Virgil's Tomb in Scholarly and Popular Culture

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter focuses on the 'rediscovery' of Virgil's tomb in the Renaissance, exploring its position in the cultures of scholarship, travel, and leisure. Clusters of poets' graves sprang up around the so-called 'tomb of Virgil' in Piedigrotta near Naples, re-establishing it as a site of literary succession and inspiration; the tomb played a central role in the construction of Neapolitan urban identity and was a popular site for early modern travel and leisure, a role it still retains today. Generations of visitors to the tomb have felt a strong personal connection to the poet, a connection they have chosen to mark by leaving graffiti or notes at the tomb, by taking away laurel leaves, and by reciting and producing poetry at the site.

Keywords: travel, leisure, fan culture, Naples, Virgil, Giacomo Leopardi, Iacopo Sanazzaro

In recent years, around Virgil's tomb at Piedigrotta near Naples, a particular cult has developed testifying to the monument's prolonged ability to appeal to audiences that cross over from the learned to the popular. As reported in one of Italy's most reputed national newspapers, *La Repubblica*, in the inner part of the *tumulo*, where a tripod lamp has been placed as part of the carefully created sepulchral scenery of the place, modern visitors come across notes written by schoolboys and girls asking Virgil for help in preparing for their final exams in Latin.[1] These 'students on a pilgrimage to the tombs of the great poets', as the title of the report has it, perform what we are now used to defining as profane pilgrimages, or perhaps more generally as heritage tourism.

Of course, the behaviour of these students may be part and parcel of what clearly are organized school trips to some of the highlights of antique culture studied in a classroom situation. But what is striking is the emotional tone of directness that we may gather from such notes. The report, for example, starts with some of the notes left by a group of youngsters coming from a renowned secondary school in Utrecht, who, on their traditional Rome excursion, include a visit to Naples. One of these students writes—in English, not in Dutch, Latin, or Italian: 'Dear Virgil, thank you for your most inspiring words. Now please help us to pass the final exam in Latin with the highest votes.' There are also notes of a more private nature, asking the poet's intervention in matters relating to health and love.

(p.282) What we witness here, in a setting that is in many ways comparable to other contemporary manifestations of fan culture, is the desire to connect spiritually—one might even say magically—to a celebrity considered (in earnest or in jest) able to offer some kind of useful advice, help, or inspiration.[2] To establish such contact, though, and thus to facilitate that kind of mediation, a material location is clearly a necessary prerequisite. It is the presence of the Virgil tomb itself that not only gives a focus to the school trip's programme, but also adds to the intensity of the contact between the poet's work and heritage, on the one hand, and its audience, on the other. The incorporeal nature of the legacy of a man of letters like Virgil here shifts into a dimension of materiality, a mechanism which reveals some of the most important limits of the immaterial art of language, but also some of its strongest potential. It shows that at least some parts of literature's audiences feel the need to add a material dimension to what is not otherwise a corporeal experience. But it also illustrates the capacity of the immaterial word to evoke realities so convincingly that this produces a desire to materialize them.

In this phenomenon of materializing literary memories, the case of the tomb of Virgil is one of the most illuminating, as Trapp for one demonstrated in a seminal study of 1984.[3] Taking his study as a rich point of departure, this chapter identifies key contexts responsible for the cult of the tomb of Virgil in Naples and beyond, and thereby assesses this cult also from a comparative perspective.

A Cluster of Sepulchral Monuments
Making comparisons, or rather connections, is a productive strategy when investigating the significance of Virgil's tomb, as illustrated, for example, in the newspaper report in *La Repubblica* just discussed. The students visited not only the tomb of Virgil, but the nearby Leopardi grave as well: a 'pilgrimage to the tombs of the great poets: lining up for Virgil and Leopardi'.[4] The closeness of the two monuments is by **(p.283)** no means accidental and reveals some of the key mechanisms governing the cult of the tomb of Virgil since the fourteenth century. This is a consciously created phenomenon, a constructed cult that sets

the example for many others, attracting parallel but connected memorial cultures. One more recent and quite visible addition to this phenomenon of duplication or accumulation of memorial cults is the grave of Giacomo Leopardi.[5] This tomb was added as recently as 1939, over a century after the Romantic poet's death in 1837, when his original grave in the Fuorigrotta church of San Vitale, itself not far from Virgil's tomb, was demolished. Its relocation to the area immediately next to the grave of Virgil was part of the design of a landscape park dedicated to Virgilian memories, the Parco Virgiliano, one of the initiatives undertaken to celebrate the ancient poet's bimillennium in 1930.

