

The Triumphs of Love, Chastity, and Death

Follower of Andrea Mantegna, late 15th century

Egg tempera and oil on cradled wood panel

20 × 21¹/₄ in. (50.8 × 54 cm); 20³/₄ × 21³/₈ in. (52.1 × 54 cm);

20⁵/₈ × 21³/₈ in. (52.4 × 54.3 cm)

Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado

1961.169.1 (K-12, 13, 15)



FIG. 1. *The Triumphs of Love, Chastity, and Death*, before cleaning and restoration.



FIG. 2. *The Triumphs of Love, Chastity, and Death* (fig. 1), after cleaning and restoration (framed together).

The Triumphs of Petrarch: An Analysis of a Renaissance Decorative Cycle

Wendy Partridge

A SERIES OF SIX PAINTINGS FROM THE Kress Collection in the Denver Art Museum was received at the Conservation Center of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, for treatment in 1995 (figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The series is based on the *Triumphs*, a long narrative poem by Petrarch begun in 1340 and still unfinished at his death in 1374, describing the successive triumphs of Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Divinity.

The *Triumphs* were one of the most popular secular subjects in the Renaissance, illustrated in countless manuscript illuminations, woodcuts, engravings, tapestries, and paintings. There is surprisingly little concrete imagery in the poem, and Petrarch described only one chariot, belonging to Love and drawn by four white horses. Depictions of the *Triumphs*, however, almost universally put all six allegorical figures on chariots, each led by a set of different animals. Chastity, in the Denver panel, is drawn by unicorns, Death by water buffalo, Fame by elephants, Time by deer, and angels lead Divinity. The earliest manuscript illuminations of this type are from Florence, date to 1442, and are possibly by Apollonio di Giovanni.¹ The first panel paintings of the subject also seem to be from Florence and date to about the same period.

The Denver paintings were sent to the Conservation Center because a thick layer of varnish had yellowed, and there were numerous awkward, discolored retouchings. In the course of treatment, areas of original composition that had been overfilled and overpainted were uncovered. Once the paintings were cleaned and retouchings removed, the cycle revealed a clarity, brilliance of

color, and richness of detail. The extensive use of gold and ultramarine (largely overpainted in the skies by a dark Prussian blue) suggested a luxury commission of considerable expense. After conservation, the quality and sumptuousness of the paintings was far more evident.

Fern Rusk Shapley attributed the paintings to a follower of Andrea Mantegna.² Their provenance can be traced back only to the late 1870s at the Castello of Colloredo near Udine.³ After their dispersal to various collectors and dealers in the late nineteenth century, the panels were reunited in the Kress Collection in 1927–28.⁴ The original function of the cycle, its commission and artist, and the relationship to Andrea Mantegna and the Gonzaga court are puzzling problems.

The paintings were first published by Joseph Wastler in 1880. Wastler compared the compositions to remarkably similar depictions found on ivory reliefs in the cathedral at Graz (figs. 5, 6, and 7). By analyzing heraldic devices, he was able to link the Graz pieces to the Gonzaga family sometime after 1432.⁵ He also suggested a possible connection between the Denver images and a lost series of Petrarchan *Triumphs* known in 1501 when they were used with Andrea Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* as decorations for a temporary theater at the court of Mantua.

The theater decoration was described in a 1501 letter from Sigismondo Cantelmo, a Ferrarese courtier, to Duke Ercole of Ferrara. (See Appendix for the full text of the letter.) Cantelmo stated that the Petrarch cycle was also by Mantegna, and Wastler and several later scholars believed this lost cycle was by Andrea's son Francesco. Wastler thought that Francesco had painted the Denver cycle as a preparatory study for the large-scale theater decorations,⁶ a hypothesis that now seems untenable. Later scholars have suggested other attributions including Francesco Buonsignori,⁷ Francesco Benaglio,⁸ Niccolò da Verona,⁹ and Girolamo da Cremona.¹⁰

In 1915 Paul Schubring included the panels in his book on *cassoni*, placing them in the context of luxury domestic furniture probably produced on the occasion of a wealthy marriage. Like Wastler,

he noted their compositional similarity to the Graz ivory reliefs and identified the Graz ivory chests as produced for the 1477 wedding of Paola Gonzaga and Leonard von Goerz.¹¹

Representations of the *Trionfi*, in fact, had become a popular subject for domestic Florentine furniture decoration by about 1445. Other examples of *Trionfi* panels include an anonymous set from the Palazzo Davanzati¹² and a Pesellino cycle at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum dated to about 1445.¹³ The *Trionfi* were one of the popular subjects of Pesellino's shop, and two other versions are extant. A fragmentary frontal with only Love and Chastity is now in the National Gallery of Scotland and was probably done by a painter who trained in Apollonio di Giovanni's workshop.¹⁴ Panels with Love, Chastity, Death, and Fame are in the Siena Pinacoteca; Schubring tentatively attributed them to Pier Francesco Fiorentino, while Giovanni Carandente gave them to Marco del Buono.¹⁵ There are also Jacopo Sellaio's large triumphs of Love, Chastity, Time, and Divinity of about 1490,¹⁶ and a *Triumph of Chastity* by a follower of Botticelli that was probably part of a larger cycle.¹⁷ Although it cannot be demonstrated that these works were all commissioned for weddings, the majority probably were. Almost all 173 entries in Apollonio di Giovanni's account book, for example, seem to relate to marriage commissions.¹⁸ From northern Italy, there is also a small, gilt pastiglia "cofanetto" or jewelry box depicting *Trionfi* that dates between 1450 and 1460 and is believed to be a marriage gift for an aristocratic couple, perhaps commissioned by a member of the Este family.¹⁹

PART I: ORIGINAL FUNCTION

It is almost certain that the Kress *Triumphs*, given their dimensions, format, and subject matter, were part of the decoration for luxurious domestic furniture. Each of the Denver panels measures approximately 52 × 54 cm. Their X-radiographs reveal that the support consisted originally of two continuous planks of wood, on each of which three scenes were painted.²⁰ They were probably either *cassoni* frontals or *spalliera* panels. A *cassone*

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Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado
1961.169.2 (K-10, 11, 14)



FIG. 3. *The Triumphs of Fame, Time, and Divinity*, before cleaning and restoration.

