

«VIRGIL IN THE BASKET AND MOUNTED ARISTOTLE»: TWO «LETTUCCIO» PAINTINGS BY GIOVANNI DI BUONCONSIGLIO FROM THE LANCKOROŃSKI COLLECTION

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Gli artisti italiani del Rinascimento nella ricerca degli exempla attingevano spesso alle leggende medievali. Alcuni dei protagonisti erano uomini illustri dell'epoca classica, però spesso rappresentati senza osservare la verità storica, così come Aristotele e Virgilio in due tele dipinte da Giovanni Buonconsiglio presso la Collezione Lanckoroński, oggetto del presente articolo. Le opere raffigurano Aristotele cavalcato e Virgilio nella cesta, la loro datazione, intorno al 1515, è confermata dalle vesti indossate dai personaggi che compaiono anche nel famoso affresco di Raffaello raffigurante la Messa di Bolsena nella Stanza d'Eliodoro degli anni 1512-1513. Le leggende su Aristotele e Virgilio comparvero all'inizio del XIII secolo in Francia e poco dopo in Germania e in Italia, in questi testi troviamo i nomi della seduttrice di Aristotele: Fillide, Campaspe, Viola e Orsina. In Italia le versioni della leggenda su Virgilio mago si trovano anche nel Contrasto delle donne di Antonio Pucci e nelle Cronache di Giovanni Sercambi. Le leggende furono inoltre diffuse attraverso le illustrazioni ispirate ai Trionfi di Tetrarca, presenti in incisioni su rame e anche in decorazioni pittoriche di cassoni. Già Lanckoroński (1905) e Schubring (1915) suggerirono che le opere in esame potessero decorare un lettuccio, ipotesi del tutto probabile, come prova un quadro con L'Annunciazione, attribuito a Bernardino Luini e presso la Pinacoteca di Brera a Milano, raffigurante un letto o una lettiera con due dipinti rettangolari. Marcantonio Michiel, nella sua descrizione delle opere d'arte che ornavano le case dei benestanti veneziani, elenca una lettiera e un letto dipinti per Alvise Odoni da un presumibile allievo di Tiziano: Stefano. La descrizione di Michiel è del primo quarto del XVI secolo, lo stesso periodo al quale risalgono le opere dipinte da Buonconsiglio.

Artists of the Italian Renaissance often used Medieval legends recounting the *gesta* of famous men of Antiquity when seeking *exempla* which were to serve as moralising teaching through their visualisations. In several cases, however, these *exempla* tell the deeds of well-known characters which have little or nothing to do with the true stories; such as the tales about Aristotle [known as *Mounted/Ridden Aristotle* or *Phyllis (Campaspe) and Aristotle*] and Virgil who, despite their wisdom, became the subject of ridicule because they fell prey to their passions and lost control. Aristotle was to serve as a steed for a young woman while Virgil was to hang in a basket on a high tower. They are thus-

ly depicted on two canvas paintings from the Lanckoroński collection now on permanent display in the Royal Bedchamber in the Wawel Castle in Kraków (figs 1-2)¹.

Despite their artistic quality and the interesting subject matter, the two canvases were not researched in any depth until the 1990s, since they had been inaccessible to scholars before that time. In 1939, the Lanckoroński collection was confiscated by the Nazis, and after its restitution in 1946 was kept in a bank in Zurich. In 1994 nearly eighty Italian paintings from it were donated to the Wawel Castle including the paintings depicting *Virgil in the Basket* and *Mounted Aristotle*². Only the canvas inspired by

the legend about Aristotle was reproduced before the arrival of the collection in Kraków³. Karol Lanckoroński was the first person to write about them in his *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truben* (published in 1905) in which he correctly described their subject matter⁴. They have since been mentioned in works on paintings in Veneto (Bernard Berenson⁵, Lionello Puppi⁶) as well as in Paul Schubring's corpus of domestic paintings⁷ and iconographic studies (Raimond van Marle⁸, Raffaele de Cesare⁹, Georg F. Koch¹⁰). Recently, apart from publications by the present writer¹¹, they have been discussed by Kazimierz Kuczman¹² and Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo¹³ in his monograph de-

voted to Giovanni Buonconsiglio. A paper by Barbara M. Savy contains some further observations, mostly concerning the dating¹⁴.

The painting depicting *Virgil in the Basket* is based on a once popular, now almost forgotten, tale and is the second representation of the subject in Polish collections (the first is a Renaissance copperplate in the Print Room of the Warsaw University Library)¹⁵. The story of *Mounted Aristotle* is known in Poland thanks to two 14th century representations – a sculpture on one of the outer trusses of the presbytery of St. Mary's Church in Kraków (fig. 3) and a French ivory casket in the Treasury of the Wawel Cathedral (fig. 4)¹⁶.

Literary tradition of the legends about Aristotle and Virgil

Among the favourite themes of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance are the stories of women's domination over men¹⁷. This was the subject of several *exempla* used by preachers and secular writers¹⁸. The greatest of poets, sages, kings and heroes are capable of agreeing to the most ridiculous demands when carried away by love, or simply lust. The Bible, mythology and the various Medieval legends (two of which related to the paintings under discussion) all contain examples of humiliation being suffered through love. A good introduction to these tales can be found in a chapter of a 13th century encyclopaedia by Brunetto Latini: *The Book of the Treasure*, which reads as follows: «But it often happens that these people have no power over themselves; rather they abandon themselves body and soul to the love of the woman; in this way they lose their sense, so that they become blind, as happened to Adam with his wife, for which reason the whole human race is in peril and always will be so, and to David the prophet, who committed murder and adultery for the beauty of Bathsheba. Solomon his son adored idols and broke his word because of the love of Idomeneia. Samson the strong revealed to a woman the strength he had in his hair, which resulted in the loss of his strength and his virtue and his life, and he died along with all his men. All people know about the destruction of Troy and of many other lands, and of great princes who were destroyed because they loved madly. Even Aristotle the great philosopher and Merlin were deceived by a woman, according to what history tells us»¹⁹.



1. Kraków, Royal Castle, Giovanni di Buonconsiglio, ca. 1515, Mounted Aristotle or Phyllis and Aristotle, oil on canvas

Latini, however, only mentions the philosopher's deception without relating the legend in detail, so we can only deduce that it was as well known as passages from the Bible and the tale of the Trojan War.

Historians of literature have shown convincingly that the legend about Aristotle was conceived shortly after 1200 and that it was based on various literary sources²⁰. Alexander the Great's philosopher-teacher was ridiculed by a woman who is known in the tales as Phyllis, Campaspe or Viola. She was Alexander's lover and his wife's servant (in other versions she was the servant of his mother). Alexander was so smitten during his Indian campaign that he began neglecting all his duties. Informed of this Aristotle lectured his pupil and diverted his attention back to matters of the war campaign. This met with the immediate revenge of Phyllis-Campaspe. Dressed in diaphanous robes which revealed her charms, she walked under the

philosopher's window, and soon, disregarding his age and reproof to Alexander, he started to make advances to her. She agreed to succumb to his will on the next day on the condition that she should mount him like a horse. The old man with the girl on his back were noticed and laughed at by Alexander.

