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Raphael's "St. Cecilia". An Iconographical Study

From the time when in 1550 Giorgio Vasari praised in his *Lives of the Artists* the *St. Cecilia* by Raphael (Pl. 1) the famous work has been many times the subject of interest not only of critics and historians of art but also of musicians and musicologists and even philosophers, whose attention was most often drawn by its many sided subject matter, puzzling, and still not explained. The authors of particular works have reached various conclusions, sometimes contradicting each other, one of the reasons for this being the fact that their investigations were as a rule based on source material to a small degree only. Reexamination of the sources, at the same time taking into consideration to a greater extent those intellectual and religious trends under whose influence were the persons connected with the creation of the work, might lead to a better knowledge and more correct interpretation of the theme of the picture¹.

This picture by Raphael, which has been in the Pinacoteca in Bologna since 1815, was ordered by a patrician of Bologna known for her piety and later beatified, Elena Duglioli dall'Olio, through the agency of Antonio Pucci, her friend, a Florentine canon and later Bishop of Pistoia, and his uncle Lorenzo Pucci, cardinal and at the same time papal *datario*, to the chapel of St. Cecilia erected by Elena in her natal town adjoining the church of San Giovanni in Monte². The picture was ordered, according to Vasari, after Lorenzo had received the office of cardinal, i. e. after 29 September 1513; the fact is convincing as only a high and influential dignitary could at that time force through the painting of a picture by Raphael who, overwhelmed by numerous papal orders did not fulfil his obligations even for sovereign princes³. The oldest sources also mention the year 1513 when speaking about the contacts of Elena Duglioli with the cardinal's nephew, Antonio Pucci⁴. We do not know whether direct talks took place between Elena, Pucci, and Raphael. But it is not impossible that they could have occurred at the end of 1515 during the stay in Bologna of Pope Leo X who arrived there at the beginning of December to meet François I, the King of France. The Pope was accompanied by Cardinal Pucci, who played an important role in the negotiations with the French, and perhaps by Raphael, who was known to be at that time in Florence with the Pope taking part in the conference on the building of the façade of the Medici church of S. Lorenzo⁵. The probability of the picture's being ordered at that time is the greater because of the fact that the building of the St. Cecilia chapel came to an end in the years 1515—1516 and its finishing and furnishing were important⁶. When Raphael actually carried out the order is a matter of conjecture only. The style of work, with distinct manneristic elements, is an argument, as John Shearman has recently stressed, for dating it late⁷, but it is difficult to place it beyond the end of 1516 if Vasari's statement that the finished picture sent to Bologna was admired by the painter Francesco Francia, who died, as we know, on 5 January 1517 and was employed at its installation at the altar, is true⁸.

A knowledge of the circumstances of the inception of the picture and the personality of Elena Duglioli and the two Pucci permits an approximate reconstruction of the wishes of the founder and her advisers, upon which the artist must have depended. The ordering of a picture representing the traditional type in Italy of that time, called *Sacra Conversazione*, cannot be considered as anything extraordinary. The choice of saints, i. e. of Cecilia surrounded by John

the Evangelist, Augustine, Paul, and Mary Magdalene, however, requires explanation, as well as the question to what extent it was the desire of the lady commissioning the painting and why.

The least trouble in interpretation would seem to be caused by St. Cecilia, the main figure of the picture and the patron of the newly erected chapel where the work was to be placed, and whose relics Elena Duglioli possessed and worshiped⁹. The saint was well-known in Bologna if only for the fact that at the end of the fifteenth century the Bentivoglio family founded an oratorium dedicated to St. Cecilia at the church of S. Giacomo Maggiore and in the next century decorated it with a series of frescoes depicting her life¹⁰.

The choice of St. John the Evangelist and of St. Augustine also seems justified as the chapel founded by Elena adjoins the church of S. Giovanni belonging to the Canons Regular of the Rule of St. Augustine¹¹. As we know from the sources, the founder of the picture had particular reverence for these two saints as well as for St. Paul¹².

The cult of St. Cecilia, the endeavour to obtain her relics, and the erection of the chapel dedicated to her had a profound importance in Elena's life. Similarly to that Roman patrician, on the day of her marriage she took, with her husband's agreement, the vow of chastity and kept it, according to source information, throughout the many years of her married life¹³. This virtue of Cecilia's was stressed in the picture where her rich clothes are tied with a simple belt, the traditional symbol of chastity¹⁴. This was also the origin of Elena's cult for St. John and St. Paul, of whom the former had long been worshiped as the patron of virginity and the latter, a celibate, praised this state in his first letter to the Corinthians (VII, 1, 8, 37)¹⁵.

The oldest sources concerned with the life of Elena and coming from people who knew her personally give numerous items of information about her frequent visionary and ecstatic states; for example, Father Pietro Recta, enumerating the admirable virtues of his penitent of many years stressed above all "la contemplazione et il vedere così chiaramente le cose dell'altra vita, come il Cielo, e quelle Animi e Spiriti Beati"¹⁶. He further wrote that Elena, at that time about forty years old, seemed like a young girl, her face undergoing visible change and becoming rounded and rosy¹⁷.

Antonio Pucci, a friend of Elena, knew about these visions, and through him probably also Raphael, this being not without influence on the way of presenting St. Cecilia in the picture¹⁸. She is dressed in golden yellow garments symbolising desire of God¹⁹, and lifts her face upwards to where the dark, cloud-ridden sky opens above her showing a brightly lit glory of angels²⁰. "La faccia rivolta in alto", says the textbook by Cesare Ripa based on the iconographical tradition of high Renaissance, "mostra che come sono gli occhi nostri col Cielo, con la luce, e col Sole, così è il nostro intelletto con le cose celesti, e con Dio"²¹. The round, rosy face of St. Cecilia shows, as Vasari remarked, "quella astrazione che si vede nel viso di coloro che sono in estasi"²².

The saints surrounding St. Cecilia do not take part directly in her ecstasy; nevertheless the element of spiritual visions occurring in the life of each of them could also be one of the factors which decided their choice²³. St. John's visions on the isle of Patmos gave rise to his Book of Revelations²⁴. This is probably the great book lying at the feet of the Evangelist on which an eagle is sitting, his attribute and at the same time the symbol of perspicacity reaching the highest regions²⁵. St. Paul converted as a result of a vision on his way to Damascus, was, as he wrote in his second letter to the Corinthians (XII, 2—4) transported to heaven where he heard things which might not be repeated²⁶. The painter placed two letters, perhaps those to the



1. Raphael: St. Cecilia. Pinacoteca in Bologna

Corinthians²⁷, in the apostle's hand²⁸. St. Paul's visions were in turn the subject of scholarly considerations of St. Augustine, whose conversion in Milan had also a supernatural character²⁹. St. Mary Magdalene, according to a Provençal legend made widely popular by *The Golden Legend* by Jacopo de Voragine, was during her penitance lifted by the angels to heaven several times a day in mystic ecstasy³⁰.

In the visions of Elena Duglioli, reported by contemporary biographers who based their information on her stories, the element of music played an important part. "Questa Vergine", wrote the Anonymous author known to us, "esser elevata alli celestiali concerti che possiamo dire quasi di continuo di quelli esser stata partecipe, o fusse per reale esteriore suono, o par per solo imaginario miracolosamente dal Signore, ò angeli beati da lei fatto assaggiare non sappiamo. Ma particolarmente piú volte narrasi haver alcune fiata sentito tali celesti concerti realmente"³¹, and Pietro Recta added, "ha parlato sensibilmente con li Angeli e con quelli cantato"³².

These stories of Elena, known to a wide group of people close to her, had some influence on the way of presenting the vision of St. Cecilia in Raphael's picture, where a choir of singing angels appear to the saint lost in ecstasy.

Unlike the classical approach, the Christian idea of celestial music as *musica angelica*, that is, "illa quae ab angelis ante conspectum Dei semper administratur"³³, whose aim is constant praise of God, was developed on the basis of Isaiah's vision from the Old Testament (VI, 1—4), and the gospel of St. Luke (II, 13—14) and St. John's Book of Revelations (e. g. V, 11) from the New Testament, besides the writings of Dionysius Pseudo-Areopagita (Celestial Hierarchy, 273 B) and of numerous Fathers of the Church³⁴. Besides fulfilling an important function in the celestial liturgy, the music was to express the happiness of the redeemed souls directly watching the glory of God³⁵. Celestial music, as it would appear from the mention in the Book of Revelations (I, 9—10) and, among others, from the writings of St. Augustine, may be accessible on earth only to people in a state of ecstasy³⁶, as can be seen in Raphael's picture³⁷.

It may be supposed that the song of the angels choir appearing in heaven finds an answer in the mystically ecstatic soul of St. Cecilia, who in this way fulfils the recommendation of St. Paul (Ep. ad Ephes. V, 19), commented on many times by St. Augustine "cantate et psallete in cordibus vestris Domino"³⁸, and at the same time forms an illustration of the legend connected with her life. In the oldest description of the saint's life from the fifth or sixth century, *Passio S. Caeciliae*, there is the following sentence in the description of the wedding of the young Roman girl with Valerianus "Venit dies in quo thalamus collocatus est, et, cantantibus organis, illa in corde suo soli Domino decantabat dicens: Fiat cor meum et corpus meum immaculatum ut non confundar"³⁹. Cecilia's vow of chastity, connected in the text of the legend with the music in the depth of her heart, is also connected with the singing of the angels who, according to St. John (Revelations XIV, 3—4) may be only those *qui virgines sunt*. This is the reason why the angels appearing to Cecilia are shown as very young people since according to the principle taken from ancient times and transformed by christianity of linking music with youth, most suitable for the praise of God's glory is the song of innocent children⁴⁰. Nor is it accidental that the singing angels use no musical instruments⁴¹ because the human voice, being a direct expression of the soul and at the same time closely connected with words, which in religious songs are often divine words, has, according to St. Augustine and other Fathers of the Church, the character which is most suitable for the most important, that is the religious function of music⁴². The tendency to give priority to the human voice over the sound of

instruments, contrary to another tendency derived from the tradition coming from Boethius's treatise of connecting vocal with instrumental music within the frames of the category common to both of them *musica instrumentalis* or *organica*⁴³, developed especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries⁴⁴.

Lost in the sound coming from the heavens and responding with music from her heart St. Cecilia is holding in her hand a small portative organ (in Italian *organetto* or *organino*)⁴⁵.

The way of showing St. Cecilia with a musical instrument in her hands and of attributing to her the patronage of religious music appeared in connection with the false interpretation of the fragment of the quoted *Passio S. Caeciliae* i. e. "cantantibus organis, illa in corde suo soli Domino decantabat". The fragment is commonly known as it was included in the prayers of the breviary in the early years of the Middle Ages⁴⁶ and quoted in the *Golden Legend*⁴⁷ expressing the contrast between the spiritual song of the saint directed to God and the actual music of wedding instruments; "organa", St. Augustine said, "dicuntur omnia instrumenta musicorum, non solum illud . . . quod grande est et inflatur follibus"⁴⁸, which in the late Middle Ages began to be interpreted inconsistently with its real meaning showing St. Cecilia playing the organ⁴⁹. It was not accidental that this occurred in the fifteenth century⁵⁰ when this instrument began to play a more and more important role in church music⁵¹ and the portative organ, *organetto*, was at the peak of its popularity and development⁵². In such a way, probably on the basis of the idea taken from ancient times of connecting music with prayer⁵³, the representation of St. Cecilia was included in the circle of images of music praising the glory of God and at the same time expressing the happiness of the souls participating in the glory⁵⁴. This way of presenting St. Cecilia, found very often north of the Alps⁵⁵ during the whole of the fifteenth century, occurs extremely rare in Italian Art⁵⁶ before the picture by Raphael.

