

VIRGIL WITH PANPIPES

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF AN ITALIAN PANEL FROM THE LANCKORONSKI COLLECTION*

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Ergo adhibe et rerum successus disce tuarum:
Tityrus ut tenuem senior iam perflat avenam
(Petrarca, *Familiarium rerum libri* 24,11,54-55)**

Among the Italian paintings donated in 1994 by Karolina Lanckoronska to the Royal Castle in Cracow (usually called the Wawel Castle) there is a small, almost square panel (36,2x31,2 cm) depicting a half-length portrait of Virgil wearing a laurel wreath (Tav. 46)¹. The poet, of somewhat gloomy countenance, is peering to the left. He is leaning on his right elbow, placed on a kind of parapet or window-sill bearing the inscription «VIRGILIUS MARO», while he holds in both hands a syrinx, known also as panpipes, which by Virgil is called *fistula*. It consists of seven reeds, graduated in length, joined together in the form of a raft by two diagonal splints or cords. The instrument is remarkably large, occupying almost half of the right portion of the panel. Besides some disproportions between the right hand of the poet and his body, strangely folded sleeve of the left arm and neck of slightly exaggerated elongation, the portrait is not devoid of some artistic traits and displays a certain degree of expressive power.

Like all the Italian paintings donated in 1994 to the Wawel Castle, the portrait of Virgil also once belonged to the Viennese collection of Count

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** English trans. by Cosenza, in Petrarch 1910, p. 139: «O Vergil [...] learn of the great success of thy works. Learn that Tityrus, though older, continues to blow upon the slender reed-pipe».

¹ For this donation see Miziolek 1995, pp. 27-49; Miziolek 1996, pp. 73-84.

Karol Lanckoronski (1848-1933)². It was first mentioned by the Count himself in his lecture on domestic paintings delivered in 1905³. He was of the opinion that the piece was originally a *cassone* panel. Karolina Lanckoronska in her unpublished *List of Paintings Donated to the Royal Castle in Cracow* gave it to Dosso Dossi. Following the Lanckoronski Collection's transportation to Poland the painting was attributed by the present writer to a follower of Giulio Romano⁴ and then by Andrea De Marchi to Giovanni Agostino da Lodi⁵. However, I still believe that it was produced within the circle of Giulio Romano, who in several scenes depicted, as will be shown later, a seven-piped syrinx. Besides, there exists a certain resemblance between the Lanckoronski Virgil and the portraits painted by Giulio Romano in the *Camerino dei Cesari* of the Palazzo Te⁶. Perhaps the panel in question is a copy of an original produced by Giulio Romano not long after his arrival in Mantua in 1524.

Whatever the attribution of the portrait, which is not the main subject of this paper, it must have been produced before 1532, when its woodcut reproduction was placed in the frontispiece of a Venetian edition of *Aeneid* (Tav. 45)⁷. An unknown artist produced an almost exact mirror image of the painting, making it however even more interesting. He achieved this by making the image slightly more vertical and the face more gentle. Here considerably more clearly visible than in the original, which is still not cleaned and thus quite dark, are the folds of the poet's clothes and his beautiful laurel wreath. Finally the syrinx, though still big enough, is far more suitably proportioned to the portrait of Virgil, which appears to have been modelled on ancient busts of poets or emperors⁸.

² For Count Lanckoronski and the history of his collection see Miziolek 1995. See also his forthcoming book: Miziolek 2000.

³ Lanckoronski 1905, p. 23 (without illustration); he argues that «[...] das Pendant (und welcher andere Dichter als Dante könnte damals auf einem solchen neben Virgil gemalt worden sein) befindet sich im wundervollen Heim meines edlen Freundes, des Grafen Gregor Stroganoff in Rom». I have been unable to find a reproduction of this panel as yet.

⁴ Miziolek 1995, p. 38, fig. 38.

⁵ De Marchi's opinion was expressed in 1996 in a letter to the author of the present paper. For this painter see Humfrey 1992, pp. 358-9; Ballarin 1995, pp. 194-6.

⁶ See *Giulio Romano* 1989, p. 400 with further bibliography.

⁷ Prince d'Essling 1907, fig. on p. 77. For this edition of *Aeneid* of Bernardino dei Vitali «tradotta in terza rima» see Kallendorf 1994, p. 24.

⁸ For the Renaissance fashion for busts *all'antica* see Lavin 1970, pp. 207-26. See also Fittschen 1985.

What is the message of this picture, produced most probably for a *studiolo* or a *villa rustica* of a humanist or a lover of poetry and music in Northern Italy, possibly in Mantua, Padua or Venice? The most important aspect of this image of Virgil, who together with Homer and Dante belongs to the triad of the most distinguished poets of all times, is the fact that he is depicted with a seven-piped syrinx. The portrait, which due to this instrument appears to be almost unique in the art of the Renaissance, should be seen first against the backdrop of earlier iconography of Virgil.

As opposed to Ovid, who became popular only from the 12th century onwards, Virgil was known and admired throughout the entire Middle Ages⁹. Since the late Antiquity his three major works, *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, were read, commented and sometimes even adorned with illuminations of great artistic quality¹⁰. Due to the beauty and profundity of his poetry, and particularly due to his fourth eclogue, which according to such authorities as Lactantius and Saint Augustin, among others, should be interpreted as a prophecy of Christ's Nativity, Virgil was seen as a sage and a prophet¹¹. Dante, in whose *Divine Comedy* Virgil plays such an important role, described him as *Quel savio gentil che tutto seppe (Inferno 7,3)*¹². The poet's great authority is also reflected in the allegorical interpretations of his poetry to be found in the works of such writers as Servius, Macrobius, Fulgentius the Mythographer, Bernard Silvestris, Angelo Poliziano and Cristoforo Landino¹³. His *Eclogues*, which so often refer to the syrinx and the god Pan (the matter to be discussed later), paved the way for the Arcadian myth, which in the Renaissance period was taken up and developed by Naldo Naldi, Leone Ebreo, Jacopo Sannazaro and Lorenzo il Magnifico himself¹⁴.

⁹ For the fame of Vergil through the ages see among others Comparetti 1997; Zabughin 1921; Fagiolo 1981; Poeschl 1983; Bernard 1986.

