

The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Image and Text in a Renaissance Romance

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To my parents, ever supportive guides in my ongoing discovery of the forest and the trees;  
To Carrie, my companion on those early journeys through the Dark Forest;  
and To Max, my Poliphilo.

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### Abstract

This dissertation explores the genesis of and relationship among the woodcut illustrations and the text of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. "Poliphilo's struggle for love in a dream," written in a florid Latinate prose and illustrated by 172 woodcuts, tells the tale of the hero's dream-quest for his beloved Polia across a dreamscape of classicizing ruins, artificial gardens, and marvelous edifices. A major work of Renaissance art and literature whose authorship remains a mystery, the Polifilo was first published in Venice at the Aldine Press in 1499, and subsequent editions of the book appeared over the following four centuries in Italy, France, and England. The first chapter addresses Leonardo Grassi's dedication of the Polifilo to Guidobaldo de Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, and considers the book in light of the culture of his famed court, which was typified by Castiglione's portrait of Guidobaldo's court in Il Cortegiano. The second and third chapter analyze the language, the prose, and the woodcuts in the Hypnerotomachia in relation to Grassi's observations on the book's "abundant knowledge" and its "hidden," abstract nature. The final chapter explores, through two selected examples, the genesis and relationship of the images and text. The present study provides an introduction to the ways in which the images and text function together to render Poliphilo's dream vision, an analysis of the literary and visual traditions that shaped this relationship, a consideration of the book in light of Renaissance courtly culture, and, finally, a discussion of the book's legacy in art and literature.

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### Abbreviations

The following abbreviations indicate the editions of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili most frequently cited in this dissertation:

- HP    Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Ubi Humana Omnia Non Nisi Somnium Esse Docet. In aedibus Aldi Manutii: Venetiis, 1499.
- P-C    Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Ubi Humana Omnia Non Nisi Somnium Esse Docet. Ed. Giovanni Pozzi and Lucia A. Ciapponi. 2 Vols.. Padua: Antenore, 1968. Reprint, 1980.
- G-A    Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Ubi Humana Omnia Non Nisi Somnium Esse Docet. Tr., Ed. Mino Gabriele and Marco Ariani. 2 Vols.. Milano: Adelphi, 1999.
- JG    Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Ubi Humana Omnia Non Nisi Somnium Esse Docet. Tr. Joscelyn Godwin. London: Thames and Hudson, 1999.

### Note on Pagination

Each reference to the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in this dissertation cites the page signatures corresponding to the 1499 Aldine edition and the page numbers from the three most recent editions of the book.

The Poliphilo is a *folio in eights*, meaning that each sheet of paper was folded once (*in foglio*) and gathered in sets of four. The gathering of four *foglie* (one inside the other) therefore made up eight leaves and sixteen pages. All citations to the Hypnerotomachia indicate the signature (*segnatura*), or the identification mark on the lower right-hand recto of the leaf that would have indicated to the compositor the sequence of pages.<sup>1</sup> Each signature is indicated with a letter; a-z and A-F (with the exception of j, u, and w), which corresponds with each gathering, and a Roman number that marks the first four leaves of the gathering. For instance, aii refers to the *recto* of the second leaf of the first gathering, or page 3 in modern pagination. The *verso* of aii (page 4) would have had no signature. The next facing page, or *recto*, is marked aiii. I have followed Joscelyn Godwin in my references to the signatures in the 1499 edition. For example, I will indicate aii *recto* as a2 and aii *verso* as a2'. All citations to the recent editions of the Hypnerotomachia correspond to their modern page numbers.

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<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the composition and pagination of incunabula, see Brian Richardson, Printing, Writers, and Readers in Renaissance Italy. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999): 9-16.

## Introduction

### **\*\*The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Image and Text in a Renaissance Romance\*\***

For over five centuries, the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili has intoxicated audiences with its infinite nuances and enigmas. Indeed, the title of the book presents a puzzle of its own. Although the Greek roots that make up the Hypnerotomachia—the strife or battle (*machia*) of love (*erotos*) in a dream (*hypnos*)—form a word absent from the Greek lexicon, the title itself recalls the mock-struggle between frogs and mice in the Batrachomyomachia (ca. 1<sup>st</sup> c.) and battles fought on the fields of medieval allegory, as in Prudentius' Psychomachia (4th-5th c.). The battle of love in the Hypnerotomachia is that of Poliphilo, whose name signifies “lover of many” and “lover of Polia”. In the spirit of lovers in Medieval Romance, as in the Lover and the Rose in the Roman de la Rose (13<sup>th</sup> c.) or famous 14<sup>th</sup> century couples, Dante and Beatrice, and Petrarch and Laura, Poliphilo embarks on a dream-quest for Polia, his guide and muse.<sup>1</sup> In the course of his search for Polia the “venerated Idea”, or “many” throughout book I, Poliphilo the pilgrim communes with that which he holds sacred: the architecture, sculpture, gardens, and pageantry of antiquity.<sup>2</sup>

Poliphilo weaves his fantasy through words and images in a tale that combines

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<sup>1</sup> D. Gnoli, Il Sogno di Polifilo (Florence, 1900); L.F. Benedetto, “Il Roman de la Rose e la letteratura Italiana,” Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 21 (1910): 196-238; Charles Mitchell, “Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy,” Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the Late Cecilia B. Ady, Ed. E.F. Jacob (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960): 455-483; Peter Dronke, “Introduction,” in Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, [Facsimile edition], (Zaragoza, Spain: Ediciones del Portico, 1981); Helena Katalin Szépe, “Desire in the Printed Dream of Poliphilo,” Art History, 19 (1996): 370-392.

<sup>2</sup> Giuseppina Brunetti, “Pellegrinaggio e Letteratura,” in Romei e Giubilei. Il Pellegrinaggio Medievale a San Pietro, 350-1350, Ed. Mario d’Onofrio. (Milano: Electa, 1999): 157-164. On the Hypnerotomachia in relation to the pilgrimages of the *sylogists*, see Mitchell, 455-83.

medieval ideas with a romanticized vision of antiquity. 172 woodcuts of architectural fragments, inscriptions, hieroglyphs, and narrative vignettes illustrate a florid text, which blends Greek, Latin, Tuscan, and vernacular tongues. The present study explores the genesis of and relationship among the woodcuts and text of the 1499 edition of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and how word and image render a Janus-like Romance that typifies the art, literature, and culture of a period known as the Renaissance.

**\*\*The Romantic Origins of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili\*\***

Among the perennial questions that has shrouded the Hypnerotomachia in mystery is the authorship of the text. The earliest speculations on the identity of the book's author closely relate to an acrostic made up of the *incipit* letters of each of the thirty-eight chapters of the Polifilo. The acrostic, which reads, "Poliam Frater Franciscus Columna Peramavit" (Father Francesco Colonna loved Polia Dearly), has been taken to suggest that the author of the book was a certain Father Francesco Colonna.

The systematic search for the book's author did not begin until the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> In 1723, the Venetian scholar Apostolo Zeno identified Franciscus Columna as a monk in

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<sup>3</sup> For an excellent overview of the authorship problem, see Patricia Fortini Brown, Venice and Antiquity. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997): 287. The earlier evidence for Francesco Colonna is found in a printed couplet within a variant copy of the Hypnerotomachia (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek: Inc. 4508). The copy contains a printed couplet that refers to a famous "Francisco alta columna." In addition, two documents, dated 1501 and 1517, refer to a "Magister Francesco Colonna" and a "Francesco Colonna Venetus." P. Brown quoting M.T. Casella and G. Pozzi, Francesco Colonna: Biografia e Opere (Padova: Antenore, 1959): I, 124 doc. 50; (P-C): II, 3-4, n. I.



residence at the Dominican monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, a claim based on a marginal note in a copy of the Poliphilo kept in a Dominican convent on the Giudecca.<sup>4</sup> According to Zeno, the note stated that Colonna was in love with Hippolyta of the noble Trevisan Lellio family, or Polia, who died of a plague that ravaged Treviso in 1467. We will never know whether Zeno had gathered his information on Hippolyta from a marginal note or from the printed "epitaph" that appears at the end of the Hypnerotomachia, which tells us that Polia died in Treviso on May 1, 1467. Indeed, the book that contained the "note" never seems to have appeared again, and as Patricia Brown rightly speculates, whether or not Zeno ever saw the copy at all is questionable. Furthermore, we would add that marginal notes by their very nature raise a wide spectrum of problems. Whatever the source of Zeno's "transcription," Zeno's account counts among the first romantic interpretations of the Hypnerotomachia and its author.

In 1959, the quest for Francesco Colonna blossomed in the wake of Giovanni Pozzi and M.T. Casella's documentary reconstruction of the life of Francesco Colonna, author of the Hypnerotomachia and Dominican monk who resided in Venice, Treviso, and Padua, and lived his final days at the Monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.<sup>5</sup> Three years following the publication of Francesco Colonna's biography, Pozzi and Lucia Ciapponi supported the

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<sup>4</sup> Apostolo Zeno, Giornale de' letterati d'Italia, XXXV (1723): 300-1, quoted in P. Brown, 287.

<sup>5</sup> M.T. Casella and Giovanni Pozzi, Francesco Colonna: Biografia e Opere. 2 Vols. (Padova: Antenore, 1959).

attribution with an essay linking the woodcuts to the artistic milieu of Venice.<sup>6</sup> In 1964, the same pair of scholars published the first critical edition of the Hypnerotomachia, a groundbreaking philological commentary on the diverse sources of the literary fragments that make up the text and an analysis of its complex language.<sup>7</sup> The following year, Maurizio Calvesi countered Pozzi with an attribution to a new Francesco Colonna, member of the famous Roman Colonna family and Prince of Palestrina.<sup>8</sup> Calvesi's argument, developed through numerous articles and two books, tells the story of a Roman humanist in love with antiquity and Clarina Colonna, lady of Palestrina. Calvesi constructs a dense web of links, many of which remain circumstantial, among the classical and classicizing artistic motifs of Rome, Palestrina and the Hypnerotomachia.<sup>9</sup>

Beyond Francesco Colonna (Veneziano or Romano), scholarship has yielded several other candidates, including Fra Eliseo da Treviso, Felice Feliciano da Verona, Lorenzo

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<sup>6</sup> Pozzi, Giovanni and Ciapponi, Lucia, "La cultura figurativa di Francesco Colonna e l'arte Veneta," Lettere Italiane, 14 (1962): 151-69. Pozzi and Ciapponi base their argument on the close relationship of images and text; artist and author.

<sup>7</sup> Colonna, Francesco. Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. Ed. Giovanni Pozzi and Lucia A. Ciapponi. 2 vols. (Padua: Antenore, 1964 [1980 reprint]).

<sup>8</sup> Maurizio Calvesi, "Identificato l'autore del Polifilo," L'Europa letteraria, artistica, cinematografica, 35 (1965): 3-14; Maurizio Calvesi, Il Sogno di Polifilo prenestino (Roma: Officina, 1980); Maurizio Calvesi, La 'Pugna d'amore in sogno' di Francesco Colonna Romano. (Roma: Lithos, 1996).

<sup>9</sup> Calvesi's most suggestive evidence remains a document that connects Colonna and the brother of Leonardo Crasso, who dedicated to the Hypnerotomachia to Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino. Calvesi asserts that Crasso's brother, who had died in the service of Guidobaldo, was the brother-in-law of Francesco Colonna, an assertion that partially explains how the text of a certain Roman Francesco Colonna might have reached Aldo Manuzio, who printed the Hypnerotomachia along with the dedication, which Calvesi views as Crasso's tribute to his deceased brother.

de' Medici, and Leon Battista Alberti. The 1963 attribution to Fra Eliseo, a Servite monk born in Lucca who lived in Florence and breathed his last in Treviso, resembles the Francesco Colonna saga. Scholars in favor of Fra Eliseo have based their evidence upon an early 17<sup>th</sup> century speculation on the authorship of the Polifilo and Polia's account of her Trevisan origins in book II.<sup>10</sup> The remaining attributions are linked not with documentary evidence, the acrostic or Polia's "history"; but rather, with subject matter found in the images and text. For example, one solution that predates Casella and Pozzi's study proposes the 15<sup>th</sup>-century antiquarian, Felice Feliciano, as the author on the basis that Poliphilo's imagined antiquities and inscriptions recall the fragments and epigraphic illustrations found in his *sylogai*.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, a 1967 study, which located the hieroglyphs, inscriptions, and antique fragments of the Hypnerotomachia within the Neoplatonic ambiance of Renaissance Florence, attributed its authorship to none other than Lorenzo de' Medici and identified Poliphilo and Polia as Lorenzo and his beloved Lucrezia Donati.<sup>12</sup> The most recent proposal favors Leon Battista Alberti, an identification prompted by stylistic similarities and parallel motifs among the

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<sup>10</sup> Arcangelo Giani, Annalium sacri ordinis fratrum servorum B. Mariae Virginis a suae institutionis exordio centuriae quatuor. Pars Prima (Florence, 1618): c.33v., quoted in P. Scapecchi; Alessandro Parronchi, "L'Autore del Polifilo," La Nazione, 15 (Augusto, 1963). Pietro Scapecchi, "L'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili e il suo autore," in Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia, LI, 4-5 (1983): 286-298; Alessandro Parronchi, "Frate Eliseo Ruffini da Lucca Servita autore dell' Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" in Omaggio a Gianfranco Folena (Padova: Editoriale Programma, 1993): 889-904.

<sup>11</sup> Khomentovskaia, A. "Felice Feliciano da Verona comme l'auteur de l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," in La Bibliofilia, 37-8 (1935-36): 154-74; 20-49; 92-102.

<sup>12</sup> Emanuela Kretzulesco Quaranta, "L'Itinerario Spirituale di Polifilo. Uno studio necessario per determinare la paternità dell'Opera," in Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, (Series VIII), 22, 7-12 (1967): 269-283;

edifices described in the Polifilo and the treatises of Alberti.<sup>13</sup> The attribution to an architect is perhaps more telling of the legacy of Tommaso Temanza's 18<sup>th</sup> century biography, which named Francesco Colonna the first Venetian architect.<sup>14</sup> In sum, although the origins of the text point toward Venice, evidence for all of the authors proposed remains inconclusive.

\*\*Aldo Manuzio's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili\*\*

Aldo Manuzio's role in printing the 1499 edition of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili at his Venetian press counts among the few points of scholarly consensus. In 1489 Manuzio, a scholar of Roman origin and former tutor of Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi, arrived in Venice.

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<sup>13</sup> Kretzulesco Quaranta later retracted her attribution to Lorenzo de' Medici and attributed the book to Alberti. See L. Kretzulesco Quaranta, "L'Itinerario Archeologico del Polifilo: Leon Battista Alberti come teorico della Magna Porta," Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, (Series VIII) 25 (1970): 175-201; E. Kretzulesco Quaranta, "L'enigma della sigla 'B' nella Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," Il simbolo dall'Antichità al Rinascimento. Persistenza e sviluppi. Ed. Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Milano: Nuovi Orizzonti, 1995): 111-129; Liane Lefaivre, Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997).

<sup>14</sup> Temanza's biography tells a fascinating story that remains to be told. In the context of its own time, Temanza's account parallels the modern scholarship of the Polifilo: it demonstrates an incident of patriotism and romance. Temanza's lives of illustrious Venetian architects and sculptors "completed" the trilogy of fine arts in Venice begun by authors like Ridolfi and Zanetti, whose histories of the Venetian painters responded to Vasari's somewhat pejorative views of Venetian artists in the Lives (1550, 1568). See Tommaso Temanza, Vita dei più celebri architetti e scultori veneziani che fiorirono nel secolo decimosesto. (Venezia, 1778); Carlo Ridolfi, Le Maraviglie dell'arte ovvero le vite degli illustri pittori veneti e dello Stato da Carlo Ridolfi (Venezia, 1648) [Ed. 1835, 2 Vols., Padova; Ed. D. von Handeln. Berlin, 1914-1924]. A.M. Zanetti, Varie Pitture a Fresco de' Principali maestri veneziani (Venezia, 1760); A.M. Zanetti, Della pittura veneziana e delle opere pubbliche de' veneziani maestri. (Venezia, 1771).

There, he established a press that would play a significant role in the nascent art of printing.<sup>15</sup> The design and typography of the Hypnerotomachia, the most extensively illustrated book ever printed at the Aldine press, incorporate elements of manuscripts, *incunabula*, and other Aldines printed in the years prior to 1499. For example, the typography includes Aldus and Griffo's recent innovation of Greek type, as well as humanist and Hebrew type.<sup>16</sup> The graceful and varied typography appears alongside an unprecedented layout of text and images that rivals that of illuminated manuscripts and *incunabula* illustrated by mechanical means. Aldus' spirit of experimentation based on past models in the Hypnerotomachia foreshadows his 16<sup>th</sup> century innovations, including his Italic type and his portable classics, or pocketbooks.<sup>17</sup> Aldus designed books such as the Hypnerotomachia and the octavo classics for sophisticated men and women of education and leisure, such as Alberto Pio, Guidobaldo de Montefeltro,

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<sup>15</sup> Aldine studies make up a vast scholarship. For discussion and bibliography on the press of Aldus Manutius, see Harry George Fletcher III, New Aldine Studies: Documentary Essays on the Life and Works of Aldus Manutius. (San Francisco: Bernard M. Rosenthal, 1988); In Praise of Aldus Manutius: A Quincentenary Exhibition. (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1995); Leonardas V. Gerulaitis, Printing and Publishing in 15<sup>th</sup> Century Venice. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1976); Martin J.C. Lowry, The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979).

<sup>16</sup> Francesco Griffo first developed Aldus' Greek type in the works of Aristotle (1495-8). Nicolas Barker, Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century. (Sandy Hook, CT: Chiswick Book Shop, 1985); Piero Scapecchi et.al. Aldo Manuzio Tipografo (Firenze: Octavo, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> Pietro Bembo's De Aetna (Aldus, 1501) exemplifies the Aldine/Griffo Italic, while Cicero's Epistolae familiares (1502) represents one of Aldus' octavo classics, or "libelli portatiles in formam enchiridii." See Brian Richardson, Printing, Writers, and Readers in Renaissance Italy. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999): 126-8.

and Vittoria Colonna.<sup>18</sup> While the folio edition of the Hypnerotomachia suited the ambiance of their Renaissance *studioli*, a place of contemplation and imagination, the portable classics similarly accommodated the metaphorical and actual “wandering way of life” of Aldus’ 16<sup>th</sup> century clientele.<sup>19</sup>

**\*\*Romance, Design, and the Designer of the Woodcuts in the Hypnerotomachia**

Poliphili\*\*

The woodcuts that intermingle with the text of Aldus’ masterpiece have led a fascinating life of their own. The woodcuts seem to have played an important role through the centuries as a storehouse of visual sources for artists, poets, and intellectuals, although the full extent of their influence is difficult to say. More recently, a considerable scholarship has treated the Venetian (or Roman) origins of the woodcuts. This enigma, which will be examined in further detail below, gained momentum after the initial investigations of the book’s author and has yielded an expanding list of attributions from Botticelli and Gentile

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<sup>18</sup> Martin Davies, Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice. (London: The British Library, 1995), 46; quoted in Brian Richardson, 128.

<sup>19</sup> For a study on the milieu of the Renaissance *studiolo*, see Dora Thornton, The Scholar in His Study. Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy. New Haven: Yale UP, 1997. Martin Davies, Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice. (London: The British Library, 1995), 46; quoted in Brian Richardson, 128. Janus Lascarius, a Greek scholar working in the service of King Louis XII, pointed out that Aldus’ pocketbooks were ideal for his “wandering way of life” (*vagabundo nel modo che facio*). See Pierre de Nolhac, “Les correspondants de Alde Manuce: matériaux nouveaux d’histoire littéraire (1483-1514),” Studi e documenti di storia e diritto, 8 (1887), no. 24, letter of 24 December, 1501; quoted in Richardson, 128.

Bellini to Leon Battista Alberti to Benedetto Bordon.<sup>20</sup> Although their influence and authorship remain uncertain, the marked variations of the woodcuts from different editions and copies of the Polifilo afford us a glimpse into shifting taste and style over the centuries.

The 172 illustrations traveled in numerous editions of the Polifilo, in which individuals expunged, altered, or added to them.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps the most dramatic alteration of the book occurred in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, when editions of the woodcuts appeared without the text, or with excerpted passages of text, to illustrate good book design.<sup>22</sup> These editions not only provided a broad audience access to the 1499 woodcuts, but also served artists in quest of design ideas for all manner of materials—from books and furniture to fabrics and painting. The woodcuts and text not only inspired artists and poets of the era, including John Ruskin, William Morris, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and Edward Burne-Jones, but also shaped their romantic revival of the Renaissance.<sup>23</sup> In the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, interest in the

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<sup>20</sup> For a discussion and bibliography of the modern history of the woodcuts in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, see Appendix V.

<sup>21</sup> For example, Kerver's 1546 edition presents new woodcuts based on the 1499 illustrations, in addition to a number of new images. The 1592 English edition follows the design of the original woodcuts, but leaves out some of the more poignant details, most notably, Priapus' rigidly rigorous attribute. Other variant copies contain bits that were scratched out by their owners. For a list of editions, see the conclusion and bibliography.

<sup>22</sup> J.W. Appel, Introductory Notes and Description of the Dream of Poliphilo. London: W. Griggs, 1893; Ongania, F. "Note by the Venetian Publisher," Early Venetian Printing Illustrated. Ed. F. Ongania and John C. Nimmo. (London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895): 8. For examples from the Polifilo, see pp.145-152.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, D.M.R. Bentley, "Rossetti and the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," in English Language Notes, (1977): 279-83. John Ruskin's copy of the Hypnerotomachia, as well as a copy owned by William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones are both kept at the

woodcuts gradually shifted from their design to the attribution of their designer. At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, scholars have reached a consensus that the artists responsible for the woodcuts worked in the Veneto-Paduan school of miniaturists; however, the precise identification of the designer remains yet another mystery of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.

**\*\*The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and Renaissance Studies\*\***

For over a century, the woodcuts have featured prominently in scholarship on the renewal of antiquity in the Renaissance.<sup>24</sup> At the same time that 19<sup>th</sup> century artists and poets began to scrutinize the fine design of the woodcuts, a generation of art historians turned to the illustrations as a storehouse of iconographic *exempla*. The first catalogue of the woodcuts, which appeared in Albert Ilg's groundbreaking doctoral thesis in 1872, figured in Aby Warburg's studies of the cultural phenomenon of the Renaissance.<sup>25</sup> For example, Warburg, who owned and annotated Appel's 19<sup>th</sup> century edition of the Polifilo woodcuts,

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Houghton Library at Harvard University. I am indebted to Mark Samuels Lasner for his generous information pertaining to the Morris/Burne-Jones copy.

<sup>24</sup> The woodcuts attracted the attention of Jacob Burckhardt, who mentioned the "first pictures of ruins, with a commentary by Polifilo" in his 1860 study of the Renaissance. See Jacob Burckhardt, Jacob. The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy. Tr. S.G.C. Middlemore. (Salzburg: R. Kiesel, 1937): 113-4.

<sup>25</sup> Albert Ilg, Über den kunsthistorischen Werth der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. (Wien: W. Braumuller, 1872). For Ilg's catalogue, see pp. 95-127. Aby Warburg. Gesammelte Schriften. 2 Vols. (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1932): 18; Ernst H. Gombrich, Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography. (Leiden: J. Brill, 1970): 61.



studied the illustrations in light of Botticelli's representation of Spring.<sup>26</sup> These early investigations laid the groundwork for the study of the woodcuts in relation to mythology, imagination, and memory in Renaissance art and culture.<sup>27</sup> In the spirit of Warburg's scholarship on the Polifilo, recent studies have treated the woodcuts in other artistic contexts. Architectural historians have related Poliphilo's romanticized architectural "utopia" to the late 15<sup>th</sup> century treatises of Alberti and Filarete and discussed the architectural dreamscapes and gardenscapes in their visual contexts.<sup>28</sup> Several studies have made much of the eroticism of

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<sup>26</sup> [Warburg Archive] Ninfa Fiorentina, 1900. Hypnerotomachia [118.8]. I wish to express my gratitude to Dorothea McEwan for her generous help in transcribing Warburg's notes.

<sup>27</sup> Ursula Hoff, "Meditation in Solitude," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 1 (1937-8): 292-294; Fritz Saxl, "A Scene from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in a Painting by Garofalo," in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 1, (1937-8): 169-171; Sir Anthony Blunt, "The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in 17<sup>th</sup> Century France," in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 1 (1937): 117-37; Otto Kurz, "Huius Nympha Loci: A Pseudo-Classical Inscription and a Drawing by Dürer," in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 16 (1953): 171-77. Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance. (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1968); Ernst Gombrich, "Hypnerotomachiana," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 14 (1951): 119-25; Francis A. Yates, The Art of Memory. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1974); Salvatore Settis et al. Memoria dell'Antico nell'Arte Italiana. 3 vols. (Torino: Einaudi, 1984-86); Patricia Fortini Brown, Venice and Antiquity (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997).

<sup>28</sup> John Summerson, Heavenly Mansions. (London: Cresset Press, 1949); Marie Sophie Huper, "The Architectural Monuments of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili." [Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1956]; Dorothea Schmidt, Untersuchungen zu den Architekturphrasen in der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. (Frankfurt am Main: R.G. Fischer, 1978); David Thompson, "Utopia in the Veneto," in Renaissance Architecture: Critics, Patrons, Luxury. (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1993): 67-70. Stefano Borsi, Polifilo Architetto: Cultura Architettonica e Teoria Artistica nell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili di Francesco Colonna, 1499. (Roma: Officina, 1995); "Garden and Architectural Dreamscapes in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," Word and Image, ed. Michael Leslie and John Dixon Hunt, 14, (January-June, 1998).

Poliphilo's impassioned reaction to the edifices of antiquity.<sup>29</sup> Scholars have also discussed the place of the woodcuts in the history of printed images.<sup>30</sup> For all of the insight that recent scholarship has cast on the illustrations in their various contexts, the relationship among the woodcuts and the text has received relatively little consideration.

\*\*Images and Text in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili\*\*

The gradual separation of the woodcuts from the text in the 20<sup>th</sup> century has much to do with the complexity of the language of the Polifilo. Nearly five hundred years after Castiglione warned against using Poliphilo's pedantic speech to woo women in Il Cortegiano, the language of the text has become a realm reserved for philologists and a field that few

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<sup>29</sup> Liane Lefaivre, "Eros, Architecture, and the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," Design Book Review, (1990): 17-20; L. Lefaivre, "Eine erotische Einmischung: die verkannte Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," Daidalos (1991): 92-100; "The Metaphor of the Building as Body in the Hypnerotomachia," Arte Lombarda, 105-7 (1993): 87-90; Alberto G. Perez, Poliphilo, or, The Dark Forest Revisited. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992); Alberto Pérez-Gómez, "The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili by Francesco Colonna: The Erotic Nature of Architectural Meaning," in Paper Palaces. Ed. Vaughn Hart and Peter Hicks. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. pp. 86-105.

<sup>30</sup> Georg Leidinger, Albrecht Dürer und die Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1929); David Rosand and Michelangelo Muraro, Titian and the Venetian Woodcut. (Washington, D.C.: The National Gallery of Art, 1976); Helena Katalin Szépe, "The Poliphilo and other Aldines Reconsidered in the Context of the Production of Decorated Books in Venice," [Ph.D., Cornell, 1992]; David Landau and Peter Parshall, The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994).

scholars outside of linguistic studies have dared to tread.<sup>31</sup> Among the notable exceptions remains John Addington Symonds, whose 19<sup>th</sup> century analysis placed Poliphilo's pedantry within Renaissance literary culture.<sup>32</sup> It is only in recent years that scholars have begun to explore the abstract nature of Poliphilo's language and woodcuts and their relation to his renewal of antiquity in a dream.<sup>33</sup>

On the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1499 Aldine edition of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, the first modern translations of the text appeared in Italian and English.<sup>34</sup> While the Italian edition, a two volume tome that contains a facsimile, a commentary, and a translation, best captures the florid language of the original text, the English edition, whose woodcuts and translation appear in a format that approximates the original, effectively conveys Aldus'

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<sup>31</sup> I refer to Pozzi's commentary in the second volume of the 1964 and 1980 editions of the Hypnerotomachia and the most recent studies of the language. See Giorgio Agamben, "Il Sogno della Lingua: Per una Lettura del Polifilo," in I Linguaggi del Sogno. (Firenze: Sansoni, 1984); Marco Mancini, "Intorno alla Lingua del 'Polifilo'," in R.R. Roma nel Rinascimento, Bibliografie e note. (1989): 29-48.

<sup>32</sup> John Addington Symonds, The Renaissance in Italy: Italian Literature. Vol. II (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1888): 327.

<sup>33</sup> Paul Hills discusses the word and image in relation to Venetian *colorito* and *macchie* in Venetian Color. (Milano: Rizzoli, 1999). Patricia Fortini Brown summarizes both word and image in a chapter on the Polifilo. See "A Special License," in Venice and Antiquity, 207-225.

<sup>34</sup> Francesco Colonna, Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, ubi humana omnia non nisi somnium esse docet. [Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499]. Critical edition edited by Marco Ariani and Mino Gabriele. 2 vols. Milano: Adelphi Editrice, 1998; Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, The Strife of Love in a Dream. Tr. Joscelyn Godwin. London: Thames and Hudson, 1999. Prior translations include the first French translation found in the Kerver edition of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (Paris, 1546), an uncompleted English translation, The Strife of Love in a Dreame (London: Simon Waterson, 1592), and an 1883 French translation by Claude Popelin, Le Songe de Poliphile (Paris: Isidore Liseux, 1883).

design. Most significantly, both translations have paved the way toward bringing the images and text of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili together again.

This dissertation bypasses the enigmas of the Hypnerotomachia to explore the nuances of the woodcuts and text in relation to Poliphilo's dream-journey. My study is not intended as a comprehensive summary of the book, but rather, as an introduction based on selected examples. Broadly, we will address the place of the Hypnerotomachia within the courtly culture typified by the individual to whom it was dedicated: Guidobaldo de Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino. The first chapter examines Leonardo Crasso's dedication to the duke, whose poliphilian persona and court came to represent the ideals of Castiglione's Il Cortegiano. Chapter two analyses the florid language and its vocabulary in close relation to Crasso's description of the nature of the Polifilo. In the following chapter, we will address the woodcuts, their genesis and the ways in which they illustrate Poliphilo's poetry. The final chapter, which is divided into two parts, looks at how the Hypnerotomachia engages the reader in a poliphilian game of word and image, one that not only characterizes Poliphilo's Renaissance Romance, but also the romance of the Renaissance.

### Chapter I:

#### \*\*The Hypnerotomachia and the Myth of Guidobaldo de Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino\*\*

In December 1499, Leonardo Crasso published a dedicatory letter to Guidobaldo de Montefeltro in the *editio princeps* of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.<sup>1</sup> The letter, which praised the Duke's military prowess and the wide breadth of his learning, also highlighted Crasso's role in paying for the book's publication. In addition, Crasso outlined the book's merits, and pronounced the Hypnerotomachia worthy of the erudite Duke. Whether a copy of the Hypnerotomachia was directly presented to the duke or sent to his library in Urbino shortly after its publication is difficult to say. From Baldassar Castiglione's reference to the "words of Polifilo" in Il Cortegiano, we may surmise that at least one copy of the Hypnerotomachia existed in the Duke's library by 1514, if not earlier.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of documentary evidence, it is also impossible to determine if Guidobaldo knew Crasso's dedication, or whether he had ever read the Hypnerotomachia. Yet, the fact remains that Crasso wished to connect himself—through a dedication—to Guidobaldo, and thought the book a suitable bearer of the duke's name. What does the dedication of the Hypnerotomachia tell us about the book and its recipient? How was Crasso's dedication related to contemporary

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<sup>1</sup> Leonardo Grassi, "Leonardus Crassus Vernonensis Guido Illustriss. Duci Urbini, S.P.D.", in Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. (Venice: Aldus, 1499). HP: I, I-I'; (P-C): I, IX-X; (G-A): II, 5-7; (JG): 2-3. For the full text, see Appendix Ia.

<sup>2</sup> Baldessar Castiglione, Il Libro del Cortegiano. Tr. Ettore Bonora. Milano: Mursia, 1988. All translations are from Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier. Tr. Charles Singleton. New York: Doubleday, 1959. Castiglione resided at the court of Urbino during the first decade of the Cinquecento.

perceptions of the Duke of Urbino and his court? This chapter does not aim at a comprehensive study of Guidobaldo's life or the court of Urbino during Guidobaldo's reign, nor does it attempt to synthesize contemporary accounts about the son of the famed Federico de Montefeltro. Rather, we will explore Crasso's dedication to Guidobaldo and the Hypnerotomachia in light of the historic, literary, and artistic traditions that shaped the myth of Guidobaldo of Urbino, one which presented the duke as an ideal Renaissance prince. The present chapter will serve as a point of departure toward an understanding of the Hypnerotomachia not only in relation to late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century perceptions of Guidobaldo, but also as paragon of the sophisticated court of Urbino, a city that came to typify the ideals of Renaissance culture.

\*\*Guidobaldo de Montefeltro and Venice: 1498-1503\*\*

Before discussing the literary and visual traditions that shaped the myth of Guidobaldo, let us examine briefly the events that form the historical backdrop of 1499, the year in which Aldus published the Hypnerotomachia and Leonardo Crasso's dedication to Guidobaldo de Montefeltro. Ties between Venice and the Duke of Urbino were strong between 1498-99. We find an invaluable source of information concerning Guidobaldo's involvement with Venice in Marin Sanudo's Diarii.<sup>3</sup> Throughout 1498, Guidobaldo's *orator*, domino Machario, made weekly appearances before the Venetian Senate to deliver updates

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<sup>3</sup> Marin Sanudo. Diarii. Vol. 2. (Venezia: Marco Visentini, 1879). For Sanudo's text, see Appendix II.

on the duke's progress.<sup>4</sup> Guidobaldo was at that time under the employ of the Venetian Republic, who had hired him to fight on their behalf in the Siege of Bibbiena. Venice, interested in expanding her territory on the Mediterranean coast but concerned about protecting her territory on the *terra firma*, had declared war against a league formed by Milan and Florence. During the war, Venice paid richly for Guidobaldo's services.<sup>5</sup> Machario's weekly news to the Venetian collegio, recorded in Sanudo's Diarii, most often has to do with the duke's requests for payments or supplies during the winter of 1498.<sup>6</sup> With the death of King Charles VIII of France, the tides shifted. Louis XII, Charles' successor, was intent on acquiring the city of Milan. The Republic quickly allied herself with France and the Borgia family in Rome, persuaded by Louis' promise to give Venice a portion of Milanese territory in return.<sup>7</sup>

In preparation for the invasion of Milan, Venice once again summoned the military services of Guidobaldo de Montefeltro. From the Autumn of 1498 through the Winter of 1499, Sanudo records that Guidobaldo remained near Florence. Venice at that time was settling payments to the soldiers who fought under Guidobaldo. Among the names that

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Vols.1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Milan had been one of Venice's opponents in the Pisan War, which had precipitated the siege of Bibbiena.

<sup>6</sup> For his military services, Venice paid Guidobaldo 20,000 *scudi* per year, and provided him with 200 men-at-arms and 100 horses. For another account of Guidobaldo's activities in the siege at Bibbiena, see James Dennistoun, Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino. Vol. I. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851). P.356. Dennistoun's account, though highly embellished, is based on Sanudo's Diarii.

<sup>7</sup> For a summary of the Borgia involvement in the complex shifting of alliances between France and Venice in 1498-99, see Michael Mallett, The Borgias. (London: Paladin, 1969): 148-72; Sarah Bradford, Cesare Borgia. (New York: MacMillan, 1976): 90-92.

Sanudo mentions in one entry is a certain Lazaro Grasso, very likely the brother to whom Leonardo Grasso referred in the dedication to the Hypnerotomachia.<sup>8</sup> The siege ended badly for Guidobaldo and his Venetian forces, and the Republic never gained the Pisan territory and the highly prized position on the Mediterranean coast.

**\*\*June 1499: Guidobaldo's Triumphal Entry Into Venice\*\***

In June of 1499, the period between the end of the Siege of Bibbiena and the military action of the Venice-France-Borgia alliance against Milan, Guidobaldo planned a retreat in Venice, which Sanudo documented in his Diarii. On May 29<sup>th</sup>, 1499, Machario and the Venetian collegio arranged for the duke's arrival on Sunday, June 2. The council told Guidobaldo's *orator* that the duke would be accompanied in the Bucintoro, and that the Republic would give him 26 ducats a day during his sojourn, a spending allowance that was later reduced to 25 ducats.<sup>9</sup> The next day, the Republic sent several representatives to meet the duke at Ravenna and pay his expenses there and in Chioggia, his last stop *en route* to

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<sup>8</sup> Sanudo, 2: 725 no. 285: "*Item*, fu posto per i savii dil consejo et di terra ferma, excepto sier Filippo Trum procurator, di pagar spagnoli stati in Bibiena a l'assedio, et primi mandati fuori, et li 300 provisionati, quali erano qui a le scale, non computà li contestabili né quelli dil ducha di Urbim, et sia dà libertà al collegio di darli fin ducati 1200 a quelli si saperano certo esser stati in Bibiena. Contradisse sier Filippo Trum savio di consejo, et biasemò *Lazaro Grasso* stato in Bibiena, et dete bota ai savii da terra ferma..."

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 2: 772, no. 303: (May 29, 1499) "Vene l'orator di Urbim, e li fo ditto la deliberation di andar contra el suo signor con el bucintoro, et venisse la domeniga, el qual ringratiò e disse verà con assa' persone; et il principe li disse come se li daria 26 ducati al dí per spexe." The full account of Guidobaldo's sojourn appears in Sanudo, II: 772-796. For the text of Sanudo's entries related to his stay in Venice in June 1499, see Appendix II.



Venice before his Sunday arrival.<sup>10</sup> On Sunday, June 2, 1499, the Doge embarked on the Bucintoro; accompanied by his *savii del ordine*, who arrived in five smaller boats bedecked with arms. The entourage traveled as far as the church of San Antonio.<sup>11</sup> There, they met the duke and rowed together down the Grand Canal *con gran festa* to the palace of the Duke of Ferrara, the present day Fondaco dei Turchi. The duke, according to Sanudo, was then 28 years old, a *bello homo*. He was dressed all in black, according to the French fashion.<sup>12</sup>

We learn more about the duke in Sanudo's entry from the following day. On June 3<sup>rd</sup>, Guidobaldo appeared once again *con molti cavaliere et patricii, et con una bella compagnia sua*, before the collegio, and before the Venetian populace. According to Sanudo, the duke spoke a few words, namely that he wished to be a good servant to the Venetian people. Sanudo also points out that the duke was viewed in a positive light by the Signoria and the Venetians, as "our own most precious son": *l'era sta ben visto da la Signoria nostra et da tutta la terra come fiol nostro carissimo*.<sup>13</sup> The last event of the day seems to have been a

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 2: 773, no. 303: (May 30, 1499); 2: 776, no. 304: (June 1, 1499).

<sup>11</sup> San Antonio, now destroyed, was a standard entrance point for Venetian ducal processions. The church was built on the tip of Castello, near the present day Giardini, and was highly visible from the Riva degli Schiavoni.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 2: 779-80, no. 305: (June 2, 1499): "Da poi disnar adoncha el principe con li oratori et senato andoe col bucintoro contra el ducha Guido di Urbin fino a Santo Antonio, et lui lo aspetoe, et fu fatto cinque parascelmi justa il consueto per nui savii ai ordeni, adornati con le arme di cadauno; et gionse poi esso ducha venuto di Chioza con sier Zorzi Pixani podestà, et alcuni zentilhomeni li fo mandato contra. È di anni 28, bello homo, era vestito di negro a la francese, et cussì tutti i soi per la morte dil signor Octaviano di Ubaldini suo barba, qual il stato et lui ducha assai tempo havia governato; et montato sul bucintoro con gran festa vene per canal grando fino a la caxa dil marchexe di Ferrara, dove li fu preparato; et il principe lo acompagnò fino in camera, et stete in questa terra zorni...come dirò; et se li deva 25 ducati al zorno per spexe, et avia assai persone."

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 2: 780, no 305: (June 3, 1499).

banquet held in honor of Guidobaldo in the Palazzo Ducale. All of the guests danced except for Guidobaldo, who may have already been suffering from gout, a condition that would persist until his death in 1508.

Following the welcoming festivities of the Duke of Urbino, Machario made daily visits to the collegio, apparently for the purpose of planning a meeting between Guidobaldo and his Venetian hosts. The duke seems to have been negotiating the financial arrangements of his *condotto*, and in Sanudo's entries between June 4<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>, there are multiple references to a "need to resolve matters." On June 5<sup>th</sup>, Machario announced to the collegio that his master *desiderava saper la resolution nostra*, and that he would make an appearance the next day to negotiate in person.<sup>14</sup> It was not until June 7<sup>th</sup> that Guidobaldo arrived in the collegio accompanied by a number of patricians. Guidobaldo only allowed three of his companions to enter and attend the meeting: Gian Batista Carazolo, Machario, and master Lodovico Odassio. We shall return momentarily to the latter, Ludovico Odassio. The meeting in the collegio seems to have cemented Guidobaldo's *condotto* with the Venetian Republic, for Sanudo records that Guidobaldo had agreed on a price—though the price was unspecified—for another year of military service on behalf of the Republic.<sup>15</sup> In the diary entry, Sanudo also affords us another glimpse of Guidobaldo, for he remarks that the duke had comported

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 2: 787, no.309: (June 5, 1499).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 2: 796, no.312: (June 7, 1499). "Vene il ducha di Urbim con molti patricii che per lui sono mandati, et rimase dentro in collegio domino Zuam Batista Carazolo, domino Machario suo orator, et domino Lodovico de Odaxy, et li altri mandati fuora. El principe li disse con optime parole la deliberation fata eri zercha l'anno de rispetto; comemorando quello havia ditto al podestà nostro di Chioza venendo, et che se li daria provision etc. Et lui rispose saviamente, perché e doto et forma ben parole: come voleva far, et star al modo che a la Signoria nostra piaceva, pur che chavalchando havesse il suo titolo di governador come l'ha al presente; et il principe li disse si consejerà."

himself wisely before the collegio, *perché e doto et forma ben parole: come voleva far, et star al modo che a la Signoria nostra piaceva*. Sanudo describes the duke as a learned, articulate, and well-mannered man, words that were, as we shall see, common to contemporary descriptions of Guidobaldo.

Sanudo's entries postdating Guidobaldo's sojourn in Venice are similar in nature to those contemporaneous with the Siege at Bibbiena several years earlier. Machario, who continued to correspond with the Venetian collegio, made periodic requests for Guidobaldo's stipend and for more men or horses to assist him in the war against Milan. Until his death, the duke remained the Captain General of Venice, and in 1504, Pope Julius II appointed him Captain General of the Church. As for the Duke's ties with the Venetian Republic after 1499, his refuge in the city during Cesare Borgia's occupation of Urbino from 1502-3 is well documented in Sanudo's Diarii.<sup>16</sup>

In sum, the military ties between Guidobaldo and Venice were strong not only during Cesare Borgia's occupation of Urbino between 1502-3, but as early as 1498, when Guidobaldo served as *condottiere* to the Republic.<sup>17</sup> These diplomatic links were strongly suggested in the visual language of the decoration of the throne room of the Palace at Urbino, which still houses a highly visible stucco relief of the Lion of Saint Mark commissioned by either Guidobaldo or his father, Federico.<sup>18</sup> [Figure 1] A fuller account of the complex

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<sup>16</sup> See also Mallett, 173-87.

<sup>17</sup> See A. Bonardi, "Venezia e Cesare Borgia," Nuovo Archivio Veneto, n.s. vol. XX (Venice 1910).

<sup>18</sup> Pasquale Rotondi, The Ducal Palace of Urbino: Its Architecture and Decoration. (London: Alec Tiranti, Ltd., 1969), 76. Rotondi attributes the relief to Ambrogio Barocci, who was responsible for much of the stucco ornamentation around the palace during the reign of

alliances that Guidobaldo formed not only with Venice, but with other courts, the Church, the larger city-states of Italy, and with countries north of the Alps—especially England—to sustain his small state in the latter years of his reign is a subject that deserves further attention. Though such a project is no small undertaking, given the scattered remains of the Urbino archives, the extensive work of Cecil Clough has laid an excellent foundation for further research on the vast subject of the duchy of Urbino under Guidobaldo.<sup>19</sup>

**\*\*Book dedications to Guidobaldo, 1499-1503\*\***

During the same years, Aldus Manutius published four books that were dedicated to Guidobaldo. Of the three books that appeared in 1499, the first was Niccolo Perotti's Cornucopiae, a commentary on the first book of Martial's instructional Latin grammar. After Perotti completed the Cornucopiae in 1478, his uncle, Pirro, dedicated the work to Federico de Montefeltro, who would die four years later and leave the duchy of Urbino to his son, Guidobaldo. The *editio princeps* of Cornucopiae was published in Venice eleven years later, at the press of Paganinum de Paganinis, in 1489. The first edition not only reproduced Perotti's dedication to Federico, but it additionally contained a dedicatory epistle written by Lodovico Odassio—the same Odassio documented by Sanudo on June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1499—that was

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Guidobaldo.

<sup>19</sup> See the collected essays of Cecil Clough, in The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance. (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981).

addressed to Guidobaldo.<sup>20</sup> Odassio, a Paduan humanist who had served as Guidobaldo's last tutor, was also partially responsible for teaching Greek to the young duke.<sup>21</sup> From Sanudo's account, we recall that Odassio had traveled to Venice with Guidobaldo in June of 1499 and had accompanied the duke while he was negotiating with the Venetian Council of X, a gesture that suggests Odassio's continuing role as a trusted advisor to the duke beyond his childhood years. Odassio's late devotion to the duke is evidenced by the fact that he composed and delivered Guidobaldo's funerary oration.

Let us return to 1499. Ten years and several editions after the first edition of Cornucopiae, Aldus released his edition of the book in July. It is tempting to imagine a meeting between Odassio and Aldus in the period during Odassio's visit to Venice, when Odassio traveled to Venice as a part of Guidobaldo's entourage. In his edition of Cornucopiae, Aldus reproduced all of the prefatory material, adding to it his own dedication addressed to the reader.<sup>22</sup>

The next Aldine dedicated to Guidobaldo was a compendium of astronomical texts. The Scriptores Astronomici, published in October 1499, represents Aldus' first significant experiment in book illustration.<sup>23</sup> The first text, that of Julius Firmicus Maternus, contains

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<sup>20</sup> Raffaele Manica, "Il Sistema della Dedicazione," Federico de Montefeltro: La Cultura, (Roma: Bulzoni, 1986): 441-464. Manica discusses Perotti's dedication to Federico, dedication theory in general, and the role of the dedication in the genesis of the myth of Federico.

<sup>21</sup> Cecil Clough, "Cardinal Bessarion and Greek at the Court of Urbino", 160-171

<sup>22</sup> For a brief history of Perotti's Cornucopiae, see British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1955. (New York: Readex Microprint Co., 1962):XIX, 1192-3.

<sup>23</sup> To my knowledge, the only study on the Scriptores Astronomici remains that of Carey S. Bliss. See Julius Firmicus Maternus and the Aldine Edition of the Scriptores Astronomici Veteres. (Los Angeles, 1981). Aldus had used ornamental borders and decorated letters in his earlier books, but the Scriptores Astronomici was Aldus' first book to contain a

a number of diagrams that map the heavens. The diagrams correspond to the text, which is scattered with the signs of the zodiac in small type. The third text, Aratus Athenodoro's treatise, contains 39 woodcuts that illustrate the personification of each of the constellations. Aldus borrowed a number of these woodcuts from Erhard Ratdolt, a German printer who had established a press in Venice in the 1470's.<sup>24</sup> Scriptores Astronomici contains two dedicatory letters, both written by Aldus. The first of these is addressed to Guidobaldo de Montefeltro, the second to Alberto Pio, prince of Carpi. Aldus also played an important role in translating the third text of Aratus from Greek to Latin.<sup>25</sup>

If it were possible to produce a book exceeding the innovative spirit of the Scriptores Astronomici, Aldus surely met the challenge in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, published two months later, in December 1499. The Hypnerotomachia, which shares much with the variety of images, typography, and layout in the Scriptores Astronomici, was also dedicated to Guidobaldo, this time by a Leonardus Crassus Veronensis. Leonardo Crasso, a member of the noble Grassi, among the richest families of Verona, had several brothers: Bernardino, a judge and lawyer; Francesco, the Captain of the city of Verona; Baldassare, a poet; and Lazzaro, possibly the brother mentioned in Sanudo's Diarii.<sup>26</sup> Crasso himself played a number of roles: he is mentioned in documents as *dottore*, *protonotario apostolico*, *capitano della*

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significant number of illustrations and diagrams.

<sup>24</sup> Hygenus. (Venezia: Ratdolt, 1476).

<sup>25</sup> The heading of Aratus' text reads, "Arati vita e graeco in latinum, Aldo Manutio Romano Interprete. [...] Fragmentum arati phaenomenon per germanicum in latinum con versi cum commento nuper in siciliare perto."

<sup>26</sup> Sanudo, 2: 725 no. 285. Cf. n.7.

*cittadella di Verona*, and *sovrintendente alle fortificazioni di Padova*.<sup>27</sup> As for Crasso's ties with Guidobaldo, we know little except that one of his brothers fought alongside the duke during the wars between Florence and Pisa.<sup>28</sup> The strong ties between the Crassus family and Venice are well documented. Records of Leonardo Crasso's service for the Venetian Republic abound in Sanudo's entries from the early decades of the Cinquecento, which record that Crasso was acting as an informant on behalf of the Venetians during the Wars of the League of Cambrai in 1510.<sup>29</sup> In 1517 we hear of Crasso's fortification of the walls of Padua under the direction of Andrea Gritti, who at that time served the Republic as Captain General.

In 1503, Aldus dedicated to Guidobaldo an edition of Xenophon's Hellenics, Gemisto Pletone's Greek History, and Herodian's History of the Roman Empire. The Aldine edition appeared three months after Guidobaldo had reclaimed, on a second attempt, his duchy from Cesare Borgia. In his dedication to the edition, Aldus recounted Guidobaldo's refuge in Venice between 1502-3 and his attempts to regain his duchy:

You aspire for nothing more than to do good deeds for your people and your city: and your people knew this when you were violently cast out two times from your possessions by the deed of your enemies—two times you endured danger—and with unanimous joy they reclaimed you as their ruler. [...] God saved you—and how you persevered in tollerating adverse fate. We attest to this, along with numerous others here in Venice, who have assisted in all of these matters with admiration, and so

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<sup>27</sup> For a biography based on documents related to Crasso, see Giuseppe Biadego, "Intorno al Sogno di Polifilo," in Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti, LX, no. 2 (1900-01): 699-714. For transcriptions of these documents, see M.T. Casella and Giovanni Pozzi, Francesco Colonna: Biografia e Opere, 2 Vols. (Padova: Antenore, 1959):88-90.

<sup>28</sup> "Cum semper, Dux invictissime, ob singulares virtutes et famam tui nominis te colui et observavi, tum maxime ex quo *frater meus tuis auspiciis in Bibienae obsidione militavit*." For a complete text and translation of Crassus's dedication, see Appendix I.

<sup>29</sup> A year earlier, Crasso went before the Council of X to renew his copyright on the Hypnerotomachia. For Crasso's involvement in the Wars of the League of Cambrai, see See Biadego, 702n.

this [book] is an offering from venerable philosophy.<sup>30</sup>

Thus Aldus dedicated the 1503 edition of Greek and Roman histories as a "small homage" to Guidobaldo, in recognition for his deeds on behalf of the Republic of Venice.

### **\*\*Book Dedications as a Literary *Topos*\*\***

The dedication of four Aldine editions to Guidobaldo between 1499-1503 is suggestive, given the duke's close relationship with Venice during the same period. However, it is difficult to say exactly why the books were dedicated to Guidobaldo, whether the duke read the books, or if he was aware that they were dedicated to him. Whatever the reasons, the dedications conveyed a great deal of information that was, significantly, open to the scrutiny of the public eye. Each of the dedicatory letters raises a number of questions concerning the relationship between the author of the dedication and the recipient of the book, as well as the messages and intent behind the dedications. While we may never know the precise answers in the case of the four dedications to Guidobaldo, these texts are valuable for what they tell us about contemporary perceptions of the duke and the genesis of the

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<sup>30</sup> Aldus Manutius, "Aldo romano to Guidobaldo de Montefeltro duke of Urbino," in Xenophon, Hellenics, Gemistus Pletone, Greek History, Herodian, History of the Roman Empire, (Venice: Aldus, 1503). Guidobaldo reclaimed Urbino from Cesare Borgia in October 1502, but the duke was forced to flee again in December, when Cesare Borgia and his forces again laid claim to the duchy. Guidobaldo returned to Urbino in August 1503, the end of his exile. See Dionisotti, 351n. I have translated the passage into English from the Italian translation in Aldus Manutius, Aldo Manuzio, Editore: Dediche, Prefazioni, note ai testi. Ed. Giovanni Orlandi and Carlo Dionisotti. 2 Vols. Milano: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1975. LI, p.253. For full text, see Appendix Id.



duke's persona, an ideal that arguably forms a backdrop for the dedication of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. Before returning to these questions concerning the four dedications, let us look first at the general nature of book dedications.

The *epistola dedicatoria* occupies a vast history. Dedications frequently accompanied classical writings, as in Virgil's dedication of Georgics to Mecenate or Cicero's dedication of the Academica to Varro and De officiis to his son.<sup>31</sup> The "consecration," as the Romans called their dedications, survived in the works of Christian authors, who often dedicated their texts to God.<sup>32</sup> In medieval manuscripts, dedications appeared alongside other prefatory materials, such as poetry or prose descriptions. Printers followed the same practice in incunabula, though the number of dedications and the prefatory texts to which they were appended widely varied.<sup>33</sup> The four Aldines under discussion are a case in point. Aldus wrote two dedications in the Scriptores Astronomici: the first to Guidobaldo de Montefeltro and the second to his old student and patron, Alberto Pio, the prince of Carpi. In the case of the Hypnerotomachia, a single dedication—that of Crassus—appears along with several poems and prose descriptions that make up the preface. The Aldine edition of the Cornucopiae also presents an interesting case, for Aldus reprinted Perotti's dedicatory letter to Federico from

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<sup>31</sup> On dedication as a *topos*, see Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. Willard R. Trask, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990): 86f., 410n.; Gérard Genette, Soglie: I dintorni del testo. (Torino: Einaudi, 1989): 115-140.

<sup>32</sup> Curtius, 86n. Curtius cites Jerome's *prologus galeatus*, or the "helmeted prologue" meant to "guard the authority of the Bible."

<sup>33</sup> Paola Farenga, "Il sistema delle dediche nella prima editoria romana del quattrocento," in Il Libro a Corte, ed. Amedeo Quondam. (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1994): 57-87. Farenga also points out that a number of dedications in incunabula were often hand-written, in order to personalize a given printed text.

an earlier edition. To the earlier text he added his own dedication to the reader, along with Lodovico Odassio's *epistola dedicatoria* to Guidobaldo. The 1503 edition of the Greek and Roman histories, on the other hand, contained only Aldus' dedication to Guidobaldo.

Dedications functioned to communicate a rapport between the author of the dedication and an individual or group. For instance, the dedication could indicate a relationship among friends, between a student and teacher, or between the printer and his audience. The book itself served as a point of contact and the dedication within became the bearer of a message.<sup>34</sup> While the nature of dedicatory "messages" varied, these texts share a highly rhetorical language aimed at praising the recipient of the dedicated book. In other words, dedications presented a literary genre ripe for *epideisis*, or rhetoric generally used to praise heroes in a wide range of literature from historical epic to elegiac poetry. Dedications, in turn, offered a potential storehouse of *topoi* that characterized the noble deeds and character of the book's recipient. With the advent of printing, the *epistola dedicatoria* became a medium for advertising interpersonal relationships to a wide audience as well as the quality of the press. In the case of the Aldines dedicated to Guidobaldo between 1499 and 1503, the highly rhetorical dedications incorporated a number of standard themes that raised Guidobaldo from a mere mortal to an ideal Renaissance ruler. Let us examine some of the ideas that emerge from the dedications of Aldines to Guidobaldo.

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<sup>34</sup> Raffaele Manica, "Il Sistema della Dedicazione," in *Federico di Montefeltro: La Cultura*. Ed. Giorgio Chittolini et al. (Roma: Bulzoni, 1986): 458. For his discussion of the theory of dedications, Manica refers to Roland Barthes, *Fragments d'un discours amoureux* (Paris: Seuil, 1977; tr. it. *Frammenti di un discorso amoroso* [Torino, Einaudi, 1979]: 65). See 458n.

\*\*Aldus' "Modesty"\*\*

In his *epistola dedicatoria* to Guidobaldo in the Scriptores Astronomici, Aldus himself described several ideas behind the practice of book dedication:

I think it worthwhile, illustrious duke Guido da Montefeltro, that all of the volumes that we print here arrive in the hands of the public fortified with some sort of preface, as though a shield, that in order to confer their high authority, they are dedicated to people of great fame, erudition, or their high position, or for all of these. I would not want this fact to be ascribed to my presumption; because I think that as much as I am given over to dedicate someone else's books, which are printed in our care, to this person or that person, in as much as such authors, the object of our most careful research, we almost bring them back from death to life.[....] why couldn't I myself publish, under the name of some great illustrious person these books which, after having lain prostrate in a battered state and in ruins for so many centuries, in the virtue of my hard labours return to life? It seems to me that to do this is my calling. Because here we have desired to publish under your good name the celebrated Julius Maternus, printed at our expense, and to send it to you as a gift, O most learned prince Guido; in the persuasion that it would come out to you as much welcomed: thereby returned as a perfect and complete whole in Italy all the way from the land of the Goths, and returned to be seen again by your people and your country.<sup>35</sup>

In dedicating the astronomical texts to Guidobaldo, Aldus was at once promoting his own interests and praising the duke. As Aldus points out, he had fortified his publication by attaching the duke's name with it. That Guidobaldo's name was connected with the book might have helped to sell more copies. By printing—and writing—the dedication, Aldus was also connecting his good name and reputation, with that of Guidobaldo, the recipient. Despite Aldus' labours in editing, publishing, and paying for the incunabulum, Aldus relinquishes his role as the book's patron. Instead, he credits the duke with bringing the book out of obscurity and ensuring its survival, despite the fact that the *editio princeps* of Julius Maternus had already been published two years earlier at the press of Simone Bevilacqua. Aldus' modesty, exemplified in his act of crediting the book's patronage and indeed, its

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<sup>35</sup> Scriptores Astronomici (Aldus, 1499). For full text, see Appendix Ic.

survival, to the duke, is a frequent theme in early printed dedications.

**\*\*Guidobaldo as Xenophon and Ptolemy\*\***

The author of the dedication also expressed praise by describing the noble attributes of the recipient. Oftentimes, these attributes appear in the guise of a *paragone* between the recipient and an ideal figure from the ancient world. In the dedications of classical texts, the author sometimes compares the recipient—and implicitly himself—to the heroes or author of the ancient text. Aldus drew an explicit *paragone* between Guidobaldo and Xenophon in his 1503 dedication of the Greek and Roman histories. Following his summary of Guidobaldo's two exiles from Urbino, Aldus describes the works that he has dedicated to the duke. He emphasizes that the three texts are eminently appropriate to the duke, but of the three authors, Xenophon was most like Guidobaldo: Xenophon was "a condottiere like you, and he was a man of great culture and well measured in manners." We find another comparison in Odassio's dedication of Perotti's *Cornucopiae*. Lodovico Odassio's florid *paragone* between Guidobaldo and Ptolemy Philadelphus opens his dedicatory text to the duke:

Ptolemy Philadelphus who is so highly celebrated by writers on manners, O illustrious prince, was not only accustomed to being honored because of the extraordinary opulence and breadth of his reign, but also for his deep study of all kinds of books, as is known from his library, which he curated at his own expense, so it's reported, first by study and then by producing them [the books]. For he knew, as a very prudent king, that there had been many kings prior to him, and he understood that there would be many kings after him who would develop an equal or greater manifestation of power and would reign over many nations for a long time. Because of this, in fact, he compared himself to the most abundant, praiseworthy, and elegant of all monuments which he himself had won over single-handedly and powerfully for his own glory. Therefore, he has been remembered in all previous history (which was his associate and collaborator), for opinion has been right to honor this man beyond all other kings of Egypt. And he has been ever present to admiration and, though deceased, in his mortality he has come to merit immortality. And so from the entire Greek and asiatic world philosophers, poets, orators, historians, and other such learned men have migrated together just as schools of fish gather in the clearest spring. Whoever has been so easily taken by

him, because of his good deed, can scarcely explain how much they are influenced by the king or how their attention to him has brought on present and absent honors. Moreover, exceeding all other very famous men, he had Demetrius Phalerius as a philosopher, then an outstanding orator, whose works and production were written within innumerable codices. And they were collected from libraries from all over the world and brought to Alexandria to be edited, to ornament, and enrich the library.<sup>36</sup>

In his description of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the famed ruler of Alexandria, Odassio names the celebrated library at Alexandria the "most elegant of all monuments" and a beacon for all learned men who had migrated to Alexandria "just as schools of fish gather in the clearest spring." Among the philosophers at the court of Alexandria was the Greek orator, Demetrius Phalerius, who contributed his own work to the library. It is difficult to mistake the *paragone* between Guidobaldo and Ptolemy; Guidobaldo's library and that of Ptolemy Philadelphus; Urbino and Alexandria; and even Demetrius Phalerius and Lodovico Odassio, the humanist who was responsible for teaching Greek to the young duke. Like Aldus, Odassio writes with a spirit of praise that is not without an air of self-promotion.

#### \*\*Virtue, Arms, and Letters\*\*

The attributes listed in the *paragone*, and in the dedication as a whole, make up a familiar *topos*: the duke exemplified an ideal combination of arms and letters. As Aldus points out, the duke was a condottiere like Xenophon, a man of culture, and measured in manners. Odassio mentions that the duke was like Ptolemy: a man whose wisdom, prudence, and

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<sup>36</sup> Lodovico Odassio, dedication in Nicolo Perotti, *Cornucopiae*. (Aldus: 1499). For the Latin text, see Appendix Ib. I am indebted to Dr. Thomas Govero for his assistance with the translation.

breadth of learning were reflected in a monumental library. The balance of an active and contemplative life was an ideal much celebrated in Renaissance rulers, for a man's ability to combine arms and letters was an outward sign of his virtue. The notion of *virtus* finds its roots in classical heroic poetry. The Roman ideal of *Virtus*, or manliness, survived in chivalric romances like the Roman de la Rose, and carried Neo-Platonic overtones in the poetry of Dante's generation. Throughout the medieval tradition and in the Renaissance, the word, *virtus*, was frequently used to express a number of complex ideals such as wisdom, heroism, and nobility of soul.<sup>37</sup> Closely related to the ruler's *virtú* is his combination of *sapientia* and *fortitudo*, a condition that led him to excel in both arms and letters.<sup>38</sup>

Guidobaldo's wisdom and strength were continually emphasized as attributes that tempered his military affairs, as in a passage from Aldus' dedication of Scriptores Astronomici to Guidobaldo. In yet another *paragone*, this time between the duke, Socrates, and Maternus, Aldus quotes Julius Maternus, in turn quoting Socrates, a "man of divine wisdom" who said that he had overcome his bodily vices "with the power of virtue and with wisdom." "But," says Aldus, "you yourself [Guidobaldo] recognize the value of these things much better than I." Aldus was probably referring to Guidobaldo's physical ailment, gout, and perhaps his words were meant as encouragement. Aldus used similar language in his 1503 dedication of the Greek and Roman histories within a larger discussion of the duke's service to the Venetian Republic:

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<sup>37</sup> For the development of the ideal of *virtus* in literature, see Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages. Tr. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990): 167-182.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 178-9.

We watched you with admiration in good and bad circumstances: as in good fortune, when all was right, you were in every way noble, mild, and generous, and most pleasant in every way; but when circumstances did not bode well and follow your merits, you yourself demonstrated that you would in no way succumb. In order not to get too caught up in too many examples, I myself will show you in the clearest way your strength of soul and your wisdom.<sup>39</sup>

The duke's *virtù* is frequently linked with his battle wisdom, a quality that the dedications emphasized over and above the duke's actual physical strength, which was apparently flagging. While the notion of virtue in battle is a literary topos, the absence of praise for the duke's physical skill may be grounded in the historical reality of his ailment, which must have limited his ability in battle. Moreover, we always hear that the duke would not succumb to the enemy, also high praise. In fact, the duke never claimed any territory on behalf of the Venetians, and it was Venice that came to Guidobaldo's aid in his years of exile during Cesare Borgia's occupation of Urbino. In terms of his own troubles with Cesare Borgia, good fortune at last smiled upon Guidobaldo with the election of Pope Julius II in 1503. Julius, whose nephew would become Guidobaldo's adopted heir, allied himself with Guidobaldo after the death of Alexander VI, the Borgia pope and Cesare's father.<sup>40</sup>

Notions of Guidobaldo's virtue and wisdom were closely associated with his humanistic education in the letters and languages of the ancients. Odassio discusses Guidobaldo's education in his dedicatory epistle of the *Cornucopiae*:

Indeed, we should not long for excellence in military exploits at your age; nevertheless, let us endeavor toward what is modest and whatever is mature in this, your period of adolescence. Up to

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<sup>39</sup> In his 1503 dedication of the Greek and Roman histories to Guidobaldo, Aldus points out that the duke's intervention on behalf of Venice was one of many examples of *la tua forza d'anima e la tua saggezza*. Appendix Id.