The instrument in the hands of St. Cecilia in the picture in Bologna plays a slightly different role than that in representations of similar type till that time. Music may be the means leading to ecstasy, according to the ancient notions taken over by christianity⁵⁷. "Musica extasim causat", was the laconic formulation of Joannes Tinctoris, a theoretician of music active in Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century⁵⁸, and this was probably the reason for the Raphael St. Cecilia's using the organ⁵⁹. After attaining the state of ecstasy, enabling her to hear the angels singing, she lowered the now unnecessary *organetto* from which some pipes started to fall out⁶⁰.

The *organetto* is not the only musical instrument shown in the picture. At the feet of the saint can be seen a *viola da gamba* three fipple flutes, a tambourine, and an instrument similar to it in the form of a wooden hoop with small circular metal plates inserted in its side (German: *Schellenreif*), two kettledrums with sticks, a triangle and a pair of cymbals⁶¹. According to Vasari's information they were painted, as well as St. Cecilia's *organino*, at Raphael's order by his pupil Giovanni da Udine who "fece il suo dipinto così simile a quello di Raffaello, che pare d'una medesima mano"⁶². Scattered in disorder and partly damaged (the viola has broken strings and a cracked body and one kettledrum has a torn head) they probably symbolise the secular music of the wedding ceremony, rejected by St. Cecilia, this being mentioned in the text of the legend⁶³. Purely instrumental music, unconnected with words, was already in ancient times considered as something low — Plato called it the "mountebank or the boor"⁶⁴ — and the tambourine, kettledrums, flutes and other percussion instruments symbolised even lascivious love *vita voluptaria* in the Christian Middle Ages when dance music was connected

with Satan⁶⁵. These ideas were common also in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and were the reason that during the famous *bruciamenti delle vanità* carried out in Florence under the influence of Savonarola among other *vanitates* musical instruments were also added to the holocaust⁶⁶. St. Cecilia standing over them and at the same time dominating the music which they symbolise, lifted into ecstasy by the organ playing and listening to the angels singing, clad in a quasi ecclesiastical garment approaching a dalmatic becomes in this context a personification of religious music⁶⁷.

The old tradition from St. Augustine closely connects religious music with love understood as the main theological virtue *Caritas* "Cantare autem et psallere" wrote this Father of the Church "negotium esse solet amantium", "cantare amantis est; Vox huius cantoris, fervor est sancti amoris"⁶⁸.

Music and love were connected with each other also in the angelic visions of Elena Duglioli, according to her stories passed on by the Anonymous author mentioned before "per vehementia di divin amore, et della celestial patria (Elena) comincio ad intonare una bella laude . . . et ecco una compagnia de beati Spiriti Celesti se accompagnarono vocalmente à cantar seco, et tutta la laude suavissimamente seco cantaron" and further "per ardente desiderio di quel sommo amore intonando qualche laude, disubito accordavansi seco a cantare li Angeli"⁶⁹.

Love beside music plays an important part also in the picture by Raphael. It stimulates the choir of angels to sing and it also encouraged St. Cecilia to praise God by playing the organ, who now "in corde suo soli Domino cantat"⁷⁰. Love, inseparable from ecstasy, is symbolised probably by the pearls adorning the robe of the saint, the beauty of which is compared by Ripa to grace "che rapisce gli animi all' amore"⁷¹. Finally, love is probably one of the factors connecting all the figures in the picture⁷².

John, the beloved disciple of Christ, putting his hand on his breast with a characteristic gesture⁷³, is looking at St. Augustine who is turned towards him, and the dialogue of their looks seems to be concerned with the love for Him whom the learned Father of the Church had addressed in his *Confessions* saying "sagittaveras tu cor nostrum charitate tua"⁷⁴.

St. Paul in turn, wrapped in a red toga, whose colour symbolises *amore e carità*⁷⁵ is holding two letters in his hand, probably those to the Corinthians, the first of which is devoted to the most important theological virtue. The hand holding the letters is resting on a sword, the saint's attribute at the same time symbolising words⁷⁶. The point of the sword is resting, surely not accidentally, on the triangle at that time and up till the end of the sixteenth century called *cymbalum* together with another percussion instruments⁷⁷; the eyes of the apostle, deeply in thought, gaze on it; he seems to ponder over the words from the first letter to the Corinthians (XIII, 1) "Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, caritatem autem non habeam, factus sum velut aes sonans aut cymbalum tinniens"⁷⁸.

Finally St. Mary Magdalene, about whom Christ said, "Remittuntur ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum" (Luke VII, 47) holding in her hand a jar with the precious ointment with which she anointed Jesus's feet for love of Him, is looking from the picture towards the viewer as if inviting him to take part in the mystery of love presented there⁷⁹.

Raphael's picture, painted according to the wishes of the founder and her advisers represents simultaneously a number of philosophic and religious ideas which imbued the world of fancy of educated Italian society at that time. It was the epoch in which new philosophic theories were better understood by educated laymen than by professional university scholars⁸⁰, the epoch in which according to the words of one of its experts, "practising artists tried to assim-

late the entire scientific culture of their epoch while, conversely, scholars and men of letters sought to understand the work of art as a manifestation of the highest and most universal laws”⁸¹.

One of the most popular ideas in that epoch was the Pythagorean belief, supported by the authority of Plato’s *Timaeus*, that the structure of the universe has a mathematic character and was built on the basis of simple ratios of small integer numbers. This theory, not unfamiliar to the Christian Middle Ages, the more so that it was believed to be confirmed by the biblical Wisdom of Solomon (XI, 21, “omnia in mensura, et numero et pondere disposuisti”), was developed in the epoch of the Renaissance, when it played an important part in philosophic ideas and became the basis not only of the theory of music, which in the Middle Ages belongs to the liberal arts as closely connected with mathematics, but also of the theories of architecture, painting, and sculpture.

In connection with the spread of mathematic speculations, the fact of putting six angels in Raphael’s picture is worth considering⁸². The number six was considered as the first perfect number (*primus numerus perfectus, numerus perfectissimus*) as the first in a set of rare numbers, whose integer divisors give as the sum their value. According to the opinion of Philon of Alexandria and St. Augustine, often quoted by the humanists, it was for this reason that the number six was privileged by God, who created the world in six days and on the sixth day crowned his work by creating the most perfect earthly being — man⁸³.

The symbolic meaning connected with the number six cannot fully explain the problem of the group of angels if only for the reason that Pythagorean-Platonic mathematic speculation concerned not the symbolism of particular numbers but above all the ratios between them. For it was the theory of proportion. Thus the fuller explanation of the meaning of the group of angels in Raphael’s picture should be sought also in their composition.

In the centre of the group are placed three angels singing from a common choir-book. At the side they are joined by a fourth angel, represented heraldically on the right, who sings from a separate sheet of music, holding it in his left hand while with his right he supports the choir-book of his companions as if he wanted to stress that he is not independent but also belongs to their group. The six person group of the choir is completed by two angels singing from a separate book placed heraldically on the left.

This thoughtful and even refined composition cannot be considered as accidental, especially as the sequence of numbers 2, 3, and 4, and 3, 4, and 6 had a quite defined and commonly known sense in the Pythagorean theory. In the first sequence the extreme terms 2 and 4, which are in the ratio of 1 : 2, i. e. they express the mathematical proportion of the most perfect music consonance, the octave, are divided by the number 3, which is their arithmetic mean, so that the ratio of the first to the second (2 : 3) and the second to the third (3 : 4) expresses the ratio of the two remaining basic music consonances, i. e. fifth and fourth. In the second sequence the octave (3 : 6 i. e. 1 : 2) is divided by the mean 4 into a fourth (3 : 4) and a fifth (4 : 6 i. e. 2 : 3). In other words, both sequences of numbers occurring in the composition of the group of angels express mathematic ratios of the octave divided into a fifth and fourth or into a fourth and a fifth⁸⁴. The accordance of two different proportions, called *proportionalitas*, in such a way that they would form a proportion of higher order is called harmony⁸⁵. “Harmonia est discordia concors” a famous Renaissance theoretician of music, Franchino Gafurio, taught his listeners on a woodcut in his work *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* (Pl. 2), and in order to illustrate these words on both sides of his chair there are shown three organ pipes

marked 3, 4, 6 illustrating the ratios of the octave divided into a fourth and a fifth, and on the opposite side there are three lines marked by the same numbers and a pair of dividers in order to explain that harmony is only geometry translated into sound. From the contents of the woodcut it follows indirectly, as indicated by Rudolf Wittkower, that Gafurio accepted the Pythagorean-Platonic belief that the principle of harmony is the basis of macrocosm and microcosm, universe and man, soul and body, medicine, and architecture, painting, and sculpture as well⁸⁶.

It is supposed that this mathematic principle of harmony was expressed in the composition of the group of angels in the picture from Bologna⁸⁷ and it is probably not without cause that Vasari, in describing the ecstasy of St. Cecilia said, "Santa Cecilia che da un coro in cielo d'Angeli abbagliata, sta a udire il suono, tutta data in preda all' armonia"⁸⁸.

Which role does the representation of the principle of harmony play and what is its connection with the main themes of the picture, i. e. music and love, only the Neoplatonic theories concerning music and love offered by the chief representative of this philosophical trend in the epoch of the Renaissance, Marsilio Ficino, permit us to understand.

Ficino divides music generally into divine music and its imitation human music⁸⁹. Divine music is of two kinds, corresponding to the Neoplatonic differentiation between the Cosmic Mind — the realm of pure Intelligences (angels) and Ideas — and Cosmic Soul — the nine celestial spheres -. In the Angelic Mind it exists as a mathematic Idea which is a model for the celestial spheres moving harmonically⁹⁰. The human Mind - the highest faculty of the human soul -, thanks to its divine origine, has a recollection of this music and on this basis it is blessed with an inborn and immanent feeling of harmony⁹¹. In turn, harmony of the moving celestial spheres, realizing the Idea existing in the Angelic Mind, is a model for all kinds of harmonies in sublunary world which it influences⁹². One of them is the interior harmony of the human soul⁹³. The soul and body of man are within the influence of the planets owing to links connecting the Human Spirit — the medium element linking the human soul with the body — and the Cosmic Spirit — the medium element between the heaven and the sublunary world. The Human Spirit is especially sensitive to music based on the proportion principles which through it harmonizes soul and body⁹⁴. Suitable music of voices or instruments subdues the Human Spirit under the influence of harmony of the spheres. At the same time it enables the soul to elevate itself into the realm of celestial harmony and is one of the means leading the Mind to God⁹⁵.

In the Neoplatonic system of Ficino music is connected also with love. He defined love as the desire for beauty⁹⁶ and beauty is the splendour of divine goodness whose brilliance shines through everything which exists⁹⁷. God as a pure and simple being surpasses everything else⁹⁸ so in the multiple world the divine beauty manifests itself in the accordance of the elements, that is in harmony which may appear in souls, bodies, and sounds, recognized correspondingly through thinking, seeing, and hearing⁹⁹.

