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Renewal and *Accoglienza* in Tasso's Rome

Kate Driscoll

In December 1592, Torquato Tasso (1544–95) found himself in Rome admiring a storied landscape divided between the past and the present. Among the various literary monuments Tasso penned for this hospitable city is a sonnet (n. 1428) that commemorates a special kind of reciprocity. Rome and Tasso appear alike in their need of communal and spiritual restoration. The poet describes his civic affinity with Rome as a willingness to serve one for the other:

> Roma, onde sette colli e cento tempi,
> mille opre eccelse, ora cadute e sparte,
> gloria a gli antichi e doglia a' nostri tempi,
> verso il cielo innalzar natura ed arte:
> rinnova di virtù que' primi esempi
> già celebrati in più famose carte,
> e 'l mio difetto di tua grazia adempi,
> me raccogliendo in ben sicura parte.
> Io non colonne, archi, teatri e terme
> omai ricerco in te, ma il sangue e l'ossa
> per Cristo sparte in questa or nobil terra
> o pur dovunque altra l'involve e serra.
> Lagrime e baci dar cotanti io possa,
> quanti far passi con le membra inferme.
>
> Rome, where seven hills and a hundred temples,
> a thousand lofty works, now fallen and scattered,
> glory to the ancients and sorrow to our times,
> nature and art raised up toward heaven:
> renew those first examples of virtue,
> previously celebrated in more famous pages,
> and fulfill my defect through your grace
> by receiving me into your safe, securing parts.
> Not columns, arches, theaters or baths
> do I at last look for in you, but the blood and bones
> scattered for Christ in this now noble earth,
> or wherever else they are enfolded and enclosed.
> May I be able to give you as many tears and kisses
> as my frail limbs will allow me to take steps.[1]

[1] All citations and numbering of Tasso's *Rime* are from the following edition: Torquato Tasso, *Le Rime,* ed. Bruno Basile, 2 vols. (Rome: Salerno, 1994). All translations that appear in this essay are the author's own.

In verse 7 Tasso recalls Petrarch's plea to God from *Canzoniere* 365: "l'alma disvïata et frale/ e 'l suo defecto di tua gratia adempi" (fulfill my strayed and frail soul and its defect through grace).[2] Only rather than beg for divine intervention, Tasso turns to Rome. Reminiscent of the city lament tradition essential for Tasso's epic poetry about Jerusalem, the poet gazes upon a Rome at once triumphant and fallen, glorious yet fractured. Such an image is not unlike the authorial self-portraits Tasso constructed throughout his career. Though he longs for renewal with eyes cast forward, Tasso's yearning for Rome to receive him into her "ben sicura parte" echoes his words as a younger man. The sonnet n. 1428 reimagines Tasso's appeal for safe patronage from Duke Alfonso II d'Este in *Gerusalemme liberata* (*Jerusalem Delivered*, 1581), wherein the poet asks his Ferrarese lord to "receive with cheerful countenance these, my pages" ("queste mie carte in lieta fronte accogli[ere]").[3] A poet now mature in age, fragile in health, and searching for a final resting place, Tasso speaks to a city he views as similarly in need, not of a Virgil with "famose carte" already composed, but a modern bard who can gift to Rome what it requires: new poetry corresponding to the city's new vision for itself. No longer an errant poet-mariner cast out amidst the waves with poetry completed and wavering in hand, Tasso establishes in his lyric dedications to Rome the figure of a poet prepared and willing to write, and that of a patron prepared and willing to read.

The city along the Tiber served as a site of refuge for Tasso during the final three years of his life. Comforted by the unfamiliar phenomenon of sustainable patronage, Tasso was granted in Rome the literary hospitality Alfonso had denied his earlier career. Tasso repeatedly sought in others the kind of sociable welcome toward which his epic poetry—a genre founded on the willingness to listen to strangers—largely aims. Although the Romantic myth of "mad Tasso" consumed the poet's figure under the guise of bitter exile, this study sees in Tasso a sociable wordsmith, a maker and muse of literary hospitality.[4] The decades of corresponding exchanges between writers and readers that Tasso fostered throughout his work culminated in his final stretch of life in Rome, a new kind of patron-*patria* both secular and sacred. Across a range of literary genres, Tasso addresses Rome as a benevolent reader working with many hands. Yet it took some time for the poet to reach such a consistently responsive audience. Upon leaving Ferrara in 1586, where he had been detained for seven years in what today would be considered an asylum, Tasso became progressively peripatetic. After modeling his maneuvers on the figure of the *Liberata*'s "peregrino errante" (wandering pilgrim), Tasso settled in Rome for greater stability.[5] A willing city to which to direct the encomiastic voice of his late literary production, Rome became the subject of much of Tasso's writing and thinking. This resulted in a series of lyric, dialogic, epistolary, and epic experiments designed to rejoice in the city's many restorations. Although some scholarship reads in the years between Tasso's release from the Hospital of Sant'Anna in 1586 and his death in 1595 a uniform "monotona lamentazione funeraria" (monotonous funerary lament)

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[2] Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. Paola Vecchi Galli (Milan: BUR, 2012). Petrarch's prioritization of Rome as a site upon which to mine questions of temporal discontinuity has been recently discussed with stimulating nuance in Aleksandra Prica, *Decay and Afterlife: Form, Time, and the Textuality of Ruins, 1100 to1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022), 77–111.

[3] Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, ed. Franco Tomasi (Milan: BUR, 2009), 1.4. All citations of the poem, listed by canto and stanza number, are from this edition.

[4] See Maria Luisa Doglio, *Origini e icone del mito di Torquato Tasso* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002).

[5] Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, 1.4. Born in Sorrento and later sent into exile with his father Bernardo (1493–1569), Tasso frequented the courts of Urbino, Mantua, and Ferrara; the universities of Padua and Bologna; and the literary-intellectual circles of Venice, Bergamo, Naples, Turin, and Florence. In each of these cities, he found responsive interlocutors but not an enduring home.

grieving the poet's harsh situation, I focus rather on the representations of reciprocating sociability that sustained Tasso's relationship with Rome and its readers over time.[6] As the sonnet examined above brings into relief, Tasso's Roman imaginary rests at the intersection between the classical Eternal City and the Catholic capital of global Christendom. In each of these roles, Rome offered Tasso seemingly limitless poetic inspiration, while benefitting in return from a premiere poet prompt to sing its praises.

Since Pope Paul IV (r. 1555–59), multiple campaigns were set into motion to "consciously and strategically promot[e] Rome as the foremost pilgrimage site in Christendom," solidifying the city's image as a New Jerusalem.[7] Concurrent projects throughout Italy to imagine the idealized translocation of earthly Jerusalem onto the peninsula's shores influenced Tasso's domestically available vision of the Holy Land in his late Roman writings, penned when pilgrimages to Jerusalem were less than feasible.[8] The pilgrimage site to which Tasso had dedicated nearly thirty years of his life as a poet, Jerusalem, was made more tactilely and experientially accessible because of the *sacri monti* complexes constructed throughout Lombardy and Piedmont.[9] The most famous of these recreational landscapes, which was thoroughly revised during the last decades of the sixteenth century, was the Sacro Monte at Varallo. Founded at the close of the fifteenth century according not to a logic of "exactitude" but rather one of "verisimilitude," the forty chapels of the Sacro Monte at Varallo offered early modern pilgrims a spatial replica of Jerusalem.[10] Imitations of Holy Land pilgrimage sites came to life inside the *monte*'s thoroughly decorated chapels dedicated to Christ's Sepulcher, the Ascension, and the Sepulcher of the Virgin.[11] Celebration of Varallo courses through the writing of Tasso's late patron, Pope Sixtus V (Felice Peretti) (r. 1585–90), who in May 1587 praised this site as a remarkable religious monument.[12] Whether or not Tasso traveled to this or the other *sacri monti* complexes, his Roman circle of interlocutors kept

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[6] Lanfranco Caretti, *Ariosto e Tasso* (Turin: Einaudi, 1961), 120.

[7] Margaret A. Kuntz, "Liturgical, Ritual, and Diplomatic Spaces at St. Peter's and the Vatican Palace: The Innovations of Paul IV, Urban VIII, and Alexander VII," in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692*, ed. Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch, and Simon Ditchfield (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 75–98, at 86. As Kuntz notes, the papal strategy to invigorate Rome's image as a New Jerusalem was made "absolutely explicit" (87n19) in Urban VIII's Jubilee bull *Omnes gentes plaudite manibus* (All people, clap your hands) of 1624.

[8] A broader cultural imaginary had been long at play since the early humanists to consider Rome the New Jerusalem: the providential "'gateway' to Etruria (the Latin 'Holy Land')." See Nicholas Temple, *Renovatio Urbis: Architecture, Urbanism, and Ceremony in the Rome of Julius II* (London: Routledge, 2011), 265. For further study, see Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 156–234.

[9] On the "kinesthetic experience" the *sacri monti* generated as multimedia and multisensorial sites, see D. Medina Lasansky, "Body Elision: Acting out the Passion at the Italian *Sacri Monti*," in *The Body in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 249–73, at 252.

[10] Geoffrey Symcox, *Jerusalem in the Alps: The Sacro Monte of Varallo and the Sanctuaries of North-Western Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 94–95. On the construction of similar shrinescapes, see Bianca Kühnel, "Virtual Pilgrimages to Real Places: The Holy Landscapes," in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 243–64.

[11] See Christine Göttler, "The Temptation of the Senses at the Sacro Monte di Varallo," in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 393–451. On other spatial imitations of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher erected in the wake of the First Crusade, particularly in the context of a pilgrimage set on "substitutions," see Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 57–61.

