Reevaluating *Cupid and Pan*: The Story of Eros and the Satyr in the Farnese Gallery*

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The medallion titled *Cupid and Pan* is one of eight bronze-like medallions rendered *all'antica* and painted in fresco on the illusionistic Farnese Gallery ceiling, which is crowded with images (fig. 1). It is set among images of painted Classical statues that look like pairs of same-sex lovers from antiquity, pairs of *ignudi* and satyrs, all of which are arranged around thirteen paintings, set in *quadratura,* with fictive gold and silver frames so that they look like pictures.[1] These 'pictures' portray gods, goddesses, heroes, nymphs, and mythological creatures, all of which are engaged in acts of heterosexual, pederastic, or homosexual love, evoking a Platonic conception of Classical love (fig. 2). The work was rendered between 1597 and 1601 by the Bolognese painter Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), who was assisted by his painter and engraver brother Agostino Carracci (1557–1602), who left Rome before the unveiling of the ceiling on June 2, 1601.[2]

* Acknowledgment: I wish to thank Guy Lurie and Dimitri Tarat for their advice on the Latin quotes. I am especially grateful to my Ph.D. adviser, Daniel M. Unger, for his encouragement and interest in my work.

1 This display of sculptures, paintings, and reliefs, all produced in fresco, has been interpreted as an allusion to the Renaissance *paragone*, one that suggests the superiority of painting over sculpture. See Robert Baldwin, *Annibale Carracci and the Farnese Ceiling* (1997), 2–21. In www.socialhistoryofart.com/essaysbyperiod.htm. (Accessed February 2, 2015), 8, 15–16; Clare Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), 158, 170–171, 174.

2 According to Bellori Agostino rendered two paintings on the ceiling: *Aurora and*

Figure 1: Annibale Carracci, 'Cupid and Pan' (1597–1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome.

Figure 2: Annibale Carracci, 'Ceiling of the Farnese Gallery' (1597-1601), Farnese Palace, Rome.

It was commissioned by the owner of the Farnese palace, Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626), perhaps on the occasion of the marriage of his brother, Ranuccio Farnese (1569–1622), the Duke of Parma and Piacenza, to Margherita Aldobrandini, the niece of Pope Clement VIII, which was celebrated in 1600.[3]

In the following pages I track the literary sources of the *Cupid and Pan* medallion, discuss its allegorical characters, and show that the imaged erotic struggle was based on Plato's concept of Classical love. I contend that Virgil's '*omnia vincit Amor*' can account for only a partial interpretation of this medallion, that notion is not relevant to the rest of the paintings, and that the *Cupid and Pan* medallion is better viewed in the context of the gallery's conception of Classical love. I further argue that Alcibiades's tale of seduction in Plato's *Symposium* not only furnishes the images of Eros and the satyr depicted in Annibale's *Cupid and Pan*, but also offers a substantial story that provides a convincing interpretation of the erotic struggle it portrays.

Cephalus and *Venus and Triton.* See Giovan Pietro Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, Alice Sedgwick Wohl trans. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 88–89. Robertson suggested that Agostino was more involved in the planning and painting of the ceiling, particularly of the Classical images depicted at the corners: Robertson, *The Invention*, 172–173. According to Dempsey, the paintings on the walls were executed in 1603–1604 by Domenichino and Lanfranco, who were guided by Annibale. Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci: The Farnese Gallery Rome* (New York: George Braziller, 1995), 81–84. John Martin contends that the walls were not finished until 1608. See John Rupert Martin, *The Farnese Gallery*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 138. On the unveiling of the ceiling, see Roberto Zapperi, *Per la datazione degli affreschi della Galleria Farnese*. In '*Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome: Moyen âge, temps modernes*,' XCIII (1981), 821–822; see also Silvia Ginzburg Carignani, *Annibale Carracci a Roma: Gli affreschi di Palazzo Farnese*. (Rome: Donzelli Editore, 2000), 112–115, 135–150.

3 On the marriage, see Charles Dempsey, *'Et nos cedamus amori': Observations on the Farnese Gallery*. In '*The Art Bulletin*' 50, no. 4 (1968), 363–374, 366–367, 374; Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci: A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting Around 1590*, 2 vols. (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 1971) I, 94. Baldwin suggests that, owing to his high position as prince of the Church, the cardinal, who avoided sexual imagery in the Christian art he commissioned, 'was free to display a more libertine courtly taste' in his family palace . Baldwin, *Annibale Carracci*, 5.

Alcibiades's tale of seduction is part of his discourse in praise of Socrates and is the last of the seven speeches in Plato's *Symposium* (416 BCE), where Socrates and his fellow symposiasts discuss love and desire. The tale reveals a story of pursuit in which Alcibiades as a boy tried and failed to seduce Socrates, who contrary to his satyr-like nature resisted the youngster's advances.

Plato's *Symposium*, including Alcibiades's tale of seduction, was available throughout Europe at the time Annibale frescoed the Farnese Gallery ceiling.[4] In 1561, Plato's complete works were translated into Latin by Janus Cornarius (Johann Hainpol, 1500–1558). This translation was followed in 1581 by that of Joanes Serranus (Jean de Serres, 1540–1598) and Henri II Estienne (Henricus Stephanus), who published the *Platonis opera quae extant omnia*, a complete edition of Plato's writings, which remained the standard edition until the early nineteenth century. Serranus's Latin translation is printed in parallel columns with the Greek text and organized according to the Stephanus system of pagination – the same system that is still used in the more modern editions. According to James Hankins, Serranus intended for his translation of the *Symposium* to replace Marsilio Ficino's (1433–1499) 'Commentary on Plato's *Symposium*' (1484),[5] wherein Ficino completely ignored Alcibiades's tale of seduction in order to avoid any reference to same-sex love.[6] Starting in 1570, Plato's writings were

