *Triumphus Pudicitie*. In fact, in many of Petrarch's letters and other works (*Secretum* III.24, *Familiares* II.15, *Seniles* IV.5, *Africa* Book III lines 418-427, *Rerum vulgarum fragmenta* XXIX), Petrarch promotes the historical Dido, discusses Virgil's fictionalized account of her, and suggests to his readers to question Virgil's rendition rather than take Virgil's Dido strictly at face value (Mesa, 484-489).

⁵⁷ Williams, 40.

⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that though Boccaccio's earlier vernacular works accord with the Virgilian and Dantean image of Dido as "unchaste," Boccaccio's later Latin works, such as the *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* (1360) and the *De mulieribus claris* (1374), align with Petrarch's view of the historical Dido as chaste and faithful to her husband. As Robert Hollander suggests in his book *Boccaccio's Two Venuses* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), the shift in Boccaccio's representation of Dido is most likely due to his meeting of and relationship with Petrarch, especially if we assume Petrarch's letter to Federico Aretino (*Seniles* IV.5), composed between 1364 and 1367, is the source for Boccaccio's new opinion of Dido (172). Hollander cites Ernest Hatch Wilkins *The Prose Letters of Petrarch* (New York: S.F. Vanni, 1951) and Vittore Branca, *Giovanni Boccaccio: Profilo Biografico* (Florence: Sansoni, 1997), 163-166, as his sources for this information. See also Mary Louise Lord, "Dido as an Example of Chastity: The Influence of Example Literature," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 17 no. 2 (April 1969), 216-232; Lao Paoletti, "Virgilio e Boccaccio," in *Présence de Virgile. Actes du Colloque du 9, 11 et 12 décembre 1976*, ed. R. Chevallier (Paris: E.N.S., Tours, 1978), 393-398; Craig Kallendorf, "Boccaccio's Dido and the Rhetorical Criticism of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Studies in Philology* 82 no. 4 (Autumn, 1985), 402; Craig Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1989), 58-76.

⁵⁹ Coogan, 312.

that these lines are at the end of the fourth part of the first triumph and guide the reader out of Love's pageant directly toward the *Triumphus Pudicitie* and its opening ode to Dido as an ideal figure of chastity.

Quentin Metsys the Younger is not the only artist of the Tudor court to juxtapose the Virgilian Dido with the historical Dido in a material object about or dedicated to Elizabeth I. The distinction and interest in the two Didos became commonplace in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century discussions of the *Aeneid* across England, as seen first in John Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* (1355-74), known as the *The Fall of Princes* (c.1431), and William Caxton's 1490 translation of the *Aeneid*, the *Eneydos*.⁶⁰ However, soon following the *Sieve Portrait*, Edmund Spenser published his epic poem, the *Faerie Queene*, an allegorical work which centers on Elizabeth I.⁶¹ Though its final version included six books and was published in 1596, the first three books of the *Faerie Queene* were first published in 1590. Explicitly drawing on the history and myth surrounding the legend of King Arthur, each book narrates the adventures of a knight, representative of a particular virtue—holiness, temperance, chastity, friendship, justice, and courtesy.⁶² In addition to intertextually building upon sixteenth-century Italian epics, such as Ludovico Ariosto's *l'Orlando furioso* (1532) and Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581), Spenser includes and juxtaposes the differing ideas of the two Didos within his epic.⁶³

In writing *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser wished to bolster confidence in Elizabeth's I status as a female ruler and rewrites the story of Dido and Aeneas as a way to dispel antifeminist sentiments read into Virgil's text, ultimately aligning Dido's dual legacy with the Queen's chastity.⁶⁴ As Watkins argues, Spenser displaces the lascivious, Virgilian Dido onto the enchantresses Phaedria and Acrasia, and employs Medina and Alma as foils, representing the temperate Dido and serving as surrogates for the Virgin Queen within the poem.⁶⁵ Specifically, Watkins demonstrates how, in Book II, Spenser composes Medina's banquet to "amend" Virgil's banquet of Dido and Aeneas (II.14),⁶⁶ and structures the episode of Alma and her castle as a "corrective" to the tales of Dido's suitors and her ultimate suicide that were initially proposed by Virgil and later supported by Boccaccio and Lydgate (IX.18, 36-38; X.69).⁶⁷ In doing so, Spenser rectifies the status of Dido and both characters come to embody the chaste, historical Dido.⁶⁸ This, in turn, projects the image of a virtuous Dido onto the Virgin Queen as the true-to-life counterpart for Spenser's Medina and Alma, and contrasts the Queen with the lustful Dido as exemplified by the the poet's enchantresses.

Then, in Book III, the section centered on the virtue of chastity, Spenser designs a Masque of Cupid (III.11-12).⁶⁹ As several scholars note, the march of Cupid and his disappearance before

⁶⁰ Watkins, 51. Caxton's translation is additionally based off of a French romance version of the tale of Aeneas and Dido.

⁶¹ Francis A. Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10 (1947), 51.