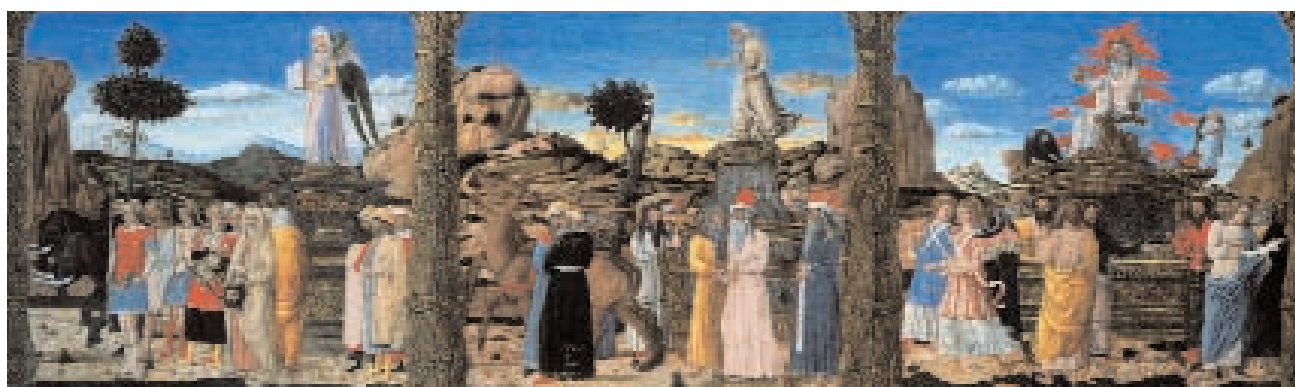


FIG. 4. *The Triumphs of Fame, Time, and Divinity* (fig. 3), after cleaning and restoration (framed together).

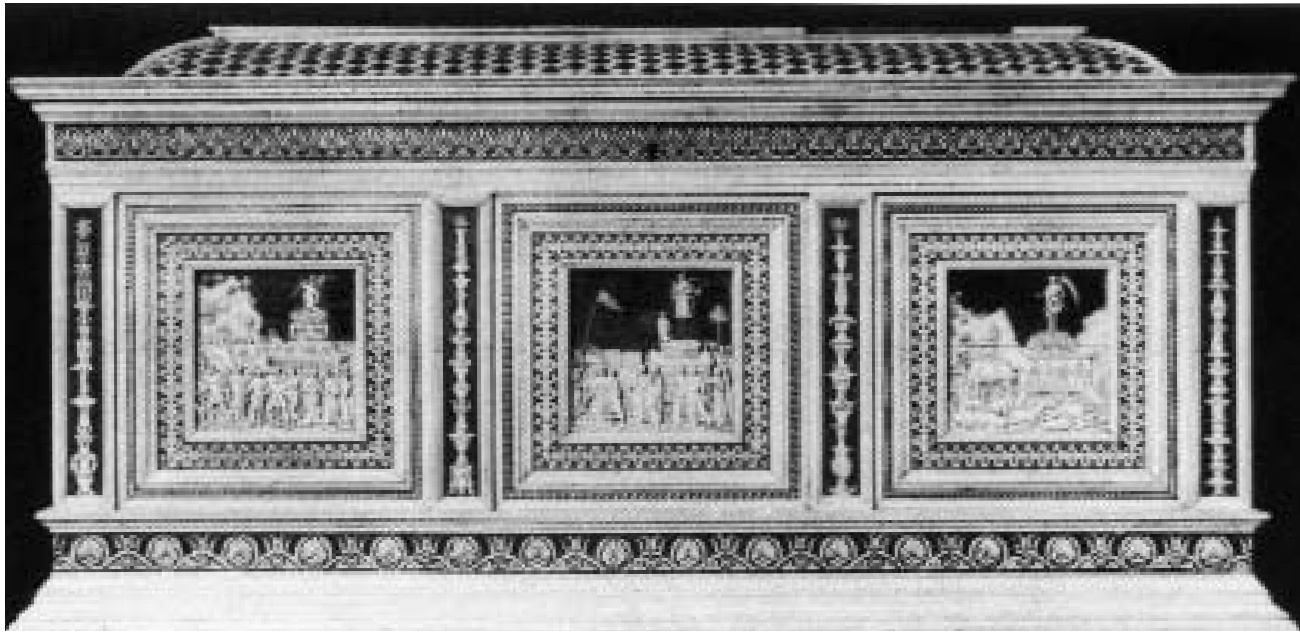


FIG. 5. The Graz *cassone*, *Triumphs of Love, Chastity, and Death*, ivory *cassone* frontal, 1477, Cathedral of Graz, Austria. One of a pair of *cassoni* commissioned for the wedding of Paola Gonzaga and Leonard von Georz.