4 The Carracci, particularly Agostino, had a good mastery of Latin, were well connected to scholars and poets, and had an interest in the erotic love of antiquity. On Annibale's and Agostino's attending the Latin school of grammar in Bologna, see Charles Dempsey, Some *Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century*. In '*The Art Bulletin*' 62, no 4 (1980), 552-69, 561–2. On Agostino's expertise in Latin, see Carlo C. Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*: *Vite de' pittori Bolognesi*. G. P. C. Zanotti ed. (Bologna: Tipografia Guidi all'Ancora, 1841), I: 265–66; Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architteti Moderni*, Evelina Borea ed. (Turin: Giulio Einaundi Editori, 1976), 116. On Agostino's *Lascivie*, see Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, *Erotic Cultures of Renaissance Italy* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 31–33.

5 James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*. (Leiden, New York: Brill, 1991), II, 804, 807.

6 Ficino replaced Alcibiades's speech with material that was taken partly from Diogenes Laertius, from Plato's *Apology*, and from Proclus's *Commentary on*

studied in the universities of Pavia, Turin, Pisa, Ferrara, and Rome, which gradually established cathedrae of Plato's philosophy.[7]

Alcibiades's tale did not have a significant impact on early seventeenth-century painters, and there are only a few examples of contemporary works where its influence can be discerned. Around 1602, Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) sketched *Alcibiades Interrupting the Symposium* (fig. 3), which depicts his arrival at Agathon's party (*Sym.* 212a–b), and is interpreted by James H. Lesher as the 'incident of the wreath.' This drawing reflects the entire episode in a single image, including Alcibiades's entrance to the party, his intention to give Agathon his wreath, and his change of heart when he saw Socrates reclining behind him.[8] Another such example, from 1648, is Pietro Testa's drawing, *The Drunken Alcibiades Interrupting the Symposium* (fig. 4), which according to Elizabeth Cropper was influenced by Dardi Bembo's Italian translation of Plato's *Symposium*, published in 1601.[9]

Alcibiades, where Socrates is celebrated as a teacher: see Sears's introduction in Marsilio Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love*, Jayne Sears trans. (Dallas, TX: Spring Publications, 1985). 9. Before Ficino's *Commentary*, Alcibiades's speech was translated by Leonardo Bruni, who took out portions of the text to avoid reference to its homosexual content: see Todd W. Reeser, *Translation and the Antitheses of Same-Sex Sexuality in Leonardo Bruni*. 'Exemplaria' 18 (2006), 31–66, 60–3. Bruni's text was sent in the form of a letter to Cosimo de' Medici in 1435 to contradict the opinion of Ambriogio Traversari, the Latin poet, who was trying to undermine Plato's authority by stressing the homosexual content of his writings (Hankins, *Plato*, 80–1). For Bruni's version, see Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 399–400. For comments registering disapproval of Alcibiades's tale, see Hankins, *Platonism, Renaissance*. In Edward Craig ed., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 440–41; Reeser, *Translation and the Antitheses of Same-Sex Sexuality*, 59–60, note 40.

7 Hankins, *Platonism, Renaissance*, 445–6.

8 James H. Lesher, *Some Notable Afterimages of Plato's Symposium*. In James H. Lesher, Debra Nails, and Frisbee Sheffield eds., *Plato's Symposium: Issues in Interpretation and Reception* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U P Center for Hellenic Studies, 2006), 313–340, 319–20.

9 Elizabeth Cropper, *Bound Theory and Blind Practice: Pietro Testa's Notes on Painting and the Liceo della Pittura*. In 'The *Journal of the Warburg*34 (1971), 262-296, 267, note 21. On Bembo's translation: see Sears in *Ficino, Commentary on Plato's Symposium*, 23; Hankins, *Platonism, Renaissance*, 440.

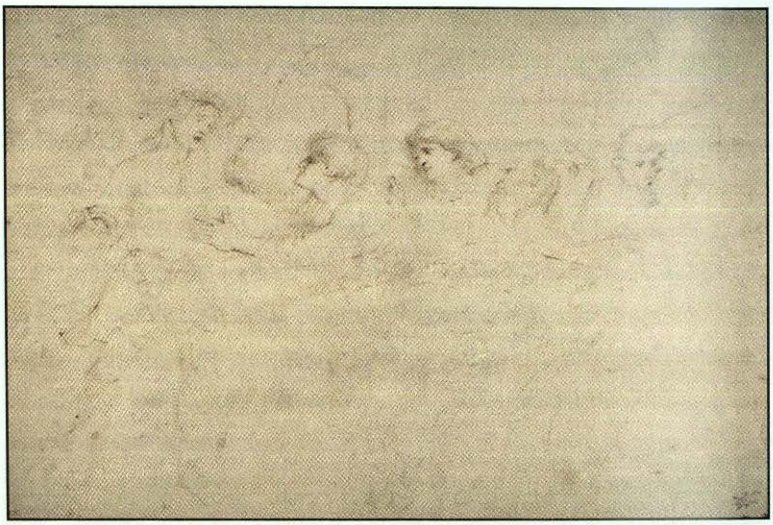

Figure 3: Peter Paul Rubens, 'Alcibiades Interrupting the Symposium' (1602), Metropolitan Museum, New York, (inv.no. 40.91.12. Ph).

Testa's drawing depicts a sensual young Alcibiades facing Agathon and holding back the wreath when he sees Socrates behind him engaged in conversation with the other philosophers. Testa managed to convey the flirtatious image of Alcibiades as Eros using his beauty and youth to seduce Socrates, as implied in the tale. Unlike the two drawings discussed above, which portray the actual human participants, Annibale's medallion refers specifically to Plato's allegorical characters: Alcibiades is depicted as a young seductive Eros trying to seduce the old Socrates, who is figured as an old and ugly satyr.