Leopardi's grave in turn followed a pattern which had been established centuries before, by an illustrious predecessor. The sepulchral monument commemorating the Neapolitan court poet Iacopo Sannazaro, in the nearby church of Santa Maria del Parto, was built by Sannazaro himself as part of his suburban residence, and was deliberately situated near Virgil's tomb.[6] In fact, it was this link to Virgilian heritage that motivated Sannazaro to project the building of a private residence in combination with his tomb, as I argue in greater detail below. Such incrustations arising around the original nucleus of Virgil's tomb may be found all through its long history. One might think of a late nineteenth-century booklet called *Le ricreazioni letterarie sui colli di Paussillipo e Mergellina, ossia una visita alle tombe di Virgilio di Sannazaro e di Leopardi. Libro di lettura amena*, written by a certain Niccola Guida Da Morano, that documents how, by 1870, visiting the tombs of Virgil, Sannazaro, and Leopardi had become an integral part of Neapolitan leisure culture.[7] But one might just as well recall the curious tomb of a Sannazaro fan, Fabrizio Manlio, a young man from Barletta whose only passion was to read near the spot where his idol was buried, as the epitaph on his 1566 grave in Sannazaro's Santa Maria del Parto recalls.[8]

 (p.284) What we see here is the tendency of memorial cults to attract more cults, to expand within their own domain by multiplication, but also by moving between what we might call high and low culture, or, to be more precise, between the culture of scholarship and the culture of leisure, both governed by the pleasure of reading and reciting. And at the very origin of this dual mechanism is the memory of Virgil as projected on his Piedigrotta tomb, a memory which is both authoritative and flexible, since it relates, on the one hand, to a more or less precise knowledge of the poet's work and biography, but, on the other, easily slides into a more comprehensive dimension of nostalgia for a golden age situated in a long-gone but glorious past.

Inventing the Tomb of Virgil
It is useful to keep in mind the intersection of knowledge and pleasure, of scholarly work and free-time distractions, when tracking the origin of the cult of Virgil's grave. This then needs to be combined with a third element which had

an all-pervasive power in the early modern context in which this cult arose: the aspiration to glory, be it on a personal, local, or political level.[9] It is this combination of humanistic erudition, rising leisure culture, and aspirations of glory rooted in identity constructions that constitutes the backdrop against which a cult like Virgil's develops in the early modern period. This goes for the two manifestations of that cult I would like to discuss in more detail in what follows: first, the Neapolitan humanistic or rather proto-humanistic context in which the cult was invented and constructed, and secondly its huge international success as documented in the imposing phenomenon of the Grand Tour, and, to be more precise, in its sixteenth-century early variant, the *peregrinatio academica*.[10]

 (p.285) The earliest development of the cult may be attributed to the Neapolitan court circles that Boccaccio frequented during his stay in Naples in the 1340s.[11] A key figure here is Giovanni Barilli, King Robert of Anjou's assistant, who apparently had done some research on the various antique references to a Neapolitan tomb of Virgil's and had tried to locate this building near the Piedigrotta tunnel mentioned in these references, since it had long been associated with the allegedly magical powers of Virgil. Barilli not only passed this knowledge on to Boccaccio, but also to Petrarch, while making arrangements for his 1341 coronation as poet laureate. During these preparations, Barilli took Petrarch on a tour of what was clearly already something of a standard trip in contemporary Neapolitan court culture. They saw several places associated with Virgilian memories: not only the so-called tomb, but also the nearby tunnel of Piedigrotta, as well as some of the locations near Baia mentioned in Virgil's works. Petrarch has given an account of these trips in a series of letters written only several years later, in the 1350s, which quickly became the foundation for the myth of Virgil in the Neapolitan landscape, within and beyond the local courtly community. Petrarch only mentions the locations related to Virgil's work in these letters, but we may be sure that he was shown the tomb as well, since he still vividly recalls it in a detailed report of the visit included in his *Itinerarium Syriacum,* written fifteen years later, in 1357.[12]