FIG. 6. The Graz *cassone*, *Triumph of Chastity* (fig. 5), detail.

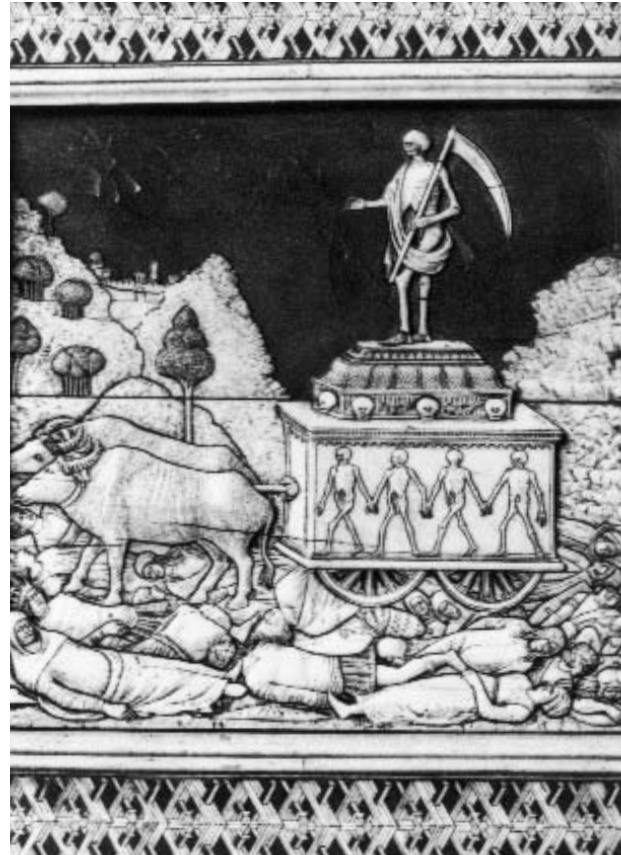


FIG. 7. The Graz *cassone*, *Triumph of Death* (fig. 5), detail.

was a hope chest often used for seating as well as storage while the *spalliera* is a somewhat fluid term that described both wainscoting, set above eye level into the walls of a room, and painted panels providing backs for furniture. *Cassoni*, *cassapanche* (benches), or *lettucci* (day beds) could all have had *spalliere*.²¹ Scholars writing on Renaissance domestic furniture have often pointed out that this is a difficult topic since so little painted decoration is preserved in its original context.²²

Each plank would have been approximately 52 × 162 cm, somewhat larger than a typical *cassone* frontal which averaged about 42 × 149 cm.²³ They could simply have been atypically large *cassoni*. The large Graz chests, after all, measure 95 × 190 cm.²⁴

The Kress cycle's pattern of damage, however, is not consistent with that found on many *cassoni*. *Cassoni*, placed on the floor, often sustained a significant number of scratches and abrasions. Furthermore, since the locking mechanism for a *cassone* was usually located at the center of the chest in the molding above the image area, the top center of the painted panel often has a series of indentations made by keys that struck its surface. Although the Kress paintings have sustained a significant number of losses, these relate to knots in the wood support rather than to harsh use or damage from banging keys. Ellen Callmann believed, furthermore, that the horizon somewhat above center on the Kress paintings makes the images read better when seen slightly above eye level,²⁵ a further argument against the *cassone* panel theory.

The Kress cycle may have originally formed *spalliere* paired with *cassoni* in the manner of the set painted by Biagio di Antonio in collaboration with Jacopo Sellaio for the Nerli–Morelli marriage of 1472 (fig. 8). The framework for the two *spalliere* has been much restored, and they were not originally attached to the chests. It appears that the chests were originally joined by a single long *spalliera* since Morelli's records, apparently account books, show payment to Sellaio and Antonio for “a pair of chests and a *spalliera* and a base . . .”²⁶ While the Nerli–Morelli *cassoni*/*spalliera* is the only extant example of such a set, it does not seem to have been a unique arrangement.

The earliest known record of a pair of chests with a painted *spalliera* above comes from Bernardo di Stoldo Rinieri's *Ricordi* of 1458. In the *Ricordi* he documented an expenditure for the redecoration of his home prior to his marriage to Bartolommea di Dietosalvi.²⁷ “A *spalliera* that is 13 *braccia* long by one and a half *braccia* high above said chests, painted with the story of Lorenzo's tournament, with gilt framing and columns” is also described in the 1492 inventory from Lorenzo de' Medici's palazzo on the Via Larga.²⁸ Or again, Giovanni Rucellai listed a present of “a pair of chests with very rich *spalle*” for his son's wedding in 1466.²⁹ The two panels of the *Story of Jason* at the Metropolitan Museum were probably *spalliere* for paired *cassoni*.³⁰ At 60 × 150 cm each, they are similar in size to the Denver panels.

Decorated *spalliere* could also be associated with *lettucci* and benches as we know from inventories, records of payment,³¹ and illustrations. There is, for example, a woodcut from Savonarola's 1499 *Predica dell'Arte del Ben Morire* where the design on the high back of the *lettuccio* was probably meant to be intarsia. A *Birth of the Virgin* from Verona of circa 1500 shows a *lettuccio* depicting a landscape.³²



FIG. 8. Morelli *cassone*, Zanobi di Domenico and Jacopo del Sellaio, 1472, wood, gesso, tempera, and gilding. Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, London.