In connection with the distinction between divine beauty and that which is the reflection of God in the empirical world, Ficino differentiated two basic kinds of love, i. e. celestial love (*amor coelestis*) and human love (*amor humanus*) which should not be confused with bestial love (*amor ferinus*)¹⁰⁰. Celestial love, identified with Christian *caritas*, is the desire for the beauty of God Himself. Its abode is the Angelic Cosmic Mind, continually contemplating the divine beauty, though in man, it rests in the highest faculty of his soul, the Mind. The Idea of divine beauty on the basis of which a man discovers beauty in the world surrounding him, is



2. Gafurio's lecture. From F. Gafurio, *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum*, 1518

impressed in his Mind and this is why the only way to a knowledge of divine beauty is concentration and internal experience. According to Ficino, there are seven types of *vacatio* which facilitate and favour internal concentration and contemplation, among which are melancholy, solitude, and chastity¹⁰¹. Full enchantment with divine beauty is very seldom accessible to man during his short earthly life and only for a short moment when the internal contemplation rises to ecstasy. The soul turning inwards gradually separates itself from the body and turns to God and torn from the body, sees God directly and cognizes Him, this being the highest goal of man¹⁰². Ficino called the rising of soul to God "divine madness" (*furor divinus*) and differentiated four degrees leading to ecstasy. The first is "the divine madness of the poet" (*furor poeticus*) which is the harmonizing of the soul by means of music, and the last and highest "the divine madness of the lover" (*furor amatorius*) when the harmonized and united soul enraptured by divine love, reaches God¹⁰³. Each kind of "divine madness" has its opposite, the opposite of the first being the effect caused by common music charming only the ear and of the last physical lust¹⁰⁴.

The contents of the picture of Raphael become understood fuller in the light of the Neoplatonic philosophy of Ficino. The mathematic principle of harmony expressed in the composition of the angels choir is probably the Idea of harmony and at the same time the reflection of divine beauty in the Angelic Cosmic Mind. Between it and Nature mediate the saints stand-

ing beneath on earth, among whom are those who are especially close to Renaissance Platonists i. e. John, Paul, Augustine, and Magdalene¹⁰⁵. Beyond their large figures appears the world of Nature in the form of abundant plants and a hilly landscape with a group of buildings around a central temple¹⁰⁶. The main figure of the picture St. Cecilia, who like John and melancholic thoughtful Paul, cultivated the virtue of chastity which helped internal contemplation, is shown probably at the moment of passing to the highest degree of "divine madness". After harmonizing her soul by organ playing, which at that time had for more than a century its own tablature and could therefore independently realize the postulates of harmony¹⁰⁷, she is just in the state of ecstasy; her Mind takes part, together with the angels of the divine Cosmic Mind, in the direct sight and cognition of God Himself. Scattered at her feet, the partly damaged wedding instruments, among which predominate the bacchic percussion instruments, are only a symbol of vulgar music, deceiving the ears and at the same time a symbol of physical love alone¹⁰⁸. Beneath, a shapeless stone or lump of earth and a dark hole in the corner symbolize the lowest Neoplatonic hierarchy of being, the shapeless Realm of Matter¹⁰⁹. The graded composition of the picture has its reflection in the coloristic composition of the work which in its general outline is in agreement with the hierarchy of colours of Ficino, leading from the blackness of Matter, through the brown of earth and blue of air to the shining clearness of God¹¹⁰.

The multilayer programme, full of erudition, closely connected with the philosophic ideas of the epoch, arose as the result of cooperation not only of the founder and her counsellors but also of the artist himself. Those ordering the picture played not a small part in the formation of its programme, especially since the counsellors of Elena Duglioli were Lorenzo and Antonio Pucci, members of a Florentine family connected with the Medici, with broad contacts and humanistic tradition¹¹¹. Both of them, excellently educated, were at the papal court of Julius II and Leo X, in the centre of the intellectual life of Italy¹¹² where Lorenzo even held a high position. Antonio Pucci, orator, writer, and Latin poet¹¹³ in close friendship with Elena, must have been especially active in establishing the *inventio* of the picture.

Nevertheless the part played by the artist himself must also have been very important, this being indicated by the close connection of the contents of ideas with the forms expressing them, giving the impression that the person forming the programme thought as a painter. It calls to mind the true observation of Lodovico Dolce (1508—1566), a sixteenth century theoretician of painting "Raffaello imitò talmente gli Scrittori, che spesso il giudizio de gl'intendenti si muove a credere, che questo Pittore habbia le cose meglio dipinte, che essi discritte"¹¹⁴. Raphael, living from his early youth among humanists in Urbino, Florence, and Rome and in daily contact with them, had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with numerous branches of knowledge, especially as it was his pleasure to "doceri ac docere" as Celio Calcagnini put it¹¹⁵.

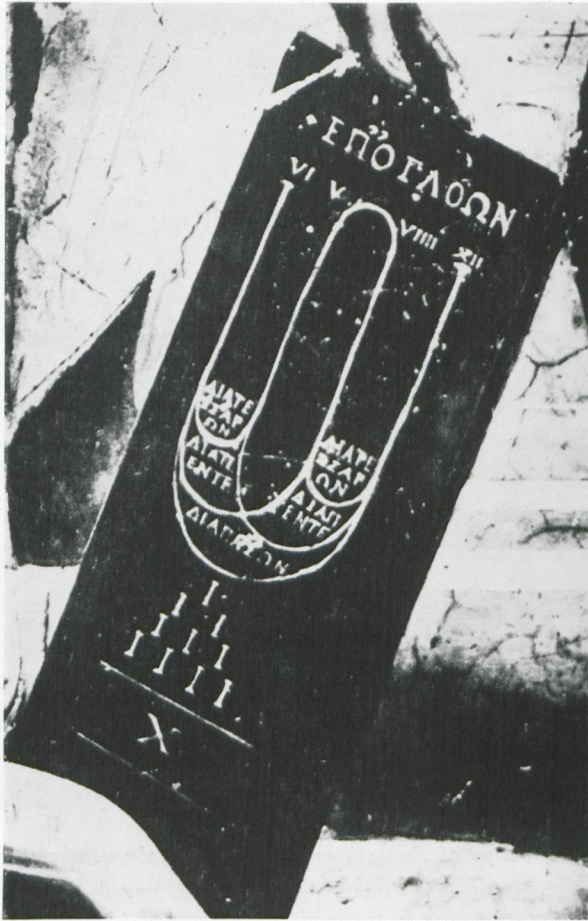
The artist's humanistic knowledge is visible also in the picture from Bologna. The very clothes of St. Cecilia, not seen before in the modern iconography¹¹⁶, were composed on the basis of the oldest known life of the saint "Caecilia vero subtu carnem cilicio erat induta, desuper auratis vestibus tegebatur"¹¹⁷. Under the golden dalmatic, through the transparent tunic, there is visible a dark cilice the hem of which appears out of the right sleeve. In order to illustrate the text most faithfully, Raphael used also the oldest accessible iconographic materials concerning St. Cecilia provided by frescoes and mosaics from Roman basilicas. The similarity of the golden dalmatic with the characteristic finish of the cut of the neckline to the clothes of the saint in the frescoes from the end of the eleventh century showing the scenes of her legend



3. *St. Cecilia with Valerian*, copy of the 11th century fresco in the vestibule of basilica *S. Cecilia in Trastevere* in Rome (Vatican Library, *Cod. Barb. lat. 4402*, one of fols. 20 ff)
4. *Virgin Mary*, the 5th century mosaic in the rood-arch of basilica *S. Maria Maggiore* in Rome. Detail from the scene of the acknowledgement of Jesus to be Son of God by *Aphrodisius*

in the vestibule of the basilica of St. Cecilia in Trastevere¹¹⁸ and the fashion, unknown to the Renaissance, of arranging the hair with a small bun over the forehead, a close analogy to the arrangement of the hair of Maria in the fifth century rood-arch mosaic in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore¹¹⁹ are surely not accidental (Pl. 3—4). In the light of the artist's interests in ancient art, holding as he did the position of conservator of antiques of the Eternal City and of his transformation in his works of forms taken from the ancient pagan and Christian world, these references to the early mediaeval iconography are quite understandable¹²⁰.

Raphael also knew the Pythagorean-Platonic theory of proportion and the mathematic principle of harmony. As an architect he had to master the theory of proportion and the proof that he applied it successfully in practice is the important remark which Sebastiano Serlio added to Raphael's design for the project of the basilica of St. Peter in the Vatican, "ne vi porrò tutte le misure di esso tempio, perciocchè essendo ben proportionato, da una parte delle misure si potrà trarre il tutto"¹²¹. He must also have known the principle of harmony for he put it on the tablet placed opposite the figure, probably of Pythagoras, in the famous *School of Athens* (Pl. 5). Here can be seen a diagrammatic design of the four strings of the ancient



5. Tablet with Pythagorean Musical Scale. Detail from Raphael's *School of Athens*

lyre connected properly and numbered 6, 8, 9, and 12, expressing the proportion of the octave (6 : 12 i. e. 1 : 2) generated by using the harmonic and arithmetic means 8 and 9 into two fifths (6 : 9 and 8 : 12 i. e. 2 : 3) and two fourths (6 : 8 and 9 : 12 i. e. 3 : 4) and the tone (8 : 9). The octave, the fifth, the fourth, and the tone are designated by their Greek names i. e. diapason, diapente, diatesaron, and epoglon. At the bottom is the perfect Pythagorean number 10 as the sum of the first four numbers which have the ratios of all basic musical consonances, i. e. the octave, the fifth, and the fourth (1 : 2 : 3 : 4)¹²².

The problems of music and its theory were not strange to Raphael, not only because the education of an artist at that time required a knowledge of it¹²³, but also because while staying at the court of Pope Leo X he had quite often to be in touch with music and its practice and theory. Leo X was a devoted music lover, he kept a large choir and numerous musicians, knew very well the theory of music, and liked to discuss with experts "tonis et chordis totaque numerorum proportione"¹²⁴. Moreover, he had a good voice, sang, and played an instrument, probably the portative organ, which stood in his room. He specially liked religious music



6. Raphael: *La Fornarina*. Galleria Barberini in Rome

which affected him strongly¹²⁵. In the atmosphere of the papal court it was not difficult to acquire a general knowledge of music.

In trying to show the contrast between the two kinds of music, divine and vulgar, Raphael returned to a subject he knew well. A similar theme is contained in one of the frescoes on the ceiling of the *Stanza della Segnatura*, executed from his own design, and showing the end of the musical contest of Apollo and Marsyas, the victory of the divine music of Apollo's lyre, based on mathematic principles, over the uncontrollable sounds of Marsyas's flute¹²⁶.

Also Raphael's knowledge of the problems of Neoplatonic philosophy is unquestioned in the light of studies of the ideological contents of the decorations of the *Stanza della Segnatura*, the *Stanza d'Eliodoro* or the Chigi chapel in the Church of S. Maria del Popolo¹²⁷. The Neoplatonic theory of love also provides the clue to a fuller understanding of the content of the series of frescoes showing the love story of Amor and Psyche in the Villa Farnesina¹²⁸.

The participation of the artist in the determination of the ideological conception of the picture is most distinctive in the elaboration of the figure of Mary Magdalene whom it is

impossible to connect positively with the presumed wishes of the founders on the basis of the known sources. Considered sometimes as one of the most beautiful female figures painted by Raphael¹²⁹, stylistically the nearest to mannerism¹³⁰ and so perhaps painted the latest, Magdalene is of the characteristic type of beauty occurring in a number of Raphael's works, and which seems to be the result of idealising the features of the girl from his well-known portrait in the Barberini Gallery (Pl. 6)¹³¹. This semi-nude young girl, wearing on her left arm a bracelet with the inscription RAPHAELE URBINAS which was probably something more than a signature¹³², has traditionally been identified with Margherita, daughter of the baker Francesco Luti, called *La Fornarina* from her father's profession, with whom Raphael was associated till the last days of his life; she was probably the cause of his putting off his wedding with the cousin of the Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena¹³³ which never took place. Proof of this great, as may be supposed, love are not only *La Fornarina's* features, more or less idealized, repeated in Raphael's many works, but also his love sonnets, probably dedicated to her, preserved in several variants on the margins and at the back of the artist's sketches for the frescoes for the *Stanza della Segnatura*¹³⁴,

"Como non podde dir d'arcana dei
Paul, como discesso fu dal celo
così el mio cor d'uno amoroso velo
a ricoperto tuti i pensser mei"

begins one of them, with this characteristic comparison of the exaltation of love to St. Paul's ecstasy so often quoted and commented on by the Neoplatonists of the Renaissance¹³⁵.