¹⁰ Buonocore 1996, pp. 142-53, cat. nos. 1-2. A good introduction to Virgil's writings is Horsfall 1995, for *Bucolics*, pp. 27-62, on their reception in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance pp. 303-12 (with bibliography).

¹¹ For the Christian interpretation of the IV eclogue see Courcelle 1957, pp. 294-319. For Virgil as sage, philosopher and prophet: De Lubac 1972, pp. 1385-433. Further bibliography on Virgil and his influence is conveniently assembled in Kaske 1988, pp. 118-21.

¹² See also De Lubac 1972; Comparetti 1997.

¹³ See Patterson 1987, pp. 81-5; Kallendorf 1989, pp. 129-65.

¹⁴ See Hyde 1990, pp. 97-9; Chastel 1945, pp. 61-7.

The first portraits of the poet appeared already in Antiquity¹⁵. Some scholars believe that the so-called "preproemio" to the *Aeneid* starting with the words *Ille ego qui ...* was composed to complement an effigy of Virgil¹⁶. In Mantua, the poet's native city, not only were two statues of Virgil erected in the 13th century, but coins were even struck bearing his effigy¹⁷. The first Renaissance *imago* of Virgil is that by Simone Martini, dating from around 1340, adorning the frontispiece of Petrarch's precious copy of Virgil's work (with a commentary by Servius), currently housed in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan¹⁸. Classically clad, a laurel-wreathed poet in a state of gaining inspiration is reclining beneath a tree with a pen in his hand. Servius, the great ancient commentator on Virgil, is drawing aside the patterned curtain to reveal the poet. There are three other figures portrayed in the miniature – a soldier and two rustics, one of whom prunes a vine while the other milks a sheep. They symbolise respectively *Aeneid*, *Georgics* and *Eclogues*¹⁹. One of the two Latin inscriptions held aloft by winged hands reads: *Servius altiloqui reagens archana Maronis / ut pateant ducibus pastoribus atque colonis*.

Since the second half of the 14th century images of Virgil are to be found in the most ambitious painted cycles of *uomini illustri*²⁰. Some of these have come down to the present day and, as in the case of those in the *studiolo* of Federico da Montefeltro at Urbino²¹ and in the San Brizio chapel at the cathedral in Orvieto (Tav. 47)²², are quite closely related to our portrait. Both Justus of Ghent and Luca Signorelli portrayed the garlanded poet fixing his gaze to the left; however his attribute (as in the

¹⁵ See among others D'Ancona 1927, pp. 245-62; Nogara 1930, pp. 127-38.

¹⁶ Brandt 1928, pp. 331-5; La Penna 1985, pp. 76-91. Roberto Guerrini kindly drew my attention to these papers. The English version of "preproemio" is cited at the end of this paper.

¹⁷ Liebenwein 1983, pp. 109-59 who deals mostly with two statues (first of them is dated ca. 1215 and the second ca. 1227), with earlier bibliography.

¹⁸ See Prince d'Essling, Müntz 1902, pp. 12-3; Martindale 1988, pp. 191-2 and plate XV; Buonocore 1996, no. 46, pp. 257-59, fig. 180, with earlier bibliography. See also the forthcoming paper by Guerrini 2000, in press. Guerrini argues convincingly that one of the literary sources of this miniature was the so-called "preproemio" to the *Aeneid*.

¹⁹ For interesting interpretations of this miniature see Rowlands 1965, pp. 264-9; Gregory 1980, pp. 33-40.

²⁰ For *Uomini Famosi* in visual arts see Donato 1987, pp. 27-42, with further bibliography.

²¹ Cheles 1986, plate III, and fig. 22. The portrait of Vergil is now housed in the Louvre.

²² For these recently cleaned frescoes see among others San Juan 1989, pp. 71-84; Testa 1996, with earlier bibliography. The identification of the portraits is still the subject of discussions.

well-known design for the statue of Virgil by Mantegna, now in the Louvre)²³ is not a musical instrument but a book. It is worth noting that in the frescoes in Orvieto the laurel wreath constitutes the indispensable element in other depictions of Virgil represented in the role of Dante's guide²⁴. It is not at all strange since he was the first among poets to refer to garlanding shepherd-poets with laurel, ivy or myrtle²⁵. The eighth eclogue reads: *accipe iussis / carmina coepta tuis, atque hanc sine tempora circum / inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros*²⁶. Besides, to whom more than Virgil, sometimes praised over Homer and Dante (all three poets with laurel crowns on their heads are pictured together in Raphael's *Parnassus*)²⁷, could such a wreath be attributed?

Apart from the depiction of Virgil in the *Stanza della Segnatura*, to Raphael is sometimes attributed a much less known portrait of Virgil, made with a pencil, which is housed in the Accademia, Venice²⁸. As in the case of the paintings by Justus of Ghent (on which it seems to be patterned) and Luca Signorelli, the poet is represented with a book in his hand and a garland on his head. It too is provided with an inscription, which leaves no doubt as to the portrait's identification. Among the famous cycles of poets crowned with laurel wreaths, it is worth mentioning here that in the Castello di Buonconsiglio in Trent, twenty-four such portraits produced by Dosso Dossi and his brother Battista in 1531/32 originally adorned the ceiling of the Castello's library; only

²³ Lightbown 1986, pp. 463-4, with bibliography. See also Panofsky 1972, fig. 87.

²⁴ See Testa 1996, fig. on p. 200 and *passim*. For other 16th century representations of garlanded Virgil see Tea, Mieli 1931, fig. on p. 86.

²⁵ On garlanding of poets see an excellent paper by Trapp 1990, pp. 227-55 (chapt. III). See also Wilkins 1951, pp. 9-69. For poetic coronation could also be used ivy and myrtle; Petrarch's desire to be crowned with laurel was caused by important reason; the association of *laurea* with Laura. Boccaccio suggests that Laura stands allegorically for the laurel crown, see Sturm-Maddox 1992, pp. 13-21.

²⁶ Verg. *ec.* 8,11-13. English trans. by Fairclough, in Virgil 1942, p. 55: «Accept the songs essayed at the bidding, and grant that about thy brows this ivy may creep among the victor's laurels». For crowning with ivy see 7,24-25 *hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula pinu. / Pastores, hederam crescentem ornate poetam*; in 10,25 a crown of flowers is mentioned; for myrtle see 2,54 and 8,64.