The connection between Annibale's depictions on the Farnese Gallery ceiling and Plato's conception of love was first suggested by Annibale's biographer, the art theoretician Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696), who was one of the most important of the seventeenth-century classicists.[10] In *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* published

10 A paper on this subject entitled 'Bellori's Theme of Love: An Interpretation of Annibale's work on the Ceiling of the Farnese Gallery,' is now under review. Regarding Bellori's Classical education and its influence on his theory of art, see Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most, and Salvatore Settis, The Classical Tradition.

Figure 4: Pietro Testa, 'The Drunken Alcibiades Interrupting the Symposium' (1648), Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, (inv. no. 351–21).

in 1672, he noted that '[t]he painter wished to represent with various symbols the war and peace between heavenly and common love formulated by Plato.'[11] By 'symbols' Bellori was referring to the four pairs of herm lovers at the corners of the ceiling, embracing above the four pairs of Cupids, who are depicted wrestling as they would in a Greek *gymnasium* (figs. 5–8).[12] By 'heavenly and common love,' Bellori was referring to the heterosexual, pederastic, and homosexual

(Cambridge, MA, and Harvard University Press, 2010), 122–23. On the comparison between Bellori's work as an antiquarian and his modern art criticism, see Hetty E. Joyce, From Darkness to Light: Annibale Carracci, Bellori and Ancient Painting. In Janis C. Bell and Thomas C. Willette eds., Art History in the Age of Bellori: Scholarship and Cultural Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 170–8.

11 Bellori, Le Vite, 60: *'Volle figurare il pittore con varii emblemi la guerra e la pace tra 'l celeste e 'l vulgare Amore instituiti da Platone.'*

12 Dempsey understands these pairs of Cupids as the carriers of Bellori's theme of love. He disassociates them from the embracing herms and interprets them separately by following a Renaissance Neoplatonist conception of love, which clearly cannot account for the paintings on the ceiling. Charles Dempsey, *'Et nos cedamus amori'*, 363.

Figure 5 (top left): Annibale Carracci, 'The Herm Lovers with Cupids Wrestling for the Wreath and the Medallion Europa and the Bull,' south-west corner, detail of fig. 1, (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome.

Figure 6 (top right): Annibale Carracci, 'The Herm Lovers with Cupids Wrestling For The Torch and the Medallion Hero and Leander,' South-East Corner, detail of fig.1, (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome.

Figure 7 (bottom left): Annibale Carracci, 'The Herm Lovers with Cupids Embrace and the Medallion Cupid and Pan,' North-East Corner, detail of fig.1, (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome.

Figure 8 (bottom right): Annibale Carracci, 'The Herm Lovers with Cupids Wrestling for the Palm and the Medallion Apollo flying Marsyas,' North-West Corner, detail of fig.1, (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome.

love depicted in the paintings on the ceiling, which he addressed by employing Pausanias's terminology of 'Common and Heavenly Aphrodite,' from his speech in the *Symposium* (*Sym.* 181b–181c).[13]

Pausanias's conception of homosexual love (or Heavenly Aphrodite) figures prominently in the four corners of the ceiling, where the pairs of herm lovers, are depicted as pairs of Philosophers from antiquity – the beardless young pupil and his bearded older master – each pair engaged in a passionate upper torso embrace (figs. 5–8). These pairs of herm lovers resemble the stereotypical images of *erastēs* and *erōmenos*, the old lover and his young beloved. Their relationship had an important educational role in ancient Greece and is developed in the *Symposium* primarily in the speeches of Alcibiades, Phaedrus, and Pausanias.[14]

This conception of heavenly love was exemplified in the Farnese collection of sculptures, which included a two-piece Roman marble copy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton by Kritios and Nesiotes (477–476 BCE), which replaced Antenor's original bronze statues, which were erected in the ancient Agora of Athens and then stolen by the Persians (fig. 9). This pair is mentioned by Pausanias in the *Symposium* as an example of same-sex lovers whose union resulted in their attempt to overthrow the tyrant Hippias in 514 BCE (*Symp.* 182c).[15] The statues in the Farnese collection were moved from the Medici's to the Farnese family estate in 1538 upon the marriage of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese's

13 Bellori, *The Lives*, 84. See also Wohl footnote in ibid., 111, note 75. Pausanias explained 'common love' as a man's desire for a woman or a boy. This is a vulgar kind of love, *designed* for sexual gratification or procreation. Whereas 'heavenly love' is an attraction between two males, a purer and higher kind of love, which leads to the creation of great ideas, laws, and heroic deeds. See Nehamas's (intro.) in Plato, *Symposium*, xvi.

14 On the characters of the lover (*erastēs*) and his young beloved (*erōmenos*), see Nehamas's introduction in Plato, Symposium, xiv–xv; Kenneth J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 16–7, 42–4.

15 For more references to Harmodius and Aristogeiton in Pausanias's *Descriptions of Greece* (1.8.5), in Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War* (VI.54–59), and in Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution* (XVIII), see Mark D. Schachter, *Voluntary Servitude and the Erotics of Friendship: From Classical Antiquity to Early Modern France*. (Hampshire, Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 32–33.