<sup>40</sup> See A. Bonardi, "Venezia e Cesare Borgia," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, n.s., XX (1910):396-7.

this time you have accomplished your literary studies, which delighted you so much, and the mastery of both languages [Latin and Greek]. On account of this, you have now accomplished more than any other prince, and you easily use them as indeed no person of your age in all of Italy who might be compared to you in erudition and in the knowledge of the world.<sup>41</sup>

Odassio praises the duke's rare talent for languages, emphasizing that he had learned both Latin and Greek. Odassio's praise is not surprising, given that he was Guidobaldo's childhood tutor and the last of the duke's instructors in Greek language and literature.

While Odassio's emphasis on the duke's learning is on one hand linked with the ideal of arms and letters, it also has an historic basis. The duke's training in Latin was a common component in the humanist education, but his knowledge of Greek was, at least for a duke of Urbino, unprecedented. Guidobaldo was the first and last duke of Urbino to learn Greek. Federico, Guidobaldo's father, although he studied Greek in his later years, was only proficient in Latin. Nevertheless, Federico promoted Greek language and letters at the court of Urbino, and added Greek texts to his library, probably to heighten the prestige of his collection. Cardinal Bessarion, who visited Urbino in 1453 and later returned in 1471 to confirm Guidobaldo, also left a portion of his library to Urbino. The other part of the library went to Venice.<sup>42</sup> In addition to his skill with languages, Odassio points out that

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<sup>41</sup> Lodovico Odassio, *epistola dedicatoria* in Xenophon et. al. (Aldus, 1499). For full text, see Appendix Ib. Nam quom rei militaris excellentiam adhuc per aetatem in te desiderare non debeamus, probitatem tamen & modestiam & gravitatem quandam senilem in adolescentulo plurimi facimus. Huc ad te literarum studia, quae te tantopere delectant, & linguae utriusque peritiam, ob quam ita excultus iam evasisti, ut alterum non dico principem, sed ne privatum quidem huius aetatis in tota Italia facile reperias, qui tibi eruditione ac rerum cognitione sit comparandus, gratias itaque tibi semper debebunt studiosissimi viri...

<sup>42</sup> Cecil Clough, "Cardinal Bessarion and Greek at the Court of Urbino", 160-171. As Clough points out, Pietro Bembo probably read a number of Bessarion's Greek manuscripts in the Urbino library in the years before he was appointed librarian to Bessarion's Venetian library in 1530.



Guidobaldo's learning is "very worthy of praise because it is just like the ancient imperial institutions."<sup>43</sup> In another comparison, this time between Guidobaldo's education (for which Odassio took responsibility) and classical education, Odassio implies that the Duke's learning encompasses all of the disciplines of the Liberal Arts. "Because you maintain traditions [especially the education] of your invincible father, you emulate in a loftier way the virtues (*virtutes*) of the ancients."<sup>44</sup> And thus Odassio links Guidobaldo's education not only with that of the ancients, but also with the noble traditions of his father, Federico.

\*\*Guidobaldo's Inheritance\*\*

It is not only Odassio who tells us that Guidobaldo had inherited his virtue from his "invincible father." Aldus expresses a similar sentiment, again in the form of a comparison, in his 1503 dedication:

"Oh, son of an excellent father," wrote Julius Pollux to Commodus, still a child, when his father Marco, a man above the rest, beautiful in body and spirit, and a philosopher, was still alive. But why didn't Pollux also write, "Oh excellent child"? Perhaps because we are not able to recognize greatness in children: three things, I believe, hold him back: either age, awe, or precept. Yet, if there was ever an excellent child, it was certainly Commodus, not only when his father was still alive, but also after his death. [...] It seems to me that I could write this to you: "Oh excellent son of an excellent father"; for you possess as property inherited from your father, not only power and wisdom, but also nobility of the soul, all things with which you were adorned as a babe, as a little boy, as a youth, and now you are counted among the true so-called tragic men."<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Lodovico Odassio, *epistola dedicatoria* in Xenophon et. al. (Aldus, 1499). Appendix Ib. Quorsum igitur haec Guide princeps Illu. nempe ut intelligas a me studium tuum summopere laudari, quod ita veterum imperatorem institutis, & patris invictissimi tui praesertim vestigiis insistas, ut eorum virtutes examussim aemuleris.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. n.41.

<sup>45</sup> Aldus, Greek and Roman Histories. (Aldus, 1503). Appendix Id.

Guidobaldo's virtue; his wisdom; his gift for Latin and Greek; his interest in letters of the ancients and of the modern age: these were attributes that Federico was said to have passed down to his son. The military alliances, the ducal library, the palace, and Urbino, represented the physical trappings of the young duke's inheritance. The father-son relationship, like the ideals of wisdom, nobility of soul, and skill in arms and letters, is an ideal found throughout classical literature and after. Guidobaldo's inheritance from Federico became an important theme in dedications, as well as other texts, written in his honor. Guidobaldo and Federico's relationship was firmly grounded in the practice of primogeniture, which was aimed at maintaining family and ensuring that some qualities and mutual goals would pass from father to son.

Among the first authors to write of Guidobaldo's inheritance was Vespasiano di Bisticci, who dedicated his biography of Federico to the young duke in 1483, a year after Federico's death. Vespasiano's text anticipates Aldus' and Odassio's comments about the relationship between Guidobaldo and his father:

Most illustrious prince, in this brief commentary I have created a portrait (*ho ritratte*) of several worthy attributes of the memory of the most excellent duke Federico, your predecessor and father, who was moved as much by his remarkable virtue, which was the greatest of his age, with which he joined together military discipline with letters. [Because of this virtue] he always employed not only wisdom and prudence but also strength; following the example of Fabius Maximus, who used both wisdom and strength with Hannabel, and, tempering his moves with refrain and council, he brought about the salvation of the Roman Republic. [...] These things and many others, laid out in the present commentary, some of which I saw, part of which were recounted by the most dignified, trustworthy men, I have sent to your most illustrious Signoria, since you are his [Federico's] worthy heir, and since you imitate him in all of your singular virtues, to show you my faithful service.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Vespasiano di Bisticci. "Proemio di Vespasiano sopra il Comentario de' gesti e detti dell'invictissimo Federico duca d'Urbino, all'excellentissimo signore duca Guido, suo figliuolo," in *Le Vite*. A cura di Aulo Greco. 2 Vols. (Firenze: Istituto Palazzo Strozzi, 1976). II: 447-8: Ho ritratte, illustrissimo principe, in questo breve comentario, alcune cose degne di memoria de lo excellentissimo duca Federico, genitor vostro, commosso da tante

Vespasiano's dedication incorporates all of the elements that we have already discussed: the token of his praise is the biography to the duke, while the message within is one of praise, which is delivered through *paragone*. Vespasiano not only presents Guidobaldo as heir to his father who, like Fabius Maximus, possessed "virtue", "strength," "prudence," "wisdom," along with an ability to join "military discipline with letters."

Vespasiano's portrait was transformed into visual rhetoric in the double portrait of Federico and the young Guidobaldo, which is attributed to Justus of Ghent. [Figure 2] Federico, seated in profile, is dressed in a rich ermine cloak that is draped over a full suit of armor. Clad in a combination of battle and regal garb, the duke intently reads a book richly bound in leather. His helmet, echoing the duke's profile, rests in the lower region of the image, along the axis of the duke's head, his straight back, and the leg of his chair. Within the mandorla-like space defined by the curve of the duke's outstretched, armored leg, his bent arms, the spine of the book, and the downward diagonal of the wooden bracket of the shelf, we find a young boy. Duke Guidobaldo stands at a three-quarter's view and rests his little arm on his father's knee. Dressed in a robe of richly worked fabric studded with jewels, the young duke is bathed in light. Holding a small scepter in his right hand, he gazes outward as though a visionary. The trappings of his father's legacy—a bejewelled persian crown

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sue inaudite virtù; et maxime sendo istato nella sua età, quello solo ha congiunto la disciplina militare con le lettere, et che ha sempre usato non meno il senno et la prudentia che la forza; Fabio Maximo seguitando che usò l'una et l'altra con Annibal et con tardità et consiglio rafrenando, fu cagione di salvare la romana repubblica. [...] Queste cose et molte altre, nel presente comentario ridotte, parte i'ho vedute, parte da dignissimi uomini di fede ho intese, le quali ho mandate a la Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, sendo suo degno erede, et imitandolo in tutte le sua singolari virtù, per dimonstrarvi la mia fedele servitù. All translations of Vespasiano are my own.

apparently given to Federico to signify a military alliance, and books set behind the intricate tracery of a bookshelf, a reference to Federico's library—hover in the space above Guidobaldo.<sup>47</sup> The *topoi* are unmistakable. Here we find Federico, a man of arms and letters and an ideal personification of the active and contemplative life. At his side is the young Guidobaldo, Federico's son and bearer of his father's legacy, who looks toward the future. The luxurious garb and setting of the dukes testify to the magnificence and virtue of father and son, the figureheads of the duchy of Urbino.

#### \*\*The Myth and its Legacy\*\*

The genesis of the myth of Guidobaldo is traceable to the literary and visual traditions that created the persona of his father, Federico. Authors like Vespasiano, in his biography of Federico, and Pirrus Perotti, in the manuscript dedication of *Cornucopiae* (later published in printed editions, including that of Aldus), illustrated the heroic character of Federico in light of the ideals we have already discussed.<sup>48</sup> Among the visual manifestations of the myth of Federico, we find Piero della Francesca's double portrait of Federico and Battista Sforza, Federico's magnificent *studioli* at Urbino and Gubbio, and the palace itself.<sup>49</sup> The same

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<sup>47</sup> For an historical reading of the painting, especially from the point of view of Federico's reign, see Charles M. Rosenberg, "The Double Portrait of Federico and Guidobaldo da Montefeltro: Power, Wisdom, and Dynasty," in *Federico di Montefeltro: Le arti*. (Roma: Bulzoni, 1986): Pp.213-222.

<sup>48</sup> For the text and translation of Pirrus Perotti's dedication to Federico, see Appendix Ib.

<sup>49</sup> The literature on art and architecture associated with Federico is vast. On Piero's double portrait, see *Piero e Urbino, Piero e le Corti rinascimentali*. Paolo Dal Poggetto, ed. (Venezia: Marsilio Editore, 1992). On the palace, see Rotondi, Pasquale. *The Ducal Palace*

elements that made up the myth of Federico passed down to Guidobaldo, whose persona was advertised early in his reign through dedications disseminated by the new technology of the printed page. In addition, these authors laid the foundation for some of the specific attributes celebrated in the duke's character, such as his facility in Latin and Greek, his love for many things, and the strong spirit that helped him to overcome his physical illness. The dedications and their literary themes resounded in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, as in Pietro Bembo's biography, first composed between 1509-10 and later printed in 1530; Baldassar Castiglione's epistle, written in the same period and sent to King Henry VII of England; Lodovico Odassio's funerary oration; and that masterpiece of Renaissance literature, Castiglione's Il Cortegiano, first composed in 1514 and printed at the Aldine press in 1528.<sup>50</sup>

In Castiglione's Il Cortegiano, the culture of Guidobaldo came to represent the ideals of the Renaissance court. Though Guidobaldo is absent from the night-long debate that sets the stage for Il Cortegiano, his spirit is present throughout the book. Indeed, his attributes are embodied in the city, the palace, and the cultural life of the court itself. Castiglione begins

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of Urbino. (London: Alec Tiranti, Ltd., 1969); William C. Westfall, "Chivalric Declaration: The Palazzo Ducale in Urbino as a Political Statement," in Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics. Ed. Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978): Pp. 20-45. On the *studioli*, see Luciano Cheles, The Studiolo of Urbino: An Iconographic Investigation. (University Park, PA: Penn State UP, 1986); For two general studies of the art and culture of Urbino, see the essays in Cecil H. Clough, The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance. (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981); Giorgio Chittolini, et.al., Federico di Montefeltro: Lo Stato, Le Arti, La Cultura. 3 vols. (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1986).

<sup>50</sup> Pietro Bembo, De Guido Ubaldo Feretrio Deq. Elisabeta Gonzagia Urbini Ducibus. (Roma: Valerium et Ludovicum fratres Brixienses, 1548). Baldassar Castiglione, De Guido Ubaldo Urbini duce. I have not yet found a copy of Odassio's oration. On the writings on Guidobaldo and Urbino published after the duke's death, see Guglielmo Gorni, "Il mito d'Urbino dal Castiglione al Bembo", in La Corte e il Cortegiano. (Roma: Bulzoni, 1980).

his text not with a "portrait" of Federico's life, as Vespasiano put it, but with a "portrait of the court of Urbino" (*come un ritratto di pittura della corte d'Urbino*). The centerpiece of the "city in the form of a palace" (*una città in forma de palazzo*) is the palace itself, which is in turn embellished with graceful architecture, magnificent paintings, antique statuary, musical instruments, and an extensive library.

For Castiglione, the palace embodies the ideals of Federico, all of which were inherited by Guidobaldo. In a passage that echoes the earlier texts of Vespasiano, Aldus, and Odassio, Castiglione recounts Federico's death, followed by a description of the young Guidobaldo, heir to all of Federico's virtues:

Following then the course of nature and being already sixty-five years old, he [Federico] died as gloriously as he had lived, leaving as his successor his only son, a child ten years of age and motherless, named Guidobaldo. This boy, even as he was heir to the state, seemed to be heir to all his father's virtues as well (*come dello stato, così parve che di tutte le virtù paterne fosse erede*), and in his remarkable nature began at once to promise more than it seemed right to expect of a mortal; so that men judged none of the notable deeds of Duke Federico to be greater than his begetting a son.<sup>51</sup>

Castiglione pronounces the very birth of Guidobaldo the most noble deed that Federico, a man noted for his remarkable life, accomplished in all of his sixty five years. But Fortune, envious of Guidobaldo's virtue, had struck him with gout when he was only 20 years of age. Still not content, Fortune had also looked down on the duke's unsuccessful military career. Despite this, Guidobaldo was very wise in council and undaunted in spirit (*fosse il consiglio*

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<sup>51</sup> Castiglione, I: 3. Costui adunque, seguendo il corso della natura, già di sessantacinque anni, come era visso, così gloriosamente morì; ed un figliolino di diece anni, che solo maschio aveva e senza madre, lasciò signore dopo sé; il qual fu Guid'Ubaldo. Questo, come dello stato, così parve che di tutte le virtù paterne fosse erede, e subito con maravigliosa indole cominciò a promettere tanto di sé, quanto non pareva che fusse licito sperare da uno uom mortale; di modo che estimavano gli omini delli egregi fatti del duca Federico niuno esser maggiore, che l'aver generato un tal figlio.

*sapientissimo e l'animo invittissimo*). His virtue was stronger than Fortune, and he lived with dignity and was esteemed by all (*vivea con somma dignità ed estimazione appresso ognuno*).

Though Guidobaldo's military exploits were unsuccessful, Castiglione praised the duke as a gifted military man, as evidenced by his virtue and his alliances with Naples, Venice, Florence, and particularly his service with Rome, which he served as Captain of the Church under Julius II. But the duke was not only a good military commander; he was also a learned man:

...he saw to it that his household was filled with very noble and worthy gentlemen, with whom he lived on the most familiar terms, delighting in their company; in which the pleasure he gave others was not less than that which he had from them, being well-versed in both Latin and Greek (*dottissimo nell'una e nell'altra lingua*) and combining affability and wit with the knowledge of an infinitude of things (*la cognizione d'infinite cose*).<sup>52</sup>

Guidobaldo's virtue and wisdom, attributes closely connected with his military skill, were qualities that he attained in his extensive humanistic studies of many languages and many things. And so Castiglione begins his *Courtegianno* by establishing Urbino as an ideal court, followed by a playful discussion, in the words of Guidobaldo's friends, of all of the elements that make up the Ideal courtier suitable to such a court and its mythical duke.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., I:3. ...procurava che la casa sua fusse di nobilissimi e valorosi gentiluomini piena, coi quali molto familiarmente viveva, godendosi della conversazione di quelli: nella qual cosa non era minor il piacer che esso ad altrui dava, che quello che d'altrui riceveva, per esser dottissimo nell'una e nell'altra lingua, ed aver insieme con l'affabilità e piacevolezza congiunta ancor la cognizione d'infinite cose...

<sup>53</sup> By the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, aspects of Guidobaldo's life had reached truly mythical proportions in the writings of Bernardino Baldi. Baldi, who wrote a biography on the duke as well as an extensive description of the ducal palace, gave an extended account of the duke's life based on the writings of Castiglione, Bembo, and Odassio. From Baldi we hear the story of Battista Sforza's vision of Guidobaldo's conception—a tale embellished from Odassio's funerary oration—after she gazed upon a miraculous image of the Virgin Mary. Baldi also tells of Guidobaldo's deeds, such as his service to Venice and his reception there

**\*\*Leonardo Crasso, the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, and Guidobaldo de Montefeltro\*\***

When Leonardo Crasso published his *epistola dedicatoria* to Guidobaldo in the *editio princeps* of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, the ideal qualities of Duke Guidobaldo were already well defined. Here, again, we encounter the strategies common to book dedications, along with literary *topoi* that were traditionally associated with the duke. As in the other dedications that Aldus published between 1499 and 1503, that of Crasso is, above all, an epideictic text. Like Aldus, Crasso displays his devotion to Guidobaldo by defraying the costs of the book and crediting the duke with its patronage:

Recently a certain new and admirable work of Poliphilus (for this name has been put upon the book) has come into my hands; that this work might not lie longer in the darkness but might benefit mortals soon, I saw to it that the work should be printed and published at my own expenses. But in order that this book, deprived of a parent, should not seem like a ward without a guardian or without some patron, we chose you as the ready patron—you, in whose name the book should boldly go forth.<sup>54</sup>

It is Guidobaldo, the new parent of the Hypnerotomachia, who has adopted the book and

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in 1499, and, of course, Baldi celebrated the familiar themes of Guidobaldo's skill in arms and letters, his virtue, his wisdom, and his wit. These themes survived in later literature, as in Dennistoun's extensive, 19<sup>th</sup>-century account of the dukes of Urbino. See Bernardino Baldi, Vita e Fatti di Guidobaldo duca d'Urbino. 2 vols. (Milano: Giovanni Silvestri, 1821) and "Descrizione del Palazzo Ducale d'Urbino," in Versi e Prose. (Venezia: Francesco de Franceschi Senese, 1590): 503-573. See Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino. 3 Vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851).

<sup>54</sup> L. Crassus, dedication in Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. (Aldus, 1499). For full text, see Appendix Ia. Venit nuper in manus meas novum quoddam et admirandum Poliphili opus (id enim nomen libro inditum est), quod, ne in tenebris diutius lateret sed mortalibus mature prodesset, sumptibus meis imprimendum et publicandum curavi. Verum in liber iste, parente orbatus, veluti pupillus sine tutela aut patrocinio aliquo esse videretur, te patronum praesentem delegimus, in cuius nomen audaculus prodiret, quo, ut ego amoris nunc et observantiae in te meae ministro et nuncio, sic tu ad studia et multiplicem doctrinam tuam socio saepe uteris.



brought it to light. Aside from praising Guidobaldo by naming him as its patron and ostensibly downplaying his own role, Crasso praises the duke's many attributes. These include, not surprisingly, the duke's virtue and his skill in arms and letters. Crasso in fact opens his epistle by praising the duke's "singular virtues" and thanking the duke on behalf of his brother, who had fought under Guidobaldo in the siege of Bibbiena:

Most invincible Duke, I have cultivated and have been devoted to you always both because of your singular virtues and the fame of your name and because my brother was a soldier in the siege of Bibbiena through your auspices.<sup>55</sup>

Next, Crasso swears allegiance to the duke, not only on his own behalf, but also on behalf of his brothers, who are willing to risk their lives for Guidobaldo. "But my brothers," says Crasso, "await an opportunity to risk on your account not only all their possessions but even their lives."<sup>56</sup> Both statements make reference to Guidobaldo's military activities and to his mythical persona, thereby connecting his military affairs with his "singular virtue." Crasso cites the duke's military activities as his reason for making contact, but he claims that a book was the best way to approach the learned duke: "since I know that literature and virtues alone have power with you, I have tried an approach to you by literature as if I tried shallow water." Having tread through the shallows and reached the duke with the book in hand, or so we might imagine, Crasso proceeds to explain that the book is useful for the duke's "studies" and "multi-faceted learning":

Indeed so great is not only the knowledge in this book but its abundance so that when you will have

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.. Cum semper, Dux invictissime, ob singulares virtutes et famam tui nominis te colui et observavi, tum maxime ex quo frater meus tuis auspiciis in Bibienae obsidione militavit.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. "Sed fratres mei occasionem expectant causa tua non modo sua omnia, sed vitam etiam exponendi[...]"

seen it, you may seem to have seen not more than all the books of the ancients than the hidden things of nature itself. One thing in this is remarkable, the fact that though the book speaks to us in our own native tongue, there is no less need of Greek and Roman language than Tuscan and vernacular to comprehend the book.<sup>57</sup>

We might easily mistake Crasso's description of the book's abundant knowledge and remarkable mixture of languages—especially Greek and Latin—with earlier descriptions of Guidobaldo himself. The description communicates a subtle *paragone* between the *Hypnerotomachia* and the persona of Guidobaldo, whose facility with languages and breadth of knowledge were widely celebrated among his supporters.

The general formula of Crasso's *epistola dedicatoria* is not unlike that of Vespasiano, Odassio, and Aldus. The book functions as a means of making contact, while the dedication is the bearer of a message. Crasso refers twice to the book as a messenger, stating, "I have tried an approach to you by literature," and, "just as I use this book now as a minister and messenger of my affection and my devotion to you, so you should use it often for your studies and your multi-faceted learning." As in the other dedications, that of Crasso establishes a relationship and conveys a message. But just who was involved in the relationship and what was the message? Crasso links himself, as well as his "brothers," the "Crassus men," to Guidobaldo, and pledges both the possessions and lives of himself and his brothers. Could these be Venetian "brothers"? We may only speculate on the identity of Crasso's "brothers" and his message in relation to the historical events of 1499, as recorded in Sanudo's *Diarii*.

Whatever the significance of Crasso's dedication, he states clearly enough his view

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid. Tanta est enim in eo non modo scientia, sed copia, ut, cum hunc videris, non magis omnes veterum libros quam naturae ipsius occultas res vidisse videaris. Res una in eo miranda est, quod, cum nostrati lingua loquatur, non minus ad eum cognoscendum opus sit graeca et romana quam tusca et vernacula.

that the Hypnerotomachia was a book worthy of Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino. Guidobaldo's myth preceeded him, not only in the dedications published at the Aldine press in 1499, but in earlier writings. Sanudo himself described the duke as a "handsome," "well-dressed," "learned," "articulate," and "polite" man in his Diarii. The Hypnerotomachia was a book eminently suitable to such a man. It contained knowledge "drawn from the pantry of philosophy." It was written in a language the combined Latin and Greek, as well as Tuscan and vernacular. Moreover, the Hypnerotomachia was a luxurious *incunabulum*, the most extensively illustrated book printed at Aldus' press, and a masterpiece fit for the library of Urbino. The Hypnerotomachia was eminently suited to the rich library of Urbino that Federico had founded and subsequently passed to his son, Guidobaldo. The content of the Hypnerotomachia paralleled the visual language of the palace itself, as well as various rooms within it, as in the intarsia panels of the duke's *studiolo*. [Figure 3]

Whether the book was expressively produced for the Duke of Urbino, or if it related in some way to the historic circumstances of 1499, we will never know. Yet, Crasso's dedication of the Hypnerotomachia tells us a story of Renaissance decorum, and the literary and artistic creation of an ideal ruler. In Crasso's view, the Hypnerotomachia was a book appropriate for a duke whose "interest in many things", as Castiglione put it, was that of a polyphile. The book, tied to Guidobaldo's name, ultimately parallels the duke's taste and culture celebrated in Castiglione's Il Cortegiano. Guidobaldo's spirit looms behind each book and each of these two Renaissance masterpieces expresses the culture of the ideal Renaissance court. Like Il Cortegiano, the Hypnerotomachia presents a game; a puzzle of literary and visual fragments that loosely come together to form an Ideal image. In both texts, this game

is played within a narrative frame: Castiglione's characters reside at the court of Urbino, while Poliphilus embarks on a dream-journey. The nature of Poliphilo's game—one of text and images—is a subject at the heart of this dissertation.

Past views of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili have been too narrowly defined. The ongoing authorship debate has limited scholarship to the book's Venetian or Roman contexts. While it is worthwhile to look at the book in relation to Venetian printing, as it was, after all, produced at the Aldine press, we should also consider the book in light of its audience. Crasso's dedication connects the Hypnerotomachia with Guidobaldo, whose ideal persona encompassed the medieval ideas and the romantic vision of antiquity celebrated at Urbino and other courts. The book, in turn, echoes the courtly culture of the Renaissance. It is not surprising that Castiglione remembered the "words of Poliphilo" in Il Cortegiano and that the early afterlife of the Hypnerotomachia is traceable to the Papal, the French, and the English courts. Just as Urbino and its princely rulers came to represent an ideal, so the Hypnerotomachia was a multi-faceted masterpiece suited to that sophisticated culture. The Hypnerotomachia, a microcosm of the "work of art" that was Urbino, presented a universe whose hidden paths lay in wait for the discovery of Guidobaldo and other polyphiles.

## Chapter II

### \*\*The Poliphilian Language\*\*

But just as salt, if sprinkled freely over food, gives a special relish of its own, so long as it is not used to excess, so in the case of those who have the salt of wit there is something about their language which arouses in us a thirst to hear.

-Quintilian, Institutiones Oratoriae<sup>1</sup>

Among the noteworthy phenomena of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili is the language of the text. The words of Poliphilo, a mosaic of verbiage drawn from ancient and modern lexicons and combined in a florid linguistic concoction, have elicited a wide range of responses since their initial publication. In the Book of the Courtier (Aldus:1528), for instance, one of Baldesar Castiglione's characters warns against the excessive use of Poliphilian speech to woo and win the hearts of women:

For I have known some who use Poliphilian words in writing and speaking to women, and stand so on the subtleties of rhetoric that the women lose confidence, and think themselves very ignorant, and cannot wait to hear the end of such talk and get rid of the fellow.<sup>2</sup>

Over four centuries later, Poliphilo's rhetoric moved one scholar to dismiss the entire text as "a serious runner-up for the title of 'most boring work in Italian literature,' [that] has entirely

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<sup>1</sup> Institutiones Oratoriae, Tr. H.E. Butler, M.A.. (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1985), VI, iii. 48-52.

<sup>2</sup> Baldesar Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, tr. Charles S. Singleton (New York: Doubleday, 1959): III, 275. B.Castiglione, Il Libro del Cortegiano. Ed. Ettore Bonora. (Milano: Mursia, 1972): III, 70. "[...] ché già ho io conosciuti alcuni che, scrivendo e parlando a donne, usan sempre parole di Polifilo e tanto stanno in su la sottilità della retorica, che quelle si diffidano di se stesse e si tengon per ignorantissime, e par loro un'ora mill'anni finir quel ragionamento e levarsegli davanti."

owed its 'fortuna' to its magnificent illustrations."<sup>3</sup> Indeed, modern scholarship on the Poliphilian language has become a realm reserved for linguists and philologists. Though recent studies have revealed much about the linguistic and philological roots of the hybrid language and prose, and its relation to macaronic poetry and the 16<sup>th</sup> century language debates, the relationship between Poliphilo's pedantry and the Hypnerotomachia as a whole has yet to be addressed. The present essay explores the Poliphilian language in light of Crasso's explanation of the language and the nature of the Poliphilo. Specifically, we will examine the language used in the passage on the Great Pyramid from the Hypnerotomachia in light of Poliphilo's vocabulary of art and his poetry.

#### \*\*Macaronics and the 16<sup>th</sup> Century Language Debate\*\*

Modern scholarship has elucidated the literary contexts of Poliphilo's hybrid language. The earliest studies of the Poliphilian tongue addressed the text in relation to macaronic literature. John Addington Symonds, who defined the macaronic as a hybrid language that added Latin endings to Tuscan words, counts among the first to locate and discuss the Hypnerotomachia within this tradition. Macaronic poetry and prose, according to Symonds, closely related to the popular literary traditions of the Renaissance: not to the lofty prose and poetry of classical humanism. Symonds described the popular macaronic as

[...] macaroni dressed with cheese and butter...the macaroni poet mixed colloquial expressions of the people with classical Latin, serving up a dish that satisfied the appetite by rarity and richness of

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<sup>3</sup> Roberto Weiss, "A New Francesco Colonna," Italian Studies, 16(1961):78.

concoction.[...]Mountains of cheese, rivers of fat broth, are their Helicon and Hippocrene.<sup>4</sup>

Though Symonds classified the Hypnerotomachia as a macaronic text, he placed the work in a sub-category of the macaronic, which he coined the *lingua pedantesca*. Contrary to the popular macaronic, the sophisticated language of the Hypnerotomachia treated Latin words with Tuscan syntax and grammar and was, therefore, closely related to the Latin prose current among Italian humanists.

Ivano Paccagnella traced the genesis of the *lingua pedantesca* from medieval literary traditions to the macaronic poetry that came *en vogue* among the learned circles at the University of Padua at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Paduan macaronic was ultimately significant to the development of the character of the Pedant in popular literature and theater during the last decades of the quattrocento, and closely related to Castiglione's example of the Pedant in Il Cortegiano.<sup>5</sup> The macaronic has also garnered attention among scholars whose interest lies in the relationship among language, rhetoric, and Renaissance culture. For Ernst Curtius, the writings of the "macaroni- and polenta-fed" poets characterized the marriage of vernacular and classical traditions that typify the dual nature of Renaissance literature in the late quattrocento.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> John Addington Symonds, The Renaissance in Italy: Italian Literature, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1888): II, 327.

<sup>5</sup> For additional bibliography on the macaronic in Padua, along with the legacy of this hybrid tongue for literature and theater, see Ivano Paccagnella, Le Macaronie Padovane (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1979). See also Il Fasto delle Lingue: Plurilinguismo letterario nel Cinquecento. (Roma: Bulzone Editore, 1984). For a study of the genesis of the Pedant in theater, see Christopher Cairns, "The *Marescalco* and the Italian Renaissance Pedant," in Pietro Aretino and the Republic of Venice, 1527-1556 (Firenze: Leo S. Oschki, 1985): 49-68.

<sup>6</sup> See Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton UP): 242. We might draw similar analogies between the

The *lingua pedantesca* of the Hypnerotomachia is also linked with the late-15<sup>th</sup> and early-16<sup>th</sup> century debates between Latin and the vernacular, whose participants included Pietro Bembo, Pietro Aretino, Baldesar Castiglione, and Aldus Manutius.<sup>7</sup> Carlo Dionisotti devotes the first chapter of his study on the subject to Aldus, whose writings and printing

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macaronic tradition and the spirit of integrating various traditions in the visual arts and civic ritual of the Renaissance courts. For two recent publications that examine the tendency toward integrating "fragments" of traditions (ancient, modern; classicizing, vernacular) in civic ritual and the visual arts, see Edward Muir, Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1981) and Patricia Fortini Brown, Venice and Antiquity (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997). While both scholars discuss these hybrid elements as exclusively Venetian, it seems that the mixture of traditions in the Renaissance was, more broadly, one of the characteristics of courtly culture during the era under consideration. For two case studies suggesting this notion, see Matteo Casini, I gesti del principe: La festa politica a Firenze e Venezia in età rinascimentale. (Venezia: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1996) and Luciano Celes, The Studiolo of Urbino: An Iconographic Investigation (University Park, PA: Penn State UP, 1986).

<sup>7</sup> The development of an "Italian" literary prose is a vast and well-researched subject. See Paul O. Kristeller, "The Origin and Development of the Language of Italian Prose," in Renaissance Thought and the Arts (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1964): 136. Kristeller notes that although Tuscan authors such as Dante and Petrarch wrote in both Latin and the vernacular as early as the thirteenth century, it was not until the early sixteenth century that authors outside of Tuscany began to use Tuscan prose. He counts Pietro Bembo among the first non-Tuscan authors to adopt Tuscan in Gli Asolani (Aldus: 1505). Bembo had defended Tuscan in his earlier work, the Prose della volgar lingua (1501). Kristeller also points out that Ariosto and Castiglione adopted Tuscan in their writings shortly thereafter. See 123, n.11,12. However, it should be noted that Crasso's reference to the use of Tuscan in the Hypnerotomachia text precedes Bembo's writings. For a general discussion of Tuscan in relation to the historical language debate, see Charles S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (New York: Macmillan Co., 1928); J.S. Baldwin, Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice (New York: Columbia UP, 1939); and Ettore Bonora Critica e Letteratura nel Cinquecento (Torino: G. Giappichelli Editore, 1964): 15-54. For one of the many examples of this debate in Renaissance literature, see Castiglione's preface to the Book of the Courtier, p.5:

...neither do I understand why so much more authority should be granted to one manner of speech than to another, that Tuscan may nobilitate Latin words that are crippled and mutilated and give them so much grace that, maimed as they are, everyone can use them [...] to endeavor to coin new words or to preserve old words, regardless of usage, may be called rash presumption....



projects attested to his keen interest Greek, Latin, Tuscan, and a variety of local dialects.<sup>8</sup> According to Dionisotti, Aldus' endeavor to collect and reproduce a variety of classical and modern texts suggests a spirit of retrospection and foresight. By printing the Hypnerotomachia, which was itself a Janus-like text that combined antique and modern languages to form a new language, Aldus may have consciously played a role in the synthesis of the Italian language.<sup>9</sup>

Two studies specifically treat the language of the Hypnerotomachia: Giovanni Pozzi and Lucia Ciapponi's critical edition of the book and Giovanni Pozzi and M.T. Casella's study

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<sup>8</sup> Carlo Dionisotti, Gli umanisti e il volgare fra Quattro e Cinquecento. (Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1968): 1-2. Dionisotti points out that in 1496 Aldus published a collection of writings on Greek grammar, Thesaurus Cornucopiae et Horti Adonidis. In his preface, he not only compared Latin and Greek, but also discussed the merits of various dialects, including Venetian, Bergamasque, and Roman.

<sup>9</sup> Dionisotti, 10. Aldus' projects include a five-volume edition of Aristotle's Works (1495) and Horace's Works (1501). Tuscan works include Petrarch's Le cose volgari (1501), Dante's Le Terze Rime (1502, in collaboration with Pietro Bembo), as well as Venetian works such as Bembo's Gli Asolani (1505) and Sannazzaro's Arcadia (1514). Aldus also published his own grammar, the Institutiones grammaticae (1514). Of Aldus' endeavor to print the Hypnerotomachia, Dionisotti notes:

[The Hypnerotomachia] Era, per lui [Aldus] come per ogni altro lettore umanisticamente educato, un *pastiche* divertente, irto di reminiscenze classiche, recondite sì e travestite nel volgare ma non tanto da sfuggire all'occhio esperto: onde il gioco, delizioso ai filologi di ogni tempo, del riconoscimento di una fonte, del chiarimento di un enigma. Anche era, nel Hypnerotomachia, la grande passione retorica antiquaria e mitologica che aveva scosso gli umanisti. [...] [Aldus], come l'autore della Hypnerotomachia, giovane non era, veniva di lontano: le esperienze di entrambi, benché diversissime, giungevano a maturazione tardi, quando il secolo stava per chiudere e affondavano le loro radici per lungo silenzio in una età da gran tempo rivolta.

For Bembo's writing on the subject, see Prose della Volgar Lingua Carlo Dionisotti, ed. (Milano: Editore Associati, 1989). Aldus published the Book of the Courtier, as well as the first edition of Bembo's Gli Asolani.

on the life of the Venetian Francesco Colonna.<sup>10</sup> Pozzi and Ciapponi devote the second part of their two-volume critical edition to the identification of numerous fragments found in the Hypnerotomachia, which draw on classical, late medieval, and contemporary sources. They also provide a Poliphilian "grammar", consisting of an introduction to the morphology and the syntax of the text. While Pozzi and Casella's study is aimed primarily at attributing the authorship of the Hypnerotomachia to Fra Francesco Colonna of the Venetian monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, their work also includes a close analysis of the language and syntax of the Poliphilian tongue as well as a discussion of the Hypnerotomachia in the context of the language debate.<sup>11</sup>

These studies have shed much light on Poliphilo's *lingua pedantesca*. However, the relationship between the words of Poliphilo and his dream, which has been described as a "romantic, haunted, and introverted art-romance"<sup>12</sup> filled with "bizarre, bewildering, [and]

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<sup>10</sup> Giovanni Pozzi and M.T. Casella, Francesco Colonna: Biografia e Opere (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1959), For the critical addition, see Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili ubi humana omnia nisi somnium esse docet, (Aldus: 1499) Giovanni Pozzi and Lucia Ciapponi, eds. (Padova: Antenore, 1964. Reprint, 1980): Vol. II.

<sup>11</sup> For two recent publications that address the language of the Hypnerotomachia, see Marco Mancini, "Intorno alla lingua del Polifilo," in Roma nel Rinascimento, Bibliografie e note, (1989): 29-48 and Giorgio Agamben, "Il sogno della lingua: per una lettura del Polifilo," in I Linguaggi del Sogno (Firenze: Sansoni, 1984): 417-30. Mancini's essay provides an excellent summary of past work on this subject. In his article, Agamben addresses the text of the Hypnerotomachia, not only as a reflection of the language debate, but as a metaphor for this debate. He suggests that Polia is an allegorical figure representing the old language, and that the text of the Polifilo presents a dream language reflecting the dialectic of life, death, and renascence.

<sup>12</sup> John Summerson, Heavenly Mansions (London: The Cresset Press, 1949): 46.

inventive"<sup>13</sup> "architectural phantasms"<sup>14</sup> bears examination. Let us begin with a brief review of several aspects of the language of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.

### \*\*Poliphilo's Hybrid Language\*\*

The hybrid Poliphilian tongue draws primarily from Latin and Tuscan. We also find Greek roots stirred into the mix, as well as words derived from Venetian and other local dialects.<sup>15</sup> Take, for example, an excerpt from Poliphilo's dream in which the protagonist encounters and describes the nymph and satyr fountain on the side of an octagonal bath:

Excogitai che al suo acutissimo ingengio il lithoglypho habilissimamente et al libito havesse l'opificio dilla natura praesente nella Idea. Il dicto satyro havea l'arboro arbuto per gli rami cum la sinistra mano violente rpto, et, al suo valore sopra la soporate nympha flectendolo, indicava di farli gratiosa umbra; et cum l'altro brachio traheva lo extremo di una cortinetta che era negli rami al tronco proximi innodata.<sup>16</sup>

The words that make up Poliphilo's ekphrasis combine words and endings drawn from classical and modern languages to create hybrid words. For instance, *lithoglypho* is formed from the Greek words for "stone" and "mark," with the Tuscan ending, -o, resulting in a noun

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<sup>13</sup> Giovanni Pozzi, Francesco Colonna e Aldo Manuzio (Berna: Monotype, Inc., 1962): 7.

<sup>14</sup> J.W. Appell, The Dream of Poliphilus: Facsimiles of One Hundred and Sixty-Eight Woodcuts in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (London: W. Griggs, 1893): 5-6.

<sup>15</sup> Leonardo Grassi (who refers to himself as Leonardus Crassus) first noted this mix of languages in his 1499 dedication of the Hypnerotomachia to Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino. This dedication, which is the fullest known document contemporaneous with the Hypnerotomachia, will be discussed in further detail below.

<sup>16</sup> HP: d8'; (P-C): I, 64; (G-A):II, 90-91; (JG):72. "I thought the sculptor of this most keen and pleasing relief, to have most effortlessly crafted nature from his Idea. The said satyr violently seized the wild arbutus tree by the branches with his left hand, bending it down over the drowsy nymph to produce pleasant shade; with his other arm he drew aside the extremity of a little curtain that was attached to the nearby branches of the tree trunk."

that refers to one who incises an image in stone: a carver. This mixture of classical root words with Tuscan endings is not restricted to nouns. The carver (*lythoglypho*) fashioned a relief that depicts a satyr who, having violently seized the branches of an arbutus tree, bends the branches (*flectendolo*) over a drowzy nymph to cast a pleasant shade over her. In the case of "flectendolo," the Latin verb, *flecto flectere* is supplied with *-endo*, the Tuscan gerundive ending, and finally, *-lo*, an italianate personal pronoun referring back to the *arbore arbuto*.

The author adds to his linguistic palette a rich array of adjectives and adverbs. For instance, words such as *soporata nympa*, again words of classical extraction endowed with Tuscan endings, characterize the somnolent nymph who rests in the beloved shade (*gratiosa umbra*) of the branches, which the satyr has violently (or passionately) seized (*violente raptò*) with his left hand. In many cases, the author intensifies his word painting with superlatives. In the excerpt above, Poliphilo describes the *ingenio* of the *lythoglypho* as exceedingly keen (*acutissimo*), yet most easily (*habilissimamente*) rendered. Also common to the Poliphilian language is the use of alliteration to heighten expression. Pairs of words such as *arbore arbuto*, *habilissimamente* and *havesse*, *sopra* and *soporata* add yet another dimension to the author's ekphrasis.

Embedded in this language, we find a vocabulary related to art. When Poliphilo transforms the architecture, gardens, and triumphal festivities of his imagination into visual images, he uses words that expresses the very act of selecting, combining, making, and wonder. In the excerpt above, Poliphilo states, "I imagined [or turned outward from my mind] (*excogitai*) the sculptor of this most keen and pleasing relief to have most effortlessly

crafted the work of nature ( *l'opificio dilla natura*) from his *Idea*." Poliphilo's language of art signifies the genesis of the vision, the transformation of the visionary *Idea* into art, and the *sprezzatura*, or ease, with which the poetic *Idea* emerged into form as though it were a living work (*opificio*) of Nature.

\*\*The 1499 Dedication and the Language of the Hypnerotomachia\*\*

Leonardo Crasso first articulated the parallels between Poliphilo's florid linguistic concoction and the multi-faceted nature of the Hypnerotomachia in his 1499 dedication of the book to Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino. Following his statements of intent to dedicate the book to Guidobaldo, his role in defraying the expense of its publication, and his oath of allegiance to the Duke, Crasso provides a description of the hybrid language of the Hypnerotomachia:

Indeed so great is not only the knowledge in this book but its abundance so that when you will have seen it, you may seem to have seen not more than all of the books of the ancients than the hidden things of nature itself. One thing in this is remarkable, the fact that though the book speaks to us in our own native tongue, there is no less need of Greek and Roman language than Tuscan and vernacular to comprehend the book.<sup>17</sup>

When Crasso spoke of the Greek, Latin, Tuscan, and vernacular roots of the Poliphilian tongue, he was not referring to this hybrid language in isolation, but within a larger discussion of the nature of the book:

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<sup>17</sup> HP: I, I-II. (P-C): I, ix-x; (G-A): II, 5-7; (JG): 2-3. "Res una in eo miranda est, quod, cum nostrati lingua loquatur, non minus ad eum cognoscendum opus sit graeca et romana quam tusca et vernacula." I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Martin Colker for his assistance in translating Crasso's dedication. For a full text and translation, see Appendix Ia.

For the very wise man thought that if he would speak thus, there was one way and reason by which no one would be able to use as a pretext the excuse of negligence so that he might not learn something. Yet nevertheless he so restrained himself that unless one was a most learned man, he might not be able to penetrate the sanctuary of the author's learning, but that he who might approach as an unlearned man might not, nevertheless, despair. In addition, if any things might be difficult by their own nature, by a certain pleasantness, as if with a green-house of flowers of every kind had been opened, these difficult things are declared and presented by sweet speech and they, subjected to the eyes by figures and images, are laid open and related. Here are not things exposed to the masses and to be sung at the cross-roads but things which, taken from the pantry of philosophy and drawn from the fountains of the Muses, thoroughly polished with a certain newness of expression, may deserve the favor of all intellects.<sup>18</sup>

Crasso begins by drawing an analogy between the language of the Hypnerotomachia and the vast sanctuary of the author's knowledge. The language, formed by combining classical with modern words, as well as "our own native tongue," contains elements that would have been legible to an audience versed in any one of these languages. Like the multi-faceted language, the content is characterized by "an abundance [...] of all the books of the ancients [and] the hidden things of nature itself [...] drawn from the pantry of philosophy and from the fountains of the Muses [that] will deserve the favor of all intellects." Thus, each reader will discern certain islands of recognition in the language and the content, based on the extent of his or her knowledge.

Crasso also notes the "hidden" aspect of the knowledge and, by implication, the language, of the Hypnerotomachia. While the book may at first seem difficult to penetrate, its recondite content, like its language, will gradually emerge in the reader's imagination through its sweet speech and figures, as though "a green-house of flowers of every kind" were opened. Crasso advises the reader not to lose faith, for like a pleasure garden, the book represents a *locus amoenus* awaiting discovery.

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<sup>18</sup> HP: I, I. (P-C): I, ix; (G-A): II, 5; (JG): 2.

Crasso's portrayal of the language and content of the Hypnerotomachia as "hidden" yet "pleasant" and "sweet" echoes an ideal of classical rhetoric, which dictated that poetry should be brilliant but subtle in its overall effect, a quality attainable through verbal arrangement, variety, and ornamentation.<sup>19</sup> Although Castiglione made a playful gibe at those who speak "words of Poliphilo" in the Book of the Courtier, he, too, praised the use of "hidden" language in writing:

...I do say that if words have any obscurity in them, such discourse will not penetrate the mind of the listener [...] which does not happen in writing, because if the words which a writer uses have in them a little, I will not say difficulty, but subtlety that is hidden, and thus are not so familiar as the words that are commonly used in speaking, they do give a certain greater authority to the writing and cause the reader to proceed with more restraint and concentration, to reflect more, and to enjoy the talent and the doctrine of the writer; and, by judiciously exerting himself a little, he tastes the pleasure which is had when we achieve difficult things.<sup>20</sup>

Contemporary interest in the merits of hidden knowledge was also evidenced in the popularity of hermetic literature and imagery, as in the publication of Horapollo's Hieroglyphica and *imprese*, and the writings of Ficino.<sup>21</sup> The Hypnerotomachia exemplified Castiglione's taste

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<sup>19</sup> See D. Summers, Michelangelo, 171 n.3. Crasso's reference to the hidden nature of the Hypnerotomachia echoes the writings of classical authors, including the author of De Sublimitate, who wrote,

Inventive skill and the due disposal and marshaling of facts do not show themselves in one or two touches: they gradually emerge from the whole tissue of the composition...

See De Sublimitate, tr. W. Hamilton Fyfe (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1953): I, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Castiglione: I, 30. After making this statement, messer Federico goes on to discuss the merits of Tuscan above all other languages, though he also advocates mixing two languages, such as Bergamasque and Florentine. Next, Federico expands his discussion to the value of imitating both modern and classical literary models, citing Petrarch, Boccaccio, Virgil, and Homer as examples.

<sup>21</sup> Aldus first printed Horapollo's Hieroglyphica in 1505. For a discussion of the tradition of hieroglyphs and hermetic lore in relation to the HP, see Szepe, "The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in the context of Illustrated Book Production in Venice" Ph.D. diss. (Cornell, 1992), 34-5. Also see the discussions on this subject in Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the

for linguistic games and the hermetic ideal of hidden meaning. Turning to the Hypnerotomachia, let us consider Crasso's observations in light of Poliphilo's artful language.

\*\*The *Portentosa Pyramide*\*\*

The account of the extraordinary pyramid (*portentosa pyramide*), which Poliphilo encounters shortly after embarking on his dream journey, represents one of many passages abounding with words that signify and underscore Poliphilo's creation of art through word painting.<sup>22</sup> The ekphrasis of the pyramid is significant in many respects, but for our purposes, it exemplifies Poliphilo's language and his vocabulary of art. Before discussing this vocabulary and its relationship to the language, let us summarize the passage and review several excerpts from it.

Having proceeded from a waking into a dreaming state, Poliphilo wanders alone with timid admiration (*cum timida admiratione discolo*) on his unknown voyage (*ignorato*

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Renaissance (New York: WW Norton and Co., 1968); Karl Giehlow "Die Hieroglphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance, besonders der Ehrenpforte Kaisers Maximilian I," in Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, XXXII (1915): 46-79; Boas, The Hieroglyphs of Horapollon (New York: Pantheon, 1950): 47. For a case study that touches on this tradition in relation to the court of Urbino, see Luciano Cheles, The Studiolo of Urbino: an Iconographic Investigation (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1986). For discussions on Neoplatonic literature in relation to the HP, see Olimpia Pelosi, Il Concetto di Natura nell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (Salerno: Palladio Quaderni, 1984); id. "Il Terzo Libro del 'de vita' e l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," in Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone: Studi e Documenti, II, ed. GianCarlo Garfagnini (Florence: Olschki, 1986): 555-63.

<sup>22</sup> HP:a6'-b4'; (P-C):I, 12-22; (G-A):II, 25-37; (JG): 20-30.



*viaggio*)<sup>23</sup> when suddenly, he sees in the distance an antique structure (*opera et structura antiquaria*) nestled in an enclosed valley (*valliclusio*).<sup>24</sup> Poliphilo draws near the building and is startled to discover a great obelisk that rests atop the magnificent work (*opera magnifica*) of architecture. At this point, Poliphilo recounts,

Ad questo deserto loco pure avidamente venuto, circumfuso de piacere *inexcogitato de mirare liberamente* tanta insolentia di arte aedificatoria et immensa structura et *stupenda* eminentia me quietamente affermai, mirando et considerando tuto el solido et la crassitudine de questa fragmentata et semiruta structura de candido marmo de Paro...<sup>25</sup>

Poliphilo's ekphrasis begins with an impassioned description of the noble colonnade (*nobile columnatione*) and the statuary that decorate the temple façade, the open portal (*patula porta*) at its center, and finally the most extraordinary pyramid (*portentosissima pyramide*) that rests upon the base of the building.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> HP:a3; (P-C):I, 5; (G-A):II, 19-20; (JG): 13.

<sup>24</sup> Note the reference to Petrarch's Vacluse from his "Ascent of Mount Ventoux."

<sup>25</sup> HP:a7'; (P-C):I, 14; (G-A):II, 26; (JG):22. "Having arrived with pure longing at this abandoned place, I was abounding with pleasure for being able to gaze freely at such an unimaginable extravagance of architectural art; I calmly affirmed the immensity of the structure and its stupendous eminence: I stood looking and considering the solidity and the density of this fragmented and half-ruined structure of white Parian marble..."

<sup>26</sup> This passage recalls a vast tradition of ekphrasis that emerged from classical and medieval writings in the East and the West. The temple ekphrasis is linked to those found in the *Imagines* of Philostratus the Younger or Virgil's description of Aeneas' shield in book VIII of the *Aeneid*, and persisted in the narratives of Byzantine romances, as in Achilles Tatius' *Loves of Clitopho and Leucippe*. We also find ekphrasis in the courtly poetry of late medieval romance and the tradition of the *blason*, in which the lover describes the countenance of the beloved. For instance, examples of the *blason* abound in the *Roman de la Rose* and in the literature of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. For several discussions of the genesis and the legacy of the ekphrastic tradition, see Roderick Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989); G. L. Kustas, "The function and evolution of Byzantine Rhetoric," *Viator* (I, 1970): 55-73; Norman Land, "Ekphrasis and Imagination: Some Observations on Renaissance Art and Criticism," *Art Bulletin* (LXVIII, 1996): 207-17; Svetlana Alpers, "Ekphrasis and Aesthetic Values in Vasari's *Lives*," *JWCI* (XXIII, 1960): 190-215. In addition to describing the countenance of his beloved Polia,

As Poliphilo beholds the pyramid, he exclaims that the very sight of the immense structure so astonished him that it surpassed his power of perception:

Per tanto, a ciò che in alcuna parte [it is believed that a portion of the text was lost here] quanto ad me se *praestará el capto del mio intellecto*, per questo modo ad hora io brevemente el descrivo.<sup>27</sup>

Nevertheless, the pyramid did not exceed the potential of his *inner* vision, for Poliphilo proceeds to describe the imaginary architectural marvel:

La quale *immensa et terribile pyramide* cum *miranda* et exquisita symmetria gradatamente adamantale continiva dece et quatro cento et mille gradi overo scalini decrustati, dempti gradi dece opportuni ad terminare el gracilamento: nel loco di quali era apposto et suffecto *uno stupendo* cubo solido et fermo et della crassitudine monstuoso, offertentise sencia credito di subvectura in quella summitate deputato, de quella medesima petra paria che erano le gradatione.<sup>28</sup>

Directing his gaze to the top of the pyramid, Poliphilo describes in greater detail the tall obelisk that he had seen from afar, recounting that it was decorated with foliate ornaments, inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs, and fashioned from *pyropecila thebaicha*, a fiery red stone from Thebes.

At the apex of the obelisk there rests a mechanical device in the form of an elegant nymph that produces a resounding ring (*facto tinnito*) each time it turns in the wind. Poliphilo

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Poliphilo passionately describes buildings, gardens, and objects of art.

<sup>27</sup> HP:a8; (P-C): I, 15; (G-A):II, 28; (JG): 23. "For it is so memorable in each and every part that it will exceed the capacity of my sensory perception, so now in this way I briefly describe it." See also (P-C): II, 60 n.18. I have used Pozzi and Ciapponi's suggestion for the missing text. *Intellecto* is a word related to the Latin *intellego -ere*, which means "to discern, perceive, to understand, or to grasp." In light of Poliphilo's continual references to visions that stunned him (this notion is further discussed below), I translate the word as a reference to sensory perception.

<sup>28</sup> HP: a8; (P-C): I, 16; (G-A):II, 29; (JG): 24. "The immense and terrible pyramid had on each of its sides 1,410 steps precisely incised with marvelous and exquisite symmetry. In place of the last ten steps was mounted a stupendous, substantial, and steadfast cube of wondrous density, which was made from the same stone as the steps and appeared to have ascended to that inestimably high place on its own."

exclaims that the statue is so astonishing that it would stupify whomever considers it closely:

"...*da convertire in stupore chi acuratissimo et cum obstinato intuito la considerava...*"<sup>29</sup>

Finally, Poliphilo returns to the *altissimo obelisco*, and declares it so marvelous that it rendered him senseless with stupor—"teniva in se tanta cumulatione di miraveglia, che io di stupore insensato stava alla sua consideratione..."<sup>30</sup> Next he asks a series of questions related to the origins of the edifice and then pauses in silence to admire the temple:

Cum quale temerario dunque invento di arte? Cum quale virtute et humane forcie et ordine et incredibile impensa, cum coelestae aemulatione tanto nell'aire tale pondo suggesto riportare? Cum quale ergate et cum quale orbiculate troclee et cum quale capre o polispasio et altre tractorie machine et tramate armature? Faci silentio quivi omni altra incredibile et maxima structura.<sup>31</sup>

At this point, there is a pregnant pause as the reader turns the page and beholds the first full page woodcut in the *Hypnerotomachia*, an elegantly simple illustration of the great temple. [Figure 1].

Here, the reader is given the opportunity to contemplate the schematic illustration of the temple in conjunction with the description. As though he were anticipating that the audience is pausing along with him to admire this marvel of architecture, Poliphilo directly addresses the reader and states, "let us return; "(*Ritorniamo*) *alla vastissima pyramide, sotto*

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<sup>29</sup> HP: a8'; (P-C): I, 16; (G-A):II, 29; (JG): 24. "...[enough] to convert to a stupor he who considered it with the sharpest and unflagging contemplation..."

<sup>30</sup> HP:b1; (P-C): I, 17; (G-A):II, 32; (JG): 25. "...it had in it such an abundance of marvels that I stood senseless with stupor at contemplating it..."

<sup>31</sup> HP:b1; (P-C):I, 17; (G-A):II, 32; (JG): 25. "What bold invention created such art? With what virtue and human force; what arrangement and incredible strength; what driving force of heaven raised such innovative structure into the air? With what sort of workforce; with what mechanized pulleys, supports, and other heavy machinery and moving equipment [was this made]? I was struck silent by everything about this overwhelmingly incredible and enormous structure." On the relationship between the machines and the writings of Vitruvius and Alberti, see (P-C): II, 61n.

*la quale uno ingente et solido plinto overo latastro overo quadrato supposito iacea...*<sup>32</sup> In the description that follows, Poliphilo draws closer to the pyramid. He focuses on the colossal plinth and the carved head of Medusa at the center, whose terrific, sunken eyes (*gli ochii terrifichi incavernati*), furrowed brow (*fronte rugata*), and open, gaping mouth (*la bocca hiane patora*) fill Poliphilo with such astonishment that he pronounces the image *inexcogitabile*.<sup>33</sup>

After describing the horrific countenance of the Medusa, Poliphilo continues to examine other elements that decorate the edifice conceived "*cum grande et exquisitissima investigatione dello intellecto*" by the "*ingegnioso et acutissimo architetto*."<sup>34</sup> Other aspects of the temple that Poliphilo eagerly recounts include the steps of the pyramid, which are miraculously illuminated at all hours of the day and a magnificent sculpture (*magnifica sculptura*) of a "cruel" *gigantomachia* so lifelike that it seems to emulate Nature.<sup>35</sup> As he

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<sup>32</sup> HP: b2; (P-C): I, 19; (G-A):II, 33; (JG): 27. "Let us return to the extremely vast pyramid, underneath which lay an enormous and solid, four sided Vitruvian plinth." Poliphilo uses two words for "plinth": *plintho* and *latastro*. The latter was Alberti's term for the Vitruvian plinth. For further explanation, see (P-C) : II, 61n.

<sup>33</sup> HP: b2; (P-C): I, 19; (G-A):II, 33; (JG): 27. It is interesting to note that the first French edition of the *Hypnerotomachia* included the Medusa head in the illustration of the temple. See *Hypnerotomachie. Ou Discours du songe de Poliphile...Nouvellement traduit de langage Italien en François*. (Paris: for Iaques Kerver, 1546). The philosophical underpinnings of the Medusa head occupy an important tradition in art and literature, and it is significant that Poliphilo devotes a significant portion of his ekphrasis to this image. The frequent appearance of the Medusa in late medieval art and literature in relation to her appearance on the plinth of the great temple in the *Hypnerotomachia* is a subject worthy of further consideration.

<sup>34</sup> HP:b2; (P-C): I, 19; (G-A):II, 33; (JG): 27. "...with grand and most exquisite investigation of the intellect...of the ingenious and most sharp architect..."

<sup>35</sup> HP: b2'; (P-C): I, 20; (G-A): 35; (JG):28-9. Poliphilo describes the *gigantomachia* as "*miranda coelatura eccellentemente insculpta, cum sui movimenti et cum tanta*

completes the ekphrasis, Poliphilo revises his opinion on the matter: what he saw did not merely mimic nature; it surpassed nature.<sup>36</sup> At last, Poliphilo concludes,

Imperò che questa amplissima structura sencia fallo excede la insolentia aegyptica, supera gli meravigliosi labyrinthi; Lemno quiesca, theatri s'amutiscano, non si aequa el dignificato mausoleo, perchè questo certamente non fue inteso da colui che gli septe miracoli overo spettacoli del mondo scripse; nè unque in alcuno saeculo nè viso nè excogitato tale, silendo etiam el sepulchro mirabile di Nino.<sup>37</sup>

And thus Poliphilo judges the temple to be comparable to, if not more magnificent than the extravagant (*insolentia*) Egyptian pyramids, the famous labyrinth on the island of Lemnos, the great mausoleum, and Ninus' tomb: like the seven wonders of the world it, too, remains an eternal mystery.<sup>38</sup> Having completed his account of the great temple, Poliphilo crosses the threshold of the dark portal and enters the great edifice, where other wonders await him.

#### \*\*Poliphilo's Language of Art\*\*

In this passage and throughout the *Hypnerotomachia*, Poliphilo expresses his visions

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*promptitudine degli proceri corpi, quanto mai si potrebbe narrare*" and goes on to praise the image for its emulation of nature (*aemulo della natura*). Poliphilo's *gigantomachia* recalls the frieze from the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon.

<sup>36</sup> HP: b3; (P-C):I, 21; (G-A): II, 36; (JG): 29. "*Queste tutte imagine oltra la naturale proceritate et statura excedevano et perfectamente extavano.*" ["All of these images exceeded nature in their height and stature; they were perfectly divined."]

<sup>37</sup> HP: b4'; (P-C): I, 22; (G-A): II, 36; (JG): 30. This most expansive structure without doubt exceeded the extravagance of the Egyptian [pyramids]; even the marvelous labyrinth of Lemnos fell silent beside it and the theaters remained mute, it would not equal the dignified appearance of the mausoleum; for this was certainly not known by the one who wrote the seven miracles or spectacles of the world, nor was there anywhere in any age anything seen or thought of such as this: indeed it silenced the marvelous sepulcher of Ninus.

<sup>38</sup> The "mausoleum" probably refers to the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. For references to these buildings in classical texts, see (P-C): II, 63n.

with a florid language that abounds with words related to fantasy and art. The ekphrasis of the great pyramid, like Poliphilo's other lengthy descriptions, is marked with words such as *cogitare*, *terribile*, *factura*, *stupore*, and *mirabilia*. Although these terms of imagining, making, and wonder represent only a fraction of the vocabulary of art that emerges from a close reading of the *Hypnerotomachia*, they could be taken as broad categories for classifying other related art words that make up the Poliphilian lexicon of poetic creation and imagination.

From the beginning of his dream and throughout his description of the temple, Poliphilo employs variations of the word, *cogitare*, whenever he conceives his visions. *Cogitare*, a verb derived from the Latin prefix, *co* (with, together) and the verb, *agitare* (to put into motion, to toss, to consider, to discuss), signifies a state of thinking, meditating, or "turning over in one's mind."<sup>39</sup> In the account of the temple, Poliphilo initially uses the word *cogitare* as he wonders at how such a magnificent building might have been constructed:

Lo allamento de'quali monti aequato era perpendicolarmente dalla cima giù fina all'area. Per la quale cosa io sopra di me *steti cogitabondo* cum quali ferrei instrumenti et cum quanto trito di mane di homini et numerositate, tale et tanto artificio violentemente conducto cusi fusse, sencia fide laborioso et de grande contitione del tempo.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, LV (Torino: Unione Tipografica, 1961): 261-2. (Hereafter referred to as *DLI*. For a discussion of other uses of *cogitare* in classical and late medieval texts, see David Summers, *The Judgement of Sense* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987): 198, 211-14.

<sup>40</sup> *HP*:a7'; (P-C): I, 14; (G-A):II, 27; (JG): 22. "The span of the mountains from top to bottom was equaled by that of the structure. For this reason I stood contemplating with what sorts of iron instruments so many myriads of human hands had toiled, no doubt laboriously and over a great deal of time; and how these hands had passionately put it together with such artifice."

We find forms of *cogitare* no less than four times in the protagonist's account of his transition from a waking to a dreaming state, and multiple variations of the word appear throughout both books of the text.<sup>41</sup> In the opening passage of the *Hypnerotomachia*, Poliphilo refers to his "lofty thoughts" as *alti cogitamenti*<sup>42</sup> and *alte operatione*.<sup>43</sup> Poliphilo's lofty thoughts relate to the very act of selecting and combining his experience, or memory, into an *Idea*.

Traditionally, *cogitare* was closely associated with the conception of a visionary *Idea*. For instance, Cicero employed the verb, *cogitare*, and its nominative form, *cogitatione*, in his discussion of the ideal orator.<sup>44</sup> The link between the concept of the *Idea* and the act of thinking or imagining resonated in the writings of classical, medieval, and Renaissance authors. For example, Baldesar Castiglione's *Idea* was that of the ideal courtier: "just as, according to Plato, Xenophon, and Cicero, there is the *Idea* of the perfect Republic, the

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<sup>41</sup> For the opening sequence, see *HP*:a2-a6. This passage of images and text is discussed in chapter 4 part II.

<sup>42</sup> *HP*: a2'; (P-C): I, 4; (G-A):II, 18; (JG): 12. "...negli alti cogitamenti d'amore solo relicto..." ["I was left alone in the high thoughts of love."]

<sup>43</sup> *HP*: a2'; (P-C): I, 4; (G-A):II, 18; (JG): 12. "...fue invasa...da uno dolce somno oppressa, la quale cum la mente et cum gli amanti et pervigili spiriti non sta unita nè partecipe ad sì alte operatione." ["I was overcome by an oppressive, sweet sleep, a sleep that is neither unified with the mind and the loving and wide-awake spirits, nor does it participate in such lofty operations."] We find a similar phrase in Dante's *Purgatorio*: "Poi piovette dentro l'alta fantasia un crucifisso...". See Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, II. Tr. Mark Musa (London: Penguin, 1995), XVII: ll.25-27. David Summers discusses this passage in *Michelangelo*, 119-121. The notion that, when the senses are asleep, the loving spirit is awakened also recalls a complex history of ideas.