The fact of giving St. Mary Magdalene the features of the artist's beloved becomes fully understandable only in the light of the Neoplatonic idea that human love, as the desire of visual beauty which is the reflex of divine beauty, forms the first stage leading to the love of God. This view, widespread at that time, in accordance with the old tradition of the Italian *dolce stil nuovo*, confirmed by the authority of the works of Dante and Petrarch, is commonly found in the writings of the philosophers and writers of these times, and among many others it is found in *Il Cortigiano* by Baldassarre Castiglione, a friend of Raphael¹³⁶.

It is not by accident that the sublimated features of the beloved were given to Mary Magdalene in the picture from Bologna. Her legendary conversion was at that time interpreted as a transition from *amor profano* to *amor divino*¹³⁷. For this reason she is shown at the moment of joining the group of other saints, and at the same time she is looking towards the spectator serving as intermediary between him and the mystery of divine love unfolding in the picture.

The combination in Raphael's picture of various elements, religious, secular, Christian and Neoplatonic is typical for the epoch. It is known that the Neoplatonists of the Renaissance believed deeply that Christianity, the only true religion, was in accordance with Platonism, the only true philosophy. Some of them, e. g. Pico della Mirandola, called *princeps concordiae*, even went so far as to collect doctrines taken from Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, and Christian sources into some kind of universal syncretism. During the theological conflicts preceding the Reformation it was Neoplatonism that represented the attitude of tolerance and harmony¹³⁸.

In this light it becomes clear why the content programme of Raphael's picture was based on the evangelical and patristic sources and also on Christian and Pythagorean-Neoplatonic ones, which overlap, permeate, and combine into one whole in this work.

Typical also for the epoch in which the picture was painted is its involved character, consciously postulated by the Renaissance humanists cultivating esoteric knowledge and loving

hidden arguments and enigmatic statements, thanks to which they were to acquire greater earnestness and authority, according to these scholars' belief¹³⁹.

Renaissance Neoplatonism had also a strikingly theological character. Attacking the scholastic theology, its representatives turned to the biblical and patristic sources of Christianity, which they wished to supplement only with the realm of classical thought. It permits the comprehension of why such a number of *piagnoni*, the supporters of Savonarola, were from the circles of the Florentine Platonic Academy, and why from the sources of Neoplatonic *docta pietas* came the first attempts of Christian *renovatio* preceding the Reformation¹⁴⁰.

The elements of Neoplatonic philosophy, and especially of the theory of love, cannot then be surprising coming from the lips of the saintly Elena Duglioli, whose visions "per vehementia di divin amore" have a Neoplatonic character. In the work elaborated by her *Brieve e signoril modo del spiritual vivere* the service of God is defined, not without the influence of Ficino, as "un industrioso modo, et un arte di amare, nel quale cercar debbe l'innamorata anima con ogni studio, e forza copularsi al suo diletto". It further commends constant prayer "finche l'anima si reunisca con perfetta copula al suo superno sposo" and frequent taking of Holy Communion "la qual comunione non è altro che un intima unione et copula, che fa il celestial Sposo con l'innamorata anima"¹⁴¹.

A friend and confidant of Elena, the Bishop of Pistoia, Antonio Pucci, was closely connected at that time with the first attempts at the reform of Catholicism prepared among others by Neoplatonic ideas. He was in close contact with the disciple of Ficino and adherent of Savonarola, Paulo Orlandini, and with the humanist, the Venetian diplomat and later Camaldolite, Vincenzo Querini, who in 1513 together with Tommaso Giustiniani, presented a programme of radical reform of the Church to Leo X¹⁴² and was himself the author of such religious works as, for example, commentaries to the Bible and the treatise *De corporis et sanguinis Jesu Christi*. As *chierico di camera* of Leo X, Pucci at the inauguration of the ninth session of the fifth Lateran General Council in May 1514 delivered a sermon, in the presence of the Pope, calling for a reform of the Church¹⁴³. He was also a member of a secret society of clergy and seculars *Oratorio del Divin Amore*, whose aim was to deepen religious life, to take the Sacraments frequently, and cultivate the virtue of charity. This small society, counting only a few scores of members, led by Gaetano da Thiene, later canonized as S. Gaetano, was approved by Leo X in 1516, and therefore existed and was active still earlier¹⁴⁴.

Raphael, who had been a member of the confraternity *Corporis Christi* in Urbino since 1514, had contacts with the supposed members of this society, which fact as well as the influence of the ideology of *Oratorio* on the last phase of the artist's creative work, were often and for a long time stressed, though there were no factual data¹⁴⁵. Only as the result of finding the list of members of the *Oratorio* from 1524, arranged in the order of enrollment, where as the third is "R. D. Antonius Puccius episcopus Pistoriensis, Romae"¹⁴⁶ can it be said with certainty that at least the Bologna St. Cecilia was created in connection with the ideology of *Oratorio del Divin Amore* and its content programme was crystallized in the circle of the influence of Christian Neoplatonism, which played an important part in the birth of the first pre-reformational Catholic *renovatio*.

- ¹ The present article could be written thanks to the scholarship granted to me by the University of Bologna in the year 1965/66. I wish to express here my sincere gratitude to the Rector of Bologna University Professor Felice Battaglia as well as to the Italian librarians and archivists who supplied me with advice and help. I am also indebted to Miss Mary Filippi, Mrs. Strelley Waligórska and Miss Paulina Ratkowska for the English translation.
- ² The role of the Pucci in the commission of the picture should not be limited to their mediation with the artist. It seems quite probable they bore to some extent the expenses of the commission, which would become in part their gift to the holy woman. Perhaps, such is the reason for Vasari's mention about the commission of the work by Cardinal Pucci personally (G. Vasari, *Le vite de' piú eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, 1906, IV, p. 349, and III, p. 545). In a similar way an anonymous author, active in the 1st half of the XVIth century, a personal acquaintance of Elena, wrote in her biography (cap. 21) "Messer Antonio Pucci . . . fece ancor a Roma depinger la ancona da Rafael da Urbino" (quoted after G. P. Melloni, *Atti o memorie degli uomini illustri in santità, nati o morti in Bologna*, III, Bologna, 1780, pp. 332—33, note 15. The only copy of this biography available to me, preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale di Archiginnasio at Bologna, is unfortunately incomplete, its chapter 21 is lacking [Gozz. 292, fols. 19—57]. This biography is regarded as one of the oldest written sources, connected with Elena, cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, VI, 23 Sept., Antwerp, 1757, pp. 655 f., as well as *Super confirmatione cultus . . . beatae Helenae ab Oleo*, Bologna, 1827, p. 9). The commission of the picture was ascribed to Antonio Pucci also by later documents from Archivio Pucci in Florence (F. 7, N. 29) published by O. Pucci, "La santa Cecilia di Raffaello d'Urbino", *Rivista Fiorentina*, I, June 1908, pp. 6 f.
- ³ G. Vasari, ed. cit., IV, p. 349. Cf. *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, ed. C. v. Eubel, III, 1923, p. 13.
- ⁴ The biography of Elena, referred to above, relates of personal contacts between Canon Pucci (a Bishop since 1518) and Elena Duglioli, who e. g. in the year 1513 extended hospitality to the Canon during his stay at Bologna (fol. 32 v).
- ⁵ For the Pope's visit in Florence and Bologna see: L. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del Medio Evo*, IV/I, Rome, 1908, pp. 84—90, for that of Raphael: V. Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti, nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo*, 1936, p. 36 and pp. 40 f.
- ⁶ The history of the construction of the Chapel should be discussed here more circumstantially since, even if indirectly, it may throw some new light on the date of our picture. The idea of erecting the chapel was born in Elena's mind most probably only after receiving the relics of St. Cecilia, offered her by Bishop Francesco Alidosi, who since 1506 was Cardinal of St. Cecilia and since 1508 the Pope's legate at Bologna. This gift was a particle of the relics of this Saint, sent by Julius II to Henry VIII of England (cf. G. P. Melloni, *Atti o memorie*, III, p. 346). This event might take place in 1510, when the Golden Rose was sent to the King (cf. L. Pastor, op. cit., III, 1912, p. 620). On the other hand, it is known that in the early 1510 Cardinal Alidosi frequented the house of Elena, where he consecrated masses, and that several times he offered her remarkable sums for devotional purpose (G. Bolognini, *Diario delle cose di Bologna . . . dal 1494 fino al 1513*, *Bibl. di Archiginnasio*, Ms. B. 1108, pp. 202—203). A precise data of the beginning of architectural works at the chapel is unknown. It is for the year 1510 that a notice from Archivio Pucci speaks (O. Pucci, op. cit., p. 7), as well as the inscription on a commemorative plaque put into the interior wall of the Chapel in 1695 (its text quoted by M. Gualandi, *Memorie riguardanti le belle arti*, I, Bologna, 1840, p. 51). However, the anonymous biographer of Elena stated that she was inspired to build the chapel in October 1513 (cf. G. P. Melloni, op. cit., pp. 332—33) and the well-known notice of another anonymous author, published by Malaguzzi-Valeri, runs as follows: "L'anno 1514 la Beata Elena . . . fece edificare la Capella di S. Cecilia et fece fare da Raffaello d'Urbino il quadro di S. Cecilia" (F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, "Nuovi documenti. La Santa Cecilia di Raffaello", *Archivio storico dell'arte*, VII, 1894, p. 367. The notice is said to be preserved in Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Demaniale Lateranensi di San Giovanni in Monte, 145/1480, but I could not find it there). The first mention about the building already finished may be found only as late as 1516 in a diploma of 9 September, certifying the vesting with a locality Varignana of the chapel "quam prefecta Domina Elena iam est annus fundavit et de novo erexit ac fundari, erigi et