⁶² "The Faerie Queene by Edmund Spenser, 1590," *British Library Collection Items*. British Library. <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-faerie-queene-by-edmund-spenser-1590> (accessed April 7, 2022).

⁶³ R. E. Neil Dodge, "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," *PMLA* 12 (1897), 184-85; Watkins, 114.

⁶⁴ See Susanne Woods, "Spenser and the Problem of Women's Rule," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 48 no.2 (Spring, 1985), 140-158 and Pamela Joseph Benson, "Rule Virginia: Protestant Theories of Female Regiment in 'The Faerie Queene,'" *English Literary Renaissance* 15 no. 3 (Autumn 1985), 277-292.

⁶⁵ Watkins, 113-120.

⁶⁶ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, eds., Thomas P. Roche and C. Patrick O'Donnell (London: Penguin Classics, 1979).

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Watkins, 113-120.

⁶⁹ Spenser.

Britomart, the female knight who embodies Chastity,⁷⁰ demonstrates Spenser's interest in Petrarch's *Trionfi* and closely parallels Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis* and *Triumphus Pudicitie*.⁷¹ Though Britomart "conquers" Cupid, she is additionally associated with and acts on behalf of the Virgin Queen, who, by this point in the text, is compared to the historical "chaste" Dido. However, it is important to remember that Spenser's "Triumphs of Cupid" and "Triumph of Chastity" occur as *ekphrases* in an enchanted chamber. Perhaps this is an adaption of Ariosto's enchanted "Rocca di Tristano," in Canto XXXIII,⁷² but more likely, Spenser mirrors the *ekphrastic* triumphs, which include Love, offered by Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione*.⁷³ Within this new "Triumph of Chastity," Spenser intertextually joins Petrarch and Boccaccio, while juxtaposing the presence of the two Didos.

By viewing the *Sieve Portrait* through a similar lens, the inclusion of the pillar representing Dido from the intermedial "Triumph of Love," directly above the textual phrase from the *Triumphus Cupidinis*, follows suit and guides the viewer away from "Love" and the lustful Dido toward Elizabeth as the chaste Queen of Carthage, of the *Triumphus Pudicitie*. The combination of the endings of Boccaccio's and Petrarch's "Triumphs of Love" thus sheds new light on the *Sieve Portrait*, enhancing and underlying more powerfully the role Elizabeth must play as the Virgin Imperial chaste Queen—just as Spenser endorses in his *Faerie Queene*. As Quentin Metsys the Younger joins Elizabeth's image as a new Dido with the other iconographic symbols of chastity, she visually comes to embody the allegory of Chastity, triumphing over the intermedial "Triumph of Love" and the fictional Dido to forge ahead toward imperial and moral victory.

The visual image of Elizabeth I not only personifies her as Chastity, but also, as Francis Yates has discussed in depth, her imperial legacy as a new Astraea, the goddess of Justice. According to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Book I, it is prophesized that the Goddess Astraea, who fled the Earth during the Iron Age, would return to usher in a new Golden Age.⁷⁴ By striving toward an era of political and religious peace, turning away from Catholicism toward Protestantism and ultimately defeating the Spanish Armada in 1588, Elizabeth slowly evolves into a new Astraea in the eyes of her British subjects.⁷⁵ Though the *Sieve Portrait* predates the culmination of these efforts, the globe explicitly implies her burgeoning status as a "goddess" of Justice, leading her people into a new era of political control and peace. While there is a strong connection in the *Sieve Portrait* between Elizabeth and Cynthia (Diana), the goddess of the moon, one also could argue that the symbols of chastity and virginity additionally aided in Elizabeth's portrayal as Astraea, also known as Virgo.⁷⁶ In fact, Spenser promotes this in the *Faerie Queene* by following his representation of Elizabeth I—as both the historical Dido (Book II) and the virtue Chastity (Book III)—with her ultimate transformation into the Fairy Queen, Gloriana, or the public character of a

⁷⁰ Edwin Greenlaw, "Britomart at the House of Busirane," *Studies in Philology* 26 no. 2 (April, 1929), 117; Mary R. Bowman, "'She there as Princess rained': Spenser's Figure of Elizabeth," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 no. 3 (Autumn, 1990), 519.

⁷¹ E. Greenlaw, C. Osgood, and F. Padelford, eds., *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition* (Baltimore, 1934), 354; Coogan, 325-26.

⁷² Ludovico Ariosto, *l'Orlando furioso*, eds., Cristina Zampese and Emilio Bigi (Milan: BUR Rizzoli, 2016).

⁷³ Watkins comments on the importance of Boccaccio for Spenser throughout his book, thus lending credence to Spenser's familiarity with this work.

⁷⁴ Francis A. Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10 (1947), 27; Yates, *Astraea*, 30; Strong, *Stuart and Tudor Monarchies*, 29.

⁷⁵ Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 39-58.