<sup>44</sup> For a discussion on the notion of the *Idea* as it relates to art, see Erwin Panofsky, *Idea: A concept in Art Theory*. Tr. Joseph J.S. Peake (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1968).

perfect king, and the perfect orator, so likewise there is that of the perfect courtier."<sup>45</sup>

In the case of the *Hypnerotomachia*, Poliphilo's ongoing cogitation is closely associated with his dream-quest for Polia, his *veneranda Idea*, across a landscape filled with gardens, grottos, ancient ruins, and other fantastic regions.<sup>46</sup> Poliphilo's search for Polia leads him to embark upon an "unknown journey" (*ignorato viaggio*), through a dark forest that he "wanders through and penetrates" (*pervagando penetrava*), and finally to the edge of a "wandering and winding creekbed" (*discolo et flexuoso alveo*).<sup>47</sup> Having endured his voyage across the initial regions of his dreamscape, a melancholic Poliphilo concludes that his rational mind, or *animus*, has departed (*nell'animo discorreva*); leaving his *anima*, or poetic spirit, to wander through the dream. This notion of wandering is closely associated with *vaghezza*, a metaphor for the dreamer's imaginative pursuit of the *Idea* (Polia) through inner cogitation.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Castiglione, 7. Machiavelli also refers to the notion of the ideal in his discussion of the *ideal prince*. See "The Prince," in *The Portable Machiavelli*. Ed. Peter Bondanella and Mark Musa (London: Penguin, 1979): 77-167.

<sup>46</sup> Aside from his reference to Polia as a Venerated Idea at the beginning of the book, Poliphilo refers to her again as the *Amorosa et coeleste Idea*. The allegorical spirit of Poliphilo's *Amorosa Idea* shares much with Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*, a subject that merits further discussion. The word *Idea* occurs in other parts of the text as well. For instance, in the ekphrasis of the nymph and satyr relief, Poliphilo recounts that the relief had "*l'opificio dilla natura praesente nella Idea*." ["the craftsmanship of nature present in the *Idea*."]

<sup>47</sup> We will examine these ideas in greater detail in Chapter 4 part II.

<sup>48</sup> On the idea of *vaghezza*, see D. Summers, *Judgement*, 203. Summers discusses the theme of the wandering poet as a metaphor for the poetic process, which is inspired by the desire and quest for beauty. The idea of the wandering painter became something of a topos in the Renaissance. For example, Pietro Bembo, speaking on behalf of Giovanni Bellini, wrote that the painter refused to adhere to closely to a prescribed program for a work commissioned by Isabella d'Este, because he was "accustomed to wander at his own will in his paintings." See



An alternate form of *cogitare*—*excogitare*—is another term linked with Poliphilo's practice of cogitating visions in the course of his wandering quest for the *Idea*. While *excogitare* loosely translates as "choice," or "select," St. Augustine employed the word metaphorically to convey the visionary act of gathering, collecting, and uniting one's own experience through imagination.<sup>49</sup> Poliphilo uses the word in a similar manner in his description of the imaginary temple façade:

Quivi dunque tanta nobile columnatione io trovai de ogni figuratione, liniamento et materia, quanta mai alcuno el potesse suspicare: parte dirupte, parte ad la sua locatione et parte siservate illaese, cum gli epistyli et cum capitelli eximii de *excogitato* ed de aspera celatura...<sup>50</sup>

In this excerpt, Poliphilo recounts that the *nobile columnatione* was selected from *ogni figuratione* and artfully combined into one façade, a notion that resonates with the literal and metaphorical sense of *excogitare*. At times when Poliphilo is so astounded by all that he sees that he finds it difficult to grasp his own vision, he uses the word, *inexcogitabile*. For instance, as Poliphilo admires the head of the Medusa, he exclaims that it was expressed (*expressi*):

...cum *inexcogitabile* subtilitate dello intellecto et arte et impenso cogitato dell'artifice expressi, cum

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Italian Art: Sources and Documents. Creighton E. Gilbert, ed. (Chicago: Northwestern UP, 1980): 141.

<sup>49</sup> D. Summers, Judgement, 199. See also Martin Kemp, "From Mimesis to Fantasia: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration, and Genius in the Visual Arts," Viator, VIII (1977): 365. Kemp discusses the word *excogitare* and compares Vitruvius' use of *excogitatione* with that of Colonna. He suggests that Vitruvius's use of the word has a rational slant, whereas Colonna uses the word to allude to fantasy; poetic invention.

<sup>50</sup> HP:a7'; (P-C): I, 14; (G-A):II, 27; (JG): 22. "Therefore I found such a noble colonnade of every figure, outline, and material, that no one would ever have been able to conceive it: part was in ruins, brought together and roughly arranged with epistyles and part had little capitals missing here and there."

si facta regula et reductione che alla patente bucca gli gradi scansili aptamente facevano.<sup>51</sup>

Likewise, Poliphilo describes the building itself as *inexcogitato de mirare liberamente*. The temple ekphrasis is one of many instances in which the protagonist judges his *cogitatione* as either *excogitabile* or *inexcogitabile*. While these terms relate to the process of imagining a concept, they also imply the magnificence of the art in a metaphorical sense, and thus closely relate to words of awe such as *terribilità*, *stupore*, and *miraveglia*.

In the ekphrasis of the pyramid, Poliphilo characterizes the ideal edifice that he has cogitated as *immensa et terribile*. *Terribilità* has several shades of meaning. This word, like *excogitare*, has to do with the poetic process of gathering, collecting, and unifying various elements to form an integrated whole. *Terribilità*, related to the Greek *deinotes*, which was one of the categories of Greek rhetoric codified by Hermogenes of Tarsus in the second century. In Hermogenes' *progymnasmata*, a system of exercises designed to instruct students in the different kinds of rhetoric, *deinotes* was the highly artificial and skillful combination of all of the styles.<sup>52</sup> In the abstract, *deinotes* also translates as "fearfulness and awfulness." Hence, when Poliphilo speaks of the terrible temple, he is not only referring to the physical scale of the building and to the many styles that have been combined artfully into one

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<sup>51</sup> HP:b2; (P-C): I, 19; (G-A):II, 33; (JG): 27. "[It was] expressed with unthinkable subtlety of intellect, art, and considerable thought of artifice: the steps, strikingly rendered and tapered, most suitably ascend to the open mouth."

<sup>52</sup> The *progymnasmata* were known to the West through Priscian's *Praeexercitamenta rhetorica*, a 6<sup>th</sup> century Latin translation of Hermogenes. The first printed edition of the work was published in Venice in 1508. See D. Summers, *Michelangelo*, 236-41, n.8, for a discussion of *deinosis* in the Renaissance. Byzantine humanists continued to practice the *progymnasmata*, a practice they followed after the model of late Greek Sophistic writers. See Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators* (Oxford: Warburg studies, 1971): 85.

structure, but he is also expressing the powerful impact of the marvelous structure upon his imagination.

Poliphilo describes the physical size of the structure as *portentosissima, vastissima, immensa, maxima, and amplissima*, all aspects that he reiterates when he compares the height of the building to the massive mountains surrounding it. In terms of its scale, the temple equals Nature, an idea that the protagonist reiterates throughout the passage. Metaphorically, however, the temple surpasses Nature, for the *ingegnioso et acutissimo architecto* who conceived the structure *cum grande et exquisitissima investigatione dello intellecto* selected the best materials and architectural motifs, and skillfully combined them to form a grandiose edifice that exceeds Nature in its artifice.<sup>53</sup> Poliphilo informs us that the terrible temple is encrusted by such an exquisite variety of materials and ornaments of *ogni figurazione* that he was stunned by the perfection of the whole structure:

Magni in molte parte frusti de plane retondatione, ed de ophites et de porphyrite et coralitico colore ed di assai altri grati coloramenti; fragmentatione di vario historiato di panglypho et hemiglypho de expedita et semiscalptura: indicando la sua excellentia, che sencia fallire ad gli tempi nostri et accusando che de tale arte egli è sopita la sua perfectione.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> HP:b2; (P-C): I, 19; (G-A):II, 33; (JG): 27. "...lo *ingegnioso et acutissimo architecto* alcuni *clepsiphoti meati cum grande et exquisitissima investigatione dello intellecto havea solertemente facto...*" ["...the ingenious and most sharp architect having most suitably made the reddish paths with grand and most exquisite investigation of the intellect..."]

<sup>54</sup> HP:a8; (P-C): I, 15; (G-A):II, 28; (JG): 23. "There were grand deceptions in many parts of the striking surfaces of the serpentine marble and the porphyry of coral and other agreeable colors; and fragments of various useful histories in high relief: these [qualities] indicating its excellence, which without doubt surpasses [those temples] of our own age and charging it with such are that its perfection was stunning." The color, the various ornamentation, and the sumptuous materials that make up the façade of the great temple recall the Basilica di S. Marco. For a study of S. Marco, see Otto Demus, The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Studies, VI, 1960).

The terrible temple is grand in terms of its physical size and its abundance (*copia*) of many elements incorporated into a visionary *idea* by way of the protagonist's *excogitationi*.

As Poliphilo transforms these terrible *excogitationi* into art, he uses words related to the process of making, such as *facere* and *exprimere*. For example, the steps of the pyramid were *compositamente facto* and the likeness of the Medusa head was *cum inexcogitabile subtilitate dello intellecto et arte et impenso cogitato dell'artifice expressi*.<sup>55</sup> Oftentimes, the protagonist refers to the specific manner in which the image was formed. He tells us that the Medusa was carved (*coelato*); that the road (*calle*) that led to the temple was cut through solid rock (*interscalpto nel fermo saxo*); and that the fragment of the *crudele gigantomachia* that adorned the base of the pyramid was carved in an excellent manner (*exellente insculpta*).<sup>56</sup> Poliphilo's description of facture echoes his own visionary process of transforming the different parts of the building into *ideal* art.

This transformation evokes the protagonist's awe and astonishment, a notion that has to do with the sheer force, or *terribilità*, of the imaginary creation. In his description of the temple, Poliphilo uses words like *stupore* to describe the effect of the grandiosity of the *miraveglie*, or marvelous visions, that he beholds.<sup>57</sup> Let us consider the word *stupore*. As Poliphilo gazes at the statue of the nymph atop the great pyramid, he pronounces the figment (*figmento*) powerful enough to stupify (*da convertire in stupore*) anyone who contemplates

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<sup>55</sup> HP:b2; (P-C): I, 19; (G-A):II, 33; (JG): 27.

<sup>56</sup> For the excerpts above, see HP:b2-b2'; (P-C):I, 19-20; (G-A):II, 27-8; (JG): 27-8.

<sup>57</sup> Note that the spellings and forms of Poliphilo's words vary throughout the book. In this case, *miraviglia* becomes *miraveglia*.

it "very accurately with persistence, inward reflection."<sup>58</sup> He goes on to describe the entire structure of the pyramid as a *cumulatione di miraveglia* so awe-inspiring that the very act of considering it rendered him senseless (*io di stupore insensato*).<sup>59</sup> When he characterizes his *stupore* as a condition in which he has lost his sense, Poliphilo recalls the traditional definition of the word as "the state resulting from the perception of a thing that exceeded the limits of the senses."<sup>60</sup> He repeats the formula when he reacts to the various images, such as the *gigantomachia*, that adorn the pyramid:

Queste tutte imagine oltra la naturale proceritate et statura excedevano et...perfectamente extavano.  
Heu me, gli spiriti fessi et lo intellecto per tanta assidua varietate confuso et gli sensi disordinati...<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> See HP:b1/a8; (P-C):I, 17/15; (G-A):II, 32/28; (JG): 25/23. The statue of the nymph atop the pyramid, according to Poliphilo, was "*summa cum diligentia et arte sopraposito...una versatile machina...elegante opera, della recitata materia, da convertire in stupore chi acuratissimo et cum obstinato intuito la considerava...*" ["...placed atop (the pyramid) with the highest diligence and art, a revolving machine; an elegant work, made from the material mentioned above, (which was of such perfect proportion) to turn to a stupor anyone who considered it very accurately and with persistent, inward reflection."]

<sup>59</sup> HP:b1; (P-C): I, 17; (G-A):II, 32; (JG): 25. "...teniva in sè tanta cumulatione di miraveglia, che io di stupore insensato stava alla sua consideratione; et ultra molto più la immensitate dill'opera et lo eccesso dilla subtieglia dil'opulente et acutissimo ingegno et dilla magna cura et exquisita diligentia dil'architecto." ["it (the pyramid) embodied such a degree of miraculous wonder in its countenance that I stood in-sensed at the immensity of the work, the fine judgement of its splendid and most accurate genius, and the great care and exquisite diligence of the architect."] Ivano Paccagnella speculates that Camillo Scroffa parodied Poliphilo's *stupore* in *I Cantici di Fidenzio* (ca.1562), in which one of the verses reads, "*Voi ch'auribus arrectis auscultate/in lingua etrusca il fremito e il rumore/de'miei sospiri pieni di stupore...*" See *I Fasto delle Lingue*, 92-3.

<sup>60</sup> See D. Summers, *Judgement*, 173 n.11; 171-6. Summers discusses the Aristotelian origins of *stupore* and the connection of the word with the notions of artifice and brilliance in a number of writings, including those of Suger and St. Bernard, as well as those of Vasari, in which the term is used to refer to the effect of Michelangelo's brilliant art.

<sup>61</sup> HP: b3; (P-C):I, 21; (G-A): II, 36; (JG): 29. "All of these images exceeded nature in their height and stature...[and] were perfectly divined [...] Oh me, my spirits and intellect were divided and confused by such assiduous variation and my senses were thrown asunder..."

Poliphilo's *stupore* is induced by the artifice of his vision, which is so awe-inspiring that it is difficult to grasp—*inexcogitabile*.

Although the temple exceeds the limits of his outer sight, or his sensory perception, as well as his *intellecto* and *animus*, or rational mind, Poliphilo grasps the vision with his inner sight. *Mirabilia*, a word that abounds in the text of the *Hypnerotomachia*, refers at once to the enormity and the effect of Poliphilo's visionary conception. *Mirabilia* is related to the Latin *mirabilis*, a word whose root, *mirare*, means "to look." In the abstract, something that is described as *mirabilis* is exceptional, mysterious, miraculous, and unexplainable: it surpasses Nature.<sup>62</sup> Among the aspects that move Poliphilo to judge the temple as *mirabile*, *miranda*, and as a *cumulatione di miraviglia* are the *ingenioso et acutissimo architecto*, the various materials, such as the marbles of *porphyrite et coralitico colore*, the abundance of fragments and sculptures that encrust the building, and finally, the *inexcogitabile subtilitate dello intellecto et arte et impenso cogitato dell'artifice*.

Poliphilo's quest for his beloved *Idea* stimulates his wandering imagination to select and create marvelous words. Terms such as *cogitare*, *Idea*, *terribilità*, *factura*, *stupore*, and *miraveglia* all underscore the poliphilian process of making poetry and art, one in which the reader participates. The potential ways of reading Poliphilo's florid language are as vast as the imagination of the reader, who identifies with Poliphilo and "polishes" his florid speech.

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<sup>62</sup> *DLI*: X, 113.

\*\*The Fantasy of Poliphilo's Poetry\*\*

The act of making sense of Poliphilo's words and word painting is an additive one with infinite possibilities. In reading the text, we play a linguistic game. Poliphilo's language offers a palette of words open to the reader's selection, conception, and poetic creation. Let us return to an excerpt from the ekphrasis on the nymph and satyr relief:

Ad gli pedi stava uno satyro in lascivia pruriente et tutto commoto, cum gli pedi caprei stante, cum il buccamento ad naso adhaerito, capreato et simo, cum la barba nel mento distincta in due irriature di caprini spirili, et cusi ad gli hirti fianchi et per questo pari modo alla testa, cum pilate auricule et di fronde incoronato, cum effigie tra caprea et humana adulterata.<sup>63</sup>

In the spirit of the temple ekphrasis, Poliphilo crosses classical with modern words, prefixes, and suffixes, to form hybrid words that bloom into more words. The word *caprei* is a case in point. The Latin root word meaning "goat" is combined with modern endings, resulting in a hybrid that breeds four *new* forms—*caprei*, *capreato*, *caprini*, and *caprea*—within a single sentence. To take another example, the word *cogitare* in some cases expands to form a noun, *cogitamento*, while in other instances, *cogitare* takes a gerundive ending to form *cogitabondo*. Poliphilo also appends prefixes to *cogitare* to create new forms of the word such as *inexcogitabile*, *ricogitare*, or *excogitare*. We find the same principle operating in word combinations. While Poliphilo recounts his *alti cogitamenti* at the beginning of his dream, his experience at the court of Queen Eleuterilida at a later point in the dream

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<sup>63</sup> HP: d8'; (P-C): I, 64; (G-A):II, 90-91; (JG):72. "At her [the nymph's] feet stood a satyr who was itching with longing and completely moved. The satyr stood on the forked hooves of a goat, and he had a curved, goat-like muzzle attached near his nose. His beard hung from his chin in two spiraling, goat-like tufts, and his flanks were shaggy like the hair on his head, which had pointy ears and was crowned with fronds. He had the hybrid [*adulterata*] form of a goat and a human."

stimulates a state of *alto stupore*.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, Poliphilo describes the marvelous facture (*factura mirabile*) of the queen's jewel-encrusted throne, but reverses and alters the verbal combination at another point in the text, in which he describes the *miranda factura* of the image of a vase within a painted panel that decorates the visionary triumphal chariot of Semele.<sup>65</sup> In these examples, the Poliphilian words of poetry are themselves protean forms open to the very poetic invention that they signify. This verbal combination and recombination characterizes Poliphilo's poetry, as well as our process of interpreting it. As in the vision itself, every word enfolds a variety of possible meanings.

The principles that govern Poliphilo's hybrid language and his vocabulary of art lie at the heart of Poliphilo's prose. Indeed, the prose itself is made up of an abundance of thickly-layered fragments drawn from a wide tradition of literature.<sup>66</sup> The reader encounters in Poliphilo's ekphrasis faint recollections of treatises, including the writings of Vitruvius, Pliny, Macrobius, and Alberti. In the narrative passages that convey Poliphilo's dream and the tale of Polia in book II, we find narrative tales of Ovid, Homer, Achilles Tatius, Guillaume de Lorris, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.

Similarly, "the abundance of the book's knowledge" refers to the eclectic subject matter enfolded in its pages. Poliphilo touches on a wide array of subjects in his visions, from magnificent edifices, verdant labyrinths and pergolas, and dazzling mosaics to lavish feasts and pageantry, mysterious inscriptions, and hieroglyphs. Thus Poliphilo, the lover of many things

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<sup>64</sup> HP: f6'; (P-C):I, 92; (G-A):II, 119; (JG): 100.

<sup>65</sup> See HP f6/13; (P-C): I, 91/165; (G-A): II:118/185; (JG): 99/163.

<sup>66</sup> For two philological studies on the Polifilo, see (P-C): II; (G-A): II.



and the lover of the Idea, presents a book that "deserves the favor of all intellects," for it enfolds in its pages infinite hidden delights. The sweet speech, figures, and the images of Poliphilo beckon the reader to "lays open and relate" the subject matter through a process of selection and combination based on experience and individual taste. Crasso himself alluded to this notion in 1499, and the long afterlife of the book attests to it.

As we follow Poliphilo in his wandering quest for his beloved *Idea* in the text and the images of the Hypnerotomachia, we identify with Poliphilo's visionary process of selection, cogitation, combination, and excogitation of marvelous visions that are the essence of his language. Each time the reader delves into the book, Poliphilo's linguistic impression comes into focus with a "certain newness of expression," as Crasso put it. The Poliphilian language not only creates the fantastic aura of Poliphilo's dream, but it also lures us into the dark forest and carries us ever deeper into a realm of fantasy, beckoning us to engage in the pursuit of discovery, the selection of brilliant things, and the thrill of invention.

### Chapter III

#### \*\* Poliphilian Woodcuts\*\*

I would have those who begin to learn the art of painting do what I see practiced by teachers of writing. They first teach all the signs of the alphabet separately, and then how to put syllables together, and then whole words. Our students should follow this method of painting.

-L.B. Alberti, Della Pittura<sup>1</sup>

It has been pointed out more than once that the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili owes its fame to the beauty, variety, and grace of its illustrations.<sup>2</sup> As Anthony Blunt noted, the Hypnerotomachia is "one of those books which have suffered from being too well printed and too beautifully illustrated."<sup>3</sup> Blunt's statement characterizes the treatment of the woodcuts in modern scholarship.<sup>4</sup> For the broad scholarly audience, the woodcuts have become familiar through innumerable studies that have mined them as a storehouse of iconographic *exempla*. To specialists, the woodcuts are infamous for their disputed origins, a mystery closely linked with the Francesco Colonna debate, which has generated a growing list of attributions, mostly to Venetian and Roman artists. For all of the attention that the book and its woodcuts have attracted in the past century, few studies have analyzed the woodcuts, and none have

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<sup>1</sup> Della Pittura, Tr. Cecil Grayson. (London: Penguin Classics, 1991): III, 89.

<sup>2</sup> Roberto Weiss best summed up this attitude when he characterized the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili as "a serious runner-up for the title of 'most boring work in Italian literature,' [that] has entirely owed its 'fortuna' to its magnificent illustrations." See "A New Francesco Colonna," Italian Studies, 16(1961):78.

<sup>3</sup> Anthony Blunt, "The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in 17<sup>th</sup> Century France," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, I, (1937): 117.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix III.

addressed the images in the context of the Polifilo. The present chapter bypasses the old problems associated with the woodcuts to address the illustrations themselves. We will examine the woodcuts, the particular ways in which they interrelate, and how they function in relation to the Poliphilian language and the book as a whole.

\*\*The Woodcuts of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili\*\*

172 woodcuts illustrate the story of Poliphilo's dream and his fantastic visions along the way. As Giovanni Pozzi and others have observed, the illustrations not only include narrative vignettes, but also depict a wide range of objects that the protagonist encounters and describes in the course of his dream.<sup>5</sup> The woodcuts include several types of illustrations, each of which interlaces to some extent with the text. Approximately one-third of the images depict narrative action through a series of vignettes, as in a cycle of nine woodcuts that picture each phase of a mystical rite. [Figure 1a-i] The remaining woodcuts illustrate a wide variety of objects and events that Poliphilo encounters within his dream and describes in lengthy ekphrasis. Pozzi has classified these woodcuts into three groups: architectonic, figurative, and symbolic images. The architectonic illustrations depict interiors and exteriors of buildings or monuments, portions of the larger structures, or ornaments that embellish them. In several instances, we find illustrations of entire buildings (or in some cases, ruined

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<sup>5</sup> Giovanni Pozzi was the first to define different types of woodcuts in the Polifilo. See Giovanni Pozzi, "Il Polifilo nella storia del libro Veneziano," in Giorgione e l'umanesimo Veneziano. R. Palluchini, ed. (Florence, 1981): I, 75-6. See also Helena Katalin Szépe's description in her study, "The Poliphilo and other Aldines reconsidered in the context of the production of decorated books in Venice," (Cornell University, Ph.D., 1992): 25-6.

buildings) such as the great Pyramid that we discussed in the previous chapter; parts of interiors, for example, a single wall from Queen Eleuterylida's throne room; or ornaments, as in a woodcut which, according to the text, illustrates the frieze that wraps around the Queen's court. [Figures 2b, 2a, 2c] The next group of woodcuts illustrate sculpture that Poliphilo encounters along his journey. We find among these woodcuts a wide range of art, including an equestrian statue, an arch, and "stone" reliefs, such as that of the nymph and satyr fountain mounted on an octagonal bathing pavilion. [Figures 3, 4, 5] In addition to the woodcuts that represent three-dimensional objects, there are illustrations that depict two-dimensional images, such as the "tabellae" that decorate the sides of four triumphal carts. [Figure 6] A third group of woodcuts depict symbolic images; namely hieroglyphs. At first glance, the hieroglyphs appear to be accompanied by Latin inscriptions that are printed in Roman capitals and placed beneath each woodcut. [Figure 7] A close reading of the text reveals that the "inscriptions" are Poliphilo's interpretation of hieroglyphs that embellish the base of an obelisk. What appears as inscription beneath the hieroglyphic woodcut is actually Poliphilo's interpretation made "permanent."

Another group of woodcuts directly weave with the text. Among these woodcuts, we find "epigraphic" images, which consist of inscriptions or epitaphs "carved" onto the funerary monuments of deceased lovers. A number of epigraphic woodcuts appear within the round temple, which also houses the obelisk bearing the hieroglyph-emblems. For example, the monument of Quintus Sertullius and Caia Rancilia is made up of a double portrait of the lovers, whose likenesses are revealed by two nude figures who draw back a curtain. [Figure 8] We find the double portrait in the upper region of a classicizing frame, which encases an

elegiac inscription that recounts the tragic history of the two lovers. The prose beyond the frame of the woodcut does not repeat the inscription; rather, Poliphilo remains silent in the text, thereby passing the act of reading the epitaph to the viewer-reader. Another group of images that deserve mention are the thirty-nine decorated, capital letters that mark the beginning of each chapter. [Figure 9] The capitals serve a double function. As with many decorated capitals found in contemporary manuscripts and incunabula, these *incipit* letters serve to mark the beginning of each chapter. But even the decorated letters play a significant role in the Hypnerotomachia, for they function as bearers of the acrostic, "Poliam Frater Franciscus Columna Peramavit," a phrase that came to be associated with the author of the book, Francesco Colonna. Lastly, we find passages of text that imitate images; that is, the typography was laid out in such a way that the text takes the form of objects under discussion. For example, a passage of text describes an image of a sacrifice, in which the participants—two satyrs and two boys—each hold vases before an open mouthed cauldron. These vases are reflected in the shape of the text itself, which appears in the form of a vessel. [Figure 10]

### \*\*Narrative and Descriptive Images\*\*

Let us begin by defining among the woodcuts two predominating types. The modes that make up the text; narrative and ekphrastic prose, also characterize the images, to which we will refer as "narrative" or "descriptive". The narrative vignettes are scattered throughout part one of the Hypnerotomachia, and notably, make up the *only* kind of illustration in part

two. In relation to the text, the narrative images depict the movement of the protagonist and the heroine through the dream. Several characteristics define the format, appearance, and compositional treatment of the narrative illustrations. The images are enclosed by rectangular frames that are, with few exceptions, uniform in dimension throughout the book. Next, Poliphilo and/or Polia always appear in the narrative woodcuts. Lastly, narrative vignettes frequently appear in closely related cycles. In other words, each illustration in the "cycle" treats the narrative moment by moment, in such a way that the action in each image resembles the frames of cinematic film.<sup>6</sup>

Take, for instance, the nine woodcuts that illustrate a ritual that Poliphilo witnesses.<sup>7</sup> As the text tells us, the sacred rite is enacted within the chapel of a temple, and it is in the midst of the ceremony that Poliphilo's nymph-guide reveals herself as the protagonist's beloved Polia. [Figure 1a-i] The first three woodcuts follow the participants—Poliphilo, his guide, a *sacerdotessa*, and her priestesses—as they proceed through a ritual that involves extinguishing a torch in a well. [Figures 1a-c] The happily reunited couple are shown in the third woodcut. The fourth through ninth woodcuts depict the continuation of the sacred rite, which takes place in a side chapel nearby. [Figures 1d-i] We follow with our eyes the group of priestesses as they proceed into the chapel, carrying with them a variety of ingredients, including birds and vases, toward the altar. [1d] Inside the room, the veiled Polia kneels with her back to the viewer-reader, along with the head priestess and her attendants, who remain

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<sup>6</sup> Liane Lefaivre was the first to draw a comparison between the narrative vignettes and film. See Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. (Boston: MIT, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> HP: n7'-p3; (P-C):I, 208-230; (G-A): II, 226-248; (JG):213-235.

standing. Poliphilo, instead, watches the proceedings at the threshold of the chapel. In the next woodcut, the protagonist has sunk to his knees, his hands clasped in prayer, as the *sacerdotessa* addresses her company and raises her baton toward the altar.[1e, f] Next, the *sacerdotessa* introduces the ingredients into the open mouth of a vase, which rests upon the altar. [1g] In the following vignette, the priestess lifts the lid of the vase to reveal a bush, which miraculously springs from the vessel and blossoms forth with fruit and birds. [1h] Poliphilo, still on his knees, gazes upward at the miraculous foliage, while the attendant priestesses and the veiled woman have fallen prostrate to the floor and covered their faces in their hands. In the final woodcut of the sequence, the priestess hands out fruit from the miraculous bush to Poliphilo and Polia. [1i]

Let us turn to the second group of woodcuts, which we will refer to as “descriptive.” In their content, these illustrations depict a wide variety of objects that Poliphilo encounters in the course of his dream, which include architecture, architectural ruins, fragments, and ornaments; monuments and sculpture; hieroglyphs, and inscriptions. Poliphilo’s visions either provoke his impassioned description, or ekphrasis, or they interlace with the text, as is the case with the “inscriptions”, which beckon the protagonist and reader to examine, describe, and thereby make a story. In their format, the descriptive images appear in a wide variety of shapes and sizes. We find among these illustrations full page images, as in the great Pyramid; rectangular or round woodcuts of varying dimensions, such as the narrow frieze pattern or one of the hieroglyph bosses; or unframed images, including the topiaries, vases, and *spoglia* that Poliphilo encounters in the garden and within a procession on the island of Cytherea. [Figures 11, 2b, 7, 12, 13, 14]

As for their content, every descriptive image illustrates visual *exempla*; in other words, each woodcut references motifs wide-spread in the visual arts of the Renaissance. The illustration of the nymph and satyr is a case in point. [Figure 5] The image depicts two satyrini and a satyr, who draws a curtain aside to gaze upon a reclining nymph who sleeps beneath a tree. As Millard Meiss has noted, the female nude recalls the classical Venus Pudica of Gnidian type, as in one example catalogued for Prospero Santacroce's collection in Rome in the late *quattrocento*.<sup>8</sup> [Figure 15] Unlike the standing Venus, however, the nymph reclines in deep slumber, while a satyr draws aside a garment to reveal her sleeping, nude figure. Together, the sleeping nymph and desirous satyr evoke Ovidian tales including the myth of Priapus and Lotos and the Discovery of Ariadne. Both subjects are evoked in numerous examples of ancient art, as in a 1<sup>st</sup> century Roman wall painting found in the House of the Vetii in Pompeii and a Roman sarcophagus, which depicts the sleeping Ariadne, desirous Pan, and the entourage of Bacchus.<sup>9</sup> [Figures 16, 17] The image of the reclining nymph survived in numerous examples from the visual arts of the *quattrocento*. We could also trace the image of the sleeping nymph to a classical fountain sculpture and inscription, which were copied in numerous *sylogai* in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>10</sup> [Figure 18] A

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<sup>8</sup> See P.P. Bober and R.O. Rubinstein, Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1986): cat. 14; Millard Meiss, "Sleep in Venice: Ancient Myths and Renaissance Proclivities," in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. Vol. 110, no. 5 (October, 1966): 348-382.

<sup>9</sup> For the story of Priapus and Lotos, see Ovid, Fasti. There is also a reference to the story in Book IX of the Metamorphoses. See Bober and Rubinstein, cat. 79, 80.

<sup>10</sup> See Otto Kurz, "Huius Nympha Loci," JWCI, XVI (1953): 171-175 and Elisabeth MacDougall, "The Sleeping Nymph: Origins of a Humanist Fountain Type," Art Bulletin, LVII (1975): 357-65. Both authors mention that the nude figure not only recalls Venus, but



similar image appears in the travel sketches of Cyriacus of Ancona and in classicizing drawings of Jacopo Bellini. [Figures 19, 20] In addition to drawings inspired by classical antiquity, the reclining nymph embellished *cassoni*, as in the inside cover of a Florentine example or in Botticelli's Venus and Mars, which depicts playful satyrini alongside reclining Venus and her sleeping consort. [Figures 21, 22] The two figures also graced medals, as in the reverse side of Andrea Riccio's portrait medal of Girolamo Donato, a Venetian collector of antiquities. [Figure 23] The subject reappears in a printed illustration of the sleeping Lotos, the object of Priapus' hot pursuit, in the 1497 Metamorphoseos Vulgare. [Figure 24]

All of the descriptive woodcuts in the Hypnerotomachia present a game of recognition for the reader-viewer, for each illustration quotes fragments traceable to a vast iconographic tradition. In addition, many of the visual *exempla* evoke imagery from literary tales, as is the case of the Ovidian nymph and satyr. The same holds true for a number of narrative images, particularly those that do not appear in cycles. For example, the woodcut of Polifilo and the Dragon calls to mind numerous literary descriptions, among them that of Cadmus and the serpent in book III of the Metamorphoses.<sup>11</sup> [Figure 25] The image also recalls contemporaneous woodcuts from the illustrated Venetian editions of the Aesopus Moralisatus (1491).<sup>12</sup> [Figure 26]

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also Ariadne.

<sup>11</sup> Ovid, Metamorphoses. Tr. Horace Gregory (London: Viking Press, 1958): III, 86-7. For other related texts, see HP: II, 655 n.8.

<sup>12</sup> Aesopus, Aesopus Moralisatus. (Venezia: Manfredo de Monteferato, 1491). [Cini Inc. 10]

\*\*A Cabinet of Curiosities\*\*

Just as individual woodcuts enfold an array of well-known images, the woodcuts as a whole present the viewer with a "collection" of classicizing visual *exempla*. As such, the *Hypnerotomachia* shares much with *sylogai*.<sup>13</sup> These hand-written and illustrated travel diaries, which contain drawings of ancient fragments and inscriptions, were compiled by 15<sup>th</sup>-century antiquarians who made pilgrimages to distant Greek and Roman sites in quest of "relics of sacrosanct antiquity."<sup>14</sup> A drawing of a sleeping nymph from Cyriacus of Ancona's *Commentaria* (1447-8) and Giovanni Marcanova's drawing of the Monument of Metellia Prima from his *Quaedam antiquitatum fragmenta* (c.1460) typify the antique sculptural fragments, monuments and inscriptions—written in Greek and Latin—compiled in *sylogai*. [Figures 23, 27] The *sylogai* not only played an important role in the documentation, creation, and collection of a visual vocabulary of fragments, but also reflect the fascination for and romantic re-creation of antiquity that characterizes late *quattrocento* art.

15<sup>th</sup>-century painters not only participated in the "collection" of fragments, but also used the classicizing vocabulary in their drawings and paintings. In his sketchbooks, for instance, Jacopo Bellini introduced the fragments of the *sylogai* into imaginary contexts, as

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<sup>13</sup> On *sylogai* and the *Hypnerotomachia*, see Charles Mitchell, "Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy," in *Italian Renaissance Studies: A tribute to the late Cecilia M. Ady*. Ed. E.F. Jacob. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960): 455-483; Carlo Roberto Chiarlo, "Gli fragmenti della sancta antiquitate: studi antiquari e produzione delle immagini da Ciriaco d'Ancona a Francesco Colonna," in *Storia dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, Salvatore Settis, ed. Vol. I. (Torino: Einaudi, 1984): 271-287; Patricia Fortini Brown, "Antique Fragments, Renaissance Eyes," in *Venice and Antiquity* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997): 75-98.

<sup>14</sup> P. Brown quoting Cyriacus of Ancona. For full citation, see 81n.

in a drawing of Roman monuments (c. 1440).<sup>15</sup> [Figure 28] In the monument to the far left, we encounter another version of the monument of Metellia Prima documented twenty years later in Marcanova's *syllogue*.<sup>16</sup> Along with the *stelae* to Metellia Prima, Bellini copied other inscriptions, monuments, and coins, thereby unifying the fragments into a single field. He also added details of his own, including a rabbit, who rests on the base of the second *stelae* from the right. In the case of the monument at the far right, Bellini recorded the structure *da sotto in su*. In his vision of antiquity, Bellini had effectively placed his fragments into a new context that blurred archaeology with fantasy. Such is the case another drawing in Bellini's sketchbook, Christ before Pontius Pilate, in which Bellini combined a classicizing triumphal arch in the foreground with a cortile and building façade in the background, which recall the architectural style and space of the interior of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice. [Figure 29] Andrea Mantegna, Bellini's son-in-law, captured a similar aura of archaeological romance in his paintings, as in St. James Before Herod (c.1451), which combines the same inscription to "T. Pullius" with a classicizing arch, festoons, armor, and costume.<sup>17</sup> [Figure 30] The inscription to "T. Pullius" would reappear in a hand-illuminated edition of Livy's *Historiae*

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<sup>15</sup> P. Brown, 122 n. 33; Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen. Teil II. Venedig, Jacopo Bellini. 4 Vols. (Berlin, 1900): II-5-6, 370-73; Colin Eisler, The Genius of Jacopo Bellini. The Complete Paintings and Drawings. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1989).

<sup>16</sup> As Patricia Fortini Brown points out, both artists took some licence in their renderings of the funerary *stelae* known to have been in San Salvatore in Brescia. See P. Brown, 122.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 130, n. 68, who cites Ronald Lightbown's view that Mantegna copied the inscription from Bellini's drawing. See Mantegna: With a Complete Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings, and Prints. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986): 29.

Romanae decades (1470), this time in the context of a classicizing triumphal procession.<sup>18</sup>

[Figure 31]

Unlike the drawings gathered in the *syllogai*, the collection of visual fragments in the Hypnerotomachia were mechanically reproduced. In their printed form, the images in the Polifilo were disseminated to a wider audience than ever before. Just as *syllogai* played a role in shaping the development of Jacopo Bellini and Andrea Mantegna, one wonders whether the next generation of Venetian artists, including Giorgione, Giovanni Bellini, Paris Bordone, Titian, and Tullio Lombardo, selected and incorporated the visual fragments of the Hypnerotomachia into their art. For example, the reclining nymph and lascivious satyr—and infinite modifications of the group—appeared for the first time in Venetian painting in the decades following the first publication of the book. Bellini placed the two figures into the lower right-hand corner among classicizing nymphs and satyrs in his mythologizing fantasy, the Feast of the Gods (1514), while the viewer of Giorgione's Dresden Venus (c. 1508) assumes the role of the desirous satyr. [Figures 32, 33] One or both of the figures would reappear in paintings and prints made in and outside of Italy.<sup>19</sup>

In another instance, Paris Bordone seems to have transformed the image of Poliphilo

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<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the illustrated Historiae Romanae decades (Venice: V. de Spira, 1470), see Lilian Armstrong, Renaissance Miniature Painters and Classical Imagery: The Master of the Putti and his Venetian Workshop. (London: 1981) Cat. 3.

<sup>19</sup> See Il Rinascimento a Venezia e la pittura del Nord ai tempi di Bellini, Dürer, Tiziano, Ed. Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown. (Venezia: Bompiani Editori, 1999) [Exh. Catalogue, Palazzo Grassi, Venice 1999]. Among the artists who made use of this visual "fragment" in their paintings were MarcAntonio Raimondi (p.247), Domenico and Giulio Campagnola (cat.138, 139), Jacopo Palma il Vecchio (cat.140), Titian (cat.154), Lambert Sustris (cat.156), Schiavone (cat. 155), Tintoretto (cat.199), Albrecht Dürer (p.247), Jan van Scorel (cat. 141), Lucas Cranach the Elder (cat.142), and Bartholomäus Spranger (cat.194).

and the Dragon in the distant background of Bordon's Saint Jerome in the Desert (c. 1520-22).<sup>20</sup> [Figure 34] We find a similar image in Hans Burgkmair's print, Death and the lovers (1510).<sup>21</sup> [Figure 35] Burgkmair was heavily shaped by the art of northern Italy, and whether the figures of the skeleton of death and of the maiden, who flees underneath a classicizing arch, were shaped, in part, by the woodcut in the Polifilo raises a number of questions regarding the popularity of the Hypnerotomachia north of the Alps. To what extent specific woodcuts in the Hypnerotomachia directly influenced artists in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and after is difficult to say. Whatever the extent of their influence, the descriptive, and at times, narrative woodcuts in the Hypnerotomachia are poliphilian: each visual *exemplum* enfolds infinite references, and each image easily lent itself to new visual contexts. It is not surprising that the woodcuts from Hypnerotomachia are best known today as a storehouse of evocative iconographic vocabulary, and that, like other masterpieces of art, the book continues to provoke description among diverse disciplines in the Liberal Arts.

**\*\*Aldus Manutius as Poliphilo: The Production of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili\*\***

Relative to contemporary *incunabula*, the Hypnerotomachia enfolds a striking variety of pictorial and design strategies. The Hypnerotomachia not only represents a "collection" of visual *exempla*, but it also exemplifies the potential of the new medium of printing. The Hypnerotomachia was among many incunabula illustrated by mechanical means in the last

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<sup>20</sup> In addition, Bordon painted a reclining "Venus" in the early part of his career.

<sup>21</sup> Il Rinascimento a Venezia. Cat. 72.

decade of the *quattrocento*, a period that saw a remarkable increase in the production of printed, illustrated books in Venice.<sup>22</sup> Like other illustrated *incunabula* produced in late 15<sup>th</sup>-century Venice, the *Hypnerotomachia* recalls many conventions of manuscript illustration in terms of its strategy for illustrating the text and its layout of images and text.<sup>23</sup> For example, narrative tales such as Dante's *Divina Commedia* were, on the whole, illuminated with vignettes which depicted Dante's journey. On the other hand, all manner of instruction manuals, treatises, or ekphrastic texts like Hygenus' *Astronomy* or Petrarch's *Trionfi* received figures or diagrams. The use of narrative vignettes or descriptive figures to illustrate a given text—whether hand-illuminated or printed—depended on the genre of text that was to be illustrated.<sup>24</sup> The same holds true for illustrated Venetian incunabula produced in the decade

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<sup>22</sup> C. Castellani, *La stampa in Venezia, dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio, seniore* (Venezia, 1889); Duc de Rivoli, *Étude sur les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV siècle et du commencement du XVI* (Paris, 1889-90) and *Bibliographie des livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV siècle et du commencement du XVI, 1469-1525* (Paris, 1892); Horatio Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press*. (London, 1891); D'Essling, Prince, Victor Massèna, *Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du Xve siècle et du commencement du XVIe*. Florence-Paris: Librairie Henri Leclerc, 1914 [reprint, Florence:Leo S. Olschki, 1907-14]: IV

<sup>23</sup> For an excellent history of illuminated manuscripts in Venice, see Giordana Mariani Canova, "La miniatura a Venezia dal medioevo al Rinascimento," *Storia di Venezia: L'Arte*. Rodolfo Pallucchini, ed. 2 Vols. (Roma: Ist. della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995): II, 769-843. For a study of hand illuminated incunabula, see Lilian Armstrong, *Renaissance Miniature Painters and Classical Imagery: The Master of the Putti and his Venetian Workshop*. (London: 1981); Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450-1550*. (London, 1994). Silvia Urbini, "Il Polifilo e gli altri Libri Figurati sul Finire del Quattrocento," in *Verso il Polifilo, 1499-1999*. A cura di Dino Casagrande e Alessandro Scarsella. [Catalogo della Mostra, 31 Ottobre-8 Novembre, S. Donà di Piave] (Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 1998): 49-78; Suzy Marcon, "Ornati di penna e di penello: appunti su scribi-illuminatori nella Venezia del maturo Umanesimo," in *La Bibliofila*, LXXXIX, (1987):121-44.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.: 132-5. The present discussion refers only to those images that directly illustrated the text, not to the ornaments that decorated the margins or frontispieces of pages.

leading up to the publication of the Hypnerotomachia: vignettes always illustrate texts that were predominantly narrative, while figures or diagrams aided in explaining, through images, the technical materials of manuals and treatises.

In their format, the uniform dimensions of the narrative woodcuts of the Poliphilo recall those in contemporary incunabula, as in the 171 woodcuts that illustrate a 1495 edition of Livy's Decades.<sup>25</sup> [Figure 36] However, in their treatment of the narrative, the illustrations of the Hypnerotomachia differ significantly from their contemporaries.<sup>26</sup> Take, for instance, the vignettes that illustrate the 1492 Decameron and the 1497 Metamorphoses Volgare. In Boccaccio's Decameron, the designer of the woodcuts illustrated two moments from each tale and used fictive architecture as a means of dividing the two moments.<sup>27</sup> Such is the case in the first story of the fourth day, which recounts the tragic tale of the lovers, Ghismonda and

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<sup>25</sup> Livy, Decades (Venezia: Philippum Pincium Mantuanum, 1495) [BCV Inc. E 13] The incunabula I examined are kept in the following Venetian libraries: the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (BMV); the Biblioteca Correr Venezia (BCV); and the Fondazione Cini (Cini). The illustrated, narrative editions I surveyed include the 1493 edition of the Bibbia Malermi first printed at the press of Giovanni Ragazzo and Luc'Antonio Giunta in 1490. (Venice: Guglielmo Anima Mia, 1493). [Cini Inc. 78] Dante Alighieri, La Divina Commedia (Venezia: Piero Cremonese, 1491). I examined the 1493 edition, printed by Matteo Codecà. [BCV Inc. E 259] Aesopus, Aesopus Moralisatus (Venezia: Manfredo de Monteferato, 1491). [Cini Inc. 10] Boccaccio, Decamerone (Venezia: Gregorio de Gregorii, 1492). [Cini Inc. 91]; Ovidius Naso, Metamorphoseos Volgare (Venezia: Zoane Rosso Vercellese, 1497). [BCV Inc. E 65]

<sup>26</sup> Giovanni Pozzi, "Il 'Polifilo' nella Storia del Libro Illustrato Veneziano," in Giorgione e l'umanesimo Veneziano. 2 Vols. (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1981): 71-107.

<sup>27</sup> Here I follow Pozzi's argument, but have chosen different comparisons. Agostino Gentile has additionally discussed the links between the narrative strategy in the Decameron and that of Carpaccio in his narrative painting. Gentile points out that Carpaccio's method of dividing his narrative scenes into two parts by using fictive architecture—columns, walls, etc.—recalls the woodcuts of the Decameron. See "Boccaccio a Venezia," in Boccaccio Visualizzato. (Venezia: , 1992) :5-45.

Guiscardo.<sup>28</sup> [Figure 37] In the left region of the vignette we find Guiscardo in the audience of Prince Tancredi, at the moment when the prince confronts the youth on account of his secret and forbidden love affair with his daughter, Princess Ghismonda. The right-hand region of the vignette depicts Ghismonda after she has received the heart of her beloved Guiscardo, at the moment when she drinks the poison and so ends her life. The Metamorphoseos Volgare, on the other hand, unifies a number of narrative moments within a single frame.<sup>29</sup> [Figure 38] The vignette of the Rape of Europa from Book II of the Metamorphoses shows four moments of the tale, which the viewer reads counterclockwise.<sup>30</sup> At the upper left, we see Jove addressing Mercury, who drives the king's cattle to the seashore. In the lower left region, we find Europa and her attendants, who have come across Jove, disguised as a beautiful bull. Next, enamored Europa has mounted the bull, who carries her on his back across the sea, a scene that appears in the upper right region of the image.

Let us return to the Hypnerotomachia. Contrary to the scenes that illustrate the Decades, the Decameron, and the Metamorphoseos Volgare, the narrative images in the Polifilo present action scene by scene in a series of interconnected images, as we have already described in the nine woodcut cycle of the mysterious rite. [Figures 1a-i] We find one

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<sup>28</sup> For the text, I have additionally consulted Boccaccio, Decameron, tr. G.H. McWilliam (London: Penguin Books, 1972): 332-342.

<sup>29</sup> Philipp Fehl suggests that the woodcuts of the vulgar Ovid shaped Bellini's treatment of narrative in The Feast of the Gods, which references a sequence of moments within a single, poetic scene. See Decorum and Wit: The Poetry of Venetian Painting. (Vienna: IRSA Verlag, 1992).

<sup>30</sup> For the text, I have consulted Ovid, Metamorphoses, tr. Horace Gregory (London: Viking Press, 1958): II: 81-2.



exception to the rule in the woodcuts that illustrate the *tabellae* on the triumphal carts, which recall the split composition of narrative in the Decameron woodcuts. In an example of *tabellae* from the triumphal chariot of Europa, the woodcut is divided into two parts, as the text tells us, to represent two narrow *tabellae* that grace the anterior and posterior sides of the chariot. [Figure 6] The woodcut shows cupid among the stars on the left, and an image that recalls the Judgement of Paris on the right. The division of the woodcut represents a convention that appears also in the illustrations of the 1501 edition of Ovid's Epistolae Heroides, one of which similarly depicts the Judgement of Paris in the right-most region of a vignette divided into three portions.<sup>31</sup> [Figure 39] We should remember that the *tabellae*, though they illustrate narrative tales, do not illustrate the narrative of Poliphilo's dream-journey, but one of the many visions that he describes. As such, the *tabellae* do not exhibit the characteristics that define the narrative woodcuts; rather, they are related to the figural woodcuts that illustrate Poliphilo's ekphrasis.

The descriptive woodcuts in the Polifilo, like the narrative vignettes, represent another mode of illustration that was not new to manuscripts or incunabula. The woodcuts that illustrate Poliphilo's visions are closely linked with a tradition of diagrams and technical images, which presented the complex information of manuals and treatises in visual form. Among the earliest illustrated manuals was Roberto Valturio's De re militari, printed in 1472. Valturio's book presents over one-hundred woodcuts of military machines, which so illustrate a text that describes each device. As Gianvittorio Dillon points out, De re militari was

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<sup>31</sup> Ovidius Naso, Epistolae Heroides. (Venezia: Joanne Tacuino, 1501). See Sander, 1136.

unprecedented in its presentation of images in counterpoint with the descriptive text.<sup>32</sup> For instance, one woodcut depicts a machine that armies might use to storm the walls of fortresses. [Figure 40] Two lines of text describe the appearance and use of the contraption in the woodcut which, "as one sees, [represents] a wheel with large teeth and strong enough to raise a bridge over walls, by which men may climb over the walls and enter on or into the fortress."<sup>33</sup> In a similar instance, 39 figures illustrate descriptions of constellations in the astronomical treatise of Aratus Athenodoro, one of three astronomical treatises that made up the 1499 astronomical compendium of the Scriptores Astronomici, which Aldus dedicated to Guidobaldo de Montefeltro.<sup>34</sup> To illustrate his edition of Aratus' treatise, Aldus borrowed a number of woodcuts from Erhard Ratdolt, who had used the blocks in a 1482 edition of Hygenus' Poeticon Astronomicum.<sup>35</sup> [Figure 41] To these he added several new woodcuts, among them an illustration of the Pleides, which were probably designed by the artist responsible for the Poliphilo woodcuts. [Figure 42] Figures like those that illustrate De re militari and Scriptores Astronomici were not limited to technical manuals. Petrarch's vision

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<sup>32</sup> Gianvittorio Dillon, "Sul Libro illustrato del quattrocento: Venezia e Verona," in La Stampa degli incunaboli nel Veneto. Neri Pozza, ed. (Vicenza: Neri Pozza ed., 1980): 81-96.

<sup>33</sup> "Questa e una rota quale e dentata apta alzare uno ponte sopra a le mura come se vede per il quale ascendano li homeni darne in su le fortecie" See Figure 20 for text.

<sup>34</sup> Julius Firmicus Maternus, Scriptores Astronomici Veteres (Venezia: Aldus, 1499) [BCV Inc. E 340] See Carey S. Bliss, Julius Firmicus Maternus and the Aldine Edition of the Scriptores Astronomici Veteres (Los Angeles, 1981). Illustrations such as those in Hygenus and Maternus are closely related to the hand illuminated images in a northern italian edition of Hygenus' De sideribus tractatus, c. 1465-70. See New York Public Lib., Spencer Collection, MS 28, f.53v.

<sup>35</sup> I examined a later edition, which used the same woodblocks. Hyginus, Poeticon Astronomicum (Venezia: Ratdolt, 1485). [Cini Inc. 294]

of six allegorical triumphal processions, which he describes in his six part poem, I Trionfi, inspired innumerable illustrations in manuscripts and incunabula, most of which were full-page in their format.<sup>36</sup> [Figure 43]

The format of the figures that illustrate manuals or treatises differ widely in format, relative to the regular vignettes conventional to narrative illustration. The size of these woodcuts ranges from framed images that span the space of a page, as in the Trionfi or De re militari, to smaller, unframed figures such as those in the Scriptores Astronomici and Somnium Scipionis. As for the subject matter of each woodcut, the content of the images depended, of course, upon the nature of the text to be illustrated. An astronomical treatise, for example, would therefore contain illustrations and diagrams of the constellations. A book on military machines illustrated primarily military machines; an herbal would contain different species of flora, and so on. Among the descriptive woodcuts, one encounters a wide range of illustrated objects that frequently appear in a series, as though a compendium of illustrated manuals and treatises on a variety of subjects—fountains, triumphal processions, *tabellae*, inscriptions, flora, and spolia, for instance—had been gathered within the same binding.

While the two modes of illustration in the Hypnerotomachia recall the normative images found in narrative versus technical texts, the mixture of both types within a single book was unprecedented. The synthesis of narrative prose with ekphrasis, which characterized the text of the Hypnerotomachia, was an age-old practice in literature. Yet, such texts were,

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<sup>36</sup> Petrarcha, Trionfi (Venezia: Piero de' Piasi, Veronensis, 1490). [Cini Inc. 440] For discussion and bibliography on Petrarch's Trionfi, see Chapter IV part I.

with few exceptions, illustrated only with narrative vignettes.<sup>37</sup> An illustration in the Metamorphoseos Volgare of Phaethon's ride from book II represents a case in point. [Figure 44] The text itself does not immediately begin with the events that lead up to the fall of Phaethon from his father's Chariot of the Sun, but with a lengthy ekphrasis of the decoration and materials that ornament Apollo's golden palace. Indeed, we find the ekphrasis translated into the *volgare* in the text that accompanies the woodcut. The woodcut, instead, depicts two crucial moments of the narrative: Phaethon before Apollo, and Phaethon's fall from Apollo's unwieldy chariot. Folded into the vignette, we find description of the classicizing palace, which receives little detail in the text. In other words, the woodcut enfolds an image of a rather simple palace into a primarily narrative vignette. Only the heading of the tale, which reads, "Casa del Sole," emphasizes the ekphrasis. Had the story occurred in the Hypnerotomachia, the palace not only would have received its own illustration (or several illustrations of its architectural details), but also close attention to the architectural ornaments described in the ekphrasis.<sup>38</sup>

Arguably, Aldus himself, who counts among the most savvy printers of the era, was well aware of the unprecedented combination of illustrative types. To what extent Aldus himself played a role in choosing the illustrations for the Hypnerotomachia remains a

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<sup>37</sup> One notable exception that I encountered was a woodcut of the Temple of Solomon in the Bibbia Malermi. The woodcut, which shares equal dimensions with the other narrative vignettes in the book, also offers the reader a highly simplified illustration of the temple. Whether or not illustrators always depicted the temple of Solomon in illuminated books represents a question that I have not yet explored.

<sup>38</sup> For instance, the ekphrasis paints an image of a golden palace "tutta inaurata e anche resplendida", whose panels Vulcan decorated with an image of water, sky, and earth, and its mythological inhabitants.

mystery.<sup>39</sup> However, the spirit of imitation and innovation that we have described in the narrative and descriptive woodcuts resonates in two other aspects of the book's production that Aldus would have closely monitored; that is, the layout of the images and text and the typography. The layout of the Polifilo is a complex subject that merits its own study, and one on which we will make only a few brief observations here. Relative to other books of the period, the Hypnerotomachia was unprecedented in the wide variety of its "mise-en-page," or arrangement and shape of text and images. Each turn of the page offers the viewer new layout, which is striking in relation to the regularity of the design of contemporary illustrated incunabula. The Hypnerotomachia additionally introduced a new format for printed images, the double-page illustration, in the images of the four triumphal processions. [Figure 45] Closely related are the layout and typography of the text. The wide variety of format in the text, exemplified, for instance, in many instances of tapered text and the aforementioned calligram, recall earlier examples in manuscripts. The text also takes various shapes in response to the format and size of the woodcuts. The protean format of the text was remarkable for incunabula, whose layout was limited by the nascent technology of printed books. Also notable is the old, new, and "hybrid" typography in the Hypnerotomachia, for the reader encounters not only Greek and Roman type, but also Aldus' humanist script, a modernization of the old Roman letters.<sup>40</sup> In its format, the full extent to which the

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<sup>39</sup> See Brian Richardson, Printing, Writers, and Readers in Renaissance Italy. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999): 134. When woodcuts, as opposed to intaglio engravings, were used for illustration, the printer was able to lay the woodblock in the same forme as the type. Therefore, the printer probably played a major role in the layout of images and text.

<sup>40</sup> The typographical aspects of Aldus' press occupies a vast scholarship. For further discussion and bibliography, see Aldo Manuzio tipografo, 1494-1515. Ed. Piero Scapecchi

Hypnerotomachia not only imitated, but also innovated upon a lengthy tradition of books that came before it has yet to be fully appreciated. Aldus' book typified the experimentation and innovation to which his press, and so many others, aspired in the 1490's. In the Hypnerotomachia, he had tested the technological limits of the new medium of printing and the possibilities of design to produce a book that remains a masterpiece in its own right.<sup>41</sup>

### \*\*The Poetry of Poliphilian Woodcuts\*\*

To this point, we have summarized the different types of woodcuts and addressed their multi-faceted origins. We have also addressed how the woodcuts come together as a collection of *exempla*, and ways in which the strategies and format of illustrations in the Hypnerotomachia echo the poliphilian spirit of collection. Another question remains: how do the narrative and descriptive woodcuts function together, or put in Poliphilo's words,

if the fragments of holy antiquity, the broken stones, the ruins and even the dust, evoke astonished admiration and such delight in viewing them, what would they be as a whole?<sup>42</sup>

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et.al. [Exh. Cat, Firenze: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 1994]. (Firenze: Octavo, 1994); C. F. Bühler, Early Books and Manuscripts: 40 Years of Research. (Princeton, 1973); Nicholas Barker, Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script & Type in the Fifteenth Century. (New York, 1992).

<sup>41</sup> Over five hundred years later, technology and design remain two major issues that face designers of World Wide Web sites in today's burgeoning technology of the Internet.

<sup>42</sup> HP: d2'; (P-C): I, 51; (G-A):II, 76; (JG): 59. "Se gli fragmenti dilla sancta antiquitate et rupture et ruina et quodammodo le Scobe ne ducono in stupenda admiratione, et ad tanto oblectamento di mirarle, quanto sarebbe la sua integritate?"

When Poliphilo paused to ask his question, he had just stepped over the threshold of the classicizing portal and entered a barrel vaulted hall, which makes up the arc of the portal. As Poliphilo wanders beneath the arch, he is momentarily startled to see his own reflection in two polished, marble mirrors on either side of him, but his fear melts into pleasure when he encounters a series of stories that have been poetically worked and "spectacularly" depicted on the interior walls (*historie di musea operatura spectabilmente depicte*). He goes on to describe the images so vividly that they seem to come to life. In the spirit of Zeuxis, Narcissus, and Pygmalion, Poliphilo gathers the scattered beauties of the woodcuts, forms an Idea in his own likeness, and falls in love with his visionary creation.<sup>43</sup>

The excerpt above not only typifies the nature of the poliphilian woodcuts, but it also characterizes the experience of viewing them. The woodcuts of the Hypnerotomachia are not merely a collection of classicizing images awaiting discovery, but they also beckon the viewer's active participation in the synthesis of new images. As we have seen, the illustrations depict only parts of Poliphilo's vision: it is the task of the viewer to complete them. The Hypnerotomachia becomes an artful game of imagination, in which narrative vignettes become the canvases, while the descriptive illustrations make up the setting and the details within the scene. Such is the case with the nine woodcuts that depict the sacred rite. [Figures 1a-i] As we have already noted, the vignettes show action moment-by-moment in

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<sup>43</sup> HP: I, a2', d4', o2', F2'. Poliphilo refers to Polia throughout the book as his "Idea" or his "divine object." For example, Poliphilo states at the beginning of the romance that he has lost his "...divo obiecto di Polia, La cui Idea in me profondamente impressa..." The Idea, personified in Polia, is also closely related to the story of Zeuxis and the Croton maidens. On the Idea in the Renaissance, see Erwin Panofsky, Idea: A Concept in Art Theory. (New York: Harper and Row, 1968): 47-68.

a manner reminiscent of cinematic film. In the last five vignettes of the series, for instance, the viewer experiences an effect similar to a cinematic close-up. [Figures 1d-i] The space between the viewer and the action at the altar slowly decreases until the climax of the sequence: the growth of the miraculous bush in the penultimate woodcut. In the final image, the *denouement*, the viewer has conceptually backed up to take in the queen's act of doling out the tree's miraculous fruit to Poliphilo and Polia. In addition to the five narrative vignettes we find an intricate woodcut of an altar, which Poliphilo describes in florid detail. [Figure 1j] The same altar appears in each of the five narrative woodcuts, but in a much simpler guise. Conceptually, the images come together through montage: just as the text interweaves the ekphrasis of the altar with the narrative, the woodcuts blur into a single image of a ritual that takes place at a highly ornamented altar.

Oftentimes, descriptive woodcuts blend into other descriptive woodcuts, which in turn fold into a narrative vignette. A cycle of three woodcuts relates to the decoration and events that take place in the throne room of Queen Eleuterylida.<sup>44</sup> The first narrow woodcut illustrates classicizing ornaments, including a *bucraneum*, putti, vases, grotteque masks, and strings of pearls, all of which are intertwined on an arabesque framework of vines, branches, and dolphins. [Figure 2a] As Poliphilo recounts in the text, the woodcut ornaments make up a section of a frieze that embellishes the interior of a throne room. The subsequent woodcut illustrates one wall of this room. [Figure 2b] Yet, absent from the second illustration are the ornaments that characterize the pattern of the frieze. Instead, schematic arabesques merely suggest the classicizing embellishment that appeared so vividly in the previous woodcut. In

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<sup>44</sup> See *HP*: f4-f6'; (P-C): I, 87-92; (G-A): II, 115-119; (JG): 96-100.



the following image, the text effectively ties the woodcuts into the broader narrative, in which Poliphilo enjoys the audience of Queen Eleuterylida in her throne room. [Figure 2c] By this point, the reader-viewer has already had the opportunity to envision the sumptuous quarters of the queen by reading the prose and viewing the previous woodcuts. In the mind's eye, the woodcuts come together to form an image of Poliphilo before the Queen and her nymphal court, who reside in a throne room whose four walls are decorated with images of the planets (and planetary triumphal processions, as the text tells us), and unified by an intricate, classicizing frieze pattern that stretches around the upper regions of the room.<sup>45</sup>

In other instances, as in the woodcut of the pissing boy, only the prose provides the larger context for the woodcut. [Figure 5a] It is only through Poliphilo's ekphrasis that we learn that the image represents a mechanical fountain that decorates the interior wall of the same octagonal bathing pavilion that supports the nymph and satyr fountain, which is mounted on the opposite side of the wall. [Figure 5] Inside the pavilion, Poliphilo bathes with five nymphs, who play a joke on the protagonist by suggesting that he approach the fountain of the pissing boy. As he draws near, Poliphilo steps onto a weighted block, which causes the member of the *priapul*o, or the "little priapus" to squirt freezing water into his face.<sup>46</sup> In the 1499 edition of the Hypnerotomachia, the viewer may only envision the playful fountain in the octagonal pavilion. Notably, the illustrators of the 1556 French edition pulled image

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<sup>45</sup> As Joscelyn Godwin points out, the planetary interior in Queen Eleuteryllida's palace recalls a long tradition of such interiors, as in the fresco cycle in Palazzo Schifanoia. See J. Godwin, "Introduction" in Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, tr. Joscelyn Godwin (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999): xvi.

<sup>46</sup> See HP: d7'-e; (P-C):I, 62-5; (G-A): II, 89-91; (JG):71-3.

and text together by adding a woodcut that depicts the interior of the pavilion, the fountain, and Poliphilo among the nymphs of the five senses. The variant views of the five nymphs who bathe with Poliphilo are the invention of the French designer.<sup>47</sup> [Figure 5b] In their representation of Poliphilo's vision, the French illustrators had played a poliphilian role by combining the woodcut and text together into a new context—both imaginative and stylistic—and thereby bringing it to completion.

### \*\*The Viewer as Poliphilo\*\*

The pleasure of looking at the woodcuts lies not only in the recognition of images, but also in the creation of new images. In this sense, the woodcuts should recall the language and prose that make up the text. As Crasso had pointed out, and as we addressed in the previous chapter, the poliphilian language is a microcosm of the prose. Just as each word mixes Greek, Latin, Tuscan, and vernacular, the fragments that make up the prose are “taken from the pantry of philosophy and drawn from the fountains of the Muses.”<sup>48</sup> Similarly, the visual *exempla* among the woodcuts reference imagery from past and present. As a unit, the woodcuts; especially the descriptive images, represent a collection of visual fragments. The way in which the fragments come together, however, depend on the viewer's experience and imagination. Just as the hidden knowledge of the text slowly blooms forth “as though a

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<sup>47</sup> See Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. (Paris: Jaques Kerver, 1546). For bibliography and discussion on the afterlife of the *Polifilo* in France, see Conclusion.