Petrarch was driven by his admiration for the Latin poet, whom he tried to imitate while forging a literary and intellectual profile of his own, particularly as he prepared for his 1341 coronation as poet laureate. Here we have a clear case of identity construction: indeed, we might conclude that, though not uncritical, Petrarch's attitude towards the ancient resonances of these Neapolitan *lieux de mémoire* combined admiration based on the authority of classical texts with a more critical stance linked to his personal, 'on the spot' explorations. He intimates that he could hardly suppress his emotions while viewing the sites celebrated by his classical forebear, and yet simultaneously displayed some

scepticism and even sarcasm with regard to the alleged magical powers of the poet.

When it came to identifying the Latin poet's grave, Petrarch's eagerness to forge a personal connection with his admired predecessor **(p.286)** seemed to overcome his probing disposition. His reservations about the rather imprecise reports on this site, preserved in earlier texts whose documentary accuracy he considered questionable, were balanced by his own explorations during his 1343 trip and supplemented by the testimonies of some local informants he consulted. This enabled him to identify a Roman columbarium near the Piedigrotta entrance to the Posillipo tunnel as Virgil's tomb, an identification which has maintained its authority ever since, despite the fact that its legendary status has long been demonstrated. 'Virgil's tomb' is in fact a projection of literary memories and associations, inscribed into physical remains of antiquity that were otherwise difficult to document, and which therefore had little meaning independent of its literary reception. This construction clearly originates in a local context—the circle around Barilli—but develops only when it becomes functional in communicating to outsiders a message configured around ideas of identity.

This invention of Virgil's tomb not only signals the dominance of a literary perspective in the revival of Neapolitan antique heritage, but indicates a desire to connect this heritage to contemporary needs and ambitions. Petrarch considered Virgil his alter ego, and wanted to feel close to him in a material as well as a literary sense: this involved visiting the locations where Virgil's presence was most intensely felt, whether this meant his body (in the legendary tomb), or the places mentioned in his literary works (in the Baia locations described in the *Aeneid*). Such material closeness to an ancient model had more than a memorial function: it served to provide new literary inspiration, urging the 'receiving' poet to compete with, and surpass, his model. In a characteristically humanistic manner, the inspiring memory of Virgil's literary accomplishments was projected onto a specific location framed as being closely linked to the poet's biography and enabling later generations to pay their respect. This act of what one might call a memorial performance closely followed the example of antique forebears, as Petrarch himself well knew. In his acceptance speech for his coronation as poet laureate only two years earlier, in 1341, he took inspiration from Cicero's *De finibus* 5.1.2:[13]

(p.287)

> Naturane nobis hoc, inquit, datum dicam an errore quodam, ut, cum ea loca videamus, in quibus memoria dignos viros acceperimus multum esse versatos, magis moveamur, quam si quando eorum ipsorum aut facta audiamus aut scriptum aliquod legamus? velut ego nunc moveor. venit

enim mihi Platonis in mentem, quem accepimus primum hic disputare solitum...

Whether by a natural instinct or by some sort of illusion I cannot say, but we are more moved when we see the places where, by accepted memory, the great men of old spent their time than when we hear of something they did or read one of their works. This is how moved I am now. For Plato comes to my mind, the first man who, we are told, made it a habit of holding discussions in this place...