²⁷ Jones, Penny 1983, pp. 68-72, fig. 79 i 81. It is worth noting that in an earlier project for *Parnassus*, known through an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi, one of the Muses (most probably Calliope, the Muse of philosophical inspiration) holds a syrinx, see Jones, Penny (as above) 1983, p. 72, fig. 81. For an interesting description of the fresco including also identification of the poets surrounding Apollo see Bellori 1645, pp. 23-6.

²⁸ Fagiolo 1981, see section titled: *Virgilio uomo celebre*, fig. 2.

twelve of them are preserved (Tav. 48)²⁹. They remain unidentified, since they possess no inscriptions. However, similarly to the Lanckoronski Virgil, these portraits are characterised by abundant laurel wreaths. Their only attributes are the books, which they hold in their hands or, alternatively, are placed in front of them.

Judging from the material presented up to this point, our effigy of Virgil is traditional in the iconography of the poet with the exception of one element. This particular element is constituted by the seven-piped syrinx, the beloved instrument of shepherds and Pan, the most famous deity of Arcadia³⁰. The syrinx (bearing the name of a nymph, who, being pursued by Pan on a bank of the river Ladon, was turned into reeds, from which he created the reed-pipes joining them with wax) was not an important instrument in ancient Greece³¹. Plato in the third book of his *Republic* says the following: «[...] will you admit makers or players of the *aulos* into the city? "Then you are left with the *lyra* (...) and the *kithara*, as things useful in the city; and in the countryside the herdsmen might have some sort of syrinx"»³².

Thus in ancient Greece Pan's *fistula* was only a musical instrument of low status and could not stand *aulos*, the other wind instrument of the Greeks, invented by Athena, or the *kithara*, a stringed instrument of Apollo³³. During the contest between Apollo and Pan the *kithara* of Phoebus easily triumphed over the syrinx of the goat-footed deity³⁴. Besides, before Virgil the god of Arcadia himself did not belong to the

²⁹ Gibbons 1968, pp. 68-70, figs. 181-2; Ballarin 1995, p. 477, figs. 200-5. Some of these portraits depict not poets but «learned men of Antiquity»; they differ from the former by wearing turbans and not garlands.

³⁰ Pan is mentioned, among others, in the following eclogues: 2,31-32; 8,22; 10,27-28. For the iconography of this deity see Herbig 1949. See also Merivale 1969; Kaufmann 1984, *passim*, for Pan and his music pp. 19-27.

³¹ See Barker 1989, p. 16, who among others says the following: «Of the other melodic instruments used by the Greeks, the one most commonly mentioned is the syrinx or 'Pan-pipe'. It had little or no place in serious 'art' music (i.e. in the Greek context, the music of the elaborate religious festivals and competitions), and was largely confined to pastoral or 'folk' setting». Cf. Howard 1893, pp. 1-60, on Panpipes pp. 32-5; Smith 1970, pp. 497-510. For the myth of the Nymph Syrinx see also *Ov. met.* (1,689-711). For the iconography of this subject see Di Gioia, Fiorani 1981, pp. 171-7.

³² Plato *resp.* 399d. English trans. in Barker 1989, p. 132.

³³ Howard 1893; Smith 1970, pp. 498-504. See also Restani 1995. The *aulos* or *tibia* was usually composed of a pair of pipes; Virgil calls it *avena* (*Verg. ecl.* 1,2). Unlike the syrinx, the *aulos* was provided with finger-holes.

³⁴ For the iconography of this myth see Gentili 1988, pp. 225-43.

group of the most important gods. The Arcadian myth created by Virgil in his *Eclogues* changed the status of both Pan and his beloved instrument. We should not forget that the bucolic genre flourished already in the 3rd century BC in the poetry of Theocritus, who however placed the realm of pastoral felicity in Sicily. Virgil was the first who moved this realm of happiness to Arcadia. Due to his imagination, this name became synonymus of *locus amoenus*, the domain of poetry and tender love. Virgil's Arcadia is ruled by Pan and peopled by herdsmen who, like their goat-footed deity, are skilled in composing songs and playing the syrinx or *fistula*³⁵. This instrument is referred to in several eclogues but the key-passage concerning it is to be found in the second eclogue, which reads:

Mecum una in silvis imitabere Pana canendo.
Pan primum calamos cera coniungere plures
Instituit; Pan curat oves oviumque magistros.
Nec te paeniteat calamo trivisse labellum:
haec eadem ut sciret, quid non faciebat Amintas?
Est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis
Fistula (...)³⁶.

In the already cited eighth eclogue, where Virgil refers to «the victor's laurels» we read in turn the following:

Maenalus argutumque nemus pinosque loquentes
Semper habet; semper pastorum ille audit amores
Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertes.
Incipe Maenalius mecum, mea tibia, versus³⁷.

³⁵ The tenth eclogue (27-28) reads: «Pan came, Arcady's god and we ourselves saw him [...] Arcadians only know how to sing. O how softly then would my bones repose, if in other days your pipes should tell my love». Trans. by H. R. Fairclough, in Virgil 1942, p. 73. For the myth of Arcady see Freedman 1989. Further publications concerning this myth are quoted in notes 43 and 59.

³⁶ Verg. *eclog.* 2,31-36. English trans. by H. R. Fairclough, in Virgil 1942, p. 13: «With me in the woods you shall rival Pan in song. Pan it was who first thought man to make many reeds one with wax; Pan cares for the sheep and the shepherds of the sheep. Nor would you be sorry to have chafed your lip with a reed; to learn this same art, what did not Amyn-tas do? I have a pipe formed of seven uneven hemlock-stalks (...)».

³⁷ Verg. *eclog.* 8,22-25. English trans. by H. R. Fairclough, in Virgil 1942, p. 57: «Maen-alus hath ever tuneful groves and speaking pines; ever does he listen to shepherds' loves and to Pan, who first awoke the idle reeds. Begin with me, my flute, a song of Maenalus». See also 8,22-25; 3,26; 5,2 i 48; 7,24; 10, 35.