The author of the first version is thought to be the French Cardinal, Jacques de Vitry (ca. 1178-1240)²¹. However, the longest and best known version was written by Henry d'Andely and entitled *Lai d'Aristote*, which was probably based on a short *exemplum* known as *De Aristotile et uxori Alexandrii*²². A German version from the end of the 13th century, which differs slightly from the French ones, is also known²³. In this version the incident took place at the court in Macedonia and Phyllis (the name of the lover appears for the first time whereas in d'Andely's work the girl is unnamed) is the favourite servant of Alexander's mother. In d'Andely's



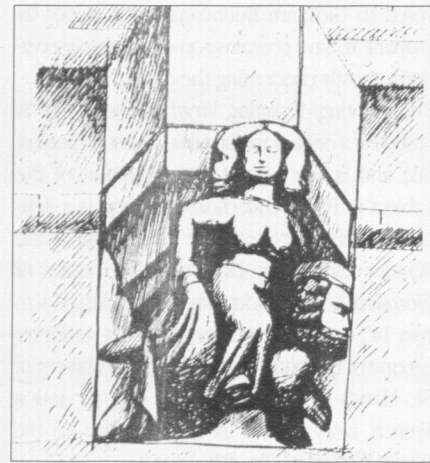
2. Kraków, Royal Castle, Giovanni di Buonconsiglio, ca. 1515, Virgil in the Basket or Virgil and Febila, oil on canvas.

version Aristotle comes to an agreement with his pupil and remains at his court, however, in the German version, the ridiculed philosopher flees to the town of Galicia located on an indefinable island, and writes a book about the hazards of contacts with women. In the story of Virgil, revenge is also exacted on the girl who made him the subject of ridicule.

Virgil was highly respected in the Middle Ages but at the beginning of the 13th century he was accused of having practised magic. Moreover, he was said to have lost his head over an Emperor's daughter; at times she is said to have been Nero's daughter, then Hadrian's and even Julius Caesar's or Augustus's²⁴. The woman – called Febila (Febilia) or Ysifile – seemingly agreed to spend a night with him in her room in a high tower, to which he could supposedly gain access only in a basket on a rope²⁵. Half way up the basket got stuck and he was suspended in mid-air until morning when the aspiring

lover was laughed at by crowds of Romans. Contrary to Aristotle, Virgil the magician took cruel revenge on the deceitful girl. He used magic to extinguish all the fires in Rome; the only source of fire being the girl herself. Placed on a high pedestal, completely naked, she had to permit the populace to kindle their torches at her pudenda. Some 19th century scholars already noticed that the tale consisted of two distinct parts, the first dealing with the incident with the basket and the second with magical practices²⁶. At first they were related separately and were then combined into one legend.

Both the tale of Aristotle and the legend of Virgil are based on oriental sources. According to John W. Spargo one of these was the 11th century *Katha Sarit Sagara*²⁷. The earliest known European versions appear in two 13th century works entitled *Li romans de sept sages* and *L'estoire de Saint Graal*²⁸. However, they tell of Ypocras or Ysocar (Hippocrates) and not Virgil.



3. Kraków, St. Mary's Church, presbytery, 14th century, Mounted Aristotle, retracing of the relief on one of the outer trusses.



4. Kraków, Treasury of the Wawel Cathedral, 14th century, The Aristotle legend, fragment of ivory casket.

The story of Virgil in a basket appeared for the first time in a Latin text from the mid-13th century, in the National Library in Paris, in which the object of the poet-magician's lust is Nero's daughter²⁹. Since then the legend was repeated or mentioned (often together with the legend of Aristotle) throughout Latin Europe³⁰.

Brunetto Latini was the first Italian to mention Aristotle's love affair, followed by Chiaro Davanzati who gives a similar, concise, version of the story³¹. From the beginning of the 14th and through the following centuries, one or other, or more often both legends together were recounted by numerous writers: the anonymous author of the poem *L'Intelligenza*³². Francesco da Barberino, Antonio Pucci, Giovanni Sercambi, and in ca. 1440, Eneas Silvius Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius II) who, in the case of Virgil, only relates the first part of the legend i.e. up until his adventure at the tower, omitting the part about the alleged magic³³.

In his poem *Contrasto delle donne* (which was used by Florentine engravers), Antonio Pucci (ca. 1310-1388) describes Aristotle's ridicule and then writes the following about Virgil: «Diss'una che Virgilio avia 'n balia: / - Vieni stasera, ed entra nella cesta / E collerotti a la camera mia. - / Ed ei v'entre, ed ella molto presta / Il tire su; quando fu a mezza via / Il canape attacce, e quivi resta; / E la mattina quando apparve il giorno / Il pose in terra con suo grande scorno»³⁴.

The most elaborate Italian versions of the two legends were written by Giovanni Sercambi. His tales written in the last quarter of the 14th century include *On Virgil hanging in a basket at the instigation of the Emperor's daughter who was named Ysifile and Aristotle and Orsina, the wife of Alexander the Great and Viola*³⁵. His *Croniche* of 1420 recounts the story as follows: «Before the birth of Christ there lived in Rome an emperor named Hadrian, who had a daughter, Ysifile, whom he kept night and day in a most beautiful tower. It happened that at this time Virgil, poet and great necromancer, was banished from Mantua and came to Rome. In the month of May he fell in love with Ysifile, a tricky one, who agreed to submit to Virgil's will. It was troublesome to get to her, however; the only way she could think of was to take advantage of permission she had from her father to have a rose basket pulled up to her window. If Virgil would enter that, she would pull him up, and afterward let him down again. Virgil agreed, and was pulled up half way and left there for sixteen hours. Ysifile sent for her father and told him a false story – that Virgil had tricked the man who was bringing the roses, and had hidden himself beneath them in the basket; but as she pulled it up she became suspicious of the weight, and perceived the villain lying in wait for her. The emperor ordered Virgil to prison, and eventually condemned him to death, but Virgil escaped on the way to execution by reciting an incantation over a basin of water, and was immediately whisked away by evil spirits»³⁶.

Shortly after the incident Virgil returned to Rome to take his revenge. In the story of Aristotle, Sercambi speaks of Alexander's crafty wife Orsina who, due to the philosopher, was unable to be with her husband as much as she desired. Because of her the old man is humiliated by her charming servant and he goes to live in another country. He later returned in glory to the Macedonian court when he discovered that

Alexander's wife was committing adultery with a man dressed as a lady of the court.

Coluccio Salutati and other distinguished humanists protested against repeating these two Medieval stories as there were no historical facts whatsoever to confirm their authenticity, but their protests were ignored³⁷. They appeared in various collections of *exempla* – in particular the one about Aristotle – but their popularity began to wane in the mid 16th century. Marcin Bielski in his *Lives of the Philosophers* (published in Kraków in 1535) mentions Virgil's supposed humiliations and his practice of magic and one edition even contains an engraving depicting Virgil the magician³⁸.

The paintings in the Royal Wawel Castle in Kraków and their author

The Lanckoroński paintings which illustrate the legends in question are well preserved and of a high artistic level. The first (fig. 1) is a typical representation of Phyllis and Aristotle. The bald, grey-bearded philosopher, dressed in a characteristic red coat with an ermine collar (probably the robe of distinguished academics or University professors), is moving on all fours to the right; he has a bit in his mouth and the beautiful Phyllis is seated on his back. She is sitting astride the old man as if on a horse holding the red reins in her left hand, thereby all the more emphasizing the philosopher's total humiliation. This manner of riding was unheard of for a well brought up young woman during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The background shows a mountainous landscape with several buildings – a palace on the left and fortifications in the distance, located in the upper right hand corner. The only witnesses to the incident are on the left hand side: a rider, dressed in a loose colourful robe, probably Alexander himself, and there is a man with an indistinguishable animal barely visible on the borders of a forest on the right hand side.

The visualisation of Virgil's legend (fig. 2) contains more people. On the left hand side in the background is a tower surrounded by a ditch full of water and hanging from the window, on two ropes, is a basket in which the old, grey-bearded Virgil is sitting, depicted in three-quarter view. He is dressed in a similar red coat with large hanging sleeves and a fur collar as Aristotle, but he also has a red cap on his head and seems to be talking. This fact can be deduced

from the raised hands and the head slightly tilted to the back. A young woman – the instigator of the incident – is leaning out of an upper window³⁹. A woman and four elegantly dressed men depicted on the right of the painting are witnesses to the scene. The two young men in the foreground are wearing characteristic, colourful, striped, gown-like robes. They are engaged in conversation and probably commenting on the incident. The other witnesses are two old men and a woman who is standing beside them and seems to be turning towards them while pointing to the victim. Both old men, one of whom is dressed like Virgil, while the other is wearing an Oriental headpiece, seem to be wondering about the naïveté and humiliation of their peer. The whole scene takes place in a rustic landscape with trees scattered here and there.