FIG. 9. *Triumph of Chastity* (fig. 1), detail of the coat of arms.



FIG. 10. *Triumph of Fame* (fig. 3), detail of the coat of arms.

With the exception of the school of Verona painting, it should be noted, all mentioned examples of *spalliere* paired with *cassoni*, *lettucci*, or benches come from Florence. This may be a result of the comparative lack of research on furniture in northern Italy. Fewer may have been made, and what does survive has not been studied. Very little is known about domestic furniture at the court of Milan under the Sforza or the court of Mantua whose furnishings were completely dispersed in 1708.³³ *Spalliere* do not seem to be an exclusively Florentine phenomenon—the Siense also made them.³⁴ Although *lettucci* have been assumed to be mainly Tuscan, there are also records of them in Genoa, Milan, and Ferrara.³⁵ It should be remembered, finally, that wealthy Florence often set trends and provided furniture fashions for the rest of Italy.³⁶

PART II: POSSIBLE OCCASIONS FOR THE COMMISSION

The Kress paintings were probably commissioned in the context of a marriage, regardless of their original format. They probably were intended to adorn a bedroom, or at least the private apartments,

of the married couple. Considerable expense was spent on such furnishings.³⁷ The principal bedchamber could also be a reception room for honored visitors or favored friends,³⁸ its furnishings often intended to create an impression. Again using an example from Florence, it has been established that the largest concentration of purchases for the home occurred on the occasion of marriage and that most of these commissions were installed in the bedchamber.³⁹

Had the paintings not been examined at the Conservation Center, the case for their having been commissioned for a Gonzaga marriage would have rested on the panels' similarity to Paola Gonzaga's *cassoni*. The Colloredo provenance is also significant, since in 1721 Carlo Ludovico Colloredo married Eleonara Gonzaga of Vescovato.⁴⁰ The Colloredo family, then, could have possessed some Renaissance Gonzaga furniture.

When Professor Jonathan Alexander saw the Kress paintings at the Conservation Center he identified the tiny coat of arms on the tower in the background of the *Triumph of Chastity* as belonging to the Gonzaga, and in the *Triumph of*

Fame as the *stemma* of the Sforza (figs. 9 and 10).⁴¹ Although it is perhaps not wise to place too much significance on these shields, heraldic devices were used in the Renaissance with great care. Their placement near the images of Chastity and Fame would have been eminently appropriate in the context of a marriage, the first for the bride, the second for the groom.

Professor Alexander, moreover, pointed out a 1489 marriage between Maddalena Gonzaga (1472–1490), sister of the Marchese Francesco II, and Giovanni Sforza (died 1510), Lord of Pesaro.⁴² (See family tree, fig. 11.) The marriage did not last long since Maddalena died in childbirth in 1490. Another Sforza–Gonzaga engagement that might have provided an occasion for the commission was the betrothal of Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1444–1476), heir to the Duchy of Milan, and Dorotea Gonzaga (1449–1467),

daughter of Barbara of Brandenburg and the Marchese Ludovico. Dorotea was also sister to Paola of the Graz ivory *cassoni*. Galeazzo was first engaged to Dorotea's sister Susanna, but the match was transferred to Dorotea in 1457 when Susanna seemed to be becoming a hunchback. When Dorotea attained her majority in 1463, Galeazzo's father, the Duke of Milan, sent a letter to Barbara of Brandenburg requesting a medical examination to ensure that his son's new fiancée would not also become hunchbacked. Ludovico refused. In 1465, the second marriage contract was also annulled, and Dorotea died in 1467.⁴³ According to this scenario, the panels could have been painted sometime between 1457 and 1463. This agrees with Ronald Lightbown's dating of the panels to the 1450s or 1460s,⁴⁴ and seems, further, to support the proposed attribution discussed below.