<sup>48</sup> For full text and translation, see Appendix Ia.

greenhouse of flowers had opened," so the completed image forms in the mind of the beholder, who considers the fragments, (*cogitare*), selects them (*excogitare*), and unites them (*terribilità*). Having formed the image (*facto; espresso*), the viewer, like Poliphilo, expresses astonishment (*stupore*) and wonder at the marvellous thing (*miraveglia*) he has made.

The language of the poliphilian woodcuts, so rich in its allusions, presents infinite possibilities for new visions. Indeed, a similar poliphilian aura resonates in the painting of Giorgione, Bellini, and Bordone, whose archaeological romances evoke a spectrum of tales and provoke new ones. The Hypnerotomachia provides the ingredients—both visual *and* verbal—that enable the viewer to play the role of the artist. As we shall explore in the next chapter, the poliphilian woodcuts interrelate with the florid, evocative text to make an intellectual game of recognition and imagination. Let us now turn to two passages in the Hypnerotomachia to explore how the combination of word and images brings Poliphilo's archaeology to life.

### Chapter IV, Part I

#### \*\*Triumphal Processions in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili\*\*

We must write just as bees make honey, not keeping the flowers but turning them into a sweetness of our own, blending many different flavours into one, which shall be unlike them all, and better.

–Petrarcha, Familiars, 23: 19

Shortly after Poliphilo departs from the palace of Queen Eleuterylida (*free will*), two nymphs from the queen's court, Thelemia (*desire*) and Logistica (*reason*), lead the protagonist to three portals, one of which will lead him closer to Polia. [Figure 1] Of the three doors, which are labeled "Gloria Dei", "Mater Amoris", and "Gloria Mundi," Poliphilo chooses the middle path, the "Mother of Love." Thelemia, much to Logistica's consternation, warmly embraces the protagonist, who passes through the portal and enters a *locus amoenus*. It is here that Poliphilo meets his nymph-guide, who leads him to view many marvels, including a series of six triumphal processions. The present chapter examines the images and text that recount Poliphilo's triumphant vision and the visual and literary traditions from which it stemmed. In particular, we will explore the relationship between the triumphs in the Hypnerotomachia and the Trionfi of Petrarch, and the ways in which the Petrarchan processions function in Poliphilo's dream.

#### \*\*Six Processions\*\*

The first four processions evoke Jove's triumphant conquests of Europa, Leda,

Danaë, and Semele.<sup>1</sup> [Figures 2, 3, 4, 5] As Poliphilo describes in text and image, each chariot bears a triumphant couple. Mythological creatures pull the carts, while a company of youths and nymphs watch the spectacle. After surveying the artful processions, the delighted Poliphilo and his guide hasten to view a fifth triumph; that of Vertumnus and Pomona, whose procession leads to the leafy altar of Priapus, god of the garden and of fertility.<sup>2</sup> [Figure 6] Following a brief interlude before the shrine of the "rigidly rigorous" (*rigidamente rigoroso*) garden god, Poliphilo and the nymph proceed to a marvelous temple, where the two participate in a sacred rite in which the nymph reveals her true identity as Poliphilo's beloved Polia.

Following the ceremony, Poliphilo goes alone to explore the ruins of the Polyandron and descends to the crypt to view a series of epitaphs of tragic lovers. Afterward, he joins Polia at the sea shore, where the lovers mount a bark led by Cupid and his entourage of nymphs. The group row in the company of sea creatures to the island of Cytherea. After a description of their maritime companions, followed by a lengthy ekphrasis of the gardens that embellish the island, Poliphilo and Polia reach the shore and are met by a group of nymphs. The mythical company, who are bedecked in fine garb, carry a variety of standards, vases, and banners in a sixth procession. Poliphilo and Polia, chained together by flowers (*invinculati di florei*), participate in a triumph led by the god of Love himself.<sup>3</sup> [Figure 7] At last, the entourage arrives at the golden, arched portal of an amphitheater. Cupid disembarks from his

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<sup>1</sup> HP: ki-17. (P-C): I, 145-170; (A-G): II, 171-193; (JG): 153-181.

<sup>2</sup> HP: m3-m6. (P-C): I, 183-189; (A-G): II, 203-207; (JG): 189-195.

<sup>3</sup> HP: u7'-y2. (P-C): I, 320-341 (A-G): II, 335-355; (JG): 326-347.

chariot and accompanies the lovers into the marvelous structure. In the center of the amphitheater, Cupid presides as Poliphilo tears the sacred red velvet curtain; in so doing, Poliphilo consummates his love for Polia.

**\*\*The Poliphilian Viewer and the Idea of the Triumphal Procession\*\***

The *triumphi* in the Hypnerotomachia come out of a vast tradition of triumphs in literature and the visual arts. Precisely when and where the triumphal procession originated is much debated. Basing his argument on epigraphic evidence, H.S. Versnal has suggested that the word *triumphus* derives from the word *triumpe*, an exclamation repeated five times in succession in Roman triumphal ritual.<sup>4</sup> Among the earliest processions of the Roman Republic was a ceremonial gesture of thanksgiving to the god, Jupiter. In the course of the ceremony, a triumphator guided a chariot to the Capitoline hill to present a sacrificial offering to the god, an act that symbolically raised the triumphator to the status of the gods.<sup>5</sup> Michael McCormick addresses the complex transformation of the triumphal procession from a celebration of religious ritual to a demonstration of military power.<sup>6</sup> Upon returning home

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<sup>4</sup> H.S. Versnal, Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development, and Meaning of the Roman Triumphs. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970): 7-14. For discussion and biography of ceremony in late antiquity, see Sabine G. MacCormack, Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1981).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 2n. Versnal cites the event in the histories of Livy and Tacitus.

<sup>6</sup> Michael McCormick, Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986). Religious triumphal processions did not entirely disappear, but were often reserved for supplication days and victory games. McCormick cites later accounts of triumphal processions, including the

after a military victory, the leader of the troops, usually a general, entered the city in a chariot amidst a procession of victorious soldiers crowned with laurel and their bound prisoners of war.

In the procession, soldiers would carry standards, images depicting battle scenes and conquered towns, sign boards with the names of the subjugated peoples, weapons, and booty. As with the earlier processions, these victory parades traditionally ended on the Capitoline. In the days of the Empire, an arch or column was erected to commemorate the military victory.<sup>7</sup> The reliefs decorating the monuments recorded the appearance of the chariot, the participants and their ritual procession through the arch. For example, a copy of a lost relief, which once decorated the 4<sup>th</sup> century triumphal column of Arcadius in Constantinople, depicts a triumphal entry of a Roman commander, perhaps Fravitta, as he triumphantly entered the city.<sup>8</sup> [Figure 8] While the Roman victory celebration took place over a period of days, the triumphal procession and entry through the arch made up the core of the celebration. Long after the festivities ended, the arch remained as a permanent marker of the victory.

The story of the survival of classical triumphal processions and the arches that commemorated them in sacred and civic traditions is vast. These events were transformed in the stories of the Bible, and came to play an important role in Christian exegesis. For instance, a 6<sup>th</sup>-century historian interpreted David's entry into Jerusalem as a triumph of the

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writings of Pliny the Elder and Themistius. See 4n.

<sup>7</sup> Versnal, 135. According to Versnal, there is no known description of the erection of triumphal arches in conjunction with the victorious processions before the age of Augustus.

<sup>8</sup> McCormick, 49-50.

Church, recounting that David had entered the city with Goliath's head on a stake.<sup>9</sup> In 2 Samuel 6, David again enters Jerusalem in triumph, this time in a procession with the Arc. After marching through the city amongst a crowd of celebrants and the sounds of trumpets, David makes burnt offerings as a gesture of thanksgiving, and then places the Arc on a tabernacle. The entry of Christ into Jerusalem, an event that marks the beginning of the Passion, echoes a similar idea of triumph. Giotto's depiction of Christ's entry under an arched portal into the City of David is linked with the ceremony of pagan processions, but Giotto's visual exegesis refers instead to humanity's victory over death through Christ's sacrifice.<sup>10</sup> [Figure 9] The Triumphal Victory of Christ was reenacted in liturgical processions, which passed through the diaphragm arch common to ecclesiastical architecture and ended at the high altar, where the triumphant transubstantiation of the body and blood of Christ took place.<sup>11</sup>

#### \*\*Petrarch's Trionfi\*\*

The development of the liturgical procession and notions of *Christus triumphans* were closely linked with a moralizing tradition, in which the triumphators and their entourage came

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<sup>9</sup> See 1 Samuel 17:54. McCormick, 63n. Bible. King James Version. (Miami: P.C.I. Associates, 1986).

<sup>10</sup> For other examples, see Willem 't Hooft, "Triumphalism in the Gospels," Scottish Journal of Theology, 38, 4 (1985): 491-504; A. Wrzesniowski, "The First Image of Christ on the Chariot and Christ in the Clouds in Christian Iconography," Archeologia, 24 (1973): 81-93.

<sup>11</sup> Staale Sinding-Larsen, "Some Observations on Liturgical Imagery of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century," in Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, 8 (1978): 193-212.



to personify allegorical virtues and vices.<sup>12</sup> Petrarch's poem, I Trionfi (ca. 1350-60) typifies the transformation of the triumph in the Renaissance. I Trionfi, in the spirit of Petrarch's *rime sparse*, contemporized classical triumphs in allegorical exegesis.<sup>13</sup> Among its classical roots, I Trionfi drew from accounts of classical triumphs, as in Scipio's victorious procession in the sixth book of Cicero's De re publica and the life of Scipio Africanus in Livy's De viris, and mythological triumphs, such as those found in book one of Ovid's Amores and the sixth book of Virgil's Aeneid.<sup>14</sup> While these classical writings served as a point of departure, Petrarch's allegorical interpretation of triumphs in I Trionfi and his reference to Scipio's triumph in Africa (c.1340) have additionally been linked with Macrobius' 5<sup>th</sup> century commentary, De Somnium Scipionis, the allegorical triumph of Beatrice in Dante's Purgatorio (begun c. 1308), and the triumph of Virtue recounted in the Amorosa Visione of Petrarch's contemporary, Boccaccio.<sup>15</sup> Finally, Petrarch's familiarity with the theme might have stemmed from his

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<sup>12</sup> Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods. (Princeton: Princeton UP). On the allegorical tradition and Christianity, see 84-121. Medieval commentators, such as Prudentius and Fulgentius, played a major role in the transformation of the pagan gods into allegorical virtues. In his Psychomachia (4<sup>th</sup> c.), Prudentius made allegorical virtues and vices out of the pagan gods and Fulgentius, in his Mythologiae (6<sup>th</sup> c.) imbued classical myths with moralizing commentary.

<sup>13</sup> Petrarch, I Trionfi, ed. Marco Ariani. (Milan: U. Mursia editore, 1988); M. Ariani, Petrarcha (Roma: Salerno Editrice, 1999).

<sup>14</sup> See Aldo Bernardo, Petrarch, Scipio, and the "Africa" (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1962): 5-8; Richard Monti, "Petrarch's Triumphs, Ovid, and Virgil," in Petrarch's Triumphs, ed. A. Iannucci and K. Eisenbichler (Toronto: Dovehouse, 1990):11-25.

<sup>15</sup> Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, trans. and ed. William Stahl (New York, 1952); Paul Colilli, "Scipio's Triumphal Ascent in the Africa," in Petrarch's Triumphs, 147-161. For Petrarch's references to Dante and Boccaccio, see Iannucci, "Petrarch's Intertextual Strategies in the Triumphs," in Petrarch's Triumphs, 5.

personal experience with triumphal processions. Petrarch marveled at the festive processions he witnessed in Venice during his stay there in 1364.<sup>16</sup> Twenty years earlier, in 1341, he had participated in his own victorious procession when he was crowned Poet Laureate on the Capitoline.<sup>17</sup>

In his Trionfi, Petrarch describes the triumphs of six allegorical personifications, which he views in a dream. The poet falls asleep in a swoon brought on by "springtime and love and scorn and tearfulness," and soon wakes in a grassy field to the sight of the first triumphal procession, the Triumph of Love.<sup>18</sup> The poet-dreamer speaks in first person, and paints a literary image of all that he sees in rich ekphrasis. In his dream, a triumphal cart appears to Petrarch, which is led by "such a victorious and lofty duke such as those who paraded in their triumphal chariots in great glory into the Campidoglio."<sup>19</sup> "Four steeds [...] whiter than the whitest snow" lead the cart that bears a "cruel youth/with bow in hand and arrows at his side/[...] on his shoulders he had two great wings of a thousand hues; his body was all bare."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Petrarch, Letters, Selected and translated by Morris Bishop. (Bloomington, Indiana, 1966): 234-9, quoted in Edward Muir, Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1981):60.

<sup>17</sup> See Enrico Vicenti, "The Venetian Soleri from Portable Platforms to Tableaux Vivants," in Petrarch's Triumphs, 384. For discussion of Petrarch's coronation in Rome, see Petrarch's Triumphs, 1-2.

<sup>18</sup> Petrarch, The Triumphs of Petrarch. Tr. Ernest Hatch Wilkins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962): 5; Trionfi. (Milano: Rizzoli, 1994).

<sup>19</sup> Petrarcha, Trionfi. I: ll.13-15. "Vidi un vittorioso e sommo duce pur com'un di color che 'n Campidoglio triunfal carro a gran gloria conduce." The Campidoglio refers to the area on top of the Capitoline hill.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 6. Trionfi. I:ll.22-27. ".../quattro destrier vie più che neve bianchi;/sovr'un carro di foco un garzon crudo/con arco in man e con saette a' fianchi;/nulla temea, però non maglia

A shade (*ombra*) joins Petrarch at this point to serve as his guide. The spirit, who plays the role of commentator, explains that the winged boy is Love, and continues his speech by explaining all of the qualities associated with Love:

Gentle in youth and fierce as he grows old,  
As who makes trial knows, and thou shalt know  
In less than a thousand years, I prophesy.  
Idleness gave him birth, and wantonness,  
And he was nursed by sweet and gentle thoughts,  
And a vain folk made him their lord and god.  
Some of his captives die forthwith; and some  
More pitilessly ruled, live out their lives  
Under a thousand chains and a thousand keys.<sup>21</sup>

Surrounding Love's chariot are his prisoners. Petrarch continues by describing and identifying the chained lovers, who include such ancient figures as Scipio Africanus and Massinissa, and modern lovers, Dante and Beatrice. At the end, Petrarch witnesses as all of the captive shades of lovers pass under a triumphal arch (*intorno a l'arco triunfale*) and enter the oblivion of a dark prison (*tenebrosa e stretta gabbia*).<sup>22</sup>

The triumphs of Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity follow the triumph of Love. The poet always begins by acknowledging the triumphator and the allegorical qualities that he (or she, in the case of *Pudicitie*) personifies. In addition, the poet lists the names of the illustrious captives—both ancients and moderns—who appear in each procession. The processions culminate in the last triumph, that of Eternity. In the final triumph, Petrarch

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o scudo,/ma sugli omeri avea sol due grand'ali/di color mille, tutto l'altro ignudo/..."

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 8. *Trionfi*, I:ll.71-87. ".../giovenzel mansueto, e fiero veglio:/ben sa chi 'l prova, e fi' a te cosa piana/anzi mill'anni: infin ad or ti sveglia./Ei nacque d'ozio e di lascivia umana,/nudrito di penser dolci soavi,/fatto signor e dio da gente vana./Qual é morto da lui, qual con più gravi/leggi mena sua vita aspra et acerba/sotto mille catene e mille chiavi."

<sup>22</sup> *Trionfi*, I:IV, ll.139-153.

ascends from earth to the heavenly realm where Laura resides, a gesture that echoes Dante's final voyage to heaven in quest of Beatrice in Il Paradiso. Thus Petrarch ends his symbolic quest for Laura in the Trionfi, whose verses became a lasting monument to her memory. Although Petrarch was not the first to evoke triumphal processions in his writing, his allegorization of the triumph characterizes the high degree of flexibility that the subject had attained by the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Numerous illustrated copies of the Trionfi were produced in manuscripts and incunabula throughout the 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>23</sup> While the artists who illustrated the Trionfi followed the basic form of the six triumphs, the composition and the embellishment of each copy vary significantly. For instance, an illustration of the Triumph of Love in a 15<sup>th</sup> century manuscript of the Trionfi depicts the procession from head-on, as though Love's chariot and his prisoners were marching directly toward the reader-viewer. [Figure 10] The lengthy procession winds forward from the distant hills, and is led by bow and arrow wielding Love, who is mounted on a richly draped chariot. The artists also took liberties with the selection and appearance of captives from the Trionfi. For instance, three pairs of lovers are identifiable in the foreground: Cleopatra and Caesar, Sampson and Delilah, and Aristotle and Campaspe. While Cleopatra and Caesar and Sampson and Delilah count among Petrarch's captives in the triumph of Love, Aristotle and Campaspe were added by the artist. In addition, all of the captives, with the exception of Caesar, are dressed in contemporary finery.

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<sup>23</sup> Victor Massena d'Essling and E. Müntz, Pétrarque: ses études d'art, son influence sur les artistes, ses portraits, et ceux de Laure, les illustrations de ses écrits. (Paris: Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1902); J.J.G. Alexander, "A Manuscript of Petrarch's Rime e Trionfi," Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook, 2, (1970): 27-40; Lilian Armstrong, Renaissance Miniature Painters and Classical Imagery. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1981).

We find another version of the Triumph of Love in the 1488 Venetian edition of the Trionfi. The Venetian woodcut depicts the procession from a three-quarter view, as the chariot proceeds diagonally toward the lower right corner of the illustration. [Figure 11] In the upper right are Petrarch and his guide, whose presence in the illustration underscores the dream narrative that frames Petrarch's ekphrasis. Love leads, in *gran gloria*, a chariot embellished with classicizing vine and scale patterns, while the captives, once again in contemporary garb, follow him. Among the most prominent figures in the 1488 woodcut is the Pope in the lower right-hand corner, another figure absent from Petrarch's poem. In sum, the illustrators of numerous copies of the Trionfi took as many liberties in illustrating the six processions as Petrarch allowed himself in his transformation of the classical triumph.

### \*\**Trionfi* in the Visual Arts\*\*

Triumphal processions appeared in multiple guises in the visual arts of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>24</sup> In the pages of Jacopo Bellini's sketchbooks, we find several variations of the triumph *all'antica*, as in a drawing of a bacchic procession (c. 1440). [Figure 12] Bellini depicts Bacchus in a classicizing chariot surrounded by a group of music playing and basket toting satyrs. Bellini treated his image as a unified composition, in which the triumph, along

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<sup>24</sup> Werner Weisbach, Trionfi (Berlin: G. Grote, 1919); Aby Warburg, "Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara," Tr. Peter Wortsman, in German Essays on Art History, ed. Gert Schiff (New York: Continuum, 1988); Giovanni Carandente, Il trionfi nel primo Rinascimento. (Turin: Edizioni Rai Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1963); Antonio Pinelli, "Feste e trionfi: continuità e metamorfosi di un tema," in Memoria dell'Antico nell'arte italiano, ed. Salvatore Settis (Torino: Einaudi, 1985): 281-350; Francesco Guardiani, "The Literary Impact of the Trionfi in the Renaissance," in Petrarch's Triumphs, 259-268.

with the hills in the background, stretch across the facing pages of the sketchbook.<sup>25</sup> We find another fantastic variation on the theme in the frescos that adorn the Sala dei Mesi in the Palazzo Schifanoia at Ferrara. The frescos, organized in three registers, depict triumphal processions, signs of the zodiac, and labors of the months mixed with scenes from the court of Borso d'Este. (1460's-1470)[Figure 13] In the upper-most register for the month of April, for instance, a goddess and an armored youth ride atop a chariot pulled by two swans. The breeze blows the cloth tapers that adorn the chariot, while trumpeting swans announce the arrival of the chariot. On either side of the river we find amorous youths and maidens, who play music and intermingle in a verdant plain far from the city. The scene conflates classicizing images—the triumph, the youth in armor, and the three graces in the upper right—with the romance of love in the springtime.

Andrea Mantegna created another classicizing fantasy for one of his Gonzaga patrons: the magnificent Triumph of Caesar (1484-1490s).<sup>26</sup> Mantegna's painted triumph, which extends across nine sizeable canvases, presents a visual feast, from the fictive vine work on the bronzed carts to the standards, statuettes, and banners of the victors' spoils. [Figure 14] Aside from underscoring the victorious status of the Gonzaga patrons, the Triumphs of Caesar presents visual *varietas* in the multi-faceted embellishment of the triumph.

In other instances, triumphal language refers to a victorious Renaissance ruler. A

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<sup>25</sup> Bernard Degenhartt and Annegrit Schmitt, Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300-1450. Teil II. Venedig, Jacopo Bellini, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1900). II-5, 229-33; II-6, 491, 541-2, 545; Colin Eisler, The Genius of Jacopo Bellini. (New York, 1989).

<sup>26</sup> Andrew Martindale, The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1979).

monumental frieze that decorates the Triumphal Arch of Alfonso of Aragon at the Castel Nuovo in Naples (1453-58; 1465-71) depicts the military triumph of Alfonso after he had defeated René of Anjou.<sup>27</sup> [Figures 15, 15a] We find the victorious prince seated upon a horse-drawn chariot, which is preceded by music playing attendants and followed by captives. The company proceeds from left to right, and passes through a fictive arch at the far right. The scene of triumph and the arch itself serves as a permanent reminder of Alfonso's victorious procession in 1443. A similar triumph of Renaissance rulers appears on the reverse side of Piero della Francesca's double portrait of Federico de Montefeltro and his wife, Battista Sforza (c. 1472).<sup>28</sup> In the two panels, the duke and duchess of Urbino face one another on their triumphal chariots, which are situated within a continuous landscape. [Figure 16] Piero's triumphs depict the duke and duchess upon chariots drawn by unicorns, in the case of Battista's cart, and attended by allegorical personifications, as in the image of fortitude, who holds a column at the head of Federico's chariot.

The contemporized triumphal vocabulary was also used in a wide variety of civic processions.<sup>29</sup> For instance, the *Sensa*, or the Venetian duke's annual marriage with the sea,

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<sup>27</sup> See G.L. Hersey, The Aragonese Arch at Naples, 1443-1475. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1969).

<sup>28</sup> Cecil Clough, "Federico da Montefeltro's Artistic Patronage," In The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance. (London: Valerium Reprints, 1981): IX, 1-15; Thomas Martone, "Piero della Francesca's 'Triumphs of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino'", in Petrarch's Triumphs.

<sup>29</sup> Though scholarship on civic ritual in the Renaissance is vast, it tends to focus on the Republics of Venice and Florence. A synthetic study of ritual at the courts has yet to be written. For discussion and bibliography, see Edward Muir, Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1981); Edward Muir, Ritual in Early Modern Europe. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997); Andrew Minor and Bonner Mitchell, A Renaissance Entertainment. (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1968); Patricia

took place on the water. In the course of the aquatic procession, the duke was rowed in the golden *Bucintoro* in the company of flatboats and gondolas richly adorned with fabrics. The Choir of San Marco and chapel bells accompanied the procession as it approached a break in the Lido, the mouth of the lagoon. There, at the symbolic gateway of the Serenissima, the *doge* cast a ring into the sea.<sup>30</sup> The relief on Leopardi's bronze flagpole bases (1505-6) in Piazza San Marco, which depict an aquatic triumph of Astrea (Goddess of Justice), Ceres (Goddess of Grain), and Victory, serve as permanent reminders of the Republic's pact with the sea and the symbolic victory of Venice. [Figure 17] Just as Petrarch's ekphrasis inspired a varied array of descriptive images of triumphal processions, Leopardi's flagpole bases were to evoke written descriptions and interpretations in the 16<sup>th</sup> century on the parts of Piero Contarini and Francesco Sansovino.<sup>31</sup> We might imagine that Guidobaldo entered the city of Venice in 1499 in a similarly opulent procession of decorated boats and fanfare as he was rowed down the Grand Canal in the *Bucintoro*, the Venetian version of the triumphal chariot.

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Fortini Brown, "Measured Friendship, Calculated Pomp: The Ceremonial Welcomes of the Venetian Republic," in All the World's a stage...Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque. Ed. Barbara Wisch and Susan Munshower. (University Park, Pa.: Penn State UP, 1990): 126-86.

<sup>30</sup> Lina Urban, Processioni e feste dogali. (Venezia: Neri Pozza Editore, 1998): 89-97; Muir, 119-134; L. Urban, "La Festa della Sensa nelle arti e nell'iconografia," in Studi Veneziani, 10 (1968): 291-353. Maximilian Tondro, "Venetian Triumphal Arches as City Gates," Lecture to be delivered at the 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Urban History [Berlin, 28 August-2 September, 2000].

<sup>31</sup> Sanudo, Diarii (Venice, 1505), 6: 214-15; Pietro Contarini Argo voluptas (Venice, 1541), L'Argo volgar (Venice, 1542?); Francesco Sansovino, Venetia nobilissima (Venice, 1581); quoted in P. Brown, Venice and Antiquity, 265-8.



\*\*Poliphilo's *Triumph* as Montage\*\*

Let us return to the triumphal processions in the Polifilo. Like Petrarch and Mantegna, Poliphilo delights in combining and embellishing ancient and modern fragments to invent a new triumph. However, his vision, told through text and images, depends on the experience and imagination of the beholder. Take, for instance, Poliphilo's description of the first triumphal chariot:

The first of the four miraculous and divine triumphs had four rapid wheels made of the finest stone of the greenest Scythian emeralds, with shimmering spots the color of copper. The remaining parts of the chariot struck me with wonder, for it was made from panels not of Arabian or Cypriot, but of Indian diamond with an iron-like sheen [...]. These panels were miraculously worked, engraved with scenes in intaglio, and wonderfully framed and enclosed in pure gold. On the right-hand panel I saw in a field a noble and regal nymph with many companions, who were crowning the victorious bulls with many garlands of flowers. The bull closest to the nymph was most peculiarly tame.<sup>32</sup>

In the woodcut, we find an illustration of the long side of an ornate cart, which frames a picture of four girls and four bulls in a landscape. [Figure 18] While the text imbues the woodcut with color, materials, and tactility, the woodcut provides a schematic visual form for the text.

As the viewer-reader continues the passage, the mosaic of woodcuts and text slowly come together to form a more complex nuanced image. Having read the first passage, which evokes one side of the cart, the reader encounters the *tabella* on the opposite side of the cart,

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<sup>32</sup> HP: k3'. (P-C): I, 150; (G-A): II, 176; (JG): 158. "El primo degli quatro mirandi et divini triumphi havea le quatro rapide rote di finissima petra de verdissimo smaragdo scythico, di atomi di colore rameo scintillato. El residuo poscia del carro mirai attonito, facto tutto di tabelle, non di arabico né cyprico, ma di ferrineo scintillare indico adamante insultante al duro smerilio [...] le quale assule divinamente operate, di cataglyphia explicatura inscalpte et in mundissimo oro mirabilmente insepse et inlaustrate. Nella dextera tabella mirai expresso una nobile et regia nympa con multe coetanee in uno prato, incoronante gli victoriosi tauri di multiplici strophii di florei; et uno adhaerente ad essa multo peculiaremente domesticatose."

which evokes the moments leading up to Jove's rape of Europa. [Figure 18a] Although the second woodcut appears alone, the reader instinctually combines the image with the first woodcut, which depicts the cart and its inlayed *tabella*. Together, the image and text form a "two sided" cart that conceptually occupies a three dimensional space. The text continues with a description of the engravings on the back and front sides of the chariot. Turning the page, the viewer-reader encounters a split woodcut showing the *tabellae* at either end of the cart, which illustrate Cupid, Mars, and Jupiter. [Figure 18b]

Now that the viewer has an idea of the appearance of all four *tabellae* and their relation to the cart, Poliphilo proceeds with a more detailed description of the dimensions, ornamentation, materials, and color of the chariot:

This carriage was formed as a rectangle of two perfect squares, six feet long, three wide and as much high, with the necessary cornice above the plinth below. Above it was a slab a foot and a half high, two and a half feet wide, and five and a half long, sloping down to the cornice and covered with scales of precious stones arranged in alternating colors. Inverted cornucopias were attached at the four corners, with their openings pointed downwards over the projecting angles of the cornice and crammed with many fruits and vegetables made from numerous large gems, sprouting among the variegated golden foliage. [...] On each corner between the plinth and a the cornice was affixed a harpy's foot, with a moderate curve and a striking metamorphoses on either side into acanthus leaves.<sup>33</sup>

Poliphilo's ekphrasis enriches the viewer's mental image of the chariot by imbuing it with dimension, volume, and rich ornamentation. The description evokes the elaborate, classicizing decoration of the plinth and cornice, and the sumptuous materials—multi-colored gems and gold—that make up the cart. At this point the reader may wish to turn back one page to view, once again, the woodcut that illustrates one side of the cart. [Figure 18] Indeed, the woodcut closely relates to the text. In the schematic cart, we find the scales that refer to

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<sup>33</sup> *HP*, k4'; (P-C): I, 152; (A-G): II, 177; (JG): 160. Here I use Joscelyn Godwin's translation.

precious stones (*squammeo de pretiosissime petre*), the inverted cornucopias (*copie inverse*) at the corners, the harpys' feet, and the metamorphosis (*conversione*) of the feet into acanthus leaves. The florid description of the text transforms the two-dimensional woodcut into a three-dimensional image of a colorful chariot richly encrusted with gems and classicizing ornament.

Poliphilo continues with a description of the centaurs who pull the triumphal cart, and the nymphs who ride on their backs. We read of the chains and harnesses of gold (*cathenule doro*) attached to the ivy-crowned (*Dendrocysto coronati*) Centaurs and the flowing, blonde hair (*uberrima et flava capillatura*) of the nymphs, two of whom are dressed in deep blue silk (*seta Cyanea*) the color of the luminescent feathers around a peacock's neck, two in scarlet (*Chermeo*), and two in emerald colored satin (*panno raso di coloratione Smaragdinea verdigante*). While the nymphs sing a sweet melody, the first pair of centaurs hold topaz vases that emit smoke of an inestimable fragrance (*fragrantia ropo inextimabile*); the second pair play golden trumpets (*tube doro*); and the third pair who lead the procession blow ancient horns (*veterrimi cornitibici*).

A turn of the page reveals the double-page woodcut of the first procession. [Figure 2] Here we encounter many of the details from the description, including the centaurs and their vases, the pairs of nymphs, the harnesses, the chariot, and the triumphators. However, certain details of the large woodcut rely on the viewer-reader's memory. For instance, the historiated *tabellae* that embellish the triumphal chariot are merely suggested by frames, but absent from the triumphal procession. As for the spectators in the background, the reader must remember Poliphilo's description of the "dense crowd of fine and delicate adolescent

youths making merry" in the passages prior to and following the ekphrasis of the triumphal procession. The combination of images and text brings the image to life in the eye of the beholder: the nymphs' garments take on vivid color, perfumed incense rises from the centaurs' vases, and the sound of trumpets and singing announce the triumph.

**\*\*Petrarchan and Ovidian Triumphs\*\***

The literary and visual fragments that make up the passage of the triumph present another layer of the poliphilian game of recognition. The literary structure of the triumphal processions recalls that of Petrarch's Trionfi. Similar to Petrarch, Poliphilo witnesses six triumphs in a dream that takes place because Poliphilo has lost his beloved Polia, who is closely related to Petrarch's Laura. Poliphilo, too, meets a guide along the way (who turns out to be Polia), who accompanies him through the dream and comments on his visions. Poliphilo recounts his vision through thick description in the prose, which paints in words the elements that make up the triumphal processions. Poliphilo's vision consists of all of the traditional elements of triumphal vocabulary: triumphators, chariots, beasts, captives, and an arch. However, like Petrarch's poem and innumerable triumphs in the visual arts, Poliphilo's processions contemporize the antique triumph with fanciful imagery and allegory.

The first four triumphal processions Poliphilo weave tales from Ovid's Metamorphoses with the structure of Petrarch's Trionfi. The first procession evokes the tale of the Rape of Europa from the second book of the Metamorphoses without directly naming any characters from Ovid. For example, when Poliphilo views the triumphators, he recounts,

...there lay a very tame, white bull, adorned with many flowers and ritual ornaments. Upon his broad back sat a noble virgin, who clung onto the bull's fleshy dewlaps with long, bare arms.<sup>34</sup>

Poliphilo describes the next three triumphators with similar ambiguity. We find "a white swan in loving embrace with Theseus' daughter" (*filiola de Theseo*), and in the panels (*tabellae*) that decorate the sides of the carts, her miraculous offspring, "two eggs," (*dui ovi*).<sup>35</sup> In the next triumph, Poliphilo recounts "a beautiful nymph...who delights in a golden shower that falls into her lap": (*Indicava el suo affectuoso dilecto, per mirare nel suo gremio una copia di caeleste oro*). The *tabellae* that decorate the cart depict, in Poliphilo's words, the miraculous birth of a "winged horse" (*un alato caballo*).<sup>36</sup> A vase filled with fine and sacred ashes (*minuto et sancto cinere*) represents the fourth triumphator. The two *tabellae* on either end of the cart, according to Poliphilo, show "a most noble and divine little infant extracted from the combustion" (*del combusto, uno nobilissimo et divo infantulo extrahevano*).<sup>37</sup>

For the reader familiar with Ovid's tales, Poliphilo's descriptions evoke Jove's conquests of Europa, Leda, Danaë, and Semele. The *tabellae*, on the other hand, lightly suggest the wider Ovidian narrative that leads to the affair and the triumphant offspring born afterward. For instance, the "two eggs" of the daughter of Theseus recall Castor and Pollux; the winged horse reminds the viewer of Pegasus, the mythical equine companion of Perseus,

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<sup>34</sup> *HP*: I, k5; (P-C): I,153; (G-A): II, 178; (JG): 161. "Hora sopra la plana antedicta iaceva uno fatale candidissimo e benigno Tauro, de molti fiori adornato, e di pompa di bove libabondo. Sopra gli sedeva una regia virgine degli ampli tergori, Cum gli longi, e nudi brachii, quasi ispagurita tenendose gli penduli plearii amplexava."

<sup>35</sup> *HP*: I, k7'; (P-C): I, 158; (G-A): II, 180; (JG): 166.

<sup>36</sup> *HP*: I, 11; (P-C): I, 161; (G-A): 182; (JG): 169.

<sup>37</sup> *HP*: I, 11'; (P-C): I,162; (A-G): I, 183; (JG): 170.

son of Jove and Danaë. The vase of ashes unfolds into the tale of Semele, who was reduced to this condition after Jove's thundering embrace. Out of the ashes came the "noble and divine little infant," Bacchus.

Contrary to the first four triumphs, Poliphilo directly names the triumphators of the fifth procession. They are Vertumnus and Pomona, two characters from the 14<sup>th</sup> book of the Metamorphoses.<sup>38</sup> Though Poliphilo refers to the garden gods by name, he never recounts the tale of how Vertumnus courted the resistant Pomona, an expert gardener, and eventually won her heart. The image of the couple in their triumphal chariot not only hints at the triumphant outcome of the Ovidian myth, but additionally prefigure Polia's tale in Book II of the Hypnerotomachia, in which Polia recounts how Poliphilo courted her, and finally cultivated her love, or put another way, her beloved Image.<sup>39</sup> The final triumph, the Triumph of Love, weaves Petrarch's initial procession in the Trionfi with the ongoing narrative of Poliphilo and Polia, who "participate" as captives in Love's parade. While the Metamorphoses and the Trionfi play an important role in shaping the passage, two modern philological commentaries on the Hypnerotomachia have additionally recognized other literary fragments amongst the triumphal processions, including the writings of Pliny, Cicero, Plutarch, Apuleius, Virgil, Prudentius, Macrobius, Dante, and Boccaccio.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> HP: I, m3-m4; (P-C): I, 183-185; (A-G): I, 202-6; (JG): 189-191.

<sup>39</sup> In Ovid's tale, Vertumnus tells a story—a tale within a tale—and eventually wins Pomona's heart. In Book II of the Hypnerotomachia, Polia changes her mind when she experiences a dream (a story within a narrative, which is within Poliphilo's dream).

<sup>40</sup> For the philological commentary on the text, see Pozzi-Ciapponi, II: 136-147; and Ariani-Gabriele, II: 792-813. While Pozzi and Ciapponi's commentary tends to emphasize the ancient sources for the text, Ariani and Gabriele elucidated more of the late antique, medieval,

The woodcuts that illustrate the triumphs make up a similarly evocative collection. The form of each procession recalls, rather than imitates, the illustrations of the Trionfi and other triumphs in the visual arts. In their layout across two pages, the woodcuts that depict the first four processions and the final triumph reference the unified composition of Jacopo Bellini's drawing, Mantegna's Triumph of Caesar, or Piero della Francesca's double portrait of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino. [Figures 12, 14, 16] Only the composition of Vertumnus and Pomona's procession, which is shown in three-quarters view within a single frame, recalls the woodcut of the Triumph of Love from the 1488 Venetian edition of Petrarch's Trionfi. [Figure 11]

The details of the processions also make infinite references to elements from other 15<sup>th</sup> century triumphs in the visual arts. Each of the processions in the Hypnerotomachia is illustrated with a woodcut that depicts the triumphators upon a cart drawn by a variety of "real" and mythical creatures—centaurs, elephants, unicorns, lions, satyrs, and serpents. For instance, the unicorns that pull the third cart in the Hypnerotomachia recall those that draw the triumph of Chastity in the Trionfi or that of Battista Sforza on the reverse of Piero's double portrait. [Figures 4, 16] Yet, the fantasy of the creatures in the Hypnerotomachia triumphs also echoes the imaginative license taken in other imaginary triumphs, as in the swan-borne chariot from the cycle of months at the Schifanoia palace. As for the crowd of youths and nymphs in the Polifilo woodcuts, the cast of characters distantly recall Petrarch's captives. However, in Poliphilo's version of the processions, the youths are celebrants and spectators akin to the young lovers in the Schifanoia frescos: they are not captives. Among

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and Renaissance sources.

the group we find young lovers, whose encounters with the gods are celebrated rather than condemned.

Like the artists who illustrated Petrarch's Trionfi, Poliphilo delights in the art of the triumph. He focuses not as much on the captives, as on the artifice of the banners, the chariots, and the mythical creatures who pull the triumphators. The illustrations of *tabellae* and other objects—standards, vases, and costumes—interspersed among the triumphal processions in the Polifilo are similarly evocative. While the narrative *tabellae* recall the panels carried in Mantegna's Triumph of Caesar, the stories they tell reference Ovid. [Figure 19] As we noted in the previous chapter, the narrative strategy of the *tabellae* resembles the simultaneous narrative of the illustrated editions of Ovid's Metamorphoses Volgare (Venice: 1497).<sup>41</sup> For instance, one of the panels that decorates the triumph of "Theseus' daughter and the swan" not only recalls different moments from the Ovidian tale of the birth of Perseus, but it also quotes an illustration of the tale of Perseus in the Metamorphoses Volgare. [Figure 20] In the far left, Perseus cuts off Medusa's head, whose blood gives birth to Pegasus. In the middle and right regions we find Andromeda, bound to a rock as a sacrifice for the sea monster, who Perseus poises to slay on the far right.

The woodcut from the Hypnerotomachia *tabella* presents a vague rendition of the tale. [Figure 21] In Poliphilo's words,

In the other panel there was carved a noble youth who received with the highest solemnity a crystal shield for his protection. He bravely decapitated a terrifying woman with his curved, sharp sword and he held up the severed head as a sign of highest victory. From the blood of the body, a winged

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Chapter III.



horse was born, and flying to the peak of a mountain, it made a mysterious fountain with its hoof.<sup>42</sup>

The details of the woodcut—the young man, the slain woman, and the galloping, winged horse—so closely emulate the illustration from Ovid that it is tempting to imagine that the designers of the Polifilo woodcuts knew the earlier images well. Unlike the woodcuts from the Metamorphoseos Volgare, however, the image in the Hypnerotomachia elaborates upon the illustration from Ovid, thereby inventing a new tale.

In the final Triumph of Love, we find a wide variety of illustrated details that make up the parade. Rather than *tabellae*, the woodcuts depict objects carried in the procession, including classicizing trophies and vases, along with a “gigantic wooden effigy” (*monstro effigiato in ligno*) of a priapic, triple-headed herm and an image of Serapis, the Egyptian god with the heads of a lion, dog, and wolf. [Figures 22a, 22b, 22c, 22d] In addition to the objects is an illustration of one of the nymphs who takes part in the procession; a “fashion plate” whose intricate costume prompts Poliphilo’s ekphrasis on its “superb and delicious invention” (*nel vestire [...] superba et delitiosa inventione*). [Figure 22e] The visual variety of trophies, vases, and the nymphs sartorial finery recall the minutia that embellish Mantegna’s Triumph of Caesar. [Figure 23]

Like the *tabellae*, the objects from the final procession reference evoke fragments from art and literature. For instance, Serapis, whose image is associated with hieroglyphs and

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<sup>42</sup> HP: k8'. (P-C): I, 160; (G-A): II, 181; (JG): 168. “Nel altra tabella era impresso uno nobile giovene. Il quale cum summa religione receveva una protectione di uno crystallino clypeo, Et egli valoroso cum la falcata et tagliente Harpe, una terrificata donna decapitava, et el trunco capo insigno di victoria superbamente gestava. Del cuore del quale, nasceva uno alato cavallo, che volando in uno fastigio di monte, una misteriosa fontana, cum il calce faceva sorgente.”

hermetic literature, evoked for Macrobius and Petrarch a complex, Neoplatonic symbol of past, present, and future.<sup>43</sup> In the Hypnerotomachia, Poliphilo describes the image as an (*effigie*) of Serapis, "[...] venerated by the Egyptians: it consisted of a lion's head out of which protruded the head of a fawning dog on the right, and that of a ravening wolf on the left."<sup>44</sup> As with the references to Ovid and Petrarch, Poliphilo lightly recalls the long history of Serapis, but he never interprets the image. In the tradition of Petrarch's Trionfi and Mantegna's Triumphs of Caesar, the Hypnerotomachia presents a hybrid of ancient and modern fragments. However, none of the triumphal images are complete, nor does Poliphilo provide a fixed "meaning" for the elements that make up the passage. Rather, the reader-viewer weaves the fragments and the stories they evoke into a complex web of form and content.

\*\*The Triumph of the Goddess Natura\*\*

Unlike Petrarch's Trionfi, the triumphal processions in the Hypnerotomachia do *not* appear in a consecutive series, but are stitched into different parts of Poliphilo's dream. The recognition, combination, and interpretation of the six processions as a whole adds another

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<sup>43</sup> See (G-A): II, 1040 n.11. The literature on hieroglyphs and emblems is vast. For discussion and bibliography of the triple head and Serapis, see Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1981): 119-20; Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (Harmondsworth, 1967); George Boas, The Hieroglyphs of Horapollo. (New York: Pantheon, 1950).

<sup>44</sup> HP: x8'; (P-C): I, 338; (G-A): II, 352; (JG): 344. "...el simulachro dagli aegyptii di Serapi venerato portava. El quale era uno capo di leone. Alla dextra profiliva uno capo di cane blandiente. Et dalla laeva, uno capo di rapace lupo." Tr. J. Godwin.

layer to the poliphilian game. Like Arachne from Ovid's Metamorphoses, the reader-viewer weaves together the fragments and thereby transforms them into a new story. The viewer of the Poliphilo is likely to recognize that the six triumphs relate to Petrarch's Trionfi, but that they are somewhat reversed. Petrarch's Trionfi begin with a Triumph of carnal Love and its dismal consequences. At the end of the procession, the shades (love's captives) march under an arch and into an infernal prison "of certain suffering and uncertain happiness" (*di certe doglie e d'allegrezze incerte*).<sup>45</sup> After the Triumph of Love, Petrarch views the succeeding processions of Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and finally, Eternity. The chariot of Eternity rises to the heavenly cosmos, where Petrarch communes with the blessed memory his beloved Laura. As a whole, Petrarch's allegorical triumphs celebrate Neoplatonic Love.

Poliphilo's processions suggest a very different allegory and view of love. As we have already noted, the first four triumphs suggest the amorous conquests of Jove. Following the triumphs of Jove, the protagonist's nymph-guide leads him to a meadow crossed by a bubbling brook, a realm where the protagonist communes with Ovidian youths, nymphs, demi-gods, and their lovers, including Daphne, Narcissus, and Syrinx. Poliphilo then asks himself, "Why do you waver, Poliphilo? It is praiseworthy to die for love."<sup>46</sup> Poliphilo and the nymph proceed to a pleasant valley, where they view the triumphant parade of Vertumnus and Pomona. The triumph ends at Priapus' leafy altar, which is decorated on each side with reliefs of the four seasons. After watching the ritual sacrifice at Priapus' altar, Poliphilo and

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<sup>45</sup> Petrarcha, Trionfi. I:iv, ll.153.

<sup>46</sup> HP: m2'; (P-C): I, 182; (G-A): II, 201; (JG): 188. "Perche titubi Poliphile? Uno morire per amorosa causa el glie laudabile."

his guide continue their amorous stroll and encounter along the way the temple of Venus Physiozoa, or Venus of Living Nature.

There, the nymph reveals herself as Polia after an elaborate ritual.<sup>47</sup> Next, the happily reunited couple proceed to the ruins of the Polyandron, where Poliphilo inspects the epitaphs and tombs of lovers. Finally, Poliphilo meets Polia at the seashore, the two ride in Cupid's bark to the island of Cytherea, Poliphilo describes the concentric gardens that circle the island, and the lovers soon arrive at the shore. It is here that Poliphilo and Polia participate in final triumph of Love, which passes beneath an arched portal fashioned with "stupendous artifice" (*stupendo artificio*) from gold-flecked lapis-lazuli and framed with columns of porphyry. Poliphilo and Polia; Cupid and Psyche; and two nymphs from the entourage pass through the magnificent triumphal portal and proceed to a fountain at the center of a splendid amphitheater. After Poliphilo's mock-consummation of his love for Polia, the Mother of Love—Venus herself—rises out of the basin to bless the lovers (*Venere stavasi nuda nelle perspicue, et limpidissime aquule*).<sup>48</sup>

The first four processions celebrate the marriage of Ovidian characters and their triumphal offspring. The next triumph, that of Vertumnus and Pomona, evokes Pomona's cultivation of her garden, which, similar to the loves of Jove, transform in continual cycles of growth and regeneration. The final triumphal procession culminates in the Triumph of Love and leads to the realm of Venus. Poliphilo's Venus, a goddess of marriage and generation,

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<sup>47</sup> See Chapter III.

<sup>48</sup> HP: z1'; (P-C): I, 356; (G-A): II, 370; (JG): 352.

evokes the multi-faceted goddess Natura Physis; the Great Mother and shaper of matter.<sup>49</sup>

As a whole, Poliphilo's processions evoke the complex transformation of Nature into art.<sup>50</sup> The poliphilian viewer-reader, in the spirit of Arachne and Pomona, selects and cultivates the florid, evocative *rime* and *imagini sparsi* into an abstract web of imagery. The completed mental image of the triumphal processions and their "meaning" depend on the knowledge, experience, and taste of the viewer. Thus Benedetto Bordon breathed new life into his Triumphs of Caesar (1504), which present a triumphal fantasy in image and text, and Titian fused ancient with medieval imagery in his poliphilian Allegory of Prudence (1565).<sup>51</sup> [Figures 24, 25] Poliphilo's triumphal vision typifies the visionary creation of art from art; a game whose scope is as limitless as the imagination. Let us now turn to the dream that frames Poliphilo's visions.

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<sup>49</sup> For discussion and bibliography of the complex transformation of the Goddess Natura, see Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages. Tr. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990): 106-128.

<sup>50</sup> For a study on the complex subject of Nature and Art in the Renaissance, see Herbert Beck et. al., Nature and Antiquity in the Renaissance. (Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus, 1985).

<sup>51</sup> Jean Michel Massing, "The Triumph of Caesar by Benedetto Bordon and Jacobus Argenteratensis: Its Iconography and Influence," in Print Quarterly, 7 (1990): 2-21; Erwin Panofsky, Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic. (New York, 1969): 94-6; J. Seznec, 116-121.

# Chapter IV, Part II

## \*\*The Introduction to the Dreamer and the Dream in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili\*\*

"In that hour when Phoebus rose from the ocean waves, he brightened the brow of his daughter, Matuta Leucothea. Seated with his swift horses, Pyro then Eo, the swift wheels of his chariot barely visible, he gradually emerged to tinge the dawning cart of his little daughter a vermillion rose hue. Hastening forth very quickly and passing over the pale blue, churning waves, his daughter's radiant locks of hair glistened [...] as his two horses bore his chariot to the edge of the horizon dividing the hemispheres, he appeared, and the fleeting stars surrendered, enclosed by daylight[...]. In that very hour the colored flowers and the green plains did not fear the danger of the approaching heat of the son of Hyperion, for they were moistened by the fresh and fluid tears of Aurora. Then I, Poliphilo, sighed as I lay on my bed, favorable friend to an exhausted body, left to the high thoughts of love, and consumed by a sleepless night [...] Having been so miserable and having devotedly suffered at length (and already my fleeing spirits were too exhausted to think), nourished by deceitful and vain desire, certainly and undoubtedly by the immortal, or rather divine phantasm of Polia, whose venerated Idea was profoundly and intimately sculpted within me[...]. Now, my moist eyes closed under their swollen, red eyelids, and I was filled with a sweet sleep[...] and a spacious green plain painted and well adorned with a multiple variety of flowers appeared to me, a plain with a pleasing aura and a certain silence, a plain warmed by the beloved rays of the sun. Wandering to and fro in this place with timid admiration, I said to myself, "Here no living soul appears to my desirous intuition [...]. Feeling reassured by the tranquility of the plain, I proceeded, and looking here and there, I happened upon nothing besides tender, still leaves. And thus I redirected my ignorant course to a dense wood that lay on the opposite side. The instant I entered it, I realized that I had unwittingly lost my way."<sup>1</sup>

Thus Poliphilo begins an allegorical dream-quest for his beloved Polia on a rosey,

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<sup>1</sup> "Phoebo in quel'hora manando che la fronte di Matuta Leucothea candidava fora già dalle oceane unde, le volubile rote sospese non dimonstrava, ma sedulo cum gli sui volucris caballi, Pyroo primo et Eoo, alquanto apparendo, ad dipingere le lycophe quadrighe della figliola di vermigliante rose, velocissimo insequentila non dimorava et, corruscante già sopra le cerulee et inquiete undule, le sue irradiante come crispulavano. [...] solicitando gli dui caballi del vehiculo suo [...] ad l'ultimo horizonta, discriminante gli hemisperii, pervenuta et dalla praevia stella a ricentare el di fugata, cedeva. Orione, cessando di perseguire lachrymoso l'ornato humero taurino delle sete sore; in quella medesima hora che gli colorati fiori dal veniente figliolo di Hyperione el calore ancora non temeano nocevole, ma delle fresche lachryme de Aurora irrorati et fluidi erano [...] io Poliphilo, sopra el lectulo mio iacendo, opportuno amico del corpo lasso [...] negli alti cogitamenti d'amore solo relicto, la longa et taediosa nocte insomne consumando [...] De cusi facto et tale misero stato havendome per longo tracto amaramente doluto (et già fessi gli vaghi spiriti de pensare inutilmente) et pabulato d'uno fallace et fincto piacere, ma dritamente et sencia fallo d'uno non mortale ma più praesto divo obiecto di Polia, la cui veneranda Idea in me profundamente impressa et più intimamente insculpta occupatrice vive [...] Hora, li madidi ochii uno pocho tra le rubente palpebre rachiusi...fue invasa et quella parte occupata da uno dolce somno oppressa [...] Ad me parve de essere in una spatiosa planitie, la quale, tutta virente et di multiplici fiori variamente dipincta, molto adornata se repraesentava; et cum benigne aure ivi era uno certo silentio [...] cum timida admiratione discolo, da me ad me diceva: "Quivi alcuna humanitate al desideroso intuito non già apparisce [...]. Et cusi dirrimpecto duna solta silva ridrizai el mio ignorato viaggio. Nella quale alquanto intrato non mi avidi che io cusi incauto lassasse (non so per qual modo) el proprio calle." HP: aii-aiiii; (P-C):I, 3-5; (G-A): II, 17-20; (JG): 11-13.

Spring dawn. In the course of his dream, the protagonist wanders alone into nature, where he sets out on a journey that leads him from one realm to another, each of which enfolds a hidden vision that awaits Poliphilo's discovery and interpretation. The following explores the opening passage of the Hypnerotomachia. Specifically, we will address the ways in which the beginning of Poliphilo's dream evokes the fantastical aura of the dreams of late medieval Romance in literature and art, and how the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili transforms the reader from viewer to visionary.

To summarize the first passage of the Hypnerotomachia, the dreaming protagonist, Poliphilo, engages in a struggle, or battle (*machia*) for love (*eros*), within a dream (*hypnos*). Following a description of dawn—the prelude to the dream—we find Poliphilo awake in bed, lamenting that his beloved Polia is missing. He is at last granted rest when, imagining (*cogitabondo*) the image (*Idea*) of Polia, he falls into a “sweet sleep” (*da uno dolce somno oppressa*). A spacious plain “painted” (*dipincta*) with a variety of flowers soon appears to the dreamer, who admires the landscape with “timid admiration” (*cum timida admiratione*). Poliphilo's unfamiliar journey (*ignorato viaggio*) begins when he carelessly loses his way (*incauto lasasse el proprio calle*) and finds himself in a dark forest (*scura bosca*). [Figure 1] Poliphilo at last leaves the labyrinth (*labyrintho*) of the dark forest when a sweet voice guides him toward a “playful” stream (*iocundissimo fonte*). [Figure 2] Overcome with thirst, he crouches down to drink, but the stream vanishes, and Poliphilo must press onward through craggy, desolate mountains. He soon finds himself in an “unknown and uncultivated”, (*incognita et inculta*) but pleasant region (*amoeno paese*). In the grassy plain, the lone protagonist, who describes feeling very pensive (*molto trapensoso*), falls asleep once again.

[Figure 3]

Upon his second waking, Poliphilo wanders among scattered fragments of ancient ruins and various species of fauna that have appeared in the *amoeno paese*. Suddenly, a hungry, carnivorous wolf (*uno carnivoro lupo*) appears at his side. [Figure 4] Poliphilo recounts that he was so terrified that his hair stood on end, but that the wolf soon fled. Recovering himself, the protagonist advances toward a valley (*convalle*), where he experiences his first vision: an *immensa et terribile pyramide*. The pyramid is the first of many edifices, monuments, pageants, and gardens that Poliphilo encounters on his dream-journey in search of his beloved Polia.

#### \*\*The Dream Vision in Medieval Literature\*\*

Poliphilo's dream comes out of a vast literary genre of dream-visions in poetry and prose.<sup>2</sup> A number of commentaries, as in Macrobius' 5<sup>th</sup> century Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, transformed earlier musings on the origins and meaning of human *fantasia* into

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the diffusion of the idea of the "visionary" in medieval thought, see Murray W. Bundy, "The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Medieval Thought," in University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XII (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1927); Murray W. Bundy, "Invention and Imagination in the Renaissance," Journal of English and German Philology, 29 (1930): 535-545; For further bibliography on the vast topic of medieval dream literature and the use of allegory and iconography in dream literature, see A.C. Spearing, Medieval Dream Poetry, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976); Rosemond Tuve, Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and their Posterity, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1966); Francesco Gandolfo, Il 'dolce tempo' Mistica, Ermetismo, e Sogno nel Cinquecento, (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1978).



allegory.<sup>3</sup> Macrobius drew on visions from classical literature, namely Cicero's dream of Scipio from de Re Publica. Cicero's utopian vision of an ideal Roman Republic presented a synthesis of Livy's biography on the life of Scipio in de Viris with Plato's "Vision of Er," a closing episode from the Republic. Macrobius appended Cicero's text to the seventeen chapters of his encyclopedic commentary, which defended dreams as a vessel of truth. For Macrobius, dreams enfolded symbolic visions, which served as examples that would "encourage the reader to do good works."<sup>4</sup>

The Commentary on the Dream of Scipio was reproduced in innumerable manuscripts and printed editions.<sup>5</sup> Nicholas Jenson's Venetian press printed the first edition in 1472, and of the five Venetian editions that followed, those of 1517 and 1528 issued from the press of Aldus Manutius. The visionary dream resonated in late Medieval literature, which incorporated Macrobius' symbolic dream-vision into the allegorical dream narratives of Romance. Indeed, Guillaume de Lorris began the 13<sup>th</sup> century Roman de la Rose with a reference to Macrobius as "an author [...] who did not take dreams as trifles, for he wrote of

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<sup>3</sup> See William H. Stahl, "Introduction," in Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, Tr. W.H. Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952).

<sup>4</sup> Macrobius, Commentary, II: 84. According to Macrobius, dreams incorporate two kinds of fables: the first merely "delights the ear," and the second "rests on a solid foundation of truth, which is treated in a fictitious style."

<sup>5</sup> For an inventory of manuscripts of Macrobius, see Max Manutius, Handschriften antiker Autoren in Mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen, (Leipzig, 1935): 227-32. For printed editions, see Macrobius, Opera quae supersunt, Tr. L. von Jan. 2 Vols. (Leipzig and Quedlinburg, 1848-52). On the history of the Commentary in the middle ages, see Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, 8 vols. (New York: 1923-58).

the vision which came to King Scipio.”<sup>6</sup> De Lorris used the symbolic dream to frame quite a different tale from Macrobius’ encyclopedic commentary: his was the story of Amant, who embarks on a journey in quest of his beloved Rose, the symbolic object of the Lover’s desire and the guiding force of his aspirations. As was the convention in medieval Romance, Amant’s quest for the Rose provides a narrative frame for a series of allegorical visions.<sup>7</sup>

\*\*From the Roman de la Rose to the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili\*\*

The initial passage of woodcuts and text in the Hypnerotomachia evokes elements of the Roman de la Rose and the late medieval dream literature of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Like Amant in the Roman de la Rose, Poliphilo journeys in quest of the elusive Polia, whom he describes at the beginning of the book as a “venerated Idea”, and at the end, as a “blushing rose” (*roseo rubore*) and a “red rose” (*rosea punicante*). In the Paradiso, Dante’s Beatrice leads the poet to the white (rather than red) Rose (*candida Rosa*), the position of God’s Elect, in the heavenly realm of Paradise.<sup>8</sup> Though the name of the “rose”

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<sup>6</sup> I have consulted French text and an English translation of Le Roman de la Rose. For the French text, see Guillaume de Lorris, Le Roman de la Rose, Ed Jean Dufournet. (Manhecourt: G.F. Flammarion, 1999):ll. 8-10. Hereafter referred to as RdlR. “Un actor qui ot non Marcobes,/Qui ne tint pas songes a lobes,/Ainçois escrist la vision/Qui avint au roi Cypion.” All English translations are from The Romance of the Rose. Tr. Charles Dahlberg, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995): I, ll.8-10.

<sup>7</sup> John V. Fleming, The ‘Roman de la Rose’: A Study in Allegory and Iconography, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1969).

<sup>8</sup> Dante, La Divina Commedia: Paradiso. Tr. Allen Mandelbaum. (New York: Bantam Books, 1980). Dante first encounters the realm of God’s Elect in Canto XXX of the Paradiso: “E se l’infimo grado in sé raccoglie/sì grande lume, quanta è la larghezza/di questa rosa ne

varies in each of these examples, each woman personifies an ideal that the protagonist aspires to regain.<sup>9</sup> The lovers' search for the rose guides them on a visionary journey, which is ultimately one of self discovery. While Polia is related to the heroine of the Roman de la Rose and Dante's Beatrice, Poliphilo is akin to Amant. Though the name of Poliphilo translates as the "lover of Polia", the "lover of the city", or the "lover of many things", his name is not a far cry from Amant; "the lover", in the Roman de la Rose. The name of Poliphilo also recalls Boccaccio's Panfilo, the object of Lady Fiametta's desire, and the storytelling noble, Panfilo, of the Decameron.<sup>10</sup> Like Amant, Poliphilo the lover makes a pilgrimage and Poliphilo the poet recounts his dream-vision in the voice of first person.<sup>11</sup>

The dreamscape evoked in the opening passage of Poliphilo's quest for Polia shares much with the aura of Amant's setting. At the beginning of the Roman de la Rose, the lover recounts:

...I dreamed that I was filled with joy in May, the amorous month. The earth becomes so proud that it wants a new robe; I mean, of course, the robe of grass and flowers, blue, white, and many other colors, by which the earth enriches itself. The birds become so gay in the serene weather, that their

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l'estreme foglie!" (And if the lowest ranking gathers such/ vast light, then what must be the measure of/ this Rose where it has reached its highest leaves!). In Canto XXXI, Dante describes his rose as a "white rose" (*candida Rosa*) that takes the form of a celestial amphitheater, or colosseum.

<sup>9</sup> HP: fii'; (P-C): I, 458; (G-A): II, 1162; (JG): 464. In the final moments of Poliphilo's dream, Polia's enamored blush is compared to that of a rose, imagery that recalls the epiphany of the Rose to Dante the pilgrim at the end of the *Paradiso*.

<sup>10</sup> Boccaccio, The Decameron. Tr. G.H. McWilliam (London: Penguin Books, 1972); The Elegy of Lady Fiametta. Tr. Mariangela Causa-Steindler and Thomas Mauch. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

<sup>11</sup> By speaking in first person, Poliphilo recalls Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. See Leo Spitzer, "Note on the Poetic and Empirical 'I' in Medieval Authors," Traditio, 4 (1946): 414-422.

hearts are filled with joy until they must sing or burst. And so I dreamed one night that I was in that delicious season when everything is stirred by love, and as I slept I became aware that it was full morning.<sup>12</sup>

Amant's dream takes place at dawn in the temperate month of May, the season of renewal. Poliphilo evokes the dawn of a pleasant Spring day not unlike the May morning of Amant's dream. Indeed, we learn at the end of the Hypnerotomachia that Polia died—and therefore Poliphilo's dream took place—on May 1<sup>st</sup>.<sup>13</sup> To Amant's May morning, Poliphilo adds a florid description of Aurora in a passage that recalls the Homeric "rose-fingered Dawn," and similar preludes, as in Petrarch's dream in I Trionfi and Boccaccio's Aurora from Amorosa Visione.<sup>14</sup>

\*\*The Dreamer's Progress into Nature\*\*

Following the epic introduction to the dream, the protagonist embarks on a sequence of events that will lead him from a waking to a dreaming state, and from his familiar domestic

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<sup>12</sup> "Avis m'estoit qu'il estoit maiz,/Il a ja bien cinq ans ou maiz;/En may estions, si songoie/Ou temps amoureux plain de joie,/Ou temps ou toute riens s'esgaie,/Que l'en ne voit boisson ne haie/Qui en may parer ne se vueille/Et couvrir de nouvelle fueille./Li bois recouvrent lor verdure,/Qui sont sec tant cum yver dure;/La terre meismes s'orgueille/Por la rosee qui la mueille,/Et oblie la povreté/Ou elle a tout l'yver esté./Lors devient la terre si gobe/Que veut avoir novele robe;/Si fait si cointe robe faire/Que de colors y a cent paire;/D'erbes, de flors indes et perses/Et de maintes colors diverses,/C'est la robe que je devise/Por quoi la terre tant se prise." RdlR: 50, ll.45-66. See also Dahlburg, I: 32-40.

<sup>13</sup> See (G-A): II, 1164-1167, n.11 for further discussion of the "first of May" as a literary *topos* that also appeared in the writings of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. "May 1, 1467" appears on Polia's epitaph at the end of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.

<sup>14</sup> Petrarcha, I Trionfi. (Milano: Rizzoli, 1997): ll.4-6. "già il sole al Toro l'uno e l'altro corno/ scaldeva, e la fanciulla di Titone/ correa gelata al suo usato soggiorno." For Boccaccio's description, see Amorosa Visione. Robert Hollander, tr. (Hannover, NH: University Press of New England, 1986): I. Boccaccio used the *topos* again in Il Corbaccio. Dante's Inferno also begins on a morning, though the time is unspecified. See Inferno: I, 37-9.

surroundings into the realm of Nature. It is at the beginning of the narrative that we find the first woodcut illustrations. Like the introduction, the prose and woodcuts of the first narrative passage from the Hypnerotomachia weave fragments from the text and illustrated editions of the Roman de la Rose, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. In the beginning of his dream, Amant describes his departure from the bedchamber into his dreamscape:

In the twentieth year of my life, at the time when Love exacts his tribute from young people, I lay down one night, as usual, and slept very soundly. During my sleep I saw a very beautiful and pleasing dream.[...] I got up from my bed straight away and turned toward a river that I heard murmuring nearby, for I knew no place more beautiful to enjoy myself than by a river. The wide, beautiful meadow came right to the edge of the water...I walked out away through the meadow...<sup>15</sup>

We find numerous images of Amant's departure from his bedchamber into Nature in illuminated copies of the Romance. Take, for example, a miniature from a 14<sup>th</sup>-century copy of the Roman de la Rose.<sup>16</sup> [Figure 5] As Amant reclines in his bedchamber, Nature encroaches into his domestic space, implying the passage of time and the dreamer's transition from a waking to a dreaming state. In the illustration, flowering vines emerge like arabesques behind the Lover, who will soon wander alone to the edge of the river. The dreamer's

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<sup>15</sup> "Ou vintieme an de mon age/Ou point qu'Amors prent le paage/Des jones gens, couichez estoie/Une nuit si cum je souloie./Et me dormoie mout forment;/Lor vi un songe en mon dormant/Qui mout fu biaux et mout me plot;/Mes onques riens ou songe n'ot/Qui avenu tretout ne soit/Si cum li songes recontoit.[...] De mon lit tantost me levai;/Chauçai moi et mes mains lavai. [...] Jolis, gais et plains de leesce,/Vers une riviere m'adresce/Que j'oï pres d'iluecques bruire,/Car ne me soi aler deduire/Plus bel que sus cele riviere." RdIR: 48, ll.21-30; 52, ll.89-90; 103-107.

