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‘Many Other Things Worthy of Knowledge and Memory’:
The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and its Annotators, 1499-1700

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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February 15, 2014

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Abstract

Due to its elaborate woodcuts and artificial language, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499, hereafter ‘HP’) has traditionally been presented as a fringe anomaly within the histories of the book and of Italian philology. Other studies have examined the influence of the HP in art and literature, but there has been little study of the role of readers in mediating that influence. This framing of the HP as unreadable visual marvel has impeded consideration of Aldus’ creation as a used text within the wider fabric of humanism. Liane Lefaivre’s conceptualisation of the HP as a creative dream-space for idea generation was a significant step towards foregrounding the text’s readers. This thesis set to testing this hypothesis against the experiences of actual readers as recorded in their marginalia.

A world census of annotated copies of the HP located a number of examples of prolific annotation, showing readers making use of the HP for a variety of purposes. Benedetto and Paolo Giovio applied a Plinian model of extractive reading to two copies at Como and Modena, reading the HP in a manner analogous to the *Naturalis historia*. Ben Jonson read his copy of the 1545 HP as a source for visual elements of stage design. An anonymous second hand in Jonson’s copy read the text as an alchemical allegory, as did the hands in a copy at Williams College. Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi) combed the text for examples of verbal wit, or *acutezze*, while comparing Poliphilo’s journeys through an architectural dream with his own passages through Rome. Informed by analogy with modern educational media, I have reframed the HP as a ‘humanistic activity book’, in which readers cultivated their faculty of *ingegno* through ludic engagement with the text.

Abbreviations

A&G: Ariani, Marco & Mino Gabriele, eds., *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento* (Milan: Adelphi, 1998).

G: Godwin, Joscelyn, ed. and trans. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999).

HP: *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499).

P&C: Pozzi, Giovanni and Lucia Ciapponi, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Padua: Antenore, 1964).

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My parents read to me from the day I was born, and built a home where literature was integral to our family culture. At seven years old, they took me through the museums and cathedrals of Britain and France. My enthusiasm for early modern books is the direct result of my parents' enkindlement of this spark of interest from my earliest years. From bedtime stories to the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, my parents have guided me along a lifelong journey with books. This thesis is dedicated to them.

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This thesis is built upon the foundation of a global census of annotated copies. A project of this kind could not be realized without the assistance of librarians and scholars worldwide, who generously gave of their time to answer my queries. Thanks are due to all of the following: Charles Alaimo (Buffalo and Erie County Public Library), Maria Grazia Alberini (Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro), Floriana Amicucci (Istituzione Biblioteca Classense), Ebe Antetomaso (Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana), Pasqualino Avigliano (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome), Annalisa Battini (Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena), Marie-Françoise Bois-Delatte (Bibliothèque municipale de Grenoble), Mirna Bonazza (Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, Ferrara), Antonio Borrelli (Biblioteca Universitaria di Napoli), Rachel Bond (Eton College Library), Patrizia Busi (Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna), Birgit Buth (Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden), Gianna Capannolo (Museo Laboratorio della Mente, Rome), Bernie Carr (State Library of New South Wales, Sydney), Sean Casey (Boston Public Library), Gabriele Ceres (Complesso Monumentale S. Spirito in Saxia e Biblioteca Lancisiana), Cécilie Champy (Petit Palais- Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris), Katherine Chandler (Free Library of Philadelphia), Kate Chedgzoj (University of Newcastle), Natalia Chernikova (Russian State Library), Lisa Coombes (Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery), Gayle Cooper (Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia), Enrica Coser (Reale Collegio di Spagna), Carlos Manuel da Graça Vences (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal), Henrietta Danker (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel), Sara Decoster (University of Liège), Simona Degese (Biblioteca Angelica, Rome), Grazia Maria De Rubeis (Biblioteca Palatina, Parma), Barbara Dossi (Albertina, Vienna), Stephen Drake (University of Ulster), Inge Dupont (The Morgan Library & Museum), Caroline Duroselle-Melish (Houghton Library), Ron Ebbutt (Birmingham Central Library), Paul Espinosa (George Peabody Library, Johns Hopkins University), Clark Evans (Library of Congress), Todd Fell (Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale), Giuseppina Florio (Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, Rome), David K. Frasier (Lilly Library,

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The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and its readership

The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* has become a metonym for the bizarre and exaggerated in Renaissance studies. From the moment the tongue first struggles to pronounce the title (hereafter abbreviated ‘HP’), the reader is conditioned to expect impenetrability. This intimidating first impression is only reinforced upon turning the leaves. The eye is first drawn to the woodcuts, which rapidly transition from a not unusual image of a sleeping man to strange edifices and otherworldly scenes. The reader’s perplexity only grows on attempting to read the surrounding text, written in a language that blends Latin and Italian without fully fading into either. Turning to a library catalogue for some explication, the reader too often finds only a detailed but dry bibliographical description, with no reference to the narrative. One is left with the impression of a remarkable, exquisite artefact, an object with no clear point of entry for either the modern or the Renaissance reader who might wish to do more than gaze in admiration.

Such factors have served to frame the HP as an object of detached awe rather than a text that has been actively read. It is a book for beholding, rather than reflecting upon, more befitting the display case than the reading desk. This preconception of the HP as an inaccessible, Ozymandian monolith sweeps the text to the margins of many discourses in Renaissance studies.

Only in bibliographical connoisseurship does the HP continue to be a center of attention, and in this case, as an independent *objet d’art* dissociated from its humanistic context. Book history approaches the text *qua* Aldine, taking an interest in technical questions, e.g. how the printer succeeded in inserting moveable type into woodcuts.¹ Aldine scholarship has compared the HP on practical matters with the more utilitarian output of his press, such as grammars, textbooks, and devotional books. In making the creation of the HP the focus of study, one may overlook that the HP may itself have had some practical utility.

The general tenor of scholarship has thus been to present the HP as a text which arrived without precedent, persisted without readership, and remains only to be marvelled at. Projecting these contemporary critical assumptions onto the past, it is easy to imagine that the

¹ Neil Harris, ‘Rising quadrats in the woodcuts of the Aldine *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499)’, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 77 (2002), pp. 159-67.

sixteenth and seventeenth readers did likewise: indolently admiring their acquisition before placing it on the shelf.

Yet early modern owners *did* read their copies of HP, often assiduously. That they did so is evidenced by traces of their reading that survive in extant copies, in the form of marks, scribbles, drawings, glosses, and diagrams. These marginalia are a significant and underexamined body of source material for the early reception of the text. References to these marginalia in existing scholarship are scattered, and the number of copies bearing such marks has been undetermined prior to this study. Yet the references sprinkled throughout existing articles tantalizingly suggest a significant number of annotated copies.

The first account of marginalia in the HP was recorded by Apostolo Zeno in a copy which is no longer extant, once held by the Dominicans of the Zattere.² The British Library Catalogue reports only that one of its copies of the 1545 edition (C.60.o.12) contains ‘copious marginal notes by Ben Jonson’.³ A footnote in William Heckscher’s article on Bernini’s obelisk setting at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, fleetingly mentions a copy annotated by Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi).⁴

In recent decades, these fragmentary references have been followed by pioneering studies on individual annotated copies. Edoardo Fumagalli first considered annotated copies in the context of a discussion aimed at dating the stages of the HP’s composition in manuscript.⁵ Fumagalli then expanded upon his initial study with examinations of copies in the Biblioteca Comunale di Siena, the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, and the Cambridge University Library.⁶ Dorothea Stichel conducted an in-depth study of a single copy in the private collections of the F.C. Panini estate in Modena.⁷

These studies of individual copies reveal readers dedicating significant amounts of time, energy, and thought to their engagement with the HP. Fumagalli reports on a young Sisto Medici writing a dedicatory poem to the author. In the Modenese copy, Stichel documents a

² B.M. de Rossi, in *Giornale de’ letterati d’Italia* 34 (1723), pp. 300-301, in Maria Teresa Casella and Giovanni Pozzi, *Francesco Colonna. Biografia e opere*. Vol. I *Biografia* (M.T. Casella), Vol. II *Opere* (G. Pozzi) (Padua: Antenore, 1959), pp. 63-4.

³ British Libray Catalogue <

[http://catalogue.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscent=0&frbg=&scps=scope%3A%28BLCON TIENT%29&tab=local_tab&dstmp=1392490577129&srt=rank&ct=search&mode=Basic&vl\(488279563UI0\)=a ny&dum=true&tb=t&indx=1&vl\(freeText0\)=hypnerotomachia%201545&vid=BLVUI&fn=search](http://catalogue.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscent=0&frbg=&scps=scope%3A%28BLCON TIENT%29&tab=local_tab&dstmp=1392490577129&srt=rank&ct=search&mode=Basic&vl(488279563UI0)=a ny&dum=true&tb=t&indx=1&vl(freeText0)=hypnerotomachia%201545&vid=BLVUI&fn=search) >.

⁴ William S. Heckscher, ‘Bernini’s Elephant and Obelisk’, *Art Bulletin*, 29 (1947), pp. 155-82.

⁵ Edoardo Fumagalli ‘Francesco Colonna lettore di Apuleio e il problema della datazione dell’*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*’, *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 27 (1984), pp. 233-66.

⁶ Edoardo Fumagalli, ‘Due esemplari dell’*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* di Francesco Colonna’, *Aevum* 66 (1992), pp. 419-432.

⁷ Dorothea Stichel, ‘Reading the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in the Cinquecento: Marginal Notes in a Copy at Modena’, in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. David S. Zeidgerg (Florence: Olschki, 1994), pp. 217-236.

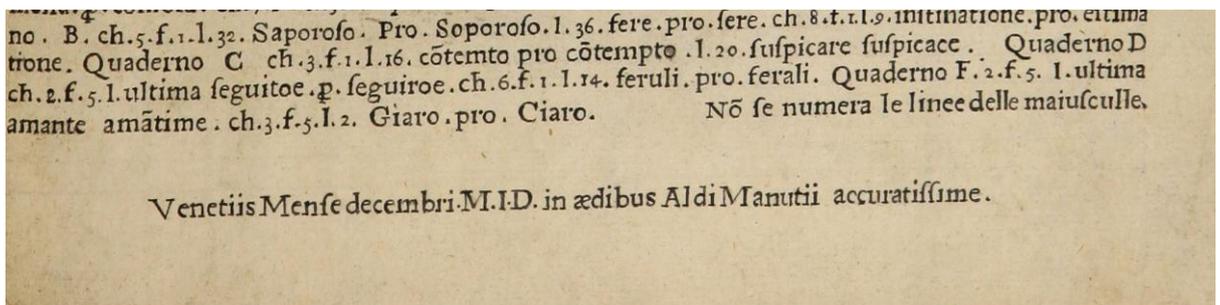
lector eruditus mining the text for references to herbalism and botany. In these articles, to be discussed at greater length in the literature review (Chapter 2), the contrast between the evidence of these notes on the page and traditional framings of the HP appears in sharp relief. Far from being unreadable, the HP was carefully read and glossed by some of its early owners. Instead of a collectible object for detached admiration, the HP was enmeshed in the fabric of humanistic scholarship. Whereas modern scholars have at times pushed the HP to the borders of their disciplines, humanists such as Benedetto Giovio (Chapter 4) and Fabio Chigi (Chapter 8) made in their own copies of the HP a collection of personal notes revealing their engagement with the diverse themes found within the texts. Instead of focusing on the HP's unusualness, these readers framed the text within standard humanistic frameworks, from Plinian encyclopaedism to alchemical studies.

These pioneering studies have succeeded in recontextualising the HP within main threads of humanistic discourse. Yet the limited number of annotated copies so far examined constitutes an insufficient base of evidence from which to draw more general conclusions about the HP's early readership. Therefore, taking Fumagalli and Stichel as its point of departure, this study set out to locate and analyze additional annotated copies of the HP. Its goal has been to develop a clearer and better-sourced model of the HP's readership across the first two centuries of its reception by enlarging the evidence base of annotated copies. Its guiding purpose has been to reinstate the subjectivity of these readers, as modifiers and mediators of this remarkable text, into scholarship around the HP. This is a study, not so much of a book, but of a geographically disparate community of readers who coalesced around a book.

Contents and fortunes

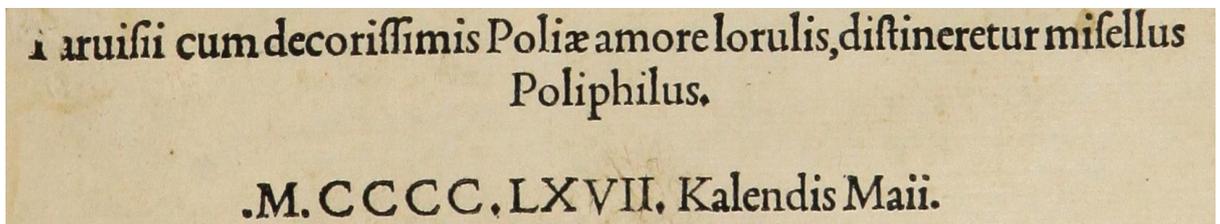
Before discussing the readership of the HP, it is necessary to elaborate upon the object of inquiry, in all of its instantiations. The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* is an incunabulum, issued from the Venetian press of Aldus Manutius in 1499. The first edition is the most noted and frequently studied of five early modern editions. The author or authors are anonymous, though the text is frequently attributed to the Venetian Dominican Francesco Colonna (1434-1527), due to an acrostic formed from the initial capitals of the first 36 chapters, which reads FRATER FRANCISVS COLVMNA POLIAM PERAMAVIT ('Brother Francesco Colonna greatly loved Polia'). The attribution remains a matter of dispute, and the twists and turns of

this argument, together with the various proposed authors, will be discussed in the literature review. The focus of this thesis remains on the book's reception, for which authorial attribution is of limited relevancy. Although published in the last year of the fifteenth century, the only indication of this fact is a small note found, almost obscured, at the bottom of errata corrige.



Detail, errata corrige, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, RBR ALDUS 1499.C7 (hereafter 'Buffalo')

The scribal colophon – a component of the text, not added by the typographer – reports the false and symbolic date of May 1, 1467.



Detail, F3r, Buffalo

The morning of May Day is when the protagonist, Poliphilo, awakes from the strife-ridden romantic dream (*Hypn-eroto-machia*) narrated herein, over the course of two books. Afflicted with insomnia due to his unrequited love for Polia, revealed later in the narrative to be a young woman of Treviso, Poliphilo lapses into a dream. Then, already in the dream state, he falls into another sub-dream. In this deeper oneiric layer, Poliphilo finds himself standing before a dark forest, which evokes the first canto of Dante's *Inferno*. Lost in the forest, he follows the sound of a stream, and on coming to the water prays to Jupiter for guidance. Restored by the Father of the Gods, he sets off on a journey towards reunion with Polia on Venus' isle of Cythera. Along the way, Poliphilo encounters enormous buildings and sculptures, which could only be built in a dream. Poliphilo is enraptured with these

edifices, and describes them in ecstatic ekphrases that border on the erotic. Poliphilo is both prodded ahead by various nymphs he encounters, and pulled by his own insatiable curiosity to view the next structure. His *cupiditas rerum novarum* is a curse as well as a blessing, which continually places the narrator at risk of becoming lost in distracted admiration. Such ekphrases may be of buildings, carvings, gardens, or even liturgical accoutrements. To offer but one example:

Finalmente per absoluteione di questa mirifica structura di Templo, resta a dire brevemente, che ello era compacto de quadrati de Augustea petra parte, et parte del supranarrato marmoro, in contignatione perfecta sencia ferro et lignatura, cum più subtile investigatione di sculptura, che unque al seculo nostro fare, né imaginare si potesse, né tale ad Api Deo, Sannitico aegyptio construsse. (n5r)⁸

Finally, to conclude this miraculous temple structure, it remains to say briefly that it was built from blocks that were partly of Augustan marble and partly from the alabaster already mentioned, wedded perfectly without iron or carpentry. Our times can neither achieve nor imagine such subtle knowledge of masonry, nor could even the Apis temple of the Egyptian Psammeticus equal it. (G 208)⁹

These ekphrases constitute the majority of the text, with the romance narrative acting as a framing device. To describe the love narrative in these terms need not imply that it is passionless or merely utilitarian. On the contrary, Peter Dronke termed the love of Polia and Poliphilo ‘one of the psychological heights of the genre of romance’.¹⁰ Though travelling in the company of nymphs, and subject to their constant temptation, Poliphilo remains set upon his beloved Polia. When one of the nymphs eventually unmask herself as Polia, the couple journey in joyful reunion towards Venus’ island. Here ends the first book.

At this point, the HP switches narrators. The narrative is now retold in Polia’s voice, although technically she remains a figment of Poliphilo’s imagination. The nymphs ask Polia about her life history, and she proceeds to detail her childhood in Treviso and relationship with Poliphilo. There is a stylistic transition in the second book, from the exaggerated, florid linguistic excess of the first book to a more prosaic style.

⁸ This and all future citations of the text itself are taken from the Project Gutenberg e-text of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, unless otherwise noted. < <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/18459> > Accessed 9/01/14. The Project Gutenberg e-text faithfully reproduces the critical text of the Pozzi-Ciapponi edition.

⁹ Joscelyn Godwin, ed. and trans., *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), hereafter ‘G’.

¹⁰ Peter Dronke, ‘Introduction’, in *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Madrid: Las Ediciones del Pórtico, 1981), pp. 1-41.

The limited sales records that remain indicate that the HP was not an initial success. Ten years after its initial publication, when the right to print was renewed for Leonard Crasso, the author of the dedicatory epistle, by the Council of Ten, a number of copies remained unsold.¹¹ Given the presumption of unreadability discussed above, the poor sales may initially appear unsurprising. Yet it is difficult to imagine a project as elaborate as the HP entering production without a projected initial market, even with the patronage of such a personage as Federigo da Montefeltro, the Duke of Urbino.¹² The other products of the Aldine press were produced with the aim of earning a profit. From this it can be inferred that the HP was not a vanity project; the book was printed with readers in mind. Godwin suggests that the low sales figures may be due to economic difficulties related to ongoing wars, rather than a lack of interest.¹³

There appears to have been an ongoing undercurrent of interest in the HP which belies the sales figures, because by 1545 there was sufficient demand for Aldus' sons to publish a new edition. This renewed interest was not confined to Italy, since Jacques Kerver published a French translation in 1545. Kerver's included a new set of woodcuts, redone in a more Manneristic style.

The marginalia on alchemical themes found in the copies at Buffalo and in the BL also attest to a tradition of reading HP as an alchemical allegory, which is seen to be extant by the mid-sixteenth century. This interpretation gained sufficient currency so as to occasion a new edition of the HP in 1600, translated by Béroalde de Verville and published by Jacques Guillemot, which foregrounded alchemical themes. This edition features a frontispiece bearing images from alchemical iconography. De Verville's edition also contains a *tableau steganographique*, a key for deciphering the elements of the *magnum opus* supposedly veiled beneath the text.

Marginalia of interest might be found in any of these later editions, which may contain valuable evidence for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reception of the text. The study of annotated copies of the 1554, 1556, and 1600 may form the grounds for future studies. At this present time, amidst this wealth of potential material, this study has chosen to focus (with a single exception) on copies of the first edition for reasons of both academic interest and logistical practicality.

¹¹G, p. xv.

¹² See the dedicatory letter of Leonardo Crasso to Federigo da Montefeltro (1r-4v), and G, pp. 2-8.

¹³ G, p. xv.

The 1499 was chosen, first and foremost, as the most prominent of the editions. It is this edition that has drawn the greatest interest among scholars and collectors. Since an assessment of how frequently the HP was annotated necessitates as complete and exhaustive a survey of surviving copies as possible, the 1499 was chosen as the only edition for which cataloguing approaches completeness in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC).¹⁴

The choice of the 1499 also serves to limit the variables that could potentially condition the annotation. The use of a single edition limits the physical variants or differences in *mise en page* which could affect the annotator's choices. Each reader is effectively responding to the same page template, although there may be further variables present in each individual copy, such as marks left by previous annotators and damage to the books. The 1499 edition also constitutes a grouping of copies that were all released to the world at the same time, and so one can better trace their reception history in a standardized manner.

The single exception to this focus on the 1499 in this study is the copy of the 1545 edition in the British Library (C.60.o.12). This prolifically annotated copy bears two hands, of such richness as to be indispensable to this study. As the hands are dateable to the early seventeenth-century, they exhibit responses from the same date range as other annotators writing in copies of the 1499. The first hand is convincingly attributed to Ben Jonson. This study would be remiss if it were to pass by an opportunity to add to the corpus of writings of such a canonical author. A second, anonymous hand, with alchemical interests, also provided a valuable point of comparison with the alchemical hands in the Buffalo copy.

A model of enquiry

The general model of this study – that of surveying marginalia in many copies of a single early modern book in order to evaluate theoretical readings proposed by modern scholars against the evidence of actual reading experiences – builds upon the model pioneered by Owen Gingerich over his lifelong search for annotated copies of Nicolaus Copernicus' *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium libri sex*. The very title of Gingerich's study, *The Book Nobody Read: Chasing the Revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus*, encapsulates the standard assumption of early modern reception of the *De revolutionibus*.¹⁵

¹⁴ British Library Incunabula Short Title Catalogue < <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/> > Accessed 09/01/14.

¹⁵ Owen Gingerich, *The Book Nobody Read: Chasing the Revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

The epithet ‘the book nobody read’ was coined by Arthur Koestler, who proposed that the influence of *De revolutionibus* was in inverse proportion to its readership. This assumption that a book containing such a paradigm-shattering hypothesis as heliocentricity had few readers is due to the fact that Copernicus’ most radical proposal takes up only 5% of the total text of *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*. The remaining 95% consists of ‘deadly technical’ mathematical studies of planetary motion, at which casual readers presumably would have balked. Those who did make the attempt to read *De revolutionibus* could be presumed to have concentrated their annotation on the sections detailing the book’s heliocentric thesis.

Gingerich had been pondering the question of how many early modern astronomers in fact read *De revolutionibus* when he, an astrophysicist by profession, found himself in Edinburgh for the celebration of the Copernican Quinquecentennial. Taking the opportunity to view the copy of *De revolutionibus* at the Royal Observatory, Gingerich was surprised to discover a copy covered in annotation from the first leaf to the last. Gingerich wrote:

If it [*De Revolutionibus*] was read so rarely, why was the very next copy I chanced upon so full of evidence of a most perceptive reader, who had marked innumerable errors, and who had worked his through to the very end, even past the obscure material on planetary latitudes that brought up the rear of the four-hundred-page volume?¹⁶

Moreover, Gingerich saw immediately how the record of this reader’s experience challenged existing readings:

Furthermore, there was a fascinating motto penned across the title page (in Latin): “The axiom of astronomy: Celestial motions are circular and uniform or composed of circular and uniform parts.”... I would have expected something like, “This crazy book fixes the Sun and throws the Earth into dizzying motion.” But no such thing. Here was a reader who ignored the Big Hypothesis, but who was enthusiastic about the secondary ones. The rich annotations verified that interest – hardly anything in the cosmological chapters, but a dense thicket of marginal comments whenever Copernicus grappled with his little epicycles that allowed him to eliminate what he believed to be one of Ptolemy’s most obnoxious devices.¹⁷

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 22

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 23.

The marginalia in presumably passed-over technical passages demonstrated that the reader not only read through these sections, but engaged with these technical passages in painstaking detail.

Observing that early modern marginalia can contest proposed modern readings, Gingerich began a 30-year campaign to view every surviving copy of *De revolutionibus* and record the responses of readers. As a point of departure, Gingerich and colleagues developed a hypothetical list of figures most likely to have read the book through to the end, among them, Tycho Brahe, Christopher Clavius, John Dee, and Erasmus Reinhold, an astronomer following Copernicus. Gingerich was able to positively identify Erasmus Reinhold's copy based on his distinctive toponym, and confirm that the astronomer did indeed read 'the book nobody read' all the way through.

The study of marginalia could also verify hypothetical readings proposed for historical figures. Galileo Galilei was presumed to lack the patience to read the book all the way through, and a study of Galileo's annotated copy confirmed that assumption, as he gave up partway through the volume. The marginalia of additional readers, known and unknown, contributed to a new model of Copernicus' early readership, one in which readers engaged with the text in its entirety, rather than simply with the heliocentric hypothesis.

Gingerich's method of checking readings proposed by modern scholars against actual readers' records offers an approach transferrable to the study of the HP. Hypothetical frameworks proposed by modern scholars, from Lefavre 'recombinant logic' to Jung and Fierz-David's psychological/alchemical readings, can now be compared against the evidence on the page.

Gingerich's study is also comparable to the present project in its limitations. Both his project and mine aimed to survey existing copies exhaustively, but were limited by practical exigencies. Gingerich did not pursue his census as a full-time research project, but rather pursued it alongside his main research in astrophysics over a 30-year period. Likewise, my own research was, under the constraints of time and funding, limited to those copies which would be accessible from my own geographic base, or affordably obtainable in facsimile.

Though Gingerich's study of the annotators of *De Revolutionibus* is both an inspiration and model for this examination of the HP, there are key differences between the two studies that must be highlighted. The first major distinction is that *De Revolutionibus* is a work of a defined and recognised genre, the astronomical treatise. This is a category that would have

been meaningful for early modern readers, and therefore an ‘emic’ or ‘actor’s’ category.¹⁸ Approaching the HP with genre in mind, readers were conditioned for a certain category of response.

By contrast the ‘genre’ of the HP remains uncertain, fluctuating loosely as it does between romance, encyclopedia, and architectural treatise. The marginalia documented in this study indicate that readers did not share a single framing of the text. It follows that marginalia in the HP will be much more heterogeneous than those in Copernicus. *De Revolutionibus* also drew a certain category of readers – astronomers, or more specifically, humanists with astronomical interests. The marginalia in Copernicus are representative of the standard modes of humanistic commentary, containing forms such as glossing. Similar humanistic modes are also found in the HP, as those trained in such methods can be expected to apply them to texts regardless of genre.

Yet readers of the HP, by contrast, do not all fit into an easily definable category. Among them are alchemists, priests, a Pope, and a playwright. Though all of the readers could fit under the rubric of ‘humanists,’ they lack a shared subdisciplinary specialism, and would not follow the modes of annotation of a single discipline.

Play reading

There is also a variety of annotation, distinct to the HP, which is unlike the standard humanistic methods of annotation found in other early modern texts.¹⁹ These are annotations which can only be characterized as playful, yet intentional. These marks do not appear to be intended for purpose of indexing, abstraction, or any other kind of information management. At the same time, these are not doodles, bubbings-in of letters, or other idle pastimes. These notes appear to be those of readers playing games with the intellectual content of the text for its own sake, exploring the dimensions of an idea in the moment rather than recording it for future use.

An example of this distinctly Hypnerotomachian variety of annotation is found in the copy preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati di Siena, discussed at greater

¹⁸ Thomas Headland et al., *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate* (London: SAGE, 1990).

¹⁹ For a representative sample of humanistic annotated printed texts, see the catalogue of Roger Gaskell’s sale to the Harvard Houghton Library, *Sixteenth-Century Annotated Texts*, Roger Gaskell Rare Books < <http://www.rogergaskell.com/RogerGaskellAnnotatedBooks.pdf> > Accessed 09/01/14.

length in Chapter 9. Poliphilo here laments what he perceives to be the ignorance of modern architects:

Perché turpe è qualunque parte al suo principe non congruente. Remoto però l'ordine, et la norma, che cosa commoda, overo grata, overo dignificabile si poté praestare? Adunque la causa di tale disconveniente errore nasce da ignorantia negativa et ha l'origine dalla illitteratura. (c1v)

Take away order and the norm, and what work can appear satisfying, gracious, or dignified? Therefore, the cause of such inharmonious errors arises from the denials of ignorance, and has its origin in illiteracy. (G 43)

In response to this problem, Poliphilo proposes a solution. Architects can be trained to be more 'clever' and 'industrious' through the use of exercises cultivating their ability. In the process, the architect's original gathered concept (*inventio*) can be rendered with greater proportionality

Niente dimeno quantunque che la perfectione dilla dignissima arte non devia da la rectitudine, tamen il solerte Architecto, et industrioso, ad gratificare lo obiecto cum lo obtuto, pole licentemente cum adiectione et detractone, depolire l'opera sua. Sopra tutto il solido integro conservando, et cum l'universo conciliato. Il quale solido chiamo tutto il corpo della fabrica che è il principale intento, et inventione et praecogitato, et Symmetria dil Architecto, sencia gli accessorii bene examinato et conducto, indica (si non me fallo) la praestantia dil suo **ingegno**. (c1v, emphasis mine)

Nevertheless, although perfection in this noble art does not deviate from the rule, the clever and industrious architect can adorn his work at will with additions and subtractions so as to gratify the sight, so long as the solid body is kept intact and conciliated with the whole. By 'solid' I mean the whole body of the building that was the architect's original thought, his invention, his prescience and symmetry, well studied and executed without any accessories. (G 43)

In the Siena copy, the annotator highlighted the above passages with side brackets, identifying with Poliphilo's complaint.

nte. Remo
 ouero digni
 iente errore
 . Niente di
 on deuia da
 ratificare lo
 & detractio-
 eruando, &
 corpo del-
 cogitato &

Siena, (c2r)

The text then offers an alternative, presenting an ideal of a well-trained and patient architect, distinguished both by his virtue and in his patience in performing his tasks.

Il quale architecto per modo niuno alla maledicta, et perfida avaritia succumba. Et oltra la doctrina sia bono non loquace, benigno, benivolo, mansueto, paziente, faceto, copioso, indagatore curioso universale, et tardo. Tardo pertanto io dico, per non essere poscia festino alla menda, di questo sia assai. (c1v)

Besides being learned, he [the architect] should be well-spoken, kindly, benevolent, mild-mannered, patient, good-humoured, hard-working, a man of universal curiosity, and slow. Yes, I say slow, so that haste will not lead him into blunders; and that is enough of this. (G 43)

The text then immediately segues into the description of a practical exercise that will train the architect in the desired qualities of both proportionality and patience. The reader is instructed on how to render a complex shape. The exercise is written in a didactic mode, as if the reader is being invited to follow the instructions and draw the shape. The discussion uses phrases such as ‘figures that we have drawn’, implying ongoing reader participation.

Reducendo finalmente le postreme tre figure dimonstrate in una, adiuncta la seconda da gli .xvi. quadrati in essa contenti, produrassi questa figura. Dalla quale removendo poscia il rhombo, et gli diagonii. Lasciando le tre pendicule, et le tre recte, excepto la mediana. La quale inclusive tra le perpendicule truncata finisce. Et per questa regula, trovase dui perfecti quadri, l’uno supero, et l’altro infero, continenti in sé ciascuno quatro quadrati. Nel imo quadro facendo il diagonio, il quale ridriciato in perpendiculo verso la linea recta .A.B. habilmente si trovarà per il suo defecto a giungere, essere tanto la crassitudine dill’archo, et dille Ante. (c1v)

Let us now take the three preceding figures that we have drawn and reduce them to a single one, including the part added to the sixteen-squared figure, and we get this one. Now we remove the

rhombus and the diagonals, the three perpendiculars and the three horizontal lines, except for the middle one which ends where it meets the perpendiculars. In this way we obtain two perfect rectangles, one above and one beneath, each containing four squares. If we draw the diagonal of the bottom rectangle and re-draw it perpendicularly toward the straight line AB, we can easily find from its additional part the width of the arch and of the jambs. (G 43)

The Siena reader, perhaps desiring to improve his own capacity as an architect, follows the instructions, participates in the activity, and renders the figure in the margin.

Perche turpe e qualunque parte al suo principio non congruente. Remo-
to pero lordine, & la norma, che cosa commoda, ouero grata, ouero digni-
ficabile si pote prestare? Adunque la causa di tale disconueniente errore
nasceda ignorantia negatiua & ha origine dalla illitteratura. Niente di
meno quantunque che la perfectione dilla dignissima arte non deua da
la rectitudine, tamen il solerte Architecto, & industriofo, ad gratificare lo
obieto cum lo obtuto, Polelicentemente cum adiectione & detractio-
ne, depolire lo opera sua. Sopra tutto il folido integro conferuando, &
cum luniuerso conciliato. Ilquale folido chiamo tutto il corpo del-
la fabrica che e il principale intento, & inuentione & praecogitato, &
Symmetria dil Architecto, fencia gli accessorii bene examinato & con-
ducto, Indica (si non me fallo) la praestantia dil suo ingegno, perche lo
adornare poscia e cosa facile. A duegnia che etiam importa il suo distri-
buto, & non locare la corona alli pedi ma alla testa, & cusi lo ouolato, &
denticulato, & gli altri, alloco congruente se debeno destinare. Lo ordina-
re dunque, & la praecipua inuentione e participata ad gli rari, & ad gli mol-
ti ancora uulgari, ouero idiote commune ad lauore se praestano gli orna-
menti. Et pero gli manuali artificio sono dill architecto ministri. Ilquale ar-
chitecto per modo niuno alla maledicta, & perfida auaritia succumba. Et
oltra la doctrina sia bono, lo quace, benigno, beniuolo, mansueto, patien-
te, factio, copioso, indagatore curioso uniuersale, & tardo. Tardo per tan-
to io dico, per non essere poscia festino alla menda, di questo sia affai.

Reducendo finalmente le postremetre figure dimonstrate in una, ad-
iuncta la seconda da gli .xvi. quadrati in essa cotenti, produrassi qsta figu-
ra. Dallaquale remouendo poscia Il rhombo, & gli diagonii. Lasciando
le tre pendicule, & le tre recte, excepto la mediana. Laquale in clusue tra le
perpendicule truncata finisce. Et per questa regula, trouase dui perfecti
quadri, luno supero, & laltro infero, cotinenti in se ciascuno quatro qua-
drati. Nel imo quadro facedo il diagonio, ilquale ridreiciato in perpendi-
culo uerso a linea recta. A. B. habilemente si trouara per il suo defecto
aggiungere, essere tanto la crassitudine dill archio, & dille Ante. Dunque la
linea. A. B. sera il debito loco dil Trabe extenso, ouero recto. Il punc-
to mediano dilla linea truncata. E. F. fara il ponto da inflectere larcotrabe
in hemicyclo. Ilquale debi hauere tanto additamento agli inuersi corni
quanto e il semidiametro dilla sua crassitudine. Altramente essendo tale
defecto, perfecto non il chiamo. Ma questo dagli optimi & periti ueteri
fue bellissimo exquisito, & diligentemete obseruato negli sui arcuati, per
dar allareo elegantia, & conueniente resistentia, & per uitare lo occupame-
to delle proiecture degli Abachi.

c ii

Detail, Siena, (c2r)

These activities represent a very different posture with regard to the text than is found in common varieties of humanistic annotation. Here the readers are ‘playing games’ with the text *in situ*, teasing out puzzles for their own mental challenge, rather than to build up a commonplace book. This type of playful annotation is also found in other copies of the HP,

as will be discussed in the following chapters, and so cannot be ascribed solely to an idiosyncratic practice of this particular annotator. The prevalence of this distinct variety of annotation in multiple surviving copies raises the question of what qualities specific to HP would engender such a reading.

In offering an explanation for these anomalous marginalia, this discussion returns to the model of Gingerich: the comparison of a hypothetical reading proposed by a modern scholar with the evidence of Renaissance and early modern readers. For the Siena reader's playful annotation fits well within a modern framing of the HP which has been largely dismissed.

Narrative dreamspace and reading habits

Liane Lefaivre's *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance* has been dismissed *prima facie*.²⁰ Its title alone proclaims an audacious and, unfortunately, untenable claim: that Leon Battista Alberti is the author of the HP. This claim is easily refuted, and with it, the entirety of her thesis has been dismissed as well. While a detailed critique of this attribution is beyond the scope of this thesis, the strongest point militating against an Albertian attribution is that Alberti died in 1472, seventeen years before the HP's publication. The elegant arrangement of woodcut and illustration strongly suggests that the author was alive to see the 1499 edition through the press.

Yet the attribution to Alberti is only a small portion of Lefaivre's entire argument, and is by no means its cornerstone. For Lefaivre, the HP is both a reflection upon the dynamics of creativity itself, and an aide to its readers in breaking out of conceptual blockages.²¹ This reconceptualization of the text opens new possibilities for framing such apparently instructional annotation as is seen in the Siena copy. Lefaivre approaches the Renaissance as an intellectual historian, informed by a background in architecture. Her overarching aim is to identify the factors that fomented the Italian Renaissance, and to isolate the reasons why thinkers were able to break with medieval precedents at this point in time and none other. Drawing upon Thomas Kuhn, she seeks to identify the determinants of the paradigm shift

²⁰ Liane Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili': Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance* (London: MIT Press, 1997).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

from medieval to Renaissance thought that led to this efflorescence of creativity.²² Lefavre's periodization is excessively rigid, not taking into account the extensive continuities between the modern scholar's categories of 'Medieval' and 'Renaissance.' This division does not however, preclude her broader theoretical argument.

Lefavre begins her argument by re-problematizing the nature of the HP as a dream narrative. The oneiric nature of the HP has a purpose beyond that of a framing device or literary trope. Its status as a dream exceeds a mere justification for Poliphilo's journey, or explanation for the disappearance of Polia at the conclusion. The HP is not only framed as a dream: the logic of its compositional process is that of a dream, rather than that of the waking mind. It is a narrative about a dream, written according to the processes by which the mind composes its own dreams. The reader of the HP is then invited to do the same, approaching the content using dream rather than conscious logic: an approach which unlocks creative possibilities to be discussed at greater length below.

Lefavre's consideration of the HP's status as a dream is a continuation of the thought of Carl Jung, who featured the HP in his *Psychology and Alchemy*.²³ With reference to the 1600 Béroalde edition, Jung noted parallels between the alchemical process, which fuses opposite elements to create a new and more refined whole, in the process of individuation in the psyche.

Jung's student Fierz-David returned to the HP, framing Poliphilo as *animus* and Polia as *anima*.²⁴ The relationship between Jungian psychology and alchemy will be discussed at greater length in the chapters on the alchemical copies. For the purposes of this prefatory discussion, it is notable that a consideration of the HP's dream processes in Jung led Lefavre back to Jung's sources in Freud.

Lefavre ingeniously noted that the composite, "recombinant" composition of the HP bore striking resonances with Freud's model of the formation of the dreamwork (*Traumverk*) as outlined in his *Interpretation of Dreams*.²⁵ Freud observed that the dreamwork is woven out of pieces of sensory input, which may derive from either the day of the dream or from the distant past. An object seen out of the corner of one's eye decades past may fuse with one seen right before falling asleep.

²² Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

²³ Carl Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953).

²⁴ Linda Fierz-David, *The Dream of Poliphilo: The Soul in Love* (Dallas, Texas: Spring Publications, 1950, repr. 1987). See also Chapter 2.

²⁵ Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

The significance of an image in the dreamwork bears little relation to the importance with which it was perceived by the waking mind at the moment of apprehension. Freud offers the example of how a sign, seen for the briefest moment out of the window of a passing train years past, may play a major role in a later dream. Similarly, the HP is composed of quotations and commonplaces from a variety of classical, medieval, and contemporary sources, fused together in an associative manner. Pozzi and Ciapponi's research has identified hundreds of allusions, and doubtless many more remain unrecognized. The Modena annotator studied by Dorothea Stichel identified over 150 sources. The source material for the HP is a humanist's lifetime of reading, woven together on the page as they presumably came together – one might say – in the reader's own dreams by night.

The dream is also a fertile space for creativity, because the dream is the place where “No” does not apply.²⁶ In the absence of the monitoring ego, existing pieces can recombine in new forms that the waking mind might consider foolish, impossible, or absurd. Freud also observed that the apparently nonsensical linkages between the fused impressions of the dream were often mediated by language. A recurring nonsense word in a dream might be onomatopoeic of the sound of a related concept, or be composed of a fusion of two other names. This proposal corresponds with the many compound words and neologisms that make up the Poliphilesque language, which Pozzi termed ‘lexical centaurs and sirens’.²⁷ Giorgio Agamben has also considered the language of the HP in relation to the workings of the unconscious.²⁸

The Great Pyramid, one of the first structures Poliphilo encounters, is representative of these two salient characteristics of creation in the dreamwork: creative recombination, and liberation from constraint. The Pyramid is of impossibly huge, unbuildable proportions, absurd to consider outside of a dream. The structure is composed of as many features from Vitruvius' *De architectura* as could be crammed into a single building. The Pyramid serves as a composite, omnibus showpiece of Vitruvius, melding forms which are present in this and other architectural treatises, but which would be strange to combine in reality.

This immense and awe-inspiring pyramid rose stepwise with remarkable and exquisite symmetry... Above all there was the immensity of the undertaking, and the exceeding subtlety, the extravagant and acute ingenuity, the great care and exquisite diligence of the architect... [who] had displayed the

²⁶ Sigmund Freud, quoted in Lefavre, p. 66.

²⁷ Casella and Pozzi, *Francesco Colonna*, vol. II, p. 103: ‘centauri o ... sirene lessicali’.

²⁸ Giorgio Agamben, ‘Il Sogno della lingua. Per una lettura del Polifilo’, in *I linguaggi del sogno*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: Olschki, 1984), pp. 417-30.

highest degree of intellect by creating a number of lighting channels which corresponded to the movements of the sun ... there were two orders of columns at ground level, with the exquisite areostyle spacing dictating the proper distances of the columns from one another. The first row or order on either side began at the edge or extreme end of the pavement, at the metope or front of the great portal, and there was a space of fifteen paces between the two rows of columns. One could see the majority of the columns still intact with their Doric capitals, or else with cushioned capitals, their shell-or snail-like volutes curling out from the echinuses with the astragals beneath (G 24-31: b1r-b3v)

This feature takes full advantage of the permissive and recombinant setting of the dreamspace to devise a structure inconceivable elsewhere. It seems unlikely that such a didactic demonstration piece would have been created in a book unlike the HP, such as an architectural textbook. Even if such an architectural exercise were to be offered elsewhere, it would be unlikely to have such Brobdingnagian proportions. The dreamlike logic of the HP created the enabling conditions for such a theoretical design to be composed.

This structure was also used by one of the annotators for the kind of playful, self-educative style of annotation seen in the Sydney copy. A reader of the copy in the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library challenged himself or herself to unpack this combined structure, painstaking labelling each individual architectural form contained within it.

In the Buffalo and Sienese copies, two readers respond to the HP in a manner that resonates with Lefaivre's general model, although not her specific attribution. In both cases, readers respond to fantastical, theoretical structures created according to the HP's recombinant 'dream logic.' The two readers then respond to these annotations in a playful and exploratory manner. These two cases suggest that at least some readers made use of the HP in a manner not unlike that which Lefaivre suggests, as an aid to creative thinking.

A modern reader of the HP, writing three years before Lefaivre, has demonstrated that the HP can indeed be put to use for the generation of new ideas and the cultivation of creativity, in a manner not dissimilar to these two annotators. In his experimental novel *Polyphilo: or, the Dark Forest Revisited*, the architect Alberto Pérez-Gómez recognised that the Poliphilesque, like the Baroque, is a modality that can be reapplied outside of its original time and context.²⁹ Concerned about a contemporary movement towards what he perceived to be a passionless and depersonalized architecture, Pérez-Gómez took note of Poliphilo's almost erotic attachment to buildings, and used this as a device to reinfuse passion and the human element into contemporary architecture. In a manner similar to that suggested by Lefaivre, the HP is used by Pérez-Gómez as a field within which to create new forms to transcend precedent. The architect retells the HP narrative in the late twentieth century, although the order of events is shifted and the action is condensed into 24 hours.

Inventio and ingegno

This discussion has outlined two interconnected faculties developed by reading and annotating the HP. These are first the assembling of concepts for new compositions, and second the refining of mental acuity through the act of striving to comprehend this overwhelming text. Though first presented in the terms of modern psychology, these processes resonate with key concepts in humanistic rhetorical theory as derived from Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* and Cicero's *Topica*.³⁰

²⁹ Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Polyphilo, or The Dark Forest Revisited: An Erotic Epiphany of Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1994).

³⁰ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, especially 3.3 (London: Heinemann, 1963, pp. 383-391); Cicero, *Topica*, ed. by Tobias Reinhardt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), *passim*.

The gathering of topics, the first stage in any rhetorical composition, is known as *inventio*.³¹ The capacity for the effective combination of these gathered materials in a new composition was known as *ingenium* (*ingegno*). Strength in both capacities is necessary for effective composition. It is therefore the central argument of this dissertation that the act of annotating the HP was approached, by some readers who left records of their reading experiences in marginalia, as a means of cultivating and developing these faculties in themselves. I will discuss each faculty in turn, with reference to materials I examined for my thesis.

Ben Jonson's annotations extant in the British Library copy of the 1545 edition are an example of the active use of the HP for *inventio* (Chapter 6). Extensive underlining throughout the text indicates that he read through the entire volume, absorbing all of its major features. Yet, in a summary of the novel which Jonson wrote around the margins of the leaf following the dedicatory poem, he is specific about what he chooses to include. The summary begins with the phrase 'Poliphilus saith he hath seene many Admirable things ye which he describes many Antiquities worthy of memory such as Piramides, obelisks, ruins of edifices.'³² Jonson records only those large features which would be representable on stage, such as obelisks and triumphal cars. Such structures were common in the elaborate stage designs of masque, suggesting that Jonson read the HP as part of his process of *inventio* in order to gather material for theatrical presentations.

Jonson's reading in order to gather material for a particular application is one example of the selective paths which readers could take through the HP. In following the main thread of the narrative, the reader is offered opportunities to take detours into subjects of personal interest, or to persist in following the main storyline. The romance narrative can be likened to the central hall of a museum, and each ekphrasis to a side exhibit. As a museum-goer can choose which side rooms to enter and which to pass by, likewise readers of the HP either followed these tangents or passed over them. For example, the annotator of the copy at Como (presumed to be Benedetto Giovio) left annotations along the main thread and detours into those passages related to botany, but passed over those concerning architecture (Chapter 4).

The HP also serves as a resource for *inventio* in a manner which extends beyond the bounds of the book itself. As a fabric made of extracts from other texts, a reader of the HP, after identifying the source of a citation, can be inspired to read that source, either anew or

³¹ Ulrich Langer, 'Invention', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism: The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), III, pp. 136-44.

³² London, British Library – C.60.o.12, 8r.

for the first time. The act of reading the HP then spurs the reader outward into his or her own book collection. Thus, in following Poliphilo through this collection of gathered sources, the reader is also offered a navigable path through his or her own library.

The annotations recorded by Benedetto Giovio in his copy at Como (Chapter 5) are an example of a reader using the HP as a path through his own books. Living in Pliny's birthplace, Giovio was predisposed by civic pride to seek out references to the *Naturalis historia*. Upon noticing that passages of botanical description in the HP are extracted from specific sections of Pliny, Giovio returned to those passages in his own edition of the *Naturalis historia*. The identification of specific plants then moved Giovio to read other botanical texts such as that of Fuchs.³³

This hypothesis, that readers approached the HP as a source for *inventio*, has been built upon the evidence of marginalia. Yet there is one location in which the HP may in fact self-define in these terms. Presumably voicing a widespread saying, Pierre de Ronsard termed *inventio*, first stage in any process of creation, to be the 'mother of all things.'³⁴ In a woodcut which resonates with this phrase, an image of a sleeping nymph is labelled *Panton Tokadi* – the mother of all things.

The composition of the image, and the annotator's response to it, together suggest an association with this first canon of rhetoric. Venus lies sleeping in the centre. On the right, a clearly aroused satyr pulls aside a curtain to gaze upon her. Standing behind the Venus are two *putti* each holding vials containing some substance. The Satyr stands on the verge of impregnating Venus, with the vials contributing some pre-existent admixture to the process. This image then stands as a metaphor of the first stage of *inventio*. The pulling apart of the curtain represents the discovery of the existing components as represented by the vials, from which the conception will occur. This was the interpretation of the alchemical hand in the BL copy, who labelled the vials with the symbols of various elements.

³³ Leonhart Fuchs, *De historia stirpium* (Basel: M. Isengrin, 1542).

³⁴ Alessandro Lionardi, *Dialogi...della inventione poetica* (Venice: Plinio Pietrasanta, 1554), pp. 10-11, and Pierre de Ronsard, *Abbrégé de l'Art poétique françois* (1565), in Francis Goyet (ed.) *Traité de la poétique et de la rhétorique de la Renaissance* (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1990) p. 472, cited in Langer, p. 138.



Detail, BL C.60.o.12, (e1r)

The quantity and quality of annotation which follow this image also lend support to the proposal that the *Panton Tokadi* image was linked in the minds of early annotators with the application of the HP for *inventio*. The association between Ronsard's phrase and the annotator's practice at this stage remains conjectural, but is too significant to escape mention.

Luciano Anceschi describes how *ingegno* became a prized faculty among early modern readers.

Words like *ingegno*, *ingenio*, *wit*, *esprit*, acquired a particular significance when read in the context of the culture in which Baroque poetics thrived; it indicates at the same time an ideal, a technique, and expressive procedures in a diversity of places and nations, which were themselves a parallel inspiration in all the countries of Europe. Bacon translated *witty* as *ingeniosus*...³⁵

Therefore, humanistic readers sought to increase the volume of commonplaces at their disposal (*inventio*) and to consciously sharpen their wit in their application (*ingegno*). This dissertation proposes that the prolific annotators documented in this study used the HP in order to accomplish this dual purpose. The novel's distinct configuration as a dream novel assembled out of humanist commonplaces lent itself to this purpose. The act of reading the text allowed the reader to assimilate a large repertoire of *loci* to apply in their respective fields, whether architecture, literary composition, or alchemical practice. At the same time, the HP was perceived by its readers to contain intellectual games with which to refine their *ingegno*. These games include rendering architectural diagrams described verbally, identifying the sources of *loci*, deconstructing Poliphilesque compound words into their components, and identifying the contours of a perceived alchemical subtext.