- construi fecit" (Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Lateranensi di San Giovanni in Monte, Istrumenti, 33/1373, no. 12, fol. 2v, published erroneously by G. P. Melloni, op. cit., pp. 338—39 and correctly by F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, op. cit., p. 368). This information is attested also by the anonymous biographer of Elena: "Nel mese d'Agosto del 1515 finita già la bella Cecilia . . . la magnanima Vergine . . . aveva comprato molte . . . cose . . . per far paramenti ed altri ornati ecclesiastici" (G. P. Melloni, op. cit., p. 339). The work at the chapel seems to last for several months since in Elena's testament, written on 15 April 1517 we are told: "prefacta testatrix . . . unam capellam in ecclesia sancti Joannis in Monte . . . iam est annus ellapsus a fundamentis erexit et errigi, construi et fabricari fecit" (Bibl. di Archiginnasio, Ms. B. 374, fol. 1). The consecration of the chapel and its altar took place only 24 August 1520 (G. P. Melloni, op. cit., p. 346).
- 7 J. Shearman, "Maniera as an Aesthetic Ideal", *Studies in Western Art*, II, 1963, p. 214. The dating of the picture to the years 1513—14 accepted by several scholars is based first of all on Vasari's mention referring to the nomination of Cardinal Pucci and on archival sources (not wholly credible) cited above, concerning the erection of the chapel, particularly on that, published by Malaguzzi-Valeri.
- 8 G. Vasari, ed. cit., III, pp. 545 f.
- 9 For Elena's particular devotion to St. Cecilia see e. g.: P. Recta, *Narrativa della vita e morte della beata Elena Duglioli dall'Oglio . . . scritta dal suo confessore*, Bibl. di Archiginnasio, Ms. Gozz. 292, fols. 3r, 4v, and G. P. Melloni, *Atti o memorie*, III, p. 318.
- 10 C. Justi, "Raphaels heilige Cäcilia", *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, XVII, 1904, col. 131. For a list of the representations see H. Aurenhammer, "Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie", I, 1965, p. 433.
- 11 The connection of the representation of St. John the Evangelist with the vocation of the church was pointed out by C. Justi, op. cit., cols. 135 f., and O. Fischel, *Raphael*, Berlin, 1962, p. 183.
- 12 See P. Recta, op. cit., fols. 3v, 4v, 12r, and G. P. Melloni, op. cit., pp. 318, 339 f., 439, 442.
- 13 P. Recta, op. cit., fol. 4rv, and G. P. Melloni, op. cit., pp. 317 f.
- 14 Renaissance texts concerning this symbolism are quoted by E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, 1958, p. 123, note 3.
- 15 P. Recta, op. cit., fols. 4v, 12r. Some authors regarded also St. Mary Magdalene on our picture as a symbol of chastity restored through the penitence (F. A. Gruyer, *Les Vierges de Raphaël et l'iconographie de la Vierge*, III, 1869, pp. 587 f., and O. Fischel, op. cit., p. 185), or they even extended this interpretation to St. Augustine to recognize the triumph of chastity and virginity as the main subject of the picture (P. A. de Santi, "Santa Cecilia e la musica", *Civiltà Cattolica*, LXXII, 1921, p. 328, and L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III/I, 1958, p. 282).
- 16 P. Recta, op. cit., fol. 6r (see also fols. 3r, 4r and anonymous biography of Elena, op. cit., fols. 22r, 26r, 56v).
- 17 P. Recta, op. cit., fol. 5r and anonymous biography of Elena, op. cit., fols. 54v, 55r.
- 18 To a similar conclusion came L. Müllner, "Raffaels 'Heilige Cäcilia'", *Literatur- und Kunstkritische Studien*, Vienna, 1895, pp. 183 f., basing himself on the informations concerning the supernatural origin of the inspiration, received by Elena, which caused the building of the chapel.
- 19 Cf. G. P. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura*, III, 16 (ed. Rome, 1844, I, p. 352), and C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, s. v. "Desiderio verso Iddio" (ed. Padua, 1630, p. 177).
- 20 For the problem of meaning of light as a symbol of divine Revelation in the Renaissance period see F. Hartt, "Lignum Vitae in Medio Paradisi". The Stanza d'Eliodoro and the Sistina Ceiling", *The Art Bulletin*, XXXII, 1950, pp. 122 f.
- 21 C. Ripa, op. cit., Venice, 1645, p. 623.
- 22 G. Vasari, ed. cit., IV, p. 349.
- 23 At a similar conclusion arrived L. Müllner, op. cit., p. 187, as well as O. Fischel, *Raphael*, 1962, p. 182.
- 24 Mentioned also by C. Justi, *Raphaels heilige Cäcilia*, col. 140, and L. Müllner, op. cit., p. 187.
- 25 "Sanctus Joannes apostolus, non immerito secundum intelligentiam spiritualem aquilae comparatus" (Augustinus, In Joannis Evangelium, XXXVI, 8, ed. Migne, P. L., XXXV, col. 1662, see also cols. 1666, 1686) and "acutissimi visus Aquila est Joannes, qui oculi acie in altissimae divinitatis recessum directa, prae omnibus maxime superioris naturae secreta revelavit" (P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, ed. Lugduni, 1595, pp. 181 f.).

- ²⁶ F. A. Gruyer, *Les Vierges de Raphaël*, III, p. 587; L. Müllner, *Raffaels "Heilige Cäcilia"*, p. 187; C. Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
- ²⁷ G. B. Cavalcaselle, J. A. Crowe, *Raffaello, la sua vita e le sue opere*, III, Florence, 1891, p. 77. On the other hand, Fischel, *op. cit.*, 1962, pp. 183 f., wrongly read on the strip of paper visible from the book between St. Paul and St. John the words CORIN which he tried to connect with the Epistles to the Corinthians. This inscription or rather the hardly discernible lines marking the text are wholly unreadable and the book, on which an eagle — the symbol of St. John the Evangelist — is sitting is to be related rather with the writings of the latter.
- ²⁸ The attitude of St. Paul lost in meditation, resting his head on his hand, with the eagle on his left may be interpreted as a symbol of "elevatione della mente, nata per la quiete del corpo" (C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, s. v. "Pensiero", Padua, 1630, p. 562).
- ²⁹ Augustinus, *De genesi ad litteram*, XII, and *Confessiones*, VIII, 12 (P. L., XXXIV, cols. 453, 455, 478, and XXXII, col. 762).
- ³⁰ C. Justi, *Raffaels heilige Cäcilia*, col. 140, and J. de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, XCVI (XC), ed. Wroclaw, 1890, p. 413.
- ³¹ Anonymous biography of Elena, *op. cit.*, fol. 51r (cf. also fols. 51v—56v).
- ³² P. Recta, *op. cit.*, fol. 5r (cf. also fol. 5v).
- ³³ Nicolao de Capua (1415). I quote after W. Gurlitt, "Die Musik in Raffaels Heiliger Caecilia", *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1938*, XLV, 1939, p. 94.
- ³⁴ Cf. R. Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel. Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters*, 1962, pp. 17—29. *Musica angelica* as intending to praise God was mentioned in connection with our picture by F. Liszt, "La sainte Cécile de Raphaël" (1839), *Pages romantiques*, 1912, p. 251, W. Gurlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 94, G. Bandmann, *Melancholie und Musik*, 1960, p. 131, and R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
- ³⁵ W. Gurlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 94, R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 140, A. Chastel, *Art et Humanisme à Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique*, 1959, p. 492.
- ³⁶ Augustinus, *De videndo Deo liber seu epistola 147*, XIII, P. L., XXXIII, col. 610. See also G. Bandmann, *op. cit.*, p. 128 and pp. 131 f.; R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 53—62.
- ³⁷ It seems quite probable that here, as Fischel (Raphael, 1962, p. 181) believes, we are faced with the so-called visio (auditio) spiritualis. Cf. also R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 54, and texts influenced by the writings of St. Augustine, P. L., XL, cols. 751, 796, 997, 1028.
- ³⁸ Augustinus, *Epistola 140*, XVII, P. L., XXXIII, cols. 556 f. Cf. also XXXV, col. 1935, XXXVI, cols. 774 f.; XXXVII, cols. 1101, 1917. For the other texts concerning this problem see P. A. de Santi, *Santa Cecilia*, p. 332; L. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, III, p. 105; L. Spitzer, "Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony", *Traditio*, II, 1944, p. 452.
- ³⁹ H. Quentin, "Cécile", in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, II/2, 1910, cols. 2713 and 2719. Cf. also Psalm, CXVIII, 80.
- ⁴⁰ Ancient and Mediaeval trends towards the connecting of Music with Youth are discussed by G. Bandmann, *Melancholie und Musik*, pp. 130 f., who listed the bibliography of the problem.
- ⁴¹ Musical instruments, held by angels are shown, however, on the engraving by Marc-Antonio Raimondi (Bartsch 116) representing, as Vasari attested (*ed. cit.*, V, p. 413), the picture by Raphael. Nevertheless, this engraving differs from the Raphael's work in so many important details that it was often regarded as reproducing primary designs of the painter (cf. e. g. J. Shearman, *Maniera*, p. 214). In the light of our knowledge of Raimondi's method of working (cf. P. Kristeller, "Marc-Antonios Beziehungen zu Raffael", *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 219 f., 228, and M. Pittaluga, *L'incisione italiana nel Cinquecento*, 1928, pp. 144, 197) it seems quite reasonable to assume that it might be executed even after the completion of the picture by Raphael as its liberal paraphrase (cf. W. E. Suida, *Raphael*, 1948, p. 26, and A. Petrucci, *Panorama della incisione italiana*, 1964, pp. 22 f.).
- ⁴² Augustinus, *Confessiones*, X, 33, P. L., XXXII, cols. 799 f. Cf. also M. Bukofzer, "Speculative Thinking in Mediaeval Music", *Speculum*, XVII, 1942, p. 166, and G. Bandmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 128—130.
- ⁴³ Boethius, *De musica*, I, 2, P. L., LXIII, col. 1171. Cf. W. Gurlitt, *Die Musik in Raffaels Caecilia*, p. 95; M. Bukofzer, *op. cit.*, p. 167, and L. Spitzer, *Classical and Christian Ideas*, p. 439.

- 44 E. Winternitz, "On Angel Concerts in the 15th Century", *The Musical Quarterly*, XLIX, 1963, p. 462. Mediaeval tradition of the priority of vocal music is discussed by E. de Bruyn, *Études d'esthétique médiévale*, I, pp. 312 f. In connection with Raphael's picture, conceived as an expression of this priority of vocal music over the instrumental one, the problem was discussed by many scholars e. g. J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, ed. Leipzig, 1910, II/3, p. 856; L. Gillet, *Raphaël*, Paris, s. a., p. 128; D. Frey, *Gotik und Renaissance*, 1929, p. 240; L. Spitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 452; R. Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel*, p. 257, and A. P. de Mirimonde, "La musique dans les œuvres hollandaises du Louvre", *La Revue du Louvre*, XII, 1962, p. 175.
- 45 Instrument is here represented as if reflected in the mirror, according to exigences of the composition (W. Gurlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 87).
- 46 *Breviarium Romanum*, 22 November. See also H. Quentin, *Cécile*, cols. 2721 f.; P. A. de Santi, *Santa Cecilia*, p. 327, and H. Aurenhammer, *Lexikon*, p. 427.
- 47 CLXIX (CLXIV), *ed. cit.*, pp. 771—72; see also O. Fischel, *Raphael*, 1962, p. 181.
- 48 Augustinus, *Enarratio in Psalmum 56*, P. L., XXXVI, col. 671; see also P. A. de Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 320.
- 49 See e. g. *Ibid.*, p. 327; K. Künstle, *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst*, II, 1926, p. 149; W. Gurlitt, *Die Musik in Raffaels Caecilia*, pp. 84 f.; L. Réau, *Iconographie*, III/1, pp. 279 f.; H. Aurenhammer, *op. cit.*, p. 427.
- 50 See P. A. de Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 326; R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 279, note 71, and H. Aurenhammer, *op. cit.*, pp. 429 f.
- 51 See W. Apel, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, X, 1962, cols. 338—39, and R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
- 52 See H. Hickmann, in *Die Musik in Geschichte*, X, cols. 263 ff.
- 53 See Philo, *De somniis*, I, 35—37. Cf. also Z. Ameisenowa, "Some neglected representations of the Harmony of the Universe", *Essays in honor of Hans Tietze*, 1958, pp. 350 f., 353 f., 357 f. Christian opinions on this subject are discussed by Spitzer, *Classical and Christian Ideas*, pp. 427, 442 and 456. This author regards the painting of Raphael as a reflex of the ideas concerning the identity of the music with the Divine Grace (pp. 451 f.).
- 54 See e. g. Joannes Tinctoris, *Complexus affectuum musices*, III, "Pictores, quando beatorum gaudia designare volunt, angelos diversa instrumenta musica concrepantes depingunt" (quoted here after W. Gurlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 94, and R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 140).
- 55 The oldest representations of this type (to begin with an anonymous Netherlandish drawing of ca 1400) were published by A. P. de Mirimonde, "La musique dans les œuvres de l'École des anciens Pays-Bas au Louvre", *La Revue du Louvre*, XIII, 1963, pp. 20 f. and figs. 1—3. See also P. A. de Santi, *Santa Cecilia*, p. 326; R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 279, and H. Aurenhammer, *Lexikon*, pp. 429 f.
- 56 Musicians playing at the wedding of St. Cecilia according to the text of the legend held real musical instruments on the frescoes of the beginning of the XVth century in the sacristy of Sta Maria del Carmine in Florence (cf. G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, cols. 249 ff., fig. 285). Instead, on the painting by Riccardo Quartararo of ca 1500 in the Palermo Cathedral an angel playing the lute at the Saint's feet symbolizes the celestial music (cf. G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, 1965, cols. 275 ff., fig. 301). Perhaps, the only Italian representation of St. Cecilia with a musical instrument antecedent to Raphael's picture is the painting of Signorelli's School executed at the beginning of the 16th century, now in the Pinacotheca at Città di Castello. Here Christ crowns St. Cecilia who is holding the organ (see H. Aurenhammer, *op. cit.*, p. 430).
- 57 See Cicero, *De republica*, VI, 18, and Boethius, *De musica*, I, 1; Augustinus, *Epistola 166*, 13, and *Epistola 55*, 33 (P. L., LXIII, col. 1168; XXXIII, col. 726, and col. 221).
- 58 Cf. R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
- 59 Similar conclusions were draught by F. Liszt, *La sainte Cécilie*, p. 252; F. A. Gruyer, *Les Vierges de Raphaël*, III, p. 583; A. Springer, *Raffaël und Michelangelo*, I, 1883, p. 290; C. Justi, *Raphaels heilige Cäcilia*, col. 140; O. Fischel, *Raphael*, pp. 181 and 185, and G. Bandmann, *Melancholie und Musik*, p. 127. Contrariwise, R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 255 ff., has expressed an opinion, that here with reference to the text of the legend the absolute priority of the vocal celestial music over