<sup>16</sup> For further bibliography on the Roman de la Rose, see Ernest Langlois, Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose, Paris, 1891; Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose. Description et classement, Lille, 1910. See also L.F. Benedetto, Il Roman de la Rose e la letteratura italiana, Halle a.d.S. 1910 ('Zeitschr. f. Rom. Phil.', Beheft 21, 196-219); Rethinking the Romance of the Rose. Image, Text, Reception, K. Brownlee and S. Huot, eds. (Philadelphia: Penn State UP, 1992). Marie-Elisabeth Bruel, L'Illustration du Roman de la Rose dans les manuscrits des bibliothèques parisiennes. Études des rapports du texte et de l'image, (Thèse de Paris-Sorbonne, 1995).

departure from his bedchamber into the realm of the dream is one that Boccaccio would later evoke in Il Corbaccio, and which Poliphilo describes in his *Hypnerotomachia*: "As I, Poliphilo, lay on my bed, suitable friend to an exhausted body, no one was in my familiar chamber except Insomnia, that companion of sleepless nights."<sup>17</sup>

However, we find Poliphilo's account of the bedchamber only in the text. The first illustration in the Polifilo places the protagonist not in his bedchamber, but in the woods. [Figure 1] Waking up in what he describes as an unknown and uncultivated (*incognita e inculta*) dreamscape, Poliphilo wanders through a dark forest (*scuro bosco*) that echoes Dante's *selva oscura*. The woodcut, which depicts Poliphilo as he walks in a dense forest of twisted tree trunks, recalls illustrations of the Divina Commedia, as in an image from a 1497 Venetian edition.<sup>18</sup> [Figure 6] Whereas the illustration in the Polifilo lifts a single excerpt from the illustrated Dante, the woodcut from the Divina Commedia simultaneously depicts three narrative moments commonly found in illustrated editions of the book: Dante walks in the dark forest; he is surprised by a leopard, a lion, and a she-wolf; and he encounters Virgil, his guide. In the course of his walk in the woods, a sweet voice lures Poliphilo toward a clearing, where he finds water. He stoops down to drink from a bubbling brook (*uno*

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<sup>17</sup> HP: a2'; (P-C): I, 4; (G-A): II, 18; (JG): 12. "Io Poliphilo sopra el lectulo mio iacendo, opportuno amico del corpo lasso, niuno nella conscia camera familiare essendo, se non la mia chara lucubratrice Agrypnia..." For Boccaccio, see The Corbaccio. Tr. Anthony K. Cassell. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975): 2. "Finding myself alone not long ago in my chamber (which truly is the only witness of my tears, sighs, and lamentations), I happened, as I had often done before, to begin thinking about the vicissitudes of carnal love..."

<sup>18</sup> For connections between the poetry of Dante and the Roman de la Rose, see Earl J. Richards, Dante and the Roman de la Rose. An investigation into the Vernacular Narrative Context of the Commedia. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1981) and L. Vanossi, Dante e il Roman de la Rose. Saggio sul Fiore (Firenze: Olschki, 1979).

*iocundissimo fonte*) akin to the stream in Amant's initial voyage or Dante's allusions to water in the *Vita Nuova* and the *Divine Comedy*.<sup>19</sup> [Figure 2] But, suddenly, the brook vanishes from his sight, and the thirsty protagonist, like Tantalus, must subvert his desire to drink.<sup>20</sup> Poliphilo presses onward and finds himself in a pleasant meadow, where he recounts, "a spacious plain painted with a variety of flowers appeared to me, a plain with a pleasing aura and a certain silence, a plain where the beloved rays of the sun produced a favorable climate." In the realm of Nature, the exhausted Poliphilo, who describes himself as "very pensive" (*molto trapensoso*), reclines under shade of an oak and falls into a deeper sleep.<sup>21</sup> [Figure 3] Let us explore in greater detail what the third woodcut and Poliphilo's melancholic state tell us about the character of Poliphilo and his relationship with Nature.

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<sup>19</sup> Dante refers to running water in the *Vita Nuova*, in which the poet walks alongside a river with Love, who is gazing into the water: "He [Love] seemed dejected and kept his gaze on the ground, except from time to time he turned his eyes towards a beautiful stream of clearest water which flowed beside the road on which I journeyed." *Vita Nuova*. Tr. Mark Musa (London: Penguin, 1995): IX, 11.13-17. In the *Inferno*, Dante describes the edge of the forest as a "safe shore", but does not encounter water until he crosses the river Acheron into Hell in Canto III. Dante does not drink from the spring until he realizes his vision at the end of the *Divina Commedia*. See *Paradiso*: XXX, 70-74. On water in the Renaissance, see Terry Comito, "Beauty Bare: Speaking Waters and Fountains in Renaissance Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture*, V, Ed. Elisabeth McDougall. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1978): 15-58.

<sup>20</sup> Tantalus, who "...reached lips/toward water [but was never allowed to quench his thirst] while the tree above him swayed/ Fruit beyond his grasp" was among the cursed in Hell (along with Tityus, Sisyphus, Ixion, and Danaus). See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*: IV, 124-5.

<sup>21</sup> For an discussion of the literary theme of a dream within a dream, see (G-A): II, 544-45 n.14.

\*\*The Visionary and the *Vita Solitaria*\*\*

Poliphilo's communion with Nature, a prominent theme in his dream-journey, characterizes the *vita solitaria*, an ideal that Petrarch first defined systematically in his De Vita Solitaria.<sup>22</sup> In his treatise, Petrarch exalts Nature as a sanctuary for pensive visionaries. In addition to outlining the conditions conducive to poetic thought, he lists illustrious poets or prophets from the ancients—including Scipio Africanus—to the church fathers and modern poets who retreated to Nature, and explains how each figure cultivated a life of solitude and contemplation.

The solitary life is a frequent theme in literature and art. For example, the Biblical prophet Ezekiel recounts:

In the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, in the fifth day of the month, as I was among the captives by the river of Chebar, that the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God. [...] And I looked, and behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself [...] out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures [...] Now as I beheld the living creatures, behold one wheel upon the earth by the living creatures, with his four faces.<sup>23</sup>

In the visual arts, prophets and poets are depicted alone in nature, in a melancholic pose, to communicate the notion that they are experiencing a vision.<sup>24</sup> In an illustration of Joel from

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<sup>22</sup> See Francesco Petrarca, De Vita Solitaria. Tr. Jacob Zeitlin, tr. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1924). For further discussion and bibliography, see Marco Ariani, Petrarcha (Roma: Salerno Editrice, 1999): 132-9. The *vita solitaria* is also a frequent theme in Petrarch's letters and poetry.

<sup>23</sup> The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: I, 1-15.

<sup>24</sup> For an introduction to the theme of the *vita solitaria* in the visual arts, see Ursula Hoff, "Meditation in solitude," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, I (1937-8): 292-4. On the connections between melancholy and the idea of the *vita solitaria*, and the characterization of artists and poets as melancholic, see Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl,



the Malermi Bible, the author has retreated from the city, which lies in the distant background.<sup>25</sup> The prophet sits alone in a rocky landscape, head in hand, in deep contemplation of the words of the Lord (*parlar del Signore che fu fatto a Iohel*), which Joel recounts in the text. [Figure 7] For poets, like prophets, nature is an ideal setting for solitary contemplation. In a German miniature of Walter von der Vogelweide, we find the melancholic poet in a rocky landscape dotted with flowers. He rests his head in his left hand and holds a manuscript, which billows upward, in his right hand. [Figure 8] The illustration of Walther von der Vogelweide echoes the poet's description of his own communion with nature in his poetry.<sup>26</sup>

The image of the melancholy visionary came to represent a flexible, pictorial type. For example, in a 13<sup>th</sup> century sculptural group of the so-called Sogno di San Marco, a figure reclines on a rocky precipice while an angel extends a hand over him and toward the viewer. [Figure 9] The identity of the sleeping figure and the original position of the sculptural group remain problematic, for it was not until the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the sculptural group was placed

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Saturn and Melancholy. (Nedeln: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1964); Rudolf and Margot Wittkower, Born Under Saturn. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1963).

<sup>25</sup> Bibbia. Trans. Malermi. (Venice: Guglielmo Anima Mia, 1493). Cini Inc. 78.

<sup>26</sup> See Hoff, 293n.. The solitary poet, his retreat into nature in springtime, and the poet's account of the dream-like aura of his surroundings (recounted in first person), are attributes of the poetry of Walther von der Vogelweide. For instance, Vogelweide writes, "Ich saz uf eime steine, /Und dahte bein mit beine, /Daruf sazt ich den ellenbogen, /Ich hete in mine hant gesmogen /Daz kinne und ein min wange..." For other examples, see Alcuni 'Lieder' di Walther von der Vogelweide. Guido Manacorda, ed. (Firenze: G.C. Sansoni, 1918).

above the central west portal of the Basilica di San Marco.<sup>27</sup> Although the identity of the sleeper is uncertain, his posture and his orientation in a landscape recall the theme of the *vita solitaria* and suggest that the figure is not merely asleep; he is also dreaming. Because of its rather recent placement in the central west portal San Marco, the sculptural group came to be known as the "Dream of San Marco."

### \*\*The Sleeping Dreamer\*\*

The journey of the lone poet into Nature in a dream typifies the marriage of the *vita solitaria* with the Macrobian allegorization of dreams. Amant's visionary journey owes much to both traditions. In illustrations of the Roman de la Rose, as in the illuminated 14<sup>th</sup> century copy, we find a split vignette of Amant his bedchamber on the left, and on the right, Amant ventures into Nature. [Figure 5] Contrary to the visual representations Joel, Walter von der Vogelweide, and the so-called St. Mark, Amant reclines in bed, head in hand, in a posture that recalls the melancholic dreamer. The variant representation of dreamers as sleepers relates to the illustrations of the prophet or poet who sits in nature, for both images refer to the metaphorical progression of the sleeper into a visionary realm.

Similar to the seated, solitary visionary in Nature, images of the sleeper in bed were flexible *exempla* that marked his or her transformation into a dreamer. We find an image of the sleeping visionary in a woodcut of Samuel in the Bibbia Malermi. [Figure 10] As Samuel

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<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of the sculptural group, see Otto Demus, The Church of San Marco in Venice (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1960): 66-83; Wolfgang Wolters, Die Skulpturen von San Marco in Venedig (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1979): 39.

reclines in his bed, head in hand, God appears to him in a halo of light, an illustration that echoes the text of the third chapter of Samuel in which the young seer communes with God in a dream.<sup>28</sup> The woodcut illustrates a visual *topos* interchangeable with other dream visions, as in a 1494 edition of Miracoli della Vergine Maria printed at the press of Guglielmo Anima Mia, the same printer responsible for the Bibbia Malermi.<sup>29</sup> In the Miracoli della Vergine Maria, we find the woodcut of Samuel's vision reappropriated to illustrate a youth's vision of the Virgin Mary: "Et apparendo in visione la madre di Christo la quale teneva in mane un precioso & bello vestimento el quale era scripto a littere d'oro." [Figure 11] Although the bearded man and the dreaming youth correspond with neither the Virgin Mary or Samuel, the woodcut effectively captures the essence of the idea. A year later, Carpaccio would turn to the visual *topos* of the sleeping dreamer in his Dream of St. Ursula. [Figure 12]

### \*\*The Sleeping Poliphilo as Visionary\*\*

Let us return to the opening passage of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. [Figure 1] The images and text that recount Poliphilo's progression from his bedchamber, through the Dantean dark forest, and across the vanishing stream culminate in his second sleep under the oak. The third woodcut presents the *trapensoso* protagonist in nature; a place that recalls the ideal of the *vita solitaria*, but his posture is that of the sleeper. We find a similar representation in an early 16<sup>th</sup> century miniature from Petrarch's Triumph of Love: the poet

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<sup>28</sup> Bibbia Malermi. Samuel: 3. "E Samuel dormi nel suo loco e il Signor venne."

<sup>29</sup> Miracoli della Vergine Maria. (Venezia: Guglielmo Anima Mia, 1494). Cini Inc. 735a

reclines in a garden, while the Trionfi of his dream appear in the background. [Figure 13] Unlike the illustrated Petrarch, the third woodcut in the Polifilo signifies the sleeper's passage into his vision without revealing the content of the dream. It is the transition from the third to the fourth woodcut that foreshadows the nature of Poliphilo's vision and suggests the viewer's role in the journey that follows.

When Poliphilo wakes up, he discovers that his desolate dreamscape has transformed:

I found myself in a much more delectable realm than the previous one. There were neither horrible mountains and jagged outcroppings, nor craggy peaks. Rather, the realm was composed of pleasant hills of no great height.<sup>30</sup>

In place of the grassy knoll, the protagonist discovers a variety of flora. While the flowering plants in Poliphilo's dreamscape recall Amant's realm, Poliphilo proceeds to catalogue the species of plants in the manner of Pliny or Virgil<sup>31</sup>:

The pleasant hills were [...] wooded with young oaks, roburs, ash, and hornbeam; leafy winter oaks, holm-oaks, and tender hazels; alders, limes, maples and wild olives; [...] other wild shrubs [...] clover, sedge, common bee-bread, umbelliferous panacea, flowering crowfoot, cervicello or elaphio, sertula, and various equally noble herbs [...]<sup>32</sup>

Suddenly a ravenous wolf, a reminder of Dante's she-wolf, appears at Poliphilo's side.

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<sup>30</sup> HP: a6'; (P-C): I, 12; (G-A): II, 26; (JG): 20. "Me ritrovai di novo in uno piu delectabile sito assai piu che el praecedente. El quale non era de monti horridi, et crepidinose rupe intorniato, ne falcato di strumosi iugi. Ma compositamente de grate montagniole di non tropo altecia."

<sup>31</sup> See (G-A): II, 524-5, n.5. The authors of the commentary note that Poliphilo's catalogue of flora resembles a *topos* common to Latin poetry.

<sup>32</sup> HP: a6', a7; (P-C): I, 12-13; (G-A): II, 26; (JG): 20-1. "[montagniole di non tropo altecia silvose] di giovani quercioli, di roburi, fraxini, et carpini et di frondosi esculi et ilice et di teneri coryli et di alni et di tilie et di opio et de infructuosi oleastri [...] cythiso, la carice, la commune cerinthe, la muscariata panachia, el fiorito ranunculo et cervicello o vero elaphio et la seratula et de molti altri proficui simplici et ignote herbe et fiori per gli prati dispensate." Tr. Joscelyn Godwin.

Poliphilo momentarily ceases his description, his hair stands on end (in the manner of Virgil's Aeneas), but he recovers his courage when the wolf disappears.

The woodcut that illustrates the verdant hills of Poliphilo's imagination tells a somewhat different story. [Figure 4] In addition to the palms, bushes, and underbrush of Poliphilo's description, we find a classicizing breastplate, entablature, a column base and capital, a monumental, circular base, and finally, a lizard that crosses the protagonist's path. Of the 172 woodcuts that illustrate the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, the fourth illustration is the only image that significantly breaks from the text. In place of the variety of fauna, we find the fragments of holy antiquity, the building blocks of Poliphilo's dream-vision.

Poliphilo's desire to revive the relics; the metaphorical trees of his dark forest, is synonymous with his quest for Polia, a visionary journey that characterizes the ideals of the *vita solitaria*. Like a gardener, Poliphilo cultivates the scattered beauties of his dreamscape into a visionary Idea, a "spectacular image" (*spectanda imagine*) of the "true and divine effigy of Polia" (*vera et divina effigie di Polia*).<sup>33</sup> Indeed, at the end of the dream, we witness the apotheosis of the muscular protagonist and his beloved Polia, who ascend to the realm of Cupid and the Mother of Love (*matre amorosa*). [Figure 14] At last, Polia blesses her maker and bids him farewell. As the rosey dawn approaches, Polia vanishes in a puff of perfumed smoke, and Poliphilo's dream is only a memory; his art, which seemed so alive, was as transient as a flight of fantasy.

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<sup>33</sup> HP: F2'; (P-C): I, 458; (G-A):II, 478; (JG): 464.

\*\*The Viewer as Visionary\*\*

The poliphilian aura of the dream resonated in 16<sup>th</sup> century Venetian art, for example, in Giovanni Bellini's Feast of the Gods (1514) where the viewer gazes across a bubbling brook, a *iocondissimo fonte*, into a dreamscape that is bathed in a warm hue; an *amabile luce*, of twilight. [Figure 15] A cast of mythological characters occupies the *amoeno paese* in the middle ground, a region with a "pleasing aura and a certain silence": *cum benigne aure ivi era uno certo silentio*. At the far edge of the plain, a wooded grove—a *scuro bosco*—that was obscured after Bellini's death, rises behind the nymphs and satyrs.<sup>34</sup> And so with timid admiration the viewer, like Poliphilo, is left to wander to and fro (*discolo*)—or in the words of Pietro Bembo, speaking on behalf of Bellini, "at will"—in the pleasant place, discovering episodes along the way that resonate with Poliphilo's visions.<sup>35</sup> Take, for example, the sleeping nymph in Bellini's painting, who recalls the woodcut illustration of the nymph, a personification of the dream in Poliphilo's Hypnerotomachia.

The traditions that shaped the opening passages of the Hypnerotomachia and the image of the dreaming Poliphilo are important not only to the genre of the dream vision in literature, but also to the development of the genre in the visual arts. The image of the dreamer and the aura of the dream were frequently represented in the art of the

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<sup>34</sup> As an x-ray investigation has revealed, a wooded grove that stretched behind the figures across the entirety of the canvas, was altered, presumably by Titian. See John Walker, Bellini and Titian at Ferrara. (London, 1958).

<sup>35</sup> See Italian Art: Sources and Documents. Creighton E. Gilbert, ed. (Chicago: Northwestern UP, 1980): 141.

Renaissance and after. Whether the dreamer is presented as poet, prophet, artist; or, indeed, the viewer, he or she personifies the ideal of visionary sight, the potential of imagination—a fantasy that is typified by the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, a work whose richness and nuances, even half a millennium after its publication, have yet to be fully appreciated.

### Conclusion

Ego cum audio Poliphili historiam statim dormio.

—Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576)<sup>1</sup>

...oppressed with Melancholie, and wearied with deeper studies, I was glad to beguile the time with these conceits, anathomising in them the vanitie of this life, and uncertaintie of the delights thereof, in the Dreame of Poliphilo.

—R.D., "Dedication to Sidney and the Earl of Essex," The Strife of Love in a Dreame. (London, 1592).<sup>2</sup>

This dissertation is the fruit of four years of wandering through Poliphilo's dark forest. We have aimed at exploring the woodcuts in the context of the Hypnerotomachia, and broadly, we have considered the book in relation to the art and literature of the Italian Renaissance. The Polifilo was printed and arguably conceived and created in Venice; its text and images evoke the heritage of classical antiquity; and the book was dedicated to Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, a duke renowned for the legendary culture of his court. And yet, the origins and legacy of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili reached far beyond Venice, Rome, and Urbino. The Polifilo enfolds in its pages motifs that were scattered throughout 15<sup>th</sup> century libraries, painting, sculpture, architecture, pageantry, gardens, and *studioli*. The book's hidden knowledge, as Crasso put it, enfolded a cabinet of infinite delights that appealed to a wide audience of sophisticated poliphiles who, upon entering Poliphilo's dream, participated in a game of discovery, fantasy, and creation.

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<sup>1</sup> Hieronymous Cardanus, Opera Omnia (Lyon, 1663): III, 169; quoted in Dorothea Stichel, "Reading the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in the Cinquecento," in Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture. Ed. D.S. Zeidberg. (Firenze: Olschki, 1992): 216-235.

<sup>2</sup> R.D., "Dedicatory Preface," from The Strife of Love in a Dreame. (London: Waterson, 1592).



Several themes have emerged from my own peregrinations through Poliphilo's visions. The Hypnerotomachia evokes verbal and visual poetry on the part of the viewer, who connects with the visionary journey of Poliphilo. The book's fragments provide the ingredients to make art: their selection and combination depends on the memory, experience, and imagination of its audience. We have considered how Poliphilo's dense language mixes a variety of tongues and the ways in which his florid words layer upon more words to create subtle modulations of meaning. Likewise, the prose mixes fragments from countless texts into a poetic mosaic. Just as the text offers a loose concoction of words and recalls quotes from a wide literary tradition, the woodcuts echo motifs drawn from a rich visual heritage. Together, prose and woodcuts present a palette for the pen or the brush; the selection of beauties is open to the viewer, who brings the impression into focus.

The visionary act of selecting and finishing the vision closely relates to the Ovidian metaphors that pervade Poliphilo's dream. Poliphilo; and indeed, the poliphilian reader, participates in the triumphal marriage of words and images to generate miraculous art. Like Pygmalion and Narcissus, our love for beauty inspires the creation of a beloved Idea that mirrors some facet of ourselves. As Crasso implied, the book is like a garden: the viewer-reader plays the role of gardener. Just as Pomona tends her fields and orchards with a "green touch," we graft and trim our vision by adding some fragments and subtracting others to cultivate art and poetry that blooms forth in the realm of fantasy. Thus Poliphilo guides us from realm to realm, each of which contains a *locus amoenus* of imagery that awaits discovery and interpretation.

The ideas that run throughout the Hypnerotomachia characterize a literary tradition

that has sought to explain the origins of imagination. Poliphilo delights in artifice and Nature in love and beauty, in the creation of the Idea, and the miracle of art brought to life as though it were Living Nature. Among the beauties of the Hypnerotomachia is that the quest for Polia never ends: in interpreting the book, each viewer fulfills a new dream. In the words of Girolamo Cardano, a 16<sup>th</sup> century philosopher, "I sleep when I read the story of Poliphilo." Although Cardano's statement has been taken to imply that the Polifilo bored him so much that it put him to sleep, I wonder whether Cardano was referring to the book's evocative, dream-like aura.<sup>3</sup> Not long afterward, "R.D.," the English translator of the 1592 English edition of the Hypnerotomachia, characterized himself as "oppressed with Melancholie" when he wended his way through the "uncertain delights and conceits" of the Polifilo, whose hidden beauties drew the *trapensoso* aesthete into a visionary realm.<sup>4</sup> Lorenzo Lotto's portrait of a young man in his study mirrors Guidobaldo, Cardano, R.D., or any poliphile. [Figure 1] The viewer interrupts the young reader, who momentarily awakes from his musings. Scattered about the scholar's desk are pink rose petals and a lizard, who intently gazes upward at the young man, who in turn looks toward the viewer. The remnants of the Rose and the young man's reptilian companion echo the solitary journey of Poliphilo into the visionary realm of Nature, an ideal evoked by Lotto's fantasy of Nature brought indoors in his portrait of a man engaged in the contemplative life.

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<sup>3</sup> Stichel, 217.

<sup>4</sup> Although "R.D." is thought to be Sir Robert Dallington (1561-1637), an English traveler and intellectual, there is, as yet, no conclusive evidence for his identity. See Lucy Gent, "Introduction," The Strife of Love in a Dreame (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1973): xviii.

As the Hypnerotomachia traveled through the centuries, it elicited a variety of responses. The editions that followed the 1499 Aldine tell a fascinating story of taste as various editors and translators reinterpreted the text and woodcuts of Poliphilo's dream in the image of themselves and their times. Kerver's 1546 edition provided the first French translation of the text, in addition to new woodcuts loosely based on the Italian illustrations. While Jean Martin's translation abbreviated the book by cutting out many of the non-architectural descriptions, the woodcuts expanded on the 172 images from the Aldine editions of 1499 and 1545.<sup>5</sup> In the fourth illustration from the Polifilo, for instance, the French designers added more antique fragments to Poliphilo's field, including a caryatid and the masonry of a crumbled arch. In addition, we find the ruins of the great pyramid, the subject of Poliphilo's first ekphrastic digression, in the upper right-hand region of the woodcut. [Figure 2] The 1546 edition also added illustrations that did not appear in the 1499 edition, as in the bathing pavilion discussed in Chapter III. As for their style, the French woodcuts, crafted with elaborate shading and mannered forms, are striking next to the Italian illustrations produced over a half century earlier.

The 1554 and 1561 reprints of Kerver's Le Songe de Poliphile were succeeded by a 1600 translation by the alchemist, Béroalde de Verville, under the title Le Tableau des Riches

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<sup>5</sup> Several years earlier, Martin had translated Alberti's De re aedificatoria, Sebastiano Serlio's First Book of Architecture, as well as Vitruvius' treatise On Architecture. See Charles Ephrussi, Le Songe de Poliphile (Paris: L. Techner, 1888): 323-4; Silvio Ferrari, "L'Edition Kerver de L'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1546): Refraction Entre le Texte et les Illustrations," in Studi di Letteratura Francese: Cinquecento Visionario tra Italia e Francia, XIX (1992): 55.

Inventions.<sup>6</sup> Although Béroalde incorporated the woodcuts from the Kerver editions into his text, he added an illustrated frontispiece that abounds with alchemical symbols. [Figure 3] Béroalde's edition enjoyed success among the *Précieux*, an audience of aristocrats who engaged in the intellectual games of the 17<sup>th</sup> century French *salon*.<sup>7</sup> Les Amours de Polia appeared in 1772. The newly formatted pocketbook abbreviated the text to a 32 page novella and contained no illustrations.<sup>8</sup> Thirty two years later, Jacques Guillaume Legrand, a Parisian architectural critic and architect of public monuments, edited another French edition of the Songe of Poliphile.<sup>9</sup> The two volumes of Legrand's Hypnerotomachia contained a loose translation of the text, no woodcuts, the first footnotes to the text, and a descriptive essay at the end. Though the direct influence of the edition is difficult to say, Legrand's interest in Poliphilo's dream echoes the fantasy architecture of other contemporary architects, such as Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, who may have been familiar with the woodcuts from the Kerver edition.<sup>10</sup>

The first English edition of the Hypnerotomachia appeared in 1592. The Strife of

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<sup>6</sup> See Anthony Blunt, "The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in 17<sup>th</sup> Century France," in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, I (1937): 125; A. Kent Hieatt and Anne Lake Prescott, "Contemporizing Antiquity: the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and its Afterlife in France," in Word and Image, 8 (1992): 291-317.

<sup>7</sup> Blunt, 119.

<sup>8</sup> Francesco Colonna, Les Amours de Polia. (Paris: Antoine Pallandre, 1772). [Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Cicognara III 618 int.1].

<sup>9</sup> Francesco Colonna, Songe de Poliphile. Ed. J.G. Legrand (Paris: P. Didot, 1804. [1811 reprint]). [Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Cicognara III 620].

<sup>10</sup> Paul V. Turner, "Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," in Word and Image, 14 (January-June, 1998): 203-214.

Love in a Dreame, dedicated to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and the memory of Sir Philip Sidney, was partially translated by "R.D.", thought to be Robert Dallington (1561-1637). Dallington, an author, traveler, aesthete, and member of the elite circle of Henry, Prince of Wales, wrote on his journey through France, in addition to a survey of the Dukes of Tuscany.<sup>11</sup> Whatever the true identity of R.D., his translation of the first half of the Polifilo contains a number of humorous additions, as in his account of the rotating statue atop the obelisk of the great pyramid, which "gave such a sound, as if the tower bell of Saint Johns Colledge in the famous Universitie of Cambridge had beene rung."<sup>12</sup> The illustrations, through closely based on the Italian woodcuts, are somewhat stockier in their rendering. The translation ends just prior to Poliphilo's encounter with the altar of Priapus, thus, as Joscelyn Godwin points out, sparing the engravers the task of recreating the "rigidly rigorous" attribute of the garden god.<sup>13</sup>

The intellectuals, artists, and poets who have delved into the different editions of Poliphilo's dream are too numerous to recount here. Over the centuries, the Hypnerotomachia elicited varied responses of illustrious figures ranging from Castiglione, Rabelais, Ben Jonson, and Pope Alexander VII to Jacob Burckhardt, John Addington Symonds, Aby Warburg, John Ruskin, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Morris, and Carl Jung. In its early afterlife, the

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<sup>11</sup> The View of France. (1604); Survey of the Great Dukes State of Tuscany (1605). In addition, he contributed to A Booke of Epitaphs made upon the death of the Right Worshipfull Sir William Buttes (1583) and Aphorisms Civill and Militarie (1613). See L. Gent, xiii. See also Kent and Heatt, 318.

<sup>12</sup> Francesco Colonna, The Strife of Love in a Dreame. Tr. R.D.. (London: Waterson, 1592): 7.

<sup>13</sup> JG, viii.

Hypnerotomachia thrived in the ambiance of the courts, as an elite and increasingly international audience delighted in its complex game. Throughout the centuries, the Hypnerotomachia owed much of its popularity to its woodcuts, and indeed, numerous modern studies have identified various aspects of the illustrations in the art of Titian, Garofalo, Bernini, Mansart, Inigo Jones, and others. Although the direct influence of various woodcuts is difficult to pinpoint, the relationship between the fantastic aura of the Hypnerotomachia and the visual arts of early 16<sup>th</sup> century Venice and after is a subject that merits further attention.

The role of the Hypnerotomachia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century quest for the Renaissance and the development of Renaissance studies has yet to be told. Indeed, Rossetti, Morris and Ruskin owned copies; Warburg corresponded with James Loeb about obtaining the first Aldine edition for his library; Burckhardt identified in the Polifilo the first pictures of antique ruins; and Symonds scrutinized the book's hybrid language in his study of Renaissance literature. The 19<sup>th</sup> century also saw two new French editions and translations, along with an English facsimile, which appeared in 1904.<sup>14</sup> In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the enigmatic Polifilo stirred imaginations in the Surrealist movement and the Jungian school, and continues to mystify a group of scholars in search of the book's elusive author.

The 1499 Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, a masterpiece of the Renaissance, affords us a glimpse into the culture of Aldus' generation, for Poliphilo's romanticized vision of antiquity typifies Renaissance art and literature. And yet, his abstract game is as infinite and timeless

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<sup>14</sup> Francesco Colonna, Songe de Poliphile. Tr. J.G. Legrand. (Paris: J. Guillaume, 1804 [Reprint, 1811]; Le songe de Poliphile. Introduction and Tr., Claude Popelin. (Paris: Isidore Liseux, 1883); Hypnerotomachia Poliphili ubi humana omnia nisi somnium esse docet. (London: Methuen and Co., 1904). [Facsimile edition].

as human imagination. Over five centuries after the first edition of the Hypnerotomachia, Poliphilo's dream still inspires art, and one wonders what the next century of poliphiles will find as they embark on their fantastic voyage in search of Polia.

Appendix Ia

Leonardus Crassus Veronensis Guido illustrissimo duci Urbini S.P.D.

Cum semper, Dux invictissime, ob singulares virtutes et famam tui nominis te colui et observavi, tum maxime ex quo frater meus tuis auspiciis in Bibienae obsidione militavit. Quicquid enim tunc per te in eum collatum fuit, id autem multum fuisse saepe memorat benignitatem et humanitatem in se tuam referens, id totum ad Crassos omnes pertinere arbitrati sumus, et quod unus tulit id omnes tibi acceptum ferimus nec iam ei concedimus ut magis tuus sit quam nos omnes sumus. Sed fratres mei occasionem expectant causa tua non modo sua omnia, sed vitam etiam exponendi; ego autem, qui pro virili mea quonam pacto me tibi aperiam saepe cogito cogitaboque donec perfecero, nunc in voti mei spem venio aliquam. Nam, cum sciam tecum non fortunae bonis plus agi posse quam aquis, ut fertur, cum mari solasque apud te literas et virtutes posse, literis aditum ad te tanquam vadum tentavi. Venit nuper in manus meas novum quoddam et admirandum Poliphili opus (id enim nomen libro inditum est), quod, ne in tenebris diutius lateret sed mortalibus mature prodesset, sumptibus meis imprimendum et publicandum curavi. Verum in liber iste, parente orbatus, veluti pupillus sine tutela aut patrocinio aliquo esse videretur, te patronum praesentem delegimus, in cuius nomen audaculus prodiret, quo, ut ego amoris nunc et observantiae in te meae ministro et nuncio, sic tu ad studia et multiplicem doctrinam tuam socio saepe uteris. Tanta est enim in eo non modo scientia, sed copia, ut, cum hunc videris, non magis omnes veterum libros quam naturae ipsius occultas res vidisse videaris. Res una in eo miranda est, quod, cum nostrati lingua loquatur, non minus ad eum cognoscendum opus sit graeca et romana quam tusca et vernacula. Cogitavit enim vir sapientissimus, si ita loqueretur, unam esse viam et



rationem qua nullus quin aliquid disceret veniam negligentiae suae praetendere posset; sed tamen ita se temperavit ut, nisi qui doctissimus foret in doctrinae suae sacrarium penetrare non posset, qui vero non doctus accederet, non desperaret tamen. Illud accedit, quod si quae res natura sua difficiles essent, amoenitate quadam, tamquam reserato omnis generis florum viridario, oratione suavi declarantur et proferuntur figurisque et imaginibus oculis subiectae patent et referuntur. Non hic res sunt vulgo expositae et triviis decantandae, sed quae ex philosophiae penu depromptae et Musarum fontibus haustae, quadam dicendi novitate perpolitae, ingeniorum omnium gratiam mereantur. Suscipias igitur, princeps humanissime, Poliphilum nostrum qua doctos fronte soles, et ita suscipias ut, cum animi grati munusculum sit, tui Leonardi Crassi admonitus, libentius legas. Quod si, ut spero, feceris, et hic nullius censuram formidabit cum tuam subiverit, et frequentius ab aliis legetur qui a te lectus putabitur, et ego ex parte aliqua assecutum me quod optaveram sperabo. Vale et Crassos mecum tuos tuis annumera.

Leonardus Crassus of Verona Expresses Most Plentiful Greetings to Guido, Most

Illustrious Duke of Urbino

Most invincible Duke, I have cultivated and have been devoted to you always both because of your singular virtues and the fame of your name and because my brother was a soldier in the siege of Bibbiena through your auspices. Whatever indeed was conferred then upon him through you brings to mind that this was much and often, recalling your kindness and humanity toward him; we thought that all this belonged to all the Crassus men and what one person carried off we all carry off as received from you; and no longer do we grant to him that he is more yours than we all are. But my brothers await an opportunity to risk on your account not only all their possessions but even their lives. Moreover, I who often think and will think, until I will have accomplished it, how I may lay open myself to you, now come into some hope of my wish. For, since I know that it cannot be dealt with you by the goods of fortune more than by the waters with the sea, as the proverb goes, and since I know that literature and virtues alone have power with you, I have tried an approach to you by literature as if I tried shallow water. Recently a certain new and admirable work of Poliphilus (for this name has been put upon the book) has come into my hands; that this work might not lie longer in the darkness but might benefit mortals soon, I saw to it that the work should be printed and published at my own expenses. But in order that this book, deprived of a parent, should not seem like a ward without a guardian or without some patron, we chose you as the ready patron—you, in whose name the book should boldly go forth. Just as I use this book now as a minister and messenger of my affection and my devotion to you, so you should use it often for your studies and your multi-faceted learning. Indeed so great is not only the

knowledge in this book but its abundance that you will see not more than all the books of the ancients than the hidden things of nature itself. One thing in this is remarkable, the fact that though the book speaks to us in our own native tongue, there is no less need of Greek and Roman language than Tuscan and vernacular to comprehend the book. For the very wise man thought that if he would speak thus, there was one way and reason by which no one would be able to use as a pretext the excuse of negligence so that he might not learn something. Yet nevertheless he so restrained himself so that unless one was a most learned man, he might not be able to penetrate the sanctuary of the author's learning, but that he who might approach as an unlearned man might not, nevertheless, despair. In addition, if any things might be difficult by their own nature, by a certain pleasantness, as if with a green-house of flowers of every kind had been opened, these difficult things are declared and presented by sweet speech and they, subjected to the eyes by figures and images, are laid open and related. Here are not things exposed to the masses and to be sung at the cross-roads, but things which, taken from the pantry of philosophy and drawn from the fountains of the Muses, thoroughly polished with a certain newness of expression, may deserve the favor of all intellects. O most humane prince, receive, then, our Poliphilus with what facial expression you are accustomed to receive learned men, and may you receive it in such a way that, though it is a tiny gift of a grateful mind, as a reminder of your Leonardus Crassus you may read it with greater pleasure. But if, as I hope, you will have done so, and this will fear the censure of no one, though it will be thought to have been read by you, will be read rather frequently by others, indeed I shall hope that in some part I have gained what I desired. Farewell and count your Crassus men, along with me, among your supporters.

Appendix Ib

Lodovicus Odaxius Patavinus Illustrissimo principi Guido Urbini duci.S.<sup>1</sup>

Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, qui a rerum scriptoribus tantopere celebratur illustrissime princeps, non tantum ex opulentissimo atque amplissimo regno gloriari solebat, quantum ex bibliotheca illa, quam omnis generis librorum refertissimam summo tum studio, tum impensa construxerat. Sciebat enim rex prudentissimus multos ante se fuisse reges, nonnullos etiam post se fore coniciebat, qui parem aut maiorem potentiae dignitatem consecuturi, ac longe pluribus nationibus imperaturi essent. Quod vero tam copiosam, tam lautam elegantemque monumentorum supellectilem ipse comparasset, eam demum soli sibi gloriam potissimum vendicabat, quippe cuius neminem omnibus retro temporibus socium sibi participemque meminisset. Nec sane hominem fefellit opinio praeter alios enim Aegypti reges & vivus admirationi fuit, & defunctus in mortalitatem nominis consequi meruit. Itaque ad eum ex universa graecia, asiaque philosophi.poetae.oratores.historici.ac caeteri id genus eruditissimi homines veluti pisces ad limpidissimum vivarium confluebant. Qui quum ab eo benigne, ac liberaliter susciperentur, vix explicari potest quantum regi de se benemerito afficerentur. Quantum illi observantiae atque honoris praesentes absentesque impertirentur, Prae caeteris autem clarissimis viris habuit Demetrium phalerium cum philosophum tum oratorem insignem, cuius opera, & industria innumerabiles ubique codices & volumina perquisita conscribebantur, conscriptaque ex toto terrarum orbe Alexandriam deferebantur, ut ornatior in dies & pretiosior biblioteca redderetur. Hanc animi vel magnitudinem, vel elegantiam aetate nostra

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<sup>1</sup> From Nicolo Perrotus. Cornucopiae, sive linguae latinae commentarii. (Venezia: Aldo Manuzio, July, 1499). [BMV Aldine 150]

in Federico principe patre tuo Illustrissimo, ac sapientissimo annotavimus, qui praeter rei bellicae gloriam qua cunctos sui temporis principes, ita facile superavit, ut priscis tantum imperatoribus conferendus appareat praeter arces munitissimas, aedesque magnificentissimas, quas plurimis in locis exaedificavit, praeter alias virtutes, quae in eo pene innumerabiles floruerunt, Bibliothecam & ipse in primis locupletissimam, & omnium quae in Italia memorentur pulcherrimam quasi candoris & magnificentiae suae testimonium tibi reliquit. De qua nemini dubium est, quin praeclarissimis aedibus praecipuum ornamentum inducatur. Iam vero hoc literarium studium ita non in postremis habendum censuit ut doctissimos homines semper apud se domi, forisque detineret. Nec unquam adeo vel pace vel bello esset occupatus, quin lectionibus fere quotidianis operam impenderet. Qua quidem in re Iulium Caesarem & Octavium Augustum imitari videbatur, quorum alter cum exercitu proficiscens plurimum lectitare, & si quo temporis momento in castris morabatur, libros accuratissime scribere solebat, Alter in Mutinensi bello rem tantam adortus semper aut legere aut scribere, quotidie etiam declamare consueverat, quo fiebat ut alius nemo in promerendis ac sublevandis ingeniis patre tuo illustrissimo benignior, aut liberalior haberetur. Hinc omnes qui se doctrina quippiam profecisse cognoscerent, huius unius benivolentiam affectabant, & familiaritatem ambibant, huic uni praecipue operum suorum labores & scripta dedicabant, hunc unum denique laudibus, & praeconiis persequentes immortalitati commendare nitebantur. Quorsum igitur haec Guide princeps Illustrissime nempe ut intelligas a me studium tuum summopere laudari, quod ita veterum imperatorem institutis, & patris invictissimi tui praesertim vestigiis insistas, ut eorum virtutes examussim aemuleris. Nam quom rei militaris excellentiam adhuc per aetatem in te desiderare non debeamus, probitatem tamen & modestiam & gravitatem

quandam senilem in adolescentulo plurimi facimus. Huc ad te litterarum studia, quae te tantopere delectant, & linguae utriusque peritiam, ob quam ita excultus iam evasisti, ut alterum non dico principem, sed ne privatum quidem huius aetatis in tota Italia facile reperiās, qui tibi eruditione ac rerum cognitione sit comparandus, gratiasque tibi semper debebunt studiosissimi viri, cum aliis de causis, tum quod hoc tempore Nicolai Perotti episcopi Sipontini commentarios linguae latinae imprimendos & publicandos curaveris, qua certe in re plurimam laudem meo iudicio mereris, Vel quia bonarum artium cupidus hoc opere divulgato mirificam & iucunditatem & utilitatem attulisti, vel quia paternae gloriae, quantum in te fuit, pia sedulitate consulisti, dum librum illius nomini dedicatum celeberrimum efficiens conaris, vel quod honestissimum huius auctoris laborem ab interitus periculo vendicasti, qui sane paucos post annos fuit interiturus, nisi plurimis exemplaribus essigiatus hic liber in lucem per te prodiisset. Atqui hanc abs te gratiam facile merebatur vir, cum in romana Academia primarius, tum omnium aetatis suae doctissimorum nemini secundus, Is & complura alia ingenii sui monumenta nobis reliquit, in quibus passim ipse compositus, elegans, accuratus facilis incedit. Et hos praesertim Cornucopiae libros, Quos linguae latinae commentarios non immerito nuncupavi. In quibus quum Valerium Martialem interpretandum desumpserit non sententias modo & vocabula eorumque figuras, ut reliqui solent, Sed historias etiam longius repetitas & universam grammatices ronnem varie. concinne, luculenterque complectitur. Ubi quamque pleraque frivola & vulgaria & ad instituendos veluti pueros tradita vident, longe tamen plura occurrunt quae doctissimorum aures respuere non debeant. Ita peritis, imperitisque per futurum se pollicetur. Hos autem commentarios ex dimidio absolutos, ut ipse in calce operis testatur illustrissimo principi tuo, cui erat in primis deditissimus attulavit.

Huic igitur alteri commentariorum parti quam prae manibus habemus, supremam ipse manum inposuit, quae tamen, si unum duntaxat poetae librum interpretetur, tot tamen ac tanta, & tam varia continet, ut aliquanto minus esse id omne quidem superest, ipse author egregie fateatur. Alteram vero partem, cui proprie continuis vigiliis, & lucubrationibus insistebat, ut compertum habeo, morte praeventus absolvere non potuit. Quicumque igitur de hac recte sentiet, in illa non parum amisisse se iudicabit. Quin etiam hoc opera eodem, ut opinor casu pluribus in locis mendosum nec recognoscere, nec castigare potuit. Quod ego proximis mensibus iussu, & auspicio tuo diligentissime lectitavi, & quoad per me fieri potuit, emendatissimum reddidi, ut quicquid legentes ex hoc labore voluptatis, utilitatisque percipient, totum uni tibi principi elegantissimo, eruditissimoque, atque optimarum disciplinarum amantissimo acceptum referent. Vale.

Pyrrhi Perotti in cornu copiae, sive commentarios linguae latinae ad illustrem principem Federicum ducem & ecclesiastici exercitus imperatorem invictissimum, Prooemium.

En igitur librum ipsum, quem cornu copiae sive linguae latinae commentarios inscripsi, tibi princeps invictissime mitto, ut tuo iussu auspiciisque aedatur, ob id certe foelix futurus, quod te auctore tot eruditi homines ipsum laeti alacresque excipient. Complectentur. Osculabuntur, & certatim laudibus cumulabunt. Sed ob id longe foelicior, quod tu omnium primus accipies, & in istud tuum dignum diis palatium. Dignam principe victore gentium fedem induces, ubi quum omnia cernit marmore argento auroque nitentia, & in bibliotheca illa pulcherrima collocabitur. [...] O foelix atque iterum foelix liber. Sed utinam mihi Federice

princeps una cum suavissimo patruo meo foelicitate ista perfrui aliquando liceret. Vale  
princeps mitissime.



Lodovico Odassio of Padova to the Most Illustrious Prince Guido Duke of Urbino, Greetings

Ptolemy Philadelphus who is so highly celebrated by writers on manners, O illustrious prince, was not only accustomed to being honored because of the extraordinary opulence and breadth of his reign, but also for his deep study of all kinds of books, as is known from his library, which he curated at his own expense, so it's reported, first by study and then by producing them [the books]. For he knew, as a very prudent king, that there had been many kings prior to him, and he understood that there would be many kings after him who would develop an equal or greater manifestation of power and would reign over many nations for a long time. Because of this, in fact, he compared himself to the most abundant, praiseworthy, and elegant of all monuments which he himself had won over single-handedly and powerfully for his own glory. Therefore, he has been remembered in all previous history (which was his associate and collaborator), for opinion has been right to honor this man beyond all other kings of Egypt. And he has been ever present to admiration and, though dead, in his mortality he has come to merit immortality. And so from the entire Greek and asiatic world philosophers, poets, orators, historians, and other such learned men have migrated together just as schools of fish gather in the clearest spring. Whoever has been so easily taken by him, because of his good deed, can scarcely explain how much they are influenced by the king. How their attention to him has brought on present and absent honors. Moreover, exceeding all other very famous men, he had Demetrius Phalerius as a philosopher, then an outstanding orator, whose works and production were written within innumerable codices. And they were collected from libraries from all over the world and brought to Alexandria to be edited, to

ornament, and enrich the library.

We have taken note of this loftiness of spirit and even its elegance in our own age in the person of your father, prince Federico, the most illustrious and most wise, who, over and beyond the glory of warfare—whereby he prevailed so easily over all other princes of history that he appears so much an equal to previous emperors. Upon fortifications he has erected the most magnificent palaces only exceeded by his other virtues, which have flourished in him to an almost inestimable degree. Above and beyond all of these things, he has left to you a very luxurious library which will be remembered by all in Italy as the most beautiful library and as a testament of his generosity and magnificence. There is no doubt in anyone's mind that it [the library] will be included as the pre-eminent ornament of the most famous and most distinguished palaces. Now, indeed, this study of letters is not considered as a possession that must be held for posterity, so much as it is a reference for the most learned men of today who are always at home among themselves. Nor even, to such a degree, in times of peace or war, would it have continued to exist unless it would have supplied its collection to readers of today. Indeed, he [Federico] seemed to imitate Julius Caesar and Octavius Augustus, one of whom campaigned with his army but was accustomed to reading a great deal, even if he was delayed in camp for a moment of time, he was accustomed to writing books very accurately. The other in the war of Muntinensi was accustomed either to read or write daily and even to make speeches encouraging this practice. It happens that nobody can be considered kinder or more generous in promoting and sponsoring talents than your father. Hither to, all who would know how to adhere to this practice carry out the benevolence of him; they extend friendship to him; they frequently dedicate to him the works and writings they have produced;

indeed, they extend their praises; and they are accustomed to commending him in laudatory declarations, thus ensuring his immortality.

Wherefore, O Guido illustrious prince, as you surely know, your study is very worthy of praise because it is just like the ancient imperial institutions. And especially, because you maintain traditions of your invincible father, you emulate in a loftier way the virtues of the ancients. Indeed, we should not long for excellence in military exploits at your age; nevertheless, let us endeavor toward what is modest and whatever is mature in this, your period of adolescence. Up to this time you have accomplished your literary studies, which delighted you so much, and the mastery of both languages [Latin and Greek]. On account of this, you have now accomplished more than any other prince, and you easily use [the languages] them as indeed no person of your age in all of Italy who might be compared to you in erudition and in the knowledge of the world. And so you ought to be considered always the most studious men for other reasons, too, for consequently you will have curated commentaries from the time of Nicholas Perotti, bishop of Sipontino, which have been printed and published in the Latin language. Certainly, in any judgement you will merit supreme praise because you have brought wonder, delight, and utility to this work, which you have disseminated to those curious about the liberal arts. Either for paternal glory, which is an integral part of you, you have promoted by your sedulous piety, while making an effort to bring out a very celebrated book that was lauded in the name of your father--or because of the labour of this author, you rescued him from danger, which he would have been subject to in a few year's time, lest this book with its multiple exempla had not been brought to light by you. But what other man merits this grace so easily from you than the first one in the

Roman academy; second to none in all the learning of his age. He has left behind to us a multitude of monuments to his extensive talent, which—he being an elegant man—is articulate and easily composed throughout. And so he arranged these as books of the Cornucopia, which are commentaries in the Latin language. It is not without merit that he expressed in a new interpretation of Martial not only Martial's opinions, vocabulary, and figures of speech, as the others are accustomed to do, but also histories, longer narratives, and various intricacies of Roman grammar that he synthesized in the most clear, articulated way. Although others see an abundance of frivolous matters and vulgarity handed down as instruction to boys, many things occur [in Martial] which should not reach the ears of the most learned men. So in the future Martial would be edited [by Perotti] for experts and amateurs. Moreover he placed these commentaries, which he himself brought to conclusion, under the name of the illustrious prince to whom it had been dedicated in the first edition. Therefore to this other part of the commentaries, which we have from your hands, he himself imposed the supreme hand [final editing]. Nevertheless, if he were to interpret one book of the poet—whatever it contained, what it didn't contain, and whatever part of it survived—he himself would be the outstanding author. In truth he was on the point of bringing out another part, to which he dedicated his disciplined vigils and inspirations. As I have indicated, he was not able to carry this out, prevented as he was by death. Whoever will understand this correctly therefore will judge himself as unequal in the matter [will not be able to take the job of editing]. I am of the opinion that in this matter one cannot recognize or castigate the failure of editing in many places, in this book which I have so diligently read by your order and desire, in these recent months. And in as much as it can be done by me I have edited an emmendment; whatever

reader will perceive in this work of pleasure or usefulness, they will attribute all of it entirely to you, [for it is you] who have accepted it, the most elegant, erudite and beloved prince, because of your great love for the greatest of all disciplines.

Pyrrhus Perotti's in Cornucopiae, being the commentaries of the Latin language, to the illustrious prince Federico duke and captain of the church, most victorious ruler, Preface.

Most insurmountable prince, I send you this book, which I have inscribed in the Cornucopiae commentaries of Latin language, completed by your order and wishes. On this account it will certainly be a happy matter, because erudite men will consider you as the author and as happily they will embrace you, listen to you, and certainly shower you with praises. Because of that you will be much happier, for you will be considered the first among men, and as a result of that your dignity will be considered an offering to the gods. Victorious prince, you will be led to the worthy faith, and loyalty of all people will be inscribed in marble, silver, and gold, and collected in the most beautiful library. O happy and fortunate book. Frederick, my prince along with my sweetest patron, may it be permitted to me, in whatever way, to dedicate this to you in this happy state. Farewell, most gentle prince.

Appendix Ic

Aldus Manutius Romanus Guido Pheretrio Urbini duci S.P.D.<sup>1</sup>

Operae pretium mihi videtur, Guide Pheretri, dux illustrissime, ut quaecunque volumina formis excudenda curamus, praefatione aliqua veluti clypeo quodam munita exeant in manus hominum, et quo sit illis plus auctoritatis, viris vel doctrina vel dignitate vel utroque perinsignibus dedicentur. Quod minime arroganter id a me fieri existimetur velim, quandoquidem alienos libros nostra cura impressos illi vel illi dedicare idcirco mihi licere arbitror, quod eos maximo quaesitos studio tanquam ab inferis ad superos revocemus. Nam, si potuere quidam latas ab aliis leges sub suo nomine promulgare, exolescente metu antiquiorum, quemadmodum olim de decem tabulis factum constat, quarum cum contemni antiquitas coepisset, eadem illa, quae iis legibus cavebantur, in alia legum latorum nomina transierunt, cur ipse non queam in alicuius clarissimi ac summi viri nomine eos edere libros, qui, cum tot secula squallidi et laceri iacuerint, summis meis laboribus reviviscunt? Id igitur meo iure facere mihi videor. Quapropter Iulium Maternum sub tuo foelici nomine aere nostro excusum publicare voluimus tibi quoque dono mittere, Guide, princeps doctissime, rati fore tibi gratissimum, quod integer et absolutus abusque Getis in Italiam redeat suosque revisat et patriam: nam qui vagabatur prius, valde quam depravatus erat ac mutilus et fere dimidiatus. Sed quoniam contendunt quidam a Christiano viro haudquaquam legendum Firmicum, quod fati agi humana omnia et necessario evenire affirmet, ipsius verba recitare placuit, quibus docet posse unumquemque stellarum resistere potestatibus, si sit prudentia. Sic enim dicit:

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<sup>1</sup> From Iulius Firmicus Maternus Scriptores Astronomici. (Venice: Aldus, June 1499). [BMV Aldine 104]

“Invocemus suppliciter deos, et religiose promissa numinibus vota reddamus, ut confirmati animi nostri divinitate ex aliqua parte stellarum violentis decretorum potestatibus resistamus. Hoc debere nos facere vir divinae sapientiae Socrates docuit. Nam, cum quidam ei de moribus suis cupiditatibusque dixisset, quas ille simili ratione collegerat, ‘Sunt’ inquit ‘ut dicis, agnosco, confiteor’; et, vir prudentissimus, latentia corporis vitia facili confessione detexit. ‘Sed haec’ inquit ‘omnia a me prudentia ac virtutum auctoritate superata sunt, et quicquid vitii ex prava concretione corpus habuerat, animi bene sibi conscia divinitas temperavit’. Hinc intelligi datur, stellarum quidem esse quod patimur et quod nos incentivis quibusdam stimulat ignibus, divinitatis vero esse animi, quod repugnamus.” Sed haec et alia in Materno tu ipse longe melius. Vale, principum aetatis nostrae decus. Venetiis, decimo sexto calendas Novembres, M.ID.

Aldo Manuzio romano a Guido da Montefeltro duca di Urbino<sup>2</sup>

Mi sembra che metta conto, illustre duca Guido da Montefeltro, che tutti i volumi dei quali procuriamo la stampa escano in mano al pubblico muniti di una qualche prefazione, quasi a mo' di scudo, e che, per conferir loro maggiore autorità, siano dedicati a personaggi di gran fama, o per l'erudizione o per l'alta loro posizione o per ambedue. Vorrei che il fatto non venisse ascritto a mia presunzione; perché penso che in tanto mi sia concesso di dedicare a questo o a quello i libri altrui stampati per nostra cura, in quanto tali autori, oggetto delle nostre più attente ricerche, li richiamiamo quasi da morte a vita. E difatti, se taluni poterono promulgare sotto il proprio nome leggi fatte da altri, per l'affievolirsi del rispetto verso gli antenati, com'è noto che un tempo avvenne per le Dieci Tavole—poiché, essendosi cominciato a spregiarle come superate, le stesse cose che quelle leggi proibivano furono trasferite sotto il nome d'altri legislatori—, perché non potrei io stesso pubblicare, sotto il nome di qualche personaggio illustre e grande, quei libri che, dopo esser giaciuti malconci e spogli per tanti secoli, in virtù delle mie aspre fatiche ritornano in vita? Mi sembra che far ciò sia mio diritto.

Ecco perché abbiamo voluto pubblicare sotto il tuo nome bene augurante Giulio Materno, stampato a nostre spese, e inviartelo in dono, o dottissimo principe Guido; nella persuasione che ti sarebbe riuscito assai gradito: poiché esso ritorna integro e perfetto in Italia fin dalla terra dei Goti, e torna a rivedere la sua gente e la sua patria. Infatti quello che in precedenza

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<sup>2</sup> Italian translation by Giovanni Orlandi, from Aldo Manuzio. Aldo Manuzio, Editore: Dediche, Prefazioni, Note ai Testi. (Milano: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1975):II, XVII.



circolava era quanto mai corrotto e mutilo e quasi dimezzato.

Dato però che, secondo la convinzione di taluni, Firmico non dovrebb'esser letto da un cristiano, perché sosterebbe che tutti gli eventi umani siano retti dal destino e dominati dalla necessità, mi é parso opportuno citare le sue stesse parole, lá dove mostra come ciascuno possa resistere al potere degli astri, se sia provvisto di saggezza. Dice infatti: "Invochiamo con suppliche gli dei, e religiosamente rendiamo ai numi i voti promessi, acciocché, fatti forti dalla qualità divina del nostro animo, possiamo resistere in certa misura alla forza strapotente delle leggi astrali. Che cosí dobbiamo fare ha insegnato Socrate, uomo di saggezza divina; infatti, quando un tale gli parlò dei suoi costumi e delle sue passioni, la cui origine egli deduceva in siffatta maniera [ossia dagli astri], ripose, 'É cosí come dici, lo so, lo ammetto'; e, da uomo sapientissimo, scoperse e ammise senza difficoltà i vizi che si nascondevano nel suo corpo. 'Ma tutte queste cose—soggiunse—sono state da me superate con la potenza della virtù e con la saggezza, e quei vizi che il corpo aveva ricevuto dalla sua mala formazione, la divinità di un animo ben cosciente di sé li ha repressi'. Donde si può comprendere come sia da attribuire agli astri ciò che noi subiamo, ciò che ci stimola quasi con interno fuoco, e che tuttavia spetta alla divinità dell'animo il resistervi." Ma questo e altri passi di Materno saprai valutare tu stesso assai meglio di me. Addio, vanto dei principi del nostro tempo.

Venezia, 17 ottobre, 1499.

## Appendix Id

From Xenophontis Omissa; Gemistus Pletone, Diodori et Plutarchi Historiis, Herodian,

Historiarum Libri Octo. (Venice: Aldus, 1503).<sup>1</sup>

Ἄλδος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Γουῖδω τῷ Φερετρίῳ Οὐρβινέων ἡγεμόνι· εὖ πράττειν

«ἽΩ παῖ πατρός ἀγαθοῦ» παρ' Ἰουλίου Πολυδεύκους ἐγράφη πρὸς Κόμμοδον παῖδ' ἔτι ὄντα, περιόντος ἔτι Μάρκου τοῦ πατρός, ὃς τὰ τε ἄλλα καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἦν ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλόσοφος.<sup>2</sup> Ἀτὰρ διατί οὐ καὶ «ἽΩ παῖ ἀγαθὲ» ἔγραφεν ὁ Πολυδεύκης; ἢ ὅτι ἐν παισὶ γινῶναι τὴν ἀγαθότητα οὐ δυνάμεθα, κωλυόντων, οἶμαι, τριῶν τουτωνί, ἡλικίας φημί καὶ φόβου καὶ διδασκάλου; Καὶ μὴν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος παῖς ἀγαθὸς ἐγένετό ποτε, ἦν Κόμμοδος οὗτος, μὴ μόνον πατρός γε ζῶντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τεθνηκότος, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ δὲ μόνον τῆς βασιλείας, ὁπότε πᾶσιν ἐδόκει λίαν ἄξιος εἶναι καὶ πατρός καὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων διαδοχῆς· καὶ γὰρ οὐ πολλοῦ χρόνου παρεληλυθότος, ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦκε κακίας, ὥστε τῶν τε τότε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν πάλαι ἀπάντων, καθ' ἃ ἰστόρηται Ἡρωδιανῶ, γενέσθαι κάκιστος,<sup>3</sup> ἐπειδὴ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ πάντες, καὶ ταῦτα τρυφῶντες, εἰώθαμεν χείρονές τε γενέσθαι καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ὑπερβάλλειν τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ. Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε πρὸς σε οὕτως ἂν γράψαιμι· «ἽΩ ἀγαθὲ υἱὲ πατρός ἀγαθοῦ», ἐπεὶ οὐ μόνον πατρῷόν ἐστί σοι κτῆμα βασιλεία τε καὶ σοφία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἀγαθότης, οἷς πᾶσι κεκόσμησαι καὶ παῖς καὶ νεανίας καὶ νέος καὶ νῦν ἐς ἀνδρας τελῶν. Ἀληθὲς ἄρα τὸ τῆς τραγωδίας ἐκεῖνο·<sup>4</sup>

Δεινὸς χαρακτήρ καὶ πίσημος ἐν βροτοῖς  
ἐσθλῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ πῶς μεῖζον ἔρχεται  
τῆς εὐγενείας τοῦνομα τοῖσιν ἀξίοις.

Οὐκοῦν ἐξέστω αὐτῇ εἰπεῖν, ὡ ἀγαθὲ υἱὲ πατρός ἀγαθοῦ.<sup>5</sup>

Αἶ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλων!  
τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι βασιλεῖς καὶ κοίρανοι εἴεν,

ὅτι ἐν τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις τουτοῖσι χρόνοις καλῶς ἂν εἶχε τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ βασιλέων φιλοσοφούντων κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Πλάτωνα διοικουμένων τῶν πόλεων, ὅστις ἐρωτηθεὶς ποτε πῶς ἂν ἄριστα διοικοῖντο αἱ πόλεις, εἶπεν· «Ἐὰν οἱ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύσωσιν, ἢ οἱ βασιλεῖς φιλοσοφήσωσι».<sup>6</sup> Σὺ τοίνυν τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐπιθυμεῖς ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι δέ τι τούς τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο δ' ἀντικρυς εἰδότες οἱ λαοὶ σου δὶς σε βία τῶν πολεμίων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξωθούμενον, δὶς ἀπαξάπαντες ὁμοφωνοῦντές τε καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι, οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἐς τὴν σὴν ἐπεσπᾶσαντο βασιλείαν·<sup>7</sup> ἰδοὺ δὴ τι καλὸν δὲ καὶ ὠφέλιμον φιλόσοφον εἶναι καὶ βασιλέα τὸν αὐτόν. Ἀλλὰ μικρὸν τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη, εἰ μὴ ἄλλ' ἄττ' ἔχοι πολὺ μεῖζω πορίσαι ἡμῖν

<sup>1</sup> Greek text and Italian translation ranscribed from Giovanni Orlandi, from Aldo Manuzio. Aldo Manuzio, Editore: Dediche, Prefazioni, Note ai Testi. (Milano: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1975):I, LI; II, LI.

ἀγαθὰ· τουτέστιν, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγων διατρίβω, ἀνδρείαν ἐν πᾶσι μεγίστην. Φερέτωσαν οἱ τε καιροὶ καὶ αἱ τύχαι ὥς ἂν βούλονται ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα, καὶ αὐτὰ νῦν μὲν οὕτως ἐχέτω νῦν δ' ἐτέρως· οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ. Οὐδὲν δὴπου ἑαυτοῦ δυστυχοῦντος διοίσεται εὐτυχῶν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος. Τοιούτους μὲν τινὰς τῶν παλαιῶν γενομένους, καὶ ἀκηκόαμεν παρὰ σοφῶν καὶ ἀνέγνωμεν αὐτοὶ ἐν ἱστορίαις. Σὲ δὲ εἶδομεν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ τύχῃ θαυμαστόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ, πρὸς τῷ δίκαιος εἶναι, καὶ αἰεὶ ὁμοιοτρόπως ἀγαθὸς καὶ πρῶτος εἶ καὶ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ δὴ τὰ πάντα χαριέστατος· ἄλλ' ὁπόταν τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης οὐ συναντᾷ σοι κατὰ τὸ πρέπον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν σὴν, τοιοῦτος ὢν τυγχάνεις, ὥστε δοκεῖν οὐδὲν ὅλως πάσχειν κακόν. Ἴνα δὲ μὴ πόρρωθεν ἀνιχνεύωμεν παραδείγματα, ἐπιδείξω αὐτὸς σαφέστατα τὴν σὴν ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ φρόνησιν· ἠκούσαμεν γὰρ οἷα μὲν ἔπαθες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου φεύγων καὶ τὴν δουλείαν, καὶ ὡς τέλος ἔσωσέ σε ὁ Θεός, ὅπως δ' ἐνεκαρτέρησας τύχης ἀνεχόμενος ἐναντιούσης, ἐσμέν καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρες σὺν ἄλλοις ὅτι πλείστοις τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἐωρακότες Ἐνετίησι καὶ τεθαυμάκοτες,<sup>9</sup> ὃ δὴ τῆς ἱερᾶς δῶρόν ἐστι φιλοσοφίας. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν λογιζόμενος περὶ σοῦ, ἠθέλησα μίκρ' ἄττα χαρίζεσθαί σοι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖν ἂν μοι ἐδόκουν, εἰ πρὸς σὲ πέμποιμι τὴν Ξενοφῶντος Ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν, ἣτινα λέγεται παραλειπόμενα τῆς Θουκυδίδου συγγραφῆς,<sup>10</sup> ἅρτι δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐντετυπωμένην, διὰ τὸ πάμπαν εἶναι χαρίεσσαν, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν συνθέντα οὕτω λόγιον, οὕτω τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ πνέοντα θυμοῦ, ὥστε ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν Ἑλλήνων καλεῖσθαι μέλισσαν Ἀττικὴν<sup>11</sup> ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῷ εἰοικέναι σοι τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονείαν· ἡγεμῶν γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τυγχάνεις δὲ ὢν καὶ αὐτός· ἐκεῖνος καὶ σοφὸς ἦν τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τοὺς τρόπους κόσμιος, γεγονόςας καὶ αὐτὸς θαυμαστὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα. Ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς νυνὶ ταῦτα. Ἐτυπώθη δ' ὁμοῦ Ἡρωδιανὸς περὶ τῆς μετὰ Μάρκου βασιλείας, καὶ Πλήθωνος τὰ παραλειπόμενα, καὶ σχόλιά τινα πάνυ ἀναγκαῖα ἐς Θουκυδίδην, ὧν χωρὶς μικροῦ δεῖν ἀξύνετος ὁ συγγραφεύς. Ταῦτα δὴ οὖν σοι ἐδωρησάμην, ἀρεστὰ καὶ κεχαρισμένα ποιεῖσθαί σοι νομίζων, καὶ ὅπως εἴη παρὰ σοι μνημεῖον ἧς ἔχων αἰεὶ διατετέλεκα πρὸς τέ σε καὶ τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν εὐνοίας. Ἐρῶσω.