[12] See *Constitutio Sixti V. Pon. Max. De Administratione Sacri Montis Varalli* (Varallo: Petrus Revellus, 1587).

him certainly aware of the Italian efforts to localize Jerusalem in ways that enhanced pilgrims' connection to the city from afar.[13]

As a pilgrim to Rome himself, Tasso benefitted from the city's encouraging *accoglienza*, understood here as hospitality. Apart from a brief trip to Naples in an unsuccessful attempt to settle the account of his inheritance, Tasso remained in Rome during the final three years of his life, where he participated in the Vatican-sponsored literary academy founded by the aggregated nephew of Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini) (r. 1592–1605), Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini.[14] The occasions for collective exchange that Rome and its communities afforded Tasso—much of which eluded the poet during his years of detention in Ferrara—resulted in a significant redefinition in the poet's works not only of the city and its international significance but of the value of literary hospitality and the possibilities it yields for spiritual renewal.[15] Across Tasso's late writings, Rome features as a unified microcosm of the world's *varietà*—a geographical-ideological equivalent to the "picciolo mondo" (little world) he uses to describe epic poetry.[16] Upon his death, Tasso ended his literary and spiritual pilgrimage in a *patria* revitalized as a New Jerusalem, in his eyes both "liberated" and "conquered." Such a conclusion realizes a unique synthesis of pilgrimage destinations, one that reexamines the relationship between "Roma celeste" (celestial Rome) and "Gerusalemme terrestre" (earthly Jerusalem).[17]

Pilgrimage is a deliberately chosen focus in the analysis here. The fulcrum of Tasso's poetic aspirations—to narrate a credible and well-received account of the Christian victory at Jerusalem in 1099—returns to a time when the Crusades were known by other names. Before thirteenth-century historians inaugurated the term "Crusade" to describe the military campaigns the Latin West launched in the Holy Land, as Tamar M. Boyadjian has shown, the conflicts were known as "*bellum dei* (war of God), *negotium dei* (business of God), *passagium* (passage), *iter* (journey), and *peregrinatio* (pilgrimage)."[18] Charles Klopp demonstrated nearly half a century ago the term *peregrino*'s significance to Tasso's poetic theory and practice, while Jane Tylus has more recently addressed Tasso's recurring defense of this term and concept to elaborate on questions of language, identities, and spiritual quests.[19] As Tylus indicates, "the word has its origins in the Latin *peregrinus*, someone who had emigrated from foreign lands to the Roman empire and who had no

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[13] Tasso lent lyric attention to other manifestations of east-west translocation that imagined elements of the Holy Land reaching Italy, particularly with regard to the Holy House of Loreto. See Tasso, *Le Rime*, n. 1654.

[14] Cinzio was the son of Clement VIII's sister and thus a relative by blood but outside the patrilineal kinship.

[15] A necessary distinction must be made: it is clear that Tasso enjoyed a certain amount of prosperity very early on in his career in Ferrara, where his Este patrons supported the 1575 premiere of his widely popular pastoral drama *Aminta*. See the introduction to Torquato Tasso, *Aminta, princeps 1580*, ed. Matteo Navone (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2014).

[16] Torquato Tasso, *Discorsi del poema eroico*, ed. Pasquale Stoppelli (Bologna: Zanichelli, 2011), 67.

[17] Tasso names Rome and Jerusalem accordingly in his *Stanze per le Lagrime di Maria Vergine Santissima e di Giesù Christo Nostro Signore* (Rome: Ferrari, 1593). On this poetry contextualized within post-Tridentine devotional and artistic practices, see Karen J. Lloyd, "'Moving Mortals to Tears and Devotion': Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini, Torquato Tasso, and the Sorrowing Virgin," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 46, no. 1 (2015): 3–27; Matthew Treherne, "Pictorial Space and Sacred Time: Tasso's *Le lagrime della beata vergine* and the Experience of Religious Art in the Counter-Reformation," *Italian Studies* 62, no. 1 (2007): 5–25.

[18] Tamar M. Boyadjian, *The City Lament: Jerusalem across the Medieval Mediterranean* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), 7.

[19] Charles Klopp, "'Peregrino' and 'Errante' in the *Gerusalemme liberata*," *MLN* 94, no. 1 (1979): 61–76; Jane Tylus, "Parole pellegrine: l'ospitalità linguistica nel Rinascimento," in *L'ospite del libro: sguardi sull'ospitalità*, ed. Nicola Catelli and Giovanna Rizzarelli (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 2015): 13–26; Tylus, "Epic (In)Hospitality: The Case of Tasso," in *The Reception of Aristotle's "Poetics" in the Italian Renaissance and Beyond: New Directions in Criticism*, ed. Bryan Brazeau (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 181–200.

rights as a citizen…But with the advent of Christianity, this Latin term would come to describe someone who traveled to religious sites for devotional purposes."[20] Tasso may be seen to embody these two moments in the history of the term *peregrino*, a figure at once familiar and foreign to the lands he migrates to but who ultimately sets himself on a journey toward home.

From Revisions to Refuge

Rome was pivotal to Tasso's early formation as a poet concerned about his readership. Cautious about potential censorship, Tasso established regular contact with Roman interlocutors by sending samples of his manuscript for *Gottifredo*—the early experiment that would eventually become his *Gerusalemme liberata*, a title Tasso never chose—to a group of reviewers between 1575 and 1576. Tasso addressed many of these "lettere poetiche" (poetic letters) to his friend and chief advisor Scipione Gonzaga and Luca Scalabrino, whom the poet had entrusted as the coordinator of his Roman revisors.[21] Among the motivations Tasso may have felt for submitting himself before the Inquisition and seeking out its "giusto orientamento" (correct orientation)[22] was that between the *Liberata*'s two principal revisors, Silvio Antoniano and Sperone Speroni, the latter had reviewed Bernardo Tasso's *Amadigi* (1560), ultimately striking from it more than two hundred stanzas.[23] Having recently hit quite close to home, the Inquisition's discerning gaze radiated considerable consequences on young Tasso's watchful eye, as revealed in one of his letter's confessions: "io non mi curo per ora d'altro, se non di quello che può noiare gli Inquisitori" (for the moment I care about nothing other than what might bother the Inquisitors).[24] For the poet, Rome signified early on a potentially precarious double loss: authorial control over his writings and an audience hospitable to receiving them.

At the same time Tasso entered into dialogue with his Roman revisors, the city flourished in festivity during the 1575 Jubilee, proclaimed by Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572–85). While Jubilees had been regularly celebrated in Rome since 1300, the Holy Year of 1575 inaugurated post-Tridentine forms of spiritual devotion, notably the pilgrimage to and beyond the reformed city.[25] Tasso joined the 300,000 visitors to Rome to witness the opening of the holy doors at the Basilica di San Pietro, the Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore, and the Basilica di San Giovanni in Laterano.[26] Tasso's visit to the city may have softened his theoretical principle not to infuse epic

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[20] Jane Tylus, "(Dis)placing the Foreign in Early Modern Europe: The Example of Tasso's *Gierusalemme*," *Forum Italicum* 57, no. 2 (2023): 563–78, at 567. On the various types of pilgrims and pilgrimages in early modern Italy, see Franco Cardini, *In Terrasanta: pellegrini italiani tra Medioevo e prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002).

[21] See Lorenzo Bocca, *Le "Lettere poetiche" e la revisione romana della "Gerusalemme liberata"* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2014).

[22] Carla Molinari, "Introduzione," in Torquato Tasso, *Lettere poetiche*, ed. Carla Molinari (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo-Guanda, 1995), xiv.

[23] Virginio Prinzivalli, *Torquato Tasso a Roma: ricerche storiche con documenti inediti e rari* (Rome: Desclée Lefebvre, 1895), 16.

[24] Tasso, *Lettere poetiche*, 282.

[25] See Sundar Henny and Zur Shalev, "Jerusalem Reformed: Rethinking Early Modern Pilgrimage," *Renaissance Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (2022): 796–848.

[26] Prinzivalli, *Torquato Tasso a Roma*, 20. The close of the sixteenth century brought considerably heightened attention to the Church's early history and its archeological origins, with the rediscovery of Saint Cecilia's body in 1599, Antonio Bosio's excavations of subterranean Rome, and Cesare Baronio's *Annales ecclesiastici*. These projects increased the number of pilgrims participating in the 1600 Jubilee by another 100,000, roughly four times Rome's population. Such rise in pilgrimage rates led Filippo Romolo Neri to care for the thousands of impoverished visitors at the Chiesa della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini. Neri initiated the practice of visiting in a single day the seven

poetry with references to contemporary history. Brief mention of the 1575 Jubilee appears in canto eleven of the *Liberata*, when, as part of the mass the crusaders perform on Mount Olivet before beginning their assault on Jerusalem, the narrator describes their devotional practices as occurring outside the soundscape of epic.[27] The song of this "popolo devoto" (devout people) resounds "di pietate e d'umiltà sol voci" (only with voices of piety and humility), unrivaled by "trombe o suoni altri feroci" (trumpets or other warlike sounds).[28] The sonic relief from cacophonic battle, together with the reference to events from the author's own present, remind readers of Erminia's pastoral retreat by the banks of the river Jordan in canto seven, where "né strepito di Marte/ ancor turbò questa remota parte" (the clamor of Mars has not yet disturbed this remote region).[29] In this sheltered space, the pagan princess of Antioch—an extension of the poet's authorial mouthpiece—learns about the life of humble shepherds taking refuge from the world and sounds of epic.[30] Erminia's interlocutor is a "uom canuto" (white-haired man)[31] who narrates his withdrawal into the "amici boschi" (friendly woods)[32] after having witnessed corruption at court, a theme Tasso underscores in the so-called "Mopso episode" of his pastoral drama *Aminta*.[33] The shepherd's critiques of life at court would have resonated beyond the *Liberata*'s fiction and reached Tasso's readers with particular bite.[34] The references to the poem's contemporary context thus point in two different directions: while the elder's solitary reflections compare negatively his present state of tranquility and former courtly service, toward which Tasso's own attitudes wavered greatly over the course of composing the *Liberata*, canto eleven enfolds the celebration of reclaimed Rome within a scene of collective devotion to the harmonic heavens.