This vision of Arcadia, with Maenalus, the favorite mountain of Pan, with the herdsmen singing and playing syrinx, became one of the *topoi* of European culture. Even during the Middle Ages the *Eclogues* were always known and venerated. Their poetic ideas fascinated poets and scholars from the beginning of the Renaissance paving the way for the rebirth of pastoral poetry in Italy and later in other European countries³⁸. In the light of Virgil's verses cited above, the Lanckoronski portrait of the poet should be seen not only as a kind of eulogy of the realm of pastoral felicity in which poetry and music become the essence of life, but also a kind of allegory of bucolic poetry as a genre. In order to understand this Renaissance portrait of Virgil more fully we should discuss some texts of Medieval and Renaissance mythographers, as well as texts of commentators of eclogues. However, given the fact of the great importance of the syrinx in this image, which like the one mentioned in the second eclogue is composed of seven reeds or pipes, it is necessary to deal first with the iconography of this instrument.

In Antiquity the syrinx was not always composed of seven pipes (reeds); in fact there is archeological evidence for every number of tubes from four to twelve, even if the seven-tube instrument was the more common³⁹. It too has not always had a raft-like shape since it could also have the form of a bundle⁴⁰. In Greece the syrinx was composed of reeds of the same size stopped with wax at the length desired for the given note. In Italy the same effect was achieved by cutting the pipes into successively shorter lengths. The earliest extant European panpipes possessing this shape appeared on bronze urns from the Hallstatt culture of Northern Italy, dating from 500 BC⁴¹. At times the syrinx was made of tubes of two different lengths⁴². On Roman sarcophagi this instrument is usually composed of pipes cut into successively shorter lengths, like that in the Lanckoronski panel⁴³.

In some late-medieval miniatures, as for example those adorning

³⁸ See Curtius 1990, pp. 190-3; Wittkower 1978, pp. 161-73.

³⁹ See Smith, 1970, pp. 498-501. A syrinx dating from the 16th century preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, is composed of 20 tubes, see Schlosser 1920, p. 95, no. 275.

⁴⁰ See Herbig 1949, fig. 10, plates XVI, 2, XXII, 1, XXXIII, 1-2.

⁴¹ Fleischhauer 1964, pp. 22-3, no. 1.

⁴² Bober, Rubinstein 1986, fig. 74.

⁴³ See Fleischhauer 1964, pp. 78-9, no. 41; Herbig 1949, fig. 14; Koch, Sichtermann 1982, figs. 247, 248, 459.

Ovide moralisé (housed in the Vatican Library), the syrinx has the form of a fan (Tav. 49)⁴⁴. This mistaken shape of *fistula* was apparently caused by the lack of knowledge of the iconography of Pan by medieval artists. Among drawings illustrating the *Libellus de imaginibus deorum* of ca. 1420 (being a medieval handbook of mythology), the syrinx looks like a bundle of reeds⁴⁵. No more than twenty years later an archeologically correct, seven-piped instrument of Pan appeared on the Vatican bronze door by Antonio Averlino (known as Filarete, Tav. 50)⁴⁶. It hangs on a tree above the seated god of Arcadia. One can be sure that Filarete, who was so much interested in classical art, based his depiction of panpipes on a model from Antiquity.

With the increasingly great interest in both the poetry of Virgil and commentaries on it in 15th-century Italy (only in the 1470s seven editions of Servius' commentary were printed), accompanied by the rebirth of pastoral literature, the syrinx, usually of quite large size, and composed of seven tubes, came to be represented very often. Beautiful examples are to be found in Filippino Lippi's paintings: in a fresco in the Strozzi chapel, in the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, depicting *Parthenice*, (Tav. 51) and in a panel with the *Allegory of Music*, housed in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin⁴⁷. The syrinx in the Strozzi chapel is so big for the little musician that Parthenice must help him to hold it. This instrument is of course the most important attribute of Pan (at times of Marsyas too) in several images of the late 15th century and the beginning of the next century. Excellent cases in point are Signorelli's *Concerts of Pan* (or *The School of Pan*) – a lost Sienese fresco, known through a preparatory drawing kept in the British Library, and the famous panel produced for Lorenzo il Magnifico, destroyed during the Second World War in Berlin⁴⁸. Very interesting examples are also provided by Tribolo's

⁴⁴ Buonocore 1996, p. 293, fig. 235. However, in the MS. of Hraban Maurus' *De Universo*, from 1022 ca., housed in the Abbazia di Montecassino, the shape of syrinx is archeologically correct, see Chance 1994, p. 382, fig. 22.

⁴⁵ Cod. Vat. Reg. 1290, fol. 3r; see Liebeschütz 1926, p. 120, plate XX. For further medieval depictions of Pan with syrinx see Himmelmann 1986, Plates 6, 2 and 6, 3.

⁴⁶ Nilgen 1988, fig. on p. 371.

⁴⁷ The Berlin panel is reproduced and discussed by Panofsky 1972, pp. 203-4, fig. 150; Hamann 1909, figs. 52-53. For the fresco see Berti, Baldini 1991, fig. on p. 277.

⁴⁸ The literature on the Sienese fresco (and its preparatory drawing) and particularly on the Berlin *Concert of Pan* is huge, the most important publications are cited by Seidel 1984, pp. 181-256, note 30 on p. 189. See also Herbig 1952, pp. 3-23; Agosti 1982, pp. 70-7. An interesting representation of Pan with the seven-piped syrinx is to be found in

project of the statue of *Pan* for the Medici Villa in Castello⁴⁹ and Titian's canvas depicting the *Punishment of Marsyas* in Kromeriz⁵⁰. The same subject was produced in a fresco by a follower of Giulio Romano in the Palazzo Torelli, now in the Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona⁵¹. In Tribolo's drawing, Pan's syrinx is very large, and it should rather be treated as a symbol and not an instrument to produce music. Particularly interesting for this research is an engraving of Giulio Romano with *Pan Playing the Syrinx* (Tav. 52)⁵². The garlanded deity, who lost here his animal features (his legs are human and not those of a goat), is gaining inspiration from a nymph, or Venus herself, whispering in his ear. At first glance the viewer may observe that the syrinx in this painting is almost identical with the one depicted in the Lanckoronski panel. It is important to note that this instrument appears in several other compositions by Giulio Romano produced for the Palazzo Te; some of them are known through copies made by his pupils. Thus, thanks to a drawing by Jacopo Strada, currently housed in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, we know his composition depicting the *Contest between Apollo and Marsyas*, in which, curiously enough, both musicians are portrayed with a syrinx⁵³. In turn through a drawing by Ippolito Andreasi (housed in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, Tav. 53) we know the composition of another important stucco from the Loggia delle Muse depicting *Apollo, Pegasus and Hippocrene*⁵⁴. This time Apollo is holding the instrument on his shoulder from which the waters of Hippocrene issue. Since nearby a portrait of Virgil was also represented it may be deduced that this part of the Palazzo Te must have been devoted to the Muses and to Virgil. Thus,

Dosso Dossi's a *Mythological Scene* in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, see Ciammitti 1998, pp. 83-111, figs. 1-3.