The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* as 'activity book'

The result is a genre in search of a definition, a didactic book which contains intellectual 'games' which can be completed in pen and ink. In searching for an analogue, an overlooked category of contemporary text evokes some remarkable parallels. The 'activity book' is a text ubiquitous in childhood experience, but which, on account of its ephemeral nature, has

³⁵Luciano Anceschi, *L'Idea del Barocco: studi su un problema estetico* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1984), p. 278-9. 'Parole come *ingegno*, *ingenio*, *wit*, *esprit*, acquistano particolare significato quando vengano lette nel contesto di cultura in cui vivono le poetiche barocche; indicano un insieme di ideali, di tecniche, di procedimenti espressivi nelle diversità dei luoghi e delle nazioni, che furon propri con una ispirazione parallela a tutti i paesi d'Europa. Bacone traduceva *witty* con *ingeniosus*...?'

rarely been the object of study, even from social historians. For our purposes, an activity book shall be defined as one whose central focus is the completion of simple paper-and-pencil activities, often marketed under the heading of a famous character or media franchise. The content of the book consists of puzzles, often elementary in nature, such as word searches, mazes, and crosswords. Completion of the activities is rationalized in terms of assisting the protagonist to progress. This definition is my own. Despite the prevalence of these texts, there is, to my knowledge, no standard definition of the activity book, nor has a history ever been written of this interactive children's genre.³⁶ A search of academic databases has turned up no history book of the activity book as a genre, or indeed any academic studies of them whatsoever. Enquiries to professors of children's literature have also not turned up any results.³⁷

The British Museum's *Gladiator Activity Book* serves as a representative example, as it involves the reader, not entirely unlike a Renaissance humanist, exploring Ancient Rome through the medium of a pen-and-pencil activity.³⁸ The reader, for example, helps the Retiarius find his way to the stadium by navigating a maze, draws lines in order to connect various categories of weapons and armour with the class of gladiator who would wield them, and identifies key vocabulary through word searches.

Though the HP of course exceeds such ephemera in both value and density, the models of reader engagement between the two are sufficiently comparable. In both texts, one follows a protagonist through diegetic space for an educational purpose, completing paper-and-pen activities along the way. In both texts, the activities themselves are not excessively challenging, but serve maintain attention and reader engagement. Through pursuing activities paralleling the protagonist, the reader takes an active posture to the text through the element of tactility, cultivating their own wit.

The development of a model comparing ephemeral children's texts to one of the most outstanding books of the Renaissance may seem facetious. Yet such an approach is not entirely without precedent. In approaching the HP through children's texts, I parallel the

³⁶ Texts consulted include Alec Ellis, *A History of Children's Reading and Literature* (London: Pergamon Press, 1968); Peter Hunt, ed. (Associate Editor Sheila Ray), *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature* (London: Routledge, 1996, reprinted 1998); Cornelia Meigs, Anne Thaxter Eaton, Elizabeth Nesbitt, Ruth Hill Viguers, *A Critical History of Children's Literature: A Survey of Children's Books in English, Prepared in Four Parts* (London: Macmillan, 1953, revised edn. 1969); Maria Nikolajeva, ed., *Aspects and Issues in the History of Children's Literature* (Westport, CT & London: Greenwood Press, 1995); Donna E. Norton, *Through the Eyes of a Child. An Introduction to Children's Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1991, 3rd ed.).

³⁷ Professor Kate Chedgzoy, School of English Literature, Newcastle University, Personal Communication 08/05/12, Kim Reynolds, Newcastle University, Personal Communication 24/04/2012.

³⁸ Judy Lindsay, *Gladiator Activity Book* (London: British Museum Press, 2004).

course of the protagonist of Umberto Eco's novel *The Mysterious Flame of Queen Loana*.³⁹ In the novel, Bembo is a rare-book dealer who wrote his dissertation on the HP. In the aftermath of an automobile accident, he develops a peculiar form of amnesia. Bembo can remember everything he has read, but none of his lived experience. He then must reconstruct his life, in reverse, through the texts he has read. Bembo begins his recollection with the incunabula filling his shop, but eventually works backward, through more lowbrow literature, to the *Topolino* comics of his childhood. As the timeline moves backward, Eco's novel itself gradually transforms from a prose to a graphic novel. His engagement with easily dismissible juvenilia is shown to be vitally important to his development as an intellectual, and it is on this basis that his modern memories are reconstructed. The HP, as used by the prolific annotators in this study, can then be framed as a 'humanistic activity book'. The interaction of annotators in pen-and-ink can be considered as a form of intellectual gameplay, a ludic pursuit for the cultivation of a serious faculty.

*

The chapters that follow will expand upon this model with reference to the six prolifically annotated copies selected for this study. The following Literature Review (Chapter 2) reports the broader traditions of HP scholarship upon which this study builds. The Methodology chapter (3) will outline the means by which the world census to identify annotated copies was conducted.

Although more annotated copies were found than were initially expected, copies bearing annotation remain the minority. The relative paucity of annotated copies raises important epistemological questions as to the validity of what can reasonably be inferred from such a small data set. Here I will review the literature regarding methodological considerations regarding work with limited data and fragmentary evidence.

In the absence of sufficient copies for broadly-based numerical studies, I have chosen to frame each individual copy as a case study, and I discuss research considerations around the case study method. These methodological considerations having been discussed, the dissertation then moves to the case studies of six copies, grouped over five chapters. In order to facilitate comparative studies and lend structure to this dissertation, I have grouped these copies into four categories. These categories are modern contrivances and not 'actor's

³⁹ Umberto Eco, *The Mysterious Flame of Queen Loana*, trans. Geoffrey Brock (London: Vintage Books, 2005).

categories' that would have been meaningful to the period annotators, although some of the copies may have been connected or have related provenances. In another phrasing, these are 'emic', not 'etic' distinctions. The annotators of the copies at Como and Modena (Chapters 4 and 5) appear to have equated the HP with an encyclopedia on the model of the *Naturalis historia*. The readers of the BL and Buffalo copies (Chapters 6 and 7) inferred an alchemical subtext to the HP, and used their annotations to mark features of the HP which they presumed to allegorize features of the *magnum opus*. The copy annotated by Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi) places a particular emphasis on the self-cultivation of *ingegno* (Chapter 8). Chigi reads the text for its rhetorical style, with an eye for the witty use of metaphors, or *acutezze*. Chapter 9 demonstrates another application of marginalia, for textual criticism. Certain emendations found in the copies in the Biblioteca Comunale di Siena and the State Library of New South Wales in Sydney appear to be remnants from an earlier stage of the HP's development, which may offer insight into the compositional process behind the novel. Chapter 10, the Conclusions, suggests directions for future research.

Before proceeding, a *captatio benevolentiae* is in order. Approaching the marginalia of highly erudite humanists presents its own distinct set of challenges. On receiving a census response from a librarian that a copy contains 'prolific annotation,' the initial excitement was followed by the ominous intimation that those notes could potentially be by any scholar, on any subject, or in any genre. Reading the annotations of another is like following the proverbial will-o'-the-wisp. The researcher follows the annotators where they lead, even when that pursuit wanders into areas far outside that researcher's own disciplinary background. There is an element of surprise and serendipity in this journey, but I often found myself, without warning, in subject areas for which I was completely unprepared.

The contextualization of these annotations was therefore responsive, rather than anticipatory. I faced the challenge of needing often to rapidly brief myself on specialist discourse across a diverse variety of fields for which I had little to no background knowledge prior to this project. For example, upon encountering Benedetto Giovio's notes on simples in the Como copy, I had to give myself a 'crash course' in Renaissance botany, a field I could not have anticipated I would later need during initial secondary source reading campaign in the first year of my doctorate. Similarly, without a specialist background in the history of science, I had to become conversant enough in alchemical discourse to contextualize the notes I was finding. A full and proper contextualization of these notes would require the skills of a specialist in the histories of botany and of natural philosophy. For this reason, it must be conceded that this approach has occasionally sacrificed depth for breadth. Indeed,

there are modern scholars such as Robert C. Evans who have devoted large portions of their scholarly career solely to the marginalia of a single individual.⁴⁰ In this study, I attempt to do the same with several. As both a parvenu and autodidact in many of these fields and personalities, I have doubtless come to conclusions which would be naive to a specialist.

The relentlessly centrifugal nature of marginalia also offers a parallel danger. The annotators themselves frequently refer off to other items in their library. Without a specialist's knowledge of the proportions of the annotator's disciplines, one can fall into the trap of running off on fascinating but fruitless sidetrack reading campaigns in the hopes of clarifying the unknown. One is constantly in danger of wandering off on tangents or getting lost in the explication of minutiae. On the other hand, insufficient contextualization can lead to missing key observations. It is my hope that this tension has proved a creative one, but I am certain that on many occasions I have erred too far to one side or the other.

⁴⁰ Robert C. Evans, *Habits of Mind: Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson's Reading* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1995).

Literature Review

In focusing on the readers of the HP, this study has offered a new angle from which to analyze Poliphilo's dream, moving beyond well-trodden approaches to the text. Even as attention has shifted to the readers, prior scholarship into the HP continues to inform and frame the interpretation of the marginalia encountered. Concrete evidence of readers' responses also offers the opportunity to validate previously proposed readings.

This chapter will survey salient themes in scholarship around the HP to date, in the fields of bibliographical connoisseurship, book history, and of speculation into identity of the author or authors. The discussion will move beyond the literature surrounding the book artefact and the narrative itself, to examine the influence of the text in art, literature, architecture, and landscape design. Recognising that previous studies of the 'influence' of the HP have omitted the role of readers as mediators, the chapter will discuss developments in theory and method which have shifted the fulcrum of criticism towards consideration of the agency of readers. Observing that readers' responses must be based upon a verifiable record, this study has turned to marginalia as evidence. The present chapter will conclude with an overview of the literature surrounding the use and application of marginalia in Renaissance studies, with an emphasis on previous projects which have informed the method of this present thesis.

The bibliography on the HP is vast. For a book so often framed as unreadable, the quantity of scholarly literature the HP has generated may initially seem surprising. Yet, as Lamberto Donati ironically observed, it is the stupefying nature of the HP that drives its researchers to be even more impassioned.¹ This survey does not claim to be exhaustive. Notably absent from this review are a small number of aesthetic studies of the HP published in small-circulation journals of the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries, of which I have been unable to obtain copies.

The earliest modern literature on the HP was generated by book collectors, centering their attention on the aesthetic and typographical properties of this desirable acquisition. The zeal of collectors for the text was noted in an introduction to an 1883 edition by Popelin, who

¹ Lamberto Donati, 'Diciamo qualcosa del Polifilo!', *Maso Finiguerra* 3 (1938), pp. 70-96.

observed that the HP is prized by ‘a very respectable and yet curious sort [i.e., bibliophiles] whose pleasure in books does not necessary consist in reading them’.² Later annotators, such as ‘William Bird’ in the Buffalo copy (Chapter 7), make reference to Thomas Frognall Dibdin’s *Bibliographical Decameron*, which celebrated the HP for its extraordinary features while lamenting the fact that its final colophon has been torn out by unscrupulous book dealers in order to obscure the date of publication.³

Such recurring attention to one imperfection in the physical copy (the missing colophon) is representative of the disposition towards the text which characterises the reception of the HP through the early twentieth century. Enthusiasm for its finer aspects as a collectible and example of fine typography took precedence over attention to its authorship and content.

Among these bibliographical studies, Horatio Brown made mention of the HP in the course of his study of the Venetian book trade.⁴ Domenico Gnoli sought a precedent for the text, noting that the HP emerged as part of a cluster of publications with ‘-*machia*’ titles. Gnoli argued that it derives from the pseudo-Homeric *Batracomyomachia* (Battle of the Frogs and Mice), and noted that Aldus himself had also published another ‘-*machia*’ title, the *Galeomyomachia* (Battle of the Rats and Cats).⁵ William M. Ivins Jr. published a study of individual copies in the New York Public Library.⁶ An example of more recent typographical scholarship is the research of Neil Harris, which has differentiated variant states of the HP’s printing through a careful examination of irregularly-printed characters.⁷

Other studies have situated the HP as an artefact of print, within broader narratives of the development of printing. In his introduction to a 1963 edition, George Painter holds the HP to be emblematic of the emergence from medievalism. Where Gutenberg’s 42-line Bible is ‘sternly German, Gothic, Christian and mediaeval’, the HP is ‘radiantly and graciously Italian, classic, pagan, and renascent.’⁸ As Painter placed the HP as a dividing line between eras of print history, Anthony Blunt characterised the text as marking a more lighthearted

² ‘[Les] bibliophiles, catégorie de curieux fort estimable dans laquelle, toutefois, il ne faut pas chercher ceux qui aiment les livres pour l’unique plaisir de les lire.’ Gustave Popelin, ‘Introduction’, in *Le Songe de Poliphile* (Paris: Isidore Liseux, 1883), p. 12.

³ Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron, or, Ten days pleasant discourse upon illuminated manuscripts, and subjects connected with early engraving, typography, and bibliography* (London: W. Bulmer and co, Shakespeare Press, 1817).

⁴ Horatio Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press 1469-1800* (London: Nimmo, 1891), p. 58.

⁵ Domenico Gnoli, ‘Il Sogno di Polifilo’, *La Bibliofilia* 1 (1899-1900), pp. 189-212; 206-83.

⁶ William M. Ivins Jr., ‘The Aldine Hypnerotomachia Poliphili of 1499’ *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 18.12 (1923), pp. 273-77.

⁷ Neil Harris, ‘Rising quadrats in the woodcuts of the Aldine *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499)’, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 77 (2002), pp. 159-67.

⁸ George D. Painter, *The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili of 1499: An Introduction on the Dream, Dreamer, the Artist, and the Printer* (London: Eugrammia Press, 1963).

vein of humanism, in distinction to what Blunt perceived to be a calculating Albertian *ratio*.⁹ Helen Barolini utilised the HP as a recurring point of reference in a biographical study of Aldus Manutius and his times.¹⁰

It is this collector's attention to the attributes of the printed object, namely and more specifically the acrostic composed from the initial capitals of the first 38 chapters of the HP, which reoriented critical attention towards speculation into the identity of the writer. Verifying whether the author was indeed 'Franciscus Columna' resulted in the welcome correlative of contextualizing the text within its historical setting, and foregrounding the literary qualities of the HP. It is in pursuit of the question of authorship that much of the current body of literature around the HP has been generated.

Though one is grateful that this additional textual scholarship has indeed taken place, the literary qualities of the text have taken second position to the individuation of the hand behind them. This dedicated focus on authorship has accumulated such a force that it has served to head off other approaches and avenues to the text. Amongst all this contention about the hand or hands behind the HP, the function of the book as a text has fallen into the periphery of critics' vision.

That Fra Francesco Colonna of the Dominican monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo is the primary hand behind the text has served as the default assumption. Through the mid-twentieth-century, alternative proposals for authorship have issued and garnered attention. An exhaustive description of the authorship debate would be a subject for another thesis, as proposals for authorship may be rather indicative of the prejudices of the age in which they were proposed than informative of the text itself. To summarise only a few of the proposed alternative candidates, Khomentovskaia proposed Felice Feliciano of Verona as a possible author.¹¹ Ciriaco d'Ancona is the favoured attribution of Charles Mitchell.¹² In 1996 Roswitha Stewering offered Niccolò Lelio Cosmico as an author.¹³ The following year, Liane Lefavre attributed the authorship to Leon Battista Alberti, in an erroneous attribution which nevertheless offers applicable conceptual models, as will be discussed below.¹⁴ The

⁹ Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600* (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1940, reprinted 1968), in the chapter 'Colonna, Filarete, Savonarola', pp. 39-47.

¹⁰ Helen Barolini, *Aldus and his Dream Book* (New York: Italica Press, 1992).

¹¹ Maria Khomentovskaia, 'Felice Feliciano da Verona comme l'auteur de l'*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*' *La Bibliofilia* 37 (1935), pp. 154-174, 200-212; 38 (1936), pp. 20-48, 92-102.

¹² Charles Mitchell, 'Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy', in *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. E.F. Jacobs (London: Faber, 1960) pp. 455-83.

¹³ Roswitha Stewering, *Architektur und Natur in der 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili' (Manutius 1499) und die Zuschreibung des Werkes an Niccolò Lelio Cosmico*, Diss. Hamburg 1996.

¹⁴ Liane Lefavre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1997).

ascription to the Venetian Colonna was innovatively challenged by Maurizio Calvesi, who identified another contemporaneous individual by the name of Francesco Colonna, this one of Praeneste.¹⁵

The traditional attribution to the Venetian Colonna also attracted vigorous defenders during this same period. The exhaustive archival research of Maria Teresa Casella has correlated known events in the life of the Venetian friar with probable dates in the fictionalized relationship of ‘Poliphilo and Polia’, offering circumstantial yet persuasive evidence for the original proposed authorship.¹⁶ Emilio Menegazzo’s expansion of the biography of the Colonna of Venice added additional corroborating information to this attribution.¹⁷

The attribution remains in dispute, and it is likely that further evidence will emerge in the future.¹⁸ Yet this inordinate concentration on authorship has resulted in studies of additional features of the HP appearing as sidenotes to the question of attribution. Ironically, in the search for the author of such an extraordinary work, the properties and influence of the creation itself have become overlooked.

The careful and detailed scholarship which characterised the search for an author then translated itself into detailed critical editions of the text, which were the first step towards the slow movement of the fulcrum of scholarship towards the reader. Analyzing the text itself as a composite of literary citations, contemporary annotated editions have been an invaluable source in understanding the complexity of the HP. The first modern critical and annotated edition was produced by Lucia A. Ciapponi and Giovanni Pozzi in 1964 and reprinted in 1980, and is referred to throughout this study as ‘P&C.’¹⁹ Ciapponi and Pozzi carefully identified the author’s sources and proposed etymologies for the least intelligible words and locutions. In so doing, they foreground that the text of the HP itself is a subject meriting extensive annotation, being more than simply a ‘lorem ipsum’-style filler serving to occupy the white space between the illustrations. A second annotated commentary, accompanied by

¹⁵ Maurizio Calvesi, *La Pugna d’Amore in Sogno di Francesco Colonna romano* (Rome: Lithos Editrice, 1996).

¹⁶ Maria Teresa Casella and Giovanni Pozzi, *Francesco Colonna. Biografia e opere*. Vol. I *Biografia* (M.T. Casella), Vol. II *Opere* (G. Pozzi) (Padua: Antenore, 1959).

¹⁷ Emilio Menegazzo, ‘Per la biografia di Francesco Colonna’ pp. 3-47, and ‘Francesco Colonna baccelliere nello Studio teologico padovano di S. Agostino (1473-74), pp. 48-64, in Andrea Canova, ed., *Colonna, Folengo, Ruzante, e Cornaro: Ricerche, Testi, e Documenti* (Rome and Padua: Editrice Antenore, 2001).

¹⁸ The ninth chapter of this dissertation offers some additional evidence which could corroborate the attribution to the Venetian Colonna, by proposing that some of the marginalia derive from the vicinity of the author.

¹⁹ Giovanni Pozzi and Lucia A. Ciapponi, eds., *Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Edizione critica e commento (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1980, 2nd ed.).

a translation into contemporary Italian, was produced by Marco Ariani and Mino Gabriele in 1998, abbreviated throughout this thesis as ‘A&G’.²⁰

The modern English translation issued by Joscelyn Godwin in 1999 resulted in a revival of interest in the text in the Anglophone world. With the increased accessibility of the HP outside of previous circles, Godwin’s translation resulted in new scholarship, including this thesis itself. The production of this edition has been an important achievement, and has been of invaluable help for those unable to approach the original text. In places Godwin’s translation may be considered excessively idiomatic (and in one or two places inaccurate) when called upon for closer philological analysis. Godwin is also the author of a popular introduction to the HP, entitled *The Real Rule of Four*.²¹ Though popularly entitled so as to coincide with the paperback thriller based on the HP, this book is in fact an academically sound and concise summation of major threads in HP scholarship to date.

These studies have presented the author as a critical and erudite reader and compiler of a vast quantity of source material. Foregrounding the author’s nature as a reader then raises the question, by extension, of how the HP’s readers would have made use of his or her product. Whom exactly was ‘Colonna’ writing for?

This study set out to investigate this very question. Its chosen problematic of centering readers as the primary point of analysis is the result of theoretical developments that unfolded in the latter part of the twentieth century. These made it possible to move beyond appreciation of the HP as a fine specimen of print to consider seriously how readers may have made use of the text. These developments, which will be summarised in brief below, raised two primary issues which will constitute the latter half of this chapter.

First, they made it possible to reconceptualize previous studies of the art-historical influence of the HP as examples of reader engagement. Second, when put into dialogue with new research into material culture, they valorize the role of marginalia as a means of validating reader reception. These movements are complex and merit significant discussion in themselves, and in this context will only be mentioned insofar as they reoriented the tenor of research from the work to the reader. In the early twentieth-century, the New Criticism foregrounded the operations of the text itself, whose meaning could be considered based on its own operations, distinct from any presumed authorial intent. This dismissal of

²⁰ Marco Ariani and Mino Gabriele, eds., Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento* (Milan: Adelphi, 1998).

²¹ Joscelyn Godwin, *The Real Rule of Four* (New York: Arrow Books, 2004).

intentionality liberated critics of anonymous texts in making, at least within this framework, the search for an author an unnecessary prerequisite for sound scholarship.

The work of Roland Barthes recognised that the text, disassociated from its compositor, can be considered as a crystallization of the spirit of the age.²² Though Barthes' declaration of the 'death of the author' has been shown to be hyperbolic, it did offer a then-radical means of approaching texts. Dismissing with Romantic concepts of genius, Barthes observed that much of the content of texts consists of gathered semantic units already in circulation, e.g. proverbs, which are not directly composed by the author. Here one can draw an analogy with the fabric of the HP, assembled from humanistic materials already in circulation. As so much of a text is assembled from its cultural milieu, mere identification of authorial intent is insufficient to explain it fully. The hand which writes the text is more of means for an age to write a text than a creator, for which Barthes puts forward the term *scriptor* rather than 'author'.

Pushing the author off of the stage of criticism cleared critical space for a new movement which privileged the role of readers. Prior to this development, the effect a text produced on a reader was considered to be an inaccurate or even deceptive means of assessing a text's complexity or value. Wimsatt and Beardsley termed this erroneous association between a work and its emotional impact 'the Affective Fallacy'.²³ For example, a trashy 'tearjerker' novel can move a reader greatly, while itself having little literary merit.

Stanley Fish, and the movement of reader reception criticism which he popularised, recuperated the gravity of readers' experiences.²⁴ Fish, to generalize greatly, reframed reading as a holistic process existing between the text and the reader as a mediator. These ongoing, real-time engagements can be examined by 'slowing down' the reading process, and dividing this organic relationship into measurable units of analysis – individual, describable snapshots of an ongoing process.²⁵ Each marginalium examined in this study can, in this context, be considered just such a unit of analysis, a moment excerpted from a reader's ongoing intellectual dance with the text. This newfound interest in reader reception as

²² Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', *Aspen* 5&6 (1967), without page numbers.

²³ W. K. Wimsatt Jr. and M. C. Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', *The Sewanee Review* 54.3 (1946), pp. 468-88.

²⁴ Reader reception criticism can be derived in turn from the 'School of Constance' emerging from the work of Hans Robert Jauss. See Jauss, *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception* trans. by Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982).

²⁵ Stanley Eugene Fish, *Self-Consuming Artifacts: The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1972), p. 386.

developed in literary studies expanded into art criticism, which Didi-Hubermann described as the shift from *res ipsa* to ‘the beholder’s experience of it.’²⁶

Fish later expanded his study of reception from that of individuals to ‘interpretive communities’, recognising that reading is far from a solitary act, and that texts engender their own communities of readers.²⁷ Norman Holland’s research, following Fish’s theoretical prompts, examined individual reading acts in the formation of interpretive communities. Holland graphed one such reception community by making case studies of five individual readers.²⁸ Though using modern college students as his research subjects, Holland’s research justified that case studies of reading practices based upon small groups can be considered an acceptable research methodology.

Building upon the work of previous reader response critics, Wolfgang Iser raised concerns about the extent to which reading experiences can in fact be legitimately shared. Iser observed that each text leaves a certain degree of content undefined, offering gaps into which readers insert their own experiences. Terming this quality ‘indeterminacy’, Iser noticed that each member of a reception community would, figuratively speaking, caulk the gaps of the unspecified sections with material from their individual worlds. In this sense, an indeterminate text serves, like a sponge, to draw out the concerns of its readers, providing a coalescing point for thoughts which might otherwise go unspoken.

The greater the degree of indeterminacy, the more ‘overburdened’ a reader will be in interpreting the text, and the greater the degree of background knowledge a reader must bring to bear.²⁹ Taking Iser’s positions to their logical conclusion, highly indeterminate texts can then almost serve as magnets for the disparate intellectual concepts circulating in any given reader’s age, as an interpretive community applies their reservoirs of knowledge in wrestling with this indeterminacy. Iser also observes that, counterintuitively, the greater the degree of detail a text offers, the more ‘overburdened’ the reader. Rather than filling in the gaps in a reader’s knowledge, the addition of ever more detail only introduces more interstices of indeterminacy.

²⁶ Didi-Huberman, Georges, ‘Opening Up Venus: Nudity, Cruelty and the Dream’, in *The Beholder: The Experience of Art in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Thomas Frangenberg and Robert Williams (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 37-52. See also John K.G. Shearman, *Only Connect: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton, 1992).

²⁷ Stanley Eugene Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980).

²⁸ Norman N. Holland, *The Nature of Literary Response: Five Readers Reading* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2011).

²⁹ Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 6.

Considered together, the works of Fish, Holland and Iser provide a framework with which to analyze the individual annotators which make up this study. Fish foregrounded the role of the reader, while demonstrating that readings acts could be tracked in real time. These trackings of readers can be expanded into studies of reception communities, even when geographically disparate. Holland offered the method of a constellation of case studies to future researchers. Iser's work offered insights into what might be found in these close studies – a gathering of the intellectual reservoirs of a group of thinkers, drawn out by the need to fill the gaps of an indeterminate text.

Such theoretical models call in turn for evidence with which to ground them. This study's use of marginalia is thus a concretization of an approach formed from a melding of these three frameworks. The notes left on a page are a record of Fish's real-time organic reading experience. The comparison of multiple annotated copies follows Fish's formulation of 'interpretive communities', and Holland's approach of mapping such a community through individual case studies provided a model for the profiles of individual readers included in this study. The annotator's interest in clarifying textual ambiguities, often by offering an etymology of a Poliphilesque term, resounds with Iser's model of a reader attempting to remedy the indeterminacies of a text. It is upon these rationalizations that the decision was made to turn towards marginalia.

Yet the lessening of a reader's 'burden' when faced with an indeterminate text is a valid but incomplete explanation for the prolific annotation found in these texts. In his introduction to the 1963 edition of the HP, George Painter observes that the HP may, unlike the manner of reading proposed by its alchemical interpreters, not allegorize a deeper meaning but simply 'play' with the material it compiles. Painter notes that 'play does not have to concern itself with what it might stand for', and that 'play does not have to picture anything outside itself'.³⁰ The annotators, in many cases, seem to have responded to the text with the same ludic spirit with which the HP presents its own content: for the character of their annotation is often not that of a burdened reader reluctantly coping with ambiguity, slogging through a text which offers ever more indeterminacy. Annotation seems to be rather a leisurely, even joyous act, with readers delighting in how they can alter and manipulate the abundance of content before them. Rather than engaging in an academic, hermeneutic exercise, some readers are delightfully playing with the text for its own sake.

³⁰ George Painter, 'Introduction', p. 23, 25.

In her essay *Against Interpretation*, Susan Sontag terms this an ‘aleatory’ reading. In a manner reminiscent of the HP’s sensuous descriptions of its own architecture, Sontag suggests replacing hermeneutics with an ‘erotics of the text’.³¹ In recording a reading act through marginalia, we are looking at both the academic attempt at clarification, and also at a personally enjoyable, even playful, ‘dance’ with the text.

Reader reception theories make it possible to reframe previous studies of the ‘influence’ of the HP as ones of reader reception and engagement. Following the initial studies of bibliographical connoisseurship were articles focusing upon the influence of the HP on later art and architecture. A common missing element, nonetheless, remains the examination of the role of the reader as mediator between the work and its later expression in art.

Fritz Saxl and Rudolf Wittkower observed the continued circulation of the HP’s woodcut images, noting that, for instance, Samuel Daniel’s *Delia* and *Complaint of Rosamund* took their frontispiece images from the 1592 Busbie edition of the HP’s English translation.³² Anthony Blunt described a series of paintings by LeSeuer which illustrate episodes from the HP.³³ E.H. Gombrich identified correspondences between the HP’s pseudo-hieroglyphica and a hieroglyphic frieze commissioned from Bramante for Pope Julius II.³⁴ Iconography derived from the HP has been traced in the works of Titian and Garofalo, among others.³⁵ More recently, Anthony Colantuono has argued that a series of paintings by Titian and Bellini were intended to communicate what Colantuono perceives to be an underlying pedagogic purpose behind the HP. In his book *Titian, Colonna, and the Renaissance Science of Procreation*, Colantuono argues that the HP draws extensively on Mario Equicola’s *Libro de Natura de Amore*, and that these paintings which Colantuono proposes derive from the HP (*The Feast of the Gods*, and Titian’s *Bacchus and Ariadne*, *Bacchanal of the Andrians*, and

³¹ Susan Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (New York, 1966) p. 14. See also her *Plotting with Eros: Essays on the Poetics of Love and the Erotics of Reading*, ed. by Ingela Nilsson (University of Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2009).

³² Fritz Saxl and Rudolf Wittkower, *British Art and the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 87.

³³ Anthony Blunt, ‘The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in Seventeenth Century France’, *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1 (1937-38), pp. 117-37.

³⁴ E.H. Gombrich, ‘Hypnerotomachiana’, in *Symbolic Images: Studies in the art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1972) pp. 102-10.

³⁵ G.P. Clerici, ‘Tiziano e la *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*’, *La Bibliofilia* 20 (1918), pp. 182-203; William S. Heckscher, ‘Bernini’s Elephant and Obelisk’, *Art Bulletin*, 29 (1947), pp. 155-82; Fritz Saxl, ‘A Scene from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in a Painting by Garofalo’, *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1 (1938-1939), pp. 169-71.

Feast of Venus) were intended to educate the men of the Este dynasty in the science of male fertility in order to ensure an heir.³⁶

The architectural features of the HP were also considered to be sources for actual works of landscape architecture. Anthony Blunt argued that some of the features of Versailles itself derive from the text.³⁷ William Heckscher argued persuasively that the image of the ‘Elephant and Obelisk’ was the model for Bernini’s obelisk setting at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, a matter treated at greater length in Chapter 6.³⁸ The 1956 doctoral dissertation of Sophie Huper brought a focused lens to the study of the HP’s conceptual architectural features as objects of study in their own right, examining them as complex creations within the fictional space.³⁹ Emanuela Kretzulesco, in her *Jardins du Songe*, dedicated an extended study to the influence of the HP on numerous noted gardens, such as those of the Borromeo ‘Isola Bella’ in the Lago Maggiore.⁴⁰ John Dixon Hunt in turn moved from the physical features of the HP’s gardens to the phenomenological experience that they generate for the viewer.⁴¹ Yasamin Bahadorzadeh brought the study of ‘influence’ back to its point of origin, retelling the HP’s narrative through a series of images taken from gardens inspired by the novel. With development of computer graphics, Poliphilo’s experience of movement through the diegetic space of the HP can now be rendered in three-dimensional virtual reality.⁴² This digital visualization demonstrated, in a manner overlooked by previous critics, the complexity of the spaces which Poliphilo experiences and the fully-rendered nature of the world described in such extensive detail within the HP. Poliphilo, and the reader experiencing the text through the protagonist, move, as it were, about the dreamscape in all directions. Poliphilo often walks around objects or moves laterally between monuments, rather than following a linear progression through the imagined world, as a cursory viewing of sequential woodcuts would suggest to a casual reader. Marcel Françon explored Rabelais’ reading of the HP, particularly with regard to the episode of The Abbey of Thélème in

³⁶ Anthony Colantuono, *Titian, Colonna, and the Renaissance Science of Procreation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

³⁷ Blunt, Anthony, ‘The *Hypnerotomachia Polyphili* in 17th Century France’, *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1 (1937-38), pp. 117-37.

³⁸ Heckscher, ‘Bernini’s Elephant and Obelisk’.

³⁹ Sophie Huper, ‘The Architectural Monuments of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*’, Ph.D. Diss. 1956, State University of Iowa.

⁴⁰ Emanuela Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *Les Jardins du Songe* (Rome: Editrice Magnam, 1976).

⁴¹ John Dixon Hunt, ‘Experiencing gardens in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*’, *Word & Image* 14 (1998), pp. 109-19.

⁴² Silvia Fogliati and David Dutto, *Il Giardino di Polifilo: ricostruzione virtuale dalla ‘Hypnerotomachia Poliphili’ di Francesco Colonna stampata a Venezia nel 1499 da Aldo Manuzio* (Milan: Franco Maria Ricci, 2002).

Gargantua and Pantagruel. The HP has continued to serve as a point of reference for artists down to the present age, as documented by Efthymia Priki.⁴³

This study's return to the physical traces of reading experiences makes it possible to examine the process of mediation in action, demonstrating the midpoint between the HP and proposed examples of its influence. No less a figure than Carl Jung played a significant role in raising the profile of the readers of the HP in modern scholarship, through an analogy drawn between his own theories of psychological individuation and the alchemical process.⁴⁴ Jung noticed that recurring images in the dreams of his patients (the colours red and white, a marriage, a skeleton), were also commonplaces in the iconography of the alchemy. A primary source for such images utilized by Jung was the *tableau steganographique* in Béroalde de Verville's 1600 French translation of the HP. Jung made additional inferences on the basis of these symbols, noting that the dialectic of unification of opposing forces in alchemical laboratory procedure mirrors the synthesis of opposites that occurs in the healing of psychological trauma.

These intimations were then applied back onto the HP by Linda Fierz-David, a student of Jung, in her book *The Dream of Poliphilo: The Soul in Love*. Taking up Jung's concept of the *animus* and the *anima* as that latent quality which each gender desires in the other, Fierz-David reconceptualised the HP's love narrative as the male lover's pursuit of the *anima*, personified in his desire for the art objects he encounters (*cupiditas rerum novarum*) and ultimately for Polia as the personification of the *anima* itself. The second innovation of Fierz-David was to propose that the act of reading the HP was self-therapeutic. With regard to this functionality, 'the actual authorship of the book is a matter of complete indifference, because its general human import far outweighs what is personal in it'.⁴⁵ Jung and Fierz-David therefore constructed an elegant interpretive framework of the HP as a text not bound by authorial intent, which was read as an act of self-cultivation. This interpretation, profound as it is, remained speculative in the absence of evidence that early modern readers made use of the text in this manner.

That marginalia can be accepted as sound sources against which to check such proposed readings is the result of movements in the humanities over the course of the late-twentieth

⁴³ Efthymia Priki, 'Elucidating and Enigmatizing: The Reception of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in the Early Modern Period and in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries', *eSharp*, Issue 14: 'Imagination and Innovation' (2009), pp. 62-90. <<http://www.gla.ac.uk/esharp>> 1/31/14. To list all of these applications, which include cinema and contemporary literature, would expand this study beyond its present focus upon marginalia.

⁴⁴ Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*.

⁴⁵ Fierz-David, *The Dream of Poliphilo*, p. 6.

and early-twenty-first centuries which have foregrounded the physical qualities of texts, and justified the study of atypical and non-normative sources.

This study's approach to books as material artefacts and its examination of marginalia as physical traces of reading experiences are grounded in this transition, termed 'The Material Turn.'⁴⁶ In part, this focus on the physical instantiation of texts is a reaction against the perceived disembodiment or depersonalization of texts in an online age. In his introduction to the edited volume *Materiality*, David Miller acknowledges the traditional privileging of the transcendent over the material, and the social concern to vindicate the value of human beings as subjects over things. Yet, taken to excess, this can lead to a 'tyranny of the subject' in which the agency of objects is overlooked.⁴⁷ Artefacts are not only acted upon, but also influence their users. Even if inanimate, artefacts can be considered to possess a subjectivity of their own. With this in mind, questions which were previously the exclusive domain of literary critics can now be informed by insights derived from the fields of archaeology and material culture.

Although attention to the physical aspects of books dates back into the era of bibliographical connoisseurship, scholarship following the material turn has found useful signs in aspects of books which connoisseurship would disparage, such as vandalism, stains, marginalia, and other marks of use. A more archaeologically-informed approach sees in these marks of usage valuable evidence for the reception and application of these texts. The sub-discipline of the History of the Book has thus broadened into the study of 'Material Texts', and it is within this movement that this current study is situated.⁴⁸ Each physical text is considered a bearer of markings which can be extrapolated out into social history.

The re-evaluation and application of marginalia in printed books, on which this study is grounded, was brought into consideration as a method of validating reader's experiences as mediators between the HP itself and the art derived from it. This review will proceed with a survey of the reassessment and popularisation of marginalia as source material.

The study of side notes in books is by no means a new phenomenon, tracing back to the study of medieval biblical glossing as codified in the *Glossa ordinaria*.⁴⁹ The specific use of 'marginalia' to refer to notes in the margins of printed texts, which are not a part of a standard canon of glosses, was popularised Edgar Allan Poe's 1844 essay of the same title.

⁴⁶ Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce, eds., *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History, and the Material Turn* (London: Routledge, 2010).

⁴⁷ Daniel Miller, ed., *Materiality* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2005).

⁴⁸ As seen in the work of the Cambridge Centre for Material Texts <<http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/cmt/>> Accessed 27/06/2013.

⁴⁹ *Glossa ordinaria*, ed. by Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

Poe drew an initial distinction between ‘marginalia’ in the modern sense, and previous practices of note-taking and annotation.

This making of notes, however, is by no means the making of mere memoranda. The purely marginal jottings, done with no eye to the Memorandum Book, have a distinct complexion, and not only a distinct purpose, but none at all; this it is which imparts to them a value.⁵⁰

Poe expresses the value of this supposedly purposeless act as a quiet rebellion against the tedious functionality of Utilitarianism.

All this may be whim; it may be not only a very hackneyed, but a very idle practice; – yet I persist in it still; and it affords me pleasure; which is profit, in spite of Mr. Bentham, with Mr. Mill on his back’.⁵¹

Yet Poe also recognizes that simply because an act does not have a direct, purposeful outcome, as note-taking would, it does not mean that it cannot be of benefit. He frames the act of annotation as one which enables the reader to undertake free experimentation.

They [marginalia] have a rank somewhat above the chance and desultory comments of literary chit-chat....because the mind of the reader wishes to unburthen itself of a thought; - however flippant-however silly-however trivial-still a thought indeed, not merely a thing that might have been thought in time, and under more favorable circumstances. In the marginalia, too, we talk only to ourselves; we therefore talk freshly-boldly-originally-with abandonnement- without conceit.⁵²

Poe’s ‘flippant’ practice would wait a century and a half before being recognised as a serious scholarly pursuit. The return to marginalia was prefaced by recognition that accessory materials which surround a text itself – tables of contents, book jackets, paper inserts – have a significant effect on the reader. In *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Gérard Genette recognised that such ‘paratexts’ established horizons of expectation prior to the reading experience.⁵³

A pioneering project which set a model for studies of marginalia that would follow, including this one, was the initiative to gather and publish the marginalia of Samuel Taylor

⁵⁰ Edgar Allan Poe, ‘Marginalia’, in *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. by James A. Harrison, vol. XVI (New York: AMS, 1965) pp. 1-178; first published in the *Democratic Review*, November 1844.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Coleridge, which may be the largest corpus of annotations from a single hand in English.⁵⁴

The poet's daughter Sara Fricker-Coleridge wrote:

Indeed, he [Coleridge] seems ever at my ear, in his books, more especially his marginalia – speaking not personally to me, and yet in a way natural to my feelings that finds me so fully, and awakens such a strong echo in my mind and heart, that I seem more intimate with him now than I ever was in my life.⁵⁵

In initiating a study of marginalia on a large scale, the Coleridge Marginalia project flagged up the significant methodological challenges involved in comparative studies of large quantities of annotation, even from a single author. In the absence of a 'Coleridge Center', the project was hampered by the lack of an institutional infrastructure for organizing such a *collectaneum*. This project faces a similar obstacle in that there is not yet an established scholarly organization for the study of the HP which would facilitate such collaboration.

Even the definition of what constituted a valid 'marginalium' became a question. Would handwritten notes on materials other than printed books be considered? When found in books, should the notes be correlated to a standard edition of Coleridge, or presented as found? In cases where Coleridge annotated two copies of the same book, should the marginalia in both copies be reproduced? As the Coleridge marginalia project wrestled with such problematics, it raised critical concerns in the use of marginalia which shape the interpretive horizon of this same project.

For example, the laborious task of locating and transcribing pieces of annotation can, as Heather Jackson observes, result in 'the desire to put on display all the cul-de-sacs you had to explore before coming to a conclusion.'⁵⁶ This urge to present the yield of work can result in the temptation to present marginalia for the sheer fact that they have been located with effort, whether or not they directly inform the research question to hand. The result is an excess of detail at the expense of argument. Reflecting later on her learnings from the project, Jackson furthermore observes the several-times-'meta' nature of such an enterprise. 'There is', Jackson writes, 'on the fact of it, something inherently absurd about the business of annotating annotations which may themselves be notes to notes.'⁵⁷ Learning from the

⁵⁴ *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge: Marginalia Vols. I-VI Abbt. to Byfield*, ed. by George Whalley (Princeton-London: Princeton University Press-Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p. lviii.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. lviii-lix.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

⁵⁷ Heather J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2005), p. xiii.

experience of the Coleridge project, in an attempt to head off the risk of including detail for detail's sake, and to limit the easily-mushrooming quantity of annotation, this project has decided to limit and standardize its sample set to the 1499 edition, with one exception for an extraordinary copy of the 1545 in Chapter 6. A significant volume of annotated copies located in the census detailed in the following chapter have been left out of this thesis, in order to keep the study within manageable proportions.⁵⁸

The study of another prolific annotator, Gabriel Harvey, also pioneered a methodology for approaching a vast corpus of marginalia, this time from a non-canonical writer. In Jardine and Grafton's seminal article 'Studied for Action: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', they offer an approach to a figure whose marginalia may rival Coleridge's in size, but whose profile does not approach that of Coleridge. In fact, Harvey is primarily of interest in his capacity as an annotator. Jardine and Grafton demonstrate the scholarly validity of studying marginalia from non-central figures, as insights into the process of reading in a given era. They observe that Harvey's annotation records his process of gathering topics for composition, or *inventio*.⁵⁹

Growing recognition of the utility of marginalia resulted in a conference in 1988, out of which emerged a foundational collection of articles on the use of marginalia, *Annotation and its Texts*, edited by Stephen Barney.⁶⁰ Among the salient insights from this volume is a version of Grafton and Jardine's work on Harvey, where the observation is made that the trajectory of the use of marginalia is both 'centrifugal and mobile.' The annotator's references propel the scholar of marginalia out into the annotator's sources, which may result in any number of further tangential connections. Informed by the source material, and hopefully having not diverged on too far off course, the scholar returns to the text in a process which can be described as 'helical'.⁶¹ This mode of continuing oscillation has been an apt description of the experience of approaching the HP's annotators.

⁵⁸ This excised material includes a study of a copy in the Chapin Library at Williams College, Williamsburg MA, which has now been published (James Russell, 'The Annotated Copy of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* at the Chapin Library, Williams College, Inc. C699' in *The Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, 30.1 (April, 2013), pp. 9-13). There is also a prolifically-annotated copy in the Herman B. Wells Library of Lilly Library of the University of Indiana, shelfmark PQ4619 .C9.

⁵⁹ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, 'Studied for Action: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past and Present* 129.1 (1990), pp. 30-78.

⁶⁰ Stephen A. Barney, 'Introduction', in *Annotation and Its Texts* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. vii-xi.

⁶¹ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, 'Discitur ut agatur: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', in Barney, ed., *Annotation and its Texts*, p. 124. Note that this version is an earlier iteration of the Grafton and Jardine article discussed above.

The renewed appreciation of the significance of marginalia resulting from these studies led to a reassessment of cataloguing procedures. A collector's prejudice towards pristine copies had resulted in reader's marks being mentioned only in passing, if at all. A telling example of this omission is British Library's catalogue's record of Ben Jonson's 1545 HP at shelfmark C.60.o.12, featured in Chapter 6. Although this copy contains voluminous annotation by a canonical author, as well as another equally prolific hand with alchemical interests, the BL copy reads only 'Copious MS. notes' under the heading 'Works containing annotations by Ben Jonson'.⁶²

To rectify this situation, R.C. Alston compiled the first catalogue of books containing manuscript notes in the British library. Alston also observes the candidness of the evidence marginalia offers, as a legitimate source for the most intimate of the processes whereby the book 'has influenced thought.'⁶³

Grafton and Jardine's model of studying the marginalia of a single individual across a variety of books was applied to Ben Jonson himself by Robert C. Evans in *Habits of Mind: Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson's Reading*.⁶⁴ Evans took all material traces of Jonson's reading into account, moving beyond lexical marginalia to include underlining, highlighted passages, and manicules.

The aforementioned studies framed the practice of annotation as aimed at clarifying the text. In her *Margins and Marginality*, Evelyn Tribble challenged this assumption, noting that marginalia can act as a barricade between the text and the reader, protecting it from the assaults of the critic.⁶⁵ For example, a theological proposition which could foreseeably be misconstrued as heretical can be pre-emptively defended by affixing a marginal reference to a patristic source. Tribble offers a salutary warning that marginalia can be used to contain meaning as much as to elucidate it.

Though handwritten marginalia in printed books differ from the glossing tradition, William W.E. Sleights notes that they too can become standardized. In his *Managing*

⁶² British Library Catalogue, *La Hypnerotomachia di Poliphilo...* < [http://catalogue.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=moreTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=BLL01002948783&indx=1&recIds=BLL01002948783&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dsent=1&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BLCCONTENT%29&frbg=&tab=local_tab&dstmp=1391299735429&srt=rank&mode=Basic&vl\(488279563UI0\)=any&dum=true&tb=t&vl\(freeText0\)=hypnerotomachia%20poliphili%201545&vid=BLVU1](http://catalogue.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=moreTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=BLL01002948783&indx=1&recIds=BLL01002948783&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dsent=1&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BLCCONTENT%29&frbg=&tab=local_tab&dstmp=1391299735429&srt=rank&mode=Basic&vl(488279563UI0)=any&dum=true&tb=t&vl(freeText0)=hypnerotomachia%20poliphili%201545&vid=BLVU1) > Accessed 2-1-14.

⁶³ R. C. Alston, *Books with manuscript: a short title catalogue of books with manuscript notes in the British Library* (London: The British Library, 1994).

⁶⁴ Robert C. Evans, *Habits of Mind: Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson's Reading* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1995).

⁶⁵ Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, VA and London: The University Press of Virginia, 1993).

Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books, Sleights notes how recurring markings became crystallized as printed marginalia in subsequent editions, many of which performed the defensive function outlined by Tribble.⁶⁶ Although this study concentrates on handwritten marginalia, Sleights' book demonstrates the trajectory towards which the marginalia featured in this study were tending. When John Busbie published Robert Dallington's partial English translation of the HP in 1592, Busbie included printed marginalia explaining mythological references.

In addition to providing insight into modes of rhetoric and information gathering in the periods under examination, Mayers, Harris, and Mandelbrote observed that marginalia can serve as 'a vital clue to the reader's thought processes in the mysterious act of reading.'⁶⁷ In their *Owners, Annotators, and the Signs of Reading*, these scholars observe that marginalia give a view into a particularly intimate and personal interaction. So vital indeed are these sources that Mayers, Harris, and Mandelbrote suggest that the study of marginalia can be considered as more than an auxiliary science (*Hilfswissenschaft*) to the study of literature, but rather as a field in itself, such that 'the signs of reading themselves become the primary line of investigation'. Marginalia Studies could itself be codified as a discipline.

These steadily building threads burst onto the critical consciousness in Heather Jackson's bestselling *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (2005).⁶⁸ Though centering primarily on marginalia from the eighteenth century to the present day, Jackson offers an applicable model for reconstructing a reader's experience on the basis of what she presents as a series of impulsive pauses. Jackson observes that 'the writer of marginalia acts on the impulse to stop reading for long enough to record a comment. Why? Because it may be done or has been done; it is customary, but seldom required'. At times the motivation is for others, highlighting that reading and annotating is a social and not purely individual enterprise, with readers 'clarifying the text on behalf of the community of the lettered through the removal of all visual ambiguity'.⁶⁹

Attempts at disambiguation can therefore reveal much about what the reader envisioned the nature of the text as a whole to be. This approach has been applied to the current study, in that the profiles that have been drawn of individual readers place an emphasis upon the

⁶⁶ William W.E. Sleights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (University of Michigan Press, 2001).

⁶⁷ Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote, 'Introduction' in *Owners, Annotators, and the Signs of Reading* (London: Oak Knoll Press and the British Library 2005), p. vii.

⁶⁸ Heather J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2005).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

reader's conceptualization of the nature of the HP, whether as encyclopedia (Chapters 4 and 5) or alchemical allegory (Chapters 6 and 7).

Jackson also observes how the act of annotation cultivates mindful, 'self-conscious' readers. Those reading a book with a pen at the ready adopt a more active and reflective posture with regard to the texts than those readers who simply absorb books passively. Yet marginalia can trace momentary whims as well as tokens of conscious contemplation. Writing in books produces the paradoxical result of more guarded readers who at the same time are more likely to let their hidden or unconscious impulses slip through on the page. Either way, 'there is a net gain in abandoning the notion that marginalia are innocent and transparent: if we have to let go a pleasing illusion, we end up with more human drama and come closer to the truth besides.'⁷⁰

While Jackson demonstrates the insight marginalia offer into the psychology of late-early-modern individuals, William Sherman applies the study of individual annotations, gathered from disparate sources, as insights into early modern social history in his *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*.⁷¹ Sherman observes that the margins of books did not only consist of scholarly commentary, but of the ephemera of daily life, such as childrens' penmanship exercises and 'I owe you' notes.⁷²

Such is to be expected, for Sherman proposes that the predisposition to annotate is embedded in the early modern consciousness, being deliberately taught in schools. Even prior to educational conditioning, the impulse to take pen to paper may derive from even deeper, atavistic sources. As embodied beings, who spent more of our evolutionary process working with our hands than our minds, human beings have the inclination to make abstract information physically manipulable.