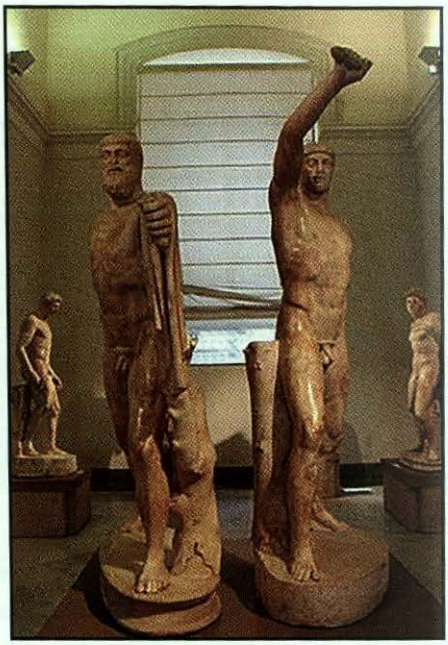

Figure 9: 'Harmodius and Aristogeiton,' Roman copy of the 2nd century CE after a Kritios and Nesiotes Athenian version of 477—476 BCE. (Inv. Nos. 6009, 6010). Farnese Collection, National Archaeological Museum Naples.

grandparents – Margaret of Austria (widow of Alessandro de Medici) and Ottavio Farnese (1525–1586), the second Duke of Parma.[16] They might well have been Annibale's inspiration for the pairs of herm lovers depicted in the corners of the ceiling.[17]

The *Cupid and Pan* medallion is close to the northeastern

16 Barbara A. Barletta, *Medici family.* In Nancy Thomson de Grummond, ed., *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology* (New York: Routledge, 1996), vol. 2, 737-743, 738–739; *Hippolyte Taine, Lectures on Art,* trans. *J. Durand* (NY: H. Holt and Company, 1875), 135.

17 The Farnese collection included other sculptures of same-sex lovers such as the busts of the bearded Roman Emperor Hadrian (Inv. 6067, 6069) and two statues of his young beardless beloved, Antinous (Inv. 6030, 6314), as well as a significant number of Classical busts of Greek philosophers, among them a herm of Socrates (Inv. 6415). Its matching companion, a herm of a curled young Alcibiades, is displayed in the Musei Capitolini (MC1160). See *The Virtual Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum, Inventory Mann.* (Naples, 2018).

corner and fits with the Classical setting of the herm lovers, depicted as the old master and his young pupil. The medallion depicts a struggle between a young Eros, portrayed as a winged small boy, and an older and much stronger satyr, who is resisting Eros's attempt to seduce him (fig. 1). Eros is standing between the satyr's hairy legs, mimicking a conqueror's gesture by placing his right foot on top of the satyr's thigh. With one chubby hand, the boy is pushing at the satyr's muscular shoulder, while with the other he is gripping one of his horns. His gaze is directed beyond the edge of the medallion toward embracing herm lovers, revealing his interest in that pair and confirming his erotic intentions toward the satyr (fig. 7).

The satyr in the medallion is depicted as half-human and half-beast, with ugly facial features, hooves, and horns. [18] Despite his advanced age, his body is strong and muscular; he is supporting himself with one powerful arm, while with the other he is gently pushing his young seducer away. Two trees imaged behind the struggle balance the composition. The familiar attributes of Eros and the satyr – the quiver with its arrows and the seductive reedpipe – are hanging from their branches, clearly out of reach. The satyr is staring fixedly at the ground, his muscles tensed as if determined to resist Eros's childish advances without resorting to his overwhelming strength, as if being careful not to harm the boy.[19]

Annibale depicted this particular satyr differently from his

18 Owing to Ovid's and Virgil's poetry, where the two were depicted with similar characteristics, Pans and satyrs were indistinguishable in the art of the Renaissance: see Luba Freedman, *The Classical Pastoral in the Visual Arts*. (New York: Lang, 1989), 80–1; Millard Meiss, *The Painter's Choice: Problems in the Interpretation of Renaissance Art*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 80–2; Harrison Chapter I. For Socrates's idea of Pan's double nature, see Plato, Cratylus. *The Internet Classics Archive. classics.mit.edu/Plato/cratylus.html*,[' 408d; Plato, *Symposium*, 65 note, 101.

19 Annibale's rendition of the erotic struggle was followed by his brother Agostino Carracci in his engraving *Omnia Vincit Amor* (1599), which was produced during the time that both frescoed the Farnese Gallery ceiling. For the engraving, see Diane De Grazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family. A Catalogue Raisonne*, (Washington, DC: National Art Gallery, 1979). 339–41.

Figure 10: Annibale Carracci, 'Apollo Flying Marsyas' (1597–1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome.

other depictions of Pan and satyrs on the ceiling, where he evinces the wild, erotic nature of these creatures. In *Apollo and Marsyas*, the satyr, who had dared to challenge Apollo to a music contest is tied to a tree and is being skinned alive as a punishment for his arrogance (fig. 10).[20] In *Pan and Syrinx*, an eager Pan is chasing a nymph into the reeds along a riverbank (fig. 11).[21]

While working at the Farnese Palace, Annibale studied the group statue *Pan and Daphnis* (or *Olympus*), a Roman copy by Heliodoros that was then part of the Farnese collection, in which an

20 On Apollo and Marsyas, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), XI: 146–93.

21 On Pan and Syrinx, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I: 689–714.

Figure 11: Annibale Carracci, 'Pan and Syrinx' (1597–1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome.

ugly satyr is seducing his young pupil by means of his reedpipe (fig. 12).[22] According to Clare Robertson, he relied on this statue for his design of Pan's head in the painting *Pan and Diana* (1597–1601) on the Gallery ceiling, where Pan is seducing the virgin goddess with the gift of a white fleece (fig. 13).[23] It seems that Annibale also used the

22 On Olympus crying for his teacher Marsyas, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI: 382–400.

23 This statue inspired two other paintings titled *Marsyas and Olympus*, both rendered in the same years that the Carracci worked on the Farnese Gallery ceiling. The one now in the National Gallery in London was produced around 1597–1600, probably under the guidance of the humanist Fluvio Orsini, the Farnese's secretary (https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/annibale-carracci-marsyas-and-olympus). The other (where a vicious satyr is seducing a young boy with its pipe) is dated

Figure 12 (opposite page): 'Pan and Boy' (Daphnis), Roman Copy (3rd – 2nd BCE), by Heliodoros, Farnese Collection, Naples Archeological Museum.