⁴⁹ For this drawing dated from ca. 1540 see Cox-Rearick 1982, pp. 167-210, particularly p. 198, fig. 27, with earlier bibliography.

⁵⁰ See Gentili 1988, pp. 225-43, figs. 114-20 with bibliography; the book also reproduces and discusses the famous drawing by Giulio Romano with the same subject kept in the Louvre (see Gentili 1988, p. 229, fig. 115). See also Konecny in Togner 1998, pp. 410-21, no. 442, with bibliography.

⁵¹ *Giulio Romano* 1989, p. 453, with illustration.

⁵² Zlatohlavek 1997, p. 181, no. 103 (Inv. no. R. 52 753). See also Massari 1993, p. 123, no. 125. For other representations of this god with his favorite instrument see Staiti 1990, pp. 69-113.

⁵³ Jansen 1989, p. 367, fig. 10. Most probably the original composition was executed in the Camera degli Stucchi.

⁵⁴ *Giulio Romano* 1989, p. 339.

for Giulio Romano the syrinx became the instrument *par excellence* and linked even with Apollo himself.

At this stage it is necessary to refer briefly to the late-Antique commentary on Virgil's *Eclogues* by Servius. His passage of some length dealing with Pan in a number of ways was taken up by Sannazaro, Leone Ebreo, as well as by mythographers such as Vincenzo Cartari and Cesare Ripa (Tav. 54), among others⁵⁵. Servius says the following:

Nam Pan deus est rusticus in naturae similitudinem formatus, unde et Pan dictus est, id est omne: habet enim cornua in radiorum solis et cornuum lunae similitudinem; rubet eius facies ad aetheris imitationem; in pectore nebridem habet stellatam ad stellarum imaginem; pars eius inferior hispida est propter arbores, virgulta, feras; caprinos pedes habet ut ostendat terrae soliditatem; fistulam septem calamorum habet propter harmoniam caeli, in qua septem soni sunt⁵⁶.

Thus, in this text the deity of Arcadia, which played a marginal role in Greek religion, became a symbol of the Universe, and his *fistula* came to stand for heavenly harmony. Similar ideas occurred in Macrobius, in the previously mentioned *Libellus de imaginibus deorum*⁵⁷, and in Boccaccio, who in his *Genealogia deorum gentilium* put together all the previously expressed thoughts on Pan and the syrinx. One of the passages in the *Genealogia* reads:

Is ante alia fronti habet infixam cornua in celum tendentia, barbam prolixam et in pectus pendulam, et loco pallii pellem distinctam maculis, quam nebridem vocare prisci, sic et manu virgam atque septem calamorum fistulam. Preterea inferioribus membris yrsutum atque hispidum dicit, et pedes habere capreos et, ut addit Virgilius, purpuream faciem [...]. Per virgam autem nature regimen intelligendum reor, quo omnia et potissime ratione carentia reguntur, et in determinatum finem in suis operibus etiam deducuntur. Fistulam vero ad armoniam celestem designandam illi apposuere⁵⁸.

⁵⁵ Cartari 1996, pp. 116-30; Ripa 1603, p. 331.

⁵⁶ Serv. *ad. ecl.* 2,31. English trans. is cited after Cox-Rearick 1982, p. 196: «Pan is a rustic god, formed like nature. He is called Pan, which means everything. He has horns like the rays of the sun and like the horns of the moon. His face is ruddy in imitation of air. On his breast he has a fawnskin in the likeness of stars. His lower part is hairy because of the trees, shrubs, and wild beasts. He has goat's feet to demonstrate the solidity of the earth. He has a pipe of seven reeds because of the harmony of the heavens, of which there are seven tones».

⁵⁷ Macr. *sat.* 1,22,2-7.

⁵⁸ Boccaccio, *gen.* 1,4.

The texts by both Servius and Boccaccio explain at the same time perfectly well the shape of Pan's horns as well as the motif of stars on his breast depicted in the miniature from the *Ovide moralisé* (Tav. 49).

A kind of *praeparatio* for the creation and then for the fame of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (written ca. 1480 and published only in 1502), and the *Dialoghi d'amore* by Leone Ebreo (written ca. 1500 and first published in 1535) was the unusual flourishing of bucolic poetry in Florence ruled by Lorenzo il Magnifico⁵⁹. Beautiful commentaries on Virgil's *Georgics* and *Bucolics* were produced by Angelo Poliziano. In turn, Naldo Naldi in his several eclogues compared Lorenzo il Magnifico with the deity of Arcadia⁶⁰. Lorenzo indeed loved greatly the countryside, and used to spend long periods in his villas in the vicinity of Florence (some of them adorned with Arcadian subjects); besides, he himself was a gifted poet who composed interesting pastoral poetry⁶¹. In his *Altercazione* he says:

Sanza esser suto da altro nume scorto,
modulato ho con la zampogna tenera
il verso, col favor che Pan ne ha porto;
Pan, quale ogni pastore onora e venera,
il cui nome in Arcadia si celebra,
che impera a quel che si corrompe e genera⁶².

The *zampogna* or syrinx played by Pan, to whom «every shepherd pays devout homage, whose name is famous in Arcadia», became in a way a symbol of an ideal world filled with poetry and music. In the epilogue to the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro titled *To his zampogna*, dealing beautifully with Panpipes and poetry, Pan is described not only as the inventor of this instrument and as the god of herdsmen but also as the most cultured youth (*coltissimo giovane*)⁶³. Vasari in his *Ragionamenti*, being a detailed

⁵⁹ See among others Maisak 1981, pp. 52-71; Patterson 1987, pp. 62-92; Dezzi Bardeschi, in Dezzi Bardeschi et al. 1985, pp. 19-30.

⁶⁰ See for example Naldi Naldii *ecl.* 10 (Micon), in Naldi 1974, pp. 52-5. See also Cox-Rearick 1982, note 102.