As in the episode of Erminia's flight, the crusaders' procession blends the space of asylum with decidedly peaceful music. The sounds of the Christians' "spettacol santo" (holy spectacle) and "casta melodia soave" (soft, chaste melody) contrast with the outbursts, blasphemies, and insults hurled at them by their pagan onlookers.[35] Among the rituals performed is the Christians' collective prayer invoking a holy community, bridging figures who reside in heaven with those responsible for governing on earth:

> Te Genitor, te Figlio eguale al Padre,
> e te che d'ambo uniti amando spiri,

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major churches in Rome. See Pamela O. Long, *Engineering the Eternal City: Infrastructure, Topography, and the Culture of Knowledge in Late Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 167.

[27] On this episode's ideological and mathematical organization, as it determines its broader significance within the poem, see Walter Stephens, "Metaphor, Sacrament, and the Problem of Allegory in *Gerusalemme liberata*," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 4 (1991): 217–47. Stephens illuminates Tasso's need to add to his primary source—William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (*A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*)—the scene of Catholic mass, for the medieval chronicle had only "mentioned a procession to the Mount of Olives" (229).

[28] Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, 11.6.

[29] Ibid., 7.8.

[30] See Walter Stephens, "Trickster, *Textor*, Architect, Thief: Craft and Comedy in *Gerusalemme liberata*," in *Renaissance Transactions: Ariosto and Tasso*, ed. Valeria Finucci (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 146–77; Marilyn Migiel, "Tasso's Erminia: Telling an Alternate Story," *Italica* 64, no. 1 (1987): 62–75; Jane Tylus, "Imagining Narrative in Tasso: Revisiting Erminia," *MLN* 127, no. 1 (2012): 45–64.

[31] Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, 7.6.

[32] Ibid., 7.13.

[33] See Paola Ugolini, *The Court and Its Critics: Anti-Court Sentiments in Early Modern Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 145–80.

[34] See Jane Tylus, "Courting Innocence: Tasso's Resistant Poetics," in *Writing and Vulnerability in the Late Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 80–112.

[35] Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, 11.12–13.

e te, d'Uomo e di Dio vergine Madre
invocano propizia a i lor desiri;
o Duci, e voi che le fulgenti squadre
del ciel movete in triplicati giri,
o Divo, e te che de la diva fronte
la monda umanità lavasti al fonte,

chiamano; e te, che sei pietra e sostegno
de la magion di Dio fondato e forte,
ove ora il novo successor tuo degno
di grazia e di perdono apre le porte.

You father, You Son equal to the Father,
and You who breathe lovingly from the union of both,
and You, Virgin Mother of Man and God,
they invoke to be propitious to their desires;
O Captains, and you that move
Heaven's fulgent hosts in triple armies;
O Divine, and you that washed in the river
the immaculate humanity of the divine brow,

you they invoke; and you [Peter], who are the solid and strong rock
and foundation of the house of God,
where now your worthy successor
is opening the gates of grace and pardon.[36]

The expansion of poetic temporality activated by the use of "ora" (now) brings the narrator's sixteenth-century present to interact with the poem's eleventh-century crusaders. The procession of Christians then follows Peter the Hermit up the mountain, a parade-in-miniature of the global following of the namesake of the first pope.[37]

In what would become a series of attempts to narrate the continuity in Roman governance via renewal and reform, Tasso references the 1575 Jubilee to establish consistency from the apostle Peter, the First Crusade's Pope Urban II (r. 1088–99), and the Holy Year's invocator Gregory XIII. While debates have long circulated about whether throughout the 1570s and 1580s Tasso considered himself the target of the Counter-Reformation and its regime, it is right to take seriously Walter Stephens's key reminder that discarding the poet's devout religiosity, which positioned him in the role of the reforms' interpreter and proponent, would be profoundly unproductive.[38] Steeped in the challenges of the Counter-Reformation during Rome's campaigns to redefine itself, Tasso grappled with how to assess the city's storied cultural heritage. He turned to the personified voice of Rome herself for guidance.

[36] Ibid., 11.7–8. Tasso left unchanged this reference to the 1575 Jubilee in his revised poem *Gerusalemme conquistata*. See Ottavio Ghidini, *Tasso tra "Liberata" e "Conquistata": la Bibbia, i Padri, la liturgia* (Città di Castello: Emil, 2019), 44–58.
[37] Stephens, "Metaphor, Sacrament, and the Problem of Allegory," 227.
[38] Ibid., 218–19.

The Virtue of Romans

If Tasso spent nearly three decades writing about the First Crusade's final battle to seize Jerusalem, his writings about Rome convey similar themes of a city "liberated" and "conquered." Tasso's late *Risposta di Roma a Plutarco* (Rome's Response to Plutarch, 1587–90) praises Rome's series of urban and religious transformations, while referencing and appropriating the city's ancient past—political, military, and literary.[39] Employing the technique of prosopopoeia, Tasso adopts the voice of his new urban home, alternating between first- and third-person perspectives. *Risposta* calls for dialogue with two of Plutarch's declamations: *De fortuna Romanorum* (*On the Fortune of the Romans*) and *De fortuna vel virtute Alexandri* (*On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander*).[40] In these works, the Greek philosopher asks whether Rome's triumph as a global power may be attributed to Fortune or Virtue, a question Niccolò Machiavelli raised again in the early sixteenth century, citing Plutarch, in the first chapter of his second *Discorso* on Livy. Following in Machiavelli's interpretative footsteps, Tasso slants Plutarch's verdict to align with his own arguments. What according to the ancient Greek was a collaborative vision of Fortune and Virtue working hand in hand to ensure Rome's glory transforms into a narrative by the sixteenth-century Italian authors that largely credits Virtue.[41] When Plutarch speculates that Virtue and Fortune united "with the aim of spreading order and harmony through the world,"[42] he imagines that such ends were owed to Rome's universal "stability and security, since the supreme government, which never knew reverse, was brought within an orderly and single cycle of peace."[43]

If, however, Plutarch's declamation conveniently skirts any mention of Rome's complex history of political struggle and civil warfare, Tasso's *Risposta* colors within similarly rosy lines, depicting a city triumphant in its unqualified unification of the world. This is made possible, Tasso's Rome explains, through the dominance of the Christian church and its boundary-defying *virtù*: "le mie vittorie, i trionfi, le spoglie, i trofei furono senza numero e senza paragone il mio imperio terminò con l'Oceano" (my victories, triumphs, spoils and trophies were numberless and incomparable, my empire extended to the ocean's edge).[44] While the imperial reach of ancient Rome stops at the boundary between land and sea, Tasso's personified city protests that its "fama" (fame) hardly ends at the sky and the stars. These words—the last to appear in this unfinished work—indicate an ascending trajectory reflected in the author's description of a modern, holy, and Christian Rome. Rather than disregard the city of Plutarch's antiquity, *Risposta* considers Rome's earlier history essential, much as Dante conveys related details in *Paradiso* VI. Tasso represents Rome, the Christian capital, as the transformed, reformed descendent of Rome, the capital of empire. This doubling effect, as Emilio Russo has argued, results in "lo specchiarsi della Roma

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[39] In a letter to Antonio Costantini, dated March 23, 1590, Tasso labels this work "De la virtú de' Romani" (On the Virtue of the Romans). On the posthumous publication of this text in 1666, see Emilio Russo, "Sul testo della *Risposta di Roma a Plutarco*," *Filologia e critica* 27 (2002): 321–62.

[40] On Tasso's interpretations of Plutarch, see Bruno Basile, "Per un Plutarco del Tasso," in *Filologia romanza e cultura medievale: studi in onore di Elio Melli*, ed. Andrea Fassò, Luciano Formisano, and Mario Mancini (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998), 1:55–68.

[41] Emilio Russo and Claudio Gigante note that, particularly in *Risposta* 11–15, Tasso "tende a rendere più 'negativa' la posizione di Plutarco nei riguardi di Roma" (tends to make Plutarch's position regarding Rome appear more "negative"). See Torquato Tasso, *Risposta di Roma a Plutarco*, ed. Emilio Russo and Claudio Gigante (Turin: Edizioni RES, 2007), 70.

[42] S. C. R. Swain, "Plutarch's *De Fortuna Romanorum*," *The Classical Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1989): 504–16, at 507.

[43] Plutarch, "De fortuna Romanorum," 317C, in *Moralia*, ed. and trans. Frank Cole Babbitt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927–36), 4:319–78, at 327.