Karol Lanckoroński, and after him Paul Schubring and Van Marle, considered the paintings to be Venetian and from the early 16th century (or ca. 1500). Bernard Berenson attributed them to Giovanni Buonconsiglio, known as Marescalco⁴⁰. This attribution, recently confirmed by Dal Pozzolo and Savy, is convincing but requires a brief commentary. Giovanni Buonconsiglio was born ca. 1465 in Montecchio Maggiore near Vicenza and is considered to have been a pupil of Bartolomeo Montagna⁴¹. According to Berenson his work also shows the influence of Giorgione⁴². Federico Zeri, however, believes it contains something of the Lombard School (Bramantino)⁴³. Buonconsiglio's work from before 1495, when he settled in Venice, is poorly documented. In this early period he painted one of his better known works – the *Pietà* commissioned for the church of San Bartolomeo in Vicenza, which clearly shows the influence of Giovanni Bellini⁴⁴. In the first decade of the 16th century he worked in Montagnana where he produced frescos and a painting for an altar, which are only partially preserved. In 1513 he returned to Venice, where ca. 1517 he painted the altar with the *Sacra Conversazione* for the church of San Michele in Murano, now in the National Museum in Warsaw (fig. 5), but which has been poorly preserved⁴⁵. In the third decade of the 16th century Buonconsiglio painted *The Madonna and Child*, now in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, *The Circumcision*, now in Hang-ton Hall, and the altar of *The Saints Sebastian*,



5. Warsaw, National Museum, Giovanni di Buonconsiglio, ca. 1520, Sacred Conversation, oil on canvas.



6. Città del Vaticano, Palazzi Vaticani, Stanza d'Eliodoro, Raphael, ca. 1512-1513, The Swiss Guards, bearers of the papal chair, detail of The Miracle at the Mass of Bolsena, fresco.

Lorenzo and Rocco, in the church San Giacomo dell'Orio in Venice⁴⁶. It would seem that the Lanckoroński paintings were executed during his stay in Venice between 1513 and 1517. Some of the women in the paintings have oval faces with a somewhat pensive expression, and the old men have their heads tilted and characteristic long, grey pointed beards and half closed eyes. The Symeon in *The Circumcision*, now in Hangton Hall, is a close analogy to Aristotle, on the other hand the depiction of the saints in the altar of the San Giacomo dell'Orio is similar to the young men in the painting with Virgil. Some analogies can also be observed in the Warsaw *Sacra Conversazione*, which shows a rider in characteristic striped, gown-like dress.

Dating these paintings from ca. 1515, or even a little earlier is also feasible due to the characteristic colourful dress of the two young men in the foreground of the painting with Virgil and the dress of the rider – probably Alexander the Great – in the painting with Aristotle⁴⁷.

The striped dress – *giubbe cinte alla vita* – close-fitting at the waist and ample in the lower part, with loose sleeves can be seen in Raphael's fresco showing *The Miracle of the Mass of Bolsena* in the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican (fig. 6) and in another fresco by an unknown Venetian artist in the Paduan Scuola del Santo with the representation of *Saint Anthony pointing to the dead miser*⁴⁸. Both paintings are dated 1512-1513. In his monograph on the artist, Dal Pozzolo argued that Buonconsiglio's large canvas *The Concert* housed in the Museo Civico in Vicenza could comprise part of a cycle together with the two panels in the Wawel⁴⁹. However given the measurements of the painting in Vicenza (79 x 124 cm), it can hardly be considered a companion piece to the Wawel paintings which are much smaller (73 x 80.5 cm) and which bear no signs of having been cut up⁵⁰.

It has already been mentioned that the robes of Virgil and Aristotle look like the robes of University professors. As we know from a letter written by Boccaccio, and other sources, Doctors of Civil Law dressed in scarlet cloth robes with ermine as if they were nobles⁵¹. Venetian high officials, among them the *Doge* (fig. 7) and *Consigliere* (fig. 8), also wore similar robes which can be confirmed by two miniatures to be found in a codex in the Museo Bottacin (MB 970) at Padua⁵².



7. Padua, Museo Bottacin, codex MB 970, Doge, illumination.



8. Padua, Museo Bottacin, codex MB 970, Consigliere, illumination.

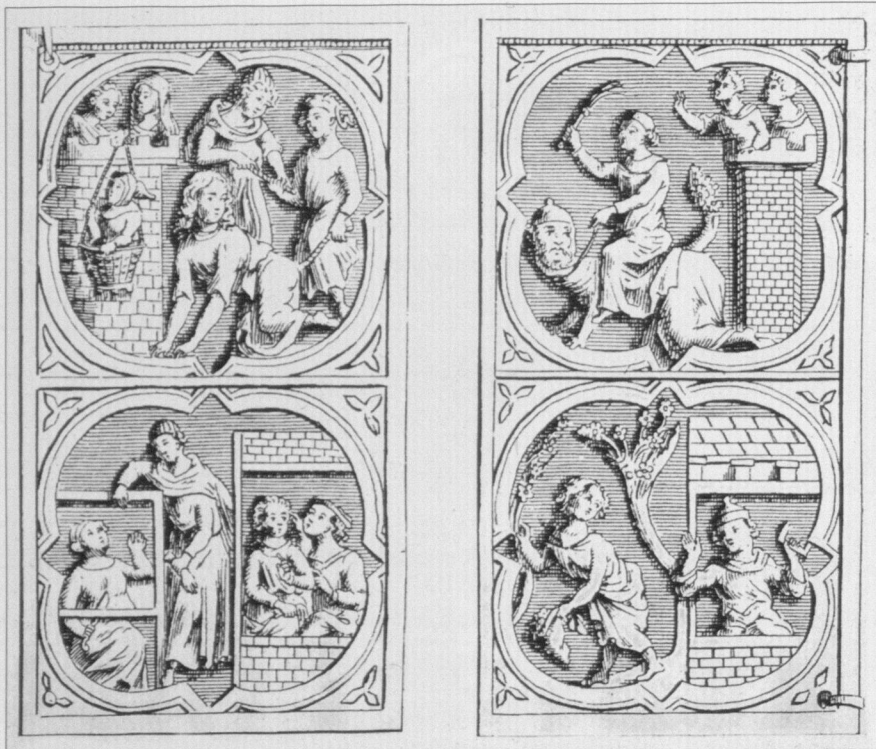
Pictorial Tradition of the legends of Aristotle and Virgil

Various representations of the two legends have been widely commented upon. Despite the in-depth studies by John W. Spargo and Susan L. Smith⁵³, some scholars still make errors concerning the literary sources and the dating of the earliest depictions of the legends⁵⁴. Therefore the issue of their pictorial tradition should also be discussed in some detail. The earliest 13th century representations of *Phyllis on Aristotle* and *Virgil in the basket* were produced, like the legends themselves, in France⁵⁵. The two old men are often pictured side by side, as in the capital of a column in the Cathedral in Caen dating from the beginning of the 14th century, a somewhat later ivory comb once in the collection of Albert Figgdor in Vienna⁵⁶, and a small ivory diptych known from a retracing in Bernard de Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité expliquée* of 1722, fig. 9)⁵⁷. The latter is particularly interesting since it not only depicts Virgil hanging in the basket, but also shows Ysifile's punishment. She is on her

knees with two men kindling their torches at her pudenda. The companion piece shows Phyllis on Aristotle and his being seduced by her. From the very outset the legend of Aristotle was far more popular than the one about Virgil⁵⁸. The Aristotle legend decorates several small, 14th century French ivory caskets; one in the Treasury in Kraków Cathedral (fig. 4)⁵⁹ thought to be related to Hedvige (Jadwiga) – the Queen of Poland. Here the scene with Aristotle playing the part of a horse is preceded with a scene in which the philosopher, bending over an open book, is teaching the young Alexander. German works of art even include an artistic representation in metal of Phyllis astride the old man; an example is the piece dated from the beginning of the 15th century housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York⁶⁰.