⁶¹ Chastel 1945, pp. 61-7; Cox Rearick 1982, p. 196. For illustrated manuscripts containing Lorenzo's poetry (some of them depict herdsmen playing a syrinx), see Lenzini 1992, pp. 26-7.

⁶² Lorenzo de' Medici *Altercazione* 4,1-6, in Lorenzo de' Medici 1913, p. 53.

⁶³ English trans. by Nash, in Sannazaro 1966, p. 153 reads: «So much the more that he who composed you of these reeds, when he came into Arcadia, came there not as a rustic shepherd but as a most cultured youth, although unknown and a pilgrim of Love». For Italian version see Sannazaro, *Arcadia (A la Sampogna* 16-18), in Sannazaro 1961, p. 131.

description of the painted decoration of numerous rooms of the Palazzo Vecchio, recalls both the myth of Syrinx and the music of Pan, which brings to Florence *dolcissima armonia* (sweet harmony)⁶⁴. Thus, there is nothing strange in the fact that the seven-piped syrinx should appear in the centre of the Martelli Mirror, dating from ca. 1500 (housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum)⁶⁵, and among illustrations adorning both Vincenzo Cartari's *Le imagini delli dei de gl'antichi* and Ripa's *Iconologia* (Tav. 55)⁶⁶. The true key to our understanding of the Lanckoronski portrait of Virgil with his large seven-piped syrinx are the *Dialoghi d'Amore* (*The Dialogs of Love*)⁶⁷. In this long poem Virgil's vision of the realm of Pan, the myth of Syrinx, late-Antique and early-Renaissance interpretations of panpipes are presented in the most beautiful way. One of the passages of the *Dialoghi d'Amore* reads:

Oltre il senso historiale d'uno Silvano d'Arcadia il quale essendo innamorato si diede alla musica, et fu inventore della fistula con gli sette calami congiunti insieme con cera, non è dubbio che ha uno altro senso alto, et allegorico, cioè che Pan, che in Greco vuol dire tutto, è la natura universale ordinatrice di tutte le cose mondane (...) di sopra habbiamo detto della musica, et melodia celeste. Questi sono i calami delle canne del fiume, ne quali fu convertita Siringa, ne quali calami lo spirito genera soave suono, et harmonia, perché il spirito intellettuale, che muove i cieli, causa la sua consonante correspondentia musicale. De quali calami Pan fece la fistula, con sette di loro, che vuol significare la congregatione delli orbi de sette pianeti, et le sue mirabili concordantie harmoniali, et per questo dicono che Pan porta la verga, et la fistula con la quale sempre suona, perché la natura di continuo si serve dell'ordinata mutatione de sette pianeti per le mutationi continue del mondo inferiore⁶⁸.

⁶⁴ Vasari, *Ragionamento terzo: Sala della dea Opù*, in Vasari 1906, pp. 53-4.

⁶⁵ Maclagan 1924, p. 11; Winternitz 1979, pp. 205-6, plate 89a.

⁶⁶ Cieri Via 1996, pp. 296-7 and 302-3.

⁶⁷ Robb 1935, pp. 176-7. See also Ariani 1984.

⁶⁸ Leone Ebreo 1535, II, cc. 66r-67r. English trans. by Friedeberg-Seeley and Barnes, in Leone Ebreo 1937, pp. 130-2: «Apart from the historic sense: that a rustic of Arcadia, having fallen in love, devoted himself to music and invented the pipe of seven reeds joined with wax, it is certain that [the story] contains another, elevated and allegoric, meaning, to wit: that Pan, which in Greek signifies 'all', represents universal Nature, who governs all things in the world. (...) Heaven is indeed not free from continuous instability in respect of its perpetual locomotion: howbeit this instability is regular and eternal – a stainless maiden – and its deviations are [redeemed] by a regular and harmonious concord (the music or melody of heaven, about which we spoke earlier). This [explains] the reeds of the river grass into which Syrinx was changed. In these reeds

In the context of this quotation, let us mention the fact that in Northern Italian art (in Venice, Mantua and elsewhere) of the earlier half of the Cinquecento, musical contests with syrinx became enormously popular. Apart from the already discussed paintings by Titian, Giulio Romano and his followers, one may mention Lorenzo Costa's *Comos* (in the Louvre)⁶⁹, an engraving by Benedetto Montagna⁷⁰, and a woodcut in the Italian edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in volgare of 1497⁷¹. Usually the winner in them, as in the myths, is Apollo playing his *kithara* or *lira da braccio*. The Lanckoronski portrait of Virgil is not an illustration of a myth, but an allegorical *imago* of garlanded poet, the author of *Eclogues* who presents his vision of Arcadia and whose verses like the *fistula* of Pan, possess the valour of the music of the Universe and harmony. Besides, the poet can be seen here as Tityros, the hero of the first eclogue who is also recalled by Petrarch in his *Letter to Virgil* from which derives the motto of this paper⁷². The bucolic character of the image was not an obstacle in putting its woodcut version into the Venetian edition of the *Aeneid* from 1532 (Tav. 46). The placing of this portrait in the book would be even more appropriate if it included the so-called "preproemio" which has the following lines: *Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena / carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi / ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono, / gratum opus agricolis; at nunc horrentia Martis*⁷³. These opening words are to be found, among others, in Petrarch's

the spirit produced a sweet sound and harmony, because the intelligent spirits which move the heavens cause this concordant musical harmony. Of those reeds Pan took seven to form the pipe, and this refers to the choir of the spheres of the seven planets and their wonderful melodious harmony. For this reason then Pan is said to carry the rod and the pipes which he ever plays; because Nature ever makes use of the regular motions of the seven planets to produce the changes of the lower world». For the importance of this book in Venice see Gentili 1988, pp. 124-5.

⁶⁹ Verheyen 1971, pp. 46-9, plates 33-4.

⁷⁰ Winternitz 1959, fig. 8; Gentili 1988, fig. 65.

⁷¹ Gentili 1988, fig. 63.

⁷² See Caviglia 1990, pp. 196-201.