Ἐνετίησιν Ἀνθεστηριῶνος τετάρτη καὶ δέκα. α. φ. γ.<sup>12</sup>

Aldo romano a Guido da Montefeltro duca di Urbino

“O figlio di eccellente padre,” scrisse Giulio Polluce a Commodo ancor fanciullo, quando era tuttora in vita suo padre Marco, uomo, oltre al resto, bello di corpo e d’animo, e filosofo. Ma perché Polluce non scrisse anche: “O eccellente fanciullo”? Forse perché non possiamo riconoscere nei fanciulli la grandezza: ce lo impediscono, credo, tre cose, ossia l’età, il timore, e il precettore. Eppure, se mai vi fu fanciullo eccellente, tale fu proprio Commodo, non solo quando il padre era ancor vivo, ma anche dopo la sua morte. Ma fu tale solo all’inizio del suo regno, quand’egli a tutti sembrava pienamente degno di suo padre e di succedergli al potere; infatti, trascorso non molto tempo, giunse a tal punto di malvagità da divenire, secondo riferisce Erodiano, il peggiore e tra quanti vissero ai tempi suoi e tra tutti gli antichi. Perché tutti, giunti al potere, e di ciò fatti superbi, siamo soliti divenire e perfino eccedere in turpitudine. Ma, quanto a me, potrei scriverti così: “O eccellente figlio di eccellente padre”; poiché tu possiedi, come proprietà, ereditata dal padre, non solo il potere e la saggezza, ma anche la nobiltà d’animo, cose tutte di cui fosti adorno da fanciullo, da giovinetto, da giovane, e ora che sei annoverato tra gli uomini avveri il detto tragico: “Impronta straordinaria e insigne negli uomini è il nascere da nobile stirpe, e per chi ne è degno s’accresce la rinomanza data dalla nascita illustre”. Sia dunque lecito ripetere, o figlio eccellente di eccellente padre: “Vogliamo il padre Zeus e Atena e Apollo che dieci persone siffatte siano miei principi e signori”. Giacché in questi tempi durissimi le cose nostre sarebbero andate bene se le città fossero governate da principi filosofi, secondo il pensiero del divino Platone, il quale, interrogato una volta come si potessero governare le città nel modo migliore, rispose: “Se gli filosofi regnassero, o i re filosofassero”.

Tu dunque, che sei tra questi, non aspiri ad altro che a far del bene agli uomini e alle città; e le tue genti, da parte loro, ben sapendo ciò, allorché due volte fosti estromesso con la violenza dai tuoi possessi per opera dei tuoi nemici, due volte, sfidando il pericolo, tutte d'accordo e con gioia ti richiamarono nel tuo regno. Ecco quanto vi è bello e di utile nel fatto d'esser al tempo stesso filosofo e re. Ma ciò sarebbe piccola cosa se non potesse procurarti altrettali beni di gran lunga maggiori: ossia, per non indugiarmi a elencarli partitamente, un'eccezionale forza d'animo in ogni circostanza. Trascinino pure i casi e le sorti, come piace loro, in alto e in basso le vicende umane; siano esse ora in un modo ora in un altro: "Non se ne cura Ippoclide". Certo il filosofo, quando ha buona fortuna, in nulla sarà diverso da quando è sfortunato; e che uomini di tal fatta vi siano stati nell'antichità, l'abbiamo udito dai saggi e l'abbiamo letto noi stessi nelle storie. E noi ti abbiamo visto ammirevole nella buona e nella cattiva sorte: ché nella buona fortuna, oltre che giusto, sei anche in egual modo nobile e mite e generoso e in tutto amabilissimo; ma quando le circostanze non ti capitino in sorte nel modo conveniente e secondo i tuoi meriti, ti dimostri tale che sembri non subire alcun male affatto. Per non cercare troppo lontano gli esempi, mostrerò io stesso nel modo più chiaro la tua forza d'animo e la tua saggezza. Abbiamo infatti saputo quanto hai dovuto sopportare sfuggendo ai tuoi nemici e alla schiavitù; e come alla fine Iddio ti ha salvato e come hai perseverato nel tollerare la sorte avversa, lo attestiamo anche noi insieme con altri numerosissimi qui a Venezia che hanno assistito a tutto questo con ammirazione; e ciò è un dono della veneranda filosofia.

Così ragionando su di te, volevo farti un piccolo omaggio; mi è parso di poterlo fare inviandoti la Storia Greca di Senofonte che vien detta continuazione della storia di Tuciddide,

ora da me stampata: giacché essa è molto gradevole, e il suo autore è così eloquente, così spirante attico timo, da esser chiamato dagli antichi Greci l'ape attica; ancora, perché egli è simile a te, oltre al resto, anche per la sua posizione di condottiero. Senofonte infatti fu condottiero così come sei tu; era uomo di grande cultura e misurato nei modi, e anche tu sei ammirevole sotto questi aspetti—ma sul tuo valore è ora che facciamo punto. S'è poi stampata qui l'opera di Erodiano L'impero dopo Marco Aurelio, la continuazione di Pletone, e alcuni scolii quanto mai indispensabili a Tucidide senza i quali lo storico sarebbe pressoché incomprensibile.

Questi doni dunque ti ho fatto, pensando che ti riuscissero ben accetti e graditi, e affinché fossero presso di te ricordo dell'affetto che ho sempre nutrito per te e per il tuo regno. Addio.

Venezia, 14 novembre, 1503.

Appendix II

Marin Sanudo, Diarii. Volume II. (Venezia: Marco Visentini, 1879).

2: 725 no. 285:

*Item*, fu posto per i savii dil consejo et di terra ferma, excepto sier Filippo Trum procurator, di pagar spagnoli stati in Bibiena a l'assedio, et primi mandati fuora, et li 300 provisionati, quali erano qui a le scale, non computà li contestabili né quelli dil ducha di Urbim, et sia dà libertà al collegio di darli fin ducati 1200 a quelli si saperano certo esser stati in Bibiena. Contradisise sier Filippo Trum savio di consejo, et biasemò Lazaro Grasso stato in Bibiena, et dete bota ai savii da terra ferma..."

2: 772, no. 303: (May 29, 1499)

Vene l'orator di Urbim, e li fo ditto la deliberation di andar contra el suo signor con el bucintoro, et venisse la domeniga, el qual ringratiò e disse verà con assa' persone; et il principe li disse come se li daria 26 ducati al dí per spexe.

2: 773, no. 303: (May 30, 1499)

In collegio. Si have aviso da Ravena, di zonzer lí dil ducha di Urbim, et domenega saria qui, et fo parlato di farli le spexe, et sier Polo Barbo non volse, *adeo* fo necessario ozi chiamar el pregadi per questo.

Da poi disnar fo pregadi, et sier Polo Barbo consejer, messe solo di mandar ducati 50 a Chioza, per far le spexe al ducha di Urbim, qual vien con gran zente, e a l'incontro sier Marco

Antonio Morexini, el cavalier consejer, et 4 savii di terra ferma, excepto sier Marco Sanudo, qual non era, messeno che li fusse fato le spexe, la prima sera qui et a Chioza, e poi darli 25 ducati al zorno, et fo disputation di do consejeri, grande, *tamen* quella dil Morexini fu presa, e fu gran vergogna chiamar per questo sollo il consejo di pregadi.

2: 776, no. 304: (June 1, 1499)

*Da Chioza, di sier Zorzi Pixani, doctor el cavalier podestà, di ultimo.* Dil zonzer di alcuni cavali dil ducha di Urbim, doman sarà il ducha a disnar, et non era zonto quello di le raxon vechie, *adeo* lui podestà ordinò el disnar, e il ducha aloza con lui.

2: 779-80, no. 305: (June 2, 1499)

Vene li cai di X, et mandati tutti fuora, fe'Iezer certe lettere. Et in questa matina, el collegio si levò a bona hora, perché sier Bernardo Nani nievo dil principe sposoe la sua dona a San Stephano, et da poi disnar fo preparato per la venuta dil ducha di Urbim.

Da poi disnar adoncha el principe con li oratori et senato andoe col bucintoro contra el ducha Guido di Urbin fino a Santo Antonio, et lui lo aspetoe, et fu fatto cinque paraschelmi justa il consueto per nui savii ai ordeni, adornati con le arme di cadauno; et gionse poi esso ducha venuto di Chioza con sier Zorzi Pixani podestà, et alcuni zentilhomeni li fo mandato contra. É di anni 28, bello homo, era vestito di negro a la francese, et cussí tutti i soi per la morte dil signor Octaviano di Ubaldini suo barba, qual il stato et lui ducha assai tempo havia governato; et montato sul bucintoro con gran festa vene per canal grando fino a la caxa dil marchexe di Ferrara, dove li fu preparato; et il principe lo acompagnò fino in camera, et stete



in questa terra zorni...come dirò; et se li deva 25 ducati al zorno per spexe, et avia assai persone. 2: 780, no 305: (June 3, 1499)

Vene sier Zorzi Pixani dotor et cavalier podestà di Chioza, et disse: come venendo eri col ducha di Urbim, li havia ditto voler esser vinitiam cussí come il padre suo era aragonese; et disse poi la spexa fata a chioza, perché era con assai persone.

Vene il ducha di Urbin acompagnato con molti cavalieri et patricii, et con una bella compagnia sua, et il podestà di Chioza, qual sentati tutti da apresso il principe, et era con lui domino Zuam Batista Carazo, et altri homeni di condition, quali precedeva l'orator suo domino Machario. Or esso ducha disse alcune bone parole pian; come voleva esser bon servitor etc; et per il principe li fo risposto reservato, *tamen* perché ancora non era concluso di tenir l'anno de rispetto o no dicendo si consejera etc., et che l'era sta ben visto da la Signoria nostra et da tutta la terra come fiol nostro carissimo. Et atento sier Bernardo Nani suo nepote, qual eri sposò, ozi deva in palazzo el disnar de' soi compagni electi, et perché ditto ducha era in ditto numero di compagni *alias* aceptato; li fo ditto remanesse con alcuni di soi principali a disnar in palazzo con li compagni, quali da poi disnar sono balli in salla, et *tamen* lui non ballò.

2: 784, no. 308: (June 4, 1499)

In collegio. In gran consejo vene l'orator dil ducha di Urbim, domino Machario, et disse al suo Signor per poter ben dir il tutto voria do auditori. Li fo risposto, per il principe, passato ozi se li faria risposta a la richiesta feze, senza altro.

2: 787, no.309: (June 5, 1499)

Vene l'orator di Urbim, et disse el signor suo veria in collegio, et desiderava saper la resolution nostra.. Li fo risposto doman si vederà.

Ancora in questa matina tratandosi dil ducha di Urbim, sier Filippo Trum preditto si alterò contra sier Marco Antonio Morexini el cavalier consejer, et fo gran parole, et il principe vene in colera contra il Trum, li disse era uno homo del diavolo, e lui rispose non ho paura solo di Dio, siché fu gran parole, le quali cessade si disolse el collegio.

2: 793, no. 310: (June 6, 1499)

Non fo el principe.

2: 796, no.312: (June 7, 1499)

Vene il ducha di Urbim con molti patricii che per lui sono mandati, et rimase dentro in collegio domino Zuam Batista Carazolo, domino Machario suo orator, et domino Lodovico de Odaxy, et li altri mandati fuora. El principe li disse con optime parole la deliberation fata eri zercha l'anno de rispetto; comemorando quello havia ditto al podestà nostro di Chioza venendo, et che se li daria provision etc. Et lui rispose saviamente, perché e doto et forma ben parole: come voleva far, et star al modo che a la Signoria nostra piaceva, pur che chavalchando havesse il suo titolo di governador come l'ha al presente; et il principe li disse si consejerà.

2: 886, no.346: (July 4, 1499):

Vene l'orator di Urbim, et dimandò danari per il suo signor; per tanto in questa matina li fo balotato una paga.

2: 945, no. 367: (22 July, 1499)

*Item*, fo balotà tre page al ducha di Urbin qual sono mandate; et scritto a Rimano a Zorzi Franco secretario nostro vadi a Urbin a levar quelli 100 homeni d'arme, et menarli a marina per passar in brexana, et fo scritto a esso ducha et solecitato.

### Appendix III

#### \*\*The Modern History of the Woodcuts\*\*

The 172 woodcuts that illustrate the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili have inspired a vast scholarship comparable to the studies on the authorship and origins of the text. Although the authorship of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili has been under discussion since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the mysteries associated with the woodcuts have come into question only in the past hundred years.<sup>1</sup> The problems concerning the illustrations fall within three closely linked areas of scholarship. The earliest studies treated the woodcuts as *exempla* by separating them from the text and re-casting them into a variety of new contexts. During the same period, scholars began to question the identity of the artist or artists who designed and produced the woodcuts. A third group of studies, which aimed at solving the long-standing mystery of the

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<sup>1</sup> As early as 1474, Raffaello Zovenzoni wrote an epigram in praise of a learned Francesco Colonna. In 1517, Leandro Alberti, a Dominican historian, praised a learned Francesco Colonna in De viris illustribus ordinis praedicatorum libri sex, (Bologna, 1517). According to Apostolo Zeno, writing in 1723, Francesco Colonna had been associated with the Polifilo since 1512. Zeno claimed to have read verses attributing the book to Colonna in a copy then kept at a Dominican library on the Zattere. In 1778, Temanza repeated the evidence above and pronounced the Polifilo the first Venetian architectural treatise. It was not until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, that the Roman versus the Venetian Francesco Colonna came under debate in the scholarship of Maurizio Calvesi and Giovanni Pozzi, respectively. For a summary and bibliography of the authorship debate, see Pat Brown, "A note on the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and the Identity of Francesco Colonna," in Venice and Antiquity, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997): 287-290. Pozzi and Casella have gathered various documents that connect the name of Francesco Colonna with the Monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and with the collection of money for the printing of a certain book. In addition, the 20<sup>th</sup> century has seen several new attributions, most notably Fra Eliseo da Treviso, based on a single document from 1618, and Leon Battista Alberti, based on the notion that the Polifilo is an architectural treatise containing many ideas that resemble Alberti's. For the attribution to Fra Eliseo, see Alessandro Parronchi, "L'autore del Polifilo," in La Nazione, 15, (August 1963) and Pietro Scapechi, "L' 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili' e il suo autore," in Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia, LI, 4-5 (1983): 286-98; for Alberti, see Liane Lefaivre, Leon Battista Alberti's 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', (Boston: MIT UP, 1997).

book's authorship, drew from earlier scholarship on the woodcuts to elucidate their geographic and cultural origins and thereby solve the identity of the elusive Francesco Colonna. Modern scholarship, which has been concerned primarily with the authorship of the illustrations and the legacy of isolated images, not only tells us the story of the gradual separation of the woodcuts from their context, but also reveals much about the poliphilian nature of the images that illustrate the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.

### \*\*The Legacy of the Woodcuts\*\*

The foundations for the modern study of the woodcuts were laid in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. During this period, the Hypnerotomachia woodcuts entered into two broad discussions. For bibliographers of early printing, the Polifilo represented a masterpiece of typography and printed book illustration.<sup>2</sup> For Renaissance historians and art historians, the woodcuts provided exempla for studies on the rebirth of classical antiquity in Renaissance culture and the arts. It was within these discussions that the woodcuts in the Hypnerotomachia came to be separated from the text and recast as sources in bibliographical, historical, and art historical scholarship.

To bring the woodcuts to a wider audience of scholars and bibliophiles, several

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<sup>2</sup> See R. Fulin, Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia Veneziana (Venezia, 1882); C. Castellani, La stampa in Venezia, dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio, seniore (Venezia, 1889); Duc de Rivoli, Étude sur les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV siècle et du commencement du XVI (Paris, 1889-90) and Bibliographie des livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV siècle et du commencement du XVI, 1469-1525 (Paris, 1892); H. Brown, The Venetian Printing Press. An Historical Study (London, 1891).

publishers undertook the publication of some or all of the woodcuts—without the text. In his introduction to Early Venetian Printing Illustrated (1895), which reproduced a number of examples of woodcuts and typography from the Polifilo and other Venetian incunabula, the Venetian bibliographer Ongania listed several reasons why such a publication was useful:

The history of the art of printing cannot serve as a model to printers, except when it is amply furnished with specimens of ancient work to be used as patterns and models [...] the craftsmen of the present day cannot be compelled to make special researches in libraries in order to study the work of their great predecessor. Our present intention is to meet this want, by offering to the public a book which may serve as a pattern to the printer and as a document to the student; a book which may help to renew the beauty of typography by collecting by trustworthy methods of reproduction examples of the founts, ornaments, and vignettes which adorned the most highly prized ancient books [...]. The low price of the book, considering the importance and value of the material, will enable it to be widely diffused, and to produce those fruits which the publisher predicts and which the Art of Printing has a right to expect in a period of culture and learning such as this.<sup>3</sup>

Ongania and Nimmo aimed their publication at artists and printers, who might use the woodcuts for design ideas, or bibliophiles, who wanted a copy of the beautiful prints for their own library. In addition, the book provided images from an array of illustrated incunabula at a low price, which afforded the general public the opportunity of seeing images from famous books that may have been difficult or impossible to access. As such, Early Venetian Printing Illustrated shared similar aims with contemporary, illustrated travel books; for example Picturesque Palestine and Picturesque America, which offered the reader “arm-chair travel” through a book. In the case of Ongania and Nimmo’s publication, however, the difficult Latin, Greek, and italianate texts were generally excluded, except in the case that the publishers wished to illustrate fine examples of typography.

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<sup>3</sup> F. Ongania, “Note by the Venetian Publisher,” Early Venetian Printing Illustrated. Ed. F. Ongania and John C. Nimmo. (London: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1895): 8. For examples from the Polifilo, see pp.145-152.

In a similarly conceived publication from 1888, J.W. Appell printed all of the woodcuts from the Hypnerotomachia without the text. As Appell wrote in the introduction to his edition,

...in later times, probably very few have had courage enough to peruse the whole of this intricate work; the descriptions of the author being incredibly lengthy and monotonous, and his allusions to particulars of Greek and Roman mythology and history endless, and mostly very forced and pedantic. But if the Dream of Poliphilus displays little or no merit as a romance, it nevertheless is a work full of curious details for the architect, and suggestions for the ornamentalist; and it is also of great interest as an evidence of current thought and feeling in Italy during the fifteenth century; for it shows in a striking manner the ardent love of classical antiquity which animated Italian scholars of that age.<sup>4</sup>

Appell's edition offered the Polifilo to a wide audience at a low price, but spared the reader the "lengthy," "monotonous," "forced," and "pedantic" text. As Appell implies in his introduction and by the nature of the publication itself, the true value of the Hypnerotomachia lay in its woodcuts, which offered *exempla* not only to ornamentalists and architects, but also to scholars in quest of the Renaissance.

Nimmo, and Appell's editions were closely related to Albert Ilg's 1872 doctoral thesis on the value of the Polifilo woodcuts for art history. Ilg's comprehensive study of the Polifilo, which provided the first catalogue descriptions of the woodcuts, strongly suggested that much more could be made of the woodcuts as iconographic sources.<sup>5</sup> Ilg's dissertation characterized a modern approach to the Polifilo that many scholars would soon follow. In one instance, Aby Warburg corresponded with James Loeb about obtaining a copy of the

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<sup>4</sup> J.W. Appell. Introductory Notes and Description of the Dream of Poliphilo. (London: W. Griggs, 1893): 6.

<sup>5</sup> Albert Ilg, Über den Kunsthistorischen Werth der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. (Wien: W. Braumuller, 1872). For the catalogue, see pp. 95-127.

1499 Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, a transaction that never came to fruition. Instead, Warburg bought Appell's edition of the woodcuts, in which he transcribed much of the text from a copy of the 1545 edition of the Polifilo. Further notes and drawings in Warburg's Ninfa Fiorentina research suggest that he was comparing woodcuts from the Polifilo to Botticelli's Venus and Flora, in La Primavera. In the course of his research, Warburg cited Ilg's thesis twice; once in his edition of Appell's publication and again in his bibliographical cards.<sup>6</sup> A number of late-19<sup>th</sup> century poets, artists, and intellectuals who played a role in shaping the modern concept of the Renaissance, including John Ruskin, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and William Morris, owned copies of the 1499 Aldine. As with Warburg, much of their interest in the Polifilo centered on the woodcuts and typography, which became sources for their literary and visual art.<sup>7</sup>

Scholars in the 20<sup>th</sup> century continue to turn to the woodcuts as a storehouse of iconographic sources. A number of studies, many published at the Warburg Institute, have elucidated the ties between the Polifilo woodcuts and the visual arts. Historical and visual evidence strongly suggest that the Polifilo has long been an important source for artists in search of visual ideas. For instance, Bernini probably had the woodcut of the elephant and

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<sup>6</sup> Aby Warburg Archive, Warburg Institute: Box 52; Box 118.8. For Warburg's reference to the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in his doctoral thesis on Botticelli's Primavera, see Ernst H. Gombrich, Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography. (Leiden: J. Brill, 1970).

<sup>7</sup> For Ruskin, see the National Union Catalogue. For Rossetti, see "Rossetti and the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," in English Language Notes, (June 1977): 279-83. The similarity between the woodcut of the sleeping Poliphilo and the reclining poet; the dreamy aura, and the references between images and text in Rossetti's Blessed Demozel in the Harvard Art Museum are suggestive of links between the Polifilo and Rossetti's painting. I wish to thank Mark Samuels Lasner for his valuable information on William Morris' copy of the Polifilo, which he later gave as a gift to Edward Byrne-Jones.



obelisk in mind when he designed the famous sculpture commissioned by Alexander VII in front of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Friedländer argues that Titian was inspired by the Polifilo when he painted his Sacred and Profane Love; Blunt suggests that the woodcuts shaped the garden designs of Mansart; and Saxl related the images to the mythological fantasies of Garofalo.<sup>9</sup> Other studies select woodcuts from the text to illustrate broader themes, as in Dora Thornton's reference to a woodcut of Poliphilo in a study as an *exempla* of the Renaissance *studiolo* or David Thomson's discussion of several architectural images and their relationship to imaginary architecture and the creation of a "Venetian Utopia".<sup>10</sup>

These studies tell us much about the fortunes of the woodcuts as they traveled over the centuries through Italian, French, and English editions. Yet, for all of the attention that the woodcuts amassed, scholars widely dismissed their accompanying text as pedantic or illegible. Roberto Weiss, for instance, characterized the book as "a serious runner-up for the title of 'most boring work in Italian literature,' [that] has entirely owed its 'fortuna' to its

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<sup>8</sup> William S. Heckscher, "Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk," in Art Bulletin, 29 (1947): 155-182; E.H. Gombrich, "Hypnerotomachiana," in JWCI, 14 (1951): 119-25; Ingrid Rowland, The Culture of the High Renaissance. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998): 60-7.

<sup>9</sup> Walter Friedländer, "La Tintura delle Rose," in Art Bulletin, 20 (1938): 320-24; Anthony Blunt, "The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in 17<sup>th</sup> Century France," in JWCI, I (1937): 117-37; Fritz Saxl, "A scene from the Hypnerotomachia in a painting by Garofalo," in JWCI, I (1937): 169-171.

<sup>10</sup> Dora Thornton, The Scholar in his Study. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997): 37; David Thomson, Renaissance Architecture: Critics, Patrons, Luxury. (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1993): 67-70.

magnificent illustrations," a description that echoes that of Appell nearly a century earlier.<sup>11</sup>

Anthony Blunt, who first explored the legacy of the book in 17<sup>th</sup> century France, summed up the attitudes voiced by Appell, Weiss, and others, when he described the Hypnerotomachia as

[...]one of those books which have suffered from being too well printed and too beautifully illustrated. For the last century a hundred students must have turned to it for its woodcuts for every one that cast eye on the text; and even those who look at the latter usually do so only to see the quality of the typography and not to read what the author says.<sup>12</sup>

The appreciation for the typography and woodcuts and the *distaste* for the pedantic text paved the way toward the modern study of the Hypnerotomachia as a book of visual sources. Such studies have elucidated moments in the book's afterlife, yet they have also separated the images from their context. This trend persisted in a second branch of late 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholarship on the Polifilo, one concerned with solving the mystery of who made the woodcuts.

#### **\*\*The Origins of the Woodcuts I: An Artist or a Workshop?\*\***

The earliest attributions of the woodcuts credit both their design and production to a single artist. The possible candidates, whose names are part of an expanding list, include such notable figures as Raphael, Mantegna, Carpaccio, Alberti, Botticelli, Benozzo Gozzoli,

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<sup>11</sup> Roberto Weiss, "A New Francesco Colonna," Italian Studies, 16(1961):78.

<sup>12</sup> A. Blunt, 117.

Bernardo Pinturicchio, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, Catalano Casali, Guido Pepoli, Bernard Pictor, Jacopo de' Barbari, Benedetto Montagna, and Benedetto Bordon.<sup>13</sup> The reasons behind the attributions are several. The high quality of the woodcuts, together with their classicizing motifs, have led some scholars to connect the woodcuts with individuals from Vasari's family of artists, such as Raphael, Mantegna, and Alberti. However, the majority of attributions are based on "b" and "·b·" monograms that appear in the lower regions of two woodcuts. [Figure 1] The "b" has generated a list of artists from Botticelli and Benozzo Gozzoli to Bellini and Benedetto Bordon, all painters whose frequent references to romanticized antiquity in their own painting are consonant with similar imagery in the Polifilo.

Since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, a period that marked the beginning of the Venetian versus Roman Francesco Colonna debate, a number of scholars turned their attention to Venetian miniaturists and woodcut designers. Again taking into consideration the "b" monograms and the fact that a Venetian press printed the Polifilo, scholars have noted the similarity in style and motifs of the woodcuts to the contemporary book illustrations (both printed and hand-

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<sup>13</sup> For the medalists Casali and Pepoli, see Benjamin Fillon, Gazette des Beaux-Arts (June-July 1879), for an early attribution to Bordon, see G. Biadego, "Intorno al Sogno di Polifilo," Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti, LX, (1900-1901): 711-12; for Alberti, see Emanuela Kretzulesco Quaranta, "L' enigma della sigla 'B' nella Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," in Giardini misterici. Simboli, Enigmi, dall'Antichità al Novecento. (Parma: Silva, 1994): 69-107 and Liane Lefaivre, Leon Battista Alberti's 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili'. (Boston: MIT UP, 1997); For Pinturicchio, see M. Calvesi, La 'Pugna d' Amore in Sogno' di Francesco Colonna Romano, (Roma: Lithos): 165; for the Bellini, see D'Essling, Prince, Victor Massèna, Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du Xve siècle et du commencement du XVIe. Florence-Paris: Librairie Henri Leclerc, 1914 [reprint, Florence:Leo S. Olschki, 1907-14]: IV, 91. Jacopo Bernardi, "Aldo Manuzio e le condizioni passate e presenti della stampa in Venezia," in Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti. T.6, ser. 5<sup>th</sup>, V. 38, (1879-80): 156-7. Lamberto Donati, Scritti sopra Aldo Manuzio (Firenze, 1955); Bernard Pictor, see Fisher, Introduction to a Catalogue of Early Italian Prints (London: 1888): 316.

illuminated) and woodcuts of Jacopo de' Barbari, Benedetto Montagna, and Benedetto Bordon. Archival evidence further supports these artists' links with printers' workshops in Venice in the latter '400, particularly in the case of the latter. The current consensus has centered on Benedetto Bordon, a miniaturist and woodcutter active in Padua and Venice in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, whose best known work consists of hand painted book illuminations, such as his 1504 illustration of the Triumph of Caesar, and wood-cut maps.<sup>14</sup> [Figure 24, Ch. IV Part I] Bordon, as documents attest, was involved in the illustration of a number of books; including an Aldine, in the latter decade of the '400.<sup>15</sup> Although documents attest to Bordon's involvement with book illustration, his role in the illustration of the Hypnerotomachia remains speculative.

In the last twenty years, scholars have revised their attribution of the woodcuts from

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<sup>14</sup> For the earliest attribution of the woodcuts to Bordon, see G. Biadego, "Intorno al Sogno di Polifilo," Atti del Regio Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere, ed arti, 60 (1900-1901): 711-14. See also Giordana Mariani Canova, "Profilo di Benedetto Bordone miniatore Padovano," Atti dell'Istituto Veneto dei scienze, lettere, ed arti, 127 (1968-1969): 99-121; Myriam Billanovich, "Benedetto Bordone e Giulio Cesare Scaligero," in Italia medioevale e umanistica, 11 (1968): 187-256; Jean Michel Massing, "The Triumph of Caesar by Benedetto Bordone and Jacobus Argenteratensis: its iconography and influence," Print Quarterly, 7 (1990): 2-21; Martin Lowry, "Aldus Manutius and Benedetto Bordone: The quest for a link," Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library, 66 (1983): 173-97. Helena K. Szèpe, "The Polifilo and other Aldines reconsidered in the context of the production of printed books in Venice (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, 1991); Lillian Armstrong, "Benedetto Bordon, Aldus Manutius, LucAntonio Giunta: old links and new," and Helena Szèpe, "Benedetto Bordon and modes of illuminating Aldines, in Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture, ed. David Seidberg (I Tatti Studies: Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies) 1996, Helena Szèpe, "The book as companion, the author as friend: Aldine octavos illuminated by Benedetto Bordon," Word and Image, 11 (1995): 77-99; Lillian Armstrong: Benedetto Bordon, Miniator, and Cartography in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice," in Imago Mundi, 48 (1996): 65-92.

<sup>15</sup> See R. Fulin, "Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana," Archivio Veneto, XXIII (1882): 84-212; no. 26, 141, 168.

a single artist to a workshop, based upon new research on the practices of printers' ateliers.<sup>16</sup> Scholars who argue in favor of workshop theory suggest that the "b", along with a second "b" enclosed by two points, represent the monogram of a Venetian workshop active in the last decade of the '400. Indeed, a number of illustrated incunabula produced between 1490-1500 in Venice contain woodcuts that not only bear the monograms, but also share stylistic attributes with the woodcuts in the Polifilo bearing the same monograms.<sup>17</sup> It is therefore

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<sup>16</sup> In fact, the seeds of the workshop theory were first planted by 19<sup>th</sup> century art historians. For an excellent summary of early attributions and the first workshop theories in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, see Claudius Popelin, "Introduction," Le Songe de Poliphile. 2 Vols. Popelin, ed. and trans. (Paris: Isidore Liseux, 1883): I, CXCV II-CCVI. Popelin cites M. Butsch, Die Bücherornamentik der Renaissance (Leipzig, 1878), which argues that there was a similarity between the woodcuts in the illustrated Aldines (particularly the Polifilo) and the illustrated incunabula published at the presses of Gregorio de Gregorii. Following Butsch's publication, scholars pointed out similarities between the woodcuts and other contemporary illustrations in the Fasciculus Medicinae (Venice, 1493) and Metamorphoesos Vulgare (Venice, 1497). These publications, which were contemporaneous with other attributions to single artists, form the genesis of the workshop theories. For the most recent summary of the workshop argument, see Mino Gabriele, "Le illustrazioni", in Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. 2 vols. A cura di Marco Ariani e Mino Gabriele. (Roma: Adelphi, 1998): XCIV-CV. See also Silvia Urbini, "Il Polifilo e gli altri Libri Figurati sul Finire del Quattrocento," in Verso il Polifilo, 1499-1999. A cura di Dino Casagrande e Alessandro Scarsella. [Catalogo della Mostra, 31 Ottobre-8 Novembre, S. Donà di Piave] (Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 1998): 49-78. Helena Szepe provides an excellent summary of recent evidence of workshop involvement in printed book illustration. See "The Polifilo and other Aldines...", pp.11; 23-5.

<sup>17</sup> A number of books printed in Venice between 1490-1500 contain woodcuts with the b monogram. The monogram first appeared in a translated Bibbia Malermi with commentary printed by Giovanni Ragazzo for Luc'Antonio Giunta in 1490. The "b" also appears in Epistole et Evangelii (Venice, 1490); the 1491 edition of Dante's Divine Comedy (Venezia: Piero Cremonese) and the 1492 edition of Boccaccio's Decameron (Venezia: Gregorio di Gregori). We find it again in the frontispiece of the Legendario de Sancti, printed by Manfredo de Monferrato in 1492 and in Masuccio Salernitano's Novellino (Venezia: Gregorio de Gregorii, 1492). Both monograms appear in the Vita de la preciosa Maria (Venezia: Zoanne Rosso Vercellese, 1492); Terence's Comediae (Venice, 1497); and again in another version printed by Manfredo de Monteferrato in 1499.

plausible, according to the proponents of the Bordon argument, that Benedetto Bordon led an entire workshop that signed its prints with his initial. While the style of Bordon's prints and miniatures bears similarity with the Polifilo woodcuts, there are no woodcuts securely attributed to Bordon that bear a "b" monogram. On the other hand, many woodcuts with no known connection to Bordon, such as the illustrations in the Malermi Bible, the first book known to contain both monograms, echo the treatment of the human form and composition of the Polifilo woodcuts. [Figure 2] Yet, the angular treatment of line in the Malermi Bible differs from the soft handling of form in the Hypnerotomachia woodcuts, an inconsistency that supporters of the workshop theory attribute to the development and improvement of the "b" workshop's handling of the medium in the course of the 1490's.<sup>18</sup>

Beyond stylistic discrepancies, there are other problems with attributions to a specific workshop that used the "b" and "·b" monograms. Numerous Venetian woodcuts (including the work of Bordon) are comparable to the form and content of the Polifilo illustrations, and yet bear variant monograms or no monogram at all. In the 1497 Metamorphoseon Volgare, for example, we find softly rendered images and similarly classicizing motifs in woodcuts signed not with a "b" or "·b", but with an "ia", the monogram of Jacobus Argentoratensis and his workshop.<sup>19</sup> [Figure 3] In another instance, the frontispiece of Herodotus' Historiae, an image frequently compared with the woodcuts of the Hypnerotomachia, bears no monogram

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<sup>18</sup> Cini Inc. 78. Bibbia. Trans. Malermi (Venice: Guglielmo Anima Mia, 1493).

<sup>19</sup> Urbini, 55.

at all.<sup>20</sup> [Figure 4]

In sum, recent studies on the practices of printers' workshops argue convincingly that the process of rendering woodcuts was a collaborative effort; not the work of a single artist, as many art historians have posited in the past. As for the theory that Benedetto Bordon acted as the master artist of a "b" or "b." atelier, while the bulk of evidence points toward Bordon's activity during the period when Aldus published the Polifilo, scholars have yet to find conclusive evidence that Bordon's workshop produced the woodcuts. Whatever their identity, the artists responsible for the woodcuts in the Polifilo must have been in close contact with the author and the text. The close relationship of word and image has been the basis of a debate that connects the origins of the woodcuts with the author of the text, a subject to which we will now turn.

#### \*\*The Origins of the Woodcuts II: Venice or Rome?\*\*

While discussions of the attribution and legacy of the woodcuts began over a century ago, it is only in the past fifty years that the images became enmeshed with the modern Francesco Colonna debate. Basing their argument on the close relationship between word and image and upon the assumption that the author of the text was not only in close contact with the maker of the woodcuts but also familiar with the visual arts in the environment around him, scholars attempted to pinpoint the geographic origins of the woodcuts in order

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<sup>20</sup> Correr Inc. E 235. De Ketham, Fasciculus medicinae. (Venice: Johannes & Gregorio de Gregori, 1494).

to prove Francesco Colonna's Venetian or Roman origins. By tracing the motifs of the woodcuts to the visual culture of Renaissance Venice and Rome, Giovanni Pozzi and Maurizio Calvesi each found evidence that supported of their respective attributions to Fra Francesco Colonna of the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and Lord Francesco Colonna, prince of Palestrina.<sup>21</sup>

To make their respective arguments, Pozzi and Calvesi compared woodcuts from the Hypnerotomachia to specific examples of Venetian or Roman sculpture and painting. Calvesi's examples elucidate the relationship between the woodcuts, ancient Roman statuary and architecture, or the contemporary painting of Pinturicchio.<sup>22</sup> Pozzi's examples, on the other hand, suggest that the woodcuts derive from the sculpture, painting, and architecture of Venice.<sup>23</sup> Take, for example, the Artemesia tomb in the Hypnerotomachia. [Figure 5] Pozzi traces the form of the funerary monument to tombs attributed to the Lombardo family,

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<sup>21</sup> For the first modern study of the Venetian Francesco Colonna, see Giovanni Pozzi and Maria Teresa Casella, Francesco Colonna. Biografia e opere. (Padova: Antenore, 1959); for the first treatment of the Venetian visual culture of the woodcuts, see G. Pozzi and Lucia A. Ciapponi, "La Cultura Figurativa di Francesco Colonna e l'arte veneta," in Lettere Italiane, XIV, 1 (1962): 151-69; Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Critical Edition and Commentary. Eds. G. Pozzi and L.A. Ciapponi (Padova: Antenore, 1964). Maurizio Calvesi countered the Venetian Francesco Colonna in "Identificato l'autore del 'Polifilo,'" in L'Europa letteraria, artistica, cinematografica, XXXV (1965): 3-14; Calvesi expanded his argument and treated the woodcuts in Il Sogno di Polifilo prenestino, (Roma: Officina, 1980) and La 'Pugna d'Amore in Sogno' di Francesco Colonna Romano, (Roma: Lithos, 1996).

<sup>22</sup> For example, Calvesi compares the double portrait woodcut with Roman funerary stelae, while he links the great temple with Sulla's Temple at Palestrina, upon which Prince Francesco Colonna built a palace.

<sup>23</sup> Pozzi, for instance, compares the double portrait with Tullio Lombardo's double portrait. He also draws a number of comparisons between the woodcuts and classicizing ornaments on Venetian sculpture, locating dolphins, harpies, and spoglia in the painting of Mantegna and the Bellini, and in the sculpture of the Lombardo Family.



such as the Vedramin tomb in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. [Figure 6] As for the spoglia that embellish the woodcut of the Artemesia tomb, Pozzi points out a relief of the same subject in the Pietro Mocenigo tomb in SS. Giovanni e Paolo. [Figure 7] Calvesi, on the other hand, locates a similar structure in Pinturicchio's paintings for the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican.<sup>24</sup> [Figure 8] In Pinturicchio's composition, we find a similarly seated figure within a fictive, classicizing niche, which is embellished in the upper region with a fictive statue and an inscription in the lower region. The Tomb of Artemesia is one of many woodcuts that Pozzi and Calvesi locate in the artistic environs of Venice or Rome.

In response to the Francesco Colonna debate, scholars have cast new arguments in support of the Roman or Venetian origins of the illustrations and, by implication, the text. Although a handful of scholars have treated the woodcuts in light of the Roman Francesco Colonna, the bulk of recent scholarship argues overwhelmingly in favor of the close connection between the Polifilo woodcuts and the artistic milieu of Renaissance Venice.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Calvesi attributes the woodcuts to Bernardino Pinturicchio, on the basis of the "b" monogram and the similarity of motifs in the perugian painter's work and the woodcuts. See Calvesi, Pugna d'Amore in Sogno, 165.

<sup>25</sup> For studies that explore the links between the woodcuts and Rome, see Emanuela Kretzulesco Quaranta, "L'Itinerario del Polifilo: Leon Battista Alberti come teorico della Magna Porta," Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche, (Serie VIII) XXV (1970), 175-201; Stefano Borsi, Polifilo architetto. Cultura architettonica e teoria nell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili di Francesco Colonna. (Roma: Officina, 1995). For the most recent examination of the Venetian context for the woodcuts, see P.F. Brown, Venice and Antiquity. (Yale: Yale UP, 1997); Lilian Armstrong, "Benedetto Bordon, Aldus Manutius, and Lucantonio Giunta," in Memory of F.D. Murphy, ed. D.S. Zeidberg (Firenze, 1998): 161-83; and the essays in Verso il Polifilo, 1499-1999. Dino Casagrande and Alessandro Scarsella, eds. (Venezia: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 1998.) Paul Hills draws a comparison between color in Venetian painting and the imaginary color presented through image and text in the Polifilo in Venetian Color. (Milan, Rizzoli, 1999): 198-99.

The last ten years have seen a resurgence of close studies, as in the scholarship of Giovanni Pozzi, Helena Szepe, Silvia Urbini, and Susy Marcon, which explore the links between the woodcuts and Venetian book illustration.<sup>26</sup> It is in this context that we may view the attributions and recent scholarship on Benedetto Bordon. In addition to their stylistic similarity to contemporary book illustration, the woodcuts abound with classicizing motifs—nymphs, satyrs, spoglia, and foliate designs—common to contemporary books illustrated in Padua and Venice. In her studies of the relationship between book decoration and late quattrocento sculptural relief, Susy Marcon considers the close ties between the Hypnerotomachia woodcuts; frontispieces, printed borders, and illustrated capitals in hand-illuminated and printed incunabula; and the relief ornaments scattered throughout the Church of the Miracoli or on Antonio Rizzo's staircase in the courtyard of the Palazzo Ducale.<sup>27</sup>

Patricia Fortini Brown and Charles Mitchell also treat the classicizing motifs found in the

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<sup>26</sup> Giovanni Pozzi, "Il 'Polifilo' nella storia del libro illustrato veneziano," in Giorgione e l'Umanesimo veneziano, ed. Roberto Palluchini (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1981): I, 71-107; Helena Katalin Szépe, "The 'Poliphilo' in the context..." [Ph.D. thesis]; "Artistic Identity in the 'Polifilo'," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, XXXV, 1 (1997): 39-73; Susy Marcon, "Una Aldina Miniata," in Aldo Manuzio e l'Ambiente veneziano, (Venezia: Il Cardo, 1994):107-133; Susy Marcon, "Brevi note sulla decorazione libraria veneziana al tempo di Aldo," and Silvia Urbini, "Il Polifilo e gli altri Libri figurati sul finire del Quattrocento," in Verso il Polifilo, 1499-1999. For full citation, see n.16.

<sup>27</sup> See Suzy Marcon, "Ornati di penna e di penello: appunti su scribi-illuminatori nella Venezia del maturo Umanesimo," in La Bibliofiglia, LXXXIX, (1987):121-44. "Descrizione dei Codici nelle Biblioteche Veneziane," in Boccaccio Visualizzato II, estratto da Studi Sul Boccaccio, v.16. Firenze: Sansoni Editore, 1987:255-72; "Una Aldina Miniata," in Aldo Manuzio e l'Ambiente veneziano. Ed. Marino Zorzi. Venezia: Il Cardo, 1994. pp.107-133; Silvia Urbini "Il Polifilo e gli altri Libri figurati sul finire del Quattrocento," in Verso il Polifilo, 1499-1999. In Verso il Polifilo: 1499-1999, ed. Dino Casagrande and Alessandro Scarsella. [Exh. Cat. San Donà di Piave.] Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 1999. pp. 49-79.

minor arts of the late quattrocento, specifically the archaeological drawings of ruins and inscriptions found in mid-15<sup>th</sup> century *syllogai*.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, Colin Eisler has compared the fantastic archaeology, chivalric romance, and Arcadian subject matter of Jacopo Bellini's sketch books to the Polifilo woodcuts.<sup>29</sup> Several studies strongly suggest the links between the Polifilo illustrations, classicizing motifs in the minor arts, and northern Italian painting and sculpture. Throughout the landscapes of Cima, Bellini, and Mantegna, we again encounter the scattered spoglia, inscriptions, ruins, and sculptural fragments embellish the woodcuts of the Polifilo. Likewise, the poetic mixture of stories told in the narrative vignettes echoes the mythological fantasies of Giorgione, Lotto, and Giovanni Bellini.<sup>30</sup> In addition to the studies that treat the ties between the Polifilo woodcuts, book decoration, and sculptural ornaments, Alison Luchs and Sara Wilk focus on the art of the Lombardo family—especially their tombs and sculptural figures—and the soft form and classicizing content of the woodcuts.

In sum, a growing body of scholarship argues convincingly that the artistic culture of Venice shaped both the style and the content of the Polifilo woodcuts. Although the name of the artists responsible for the woodcuts remain a mystery, the close ties between the woodcuts and the visual arts of late quattrocento Venice and the fact that Aldus' Venetian

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<sup>28</sup> P. Brown, 75-92. Charles Mitchell, "Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy," in Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the late Cecilia M. Ady, ed. E.F. Jacob (London, 1960).

<sup>29</sup> See Colin Eisler, The Genius of Jacopo Bellini: The Complete Paintings and Drawings. Although Eisler points out that the Hypnerotomachia is closely linked with Bellini's taste for antiquity, the relationship between the Bellini's sketches and the woodcuts is a subject that merits further attention.

<sup>30</sup> Philipp Fehl, Decorum and Wit: The Poetry of Venetian Painting (Vienna: IRSA, 1992); Norman Land, The Potted Tree; P.F. Brown, Venice and Antiquity.

workshop printed the Hypnerotomachia—and possibly involved with the author and the designer of the woodcuts—provide strong evidence for the Venetian origins of the woodcuts.<sup>31</sup> As for Calvesi's attribution of the woodcuts to Bernardino Pinturicchio, Mino Gabriele rightly questions how Pinturicchio, who was working in Rome and Siena in the last decade of the '400, supposedly produced hundreds of Venetian woodcut illustrations signed with his "b" monogram without ever making an appearance in Venice.<sup>32</sup>

#### \*\*Conclusion\*\*

Should we, then, disregard the studies of Calvesi and others that treat the Hypnerotomachia woodcuts in light of classical and Renaissance Rome? Except in the case of an exact quotation it is difficult to prove that the woodcuts were based only on Venetian or Roman art, for similarly classicizing motifs abound in the arts of other major republics, courts, and kingdoms in the Renaissance, from Florence and Urbino to Naples and Milan. Perhaps we should view the classicizing nature of the woodcuts; a subject upon which both Pozzi and Calvesi agree, as part of a broader discussion of the lure of antiquity in the Renaissance. Classicizing motifs like those found in the Hypnerotomachia were widespread

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<sup>31</sup> Scholars generally agree that Aldus had to work closely with the artists and the author in order to publish the Hypnerotomachia. See Pozzi-Casella, II: 152-3; Martin Lowry, pp. 163-4.

<sup>32</sup> See Mino Gabriele, "Le Illustrazione", in Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, CII.

not only in the arts of Renaissance Venice and Rome, but also throughout Italy.<sup>33</sup> We would argue that of the many contributions of the Hypnerotomachia to art and literature, among the most significant is its collection of visual *exempla*. For the first time, the visual sources gathered in the Polifilo were disseminated to a wide audience through the technology of the printed page.

The woodcuts in the Hypnerotomachia present the reader with a storehouse of motifs whose sources are as diverse as the philological origins of the text. As for their precise attribution, the identity of the artist or, more likely, workshop who produced the woodcuts remains inconclusive. Nevertheless, past scholarship points toward the Venetian origins of the woodcuts. This is a claim supported not only by stylistic evidence, but also by the close relationship between image and text. Nevertheless, the precise origins of the woodcuts, like the authorship of the text, remains a mystery that, perhaps, was never meant to be solved.

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<sup>33</sup> For an overview and bibliography, see Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana. 3 Vols. (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1986). Patricia Fortini Brown treats the cult of antiquity in Venice in Venice and Antiquity.

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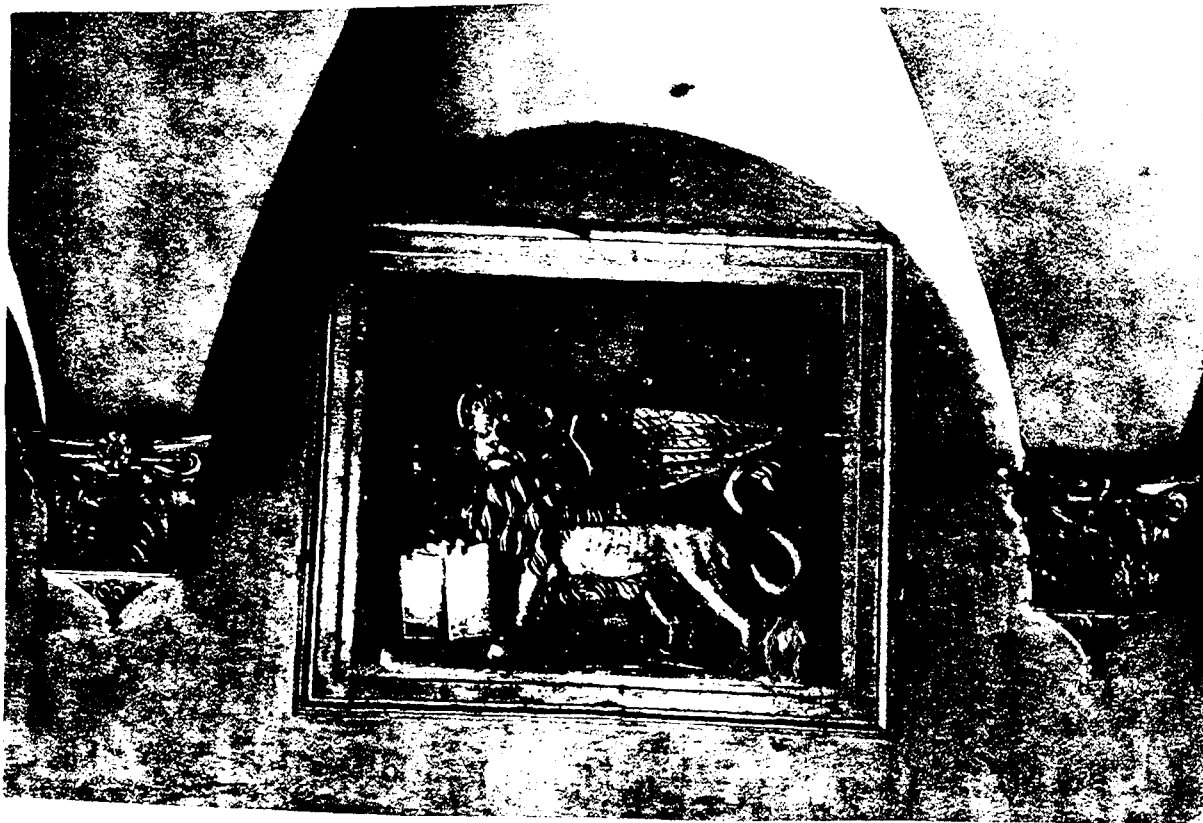
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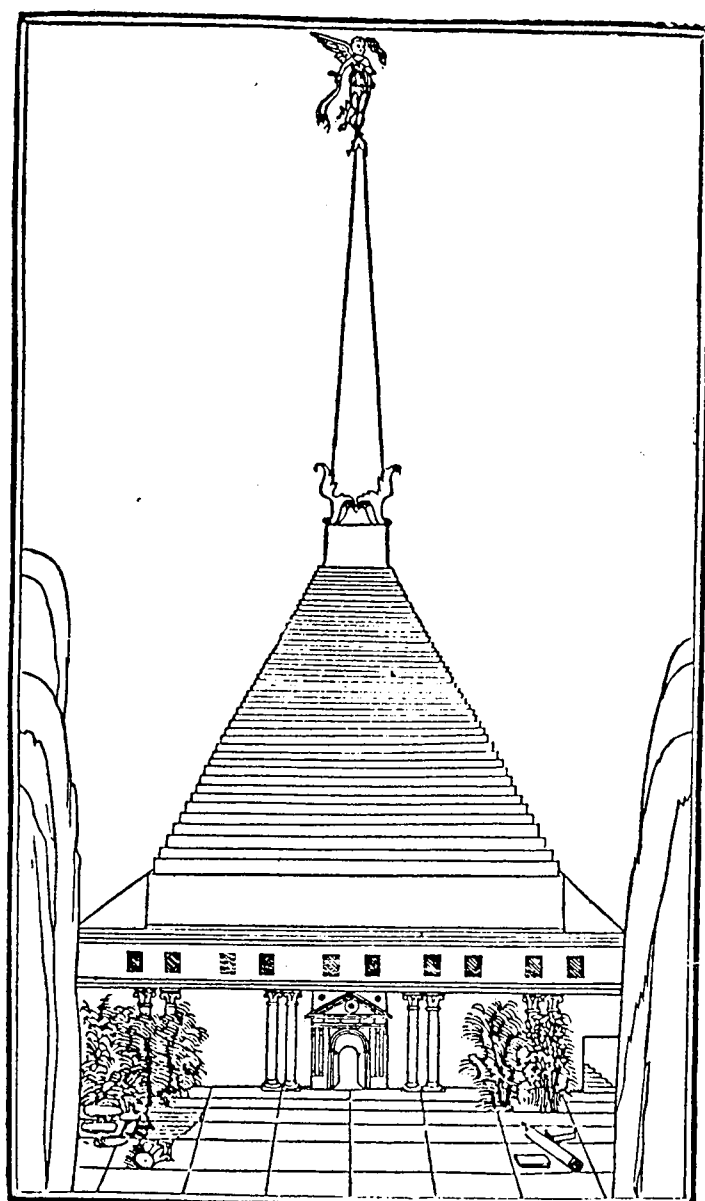
## **\*\*Chapter I\*\***







## **\*\*Chapter II\*\***

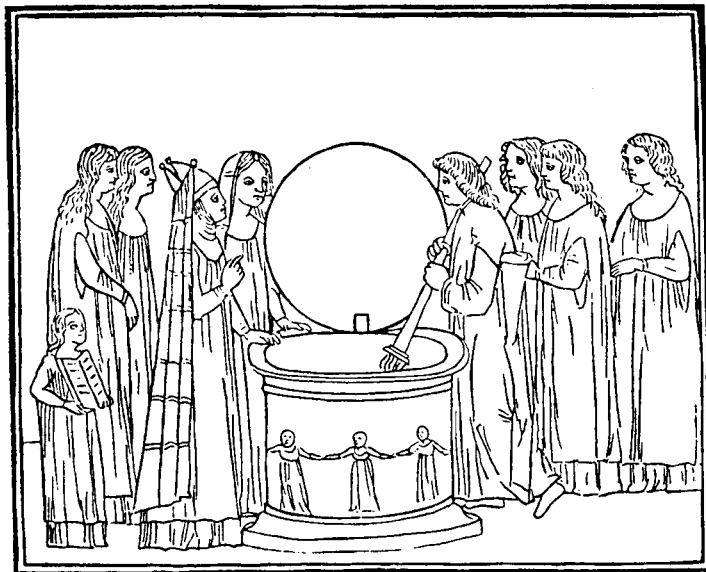


Ritorniamo

### **\*\*Chapter III\*\***



1a

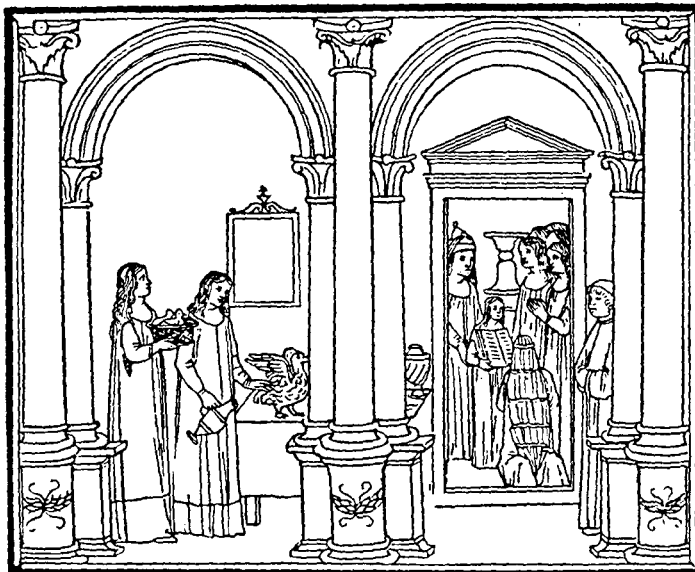


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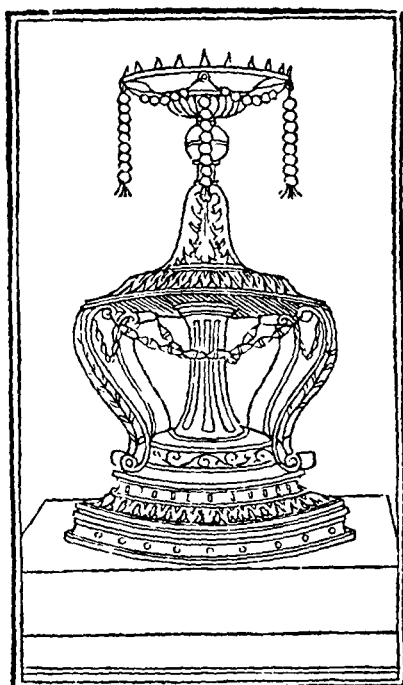


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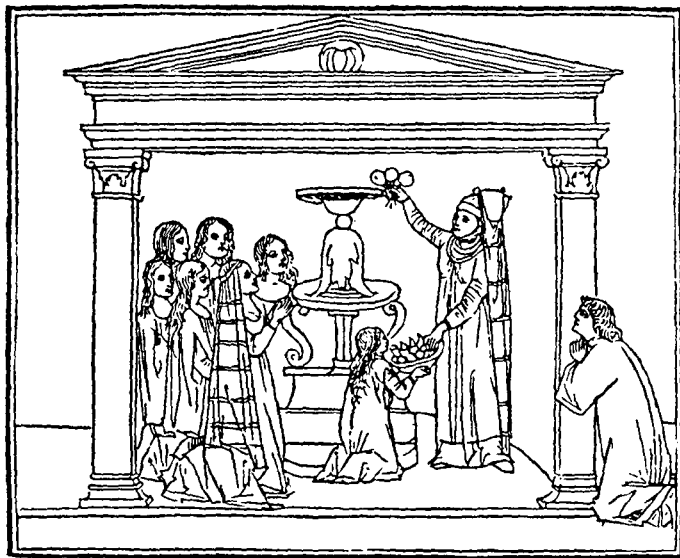
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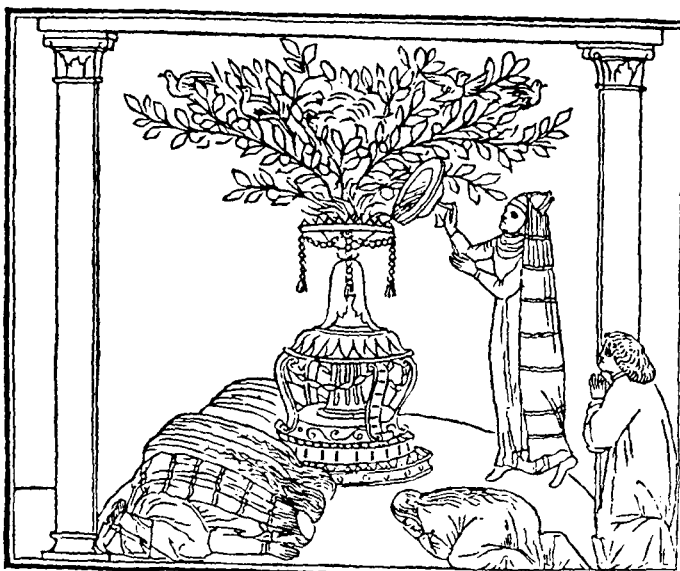
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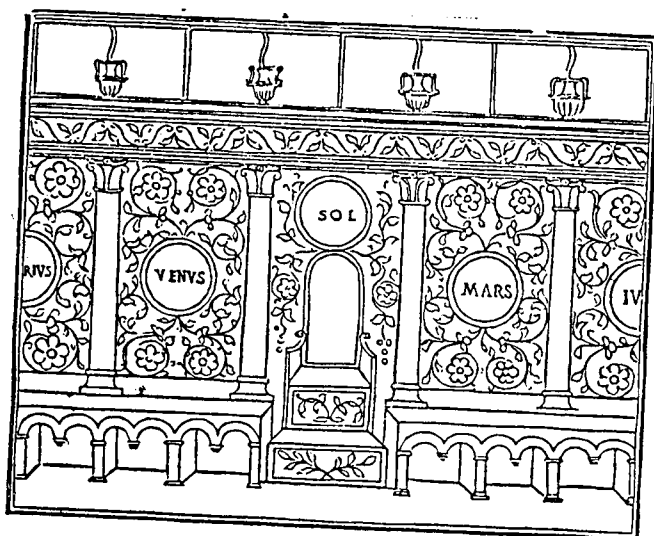
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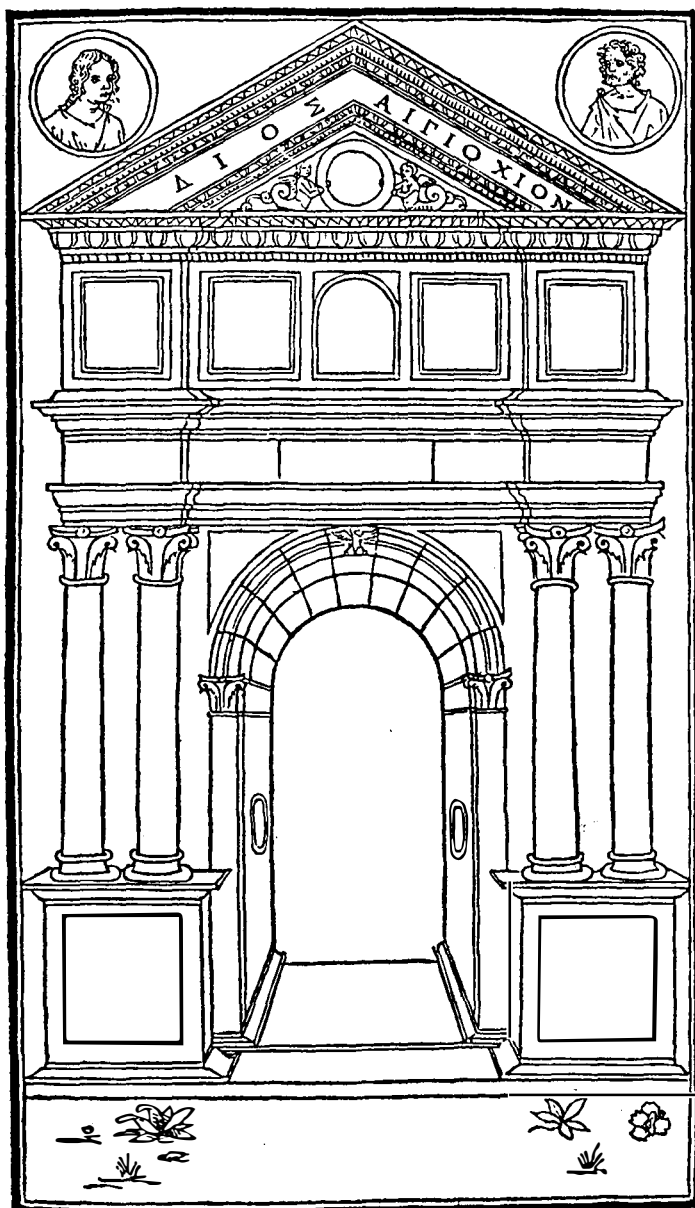
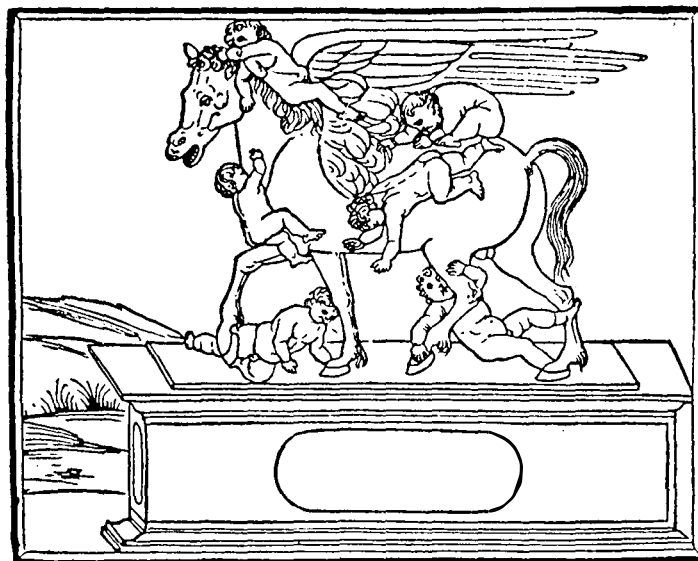


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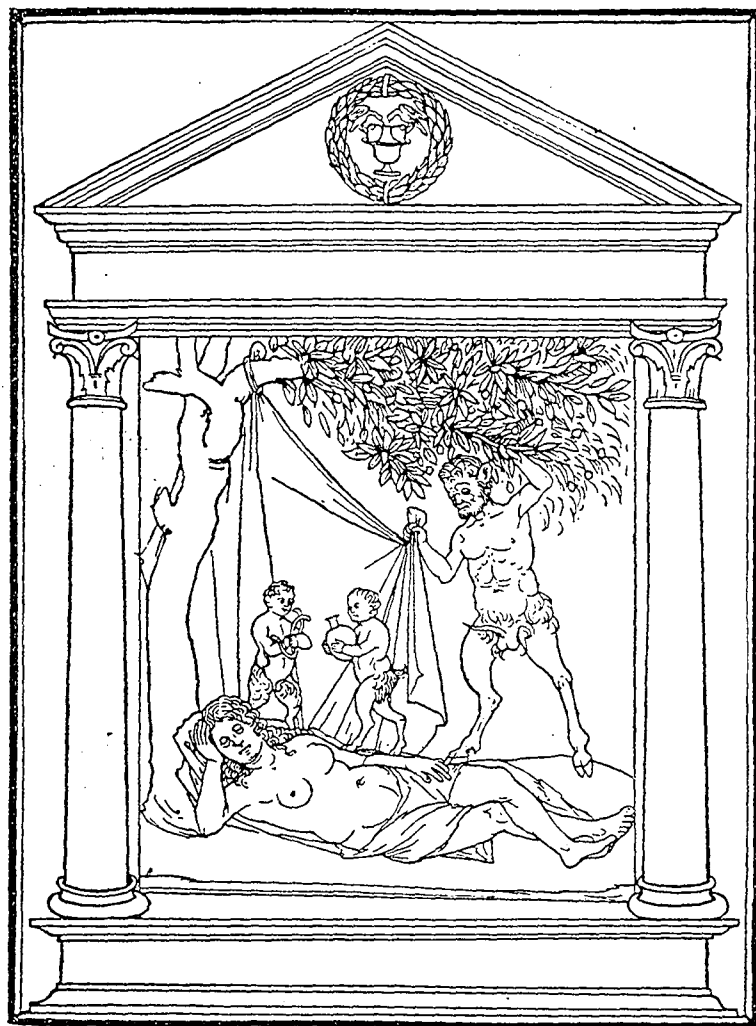


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3

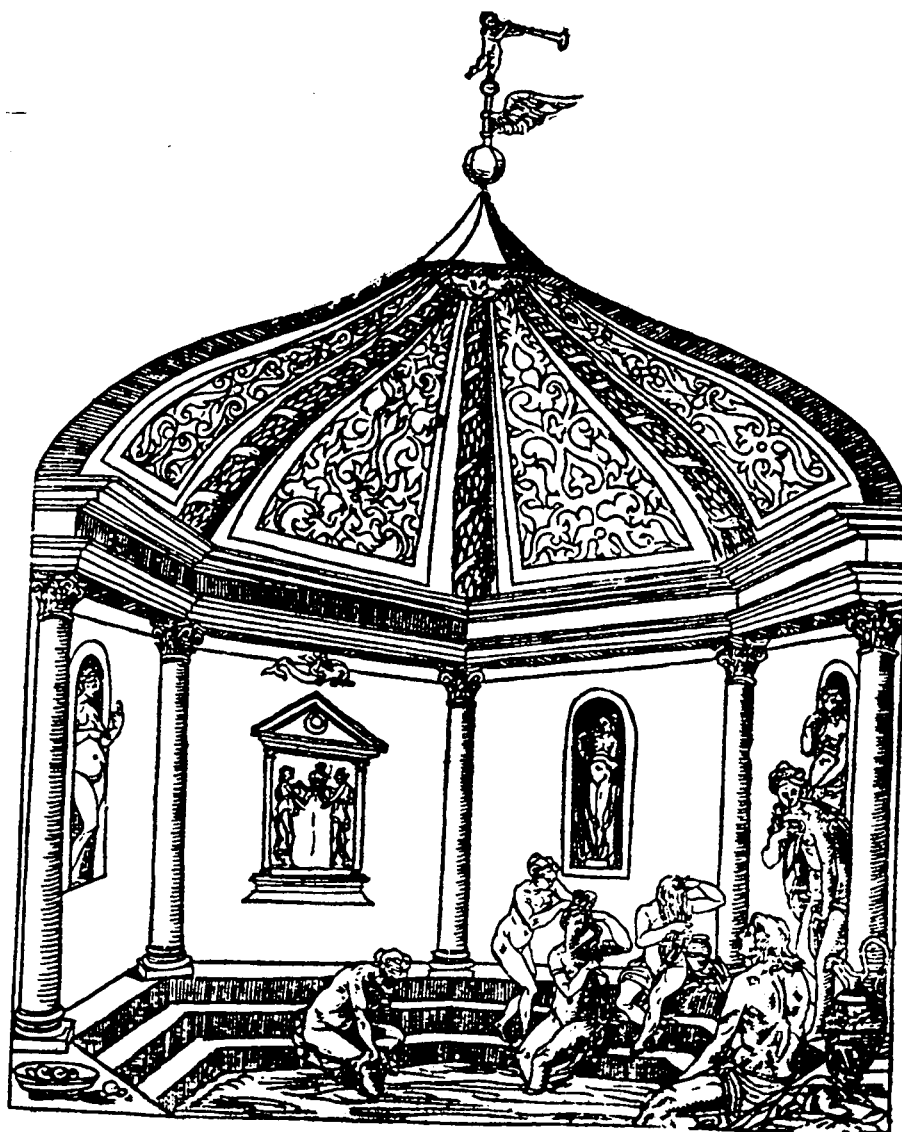


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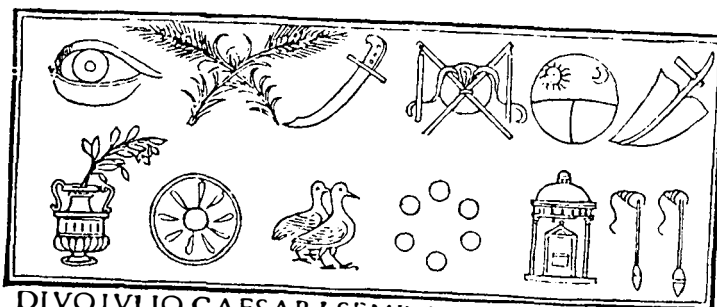
5a



PARS ANTERIOR ET POSTERIOR.