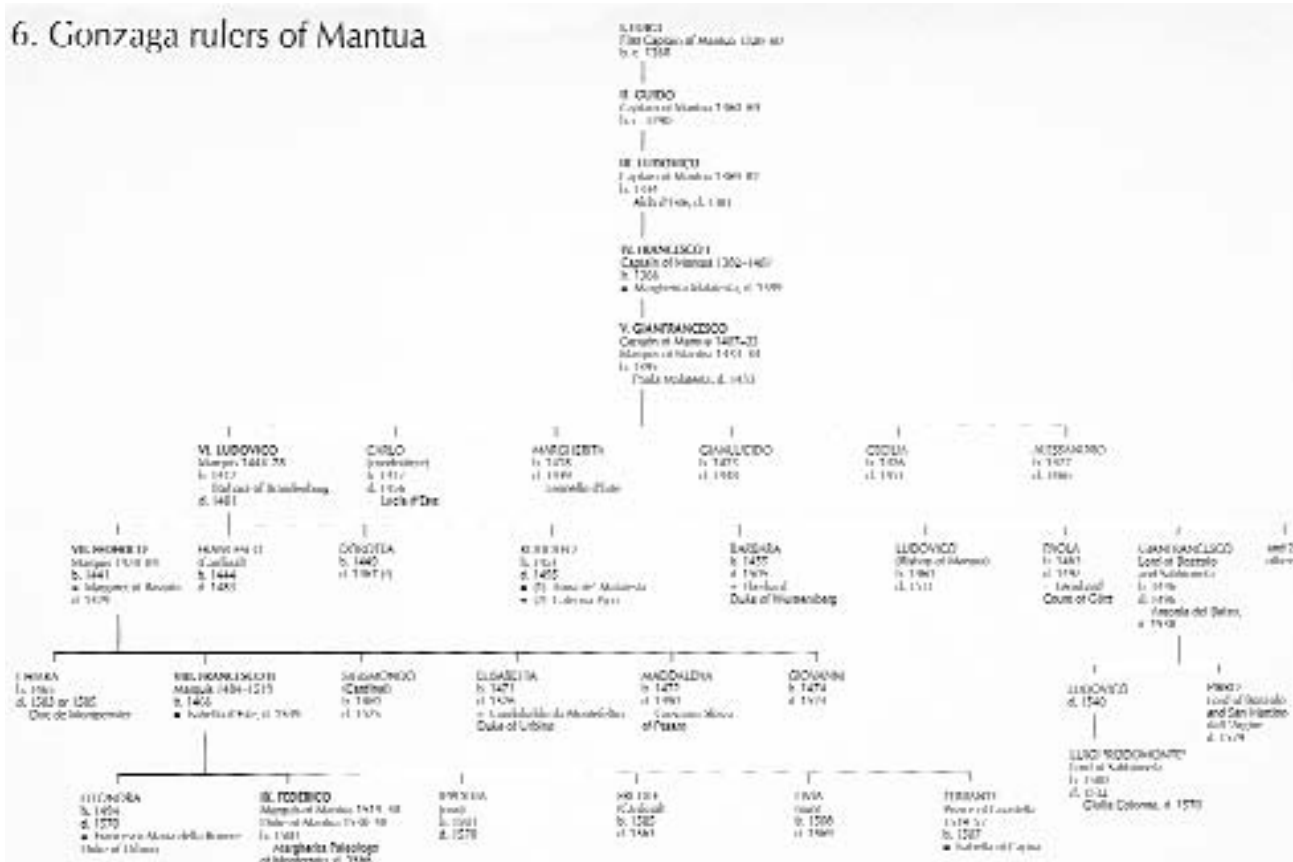


FIG. 11. The Gonzaga family tree.

In either case it is necessary to discuss the small size of the coats of arms. Furniture commissioned for marriages tended to contain rather more visible heraldic devices. We see this in the numerous Gonzaga *imprese* found on Paola Gonzaga's Graz *cassoni* or in large Gonzaga/Montefeltro coats of arms and Montefeltro devices for a marriage chest commissioned for Elisabetta Gonzaga (Maddalena's sister) on the occasion of her marriage in 1488 to Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino.⁴⁵ Elisabetta's *cassoni* was somewhat atypical, though, since devices and coats of arms were often found on the sides and lids of chests. This was true for the Graz chests or the *Conquest of Trebizond cassone* at the Metropolitan Museum, one of the few painted *cassoni* to survive almost intact. Coats of arms and heraldic devices are also found in the decorative pastiglia work framing the Metropolitan's *King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* and the *Conquest of Naples by Charles of Durazzo* frontals. The Denver panels, then, could have been framed by decorative *imprese* or paired with chests with more prominent heraldic devices similar to the one belonging to Elisabetta Gonzaga.

Further information might be found in the Mantua archives. In Pietro Torelli's summary of the documents, there is a category for *Sponsali, Maritaggi e Doti delle principesse di Mantova passate in altre famiglie, e loro ragioni* with headings for "Dorothea figlia di Lodovico II march.," and "Maddalena figlia di Federico III march., moglie di Giovanni Sforza signore di Pesaro." There are also "Atti relativi ai matrimoni di Elisabetta e Maddalena Gonzaga."⁴⁶ A look through these records could reveal the type of furnishings commissioned for the engagements even if there were no specific records concerning a cycle of painted Petrarchan *Triumphs*.

PART III: A POSSIBLE ATTRIBUTION

Caterina Furlan's 1973 article was the most recent attempt to attribute the Denver series. Her attribution to Girolamo da Cremona does not seem convincing, since Girolamo was significantly more accomplished than the anonymous Kress painter. However, there do seem to be similarities between



FIG. 12. *Adoration of the Shepherds*, illumination from Barbara of Brandenburg's *Missal*, 1461–68, tempera on parchment. Cathedral of San Pietro, Mantua.

the two painters, especially when the Denver panels are compared to Girolamo's early work in the *Missal* that he illuminated in Mantua for Barbara of Brandenburg between approximately 1461 and 1468.⁴⁷ The similarities are not particularly surprising since Girolamo da Cremona could be considered a Mantegna follower, especially during his stay at Mantua. He seems to have been a friend (and possibly a student) of Mantegna's and was probably recommended by him to Barbara of Brandenburg.⁴⁸ There is, however, a second hand found in the *Missal*, working in a style similar to, but not as accomplished as Girolamo's.

This second artist seems to have been responsible for the *Adoration of the Magi* and the decorated initial "I" (figs. 12 and 13).⁴⁹ The illuminator's rocky landscapes display a more exaggerated chiaroscuro than the boulders in the Kress paintings, although the backgrounds of the two illuminations and the *Trionfi* are quite similar. The blue-green hill dotted with white city walls and towers in the *Adoration* is almost identical to the blue-green hill in the background of *Chastity*. The rhythm and shape of the bare trees in the *Adoration* remind one of the bare trees in *Death*.