Still, the most outspoken example of this ambition to connect and compete with antique models, particularly Virgil, is not Petrarch but Sannazaro, for it was he who established a firmly material link to his venerated forebear. When, in 1499, his generous patron king Federico offered him the means to build a villa, Sannazaro selected a location on the seashore near Posillipo—Mergellina—that not only commanded associations with mythological nymphs but also evoked a direct and very material connection with the prestigious Virgilian heritage materialized in the nearby tomb at the entrance to the Piedigrotta tunnel.[14] Sannazaro did not hide his desire to mould his poetic persona on Virgil's, erecting his own sepulchral monument in a chapel on this estate in the immediate vicinity of the ancient poet's legendary grave. This merging of the identities of the modern and the classical poet was later eloquently expressed in the epitaph dictated by Pietro Bembo after the poet's death in 1530:

Da sacro cineri flores. Hic ille Maroni

Sincerus, musa proximus ut tumulo.

Bring flowers to the holy ashes: here lies Sincerus [Sannazaro],

close to Maro [Virgil] in his grave as in his art.

The epitaph became a source of inspiration for many later examples all over Europe, including that inscribed on Edmund Spenser's grave in Westminster Abbey.[15]

 (p.288) Virgil's Tomb and Neapolitan Urban Identity

Such appropriation of ancient literary memories through epitaphs typifies the identity construction we can observe in Naples around 1500, and especially in the humanistic circles of the Accademia Pontaniana, to which Sannazaro belonged. In this context, such epitaphs, or more generally labels, easily shifted from the personal to the civic sphere, focused on the construction of a distinguished urban identity. As a result, the memory of Virgil as projected onto his Piedigrotta tomb assumed even more general overtones, becoming a comprehensive marker of the glory of antique Naples used as a potent element of city branding.[16] That kind of reading of the city is indeed paramount in what

can be seen as its first modern chorographical description, Ioan Berardino Fuscano's *Le stanze del Fuscano sovra la bellezza di Napoli*, published in 1531.[17] This poetic text explicitly aimed at praising the city through a description of what it called 'the most pleasant district of Naples', echoing a well-worn phrase from Sannazaro's recent *Arcadia*. In his two books of stanzas, Fuscano offered a highly literary view of Naples, which was closely related to, and indeed grounded in, ideas elaborated by Sannazaro and his circle. The text describes a one-day itinerary of two friends, Philologo and Alpitio, whose names denote the allegorical nature of their enterprise from the very start. They cross the city from east to west, heading for what turns out to be the ultimate goal of their journey—the Posillipo hill, which as a result of Sannazaro's endeavours is considered 'the temple of the sacred Mergellina'. In Book 2, the friends participate in a festive ritual on this hill, which is promoted by a group of nymphs and attended by a large number of contemporary Neapolitan poets close to the Accademia Pontaniana. This solemn feast is intended to celebrate poetry in a location that epitomizes artistic creation, and Virgil's grave close to the Piedigrotta tunnel is, significantly, the only spot which the poem describes with any geographical precision, albeit in a highly allegorical vocabulary appropriate for evoking the metaphysical processes of inspiration and creation undergone there.[18]

(p.289) While designating this specific location as an iconic place of Neapolitan urban identity, Fuscano was clearly voicing a sentiment that was shared more widely by his near contemporaries. Such a sentiment is testified, for instance, in the oldest known cartographic representation of Naples which gives a factual rather than a symbolic survey of the geographical situation—an image of the volcanic Monte Nuovo engraved shortly after its eruption in September 1538 (Figure 14.1).[19]

This remarkable 'true picture', *vero disegnio,* shows a panoramic map of the Gulf of Naples, naturally focused on the Pozzuoli section where an explosion created this new mountain while destroying the small village of Tripergola. But it also shows, alongside the obvious geographical indications—Baia, Solfatara, Bagni, Lake Agnano—the iconic places that the men of letters in and around the Accademia Pontaniana had successfully

Figure 14.1. G.A., 'Il vero disegnio in sul propio luogho ritratto […]' (Naples, 1540).

constructed as *lieux de mémoire* of Neapolitan urban identity: Virgil's grave, the Piedigrotta tunnel ('La Grotta'), and Sannazaro's villa at the Mergellina seaside.