⁷⁶ John N. King, "Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 no. 1 (Spring, 1990), 30; Wills, 195.

just, righteous ruler in Book V.⁷⁷ However, as I argued in my last chapter, the image of Petrarch's *Fama* as the symbol of Justice and Wisdom, intermedially collides first in the *Triumphus Pudicitie* and the representation of Laura/Chastity, who, as I suggest, first appears as Astraea in Dante's *Purgatorio* Canto XXVIII, and is modeled after Boccaccio's Emilia/Gloria from the *Ameto* and Gloria/Fiammetta in the *Amorosa visione*, inherently linking Chastity with Glory and Justice in the *Trionfi*. The *Sieve Portrait*, then, as a visual example of the intermedial *Trionfi*, does not have to represent Elizabeth as either Chastity or Astraea but rather pursues the idea that Chastity is inherent within the image of Astraea, adhering to the intermedial *Trionfi* ideal.

In fact, in John Foxes' *Acts and Monuments* of 1563, the woodcut for the initial letter "C," which begins each section of the text, includes the image of Queen Elizabeth I embedded within—including the below image where the "C" begins the word "Christ" (fig. 30).⁷⁸ Foxe's text outlines the history of the suffering of martyrs and other persecutions in England prior to Elizabeth's reign and how her rule and reformed church ends such sufferings.



Fig. 30. John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 1610, woodcut. STC 11227 copy 1 v. 1. Image via Folger Shakespeare Library Digital Catalogue.

⁷⁷ Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," 65.

⁷⁸ Though the woodcut for the letter C first appears in John Foxe's text, this woodcut is used and reprinted in other texts, such as John Dee's *General and rare memorials*, 1577 (Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," 15-16).

As part of Foxe's "history," Elizabeth is compared to and inherits the legacy of the Roman Christian emperor Constantine.⁷⁹ In the woodcut, the Queen, seated on a throne and dressed in regal clothing, holds a sword—representing justice—in her right hand and an imperial orb in her left. To her right side stand three men, who Yates argues may represent the Three Estates of the Realm. The York and Lancaster roses lead to the Tudor roses above the Virgin Queen's head and into the top part of the cornucopia of the "C," while Elizabeth's feet rest on a pillow on the lower curve of the "C."⁸⁰ As Yates and Thomas Dandeleet argue, the inclusion of the Queen's portrait in the capital "C," especially in the "C" of "Constantine," demonstrates that Elizabeth "trusting in an "imperial" authority like that of Constantine, has subdued and overpowered the Pope; the royal crown triumphs over the papal tiara."⁸¹ Her image thus mirrors the textual implication of her, as imperial Justice, triumphing over Catholic injustice, to become an Astraea who brings a new era of political and religious peace to England.

Though Elizabeth's throne no longer rests on a chariot, one cannot help but notice the striking similarities between this printed portrayal of the Queen in the initial "C" and intermedial description and image for Petrarch's allegory of Fame in the *Triumphus Fame*, found in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions of the *Trionfi*. As I argued in my previous chapter, Petrarch's Fame, similarly dressed and seated on a throne, also may carry the sword of justice in her right hand and an imperial orb or winged figure in her left, following the Boccaccian description in the *Amorosa visione*. While in the Petrarchan images, the chariot is the apparatus that physically "steps over" of the previous allegory, the same motif continues here with Elizabeth stomping on the pillow, or in other examples, the Pope. The presence of Elizabeth in the capital "C" of Foxe's text visually may associate her with the intermedial Petrarchan image of Chastity/Gloria from the *Triumphus Fame* and thus aids in reaffirming her duality as such within the *Sieve Portrait*. The intermedial Petrarch serves as a precursor text from which literary and visual artists could adapt, modify, or parallel in promoting the new cult image of Elizabeth as the glorious Virgin Queen in the *Sieve Portrait*. Elizabeth must first prove her virtue and devotion to her country as Chastity before transforming into the harbinger of Justice, Astraea—a Gloriana for Elizabethan England.

The *Sieve Portrait* by Quentin Metsys the Younger is one example of the transhistorical and global afterlife of the intermedial *Trionfi*. While it is clear there is a reliance on and interest in solely Petrarch's text, the *Sieve Portrait* shows a deeper engagement with and understanding of the legacy and history of the composite triumph of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch. The intermedial merging of previous literary, processional, and visual models embedded within the *Trionfi* together bring Petrarch's seemingly non-descript text to life for readers and viewers—both within and outside of the Italian context. By investigating the source texts and how the "three crowns" seamlessly weave them together with other visual precedents, public pageantry, and medieval machinery, one can truly begin to understand all that is within the *Trionfi*. As my study has shown, the relationship between literary and discursive material further affords one the opportunity to appreciate fully their reciprocal dependency and the *fortuna* of not just Petrarch, but of the *tre corone* of Italy.

⁷⁹ Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," 41.

⁸⁰ In the section of the text where the "C" begins the word "Constantine," underneath Elizabeth's feet lies the body of the Pope, donning the papal crown and holding the broken keys of Saint Peter.

⁸¹ Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," 41. Thomas Dandeleet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 256.

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