Figure 13 (top): Annibale Carracci, 'Pan and Diana' (1597–1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome.

features of this Pan from the antique statue for the satyrs depicted in his medallions. Yet, despite the similarities in their appearance, in *Cupid and Pan* the satyr is not seducing the boy – his reedpipe is not at hand and he is not taking advantage of his superior strength. That figure, which is depicted as resisting his erotic passions, is clearly a unique portrayal of a satyr that is capable of restraint.[24]

In *'Et nos cedamus amori,'* Charles Dempsey assigns a key role to *Cupid and Pan*, which he describes as Cupid subduing Pan and links it to Virgil's verse *'omnia vincit Amor'* (Love conquers all), from *Eclogue* X: 69, which he interprets as the spirit of the Farnese Gallery ceiling.[25] He contends that the images on the medallion were inspired by an ancient statue that the grammarian Servius, Virgil's ancient commentator, interpreted as *Amor* (Cupid) and *Omnia* (Pan, or all).[26] Based on this medallion, Dempsey suggests that these depictions share the subject of the dominance of love and proposes that the theme of

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to 1600 and is in the Doria Pamphilj collection. On the statue, see Robertson, *The Invention*, 157–8.

24 Wittkower noted that Agostino Carracci rendered an early version of *Cupid and Pan* titled *Omnia Vincit Amor* over a fireplace in the Masetti palace in 1591; according to Malvasia it was first intended for a fireplace in *Palazzo Magnani*. (See Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, I, 355). Wittkower described it as an emblematic painting of Cupid overpowering Pan from Virgil's tenth *Eclogue*. He relies on Vincenzo Cartari's *Le Imagini degli Dei, 1556*, fol. 107 r., which addresses Pan in an emblematic language, common in the sixteenth century, as 'all' (Pan - πᾶν - all). Rudolf Wittkower, *The Drawings of the Carracci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle*. (London: Phaidon Press, 1952), 11–2.

25 Dempsey, *'Et nos cedamus amori,'* 370–1. Bellori skipped over *Cupid and Pan* when he listed the other seven medallions. Bellori, *The Lives*, 92. He did, however, refer to it briefly when reviewing the paintings according to their arrangement on the ceiling, where he wrongly described the satyr as tied to the tree: *'Amore che doma e lega il satiro al tronco,'* in Bellori, Le Vite, 68. This mistake might have been due to the typical images of satyrs captured and restrained in the ancient genre of satyr plays: Euripides's *Cyclops*, Sophocles's *Amykos and Inachus*, and Aeschylus's *Lycurgus*, *Kerkyon* and *Sphinx*: see Mark D. Usher, *Satyr Play in Plato's Symposium*. In '*The American Journal of Philology*' 123, no. 2 (2002), 205–28, 205, note 3. See also R. G. Ussher, *The Other Aeschylus: A Study of the Fragments of Aeschylean Satyr Play*. In '*Phoenix*' 31 (1977), 287–99, 293–5; Lisa Sampson, *Pastoral Drama in Early Modern Italy: The Making of a New Genre*. (London: Legenda, 2006), 4–5.

26 Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 24–5, 41.

the ceiling is the 'Triumph of Love in the Universe.'[27] More recently, Robertson has raised doubts as to whether all the depictions of love on the Farnese ceiling can be ascribed to the theme of love's dominance and has questioned at what stage the concept of *'omnia vincit Amor'* might have been introduced.[28]

Throughout the Renaissance, Virgil's verse *'omnia vincit Amor'* was widely in evidence in the figurative arts and literature through *Triumph Cupidinis*, where Petrarch used it as a formula to describe the dangerous power of love.[29] In Virgil's tenth *Eclogue*, the verse appears in the context of Gallus's abandonment by Lycōris and his suffering from unrequited love (X, 22–23).[30] Gallus's mad passion drives him to roam about in the woods and to carve his beloved's name on the trees (X, 52–54). His friends, Arcadian gods and shepherds, gather around him and offer him advice and consolation. The verse appears at the end of the poem, and Gallus seems to find some comfort in it, as he surrenders to the power of *Amor*, who conquers all (*Omnia*) and to whom we must submit (X, 69).[31]

Carol U. Merriam, in her 'Clinical Cures for Love in Propertius Elegis,' suggests an analogy between Gallus and Alcibiades, both distinctly rejected (by Lycōris and Socrates), and suffering emotionally and physically from the consequences of unrequited love.[32] Her

27 Dempsey, *'Et Nos Cedamus Amori,'* 372; Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 35.

28 Robertson, *The Invention*, 170–1.

29 Thomas Hyde, *The Poetic Theology of Love: Cupid in Renaissance Literature.* (London: Associated University Presses, 1986), 30–1; on Petrarch's use of it, see 60–5.

30 On Gallus, see Virgil. *The Pastoral Poems*, Emile V. Rieu trans., (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1961), 169–74. On Lycōris, 183; Ilja M. Veldman, *Print Books by Crispijn de Passe.* (The University of Michigan: Sounds & Vision, 2001), 88; Leendert Weeda, *Vergil's Political Commentary in the Eclogues*, Georgics and Aeneid. (Warsaw, Berlin, Munich, and Boston: De Gruyter Open, 2015), 78–9.