[44] Tasso, *Risposta*, 61.

imperiale nel sacro governo di Sisto V" (the mirroring of imperial Rome in the sacred government of Sixtus V), the reigning pope at the time of the work's composition and the leader responsible for many of the urban renovation projects that seized Tasso's late literary attention.[45]

Assuming that the text's Chaeronea-born addressee would have no trouble understanding her, Tasso's Rome develops her arguments in Italian: "questa nuova lingua, con la quale sono usa di favellare" (this new language, with which I am used to speaking).[46] Since Tasso would have known Plutarch's texts through their Latin translations completed by Guillaume Budé, Domenico Chiodo has evidenced "l'esistenza di una classicità Greco-latina-italiana che non vede nel Cristianesimo una frattura culturale" (the existence of a Greek-Latin-Italian classicism that does not see Christianity as a cultural rupture).[47] Similar lines of continuity emerge in Tasso's insistence that *virtù*, not *fortuna*, guaranteed Rome's glory. For a poet careful in constructing his authorial doubles, it is not impossible to imagine that Tasso's cold shoulder toward Fortune stems from the frictional relationship with this personification he represents in his writings. Cast out to sea as a "peregrino errante" in the *Liberata*'s dedicatory verses, Tasso faults the "furor di fortuna"[48] (fortune's fury) as the cause of his miserable condition.[49] The dedicatory address to Fabio Orsini in *Risposta* reprises this same sentiment. Here Fortuna appears as an agent of persecution, as evidenced (Tasso suggests) in the case of his own life: "io soglio alcuna volta, per la noia delle cose presenti e per l'insolenza delle nuove, ripensare a quelle de gl'antichissimi tempi ed inalzar quasi me stesso con la contemplazione da quell'infimo grado di stima nel quale mi tiene oppresso o la fortuna commune di questo secolo o la mia propria adversità" (sometimes, due to the boredom of present things and the insolence of new ones, I think back to the most ancient times and, almost through contemplation, I raise myself up from that lowest level of esteem in which either this century's common fortune or my own adversity keeps me oppressed).[50] Tasso's meditation on Rome's "antichissimi tempi" offers a tribute as much to his Orsini dedicatee as to the city herself—a Rome intent on renewing "l'antica gloria e la Virtù invecchiata de' Romani" (the ancient glory and aged Virtue of the Romans).[51]

Tasso defends Rome's merits in "le virtù civili" (civil virtues) by leading with two interconnected arguments: he accounts for the Romans' ancient military victories as historical facts, and thus not subject to individual interpretations, and contends that the order of nature and the universe exemplify a regulated, providential cosmos, thus refuting the possibility that it was mere chance that steered Rome to victory. After decades of attempting to compose an epic capable of representing Christian nations united in their struggles against a common enemy, Tasso's late religio-civic consciousness looked with more careful attention to Rome as the emblem of

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[45] Emilio Russo, *L'ordine, la fantasia e l'arte: ricerche per un quinquennio tassiano (1588–1592)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002), 268.

[46] Tasso, *Risposta*, 11.

[47] Domenico Chiodo, "La *Risposta di Roma a Plutarco*," in *Tasso a Roma: atti della giornata di studi, Roma, Biblioteca Casanatese, 24 novembre 1999*, ed. Guido Baldassarri (Modena: Istituto di Studi rinascimentali di Ferrara-Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2004), 49–54, at 52. On the translation copy Tasso consulted, see Basile, "Per un Plutarco del Tasso."

[48] Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, 1.4.

[49] Fortune similarly appears as Tasso's adversary in the quasi-autobiographical *Canzone al Metauro* from the late 1570s. On these and other authorial self-portraits, see Sergio Zatti, *L'uniforme cristiano e multiforme pagano: saggio sulla "Gerusalemme liberata"* (Milan: Saggiatore, 1983); Margaret Ferguson, *Trials of Desire: Renaissance Defenses of Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 54–136.

[50] Tasso, *Risposta*, 5.

[51] Ibid., 7. Aldo Manetti suggested that "the real dedicatee" ("il vero destinatario") of the work is indeed Rome. See Aldo Manetti, "Roma nell'opera del Tasso," *Studi tassiani* 26 (1977): 113–33 at 131.

universality.[52] Rome's account of her "immortal virtue" hints at the significance of the written word and its potential to immortalize cultural memory. Stirred to action to awaken herself from "sonno" (slumber),[53] the voice of "Rome restored" sheds the violence wrought by its imperial past by emphasizing its peaceful present state:

> O Plutarco, non sono Roma trionfante, non sono Roma regina del mondo, ma Roma ristorata per la virtù di uno, anzi di molti santissimi pontefici, Roma divenuta umile di superba, pacifica di guerriera, e quasi celeste di terrena; che ne la nuova gloria de la verissima religione non tanto di vanto de la prima grandezza, quanto de le cose presenti mi rallegro. E parlerò teco senza spaventarti con lo strepito de l'armi.
>
> O Plutarch, I am not triumphant Rome, I am not Rome queen of the world, but Rome restored through the virtue of one, indeed of many most holy pontiffs; Rome made humble, once proud; peaceful, once warlike, and nearly heavenly, once earthly. I rejoice in the new glory of the truest religion, boasting less of my first greatness than of present things. And I will speak with you without frightening you with the clamor of arms.[54]

Rivaling Plutarch "a guisa di filosofo e di oratore" (as a philosopher and an orator), the restored city describes herself as a now humble home ushering in a new kind of *pax romana*, one that rejects excessive pride and unnecessary bloodshed, praising eternal goods over those terrestrial.[55]

Comparable mention of Rome's conversion to peace and, by extension, the poet's distancing from the sounds of epic, features in Tasso's encomiastic canzone n. 1388, written for Sixtus V:

> Roma abbonda e risplende e 'n lei favilla
> non è di guerra o ne l'Italia accesa,
> ma in lieta libertà pace tranquilla
> acqueta ogni discordia, ogni contesa,
> simile a quella che nel ciel tranquilla
> le menti: or chi piú loda ardita impresa?
> chi prepone al canuto alto consiglio
> la sanguigna vittoria e 'l suo periglio?
>
> Rome abounds and shines, and in both her
> and in Italy there is no glimmer of war
> but happy liberty, where tranquil peace

[52] This is not to suggest that the *Liberata* reads without tensions concerning this very endeavor toward Christian unity. Analyzing the "double crusade" dramatized by the poem's fiction and ideology, David Quint has expertly identified the *Liberata*'s "representations of…resistance to the papacy" and "the ways in which…rebellions are put down [to] reveal a Tasso who not only is an apologist for papal supremacy, but who also upholds this supremacy at the expense of Italian political aspirations." See David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 213–14. On unity as it functions individually and collectively in the poem, at times in service of one another, see Corrado Confalonieri, *Torquato Tasso e il desiderio di unità: la "Gerusalemme liberata" e una nuova teoria dell'epica* (Rome: Carocci, 2022).
[53] Tasso, *Risposta*, 10.
[54] Ibid., 11.
[55] Ibid., 10.

calms every discord, every strife,
similar to that which in heaven eases
minds: who still praises daring enterprises?
Who gives more importance to bloody victory
and its peril over aged wise council?[56]

What in Plutarch reads as an observational discussion of Rome's rise to victory through the eyes of a Greek visitor surfaces in Tasso as the voice of an introspectively gazing metropolis made victorious over herself. Rome's voice, speaking now without "lo strepito de l'armi," echoes that of Tasso's as poet, detached like Erminia and the shepherds from the sounds and struggles of epic. "Or chi piú loda ardita impresa?" lyric Tasso asks, a question that dialogues with the poet's very epic, whose matter of the First Crusade Tasso describes as an "alta impresa" (lofty enterprise).[57] If Christian, pacified Rome appears to triumph over its pagan, war-plagued past, does the Tasso of late encomiastic lyric overcome the Tasso of earlier epic poetry? Does lyric, in other words, the poet's first literary love, ultimately win like Rome?

If ancient and Christian histories synthesize according to the same teleology in *Risposta*, they do so by yielding to Catholic Rome all the qualities for which its pagan counterpart was praised: "se fra le cose antiche e le più nuove dovesse farsi comparazione, quelle cedono tanto d'auttorità e di dignità e di gloria, e di grazia a le più moderne, quanto è ragionevole che le violente a le giuste, e le superstiziose a le religiose, e le profane a le sacre, e l'umane a le divine debbano umilarsi" (if one were to compare ancient and more recent things, the former yield as much in authority and dignity and glory and grace to the latter, as it is reasonable that violent things should humble themselves before just ones, the superstitious before the religious, the profane before the sacred, and the human before the divine).[58] Like Plutarch, Tasso assesses Rome's universality by linking the city's origins to those of the cosmos: "L'imperio romano ebbe l'origine simile a quella del mondo, dunque non ci ha parte la Fortuna" (the Roman empire had an origin similar to that of the world, therefore Fortune has no part in it).[59] Tasso withholds credit for Rome's greatness from the volatile goddess that acts capriciously and without reason.[60] The ordered structuring of the empire, Tasso suggests, mirrors that of the universe, a narrative project to which he dedicated substantial literary-philosophical attention with his *Le sette giornate del Mondo creato* (The Seven Days of the Created World)—a kind of "Catholic *De rerum natura*" in *verso sciolto*.[61]

In Tasso's *Risposta*, Rome doubly transitions from war to peace and from paganism to Christianity, reflecting Tasso's enlivened sense of the sacred and its communities. Vincenzo E. De Nardo has argued that *Mondo creato* represents "la manifestazione più imponente di questa rinnovata poetica" (the most impressive manifestation of this renewed poetics).[62] With *Mondo*

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[56] Tasso, *Le Rime*, n. 1388.
[57] Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, 1.6.
[58] Tasso, *Risposta*, 8.
[59] Ibid., 13.
[60] Aldo Manetti ("Roma nell'opera del Tasso," 131) interprets this as Tasso refusing Dante's configuration of Fortune as angelic intelligence.
[61] Armando Maggi, "La creazione prima della creazione: *Il mondo creato* di Torquato Tasso alla luce di *La sepmaine* di Guillaume du Bartas," *Romance Notes* 37, no. 1 (1996): 59–66. While Tasso composed the first two days of *Mondo creato* in Naples, he wrote the remaining days in Rome under the patronage of Cinzio Aldobrandini. The text was published posthumously in 1612. See Paolo Luparia, "Tra Napoli e Roma: la genesi e la composizione del *Mondo creato*," in *Tasso a Roma*, 143–70.
[62] Vincenzo E. De Nardo, *Torquato Tasso a Roma: il "Mondo creato"* (Pisa: ETS, 1979), 24.

creato, Tasso abandons the fictional possibilities within epic to imitate human action, offering instead a didactic, encyclopedic poem about the created world from the present perspective of the seventh day, "the still point of the turning world, between creation and destruction."[63] As a poetics of creation—artistic and divine—his *Mondo creato* reserves the discussion of human action for its encomiastic lyrics about Roman figures. In the concluding verses of Day One, Tasso venerates the "Santa Chiesa di Roma" (Holy Church of Rome) and its contemporary ruler, Pope Clement VIII, who, by embodying his papal name's suffix on the mysterious Eighth Day, will "de la divina luce i cori illustr[are],/ e i rozi, tenebrosi, e tardi ingegni" (illuminate the choirs of divine light, and the rough, dark, and slow minds).[64] *Mondo creato* unfolds a cosmogony that accounts for the Roman Church's configuration in the post-Tridentine world, placing the Aldobrandini family at its nucleus.