Both artists had similar problems in rendering anatomy. The foreshortening of the Virgin in the *Adoration* does not quite work. Her head is a bit too big for her body in the same way that the captive Jupiter's head in *Love* is also too large. The illuminator allows faces to intersect in a bizarre manner, a hallmark of the Kress Petrarch



FIG. 13. Decorated initial “T” illumination from Barbara of Brandenburg’s *Missal*, 1461–68, tempera on parchment, Cathedral of San Pietro, Mantua.

cycle. In the *Adoration*, one shepherd’s bushy hair obscures the mouth and chin of the second. This produces a clumsy effect similar to Time’s chariot slicing through the faces of his entourage or the strange intersection of the faces of the old men leading Time’s procession. By contrast, the sweetness of the Virgin’s face with its high forehead, heavy lidded eyes, and downturned bow mouth could belong to Fame or to any lady surrounding Chastity.

A final comparison in favor of the anonymous illuminator is the similarity of his “T” to the chariots in the *Triumphs*. Not only are the slightly naïve perspective and gold decoration alike, but the figures outlined in black on a gray ground look very close to those decorating the chariots of Love and Chastity.

Several art historians who have looked at the Kress *Triumphs* at the Conservation Center have commented on the relatively high quality of the chariots and columns in contrast to charming, but less accomplished human figures. This skill with shell gold coupled with the Kress painter’s fascination with minute detail have led some scholars to wonder if he was not perhaps a miniaturist. However, Professor Alexander has pointed out that there is very little evidence to document illuminators working as furniture painters,⁵⁰ although there is at least the one instance of Apollonio di Giovanni’s Petrarch illuminations.

My attribution is, of course, highly speculative. From “Mantegna Follower” we could only say, slightly more specifically, “Girolamo da Cremona Follower.” A definite attribution may not be possible for the Kress panels. The difficulty is not surprising when we read, in *Delle Arti e degli Artefici di Mantova*, Carlo d’Arco’s compilation of thirty(!) names of pupils and assistants to Andrea Mantegna culled from documents in the Mantua archives. This list consists only of artists for whom no work is known and does not include, for example, Mantegna’s son Francesco or Francesco Buonsignori.⁵¹

PART IV: THE RELATIONSHIP TO
ANDREA MANTEGNA

In addition to the question of attribution, scholars since Wastler have puzzled over Andrea Mantegna's relationship to this Petrarch cycle. Although the panels possess a certain Mantegnesque style that was influencing artists throughout northern Italy, could there really be any direct connection between the court painter and the delightful but somewhat naïve Kress paintings? Yet, there may have been a relationship between the Kress paintings and the Petrarchan theater decorations described in the letter by Sigismondo Cantelmo (see Appendix).

There are numerous records documenting *trionfi* painted for the Gonzaga, especially for the Marchese Francesco II (born 1466, reigned 1484–1519), and some scholars have argued that the Kress paintings and the Graz ivories must be based on one of these lost cycles.⁵² Francesco Buonsignori wrote to Francesco II in an undated letter concerning a *Triumph of Fame*.⁵³ In a 1493 letter Niccolò da Verona discussed a “*trionfo*” he had painted for Francesco.⁵⁴ Perhaps the most important reference is in a 1491 letter to Francesco from Bernardo Ghisolfi, the supervisor of the decoration at the new palace at Marmirolo. Ghisolfi wrote, “Francesco and Tondo have begun to paint the Triumphs on canvas like Andrea Mantegna. They say that as a result they do them more quickly and that they will be more beautiful and durable . . .”⁵⁵ Tondo has not been identified, but since Francesco Mantegna was known to have worked at Marmirolo, most scholars have assumed that “Francesco” refers to Andrea's son.⁵⁶ Wastler and Furlan both believed that the 1491 canvas paintings might have been a lost Petrarch cycle. Since there are letters concerning transporting “*trionfi*” from Gonzaga to Mantua in 1503, 1505, and 1507 and from Marmirolo to Mantua in 1507 to serve as temporary theater decorations,⁵⁷ it has been argued that the *Triumphs* Cantelmo saw in 1501 were also from Marmirolo and by Francesco Mantegna. Cantelmo clearly stated, however, that the Petrarch *Triumphs* were painted by the same artist who painted the *Triumphs of Caesar*:

one of the areas was decorated with six paintings of the triumphs of Caesar by the hand of the exceptional Mantegna . . . Around the stage on the lower pediment (or decorative façade?) were the *Triumphs* of Petrarch also by the hand of the painter Mantegna . . .⁵⁸

Furthermore, it seems quite likely that the Marmirolo *Triumphs* that Ghisolfi mentioned in 1491 actually depicted the triumphs of Alexander the Great. The Bolognese antiquarian and naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi described the castle of Marmirolo in his *Itineraria Mantuae* written between 1561 and 1571. He mentioned seeing an “*Aula magna depicta cum historia triumphi Alexandri Magni ab Ecc. ti Mantegna.*”⁵⁹

While we cannot rule out the possibility that the Petrarch *Triumphs* seen by Cantelmo were by Francesco or another one of Mantegna's pupils, it does not seem possible to associate them with the *Triumphs* being painted in 1491 in Marmirolo. It is even possible that Andrea Mantegna himself painted Cantelmo's Petrarch cycle. In either event, a set of Petrarch *Triumphs* would imply the possibility of sketches and designs. These designs could have found their way to the hands of both the carver of the Graz ivories and the painter of the Kress cycle. Given the Kress artist's insecurities with the figure and perspective, it seems hard to argue, however, that Mantegna was directly involved in supervising him. We are ultimately left with questions about the relationship of a major artist like Andrea Mantegna to the numerous second-tier artists, craftsmen, and decorators employed by the courts and about the relationship of those craftsmen to each other.