The social history of how readers manage information was also the concern of Ann M. Blair's *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age*.⁷³ Informed by our own age of overstimulation, Blair frames the study of marginalia as the history of how individuals systematize an excess of information, surveying early modern practices of note-taking, indexing, and commonplacing. The arrival of print and its ensuing

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 100.

⁷¹ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

⁷² For example, the copy of the 1592 Robert Dallington translation of the HP in the Harvard University Library contains such an 'I.O.U.' note. The copy may be viewed on EEBO at <
http://gateway.proquest.com.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24327377 >

⁷³ Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010)

mass-production of books exacerbated the problem of assimilating vast quantities of information. Where Jackson framed marginalia as informative but impulsive pauses, Blair presents them as a deliberate coping strategy. This led to a refinement of the practice of annotation, a ‘new attitude toward note-taking,’ in which notes were ‘treated less as temporary tools than as long-term ones, worthy of considerable investment of time and effort...valued as treasuries or storehouses.’⁷⁴ This degree of care is especially seen in the Siena copy (Chapter 9), with its painstakingly calligraphic marginalia offered as a compliment to the beauty of the printed text itself. As a result, one cannot be too quick to assume, with Jackson, that each annotation is a privileged glimpse into the reader’s subconscious. Blair also invites the reader to be more attentive towards systematicity in annotative practices. For example, the second hand in the BL copy composed an index on the flyleaf of references to Jupiter, a key figure in his alchemical schema.

The previous studies on which this thesis builds offered two broad models of approach to a wide body of annotation across a variety of texts. Some followed a single annotator across multiple texts, such as those of the Coleridge project, Grafton and Jardine, and Evans. Others surveyed a variety of hands across a wide volume of texts as sources for social history, such as those of Jackson, Sherman, and Blair. The annotations to the HP, composed by a small group of prolific annotators across multiple copies of the same text, lie at a midpoint between these two models.

For this reason, Alex Watson’s *Romantic Marginality: Nation and Empire on the Borders of the Page* has provided a further instructive model for this study.⁷⁵ Watson followed a small collection of annotators, as evidenced in individual copies, across a limited timeframe of late-eighteenth- to early-nineteenth-century Romantic literature. Rather than Jackson’s sites of exploration, or Tribble’s defensive barriers, Watson frames the margins of books themselves as ‘sites of conflict,’ where debates around British Imperial policy articulated themselves in the reflection of individuals upon their reading.

Informed by these prior models, this study set out to locate and analyze individual copies of the 1499 as evidence for readers’ reception and mediation of the text. As highlighted by Jackson’s description of the Coleridge project, the first challenge was to find them. The following methodological chapter will detail the process by which the census to find these copies was conducted, and the means of approaching each individual copy.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 63.

⁷⁵ Alex Watson, *Romantic Marginality: Nation and Empire on the Borders of the Page* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012).

Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and justify the means by which annotated copies were located, selected, analyzed, and interpreted. First, it will describe the rationale for conducting a world census of annotated copies of the 1499 edition. The procedure by which the census was conducted will then be presented, the categories into which copies have been divided defined, and the results tabulated. After identifying a corpus of prolifically-annotated copies, the chapter will discuss the rationale behind the selection of the copies included in this study, as opposed to others. With the working set of copies established, the chapter will explain the procedure for approaching each copy. This section will delimit the boundaries within which each text can be interpreted. The annotations contained in some of these texts are so voluminous that each could deserve a dissertation in its own right. The annotators also venture into subjects for which I did not have a sufficient background in order to offer informed comment, and for which obtaining an adequate briefing on each theme would have taken the preliminary research too far off course. With these limitations in mind, one must proceed with caution in considering to what extent this material can be plausibly interpreted.

Though the census located a greater number of prolifically-annotated copies than anticipated, copies bearing this degree of annotation remain a minority out of the total amount of surviving examples. A similar degree of reserve is necessary in drawing broad conclusions from such a limited body of evidence. The chapter will conclude with a survey of critical approaches and methodologies, among them Microhistory and object biography, which have been developed for drawing reasonable conclusions from fragmentary and anomalous evidence.

Census criteria

The search for additional annotated copies of the HP was prompted by the intimations, like those of Gingerich in *The Book Nobody Read*, that the few prolifically-annotated copies

already known were unlikely to be the only such copies in existence. The one annotated copy of *De revolutionibus* which Gingerich chanced upon in the Royal Observatory at Edinburgh set the astrophysicist on a lifelong search for other annotated copies of Copernicus. In a similar manner, the copies described by Fumagalli and Stichel could very well be the tip of the iceberg of a greater number of annotated copies. Acting on this tentative lead, I decided to undertake a world census of annotated copies of the HP. The objective of this census was to perceive how widespread the practice of annotating the HP was in the first two centuries following its publication. Was such annotation the idiosyncratic practice of isolated individuals, or part of a wider reception tradition?

In the midst of conducting this survey, I found that Neil Harris, who had previously written on typographical anomalies, was also in the course of conducting a complete census of the HP on the model of Gingerich.¹ Though the two censuses start from a comparable point of departure and are in some respects complementary, each project centers on a distinct aspect of the HP as artefact. Harris' survey centers on printing variants, this thesis on reader's response. He noted that of the eighty copies 'so far surveyed as of the date of correspondence', heavily annotated copies remain the 'exception to the rule'.² An observation of Harris' that significantly informs this project is that the 'bibliographic census' represents an important preliminary phase for investigations of this kind.³ Thus, this project is not without precedent, but rather is a modest contribution to an emerging genre of bibliographical reportage.

Before beginning such a census, it was necessary to define which instantiations of the HP I would survey. Between the first edition issued from the Aldine Press in 1499 and the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were no less than seven editions in three languages. Following the initial folio edition, Aldus' sons issued a second edition forty-six years later. Jean Martin translated the work into French, which was published with new woodcuts by Jacques Kerver in 1546, also in folio. Kerver issued two more French language editions, one in 1554 and another in 1561 with an introduction by Jacques Gohorry. One 'R.D.', presumed to be Sir Robert Dallington, made a partial English translation which was

¹ Harris, 'Rising quadrats'.

² Neil Harris, Personal Correspondence, 26/04/2012.

³ Neil Harris, 'Dall' esemplare 'ideale' all' esemplare 'reale': il caso del *De revolutionibus* di Copernico'. Paper presented at *Le opere dei filosofi e degli scienziati. Filosofia e scienza tra testo, libro e biblioteca*. Lecce, Università degli Studi del Salento, ex-Monastero Olivetani. February, 7-8 2007. Transcript provided through personal correspondence, 26/04/2012.

dedicated to the Earl of Essex and published by Simon Waterston in 1592.⁴ In 1600, Béroalde de Verville produced a French abridgement which presented the HP as an alchemical allegory, published by Guillemot.⁵ Another edition would not follow until 1804, when a ‘free translation’ was issued by J.G. Legrand.⁶ Any one of these seven editions might bear annotation with the potential to offer insight into the early modern reception and application of the HP.

Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499) 2°

La Hypnerotomachia di Poliphilo, cioè pugna d'amore in sogno (Venice: Figlioli di Aldo, 1545) 2°

Discours du Songe de Poliphile, déduisant comme Amour le combat a l'occasion de Polia.. trad. by Jean Martin. (Paris: Jacques Kerver, 1546) 2°

Discours du Songe de Poliphile. (Paris: Kerver, 1554) 2°

Discours du Songe de Poliphile, en plus des présentations dans les feuillets liminaires, il y a une notice de Jacques Gohorry (Paris: Kerver, 1561) 2°

The Strife of Love in a Dreame, trans. by ‘R.D.’ (London: Simon Waterston, 1592) 8°

Le Tableau des riches Inventions...dans le songe de Poliphile, trad. by Béroalde de Verville (Paris: Guillemot, 1600) 4^{to}

Out of these editions, the first was selected as the edition on which the census would be conducted. This edition was primarily selected since it is the only edition for which there already existed a world catalogue in the ISTC (Incunabula Short Title Catalogue). The ISTC offered an already-available list of libraries and other owners who could be contacted to inquire as to whether their copies contained marginalia. Though the ISTC is incomplete and contains some errors, as documented below, this Catalogue offers a more complete listing of extant copies than is available for other editions. Moreover, this first edition is the one on which the majority of scholarly attention to date has been concentrated. Facilitated by the secondary literature available on the 1499, this study offers the opportunity to model an approach to marginalia which could be applied to other editions in the future. Deriving all of the marginalia for this study from a single edition also offers an element of standardization. Since each annotator will be responding to the same *mise-en-page*, variations in readers’

⁴ Karl Josef Höltgen, ‘Sir Robert Dallington (1561-1637): Author, Traveler, and Pioneer of Taste’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 47.3 (1984), pp. 147-77; L.E. Semler, ‘Robert Dallington’s *Hypnerotomachia* and the Protestant Antiquity of Elizabethan England’, *Studies in Philology* 103.2 (2006), pp. 208-41.

⁵ N. Kenny, *The Palace of Secrets: Béroalde de Verville and Renaissance Conceptions of Knowledge* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

⁶ *Songe de Poliphile, traduction libre de l’italien*, ed. and trans. J.G. Legrand (Paris: Didot, 1804).

responses are less likely to be attributed to differences in layout between copies. This ‘control’ limits the variables that must be taken into account.

The first step taken to identify annotated copies, prior to contacting the holding institutions listed in the ISTC, was to search the catalogue entries for the HP as listed in the printed catalogues of major libraries,⁷ as well as those online.⁸ The records of Sotheby’s and Christie’s were also included.⁹ This approach did not yield many copies. As R.C. Alston observed, the lack of appreciation for the utility of marginalia, prior to the recuperation of the scholarly reputation of marginalia from the 1980’s onwards, resulted in their underreportage in catalogues.¹⁰ For example, the entry for the copy in El Escorial reports that it contains a ‘mark of reading’ by King Philip II on the errata sheet, and the correction of a well-known printing anomaly of ‘saneque’ vs. ‘sanequam’.¹¹ The Catalogue of the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester, for example, reported some seventeenth-century provenances.¹² These ownership inscriptions formed part of the bibliographical description of the text, and did not elaborate as to whether the owners left other traces of reading further on in a given copy. Moreover, some copies may have once contained marginalia that have since been washed, as was the case with the Williams College copy.¹³ Another problem preventing access to annotated copies is the fact that many online catalogues are simply digitizations of older catalogues, without emendation. Even as the scholarly esteem for marginalia has increased, catalogues have remained static.

⁷ Catalogues surveyed included Alan Coates, *A catalogue of books printed in the fifteenth century, now in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); William Smith Mitchell, *Catalogue of the incunabula in Aberdeen University Library* (Edinburgh, London: Oliver & Boyd, 1968); Dennis E. Rhodes, *A catalogue of incunabula in all the libraries of Oxford University outside the Bodleian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); Koichi Yukishima, *Incunabula in Japanese Libraries* (Tokyo: Yushodo, 2004); [anon.], *The Aldine Press: Catalogue of the Ahmanson-Murphy collection of books by or relating to the press in the Library of the University of California, Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Craig Kallendorf and Maria X. Wells, *Aldine Press Books at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin : a descriptive catalog* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); James Edward Walsh, *A catalogue of fifteenth-century printed books in the Harvard University Library* (Tempe: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991-97).

⁸ Among major library catalogues surveyed in this this initial survey are The British Library Public Catalogue < <http://catalogue.bl.uk> > Accessed 7/3/2013; The Library of Congress <http://catalog.loc.gov> Accessed 7/3/2013; Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial < <http://rbme.patrimonionacional.es/Busqueda-en-Catalogo.aspx> > Accessed 7/3/2013; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Catalogo Stampati < <http://opac.vatlib.it/iguana/www.main.cls?sUrl=homePRINT> > Accessed 7/3/2013.

⁹ Sotheby’s < <http://www.sothebys.com> > Accessed 7/3/2013; Christie’s < <http://www.christies.com> > Accessed 7/3/2013.

¹⁰ Alston, *Books with manuscript*.

¹¹ ‘marca de lectura’. For the question of ‘saneque’ vs. ‘sanequam’, see Harris, ‘Rising quadrats’, pp. 160-1.

¹² <http://catalogue.library.manchester.ac.uk/> Accessed 03/07/2013.

¹³ This copy was omitted from the present study for reasons of space. See Russell, ‘The Annotated Copy of *Hyperotomachia Poliphili* in the Chapin Library’.

The paucity of catalogue records did not correlate with the extensive annotation reported by Fumagalli and Stichel. A brief survey was therefore sent to every institution for which a publicly available email address could be located. It asked the following questions:

- Does the library still hold the copy listed in the ISTC?
- If so, does the copy contain marginalia or other manuscript paratextual material?
- What is the volume of the marginalia?
- How are the notes distributed across the leaves?
- Is it possible to view or order a facsimile?

Most librarians graciously responded to these requests, to whose help this study is indebted.¹⁴ At the time of the census, three were on exhibition and could not be examined.¹⁵ Some copies have been deaccessioned from the collections of their current ISTC-listed owners. I have made reasonable steps to track the movements of these copies and, when possible, to send the survey to their current owners.¹⁶ The availability of librarians to respond to these queries also limited the outcome of the census. Some libraries simply responded that they do not offer a public enquiry service. Two institutions reported that their specialist librarian were absent at the time of contact.¹⁷ One library requested that I hire paid researchers to conduct the study, which was beyond the budget for this project.¹⁸

Where an electronic facsimile could be made available for online viewing, or ordered inexpensively, I evaluated the copy myself. In each other cases, I relied upon the assessments given by librarians. The report below differentiates between those descriptions that are the result of my own observation, and those which are due to secondhand reportage. Some librarians, remarkable in their generosity of time, listed and in some cases transcribed marginalia folio by folio. Others offered more general, but nonetheless immensely helpful responses.

In order to quantify the volume of annotation, I developed the following taxonomy. Each copy which could be examined was classified according to the following rubric.

¹⁴ A few libraries responded that they did not offer such a service. For reasons of efficiency, I refrained from writing to those institutions which could not be contacted electronically. Though some effort was made to locate the listed private collectors, extraordinary means were not undertaken to do so.

¹⁵ University of Glasgow – Hunterian, Victoria & Albert Museum, National Art Library.

¹⁶ For example, the Ashmolean copy has been moved to the Sackler library. The copy in the Carl H. Pforzheimer library has been moved to the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre. I was notified in person during my visit to the BAV that three of the Vatican's six listed copies have been deaccessioned.

¹⁷ Berkeley University Library, Ulster University Library.

¹⁸ The University of California at Berkeley.

Prolifically Annotated Copies (Category 4)

These are those copies which feature a continual and sustained engagement with the text, as attested by marginalia in one or more hands. Annotation is pervasive and consistent through at least a quarter of the text, though it may taper off as it approaches the end. There are often multiple pieces of annotation on a single leaf. A multiplicity of modes of response is present, which may include emendations to the text, identification of the author's sources, and diagrams. The annotator's responses exhibit an overall programme or scheme of annotation, beyond simply impromptu responses. All of the copies featured in this thesis fall into this category.

Moderate Annotation (Category 3)

In these copies, marginalia are present in less than a quarter of the leaves. There is a single significant hand, and if other hands are present, they are restricted to ownership inscriptions, errata corrections, and similar incidental marks. The annotator has one topic of primary interest, such as the identification of the etymological roots of words. Manuscript illustrations or modifications to the woodcuts are infrequent to non-existent. The Williams College copy is representative of this category.

Lightly Annotated Copies (Category 2)

Copies in this category contain only a scattering of notes. Only single hand is present. There is no evidence of a deliberate campaign of annotation or overall interpretive framework. Those marginalia which do appear, whether visual or lexical, appear to be impulsive or impromptu responses. The copy at the Lilly Library of the University of Indiana, in which Marinist poet Francesco Pona comically drew phalli onto some of the figures in the woodcuts, is representative of this category.

Incidental Annotation (Category 1)

These are copies which contain manuscript material which may be of scholarly interest, but which are too limited to be characterized as 'marginalia'. These materials include ex libris and presentation inscriptions. The copy in the John Rylands Library in Manchester would be an example of this category, containing the ownership inscriptions of a series of French aristocrats, but with no recorded response to the text.

No Annotation (Category 0)

Copies in this category contain no traces of reader engagement with the text. If handwritten marks are present, these are restricted to modern shelfmarks and pen trials.

The quantity of copies located in each of the above categories may not necessarily be representative of how widespread was the practice of annotation in the early modern period. This uncertainty is due to the probability of annotation itself affecting whether or not a text is likely to have survived to the present day. The presence of marginalia has the potential to affect whether or not a text will survive both positively and negatively.

A copy bearing the hand of a noted author is likely to ensure the book's survival, as it would make the copy an association copy, with Jonson's BL copy being a prime example. Marginalia that are aesthetically pleasing, and which would thus not detract from the visual appeal of the book in the eyes of early collectors, would also enhance a book's likelihood of survival.

On the other hand, prolific annotation is a sign of heavy usage, and consequently greater wear and damage to the text. As annotation led to a depreciation in value in the eyes of early bibliophiles, such a copy would be less likely to survive. Marginalia would invite washing, resulting in further damage and consequent depreciation. These factors in survival, both positive and negative, distort the reliability of this sample as an entirely accurate representation of the proliferation of annotation in the period.

This study has placed these copies, unnumbered in the ISTC, into a numbered list for purposes of reference. The ISTC lists 277 distinct copies in total. Two of these copies are listed as destroyed (#39, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, and #40, the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Tournai). Some of these entries were determined to be duplicates. The librarian of the National Library at Prague (#263) informed me that the copy listed as theirs is in fact in the collection of Kynžvart Castle (#258), which already has its own ISTC entry. The copy listed as belonging to the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library at the University of Texas at Austin (#184) has been absorbed into the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the same University, yet the listing remains. The ISTC also records a copy in the private ownership of this same Carl H. Pforzheimer, through the Carl and Lilly Pforzheimer Foundation (#248). It is presumed that this copy was sold to the aforementioned collection and absorbed into the Harry Ransom Center, though a duplicate entry remains. Another case in which a sale can be inferred, from which it can be presumed that the entry is a duplicate, is the copy owned by the Estate of C. Templeton Crocker (#236). The Stanford University Catalogue records a copy deriving from the estate of C. Templeton Crocker (#239), so a reasonable inference can be

made that the Crocker copy passed to Stanford, although Stanford did not respond to my request to confirm this fact.

Ghost copies are also present in the ISTC. The Harry Ransom Center is listed as holding three copies (#181, 182, 183), however the library’s response to my request for information mentioned two. Similarly, the catalogue lists the Chatsworth Library (#17, 18) as holding two copies, yet the librarian’s response mentioned only one.

Errors in the ISTC listing were also identified. The Fundación Bartholomé March in Madrid (#165) stated that their collection held no incunabula, and if they ever had held such a copy, their founder-collector would have deaccessioned it long ago. Likewise, the copy listed for the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia (#199) is in error, since all of UVA’s rare books are held in the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library (#200, 201).¹⁹

Three non-ISTC listed copies came to be included in this list. The copy on which this study was founded is the copy studied by Stichel at Modena, which I have added to the list as (#114). Examinations of library catalogues also turned up two additional copies which evaded the ISTC, the copy in the Wellcome Collection in London (#25) and in the Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina in Rome (#140). There therefore exist 270 copies in the world known to be extant. It is out of this total that percentages will be calculated.

Status	Count of Status
Destroyed	2
Error in ISTC	2
Ghost	6
Known surviving copy per ISTC	267
Previously unknown, discovered by author	3
Grand Total	280
Extant Copies	270

Having established the total number of known copies, the following table details the response rate to the survey. The unit of measurement is the individual copy, rather than the holding

¹⁹ The ISTC continues to list these copies as being held at the McGreggo Library, however the McGregor Library was absorbed into the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library in 2004.

institution. The numbers report the quantity of copies for which information has been obtained, rather than the number of owners contacted or individual pieces of correspondence received. Out of the 270 extant copies, I have received information about 168 copies, whether from a librarian's report or by my own observations. The table also reports the number of institutions which have been contacted, but from which no response has been received. The 70 owners not yet contacted include those without a public email address. The 'Uncontactable' column includes those private owners listed in the ISTC for which I was unable to obtain contact information.

Contacted and Copy Viewed or Response Received	158
Contacted, No Response Received	27
Not yet contacted	70
Uncontactable	13
Destroyed	2
Total	270

The next table lists the means by which information was obtained from the 158 copies (56% of the total extant) which were observed, reporting the means of observation, whether in-person, in facsimile, or by a librarian's report. There are also owners who did respond to the census, but who, for various reasons, were unable to provide information at the time of request. For example, the copy in the Hunterian Library at the University of Glasgow (#21) was on display at the time of request. The Bancroft Library at the University of California requested fees for their inquiry service, which were beyond the budget of this study (#187, 188). The absence of a special collections librarian equipped to answer the question also prevented some responses (#211, Milwaukee Public Library, Department of Prints). Situations such as these are recorded as 'Question Unresolved.' The 'facsimile' column includes both full facsimiles provided by the library, and partial facsimiles viewed online. Since some facsimiles were incomplete, marginalia may have been missed.

1 st person examination, in person	8
1 st person examination, in facsimile	22
Reports received secondhand	120
Questions unresolved	8

Following this census, the table below then presents the results of the survey as a percentage of the total known extant copies. Those copies which are known to be extant, but for which information could not be obtained, are recorded as ‘Unknown’. Two institutions mentioned anecdotally that their copies contained marginalia, but that the appropriate librarian was not present to assess the volume of annotation. These are recorded as ‘Present’.

Quantity of Annotation	Number of responding copies	Percentage (of 270)
Prolific (4)	13	4%
Moderate (3)	21	7%
Light (2)	47	17%
Incidental (1)	8	2%
Present	2	0.07%
None (0)	66	24%
Unknown	121	44%

Therefore, out of the total extant copies, 91, or 33%, bear annotation, a full third of the total corpus. On the basis of reported copies, it is a reasonable assumption that there are additional annotated copies present among the 121 unknown copies. Even as annotation is shown to be more widespread, the prolifically annotated copies remain the exception to the rule, constituting only 4% of the known corpus, less than one in twenty extant copies. However,

when those readers who did adopt the practice of annotation are considered as a group in themselves, prolific annotation becomes slightly less exceptional.

Quantity of Annotation	Number of copies	Percentage (of 91)
Prolific (4)	13	14%
Moderate (3)	21	23%
Light (2)	47	51%
Incidental (1)	8	8%
Present	2	2%

The results of the census generated similar surprising conclusions to those of Gingerich. Even if those copies containing annotation are assumed to represent even a portion of readers, the HP was indeed read both widely and extensively. Moreover, of those readers who did take pen to paper, a considerably number employed their copies as a space for extensive reflection. Instead of merely being viewed as an art object, the HP was a text in which readers engaged extensively with both word and image. Instead of serving as filler between woodcuts, the text of the novel itself was a matter of great interest to readers.

Though the census demonstrated that the practice was pervasive, on later reassessment the phrasing of the survey left out the description of some key features. Demonstrating that readers did annotate is one question; showing that they did so persistently is another matter. The distribution of marginalia remains uncertain for a number of copies for which I received secondhand reports, or which I viewed in partial facsimile. It is possible that a number of readers began to mark up their copies, but later on abandoned the effort. Some modern owners, generously and unprompted, offered detailed leaf by leaf descriptions of marginalia (#271, The Hiroshima University of Economics). Others sent remarks upon the volume, but not the distribution of the marginalia. This census therefore reports readers' initiative more than their endurance.

The demonstration that there was a broad base of casual annotations also does not explain the exceptional quality of the prolifically-annotated copies. The reasons as why these certain readers would have gone beyond standard note-taking to such a profound level of interaction with their texts will be discussed in the chapters treating individual copies.

Marginalia recorded in extant copies may also be an insufficient representation of pen-and-ink engagement with the HP's content. It is entirely possible that some of the 'activity book'-style readings discussed in the introduction may have been conducted upon separate sheets or in commonplace books, now lost, rather than in the margins of their copies. This study did not locate any commonplace books bearing clear instances of copying from the HP. However, the elegant and planned nature of the marginalia in the Siena copy suggests that at least some of these notes were first drafted on separate sheets, before being re-transcribed into the copy. The marginalia of Siena exhibit a polished, refined quality, and do not appear to be the impulsive responses of a moment.

Selection Criteria

Following the census, this project's initial problem of scarcity became one of overabundance. Where catalogue searches had turned up few copies, a total of 34 prolifically- and moderately-annotated copies have come to light. This quantity of annotation necessitated difficult choices as to which copies to include in the study. Here I will discuss the reasons for selecting the six prolifically-annotated copies featured in the following chapters, as opposed to others.

Volume of annotation was the first factor taken into consideration as to which copies should be included. When sources are limited, the most content-rich ones are to be examined first. This approach does run the risk of privileging the exceptional, or mistakenly framing unusual copies as normative. To allocate to each of the thirteen known prolifically-annotated copy its own chapter would have expanded this thesis beyond workable proportions. Among the purposes of this study is establishing a model for approaches to prolifically-annotated copies of the HP, with the aim of instigating further scholarship into additional copies. Being a preliminary study, this study aimed to include a variety of modes of annotation. Through representing a breadth of responses, this study builds up a base of reference with which to apply to future, more concentrated studies of individual copies.

The Modena and Como copies were included as a pair because they are, it is argued here, annotated by a pair of brothers. The British Library and BL copies also constitute a pair, not because they have a common origin, but because their annotators both interpret the HP within an alchemical framework.

The BL and BAV copies were also chosen for the prominence of their annotators, Ben Jonson and Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi). Though the fame of these individuals is certainly a factor in their selection, the wide body of secondary literature which is available to contextualize their personalities, and the opportunity to contribute to ongoing scholarship around them both, made these copies more relevant to discourses already in progress.

Logistical and budgetary limitations also constrained the choice of copies. As a researcher based at Durham University in the North East of England, with a home in Massachusetts, the copies which I could view in person were limited to those in the United Kingdom, the North East USA, and in Italy.²⁰ This precluded the viewing of copies in other locations, such as the copy in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin mentioned by Fumagalli. All other copies were viewed in facsimile.²¹ Since responses to the census arrived intermittently, I became aware of one prolifically-annotated copy, that of the Lilly Library at the University of Indiana, at too late a date to offer it a comprehensive treatment.

Methods of Approach to Individual Copies

Having identified a set of prolifically-annotated and accessible copies, it was necessary to approach each copy in a consistent manner in order to extract data which can be compared. Given that this study aims to encompass multiple copies, to produce a full transcription, or anything approaching an 'edition' of the marginalia of a given copy would not have been feasible. A standardized format and markup language for the transcription of marginalia in printed books and their correlation with printed content has yet to be developed. This study's methods of transcription may not necessarily then correlate with those produced by other scholars. Since annotators differed significantly in their interest, an overly rigid approach could obscure distinctive and idiosyncratic qualities of each copy. With these concerns in mind, for each copy I approached the text in a manner that mapped comparable sections, while remaining responsive to each copy's distinct characteristics. The approach to each copy was as follows.

On approaching a new copy, without the benefit of prior scholarship, I would first survey the entire book in order to obtain an overview of the distribution of marginalia. I noted

²⁰ Research in Italy was sponsored by a generous grant from the Caedmon/Coelfrith Trust of the College of St. Hild & St. Bede, Durham University.

²¹ The purchase of facsimiles was supported by a generous grant from the School of Modern Languages and Cultures, Durham University.

clusters of annotation, and particular areas on which the annotator(s) concentrated their attention, if immediately visible. When such clusters were observable, I read the surrounding printed text, in order to make an initial inferences into the annotator's possible thematic interests. If there were multiple annotators, I attempted to distinguish the distinctive *ductus* of each individual hand, and to order the hands chronologically by examining points where one hand wrote over another. As this process was ongoing, I also took note of general bibliographical features with the potential to impact upon annotator's responses, including missing leaves or woodcuts.

As noted in the introduction, research on marginalia is constantly centrifugal, exerting an almost inexorable force on the researcher to wander off into contextualization. For this reason, I instituted a single rigid control on all copies. In order to provide a single ground for comparison across all copies, I rigorously transcribed all marginalia from the first leaf through the Panton Tokadi woodcut (e1r). Since annotators' energy for their task is consistently strongest in the opening folios, these offered the richest clusters for comparison, and if there was a programmatic purpose behind their annotative schema, this was also more likely to be apparent in the opening folios. These transcriptions provided a rich but manageable set of data for comparison, and a means to compare a set of responses across an extended block of consistent text, which is greater in size than a single episode or encounter in the narrative.

If an overall thematic concern was evident, such as *Naturalis historia* in the case of the Como copy, or alchemy for the BL copy, I undertook a secondary source reading campaign in order to gain adequate background knowledge in order to contextualize specialist discourse. Drawing on Clifford Geertz' concept of 'thick description', I strove to obtain as pervasive a contextualisation as possible in order to derive the most interpretive value from each case study.²²

With a broad if thin understanding in place, I then compared the annotators' observations with those of standard modern commentators (P&C and A&G), with special attention to places where the modern and early modern readers differ or concur. In some places, the annotator derives a different conclusion with regard to a given textual challenge than that of modern scholars. In a few remarkable occasions, early modern annotators solved dilemmas, such as the problem of identifying the 'Moses' Ethiopian Woman' (Chapter 4, pp. 95-96),

²² Clifford Geertz, 'Thick description: towards an interpretive theory of culture', in Id., *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London: Hutchison, 1973), pp. 3-30.

that eluded even the most erudite scholars of our age. When placed together, modern and Renaissance readers can be fused into a joint apparatus criticus.

The assessment of marginalia is primarily qualitative in nature, however I did enumerate categories in some chapters. For example, in the BAV Copy (Chapter 8) I record the frequency with which Fabio Chigi utilized rhetorical terms such as *dichiarazione*.

Following a close analysis of folios a1r-e1r, I made note of any outstanding features which may have been evident in later leaves. As a final stage in the analysis, I made note of any manuscript modifications that the reader may have added to the woodcut, such as attaching labels or shading to the image.

Methodological Issues in Evaluation

The prolifically annotated texts in this study provide a sumptuously rich record of individual reading experiences. Featuring, of necessity, only a portion of the outstanding marginalia in each copy, each chapter is an invitation to future studies of individual copies. In this respect, each chapter makes a modest contribution to knowledge in improving the bibliographical description of each individual artefact.

A comparative study nonetheless aims to move beyond the improved documentation of individual items, to extract broader inferences into contemporary reading practices. Thus this study has adduced a new model for describing those readers who marked up their copies of the HP prolifically: namely, that they responded to the distinct cluster of qualities present in the HP (a repertoire of humanistic commonplaces, arranged within the freedom of a dream space) to gather material for composition (*inventio*) and to refine their intellectual acuity (*ingegno*) in doing so.

This model is, it must be conceded, based upon a limited grouping of anomalous copies. One might justifiably question whether this limited and heterogeneous data set provides enough source material on which to base broader conclusions. There are six copies featured, and these representing a variety of interests. If all six copies featured annotators concerned with a single theme, such as botany, then the small size of the sample set would be slightly offset by the homogeneity of the content. The researcher then faces a dilemma comparable to that of archaeologists who encounter fragmentary evidence. How is a researcher to proceed when one encounters material that is too rich of a source to go unmentioned, but whose limited quantity precludes a statistically-grounded analysis? Methodologies for approaching

the challenge of how to draw conclusions from fragmentary evidence, and establishing the interpretive boundaries for conclusions drawn from such a basis, have been developed in archaeology and the social sciences. Being a study concerned with the behaviour of individuals and the study of artefacts, the translation of approaches from these fields across disciplinary boundaries is not untoward. These, which will be discussed in turn, are the case study method, Microhistory, and object biography.

Since there is a limited quantity of material from which to proceed inductively, reasoning with regard to these copies must therefore be abductive, attempting to infer the best possible explanation based on the evidence to hand, however limited.²³ Abductive reasoning by its nature admits a multiplicity of plausible explanations, which would need to await a larger data set in order to become more firmly grounded. These would consist of further studies of additional annotated copies of the HP in order to build up a larger corpus of marginalia. Such studies would, in method, be following the prompt which instigated this study. As this thesis began by attempting to ground proposed readings, such as those of Lefavre and Fierz-David in readers' annotations, future studies, it is hoped, will verify the more speculative conclusions of this thesis against the evidence of future readers.

As well as a study of books, this thesis is a study of annotators, a geographically dispersed gathering of individuals who adopted similar practices. In this respect, this study is not entirely dissimilar from a study in ethnography. Sociological approaches acknowledge that the web of social interaction is too vast, and at times, invisible, to quantify all of the variables involved. That discipline has therefore pioneered the model of the case study, or small-scale ethnography. By detailing a select group, the sociologist develops a documented point of reference within this invisible network, with which future studies can be compared. Informed by this model, this study has framed the analysis each copy as a case study of a practice, which together constitute a collective case study of this mode of annotation.

Case studies serve to open conceptual territory for future explorations, in a manner which Robert K. Yin compares to 'scouting expeditions'.²⁴ Ensuing studies may then employ more quantitative methods of analysis. This thesis has demonstrated that there are more annotated copies of the HP than expected, and has delineated a field with potential for future inquiry. Even prior to undertaking future broader-based studies, a case study can be made more rigorous through extensive contextualization. The analogy between this practice and the

²³ Yemima Ben-Menahem, 'The Inference to the Best Explanation', *Erkenntnis* 33.3 (Nov. 1990), pp. 319-344; 'Abduction', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* < <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/abduction> > Published March 9, 2011, Accessed 7/12/2013.

²⁴ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Method* (London: SAGE, 2008, 4th edn).

study material texts has already been drawn by Clifford Geertz, who remarked that ‘doing ethnography is like trying to read (“in the sense of construct a meaning of”) a manuscript – foreign, faced, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries’.²⁵ Geertz made this analogy in the context of his own method of casework, which employed a deep contextualization, which he termed ‘thick description’, of highly specific phenomena in order to make inferences into otherwise obscure social details. Through studying an unusual phenomenon (in Geertz’ case, a cock fight in Bali), he was able to read out into the broader norms and values of the society in which that event took place. Geertz’ method informed my own, in deciding to focus on the extensive description of one grouping of folios (a1r-e1r) as informative of annotation elsewhere, rather than attempting a complete transcription of each copy.

‘Thick description’ is effective, indeed at times the only way to proceed, when anomalous or fragmentary records are all that remains of an otherwise clandestine or obscure practice. In attempting to reconstruct the history of heterodox believers in early modern Italy, Carlo Ginzburg was faced with the problem of the paucity of records which have survived from these otherwise circumscribed practices. Those which did remain were scattered references in inquisitorial records, limited accounts from a hostile sources. Faced with insufficient records dispersed through regional Italian archives rather than gathered in national libraries, Ginzburg developed an approach he termed ‘Microhistory’, or the exhaustive study and contextualization of those few remnants of an obscure practice which have managed to survive. In his essay ‘The Dovecote has opened its eyes’, Ginzburg offers an apt metaphor for such an approach. If one could only view an edifice through its most insignificant feature, one could still obtain a wide vantage point which would otherwise be inaccessible.²⁶ Microhistory is distinct from local history or antiquarianism with regard to the inferences it draws from records. Rather than examining anomalies in themselves, they are interpreted to be privileged glimpses into otherwise obscure practices and discourses.

As Gingerich’s *The Book Nobody Read* serves as the model for this study as a whole, Carlo Ginzburg’s *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*²⁷ offers an illustrative model for its approach to individual annotated copies. Through the careful comparison and contextualization of recorded testimonies in the inquisitorial trial of a

²⁵ Geertz, ‘Thick description’, p. 10.

²⁶ Carlo Ginzburg and Marco Ferrari, ‘La colombara ha aperto gli occhi’, *Quaderni Storici* 38 (1978), pp. 631-39.

²⁷ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

miller named Menocchio, Ginzburg was able to reconstruct a heterodox spiritual system and cosmology which would otherwise be unattested. Likewise, the focused study of marginal annotation to an exceptional book has offered views into individual practices of humanistic scholarship, the use of Pliny, and even into alchemical laboratory procedure, which would otherwise be obscure.

As the microhistorical approach exploited the biography of Menocchio as a glimpse into his heretical network, other scholars have realized that a heavily-contextualized ‘biographical’ model can also be applied to artefacts. Through tracing the provenance, usage, and ownership of an artefact, its ‘object biography’, one can gain insight into the practices of the human agents who made use of that object. Arjun Appadurai articulated this approach in *The Social Life of Things*.²⁸ Appadurai noted that artefacts not only bear traces of the social situations within which they circulated, but also exercise a ‘subjectivity’ of their own. To apply this method to the HP, one can consider both the manner in which marginalia provide a record of ownership and usage, and also how the distinctive structure of the HP invited such annotation.²⁹

In employing an object-biographical approach, this study builds upon a recent precedent in applying this method to the study of Renaissance material culture in circulation. Olson, Reilly, and Shepherd have used object biography as a corollary to the biographical study of Renaissance individuals, tracing the movement of personal effects such as courtesans’ jewellery and toothpicks on their journeys through early modern Italian society as a means of mapping social networks. Their volume incidentally contains the first mention of the HP with regard to object biography, in a mention of a *cassone* chest found in one of its woodcuts.³⁰ O’Malley and Welch have expanded this approach from the tracking of single objects to examining the widespread circulation of consumer commodities, reconceptualizing Renaissance Venice as a consumer culture comparable to that of the present.³¹

This study’s approach to the limited quantity of prolifically-annotated copies located in the census is informed by a synthesis of these three approaches. Object biography draws

²⁸ Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

²⁹ This is a concept that has gained some popular currency. The Director of the British Museum, Neil MacGregor, has presented a BBC Radio 4 series and podcast entitled ‘A History of the World in 100 Objects.’ <http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/a_history_of_the_world.aspx> Accessed 27/06/2013.

³⁰ Roberta J.M. Olson, Patricia L. Reilly, Rupert Shepherd, *The Biography of the Object in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

³¹ Michelle O’Malley and Evelyn S. Welch, eds., *The Material Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010). See also Evelyn S. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy: 1400-1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

attention to the importance of provenance and circulation, as attested by marginal annotation. Microhistory valorizes the study of marginalia related to personal or non-public practices, from practices of commonplacing to laboratory procedure, as views into processes which would otherwise be unattested. Geertz's 'thick description' illuminates marginalia by providing as much contextual information as can be found; which in turn makes each marginalium a point of origin for broader inferences into the lives of these annotators. The following chapter offers a first application of this combined approach to a copy owned by the Franco Cosimo Panini Estate in Modena.

Modena – The F.C. Panini Estate

The studies of annotated copies conducted by Dorothea Stichel and Edoardo Fumagalli provided the inspiration and model for the further case studies which make up this dissertation.¹ Through foregrounding the utility of readers' notes, both studies presented a novel approach to the HP. Stichel and Fumagalli's model, that of reconstructing the concept held by a given reader of the nature of this unusual text from the notes they have left behind, has been applied to the additional copies located in the census.

For the first study of an individual copy in this dissertation, I returned to the Modena copy first studied by Stichel. The intent of this chapter is to continue the lines of inquiry begun by Stichel, with the benefit of the broader context obtained through the study of other copies. Through the grace of the Franco Cosimo Panini estate, I have had the opportunity to make a close examination of this copy in person.

Two hands are identified in Stichel's article – a primary hand, and a previous hand who solely made corrections from the errata corrige. Given that the copy passed through the collections of Giovanni Battista (or 'Giambattista') Giovio (1748-1815), she proposes that the hand is one of his 'illustrious ancestors', most notable among whom are the humanists Benedetto (1471-1545) and Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), yet Stichel noted that there was insufficient evidence for a firm attribution at that time. With the benefit of comparison with the associated copy at Como, this project has brought to light additional evidence that the primary hand in Modena is indeed that of Benedetto Giovio. Furthermore, the marginalia which appeared to Stichel to be the product of a single primary hand, are likely to be the product of two brothers, on account of references to books on medical themes, of interest to Paolo, which were published after Benedetto's death.

A footnote to Stichel's article references a related copy in Como, which also derives from the collection of Giambattista. Examining this copy in comparison with Modena has made it possible to reconfirm Stichel's attribution, indicating that the copies at Como and at Modena both bear the hand of Benedetto Giovio. Also evident in both copies is the centrality of Pliny

¹ Dorothea Stichel, 'Reading the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in the Cinquecento: Marginal Notes in a Copy at Modena', in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. David S. Zeidger (Florence: Olschki, 1994), pp. 217-236. Hereafter 'Stichel'.

the Elder in both Benedetto and Paolo's approach to the text. This is most likely due to Pliny's own origins in Como, which foregrounded the author the *Naturalis historia* in the minds of the sons of that town. The present chapter will present the case for proximity and feature the annotators' reference to Pliny specifically with regard to Greek etymology. The brothers concentrated their attentions in the Modena copy on a more varied collection of topics than Como, tending towards the grammatical and the musical. The following chapter will use the Como copy as an occasion to explore the annotators' own conceptual framing of the HP as an encyclopedic text on the model of Pliny's encyclopedia. The *Naturalis historia* is nonetheless a text frequently cited throughout Modena. The distinction lies in the purposes to which Pliny's work is applied. In Modena, the *Naturalis historia* is one of a number of texts mined as etymological sources. By contrast, in Como the *Naturalis historia* forms the governing and structuring framework for the annotation.²

From the notes on the page, Stichel inferred a reader with interests in the etymology of Poliphilesque words of Greek origin, in music theory, and in *Naturalis historia*, with a particular emphasis on *res herbaria*. Through documenting additional examples of the annotator's interests from each of these categories, this chapter further fleshes out the readers' profiles. These annotations will be considered in the light of the attribution to Benedetto, and the insights which this proposed attribution may offer.

Stichel also remarked upon the degree to which these notes echo those of the contemporary commentators Pozzi and Ciapponi, and Ariani and Gabriele. In response to some passages, the sixteenth- and the twentieth-century commentators come to similar conclusions, but not in every case. There are places where the annotator proposes a resolution to a textual dilemma which differs from those of P&C and A&G, or even solves a problem which eluded modern scholars. When read side by side, commentaries from the Cinquecento and the twentieth century contribute towards a more cohesive critical apparatus. The intent of this chapter is not to provide an exhaustive synthesis of these three commentaries, but to draw attention to how a combination of early modern and modern critical apparatus can inform scholarship. For this reason, I will only quote from one or both of the modern commentaries in those cases in which there is disagreement between the commentators, or in places where the Giovio brothers have caught a feature which escaped the modern critical apparatus. In each such situation, I will follow the pattern of listing P&C,

² Both Pliny the Elder and the Younger have their origins in Como. As this chapter and the following refer only to the *Naturalis historia*, all uses of the name 'Pliny' refer to the Elder. The *Naturalis historia* will be presented with its English title, and abbreviated.

followed by A&G if applicable, except for a few instances in which I seek to accentuate Benedetto's prescience.

Bibliographic Description

This copy is currently in the private possession of Franco Cosimo Panini Editore. The copy has previously come before the public eye, figuring in two exhibitions on the quinquecentennial of the HP's publication. The Modena HP was displayed at a study day at the Marciana Library in Venice entitled 'Il Progetto. Il Poliphilo di Aldo Manuzio 1499/1999'.³ In December of the same year, the Biblioteca Estense di Modena displayed this HP copy as part of an exhibition on Alberto Pio III of Carpi, for whose sons the young Aldus Manutius acted as tutor.⁴ The copy is largely complete. Three leaves are lacking: the 4th, the 229th, and the final leaf which bears the colophon and errata corrige, as recorded in an anonymous note in English on the back board.⁵ Though this most commonly excised leaf is remaining, the likewise oft-removed Sacrifice to Priapus leaf has stayed in place. The annotator himself remarked on this fact, noting that 'in alcuni esemplari manca questo foglio.'⁶

The copy also bears a flyleaf note in Giambattista's hand. This note is reproduced in a plate of Stichel's article, and will be discussed at greater length when the common origin of both copies in the collections of the brothers Giovio is addressed. For the present, it is worth noting that Giambattista's note did not record a purchase date, or price. F.C Panini's accompanying papers do not record the provenance of the book between Giambattista's death

³ A report on the event is available on the website of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana < <http://marciana.venezia.sbn.it/verso-il-polifilo> >, Accessed 01/01/14. The study day took place on October 31, with the exhibition lasting from October 31-8 November, 1999. Proceedings were published in *Verso il Polifilo: 1499 - 1999; San Dona di Piave, 31 ottobre - 8 novembre. Catalogo della mostra*, ed. Dino Casagrande (Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 1998).

⁴ 16-19 December 1999. Participants included Dr Stefano Colonna and Prof Corrado Bologna. Records of these exhibitions, such as insurance forms guaranteeing indemnity, are stored along with the book itself.

⁵ As the errata corrige is the only place the HP reports its true publication date of 1499, it was not uncommon for this leaf to be removed by unscrupulous book dealers in order to fool naive collectors into thinking they had acquired a fictitious '1467' edition. The Buffalo copy also fell victim to this fraudulent vandalism. This fraud was sufficiently well-known among collectors as to form the opening scene of Charles Nodier's novel *Franciscus Columna*, in which a clever book-collecting Abbé outwits a dishonest book vendor with his knowledge of the fraud. Charles Nodier, *Francesco Colonna: A Fanciful Tale of the Writing of the Hypnerotomachia*, trans. Theodore Wesley Koch (Chicago: Privately Printed, 1929). First printed in the *Bulletin de l'ami des arts*, 1843, then as *Franciscus Columna: dernière nouvelle de Charles Nodier* (Paris: Techener et Paulin, 1844).

⁶ f. m6r.

and his own acquisition. A significant portion of Giambattista's collections were sold by Hoepli of Milan in 1892. The present copy may have been included in that sale. Giambattista's HP does not appear in H.P. Kraus' catalogue of incunabula from the library of Paolo Giovio.⁷

Since this copy was examined in a private setting without the benefit of high-resolution photography or the option to purchase a facsimile, this chapter lacks the photographic illustrations that complement the discussion in other chapters.

The Case for Proximity

Stichel's article demonstrated the quantity of information which could be gleaned from the study of a single annotated copy of the HP. Her article concludes with two invitations for further research; invitations to which this chapter is a response. The first is a call for 'further research [which] may throw light on the personality of the anonymous reader.' Although the reader leaves so much annotation that 'you get the impression that you know him better than some of your friends', the evidence for that reader's identity remains circumstantial.⁸ The use of certain regionalisms in the annotation, distinct to the Comasco dialect, suggest that the book derives from Giambattista's own town.⁹ If this is the case, then two of Giambattista's most noted sixteenth-century ancestors, brothers and humanists, present themselves as likely candidates. The elder of these, Benedetto Giovio (1471-1544), was a translator of Greek texts, collector of epigrams, and local historian of the Como region.¹⁰ Benedetto's younger brother Paolo (1483-1552) served as Bishop of Nocera, was a prominent historian and authored a number of humanistic texts including *Delle imprese amoroze e militari* (Rome, 1555).¹¹ Either candidate would fall within the time period under question. Both Benedetto and Paolo's known interests would also find a rich resource in the HP.

⁷ H.P. Kraus, *Incunabula from the libraries of Harrison D. Horblit, Paolo Giovio & others* (New York: H.P. Kraus, 1979).

⁸ Stichel, p. 236.

⁹ Among others, Stichel notes that the annotator defines the word *sciuri* (d7v) as 'l'animaletto da noi detto cusetta, et da toshi schiratto' ('squirrel'). Citing P. Monti, *Vocabolario dei Dialetti della Città e Diocesi di Como* (Milan: Silvestri, 1845), p. 462, Stichel remarks that 'Cusetta' is a distinctively Comasco term (p. 236).

¹⁰ Simona Foà, 'Giovio, Benedetto', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* Vol. 46 (2001), < [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/benedetto-giovio_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/benedetto-giovio_(Dizionario-Biografico)) >, Accessed 10/19/2013.

¹¹ T.C. Price Zimmermann "Giovio, Paolo", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* Vol. 56 (2001). < [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovio_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovio_(Dizionario-Biografico)) > Accessed 10/19/2013.

As probable as this would seem, Stichel asks, would Giambattista, ‘as an historian devoted to investigations into his native town Como and his family, which played a prominent role in historiography, literature, and art from the 15th century on – would he not have known about it?’¹² On its own, the evidence proffered by the Modena copy is an insufficient basis on which to draw definite conclusions. Yet Stichel highlights the fact that Giambattista’s flyleaf note refers to another copy of the HP containing marginalia, which he had donated to the Biblioteca Pubblica (now Comunale) of Como.¹³ Therefore, it was apparent that a study comparing the Como copy with Modena may have the potential to offer evidence confirming the annotator’s identity as one of the Giovio brothers.

The argument for a common origin for both copies begins with the flyleaf to the present copy. Giambattista writes:

Di questa opera rara e strana io avea due esemplari nella mia Biblioteca. Cedettine uno alla pubblica dei Dottori di Collegio in Como. In essa v’era qualche parola di annotazione nel margine scritta dal celebre antenato mio Benedetto Giovio.¹⁴

This note would seem to imply that Benedetto Giovio’s hand is in the other copy, rather than the present one, leaving the annotator of Modena unknown. If Benedetto was not mentioned with regard to Como because the annotator was, in fact, Paolo, the same logic of filial piety as above would apply. One would continue to presume that Giambattista would still mention an ancestor. The qualifier of ‘qualche parola di annotazione’ also draws a distinction between the paucity of inscriptions in Como in comparison with the copious annotation found in Modena. In turn, the flyleaf of Como bears an ex libris confirming its origin in the library of the two brothers.¹⁵ Though the two flyleaves confirm the common origin of both copies in the brothers’ library, they do not serve to confirm that the hands of both owners are present.

Another piece of Giambattista’s writing, his 1783 *Elogio di Benedetto Giovio*, permits this inquiry to progress further.¹⁶ In this text, a reference to Modena appears in the context of

¹² Stichel, p. 236.