In Italian art, as well as that of France and German speaking countries, the scenes are either combined or appear separately, although representations of the legend of Aristotle dominate⁶¹. These can be found in frescos, whereas representations of *Virgil in the basket* are on-

ly found in illustrations to books, in engravings and *cassone* painting. Excellent examples of the frescos portraying *Phyllis-Viola and Aristotle* are those in the Palazzo del Podestà in San Gimignano (first half of the 14th century)⁶², in the Palazzo Vescovile in Colle Val d'Elsa (second half of the 14th century)⁶³ and in the Palazzo Vitelli in Città di Castello (first half of the 16th century)⁶⁴. In the first of these a scene showing Aristotle being seduced in a room precedes the scene in which he plays the part of a horse. Among the numerous *cassone* paintings depicting this subject, we should mention the *laterale* or side panel of a wedding chest from the mid 15th century in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York⁶⁵. One of the most interesting depictions can be found on an engraving from the third quarter of the 15th century which probably served as a model for *forzierini* (small, decorative caskets which were given by the future groom just after his betrothal to his future wife), the whereabouts of which is now unknown (fig. 10)⁶⁶. Not only is Phyllis-Viola sitting astride Aristotle as if on a horse, but similar reins to those in



9. Legends on Virgil and Aristotle, a retracing of the composition on an ivory plaque, after B. De Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée par les monuments*, vol. 3/2, Paris 1722, p. 356, plate 194.

the Wawel canvas are also visible. Even Leonardo da Vinci, in the early period of his artistic activity, was interested in the topic⁶⁷. His drawing, now in the Hamburg Kunsthalle depicts an old man, completely worn out, and who is moving with the utmost difficulty in some indefinable interior, although looking pathetically at the face of the charming young woman who has seduced him.

The tale of Virgil's unrequited love was a subject of Florentine engravings from ca. 1470, of which two slightly differing versions are to be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York⁶⁸. In one of them the poet in the basket is represented traditionally as a bearded old man (fig. 11), but in the other he is depicted as a young man. The latter version is also in the collection of prints of Count Stanisław Kostka Potocki which, since 1818, has been in the Print Room of Warsaw University Library (figs 12-13)⁶⁹. The engraving shows the Colosseum in the centre and on the right, above it, the triumphal arch identified by the inscription *ARCHO DITRASI* – Thracian arch (that is the arch of Constantine which decorates eight sculptures depicting Thracians). The artist thus left us in no doubt as to where the

incident took place. He must also have been aware of the so-called Virgil's Tower, which was identified in the 15th century with the Medieval Frangipani Tower, near Constantine's Arch (In the Middle Ages both the tower and Colosseum belonged to the Frangipani family)⁷⁰. Both engravings contain the rarely depicted scene showing the punishment of the deceitful Ysifile. She is not on her knees, as in the French ivory plaque (fig. 9), but is standing naked on a high pedestal and is kindling the torches of the crowds of Romans approaching her for fire. Both engravings bear inscriptions, probably to ensure that they are correctly understood. The inscription in the scene of the punishment of Ysifile is a quotation from Antonio Pucci⁷¹. The inscriptions appear on either side of the Colosseum, and in the first of the engravings there is also an additional inscription of the walls of the building. The inscriptions read as follows:

1. [Above the scene depicting Virgil in the basket] ES[S]ENDO LA MAT[T]INA CHIARO / G[I]ORNO ELPOSE / IN TERRA / CON SVO/ GRANDE / SCHORNO.
2. [Above the scene depicting his revenge] MAVERE CHEPOI CONSVA GRA / N SAPIENZA CONTRA COSTEI./ MANDO ASPRA SENT / EMSA.

3. [Above the Colosseum] ELCHVLISEO + DIROMA + DOVE + VERGILIO + STVDIAVA + SOLECITAMENTE + IN ARTE DI NEGROMANSIA.

Numerous and interesting representations of *Phyllis on Aristotle* and *Virgil in the basket* in Italian art can be found in the various illustrations inspired by Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis*⁷². A Florentine engraving from ca. 1460 shows Aristotle gazing at the face of a young girl who is sitting astride him and following Cupid's chariot (fig. 14)⁷³. At about the same time, also in Florence, similar scenes depicting *Cupid's Triumph* decorated the *desco da parto*, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 15)⁷⁴ and *spalliere* by Masaccio's brother, Giovanni di Ser Giovanni, known as Lo Scheggia (in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena, fig. 16)⁷⁵ and the *cassoni* fronts in the Biblioteca Civica in Trieste⁷⁶. In this instance those who have fallen victim to Cupid's arrows include both Virgil and Aristotle (in the scene on the *desco di parto* the philosopher is shown next to a naked Samson, whose lover is cutting his hair). In the first painting the unfortunate sorcerer is hanging in a basket from a tower, and the god of Love's carriage is riding around it, whereas in the *cassoni* it is strapped to Cupid's chariot. *Virgil in the basket* and the *Ridden Aristotle* also appear in the miniatures ascribed to Apollonio di Giovanni, adorning the mid-15th century *Trionfi* manuscripts, now housed in two Florentine libraries – the Ricardiana and Laurenziana (fig. 17)⁷⁷. In most of them, both unfortunate lovers are wearing robes similar to the one depicted by Giovanni di Buonconsiglio; they appear as



10. London, British Museum, Baccio Baldini, 15th century, Mounted Aristotle and other love stories, copperplate, engraving.

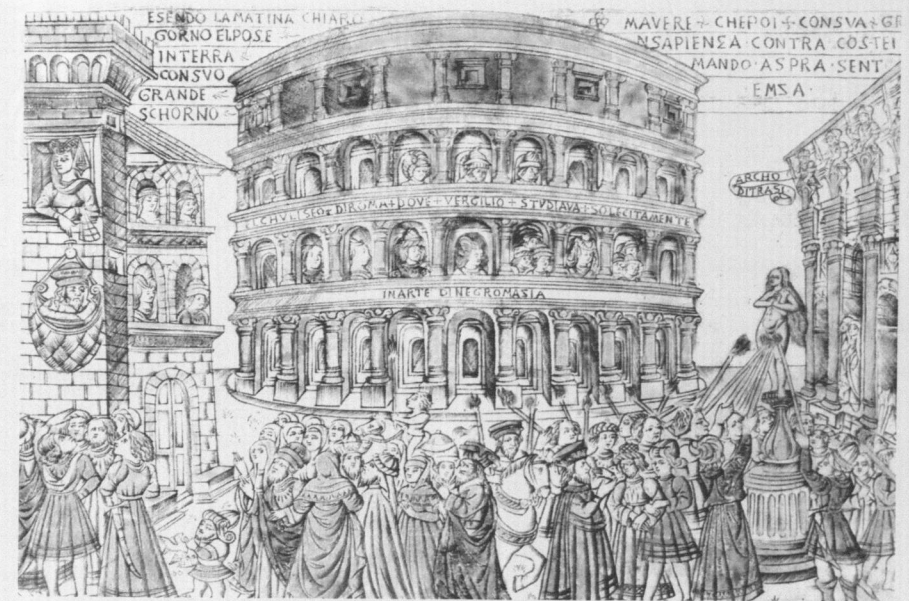
learned academics who despite their wisdom lost control and also their dignity.