⁷³ Verg. *Aen.* 1^a-1^d (*Preproemium*). English trans. by H. R. Fairclough, in Virgil 1942, p. 241: «I am he who once tuned my song on a slender reed, then, leaving the woodland, constrained the neighbouring fields to serve the husbandmen, however grasping – a work welcome to farmers: but now of Mars' bristling». Some scholars are of the opinion that these opening lines were probably written by Virgil in an earlier version of the composition, but rejected by his literary executors, see *Introduction* in Virgil 1942, p. XI, cfr. La Penna 1985, pp. 76-91. It is difficult to estimate whether Petrarch by saying *avena* (slender reed) meant a syrinx or a tibia.

copy of Virgil's works, adorned with the beautiful miniature by Simone Martini, which however lacks the syrinx.

In conclusion, it is worth noting, that apart the fact that representations of Virgil with Panpipes are so rare, the Lanckoronski panel belongs to a quite numerous group of Renaissance depictions of poets and humanists portrayed with a musical instrument. Perhaps one of the best known is the portrait of an unidentified young poet with flute in his hands and laurel crown on his head, housed in the Museo Civico, Padua; it is dated from the first quarter of the 16th century and usually attributed to Lorenzo Luzzo⁷⁴. In the same time were reproduced in two books printed in Northern Italy (in 1501 and 1511 respectively) portraits of two men of letters; one of them represents a poet seated under a tree, the other a humanist in his *studiolo* (Tav. 55)⁷⁵. Both are garlanded and absorbed in writing, while their musical instruments (*lire da braccio*) hang at their sides.

⁷⁴ Ballarin, Bonzato 1991, pp. 137-8, no. 63, with earlier bibliography.

⁷⁵ Winternitz 1979, pp. 97-8, figs. 15 i 16. For the importance of music for the Renaissance Society see Lowinsky 1968, pp. 337-81.

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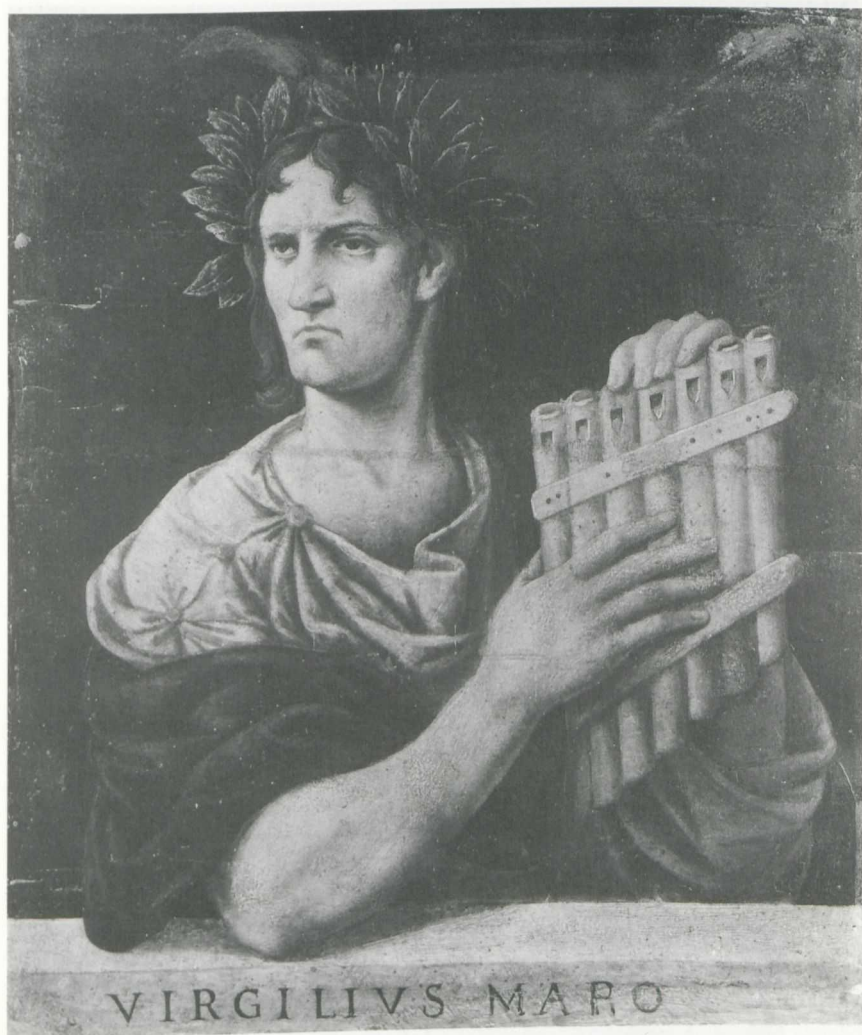
Abstract

The present paper deals with a panel painted, most probably by a follower of Giulio Romano, in the third decade of the 16th century for a library or a studiolo. The date ante quem for its execution is the Venetian edition of Virgil's Aeneid printed in 1532, which is adorned with a woodcut version of the panel. The key objects for an interpretation of this painting are the seven-piped syrinx or panpipes held by the poet and a laurel wreath on his head. Both refer to bucolic poetry and the myth of Arcadia. The sound of Panpipes was regarded by Servius, Boccaccio, Sannazaro and Leone Ebreo as the music of the spheres which brings harmony to the world.

Il presente articolo riguarda un dipinto eseguito probabilmente da un seguace di Giulio Romano nel terzo decennio del Cinquecento per una biblioteca o uno studiolo. La data ante quem per la sua esecuzione è l'edizione veneziana dell'Eneide stampata nel 1532, nella quale si trova l'incisione dalla tavola in esame. Gli attributi per identificare il soggetto del dipinto sono la siringa con sette canne tenuta in mano dal poeta e la corona d'alloro sulla sua testa; entrambi alludono alla poesia bucolica e al mito di Arcadia. Il suono della siringa fu interpretata da Servio, Boccaccio, Sannazaro e Leone Ebreo come la musica delle sfere che porta armonia al mondo.