¹³ Stichel reports that she had received information on the “character of the marginalia” in Como from Stefano della Torre, the coordinator of the exhibition mentioned above (p. 236). However, the article does not elaborate on the content of Como.

¹⁴ ‘I had two copies of this rare and strange work in my library. I donated one to the public library of the doctors of the college in Como. In this copy there were a few words of annotation by my celebrated ancestor Benedetto Giovio.’ A reproduction of this flyleaf note is in Stichel, p. 234.

¹⁵ ‘Ex libris Pauli, et Benedicti Joviorum Fratrum Illustrium.’ Como, Biblioteca Comunale, INCUN A.13, flyleaf.

¹⁶ Giambattista Giovio, *Elogio di Benedetto Giovio*, in *Giornale de’ letterati* (Modena, 1783), p. 17.

Giambattista's discussion of Benedetto's translation of Vitruvius' *De architectura*.¹⁷ Here Giambattista draws the first association between Benedetto and the HP. The difficulty of the translator's task is underscored by comparing Vitruvius' style with that of the Poliphilo, which itself draws extensively on the *De architectura*.

L'auolo mio ebbe in quell'ultimo [libro] di Vitruvio assai cose a svolgere di difficile interpretazione [...] Tutto quel tomo è scritto in un vulgare ispido, e rozzo, e se non che vi sono sì frequenti i grecismi, sembrerebbe che fosse stato scritto da Poliphilo.¹⁸

In associating the HP with verbal prolixity, Giambattista drew on a trope of the HP as a metonym for obfuscatory prose. This trope is documented as early as Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, in which wooers are advised to avoid emulating Poliphilo.

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 levarseglì davanti.¹⁹

Yet in this case, Giambattista's association of Benedetto with the HP extends beyond the use of a commonplace. In a second footnote, the *Elogio* reaffirms this point by stating that the HP, like *De architectura*, requires a truly 'Herculean' interpreter.

Se si può consultare quel rarissimo tomo, e altronde qualunque altro Vitruvio, che prendesi in mano, fa tosto intendere, che l'ultimo libro ricerca un interprete veramente Erculeo.²⁰

The use of the word 'interprete', which in this context can connote a 'commentator' or 'exegete', associates Benedetto's reading with critical commentary. The mention of the HP in these two footnotes, through a free association in thought, leads Giambattista to summarise the HP in brief.

¹⁷ Benedetto's humanistic accomplishments will be treated at greater length in the following chapter. In addition to translating Vitruvius, he also translated sections of the *Odyssey* and St. John Chrysostom.

¹⁸ G.B. Giovio, *Elogio di Benedetto Giovio*, p. 17. 'In this last [book of] Vitruvius my ancestor had plenty of difficult interpretation tasks....The whole book is written in bristly, rough vernacular, in which the Graecisms are so frequent, that it would seem [as if] it had been written by Poliphilo'.

¹⁹ Book III, ch. LXX, ed. Bonora (p. 275): 'For I have known some use nothing but Poliphilian words when writing or speaking to women and employ such ingenious rhetoric that the women lose all their self-confidence and imagine they must be extremely ignorant, and it seems an eternity till they can end the conversation and get rid of the man concerned.' (Trans. George Bull (London: Penguin, 1967, repr. 2003), p. 271).

²⁰ G.B. Giovio, *Elogio di Benedetto Giovio*, p. 17. 'If one can read that very rare tome [referring to the HP], or even any other [book of] Vitruvius' [*De architectura*] which might have on hands, one immediately understands that the last book requires a truly Herculean commentator.'

Sotto il nome di Poliphilo era nascosto Francesco Colonna Dominicano autore della *Ipnerotomachia*, ossia *Pugna d'Amore in Sogno*. Non si sa bene qual linguaggio parli il dottissimo Frate, ma in esso discorre da precursore d'ogni buon gusto nelle arti, ed ha tutto il sapore delle Arti antiche.

After further content in which Giambattista praises Colonna as the '[Francis] Bacon of architects and sculptors',²¹ Giambattista confirms that he himself, at that time, owned two copies of the this rare work, and that one is ubiquitously marked in the margins with Benedetto's notes.

Io possiedo due esemplari di questo libro raro, ed uno è perpetuamente commentato nel margine colle note di Benedetto.²²

To which copy is Benedetto referring as the 'commented' copy, Como or Modena? Both bear annotation, but the wording of this footnote gives the initial impression that only one of the copies contains Benedetto's hand in the margins.

In fact, both copies contain marginalia by Benedetto, as can be inferred by cross referencing the respective flyleaves of Como and Modena with Giambattista's footnotes to the *Elogio*. To be more specific, the footnote to the *Elogio* refers to Modena, and the flyleaf to Modena refers to Como, while the Como flyleaf confirms the common origin of both copies.

The argument hinges on Benedetto's choice of qualifiers to describe both the quantity and the mode of annotation. The Modena flyleaf refers to another copy as containing 'qualche parola di annotazione'.²³ This is a fitting description of the pattern of annotation in Como, consisting of about seventy inscriptions which primarily consist of individual words rather than extended comments. The word 'perpetuamente' connotes extended annotation, as seen in Modena, rather than Como's solitary words. 'Commentato' also bears connotations of glossing, which are a more fitting description of Modena with its literary explications.

²¹ G.B. Giovio, *Elogio di Benedetto Giovio*, p. 18. 'Può esser definito il Bacone degli architetti e scultori.'

²² Ibid. 'Under the name of Poliphilo was hidden Francesco Colonna the Dominican, author of the *Hypnerotomachia*, that is, the strife of love in a dream. It is not well known which language the learned friar was speaking, but in this [book] he discourses on the precursors of every good taste in art, and it has all the good flavour of the antique arts. He could be defined as the [Francis] Bacon of architects, and sculptors, but saw what was among the other lives of Painters, Sculptors and Architects in Rome around the [illegible]. I own two copies of this book, and one is perpetually commented in the margins with notes of Benedetto.'

²³ 'A few words of annotation' (Flyleaf to Modena copy).

Giambattista's choice of words in the footnote to the eulogy also resonates with the terminology that he used to describe the Modena copy in its own flyleaf note.

Nell'esemplare [Modena] che ricordai, sono continue e pregevoli le note 'marginali', e molto utili per la intelligenza del testo, che può quasi dirsi poliglotta, poiché il Colonna vi parla Italiano greco latino, e vi sono miste voci ebraiche, caldèe, arabe.²⁴

The use of comparable adjectives (*perpetuamente/continue*) as well as the implication from the phrase 'intelligenza del testo' that the notes are in some sense, glossing, suggests that the copy annotated by Benedetto, to which Giambattista refers in the footnote, is none other than Modena. Therefore, both Como and Modena were both annotated by Benedetto.

Even if Benedetto's presence can be inferred in both copies, awareness of this fact nevertheless begs the question of why this attribution would not be mentioned in both of Giambattista's flyleaf notes. The answer may be quite mundane. Giambattista simply did not have a coherent scheme of description across these texts, one public and another for his personal use, written across a span of time. The flyleaf note need not be presumed to have been on his mind when composing the *Elogio*. Since these notes were composed for Giambattista's own reference, and for that of the small circle who might read this particular copy, there is no need for consistency with the footnotes. As documents for personal use, Giambattista had no need to record redundant information.

There is additional internal evidence to corroborate the presence of Benedetto's hand in both copies. Both Como and Modena evince an idiosyncratic annotative practice: the reader transcribes sections of block capitals in exacting detail on the margins. The primary interest of the transcriptions are letterforms: the capitals are rewritten in precise detail, down to the shape of individual serifs. This practice is not seen in any of the other copies studied for the purpose of this thesis. Such an interest in the aesthetic properties of massed capitals for their own sakes is consistent with Benedetto's known work as a collector of Roman inscriptions from the Como region, as documented in his *Veterum monumentorum quae tum Comi tum eius in agro reperta sunt collectanea*, assembled in the last years of the fifteenth or the first decade of the sixteenth century.²⁵

²⁴ 'In the exemplar that I mentioned, marginal notes are continuous and valuable, and [are] very useful for the understanding of the text, which one could almost call polyglot, since here Colonna speaks Italian, Greek, Latin, and here Hebrew, Chaldean, and Arabic voices are mixed in [as well].' Flyleaf to Modena copy.

²⁵ Foà, 'Giovio, Benedetto'.

The significant interest in *Naturalis historia* and *res herbaria* which Stichel noted in Como is also present in Modena.²⁶ Both copies contain extensive reference to natural phenomena. Pliny the Elder's origins in Como exerted a great influence on Benedetto, as will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5. The lexicographical interest in etymology Stichel observes in Como also extends to Modena. Yet the connection is further strengthened by the frequency and distinct quality of references to Vitruvius, which appears to be related to Benedetto's experience of translating *De architectura*. Across both copies, however, Benedetto's interest in Vitruvius is centered on philology, rather than architecture. Unlike other annotators, he does not draw ekphrases or make any other kind of architectural diagram, as seen in the London and Siena copies. *De architectura*, like the *Naturalis historia*, is here utilized primarily as a source for etymology.

Como and Modena also stand together in contrast to other sixteenth-century copies in this study due to the complete absence of reference to alchemy. BAV, Buffalo, London, and Siena all mention the Great Work to some degree, indicating a prevalent reading of the HP as an alchemical allegory. These two copies stand out in their divergence from this common interpretation, with both brothers approaching the text as an encyclopedic sourcebook.

If the notes are indeed Benedetto's, then they can be dated to between 1543-5, the final years of his life, on the grounds of the publication dates of works cited. The attribution to Benedetto Giovio moves the *terminus ante quem* to the year of his death in 1545. Stichel notes that Benedetto made use of up-to-date editions,²⁷ and printing dates indicate that Giovio wrote these marginalia in the final two years of his life. For instance, a characteristic variant reading shows that Giovio used the 1539 Froben of Basel edition of Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, which provides a *terminus post quem*.²⁸ For botany, he quotes the 1542 Basel edition of LeoNaturalis historiaart Fuchs' *De historia stirpium*. For anatomy, he cites Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543) on s6v.

Inclusion of Paolo Giovio

The presence of Benedetto Giovio's hand in both copies has been established. There indeed appears, at first glance, to be a single hand in this copy, as Stichel has observed, an opinion

²⁶ Stichel, pp. 229-30.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 235.

²⁸ Colonna, using an earlier edition of Pliny, names the Greek island as 'Coo' (i4r). Giovio, using a later Pliny, corrects the spelling to 'Ceo.' Stichel, p. 224.

that seems to be confirmed in the initial viewing.²⁹ Yet this identification of a single hand is complicated by the fact that the annotator cites a text which appeared in print after Benedetto's death. This is a reference on (i6r) reading 'Lilio Gregorio Giraldi de diis gentium', namely *De diis gentium varia et multiplex historia* (Basel: Oporinus, 1548), published three years after Benedetto's death in 1545. There is of course a remote possibility that Benedetto may have read Giraldi in manuscript before its publication. However, there remains the other possibility that a second hand is present in the text, namely that of Benedetto's more famous younger brother, Paolo Giovio. Paolo's name has previously been drawn into association with the HP. The younger Giovio is most noted for his work on *imprese*, *Delle imprese amorose e militari*, (1555), which popularized the emblematic tradition. Rosanna Pavoni credits the 'success' of the HP as increasing the popularity of emblems, which generated the demand to which Paolo's *Delle imprese* responded.³⁰

If Paolo's hand is indeed present in Modena, then this copy offers the opportunity to derive concrete evidence for a reading which had previously been proposed. Though the content of *Delle imprese* establishes Paolo's reading of the HP as probable, these annotations can then be read as offering an actual record of that reading in progress. Paolo's name does not occur anywhere in the Modenese copy. Yet there is significant thematic evidence that correlates with Paolo's known interests, over and above his possible use of the HP as a source for emblematics.

For example, Paolo had a distinct interest in ichthyology, as expressed in his treatise *De piscibus Romanis libellus* (1524). There is an annotation, at the mention of a sepia fish (Book II, B7r, discussed below), which suggests at least a specific interest, if not an expert's knowledge. The annotator writes 'sepia è un piccolo pesce, il quale quando il pescatore lo uuole pigliare, uomita un certo liquore oscuro, col quale torbida l'acqua.'

From what is known of Paolo's architectural interests, from other sources, he would likely have been drawn to the ekphrastic descriptions of the HP. His biographer T.C. Zimmermann describes Paolo's earliest extant work, a letter of 1504 in which he describes his own family villa with a combination of Vitruvian detail and Plinian encyclopedism.

The entrance hall became a *cryptoporticus*, the dining room a *coenatio*, the upstairs living room a *triclinium*, the woods *opacissimae sylvae*, and the small brook a *frigidus rivulus*. Led by the nymph,

²⁹ Ibid., p. 219. Stichel also notes an insignificant second hand, which applied corrections from the errata corripere.

³⁰ *Paolo Giovio: Collezioni Giovio*, pp. 52-55.

the *genius loci*, he even discovered adjacent to the house an *argenteus fons* which provided the family with sparkling water.³¹

Paolo's youthful fascination with Vitruvius persisted throughout his life. As argued in the introductory chapter, prolific annotators appear to have used the HP as an exploratory space to generate and experiment with concepts which they then applied in their respective fields. Paolo appears to have utilized the HP in a similar manner. In the museum which Paolo built on the presumed site of Pliny the Younger's Villa on Lake Como, there is a statue of a goddess which appears to draw upon a comparable image in the HP. This description of a statue from which water flows out through the nipples is taken from the *Musaei Ioviani descriptio*, the introductory piece to Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum literis illustrium* (Basel: Petrus Perna, 1578). After running through earthen tubes, the water

ascendit in statuam Deae naturae erectam, & per papillas erumpit, ut in marmoreum labrum effundatur. Hoc uno pulcherrimo fonte maxime gaudet Musaeum: inde enim ad summum apicem florentes elegantiae pervenit.³²

The structure bears a striking resemblance to the temple of Venus in the HP, in her aspect of Venus Physioza, the mother of nature. Giovio's statue evokes the HP in both form and location. The HP's Venus is located on the shore of a sea, as Giovio's sculpture was situated on the shore of Lake Como.

Thus at last we approached the resounding shore, washed by the pleasant waves of the unquiet sea. In this well-situated place we found a very ornate, well-made, and ancient temple of antique workmanship and great richness, sumptuously made and consecrated to Venus Physioza. (G 197)

This sculpture at Como was sufficiently striking and widely known as to inspire another work in Venice by Scamozzi.³³ Zimmerman suggests that this sculpture was Paolo's original composition, in contrast to the remainder of the museum's content which had been

³¹ Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio*, p. 4.

³² Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum literis illustrium* (Basel: Petrus Perna, 1578), f. a2v. '[The water] ascends into the erect statue of the Goddess of Nature, and bursts forth from her breasts, and is poured out into the marble basin. The Museum greatly rejoices in this single fountain, from there, moreover, to the highest apex elegant flowers appear.' There is also a surviving description by Benedetto in the *Periodico della Società Storica Comense*, 8 (1891), which I have been unable to obtain. Zimmermann records previous versions of the description of the Museum, including a 1543 letter to Ottavio Farnese.

³³ On the Como sculpture Vincenzo Scamozzi probably based the statuary of the Chiesetta of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice. See Charles Davis, 'Architecture and Light: Vincenzo Scamozzi's Statuary Installation in the Chiesetta of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice', *Annali di architettura* 14 (2002), pp. 171-93.

assembled ‘piecemeal’. This piece was also accorded pride of place, situated at the base of a *gradus ad Parnassum*. From a statue of a Pegasus at the height of Mt. Parnassus, a stream flowed down to the sculpture of Divine Nature.³⁴

Redundancy of Annotation

The confirmation that the hands of both Benedetto and Paolo are present in both copies has potential applications both to the study of the HP, and for the study of the lives and works of these significant humanists. Their known interests can be correlated with the topics on which they choose to concentrate out of the HP’s abundance of content. Yet this argument begs the question of redundancy. That two related individuals would each retain a personal copy is understandable. Likewise, combined annotation from individuals passing a book back and forth is also likely. Yet why would two individuals both annotate two identical copies of the same text?

One note suggests that Benedetto approached the text with the eye of a collector, acquiring multiple copies for their own sakes. In his annotation to the infamous ‘Sacrifice to Priapus’ on m6r, he notes that ‘in alcuni esemplari manca questo foglio’, indicating that multiple copies had passed beneath his view, and expressing a degree of connoisseurship.

The explanation need not be assumed to be complex. As William Sherman has observed, sixteenth-century readers had an ingrained propensity to annotate. The practice of annotation was taught in school, and putting pen to printed page was the default posture of readers from this era.³⁵ The linked assumption that annotation was a collective activity – that books were passed among circles of readers – need not be limited to the circulation of a single volume. It is imaginable that, living apart, Paolo and Benedetto might read an individual copy, and then switch both copies for the other’s comments. Another possibility is that the brothers circulated each copy at different points in their lives. The publication dates of texts cited by Benedetto indicate that he made at least some of the annotations to the present copy in the final three years of his life. Though Como lacks the definitive publication dates of Modena, the briefer notes in Como may suggest a less mature scholar.

³⁴ Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio*, pp. 188-89.

³⁵ William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008)

It is that disparity in the quantity and quality of notes, however, which hints that the brothers annotated the two texts with various purposes in mind. The annotators' topics of interest in Modena are broad, encompassing the etymology of Poliphilesque terms, the identification of the sources for literary allusions, botany, and music.³⁶ Their interests are eclectic and responsive. They foreground topics coinciding with their prior subjects of concern, but their annotation does not appear to be governed by an overarching interpretive schema.

Though the responses recorded in Como are brief, they are structured and rationalized to a greater degree. As will be argued in Chapter 5, Benedetto and Paolo approached their reading of Como as if it were a Plinian encyclopedia, arranging their reading on the extractive model which Pliny advises Vespasian to follow in the *Praefatio* to the *Naturalis historia*. The city of Como's own Pliny is never absent from the Modenese marginalia. The *Naturalis historia* is 'first and foremost' among authors cited in this copy, with Stichel identifying 'about two hundred quotations.'³⁷ However, in Modena, Pliny is used only a source for individual citations. The marginalia are not arranged according to the Plinian framework found in Como.

Discussion of Marginalia

Building on Stichel's research, with the benefit of this attribution, this chapter will first record and consider additional marginalia within Stichel's primary categories of Philology, Literary References, natural history, and Music. Paolo's profession as a doctor also draws attention to marginalia on medical themes, to which I have assigned my own category. These observations, elaborating upon Stichel's foundational study, offer a more well-rounded picture of both annotators.

In approaching these marginalia, Stichel compared them with the commentary of Pozzi and Ciapponi (P&C). She observed that 'on the whole, the correspondences between the Cinquecento marginalia and the commentary of Pozzi-Ciapponi are fairly extensive – and the differences of course highly significant. I shall return to this aspect on another occasion.'³⁸ The correspondences are not only uncanny, but mutually illuminating. Those textual puzzles

³⁶ Stichel: on etymology, pp. 220-23; on literary references, pp. 223-27; on botany, p. 230, on music, pp. 235-36.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

which piqued the curiosity of early modern annotators similarly caught the attention of modern commentators. In some places, Benedetto and Paolo observe an interesting case which escaped the attention of modern exegetes. In still others, the early modern annotators were able to resolve dilemmas which eluded twentieth-century commentators.

Observing that Stichel has not yet returned to the text, I took this opportunity to offer my own contribution by comparing each newly documented marginalium with P&C, as well as the more recent commentary of Ariani and Gabriele (A&G). The purpose of this chapter is not to develop an exhaustive synthesis of all known commentaries.³⁹ Yet the utility of Benedetto and Paolo's commentary in filling in the gaps in P&C and A&G is a testament to the utility of early modern readings to inform modern commentaries, since contemporary and early modern readers are, in the final analysis, approaching relatively the same text with relatively the same body of tools (the classical canon).

I have adopted a consistent format for reporting each marginalium. This pattern will be followed in the studies of subsequent copies, with minor variations as indicated.

1. After recording the number of the folio on which the marginalium is found, I will present each transcription exactly as found, without normalizing variations of orthography and capitalization.⁴⁰ Complete statements exceeding one word will be demarcated with single parentheses (e.g. 'Poliphilo incomincia Hypnerotomachia'). Multiple statements found on the same margin will be separated with a semicolon.
2. Below the transcription, I will offer my own English translation of the marginalium.
3. I will then quote the excerpt from the text of the HP to which the marginalia presumably refer. If a marginal note is a direct transcription of a section of the text, that word or phrase will be highlighted in bold. In order to conserve space, I will quote only as much text as is necessary to situate a transcribed phrase in context, or to make this tranche searchable within the Project Gutenberg e-text of the *Hypnerotomachia*.
4. In situations where the text quoted is extensive or requires clarification, quotations from Joscelyn Godwin's English translation are appended. There are a number of cases in which Godwin's translation is idiomatic to such a degree as to be insufficiently reflective of the Italian original. Any inaccuracies or ambiguities observed in the translation are noted.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 224.

⁴⁰ Maintaining capitalization as found is significant in this present chapter and the following, as certain orthographical idiosyncrasies distinguish a common annotator. For example, either Benedetto or Paolo consistently writes Greek eta (H) in majuscule, even in the middle of words, while other letters are retained in miniscule.

5. If the marginalium remarks on a locus which also caught the attention of modern commentators, I remark upon these here. P&C is cited first, followed by A&G. In a few initial cases, if the early modern and contemporary commentators concur, I remark upon this fact in order to demonstrate the degree of correspondence. After these initial cases, I do not cite the modern commentators unless there is disagreement with the annotators, in which case this distinction is discussed.
6. Then follows my own discussion of the quotation, with reference to other sources when possible.

In order to avoid the ponderous phraseology of writing ‘Benedetto and/or Paolo’ whenever the annotator is uncertain, I have elected to use ‘Benedetto’ as a shorthand, except for those cases, such as the notes on medical matters, in which the annotator is more likely to be Paolo.

The conclusion to the Introductory chapter highlights one of the running tensions of this dissertation, namely the need for the researcher to respond to material as encountered, for which one often has no prior training or preparation. Before approaching this text, I had no formal prior training in Greek. Conceding this background, there are doubtless improvements to my renditions of these phrases which could be improved by an experienced Greek scholar.

Philology and Etymology

As Benedetto’s research was primarily local in nature, he is often eclipsed in humanist historiography by the more broadly influential works of Paolo. Even so, Benedetto did gain some degree of renown beyond Lake Como for his work as a Greek translator, most notably of Homer and St. John Chrysostom. Giambattista praised his translation of Vitruvius.⁴¹ One of the following notes also suggests that Benedetto had a limited knowledge of Arabic.⁴²

Stichel observes that Benedetto paid particular attention to the definition of constructed Graecisms. On finding such a term, Benedetto follows a consistent methodology for their definition. First, he would note the term in the margin, perhaps allowing himself time to digest the question.⁴³ If the word was originally in Greek, he would first transcribe the term in Latin letters, although within the discussion individual etyma would remain in the Greek alphabet. Stichel offers the following example.

⁴¹ Foà, ‘Giovio, Benedetto’.

⁴² Cf. in this chapter the note on ‘Baurach’, or borax, No 25.

⁴³ Stichel, p. 217.

Gallateo, latte, γάλα significa il latte (i4v).⁴⁴

Giovio's method for the transcription and analysis of Greek terms draws upon three core reference texts, which complement his own intrinsic knowledge. The annotator drew upon Tortelli's *De orthographia* for proper rendering of Poliphilesque words of Greek origin into what the annotator presumed to have been their original Greek spelling.⁴⁵ This text, produced by the founder of the Vatican Library under the commission of Pope Nicholas V, offers normalized latinizations for terms of Greek origin.⁴⁶ According to Abbamonte, Tortelli's text set the model for one of the HP's main sources for its own lexical construction, Niccolò Perrotti's *Cornucopiae sive commentaria linguae latinae*.⁴⁷ As Peter Dronke has highlighted, Perrotti was one of the HP's main sources of lexical components for the generation of neologisms.⁴⁸ Yet an awareness of the lexical origins of each unit of the HP's compounds does not go all of the way towards breaking them down. For this purpose, Stichel notes that, among others, the annotator also drew upon the tenth-century Byzantine lexicon *Suidas*, now commonly referred to as *Suda*.⁴⁹ Bridging definition and encyclopedic description, the use of *Suda* is representative of a linkage between the deconstruction of words and the application of encyclopaedism that runs through the annotation of Benedetto and Paolo, particularly with regard to their use of Pliny the Elder as discussed in the following chapter. Thus, for the purposes of deconstructing Poliphilesque words, the annotator went back to the sources for their creation.

Thus the annotators' attempts at decipherment drew upon both morphological technicalities and semantic meaning in order to uncover a word. This implies the element of combinatory logic, of annotation as intellectual gameplay, involving both the deductive and the associative faculties, proposed in the Introductory chapter.

As a result, Giovio occasionally offers an interpretation which is semantically plausible rather than morphologically correct. For example, Stichel cites the example of when Poliphilo

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 220.

⁴⁵ Giovanni Tortelli, *Orthographia*, ed. Gemma Donati (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2006).

⁴⁶ Giancarlo Abbamonte, review of Giovanni Tortelli, *Orthographia*, ed. Gemma Donati, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (2009). < <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2009/2009-03-18.html> > Accessed 14/2/2014.

⁴⁷ First published 1489, the Aldine 1512 edition contained material from Varro, Pomponius Festus and Nonius Marcellus, Stichel, p. 227.

⁴⁸ Dronke, 'Introduction', p. 17.

⁴⁹ Derived from 'Σοῦδα', for 'fortress'. It is not the proper name of the author as has been previously thought. The edition that I consulted was the online version of *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Ada Adler (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928-1938), published by the Stoa Consortium, Senior Editor David Whitehead. < <http://www.stoa.org/sol/> >. Accessed 14/2/2014.

is lost in the dark forest which opens the novel. When Poliphilo invokes Jupiter for aid, she notes that the reader (Giovio) read the god's title of *Diespiter* as '*Dies-pater*', father of day, rather than *Dīspater*, the father of the Gods. This etymology drew a mental association with the process of giving birth, in which the infant is 'brought to light'.⁵⁰ Based on this equivalency, Jupiter would draw Poliphilo out of the forest like a baby from the womb.⁵¹ Though this note has been previously observed by Stichel, it can now be contextualized within this thesis' wider argument for the HP as an unrestricted space for the self-cultivation of *ingegno*.

1. f2v: 'xesturgia ξεστυρΓια arte di polir la pietra' (sic)

Xesturgy, *xesturgia*, [the] art of polishing stone

quanto meno io il saperia exprimere, di artificiosa compositione, et di eximia collustratione nitidissimo, di diligente **xesturgia**, nobile de formatura.

I could never describe the artistic design, the extraordinary brilliance and the noble imagery of the diligent stonework. (G 92)

Following the method delineated above, the reader defines 'xesturgia' from its component elements, which he identified as 'ξεστός', a verbal adjective derived from 'ξεω', 'to polish' and the suffix of work or craft '-οργία'.⁵² The transcription above, in which the gamma in 'ξεστυρΓια' remains in majuscule, is reported as found. A telltale characteristic of Benedetto's hand is that he, while showing an awareness of both cases of the Greek alphabet, he consistently wrote certain letters (Γ in this case) in majuscule.

Benedetto applies a similar method to the word 'navarchia' found on s2r, breaking the compound down into its constituent parts.

⁵⁰ As survives, for example, in the Spanish idiom for giving birth, *dar luz* and the Italian *dare alla luce*.

⁵¹ 'Diespiter, giove quasi diei pater. Non senza cagione spetialmente egli invoca Diespiter, per che appresso gli antichi egli era creduto esser quello che produceva il parto in luce, accid che ei lo trahesse fuori delle tenebre di quel bosco, come se 'l fusse immerso nelle viscere della madre terra' (a4r). Cf. Stichel, p. 221.

⁵² OED entry for 'Xesturgy'. This rare word in English is actually an Anglicisation of 'xesturgia', the first entry for which is Robert Dallington's 1592 partial translation of the HP, f. 48 'Diuers coulered stones " so glistening and seuerly set of a diligent Xesturgie [orig. *xesturgia*].' xesturgy, n. Second edition, 1989; online version September 2011. <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/231015>>; accessed 9/11/2011. A&G find the reference in Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, 63.7 (cf. A&G, vol. II, p. 694).

2. s2r: ‘navarchía ναυαρχία il governo della nave, et ναυαρχός il governatore et padrone’; ‘Amplustre, et amplustria sono gl'instrumenti navali’; Protoploi, primi naviganti πρωτό-πλοος, πρωτο, πλεω navigo’

Navarchía [from] *nauarchia*, or the steering of a ship, and *nauarchos* the governor and master (i.e. the captain). Amplustre, and Amplustria are naval instruments. ‘Protoploi’, the ‘first sailors’, *protoploos*, *proto-pleo*.

Here Giovio exhibits one of his other orthographic idiosyncrasies, using a standard sigma (σ) rather than a final sigma (ς) at the end of words.

Hora nella fatale **navarchia**, sencia **amplustre** et temone naviganti nui **protoploi**, et sopra questo impraemitato navigio, ove tuti gli mysterii d’amore spiravano.

Now we maiden-voyagers [*protoploi*] sailed on under our fateful captain [or ‘under ominous steering’, see below] without bow-crest and rudder, in this unimaginable craft [navigation] wherein all the mysteries of love respired. (G 284)

Where Giovio equates ναυαρχία with the act of steering a ship, P&C equate the term with the office of command. They did not define ‘amplustria’.⁵³

Here Benedetto encounters familiar root terms, denoting concepts of maritime navigation and command, from which he infers the significance of the combined term. Giovio gives the word as a plural noun for naval instruments (‘amplustre’, an ornament of wooden planks at the poop of a ship). Godwin gives ‘amplustria’ as ‘bow-crest.’ Giovio defines this neologism by finding the root verb behind this plural noun of agency.

F. z5v offers another example of the annotator making interferences into the meaning of a Poliphilesque term by reasoning from known components

3. z5v: ‘Pendipi, di cinque piedi, πεντε cinque et πόυς’

Pendipi, five-footed, from *pente* five and *póus*, foot.

Et per la sancta insula, per le itione overo strate definite per le plante degli pomiferi horti, le quale erano virente di perenne et verneafoliatura, vallate di buxo murulamente, et di Myrto, et di iuniperi, dece passi longitrorso alternati per uno et altitrorso **pendipi**.

⁵³ P&C, p. 195.

We traversed the holy island through the paths and ways marked out by the plantings of the fruitful gardens, which were green with perennial spring foliage, walled with hedges of box, in which every ten paces there was alternately a myrtle or a juniper, five paces high. (G 369-70)

P&C correct the term to ‘pendi<c>i’, suggesting that the author may have intended an analogy with *pendere*.⁵⁴ A&G disagree with P&C, deriving the term from πεντέπους.⁵⁵

‘Pendipi’ is a unit of measurement coined by Colonna, consisting of five paces. Giovio finds this meaning using his standard method of first transliterating the term into Greek and then decompiling the word into its component parts.

In addition to disassembling compound words, Benedetto employs other methods of teasing a meaning out of Poliphilesque terms. In the following locus, he infers that an adjectival form for ‘red’ is derived from the participle ‘reddening’.

4. z6r: ‘Erythreo, rosso, dal uerbo Ἐρυθραῖμα rubefacio, Ἐρυθρος rubens’

Erythreo, ‘red’, from the verb *Erythraima*, reddening, *Eruthros*, red.

Et quivi ad gli rotundi candici degli recensiti arbori, artificiosamente uno septo cancellario obsepiva sublato pedale, in gyro circundante, di multiplice excogitato di pervia illaqueatura. Di ligno **erythraeo**...

The round space left by these trees was artfully fenced with a trellis, one pace in height and circular in form. It was ingeniously made from a complicated interlacing of reddish sandalwood... (G 371)

A&G note that Erythreo is a Plinian term, appearing in four places in the *Naturalis historia*.

⁵⁶

As for ‘navarchia’, a similar understanding of grammatical roots can result in variant shades of meaning or renderings by contemporary readers.

5. x4v: ‘Elicopidi, Ελικώπις, in se vertes oculos’

Elicopidi, attracting [other people’s] gaze upon themselves

⁵⁴ P&C, p. 230.

⁵⁵ A&G, vol. II, p. 1083.

⁵⁶ A&G, vol. II, p. 1084.

Tanto me Iupiter ad gli amorosi ochii quam iucundissimo, che altro veramente non se desiderarebbe, ch'a perpetuo potere mirare, et sì venuste, et di formositate et di delitia, Nymphæ præstante cum gli aspecti **elicopidi** tanto laute, et lascivamente decore, et tale cum nivee veste cum summa politione prænitente.

By Jupiter, it was so pleasurable to my amorous eyes [lit. "I was like Jupiter before those amorous eyes, so jocund"] that I desired nothing else than to be able to gaze perpetually at these splendid nymphs – so beautiful, so shapely and so delightful with **their lively glances**, decked out to sumptuously and lasciviously, with their snow-white garments radiantly shining. (G 336)

P&C draw upon Torriani's dictionary, which gives Ελικόπις as 'trahens aspectus aliorum'.⁵⁷

In addition to making use of Torriani, *Suda* and other sources, Benedetto uses the HP as its own interpreter for grammatical questions. On encountering the neologism 'Polyzela', a title of Polia, Benedetto defines this term by reference to one of the HP's distinguishing features, namely the acrostic in which Franciscus Columna's love for Polia is emphasised with the term 'peramavit', by describing Polia with the same prefix as 'peramabilis'.

6. z5v: 'Polyzela, πολύζηλος cum la mia Polyzela Polia peramabilis'

Polyzela, *Polyzelos*, with my much-desired Polia greatly loved.

Et quivi cum grande solatio, et excesso placere, alcune dille dive Nymphæ comitante alla collectione placidamente se inclinavano cum la mia **Polyzela Polia**, et adiutare.

And some of the divine nymphs, with happy enthusiasm, readily swooped down with my much-desired Polia and helped her to collect them (G 370)

P&C and A&G concur in taking the term from Sophocles *Trachinae*, with the meaning of πολύζελος, 'much desired'.⁵⁸

Benedetto does not mention the Sophoclean reference, but makes the inference that 'Polyzela' must mean 'greatly loved'. He articulates this discovery by accompanying 'Polyzela' with the word 'amabilis' prefixed by the emphatic 'per-', as found in the acrostic.

⁵⁷ P&C, p. 218.

⁵⁸ A&G, vol. II, p. 1083.

7. a2r: ‘Poliphilo incomincia Hypnerotomachia’; ‘eros amor, Μάχη (*sic*) pugna, quasi, υπνος somnus pugna d’amore in sonno’; ‘Poliphilo, grande amatore, ouero amatore di Polia’; ‘. aetate, dignitateque caeteris antestans’

‘Poliphilo begins the Hypnerotomachia’; ‘eros love, *mache* struggle/strife, ‘*hypnos* sleep, [therefore] the strife of love in a dream.’ ‘Poliphilo, standing for great lover, or lover of Polia’; ‘superior to all others for antiquity and prestige’.

The reader begins by noting this passage’s location in the narrative. The reader then parses the title into its Greek components and rewrites them with Greek orthography and Latin translations. Poliphilo is defined as either a ‘great lover’ or a ‘lover of Polia’. The reader’s idea that the prefix ‘Pol-’ is an emphatic for ‘Philo’ may derive from the acrostic formed from the first letters of the thirty-six chapters, in which Francesco Colonna’s love for Polia is expressed with the word *peramavit*, the prefix ‘per’ meaning ‘greatly’, which is held as being equivalent to πολύς.

Further orthographic variation can be seen in the following passage, in which even standard /σ/ is replaced by Latin /z/ in one word. This section is taken from an explication of a three-sided pyramidal structure found on (h5r). Though the words explained below are given in majuscule on the pyramid itself, here Benedetto deviates from his standard response to block capitals, that of transcribing them in exacting detail. In this case, an exception to pattern, he renders the words found on the epigram into lower case,

8. h5r: “ὄων ens, hoc est deus’; ‘Theophrasta, che ragiona di dio. Θεός, deus, et φράζω, dico; Theophrasta, Logistica Theophrasta, che ragiona di dio.’; ‘Theophrasta Logistica’

‘*Oōn*, being, that is, God’; [The name] ‘Theophrasta’ [means she] who thinks of God.’ ‘Theophrasta [means] Logical Reasoning.’

P&C gloss this phrase ‘ΔΥΣ Α ΛΩ ΤΟΣ’ as ‘difficult to understand’.⁵⁹ In brief, A&G propose that the three components of the piece, viz. the prism, the cylinder, and the cube, refer in turn to the concupiscent, rational, and irascible souls.⁶⁰ Sparing the reader the length of A&G’s explanation, it can be noted that this point was not lost on Benedetto, who associated this segment with logical reasoning. Here again, Benedetto’s commentary can

⁵⁹ P&C, p. 124. For a more extended exegesis of the obelisk, see A&C, vol. II, pp. 747-752, which they also call the ‘vertice simbolico più ardito ed enigmatico di tutto il romanzo’ (p. 747).

⁶⁰ A&G, vol. II, p. 756.

contribute towards the modern understanding of the text, offering a more expanded commentary.

This form is unlike an earlier marginalium, in which Benedetto's transcription was threefold. He rewrote the Greek block capitals, in the margin, then transcribed them in lower case Latin characters, then offered the Latin translation again in full block capitals.

9. h2r: 'ΤΗΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΟΛΒΟΣ'; 'o thespyseos olbos', 'NATURAE BEATITUDO'

Per la quale cosa eccessivamente volentiera alquanto di morula harei affermatome, ma sectario le ductrice destinate, et mie consorte, io non potei, vero che in uno ocysimo furare di ochio, nel phrygio, o vero Zophoro di essa porta vidi annotato tale inscriptione. Ο ΤΗΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΟΛΒΟΣ.

For this reason, I very much wanted to stop and tarry awhile, but was unable to do so, since I was following my assigned guides and companions. Still, I stole a quick glance at the frieze or zophorus of the portal, and saw this inscription written there: '**The Wealth of Nature**' (G 123)

A&G give this image as the "liberalità della natura".⁶¹ Following Macrobius' *In Somnium Scipionis*, they infer that this term refers to a stage in the journey of the soul. The annotator's interests here, however, appear more typographical than spiritual. In transcribing 'ΤΗΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΟΛΒΟΣ' in exacting detail, and again transliterating the term in precise Latin letters, Benedetto again shows his interest in the letter-forms of massed capitals, as expressed in his *Veterum monumentorum ... collectanea*.

10. e1r: 'omnium genetrice'

the (feminine) generator of all things

'Omnium genetrice' is Benedetto's latinization of the caption ΠΑΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΚΑΔΙ, for the image of a sleeping woman beheld by a lustful satyr and two fauns. Three other annotators (BL, Siena, SLNSW) also translate ΠΑΝΤΟΝ ΤΟΚΑΔΙ with the same phrase. Yet in distinction from the other annotators, Benedetto does not ascribe any alchemical significance to the term 'genetrice'. One of the Buffalo annotators, for example, uses this space to expound upon the concept of a 'universal genetrix' with reference to vapour theory. As has

⁶¹ A&G, vol. II, p. 726.

already been observed, the complete absence of alchemical interpretation distinguishes Como and Modena from the remainder of copies in this study.

Instead, Benedetto may simply have highlighted this term as an instance of a discrepancy between the woodcut and the body text. As A&G observe, d8v gives the text incorrectly as ‘ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΟΚΑΔΙ – a discrepancy corrected by Kerver in his edition.’⁶²

11. i3r: ‘bulimia’

de tutti cupido di niuno integramente rimane dil ardente appetito contento, ma de **Bulimia** infecto

condemned to the intense fires of concupiscence, while my hasty and headstrong appetite overwhelmed me with love and longing. I found myself invaded and infected by the **fiery contagion** (G 141)

P&C find the term in Paulus Festus, ‘Bulimum Graeci magnam famem dicunt’.⁶³ This annotation appears to be one of the cases in which Benedetto marked a term for future reference, but did not return to break the word into its component parts. These parts would likely have been accessible to his understanding. The OED identifies ‘bulimia’ as a compound, ‘bull-hunger’, formed by a compound of a compound of *βους*, ox, and *λιμός*, hunger.⁶⁴ Godwin’s idiomatic translation, referring to ‘Bulimia’ simply as the ‘contagion’ and transposing ‘ardente’ to modify ‘Bulimia’, may be due to the different meaning this term has taken in modern mental health discourse.

Benedetto also ventured into the explanation of Latin terms, though primarily those of Greek origin. In the following passage, he attempts to define ‘Proselyta.’

12. d5v: ‘Proselyta peregrino, et proselytia peregrinatione’

A proselyte is a pilgrim, and a proselytia a pilgrimage

Ma prima la divina luce invocata, et gli prosperi Genii, che ad questo mio ingresso guidando se praestasseron praesenti, et alla mia erratica **Proselytia** Comiti, et dil suo sancto ducato largitori.

But first I prayed to the divine light and the good genii to direct me on my arrival here, to be present as my companions while I wandered as a stranger, and bestow their holy guidance upon me. (G 67)

⁶² A&G, vol. II, pp. 670-1.

⁶³ P&C, p. 133.

⁶⁴ OED, op cit., ‘bulimia’. Accessed 10/19/13.

P&C look for their source to ‘προσηλύτευσις’ found in Ezekiel 14:7 in the Septuagint.⁶⁵ Gioivo, not citing a source, appears to have inferred the term directly from its existing components.

In two places, (p6v) and (z4r), Benedetto comments upon recurrences of the word ‘Acinace’, a word of Persian, and ultimately of Arabic origin.

13. p6v: ‘Uno antiquario acinâce una spata torta, da noi detta una scimitarra. Oratio et Val. Flac.’

Daposcia soto questa in un'altra figura quadrangula vidi uno ochio, due spiche di frumento transversate ligate. Uno antiquario **acinace**.

Then beneath this in another rectangular figure I saw an eye, two ears of wheat tied crosswise, an antique scimitar (G 243)

The reference to the sword appears in the ekphrasis of a hieroglyphic, containing an image of the sword among other signs. It is noteworthy that, of all the components of this hieroglyphic, the sword is the only term which elicits a response from the annotator. Since in this case the annotator is only interested in the etymology of a single word, this note can likely be attributed to the more philologically-minded Benedetto. For a second time, z4r, Benedetto defines the same word again, offering a slightly different definition.

z4r: ‘acinace, spata persica, da noi detta’

Acinace, which we call a Persian sword

cum il pendente Succingulo, overo Balteo transversario incincto, cum sumptuosissima **acinace** connodulata aurea.

He was belted with a transverse girdle or baldrick studded richly with gold. (G 368)

Literary Citations

⁶⁵ P&C, vol. II, p. 90,

Stichel's article carefully catalogued the breadth of classical, medieval, and contemporary authorities cited by the annotator of this copy. Stichel has identified sixty authors in the marginalia, including Latin and Greek, patristic, and medieval and Renaissance authors.⁶⁶ The space permitted in this study will only include a few observations on the application of the annotator's learning. This section will feature a few of those situations in which newly-documented marginalia offer insight into assumed readings, challenge modern commentaries, or assist in the dating and attribution of the marginalia themselves.

14. b4v: 'di Hiram iudeo mentione'; 'Di Hiram si fa nel primo libro dei Rei 1 Cap. 7'

'Mention of Jewish Hiram'; 'Of Hiram, [mention is made] in the first book of Kings, Chapter 7'.

Ceda quivi dunque lo acuto ingegno del'imprudente Perylao et di **Hiram iudaeo** et di qualunque fusore statuario.

Let now the great skill of imprudent Perillus, or of Jewish Hiram, or of any sculptor in bronze give way before it. (G 33)

A&G select the same Hiram of Tyre, called by Solomon to work in bronze, and confirm Benedetto's speculation by citing 1 Kings 7:13.⁶⁷ P&C do not offer any further comment.

This is as an act of disambiguation on the part of an extremely erudite reader. The reader may have been aware that there are three Hiram's mentioned in the Bible, and inserted a chapter-and-verse reference to clarify which of the candidates for 'Jewish Hiram' it was. The Hiram in 1 Kings: 7 is a widow's son of Naphtali, whom Solomon summoned from Tyre to cast bases of brass for him. As this inscription is found on the base of a sculpture, the author may have been drawing a connection between the base which supported twelve statues of oxen in 1 Kings 7:25 and the base supporting the sculpture of a horse in this image.⁶⁸

15. i6r: 'Lilio Gregorio Giraldi de diis gentium'

[cf.] Lilius Gregorius Giraldi's *De diis gentium* ['On the Gods of the Pagans']

⁶⁶ For a full itemized list, see Stichel, pp. 223-4.

⁶⁷ A&G, vol. II, p. 588.

⁶⁸ The reader may have been disambiguating from two other Hiram's in the Bible, which are Hiram, King of Tyre in 1 Kings 5:10 and 2 Samuel 5:11, a man sent by that the King of Tyre, also named Hiram, in 2 Chronicles 2:13-14.

It is uncertain which of the cluster of mythological references on this leaf (among others, the King of Bibria's Mound, Jupiter leaving 'the stamp of his divine image' (G 147) on Polia, or the judgment of Zeuxis) the annotator identified from his copy of Giraldi's *De diis gentium varia et multiplex historia*.⁶⁹ The fact that Giraldi's guide to pagan mythology is cited at all, as discussed above, serves as strong evidence that the hand of Paolo, or another later commentator, is present in this work, since the *De diis gentium* appeared in print three years after Benedetto's death. Unless one admits the possibility that Benedetto read Giraldi in manuscript, this serves as one of the strongest indications that Paolo's hand is present in this copy.

The annotator also makes use of the *De diis gentium* on C5r, relating to the identification of individual deities.

16. 2 C5r: 'Hermetico, cioè di Mercurio, il quale da Greci è detto hermete. Il diuino medico, cioè Esculapio, nella cui tutela è il serpente, come scriue Lilio Gregorio "de diis gentium", et pero i serpi gli sono attribuiti circa il suo bastone.'

Hermetic, that is, 'of Mercury', whom the Greeks called Hermes. The divine physician, that is, Aesculapius, whose wardship is the serpent, as Lilio Gregorio wrote in *De diis gentium*, and therefore the serpents are the attributes around his staff [i.e. the Caduceus].

ambi dui serati, et constrecti in amorosi amplexi, quali nel **Hermetico Caduceo** gli intrichatamente convoluti serpi, et quale il baculo involuto del divino Medico

we [Polia and Poliphilo] joined and wound ourselves in amorous embraces like the intricately convoluted serpents around **Hermes' caduceus**, or the entwined rod of the divine physician. (G 422)

This reference to such symbols of medicine as Hermes/Mercury and Aesculapius, stands as another indication of the presence of the doctor Paolo Giovio. A second usage of Giraldi, published after Benedetto's death, only seems to confirm his involvement. The annotator interprets these references in exclusively medical terms, rather than in a literary or philological frame of reference.

⁶⁹ The *De diis gentium* is the 'most important' mythography written between Boccaccio's *Geneologiae deorum gentilium* (1360s-1370s) and Natale Conti's *Mythologiae*, 1567. <http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/itali/autoren/giraldi_itali.html> Accessed 26/09/2011. An e-text is available at <<http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/itali/giraldi1/bd1/jpg/as005.html>> Accessed 20/10/2013. His entry in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* by S. Foà is at <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lilio-gregorio-giraldi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lilio-gregorio-giraldi_(Dizionario-Biografico))> Accessed 20/10/2013. Printed three years after Benedetto Giovio's death, the citation of the *De diis gentium* complicates the attribution and dating of Giovio's hand.

For the other annotators in this study, any reference to Hermes would be sure to invoke hermetic, and by extension alchemical, discussions which predominate in the roughly contemporary BL and Buffalo copies. Though in this period it would be anachronistic to entirely dissociate medicine and alchemy, both considered to be branches of natural philosophy, the fact that discussion does not extend into discussion of the *magnum opus* but remained within the realm of medicine would tie the attribution to Paolo.

17. i7v: ‘Herbam do, Erasmo ne gli adagi chiliade p^a cent. 9 adagio 78.’

[The phrase] ‘to offer grass’ [is found in] Erasmus’s *Adages*, in the first chiliad [(a group of 1000)], in the ninth hundred, adage 78 [(1.9.78)].

Per la cagione di tutte queste cose, manubio et spolio et vincto totalmente era disposito allhora cum il pugno apprehendere delle fresche herbule, et ad essa offerendole supplice dire. **Herbam do.**
Advegnia che già cum la mente tacito el confirmasse

All this left me totally vanquished, plundered and captured, so that I was ready to grasp a handful of fresh grass and offer it to her as a supplicant, saying ‘I give up.’ My mind had already tacitly agreed (G 150)

The Erasmian reference escapes A&G.⁷⁰ P&C suggest an alternate source in Paulus Festus, 99, ‘Herbam do quum ait Plautus significat victum me fateor’.⁷¹ The author of the HP makes reference to a commonplace that Erasmus recorded. Erasmus’ *Adagia* was first published in 1500, and the annotator’s reference to ‘chiliades’ suggests that he was using the second expanded edition printed by Aldus in 1508, entitled *Adagiorum chiliades*, as his source. This passage then serves as another illustration of the utility of period commentaries in fleshing out those of contemporary commentators.

18. 2 A1v: ‘La narratione di Vlysse ad Alcinoe Omero nella Odysea libro.i. ma non fu Vlysse che recitasse la ruina di Troia, ma si Demodoco cytharedo del re.’

The narration of Ulysses and Alcinous [King of the Phaeacians] [can be found in] Homer in the Odyssey Book 1, but it was not Ulysses who recited the ruin of Troy, but rather Demodocus, poet of the King.

⁷⁰ A&G, vol. II, p. 783.

⁷¹ P&C, p. 133.

Quale il peregrinante **Ulysse** gli miserabili excidii di **Troia** ad Alcinoo Re degli Pheaci recitando piangette, et che non rumpi il pecto mio di cordiali sospiri, in questo sanctissimo loco di felicitate, denegati, et di provocatione interdicti?