Paradoxically it was in Petrarch's work (who greatly revered Virgil) that the scene inspired by the legend of the poet as an unfortunate lover was illustrated several times. He appears in the *Triumphs* which reads: «And I saw Virgil; and it seemed to me / He had companions whom the olden world / Had gladly read, for wisdom and delight» (*Trionfo d'Amore*, IV, 19-21)⁷⁸. Therefore, he is not seen as the victim of love but as a poet extolling the virtues of love. An even greater misunderstanding was that of introducing the legend of Aristotle into the illustrations to the *Trionfo d'Amore* because Petrarch in fact mentions him in his *Triumphs to Fame* (III, 7-9): «Then Aristotle, of high intellect / Pythagoras, who in humility / First gave philosophy its fitting name»⁷⁹.

The two legends appear less frequently in Northern Italy than in Tuscany and it would seem that the paintings from the Lanckoroński collection are rare painted representations, and probably the only ones in which they are the main subject. It is worth mentioning the front of a *cassone* by Liberale da Verona dating from ca. 1490, in the Museo del Castelvecchio in Verona (fig. 18)⁸⁰. Again, it is a visualisation of the *Triumphus Cupidinis* in which the bearded Aristotle with Phyllis on his back is following Cupid's chariot together with many of the other victims of his arrows. Liberale da Verona's *Triumph* obviously makes reference to the Tuscan models, which is understandable as the artist spent nearly ten years in Siena at the turn of the 1470s/1480s. Buonconsiglio was certainly acquainted with various renderings of both topics, and he gave the landscape and buildings in his canvasses a distinctively Venetian in character.

Original function of the Lanckoroński paintings of Virgil the Magician and Mounted Aristotle and their content

Lanckoroński and then Schubring⁸¹ suggested that the paintings in question were part of the decoration of a bed (*letto*) or *lettuccio*, that is a bench with a high back. Furniture of this kind was common in the 15th and 16th centuries and often served as a day-bed. The *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* defines it as «una cassa grande con ispalliera e braccioli dove si dorme di fra di»⁸². In Veneto it was



11. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Florentine school, ca. 1470, Scenes from the legend on Virgil, copperplate, engraving.



12. Warsaw, Print Room Warsaw University, Baccio Baldini, ca. 1470, Scenes from the legend on Virgil, Florentine copperplate, engraving.

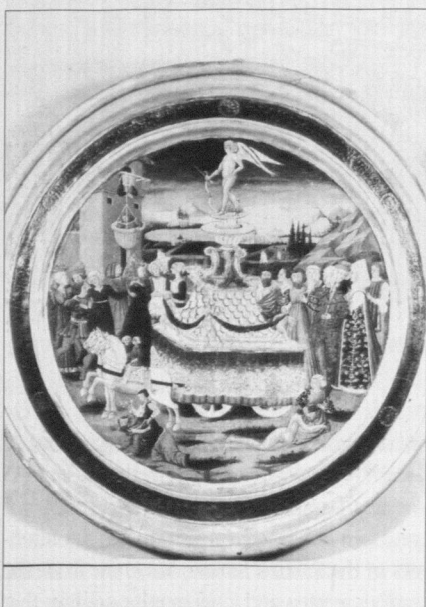
called a *lettiera*⁸³. Lanckoroński's supposition which has not yet been researched in depth seems feasible. There are good examples of *lettucci* in engravings illustrating the sermons of Girolamo Savonarola (*Prediche dell'arte del ben morire*)⁸⁴. On several of them we can see a *lettuccio* used as a bed (fig. 19). Two of the *panneaux* of the back are in the form of squares decorated with intarsia⁸⁵. Tuscan let-

tucci of this kind have been preserved; one of which was recently acquired by the Museum of Palazzo Davanzati in Florence and other, not yet been published, furnish one of the interiors in the Palazzo Strozzi. We know from the various written and iconographic sources that *lettucci-lettieri* were also decorated with paintings⁸⁶. One of these was originally the *Primavera* by Botticelli, which because of its



13. Warsaw, Print Room Warsaw University, Baccio Baldini, ca. 1470, Scenes from the legend on Virgil, Florentine copperplate, engraving, detail.

large dimensions filled the whole back of the bench-bed of one of the Medici⁸⁷. A painting in the Pinacoteca of Brera attributed to Bernardino Luini (fig. 20) gives us a good idea of how the Lanckoroński paintings could have originally been installed in a *lettiera*⁸⁸. The painting depicts the *Annunciation* with a



15. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Apollonio di Giovanni (?), mid-15th century, Triumphus Cupidinis, desco da parto.



14. Wien, Graphische Sammlung, Albertina, Florentine school, ca. 1460, Triumphus Cupidinis, woodcut.

beautiful *letto* or *lettiera* in the background with two rectangular paintings showing the *Story of Adam and Eve*.

In his description of the paintings decorating the houses of Venetian patricians, Marcantonio Michiel mentions a *lettiera* and a *letto* painted for Alvise Odoni by a mysterious pupil of Titian

– Stefano⁸⁹. The bedstead was supposedly decorated with a large painting depicting a naked woman (*la Nuda grande*), but he does not mention the subject of the painting on the *lettiera*. Michiel's description was written at the beginning of the second quarter of the 16th century, i.e. shortly after Giovanni di Buon-



16. Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale, mid-15th century, Giovanni di ser Giovanni called Lo Scheggia, Triumphus Cupidinis, spalliera.



17. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, ca. 1450, *Apollonio di Giovanni*, *Triumphus Cupidinis*, illumination.

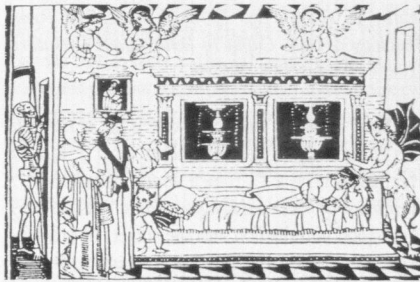


18. Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, ca. 1490, *Liberale da Verona*, *Triumphus Cupidinis*, detail of a cassone front.

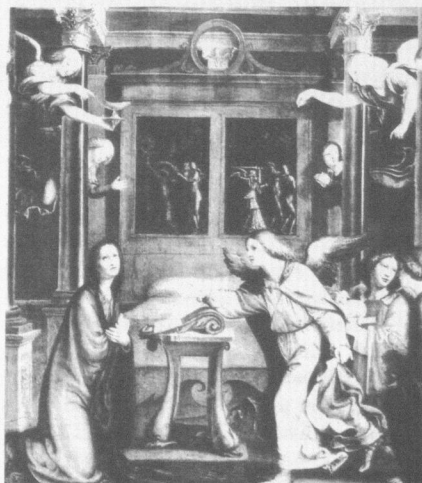
consiglio painted his canvasses. These paintings which were unknown to Michiel could have decorated a *lettiera* similar to that in the house of Alvise Odoni. There is no doubt that their message – a warning against seducers similar to Phyllis – Viola and Isifile-Febila would combine very well with the alluring *Nuda grande* decorating the *letto* of a *studioso* or *uomo di lettere*⁹⁰.

Postscriptum

All lovers of Rome know the film “Roman Holidays” and the scene which place in the portico of Santa Maria in Cosmedin in front of one of the symbols of the Eternal City – *La bocca della Verità*, or the *Mouth of Truth* (fig. 21). However, few people remember today that the name of this famous monument (which is an ancient stone effigy of a river god) is most probably linked with the legend of Virgil the Magician (fig. 22)⁹¹.



19. Anonymous, *Deathbed scene*, woodcut illustration in *Girolamo Savonarola*, *Prediche dell'arte del ben morire*, Firenze 1496-1497.



20. Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera, Bernardino Luini, *Annunciation*, oil on canvas.