Although Tasso did not live to remain in Rome for the Jubilee of 1600, *Mondo creato* prefigures the image of "gran Clemente" and his hospitable reception of devout pilgrims, in whose traveling, spiritual company Tasso includes himself: "apre il Cielo, e i suoi tesori eterni,/ e le sue gratie altrui comparte, e dona:/ né faccia me di rimirarlo ingegno" (he opens heaven, and its eternal treasures and its graces he shares with and gives to all. May he not judge me unworthy of gazing upon him).[65] In a fantasy of sacred, collective identity addressed to Clement, Tasso reassumes the authorial guise of the pilgrim yet embarks on a pilgrimage now joined by others: "piacciati tanto al mio turbato ingegno/ compartir di quel santo, e puro lume,/ che trasfuso da te, conduca, e scorga/ l'alme gentili, e i pellegrini spirti" (may it greatly please you to share with my troubled wits a part of that holy, pure light that, transfused by you, may guide and lead gentle souls and wandering spirits).[66] The gesture toward hospitable collectivity encourages Tasso's readers, to whom he appeals as "amici" (friends):[67]

> …meco entrate in quest'adorno
> maraviglioso grande ampio Theatro
> de le cose create, in cui mirando
> il magistero del gran Padre Eterno,
> quasi per gradi alziam la pura mente
> a l'invisibil suo felice Regno
> ove gli ultimi premi altrui riserba.
>
> …enter with me into this adorned
> marvelous, great and spacious theater
> of things created, where, admiring
> the mastery of the great Eternal Father,
> as if by steps we raise our pure mind
> to His invisible happy kingdom,

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[63] Albert R. Cirillo, "Tasso's *Il mondo creato*: Providence and the Created Universe," *Milton Studies* 3, no. 1 (1971): 83–102, at 89.

[64] All citations, listed by day and line number, are from Torquato Tasso, *Il mondo creato*, ed. Paolo Luparia (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2006). For the verses cited above, see 1.663–64. Tasso's brief account of Rome's fall and rebirth through the Church, with echoes of Dante's *Paradiso* VI, appears at 7.378–88. The poet's comparison between the history of Rome and that of the world then follows at 7.389–97.

[65] Tasso, *Mondo creato*, 3.830–33.

[66] Ibid., 4.56–59.

[67] Ibid., 7.46

where He keeps His ultimate rewards for others.[68]

In the collective voice of "noi" ("we") Tasso gains a mind now pure ("alziam la pura mente"), restored like Rome herself to a cleansed, Christian state. The reference to "amici" here is more than a poetic convenience. It was among the friends and interlocutors of Clement's own family that Tasso embraced this sense of collectivity *in limine mortis*. The aggregated nephew of Clement VIII, Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini, welcomed Tasso to Rome as a participant in his literary academy at the Vatican, where the recurring settings for dialogue prompted further manifestations of Roman *accoglienza*.

Literary Hospitality at the Vatican

For assembling what was sometimes called "una pubblica Accademia" (a public academy) or "un Seminario di virtuosi" (a seminar of virtuosos),[69] Cinzio earned recognition by Tasso as the "Apollo di Roma al secol nostro" (our age's Roman Apollo).[70] The Vatican circle's hospitality offered to Tasso may be counted among the reasons why, upon his death, the poet named Cinzio the universal heir of all his writings.[71] Among the group's members were Giovanni Battista Guarini, Francesco Patrizi, and Angelo Grillo, as well as Tasso's tutor in classical studies, Maurizio Cataneo; the composer who set many of Tasso's poems to music, Luca Marenzio; the most severe of Tasso's Roman *revisori*, Silvio Antoniano; and the great *diva*, admirer, and interlocutor of the poet, Isabella Andreini.[72] Peripheral figures of the group, too, commented on the sociable and intellectual kindness Cinzio showed to Tasso. In a letter directed to the Cardinal of Saint George, dated April 1593, Scipione Ammirato remarks on how:

> Singolare allegrezza ha sentito l'animo mio sempre che li è penetrata notizia della tuttavia crescente grandezza et riputazione di V.S. Illustriss…et che frà gli altri hà nella casa sua benignamente raccolto il Sig. Torquato Tasso, Poeta per quel ch'io stimo, non inferiore a niuno altro che habbia mai composto poema, et che adaggiandolo et accarezzandolo consola le sue sventure.
>
> My mind felt singular, persistent joy since the news reached it of Your Eminence's increasing greatness and repute…and that, among others, you have graciously gathered in your house Signor Torquato Tasso, a poet that, in my estimation, is not inferior to any other who has ever composed poetry, and that, by accommodating and caring for him, you console his misfortunes.[73]

Cinzio's noble "accoglienza" of Tasso is accounted for similarly in Angelo Ingegneri's reflections on their patron-poet relationship, which the printer included in his edition of Tasso's *Gerusalemme conquistata* (Jerusalem Conquered, 1593), whose publication Aldobrandini sponsored. Figuring Tasso on the poem's title page with the laurel crown he was elected to receive on the Capitoline

[68] Ibid., 6.48–54.
[69] Both descriptions appear in a letter by Cinzio's "master of ceremonies," Girolamo Lunadoro. See Prinzivalli, *Torquato Tasso a Roma*, 59–60.
[70] Tasso, *Le Rime*, n. 1542.
[71] Prinzivalli, *Torquato Tasso a Roma*, 106, 129–30.
[72] Angelo Solerti, *Vita di Torquato Tasso* (Turin: Loescher, 1895), 3:734–37.
[73] Scipione Ammirato, *Opuscoli* (Florence: Massi and Lando, 1642). Cited in Prinzivalli, *Torquato Tasso a Roma*, 56.

Hill, Ingegneri's prefatory letter to Tasso's "padrone et benefattore" (patron and benefactor) acknowledges the very humanity the cardinal's protection guaranteed:

> Pose la Divina Providenza in cuore al Sig. Torquato Tasso, sin al principio di questo felicissimo Pontificato, di ricovrarsi all'ombra di V.S. Illustriss. la quale, per sua generosa inclinatione, sì caramente l'accolse; e l'è poi gita trattando con tanto segnalata humanità, ch'egli non solo…allei si determinò incontinente di donar la sua ricomposta *Gerusalemme*: ma…ha poi voluto dedicarle sè medesimo in eterno.
>
> From the beginning of this most happy pontificate, Divine Providence placed in the heart of Signor Torquato Tasso [the idea to] shelter himself in the shade of Your Eminence, who, by your generous inclination, so dearly received him. You have been treating him with such distinguished humanity that he not only…was determined to dedicate right away his revised *Jerusalem* to you but…then wished to dedicate himself to you in eternity.[74]

Ingegneri then admires the combined greatness of the poet, his poem, and patron, modelling a mutually beneficial form of collaboration that sees Cinzio "quasi per nume, nel più celebre Poema del Mondo" (almost as a deity, in the world's most celebrated poem), since:

> non fu mai, nè mai fia, di grido Poeta uguale al famosissimo Tasso. Ma di chi havev'egli ad essere, à cui più si fosse devuto, che à V.S. Illustrissima? la quale con frequenti segni di tenero amore, e d'immensa liberalità, trattenendo il Sig. Torquato; e con ogni più ampla dimostratione apertamente manifestando la stima, ch'ella fà de gli huomini letterati…s'è legitimamente vindicata il nome di vero e unico Mecenate dell'età nostra.
>
> there was never, nor will there ever be a poet equal in repute to the most famous Tasso. But to whom did he have to be [indebted] and to whom was he indeed more indebted than to Your Most Illustrious Lordship? With frequent signs of tender love and immense liberality you treated Signor Torquato, and with the fullest display you openly manifested the esteem in which you hold learned men…You have legitimately vindicated for yourself the name of the true and only patron of our age.[75]

For Tasso, dedicating his "ricomposta *Gerusalemme*" to his Roman patron severed his poetic labor from the genealogy of Italian epic directed toward Ferrara's Este family, a tradition that began with Boiardo's *Inamoramento de Orlando* and continued through Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*.[76] While Alfonso did little to guarantee the safety of Tasso's authorial double in the *Liberata*, the same cannot be said of the patron of the *Conquistata*. Healed from his state as a "peregrino

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[74] Tasso, *Gerusalemme conquistata* (Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1593), 2.
[75] Ibid., 2–3.
[76] See Richard A. McCabe, *"Ungainefull Arte": Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 143. McCabe suggests that, since "the Aldobrandini were intent on reclaiming Ferrara for the papal states and displacing the Estensi," which they successfully managed in 1598, "Tasso…performed that displacement proleptically" (143). Such displacement is accentuated in *Gerusalemme conquistata* 20.108, where only brief mention of Alfonso II d'Este appears among a catalogue of Italian political leaders.