How, without flooding my dry cheeks with tears, as wandering Ulysses wept while he told Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians, about the miserable destruction of Troy? How can I keep from bursting my breast with my heart's sighs, though they are denied and forbidden to arise in this sanctuary of felicity, [disavowed, and banned from provocation?] (G 382)⁷²

A&G and P&C note the locus in Homer, but they do not expand on the textual problem which this annotator identifies.⁷³ The reader's ability to identify a detail in Homer of this degree of specificity suggests that this note can be attributed to Benedetto, the translator of Homer.

A similar attention to Homer is found on C2v

19. 2 C2v: 'gli anni de Nestore, & de Priamo, & gli anni della Sybilla Nestor uisse tre eta di huomini, Homero nell primo dell'Iliada. Priamo uisse molto uecchio, et hebbe cinquanta figliuoli'

The years of Nestor, of Priam, and [in the] years of the Sibyl Nestor saw the Three Ages of Men. Homer in the first [book] of the *Iliad*. Priam was seen to be very old, and had fifteen children.

Ma la privatione approssimantese, per questo urgie lo appetito de vivere, si possibile fusse gli anni **de Nestore, et de Priamo, et gli anni della Sibylla**.

But as death comes nearer, the stronger burns the appetite to live, if possible as long as Nestor, Priam or the Sibyl. (G. 416)

The context for this quotation is an admonition to Polia to 'gather her rosebuds while she may', since due to her obstinacy her parents married her off to an old man. Giovio notices how the references to these three figures amplify Polia's rhetorical purpose. As has been discussed above, Giovio's annotations are datable to the final years of his life, based upon the publication dates of texts which he cites. In this annotation, it is tempting to infer a personal poignancy into his observation of material dealing with the loss of youth.

⁷² Godwin translates the final line so idiomatically as to bear little resemblance to the original '...and this place where the eyes ought rather to be purged of tears, the breast of sighing?' (G 382).

⁷³ A&G, vol. II, p. 1100.

The annotator also shows an ability to correctly recognize allusions to Boccaccio as well as to the classics. A reference to ‘il nobile Ravennate’ acts a challenge to Benedetto to identify the alluded figure to be Nastagio degli Onesti from the eighth day of the *Decameron*.

20. 2 B1v: ‘Il nobil Rauenate, nouella del Boccac. ottaua della quinta giornata’

The nobleman of Ravenna, [from the] novella of Boccaccio, the eighth [story] of the fifth day

incominciai di sentire quello che ancora io voleva, guai guai fortissimamente exclamare, cum feminei ullulati, et voce flebile, et pavurosi lamenti, quanto più valevano. Quale sentite et vide il Nobile **ravennate**.

Then I began to hear women’s voices loudly yelling ‘Woe! Woe!’ (*guai guai*) – as I myself was ready to do – with sobbings and piteous lamentations exceeding those heard and seen by the nobleman of Ravenna. (G 399-400).

In previous entries for this chapter, references to P&C and A&G have primarily served to highlight whether modern and contemporary commentators identified the same source for a given citation. In the following case, however, the early modern annotator identifies a major reference which eluded twentieth-century scholars. In one episode of Book II, narrated in the voice of Polia, she describes her utter detachment from the lovesick Poliphilo, using a variety of allusions for forgetfulness: ‘so every thought of Poliphilo was deleted and wiped from my heart, as though I had already drunk the water of Lethe, son of Phlegethon’, as well as the following:

21. A4v: ‘né meno quale si annullata fuss’io dell’annulo del **bono Hebreo**, come l’amorosa Ethiopessa obliuosa.’

no less than if I had been wearing the good Hebrew’s ring like the amorous Ethiopian woman. (G 389).

Following the commonplace invocation of the river Lethe, the reference to the ‘good Hebrew’ and the ‘Ethiopian woman’ in the context of forgetfulness is unclear. P&C speculate that the reference refers to Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.⁷⁴ A&G share P&C’s speculation, guessing that the source must be midrashic.⁷⁵ Yet even if the ‘Ethiopian woman’

⁷⁴ ‘a chi voglia precisamente alludere qui il Colonna non mi è chiaro: forse alla regina di Saba?’ (P&C, p. 240). Cf. 1 Kings 10:1-13, 2 Chronicles 9:1-12.

⁷⁵ A&G, vol. II, p. 1109.

is indeed the Queen of Sheba, her connection to the theme of forgetfulness is not immediately apparent. Indeed, it would be counterfactual to associate the great romance of Solomon and Sheba with Polia's disdain for love, unless some irony is intended. A critic could easily become lost in speculation, were it not for Benedetto's identification of the source in Petrus Comestor.

2 A5r: 'buono Hebreo è Moyses, l'istoria è posta da Pietro Commestore nella sua istoria.'

The good Hebrew is Moses, in the story as told as put by Petrus Comestor in his *Historia*.

Benedetto Giovio correctly identifies the Ethiopian woman as Moses' wife in Chapter 6 of Comestor's *Historia scholastica*.⁷⁶ In one of Comestor's imaginative 'fables', Moses gave his wife, Tarbis, the princess of Ethiopia, a ring endowed with the virtue of forgetfulness, so that Moses would be able to return to Egypt. Tarbis' reluctance is due to Miriam and Aaron's animosity towards her.⁷⁷

Proinde Moyses tanquam vir peritus astrorum duas imagines sculpsit in gemmis hujus efficaciae, ut altera memoriam, altera oblivionem conferret. Cumque paribus annulis eas inseruisset, alterum, scilicet **oblivionis annulum**, uxori praeiuit; alterum ipse tulit, ut sic pari amore, sic paribus annulis insignirentur. Coepit ergo mulier amoris viri oblivisci, et tandem libere in Aegyptum regressus est.⁷⁸

Medicine

The annotator's interest in medical and anatomical matters, to the exclusion of any alchemico-medical subtext, is another strong indication of Paolo's involvement in the annotation of this copy. It is due to this attribution to Paolo that these notes were moved out of the category of 'Naturalis historia' and assigned their own distinct category.

⁷⁶ Petrus Comestor, d. 1178. *Historia scholastica* in J.P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia latina*, Vol. 198 (Paris: Migne, 1855), pp. 1045-1721. The *Historia scholastica* is an account of salvation history, including many imaginative extra-Biblical 'fables'. See Joseph de Ghellinck, 'Peter Comestor', *The Catholic Encyclopedia* vol. 11 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911). 5 Oct. 2011 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11763b.htm>> Mign

⁷⁷ Numbers 12, of which Comestor's fable is an expansion. The name of Moses' wife is elsewhere given as Tzipporah.

⁷⁸[Prior to this episode, Tarbis had helped Moses to conquer an Ethiopian city, on the promise that he would marry her.] 'Therefore Moses, as a skilled man, carved out of gems two images of stars, and invested into one the [virtue of] memory, and upon another the [virtue of] forgetfulness. When he had inlaid the gems into two rings, one, namely the ring of forgetfulness, he gave to his wife, the other he took for himself, so thus both loves were signified by the same rings. So therefore the woman began to forget the love of the man, and eventually he returned as a free man to Egypt.'

In a comment upon the figure of the double-tailed mermaid on (n4r), the annotator states baldly what the author and the translator state euphemistically: that the fronds divide at the genitals.

22. n4r: ‘genitale femin.’; ‘femen membro’

‘Female genitals’, ‘the female member’

Sopra la superiore circonferentia de questo margine in inciso, incubavano quatro monstrificate fanciulle, cum soluta capillatura, cum la fronte redimite de eximiaopera conflate. Et ciascuna di queste, nel **suo femine discriminantise**, et dissentiente le polpose coxe, vertivano poscia quelle in antiquarie fronde, cum fogliatura Achantinea (n3r-n34)

Carved around its [a ring hanging at the end of a chain] were four monstrous female figures with loose hair and wreathed brows, cast with rare workmanship. Each one was divided at the groin, whereupon her fleshy thighs separated and were transformed into antique fronts with acanthus leaves. (G 206)

P&C note that the term ‘femine’ is used to refer to the groin in the Vulgate, citing Numbers 5:21, Judith 9:2, and Isaiah 11:2,24.⁷⁹

As Calvesi and Godwin observe, this twin-tailed figure bears a striking resemblance to the heraldic sign of the Roman Colonna family. The annotator does not remark upon this similarity, paying no attention to its heraldic or even emblematic significance, observing only that the figure is anatomically correct.⁸⁰

The commentator’s medical knowledge is also apparent in two comments on epilepsy.

23. o2r: ‘Epilepsia da noi detta morbo caduco’

Epilepsy, which we call *morbo caduco*.

La quale chosa la infeconda et ieiuna lingua non saperebbe né radunare né tante accommodate parole mendicare, che io condignamente valesse uno pauculo esprimere, quello che ne facesse il succenso core in tanta dolcissima fiamma, quanta che in omni parte lo obtexe. Remansi dunque quale della **Epilepsia** lapso.

⁷⁹ P&C, p. 166.

⁸⁰ This mermaid is a heraldic symbol of the Colonna family, and forms part of the case for attributing authorship to the Venetian Colonna. See Calvesi, *Pugna d’Amore in Sogno*.

My barrend and feeble tongue could neither collect itself nor find suitable words to express even a little of that sweet flame that played over every part of my burning heart; thus I remained dumb, as if struck by **epilepsy**. (G 219)

z4r: 'Epilepsia è il morbo caduco'

Ed a non impedito meato, da summa dulcitudine permitteua liberamente & exalare il spiritulomio pensando che da **Epilepsia**, cum genu replicato cadendo fusce state inuaso.

I languished in the sweet flames with my pulse arrested, neither living nor dead, while the open wound allowed my spirit to exhale freely with the utmost sweetness, so that I thought, as I fell on my knees, that I had been struck with a fit of **epilepsy**. (G 366)

A&G find a source in Pliny for what the natural historian termed the *morbus comitalis* (20.1.44 and others). They note that epilepsy was considered to be a sacred illness, as it affects the head, the most noble part of the body.⁸¹

In these two locations, the annotator defines epilepsy by the term 'falling sickness'. It is notable that in both places, epilepsy is used as a synonym for a transverberative spiritual experience. In doing so, the annotator is interpreting this passage of the HP within the context of a long tradition associating epilepsy with religious ecstasy.⁸² Hippocrates wrote a treatise entitled *On the Sacred Disease*, which concluded that epilepsy is of material, rather than divine, origin. Galen further defined the condition, and understanding of epilepsy expanded in the Renaissance. Paracelsus (Philip von Hohenheim, 1493-1541) also treated the subject in a treatise entitled 'The Diseases that deprive man of his reason, such as St Vitus' Dance, falling sickness...and their correct treatment.'⁸³ Aristides Diamantis et al. have also identified 'exceptional production' of literature on epilepsy in this period of Italian history, often in the context of demonic possession.⁸⁴ Such treatises may have provided the source material for Paolo's observations.

The annotator's medical interest extends to questions of faculty psychology. Noticing a reference to the 'dry memory', the annotator's mind immediately draws a connection with

⁸¹ A&G, vol. II, p. 1077, 'era comunemente intesa come una malattia sacra perché colpiva la parte più nobile del corpo, la testa'.

⁸² Mervyn J. Eadie and Peter F. Bladin, *A Disease Once Sacred: A History of the Medical Understanding of Epilepsy* (Eastleigh: John Libbey Eurotext, 2004).

⁸³ *Four Treatises of Paracelsus*, ed. Henry E. Sigerist (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941). Based on the above dating of the hand, Giovio is writing shortly after Paracelsus' death in 1541.

⁸⁴ A. Diamantis, E. Magiorkinis, K. Sidiropoulou, 'Hallmarks in the History of Epilepsy in Antiquity', *Epilepsy & Behaviour* 17 (2010), pp. 103-108.

Vesalius. First formulated in the West by Aristotle and developed by Arabic doctors before its reintroduction to Europe through Latin translations, faculty psychology held that the various cognitive functions, or forces (*vires*) are located in distinct sections of the brain.⁸⁵ Images had to pass through the eyes and then through the various *vires* in order to be processed.⁸⁶ ‘Arduo iudicio’, which Godwin translates as ‘genius,’ is closer in meaning to ‘hard judgment’ or ratiocination.⁸⁷

Music Theory

As notes on medical matters hint at Paolo’s presence in text, observations on musical matters suggest Benedetto’s involvement. Stichel notes that the annotator takes a particular interest in music, praising Franchino Gafurio, the master of music at the Duomo of Milan, as a man ‘in rhetorica e in pratica musico eccellentissimo’, implying a personal acquaintance.⁸⁸ The annotator was apparently in a position to judge, because he himself demonstrates a firm grounding in musical theory and its rhetorical significance.

Benedetto took note of the fact that the author of the HP, in scenes involving singing nymphs or other groups, specifically notes the scale of the song in which they are singing. The tone chosen is not random, but selected with specific rhetorical effect, setting the emotional atmosphere for the ekphrastic descriptions which follow. The HP uses the choice of scale as a significant element in the overall argument of a scene. Neither P&C nor A&G discuss the significance of tones. In the following passage, a group of nymphs soothe and slowly seduce Poliphilo, as they guide him towards the palace of Queen Eleutherylida.

24. e7v: ‘Et d’indi facendo gratioso discesso in medio delle festevole fanciulle andando, dolcemente incominciorono di cantilare **in phrygio tono** rithmiticamente, una faceta metamorphosi.’

As they made their graceful exit, with me walking in the midst of the merry girls, they began to sing sweetly. It was a rhythmical song in the **Phrygian mode** about a facetious metamorphosis. (G 86)

⁸⁵ Aristotle, *De Anima*, see also Shields, Christopher, ‘Aristotle’s Psychology’, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2011 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2011/entries/aristotle-psychology/> Accessed 8/20/2013

⁸⁶ James S. Ackerman, ‘Leonardo’s Eye’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978), pp. 108–46.

⁸⁷ Stichel p. 231-2. See also P&C, p. 199ff.

⁸⁸ a5r, in Stichel, p. 236.

In specifically associating the Phrygian with persuasion, the author of the HP draws upon a tradition attested in Quintilian, and reiterated in Boethius' *De musica*. Boethius relates the story of a youth from Taormina, Sicily, who, excited and inebriated, was calmed by changing the prevalent tone of music to the Phrygian.⁸⁹ Such an effect likewise suits the argument of the scene, in which Poliphilo succumbs to the pleasures of this *locus amoenus*.

At the same time, Poliphilo's sexual desire for his nymphal guides continues to grow, tempting him to stray from his loyalty to Polia. In doing so, the author draws upon a related Boethian concern for music as a determinant of moral character. 'Nothing is more characteristic of human nature than to be soothed by pleasant modes or disturbed by their opposites' stated Boethius.⁹⁰ The author of *De musica* traces this concern for the intersection of tonality and morality back to *The Republic*, in which Plato advised that children should be shielded from dangerous modes, and taught only those which are simple and vigour-inducing.⁹¹ Reminded of the rhetorical signs embodied in the modes, the annotator responds by listing the Phrygian as the third within the Boethian taxonomy of eight modes.

e7v: 'tono phrygio, cioè del terzo tono, Perche gli antichi quello che noi chiamamo primo tono, essi dicevano Dorio, il secondo hypodorio, il terzo phrygio, il quarto hypophrygio, il quinto lydio il sesto hypolydio, il settimo mixolydio, e l'ottavo hypermixolydio'

[The] Phrygian tone (τονος), that is, the third tone, because that which we call the first tone, they called Dorian, the second Hypodorian, the third Phrygian, the fourth Hypophrygian, the Fifth Lydian, the sixth Hypolydian, the seventh Mixolydian, [and] the eighth Hypermixolydian.

The annotator's interest in itemizing the musical modes is due to factors beyond his own connoisseurship. Benedetto here demonstrates an awareness of broader Cinquecento discussions of the rhetorical significance of musical modes, and their changing enumerations. This marginal note therefore offers a glimpse into one humanist's view into this ongoing debate.

A full exposition of this relationship between rhetoric and musical scales is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but a brief summary will be offered here. As interest in Cicero's and Quintilian's rhetoric grew in Cinquecento humanistic circles, these formulations of rhetoric went beyond writing and oratory to encompass other forms of expression. Musical

⁸⁹ Boethius, 1.185, p 5. This episode is also found in Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.10.32.

⁹⁰ Boethius, *De musica*, 1.1.

⁹¹ Plato, *Republic* 399C.

expression, too, could be conceptualized as a form of argument within a Ciceronian framework. Each piece of music can then be considered as an act of persuasion, convincing the listener to adopt the intended emotional state. For example, the increasing emphasis on the device of anaphora in spoken rhetoric was compared with the use of crescendo in musical composition.⁹² In this regard, the choice of available tones themselves could be considered rhetorical devices, to be selected to engender particular *affetti*.

Nicola Vicentino, the author of a text entitled *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna pratica* (1550), notes that as an orator alters his tone of speech, music must also vary its accent.⁹³ Though this concept was first formulated with regard to instrumental music, it finds particular expression in vocal music, where the boundaries between speech and oration are at their thinnest. This distinction led to a division in Cinquecento Italian musical theory between the traditional, and not explicitly rhetorical performance of madrigal, termed the 'prima prattica' and a new rhetorically-informed vocal performance, known as the 'seconda prattica'.⁹⁴ While the term 'seconda prattica' was recorded by Claudio Monteverdi in the 5th book of the *Madrigali* (1605), the association of music and rhetorical performance crystallized by Monteverdi is itself the culmination of changes in thought already under development in Benedetto's era.⁹⁵

Though the author of the HP clearly selected certain tones as part of the overall sensory makeup of the scene, it is less clear whether the author intended to do so within an established typology of tones and their significances. Benedetto did however categorize the author's use of tonality within the established Boethian codification. Yet the traditional Boethian formula of eight tones was currently in flux, and texts known as 'tonaries' offered alternative formulations for both the number and effect of tones.

Mathiesen has identified three tonaries in the period leading up to the dates for Benedetto's proposed composition, among them, Aaron's *Trattato* (1525), Lanfranco's *Scintille di musica* (1533), and Del Lago's *Breve introduttione di musica misurata* (1540).⁹⁶ Benedetto's formulation is itself situated at a midpoint in the development of tonology. Two years after his death, Heinrich Glarean's (1488-1563) *Dodecachordon* (1547) would expand

⁹² Anna Paradiso Laurin, 'Classical Rhetoric in Baroque Music', M.A. Thesis (2012), Institutionen för klassisk musik, Stockholm < <http://kmh.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:529778/FULLTEXT01> > Accessed 14/2/2013. Though Laurin's thesis primarily discusses seventeenth-century Baroque music, it contains significant sections on 16th century material.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁹⁶ Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek music and music theory in antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

the taxonomy to twelve.⁹⁷ Benedetto's notes then offer a view into one individual's approach to this ongoing question, at a midpoint between the publication of more prominent treatises.

Naturalis historia

As Benedetto and Paolo focused in on these smaller details, Pliny the Elder symbolically stood over their shoulder. The statues of the two Plinies that now stand in the town *piazza* are a testament of the preponderating influence these figures exert over the civic identity of the people of Como. Benedetto's own interest in *res herbaria* is likely inspired by a sense of pride in the birthplace of the author the greatest and most foundational encyclopedia of *Naturalis historia*. The determining influence of the *Naturalis Historia* on Benedetto's reading will form the main argument of the subsequent chapter, centering on the Como copy. Prefatory to the next chapter, a few comments upon matters of natural history found in the present copy are in order.

Though botany was most prominent among his interests, the annotator's comments on natural history extended to mineralogy, ichthyology, and the use of natural history in emblematics. Nor can the use of Plinian references be divided from his other interests in etymology and linguistics. The categories used in this dissertation are for the sake of convenience in dividing the material. The annotator would have seen this enterprise of playing 'intellectual games' with the text as one holistic intellectual challenge.

25. p8r: 'Aphronito, ouero Baurach in lingua Arabica Baurach, è la spurna del nitro Plin. Lib. 31. cap. 10.'

Aphronito or *Baurach*, [which] in the Arabic language, is *Baurach*, is the [spurna?] of nitrum in Pliny Book 31 Chapter 10.

Dalle quale nane testudinava poscia tuto questo loco candido di marmoro, di expolita quadratura decementato, et quasi non cernentise le compacture. Negli quali era desputato molto **Afronito, ouero Baurach**. Quivi trovai il secticio silicato, bellissimamente expresso, complanato et piano, ma foedato di frequentia di noctue.

⁹⁷ A copy of the *Dodecachordon* from the Bibliothèque Toulouse is available at < [http://imslp.org/wiki/Dodecachordon_\(Glareanus,_Henricus\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Dodecachordon_(Glareanus,_Henricus)) > International Music Score Library Project, Accessed 2/8/13.

This whole place was vaulted from the piers upwards and of white marble, the polished blocks cemented together so that one could barely see the joints. Much saltpetre or borax had dribbled out here. I found the pavement to be beautifully cut and shaped, smooth and flat, but fouled by the presence of owls. (G 247)

P&C define ‘aphronitrum’ as saltpetre, while tracing the collocation (affronitum/baurach) to Serapion the Younger’s (ibn Sarabi) *Liber de simplicibus medicamentis*, which was printed in Venice in 1497.⁹⁸ The fact that ‘Bauruch’, the etymon of the English ‘Borax’ بورق (*bwrw*) is absent from Isidore’s *Etymologies*, suggests that one of the Giovio brothers had also access to an Arabic lexical source.⁹⁹

The above citation references Pliny directly with chapter and verse. In other cases, a citation from Pliny arrives through a secondary medium, in this case, the *Hortus sanitatis*.

26. s4r: ‘Del pelicano et sua natura si ragiona nel libro detto Hortus Sanitatis’

The *Hortus sanitatis* treats the pelican and its nature

non altrimenti pervio facendo il pecto mio lacerando fenestrato, che la pientissima **Pelicano Aegyptia**, nella solitudine dil turbido et acephalo Nilo habitante

I would have made a window of my lacerated breast, just like the pious Egyptian Pelican that dwells in the solitude of the turbid and sourceless Nile (G 287).

A&G give the source for this image as Isidore’s *Etymologies*.¹⁰⁰

The annotator does not go on to state that the *Hortus sanitatis* derived this image, in turn, from Pliny. Civic pride only extends so far, and in the moment of needing to make a quick reference, he was glad to make use of a secondary reference rather than tracing the reference back to its origin.¹⁰¹ This same image of the self-sacrifice of the pelican for its young entered

⁹⁸ P&C, p. 181. Serapion the Younger’s treatise was sometimes co-bound with that of Serapion the Elder. One cannot be certain which ‘Serapion’ is referred to here.

⁹⁹ OED, ‘Borax’ was *baurach* in Medieval Latin. Isidore thought the word had a Greek etymology: ‘Aphronitrum Graece, Latine spuma nitri est. De quo quidam ait (Mart. 14.58): Rusticus es? nescis quid Graeco nomine dicar: spuma vocor nitri. Graecus est aphronitrum.’ <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Isidore/16*.html> Accessed 14/2/2013.

¹⁰⁰ A&G, vol. II, pp. 962-3, citing *Etymologies* 12.7.26.

¹⁰¹ *Hortus Sanitatis* (Mainz: Jacob Meydenbach, 1491).

the emblematic tradition. Ubiquitous in ecclesiastical iconography, this image was ultimately derived from Pliny, and later canonized in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593).¹⁰²

Both brothers drew on Pliny. As previously mentioned, being the author of a treatise on ichthyology, *De romanis piscibus libellus* (1531),¹⁰³ Paolo is the likely hand behind the following observation. Though he does not make direct reference to Pliny, his interest in natural history is no doubt conditioned by Como's most famous son.

27. 2 B7r: 'sepia è un piccolo pesce, il quale quando il pescatore lo uuole pigliare, uomita un certo liquore oscuro, col quale torbida l'acqua'

A sepia is a small fish, which when the fisherman tries to catch it, vomits a certain dark liquor, with which it makes the water murky.

Prestantissime Nymphæ, se la candidecia al gli ochii egri, impuri, et lippi, nigriscente aparendo offende. Si le cose rutilante, di livido tectorio, et le micante di candore, et di splendore renitente. Maculate, di rubigine conserperse, obtecte di caligine, **di vomicione sepiale perfuse**, et di atramento infuscate sono damnate, senza dubio, non per diffecto dillo obiecto, ma per il sensuale morbo. (14v)

[Nor is it any wonder] distinguished nymphs, if white appears black and offensive to eyes that are sick, dirty and bleary; if bright red things appear livid to them, while shining and sparkling white ones appear with red spots, covered with mist, **soaked in sepia** and stained with ink. They reject them, although clearly this is not the fault of the object, but of their diseased sense. (G 409)

Modified Woodcuts

In addition to writing in the margins, the annotators of Modena, like other commentators featured in this study, also made direct modifications to the woodcut illustrations. Again, unfortunately, the lack of adequate photographic equipment prevented the taking of photographs of sufficient detail, restricting this section to verbal description. The present annotators modified woodcuts for reasons similar to those in other copies: to add depth and dimensionality, to censor images, and to clarify the positioning of objects within the diegetic space.

¹⁰² Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome: Giovanni Gigliotti, 1593).

¹⁰³ Pavli Iovii Comensis medici *De Romanis piscibus libellus ad Ludouicum Borbonium cardinalem amplissimum* (Basel: Froben, 1531)

On two woodcuts, the annotator specifically added depth and detail to trees. (13v) depicts a line of nymphs in the process of reverting into their arboreal form. The reader colored in the leaves growing out of their heads, accentuating their transformation. Likewise on (t6r), the annotator added light brown hatching to the trees in order to offer a sense of texture to the bark. The fact that the annotator decided to improve the details of trees, and only trees, would seem to accord with Benedetto's known botanical interests.

One of the annotators also appears to have had an on-again, off-again relationship with the act of censorship itself. The herm depicted on (x8v) has had its phallus partially erased. Yet strangely, the more egregious phallic image of the Sacrifice to Priapus has remained untouched. The annotator remarks on this fact, stating on m6r that 'in alcuni esemplari manca questo foglio'.

Chapter 1 also discussed the fact that the author of the HP envisioned three-dimensional diegetic spaces within the dreamscape, which due to their staggering complexity were difficult to envision before modern renderings with the aid of computer graphics. It is easy for the casual reader to overlook the fact that the woodcut images, presented to the viewer in linear sequence, are in fact different angles, or details, of a single monument viewed in the round. One image which appears to follow another is often a detail of the previous image. Like other annotators, Benedetto Giovio modified woodcuts in order to show the relationship and positioning of the images within the diegetic space of the dreamscape. For example, the annotator shades in the side panel of the chariot on (l4v). This panel features images of *putti* at play and a male medusa, which are depicted in zoomed-in detail illustration on (l7r). The shading on l4v indicates the area which will be magnified in the subsequent detail on (l7r).

The erudition of Benedetto and Paolo Giovio was more than adequate to take on the challenging task of commenting upon the HP. Yet even for intellects such as theirs, it appears that there were problems that remained beyond their grasp. On encountering an unresolved textual question, Stichel observed that reader would mark the fact with a small circle in the margin.¹⁰⁴ This dot would presumably indicate a spot to which he intended to return at a later date. The annotator's progress through the book appears to have been non-linear. He did not look up every textual puzzle on the first encounter, but moved on with his reading, saving these for future reference. It should not necessarily be assumed that all of the comments are those of the Giovio brothers. It is possible that some of these dots may derive

¹⁰⁴ Stichel, p. 217.

from later unrecorded owners. Stichel notes that these dots were a ‘usual sign of condemnation.’¹⁰⁵

Yet even if Benedetto returned to the text to express disapproval, these dots indicate that he did so frequently. The use of such marks also lends support to the model of reading proposed in the Introductory chapter, namely that certain prolific annotators used the central narrative as a main thoroughfare through the text, from which they took detours into certain descriptions of subjects of prior interest, while bypassing others. Such appears to be the Giovio’s model of reading. The fact that the readers left a mark, rather than pausing in their reading, suggests that they did indeed continue on along the main trunk following the narrative, but they also marked the occurrence of puzzles to be solved later. At times, the annotator made a partial effort, but his attempt at rendering the word remains incomplete. For example, on (E7v) the annotator transliterated ‘hyperoria’ as υπερορία, but did not go on to define the term.

Conclusions

Two annotators can be identified who engage with the text in the sense delineated in the Introduction. Both Benedetto and Paolo follow the main narrative, diverging from the path to play intellectual games of source identification in their current fields of interest, whether in botany or medicine. After spending extended time with their notes, individual consistencies emerge which distinguish individual hands, such as Benedetto’s habit of always writing certain Greek letters in the majuscule.

The annotators do exhibit consistent interests throughout the text: returning to remark upon *res herbaria*, or following a single term, such as *acinace* (Persian sword) at each occurrence. However, what is not evident is a consistent scheme of annotation, as would be indicated by the use of an index, a broad thematic concern such as alchemical allegory, or other coherent plan. Out of the superabundance of information in the HP, the readers seized upon those words and concepts which triggered associations within their existing fields of knowledge.

The reference to the two main contemporary commentaries throughout this chapter also demonstrated that early modern annotators were perplexed by the same textual dilemmas

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 104.

which challenged modern commentators. At times they arrived at the same conclusions on sources or textual problems. At others, as in the case of ‘Moses’ ‘Ethiopian wife’, early modern commentators resolved a problem which perplexed twentieth-century annotators. As contemporary scholars, it is easy to inherit a ‘Whig’ view of history, operating on the assumption that recent scholarship is by definition more informed. Yet when modern and early modern scholars are referring to the same canon, they can be envisioned as working in unison across the centuries, their explanations proving to be mutually informative.

If the annotators did not have an overall structured theme, they did have a figure of influence which lay behind their model of reading in Como’s most famous son, Pliny the Elder. The following chapter will transition from the study of individual notes to outlining the conceptual model behind them. Unlike the impromptu responses in Modena, the annotators of the Como copy treated that copy as a Plinian encyclopedia, and responded as such.

Como, Biblioteca Pubblica – INCUN A.5.13

The cross-references in Giambattista Giovio's flyleaf notes to the copies at Modena and at Como presented in the previous chapter, combined with the revealing footnotes in his *Elogio di Benedetto Giovio*, along with idiosyncratic annotative practices (such as the transcription of massed capitals) in both copies have indicated that the hands of both Giovio brothers are present in these two books.

Yet even if the copies were marked by the same hands, the brothers took markedly different approaches to the HP in each copy. Where the volume of notes at Modena would lead Giambattista to characterise the commentary as glossing, Como contains only 'qualche parola di annotazione'. In contrast to the Panini copy's copious remarks from a breadth of literary sources, most prominently the *Naturalis historia*, Como contains only about seventy pieces of annotation. These marginalia to Como, consisting primarily of single words, do not exhibit the extensive reflection and etymological analysis seen in its more prolifically-annotated twin. The most frequently-cited text in Como, nevertheless, remains the *Naturalis historia*. Though Benedetto and Paolo read both copies with their city's most famous son at the front of their minds, they used very different strategies in approaching the same material in the two separate copies.

The objective of this chapter is to offer an explanation for this discrepancy. The distinction hinges on the purpose to which Pliny the Elder is applied to the HP, which is in turn illustrative of the nature of the text the HP was conceptualized to be. In Modena, the *Naturalis historia* was one particularly prominent resource among the many classical texts utilized for identifying the etymological roots of Poliphilesque terms and the sources of commonplaces. Pliny's encyclopedia was, for the copy now in the Panini collection, another reference point for a primarily philological approach to the text.

In Como, by contrast, the HP itself was envisioned to be a text akin to a Plinian encyclopedia. The readers used the HP as if it were the *Naturalis historia*, utilizing the HP as a treasury of information to be mined, rather than approaching the text primarily as a philological puzzle to be solved. The annotators of Como adopted a strategy of extracting information from the HP modelled on the one which Pliny advises to his patron Vespasian in his *Proemium* to the HP. Recent research by Aude Doody into the structure of the *Naturalis*

historia also demonstrates remarkable consonances with the structure of the HP, indicating that readers would have recognized that the HP conforms to its Plinian model in form, as well as in content.¹ Rather than browsing through the HP and noting topics of interest responsively as they chanced upon them, the readers approached the HP as if it were an encyclopedia in itself, with the *Naturalis historia* serving as a model to rationalize and structure their reading.

This chapter will furthermore argue that three major factors predisposed the readers to apply such a reading to the HP. First, both of the Giovio brothers took Pliny's origins in Como as a mark of civic pride; Benedetto had even composed a treatise in defense of the encyclopaedist's Comasco origins. Second, the *Naturalis historia*, due to its fragmentary circulation and absence from medieval scholastic curricula, had developed an annotative tradition of its own, distinct from other practices of glossing. Unconditioned by precedent, these annotators were at liberty to annotate the text according to a new model. Finally, the Giovio brothers were situating themselves within an existing tradition of using Pliny as a space for philological experimentation. In a recursive manner, it is that tradition which informed the composition of much of the HP's vocabulary through the medium of Perotti's *Cornucopia*. In applying the *Naturalis historia*'s own methods to the HP, the annotators mirrored the HP's own process of composition. As with Modena, the hands of both brothers may be present in this copy, but remain difficult to distinguish. The copy includes one feature distinct to Benedetto, the re-transcription of massed capitals. When the annotator is referred by a personal name, I have used 'Benedetto', with the understanding that Paolo's hand may also be present in this copy.

Bibliographic Description

The copy at INCUN A.13 in the Biblioteca Pubblica di Como is a complete copy of the 1499 edition. The errata corringe is intact, and the Sacrifice to Priapus is uncensored. During this study some photographs were taken with my personal camera, but they did not resolve to sufficient detail to be of utility, and as a consequence I have only used one photograph of a large-scale illustration. Of the approximately 70 pieces of marginalia, the majority were concentrated in the cluster of focus (a1r-e1r).

¹ Aude Doody, *Pliny's Encyclopedia: The Reception of the 'Naturalis historia'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

These notes consist primarily of single words extracted and retranscribed from the body text, the majority taken from passages in the text of the HP derived from the *Naturalis historia*. In contrast to Modena, in which the *Naturalis historia* was *primus inter pares* among a variety of resources applied in the interpretation of the HP, in this case the purpose of the annotating project appears to have been specifically to identify Plinian sources within Benedetto's documented interests in *res herbaria*. For example, on d7r, the annotator transcribes the word 'amnice', which is extracted from the following phrase:

Ne le quale ripe apparevano discoperte le varicante radice, et in quelle pendeua il Trichomanes, et Adianto, et la Cymbalaria, et comate d'altri olusculi silvatici amanti, le amnice ripe. (d7r)

On these banks one could see various roots laid bare, among which were hanging spleenwort, maidenhair fern, navelwort and other woodland plants that like to cover riverbanks. (G 70)

Recognizing that the unifying characteristic of this passage is that all of the plants are riparian herbs, the annotator transcribes this phrase as a rubric, defining the cluster of content, and as an interesting lexical term in itself.

The annotator's transcriptions remain centered on identification of botanical vocabulary. Here the annotator repeats identifications which have previously been sourced with the aid of P&C and A&G in the previous chapter. The distinguishing quality of these re-transcriptions is that they are nearly all taken from the *Naturalis historia*, in distinction to Pliny's encyclopedia constituting one source among many. On (a3r), the annotator takes time to transcribe the distinctive names of plants, replicating the same transcriptions as found in Modena. In the margin next to the phrase 'ne Magar ne magalia se vide', the annotator writes 'Magar'. The word 'syringe' is extracted from the phrase 'cum le sue bifore syringe rurale'. In a particularly idiosyncratic co-annotation with Modena, remarked on by Stichel, the annotator rewrites the phrase 'subderi' from the phrase 'corticosi Subderi apto additamento muliebre', a Plinian reference to women's footwear.

The botanical marginalia continue through the folios of which a complete transcription was made in each copy (a1r-e1r). In a passage describing a bed of flowers on (a4v), the annotator singles out the flower 'muscaria' from the phrase 'la fiorita Lisimachia, & la muscaria imperatoria'. The reference to the mysterious plant 'Mercuriale Moly', which also caught the attention of the Siena and Williams annotators, here draws a comment as well. In the margin adjoining the phrase 'la Mercuriale Moly, cum la nigra radice per aiuto', the annotator writes 'Moly', (with the diaeresis in the original), followed by the definition

‘siue ruta siluatica’.² This unknown term seems to have been first noted by the annotator, as an anomaly, looked up, and then returned to at a later date. A dot, consisting of a single pen point, is located next to this reference, which from the quality of the ink and stroke appears to derive from an earlier reading than that of the Plinian citation. In this and other cases, it appears that the reader remarked on the problem, but postponed the looking-up of a solution to a later date.

In another case, the annotator recognized when the HP makes use of a reference from the *Naturalis historia* in a figurative sense. An image of a hexireme ship is found on (s4r), which ferries Poliphilo and Polia to Venus’s island of Cythera. Adjacent to the woodcut, the annotator writes the phrase ‘seshireme Tipulla’, comparing the boat to the crane-fly, or water-strider.

The notes are not exclusively restricted to content from the *Naturalis historia*. The annotator, for example, records one of the titles of Polia, ‘Chrysocoma’, on (e4v). P&C derive this reference from an epithet of Apollo found in Macrobius’ *Saturnalia*.³

Even with these exceptions acknowledged, the readers’ predominant focus on the *Naturalis historia* suggests a campaign of deliberate reading aimed at identifying Plinian citations, first and foremost. Their approach shows intentionality, rather than responsiveness. The annotators did not simply note Plinian references as they chanced upon them, but actively sought them out.

The following section will examine the factors which would have predisposed the annotators to take up such a reading. The first is the fierce pride which Benedetto, and the people of Como in general, take towards residing in Pliny’s birthplace. Benedetto himself composed a defense of Pliny’s Comasco origins entitled *Apologia contra Veronenses super patria Plinii Senioris*, currently unpublished.⁴ Paolo Giovio, as mentioned in the previous chapter, built his museum on what he supposed to be the site of Pliny’s villa. The Giovio brothers’ proud acknowledgement of Pliny was situated within an extended discourse of local patriotism. Even in 1605, one Paulus Cigalinus published in Como a text entitled *De vera patria Plinii* (Como: Frova, 1605).

Benedetto’s interest in Pliny extended beyond simple pride in Pliny’s origins in his city, or the use of the *Naturalis historia* as source material. Benedetto made a particular study of

² P&C, p. 41, note that this herb is found in Pliny, 25.15, as an herb which protects against poison.

³ P&C, p. 98. Macrobius. *Sat.* 1.17.47.

⁴ *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries: annotated lists and guides Vol. IV*, Ed. F. Edward Cran, Associate Ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1980), pp. 297-422.

Pliny's introduction to the text, or *Praefatio*. Benedetto composed an *Enarratio praefationis historia naturalis Plinii*, as yet unedited.⁵ In this introduction, Pliny offers guidance to Vespasian on how to use his new composition. After an extended preface flattering his dedicatee, Pliny concedes that his book has been gathered from many sources and that what Pliny offers to the reader is something of a jumbled conspectus.

Ut ait Domitius Piso, thesauros oportet esse, non libros – lectione voluminum circiter duorum milium, quorum pauca admodum studiosi attingunt propter scretum materiae, es exquisitis auctoribus centum inclusimus triginta sex voluminibus, adiectis rebus plurimis quas aut ignoraverant priores aut postea invenerat vita. nec dubitamus multa esse quae et nos praterierint; homines enim sumus et occupati officiis, subsicivisque temporibus ista curamus, id est nocturnis, ne quis vestrum putet his cessatum horis. Dies vobis impendimus.

As Domitius Piso says, it is not books but store-houses that are needed; consequently by perusing about 2000 volumes, very few of which, owing to the abstruseness of their contents, are ever handled by students, we have collected in 36 volumes 20,000 noteworthy facts obtained from one hundred authors that we have explored, with a great number of other facts in addition that were either ignored by our predecessors or have been discovered by subsequent experience. Nor do we doubt that there are many things that have escaped us also; for we are but human, and beset with duties, and we pursue this sort of interest in our spare moments, that is at night – lest any of your house should think that the night hours have been given to idleness. The days we devote to you.⁶

Though the *Praefatio* features the obsequiousness expected in Roman letters, Pliny does offer his patron a means of making practical use of his gift. The work he has composed, like the HP which emulated it, is an assemblage of commonplaces taken from a life's reading. As compositor, Pliny has rationalized his composition towards usage, out of a professed desire for humble service, and with a desire to ease the burden for his reader. In doing so Pliny offers a method for his reader to follow:

Quia occupationibus tuis publico bono parcendum erat, quid singulis contineretur libris huic epistulae subiunxi, summaque cura ne legendos eos haberes operam dedi. Tu per hoc et aliis praestabis ne perlegant, sed ut quisque desiderabit aliquid id tantum quaerat, et sciat quo loco inveniat.⁷

As it is my duty in the public interest to have consideration for the claims upon your time, I have appended to this letter a table of contents of the several books, and have taken very careful precautions to prevent your having to read them. You by these means will secure for others that they

⁵ Foà, 'Giovio, Benedetto'.

⁶ Pliny, 1.17-8, trans. H. Rackam, *Pliny Naturalis historia: Volume I, Praefatio, Liber I*, II Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann), pp. 12-13.

⁷ Pliny 1.32-33, trans. H. Rackam, pp. 20-21.

will not need to read right through them either, but only look for the particular point that each of them wants, and will know where to find it.

The first book of the *Naturalis historia* does indeed begin with a table of contents, of which a small sample is offered here.

Libro II. continentur: (i-iii) An finitus sit mundus et an unus. de forma eius. de motu eius. cur mundus dicatur. (iv) De elementis. (v) De deo. (vi) De siderum errantium natura.

Book II. contents: (i-iii) The world – is it finite? Is it one? Its shape; its motion; reason for its name. (iv) The elements. (v) God (vi) The planets-their nature.

The present copy does not contain a table of contents *per se*. What matters here, however, is the mode of reading which Pliny offers. Rather than progressing through a composite text from back to front, he advises a mode of subject-specific extractive reading, in which his target reader (Vespasian) can approach the text with the aim of extracting material which would be considered to be of prior interest. Pliny recommends that Vespasian does not read the text cover-to-cover, but rather enter into his encyclopedia with the aim of identifying particular categories of information.

Having dedicated special attention to the *Praefatio* in his own *Enarratio*, Benedetto was specifically informed by Pliny's own counsel, which Benedetto followed as if he himself were Vespasian. The conclusion is that for this particular copy, Benedetto reconceptualised the HP as a Plinian encyclopedic text, a compendium of knowledge in narrative form. With this framing of the text in mind, Benedetto applied Pliny's own suggested tools in its interpretation. In distinction to Modena, Benedetto consciously adopted this particular framing of the text. The distinction here is key: Benedetto did not assume the HP, in its essence, to be an encyclopedia, otherwise this kind of reading would also be seen in Modena. Instead, the encyclopedia was a framework and method for strategic reading which Benedetto selectively applied to the text for this particular reading.

Benedetto's filial piety towards Pliny was a primary motivating factor, but one which would have brought the other Plinian factors in the text into greater relief before his eyes. This is because the HP is, in large part, composed from excerpts and vocabulary items taken from Pliny, items that would themselves have been gathered by others through the practice of annotating the *Naturalis historia*. In a telescoping and recursive manner, Benedetto is superimposing Plinian annotative techniques on a text which is itself formed of Plinian

annotations and manipulations. Peter Dronke observed that the *Naturalis historia* is one of the major sources for the HP's vocabulary.⁸ These terms, Dronke acknowledges, were borrowed in large part from Niccolò Perotti's *Cornu-copia*. Though the *Cornucopia* is recognized as the author's immediate source, Perotti's own method for gathering the material from Pliny was one which Colonna would later apply applied to the HP. In doing so, Perotti may have also followed Pliny's counsel. Perotti is recorded by Nauert as writing a *Commentariolus in proemium Plinii* (1480), as yet unedited.⁹ A comparison of Benedetto's and Perotti's commentaries to the *Praefatio* would be an illuminating project, but one which would extend beyond the scope of this current thesis. That which can be established for the time being is that both commentaries on the *Praefatio* shaped the process of gathering material (*inventio*) for the HP's content, the two of them applying Pliny's counsel to Vespasian vis-à-vis the HP.

Benedetto noticed that references to a single subject are gathered together in clusters. For instance, all of the citations on (a4r) refer to aquatic plants. In remarking on the degree of content in one location relative to a theme, the annotator also recognizes that this entire section is likely to be largely transcribed en masse from a single chapter in the *Naturalis historia*. The fabric of the HP is like a tapestry, woven from individual commonplaces but also from large extracts from other texts incorporated wholesale into the HP but sewn, with varying skill, into the fabric of the narrative. As Chapter 9 will propose, these incorporations of whole chapters from the *Naturalis historia* and other sources were a means of padding out the original nucleus of the HP which Colonna referred to as being composed in the *principiato stilo*. The penultimate chapter of this dissertation will propose that the 'seams' where these texts were inserted are, at times, visible through the use of catchwords. What is significant for the present discussion is that the annotators appears to have recognized the fact that the HP's author practiced clustering and group transcription of references from Pliny, and moulded his annotation around the contours of the HP's borrowings from the encyclopedia.

Not only did the author of the HP borrow whole chapters from the *Naturalis historia*, but the narrative structure of the HP follows the rhythm and pacing of Pliny. A recent study of the structure of the *Naturalis historia* by Aude Doody offers a number of striking resonances

⁸ Dronke, 'Introduction', p. 13.

⁹ C.G. Nauert, 'Humanists, Scientists, and Pliny: changing approaches to a classical author', *American Historical Review*, 84 (1979), pp. 72-85 (p. 77).

with the form and pacing of the HP.¹⁰ Most remarkably, it appears that Benedetto recognized that the HP followed the *Naturalis historia* in content, borrowed sections, and in overall structure, and arranged his own annotations in such a manner as to map onto these boundaries. The following section will compare Doody's proposed structural arrangement of the *Naturalis historia*, with Benedetto's notes, which affirm that he did indeed approach the HP within such a comparative framework.

In her book, Doody observes that the *Naturalis historia*'s structure consists of a regular pulsation between the mundane and the extraordinary. Of Pliny's claimed '20,000' references, the majority relate facts that are not abnormal in themselves. What would otherwise be a monotonous recitation of data is interspersed by marvels, or *mirabilia*. These wonders do not occur randomly, or appear as intermittent *exempla*, as in an oration, in order to recapture the reader's attention. Instead, the *Naturalis historia* consists of a regular fluctuation, between *mirabilia* and the mundane, with wonders serving to bookend divisions between various topics. A discussion of a given subject will begin with a *mirabilium*, then present facts in gradually declining order of strangeness until the facts become mundane.¹¹ As the conclusion of the section dealing with a given topic approaches, citations will begin to grow in their strangeness until a *mirabilium* is reached, concluding the topic. This pattern then repeats itself across the next section until the next *mirabilium*. There is an alternating dialectic between the miniscule and the marvellous. Doody notes where Pliny states that this structure has been a deliberate choice on his part.

Sed turrigeros elephantorum miramur umeros taurorumque colla et truces in sublime iactus, tigrium rapinas, leonum iugas, cum rerum natura nusquam magis quam in minimis tota sit. Quapropter quaeso ne nostra legentes, quoniam ex his spernunt multa, etiam relata fastidio damnent, cum in contemplation naturae nihil possit videri supervacuum.

We are amazed by elephants carrying towers on their backs, bulls' powerful necks tossing things into the air, the attacks of tigers, the manes of lions, when the nature of things is never more complete than in the tiniest things. And so, I hope that readers, who disdain many of these tiny things, will not despise the things I have to say as boring, since nothing can seem extraneous to the contemplation of Nature.¹²

¹⁰ Doody, p. 20.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

¹² *Naturalis historia*, 11.4, trans. Rackam, vol. III, p. 434, also in Doody, *Pliny's Encyclopedia*, p. 24.

The HP follows a comparable model, bookending long lists borrowed from Pliny with either architectural marvels, or emotionally-intense occurrences. For example, after collapsing into anxiety and despair in his longing for Polia, Poliphilo falls into his dream-within-a-dream. He awakes in a ‘much more agreeable region’ (a6v) and the heightened emotion of the preceding night is quickly allayed by his description of plants, arranged by genus, in this *locus amoenus*.

Ma compositamente de grate 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, dispositi secondo l’aspetto de gli arboriferi Colli. (a6v)

These [hills] were wooded with young oaks, roburs, ash and hornbeam; with leafy winter-oaks, holm-oaks and tender hazels; with alders, limes, maples and wild olives, disposed according to the aspect of the forested slopes. (G 20)

Once Poliphilo completes his itemization of the deciduous trees, he then transitions to the description of another specified category of plants, ground-dwelling herbs.

Et giù al piano erano grate silvule di altri silvatici arboscelli, et di floride Geniste, et di multiplice herbe verdissime, quivi vidi il Cythiso, la Carice, la commune Cerinthe. La muscariata Panachia el fiorito ranunculo, et cervicello, o vero Elaphio, et la seratula, et di varie assai nobile, et de molti altri proficui simplici, et ignote herbe et fiori per gli prati dispensate. Tutta questa laeta regione de viridura copiosamente adornata se offeriva. (a6v)

Even on the plain there were pleasant copses of other wild shrubs and flowering brooms, and many green plants. I saw there clover, sedge, common bee-bread, umbelliferous panacea, flowering crowfoot, cervicello or elaphio, sertula, and various equally noble herbs; also many other beneficial simples, and unknown herbs and flowers, strewn about the meadows. This entire happy region was copiously adorned with greenery. (G 20-1)

The final sentence of this section, concerning the ‘whole region being copiously adorned with greenery’ would be redundant if it did not serve the function of indicating the ‘seam’ between one imported section of botanical lists from the *Naturalis historia* and another. This line marks the point at which the description transitions to another botanical category, this time that of fruit-bearing trees.

Quivi al gli ochii mei uno iocundissimo Palmeto se appraesentò, cum le foglie di cultrato mucrone ad

tanta utilitate ad gli Aegyptii, del suo dolcissimo fructo foecunde et abundante. Tra le quale racemose palme, et piccole alcune, et molte mediocre, et l'altre drite erano et excelse, electo Signo de victoria per el resistere suo ad l'urgente pondo. (a6v-a7r)

Then, slightly beyond the middle of it, I found a sandy or shingly beach dotted here and there with clumps of grass. A delightful grove of palms met my eyes, with the leaves shaped like pointed knives that are so useful to the Egyptians, and with a generous abundance of sweet fruit. Among these date-clustered palms some were small, others were of medium size, and the rest straight and tall: the chosen signs of victory because of their resistance to heavy weight. (G 20-21).