the instrumental terrestrial one is represented and that between these two kinds of music no connection exists except for the glance of the Saint, directed upward: "Die Musik der Menschen hat keinen Teil an der der Engel". Cf. also W. Gurlitt, *Die Musik in Raffaels Caecilia*, p. 97, and L. Réau, *Iconographie*, III/I, p. 282.

⁶⁰ Cf. P. A. de Santi, *Santa Cecilia*, p. 327, and G. Bandmann, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁶¹ W. Gurlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁶² G. Vasari, *ed. cit.*, VI, p. 551.

⁶³ Cf. similar opinion by R. Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel*, pp. 256 f.

⁶⁴ Plato, *Leges*, 669 D—E. See also G. Bandmann, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁶⁵ R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, who quoted opinions of particular Fathers.

⁶⁶ See E. E. Lowinsky, "Music in the Culture of the Renaissance", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XV, 1954, p. 528; F. Gibbons, "Two Allegories by Dosso for the Court of Ferrara", *The Art Bulletin*, XLVII, 1965, p. 495, and A. P. de Mirimonde, *La musique dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, p. 27. The musical instruments appear to be sure very frequently in the art of that time in the hands of angels but in another capacity as instruments of angels taking part in heavenly liturgy, based on Biblical texts (Psalm 150), see R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 ff.

⁶⁷ See also C. Justi, *Raphaels heilige Cäcilia*, col. 139; A. Chastel, *Art et Humanisme à Florence*, p. 492; R. Hammerstein, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

⁶⁸ Augustinus, *Sermo* 33, I, and *Sermo* 336, I (P. L., XXXVIII, cols. 207 and 1472. Cf. also XXXVII, col. 1866).

⁶⁹ Anonymous biography of Elena, *op. cit.*, fol. 52v.

⁷⁰ For the connection of Love with Music or with the extase of St. Cecilia see F. A. Gruyer, *Les Vierges de Raphael*, III, p. 585; G. Franciosi, *La Cecilia Raffaellesca*, Modena, 1872, pp. 12 and 20; C. Justi, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 and 139; A. P. de Santi, *Santa Cecilia*, p. 327.

⁷¹ C. Ripa, s. v., "Gratia", *ed. Padua*, 1630, p. 304.

⁷² C. Justi, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 ff.; O. Fischel, *Raphael*, 1962, p. 183; A. Chastel, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

⁷³ Cf. C. Ripa, s. v. "Fede cattolica", *ed. cit.*, pp. 242 f., "La mano che tiene sopra il petto, mostra, che dentro nel cuore si riposa la vera et viva fede".

⁷⁴ Augustinus, *Confessiones*, IX, 2, P. L., XXXII, col. 764.

⁷⁵ Cf. G. P. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'Arte della Pittura*, III, 14, *ed. cit.*, I, pp. 349 f., and C. Ripa, s. v. "Carità" and "Consiglio", *ed. cit.*, pp. 107 and 139.

⁷⁶ Paulus, *Ep. ad Hebraeos*, IV, 12, and *Ep. ad Ephesios*, VI, 17. Cf. also P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, XLII, s. v. "De Gladio", *ed. cit.*, p. 415.

⁷⁷ See W. Stander, "Schlaginstrumente", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, XI, cols. 1786—88 and 1791—93.

⁷⁸ This passage of the Epistle to the Corinthians as related with St. Paul on the Raphael's picture was quoted by C. Justi, *Raphaels heilige Cäcilia*, col. 138; P. A. de Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 332; L. Spitzer, *Classical and Christian Ideas*, p. 452, and O. Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁷⁹ The mediation of St. Mary Magdalene between the beholder and the scene shown in the picture was mentioned by G. Franciosi, *Cecilia Raffaellesca*, p. 41; E. Müntz, *Raphaël*, 1886, p. 558; C. Justi, *op. cit.*, col. 137; W. Gurlitt, *Die Musik in Raffaels Caecilia*, p. 87; S. J. Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence*, I, 1961, p. 175.

⁸⁰ Cf. P. O. Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, 1956, p. 27.

⁸¹ E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, 1955, p. 89.

⁸² Only if there were seven angels it might be possible as F. X. Kraus and J. Sauer suggested (*Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, II, 2, 1908, pp. 512 f.; cf. also G. Bandmann, *Melancholie und Musik*, pp. 131 f.), to connect them with the representations of the harmony of the spheres, i. e. harmonic music emitted by the spheres of the seven planets. According to classical version of the myth these planets were moved by singing Sirenes or Muses while according to that of mediaeval Christianity by singing angels (cf. e. g. Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXX, 92—93). For the angels and the harmony of spheres see L. Spitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 423; Ch. de Tolnay, "The Music of the Universe", *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, VI, 1943, pp. 90 ff.; R. Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel*, pp. 118 f., 134 f. and 175 f.

- ⁸³ The symbolism of the number 6 was discussed by Philo, *De opificio mundi*, 13—14, *De specialibus legibus*, II, 58, *Legum allegoriae*, I, 2—3; Augustinus, *De genesi ad litteram*, IV, 2, *De civitate Dei*, XI, 30 (P. L., XXXIV, cols. 296—99, XLI, cols. 343 f.); Boethius, *De Arithmetica*, I, 19—20 (P. L., LXIII, cols. 1097—99), and L. Pacioli, *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportioni e proportionalità*, Venice, 1494, fols. 2v and 3rv. The latter ranks it together with the number 5 to the particular category of *numeri circulari* i. e. the numbers of which all might end with the number of base ($6^2 = 36$, $6^3 = 216$, $6^4 = 1296$) “numero circolare sempre in lui ritorna, et semper idem ipse est, et nunquam deficit ad instar ipsius Dei” (fol. 3v). Considerations on the symbolism of this very number swell to an ample discourse in the erudite work of F. Giorgi, *De harmonia mundi totius cantica tria*, Venice, 1525, fols. 35rf and 172vf.
- ⁸⁴ The Pythagorean theory of proportions, expressing the basical music consonances (the octave, the fifth and the fourth) as well as the theory of the three types of proportion the arithmetic ($b-a = c-b$, i. e. $b = \frac{a+c}{2}$), the geometric ($a:b = b:c$, i. e. $b = \sqrt{ac}$) and the “harmonic” one ($\frac{b-a}{a} = \frac{c-b}{c}$, i. e. $b = \frac{2ac}{a+c}$), included in Plato’s *Timaios* and discussed by Philo, Boethius, Alberti, Pacioli, Ficino, Gafurio, Barbaro, F. Giorgi and many others were explained by R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 1952, pp. 89—135.
- ⁸⁵ See L. Spitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 438; R. Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 and 120; A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficin et l’art*, 1954, p. 102; H. Kayser, “Die Harmonie der Welt”, *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1958, p. 427; H. Hüschen, “Der Harmoniebegriff im Mittelalter”, *Studium Generale*, XIX, 1966, pp. 553 f.
- ⁸⁶ For the interpretation of this woodcut, used as an illustration in the Gafurio’s works *Angelicum ac divinum opus musicæ*, Milan, 1508, and *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum*, Milan, 1518, see R. Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 f.
- ⁸⁷ The principle of harmony played a particular role in Italian music of the period under discussion as a result of the development of a new simultaneous conception of music, so-called harmonic simultaneity (see E. E. Lowinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance*, pp. 529—35 and 551). In representing the choir of angels singing simultaneously from three sheets of music (which themselves might symbolize music harmony cf. C. Ripa, s. v. “Musica”, *ed. cit.*, p. 502: “Il libro di musica mostra la regola vera da far participar altrui l’armonie in quel modo che si puo per mezo de gl’occhi”) Raphael might mean the same simultaneous trivocal harmonic chant as defined by Gafurio “tres soni, harmonica medietate dispositi et simul sonantes, dulcissimum concentum atque ipsam armoniam efficiunt” (*De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum*, Milan, 1518, fol. 80v).
- ⁸⁸ Vasari, *ed. cit.*, IV, p. 349. That Vasari knew the principle of music harmony his definition of another harmony furnished evidence, namely, the coloristic one. Basing himself evidently on formulations elaborated by the theory of Music he referred to this harmony (“*unione dei colori*”) as to “*una discordanza di colori diversi accordati insieme*” and “*una discordanza accordatissima*” (see J. Shearman, *Maniera*, p. 203).
- ⁸⁹ M. Ficino, *Opera*, Basel, 1561, p. 614.
- ⁹⁰ “*Est autem apud Platonicos interpretes divina musica duplex, alteram profecto in aeterna Dei mente consistere arbitrantur, alteram vero in coelorum ordine, ac motibus, qua mirabilem quandam coelestes globi orbisque concentum efficiunt*” and on the mathematic essence of the Idea of Music “*Figurae autem numerique partium naturalium... cum idaeis maximam habent in mente mundi regina connexionem*” (M. Ficino, *ed. cit.*, pp. 614 and 555).
- ⁹¹ “*L’Animo nostro da principio fu dotato della ragione di questa musica, et meritamente, essendo l’origine sua dal Cielo dentro a lui è nata la Celeste Armonia*” (M. Ficino, *Sopra lo amore a ver Convito di Platone*, V, 13, *ed. Florence*, 1544, p. 123). Cf. also P. O. Kristeller, *Il pensiero filosofico di Marsilio Ficino*, 1953, p. 331 (*Engl. ed.*, 1943, p. 307), and *Studies in Renaissance Thought*, pp. 464 f.
- ⁹² Cf. “*Quoniam vero coelum est harmonica ratione compositum, moveturque harmonice, et harmonicis motibus atque sonis efficit omnia, merito per harmoniam solam non solum homines, sed inferiora haec omnia pro viribus ad capienda coelestia praeparantur*” (M. Ficino, *Opera*, p. 564).
- ⁹³ “*Veram Plato musicam nihil esse aliud quam animi consonantiam arbitrat*” (*Supplementum Ficianum ed. P. O. Kristeller*, 1937, I, p. 51). For the mathematic basis of the harmony of soul in