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 (p.290) This labelling of Naples as a place where ancient and modern cultures met and mingled, as summarized in the Posillipo Parnassus dominated by Virgil and Sannazaro, would indeed prove a lasting success, well beyond the circles of the Accademia Pontaniana where it had originated. It can be found in virtually all city descriptions of Naples up until the end of the seventeenth century, where it often served as an introduction to the virtual tour of the city itself.[20] It also figures prominently in the visual representations accompanying such texts as Joris Hoefnagel's attractive and much-copied image of his entry into the city of Naples, together with his friend and employer, the cartographer Abraham Ortelius, for whose 1578 version of the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* the engraving was produced (Figure 14.2).[21]

 (p.291) On their two-year journey through Italy, the two friends from Antwerp began their visit to Naples at the western entrance of the Posillipo tunnel, going directly from here to the Virgil tomb on the other side of the tunnel, and then on to the Sannazaro villa and chapel, a route that would become conventional in almost all city guides produced for foreign visitors to the city (Figure 14.3).
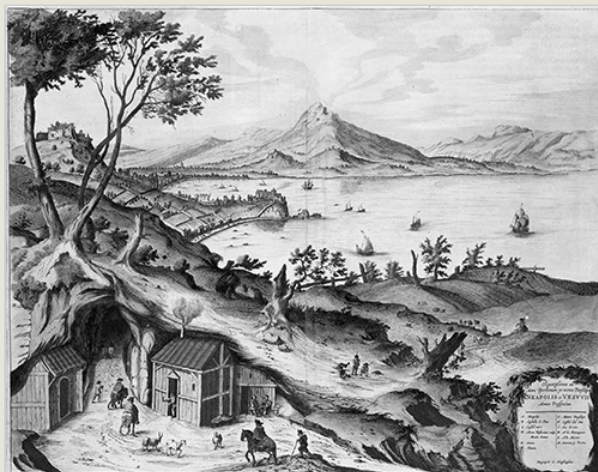

Figure 14.2. Joris Hoefnagel, 'Neapolis et Vesuvii montis prospectus', in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne, 1578).

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Virgil's Tomb in Early Modern Travel Culture

What is apparent in these two last examples, the 1540 map and the 1578 Hoefnagel engraving, is that Virgil's tomb together with some strictly linked locations of literary memories, placed at what was the entrance to the city for those coming from the north in the mid sixteenth century, became a strong marker not only of Neapolitan urban identity but also of the city's topography. This is particularly **(p.292)** relevant to the experience of non-local visitors, notably foreigners coming from the north like Hoefnagel and Ortelius, which brings us to a final and crucial cultural

Figure 14.3. Sannazaro's villa and chapel Santa Maria del Parto, detail from the map of Naples by Baratta, *Fidelissimae urbis Neapolitanae cum omnibus viis accurata et nova delineatio* (Naples, 1629).

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context of the tomb's reception, the incorporation of the cult of Virgil's grave in early modern travel culture. At this stage, the memory of Virgil as projected onto his Piedigrotta tomb loses much of its specificity. It comes to represent the globally accepted glory of literary culture attributed to Naples, and serves as a potent marker of civic pride as well as a curiosity-provoking artefact in the urban texture that enables visitors to direct their city explorations.

This perception of the tomb corresponds to a distinct new phase in the history of the monument, a phase that has a clear starting point in the decision, taken in 1554 by the owners of the Piedigrotta columbarium: the monks of Santa Maria di Piedigrotta explicitly labelled the building according to its by now secular interpretation as Virgil's tomb, and attached to it inscriptions explaining its nature and significance: *Siste viator quaeso pauca legito hic Maro situs est* ('Stop, traveller, I beg you, and read these few words: here lies Virgil', not documented before 1606), and *Qui cineres? Tumuli haec vestigia conditur olim / ille hoc qui cecinit pascua rura duces. / Can. Reg. MDLIIII.* (John Raymond provided a translation in his travel journal of 1648: 'What dust lies here: This heap protects his Hearse / Who whilome warbled Fields, Farms, Fights in Verse').[22]