Beginning with the frightening event on (a6r), a content-specific subsection begins on plants, which are themselves divided into subsections which consist of rather prosaic lists of greenery. Once the discourse has calmed to the level of a simple list, Poliphilo is jolted out of his reverie – and this section of description is ended – by the appearance of a wolf, another intense *mirabilium* (a7v). Immediately after encountering the wolf, Poliphilo comes upon the description of the Great Pyramid, a new kind of *mirabilium*, and discussion abruptly shifts from botany to architecture, with architectural descriptions continuing from (a7v-b3v).

As an annotator with known botanical interests, Benedetto's readings map closely onto the HP's own subject boundaries which follow, in form, those of the *Naturalis historia*. In addition to those marginalia previously discussed, the annotator makes particular remarks upon this passage. For example, in the section above on ground-dwelling herbs (a7r), the annotator transcribed the word 'Elaphio' in the margins from the phrase 'o uero Elaphio'. The word 'glaceosa' is also extracted from the phrase 'o uero glaceosa plagia, ma in alcuno loco dispersamente cum alcuni cespugli de herbatura'. (a7r).

Once the botanical transcription transitions to the architectural ekphrasis of the Great Pyramid, the volume of annotation significantly decreases. This absence of annotation is doubly surprising for Benedetto Giovio. The Great Pyramid section is a veritable conspectus of Vitruvian terminology, and Benedetto himself was a translator of the *De architectura*, a task which earned the praise of his descendent Giambattista Giovio as a 'herculean' endeavor.¹³ If any annotator could be expected to take an interest in such a Vitruvian marvel, it would be a noted translator of Vitruvius himself. Yet this section almost entirely lacks annotation, other than a complaint (which does seem to resound with the concerns of a specialist translator) about a lack of adequate vocabulary. Adjacent to the following passage the annotator writes 'vocalul[orum] penuria'.

¹³ See also Chapter 4.

præcipuamente che nella nostra ætate gli uernacoli, proprii, & patrii uocabuli, & dilarte ædificatoria peculiari, sono cum gli ueri homini, sepulti & extincti. (b4r)

[Without a doubt, I lack the knowledge that would allow me to describe it perfectly,] especially since in our time the proper vernacular and native terms peculiar to the art of architecture are buried and extinct, along with the true men. (G 31)

Even so, the next marginalium to appear is a remark on the use of obsidian stone, which could just as well be a natural-historical remark as an architectural one. On the image of the elephant and obelisk, the annotator writes ‘obsidie’ next to the phrase ‘Elephante di nigricãte petri, piu che obsidio’. By (c7r), the annotator, having skipped over other sub-sections, has returned to his interest in simples and herbalism. The annotation ‘herbe murali’ follows the phrase ‘aedificio antiquario in seme cum molti altri arbusculi murali’. Other remarks on herbs follow on (d6v), (d7v), and (e1v).

Thus the reader is faced with the challenge of justifying why Benedetto would superficially pass over topics of known interest to him, while marking intensely almost exclusively those sections dealing with herbs. Pliny’s advice to Vespasian, on which Benedetto himself had written a commentary, offers a solution for the first dilemma. Benedetto had wide interests, but for this particular reading, he framed the HP in the manner of a Plinian encyclopedia, and thus he read to extract material on a predetermined topic, namely botany. Though other subjects may have been of interest in other situations, they were not his primary purpose for this particular referential reading.

Doody’s observations into the structure of the HP also offer a rationale for the clustering of Benedetto’s herbal notes. As a reader of both texts, Benedetto intuited this underlying dialectic of *mirabilium* and mundanity. Upon recognizing the appearance of a *mirabilium* at the end of a topic of interest, he paused his reading and skipped ahead, from ‘bookend’ to ‘bookend’, until he came upon another passage dealing with botany, and resumed the assiduous annotative process until another marvel indicated that this botanical section had concluded.

The particular qualities of this variety of annotation, so distinct from the all-explaining glosses found elsewhere, can be explained in their anomalousness by situating Benedetto within the distinct reception history of Plinian annotation. Since Benedetto followed Perotti, he found himself situated within this tradition. Due to the fragmentary survival rate of the *Naturalis Historia*, the text developed a manuscript tradition distinct to itself. Given the

enormous size of the *Naturalis historia*, which necessitated its division across multiple manuscripts, very few medieval libraries held the *Naturalis historia* in its entirety. Most institutions held individual sections of the text, dissociated from the whole. As a result, a tradition emerged of reading Pliny in order to make excerpts (*excerpta*) on specific subjects, dating to the fourth century. Benedetto's reading, drawing out primarily the botanical material, echoes this early tradition. Given that the *Naturalis historia* circulated primarily in *excerpta*, LD. Reynolds remarked on the difficulty of establishing a fixed manuscript tradition.¹⁴ Those excerpts that were made tended to be highly specialized and idiosyncratic. Doody suggests that this emphasis on individual utility emerges from an underlying Stoic ethos which informs the HP, favoring practical utility.¹⁵

Because so few libraries held the *Naturalis historia* in its integrity, the encyclopedia did not form a part of the standard curriculum in medieval schools. As a consequence, there was no meaningful prior tradition of pedagogical glossing or epitomisation on which to build,¹⁶ and annotations to Pliny could develop in a manner less conditioned by other modes of glossing. In fact, Doody argues that the HP in itself resists any kind of totalizing epitomisation, since there is not a single argument to summarise.¹⁷ Humanists from Petrarch, to Boccaccio, to Salutati, developed their own independent readings.¹⁸ Practices of individualistic annotation of Pliny extended to printed texts, with Politian (1454-1494) adding printed marginalia to his own edition of the text.¹⁹ Benedetto's own *excerptum*, if it can be called that, compiled from the margins of the text offers one more example of an idiosyncratic reading.

Yet Benedetto was not only writing to extract content, but also to experiment with that content. This thesis has proposed that certain prolific annotators of the HP made use of the practice of annotating the text as a space for the playing-with and generation of ideas. In the process of such intellectual 'games', these readers burnished their own mental acuity (*ingegno*). This project has aimed to test this proposed reading against the actual records of reading experiences. It is in this context that Vincenzo Fera's proposal that the distinct and

¹⁴ L.D. Reynolds, ed. *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983) pp. 316.

¹⁵ Doody, *Pliny's Encyclopedia*, pp.23-4.

¹⁶ The *Catalogus translationum* only lists one epitome, Lodovico de'Guasti of Genoa's *Epitoma Plinii Secundi in historia naturali* (1422).

¹⁷ Doody, *Pliny's Encyclopedia*, p. 39.

¹⁸ For instance, a manuscript survives of Petrarch's marginalia to Pliny, with a footnote by Boccaccio (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 6802). The Bodleian (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. T.I. 27.) holds a manuscript containing the hands of Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), Niccolò Niccoli (1364-1437) and Bartholomeus Platina (1421-1481).

¹⁹ Rome: Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1473.

marginal reception tradition of the *Naturalis historia* formed a ‘philological laboratory’ takes on a distinct inflection.²⁰ The separate lineage and non-scholastic nature of the HP isolated the text from other streams of scholarship. Since Cicero’s style was model of Latinity in which conditioned to emulate, late fifteenth-century readers were struck by the ‘non-normative’ and distinctly un-Ciceronian styles of writers such as Martial, Juvenal, and Pliny.²¹ In addition to producing *excerpta* of the content of the *Naturalis historia*, the readers began to read the *Naturalis historia* for unusual words and lexical forms, which as an encyclopedia it had in abundance. A tradition emerged of identifying anomalies, or perceived errors, as an exercise in humanistic *ingegno*. Ermolao Barbaro’s *Castigationes Pliniana*e (Rome: 1493) identified five thousand supposed errors in the text. Barbaro issued two subsequent editions of the *Castigationes*, in which he continued to make textual corrections.²² This tenacious critic of Pliny extended his lexical analysis into the level of Pliny’s reception. Thorndike also reports an unpublished letter in which Barbaro applies his fault-finding eye, in turn, to Perotti, which is itself derived from the *Naturalis historia*.²³ Benedetto Giovio’s practice of excerpting individual terms would then appear to be one example of the practice proposed by Fera in action. In observing this widespread pattern, Fera observed that there were insufficient studies examining this practice in specific *milieux*, or how a reader’s locality affects his preferences in reading material.²⁴ This study presents the opportunity to observe a reader doing so, under the powerful conditioning force of local loyalty to Pliny.

As one instance of this practice, the annotator placed a dot of interest next to the word ‘Vincapervinca’ in the following phrase, apparently intending to return to explicate the phrase, but unable to do so.

Gli quali regulatamente dispositi sopra le gratiose praeripie, et per la planitie dispensati, cum moderata distantia et intercapedine la terra herbida occupavano, piena et vestita della verde Vincapervinca cum gli sui cerulei flori. (18v)

[These plants were] regularly aranged at moderate intervals on the pleasant stream-banks and on the

²⁰ Vincenzo Fera, ‘Un laboratorio filologico di fine Quattrocento: la *Naturalis historia*’, in *Formative Stages of Classical Traditions: Latin Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. by Oronzo Pecere and Michael D. Reeve (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1995), pp. 435-466.

²¹ Fera, ‘Un laboratorio filologico’, p. 435.

²² Charles G. Nauert, Jr., ‘Humanists, Scientists, and Pliny: Changing Approaches to Classical Authors’, *American Historical Review* 84.1 (1979), pp. 78-85. ‘Quinque milia’, f. a1v, cited in Nauert, p. 77.

²³ Lynn Thorndike, ‘Some unpublished minor works bordering on science written in the late fifteenth century’, *Speculum* 39.1 (1964), p. 52.

²⁴ Fera, ‘Un laboratorio filologico’, p. 435.

plain. In between was the grassy ground, filled and clad in green periwinkle with its sky-blue flowers.
(G184)

Benedetto's missed attempt to identify the periwinkle is more explicable when contextualized in the atmosphere of philological experimentation and the search for obscure Latin terms reported by Fera. The search, in which Benedetto was an active participant, for new Latin terms for simples in non-normative Latin sources resulted in a *confusio nominum*, with multiple terms referring to the same plant. As a result, botanical indices were developed which correlated the various alternate terms for plants.

One piece of annotation on (k5r) offers an example of Benedetto attempting to resolve such an ambiguity with regard to the compound word 'Dendrocysto'.

gli Centuari di Dendrocysto coronati ne la mano sue, la una alla parta ima, & cum l'altro amplexando gestuamo gli dui propinqui al carro. (k5r)

The centaurs were crowned with tree-ivy, and the two nearest the carriage carried vases in antique style, with one hand beneath the base and the other arm embracing it. (G 161)

In the margin next to this passage, Benedetto writes in 'Dendrocysto ibidem'. P&C clarify why Benedetto would be specifying 'the same' term as opposed to another, observing that there are two plants under almost similar names 'χιστός' (Cistus) and 'χισσός' (Ivy) which are often subject to *confusio nominum*.²⁵

There is also a further indication that the annotator may have had some acquaintance with Arabic. In a list of 'celebrated simples', Benedetto wrote the term 'Alicababus' above the word 'cachile'

Nelle fracture dil quale et lassate compacture il salsiphilo et littoreo Critani germinava, et in alcuni lochi vidi il litorale Cachile, et molto Kali et lo odoroso Abscynthio marino, et per il Aggere sabulaceo Irringi, et Portulaca, et Eruca marina, et assai altri celebri simplici. (p2v)

In the fissures thereof I saw growing the salt-loving littoral cock's-crest, in some places ox-eye, much saltwort and the fragrant sea-wormwood, and on the sandbanks iringo, purslane, sea-colewort and other well-known simples. (G 236)

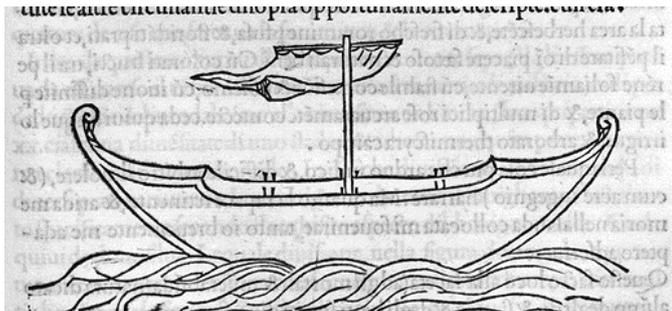
Godwin renders this 'cachile' as 'cock's-crest'. P&C quote the botanical guide of

²⁵ P&C, p. 212.

Rocabonella, which, they report, gives ‘cachile’ as the Arabic ‘kali’. Presumably aware of the Arabic article ‘Al-’, Benedetto has rendered what would be ‘Al-Kali’ as ‘alicababus’, adding a Latin masculine suffix.

In line with the proposed framing of this reading as one of making excerpts from a Plinian encyclopedia, the majority of Benedetto’s annotations center on lexical items. One visual element which would serve as a confirmation of the presence of Benedetto’s hand is the practice, seen also in Modena, of copying block capitals in exact detail, down to their serifs. Though this typographical transcription only occurs in two places, namely the first and second Triumphs of Jupiter (TRIVMPHVS and PRIMVS) (k3v), it is consistent with Benedetto’s practice as a cataloguer of inscriptions.

There is one single visual sketch. Like Jonson in the BL copy, and Hand A in Siena, Benedetto took note of the shape and proportions of cupid’s boat (s6r). The annotator reproduced the image, in its most general proportions, underneath the woodcut.



Detail taken from the Siena facsimile (s6r)



Como (s6r) Personal photograph

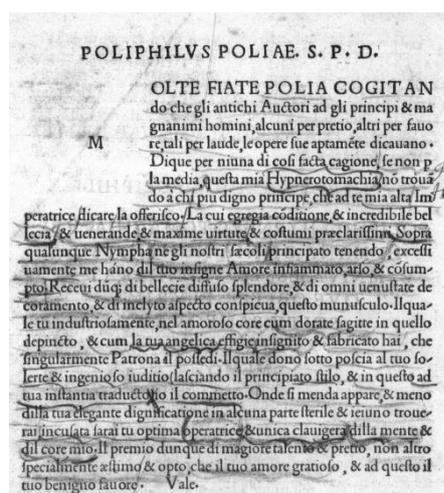
The Modena and Como copies offer the remarkable opportunity to observe the same annotators approaching the same text, in two different copies, for different purposes. In

Modena, Benedetto's readings were responsive to the text, clarifying points of curiosity as they appeared. In Como, the annotators framed the same textual artefact within a different framework, re-conceptualising the text as an encyclopedia, on the model of the *Naturalis historia*, albeit in narrative form. A comparison of marginalia between the two copies offers divergent models of what genre of text the annotators envisioned the HP to be. The following chapters will present annotators who approached the HP from a very different foundational premise, viz. that the HP was an alchemical allegory.

London, British Library – C.60.o.12

The preceding studies of the ‘Encyclopedic’ annotators documented readers who used the process of annotating the HP for the twofold purpose of gathering material for the rhetorical canon of *inventio*, and the refinement of their own *ingegno*. The HP served as both a resource for composition, and a means of sharpening one’s capacity to apply that information. The copy of the 1545 Sons of Aldus edition at shelfmark C.60.o.12 in the British Library is unique among copies featured in this study, in that it contains the hands of two clearly distinct and highly engaged annotators utilizing the text in very different disciplines. The first hand (‘Hand A’) is plausibly attributed to Ben Jonson (1572-1637). The presentation of further evidence to corroborate this attribution also offers the opportunity to add additional material to the corpus of a canonical writer. The attribution to Jonson, nevertheless, remains secondary to the study of the means by which annotators engaged with the HP in the cultivation of these faculties.

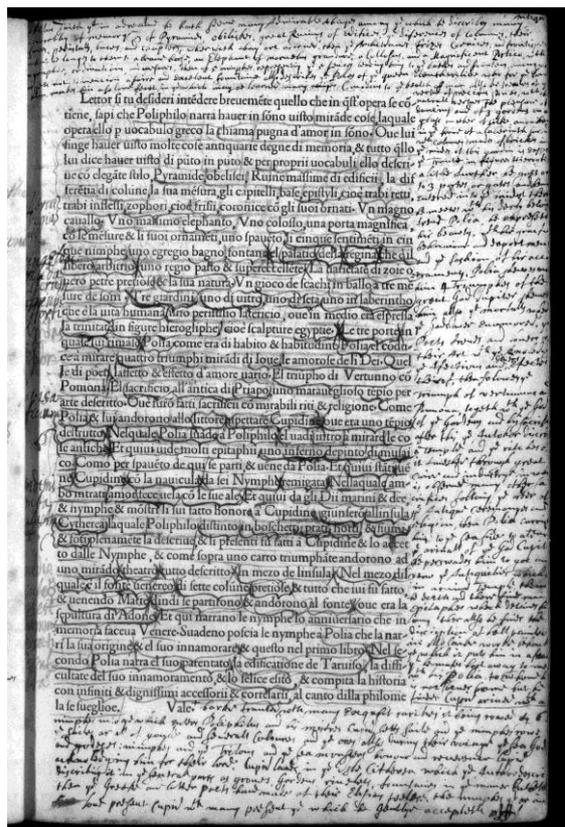
The first hand, proposed as Jonson’s, expressed great interest in the syntactic and grammatical structure of the Poliphilesque language, parsing the HP’s sentences into their grammatical components.



Detail, Introductory letter

This hand also composed an extended and selective summary of the events of the HP. The summary highlights primarily those features of the HP – monuments, statues, and

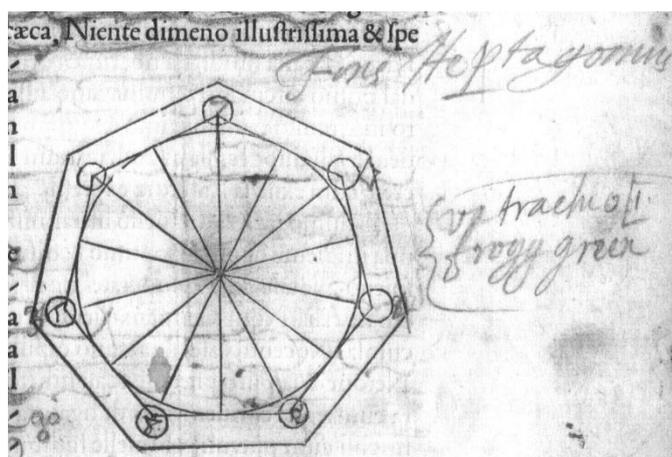
vehicles – which are both large-scale and visually representable. This abbreviated overview of the novel excludes intangible or unrepresentable material such as Poliphilo’s emotional experiences, as well as the HP’s smaller scale descriptions of objects such as liturgical implements. On these grounds, this chapter will argue that the reader was mining the HP for ideas for stagecraft, in a process of *inventio*. These combined interests in linguistic technicalities and dramatic production map onto with the known interests and practices of Jonson as annotator, and serve to further corroborate the proposed attribution.



Detail, 008r

The identification of an alchemical subtext to the HP is the primary interest of the anonymous second hand (‘Hand B’). Though this annotator wrote primarily in Latin, he was apparently also an Englishman as evidenced by notes in English, such as labelling the heptagonal fountain below ‘frogg green’ (sic). This annotator apparently inferred that alchemical formulae were latent beneath the surface allegory of the novel, and labelled the stages and components of this supposed hidden subtext. This second annotator accomplished this task by labelling passages and illustrations within the HP with the alchemical sign of the element of the Great Work, such as gold, silver, or mercury, which he or she presumed to be allegorized therein. For example, in the illustration of the *Fons Heptagonis* below, each of the

seven angles is labelled with an elemental sign. The components of the Work selectively foregrounded by the alchemical annotator, particularly the figure of Jupiter, suggest that he was applying an alchemical schema drawing upon that of Jean D'Espagnet (1564-1637). Though working in the field of natural philosophy, rather than gathering material for the stage, this second annotator was both cultivating his or her perceptiveness for alchemical symbolism (*ingegno*) and presumably gathering information and materials to inform laboratory practice (*inventio*).



Detail, (y7r)

Bibliographical Description

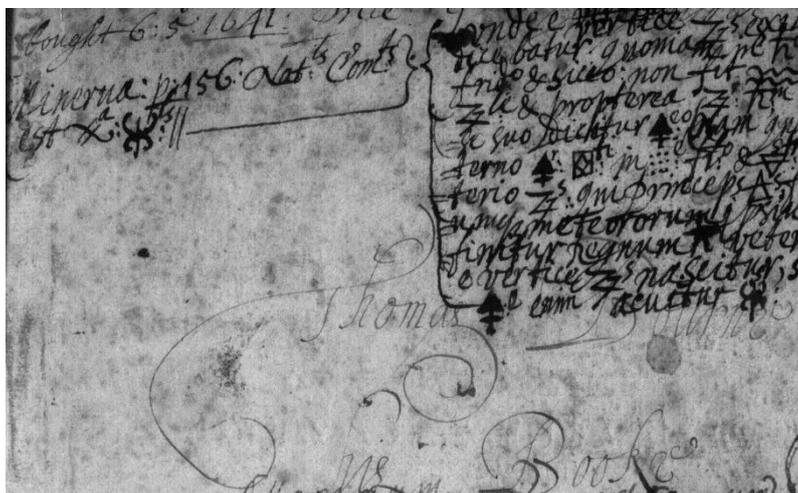
This copy of the 1545 edition is the only exception to this study's concentration on the 1499 first edition. The present study primarily confined itself to the 1499 in order take advantage of the near-complete cataloguing of this edition in the ISTC, and to maintain a consistent *mise-en-page* for the cataloguing of marginalia. An exception was made for this copy due to the prominence of Jonson as proposed annotator, and the remarkable alchemical content of the second hand, which provides a point of comparison with the alchemical marginalia found in Buffalo. Both annotators are also writing across the same span of decades as the other annotators in this study, making their marginalia contemporaneous, even if the copies on which they were writing were not.

This is a perfect copy of the 1545 edition.¹ This second edition, reprinted by Aldus' sons reprints the same text as the original around recast woodcuts. These changes in layout do not appear to have had a significant conditioning effect on the annotator's responses, but should

¹ The BL also holds another copy of the 1545 HP, at shelfmark 86.h.5, which contains no marginalia.

be borne in mind in making comparisons between the two copies. Hand B can be seen to follow A as B overwrites A, while the first hand does not respond to B. B, likewise, does not make much comment upon A: the hands run in parallel but do not interact.

The only confirmed date in the provenance is a recorded date of purchase of May 6th, 1641 by one Thomas Bourne.² This individual cannot be identified with certainty, although there are two contemporary candidates.³ Bourne apparently approached the book as a collector, since he calculates the age of the book, counting back to the date of the printing.⁴ The remainder of the provenance must be inferred by comparison. B must date later than 1641, since B overwrites Bourne's hand.



Detail, flyleaf

If the first hand is indeed that of Jonson, then Jonson's hand likely precedes 1598 when Jonson's masque *The Case is Altered* debuted. This masque contains an insignificant character named 'Francesco Colonna', with a servant named 'Valentine.'⁵ It does not necessarily follow that Jonson had a copy of the HP in his collections when writing the Masque. He could have learned of the figure of Colonna from other sources, such as the

² On the flyleaf, '6⁵i [6th of May] 1641 price 6'. The ownership inscription 'Thomas Bourne his booke 1641' is written twice.

³ There are two Thomas Bournes in contemporary records. One individual by that name is recorded matriculating as a pensioner at St John's College, Cambridge in 1624: John Venn and J.A. Venn, eds., *Alumni cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge*, Vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 188. A man by that name from Nether Wyersdale, Lancashire, is recorded as refusing an order to support the General Protestation against Catholicism. David Cressy, 'The Protestation Protested, 1641 and 1642', *The Historical Journal*, 45.2 (2002), pp. 251-279.

⁴ Here Bourne makes an error. He subtracts '1535' from '1641', concluding that the book is 106 years old. The colophon in fact gives the date as 'MDXXXV', making it 96 years old at the date of purchase.

⁵ The 1609 quarto has the variant spellings of 'Colonia,' 'Colomea', and 'Coloma'. See A.W. Johnson, *Ben Jonson, Poetry and Architecture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 43-44. Jonson may also have become acquainted with Francesco Colonna through the *novelle* of Bandello, though the association with love, 'Valentine', suggests an association with Polia.

Novelliere (1554) of Matteo Bandello (1480-1562), and acquired the HP as a consequence. If so, Jonson most likely read ‘R.D.’s’ 1592 partial English translation before the approaching the 1545 Italian edition, on account of the small number of Italian texts recorded in Jonson’s library, and the playwright’s presumed lesser degree of familiarity with the language.⁶ The HP was sufficiently well-known in England in 1590’s to make an impression upon other writers of the period. Following the publication of the 1592 by Busbie,⁷ Samuel Daniel’s *Delia*,⁸ printed in the same year, recycled one of its woodcuts from the HP. Thomas Nashe’s dedication to *Lenten Stuffe* (1599) comically implores its dedicatee to ‘renounce eating of greene beefe and garlike till Martinmas’ if his work be ‘not the next stile to *The strife of Loue in a Dreame*.’⁹

Therefore, if the annotator is indeed Jonson, it is probable that he was acquainted with the HP by 1592, and most likely by 1598. The date on which he acquired the present copy is unknown. Jonson uncharacteristically did not record an *ex dono* date in the present copy.¹⁰ In the years following 1598, Jonson’s increasing success as a playwright would have afforded him the income to purchase such a text. One possible time for acquisition is Jonson’s tour of the continent in 1612 as the guardian of Sir Walter Raleigh’s son. During this trip he met the Dutch humanist and emblemist Daniel Heinsius (1607-1653), the librarian at the University of Leiden and author of the *Emblemata amatoria*, who may have acquainted him with the HP, which had such influence on the emblematic tradition.¹¹ The copy is likely to have left Jonson’s collection by 1627. In that year, a fire destroyed much of his book collections, and a stroke in the following year left Jonson with a tremulous hand that is not evident in this copy.

⁶ David MacPherson, ‘Ben Jonson’s Library and Marginalia: An Annotated Catalogue’, *Studies in Philology* 71.5 (1974), pp. 1-106.

⁷ Semler, ‘Robert Dallington’s “Hypnerotomachia”’.

⁸ Samuel Daniel, *Delia, contayning certayne Sonnets: vvith the complaint of Rosamond* (London: Printed by I.C. for Simon Waterson, dwelling in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Crowne) (in a facsimile by Menston, Yorkshire and London: Scholar Press, 1969, repr. 1973). Noted by Fritz Saxl and Rudolph Wittkower in *British Art and the Mediterranean* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), sec. IV. Lucy Gent notes that since Simon Waterson was the printer of both *Delia* and *Strife of Loue in a Dreame*, the decision to use the woodcut may have been the printers’. It was common for woodcuts to be recycled.

⁹ Nashe’s *Lenten Stuffe: the Description and first Procreation and Increase of the towne of Great Yarmouth in Norffolke: with a new Play neuer played before, of the praise of the RED HERING* (London: Printed for N.L. and c.B. and are to be sold at the west end of Paules, 1599), in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, Vol. III, ed. by Ronald B. McKerrow, reprinted and corrected by F.P. Wilson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958). The reference is to be found in Lucy Gent, ‘Introduction’ to *Hypnerotomachia: The Strife of Loue in a Dreame* (1592) (Delmar, NY: Scholars’ Facsimiles and Reprints, 1973), p. vii.

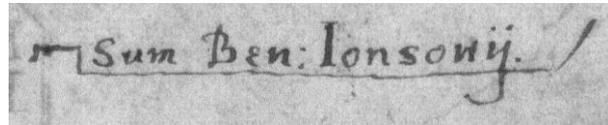
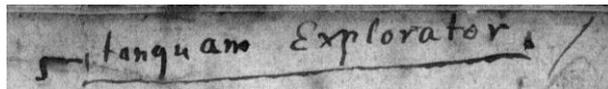
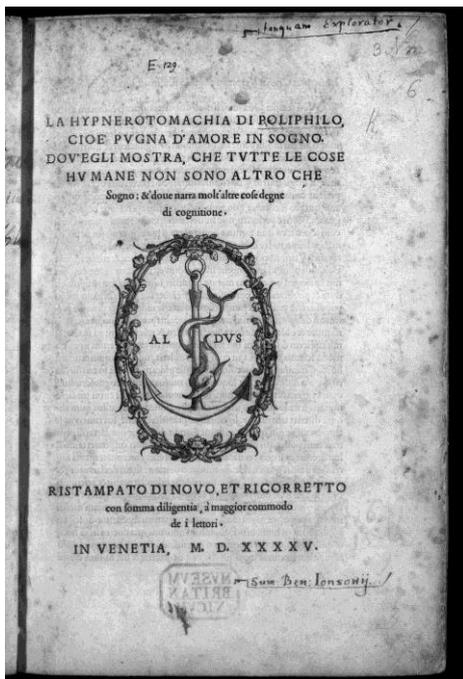
¹⁰ For example, Jonson’s copy of Savonarola’s *Triumphus Crucis, sive De veritate Fidei. Libri IV. Recens in lucem editus* (Leyden, 1633), presented to him by Sir Kenelm Digby, contains the inscription ‘Sum Ben: Ionsonij ex dono perillustr. Equitus D. Ken Digbæj.’

¹¹ Robert G Collmer, review of Baerbel Becker-Cantarino, *Daniel Heinsius* (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co, 1978), in *The South Central Bulletin*, 39.1 (Spring 1979), p. 21.

Attribution of the Hands

This study has been animated from the shift in scholarly attention from authorship to reception. Proving that the author is or is not Colonna is less of an important question than examining the reception. By the same token, it is not necessary to definitively identify an annotator in order to derive useful observations about a given reader's responses. That being said, ascribing the first hand Jonson would make it possible to bring to bear what is known about Jonson's interests as reader and prolific annotator to the present copy.

The BL catalogue defines the copy as Jonson's due to the presence of his motto *tamquam explorator* as well as the underlined phrase 'sum Ben: Ionsonij.' on the frontispiece.



Nevertheless, R.C. Alston notes that BL catalogue descriptions of annotation must be used with caution, since they were compiled before the significance of marginalia was appreciated.¹² Herford & Simpson, the editors of the standard edition of Jonson's complete works, question the authenticity of Jonson's motto on the grounds of its size.¹³ There was a market among collectors for Jonsonian association copies, which increased the risk of

¹² Alston, *Books with manuscript*, p. IX.

¹³ Ben Jonson, *Works*, eds C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925-1953).

forgeries. In Herford & Simpson's eyes, this *tamquam explorator* too closely resembles other known forgeries of Jonson's signature. The signature is much larger than average.¹⁴ On the other hand, David MacPherson's catalogue accepts the signature in the BL HP as 'probably genuine.'¹⁵ Robert C. Evans, a scholar of Jonson's marginalia, also offers grounds to accept the signature as the playwright's, noting the wide variation in Jonson's signature types over time. For example, Jonson's signature in Giovanni Baptista Pigna's *Carminum libri quattuor* has no underlining or bracket on the titulus of *tamquam*.¹⁶ There may be even more variant signatures that have been lost, since in some cases the author's autograph was cut off by the bookbinder.¹⁷ The absence of an *ex dono* may simply indicate that Jonson purchased the book for himself, as he had the means to do so at this point in his life.

As study of annotation conducted in this chapter, to be discussed below, it seems more probable that the notes are indeed those of Jonson on thematic grounds. Moreover, by the recorded date of the only annotator known for certain, Thomas Bourne, the market for forged Jonsonian copies was on the wane. By the mid-seventeenth century, Jonson had declined in reputation and his autograph would not have carried the same value.¹⁸ Thomas Bourne, who purchased the book as a collector given his listing of dates, did not record the copy as Jonsonian, although one could say that to do so would be superfluous with the ownership inscription in place.

The identification of the second annotator is much less certain. Hand B must have acquired the text after 1641, and Betty Jo Dobbs notes that the years 1650-1670 were a high point of interest in alchemy in England, so the annotations may derive from this date. Turmoil around the English Civil War resulted in a politicized alchemical rhetoric, with reconciliation of the elements equated to the restoration of social order.¹⁹ The circles in

¹⁴ These copies which are suspected of being forgeries are Augustine Vincent's *A Discoverie of Errors In the first Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility, Published by Raphe Brooke, Yorke Herald* (London: Printed by William Iaggard, dwelling in Barbican, 1662) (STC 2nd. Ed., 24756), although it is known that Jonson read this text, though not necessarily this copy, since it is mentioned in *The New Inn*, ll. vii 28; Stephen Ritter's *Poetica Prosometria* (Frankfurt: Nicolai Hoffman) Trinity College Reserve (C) Adv.d.1.21. The Trinity College Catalogue states that this copy belonged to Ben Jonson; another text considered doubtful is J.J. Scaliger's *Epistolae* (Leyden: Abraham Elzevir, 1627), formerly of the Dyce Library, South Kensington, now in the Dyce and Forster Collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, at shelfmark Dyce 8605. The Dyce Collection Catalogue (London: s.e., 1875) also accepts the attribution to Jonson.

¹⁵ MacPherson, 'Ben Jonson's Library and Marginalia', p. 51.

¹⁶ (Venice: 1553), BL C.45.b.26.

¹⁷ This was the case for Jonson's copy of Lucian, *Luciani Samosatensis dialogi octo, Marini dialogi XV, Charon siue contemplationes* (Paris: C. Wechel, 1530) (Hodgson's, 20 March 1907); and Stanislaus Christianovic's *Examen catholicum edicti anglicani [...]* (Paris: François Huby, 1607).

¹⁸ Herford and Simpson, 'Position in After Criticism', in Jonson, *Works*, Vol. 1, p. 125.

¹⁹ Betty Jo Dobbs, *The Hunting of the Greene Lyon: The Foundations of Newton's Alchemy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 6-19.

which Jonson moved in London and the Universities would offer him the opportunity to meet numerous individuals with alchemical interests. Jonson was so well-acquainted with alchemical practice and the pretensions of alchemists that he composed his famous play upon the same subject.²⁰ The presence of Bourne's hand as an intermediary, and the lack of engagement of B with A, however, complicate the identification of the alchemist with someone in Jonson's circle. B received the copy through the intermediary of Bourne, and if B indeed had some regard for Jonson, this fact would likely have appeared in B's notes. The distinction also flows the other way. The diligence and methodical nature of the alchemist's study are utterly distinct from the mocking portrayal of the charlatan Face in *The Alchemist*. The disesteem with which Jonson holds alchemy in his play would seem speak against his close association with a dedicated alchemist, but Jonson's expert knowledge of the subject may suggest otherwise.

There is, however, an alchemist with whom Jonson did maintain a close friendship, Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665).²¹ Digby was Jonson's literary executor, and supervised the publication of Jonson's Folio in 1616. After the death of his wife, Digby retired to Gresham College in 1633 in order to dedicate himself to alchemical study, which persisted until his death in 1665. Digby's two most important alchemical works, the *Two Treatises* (1644) and *Sympathetic Powder* (1658), were both written after 1641. When Digby died on 11 June 1665, his books passed to his cousin George Digby, the 2nd Earl of Bristol. A catalogue exists of the auction of Bristol's collection on 19 April 1680.²² There is no record on an HP in this catalogue, in any edition. Since this copy of the HP was not part of the Bodleian sale either, if the attribution to Digby is correct, one can only presume that the book left his collection by another route. A more detailed investigation of this claim, including a graphological comparison of Digby's hands with that of the alchemical annotator, were deemed tangential to the main approach of this project and were not pursued. Further research would be necessary to identify candidates for the alchemical hand.

Despite the association of this copy with a canonical figure, I have only been able to locate one prior study of this copy, beyond the previously-mentioned considerations of the authenticity the ownership inscription. In a chapter entitled 'Francesco Colonna and the Early Masques', A.W. Johnson discusses the HP in the context as part of a broader argument

²⁰ Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, ed. Peter Bement (London and New York: Methuen, 1987).

²¹ Betty Jo Dobbs, 'Studies in the Natural Philosophy of Sir Kenelm Digby', *Ambix: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry* 18 (1971) pp. 1-160.

²² *Bibliotheca Digbeiana* (London: H. Brome and B. Tooke, 1680).

for a deep underlying Vitruvian structure beneath the totality of Jonson's work.²³ A.W. Johnson discerns a numerical proportionality, with its origins in the *De architectura*, behind Jonson's metrical forms and arrangements of his texts. Johnson therefore approaches the HP as a vehicle for conveying the HP's own Vitruvian influences to Ben Jonson. In the composition of masque, Jonson would then have derived Vitruvian structural forms from the HP, which the playwright then used as matrices to fill with his own compositions.

Johnson's chapter has been invaluable in offering Jonson's marginalia to the HP as a means of reading into his *inventio* for masque. However, situated as it is as part of a wider argument for the pervasiveness of Vitruvianism in Jonson's oeuvre, Johnson's chapter does not go into great detail about the notes to this individual copy. This study also omits consideration of the second alchemical hand entirely. This thesis has responded to A.W. Johnson's prompt to consider Ben Jonson's notes as a record of his *inventio*, while expanding its analysis by incorporating additional notes and expanding the study to the second hand.

Jonson as a Reader

Before proceeding to the analysis of the notes attributed to him, we will review what is known about Jonson as a reader and annotator. The practice of annotation, and reading in general, had a broader significance for Jonson than simply a means of organizing material. The son of a bricklayer, Jonson rose to his position in society as a self-made man as the product of his reading and education. He was the first Englishman to earn a living as a full-time writer, and so his reading was, quite literally, gleaning that which would put food on the table.²⁴ Though they may occasionally venture into the whimsical, as in the image of the snail below, his notes had a greater purpose than to pass idle time. Though he achieved a degree of stability at a later point in his life, the spectre of economic peril loomed behind Jonson for much of his life, as indicated by his need to sell off his collections.

With this mindset, Jonson approached the HP with an eye toward practical application, and self-cultivation. Jonson's motto *tamquam explorator* (as an explorer), taken from Seneca, expresses this concept. An explorer sets off with no clear destination in mind, and roams widely, but with the ultimate intent of finding material resources to bring back to the home

²³ A.W. Johnson, 'Francesco Colonna and the Early Masques', in Id., *Ben Jonson*, pp. 52-75.

²⁴ Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 1-21.

country. The zeal with which Jonson read had an undertone of practicality, of self-definition and self-preservation.

Jonson may also have been drawn to the HP because of its resonances with his own compositional method. Colonna took an array of classical commonplaces and wove them together in the framework of a love narrative. The attentive annotators examined in this thesis could nevertheless identify the various classical *loci* out of which the HP is assembled.

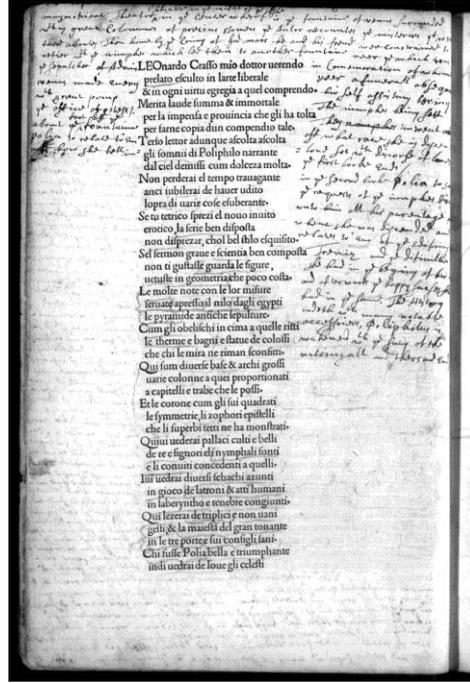
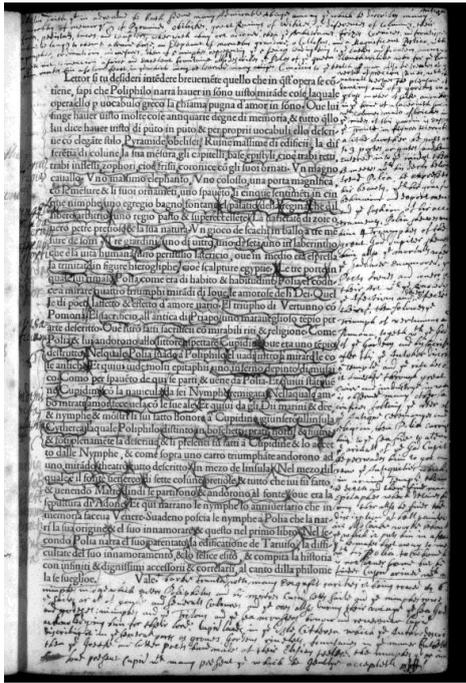
Jonson's approach resonates in many ways with that of Colonna. Out of his voluminous reading, he composed what he termed 'fable epick', by condensing a wealth of classical sources into a single composition. In the case of Jonson, however, he provided his references as extensive printed footnotes. Van den Berg notes that his texts contain few soliloquies, but extended accounts of disputes. Characters are constantly cross-referencing – annotating and challenging – each other's statements.²⁵ The performance of masque is then a form of dramatized annotation in itself.

Jonson's Summary

Summarization necessitates distillation. To abridge a text requires dispensing with material that is not of interest to the reader, while arranging what remains according to a rationalized scheme. From the choices made in this selection and arrangement can be inferred the reader's conceptualization of the nature and purpose of the text as a whole.

The first hand writes such a summary, which begins in the margins of the letter to the reader and continues onto the following leaf.

²⁵ Sara Van den Berg, 'True Relation: the life and career of Ben Jonson', in *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, eds. Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 1-14.



(3v-4r)

It is here proposed that this summary indicates that the annotator, most likely Jonson, read the text as part of his process of *inventio* in assembling materials for stagecraft. The basis for this argument is this writer’s presentation of Poliphilo primarily as a viewer, and the choice of large-scale, representable objects for the summary. The summary begins with Poliphilo stating that ‘he hath seene many Admirable things among ye which he describes many Antiquities worthy of memory such as Piramides, obelisks, ruins of edifices.’ This introduction is an echo of the HP’s introductory phrase, which states that the HP includes ‘ubi humana omnia non nisi somnium esse docet, atque obiter plurima scitu sane quam digna commemorat.’²⁶ Hand A follows this introduction in English translation describing ‘many Admirable things’, however he quickly moves from the universal to the particular, listing structures. The annotator then proceeds to list Vitruvian architectural terminology with their English equivalents, writing that Poliphilo sees ‘columns, their zofors, bacus and chapters, the architraves, Frizua...’

By thus moving straight into architectural details, reader omits a significant amount of other content from the first book. Left out are non-architectural topics which engaged other annotators in this study, such as natural history and alchemy. The reader also omits all but the most general framing details. Refraining from much description of the love story, the annotator continues to list only visually representable features until he wraps up the action

²⁶ ‘In which it is shown that all human things are but a dream, and many other things worthy of knowledge and memory.’ (G 9).

with ‘Poliphilus is wakened with the singing of the nightingale and thus an end.’ Polia too, functions solely as a viewer and demonstrator. The action of the second book is summed up in a single phrase, in which ‘Polia to satisfy the request of the nimphs discourses unto them all her parentage and whom she was descended and nobles so an [so on] of the edifying [of] Treviso.’ Even in this sentence, the emphasis is upon the architectural construction of the city, rather than on Polia’s personal narrative. The characters are flat, without an indication of an inner life or personal agency, serving only to facilitate a succession of images. By the middle of the summary, the annotator is only listing the various marvels which Poliphilo views sequentially, with little mention of the connecting plot elements. Poliphilo sees:

an Elephanticha he of marble grand, a Collosus and a Magnificant portico with heirographia, ordination, then of 5 nimphs, the 5 wading, thee batons and fountains among forgotten to mention affairs and excelant fountains Madoseribus of Palos of the queen eleuterylida who for the love of him made him so also love forth in thee which may be learned many things comodius to ye health of man also be of the of precious stones which of naturall virtue ptolemeus and of 3 gardens on a glas mirror of silks anon ye forme of a laberint with columis made of bricke in ye mid of this garden in exp- ye Trinitie of figuris hieroglif

Polia then is listed only in terms of the objects she views

Polia shous him 4 Triumphs of the great God Jupiter, shows him also the mountain wher ye Gods who enamored ye [illeg.] and lauder of ther art with ye knowledge ye Asoch and effect thereof, then folos the triumph of Vertumnus and Pomona together with the God of ye Gartins

A.W. Johnson’s article did not detail this summary, but a consideration of this listing of the features Jonson considered to be of interest reinforces his proposal that Ben Jonson used the process of reading and annotating the HP as a means of gathering concepts for masque. That which is gathered are allegorized, depersonalized characters and concepts for stage effects. Each of these would lend themselves to the creation of masque, a genre defined by Stephen Orgel as a set of tableaux, set in a classical realm, rendering contemporary events or abstract virtues in allegory.²⁷ The book of a masque is a framework for an evening’s entertainment, which is why, like Jonson’s summary, masque texts give the impression of being dry or flat when read solely as literature. The masque consists of a movement from the ‘anti-masque’ world of mundanity to an ideal realm of harmony and virtue. Since this ascent

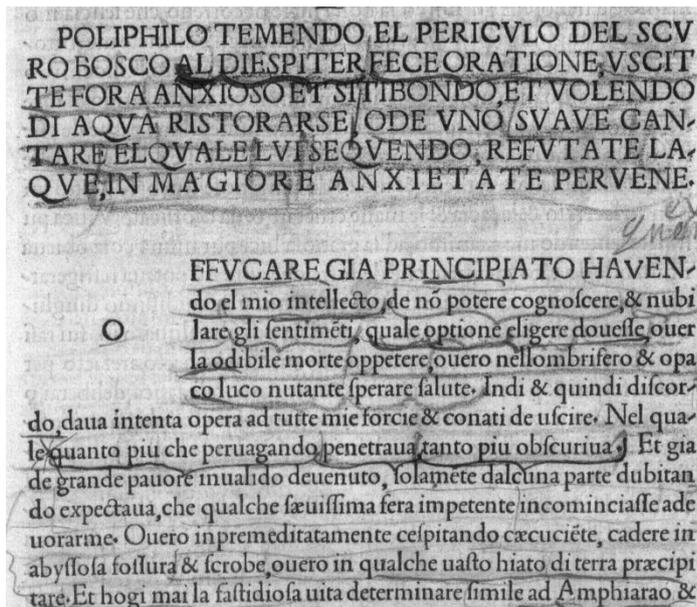
²⁷ Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1965).

was inevitable, masque lacked tension of plot and genuine interaction of characters as subjects, a purpose which would rationalise Jonson's omission of the HP's complexities of character. The animate figures of the mask served rather to facilitate the presentation of a succession of tableaux, much like the series of marvels viewed by Poliphilo and listed by Jonson. In compiling this summary, Jonson uses Poliphilo and Polia as hypostases for the audiences of masque. Jonson extracts visually representable images from the HP and parades them before the protagonist, testing such a succession of tableaux before applying them to an actual audience.

A discussion of the *inventio* behind Jonson's stagecraft raises the question of the degree to which his collaborator and erstwhile rival, Inigo Jones (1573-1652), had any role in the annotation. Though they created cooperatively when not feuding, in the production of masque Jonson primarily took responsibility for the book while Jones designed the sets, machines and lighting. As a wide traveller with architectural interests, it is improbable that the HP was unknown to Jones. This being the case, could some of the annotation be Jones' own, or Jonson's under the influence of Jones? As is the case with Digby, a detailed comparison of Jones' manuscripts with the present copy was beyond the scope of this study, though it would be a productive avenue for further research.

Mass Underlining

Hand A took an interest in grammatical, as well as theatrical matters. As he read, the annotator underlined phrases in the Poliphilesque language and parsed them into their grammatical components. In most places these lines are underscored in pencil, with a few lines scored in red. Vertical lines extend up from the underscoring in order to mark syntactical divisions.



Detail, (a4r)

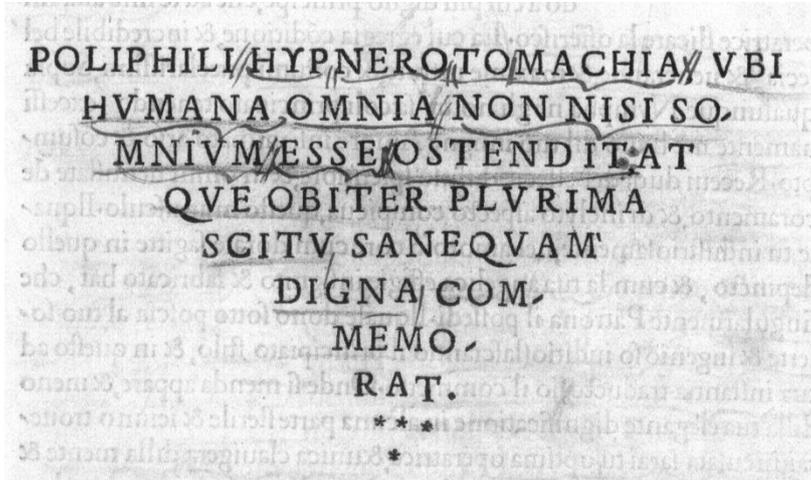
This illustration, taken from the first page of the second chapter, shows the two varieties of underlining stroke used by the reader. Most words are marked with a simple straight line, or a double underlining. Some individual words are instead underscored with a bracket-like (e.g. ‘{’) line which bends twice under the individual term of interest. In a number of cases, the horizontal bracket underneath a word flows into a vertical bracket on the margins which marks off a proposed etymology and definition of the term in question. Short vertical lines, which branch up into the running text from the underscoring line, separate individual words and clauses.

This widespread underlining does demonstrate an attentive and meticulous reader, who read each sentence to such a degree as to observe its grammatical structure. To underline may have been a means of maintaining attention, as medieval monks followed a text with a stylus, in a manner which became habitual. Another possibility is that the underlining marks passages which were later to be extracted into a commonplace book. Yet excerpting by definition involves transcribing sections of a text, not the book in its entirety. If the purpose was in fact to transcribe the entire text, why then underline? It appears that A approached the text as a source of information, but also as a philological puzzle to develop his own capacity as a reader.