- Ficino's thought see A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficin*, pp. 100 and 105, and P. O. Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought*, p. 466.
- ⁹⁴ M. Ficino, *Opera*, p. 651; see P. O. Kristeller, *Il pensiero di Ficino*, p. 332 (Engl. ed., p. 307).
- ⁹⁵ "Non ignoras concentus per numeros proportionesque suas, vim habere mirabilem ad spiritum et animum et corpus sistendum, movendum et afficiendum" (M. Ficino, *Opera*, p. 555; cf. also p. 614). See also P. O. Kristeller, *Il pensiero di Ficino*, p. 332, and the same *Studies in Renaissance Thought*, p. 464. Making the influence of the planets upon the man easier Music plays an important role in Ficino's system of natural magic. In the sevengrade hierarchy of the things, distinguished by him, of which harmonies are said to win the influence of a particular planets, Music holds the central position being the counterpart of the Sun-Apollo (see M. Ficino, *Opera*, pp. 562, 564, and L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, IV, 1934, p. 565; A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficin*, pp. 71—79; D. P. Walker, "Orpheus the Theologian and Renaissance Platonists", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVI, 1953, pp. 100—102, and first of all The same, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, 1958, pp. 3—24).
- ⁹⁶ M. Ficino, *Opera*, e. g., p. 631. See also E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 1939, pp. 141 f.
- ⁹⁷ M. Ficino, *Sopra lo amore*, II, 3, ed. cit., pp. 30 f. See also E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, p. 133. Other formulations of the definition of Beauty in Ficino's writings are listed by A. Kuczyńska, "Teoria piękna Marsilia Ficina", *Estetyka*, IV, Warsaw, 1963, pp. 94—96.
- ⁹⁸ "Adunque la Luce et Pulcritudine di Dio, la quale è interamente pura, et da ogni condizione libera, senza dubbio è Pulcritudine infinita" (M. Ficino, *Sopra lo amore*, VI, 18, ed. cit., p. 202).
- ⁹⁹ "Pulchritudo corporis non in umbra materiae, sed in luce et gratia formae, non in tenebrosa mole, sed in lucida quadam proportione, non in pigro ineptoque pondere, sed in convenienti numero et mensura, consistit. Lucem vero, ipsam gratiam, proportionem, numerum, et mensuram, cogitatione, aspectu, auditu, duntaxat attingimus. Hucusque igitur se extendit verus veri amantis affectus" and "Pulchritudo vero gratia quaedam est quae ut plurimum in concinnitate plurimum maxime nascitur" (M. Ficino, *Opera*, pp. 631 f. and 1322; cf. also P. O. Kristeller, *Il pensiero di Ficino*, pp. 285, 329 [Engl. ed., pp. 265, 305], and A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficin*, p. 87). The beauty of proportions and of harmony in the world accessible to our senses is thus conceived by Ficino as a reflex of transcendental Beauty, inhering in God's perfect unity (cf. note 98). In such a way this author attempted the reconciliation of "phenomenalistic" Pythagorean apprehension of beauty, proclaimed in the Renaissance period in the most impressive way by Alberti, with Neoplatonic transcendental concepts of beauty, as expressed by Plotin (a similar opinion was shared by G. Pico della Mirandola, *Commento sopra una Canzona de Amore composta da Girolamo Benivieni*, II, 6—8, ed. *Opera*, Basel, 1601, I, pp. 501 f.). Ficino's views of this matter were however, by no means steady as his own criticism of beauty of proportions proved, included in his commentaries upon Symposium by Plato and Enneads by Plotin (M. Ficino, *Opera*, pp. 1335, 1574, cf. also Panofsky's, perhaps slightly unilateral, presentation of Ficino's theory of beauty "Idea", 1924, pp. 28—30, 122—26, and *Studies in Iconology*, p. 133) where he aimed above all to show the transcendental origin of beauty (see P. O. Kristeller, *Il pensiero di Ficino*, p. 285, Engl. ed., p. 265).
- ¹⁰⁰ Ficino's theory of Love was discussed by E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, pp. 141—45, and A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficin*, pp. 121—28.
- ¹⁰¹ M. Ficino, *Opera*, pp. 294—95. See also P. O. Kristeller, *Il pensiero di Ficino*, pp. 230 (Engl. ed., p. 216); A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficin*, pp. 44, 176, and R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy*, 1964, pp. 254—74.
- ¹⁰² See P. O. Kristeller, *Il pensiero di Ficino*, pp. 227—39 (Engl. ed., pp. 214—25), and The same, *Renaissance Thought II*, 1965, pp. 94 ff.
- ¹⁰³ M. Ficino, *Opera*, pp. 1361 ff. See also E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, p. 140, and A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficin*, pp. 127—35.
- ¹⁰⁴ "Ma sono quattro affetti adulterati, i quali contraffanno questi quatro furori il furore Poetico è contraffatto da questa Musica vulgare, la quale solamente gli orecchi lusinga . . . quello dell'Amore dallo impeto della Libidine" (M. Ficino, *Sopra lo amore*, VII, 15, ed. cit., p. 249).
- ¹⁰⁵ The reasons for the popularity of these Saints were given by P. O. Kristeller, *The Classics and Renaissance Thought*, 1955, pp. 82 ff.; The same, *Studies in Renaissance Thought*, pp. 38, 359—372;

- E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, pp. 139—40; A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficino*, pp. 48, 131, 168, and *The same, Art et Humanisme à Florence*, pp. 84 f.
- ¹⁰⁶ An attempt was made toward the identification of the church with one of two churches in the close neighbourhood of Bologna either with S. Giovanni in Monte for which the picture was commissioned at Raphael (G. B. Cavalcaselle, J. A. Crowe, *Raffaello*, III, p. 78) or S. Maria del Monte, which did not preserve up to the present days (F. Filippini, "Raffaello a Bologna", *Cronache d'Arte*, II, 5, 1925, p. 30).
- ¹⁰⁷ See R. Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel*, p. 250, and also W. Gurlitt, *Die Musik in Raffaels Caecilia*, p. 95, and L. Spitzer, *Classical and Christian Ideas*, p. 444 f.
- ¹⁰⁸ "Due sono le generazioni della Musica, l'una è grave et constante, l'altra molle et lasciva. Quella è utile a chi l'usa, questa è dannosa . . . Altri amano la prima generazione di Musica, altri la generazione seconda. Allo Amore de'primi si debbe consentire et concedere que'suoni, che essi amano, allo Appetito degli altri si debbe resistere, perche lo Amore di coloro è celeste, et degli Altri vulgare" (M. Ficino, *Sopra lo amore*, III, 3, ed. cit., pp. 57 f.).
- ¹⁰⁹ Neoplatonic hierarchies found its pictorial reflection also in other Italian Renaissance works of art as the designs for the Tomb of Julius II and the Tombs of Medicis by Michelangelo (E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, pp. 190—212). A similar music hierarchy, namely, the music impinging only on senses, the sacral one and the divine music of the Universe, was represented by Carpaccio in *Scuola di San Giorgio dei Schiavoni* (E. E. Lowinsky, "The Music in 'St. Jerome's Study'", *The Art Bulletin*, XLI, 1959, pp. 298—301).
- ¹¹⁰ M. Ficino, *Opera*, pp. 825 f. See also A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficino*, pp. 103 f.
- ¹¹¹ For another of Puccis, Giannozzo — a brother of already known to us Lorenzo — Botticelli painted in 1483 four pictures on the themes from Boccaccio; one of the members of the family — Francesco Pucci (1462—1512), a humanist, who lived since 1485 at Naples, an author of Latin orations and translator from Greek, was a pupil of Angelo Poliziano and corresponded with Ficino (M. Ficino, *Opera*, pp. 898 f.; A. Poliziano, *Opera*, Lyons, 1550, I, pp. 164—172; M. Pocciantius, *Catalogus scriptorum florentinorum*, Florence, 1589, p. 65; G. Negri, *Istoria degli scrittori fiorentini*, Ferrara, 1722, p. 215; M. Santoro, *Uno scolaro del Poliziano a Napoli. Francesco Pucci*, 1948, and M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists*, 1962, IV, pp. 2968 f., V, pp. 1486 f. — where he is confounded with his namesake about 80 years younger).
- ¹¹² For Lorenzo Pucci, for whose Roman Palace Michelangelo designed the façade (F. Barbieri, L. Puppi, "Catalogo delle opere architettoniche di Michelangiolo", in *Michelangiolo architetto*, 1964, p. 869, with full bibliography of the subject), see G. Negri, op. cit., pp. 379 f., and G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, LV, Venice, 1852, pp. 80 f.
- ¹¹³ See M. Pocciantius, op. cit., p. 17; G. Negri, op. cit., pp. 67 f.; G. B. Melloni, *Atti o memorie*, III, p. 328, and M. E. Cosenza, op. cit., IV, pp. 2967 f.
- ¹¹⁴ L. Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura intitolato l'Aretino*, Venice, 1557, p. 42, who quoted the "quadro della santa Cecilia dall'organo, che è in Bologna nella chiesa di san Giovanni in Monte" as an example of the "inventioni mirabili" of Raphael.
- ¹¹⁵ Celio Calcagnini to Jacob Ziegler in 1519 (see V. Golzio, *Raffaello*, p. 282).
- ¹¹⁶ Even in Raphael's own works; in the artistic production of this painter St. Cecilia appeared for the first time in 1504 among the saints assisting the Virgin on the altar painting executed for St. Anthony's Church at Perugia, now preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and, subsequently, in a cycle of frescoes painted after his designs in the time between 1513—20 in the chapel at Leo's X villa La Magliana near Rome, which were destroyed and are known to us only from the engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi (see V. Golzio, op. cit., pp. 200, 216, 348; C. Justi, *Raphaels heilige Cäcilia*, col. 132; O. Fischel, *Raphael*, pp. 32 f.; H. Aurenhammer, *Lexikon*, pp. 433 f.).
- ¹¹⁷ *Passio S. Caeciliae* (see note 39). Cf. also J. da Voragine "illa subter ad carnem cilicio erat induta et desuper deauratis vestibis tegebatur" (*Legenda aurea*, CLXIX/CLXIV, ed. cit., p. 771).
- ¹¹⁸ These frescoes, preserved only in fragments, are known to us from the 17th century drawings, see J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom 4. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, 1916, II, 2, pp. 985 ff., figs. 474 and 477, and IV, pl. 238 (2).