errante," the narrator of the revised poem addresses Cinzio not with a petition for aid, which the cardinal has already given him, but rather with praise for his exemplary moral character: "CINTIO, che di virtú gli antichi essempi/ rinovi; e co'l tuo lume Italia illustri;/ l'alte memorie de' passati tempi/ difendi homai dal variar de' lustri" (CINZIO, you renew the ancient examples of virtue, and illuminate Italy with your light; the lofty memories of bygone times you now defend from the shifting of the ages).[77] While the confession of personal hardship is absent from Tasso's dedicatory verses in the *Conquistata*, it emerges elsewhere in the poet's encomiastic lyrics penned for Cinzio. Seeing in the cardinal the light for "il secol nuovo" (the new century) in sonnet n. 1539, Tasso narrates his choice to "turn" toward ("a te mi volgo") new patronage:

> Io, che lunga stagion turbato vissi,
> qual uom ch'in fosca notte e 'n duro gelo
> scorga appena talor pallida luce,
> a te mi volgo, o Cinzio; in te riluce
> l'alta sua gloria e la virtú del cielo,
> ch'illustra de l'oblio gli oscuri abissi.
>
> I, who lived troubled for a long time,
> as a man who, in dark night and bitter frost,
> sometimes barely glimpses pale light,
> turn to you, o Cinzio; in you shines
> heaven's virtue and its lofty glory,
> which draws from oblivion the dark abysses.[78]

Tasso locates in Cinzio a form of literary hospitality he recognizes in other ways from the city that received him as a stranger. This is evidenced in sonnet n. 1428, reproduced at the beginning of this study, in which Tasso landscapes a Rome at once lost and found, shaped by a fractured identity not unlike his own. While Tasso's verses sing most illustriously the praise of contemporary Catholic Rome, the restored ancient marvels that began to pepper the city's architectural panorama prompted a dialogue of a different nature in his prose compositions.

Marvels Reborn

Among the encomiastic poems Tasso dedicated to Rome and its leaders are those commemorating the city's revitalized civic and religious landscape. The Sack of Rome by the armies of Charles V in 1527 saw a reduction in the city's population by roughly half and its international status as the stronghold of Christendom weakened.[79] In the sack's aftermath, Rome's rulers executed a number of renovations designed to reinvigorate Christian civic splendor. This set into motion various projects described by Carla Keyvanian as "combining idealism and pragmatism": the restoration of aged churches and ancient architecture, the repair of the Aqua Alexandrina carrying water to the Quirinal and Viminal Hills, and the construction of roads linking the seven major pilgrimage

[77] Tasso, *Gerusalemme conquistata*,1.4.
[78] Tasso, *Le Rime*, n. 1539.
[79] Judith Hook, *The Sack of Rome 1527* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), xiii.

churches and expanding transportation routes to and from the city.[80] Twenty-eight of these renovations appear as engravings surrounding the bust portrait of Sixtus V by Ambrogio Brambilla, dated 1589 (fig. 1). The Latin inscription that appears just below Sixtus's name recognizes the pope's key role in these works' design and completion. Four of Rome's obelisks, which Sixtus restored, appear on the top left and right corners, not far from Brambilla's careful reproduction of the city's main roads, the Vatican Library, and the scene of St. Didacus's canonization.

Fig. 1. Ambrogio Brambilla, bust portrait of Sixtus V. Published by Nicolaus van Aelst, 1589. Etching on paper, 505 × 357 mm. The British Museum. Registration number 1947,0319.26.16, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1947-0319-26-16. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Tasso's encomiastic sonnet n. 1291, written for Sixtus V, situates his papal dedicatee within a genealogy of Roman rulers who now render homage to the Christian city, where "'l grande Augusto inchina a te sì lunge,/ Cesare accogli, ch'a tuoi piedi ei giunge" (the great Augustus bows deeply before you, you welcome Caesar, who places himself at your feet).[81] Conjuring at once figures from antiquity and those from Sixtus's and Tasso's present, the poet admires the pope for "receiving at port" ("raccoglie[re] in porto") Don Cesare d'Este, cousin of Tasso's former Ferrarese patron, of whom the *Liberata*'s narrator had asked to be "guided into port." Similar commemoration of Sixtus's hospitality appears in Tasso's epistolary correspondence with the pope

[80] Carla Keyvanian, "Papal Urban Planning and Renewal: Real and Ideal, *c.*1471–1667," in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692*, 305–23, at 306. See also Sigfried Giedion, "Sixtus V (1585–1590) and the Planning of Baroque Rome," in *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* [1941] (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 82–107; Kimberly Dennis, "Camilla Peretti, Sixtus V, and the Construction of Peretti Family Identity in Counter-Reformation Rome," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 43, no. 1 (2012): 71–101. Tasso recalls many of these projects in *Le Rime*, n. 1389.
[81] Tasso, *Le Rime*, n. 1291.

from December 1587, wherein he self-presents as "Torquato Tasso, umilissimo e divotissimo servo di Vostra Santità" (Torquato Tasso, most humble and most devoted servant of Your Holiness), before pleading for a lengthened period of refuge in Sixtus's city and the ability to return to Naples:

> avendo fatto ricorso a la sua clemenza dopo molti anni di prigionia e d'infermità, e molte ingiurie ricevute, e molti pericoli trapassati in diverse parti d'Italia; [Tasso] supplica Vostra Beatitudine umilissimamente, che gli faccia grazia di potersi fermare in Roma…essendo nato nel regno di Napoli; nel quale, oltre l'amor de la patria, molti bisogni il costringono a ritornare.
>
> having had recourse to your clemency after many years of imprisonment and infirmity, [after having] received many insults and endured many dangers in different parts of Italy, [Tasso] most humbly begs Your Beatitude that you will extend to him the grace that he may stay in Rome…having been born in the kingdom of Naples, he feels compelled to return, not simply out of love for his homeland but because of many other needs.[82]

In a second letter to Sixtus, written a few months later, Tasso remembers Naples no longer as his fatherland but rather "motherland" ("matrice"), associating his birthplace with his mother Porzia de' Rossi, whose face Tasso never again saw after joining his father in exile.[83] This distinction sets Tasso on a course to locate a new *patria* in Sixtus's reformed Rome vis-à-vis his friendship with Cinzio.[84]

Although Tasso's relationship to father figures—biological and literary—has received considerable scholarly attention, the Aldobrandini cardinal rarely features in this analysis, despite the various examples that suggest this type of affiliation. In Tasso's lyric dedications to Cinzio, he recognizes in his patronage the care of an attentive father in no uncertain terms:

> Ma ne lo stato sì dubbioso e 'ncerto,
> come buon padre esperto,
> grave ha 'l guidicio, e non avaro o parco,
> però giammai non erra,
> sia in pace il mondo o 'n perigliosa guerra.
>
> But in so doubtful and uncertain a state,
> as an expert good father,
> he maintains serious judgement, neither miserly nor restrained,
> therefore he never errs,
> whether the world is at peace or at perilous war.[85]

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[82] Torquato Tasso, *Le Lettere*, ed. Cesare Guasti (Florence: Le Monnier, 1852–55), 4:25–26, n. 943.
[83] See Tasso, *Le Lettere*, 4:71, n. 988.
[84] This aspiration qualifies the suggestion that Tasso's encomiastic writing simply conformed to a "spirito cortigiano" ("courtier's spirit"). See Gaetano Trombatore, "Introduzione alle *Rime* del Tasso," *Belfagor* 12, no. 3 (1957), 258–75, at 264.
[85] Tasso, *Le Rime*, n. 1566. See also nos. 1539, 1542, and 1544.

The representation of Cinzio's constancy in moments of doubt contrasts sharply with that of Bernardo, the "padre errante" (errant father) of Tasso's *Canzone al Metauro* (Canzone to the Metauro), whose own unsettled career brought him from Bergamo to Naples, and then onto Rome, Mantua, Urbino and Ostiglia.[86] As Torquato's "buon padre," Cinzio rather seems reflected in the *Canzone*'s prayer to the divine, "Padre, o buon padre" (Father, o good father). If Tasso increasingly distanced his authorial persona from the figure of the "peregrino errante" in his writings about Rome, he did so in order to address a new father figure in Cinzio, who "giammai non erra." As such, Tasso sets the genealogy with which he aims to associate back on course.

With similar patrimonial patterning in mind, Sixtus's urban renovation projects looked to the Rome of Constantine I as an exemplary model. In what has been described as a new "età d'oro costantiniana" (Constantinian golden age),[87] Sixtus's Rome sought a "continuità dialettica" (dialectic continuity) with the emperor's Eternal City.[88] The south-facing inscription carved into the base of the Egyptian obelisk erected in front of the Lateran Palace—the site of the remains of Constantine's imperial palace and the seat of the pope in his capacity as bishop of Rome—claims that here the emperor's baptism took place: "Constantinus per crucem victor a s[ancto] silvestro hic baptizatus crucis gloriam propagavit" (Constantine, victorious through the cross, baptized in this place by Saint Silvester, propagated the glory of the cross).[89] Tasso reveals his special interest in the Lateran obelisk in the dialogue *Il Conte overo de l'imprese* (The Count, or, On Emblems, 1594), not least because this structure represented an example of the "gran maraviglia di possanza e d'arte" (great marvel of power and art) that Sixtus had brought back to the city. First quarried in the fifteenth century BC during the reigns of Thutmose III and Thutmose IV, where it stood in front of the Temple of Amun in Karnak, the obelisk was re-erected on the spina of the Circus Maximus in 357 by Constantine's son, Constantius II. When the structure was unearthed in February 1587 under Sixtus's direction, it was found broken into three pieces.[90] The papal architect Domenico Fontana supervised the restoration project; his elaborate illustrations of the obelisk and the machinery required for its relocation were printed in 1590.[91] In August 1588, Sixtus ordered the top of the obelisk to be adorned with the heraldic charges of his coat of arms, still visible today, along with a cross placed at its summit.