31 *Omnia vincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori'* (Love conquers all: we also must submit to Love). In Virgil, *Eclogue* X, 69. On unrequited love, see Lee's commentary in Virgil, *The Eclogues*, Guy Lee trans., (London: Penguin Classics, 1980, 1984), 101.

32 Carol U. Merriam, *Clinical Cures for Love.* In Propertius 'Elegis', *'Scholia: Studies in Classical Antiquity'* 10 (2001), 69–76, 69–70. On Plato's influence on Virgil's writings, see John Van Sickle, *Virgil vs Cicero, Lucretius Theocritus*, Plato, *& Homer: Two Programmatic Plots in the First Bucolic.* In *'Vergilius'* 46 (2000),

comparison implies that in his *Eclogue* X, 69, Virgil referred to the characters of Eros and the satyr from the *Symposium,* which he turned into *Omnia* and *Amor*, alluding specifically to Plato's conception of unrequited love from Alcibiades's tale.

The use of Vigil's characters to interpret Annibale's figures coincides with Servius's emblematical interpretation of *Omnia* as Pan and *Amor* as Cupid, [33] but fails to fully explain the erotic struggle portrayed in the *Cupid and Pan* medallion. Hence reconnecting the figures depicted in *Cupid and Pan* to Alcibiades and Socrates not only provides the characters, but also offers a convincing interpretation of their erotic struggle – where Eros, the younger pupil, is attempting to seduce the satyr (his older teacher), who goes against his nature to resist the youngster's attempt.[34]

The image of Socrates as a satyr or Silenus from Alcibiades's tale was well known in the literature of the Renaissance and was discussed by humanists and poets well before Cornarius's and Serranus's Latin

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21–58; Hassan Ali Abdullah Al-Momani, *The Influence of the Conception of Love in Plato's Symposium on Virgil's Aeneid and the French Eneas.* In '*Studies in Literature and Language*' 4, no. 2 (2012), 17–22.

33 'Pan is a rustic god formed in the likeness of nature, which is why he is called Pan, which means 'All.' His horns are like the rays of the sun and the horns of the moon; his face is ruddy like morning air; his mule-skin breast-plate is covered with stars: his lower parts bristle with hair like thickets and foliage and the fur of animals; his goat's feet reflect the solidity of the earth. He carries a flute with seven reeds for the seven harmonious voices of the heavens, and a shepherd's crook, which revolves back upon itself like the seasons of the year. Because he is the god of nature, the poet says he fought with Love and lost, because Love conquers all.' (*Servii Grammatici qui Feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii,* edited by G. Thilo and H. Hagen (Leipzig, 1878), III, 23–24, in Satia and Robert Bernen, 203); Don Fowler, *The Virgil Commentary of Servius.* In Charles Martindale ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil.* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 73–78, 73.

34 For a contextual approach where ideas and images are outcomes of the context and cultural values that generated them, see Alasdair Macintyre, *After Virtue.* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), 1, 11. On the exchange of roles in Annibale Carracci's paintings on the ceiling of the Farnese Gallery, see Esthy Kravitz Lurie, *Hercules and Rinaldo: Annibale Carracci's Invenzione of Tasso's Epic Hero.* In '*Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts*' 3, no. 2 (April 2016), 123–142. www.athensjournals.gr/ajha/current, 123–42.

translations were published. The humanist and philosopher Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus (1466–1536) refers to the Silenus from the tale in *Enchiridion* (1503), *The Praise of Folly* (1509), in the adage to *The Sileni Alcibiades* (1515), and in *The Godly Feast* (1522), citing the 'Sileni of Alcibiades' for his morality and paradoxical nature.[35]

Relying on Alcibiades's description of Socrates, Pietro Aretino caricatured the latter's satyr-like image in the comedies he wrote in the vernacular. In *Lo ipocrito* (1542), *La Talanta* (1542), and *Il filosofo* (1546), he addressed the satyr's paradoxical image, describing him as grotesque, ugly, and speaking a vulgar language, yet beautiful inside and signifying truth.[36] Despite the wide use of Socrates as a satyr or as Silenus in the literature of the Renaissance, Annibale Carracci was the first to portray the satyr's complex image in his *Cupid and Pan*, where the creature is depicted controlling his wild erotic impulses.

Alcibiades delineated Socrates's satyr-like image in the *Symposium* by emphasizing his arrogance, mocking his ugly appearance, and pointing to the satyr's flutes as instruments of seduction. The analogy had its origin in Socrates's physical peculiarities, as well as on his reputation as a seducer of young boys and a corruptor of youth (*Sym.* 216d). The comparison was not Alcibiades's invention, but was well known at the time that the *Symposium* was written, as it was also used by Xenophon, Plato's contemporary, in his own *Symposium* (IV, 19).[37]

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35 Linda Gregorian Christian, *The Figure of Socrates in Erasmus' Work*. In '*The Sixteenth Century Journal*' 3, no. 2 (1972), 1–10; for other depictions of Socrates as the Silenus (in Rebelais and in the exchange of letters between Pico della Mirandola and Ermalao Barbaro), see Joseph A. Dane, *The Critical Mythology of Irony*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 21–3.

36 According to Waddington, Aretino's knowledge of Alcibiades's tale of seduction relies on his acquaintance with Angolo Firenzuola, who, in his dialog "On the Beauty of Women' (1541), refers to Socrates's virtuous love for Alcibiades: see Raymond B. Waddington, *Aretino's Satyr, Sexuality, Satire, and Self-Projection in Sixteenth-Century Literature and Art*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 124–32.