The timing of the explicit labelling of the Piedigrotta columbarium as Virgil's tomb is not accidental: it corresponds to the first wave of foreign visitors coming to Naples in search of this famous monument commemorating the ancient

literary past. They left their mark in the graffiti still visible near the monument today, such as, for instance, the signature of the Polish traveller Stanislaus Cencovius carved in 1589 on the plaque installed twenty-five years earlier (Figure 14.4).[23]

Interestingly, what this signature also highlights is the fact that the visitors who contributed to the diffusion of the cult of Virgil's tomb beyond its local context originated, in this period, mainly from the German Empire, notably present-day Poland, the Low Countries, and southern Germany. This should not surprise us, if we take into account the fact that, in the decades after 1550, a

Figure 14.4. Commemorative plaque (dating 1544) near the alleged grave of Virgil, Naples, with graffiti by Stanislaus Cencovius (1589) and other visitors.

Photograph: Harald Hendrix.

substantial group **(p.293)** of northern humanists interested in education began to promote travel as the perfect strategy for finishing the intellectual formation of young men who were expected to take on civic responsibilities.[24] In the numerous treatises produced by this group, Naples and its surroundings hold a privileged position, as the title of one of the best known among these writings makes clear, Hieronymus Turler's 1574 *De peregrinatione et agro neapolitano*, which has as its focal point the exact location where Virgil's tomb and Sannazaro's sepulchral monument together make up the new Temple of the Muses which Fuscano had described in his *Stanze*. It is indeed not difficult to draw a line between this essay and the students who, today, leave messages for Virgil at his tomb.

What happens in the second half of the sixteenth century goes somewhat beyond the cult of antiquity typically found in educational contexts. Parallel to the rapid rise of early modern travel culture, we again see a shift from the ancient to the modern, and from scholarly to popular culture. This may be first gathered from an important testimony on the reception of Virgil's tomb in this period, also from Poland, or to be more precise from Silesia, the book on sepulchral architecture published in 1574 at Breslau, *Monumenta sepulchrorum cum epigraphis ingenio et doctrina excellentium virorum aliorumque tam prisci quam nostri seculi memorabilium hominum*.[25] This highly attractive book is the result of an unusually long educational tour of **(p.294)** Europe undertaken, between 1545 and 1554, by the young Seifried Rybisch (1530–84). The son of a prominent Silesian patrician family, Rybisch was particularly interested in sepulchral monuments as possible models for the design of his family's monumental tomb in Wroclaw, and consequently made meticulous drawings of more than a

hundred and fifty such monuments commemorating famous men. Some twenty years later, when the local Breslau artist Tobias Fendt (*c*.1525–76) agreed to engrave these drawings, Rybisch's material found its way to the printing press, soon becoming a much sought-after model book for those interested in the design of sepulchral architecture.

Significantly, the book makes no distinction between ancient and modern heritage, putting the Antenore shrine in Padua next to the Erasmus epitaph in Basel, reporting on the monuments to Livy, Cicero, Ovid, and Euripides alongside those to Dante, Ficino, and Ulrich von Hutten. The Virgil tomb is immediately followed by the Sannazaro monument. Because of its high documentary value, this book made significant impact not only on sepulchral architecture in Europe, but also on the cult of Virgil's tomb. The image presented by Riebisch and Fendt quickly became the iconic representation of the tomb, and would remain so during much of the seventeenth century. We find it, for example, in the most popular of the many city guides dedicated to Naples and its surroundings, Pompeo Sarnelli's *Guida de' forestieri curiosi di vedere e d'intendere le cose più notabili della Regal Città di Napoli e del suo amenissimo distretto*, first published in 1685 but frequently reprinted and adapted up until the mid eighteenth century, invariably depicting Virgil's tomb in its representation by Riebisch and Fendt and always in combination with the Sannazaro monument (Figure 14.5).[26]

This was no longer presented as the product of scholarly culture but, rather, as a pocket-sized booklet produced in great quantities for the ever more popular visits by foreigners eager to experience Naples.