6



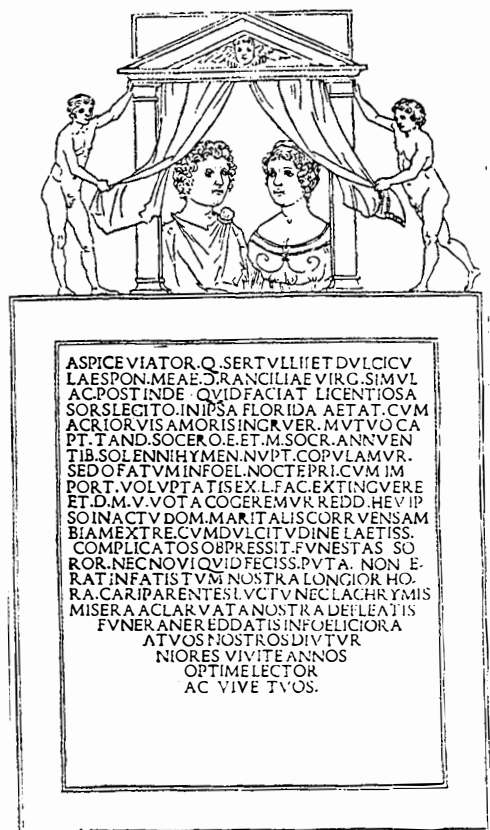
DIVO IULIO CAESARI SEMP. AVG. TOTIVS ORB.  
GVBERNAT. OB ANIMI CLEMENT. ET LIBERALI  
TATE MAEPTII COMMVNIA ER. S. EREXER E.

Similmente in qualũque fron-  
tedel recensito supposito qua-  
drato, quale la prima circolata  
figura, tale un'altra se p̄staua ali-  
nea & ordiedella prima a la de-  
xtra planitie dũque mirai an-  
cora tali eleganti hieroglyphi,  
primo uno uiperato caduceo.  
Alla ima partedilla uirga dil-  
quale, & de qui, & deli, uidi u-  
na formica che se cresceua i ele-  
phanto. Versola supernate &  
qualmentedui elephãti decref-  
ceuano in formice. Tra questi  
nel mediastimo era uno uaso PACE, AC CONCORDIA PAR-  
cum foco, & dalaltrolato una VAER ESCRESCVNT, DISCOR-  
conchula cum aqua. cusi io li DIAMAXIMA E DECR ESCVNT.  
interpretai. Pace, ac concordia  
paruz rescrescũt, discordia ma-  
xiuz decrescunt.



7





8

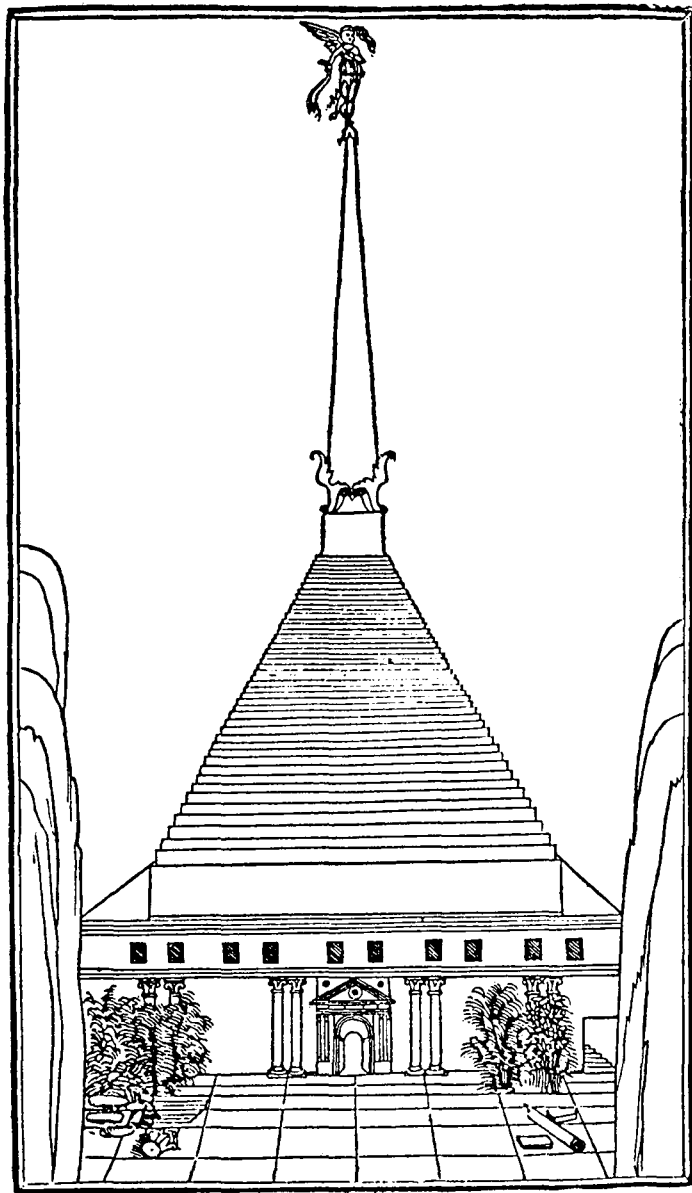
ASPICE VIATOR. Q. SERT VLLI ET DVLCIV  
LAESPON. MEAE. J. RANCLIAE VIRG. SIMVL  
AC POST INDE. QVID FACIAT LICENTIOSA  
SOR. SLEGITO. IN IPSA FLORIDA AETAT. CVM  
ACRIOR VIS AMORIS INGRVER. MVTVO CA  
PT. TAND. SOCERO. E. ET. M. SOCR. ANNVEN  
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SED OFATVM IN FOEL. NOCTE PRI. CVM IM  
PORT. VOLVPTATIS EX. L. FAC. EXTINGVERE  
ET. D. M. V. VOTA COGEREMVR. REDD. HEV ID  
SO IN ACTV DOM. MARITALIS CORR. VENSAM  
BIAM EXTRE. CVM DVLCITVDINE LAETISS.  
COMPLICATOS OBPRESSIT. FVNESTAS SO  
ROR. NEC NOVI QVID FECISS. PVTA. NON E.  
RAT. IN FATIS TVM NOSTRA LONGIOR HO.  
RA. CARIPARENTES. LVCTV. NECLACHRYMIS  
MISERA ACLARVAT. A NOSTRA DEFEATIS  
FVNERANEREDDATIS IN FOELICIORA  
ATVOS NOSTROS DIVTVR  
NIORES VIVITE ANNOS  
OPTIMELECTOR  
AC VIVE TVOS.



9

ouero illigamenti, & il symmetriato colunio in gyro. Trabi. zophori, & coronice tutto esclusiue cradi con flatura aenea, enchausticamente cobau rata di fulgurante oro. Il residuo tutto di alabastryte diaphano, & di col lustrante nitella, & le ante cum gli archi, ouero trabi in flexi. Ne tale opa M. Scauro fece nella sua aedilitate.

Il quale dalla parte extima hauea dui aequali ordini di puii archi inter calati tra le colune. Vno ordine all'altro supposito de hemicyclo il suo i flexo cum lo additameto. Et tra le apertione degli quali nel solido late perpendiculanente emineuano appaete semi colune striate, cum il tertio suo rudentate cum nextruli, ouero reguli. Alcune cum aqua alteratione & distributo referte di signi & di imaguncule, quale in Ephefo nuque fu rono uife. Supposite alle base dille quale condecete arule iaccuano, & cu il requisito liniamento. Ad gli anguli dille quale appaeti pdeuano dui offi di capo di ariete, uno di q, & laltro dilli, cu gli rugosi corni icochlea ti, ouero cum intorta uertigine, p le quale uscuiano certe cymose infeme innodate, una frondea gioia cum suppsso foliamento, & di prominenti fructi retinente & illaqueante, nel contento dilla undulatione quadrata dilarula. Dentro il capo dilla gioia egregiamente exscalpto cra uno sa crificulo satyrico, cum una aruletta ad uno tripode subiecta cum uno co culo antiquario bulliente, & duenude nymphe, una per lato, cum una fi stuletta nel foco flante, & proximo alarula dui pueruli uno per lato, cum uno uasculo p uno. Similmente & dui lasciui Satyri cum indicio di uoci ferare, cum uno pugno strictamente uerso lenymphelcuato, cum i trichatione anguinea. Le quale cum il libero brachio branchia ti quelli degli satyri, gli quali cum lamao dillaltro brachio lo rificio di uno uaso futile obturauano prohibuiano il ta cto, & inclinate cum laltro tenuano la fistuletta al suo officio intente & immote. Alcune altre colum ned i questa medema forma, cum gli dui tertii di alueatura torqucata, & lo infi mo arulato come dicto, mutaua no geminate di liniamento. Ta le haueuao tra tuberate rest di frode & fructi icurue scete pueruli ludibodi. Alcune multipli ci tro phæi scalpture egregiamente faete molte haueuao exscalpte cogerie di exuuic. Altre occupati di signi appaeti plaudete dee, & puelluli & uictorie copie & tituli & altri ornamti cōgruetissimi.



Negli anguli ancora del pſente, & ſecun-  
do prato uerſo il cétro, comenel primo  
conſtitute erano le capſe di quatro gradi  
cú tuta la regulatione, diſenſione, loca-  
tione, che hão le altre altæe di primo pra-  
to. Excepto dilla petra. Laquale era di ni-  
gerrimo ſuccino, oueramente ambrum.  
Ne unque le phaethotiade aſſo Erida-  
no tale in la chrymando fundeteno, Ne  
tale ſe trouerebbe nelle iſule Ele&tride,  
Ne tale produce il tépio di Ammone,  
di terſura ſpeculare, la feſtuca conſcritato  
trahente. Lequale capſe erano inſignate  
circulari.

In la infernate germiaua la olente caſ-  
ſia. ne l'altra creſceua lo odorifero nardo.  
In la tertia era Mente Nympha indican-  
te il fero odio di Proſerpina. In la quarta  
naſceua il ſortunatore gio amaro tra  
il ſuo odore extincto & tale non produ-  
ce Cipro.

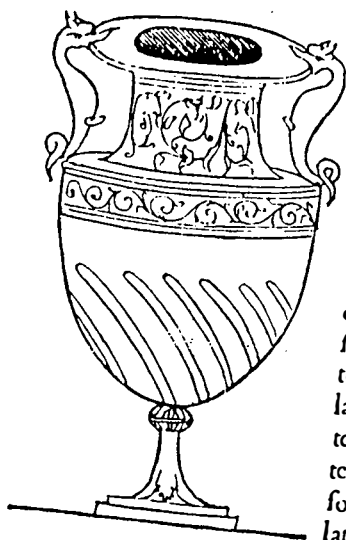
In nel mediano ſuperiore ſimilmen-  
te i plantato reſideua uno fruteto p ciaſ-  
cuna. Ma diſſimile di fructo, & di topiaria forma agli primi. Imperoche-  
erano eſſi quatro di figura ſpherica belliffimamente, produceuano qua-  
trifaria ſpecie de piri, Vno piri muſcatuli. L'altro cruſtumi. Il tertio  
fragili, & ſucculoſi ſyriaci. Lo ultimo tenerriſſimi curmunduli.

Dique in queſto ſecundario ordine di prati gli altri frute  
ti uariauano le ſpecie di fructo cum praci puo co-  
lore, cum gratiffimo odore, & cum ſua-  
uiſſimo guſtato. Il ſolo conuclito  
di odorifico & minutiffimo  
ſerpillo, & le altane ua-  
riauano di aroma-  
tici ſimplici.

\*\*\*  
\*

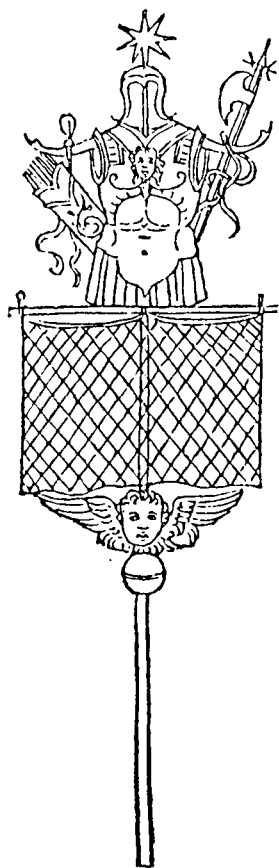


12



13

Et primo uene Toxodora, Laquale  
il ſinuato, & uulnifico arco accortamen-  
te gli offeriua. Ilquale rigoroſamente era  
exento. Queſta era in medio di due al-  
te. Ennia una, che nelle tuberule mano-  
gerulaua uno dedolato uafculo Am-  
phoe di coloriffimo ſaphyro cum iu-  
cundiffima ſplendefcentia, cum latulo  
oriſcio emulicatamente exſcalpto. Dal  
quale alquantulo di cliuulo di multipli  
ce florato cum maxima politura expreſ-  
ſo, alla dilatata corpulentia moderatamē-  
te deſcendeua, ſopra lo initio di gracile  
laſe dalla tornata corpulatura receden-  
te uerſo lo oriſcio le anſule adhæreſcen-  
te, in uipco eſſigato diligentiffime de-  
ſormate. Il limbo elegantemente gulu-  
lato mordicauano. Dapoeſcia il circū-  
cincto corpuleſcente ne extriſco di mi-  
ri ſimulachruli cœlato, & ppolitulan-  
te coſictto, & oue il corpulante i-  
cominciaua demigrare in anguſtia di gracile & oblongo ſundo, cradi



Vn'altra era ge-  
 stante dunaltro  
 trophico, nel mu-  
 croe era una stro-  
 phiola di lauro  
 di sotto uno pa-  
 ro diale, di niger  
 rima aquila ex-  
 pansa, & poscia  
 subiacceua uno  
 uulto di nobilif-  
 simo fanciullo,  
 se qua & poscia  
 trasuersariamé-  
 te dui fulmini  
 cõligati cum fa-  
 scicule di oro, &  
 di seta texute uo-  
 lante, & alla ha-  
 sta etiam in tran-  
 sverso legato, u-  
 no sceptro suspé-  
 sa tenendo una  
 superba ueste.





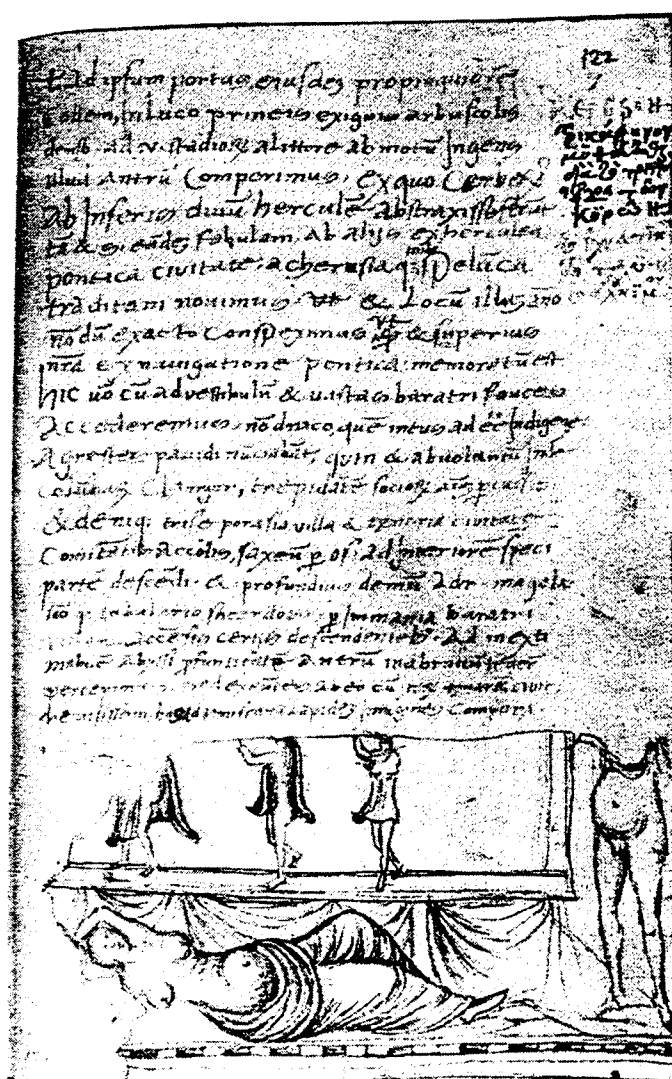




17



18



19



20



21

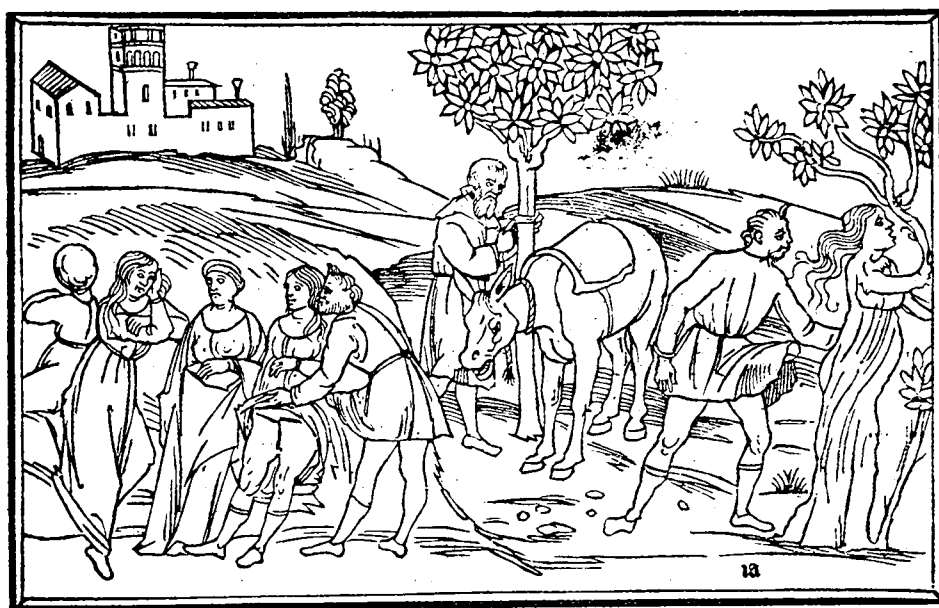


22

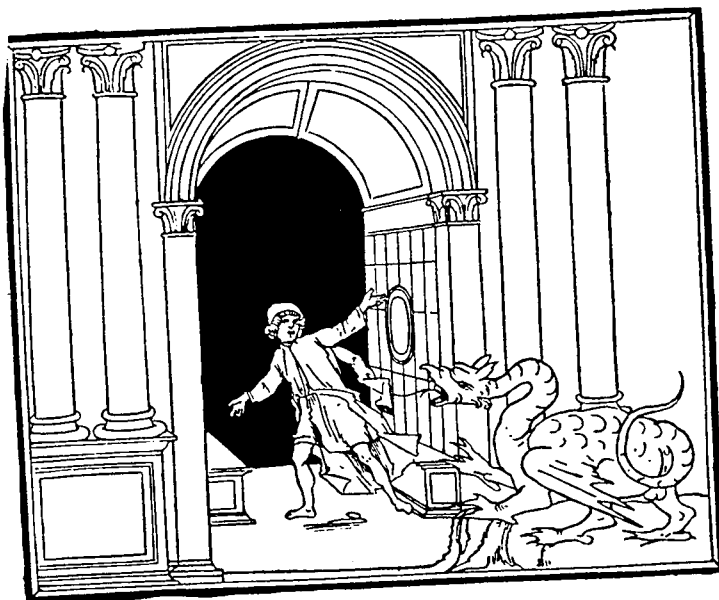




23

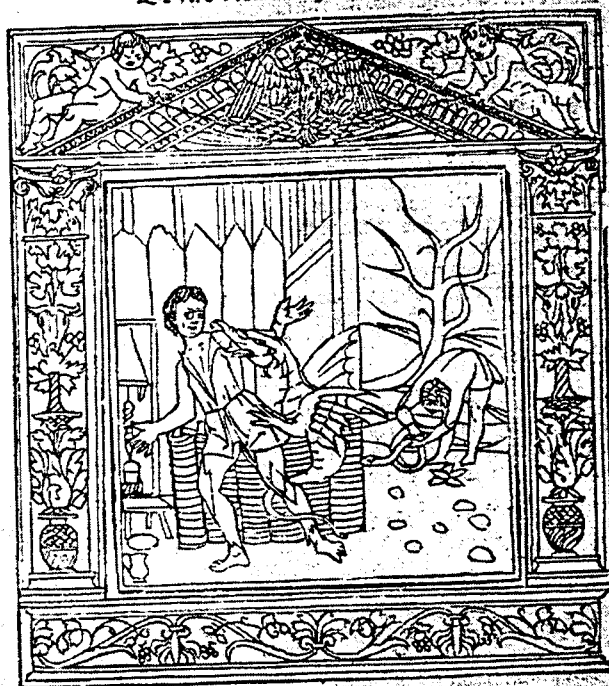


24



25

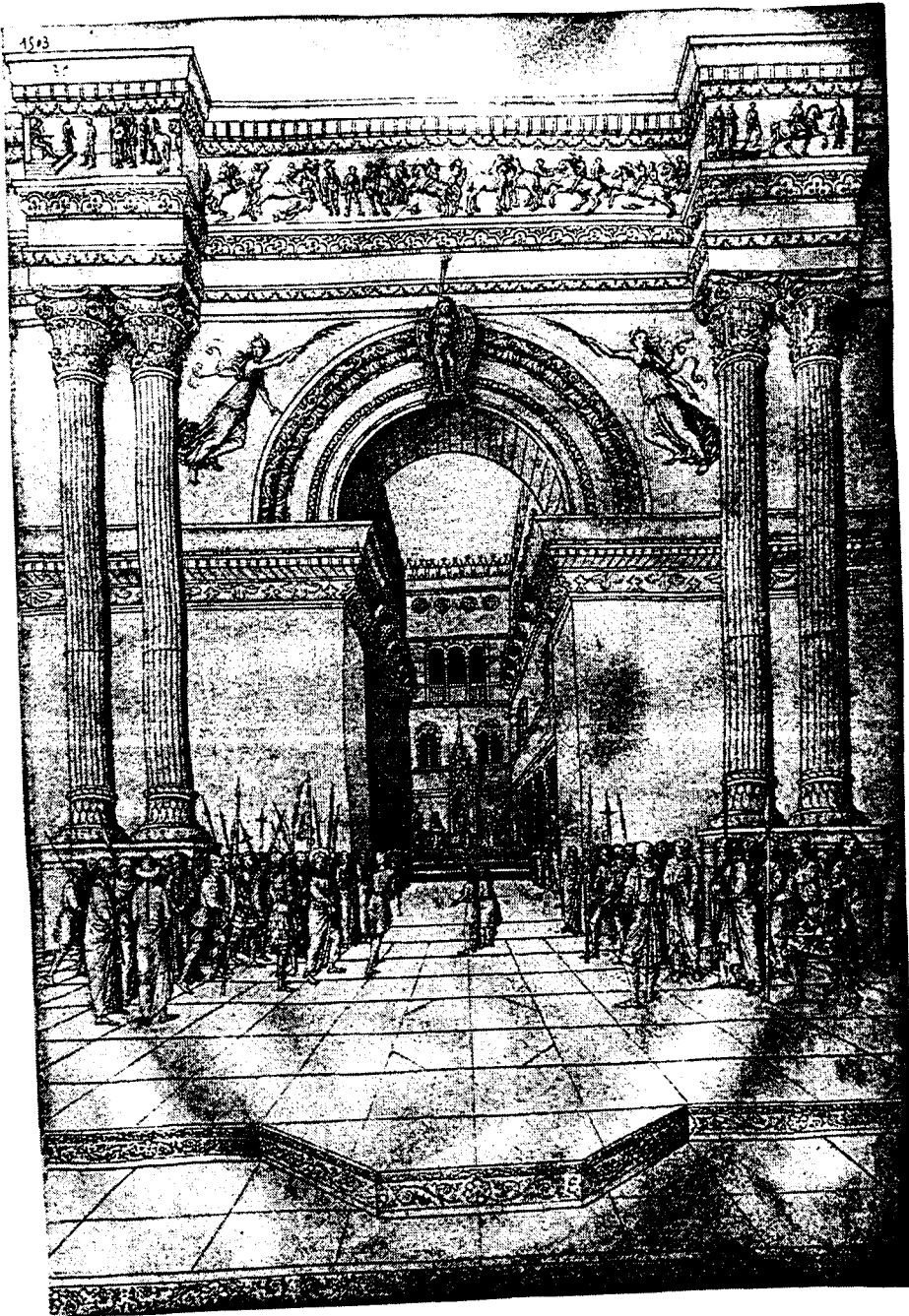
De viro et colubro. Fabula xi.



26

Eni nunc cuncti homines: glacies dum sopit aquarum  
 Luribus in colubum turbula sevit hyems.  
 Punc videt. hunc reficit hominis dementia ventum.  
 Temperat huic tecto. temperat igne gelu.  
 Ver redit unber abire. estas cum sole calecit.  
 Sic impotimus fit magis atq; magis.  
 De ferit virus coluber sic torquat edem.  
 Pospes ait colubus non rediturus abi.





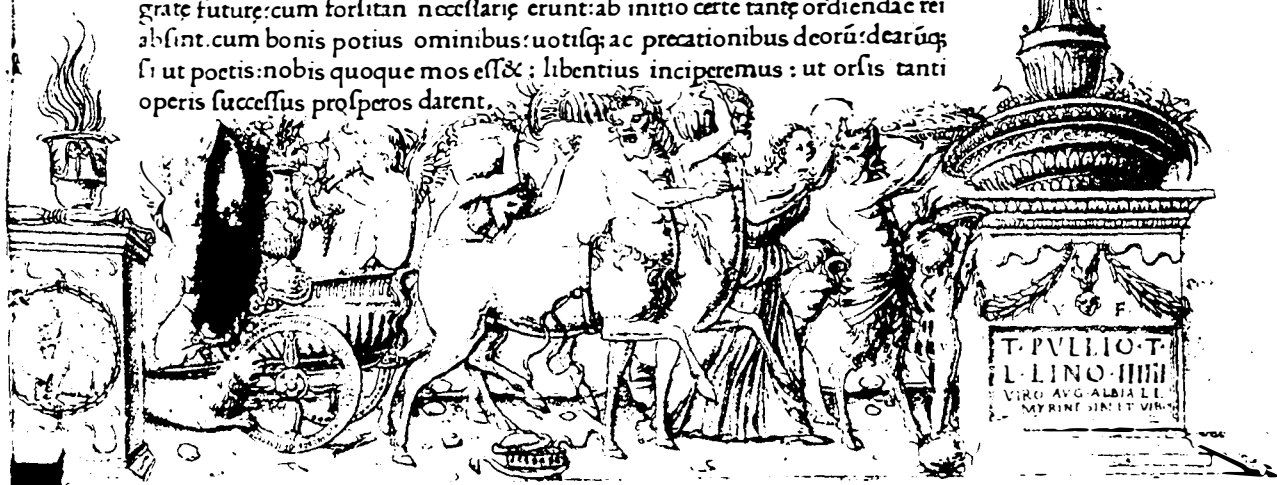


T. L. I. PAT. INI HIST. CI. PRAE  
ARIS. MI. AB. VR. I. CONDIT. E.  
CAD. PRIMAE PROLOGVS INCIPIT



ACTVRVS NE SIM OPERAEPRËciû :

si a primordio urbis res populi romani pſcripſerit:  
nec ſatis ſcio: nec ſi ſciam: dicere auiſim. Quippe qui  
cum ueterem: tum uulgatam eſſe rem uideam: dū  
noui ſemper ſcriptores aut i rebus certius allaturos  
aliquid ſe: aut ſcribendi arte rudem uetuſtatem  
ſuperaturos credunt. Vt cunq; erit: iuuabit tamen  
rerum geſtarum memorię pſcipis terrarum populi  
pro uirili parte & me ipſum cōſuluiſſe. Et ſi in tāta  
ſcriptorum turba mea fama in obſcuro ſit: nobilitate: ac magnitudie eorum:  
qui nomini officient meo: me conſoler. res eſt pſterea: & immenſi operis:  
ut quę ſupra ſeptingentimum annum repetatur: & quę ab exiguis proſecta  
initius eo creuerit: ut iam magnitudine labor & ſua. & legētium pleriq; haud  
dubito qui primę origines: & proxia originibus: minus pſbitura uoluptatis  
ſint feſtinantibus ad hęc noua: quibus iam pridem pſualētis populi uires ſe  
ipſę cōficiunt. Ego cōtra hoc quoq; laboris premium petā: ut me a cōſpectu  
malorum: quę noſtra per tot annos uidit etas: tantisper certe: dum priſca illa  
tota mēte repetō: auertā. Ois expers curę: quę ſcribētis animū: et ſi nō fleſcere  
a uero: ſollicitum tamen efficere poſſet. Quę ante conditam condendamue  
urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis: q̃ incorruptis rerum geſtarum monu/  
mentis tradunt: ea nec affirmare: nec reſellere: in animo eſt. datur hęc uenia  
antiquitati. ut miſcendo humana diuinis primordia urbium auguſtiora  
faciat. Et ſi cui populo licere oportet cōſecrare origines ſuas. et ad deos re/  
ſerre auctores ea belli gloria eſt populo romano: ut cum ſuum: conditorisq;  
ſui parentem Martem potiſſimum ferat: tam hoc gentes humanę patiantur  
ſquo animo: q̃ imperium patiuntur. Sed hęc: & his ſimilia: ut cunq; aia duerſa  
aut eſtimata erunt. haud equidem in magno ponam diſcrimīe. Ad illa mihi  
pro ſe quiſq; acriter intendat animum: quę uita: qui mores fuerint: per quos  
uiros. quibusq; artibus domi: militiq; & partum & auctum imperium ſit.  
labente deinde paulatim diſciplina: uelut diſſidentis primo mores ſequatur  
animo. Deinde ut magis: magis que la pſi ſint: tum ire cōeperint pſcipites:  
donec ad hęc tempora: quibus nec uitia noſtra: nec remedia pati poſſumus  
peruentum eſt. Hoc illud eſt pſcipue in cognitione reę ſalubre: ac frugifex:  
omnis te exempli documenta in illuſtri poſita monumento itueri. Inde tibi  
tuſque rei publicę quod imitere: capias. Inde foedum inceptu: foedum exitu  
quod uitēs. Ceterum: aut me amor negotii ſuſcepti fallit: aut nulla unq; reſp.  
nec maior: nec ſanctior: nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit: nec in quam tam ſero  
auaritia: luxuriaq; immigrauerint. nec ubi tantus: ac tam diu paupertati: ac  
pſimonię honos fuerit. ad eo q̃to reę minus tāto mīus cupiditatis erat. Nup/  
diuitiæ auaritiā: et abundantes uoluptates. deſyderium per luxum atque  
libidinem pereundi: perdendiq; omnia inuexere. Sed querelę ne tum quidem  
gratę future: cum forſitan neceſſarię erunt: ab initio certe tantę ordiendę rei  
abſint. cum bonis potiſſus ominibus: uotiſq; ac pſecutionibus deorū: dearūq;  
ſi ut poetis: nobis quoque mos eſſet: libentius inciperemus: ut orſis tanti  
operis ſucceſſus pſperos darent.





32



33







[illegible]

Horatius  
fuerit Ho-  
ratiū scri-  
bē uttingit

- **Pile or ends**

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

Albanordi  
defetto  
Cue Fana  
pallori &  
pallori uo  
fa

**România**

**Attorneys**  
regis confid

Fondos  
de inversión  
de acciones

QUARTA GIORNATA



Adata hauer il sole dal cielo già  
ogni stella & dalla terra humida  
ombra della notte quando Philo-  
strato leuatosi tutta la sua brigata  
fece leuare & nel bel giardino an-  
datifene quili cominciarono a diportare & l'ho-  
ra del mangiare venuta quili delinarono: do-  
ue la passata sera cenato hauerano e da dormi-  
re effendo il sole nella sua maggior fummita le-  
uati nella maniera usata uicini alla bella fon-  
te si possero a sedere. la unde Philostrato alla  
Fiammetta comando che principio desse alle no-  
uelle: laqual senza piu aspettare che detto gli fos-  
se honestamente così cominciò.

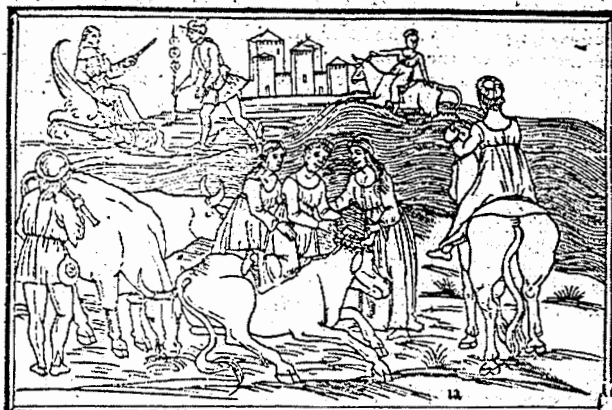
Ieta materia di ragionare ma oggi il  
nostro Re data pensando che doue  
per alegrarci uenire siamo ci conueni-  
ga raccontare l'altri lachryme lequali  
dir non si possono che chi le dice & chi le ode  
non habia compassione forse per temperare al-  
quanto la letitia hauuta gli giorni passati l'ha fa-  
cto ma che se libbia molto puoi che a me non  
si conuenie di riutar il suo piacere un pietoso  
accidente anzi suauituro e degno delle nostre  
lachryme raccontare.



Novella de Guiscardo e de Cilmonda.

Ancredi principe de Salerno fu signo-  
re assai humano & di benigno an-  
gelo se egli nel amoroso sangue nel-  
la sua uerchezza non si hauerle le ma-  
ni brutate ilquale in tutto lo spacio della sua  
uita non hebbe altro che una sola figliola &  
piu felice sarebbe stato se quella hauuta non ha-  
uesse: costei fu dal padre tanto ueramente a-  
mata quanto alcuna altra figliola dal padre sol-  
se giammai: per questo tenero amore hauer-  
do ella di molti anni ammazata leta del dover ha-  
uer marito non sapédola da se prinse no la

LIBRO



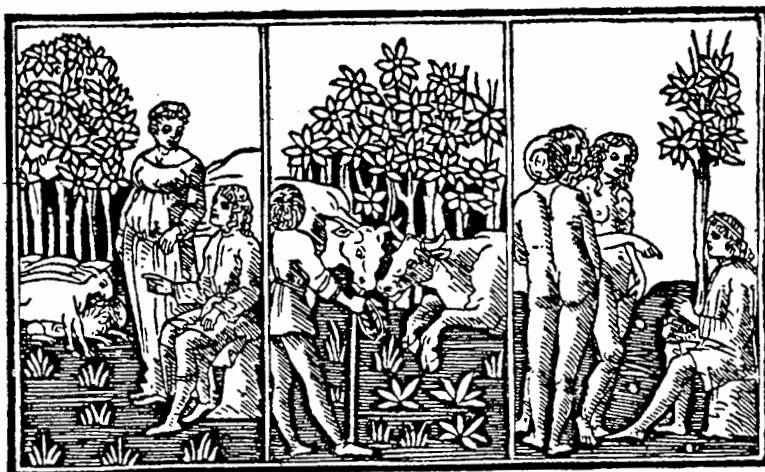
Cap. XLV.  
Come Ioue mando Mercurio a ca-  
zar li armenti de Ageuor ala marina.

**E** Autore torno a sua materia:  
da la quale per non enterpo-  
ner allegorie e alai dilongato  
nanci lordie. Lallo si come Mercurio  
partendose de Athene & da Hersean  
do in cielo. Doue uedendolo Ioue li  
disse ben sia uenuto: lo gia piu tempo  
to aspetato perche non dimorare ne-  
re e uate in terra in Phenicia nela quale  
provincia regna lo re Agenore. E qua-  
do serai li: uederai lo armento che sta  
a longo el mare, ua e conducilo ala ri-  
ua del mare. Alhora Mercurio cusi fe-  
ce Ioue disse del cielo transmutose  
in uno toro molto bello e ando fra le  
madre co altri tori. Europa figliola di  
lo re Agenore soleua andare agiuare  
con questi tori: e andando un di quel-  
lo luoco Ioue in forma di toro ando a  
lei con benigno uolto.

Cap. XLVI.  
De Ioue & Europa.

**E** Sendo Ioue trasformato in  
toro e uedendo Europa ando  
uerso lei humile e soaua. La  
dona si co nuncio amara uogliare dita-  
le mansuetudine Epres e herbe dauali  
con la man amangiare. El toro si licaua  
lemane, da donna el comincio ad gra-  
tare infra le corna. El toro si colego in  
terra Eposta che li hebe una girlanda i  
capo: sli caualco adosso. Alhora alho-  
ra el toro si drizo su e si la portaua. En-  
dendo chiamaua le compagne e quan-  
do ela fo bene ferma sopra el toro: co-  
mencio Ioue a tirare in mare e si la por-  
tauu: la donna comincio a tenirse con  
una mano ale corna: e con l'altra sulla  
gropa: e chiamaua le sue compagne  
che la iutassero ma non poteua alchun-  
na andare a lei per lo mare. E i quest o-  
modo Ioue porto la dita nelisola dita  
crete: Eli se ritorno in propria forma  
e lei tene a sua uolonta quanto tempo  
fo di suo piacere.

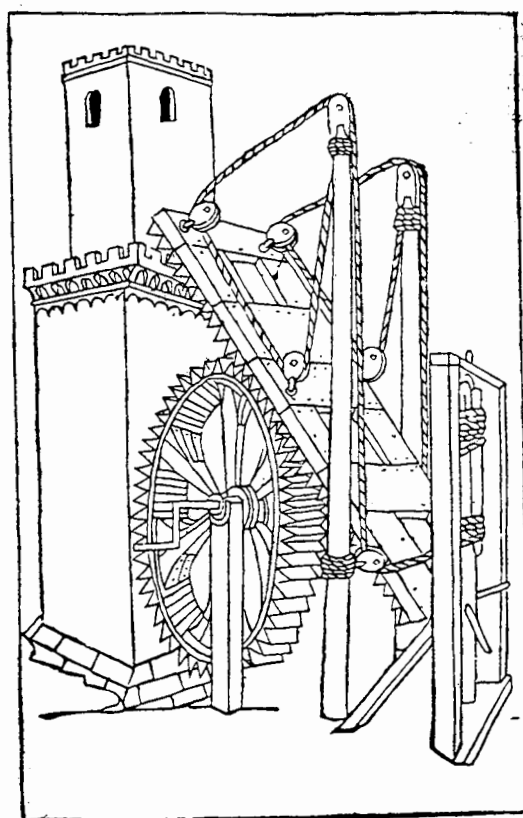
Cap. XLVII.  
Allegoria.



39

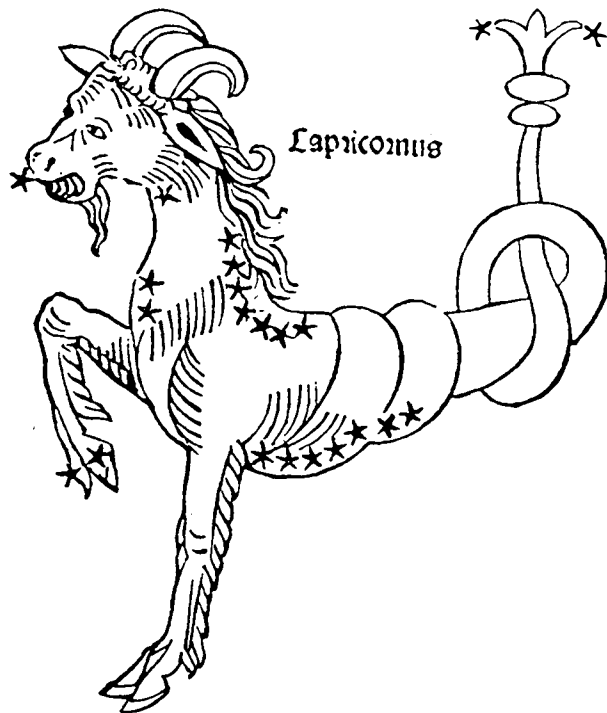
# LIBRO

Questa è una rota q̃le e dentata ap̃a alzare uno ponte sopra a le mu-  
ra come se uede per il q̃le ascendano li hom̃i darme i su le forticie



40

**C**apricorn⁹ ad occasus spectās ⁊ totus in zodiaco cir-  
culo deformat⁹: cauda ⁊ toto corp⁹ medi⁹ diuidit⁹ ab  
hyemali circulo: suppositus aq̄rij manui sinistra: occi-  
dit aut⁹ preceps: exoritur aut⁹ directus. Sed habet stellā  
in naso vnā: Infra ceruicē vnā. In pectore duas In  
priorē pedē vnā. In priorē eodem altē. Inter scapulo habet stel-  
las septē. In vētre septē. In cauda duas. Et ita ē oīo stellaz. xxij.



**A**quarius habet pedes in hyemali circulo fixos: ma-  
num autē sinistra vsq; ad capricorni porrigit tergū  
dextra iube pegasi ppe ptingēs: spectat ad exor⁹: q̄  
cum ita sit figuratus: necesse ē cum corpore prope  
reclupinato videri. Effusio aque peruenit ad cū pi⁹

PERSEVS:  
Annus & ille mihi tantum occurrat Iouecoli,  
Dextra subacta sinibus prope calliopeam,  
Sublimis fulget pedibus properare uidetur,  
Et uille aligeris purpurea aethra tangere palmas.



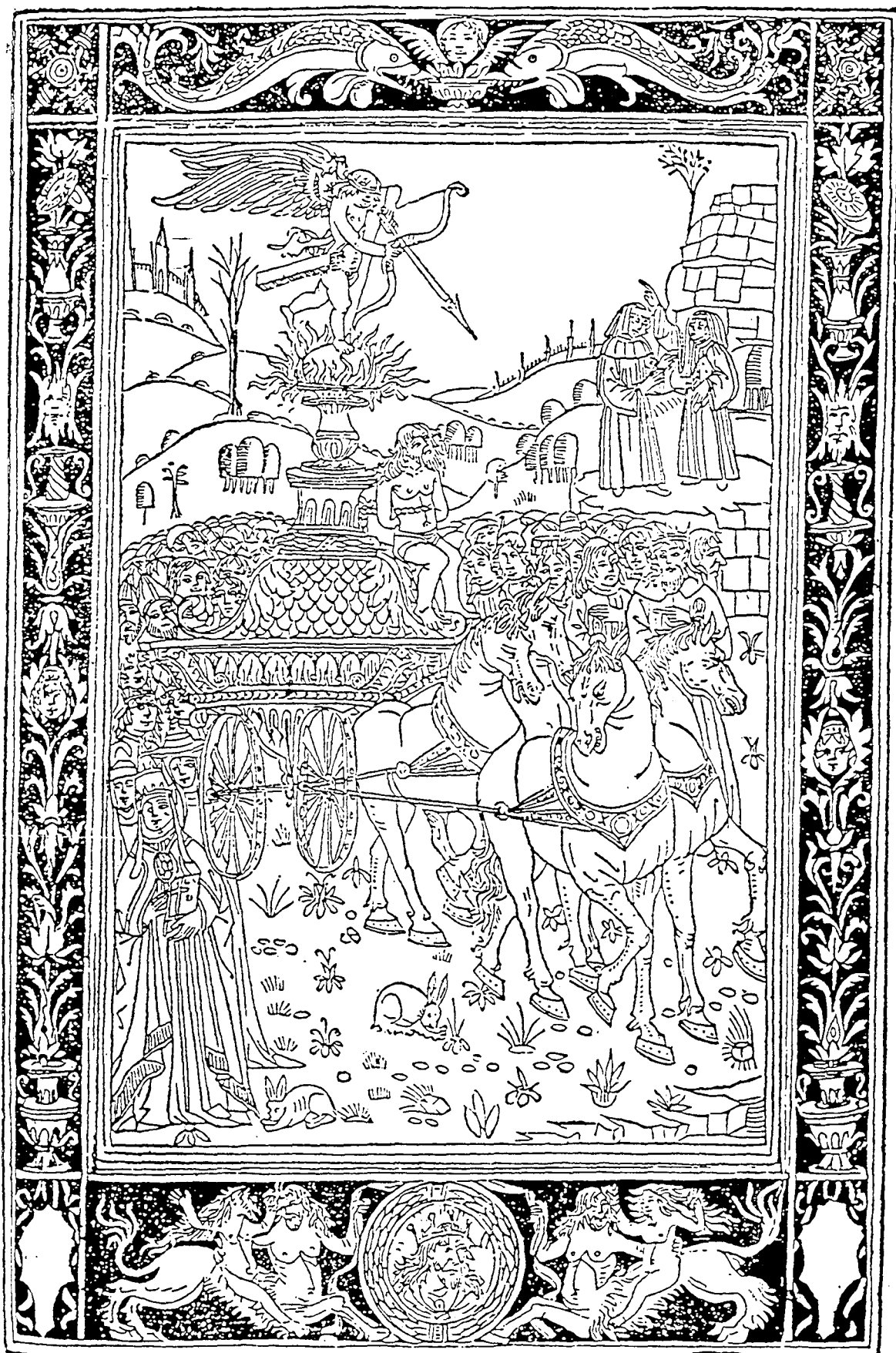
**E**ritus quidem ex Danae & Ioue natus est. Iupiter enim I. Imitu-  
 titudinem auri ibi transiit, transiitque propter Iam delusit Danae.  
 Achillis regis Argi filius, quam parat a Ioue uisitatus cogn-  
 uit. Ira autem claudis precipitatus in mare, q. declarata Italij, Iuuentia quo-  
 da piscatore & oblatra regis, est sibi fecit uxorem una est Perses quo-  
 da eniza est In mari. Qui missus ad Polydesidem regem Iulij Samphi. Accepta a Mer-  
 curio Talaria & Vulcanus heredes adami p. aera et iter facit ad Cor-  
 nes. Phorci filia uenisse phibeus, quo angust per crimibus dicitur habu-  
 isse, quod iulius dissident in lapides & cetera. Gorgones tres fuerunt. Huius lo-  
 roris, uno oculo una pulchritudine inter feroces communicantes quas no-  
 mina p. uantur. prima Stenio, secunda Bursile. tertia Medusa. Quidā  
 uero et a Minerva missum dicitur, q. ab clypeum uenit accepisse, per  
 quon uidere non uideri ab eis possit. Qui cum Gorgones dimittens I.  
 uenisset, caput Medusae abscidit & Minervae tradidit, quod illa in I. po-  
 tate

choreaspauit, ut in bello terribilior esset. Perseum autem inter sydera col-  
 locauit. Habere autem stellarum in capite unam. i. singulis humeris claras sin-  
 gulas. i. manu deatra claram unam. in eodem cubito unam. in manu sinis-  
 tra unam. i. dextra parat lumbos claras unam. i. sinist. femore claras unam.  
 in singulis genibus singulas. i. singulis tibis singulas. in singulis pedibus  
 singulas. i. capite Gorgonis circūque tres. in luper nos. sūt oct. xliii.

Ydera conuenienter ostendunt ex omnibus signis.  
Septem traduntur numero, sed capitur una,  
Deficiente oculo diffingens corpora parua.  
Nomina sed cunctis seruati uel uentus,  
Hedera, Alcinoo, Celsa, coq. Taigroco,  
Et Seropha, Menopha sunt, formosaq. Maia:  
Castro genitrix, uel uere filius Adas.  
Regna Iouis superosq. usq. ipso pondere gaudet,  
Luminenon multo Pleias traenunt alit.  
Præcipue sed honore ostendit tempora bina.  
Cum primum agricolam uentus supereminet auster,  
Et cum largire homini potui diffundere pridi.



Inde ad pluralitatem graeci vocant latinique quae uere exortantur  
 2. quoniam uergilius dicit. Dicit autem Pherceides Atheniensis septem sorores  
 auunculi fuisse. Lycophaenister natus infans. & pro eo quod liberum educa-  
 uerit. & Ioue factus fides. Haec nomina ponit. Elenora. Alciro.  
 Celeno. Altorop. Mappo. Taipeo. Maia. quae uis ut ait Aratus hixio





uolti aguagliare a me: che io son figlio  
o di Ioue. Cap. XLIX.

Come Phetonte p'lo consiglio de  
climene ando a Phebo.

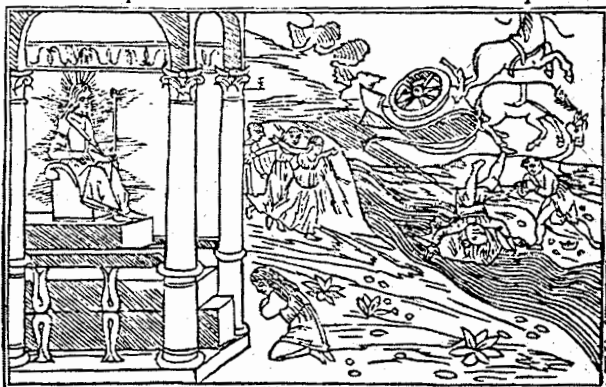
**P**hetonte ando a climene & dis  
se gli. Madremia io son rapo  
gnato & e mi deto da Epa  
pho chio non son figliolo del sole: &  
ptato o madremia dime di cui io son  
figliolo: & non lo celare ame. Alhora  
climene odendo tale parole preselo p  
lamano & disse gli. O figliolo mio leua  
gli ochi in alto & poi gli disse ueditu  
quello ochio cusi resplendete. Quello  
e ueramente tuo padre & se cusi non e

io lo prego che mai non me si lassi uede  
re: ma se uoi essere di cio certo: io ti  
mostro la sua casa: imho che nui sia  
mo apresso ad essa. La sua habitation e  
in oriente: & ptato uane iui & troue  
rai lo tuo padre. phetonte allegro di cio  
icomincio ad andarsi piu tosto che gli  
puote tato che gionse in oriente & fue  
a la casa del sole: & gionse in quella hora  
che el sole icomincio ad aparere nel pri  
mo assendere &c. Le allegorie di que  
sto dirassi nel secodo libro. & qui finis  
se el primo libro de Ouidio.

Casa del sole.

Cap.

II.



DE OVIDIO METAMORPH  
OSEOS, LIBRO II.

**L**RA la casa del sole emi  
nente composta con altis  
sime colone & era tu  
ta inaurata: & anche re  
splendea per la chiarezza  
del piropo che e una  
pietra preciosa de la quale la dita casa

era tutta murata: & resplendea simile a  
le fiamme del fuoco. lo tetto de la dita ca  
sa era tutto de auolio: & le porte resple  
deano percio che erano tutte di argen  
to chburniato: & tutta questa casa era in  
tagliata de figure scolpite & releuate:  
si che: per lo pera se sopechiava la ma  
teria: & questi intagli auia fatto Vulca  
no: & auia intagliati gli grandi mari: li  
quali circondano la terra: & anche era  
ui la rotodita di la terra figurata in p

b. iii

# TRIVMPHVS



celigatura alla fistula tubale, Gli altri dui cū ueterrimi cornitibici con-  
cordi ciascuno & cum gli instrumenti delle Equitante nymphe.

Sotto lequale triūphale sciughe eralaxide nel meditullo, Nelqle gli  
rotali radii erano infixi, deliniameto Balustico, graciliscentseposa  
negli mucronati labii cum uno pomulo alla circunserentia. Elquale  
Polo era di finissimo & ponderoso oro, repudiante el rodicabile crugi-  
ne, & lo incēdiofo Vulcano, della uirtute & pace exitiale ueneno. Sum-

mamente dagli festigianti celebrato, cum moderate, & repentine  
riuolutiōe intorno saltanti, cum solemnissimi plausi, cum  
gli habiti cincti di fasceole uolitante, Et le sedente so-

pra gli trahenti centauri. La Sancta cagione,

& diuino mysterio, in uoce cōsone & car-

mini cancionali cum extre

ma exultatione amo-

rosamente lauda

uano.

\* \*

\*

# PRIMVS



EL SEQVENTE triūpho nō meno mirauiglioso dl primo. Impo  
cheegli hauea le qtro uolubile rote tutte, & gli radii, & il meditullo desu  
sco achate, di cādide uēule uagamēte uaricato. Ne tale certaintegelloe re  
Pyrrho cū le noue Muse & Apolline i medio pulsate dalla natura ipsso.

Laxide & la forma del dicto qle el primo, ma le tabelle erāo di cyanco  
Saphyro orientale, atomato de scintillu ledoro, alla magica gratissimo,  
& longo acceptissimo a cupidine nella sinistra mano.

Nella tabella dextra mirai exscalpto una insigne Matrōa che  
dai ou hauea parturite, in uno cubile regio colloca  
ta, di uno mirabile pallacio, Cum obstetrice stu  
pescate, & multe altre matrone & allante

Nymphe Degli quali uscua de

uno una flammula, & delal-

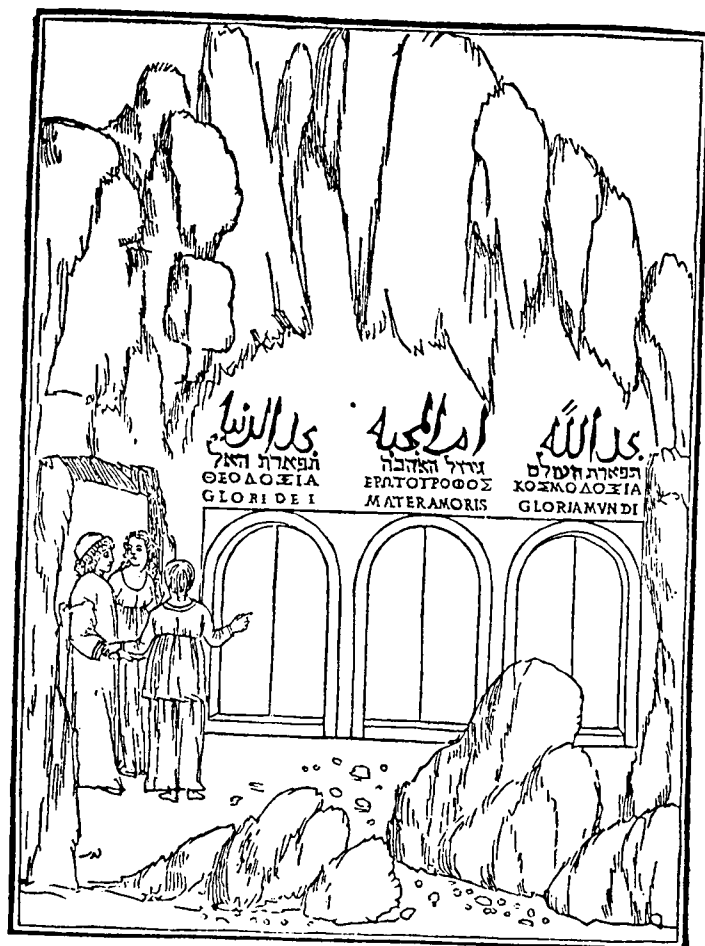
tro ouo due spectatilli

me stelle.

\* \*

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**\*\*Chapter IV: Part I\*\***



# TRIVMPHVS



celigatura alla fistula tubale, Gli altri dui cū ueterrimi cornitibici con-  
cordi ciascuno & cum gli instrumenti delle Equitante nymphe.

Sotto lequale triūphale sciugheera laxide nel meditullo, Nelqle gli  
rotali radii erano infixi, deliniameto Balustico, graciliscanti seposa  
negli mucronati labii cum uno pomulo alla circunferentia. Elquale  
Polo era di finissimo & ponderoso oro, repudiante el rodicabile crugi-  
ne, & lo incēdiofo Vulcano, della uirtute & pace exitiale ueneno. Sum-

mamente dagli festigianti celebrato, cum moderate, & repentine

riolutioe intorno saltanti, cum solemniissimi plausi, cum

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& diuino mysterio, inuocē cōsone & car-

mini cancionali cum exte

ma exultatione amo-

rolamente lauda

uano.

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# PRIMVS



EL SEQVENTE triūpho nū meno miraueglioso dl primo. Impo  
cheegli hauea le qtro uolubile rote tutte, & gli radii, & il meditullo defu  
sco achate, di cādide uēule uagamēte uaricato. Netale certaintegestoe re  
Pyrrho cū le noue Muse & Apolline i medio pulsate dalla natura ipssio.

Laxide & la forma del dicto gileel primo, ma le tabelle crāo di cyaneo  
Saphyro orientale, atomato de scintillule doro, alla magica gratissimo,  
& longo acceptissimo a cupidine nella sinistra inano.

Nella tabella dextra mirai exscalpto una insigne Matrōa che

dui ou hauea parturito, in uno cubile regio colloca

ta, di uno mirabile pallacio, Cum obstetricestru

pefacte, & multe altre matrone & astante

Nymphe Degli quali uscua de

uno una flammula, & delal-

tro ouo due spectatissi

me stelle.

\*\*\*

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# TRIUMPHVS



Sopra de questo superbo & Triumphale uectabulo, uidi uno bianchissimo Cyeno, negli amorosi amplexi duna inclyta Nympha filiola de Thefeo, dincredibile belleccia formata, & cum el diuino rostro obscuro, demisse le ale, tegeua le parte denudate della igenua Hera, Et cū diuini & uoluptici oblectamenti istauano delectabilmente iucundissimami ambi connexi, Et el diuino Olore tra le delicate & niuce coxecollorato. Laquale commodamente sedeu a sopra dui Puluini di panno dorato, exquisitamente di mollicula lanuginetomentati, cum tutti gli sumptuosi & ornanti correlarii opportuni. Et ella induta de uesta Nympha le subtile, de serico bianchissimo cum trama doro texto præluccente Agli loci competenti elegante ornato de petre pretiose.

Sencia defecto de qualunque cosa che ad incremento di dilecto uenustamente concorre. Summa mente agli intuenti conspicuo & delectabile. Cum tutte le parte che al primo sue descripto di laude & plauso.

\*

# SECVNDVS



EL TERTIO celeste triumpho seguiua cum quatro uertibilerote di Chrysolitho athiopico scintule doro flammigiane, Traiecta per el quale la seta del Asello gli maligni dæmonii fuga, Alla leua mano grato, cum tutto quello ch di sopra di rote e dicto. Daposcia le assule sue in ambito per el modo compacte sopra narrato, erano di uiuente Helitropia Cyprico, cum potere negli lumi cælesti, el suo gestate coela, & il diuinare dona, di sanguinee guttule punctulato.