37 Woodruff relies on Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (I. ii, 12–16) in Plato's *Apology* (33a–b) and *The Republic* (VI, 494bff) to suggest that it was Alcibiades, the most celebrated among Socrates's pupils, who most likely implicated his teacher in the corruption of the youth: Plato, *Symposium*, 65, note 99. See also Usher, *Satyr Play*

Yet Alcibiades is very convincing when he compares Socrates to the famous satyr Marsyas, who uses his flutes to infuriate Apollo, whereas Socrates has no need for Marsyas's weapons of seduction, as he infuriates the gods merely by his use of words (*Sym.* 215b–215d).

Alcibiades continues by comparing Socrates to Silenus, an older satyr known as the teacher and companion of Dionysus and portrayed as a statue 'sitting with his flute or his pipes in his hands... (*Sym.* 215b).'[38] He describes Socrates as that teacher, who is in a continuing search for beautiful young boys and 'constantly follows them around in a perpetual daze' (*Sym.* 216d).[39] Alcibiades included himself among the young boys who were attracted to Socrates despite his physical ugliness and explained his attraction as a frantic urge toward Philosophy, which hurt as if it were a snake bite in his heart and soul (*Sym.* 217e–218). This urge for Philosophy in his youth was the motive for his attempt to seduce Socrates, whom he expected to react according to his known satyr's nature and to welcome his advances.

Once Socrates's satyr-like image and nature are established, Alcibiades starts spelling out the details of his campaign to seduce him. Relying on the norms of his society, which draw on the analogy between love and wrestling, [40] he invites Socrates to the *Gymnasium,* hoping that the latter will 'take advantage of the opportunity to tell... [him]... whatever it is that lovers say when they find themselves alone' (*Sym.* 217b).[41] Alcibiades was convinced that he would be able

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in Plato's Symposium, 216–9.

38 '...& ab artificibus ita figurantur ut fistulas tibiasve teneant...' (*Platonis Opera*, 215b). On the erotic meaning of flutes and satyrs, see Plato, *Symposium*, trans., Woodruff, 65 notes 100, 101.

39 'Videtis quam impotenti amore erga pulchros afficiatur, ut & semper cum illis versetur & illorum praesentia percellatur' (Platonis Opera, 216d).

40 On wrestling in the gymnasium as an erotic encounter, see Thomas. F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 216– 218; Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 54–5.

41 All the English quotations are taken from Plato, *Symposium*, Alexander Nehamas and Paul Woodruff trans. (Indianapolis and Cambridge, UK: Hackett, 1989). All the Latin quotations in the footnotes are taken from the *Platonis Opera Quae Extant Omnia*, 3 vols, Jean de Serres trans., Henri Estienne ed. (Geneva: Henricus Stephanus, 1578). '...& existimabam illum eos sermones mihi continuo ingesturum,

to seduce Socrates while wrestling naked on the mattress. 'We took exercise together,' he explains, 'and I was sure that this would lead to something' (*Sym.* 217c).[42]

Yet Socrates did not give in, and Alcibiades (hinting at his later life as a military commander) chooses a more aggressive strategy. He challenges the traditional roles of the lover and the beloved in his society in military-like language,[43] presenting himself (the young pupil) as the active lover targeting Socrates (the older teacher) as the passive beloved:

> I decided on a frontal attack. I refused to retreat from a battle I myself had begun, and I needed to know just where matters stood. So what I did was to invite him to dinner, as if I were his lover and he my young prey! (*Sym.* 217c).[44]

At this stage, Alcibiades seems confident of his imminent success and identifies himself as Eros by likening his attempt to seduce Socrates to Eros's weapons of love: 'His words made me think that my own had finally hit their mark that he [Socrates] was smitten by my arrows' (*Sym.* 219b).[45] As Eros, Alcibiades is now willing to trade his beauty, his youth, his property, and his social connections in exchange for Socrates's love (*Sym.* 218d). Socrates's confusing response encourages him to pursue his plan further and to try for physical contact, but his

quos amasiis amatores in solitudine solent, & hac spe laetabar' (*Platonis Opera*, 217b).

42 'Post ad certamina gymnastica illum provocavi, & cum illo nudus memet exercui, quasi hoc pacto aliquid essem perfecturus' (*Platonis Opera*, 217c).

43 Alcibiades (c. 450–404 BCE) was a brilliant politician and general (Thucydides, *Historiae* Vol. II: Books V–VIII). See also Woodruff, in Plato, *Symposium*, 65, note 99. On the reversal of the traditional roles between Socrates and Alcibiades, see Usher, *Satyr Play in Plato's Symposium*, 214, note 45. See also Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 91–100.

44 '...firmioribus machinis virum aggrediendumeffe exiltimavi, neque ullo modo finendum. Quid vero molitus fuerim, quas rationes versauerim, iuuat vobis exponere. Illum ad coenam inuitaui, eo reuera consilio ut, tanquam amator amasiis, ei struerem insidias...' (*Platonis Opera*, 217c).

45 'Quum ultro citroque habiti essent sermones isti, illum dimisi, ratus uidelicet eum hisce meis verbis, quasi telo, vulneratum' (*Platonis Opera*, 219b).

attempt at seduction fails:

> I slipped underneath the cloak and put my arms around this man – this utterly unnatural, this truly extraordinary man – and spent the whole night next to him. … But in spite of all my efforts, this hopelessly arrogant, this unbelievably insolent man – he turned me down! He spurned my beauty, of which I was so proud … Be sure of it, I swear to you by all the gods and the goddesses together, my night with Socrates went no further than if I had spent it with my own father or older brother! (*Sym.* 219c-219d).[46]

By resisting Eros, Socrates unexpectedly altered his established satyr's nature, leaving his seducer (and his fellow symposiasts) with an unconventional image of an extraordinary satyr, who against all odds can master his erotic drives.