Fendt's attractive book on sepulchral monuments also produced an additional interest in epitaphs, both ancient and modern, inspiring a rich tradition of publications specifically dedicated to collecting such inscriptions, from the *Monumentorum Italiae libri quae hoc nostro saeculo & a Christianis posita sunt* published in 1592 by Lorenz **(p. 295)** Schrader to the 1602 monumental *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis romani* by Ianus Gruterus. Significantly, this passion for collecting epitaphs was not limited to scholarly circles alone. It also found its way into the growing culture of early modern travel. One might even **(p.296)** argue that the two habits were intrinsically linked: collecting epitaphs became one of the main activities of early modern travellers. Collections of epitaphs contained instructions

Figure 14.5. Virgil's grave at the Piedigrotta entrance of the Posillipo tunnel, in Pompeo Sarnelli, *Guida de' forestieri curiosi di vedere e d'intendere le cose più notabili della Regal Città di Napoli e del suo amenissimo distretto* (Naples, 1692), *contra* p. 340.

Private collection, Harald Hendrix.

for travellers copied from relevant treatises, as in the instructions for epitaph-hunting travellers in Nathan Chytraeus' 1594 *Variorum in Europa itinerum Deliciae*.[27] More generally, travel literature of that period often included extensive sections dedicated to epigraphy.[28]

One of many examples of this development—and an important one in the history of Virgil's cult in Naples—is the case of Scipione Mazzella, which enables us to understand how, by the late sixteenth century, the memory of Virgil had developed into an instrument of reflection and entertainment that combined

elements of scholarly and popular culture. In 1591, this Neapolitan polymath constructed a completely different type of city guide compared to those available, clearly intending to develop a new commercial product for the rapidly growing market of foreigners coming to his native town. In the part dedicated to the visit of Pozzuoli, in the *Sito ed antichità della città di Pozzuolo e del suo amenissimo distretto*, Mazzella inserts an elaborate discussion of the tomb of Virgil.[29] He not only presents an erudite account of all the discussions of the tomb from antiquity to his own day, including a long list of epitaphs allegedly written for the monument; he also gives an account of what actually happened at that *lieu de mémoire*: a gathering of friends and the writing of poetry—specifically epitaphs—at the site, combining scholarly competition and leisure. Moreover, he recalls how visitors had the habit of taking with them, as a souvenir, a few leaves of the laurel tree growing from the columbarium's top. In the late nineteenth century, this habit was to take a particular turn when people emigrating from Naples to the Americas used to take these leaves with them as a potent marker of their Neapolitan identity.[30]

The culture of literary leisure Mazzella describes as being performed at the tomb of Virgil closely relates to some of the other phenomena discussed in this chapter, from the gatherings of local poets on the Mergellina hill, transformed into a new Parnassus by the memory of Virgil, to today's schoolchildren leaving their messages at **(p.297)** the tomb of Virgil. Establishing a connection with the intellectual heritage of Virgil—in the place where, according to tradition, he might have been buried—enables later generations to relate personally to what they all consider to be an authoritative and inspiring example. The urge to mark this connection by leaving graffiti or notes, by taking away laurel leaves, and by reciting and producing poetry, indicates that the idea of 'Virgil' here has developed into a comprehensive but general and unspecific notion, able to unite scholars, students, and erudite travellers with locals looking for leisure, or taking part in the Neapolitan diaspora. **(p.298)**

Notes:

(¹) Niola (2013).

(²) On present and past fan cultures, see Duffett (2013); Hellekson and Busse (2014); Inglis (2010); Jenkins (1992); Krieken (2011); Marshall (1997) and (2006); and Mole (2009).