If the late Tasso aspired to "farsi 'antico' per essere 'moderno'" (to make himself "ancient" in order to appear "modern"), his inspiration to do so may have derived from the last city in which he lived.[92] *Il Conte overo de l'imprese* is dedicated to Cinzio and represents a curious collage of

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[86] Rosanna Morace, "Bernardo Tasso," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 95 (2019), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardo-tasso_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

[87] Antonio Pinelli, "Il *bellissimo spasseggio* di Gregorio XIII Boncompagna," in *La Galleria delle Carte geografiche in Vaticano: storia e iconografia*, ed. Lucio Gambi, Marica Milanesi and Antonio Pinelli (Modena: Panini, 1996), 20. See also Jack Freiberg, "In the Sign of the Cross: The Image of Constantine in the Art of Counter-Reformation Rome," in *Piero della Francesca and His Legacy,* ed. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995), 67–87.

[88] Matteo Residori, *L'idea del poema: studio sulla "Gerusalemme conquistata" di Torquato Tasso* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2004), 133.

[89] This claim is inaccurate, however, since Constantine's baptism by Eusebius in 337 took place in Nicomedia (today Izmit).

[90] Pamela O. Long, *Engineering the Eternal City*, 211. The phases of the obelisk's restoration are described in the inscriptions on the west, east, and north faces of the monument's base.

[91] Domenico Fontana, *Della trasportatione dell'obelisco vaticano* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1590). Fontana's detailed designs are available through the Smithsonian Libraries:
https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/dellatrasportat00font.

[92] Bruno Basile, *Poëta melancholicus: tradizione classica e follia nell'ultimo Tasso* (Pisa: Pacini, 1984), 8.

the author's diverse interests in archeology, philosophy, philology, and heraldic symbols.[93] The work reflects upon the Lateran obelisk—a pilgrim, like many others, returned and restored—as one of the "opere maravigliose" (marvelous works) brought back to Rome from various sites across the former empire. An architectural-ideological symbol of *translatio imperii*, the obelisk's crown of Christian symbols visually communicates Christianity's triumph over paganism, a theme fundamental for Tasso's narration of the First Crusade. In the dialogue, Tasso assumes the familiar authorial guise of the "Forestiere Napolitano" (Neapolitan Stranger), who learns from the unidentified Roman Count the marvels of this reassembled structure, whereupon one may witness all seven of the world's wonders combined: "Questo, come sapete, è un obelisco, anzi il maggiore di tutti gli altri e il più maraviglioso; però niuno altro con maggior ragione potea essere annoverato fra i sette miracoli del mondo, ma se tutti insieme furono cagione de la maraviglia, questo solo poteva ciò fare senza aiuto d'alcun altro" (This, as you know, is an obelisk, indeed, the largest and most marvelous of all the others; therefore, none other could more reasonably be counted among the seven miracles of the world, but if all of these were together a cause for marvel, this one alone could do so without the help of any other).[94] Central to the Count's explanation of the structure's marvelous effects are its hieroglyphs, indicative of a lost language primed for rebirth and reinterpretation by others. Like *Risposta*, *Il Conte* constitutes as much a dialogue between the Count and the "Forestiere" as it does between classical and Catholic Rome. Just as the placement of Christian symbols atop the obelisk bears evidence of Sixtus's aim to rematerialize and reform the messaging of ancient Roman objects, so too does Tasso discursively participate with a "picciola impresa" (small emblem)[95] of his own. Tasso renders the obelisk a papal miracle: "Questo è uno de' miracoli di Roma, anzi del suo pontefice, al quale non basta il fare ogni giorno opere maravigliose, ma rinova l'antiche, e, s'io non m'inganno, con maggior maraviglia" (This is one of the miracles of Rome, or rather of its pontiff, for whom it is not enough to carry out marvelous works every day, but he renews ancient ones, and, if I am not mistaken, with greater wonder).[96] The rejection of pagan artistry likewise appears in Tasso's longest lyric dedication to Sixtus, wherein the poet casts aside the blasphemous forms of poetic inspiration he once called upon to write epic verse. For the "nove rime" (new rhymes) he now intends to write, Tasso looks not to the Muses nor to Apollo, but to his papal subject: "Te, Sisto, io canto, e te chiamo io cantando,/ non Musa o Febo, a le mie nove rime" (You, Sixtus, I sing, and singing I call upon you for my new rhymes, not the Muse nor Apollo).[97] Poetic subject and its inspiration converge in ways that reflect in Tasso's lyric celebration of the Lateran obelisk. In sonnet n. 1391, the poet admires the "nova gloria" (new glory) the obelisk brings to the city. The unearthing and reinstatement of the

[93] On Tasso's knowledge of Egyptian archeology and his sources, see Bruno Basile, "Introduzione," in Torquato Tasso, *Il Conte overo de l'imprese*, ed. Bruno Basile (Rome: Salerno, 1993), 17n3.

[94] Tasso, *Il Conte*, 85. In the "Introduzione" to this edition, Basile suggests that the unidentified Count may partially represent Michele Mercati, a copy of whose *De gli obelischi di Roma* (On the Obelisks of Rome, 1589) Tasso held in his personal library.

[95] Tasso, *Il Conte*, 81.

[96] Ibid., 84.

[97] Tasso, *Le Rime,* n. 1388. On these stanzas' comparisons between Sixtus and biblical figures, see Giorgia Gallucci, "Tasso e Sisto V: le ragioni di un encomio," in *Letteratura e potere/poteri: atti del XXIV Congresso dell'ADI, Catania, 23–25 settembre 2021*, ed. Andrea Manganaro, Giuseppe Traina, and Carmelo Tramontana (Rome: ADI, 2023). Sixtus was not the only Peretti family member to capture Tasso's lyric attention. Flavia Peretti, niece of Sixtus V, married Virginio Orsini, after which Tasso (pseudonym Uranio Fenice) curated the collection *Tempio fabricato da diversi coltissimi e nobilissimi ingegni* (Temple Constructed by Several Highly Cultured and Noble Minds) (Rome: Martinelli, 1591). This collection evidences yet another one of Tasso's collaborative ventures occasioned by Rome's literary communities.

obelisk, now with a "croce d'oro" (golden cross) attached to its peak, is seen to "dar vita a meraviglia estinta/ del miracolo primo" (to give life to the first miracle's extinct wonder). Three bodies at work—Sixtus, the obelisk, and Tasso—participate collectively in affirming the Christian principle *par excellence*: the triumph of new life over death.

Eternal *accoglienza*

In parallel ways, the years immediately after Tasso's death in Rome on April 25, 1595 conferred new life onto the poet and his legacy.[98] Although he died just days before being crowned Petrarch's successor as poet laureate, lyric commemoration of Tasso by others saw him as already embodying this honor.[99] In the verses "AD TORQUATUM TASSUM" (to Torquato Tasso) included in the *Capiluporum carmina* of 1590, Rome figures as a choral voice glorifying Tasso as its finest poet. Tasso and Rome's reciprocally beneficial relationship surfaces once again in this homage: "Culta tu ingenii miramur carmina Tasse…Te vatem iam Roma canens extollit ad astra,/ imponitque tuis laurea serta comis" (We marvel at the cultivated songs of your talent, Tasso…Rome now sings of you, exalting your name to the stars, and lays a laurel wreath upon your head).[100] The polyphonic collectivity modeled in these lines mirrors what Tasso longed for and achieved in Rome. Among the final words the poet set to paper are those to his friend Antonio Costantini that explain his reasons for having gone to the monastery at Sant'Onofrio, perched amidst the tranquil gardens on the Janiculum Hill, overlooking St. Peter's and its visual dialogues with Jerusalem.[101] Here in these peaceful quarters, Tasso describes his relocation as motivated "non solo perché l'aria è lodata da' medici, più che d'alcun'altra parte di Roma, ma quasi per cominciare da questo luogo eminente, e con la conversazione di questi divoti padri, la mia conversazione in cielo" (not only because physicians praise the air quality here above any other part of Rome, but almost to begin from this eminent place, through conversations with these devout fathers, my conversation in heaven).[102] This recognition, among the last Tasso would share with his readers, imagines dialogue in this world as preparation for dialogue in the next, necessary and eternal.

Such a posture that unites the earthly with the divine takes shape in the statue of Tasso erected by Giuseppe De Fabris in the chapel of Sant'Onofrio (fig. 2), dedicated by Pope Pius IX in 1857. Dressed as an elegant courtier, Tasso leans against a pile of arms—a sword, a helmet, and a shield—that sit off to his left. The shield appears in the likeness of that used by the crusaders and bears the inscription "pro fide" (for the faith) in golden letters. At the base of the shield is a book bent halfway open and backwards, an abandoned contrast to the volume Tasso holds open in his left hand. Is this the Tasso of the *Conquistata*, figured as having moved on from, yet still clearly tied to the pages of his *Liberata*, or is this the poet of predominantly sacred poetry who has turned away from the sounds of epic, like Erminia and the shepherds, to pursue a life of peace? Stepping back to consider the statue as part of a larger composition (fig. 3), it becomes clear that Tasso stands below a Roman triumphal arch, with his name inscribed in large letters across the top. The figure that draws Tasso's gaze upward and to the right is one of the pair of angels carrying the

[98] See the various works written in mourning and celebration of Tasso's life in Domenico Chiodo, *"L'onorato sasso": un secolo di versi in morte di Torquato Tasso* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2002).
[99] See Prinzivalli, *Torquato Tasso a Roma*, 104–5.
[100] *Capiluporum carmina* (Rome: Heirs of Lilioti, 1590), 292. The verses on Tasso appear in the section of poetry attributed to Giulio Capilupi.
[101] See Marie Tanner, *Jerusalem on the Hill: Rome and the Vision of Saint Peter's Basilica in the Renaissance* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).
[102] Tasso, *Le Lettere*, 5:203, n. 1535.

laurel wreath in hand. The image of the praying Virgin sits directly above the poet, accompanied by a group of cherubs. The arch's golden-rayed cross crowns the monument's top, a theme present in most Catholic sepulchral structures, leaving Tasso to rest eternally within a double triumph: one commemorating life and the other gesturing toward life after death.