This interest in unorthodox Latinate texts may stem out of the more widespread interest in Latin texts which differed from the schoolbook Ciceronian style, such as those of Martial’s *Epigrams*, as discussed in Chapter 5. Ben Jonson shared this interest in non-standard Latin,

and is reported to have underscored hundreds of poems in his 1619 copy of Martial's *Epigrams*.²⁸ Jonson also mass-underlined his Horace.²⁹

The reader's grammatical parsing begins with the first set of massed capitals.

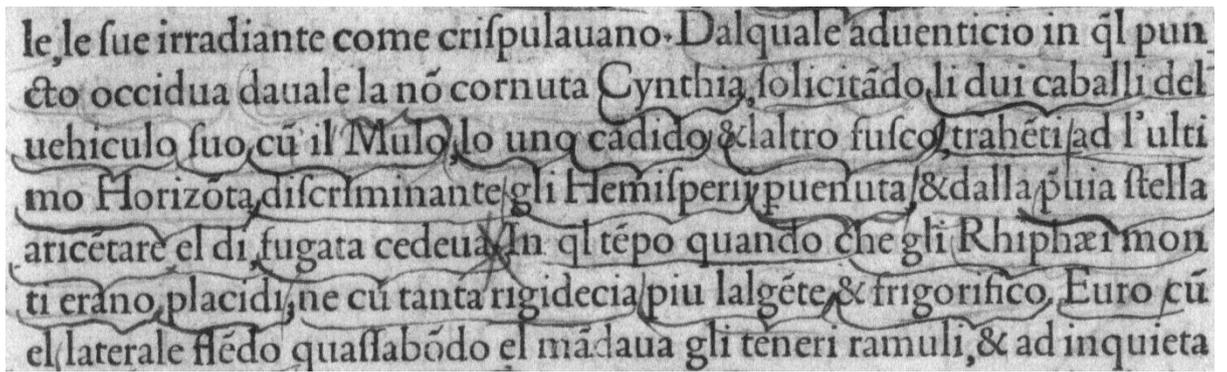


The first word, 'Poliphili', is unmarked. The second word, 'Hypnerotomachia' is divided up into components by two solidi (//). The last pair of solidi following the word is crossed by a left-pointing line, as if to close off this block of analysis. The word is broken into its Greek components. Those components which do not form a full Greek word in themselves ('Hyp,' 'nero,' and 'to') have underlining which does not culminate in a point like a bracket, whereas 'machia', which is a stand-alone word, (*μαχία*), does. The division between 'Hyp' and 'Nero' is uncertain. The full Greek etymon would include the 'n' of 'Hypn', while 'Nero' is a word of Latin derivation, not Greek. One could propose a division according to syllabification, but in that case, one would expect 'nero' to be divided after 'ne'.

A similar approach is followed in the body text. The following is taken from (a1r), the first page of the first chapter, when the annotator's energy for prosecuting this parsing scheme would be at its strongest.

²⁸ Robert C. Evans, *Habits of Mind: Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson's Reading* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1995), pp. 21-22, 138, 146.

²⁹ Horace. *Bernardini Parthenii Spilimbergii in Horatii Flacci Carmina atq. Epodos Commentarii Quibus Poetae artificium, & via ad imitationem, atq. ad Poetice scribendum aperitur*. Bound up with this, *Q. Horatii Flacci Sermonum Libri quatuor, seu, Satyrarum Libri duo. Epistolarum Libri duo*. (Venetiis: apud Dominicum Nicolinum, 1584). A full text of Horace with the commentary of Bernardino Partenio; much of the second part is underlined (Cambridge University Library, Classmark X.9.15). The Newton library catalogue does mention Jonson's underlining. (URL: http://hooke.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/bib_seek.cgi?cat=ul&bib=370204). Accessed 2/14/2013.



‘Cynthia’ is marked off with a pointed bracket, while the following word, ‘solicitando’, is not. ‘Li dui caballi’ is marked off by a single bracket. It appears that the annotator marked a single word, and all its modifiers, with a single bracket. The same approach is followed with ‘& l’altro fusco’, in which the word ‘fusco’ and its accompanying conjunction, article, and adjective are all placed in the same clause.

Modified Woodcuts

Both hands also made modifications to the woodcuts. While B restricted his changes to the labelling of objects with alchemical signs, A made stylistic modifications. A added hatching to images of monuments in order to provide a sense of depth. For example, in the ‘GELOIASTOS’, the annotator envisions light falling upon the relief sculpture from a specific point, the lower right, and renders the shadows as they would fall from this angle, while translating the title into two Latin equivalents before rendering the term in English as ‘laughter.’

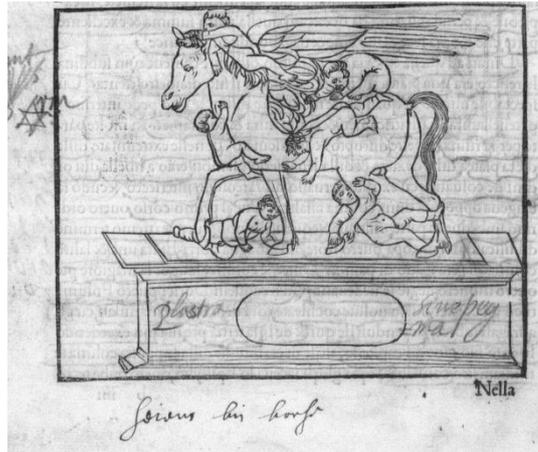


Detail, (e7r)

Though this hatching enhances the visual appeal of the image, the use of shadow also supports the argument that the annotator was reading with stage design in mind.

Performances of masque were held in the evening under artificial light. If this GELOIASTOS relief was to be used in a masque, a playwright would need to consider how light from known sources would fall upon the stage display in order to maximize its visual effect.

Hand A also takes an interest in translating epigrams. For example, he writes ‘Seianus his horse’ underneath a statue of a horse representing fleeting time. Sejanus was a figure of particular interest to Jonson, who wrote *Sejanus his Fall* in 1603. This may suggest an earlier date for the hand. Underneath the monumental inscription ‘D.AMBIG.D.D.’, he wrote in a translation as ‘dedicated to the Ambiguous Gods.’, demonstrating an understanding of epigraphic abbreviations.



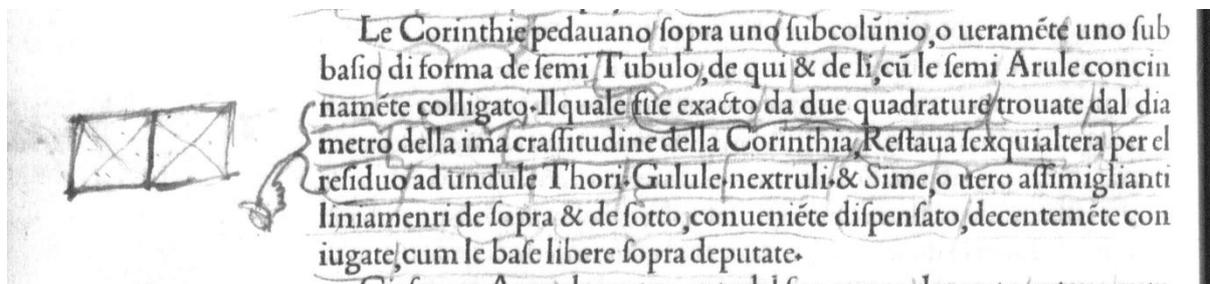
Detail, (b4v)

This labelling continues onto the facing page. The adjacent inscription, labelled ‘Equus Infoelicitatis’, A writes as ‘the unfortunat (sic) horse.’ This is one of the few instances in which B responds to A, offering an alternate formulation of the epigram as ‘the hors (sic) of infelicity.’

Hand A’s interest in architectural matters extends to the identification of orders of columniation (m7v).

Le Corinthie pedavano sopra uno subcolumnio, o veramente uno subbasio di forma de semi Tubulo, de qui & de li, cum le semi Arule concinnamente colligato. Il quale fue exacto da due quadrature trovate dal diametro della ima crassitudine della Corinthia. (m7v)

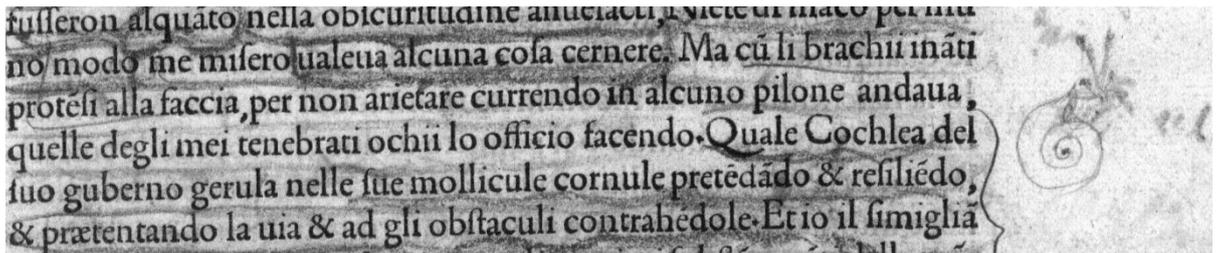
Each Corinthian column stood on a subcolumn, or rather a base in the form of a half-cylinder, neatly attached on either side to the half-pedestals. It was made by taking two squares, each as wide as the lowest diameter of the column. (G 198)



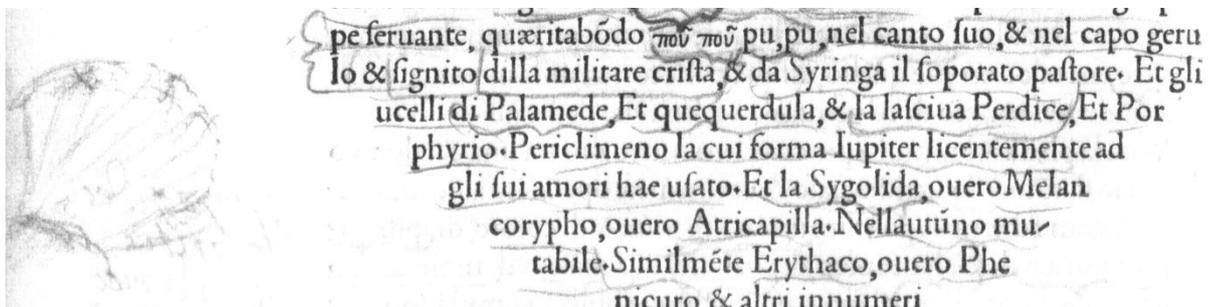
The annotator’s interest in the Corinthian order extended to its models in the natural world. Upon other mentions of the order, he draws a snail and an acanthus flower.

Quale Cochlea del suo governo gerula nelle sue mollicule cornule pretendendo et resiliendo, et praetentando la via et ad gli obstaculi contrahendole. (d4r)

[I was unable to discern a single thing, but walked with my arms stretched out in front of my face to avoid striking my head on a pillar as I went.] This did the office of my sightless eyes, just as a snail, carrying its house, stretches and shrinks its soft little horns to feel its way and draws them in at every obstacle. (G 63)



The seashell is the natural form behind the rows on the shaft of a column, and A draws one on (t7v).



Hand B

If the mark of understanding a subject is the ability to parody it, then Jonson's knowledge of alchemy was superb. If Jonson had perceived an alchemical subtext to the HP, he likely would have remarked upon it. Indeed, as a genre about the ascent from the mundane to the heavenly, masque is itself a genre steeped in alchemical themes. As it turns out, the contrast could not be sharper. Jonson leaves no alchemical annotation of any kind, while the second

hand viewed the HP as a complex and elaborate allegory of the *magnum opus*. A variety of components of the novel – Poliphilo, Polia, nymphs, and monuments – were considered as representatives of ingredients in the alchemical process. The reader labelled those features which he presumed to symbolize various chemical components by the traditional sign of the element presumably allegorized within. Some of these are standard, such as Venus’ mirror (♀) or the Sol sign for gold (☉). Other alchemical symbols appear to be idiosyncratic to the present annotator. A particularly distinctive feature of this annotator is the manner in which he inserted alchemical signs into the syntax of sentences by appending case inflections. For example, ‘aurum’ would be written ‘☉um’, or ‘Veneris’ as ‘♀eris’.

Béroalde de Verville’s 1600 edition of the HP is itself the product of an alchemical interpretive tradition, and engendered further alchemical readings.³⁰ The study of the present notes, dating from the mid-seventeenth century, offer a glimpse into developing alchemical understanding of the HP which Béroalde crystallized in his edition. Drawing upon the 1600 HP, Carl Gustav Jung, in his *Psychology and Alchemy*, offered a reading comparing the process of alchemical refinement with the operations of the psyche in individuation of an analysand.³¹ Jung’s pupil Linda Fierz-David would expand upon her teacher’s reading in *The Dream of Poliphilo: The Soul in Love*, in which Poliphilus and Polia are held to represent the Jungian *animus* and *anima*.³² These interpretations are, however, speculatively based upon an inferred alchemical significance with reference to contemporary psychological frameworks. The annotations of B offer over three hundred pages of concrete evidence for an alchemical interpretation by one early modern reader.

The psychological/alchemical readings deriving from Jung and Fierz-David are also a key contributor to the pop-cultural cachet which the HP has attained and which contributes to its contemporary popularity. Following the publication of the HP-inspired thriller *The Rule of Four*, a Google search for ‘Hypnerotomachia’ will turn up discussion on alchemical and occultist message boards. While study of such discussions falls more in the realm of cultural studies than book history, they do demonstrate the long duration and afterlife of the alchemical readings exemplified by B.

³⁰ *Le tableau des riches inventions couvertes du voile des feintes amoureuses, qui sont représentées dans le songe de Poliphile desvoilées des ombres du songe & subtilement exposées par Béroalde de Verville* (Paris: Matthieu Guillemot, 1600).

³¹ Carl Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953).

³² Linda Fierz-David, *The Dream of Poliphilo: The Soul in Love* (Dallas, TX: Spring Publications, 1987).

Seventeenth-Century Alchemical Theory

Prior to discussing B's notes, it will be necessary to make some prefatory remarks in order to delineate, in the broadest terms, the conceptual framework of seventeenth-century alchemy within which B was operating. This is a general summary of a broad subject, for which this author cannot claim any specialized knowledge. As with other subjects of interest to the annotators, I briefed myself in the general contours of alchemical practice enough to comment upon the material found here, in a discussion which may seem naïve to the specialist.

The animating purpose of seventeenth-century alchemical theory was the attempt to redeem the present by plumbing the depths of the past. As F. Sherwood Taylor observes, the chief distinction between contemporary understandings of science and those of early modern alchemy is that while modern science seeks to build upon contemporary research, alchemy attempts to locate pre-existing knowledge surviving from the distant past.³³ The historical process was understood as being one of the continuous covering-over of an original 'ancient wisdom', or *prisca sapientia*. This concept held that there consisted a tradition of original wisdom, beginning with the figure of Hermes Trismegistus/Thoth, and progressing through sages such as Zoroaster, and emerging in the fullness of time in the Christian Revelation.³⁴ Over time, that ancient wisdom has been occluded by the dust and dross of the ages, yet it was understood to persist under the veil of allegory in mythology. As this wisdom was held to be presented in its greatest integrity in the most ancient texts, and the mark of antiquity is incomprehensibility in comparison to modern texts, the more recondite the text, by this logic, the more of the *prisca sapientia* it was understood to contain. For this reason, scholars such as Isaac Newton deliberately sought out arcane obscure texts from which the originary wisdom could be reconstructed. Foremost among these texts was the *Tabula Smaragdina* (Emerald Tablet), a recitation held to be of great antiquity.

This fixation with obscurantism-as-authenticity persisted into early modern practice. Writers of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries borrowed the circumlocutious style of the Emerald Tablet and related texts and reutilised this style as a means of masking their purposes so that the text might not fall into the hands of the unworthy. Thus, whether through genuine philological antiquity, or imitative obscurantism, early modern alchemical

³³ F. Sherwood Taylor, *The Alchemists: Founders of Modern Chemistry* (London, Melbourne, Toronto: William Heinemann, 1951), p. 2.

³⁴ Martin Muslow and Janita Hamalainen, 'Ambiguities of the *Prisca Sapientia* in Late Renaissance Humanism', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65.1 (2004), pp. 1-13.

texts adopted a similar allusive style. For example, the dedicatory letter of Giovan Battista Nazari's 1599 *Della tramutatione metallica sogni tre* invokes this spirit of obscuring from the eyes of the unworthy.³⁵

And so it was that many ancient philosophers (such as Hermes, Morienus, and others), applying their intellects to the imitation of nature, discovered such profound and divine secrets. This science, then, was called chemistry, or alchemy; which, passing from scholar to scholar, was always cloaked in fables, symbols, and riddles, so that it might not come to the attention of the greedy and the insane.³⁶

Therefore, for one steeped in the *prisca sapientia*, a text as complicated and linguistically obscure as the HP would have drawn much attention. The HP's own dedicatory letter, although written a century before Nazari's, contains a similar statement that the text is written in a deliberately obscure style.

Sed tamen ita se temperavit, ut nisi, qui doctissimus foret in doctrinae suae sacrarium penetrare non posset, qui uero non doctus accederet non desperaret tamen. Illud accedit, quod si quae res natura sua difficiles essent, amoenitate quadam tanquam referato omnis generis florum viridario oratione suaui declarantur, & proferuntur figurisque, & imaginibus oculis subiectae patent & referuntur. *Non hic res sunt uulgo expositae & triuis decantandae, sed quae ex philosophiae penu depromptae, & musarum fontibus haustae quadam dicendi nouitate perpolitae ingeniorum omnium gratiam mereantur.* (Ir, emphasis mine)

But he [Poliphilo/Colonna] also arranged it [the book] such that none but the most learned should be able to penetrate the inner sanctum of his teaching; yet he who approaches it with less learning should not despair. It is the case here that although these things are difficult by their nature, they are expounded with a certain grace, like a garden sown with every kind of flower; they are told in a pleasant manner, presented with many illustrations and images for the eyes. *These matters are not to be exposed to the vulgar or proclaimed at the crossroads, but brought forth from the sanctuary of philosophy and drawn from the Muses' springs with a novel refinement of speech, deserving thanks from all superior men.* (G 2-3, emphasis mine)

By opening in a comparable manner to that of an alchemical treatise, the HP would therefore have raised a horizon of expectation that the text would include alchemical content for readers who were thus inclined, whether or not this was the intent of the author. With such

³⁵ Giovan Battista Nazari, *Della tramutatione metallica sogni tre* (Brescia: Pietro Maria Marchetti, 1599), f. a3r.

³⁶ Trans. by Doug Skinner, *Three Dreams* (Glasgow: Magnum Opus Hermeticum Sourceworks No. 27, 2002), p. 5.

an introduction, readers would be predisposed to interpret the text in a manner akin to a *roman à clef*.

Hand B was also annotating within a tradition of alchemical interpretation, following Béroalde. Since the hand can be dated to after 1641, it may have drawn upon his *Hypnerotomachie: Le tableau des riches inventions couvertes du voile des feintes amoureuses*. The 1600 edition contains its own *tableau steganographique* listing the key symbols and their equivalents. Although B does not cite Béroalde directly or indicate an awareness of his edition, the 1600 HP sprung out of a shared cluster of alchemically-informed interpretive practices centered around the HP.

Moreover, in distinction to more allegorizing trends in seventeenth-century alchemy, the present reader seems to have inferred a literal recipe behind the veil of the narrative. His identification of the supposed ingredients allegorized by various sections is logical, procedural, and complex. The straightforward identification of ingredients and procedures differs greatly from the more general and abstruse terms with which symbolic alchemy is discussed. To ‘decipher’ the HP, only to create an almost equally complex sub-layer of allegory, would seem a redundant exercise. Nor do the labels have the quality of allegorisation, with connecting language indicating a progression of concepts. They are rather a direct list of ingredients and their interactions, as one would find in a recipe.

The annotator makes use of a standardized vocabulary of alchemical signs, for which Taylor offers a table in *The Alchemists*. Some of the signs included in this standard list have persisted to the present day in the form of planetary or astrological signs, but these are remnants from what was at one time an extensive ideographic vocabulary.³⁷ A number of these ideograms are of significant antiquity.³⁸ Others may be of more recent coinage, or even signs distinct to a particular practitioner. Thus, by following the procession of operations signified in each of these symbols, one can correlate passages of the HP with the alchemical processes presumed to be encoded therein. For example, the following annotation on the image of the Elephant and Obelisk (b6v) contains a number of such ideograms within the syntax of the sentence.

³⁷ Taylor, *The Alchemists*, pp. 51-67.

³⁸ As an example of the antiquity of these signs, Taylor (*ibid.*) cites a Leyden papyrus (c. 250 AD) entitled the *Gold-making of Cleopatra* which bears the symbols of mercury, gold and silver. For an introduction to alchemical symbolism, see *Ibid.*, pp. 145-61.

Distinctions in the practice of individuals can be articulated in terms of individual divergences from this standard canon of signs. The arrangement and itemization for this set of signs, as they were used in seventeenth-century England, are derived in large part from the Keynes collection of Isaac Newton's manuscripts.³⁹

Although the hand in the BL is most certainly not that of Newton, the consistency between Newton's ideographic vocabulary and that of the present annotator may suggest that B was attached to the Royal Society, from the environs of Cambridge, or was otherwise connected to the figure of Newton. A careful comparison of B's alchemical annotations with those of Newton is beyond the scope of this project, but would be a productive avenue for further research.

In order to contextualize these symbols, one must first discuss the general contours of the alchemical schema shared by most theorists of the seventeenth century. The alchemical work of refinement begins with the *Tria Prima*, or 'three primes', consisting of the elements of salt, representing matter, sulphur, representing the *spiritus mundi*, and mercury, as the unifying factor between the previous two. There follow the four basic elements (earth, air, fire, and water), which are represented as a series of upright or inverted triangles. Each of the seven planets known to the ancients was associated with a metal. Gold was dominated by the sun, silver by the moon, copper by Venus, and so forth. Additional elements and chemical reagents, such as antimony and arsenic, had their own symbols. So did the various compounds which could result from the process, such as sal ammoniac and cinnabar (mercury sulphide).

The alchemical process, in its literal laboratory sense, involved the breakdown of elements into what was presumed to be their most basic form. These now-distilled elements would then be reunited in a process often represented as an alchemical wedding, whose progeny would be symbolized by a hermaphrodite harmonizing the two elements. This reunified substance would then be 'sublimed' to its purest state. In laboratory procedure, the breakdown stage (*nigredo*, or 'blackening') could be accomplished by burning a substance, with the sublimation occurring over multiple iterations of heating and evaporation of the residue in an alembic. Though following these same general contours, alchemical schools of thought were distinguished by the degree of emphasis placed upon various stages, and the vocabulary of mythological symbols used to describe them.

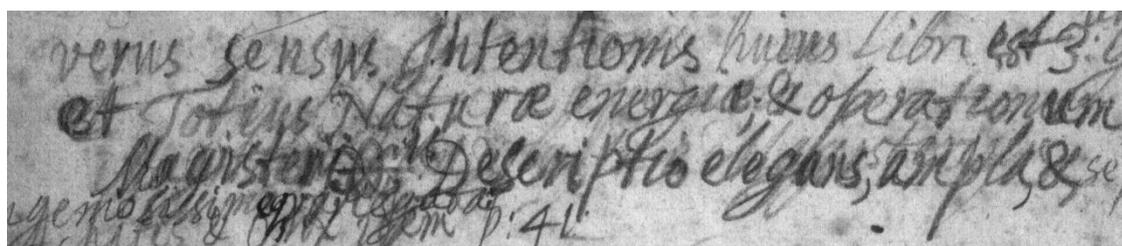
³⁹ Particularly Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Keynes MS 18 and 20. These MSS. were collected and donated by the economist John Maynard Keynes.

This chapter will trace this procedure, as it was perceived by the annotator, throughout the HP. It will propose that the distinct emphases and inflections found in this current annotator indicate that he was applying a theory of alchemy derived from Jean d'Espagnet (1564-1637) in his *Enchiridion physicae restitutae*.⁴⁰

Writing on the flyleaf verso, the alchemical annotator offers a summary for the text and a delineation of its perceived threefold purpose.

verus sensus intentionis huius libri est 3um : Geni
et Totius Naturæ energiæ & operationum
Magisteri Mercurii Descriptio elegans, ampla

The true sense of the intention of this book is threefold: the full and elegant description of the energy and spirit of the whole nature, and of the operations of Master Mercury



Detail, flyleaf, verso

This introductory annotation lays out the alchemist's conceptual scheme, emphasises his areas of interest, and delineates that which he presumed the HP to be. This annotator approaches the text with a broader natural-philosophical interest than simply the refinement of the matter before him. He is conducting an investigation into the generation of all nature. Notably, the annotator twice uses variations on the word 'ingeniosissimo'. As discussed in the introduction, the term 'ingenio' marked a broader semantic field than its cognate 'ingenious' would mean today – encompassing the concepts of wit and improvisational thinking. This thesis has argued that early modern annotators made use of the process of annotating the HP as a deliberate means of cultivating this faculty of *ingegno*. It is therefore notable that the annotator praises the text as exemplifying this virtue.

⁴⁰ The English edition was *Enchyridion Physicae Restitutae: or, The Summary of Physicks Recovered. Wherein the true harmony of Nature is explained, and many Errors of the Ancient Philosophers, by Canons and certain Demonstrations, are clearly evidenced and evinced* (London: Printed for W. Bentley, and are to be sold by W. Sheares at the Bible, and Robert Tutchein at the Phenix, in the New-Rents in S. Paul's Church-yard, 1651). Dobbs, *The Hunting of the Greene Lyon*, p. 134, has described the book as a literary masterpiece. It is not an alchemical treatise as such, but a Neo-Platonic text drawing extensively on the Hermetic tradition.

This alchemist foregrounds the operation of ‘Master Mercury’ in the alchemical process. Quicksilver has long been considered a vital component of the alchemical process according to various schemata. The science of alchemy itself is ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, whose Roman aspect was that of the God Mercury. Mercury was held to be distinct in nature from other metals, because unlike other metals which attained a liquid state only under heat, mercury remains liquid at room temperature. Quicksilver therefore had the quality, in its natural state, which other metals only attained after operations. By this logic, applying mercury (the highest of metals) and sulphur (the *spiritus mundi*) to other metals effected their refinement.⁴¹ Thus, mercury was understood to be a primal metal, in contrast with which all other metals were ‘accidental’ or inflected. Mercury was so foundational that it was interpreted in a number of ways, so that the chemical became ‘all things to all people,’ in the words of Dobbs.⁴²

Therefore it is not surprising that this alchemist foregrounded the operations of this metal. By the later seventeenth century, when this alchemist was writing, mercury had taken on a new and more specific significance in the light of new theoretical developments. Corpuscularian theory held quicksilver to be the cohering force which knit the particles of the universe together. For example, Herman Boerhaave (1664-1734) explained that gold gained in weight when mercury was ‘fixed’ into it, through which denser particles of light and fire were inserted.⁴³ At the same time, laboratory efforts were in place to refine even this highest of metals to ever greater heights. George Wilson (dates unknown) discussed his own attempts to refine a purer form of mercury, which he termed ‘mercurial water’. This liquor which was obtained from standard Mercury, and was known as ‘philosophical Mercury’, was the result of his attempts to reveal a ‘true metalline menstruum’.⁴⁴ As a result of this intersection between the old alchemy and the new corpuscularian science, the later-seventeenth-century witnessed a return to practical and experimental laboratory approaches to mercury, rather than spiritualised or allegorical interpretations. As Robert Boyle (1627-1691) wrote, ‘that there may be extracted or obtained from metals and mineral a fluid substance, in the form of running mercury, is the common opinion of chymists, in whose bodies we may

⁴¹ Gold, silver, iron, copper, tin, lead, and mercury (Dobbs, *The Hunting of the Greene Lyon*, p. 135).

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁴³ Herman Boerhaave, *A New Method of Chemistry* (London: Printed for J. Osborn and T. Longman at the Ship in Paternoster row, 1727), quoted in Dobbs, *The Hunting of the Greene Lyon*, p. 44.

⁴⁴ *A Compleat Course of Chymistry* (1st edn. 1691), in Dobbs, *The Hunting of the Greene Lyon*, p. 84.

meet with many processes, to make these mercuries.⁴⁵ In the practical refinement of physical mercury, two main laboratory methods were in practice.

(1) The first was to heat a lesser metal, such as lead. The resulting molten metal was deemed to be ‘mercury’. In fact, this resulting substance was simply the molten form of the original metal. According to prevailing theories however, the heat refined lead from its baser qualities and resulted in the temporary formation of quicksilver.

(2) Baser metals would also be heated together with mercuric chloride. The molten metal which resulted was understood to be mercury, as the highest of metals had assimilated and refined its baser component. Records of both of these processes are found in Newton Keynes Mss. collection, particularly in MS 31, *Liber mercuriorum corporum*, which contains a variety of references for the extraction of mercury.

Therefore, B’s interest in mercury is likely to be linked with actual practice, and his reading of the HP aimed at extracting information to inform that practice.

The linkage between B’s claim that the book demonstrates how ‘Geni Totius Naturæ energiæ’ can also be explained with reference to the figure of mercury. As this metal actuated and refined other metals, it was also understood to be the factor in the releasing of natural energies, as the elements of a world continually in transition cycle through one another.

According to a text known as *Aurora consurgens*,

And Hermes: Thou shalt separate the dense from the subtle, the earth from the fire. Alphidius: Earth is liquefied and turned into water, water is liquefied and turned into air, air is liquefied and turned into fire, fire is liquefied and turned into glorified earth.⁴⁶

This late-seventeenth-century emphasis on the transformation of ‘accidental’ elements with reference to their presumably ‘non-accidental’, more highly-refined forms, came about as part of a broader rejection of Aristotelianism in favour of Neo-Platonism.⁴⁷ One participant in this broader movement was the French alchemist Jean d’Espagnet (1564-1637). His

⁴⁵ Robert Boyle, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 630, quoted in Dobbs, *The Hunting of the Greene Lyon*, p. 136 footnote 17.

⁴⁶ M.L. von Franz, ed. *Aurora consurgens* pp. 92-99 (2, n.3), quoted in Dobbs, *The Hunting of the Greene Lyon*, p. 34.

⁴⁷ For a general summary see Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).

conceptual schema, articulated in his *Enchiridion physicae restitutae*, placed a particular emphasis upon the operation of mercury and the quickening of the *spiritus mundi*. The *Enchiridion*, available in English from 1651, describes this ‘second universal cause’ as

the spirit of the Universe, or the quickening virtue of that light created in the beginning, and contracted into the body of the Sun, and endowed with a hidden fecundity.⁴⁸

D’Espagnet defined the origin of this quickening force, equated with mercury, as the Sun, from which the animating energy of the world soul was continually outpoured.

it was not an improbable assertion of some of the Philosophers, *That the soul of the World was in the Sun, and the Sun in the Centre of the whole.*⁴⁹

This World Spirit ‘doth extend it self perpetually...pouring out all gifts for generation and life, through all the bodies of the Universe.’⁵⁰

Thus in D’Espagnet’s scheme, mercury is indeed the ‘master’ element (‘magister Mercurius’), as it is held to be one and the same with the world spirit emanating from the sun, itself equated with the element of Gold. Within this Neo-Platonic scheme, gold would then be the highest form of all elements, without accident. Though mercury and the Sun are key figures in most alchemical schemes, it is the particular emphasis upon the operation of mercury which distinguishes a student of D’Espagnet. Since mercury is the vehicle of the world spirit, as mercury differentiated itself into various baser substances, the world spirit ‘specificated’ itself into those same substances, animating them with living energy. Each substance contains a certain ‘magnetick’ attribute, which serves to attract the world spirit, borne upon mercury, into each as its source of life.

The Sun and the rest of the superior Natures [the stars and planets taking care of the inferior earth] do instil by continual breathings enlivening spirits, as so many trilling rivulets from their most clear and pure Fountains.⁵¹

D’Espagnet offered the water cycle and the process of condensation as analogues for the operation of this principle.

⁴⁸ d’Espagnet, *Enchyridion*, p. 5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

But the Vapours [the water vapour of the air] being thin, and so swimming in the Air, or else bound up into a Cloud, do most eagerly suck in that spiritual *Nectar* [from the heavenly bodies], and attract it to them by a Magnetick virtue, and having received it, they grow big, and being impregnated and quickened with that ingendering seeds, as being delivered of their burden, do freely fall down back into the lap of the Earth in some Dew, hoar Frost, Rain or some other nature.⁵²

A label added to the woodcut bearing the *Panton Tokadi* image (e1r) is an indication that this present annotator conceptualized the alchemical process in a manner consonant with D’Espagnet’s scheme. The annotator interpreted this particular emblem as representing the emanation of the world spirit, borne upon Mercury. The image depicts a satyr, pulling back a curtain to reveal a mother figure.⁵³ Two fauns stand behind the woman, bearing vessels. Pencil lines indicating streams of milk emerge from the woman’s nipples.



⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ The woodcut is not specific as to whether the woman is intended to represent Venus, Gaia, or any other goddess.



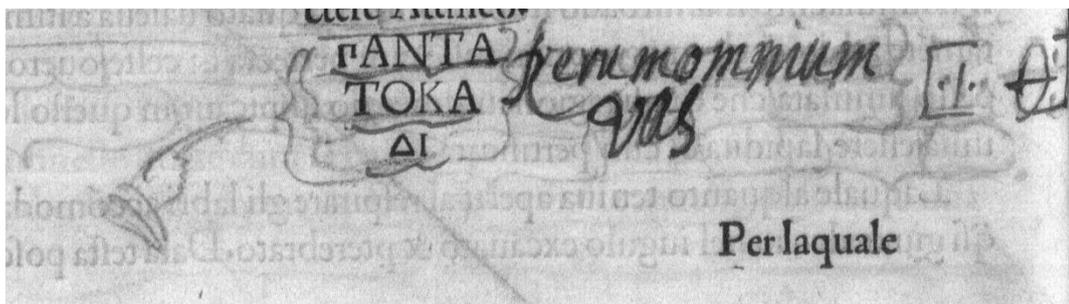
The elemental sign for mercury  is found on the top frieze, and also above the vessel borne by the faun on the right. The left faun bears the sign for cinnabar (mercury sulphide), another active agent. A note below the Greek caption reading ‘the mother of all things’ states

duae columbae in uno vase bibentes sunt minium & digestione

the two doves drinking in one vase represent cinnabar and digestion.

The association of vessels bearing signs for variants of mercury, accompanying a symbol for the generation of life, draws associations with D’Espagnet’s concept of the ‘magnetick’ principle drawing the spirit of life into the ‘vessels’ of matter, through the medium of mercury.

There are also signs of the second level of d’Espagnet’s schema discussed above, that of the expression of the ‘universal spirit’ in matter. Godwin translates *Panta Tokadi* as ‘the mother of all (G 73)’. The present annotator gives the phrase a slightly different inflection. On the facing folio (d8v) the phrase is translated as *rerum omnium vas*, followed by the abbreviation for ‘licet’, and then an alternate symbol for mercury.



Detail, d8v

If *rerum omnium vas* is thus equated to mercury, then this would resonate with D’Espagnet’s concept of mercury, not only as a quickening force, but also as a vessel for generative forces.

Therefore, the *Panta Tokadi* is mercury itself. The use of *vas* broadens the meaning beyond ‘mother’. A ‘Mother’ would be originator of all things. The annotator of State Library of New South Wales copy (Chapter 8) does in fact render the term as *omnia genetrix*. ‘Vas’, meaning either ‘vessel’ or ‘tool/utensil’, connotes instrumentality.

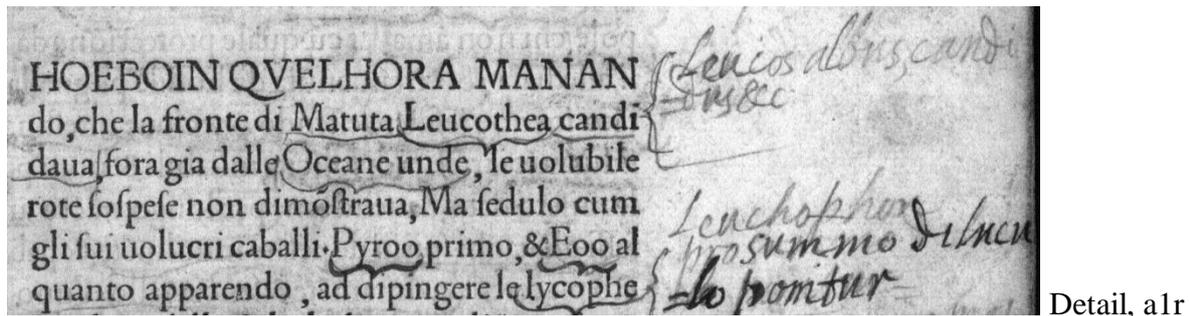
In the caption underneath the woodcut, the annotator makes this understanding more explicit, writing

nam in Humore radice & calor Naturalis existant omnes

for in the root of all humors and the heat of Nature all things exist.

Thus other natural forces, such as the humours, emerge from the heat (equated to the sun) expressed through the medium of mercury.

The alchemical readings of B offer extensive material for future research. This study has, for the present, confined itself to highlighting some of the annotator's ideographic vocabulary, and identifying the alchemical framework behind his or her analysis. Alchemy is B's primary, but not sole interest. The second hand in the BL copy also took a literary and philological interest in the text, noting the Greek origins of names. On the opening leaf, B identifies the lexical components that make up the name *Leucothea*.



Although the word was highlighted by A, it is B which takes the time to define the term. In the margins, 'Leucos albus, candidus, etc.' is offered as an etymology for the name of the goddess. Pozzi and Ciapponi concur, identifying the term as deriving from Nonius Marcellinus.⁵⁴

B also takes note of the sequence of events, or at least the time of day at which they took place. This chapter is labelled 'AURORAE DESCRIPTIO' (Description of the dawn).

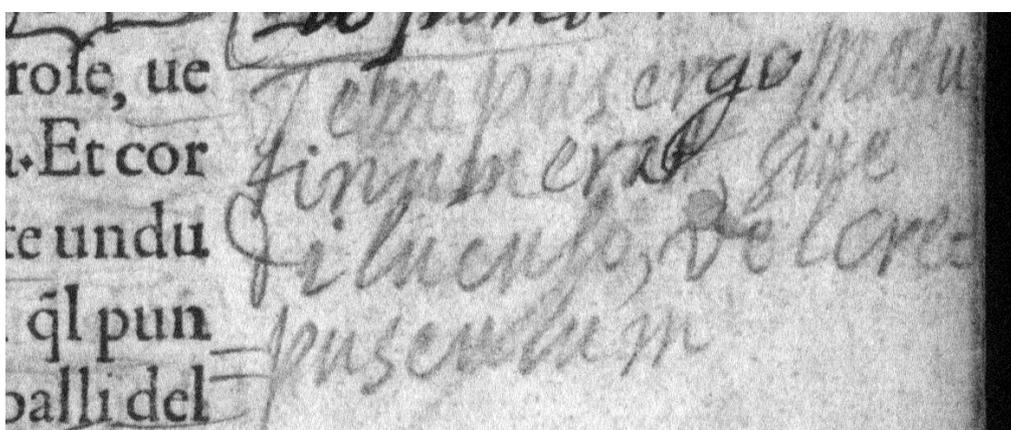
Et corruscante già sopra le cerulee et inquiete undule, le sue irradiante come crispulavano. Dal quale adventicio in quel puncto occidua davase la non cornuta Cynthia, solicitando gli dui caballi del

⁵⁴ P&C, pp. 53-54 n. 1. 'manum dicitur clarum: unde etiam mane, post tenebras noctis pars prima; inde Matuta quae graece Λευχοθέα'.

vehiculo suo cum il Mulo, lo uno candido et l'altro fusco, trahenti ad l'ultimo Horizonta discriminante gli Hemisperii pervenuta ... (a1r)

His [Phoebus'] curling hair was already sending its rays scintillating over the restless blue waves. As he arrived at this point, hornless Cynthia was setting opposite, urging on the steeds of her vehicle which was drawn by a white and a dark mule. She reached the far horizon separating the hemispheres and gave way... (G 11).

Adjacent to this image of the sun cresting the horizon, the annotator writes, somewhat obviously, 'Tempus ergo matutinum erat, sine diluculo, uel crepusculum', or 'Therefore it was the early morning, before dawn, or later in the evening, after sunset'.



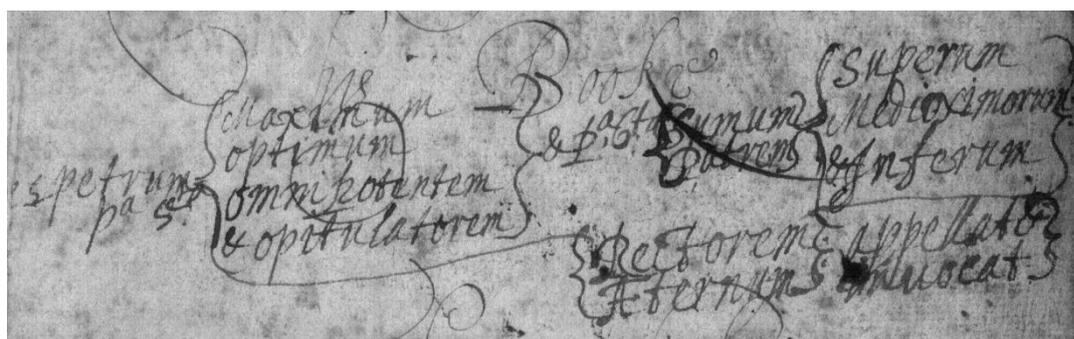
Detail, (a1r)

If this comment was solely intended as a remark that that it is indeed dawn, this statement would be redundant. Yet a closer consideration of this marginalium suggests a reason for the redundancy. The annotator observes the constellation of literary references to the dawn clustered on the same page, and in doing so, observes that between them all they not only indicate the morning in general, but a specific time of morning, before the exact moment when the sun crests the horizon. The annotator compares all of the references and pinpoints an exact moment in time. Bearing in mind the centrality of the sun to D'Espagnet's schema, the exact time of day in which alchemical operations were performed may have been of significance in laboratory procedure.

The annotator also shows a similar combined effort between alchemy and philology with regards to the figure of Jupiter, who dominates the metal tin in alchemical thought. The annotator took note of the titles with which Poliphilo addresses Jupiter on (a4r), and transcribes them into the flyleaf.

O Diespiter, Maximo, Optimo, & Omnipotente & Opitulo. Si dalli diuini suffragii la humanitate per iuste prece merita suffragio, & debi essere exaudita al præferite di qualunque fragile offense dolente te supplice inuoco lumo pate degli superi, Medioximi & inferi æterno rectore... (a4r)

O Jupiter greatest and best, omnipotent and succouring, if mankind can merit divine favour through sincere prayer and deserve a hearing even when suffering a slight trouble, I call on you, supreme Father and eternal ruler of the higher, middle and lower powers... (G 15).



Detail, flyleaf

The annotator takes Jupiter's titles from the running prose of (a4r) and converts them into a hierarchical list. The purpose behind this organization for the god's titles and realms of rule is unclear, but it is unusual to note that Jupiter's title as 'rector' is placed in a separate category to his role as 'omnipotent' ruler. A study examining the *loci* within the HP at which the annotator places the symbol for Jupiter/tin (♃) would provide more information on the role of Jupiter within B's alchemical understanding.

Although the Father of the Gods has some symbolic role in B's annotation, Jupiter is of greater prominence for the alchemical annotators of the following copy, who borrowed their conceptual scheme from a parallel alchemical tradition, that of pseudo-Geber.

Buffalo and Erie County Public Library –
Grosvenor Rare Book Room, RBR ALDUS 1499.C7

The copy held in the Grosvenor Rare Books room of the Buffalo and Erie County Public library (hereafter ‘Buffalo’) presents an extraordinary wealth of annotation. Its multiple hands, interacting with each other in a single copy, discuss a breadth of topics also found in other copies featured in this study. These include Vitruvian architectural features, the etymologies of Poliphilesque terms, and alchemy. This copy offers the opportunity to examine the continuity of themes across multiple annotators. Since some of the hands may date into the early eighteenth century, this copy presents an opportunity to view some of the *longue durée* effects of the HP upon readers. The few eighteenth- and nineteenth-century annotations and remarks seen in other copies are either ownership inscriptions, or the comments of connoisseurs. The Buffalo copy presents an opportunity to examine a (presumably) late-seventeenth-century/early-eighteenth-century reader (or, as shall be seen, host of readers) in an extended and in-depth engagement with the text.

This copy was examined in person in the Grosvenor Rare Book Room.¹ During this visit, I was informed that the copy had previously been examined by Dario Brancato and Amy Graves of the University of Buffalo. These scholars later graciously supplied their in-progress transcription of the marginalia.² Following this initial visit, the Grosvenor Rare Book Room produced a digital facsimile of the text, which has made it possible to revise initial assessments based on personal notes. No other previous studies of the copy have been found.

The objective of this chapter is to present some of the most salient features of this copy, which can contribute towards the understanding of common patterns of annotator behaviour, when compared with the other copies in this thesis. Its aim is to contribute to the development of a model of the responses of prolific annotators. The marginalia to the present copy are too voluminous to present an exhaustive study of them at present. Following upon

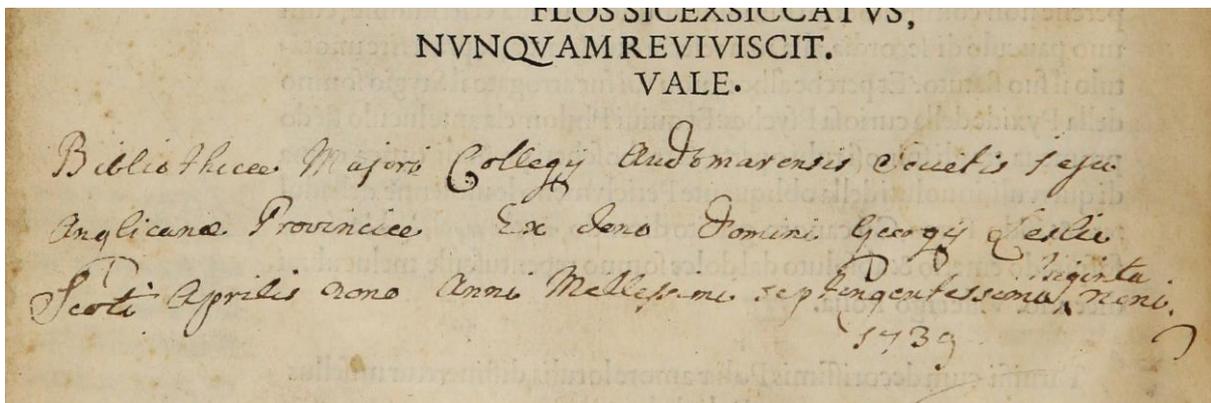
¹ I would like to thank Charles Alaimo, Rare Books and Map Librarian at the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, for his support and assistance.

² Dario Brancato and Amy Graves, personal correspondence. I am grateful to Dr Brancato and Dr Graves for their generous advice and assistance.

the methodology of Fumagalli and Stichel's foundational articles, previously discussed, this chapter intends to outline some lines of research which will provide avenues of entry into the copy for future scholars, as the work of Brancato and Graves did for this present study.

Bibliographic Description

This is a perfect copy of the 1499 edition, containing the often-excised errata leaf and Priapic image. The first attested date in the provenance is 1739. An *ex libris* following the HP's valedictory poem states that the copy was donated by Lord George Leslie to the English Jesuit College of St Omer at Calais.³



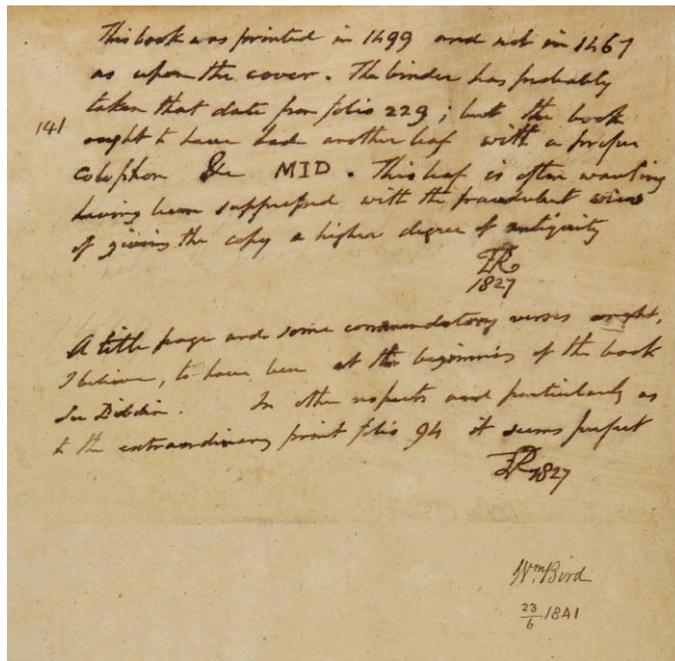
Detail, (F3r)

Upon the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, the College relocated to Bruges in 1762. Later, following suppression of the Society (1750-1773), the school relocated to Liège, and was eventually re-established in Britain as Stonyhurst College in 1794.⁴ It is not recorded whether the collections followed the persecuted College. The founding of Stonyhurst may have been a means for the book to re-enter Britain, since the next recorded owner is an

³ 'Leslie' is a frequent name of the Earls of Rothes in the Scottish Peerage. However, at the time of the donation in 1739 the Earl was John Leslie, 10th Earl of Rothes (1698-1767) and so the identity of the donor is uncertain.