CONCLUSION

The Kress paintings seem to have formed part of a body of Petrarch cycles painted for domestic interiors. Given their dimensions, damage patterns, and perspectival construction, they were more likely *spalliera* paintings than *cassoni* frontals. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know the type of furniture for which they provided the backs.

The panels were probably commissioned by the Gonzaga for a Sforza–Gonzaga marriage.

Given the similarities between the hand in the 1461–68 *Missal* and the Kress painter, the earlier Sforza–Gonzaga engagement between Gian Galeazzo and Susanna/Dorotea seems the more likely candidate for the commission. They may have been painted by someone in the circle of Girolamo da Cremona and might be loosely based on designs by Andrea Mantegna or one of his pupils, but the master could not have directly supervised their execution.

Further research on dowries and trousseaus for Gonzaga brides could be done in the Mantua archives. An examination of extant records of Gonzaga wedding festivities might also be useful. Although this paper raises more questions than provides answers, it contributes to the study of domestic painting in northern Italy and in its courtly society, a subject that is seldom addressed given the paltry amount of furniture that has survived.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Wendy Partridge is Associate Paintings Conservator at the Intermuseum Conservation Association in Cleveland, Ohio. She earned a degree in Paintings Conservation and an M.A. in Art History from the Conservation Center, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

NOTES

1. Trapp (1992–93), p. 40.
2. Shapley (1968), pp. 27–8.
3. No information could be found on this palazzo. There was also a Palazzo Colloredo in Mantua (now the Palazzo di Giustizia) built in the 1620s by the architect A.M. Viani. It belonged to the Gonzaga until 1721 when it was transferred by marriage to the counts of Colloredo. The palazzo remained in the Colloredo family until the first half of the nineteenth century. Marani and Perina (1965), p. 196, n. 81. It is possible that the Kress cycle was in Mantua until the early nineteenth century and then was transferred to the Colloredo castle in Udine.

4. Shapley (1968), pp. 27–8.
5. Wastler (1880), p. 71.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 61–2, 72.
7. Schubring (1915), p. 358.
8. Shapley (1968), p. 27.
9. Carandente (1963), p. 94.
10. Furlan (1973), pp. 81–90.
11. Schubring (1915), pp. 357–8. The Graz chests—now reliquaries containing relics of Saints Martin, Vincent, Maxentia, and Agatha—were given by Pope Paul v to Archduke Ferdinand II in 1617. Coudenhove-Erthal (1931), p. 9.
12. Carandente (1963), pp. 57–9.
13. Schubring (1915), pp. 271, 279.
14. Callmann (1974), p. 60.
15. Carandente (1963), pp. 67–8.
16. Barriault (1994), pp. 67–8.
17. Schubring (1915), p. 294.
18. Callmann (1974), Appendix.
19. Molfino and Natale (1991), pp. 226–9.
20. The X-radiographs are on file at the Conservation Center. It is not known when they were originally cut into six separate pieces. Joseph Wastler described seeing six paintings in 1880, p. 63.
21. Schiaparelli (1908), pp. 159–60.
22. Vidas (1997) p. 41.
23. Barriault (1994), p. 57.
24. Coudenhove-Erthal (1931), p. 16.
25. Ellen Callmann, personal communication, 1998.
26. “*uno paio di forzieri e per una spalliera e per la predella . . .*” Callmann (1988), p. 9. The difference between *cassoni*, *forzieri*, and *coffani* is not clear although Peter Thornton thought that the distinction might be based on shape. “*Cassone*” tends to be used as a generic term by most current scholars. Thornton (1991), pp. 192–3.
27. Callmann (1988), pp. 6, 16.
28. “*Una spalliera di braccia XIII et alta braccia 1 1/2 sopra a detti chassone, dipintovi drento la storia della giostra di Lorenzo, con cornicie et colonette messe d’oro.*” Schiaparelli (1908), p. 167.
29. “*uno paio di forzieri colle spalle molto ricche*,” Barriault (1994), p. 38.
30. Pope-Hennessy and Christiansen (1980), p. 29.
31. In 1463 Giuliano da Maiano received payment from Piero degli Alberti for narrative designs for a *lettuccio*, for example. Barriault (1994), p. 29.
32. Honorati (1981), pp. 39–41.
33. Alberici (1969), p. 7.
34. Callmann (1996), p. 363.
35. Thornton (1991), p. 152.
36. Alberici (1969), p. 8.
37. Thornton (1991), pp. 11–12.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
39. Vidas (1997), pp. 41–2.
40. Ganzer (1988), p. 20.
41. Jonathan Alexander, personal communication, 1998.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Coniglio (1967), pp. 66–70, 75.
44. Lightbown (1986), p. 464.
45. Chambers and Martineau (1981), p. 149.
46. Torelli (1920), pp. 37, 51–2.
47. Pastore and Manzoli (1991), p. 122.
48. Hermann (1994), p. 241.