21. Rome, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, porch, The Mouth of Truth, sculpture.



22. London, British Museum, George Pencz, *La Bocca della Verità*, engraving.

Notes

- 1) For general information about Count Karol Lanckoroński, see K. LANCKOROŃSKA, *Lanckoroński, Count Karol*, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner, London 1996, vol. 18, p. 692. For the donation of the collection to the Wawel Royal Castle: J. MIZIOLEK, *The Lanckoroński Collection in Poland*, in «Antichità viva», XXXIV (1995), pp. 27-49; Idem, *The Last of the Lanckoroński as the Benefactors of Polish Culture and Learning*, in *Art and National identity in Poland and England*, Papers delivered at the University of London History of Art Conference, (April 1995), London 1996, pp. 73-84.
- 2) For the confiscation of the collection during the war and its discovery by the U.S. army see: C. HOWE JR., *Salt Mines and Castles. The Discovery and Restitution of Looted European Art*, New York 1946, p. 78; J. PETROPOULOS, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich*, Chapel Hill-London 1996, pp. 162-165. As with all the other collections looted by the Nazis, the items from the Lanckoroński collection were kept for some time and well-documented in the Collecting point in München, see C. H. SMYTH, *Repatriation of Art from the Collecting Point in Munich after World War II*, Maarssen-The Hague 1988, pp. 110-113.
- 3) See K. LANCKOROŃSKI, *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truben*, Wien 1905, pp. 21-23. Both canvases are reproduced by MIZIOLEK, *The Lanckoroński Collection*, p. 36, figs 34-35; E. M. DAL POZZOLO, *Giovanni Bonconsiglio detto Marescalco*, Milano 1998, figs 117-118.
- 4) LANCKOROŃSKI, *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truben*, including figs 22-23.
- 5) B. BERENSON, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford 1932, p. 121; B. BERENSON, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. A List of the Principal Artists and their Works with an Index of Place. Venetian School*, London 1957, p. 51.
- 6) L. PUPPI, *Giovanni Buonconsiglio detto Marescalco*, in «Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte», 13/14 (1964-1965), pp. 297-374, note 120.
- 7) P. SCHUBRING, *Cassoni. Truben und Trubenbilder der italienischen Frührenaissance*, Leipzig 1923, pp. 395-396.
- 8) R. VAN MARLE, *Iconographie de l'art profane au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, La Haye 1932, vol. 2, p. 496.
- 9) R. DE CESARE, *Di nuovo sulla leggenda di Aristotele cavalcato*, in «Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medievali», LVIII (1956), p. 245, with reference to SCHUBRING, *Cassoni*.
- 10) G. F. KOCH, *Virgil im Korb*, in *Festschrift für Erich Meyer*, Hamburg 1959, p. 119 note 12.
- 11) J. MIZIOLEK, *Wisdom Humiliated. On the Domination of Women over Men in Paintings belonging to the Wawel Castle in Cracow and the Royal Castle in Warsaw*, in «Kronika Zamkowa / The Castle Chronicle», 2/38 (1999), pp. 5-44.
- 12) *To the Donor in Homage. A Catalogue of restored Paintings and Family Mementos from Karolina Lanckorońska's Donation*, Kraków 1998, pp. 54-55.
- 13) DAL POZZOLO, *Giovanni Bonconsiglio*, pp. 137, 174, with colour reproductions.
- 14) B. M. SAVA, *Giovanni Bonconsiglio: qualche considerazione e un'aggiunta al catalogo*, in «Prospettiva», 98/99 «2000», pp. 168-169.
- 15) MIZIOLEK, *Wisdom Humiliated*, pp. 21-22, figs 10-11.
- 16) For the sculpture in St. Mary's church in Kraków, see J. MIZIOLEK, *Mity, legendy i exempla. Włoskie malarstwo świeckie epoki Renesansu ze zbiorów Karola Lanckorońskiego (Miti, leggende, exempla. La pittura profana del Rinascimento italiano della Collezione Lanckoroński)*, Warszawa 2003, fig. 243.
- 17) For this theme see VAN MARLE, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, pp. 415-496; J. C. HUTCHISON, *The Housebook Master and the Folly of the Wise Man*, in «Art Bulletin», 48 (1966), pp. 73-78; T. HYDE, *The Poetic Theology of Love. Cupid in Renaissance Literature*, London-Toronto 1990, *passim*.
- 18) Many *exempla* have been discussed in *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters*, hrsg. J. KLAPPER, Heidelberg 1911; F. C. TUBACH, *Index exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Helsinki 1969. For a good introduction into the subject of *exempla*, see C. DELCORNO, *Exemplum e letteratura tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Bologna 1989.
- 19) BRUNETTO LATINI, *The Book of the Treasure (Li Livres dou Tresor)*, trans. P. BARRETT and S. BALDWIN, New York-London 1993, pp. 225-226. DE CESARE, *Di nuovo sulla leggenda di Aristotele*, pp. 183-185.
- 20) DE CESARE, *Di nuovo sulla leggenda di Aristotele*, pp. 181-247; G. SARTON, *Aristotle and Phyllis*, in «Isis», 14 (1930), pp. 8-19; VAN MARLE, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, pp. 476-482; M. DEBOUILLE, *Le Lai d'Aristote de Henry d'Andeli*, Paris 1951; J. STOROST, *Zur Aristoteles-Sage im Mittelalter. Geistesgeschichtliche, folklorische und literarische Grundlagen zur ihrer Erforschung*, in *Monumentum Bambergense. Festgabe für Benedikt Kraft*, hrsg. von G. Eis etc., München 1955, pp. 298-348; W. STAMMLER, *Der Philosoph als Liebbaber*, in IDEM, *Wort und Bild. Studien zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Schrifttum und Bildkunst im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1962, pp. 12-44. See also E. MÜNTZ, *Etudes iconographiques. La Légende du Sorcier Virgile dans l'Art des XIV, XV et XVI siècles*, in «Monatsberichte über Kunstwissenschaft und Kunsthandel», 2 (1902), pp. 85-90; P. PETRIOLI, *Aristotele e Filide nella pittura senese del Trecento*, in «La Diana», II (1996), pp. 209-230.
- 21) W. STAMMLER, *Aristoteles*, in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, hrsg. von O. SCHMITT, Stuttgart 1937, cols 1027-1040, esp. 1029; IDEM, *Der Philosoph als Liebbaber*, pp. 13-44; for critical ed. see DEBOUILLE, *Le Lai d'Aristote*, see esp. pp. 39-42; STOROST, *Zur Aristoteles-Sage im Mittelalter, passim*; R. DE CESARE, *Due recenti studi sulla leggenda di Aristotele cavalcato*, in «Aevum», XXXI/1 (1957), pp. 58-61.
- 22) For the critical ed. see DEBOUILLE, *Le Lai d'Aristote*. For bilingual ed.: *The French Fabliau B.N. MS. 837*, ed. and transl. by R. EICHMANN, J. DU VAL, New York-London 1984, vol. 1, pp. 94-117. See also *Fabliaux. Ribald Tales from the Old French*, trans. R. HELLMAN, R. O' GORMAN, New York 1965, pp. 167-179.
- 23) *Aristotle and Phyllis*, in *Medieval German Tales in English Translation*, by J. W. THOMAS, Lexington 1975, pp. 28-34, note 3. The author of this legend is Ulrich von Eschenbach; see also *Fabliaux*, pp. 178-179.
- 24) An excellent introduction to this legend is D. COMPARETTI, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, transl. by E. F. M. BENECKE, Princeton 1997 (I Italian ed. 1872, I Engl. ed. 1895) and J. W. SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer. Studies in Virgilian Legends*, Cambridge 1934. See also MÜNTZ, *Etudes iconographiques*, pp. 85-91; P. D'ANCONA, *L'uomo e le sue opere nelle figurazioni italiane del Medioevo (miti, allegorie, leggende)*, Firenze 1923, pp. 160-165; A. GRAF, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medioevo*, Torino 1923, pp. 520-566; D. J. A. ROSS, *Allegory and Romance on a Medieval French Marriage Casket*, in «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 11 (1948), pp. 120-125; KOCH, *Virgil im Korb*, pp. 105-121.
- 25) As far as I know the only author who uses the name Febila is Jean D'Outremeuse whose version is referred to by GRAF, *Roma nella memoria*, p. 561. The name Ysile appears in Giovanni Sercambi's *Croniche* of 1420, see G. SERCAMBI, *Il Novelliere*, a cura di L. ROSSI, Roma 1974, vol. 1, pp. 279-298 (*Exempla* XLVIII and LXVIII).
- 26) COMPARETTI, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 327-330; SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 198-201.
- 27) SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 137-147.
- 28) SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 141-144.
- 29) COMPARETTI, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, p. 331; SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 144-155.
- 30) COMPARETTI, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 325-330; GRAF, *Roma nella memoria*, pp. 522-566; VAN MARLE, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, pp. 495-496; SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 145-146; KOCH, *Virgil im Korb*, *passim*. For the links of the story with *La Bocca della verità*, see COMPARETTI, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 337-339; SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 207-227; for the *Torre di Virgilio* identified at times with *Torre dei Frangipani*, see COMPARETTI, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, p. 332.