Offeriua tale historiato insculpto la tabella dextra. Vno homo di regia maiestate isigne, Oraua in uno sacro templo el diuo simulacro, quello che della formosissima fiola deueua seguire. Sentendo el patre la eiectione sua per ella del regno. Et ne per alcuno fusse pregna, Fece una muniua struttura di una excelsa torre, Et in quella cum solene custodia la fece inclaustrare. Nella quale ella cessabonda assededo, cum excessiuo solatio, nel uirgineo sino gutte doro stillare uedeua.

\*

# TRIVMPHVS



EL QVARTO triũpho q̃tio rote el portauão di ferrineo. Auello archado una siata accẽso renuẽte la extictiõe. Il residuo di tabulatura q̃drãgula, cũ il mō añdiẽto, era di solgorãte carbũculo tragoditião, nõ temẽdo le dẽse tenebre, di expolitissime calature, longo di ragionamẽto distinctamẽte. Ma quale operature cõsiderare si douerebe in quale loco, & da quale artifice furono fabricate.

Dũq; la dextera facia optimamẽte tale dimõstraua historia. Vna uene rabile matrõa p̃gnãte. Alla q̃le el sũmo Iupiter diuinamẽte (q̃le cũ la Dea Iunone sole) cũ tonitri & fulmini li appeua, itãto che accẽsa se cremaua incinere, & del cõbusto, uno nobilissimo & diuo ifantulo extraheua.

TABELLA DEXTRA.



# TERTIVS



Nelãtra io mirai esso opitulatore Iupiter, q̃llo medesimo infãtulo, ad uno cẽleste homo talaricato & caducifero gli offeriua. Et q̃sto poscia in uno antro a multe Nymphẽ nutriendo el commendaua.

SEC Vnda SINISTRA.



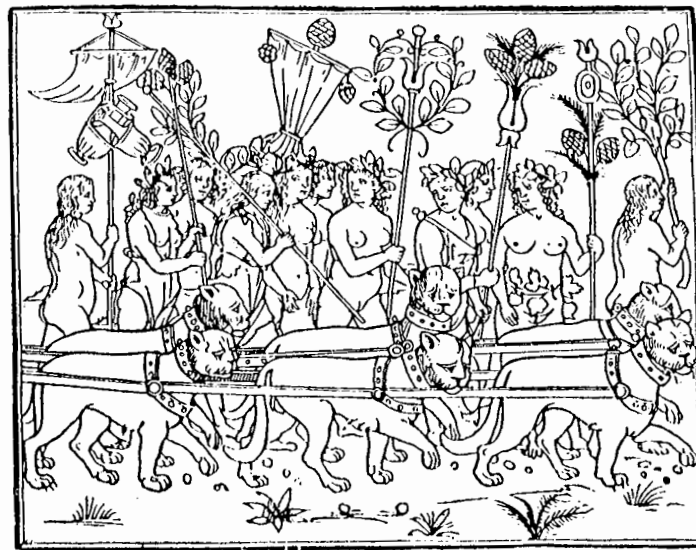
Nello q̃drato anteriore uidi Cupidie, mirauẽgliãtisi grãde Copia di oĩ sexo sagittati, che cũ la sua noxia sagittula tirata nel alto cœlo Iouetra hẽsse in diuinitate ad cõtẽplatiõe duna mortale fanciulla. Allincõtro retro el maxio Iupiter uedeuasi i uno tribunale sedẽre iudice, Et cupidine claudicãte, cõtã la sua benigna matre i iudicio uocata, dolẽte q̃rimonie



olète. Il tertio de optia Medea, i fusco aureo colore dissemiato, cù el Ne-  
taro sapore. Lo ultio d'ptiosa Nebride, al Nume dicata, Nel nigro exi-  
mio colore bianco & uiride immixtamente coeunte. Nella còchula de  
gli q̃li, una Pyramidale flàmula, di foco iextiguibile continua ardeua.

Per la q̃le luculètia le eximicopature & exp̃ssi, p lo reflexo del flàmicu  
late lue, p li fulgurati lapilli priosissimi pseuerate mte spectare nò ualeua.

Circa d'q̃le diuino triùpho, cù multa & solene supstitiõe & maxia pò-  
pa & religiõe Infinite Nymphe Mænadecù li soluti & sparsi capilli. Al  
cùe nude cù amicali Nymphi dagli humeri defluèti, & tale Nebride,  
cioe idute de pellicco uariato d colore di damule, senza laltro sexo, Cym-  
balistric, & Tibiciatric, faceuao le sacre Orgie, cù clamori uociferado, &  
thyasi, q̃le negli Trieterici, cù thyrsi di fròdedi còifere arbore, & cù fron-  
de uitine istrophiate, sopra el nudo ciète & coròate saltatorie pcurète seq-  
ua imediate el triùpho siléo seniculo lo asello eqtate, Poscia retro a q̃sto  
eqtate imediate uno Hirco horricome de sacifica pòpa ornata festiua-  
mète còduceuao. Et una d q̃sto sectaria, uno uiminaceo Vāno gestaua,  
cù desordiato riso, & furiali gesti, cù q̃sto ueterrimo & scò rito, q̃sto q̃rto  
triùpho adoriame te extolleuano, Et cò uenerado discorso Euibache ad  
alta uoce, còsufamète exclamādo gli Mimallon i. Satyri. Bacche. Lene.  
Thyade. Naiade. Tityri. nymphe, celebrabondi sequiuano.



LA MVLTVDINE DEGLI AMANTI GIOVENI, ET  
DILLE DIVE AMOROSE PVELLE LA NYMPHA A POLI-  
PHILO FACVNDAMENTE DECHIARA, CHIFVRO-  
NO ET COMEDAGLI DII AMATE. ET GLI CHORI DE  
GLI DIVI VATICANTI VIDE.



LCVNOMAIDI TANTO INDEFESSO ELO-  
quio aptamente se accommodarebbe, che gli diuini ar-  
chani disertando copioso & pienamente potesse euade-  
re & uscire. Et espressamente narrare, & cum quanto di  
ua pompa, indelinenti Triumpho, perennegloria, festi-  
ua latitia, & felicetripudio, circa a queste quattro iuifi-  
tate sciuge de memorando spectamine cum parole sufficientemente ex-  
primere ualesse. Oltragli inclyti adolescentuli & stipante agmine di inu-  
mere & periucunde Nymphe, piu chela tenercia degli anni sui elle pru-  
dente & graue & astutule cum gli acceptissimi amanti de pubescente  
& depile gene. Ad alcuni la primula lanugine splendescete male in-  
serpiua delitiose alacremete festigiauano. Molte hauendo le facole sue  
accense & ardente. Alcune uidi Pastophore. Altre cum drite halle  
adornate de pische spolie. Ettali di uarii Trophæi optimamète ordinate



cum religioso tripudio plaudendo & iubilando, Qualeerano le Nym-  
phe Amadryade, & agli redolenti fiorile Hymenide, riuirente, saliendo  
iocunde dinanti & da qualũq; lato del flore Vertunno stricto nella fron-  
te de purpurante & meline rose, cum el gremio pieno de odoriferi & spe-  
ctatissimi fiori, amanti la stagione dellanofo Ariete, Sedendo ouante so-  
pra una ueterrima Vcha, da quattro cornigeri Fauni tirata, Inuinculati de  
strophie de nouelle fronde, Cum la sua amata & bellissima moglie Po-  
mona coronata de fructi cum ornatodefluo degli biõdissimi capigli, pa-  
rea ello sedete, & a gli pedi dellaquale una coetilia Clepsydria iaccua, nel  
lemanetenente una stipata copia de fiori & maturati fructi cum imixta  
fogliatura. Præcedete la Vcha agli trahenti Fauni propinq; due formose  
Nymphe aũsignanc, Vnacũ uno hastile Trophæo gerula, de Ligoni Bi-  
denti, sarculi, & falcionetti, cũ una ppendete tabella abaca cũ tale titulo.



INTEGRIMAM CORPOR. VALITVDINEM, ET  
STABILEROBVR, CASTASQVE MEMSAR. DELI  
TIAS, ET BEATAM ANIMI SECVRITA  
TEM CVLTORIB, M. OFFERO.

m iiii

tante nymphes hymni & cantici, & cum dulcissimi moduli psalléte p tutto adsonauano, cum cæleste plauso latissimamente festigianti cum hilarcerimonie & cum delicato & uirginale tripudio ardeliamente, & alcune cum saltatione pyrrhica, & altisonelaude extollendo la diuina genitrice & il potente filiolo, cum festiui spectaculi cum maximo triumpho, & superba pompa paulatinamente puenissimo ad uno proskenio, oue era una conspicua, & faberrima, & scitissima portahiente, di materia, & di operatura di uno mirabilissimo amphitheatro sublime instrutto di fabbrica, pieno di artificio di ornamenti & arte non uiso mai tale. Ne in Atellane in qualúque altro famoso loco exquisitissimamente fabrefatto & perfettamente assoluto di lunga narratione explicabile, & quasi non cogitabile. Quale dire si potrebbe non humana, ma piu psto diuina operatione, & ostentamento maximo di struttura.



GIVNTI dunque cum solénissimo gaudio, & incredibile letitia, & solatiofo dilecto per la triumphale uia cum distributa aspergine indi & quindi per alcune stricissime auree fistulete, irrorante di odoratissime aquule gli processionarii, & tutta la triumphatrice turma rosidulamente pfusa alla porta di lingresso, mirai che lera stupendo artificio. Laquale constructa era di orientale litharmeno, nelquale infinite scintule, quale scope di sparse scerniuano di fulgurate oro. Et di questo puro metallo erano

rano dille exacte colúne le base, gli capituli. Il trabe. zophoro, coronice, & fastigio limine & ante, & omni altro opamento dilla recensita materia uedeuale, renuète il duro & tenace chalybe & aspernabile la toreumata antiquariamente uariata, gratiofo elegante & spectatissimo espresso, & structura oltra modo magnifica. Laquale io penso dagli terriculi nó factibile, cú summo ipendio & longanimitate, graue & diutia fatica, & cum nó mediocre ingegno, cura & industria, & diligentia, che ad tale ostento fusse assoluta & ad fabrefacta era nella clusura di tutto larco di ophitea petra, & le collaterale colúne ambe prophyrice. Poscia laltre uariando, & ophitea una, & laltre, pphyrice. Le mediane supastante alle porphyrice, ábe ophite, & le supernate quadrágule mediane di porphyrice, & poscia contrariádo luna allaltre, & cusi p il contrario mutamine erano capituli base & arule.



Dinanti laquale uno per lato, era uno ptiolissimo uaso, uno di saphyro, laltro di smaragdo, di maximo & obstinato artificio faberrimamente dædale facti. Pensai degli uasi allingresso dil téplo di Ioue in Athene col locati.

A questa descripta porta mirabile dil triu phale & uolucere uchiculo il signore Arquitediscefe. Lo áphitheatro era di icredibile inuistata & iaudita lstructura. Impoche il pedaméto elegante, & gli emulicati concinetti,

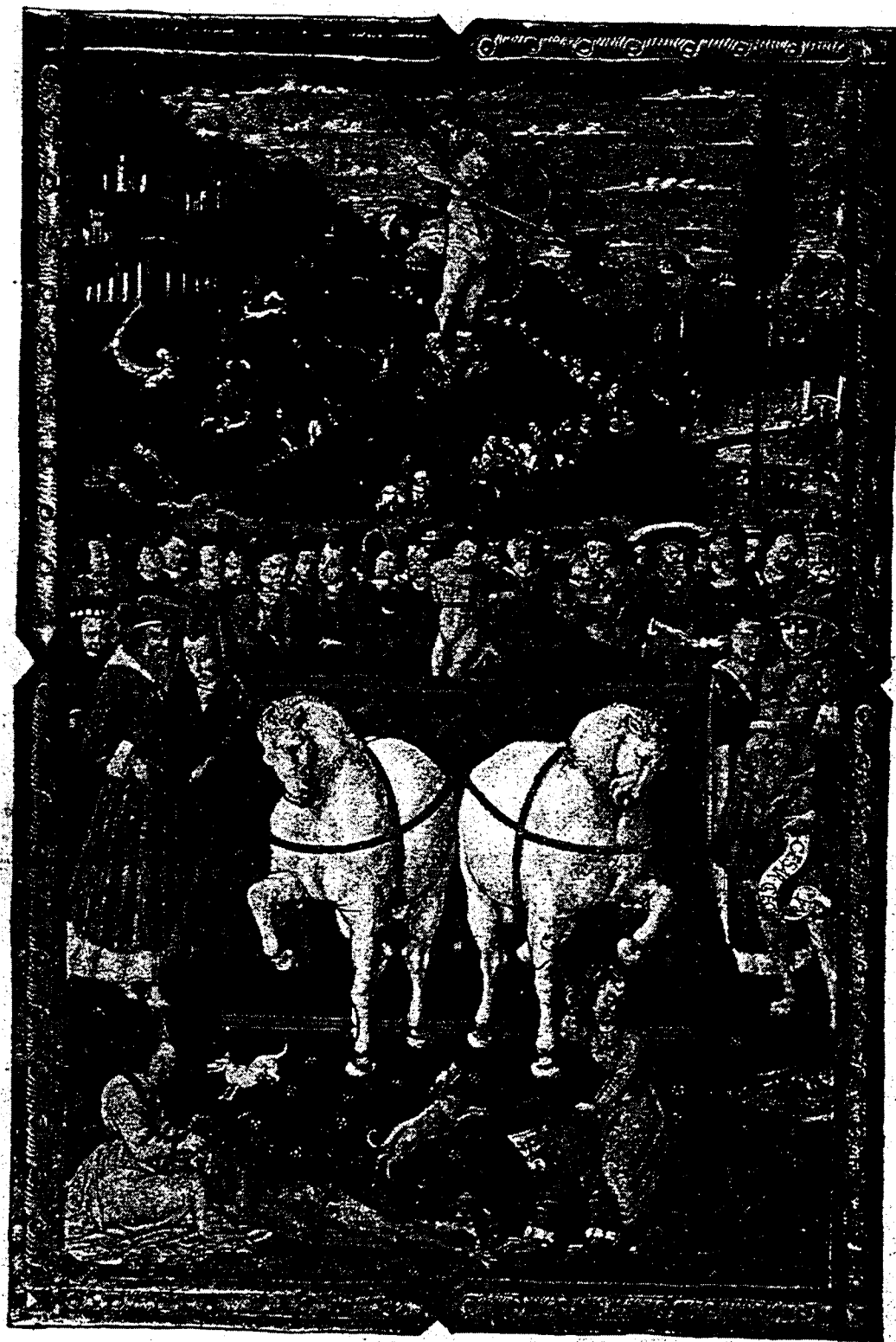
y ii

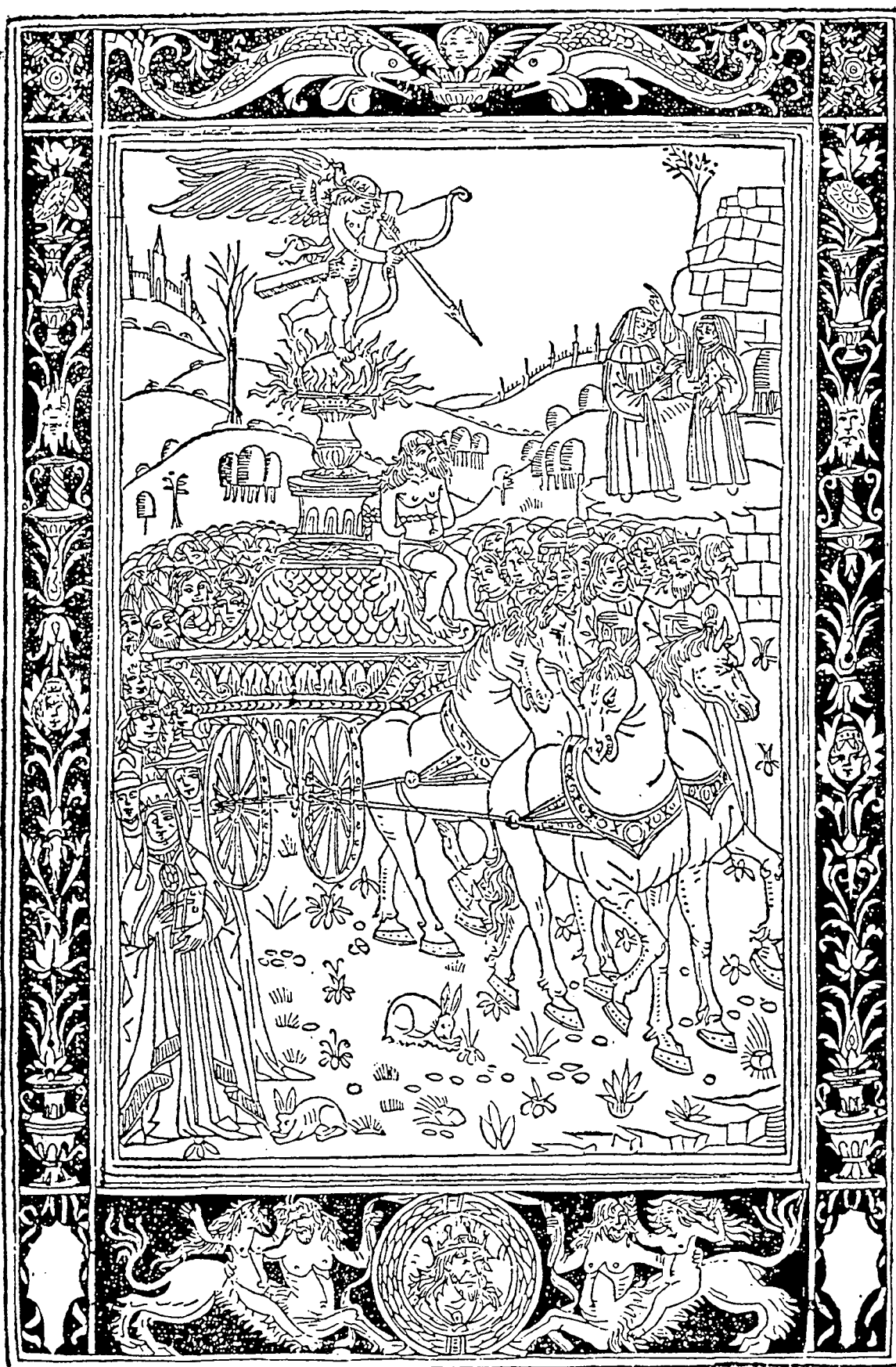


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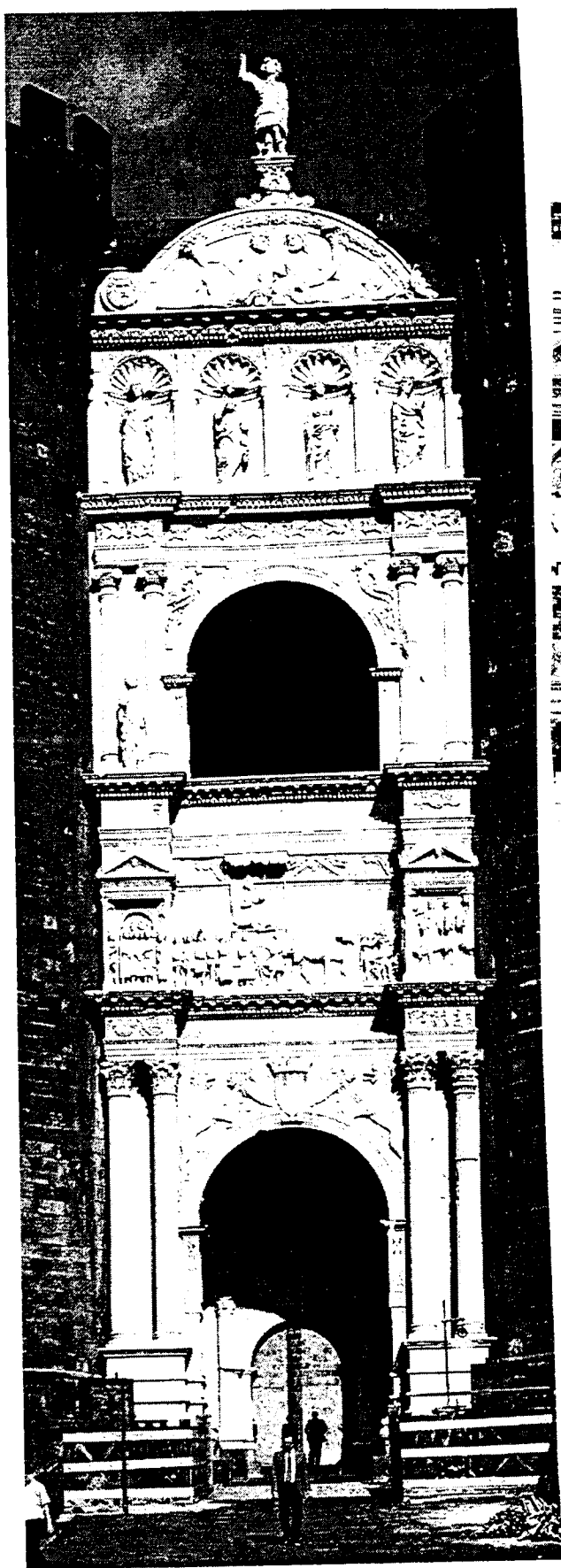




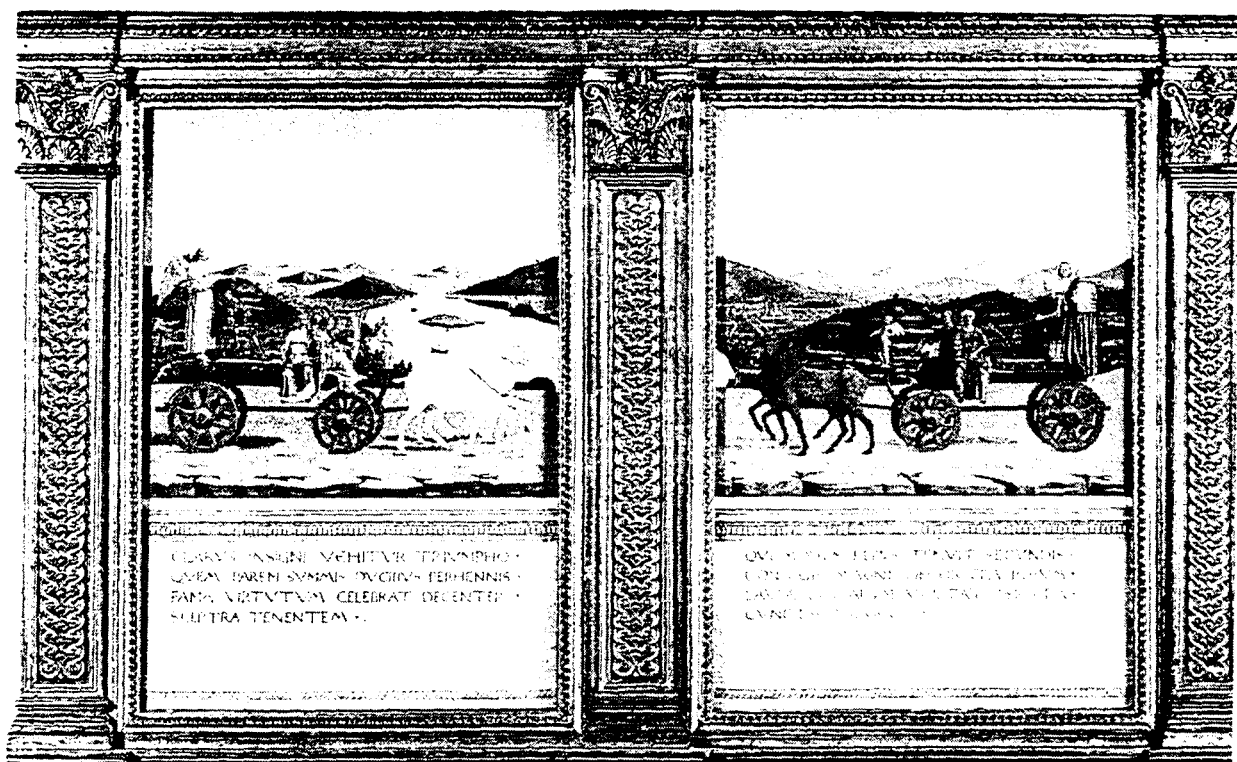








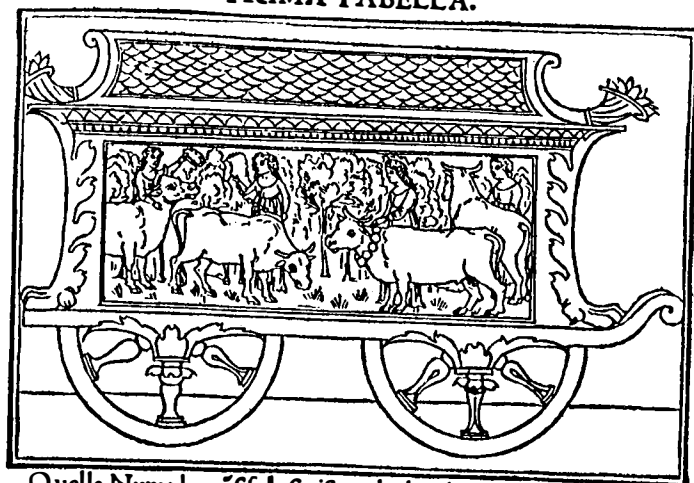
15a





PRIMA TABELLA.

18



Quella Nympha cōfisa la sinistra tabula cōtineua, che ascenso hauea sopra il mansueto & candido Tauro. Et quello q̄lla pel tumido mare timida, tràffretua.  
SEC V N D A SINISTRA.

18a



Nel fronte anteriore, Cupidine uidi cū innumera Caterua di promiscua gēte uulnerata, mirabōdi che egli tirasse larco suo uerso alto olym po. In nel fronte posteriore, Marte mirai dinanti al throno del magno Ioue, Lamentātise che el filiolo la ipenetrabile thoraca sua egli la hauesse lacerata. Et el benigno signore el suo uulnerato pecto gli monstraui. Et nell'altra mano extenso el brachio tenua scripto, NEMO.

k iiii

PARS ANTERIOR ET POSTERIOR TRIUMPHI.

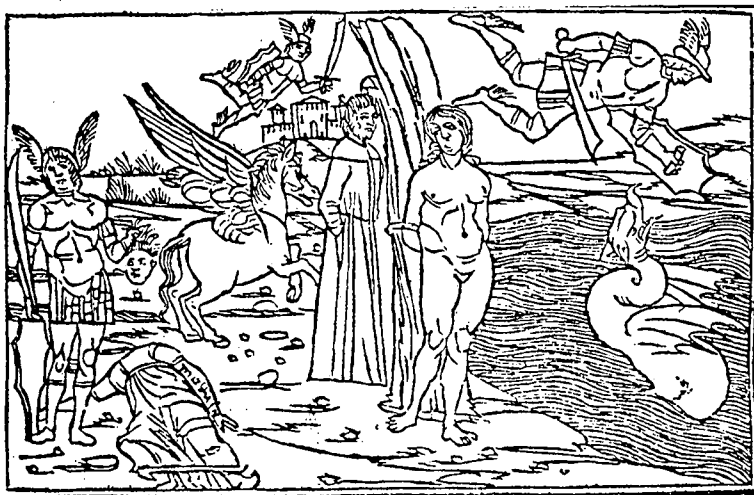
18b



Questa figura di carro era q̄drāgula di dui q̄drati p̄fecti p̄ lōgo di pedi .vi. alto .iii. lato altrorātō cū exigēte coronice di sopra & di sotto el plintho, Et da q̄ isopra uno & semipedi era una plana lata pedidui & semi, lōga .v. & semi, cū uno pelinato uerso la coronice tutto squāmeo de pretiosissime petre, cum alterato congresso & ordine di coloramento Et ne gli quatro anguli erano appactecopie inuerse cum lapertura resupina, sopra el proiecto angulare della coronice, stipata di molti fructi & fiori de crasse & multiplice gemme germināte tra la uariata fogliatura doro. Gliquali corni uidi cum egregia espressione di folie di papauero cornuto, inuestiti & di alueoli intorquati, & cum il suo gracilamento inuolutato al termine della plana. Ilquale si rūpeua i uno folio laciniato antiq̄rio, che bellissimamente deriuaua sopra el dorso della elegante copia della materia dicta. In ciascuo angulo dal plintho uerso la coronice, al proiecto era affermato, uno Harpyiatico pede, cum moderato sinuare, & cū prastante conuersione de qui & delli infoliamiento di Acantho.

Le rote erano teeste in tron nel carro, La medietate sua apparēdo, Et el plintho cioe la extrema parte di essa machina, nell'anteriore parte, proximo ad gli harpatici pedi, alquāto subleuantise politamente graciliscēte uertiuase in uno limachale uoluto. Nelquale erano gli laquei, o uero retinaculi ad trahere opportunamente commēdati. Et oue infixō uertiuaxide, ad esso plintho appactō pendeuā uno mucronato, di tanta latitudine alla iunctura del plintho, quāto era due fiate dal uolubile mediuolo alla cima. Et quiui exquisitamente principiauano due foliature, Lequale diuidentesse sotto el plintho deriuauano, Nel medio della discrepantia delle quale promineua modificatamēte una pētaphylla rosa, nel mediano

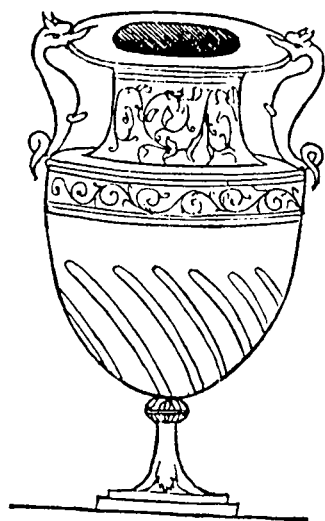




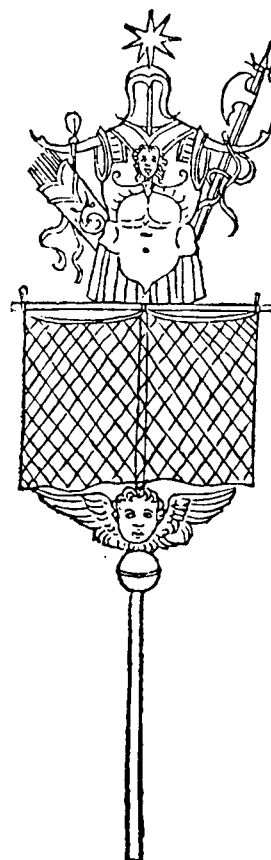
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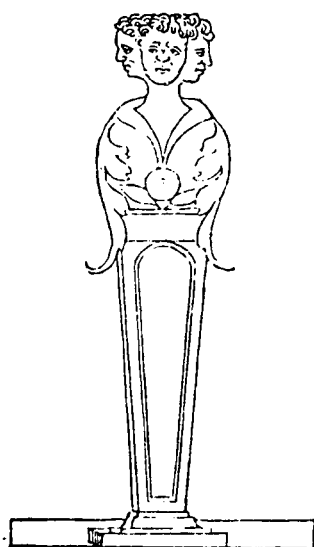
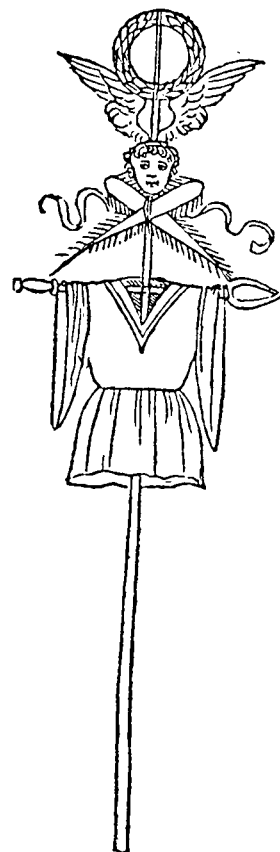
21



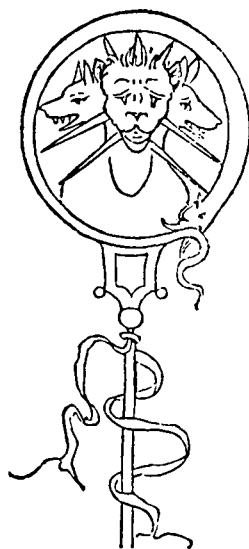
22a



22b



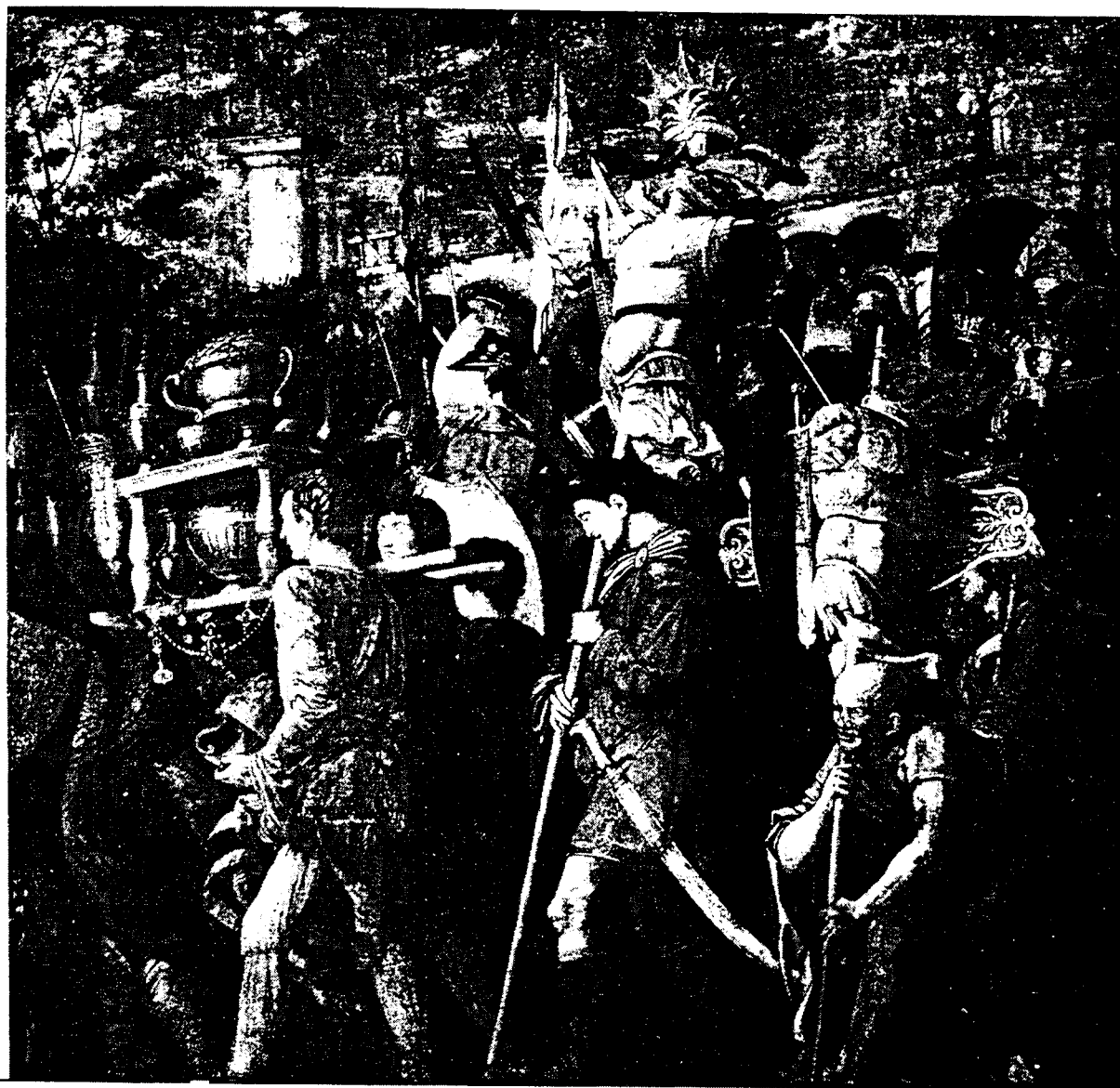
22c



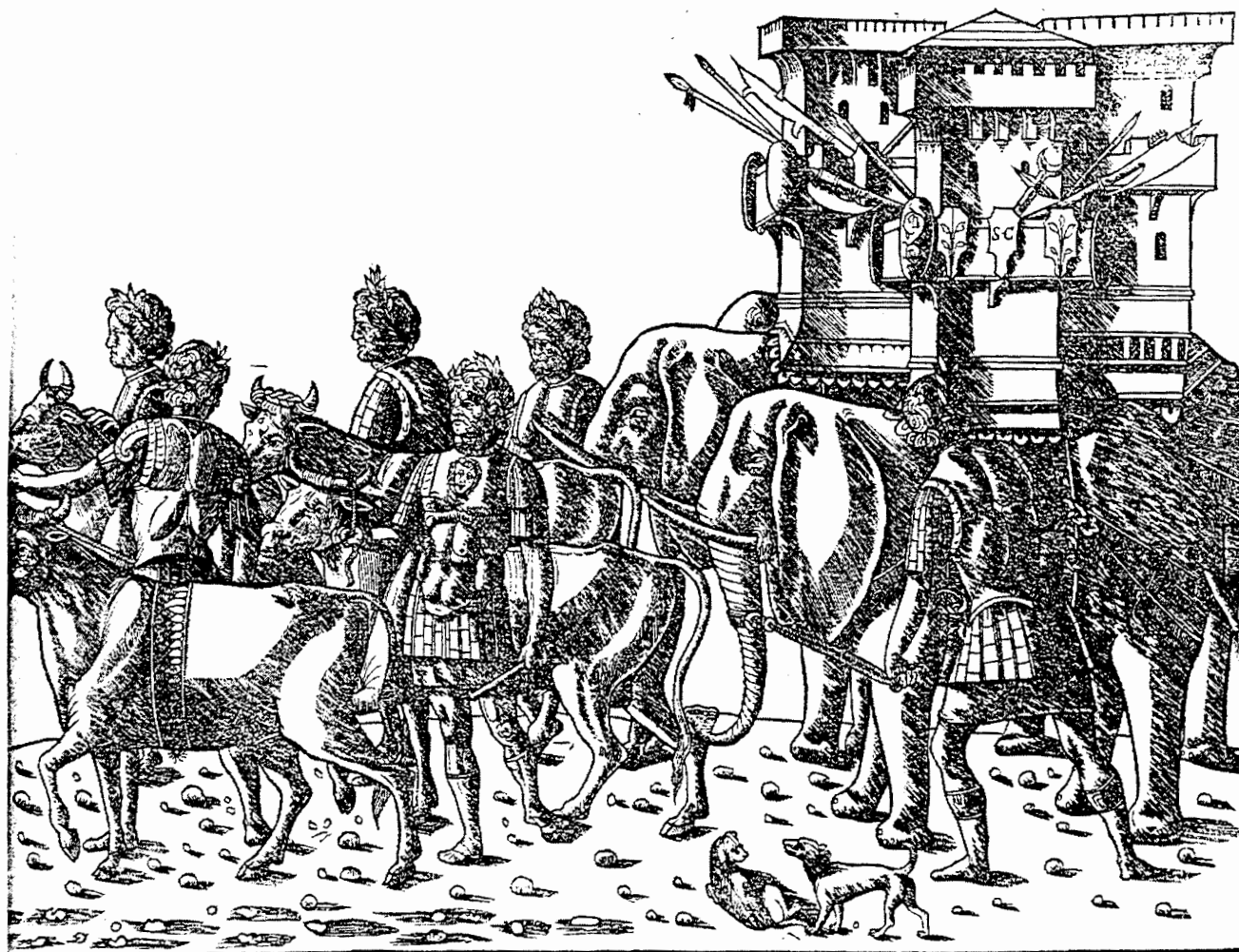
22d



22e







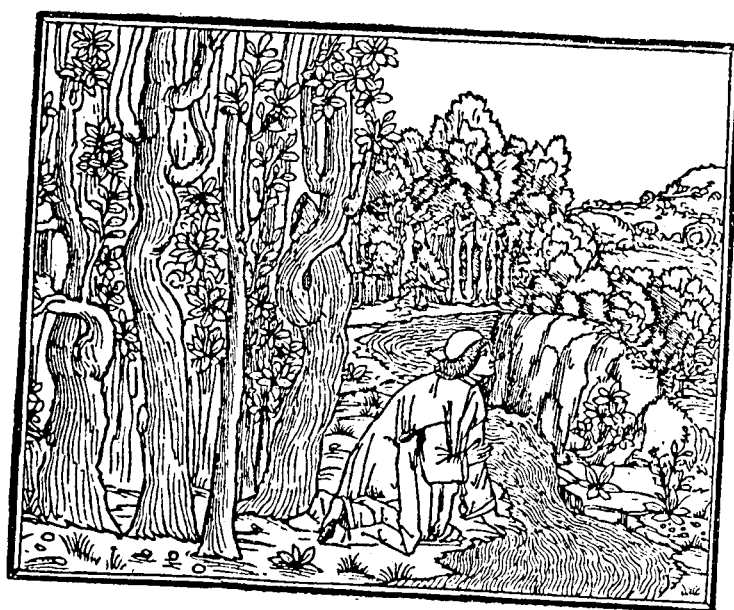
Candidi subinde boues cornibus auratis ducebant: ruitis ornati & lectis: ducebant eos adolefcētes succincti ad imolanda. de hisq; bobus aibis dicere voluit Virgilius de rauris tradans equi i meū anie  
campus ad elictum amnem albū nalcunt sic: Hic albi elictumne greges: & maxima rauri: Victimā sepe tuo perfusi flumine sacro Romanos ad templā deū duxere triumphos. Et elephanti illes seque:  
bant: de quo Trāquilius. Galia triumphū die ascendit Capitolium ad lumina Elephantes quadraginta: dextra seu aq; lychnos gestantibus. Inter fercula etiam ductus est Rhēnus: Rhodanus: &  
ex auro capuus Oceanus. Pontico triumpho inter pompe fercula trium uxorū pretulit titulum: Vena: Vidi: Vici: non acta belli significantem sicut ceteris: sed celeriter confectu notam.



**\*\*Chapter IV: Part II\*\***



1



2



POLIPHILLO QVIVI NARRA, CHE GLI PAR VE AN-  
COR A DI DORMIRE, ET ALTRONDE IN SOMNO  
RITROVARSE IN VNA CONVALLE, LAQVALE NEL  
FINEER A SERATA DE VNA MIR ABILE CLAVSVRA  
CVM VNA PORTENTOSA PYRAMIDE, DE ADMI-  
RATIONE DIGNA, ET VNO EXCEL SO OBELISCO DE  
SOPRA. LAQVALE CVM DILIGENTIA ET PIACERE  
SVBTILMENTE LA CONSIDEROE.

**I**A SPAVENTEVOLE SILVA, ET CONSTI-  
pato Nemore euaso, & gli primi altri lochi per el dolce  
somno che se hauea per le fesse & prosterbate mēbre dif-  
fuso relictī, me ritrouai di nouo in uno piu delectabile  
sito assai piu che el præcedente. El quale non erade mon-  
ti horridi, & crepidinose rupe intorniato, ne falcato di  
strumosi iugi. Ma compositamente de grate montagniole di non tro-  
po altecia. Siluose di giouani quercioli, di roburi, fraxini & Carpi-  
ni, & di frondosi Esculi, & Illice, & di teneri Coryli, & di Alni, & di Ti-  
lie, & di Opio, & de infrutuosī Oleastri, disposti secondo laspecto de  
gli arboriferi Colli. Et giu al piano erano grate siluule di altri siluatici

arborescelli, & di floride Geniste, & di multiplice herbe uetissime, quiui  
uidi il Cythiso, La Carice, la commune Cerinthe. La muscariata Pana-  
chia el fiorito ranunculo, & ceruicello, o uero Elaphio, & la seratula, & di  
uarie assai nobile, & de molti altri proficui simplici, & ignote herbe & fio-  
ri per gli prati dispensate. Tutta questa lata regione de uiridura copiosa-  
mente adornata se offeriua. Poscia poco piu ultra del mediano suo, io ri-  
trouai uno sabuleto, o uero glareosa plagia, ma in alcuno loco disperfa-  
mente, cum alcuni cespugli de herbatura. Quiui al gli occhi miei uno io-  
cundissimo Palmeto se apprasento, cum le foglie di cultrato mucrone  
ad tanta utilitate ad gli ægyptii, del suo dolcissimo fructo sercūde & abun-  
dante. Tra le quale racemose palme, & piccole alcune, & molte mediocre,  
& laltredite erano & excelsē, Electo Signo de uictoria per el resistere suo  
ad lurgente pondo. Ancora & in questo loco non trouai incola, ne altro  
animale alcuno. Ma peregrinando solitario tra le non densate, ma inter-  
uallate palme spectatissime, cogitando delle Rachelaide, Phaselide, & Li-  
byade, non essere forsa a queste comparabile. Ecco che uno assertato &  
carniuoro lupo alla parte dextra, cum la bucca pienami apparuc.









7

Her walthen vō der Vogelweide.

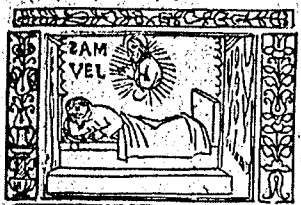


8





**RE**  
ne la sua casa tutti li giorni non fara il nechio. Niente  
meno da te totalmente non leuato l'omo dal mio al  
tore. Ma perche manchino al tuo occhio de la tua an  
ima per nullo cosa manchando la grade parte de la tua  
casa. Edo sono uenuti ala perfezione: e ad te  
fara questo figlio alqual per uenire ad te. Tuoi duo fi  
glios: ad me fiderato li sacerdoti e fidei alqual fara  
secondo il mio cuore de la mia anima. Alqual e discen  
do la casa fidei. Et tutti li giorni lui uenira dinanzi al  
pao chistoso a te fara questo che ognuno che sia ri  
nato nella tua casa uenga perche sia pregato per lui: e  
offerito el denar de argento: e de la torta de pane dice  
glios: propiti lassine esser ad una gre sacerdotale peche  
nata la terra del pane. Cap.



**III**  
Il puto Samuel uenitua al signor in p  
sencia de heli: et il parlare del signor era p  
chico co lui. In quelli giorni no era uisione  
manifesta. Fatto e adque che uno giorno  
uendo heli nel suo lectello: e csendo li suoi ochi  
obscuro no possua ueder la lucerna de rito in anzi  
che la se amorzasse. Et Samuel dormiua nel tempio  
del signore doue era larcha de dio: et il signor chia  
mo Samuel. elqz istendo disse. Ecomi. e corse da  
heli: e disse. Ecomi certe me hai chiamato. Heli di  
se figlio no te ho chiamato ritua de domi. Et qz  
se porte: e dormire: e ancho il signor chiamo Samuel  
e leuando Samuel ando da heli: e disse. ecomi gi  
che mi hai chiamato: e lui nipo: no te ho chiama  
to: e figlio mio ritua de domi. Certe Samuel an  
cora no sapua el signor ne era a lui era stato reuel  
ato el parlare del signore. Et il signor chiamo la terza  
fata Samuel: e lui leuandosi ando da heli: e disse. E  
comi poe tu me hai chiamato. Et heli inese come el  
signore haueua chiamato el fanciullo: e disse a Samu  
el. Vane dormi. Et se anche lei chiamato durai parla  
signor poe el tuo seruo ode: e Samuel se parti: e dor  
ma nel suo loco: et il signore uenire: e stette: e chiamo  
come haueua fatto la prima fata Samuel. Et disse la  
nua parla signor poe el tuo seruo ode: e disse el si  
gnor a Samuel. Ecco ambe due le fue ore che intona  
no. In quel giorno suscitato ebra heli. nate le col  
che e dritto di sopra la sua casa. comenzato et adpro  
Certe a lui pisse come iudicare la sua casa in erer  
nna: e la iudice: e condola che lui habba cognoscuto

**LXXXVIII**  
li suoi figlioli opate i digiunare: et no li coefe pho ho  
turao ala casa de heli: et la inquitate dela sua casa no  
fara purgata con li sacrifici: et doni infino in eterno: et  
Samuel dormiua infino ala matina: et aperte le porte  
dela casa del signore: elqual temeva de inuistare la  
uisione de heli. Et heli chiamo Samuel dicendo. Sa  
muel figlio mio. alqual rispondendo disse. lo sono pre  
sente. et domandolo quale el parlare del signore ad  
te ha facto: e pregati che non nie lo ascondi. Dio ad te  
ghe cose facite: e esse aduase darne a considerat el p  
lar di tutti li parlati che ad te sono detti. Diche sanu  
el ad esso manifestato tutti li parlati non accendendo da  
lui alcuna cosa. et quello li nipo: el signore ficca quel  
lo che in li suoi ochi e buono. et Samuel cretete  
et el signor era con lui: et de tutte le fue parole non ca  
fio pur una in terra. et tutto israel da Dan infino a ber  
sabee cognobbe come Samuel era sphefa fidel del si  
gnor. Et el signor adlungo perche appareffe in sylo: b  
che il signore hauea reuelato ad Samuel in sylo. Secun  
do il parlar del signore: et ad tutto israel uenne el par  
lar di Samuel. Capitulo.

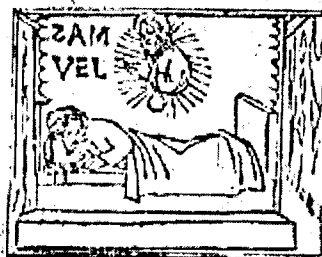
**III**  
N quelli giorni facto e che li philistini se adu  
norono ad ebarbare: et israel uenire fuori i  
comi philistini in battaglia: et allogio apref  
o la pietra del altuario. Onde li philisti  
ni ueneto i aser: et ordinarono la battaglia contra isa  
el et principato el cobattare israel uolto lo spale al pla  
stet: et in qlla battaglia furon occisi conuincute per  
li camp: quasi quattro milia homini ritornu al allogio  
nato. et li piu antiqui de israel dissero: perche ne ha  
hoggi perocosi li signore dista al philistini. portaua  
larcha del pacto del signor con noi de sylo. et uenga  
in mezzo de noi peche salui dela mano deli nostri in  
imile. Et el populo misdo in sylo. et di quel loco telletto  
larcha del pacto del signor dell'everain seddo sopra  
el cherubim: et larcha del pacto del signore erio duo: si  
glioli de heli ophi et plinice: et uenua larcha del  
pacto del signor neltalloggiuunt tutto israel co gran  
di eridati eriduros: et la terra se fono. et li philistini  
uolendo la uoce del eridare dissero: ch uoce e qlla che  
sto gra eridare neltalloggiuunt de heli. et cognobbe  
ro eoe larcha del signor fuisse uenuta neltalloggiuunt: et  
et temereto li philistini dicendo: dio e uenuto neltallog  
giuunt: et genido disse: gual a noi peche no e ista pua  
tre giorni ista exultando: gual noi. Chi ne salua d le  
nune d qlli sublimit dei. qlli sono li dei che profforo le  
gypro i ogni piaga nel deserto co krazuati: et ista furi  
o philistini peche no feruare ali hebrei eoe loro hano  
seruito a noi co forza due: et cobattare. Ad qz philisti  
ni cobatterono: et fu pcofo israel et clascia si fugire: et  
lo fero el glare i israel: qlli ogmuno ch uidi nel suo taler  
nuculo: et fu facto una molto grade piaga: et de israel  
furono occisi mtra milia homini da piede. et larcha  
del pacto fuisse: et li duo figlioli de heli ophi et plinice  
furono morti: et uno de beniamini qlli co: eendo uene  
dal exercito in sylo strazata la uelle: et sparta la polue  
re nel capo. Et essendo uenuto qlli ophi sedua sopra  
la sedta ebra la sua spetulo: et il suo core era nuto: et  
nune p larcha del signore. Et quel homo doppo che  
fue intrato nungo ala cita, et tutta la cita ululo: et

uscendo questa donna fora della cita pas  
sando dinanzi alla casa di questo iudeo  
fabio hebbe alchui la uoce del suo figli  
elo el qual ebra qzlo bello de diuoro  
canto de la madre de xpo per laqz cola  
ella domando el iudeo doue era el suo  
figliolo elqz ella al diu nella sua casa: e  
lui constanquente negaua ch no lo ha  
ueua ueluto: questa donna uenno nella ci  
ta dal canonicos de coto a lui p ordine co  
me hauea dentro el figliuolo alla casa di  
tal iudeo. Quello canonicos se mosse in  
continente ando co molta gente a qz  
loco de cotingea el iudeo co parole de  
comenze che li diuesse manifestare  
doue fuisse el giouene de lui sempre ne  
gaua. Disse allora qlla gente. Nel ha  
ueua al dno el care el cato della glorio  
sa uirgine Maria tu di che no hai doue el  
festa. Onde indignati de rubari cestoro  
incora di lui li dde e rre battute ch lo  
lassoro p molto. Vedendolo el iudeo  
si flagellato de pcofo manifestato la iniqui  
ta comissa. El canonicos co li altri de ca  
uando il suo clerico trouo che era uirgo  
de no morto de la piaga della gola su  
guinua de ligato che hebbe el iudeo co  
le mane dietro el menecoro dietro alla  
cita: e se tornorono alla chiesa del ca  
nonicos: e qzual se corgio el populo in  
grade multitudi p uedere el miracu  
lo della madre de xpo. Allora el cano  
nicos disse al giouene. lo ti comendo ch  
tu manifesti din lei a tutti come tu sei sca  
pato da lo pericolo della morte: el gio  
uene respese coeli. Essendo so andato so  
ra della cita e qzlo iudeo polendo che  
lo eualle l'appona de la madre de xpo  
dte coeli facido lui medide de uno col  
tello nella gola: de la madre de xpo leu  
ponendou la sua mane no nullo per

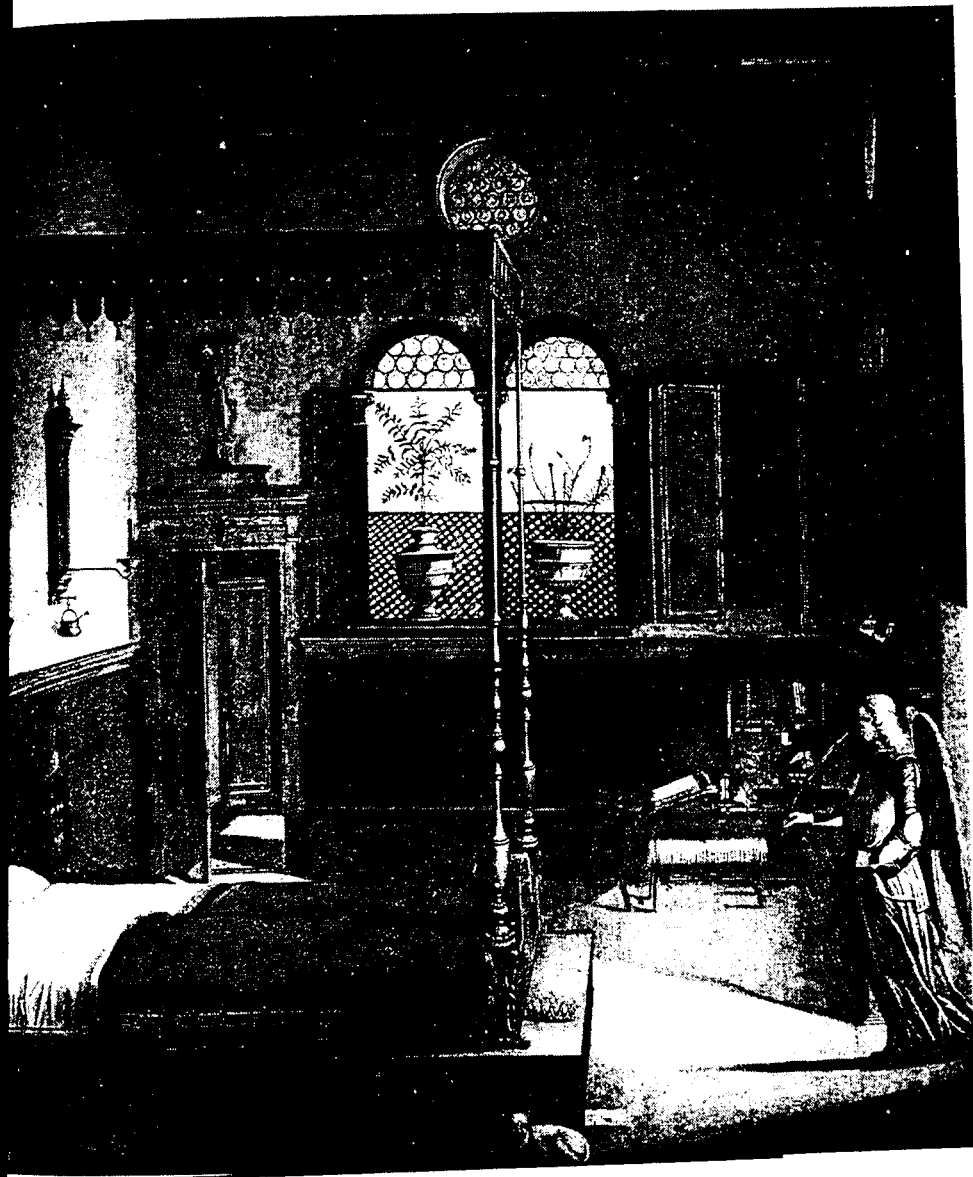
re de cotal morte. de quello iudeo al den  
do questa ebra gran corritione doman  
do el sancto baptismo de diueto fidele  
chistino per li meriti della gloriosa uir  
gine Maria madre del nostro signore le  
sa chistito.

**¶** Come la nostra donna apparue ad uno  
giouene religioso el quale salua uag ogu  
di uindicta uelle la madre de chisto d  
la saluacione angelica.

Capitulo xlii.



**¶** Vuno giouene religioso de  
deueto di nostra donna ogni  
di la gloriosa uindicta uelle  
te della saluacione angelica  
de delectandosi de cio axonle anchera  
uindicta uelle perseverando in questa an  
cho ne axonle la terza parte de non pro  
cedua piu oia. Et apparendoli in uiso  
ne la madre de chisto la quale teneua  
in mane un precoso de bello uestimen  
to el quale era scripto a liure doro: let  
le diceuano. Ave maria gratia plena do  
minus tecum: de questo uestimento non  
haueua altro che ue parte de la quarta  
li mancava. Onde la nostra donna li dis  
se figliolo mio lo uoglio che tu finisse q  
uo uestimento de subito di parte tua de





Audite benignamente le mie lamentabile querimonie, ad se immediata la gloriosa Dea & sublime domina, chiamoe il uolante genito domandando ello, quale era stata la causa di tanta iniuria. Ello allhora surridendo & alubescendo, cusi prese adire. Matre amorosa non farac protraeto di tempo, che concinne & coaptate farano le presente lite & discordi animi, cum reciprocheuicissitudine di æquabilitate. Ne non prima hebbe prolate lepidamente queste parolette, che il melliloquo se riuoltoc ad medicendo.

Mira diligentemente questa spectanda imagine. Quanti farebbono quelli, gli quali quantunque magni, contentissimi se reputarebbono, extimantise beati, beatifici, & optimi, solamente specularla, non cheda ella essere amati. Che tale uirgine Thalasio nõ hebbe per sorte nello rapto delle Sabine (monstrantime quella uera & diua effigied i Polia) Et attendi, & cū miro affecto appretia questi particolari munerì, dagli Dii pretiosissimi dati, non se debbono aspernare, perche quantunque ui siamo assueti agli terrigeni concedere, Nientedimeno, molti gli uorebbono, & non gli possono conseguire. Quale gratiosamente pretiosissimo hora ti dono. Et le primitie de li gloriosa congerie di uirtute & corporarie bellece, che io gratioso ti offerisco.





**\*\*Conclusion\*\***



1





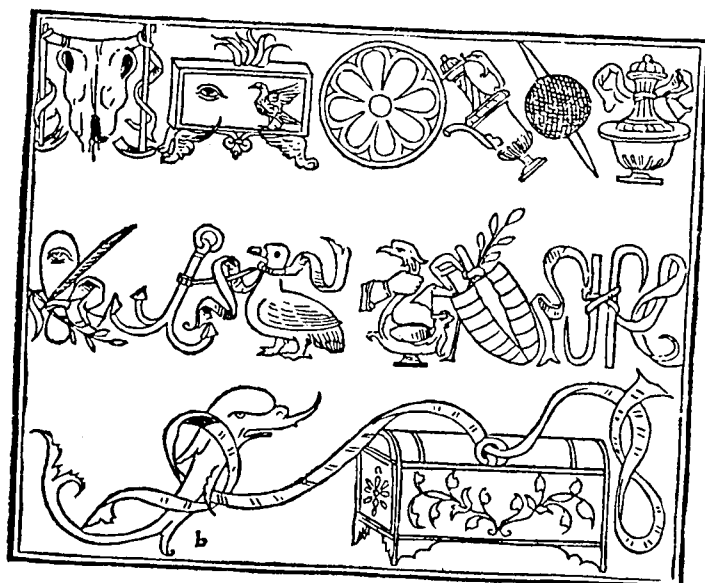
2



3



**\*\*Appendix III\*\***

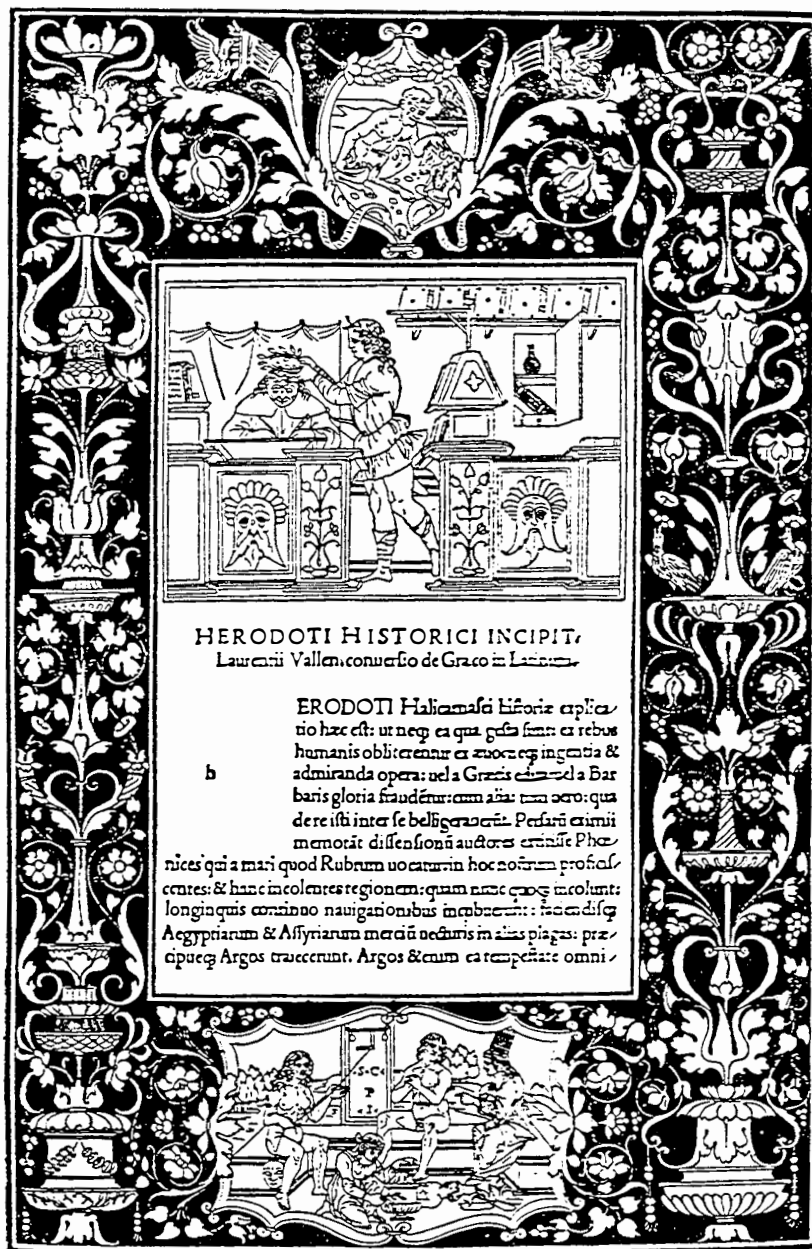




2



3



HERODOTI HISTORICI INCIPIT:  
 Laurentii Vallens. conuersio de Graeco in Latium.

ERODOTI Halicarnasensis Historiae explicatio  
 hae est: ut neq. ea quae gesta sunt ex rebus  
 humanis obliuiscantur: et neq. ea quae ingenia &  
 admiranda opera: uel a Graecis: uel a Bar-  
 baris gloria fraudentur: cum alia: tum oero: qua  
 dere isti inter se bellicosissimi. Perferunt enim  
 memorat: dissensionum auctores: etiamse Phae-  
 nices: qui a mari quod Rubrum uocantur in hoc nostrum profu-  
 centes: & hanc incolentes regionem: quam nunc quoque incolunt:  
 longinquis continuo navigationibus inchoarent: ita ut dis-  
 Aegyptiarum & Assyriarum mercium uicinis in aliis plagis: prae-  
 cipueq. Argos traiecerunt. Argos & cum ea tempestate omni-