49. Pastore and Manzoli (1991), pp. 167–70.
 50. Jonathan Alexander, personal communication.
 51. D'Arco (1857), pp. 45–8.
 52. D'Essling and Müntz (1902), p. 152; Coudenhove-Erthal (1931), pp. 42–3; and Carandente (1963), p. 94.
 53. Martindale (1979), document 7, p. 182.
 54. *Ibid.*, document 8.
 55. “Francesco e Tondo insieme ancora loro commenzaria a depingere quelli trionfi li quali a lor ge par farli suso tela secondo ha facto mess. Andrea Mantegna et dicono cusi facendo farano più presto et serano più belle e più durabile . . .” D'Arco (1857), p. 30.
 56. Lightbown (1986), p. 142.
 57. Martindale (1979), documents 15–18, 20, pp. 183–4.
 58. “una delle bande era ornata delli sei quadri del Caesaro triumpho per man del singulare Mantengha . . . Dintorno alla scena al frontespizio di basso era li trionphi del Petrarca, ancor loro penti per man del pN Mantengha . . .” D'Ancona (1971), p. 382.
 59. Franchini et al. (1979), pp. 194–5, 237. Aldrovandi's confusion between Mantegna father and son at a generation's distance seems more probable than Cantelmo's. During Andrea Mantegna's lifetime Cantelmo attended a spectacle displaying the wealth and taste of the Gonzaga, a family very proud of the achievements of their official painter.

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APPENDIX

Letter from S. Cantelmo, 1501
 Published in d'Ancona (1971), pp. 381–3.

Eccellentissimo et unico Sig. Mio Com. Essendo stato lo apparato facto da questo Ill.mo Sig. Marchese sumptuosissimo et meritamente da essere equiperato ad qual se voglia temporaneo theatro delli antiqui o moderni, non dubito V. Ex.a per più vie harà inteso l'essere del spectaculo quale sia stato: non di meno ancor min non voglio mancare dal offitio della mia debita servitù: certificandola scrivo la verità, quantuncha tanta magnificientia ricercasse chi sapesse meglio scrivere, et exprimendo pengere la nobilità et excellentia del prefato spectaculo; la vaghezza del quale con quanta brevità potrò, me sforzarò dimostrare ad V. Ill.ma Sig.a. Era la sua forma quadrangula, protensa alquanto in longitudine: li doi lati l'uno al altro de rimpecto havevano per ciaschuno octo architravi con colonne ben correspondenti et proportionate alla larghezza et alteza de dicti archi: le

base et capitelli pomposissimamente con finissimi colori penti, et de fogliami ornati, representavano alla mente un edificio eterno ed antiquo, pieno de delectatione: li archi con relevo di fiori rendevano prospectiva mirabile: la larghezza di ciascheuno era braza quactro vel cerca: la alteza propozionata ad quella. Dentro nel prospecto eran panni d'oro et alcune verdure, si come le recitationi ricercavano: una delle bande era ornata delli sei quadri del Cesare triumphe per man del singulare Mantengha: li doi altri lati discontro erano con simili archi, ma de numero inferiore, che ciascheuno ne haveva sei. Doj bande era scena data ad actorj et recitatorj: le doe altre erano ad scalini, deputati per le donne et daltro, per todeschi, trombecti et musici. Al jongere del' angulo de un de' grandi et minorj lati, se vedevano quactro altissime colonne colle basi orbiculate, le quali sustentavano quactro venti principali: fra loro era una grocta, benchè facta ad arte, tamen naturalissima: sopra quella era un ciel grande fulgentissimo de varij lumi, in modo de lucidissime stelle, con una artificciata rota de segni, al moto de' quali girava mo il sole, mo la luna nelle case proprie: dentro era la rota de Fortuna con sei tempi: regno, regnavj, regnabo: in mezo resideva la dea aurea con un sceptro con un delphin. Dintorno alla scena al frontespizio da basso era li triumphi del Petrarca, ancor loro penti per man del p.e Mantengha: sopra eran candelierj vistosissimi deaurati tucti: nel mezo era un scudo colle arme per tucto della C.a M.à; sopra l'aquila aurea bicapitata col regno et diadema imperiale: ciascheuno teneva tre doppiari; ad ogni lato era le insegne. Alli doi maiorj, quelle della S.tà de N. S. et quelle della Cesarea Maestà: alli minorj lati quelle del C.o Sig. Re, et quelle della Ill.ma Sig.a da Venetia; tra li archi pendevano poi quelle de V.Ex., quelle del Sig. duca Alberto Alemano: imprese de Sig. Marchese et Sig.a Marchesana: sopra erano più alte statue argentate, aurate et de più colorj metallici, parte tronche, parte integre, che assai ornavano quel loco; poi ultimo era il cielo de panno torchino, stellato con quelli segni che quella sera correvano nel nostro hemisperio . . .

Le recitationi sonno state belle et delectevole: Venere fo Philonico: Sabato il Penulo de Plauto: Domenica lo Hippolito: Lunedì li Adelphi de Terentio, da persone docte recitate optimamente con grandissima voluptà et plausi de spectatorj. Per essere qui Monsignor Loys d' Ars, locumentente dell' Ill.mo Monsig. de Ligni, et non haver viste le doj prime, intendo vogliono un altra volta pure il Philonico. Se ho mancato di questa in alcuna cosa, prestissimo supplirò ad bocca con V.Ex.a; in bona gratia de quella mi recomando. Datum Mantuae Xijj Februarii MD primo.

De V. EX.a
 Servitore et Schiavo
 Sigismondo Cantelmo.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS

- Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, and 10, pp. 98, 101, and 104. Denver Art Museum Collection, Denver, CO, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation (1961.169.1, 1961.169.2).
 Figs. 5, 6, and 7, p. 102. Coudenhove-Erthal (1931), figs. 3, 5, and 10.
 Fig. 8, p. 103. Courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, London (F.1947.LF.4).
 Fig. 11, p. 105. Cole (1995), p. 185.
 Figs. 12 and 13, pp. 106 and 107. Pastore and Manzoli (1991), pp. 167 and 169.