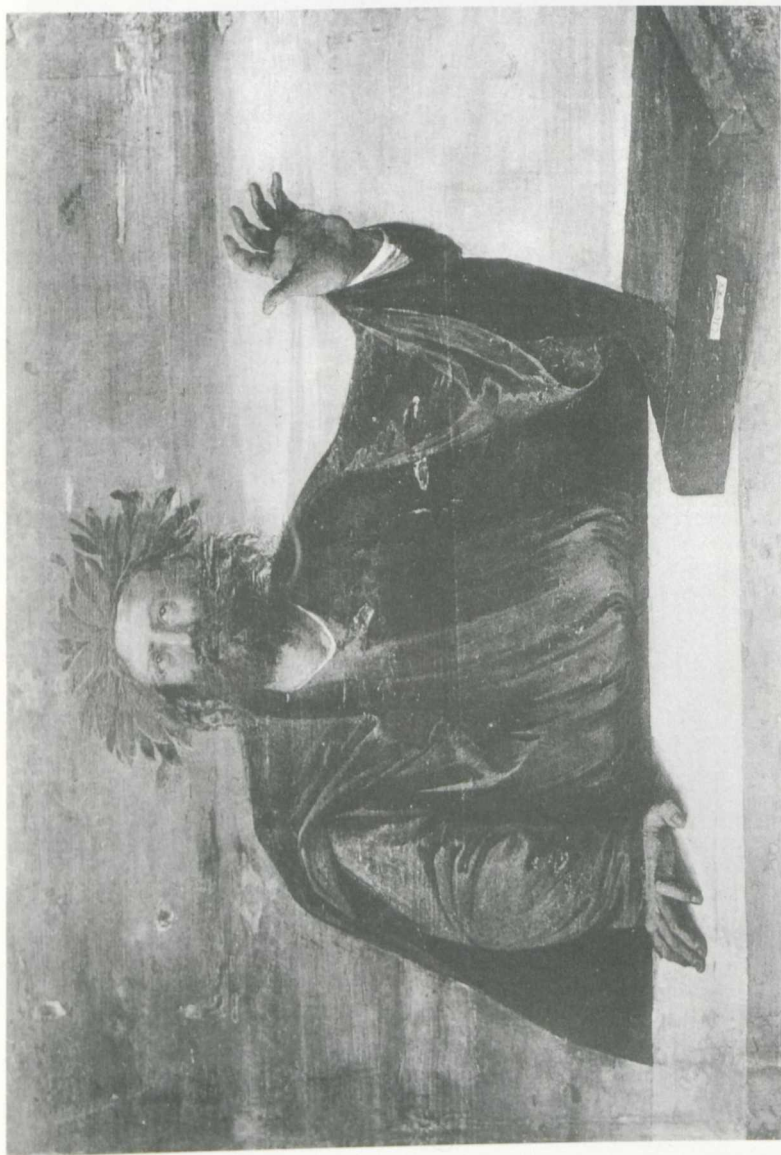
Tav. 45. *Virgilio con la siringa*, frontespizio dell'edizione veneziana dell'*Eneide*, Bernardino dei Vitali, 1532.



Tav. 46. Seguace di Giulio Romano, *Virgilio con la siringa*.
Cracovia, Castello Reale (Castello di Wawel).



Tav. 47. Luca Signorelli, *Ritratto di Virgilio*.
Orvieto, Cattedrale, Cappella di San Brizio.



Tav. 48. Dosso Dossi e Battista Dossi, *Ritratto di un poeta*.
Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio.



Tav. 49. *Pan suona la siringa*, miniatura dell'*Ovide moralisé*.
Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana.

Tav. 50. Filarete, *Pan* (part.). Città del Vaticano,
Basilica di S. Pietro, porta bronzea.



Tav. 51. Filippino Lippi, *Parthenice con due putti musicanti* (particolare).
Firenze, S. Maria Novella, Cappella Strozzi.



Tav. 52. Giulio Romano, *Pan che suona la siringa, una ninfa ed un putto*, incisione. Praga, Galleria Nazionale.



Tav. 53. Ippolito Andreassi (da Giulio Romano), *Apollo e Pegaso*, disegno.
Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum.

DI CESARE RIPA

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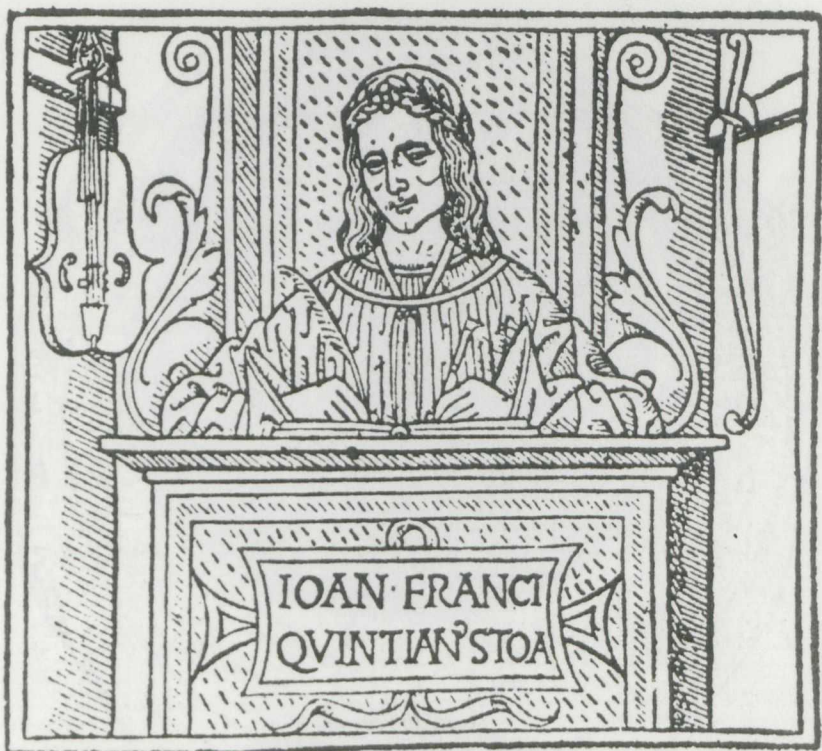
M O N D O .

Come dipinto dal Boccaccio nel primo libro della Geneologia delli
Dei, con le quattro sue Parti.



Si dimostra anco per la verga ritorta l' anno, il qual si ritorce in se stesso, nell'altra mano tiene la fistula delle sette canne, perche fù Pan il primo, che trouasse il modo di comporre più canne insieme con cera, & il primo che la sonasse ancora, come dice Virgilio nell'egloga 1.

Si rappresenta dal mezzo in giù in forma di capra peloso, & ispido, intendendosi per ciò la terra, la qual'è dura, aspra, & tutta difuguale, coperta d'arbori d'infinite piante, & di molt'herbe.



Tav. 55. *Un umanista con la lira da braccio.*
Da Quintianus Stoa, *De Syllabarum quantitate*, 1511.