- 31) For this text, see DE CESARE, *Di nuovo sulla leggenda di Aristotele*, p. 186.
- 32) *Poemeti allegorico-didattici del sec. XIII*, a cura di L. DI BENEDETTO, Bari 1941, pp. 207-208. According to DE CESARE, *Di nuovo sulla leggenda di Aristotele*, pp. 187-188, this poem, like *Del Reggimento e de' costumi delle donne* by Francesco da Barberino, should be dated to the beginning of the 14th century.
- 33) E. S. PICCOLOMINI, *Storia di due amanti*, Palermo 1985, pp. 34-35, in which both legends were recalled; his book was widely read in the 15th and 16th centuries. See COMPARETTI, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, p. 333; SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 163-169, 180-185; DE CESARE, *Di nuovo sulla leggenda di Aristotele*, p. 214.
- 34) Quotation after COMPARETTI, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, p. 334.
- 35) SERCAMBI, *Il Novelliere*, vol. 1, pp. 279-298 (*Exempla* XLVIII and LXVIII). For this author see P. SAIWA, *Narrazione, persuasione, ideologia. Una lettura del Novelliere di Giovanni Sercambi, lucchese*, Lucca 1991.
- 36) Quotation after SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer*, p. 165; G. SERCAMBI, *Croniche*, a cura di S. BONGI, vol. 1, Roma 1892, pp. 258-261 (*Exemplum CCCI*).
- 37) Salutati's text is quoted and commented by B. L. UILMAN, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*, Padova 1963, p. 203.
- 38) The illustration is reproduced and discussed by MIZIOLEK, *Wisdom Humiliated*, p. 15, fig. 20.
- 39) LANCORONSKI, *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen*, pp. 21-23; SCHUBRING, *Cassoni*, pp. 395-396, nos. 778-779; VAN MARLE, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, vol. 2, p. 496, who incorrectly states it is a fragment of a cassone.
- 40) BERENSON, *Italian Pictures*, p. 121; IDEM, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Venetian School*, p. 51.
- 41) T. BORENIUS, *The Painters of Vicenza, 1480-1550*, London 1909, pp. 155-204; F. BARBIERI, *Buonconsiglio Giovanni, detto il Marescalco*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 15, 1972, pp. 186-188; PUPPI, *Giovanni Buonconsiglio*, pp. 297-374; F. ZERI, *Il capitolo "bramantesco" di Giovanni Buonconsiglio*, in IDEM, *Diari di lavoro* 2, Torino 1976, pp. 58-70.
- 42) BERENSON, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance. Venetian School*, p. 50.
- 43) ZERI, *Il capitolo "bramantesco"*, pp. 58-70.
- 44) BORENIUS, *The Painters of Vicenza*, fig. after p. 162.
- 45) PUPPI, *Giovanni Buonconsiglio*, p. 343, fig. 57; J. BIALOSTOCKI, M. SKUBISZEWSKA, *Malarstwo francuskie, niderlandzkie, włoskie do 1600*, Warszawa 1979, no. 30, pp. 52-53, fig. 143.
- 46) All these paintings are reproduced by PUPPI, *Giovanni Buonconsiglio*, figs 54, 59, 62.
- 47) L. OZZOLA, *Il vestiario italiano dal 1500 al 1550. Saggio di cronologia documentata*, Roma 1939, pp. 75-78, fig. 65; *Abbigliamento e costume nella pittura italiana: Rinascimento*, Roma 1962, fig. 262; R. JONES, N. PENNY, *Raphael*, New Haven-London 1983, pp. 113-117, fig. 129.
- 48) OZZOLA, *Il vestiario italiano dal 1500 al 1550*, p. 72, fig. 65; *Abbigliamento e costume nella pittura italiana: Rinascimento*, fig. 258 with description.
- 49) DAL POZZOLO, *Giovanni Buonconsiglio*, p. 137, fig. 119.
- 50) I already mentioned this a few years ago, see MIZIOLEK, *Wisdom Humiliated*, p. 28. See also SAVY, *Giovanni Buonconsiglio*, p. 169, which also contains a reproduction of *The Concert* in Vicenza, fig. 12.
- 51) W. N. HARGRAEVES MAWDSLEY, *A History of Academic Dress in Europe until the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford 1963, p. 14. See also p. 16 for the following observation: «In a Bologna manuscript of 1354, the Speculum Juridicæ of G. Duranti, the author, a doctor of Civil Law, appears in the miniature kneeling (...) wearing a vermillion gown with a red hood and a long red fur-linen mantle with a fur collar (...) Thus we may say that as early as the 14th century the dress of Bolognese doctors and those of other Italian universities, except Theology, had come to consist of a round scarlet pileus and a long supertunica of the same colour. Such a bright dress trimmed with miniver and even ermine was worn by doctors of Bologna as late as 1595».
- 52) L. ZORZI, *Costumi e scene italiani*, in *Storia d'Italia. Dalla caduta dell'Impero romano al secolo XVIII*, vol. 3, *Il pensiero, l'arte, la letteratura*, Torino 2005, figs 3 and 6, text/commentary without pagination.
- 53) SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer, passim*; S. L. SMITH, *The Power of Women. A Topos in Medieval Art and Literature*, Philadelphia 1995, *passim*.
- 54) Without reading into Petrarch's *Trionfi* the error is again repeated as if the poet himself was the inspiration to show Virgil in the basket; this error is also repeated by C. L. BASKINS, *Cassone Painting. Humanism and Gender in Early Modern Italy*, New York 1998, pp. 70-72. See also J. MIZIOLEK, review of C. Baskins, *Cassone Painting. Humanism and Gender in Early Modern Italy*, (1998), in «Renaissance Studies», XVI/1 (2002), p. 95.
- 55) E. MÅLE, *The Gothic Image. Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, transl. by D. NUSSEY, New York 1972, pp. 332-335, where 5 reliefs dating from 13th and 14th centuries are mentioned, among others, in the churches in Lyon and Caen. See also VAN MARLE, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, p. 492; ROSS, *Allegory and Romance*, p. 121.
- 56) R. KOECHLIN, *Ivoires gothiques français*, Paris 1924, no. 1150; ROSS, *Allegory and Romance*, plate 30c.
- 57) B. DE MONTFAUCON, *L'Antiquité expliquée par les monuments*, vol. 3, 2, Paris 1722, p. 356, plate 194.
- 58) A list of scenes depicting Phyllis and Aristotle is to be found in Pigler, vol. 2, pp. 298-299, which includes only 30 examples. Several reproductions are in SARTON, *Aristotle and Phyllis, passim*; STAMMLER, *Der Philosoph als Liebhaber, passim*; SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer*; KOCH, *Virgil im Korbe*, fig. 13.
- 59) KOECHLIN, *Ivoires gothiques français*, no. 1285.
- 60) See STAMMLER, *Der Philosoph als Liebhaber*, fig. 2.
- 61) The most complete presentation of the representations of this legend in Italian art are to be found in the Appendix of R. DE CESARE, *Di nuovo sulla leggenda di Aristotele*, pp. 235-247. See also D'ANCONA, *L'uomo e le sue opere*, pp. 158-160; STAMMLER, *Der Philosoph als Liebhaber*, col. 1036.
- 62) E. LI GOTTI, *Gli affreschi della stanza della Torre nel Palazzo del Podestà di San Gimignano*, in «Rivista Arte», 20 (1938), pp. 379-391, fig. 1; PETRIOLI, *Aristotele e Fililde*, pp. 213-215, figs 90-92; C. J. CAMPBELL, *The Game of Courting and the Art of the Commune of San Gimignano, 1290-1320*, Princeton 1997, pp. 124-131, figs 36-37.
- 63) DE CESARE, *Di nuovo sulla leggenda di Aristotele*, pp. 237-238, fig. 2. See also E. GABRICI, E. LEVI, *Lo Steri di Palermo e le sue pitture*, Milano-Roma 1932, tav. LX; F. BOLOGNA, *Il soffitto alla Sala magna allo Steri di Palermo. La cultura feudale siciliana nell'autunno del Medioevo*, Palermo 1975, pp. 175-178, tav. XXVIIa; PETRIOLI, *Aristotele e Fililde*, pp. 215-221, figs 93-95.
- 64) DE CESARE, *Di nuovo sulla leggenda di Aristotele*, p. 247.
- 65) F. ZERI, E. E. GARDNER, *Italian Paintings. A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Florentine School*, New York 1971, p. 104. See also SCHUBRING, *Cassoni*, no. 54; P. F. WATSON, *The Garden of Love in Tuscan Art of the Early Renaissance*, Philadelphia 1979, fig. 83.
- 66) A. M. HIND, *Early Italian engraving, I, Florentine engraving and anonymous prints of other schools*, London 1938, plate 148; *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 24 (13), *Early Italian Masters*, ed. by M. ZUCKER, New York 1980, vol. 24, 1993, no. 029.
- 67) VAN MARLE, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, p. 494, fig. 513; D. A. BROWN, *Leonardo da Vinci. Origins of a Genius*, New Haven-London 1998, pp. 95-96, fig. 85.
- 68) *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 24, 1, nos. 039 and 040. See also SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer, passim*, and KOCH, *Virgil im Korbe, passim*. I am very grateful to Carmen Bambach who kindly provided me with photographs of both engravings.