Alcibiades finds it necessary to clarify that Socrates's restraint was not due to a physical weakness, so he speaks of the fearless Socrates, of his courage and valor in the battle of *Poteidaia* (*Sym.* 220d–220e).[47] This episode, which follows his description of his attempt at seduction, emphasizes the fact that it was not because of weakness, but rather a case in which, despite his strength, Socrates restrained himself from taking advantage of the young Alcibiades.

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46 '… & quum surrexissem, ne verbum quidem ab illo ulterius fieri permisi: &vestem hanc, quam videtis circumdedti (erat enim hyems) substratoque eius tribone recubui: & merabilem hanc revera felicemque virim his manibus amplectens, & ita totam noctem iacui.' … 'Verum quamuis haec omnia fecissem, nihilominus tamen ille adeo obfirmato animo stetit ut & me & meam formam contemneret…' … 'Deos ego deasque testor, me non aliter cum Socrates surrexisse, acsi cum patre aut fratre natu maiore dormivissem.' (*Platonis Opera*, 219c–219d).

47 Dover links Socrates's control in battle with his self-restraint in Alcibiades's tale of seduction, in which Socrates obeyed his rational principles over the urges of the body: Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 158. According to Duff, Socrates's saving Alcibiades's life in that battle was interpreted by Plutarch in his *Alcibiades* as a pederastic relationship, where the older man assumes an educational and protective role toward the younger one: see Timothy E. Duff, *Plato's Symposium and Plutarch's Alcibiades*. In J. Ribeiro Ferraira, D. Leao, and M. Troster eds., *Symposion and philanthropia in Plutarch*. (Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos, 2017), 37–50, 48.

Alcibiades was convinced that Socrates's self-restraint was grounded in his moral values – moderation, fortitude, strength, and wisdom. Thus he acknowledges his own failure, accepts Socrates's rejection, and looks up to him with admiration:

> How do you think I felt after that? Of course, I was deeply humiliated, but also I couldn't help admiring his natural character, his moderation, his fortitude – here was a man whose strength and wisdom went beyond my wildest dreams! How could I bring myself to hate him? I couldn't bear to lose his friendship. But how could I possibly win him over? (*Sym.* 219d).[48]

Alcibiades's question: 'But how could I possibly win him over?' (*Sym.* 219d) makes it clear that he is admitting his defeat and that even as Eros, he could not prevail over such an extraordinary satyr as Socrates. In his words, we can trace the origin of Virgil's verse '*omnia vincit Amor*,' which he modified for his own literary purposes.[49]

The answer to Alcibiades's last question is that it was owing to Socrates's virtues that he was able to resist the attempt at seduction. On Annibale's medallion, these virtues appear to be the satyr's unseen weapons, his sources of power, and the only explanation of how or why this wild erotic creature is figured differently from Annibale's other depictions of satyrs.

In *Cupid and Pan*, Annibale expressed the idea of same-sex love by using Plato's characters and imaging them in their erotic struggle. The painter interpreted the reversal of roles between the lover and his beloved by depicting a young Eros playing the active part of the seducer and an

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48 'Ecquid vero animi mihi post haec fuisse putatis, quum me contemptum quidem existimarem & eius contra & ingenium & temperantiam & fortitudinem mirum in modum admirarer, quam nimirum experientia cognouissem, virum talem nactus, qualem me & prudentia & tolerantia parem inueneri nusquam posse credam? Quapropter qua ratione illi succesere, & illius consuetudine repudiare nequid contra quibus modis illum mihi conciliarem, haudquaquam suppetebant rationes.'(*Platonis Opera*, 219d).

49 On the migration of ideas and images, which change themselves and produce different contexts, see Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text and the Critic.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 226–7.

older satyr as the passive party. Eros's foot on top of his much stronger opponent reflects the episode in the *Gymnasium* where Alcibiades, relying on Socrates's corrupt nature, expected to win him over in love, as in a good fight.[50] Annibale highlighted the paradoxical nature of his satyr by emphasizing his ugliness and old age as indications of his wild erotic nature in contrast to his stubborn resistance. It would appear that Annibale's unique depiction of this self-controlled satyr was grounded in Socrates's moral virtues, valued by Alcibiades as his weapons against temptation. Despite the use of the same characters found in Virgil, Annibale's *Cupid and Pan* does not depict *Amor* (Eros) winning over *Omnia* (the satyr), but rather the opposite; it suggests, as in Alcibiades's tale, that the peculiar satyr defeated Eros's attempt to seduce him.

Cupid and Pan draws on Alcibiades's tale of seduction by depicting Plato's symbolic characters of Eros and the satyr engaged in an erotic struggle, which emphasizes the youngster reversing the traditional roles of Classical love and the satyr overcoming his erotic nature. This single medallion, – only one of many depictions on the Carracci's crowded ceiling, does not, as Dempsey proposes, reflect the theme of the entire ceiling. It is Alcibiades's tale and not Virgil's tenth Eclogue that reveals this medallion's particular story and discloses the moral values implied in Annibale's image: the reversal of the roles of the lover and the beloved, the idea of unrequited love, and the notion of resistance to love, all of which are seen in the erotic struggle of Cupid and Pan. The issue of same-sex love, referenced in the tale as well as in the medallion, is consistent with Bellori's interpretation of the painter's conception of love, which he borrowed from Pausanias's speech in the Symposium. The study of this medallion in light of Alcibiades's tale invites a further exploration of Annibale's amorous scenes on the Farnese Gallery ceiling, one that will take Bellori's Platonic conception of love into account, an approach that has yet to be considered by researchers.

50 The wrestling metaphor was used by Plutarch in his *Alcibiades*, 6.2, where Plutarch, aware of the sexual connotation of wrestling, assumes that Alcibiades could have beaten Socrates physically through a trick, but emotionally and intellectually Socrates outwrestled him: see Duff, *Plato's Symposium and Plutarch's Alcibiades*, 43.