(³) Trapp (1984); cf. also his parallel work on the tombs of Ovid and Petrarch, Trapp (1973) and Trapp (2006), with Chapter 5 by Goldschmidt, Chapter 13 by Peirano Garrison, and Chapter 15 by Smiles in this volume.

(⁴) Niola (2013).

(^{5}) Little scholarship is available on Leopardi's tomb, though there is some information in the Guide published by the Touring Club Italiano (2005), 298–99, as well as in Marcon (2012).

(^{6}) Deramaix and Laschke (1992); Carrella (2000); Laschke (2002); Addesso (2005); and Divenuto (2009).

(^{7}) Da Morano (1871).

(^{8}) FABRITIO MANLIO NOBILI BAROLITANO / MAGNAE SPEI IUVENI / CAMILLUS PATER MUNUS LACRIMABILE // HIC ADEO MERGILLINAM ADAMAVIT / UT AD EAM INFIRMUS FERRI / IN EA MORI IN EA SEPELIRI VOLVERIT / A. M.D.L.XVI. OBIIT A. M.D.LXI.

(^{9}) On the humanist cult of glory, see Braudy (1986); Clark (2006); Hardie (2012); Jardine (1995); and Potts (2009).

(^{10}) On the *peregrinatio academica*, see Babel and Paravicini (2005); Berghoff et al. (2002); Berns (1988); Boyer (2005); Leibetseder (2004); Ridder-Symoens (1983); Rubiés (1996); Stagl (1983) and (1995); Stannek (2001); and Tervoort (2005).

(^{11}) Cf. Trapp (1984).

(^{12}) Cachey (2002), 27, 49, n. 110, f. 10r.1.

(^{13}) Wilkins (1955), 305 wrongly identifies the relevant passage as Cicero, *De legibus*, 2.2. The error has been reproduced in later Petrarchan scholarship.

(^{14}) On Sannazaro's villa and tomb in relation to Virgil, cf. n. 6 above.

(^{15}) See Höschele's discussion at pp. 197–200.

(^{16}) What follows elaborates on my essays, Hendrix (2013) and (2015).

(^{17}) Fuscano (1531) and (2007).

(^{18}) Fuscano (2007), 72 (Book II, 76–7): 'Eran le ninfe giunte a un picciol piano, / ch'a due a due venian con lenti passi, / dov'era un spatio, più ch'uom trae con mano, / d'una valletta fra duo poggi bassi. / Ivi un vestigio, come d'alcun fano / che mostr'antiquità, solingo stassi, / d'arbori cinto et sempre esposto al sole, / pien tutto di ligustri et di vïole. // In mezzo v'era un'alta pino annosa, / la qual sorgea per dentr'un sasso rotto, / entrar là dentro alcun già mai non osa, / si non è spirto assai ben colto et dotto.'

(^{19}) For this map by an artist known only by his monogrammatic name G.A., see Pane and Valerio (1987), 34–6.

(20) For these references to the connected Virgil–Sannazaro memorials in Mergellina–Posillipo, see Hendrix (2013).

(21) Based on his 1578 trip with Ortelius to Naples, Hoefnagel produced five images, all focused on the city's district. On their trip, see Gerritsen (2003). On Hoefnagel's views of Naples and their long-lasting success, see Pane and Valerio (1987), 62–3, 69–70.

(22) Trapp (1984), 12–13. For Turner's note of the inscription in his later sketch of the site, see Smiles in this volume, p. 313.

(23) Recorded also in Mączak (1998), 370, and 440 n. 10.

(24) Cf. references in n. 10 above, and Felici (2009).

(25) Fendt (1574); later editions were published in Frankfurt in 1584 and 1589. On this enterprise, see Michalski (1977) and Kubíková (2010).

(26) Sarnelli (1685), 334 depicts the Sannazaro monument, also in its Riebisch–Fendt rendition.

(27) Chytraeus (1594).

(28) Cf. Hendrix (2018).

(29) Mazzella (1591). On this author and his guides to Naples and its surrounding district, see Hendrix (2014).

(30) On the nineteenth-century phenomenon, see Cocchia (1889).

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