- 69) As far as I know the print in the University of Warsaw Library is published here for the first time.
- 70) COMPARETTI, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 337-339. See also SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 207-227. *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 24. no. 039.
- 71) COMPARETTI, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, p. 334 quotes Pucci's text.
- 72) For illustration to the *Trionfi* see: L. S. MALKE, *Contributo alle figurazioni dei Trionfi e del Canzoniere del Petrarca*, in «Commentari», 27 (1977), pp. 236-261.
- 73) G. CARADENTE, *I Trionfi nel primo Rinascimento*, Napoli 1963, fig. 29; E. CALLMANN, *Apollonio di Giovanni*, Oxford 1974, fig. 27.
- 74) C. DE CARLI, *I deschi da parto e la pittura del primo Rinascimento toscano*, Torino 1997, pp. 156-157, no. 39; KOCH, *Virgil im Korbe*, fig. 8.
- 75) L. CAVAZZINI (a cura di), *Il fratello di Masaccio. Giovanni di Ser Giovanni detto lo Scabeggia*, catalogo della mostra (San Giovanni Valdarno, Casa Masaccio, 14 febbraio - 15 maggio 1999), Firenze-Siena 1999, pp. 84-88, no. 23. See also P. TORRITI, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena: i dipinti*, Genova 1990, p. 297, no. 151.
- 76) See M. WALCHER CASOTTI, *I Cassoni nuziali della Raccolta Petrarquesca alla Biblioteca Civica di Trieste*, Trieste 1983, pp. 106-108, figs 1-2.
- 77) KOCH, *Virgil im Korbe*, fig. 7; PRINCE D'ESSLING (V. MASSENA), E. MÜNTZ, *Petrarque*, Paris 1902, fig. on p. 116.
- 78) *The Triumphs of Petrarch*, transl. by E. H. WILKINS, Chicago 1962, p. 28. See also SMITH, *The Power of Women*, p. 196.
- 79) *The Triumphs of Petrarch*, p. 85.
- 80) C. ALBERICI, *Il mobile veneto*, Milano 1980, fig. 14.
- 81) LANCORONSKI, *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truben*, pp. 21-23; SCHUBRING, *Cassoni*, pp. 395-396.
- 82) *Accademia della Crusca 1974*, quotation after A. BARRIAULT, *Spalliera Paintings of Renaissance Tuscany. Fables of Poets for Patrician Homes*, University Park 1994, p. 28.
- 83) A good introduction to the subject of *lettucci* can be found in P. THORNTON, *The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400-1600*, London 1991, pp. 149-161; see also BARRIAULT, *Spalliera Paintings*, pp. 28-30.
- 84) M. TRIONFI HONORATI, *A proposito del lettuccio*, in «Antichità viva», XX/3 (1981), fig. 2; CH. DEMPSEY, *The Portrayal of Love. Botticelli's Primavera and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent*, Princeton 1992, fig. 1 on p. 22.
- 85) *Il Museo di Palazzo Davanzati a Firenze*, a cura di L. BERTI, Milano 1972, fig. on p. 5.
- 86) A painted *letto* dating from 1337 can still be found in one of the museums in Pistoia, the decoration is not of a secular subject but the *Madonna and Child*, see. SCHUBRING, *Cassoni*, no. 43, plate VII.
- 87) See important monograph by CH. DEMPSEY, *The Portrayal of Love*, esp. pp. 21-22. See also R. LIGHTBOWN, *Sandro Botticelli*, London 1978, pp. 72-78. See also J. SHEARMAN, *The Collections of the Younger Branch of the Medici*, in «Burlington Magazine», 117 (1975), pp. 12-27.
- 88) *Pinacoteca di Brera. Scuole lombarda e piemontese, 1300-1535*, Milano 1988, no. 126, fig. on p. 223 to text on pp. 222-224.
- 89) Notizia d'opere di disegno pubblicata da D. J. MORELLI, seconda ed. per cura di G. FRIZZONI, Bologna 1884, p. 160; English trans.: THE ANONIMO, *Notes on Pictures and Works of Art in Italy made by an Anonymous Writer in the Sixteenth Century*, transl. by P. MUSSI, London 1903, p. 99.
- 90) For nude women (Venus?, Helen of Troy), depicted on the insides of the lids of *cassoni* see SCHUBRING, *Cassoni*, nos 156, 185, and M. SALMI, *Il Palazzo e la Collezione Chigi-Saracini*, Siena 1967, figs 56, 60, 69; *Domenico Beccafumi e il suo tempo*, catalogo della mostra (Siena, Palazzo Bindi Sergardi, 16 giugno - 4 novembre 1990; Pinacoteca Nazionale, 16 giugno - 16 settembre), a cura di P. TORRITI, Milano 1990, fig. 16, plate. I on p. 134. See also Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* in the Dresden Gallery and Titian's *Venus of Urbino* in the Uffizi.
- 91) See COMPARETTI, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 337-339; SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 207-227; *Virgilio nell'arte e nella cultura europea*, catalogo della mostra (Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 24 settembre - 24 novembre 1981), a cura di M. FAGIOLO, Roma 1981, pp. 67-69, figs 4-5 on pp. 68-69.