Fig. 2. Giuseppe De Fabris (1790–1860), statue of Torquato Tasso. Chiesa di Sant'Onofrio al Gianicolo, Rome. Photo by author.

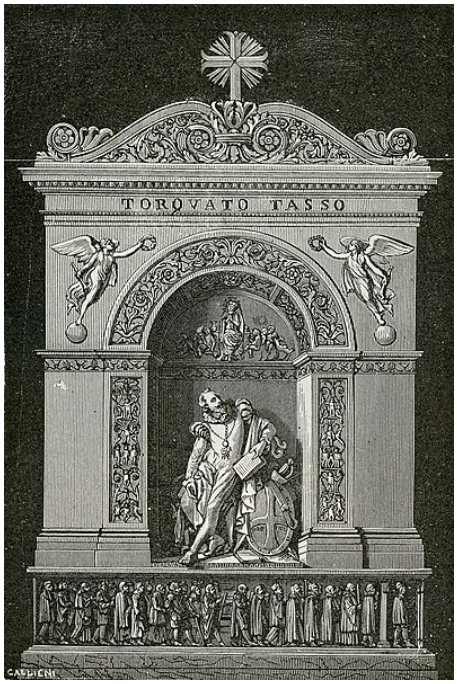

Fig. 3. Woodcut, "Roma: Mausoleo di Torquato Tasso nella chiesa di Sant'Onofrio," in Gustavo Strafforello, *La patria, geografia dell'Italia: Provincia di Roma* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1894), 240, fig. 17. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

Carved onto the base of Tasso's funerary monument in Sant'Onofrio is a depiction of the funeral procession that took place in Rome in 1595, a few days after his death. Details from this event appear in a letter from April 29, wherein Maurizio Cattaneo describes to Tasso's cousin Ercole a city in mourning:

> Con la morte del Signor Torquato Tasso è caduta la gloria dei poeti del secol nostro, e la patria nostra e Casa Tasso hanno perduto il maggior lume che avessero…Nella sua infermità l'Illustrissimo Signor Cardinal San Giorgio, nipote di Sua Santità, vero e cristiano Mecenate, usò verso di lui tutti quelli più amorevoli e pietosi uffici…Nella morte gli fece fare quelli onori, come se fosse nato del suo sangue, e che alle virtù del Tasso si richiedessono, portandosi il corpo suo per Roma con solenne pompa, accompagnato dalla sua famiglia, e da molti nobili e letterati, correndo ognuno a vederlo, siccome corsero anche i pittori a ritrarlo.
>
> With the death of Signor Torquato Tasso, the glory of the poets of our century has fallen, and our country and the House of Tasso have lost their greatest light…The Most Illustrious Signor Cardinal San Giorgio, nephew of His Holiness and true Christian patron, showed to Tasso, in his infirmity, all those most loving and pious acts…Upon Tasso's death, Cinzio honored him as if he had been born of his own blood and as was fitting for Tasso's virtues; his body was carried throughout Rome with solemn pomp, accompanied by the cardinal's family and many nobles and men of letters, each one running to see him, just as painters ran, too, to portray him.[103]

It is tempting to read in Cattaneo's description a proleptic vision of the many afterlives—discursive, visual, musical, and dramatic—that would rush to represent Tasso's figure in the centuries following his death. For a poet who considered himself "perennially out of place," to remember Tylus's acute observation, a stranger to most and a "Forestiere" even within his own writings, Tasso found something of a hospitable home in Rome—a city with a purpose for which he spent a lifetime searching.[104]

But what could this mean for a poet who spent more than half of his life writing about Jerusalem? If Rome came to represent for Tasso a new kind of holy city, raised and reborn through "opere maravigliose," what synthesis might Tasso have intended between these pilgrimage sites? As a gesture toward a conclusion, let us consider briefly the poet's revisions to the final episode of his *Liberata* in the reworked poem, *Gerusalemme conquistata*. At the end of the *Liberata*'s canto twenty, bloodied Goffredo enters Christ's tomb in singular adoration. By now the focus has narrowed from the crusaders' collective victory to one in which only their leader may be seen to triumph: "Così vince Goffredo…e qui l'arme sospende, e qui devoto/ il gran Sepolcro adora e scioglie il voto" (so Godfrey triumphs…and here he hangs up his arms, and here devoutly he adores the great Sepulcher, and discharges his vow).[105] Goffredo's rallying cry, delivered unto his fellow Christians at the outset of the poem, is here brought to realization, yet only for the individual: "né sia chi neghi al peregrin devoto/ d'adorar la gran tomba e sciòrre il voto" (may there be none who forbids the devout pilgrim from adoring the great tomb and discharging his

[103] Solerti, *Vita di Torquato Tasso*, 2:363.
[104] Tylus, "(Dis)placing the Foreign," 564.
[105] Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, 20.144.

vow).[106] Whereas the *Liberata*'s Goffredo lacks the time to remove the war-torn mantle that had cloaked his body in battle, the captain of the *Conquistata* carefully prepares for his entrance into Christ's tomb. In Tasso's revised poem, "Così vinse Goffredo" appears six stanzas before the conclusion.[107] That "tanto del giorno è lor rimasto" (much of [the crusaders'] day is left to them)[108] grants time for Goffredo's men to imitate adequately a Roman triumph:

> Quasi in trionfo pàr che spieghi, e mostri
> il vincitor de l'honorate imprese.
> E disarmati i carri, e gl'Indi mostri,
> e l'alte insegne giá squarciate, e prese;
> e con machine eccelse, antenne e rostri.
> Et auree spoglie, e vario, e ricco arnese.
> E vote le faretre, e rotti gli archi,
> e di ferro i prigioni avinti, e carchi.
>
> Almost in triumph he seems to explain and show
> the winner of the honored feats,
> and the chariots and exotic monsters disarmed,
> and the high standards already torn apart and taken:
> and with sublime machines, shafts, and rostrums,
> and golden spoils, and varied and rich tools:
> and the empty quivers, and the broken bows,
> and the prisoners bound and detained in irons.[109]

Persians, Assyrians, Ethiopians, and Indians ("Indi") proceed as subjugated peoples, accompanied by piercing trumpets and "sacre squille" (sacred blasts).[110] The audio-visual representation of "Gerusalemme conquistata" is here embodied by those who have, in fact, been conquered, and acquires new meaning as part of the accompanying ancient and now revived Roman triumph. And yet, as Petrarch's *Trionfi* would have taught his sixteenth-century successor, classical triumph is poised to be surpassed by its eternal, divine counterpart.[111] Jerusalem may be conquered, true enough, but it remains surely a "città terrena" (earthly city),[112] a temporary pilgrimage site before the crusaders, like Tasso, would reach their last.

As much as Tasso may have sought to bring his epic of three decades to a conclusion, the pages of his poem point to a conclusion beyond itself. If epic Roman triumph is only a step along the way for the crusaders to reach victory in its eternal sense, then for Tasso, too, his triumph in collective and poetic renewal in Rome awaited later reconnection with the divine. Tasso

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[106] Ibid., 1.23. This symmetry is expertly discussed in Albert R. Ascoli, "Liberating the Tomb: Difference and Death in *Gerusalemme liberata*," *Annali d'Italianistica* 12 (1994): 159–80. On Goffredo's evolution across the *Liberata*'s many revisions, see Andrea Moudarres, "A Less Perfect Captain: Reconsidering Goffredo in the *Gerusalemme liberata*," *Forum Italicum* 55, no. 1 (2021): 3–20.
[107] Tasso, *Gerusalemme conquistata*, 24.132.
[108] Ibid., 24.133. On the timing of the crusaders' victory, see Residori, *L'idea del poema*, 145–48.
[109] Tasso, *Gerusalemme conquistata*, 24.134.
[110] Ibid., 24.135.
[111] For the *Trionfi*'s influence on Tasso's revised poem, see Maria Teresa Girardi, *Tasso e la nuova "Gerusalemme": studio sulla "Conquistata" e sul "Giudicio"* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2002), 140–51.
[112] Tasso, *Gerusalemme conquistata*, 24.135.

anticipated this when, in his letter to Costantini, he considers his conversations at Sant'Onofrio as preparation for his conversations in heaven. If continuous, reciprocal dialogue accompanied Tasso's final days in Rome, he expected its company again in eternal life after death. The literary imagination that still today gravitates to the poet's legacy looks to Rome in precisely these terms, whereby the dialogues between Tasso's past, present, and future converge in "le parole [che] restano…per raccontare la vita e i sogni degli uomini e dare più tempo alla loro memoria" (the words [that] remain…to narrate the life and dreams of men and give more time to their memory).[113]

[113] Francesca Romana De' Angelis, *Solo per vedere il mare: memorie di Torquato Tasso* (Rome: Edizioni Studium, 2004), 154.