- ¹¹⁹ The Virgin Mary in the scene of the Acknowledgement of Jesus to be Son of God by Aphrodisius (J. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 489 ff., and III, pl. 68). A similar, even if slightly finer arranging of hair may be seen on the 6th century mosaic with the representation of St. Cecilia in San Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, to which Justi (*op. cit.*, col. 134) compares the clothes of our Saint, but it is not sure whether Raphael could have seen it.
- ¹²⁰ For the bibliography concerning Raphael's antiquarian interests see A. M. Brizio, s. v. "Raffaello" in *Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte*, XI, 1963, cols. 248 f. Cf. also E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, p. 142; C. G. Stridbeck, *Raphael Studies II. Raphael and Tradition*, 1963, and F. Huemer, "Raphael and the Villa Madama", *Essays in Honor of Walter Friedlaender*, New York, 1965, pp. 92—99.
- ¹²¹ Ed. Tutte l'opere d'architettura, Venice, 1619, fol. 64v. For Raphael's introducing into arcana of theory of architecture Fra Giovanni Giocondo was responsible, the man, who was the editor of the first illustrated Vitruvius' treatise (Venice, 1511) and who was helping the artist at his works at St. Peter's. In a letter of 1 July 1514 to one of his relatives Raphael wrote about him: "(Papa) mi ha dato un Com(pagn)o Frate doctissimo . . . ch'è huomo di gran riputatione sapientissimo acciò ch'io possa imparare, se ha alcun bello secreto in architectura, acciò io diventa perfettissimo in quest'arte, ha nome fra Giocondo" (see V. Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti*, p. 32).
- ¹²² H. Hettner, *Italienische Studien*, Brunswick, 1879, pp. 198 ff., A. Springer, *Raffael und Michelangelo*, I, pp. 246 f. and 338, R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles*, pp. 109 f. and pl. 38 (b). Cf. also M. Vogel, "Harmonia und Mousikē im griechischen Altertum", *Studium Generale*, XIX, 1966, p. 538. The sequence of first four integer numbers, which sum is 10, the perfect Pythagorean number (cf. e. g. Philo, *De decalogo*, 20—23, and *De opificio mundi*, 47—48), and which comprise the ratios of all basic musical consonances including twice the octave (1:2 and 2:4) as well as the octave generated into fifth and fourth (2:3:4), may be found also in the composition of the angelic choir on the Bologna picture if we shall not interpret the angel with the separate sheet of music only as completing the three person group of his companions.
- ¹²³ See R. Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff.; cf. also P. O. Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought*, pp. 451—70.
- ¹²⁴ A. Pirro, "Leo X and Music", *The Musical Quarterly*, XXI, 1935, p. 12.
- ¹²⁵ For musical interests of Leo X and the role of music at his Court see L. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, IV, 1, pp. 130, 325, 334, 353 and 377 ff.; A. Pirro, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—16, and W. Gurlitt, *Die Musik in Raffaels Caecilia*, p. 86.
- ¹²⁶ E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, pp. 142 ff.; A. Chastel, *Art et Humanisme à Florence*, pp. 48—54; E. Winternitz, "The Curse of Pallas Athena. Notes on a 'Contest between Apollo and Marsyas' in the Kress Collection", in *Studies in the History of Art* dedicated to W. E. Suida, 1959, p. 187. Cf. also E. Garin, *Filosofi italiani del Quattrocento*, 1942, pp. 436 f.
- ¹²⁷ See A. Springer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 229—55, 332—38; E. Wind, "Platonic Justice designed by Raphael" and "The Four Elements in Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937, pp. 69 f., and II, 1938—39, pp. 75 ff.; The same, *Pagan Mysteries*, pp. 142—46; D. Redig de Campos, *Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 1946, pp. 11—27; C. G. Stridbeck, *Raphael Studies*, I, 1960, pp. 11 and 31—41; F. Hartt, "Lignum Vitae in Medio Paradisi", pp. 122 f., and J. Shearman, "The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIV, 1961, p. 142.
- ¹²⁸ See F. Saxl, *Lectures*, I, 1957, p. 194; E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences*, 1960, p. 191. For Neoplatonic concept of Love in Raphael's paintings see A. Chastel, *Art et Humanisme à Florence*, pp. 489—99.
- ¹²⁹ J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, ed. cit., II, 3, p. 857.
- ¹³⁰ Cf. S. J. Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance*, I, p. 176, and J. Shearman, *Maniera as an Aesthetic Ideal*, p. 214.
- ¹³¹ In spite of the remarkable artistic value of this picture, its signature and evidence traceable back to the 16th century (see V. Golzio, *Raffaello*, pp. 170 and 217), Raphael's authorship is contested by some scholars who attempt to ascribe it to Raphael's pupils (e. g. O. Fischel, *Raphael*, p. 93, and F. Hartt, "A Drawing of the Fornarina as the Madonna", in *Essays in Honor of Walter Friedlaender*, 1965, pp. 90 f.). A solution of this problem would overstep the bounds of the present article, however, it

- seems useful to recall here a convincing opinion of J. Shearman who connects the picture with Raphael personally ("Le seizième siècle européen", *The Burlington Magazine*, Febr. 1966, p. 63), as well as to notice that even those of the scholars, who denied Raphael's authorship considered the picture to be a portrait of Fornarina, they pointed to the resemblance of the represented model to St. Mary Magdalen on the Bologna picture and to other women on Raphael's pictures, particularly the Donna Velata in Galleria Pitti and Sixtine Madonna in Dresden (e. g. O. Fischel, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 f., 184 f.; F. Hartt, *A Drawing of the Fornarina*, p. 91, and S. J. Freedberg, *op. cit.*, p. 175).
- ¹³² If the assumption is right that the bracelet inscribed with the artist's name on the left arm of the represented girl symbolizes the ties of love bounding her and Raphael, it may be also acceptable that the enigmatic armband on St. Cecilia left arm, foreign to the iconographic tradition and without any costumological justification, being executed of the same material as the Saint's sacral dalmatic, symbolizes according to the text of the legend mystical ties bounding St. Cecilia "col suo superno sposo".
- ¹³³ See A. Zazzaretta, "I sonetti di Raffaello", *L'Arte*, XXXII, 1929, pp. 85 f.; V. Golzio, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 f., 120, 217 and 264. Vasari's informations on love in Raphael's life induce us to think that during his stay in Rome the artist was constant in love for only one woman (ed. cit., IV, pp. 354 f., 365 f., 380 ff.).
- ¹³⁴ O. Fischel, *Raphaels Zeichnungen*, VI, 1925, pp. 306—21 and nos. 277—87. Cf. also A. Zazzaretta, *op. cit.*, pp. 77—88, 97—106, and V. Golzio, *op. cit.*, pp. 181—88.
- ¹³⁵ Cf. e. g. M. Ficino, *Opera*, pp. 425—72, 697—706, and G. Pico della Mirandola, *Opera*, ed. cit., I, p. 209.
- ¹³⁶ Cf. "Quel fulgore della divinità, che risplende nel corpo bello, costringe gli amanti a meravigliarsi, temere, et venerare detta persona, come una statua di Dio", "Certamente colui che usa rettamente lo Amore, loda la forma del corpo. Ma per mezzo di quella cogita una più eccellente spezie nella Anima, nello Angelo, et in Dio, et quella con più fervore desidera" or "Se è ci piaceranno i Corpi, gli Animi, gli Angeli, non ameremo questi propii, ma Dio in questi. Nei corpi ameremo l'ombra di Dio, negli Animi la similitudine di Dio, nelli Angeli la immagine di Dio" (M. Ficino, *Sopra lo amore*, II, 6—7, VI, 19, ed. cit., pp. 37, 42, 203). Cf. also G. Pico della Mirandola, *Commento sopra la Canzona di Benivieni*, II, 14, and III, 10, *Opera*, ed. cit., I, pp. 506, 514 ff.; F. Cattani da Diacceto, *I tre libri d'amore*, Venice, 1561, pp. 152—61, and B. Castiglione, *Il Cortigiano*, IV, 62, 67—68. For the spreading of this opinion in poetry under the influence of *Gli Asolani* by Pietro Bembo see L. Tonelli, *L'amore nella poesia e nel pensiero del Rinascimento*, 1933, pp. 67—107.
- ¹³⁷ Such are contents of one of Florentine sacra representatione (L. Tonelli, *op. cit.*, p. 238). St. Augustine's staring glance at the beautiful juvenile face of St. John the Evangelist may also be interpreted as an example of human love leading to divine one (cf. M. Ficino, *Sopra lo amore*, VI, 14, ed. cit., pp. 182 f.).
- ¹³⁸ See P. O. Kristeller, *Il pensiero di Ficino*, pp. 346—49; The same, *Classics and Renaissance Thought*, pp. 70—91; The same, *Renaissance Thought*, II, pp. 91, 98 f.; E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, pp. 130 f.; D. P. Walker, *Orpheus the Theologian*, pp. 105—107; A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficin*, pp. 14 f., and The same, *Art et Humanisme à Florence*, pp. 195—206.
- ¹³⁹ See D. P. Walker, *Orpheus the Theologian*, pp. 106 f.; A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficin*, pp. 141—156, and E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, pp. 16—23.
- ¹⁴⁰ See H. Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, I, 1951, p. 124, and A. Chastel, *Marsile Ficin*, pp. 14 f.; The same, *Art et Humanisme à Florence*, p. 195.
- ¹⁴¹ G. B. Melloni, *Atti o memorie degli uomini illustri in santità*, III, pp. 437—39. These Elena's formulations, not without influence of Neoplatonic ideas assume a particular expression when considered against Averroism spreading from the Bologna University where since 1512 worked Pietro Pomponazzi. This author of a treatise *De Immortalitate animae*, published in 1516, proclaimed the criticism of Neoplatonic theory on the immortality of souls, of the same theory, which just in the time under discussion, in 1513, was ranked by the 5th Lateran Council among the dogmas of the Church (see E. Cassirer, P. O. Kristeller and J. H. Randall, *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, 1948, pp. 8—20, 257—79, and H. Jedin, *Kleine Konziliengeschichte*, 1959, pp. 78 f.). The controversy with the Averroists about the immortality of individual human souls explains why the contemporaries of the artist saw in St. Cecilia's extase on the Bologna picture an image of the very soul of the Saint. Vasari writes "trema la carne, vedesi lo spirito" and quotes the words of an anonymous

poet "Pingant sola alii, referantque coloribus ora / Coeciliae os Raphael atque animum explicuit" (ed. cit., IV, p. 350).

- ¹⁴² Orlandini even dedicated to Pucci his Eptaticum (A. Garin, *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano*, 1961, pp. 142, 213—23, and P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, I, 1963, pp. 112 f., 235). For the contacts of Pucci with Querini see G. B. Mittarelli, *Annales Camaldulenses*, VII, 1762, p. 415, and P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, I, p. 37, and The same, *Studies in Renaissance Thought*, pp. 185 f., and on the programme of the ecclesiastical reform presented to Leo X: H. Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, I, pp. 103 ff.
- ¹⁴³ J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XXXII, 1902, cols. 887—98. Cf. also C. J. von Hefele, J. Hergenröther, *Conciliengeschichte*, VIII, 1887, pp. 597—99.
- ¹⁴⁴ See L. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, IV, 2, pp. 549—62; A. Cistellini, *Figure della riforma pretridentina*, 1948, pp. 73, 269—288; H. Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, I, pp. 116 f., and F. Hartt, "Power and the Individual in Mannerist Art", in *Studies in Western Art*, II, 1963, pp. 226—28.
- ¹⁴⁵ L. Pastor, *op. cit.*, IV, 2, p. 551 (with older bibliography), O. Fischel, *Raphael*, 1962, pp. 183, 185, 238—41, and F. Hartt, *Power and the Individual*, p. 227.
- ¹⁴⁶ A. Cistellini, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

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