⁴ On the history of Stonyhurst College, see < <http://www.stonyhurst.ac.uk/page/?pid=21> > Accessed 06/01/14. On the suppression, see John Hungerford Pollen, 'The Suppression of the Jesuits (1750-1773)', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 14 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912) < <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14096a.htm> > Accessed 06/01/14. The 'Audomarensis' of the inscription is the Latin adjective indicating Calais as provenance (also 'Audomaropolis' = Calais). Cf. J. G. Th. Graesse, *Orbis Latinus* (1909). <<http://www.columbia.edu/acis/ets/Graesse/contents.html>> Accessed 21/08/2011.

Englishman, one Fletcher Raincock (1768-1840).⁵ In a front flyleaf note, dated 1827, Raincock observed, as did other annotators, that unscrupulous book dealers misrepresented the HP as having been printed in 1467 rather than 1499. One ‘Wm Bird’ also recorded his ownership on the flyleaf in 1841. Given that Raincock died in 1840, it can be assumed that Bird purchased the book after the dispersion of Raincock’s estate. Bird compared the quality of his copy in this note with ‘Dibdin’s account’ of other copies of the HP.⁶



Detail, front flyleaf

This copy also bears an *ex libris* reading ‘Wm Stirling’ and the motto ‘gang forward.’ This was Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, 9th Baronet of Pollok (1818-1878), the last known owner and a noted bibliophile, art historian, and collector.⁷ The Buffalo and Erie County public library records do not list the book’s date of acquisition. Given that Lord Stirling-Maxwell died in 1878, when Buffalo was at the height of its prosperity as a centre of the railroad industry, it is likely that the book was purchased by a wealthy Buffalonian whose name is unrecorded.

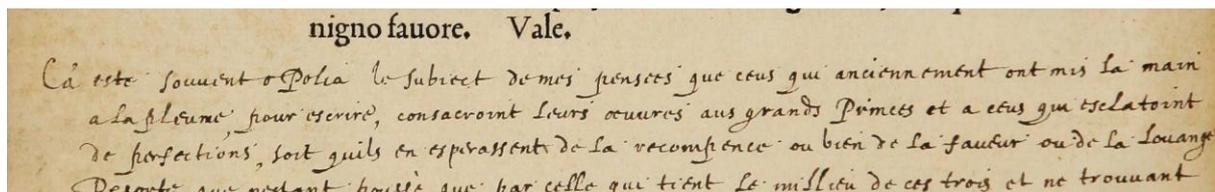
⁵ Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, senior fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, as recorded on his bust at Westmorland Church, Windermere <<http://www.northofthesands.org.uk/westmoreland/parish/38/windermere>> Accessed 21/08/2011.

⁶ Bird is either referring to Dibdin’s catalogue of the copy in the library of Earl Spencer (*Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, IV) or the ‘Mathieu copy’ now in the BL in *Bibliographical Decameron*, both cited in the Christie’s catalogue entry for Sale 7911/Lot 4, ‘The Arcana Collection: Exceptional Illuminated Manuscripts and Incunabula’, 7 July 2010.

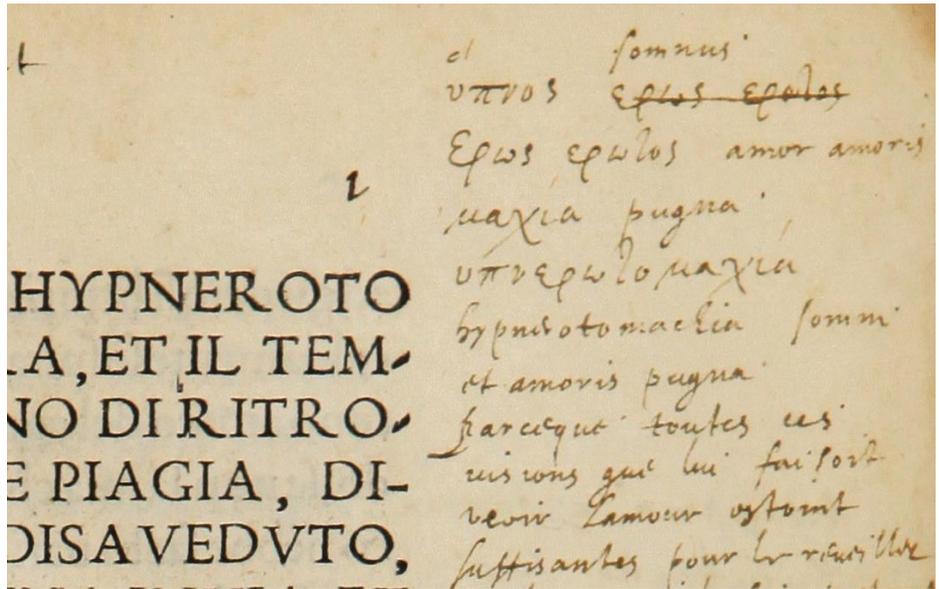
⁷ ‘Sir William Stirling-Maxwell’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>>, Accessed 9/1/14.

The copy contains a number of hands. The individuation of the hands presents a significant challenge, as the marginalia are extensively interwoven, overlapping and responding to each other. The following typology of hands is intended more for the effective categorization of notes than as a full profile of each annotator. It is indeed possible that some of the hands I have identified as separate may in fact be the hand of a single individual, writing in different languages or with greater or lesser haste.

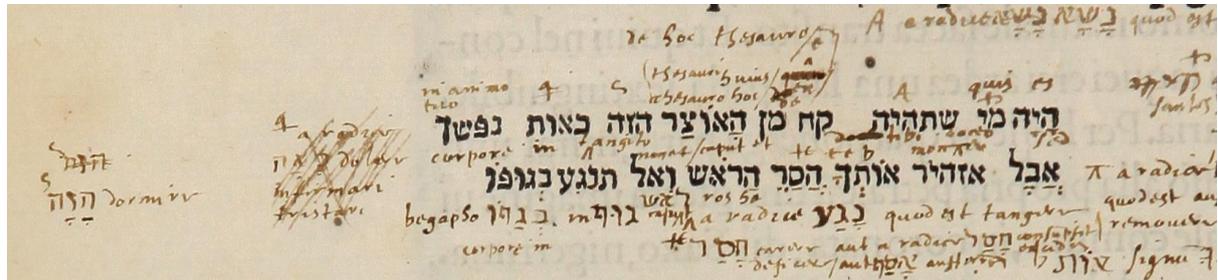
A: This hand writes in French in black ink. I lack the familiarity with French philology to date the hand on linguistic grounds. That being said, if the book, following its publication in Italy, was in Britain before 1739, it may be that this hand was associated with St. Omer, and therefore is that of a Jesuit. On the page following Poliphilo's dedicatory letter to Polia (POLIPHILVS POLIAE S.P.D. [*salutem plurimam dicit*]), this hand, like Jonson, writes a summary of the narrative.



B: This hand, writing in French in light brown ink, is primarily interested in the etymologies of Greek terms. Though this hand resembles the previous French hand A, it is not an exact match. The similarity in *ductus* does suggest a common point of origin, possibly another Jesuit of St Omer.

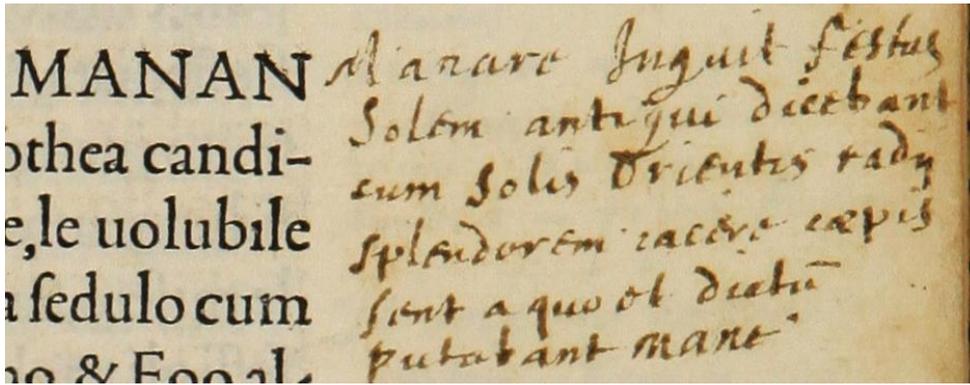


This ‘etymological’ hand is also the only annotator in this study to identify the etymological roots of the HP’s few epigrams in Hebrew. Although knowledge of Hebrew was sufficiently widespread among humanists not to presuppose an ecclesiastical annotator, the use of Hebrew does lend credibility to the proposal that this is the hand of a Jesuit.



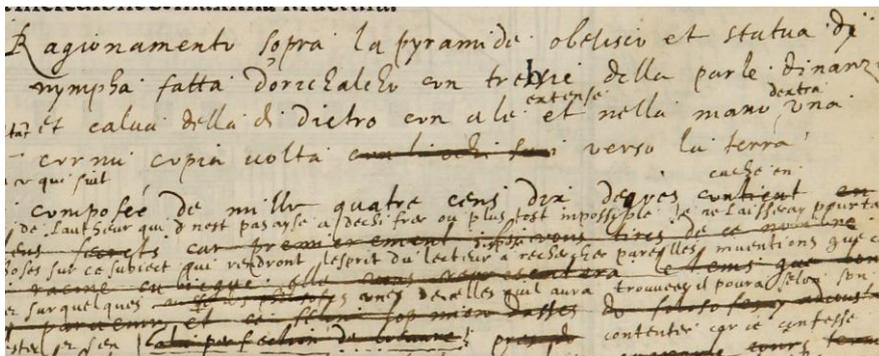
Detail, (b8v)

C: This hand, writing in Latin in brown ink, is primarily interested in signposting the narrative, summarising major passages.



Detail, (a1r)

D: Writing in a careful Italian script, this hand responds to the comments of the first French hand. In one instance, this annotator crosses off A's comments and offers a more abbreviated summary. D's primary interest is in architecture. This hand switches to Latin when labelling architectural features.



Detail, (b1r)

E: The final distinguishable hand, writing in Latin in a notably larger script than the other annotators, applies an alchemical reading to the HP. As this hand overwrites D, it is understood to be the last of the hands. E, like the second hand in the BL copy, labels passages and woodcuts with the element or stage of the alchemical process which they were presumed to allegorize. Unlike the BL alchemist, this annotator uses a minimum of alchemical ideograms, restricting himself to the use of the Venus symbol (♀) and a few other standard signs. In most cases, this annotator writes out the name of the alchemical ingredient in its entirety, as seen in this identification of the statue of a nude woman with sulphur, using the label 'sulphur naturæ'.



Plinian Encyclopedism

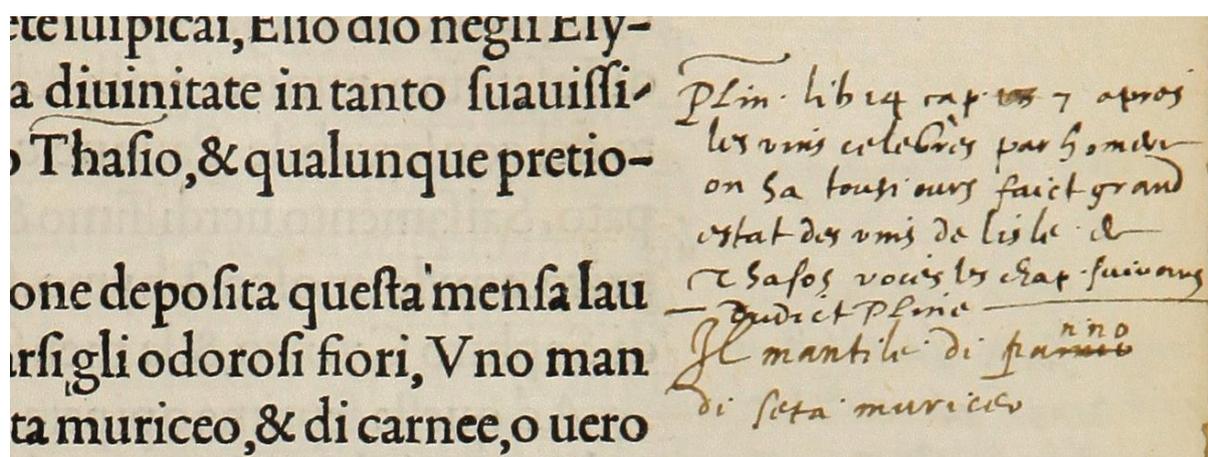
Like the annotators of Como and Modena, the readers of Buffalo recognized that the author of HP drew extensively on the *Naturalis historia*, and frequently traced the sources for Plinian citations in the HP. Buffalo is distinct from Como in that it centers its use of Pliny on phenomena beyond the realms of flora and fauna. Como and Modena use the *Naturalis historia* primarily to describe plants, and other phenomena occurring in the wild. However, the content of the *Naturalis historia* is not solely restricted to the natural world; it is rather a universal encyclopedia which also contains information on a variety of topics, from food to legislation. This annotator concentrates his interest on these very specifically ‘non-natural’ features of Pliny’s encyclopedia.

For example, during the banqueting at the palace of Queen Eleutherylida, Poliphilo offers a lavish description of the food and wine served. The annotator recognizes that even the wine itself is of Plinian derivation.

Dentro al quale bibatorio havevano infuso uno pretiosissimo vino, unde sencia fallire enucleatamente suspicai, esso dio negli Elysii campi vindemiando havere posto la sua divinitate in tanto suavissimo liquamine. Ceda quivi dunque il vino Thasio, et qualunque pretioso haustibile. (g3r).

This chalice was filled with precious wine: I suspected without a doubt that the god who makes the vintage in the Elysian Fields had infused this sweet liquid with his divinity, for it was unrivalled by the Thasian wine or by any other precious liquor. (G 109)

Here hand B identifies the source for these wines as also being found in Pliny, writing ‘Plin. lib. 14 cap. 7 apres les vins celebrès par Homere on [illeg.] toujours fait grand estat des vins de lisle de Thasos voire les chap. suivants du dict Pline’.



The annotator sources this quotation correctly. In NATURALIS HISTORIA 14.7, Pliny states

Vino natura est hausto accendendi calore viscera intus, foris infuso refrigerandi... prorsus ut iure dici possit, neque viribus corporis utilius aliud.

It is the property of wine, when drunk, to cause a feeling of warmth in the interior of the viscera, and, when poured upon the exterior of the body, to be cool and refreshing... In fact, we may feel ourselves quite justified in saying that there is nothing more useful than wine for strengthening the body.

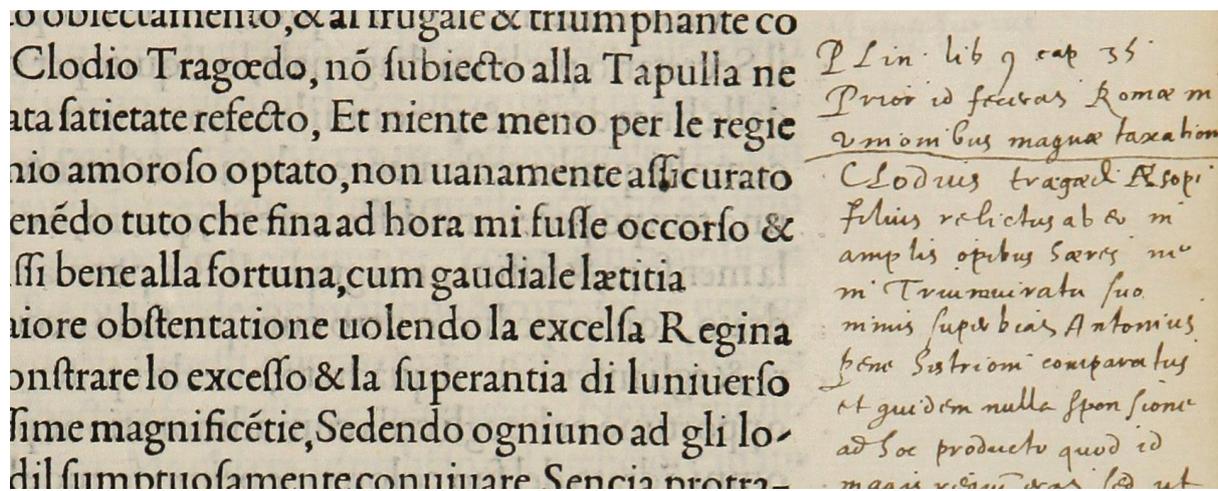
B even observes the author of the HP’s use of Pliny on legislature. In the same episode in the Queen’s Palace, the annotator remarks that present luxuries are such as to exempt from certain laws.

Ma poscia che cusi me ritrovai, et in tanta accumulazione di gloria, et sito sancto, et patria foelice, et di beato oblectamento, et al frugale et triumphante convito, quale nunque fece Clodio Tragoedo, non

subiecto alla Tapulla né Licinia lege, cum moderata satietate refecto, et niente meno per le regie sponzione di favorire al mio amoroso optato. (g8r)

After finding myself again in this way, and in such an accumulation of glory, and and holy site, and happy country, this blissful delight, and at a simple and triumphant feast, the like of which Clodius the Tragedian never made, not subject to the Tapullian and Licinian laws, with a moderate, satisfying refreshment, and nothing less than the royal inclinations to favour the success of my chosen love.’⁸

The annotator also identified the source of these laws, in Pliny, writing in ‘Plin. lib. 9 cap. 35 prior id fecerat Romae in unionibus magna taxationis.’



Detail, (g8r)

Chapter 9 of the *Naturalis historia* states that Clodius, the son of the tragedian Æsopus, set an example of prodigality which even Antony could not exceed.

non ferent hanc palmam spoliabunturque etiam luxuriae gloria. prior id fecerat Romae in unionibus magna taxationis Clodius, tragoedi Aesopi filius, relictus ab eo in amplis opibus heres, ne triumphatu suo nimis superbiat Antonius paene histrione comparatus. (*Naturalis historia* 9.59)

[Antony and Cleopatra] will not win the palm [award] of prodigality in this respect, and will be stripped of even of this [claim to] luxury and glory. Before this, Clodius, the son of the tragic actor Æsopus, had left so much to his heirs that even Anthony in the triumvirate could not be compared to this actor.

⁸ G's translation is excessively idiomatic here: 'But later I found myself again among such a mass of glories and in this holy place, this happy land, this beatific entertainment, and at a worthy and triumphant feast such as Clodius the tragedian never gave, exempt from the Tapullian or Licinian laws, refreshed without excess and safely reassured by royal favour of the success of my longed-for love'. (G 118-9)

‘Licina’ refers to one of two men from the same family mentioned in Chapter 9. Both citations could be interpreted as representing excess or opulence. Licianus Mucianus caught a mullet fish of great size, for which gourmands would have paid a large price if it had been caught near Rome.⁹ Licianus Murena was a Praetor who was the first to make wears for fish, an example followed by other patrician families.¹⁰

B also found a source for Poliphilo’s resurrection from seeming-death through Polia’s love (C5r-C5v) in both Ovid and Pliny, writing ‘Corpora quod tactis inducit marmora rebus Ovid metamor. Plinius etiam.’ References are not supplied but the quotation, with a small variation (‘corpora’ for ‘viscera’), is from Ovid, *Met.* 15.314.

B’s use of Pliny also extends to the field of architecture. After Poliphilo escapes from a dragon, he emerges from its subterranean lair onto a mountainside and descends toward a marble bridge, which Poliphilo describes as follows.

Sotto el suppedio delle colonne, era circumacta quanta la sua crassitudine, una lista de Porphyrite, cum due collaterale di durissimo serpentino, cum l’ordine del Peristylio in circumductione. Il simile vedevasi l’orificio della cisterna cincto nel pavimento, una lista de Porphyro et un’altra di Ophytes. (b5r)

In the middle of each parapet, somewhat raised and directly above the keystone of the arch beneath, there was a rectangular panel surrounded by an elegant cyma with fine lineaments; one was of porphyry, and the opposite one was similar, but of serpentine stone. (G 33)

D takes time to note that one of the parapets was made of porphyry, writing ‘Ceste table estoit de Porphire’, adding the cross-reference to ‘P 63.’ Page 63 describes another image made of porphyry, also on a bridge and also associated with a serpent.

Et cusi cum honesti et approbatissimi parlamenti, festivissimamente ad uno lepidissimo fiume pervenissimo [...]Ove traictava uno lapideo et superbo ponte di tre archi, cum gli capit alle ripe sopra gli firmatissimi subici, cum le pille dagli dui fronti carinate, ad continere la structura firmissima, et cum nobilissime sponde. In le quale nel mediano repando del substituto cuneo del arco, de qui et de li, perpolitamente, excitata promineva una porphyritica quadratura fastigiata, continente una cataglyphia scalptura di hieraglyphi. Nella dextra al nostro transito, vidi una matrona d’uno serpente instrophiolata (h6v-h7r)

⁹ *Naturalis historia* 9.68: ‘mullum LXXX librarum in mari Rubro captum Licinius Mucianus prodidit, quanti mercatura eum luxuria suburbanis litoribus inventum?’ (‘Licinius Mucianus relates, that in the Red Sea there was caught a mullet eighty pounds in weight. What a price would have been paid for it by our epicures, if it had only been found off the shores in the vicinity of our city’).

¹⁰ ‘In the same age, also, Licinius Murena was the first to form preserves for other fish; and his example was soon followed by the noble families of the Philippi and the Hortensii.’

we arrived happily at a charming river...It was crossed by a proud stone bridge of three arches, which had its heads on solid foundations on the banks and tuts piers keel-shaped on both sides, to support the firm structure, and a noble parapet. On the central arch of the bridge, above the key-stone, a polished square of porphyry stood out on either side, containing hieroglyphs sculpted in relief. On the right as we went, I saw a lady wreathed with a serpent. (G 133)

Hand A recognised another source in another source, Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*. One side of the base of the statue of the horse signifying 'TEMPUS' on b4v bears the epigram EQVVS INFOELICITATIS (The Horse of Unhappiness). Hand A identifies the unhappy horse with Sejanus' cursed steed of bad luck, and writes in 'Equus Seianus Equus infoelicitatis.' A subsequent Latin hand (B) recognises that A is correct and writes in the reference 'Equus Sei: de quo Gellius libr. 3^o Cat. 9'.¹¹

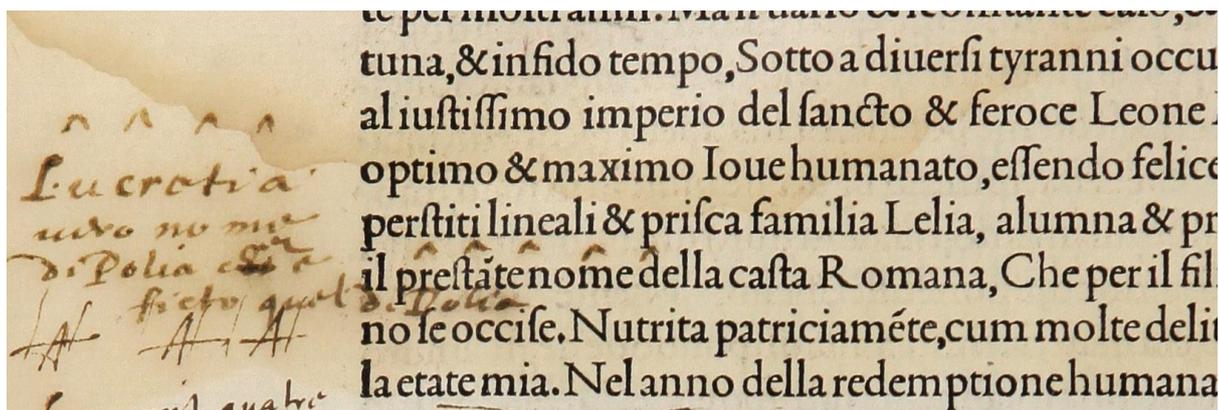
Etymology

Hand B traces the etymology of the names of Poliphilo and Polia. 'Poliphilo' is understood to derive from the roots 'Πολι-φιλο', meaning 'Lover of Polia'. The origin of Polia is more difficult for this reader, but he or she recognises that Polia's own narrative of her origins implies that her real name is Lucretia.

Io degli superstiti lineali et prisca familia Lelia, alumna et prognata fui. Et postomi il prestante nome della casta Romana, che per il filio del superbo Tarquino se occise. (A2r)

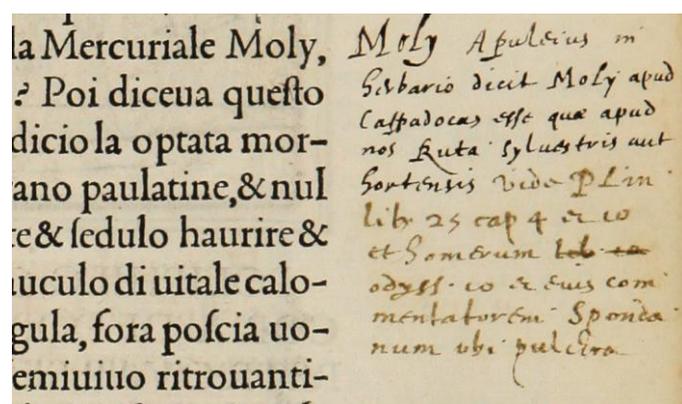
I was born and raised in the surviving line of the ancient Lelia family, and they gave me the famous name of the chaste Roman who killed herself because of proud Tarquin's son. (G 386)

¹¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 3.9. The passage from Gellius' commonplace book describes a horse belonging to Gnaeus Seianus, born at Argos. The horse was physically of the best quality, but cursed so that whoever owned it would come to ruin.



Detail (A2r)

There is some dialogue between annotators on the origin of a term. For the term ‘Mercuriale Moly’ (a6r) Hand E offers an initial source in pseudo-Apuleius, but at a later date he corrects himself, citing a source in Pliny.



Detail (a6r)

Moly Apuleius in herbario dicit Moly apud Cappadocas esse quae apud nos Ruta sylvestris aut hortensis / vide Plin lib. 25 cap. 4 et 10 et homerum odysse 10 et eius commentatorem Spondeanum ubi pulchra¹²

‘Moly’, Apuleius, in the herbarium, said that Moly was [located] in Cappadocia, where it is seen near the Ruta forests and in gardens.

Pliny, book 24, chapters 4 and 10, and in Homer’s Odyssey chapter 10 and his commentator Spondeanus [= Jean de Sponde, 1557-1595] where are beautiful things’.

Architecture

¹² From the transcription by Dario Brancato and Amy Graves. Personal correspondence, 2012.

The identification of *loci* from Vitruvius' *De architectura* was a topic of interest among previous annotators. Paolo Giovio, who built his own museum on the presumed site of Pliny's Como villa, carried that interest into his and his brother's reading of the HP. Ben Jonson, as has been argued in Chapter 6, paid particular attention to architectural features, as sources for stage design and, A.W. Johnson argued, as part of the broader 'literary Vitruvianism' that provided a foundational structure to his work. The primary interest of the hands in this copy also lies in the identification of Vitruvian sources.

It is in their approach to the use of Vitruvius that these annotators differ from those in other copies. Benedetto and Paolo Giovio read widely through the HP, and marked references to the *De architectura* as they perceived them to occur. The annotators of Buffalo took an entirely novel approach by comparison. They made use of the woodcut of the Great Pyramid (b1r) as a visual indexing device. Each component of the pyramid is painstakingly labelled with the name of the specific Vitruvian feature from which it is presumed to derive. The readers recognise that the Pyramid serves as a conspectus, or showpiece, of architectural elements, and the illustrator has tried to cram as many such components into a single image as is possible. As the annotators label each feature, they append a cross-reference to later occurrences of that feature in the text. The Pyramid is used in a manner which could be compared to a visual menu in a computer program. Similar to the manner in which computer user can view a menu and click on an item, and thus follow a hyperlink directly to topics of interest, a reader can see a section of the Pyramid featuring a given architectural component and move right to an occurrence of that feature in the narrative.¹³ Instead of reading through the HP in a linear manner and marking features as they arise, the annotators, with Vitruvius on their mind, use the Great Pyramid as both an index and a nucleus from which to read outward into the text.

¹³ Joscelyn Godwin offers a complete index of Vitruvian features in the HP, from 'abacus' and 'adytum' to 'xystus' and 'zophorus' on G 473-4.

In using the illustration as an organising device, the annotators worked backwards from the text, superimposing elements from the accompanying ekphrastic verbal description of the pyramid back onto the illustration itself. For example, the annotators note that the size of the pyramid, in stadia, is given in the text and label these dimensions back onto the illustration. The ‘sei stadij, dieci passi,’ is copying the ekphrastic description on b2r:¹⁴

Ritorniamo dunque alla vastissima Pyramide, sotto la quale uno ingente et solido Plintho, overo latastro, overo quadrato supposito iacea, di quattordecì passi la sua altitudine, et nella extensione, overo longitudine stadii sei. (b2r)

Let us return now to the vast [‘extremely large’] pyramid, beneath which lay a single huge and solid plinth or square slab, fourteen paces high and six stadia in extend or breadth. (G 27, insertion mine)

In using the woodcut as a means to index the text, the annotators also noticed other discrepancies between textual descriptions and the illustration. For example, F. h7r bears a woodcut of a woman holding a pair of wings in one hand and a turtle in the other. She is bareheaded in the illustration, but the text says that she is ‘wreathed with a serpent.’ (G 133-34). Noting the illustrator’s omission, the annotator has drawn in the serpent around her head.

¹⁴ It is presumed that the ‘dieci passi’ is in fact a copying error for ‘quattordecì.’



Detail, h7r

One reader also modified a woodcut in order to clarify its position in the three-dimensional diegetic space within the narrative, in relation to the sculptures depicted in other woodcuts. In some passages, Poliphilo rotates his gaze around a space while describing a cluster of buildings or sculptures in relation to each other, as a photographer might move around a sculpture garden taking shots from a variety of angles. For example, the pyramid, the elephant and obelisk, and the circle of dancers are all present in a single envisioned three-dimensional field, with precisely defined distances and proportionality between them. However, representing these objects in two-dimensional woodcuts creates the mistaken impression, for a casual reader, that the objects Poliphilo encounters are arranged in a linear and sequential manner, with an indefinite distance between the objects.¹⁵

¹⁵ Modern readers can also fall under this illusion. The concept sketches for Peter Greenaway's film *Prospero's Books*, based on the HP, depict the buildings Prospero encounters on his journey as located in a straight line, with indeterminate blank space to the right and left. (Sketches shown to me by William Sherman, University of York, Personal Communication).

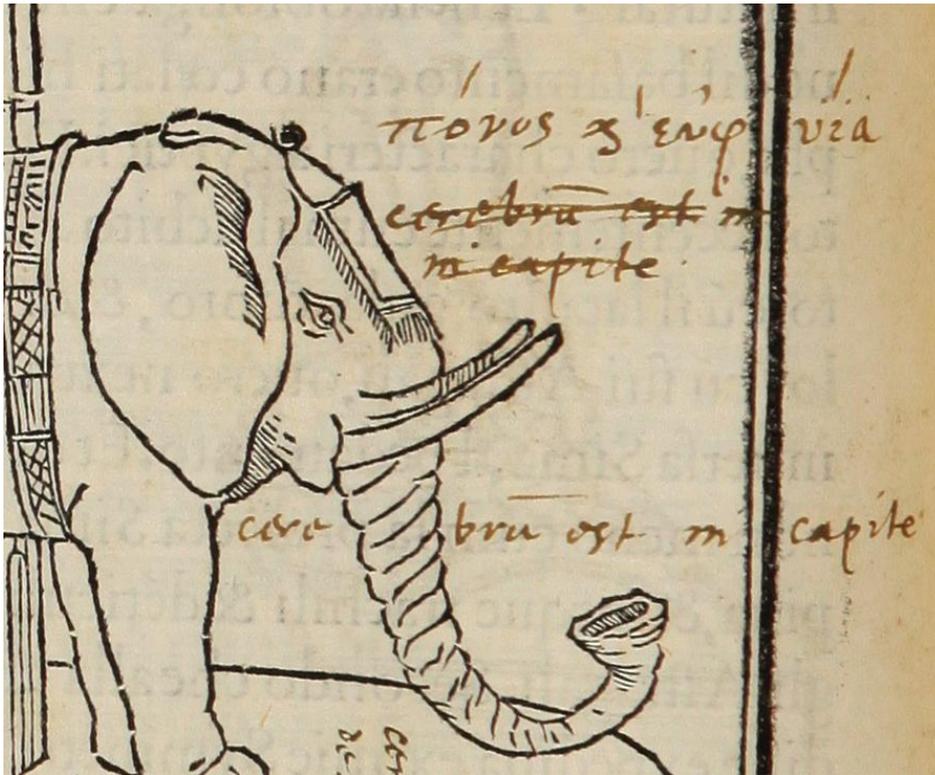
On a cursory reading, without a close eye to the text, the ΠΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΦΥΙΑ ('Labor and Industry' image on b7v appears to be a detail of an epitaph which Poliphilo encounters before reaching the elephant and obelisk.



Detail, b7v

This image is in fact a detail of a cloth hanging on the elephant's forehead over its trunk. The effect is disorienting, because the reader first sees the cloth from the front, before viewing the entire elephant in profile. This cloth is obscured from that angle. To make clear that the woodcut of the cloth is a detail, and 90° lateral rotation, of the elephant's headcloth, the annotator writes Πόνος και Ευφυία over the elephant's head. These modifications indicate that the reader had a conception of the space within the HP as three-dimensional.¹⁶

¹⁶ The phrase Πόνος et Ευφυία is also a starting point for a discussion of the alchemy of Geber, see below.



Detail, (b8r)

Alchemical Annotations

In common with the second reader of the BL copy, E inferred an alchemical subtext to the HP. Though Béroalde de Verville's 1600 alchemical edition is not directly cited by E or any other annotator, given the French provenance of this present copy, and the probable late-seventeenth to early-eighteenth-century dating of the hands, this hand is even more likely to have been exposed to Béroalde than the BL annotator, or at least to related discourses among French alchemists from which the 1600 edition emerged.

Even though the annotator in both BL and Buffalo inferred an alchemical subtext along broadly similar lines, variations in their approaches, and in features of the alchemical process which they foreground, indicate that each adhered to a different conceptual scheme of alchemy. While the BL annotator was apparently a student of D'Espagnet, due to his focus on the catalytic effects of mercury as a bearer of solar energy, this annotator was apparently a follower of pseudo-Geber. The school of alchemy which holds as its nominal head Jābir ibn Hayyān (Latinized as 'Geber') and is represented in a number of pseudepigraphic texts, placed greater emphasis upon mercury's companion reagent, sulphur, in its relationship with both

the sun and the moon.¹⁷ The emphasis upon figures perceived to be Lunar and Solar in the annotations, combined with repeated mentions of sulphur, indicate that this alchemist approached the text from within the school of pseudo-Geber.

This identification of the framework within which this particular alchemist interpreted the HP is intended to be a prompt for future study. As with the BL annotator, the potential commentary on alchemical themes in this copy is vast, and exceeds that which could be comprehended into a single chapter. The vocabulary of alchemical symbolism is also beyond the scope of this dissertation.¹⁸ Here I offer some elaborations to the narrative, as discussed in the BL chapter, which bear upon the association of the copy with the framework of pseudo-Geber.

Alchemical thought is predicated upon conceiving of the world in terms of analogies and resonances between different domains of experience. The lines of the Emerald Tablet which have become proverbial, ‘as above, so below,’ imply a resonance between the human and the divine realms. Therefore, the relationships between human beings are in sympathy with the order of the cosmos as a whole. Thus, for example, metals were understood to gestate within the womb of the earth, developing from baser materials into gold, in the same way a child *in utero* develops from an embryo into a newborn.

With this mindset of reasoning by analogy in place, it is not a great leap to extend the comparison with human life into other domains of experience. The union of two substances in order to produce a third can then be symbolized by a marriage, or ‘chemical wedding.’ The alchemically-inclined reader, intuiting that an alchemical subtext lay beneath the work, would thus be attuned to representations of male-female pairings.¹⁹ In the tradition of pseudo-Geber, the masculine is represented by Sol, or gold, while the female is represented by Luna, or Silver. These gendered associations with celestial bodies are common across many cultures, but what makes Geber’s thought distinct is that Sun and Moon, Gold and

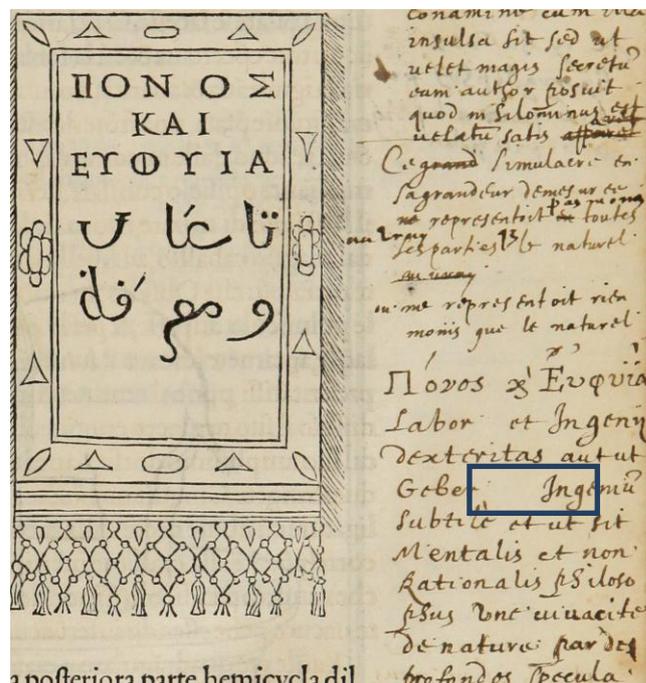
¹⁷ William R. Newman, *The Summa Perfectionis of Pseudo-Geber: A Critical Edition, Translation and Study* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991). This book was held as the most important ‘text book’ of alchemy in the medieval West (p. 57). This text, once thought to be by Geber himself, is attributed possibly to Paul of Taranto. See ‘Introduction to the “Geber Problem”’, pp. 57-109. Also see Eric John Holmward, ed., *The Arabic Works of Jâbir ibn Hayyâm, with Translation into English and Critical Notes* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1928).

¹⁸ For alchemical iconography, see Gareth Roberts, *The Mirror of Alchemy: Alchemical Ideas and Images in Manuscripts and Books from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (London: British Museum, 1994); Taylor, *The Alchemists*.

¹⁹ This analogy between the alchemical process and human development can be reversed when physical or somatic alchemy becomes allegorized as a spiritual practice. Rather than human life being a metaphor for the development of metals, alchemical metallurgy is understood to be a metaphor for the refinement of the human psyche. Thus the ‘gold’ sought is personal self-development. It is this reading of alchemy that conditioned Jung’s approach, in which *aurum nostrum non est aurum vulgi*. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, p. 24 para 40.

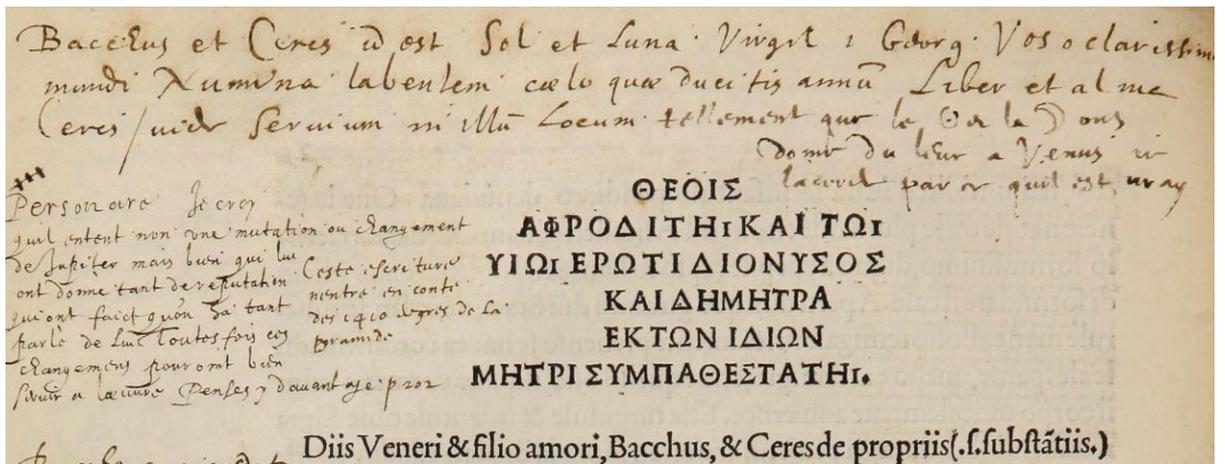
Silver, were understood to be interconnected inverses of one another. Gold (Sol) is masculine ‘in its height’ and feminine ‘in its depth’, while silver (Luna) is feminine in its height and masculine in its depth. It is the variance in these proportions which differentiates elements.

In the episode featuring the elephant and obelisk, together with the statues of the king and queen, this annotator witnessed a set of signs which persuaded him that a Geberian subtext was operating (b7r-b8v). Under the motto of ‘Γόνοϛ et Ευφύια’ (Labor and Industry), the annotator identifies such a framework to be in place. .



Detail, (b7r)

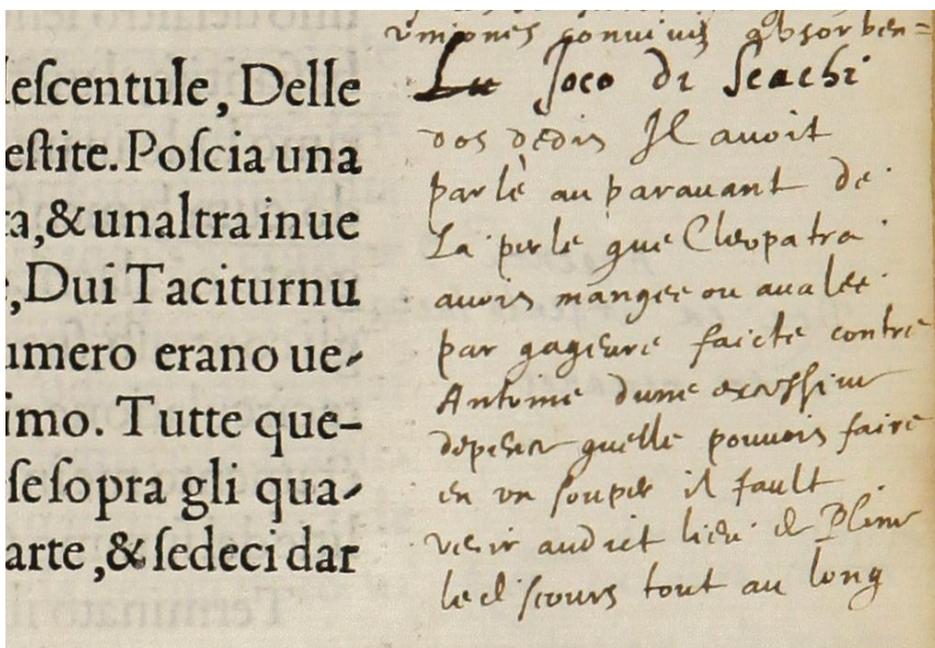
The annotator praises Geber’s ‘*ingenium subtile*’ (subtle *ingegno*), establishing that the discussion of what follows will take place within a Geberian framework. These would be essential virtues in the task of an alchemist, whose work might involve distilling the same substance many hundreds of times. The statues of the crowned man and woman on the leaves that follow then easily commend themselves to reading along the lines of Geber. For instance, on c6v Poliphilo views a Greek epigram which translates as ‘to the blessed Mother, the Goddess Venus, and to her Son, Amor, Bacchus and Demeter have given of their own substances’. (G 51).



Detail, (c6v)

E writes ‘Bacchus et Ceres [Demeter] id est sol et luna’. Hand D elaborates, equating Bacchus with the principle of growth, ‘Baccho era creduto dagli antichi esser quella virtù occulta che aiuta le piante a forza de produrre in maturi frutti.’

E found ample expression of the Sol and Luna duality in the human chess match held at Queen Eleutherylida’s palace (g8r-g8v). E also described the game as a ‘chorea elegantissima’ that was ‘festivamente iocando.’ (g8r).

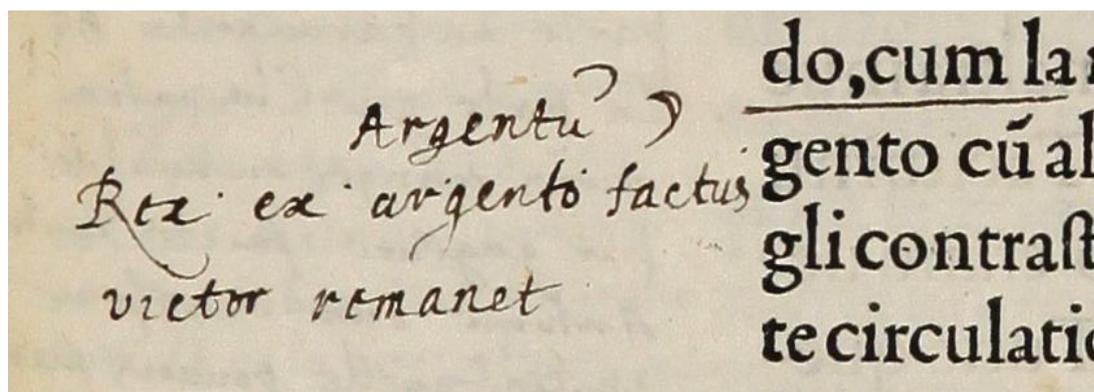


Detail, (g8r)

The game is played by thirty-two maidens, one side dressed in silver and the other in gold. The queen piece of both sides, however, is dressed in gold (‘vesta d’or’), and the king

of both in silver ('vesta d'argento). This is the inverse of the Geberian ideal, indicating that the process of transmutation has yet to take place

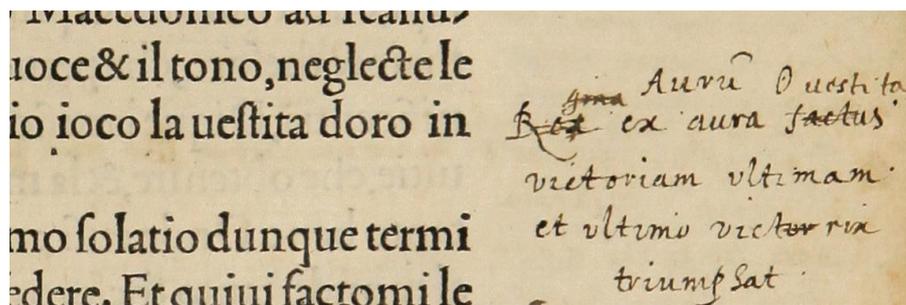
The annotator then observes that the process results in the transformation of the king out of silver and into gold. Although the 'King', Sol, is traditionally associated with gold, within the Geberian schema, silver and gold are creative inverses of one another, and so as a consequence a King can indeed be wrought out of the traditionally feminine silver.



Detail, (h1r)

This annotator interpreted the chess match as one of the conflict between, and eventual intermingling of, silver and gold. The maidens play three matches, and the reader recorded the results of each round. The human chess pieces intermingle on the board, and when one piece takes another, they kiss before being sent off the board. This may have been perceived to allegorise the mingling of elements in the alchemical marriage and the eventual triumph of the more refined element. Surprisingly, the silver side wins the first match. The annotator records this fact, writing 'Argentu,' and draws in a small sketch of a moon's crescent, representing Luna. Below he writes 'Rex ex argento factus victor remanet.' One would expect Gold to be the initial victor, but the highest of elements wins out only after multiple rounds of play, presumably symbolizing distillations.

Silver wins the second round as well (g8v-h1r), and B writes 'argentu rex ex argento factus victor secunda vice remanet.' The King of Gold finally wins in the third and final round, and E initially writes 'Rex ex auro factus victoriam ultimam et ultimo victor triumphat.'; then appears to correct 'Re>x<' with '[Re]gina', 'auro' with 'aura', 'factus' with '☉ uestita' and 'victor' with 'victrix'. E then cancels >[Re]gina< and places 'Auru(m)' as the culmination of the process.



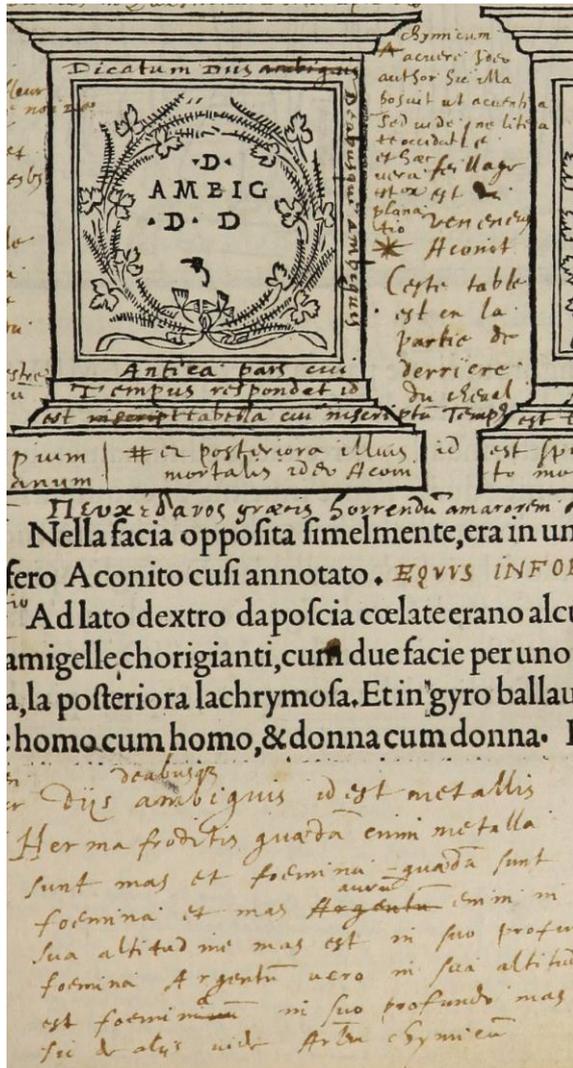
Detail, (h1r)

The issue of the alchemical marriage is a hermaphrodite, representing the combination of opposite qualities or *coincidentia oppositorum*. One reader found what he perceived to be a reference to this figure in an epigram on one side of the base of the statue of the horse, reading D.AMBIG.DD, or ‘dedicated to the ambiguous gods.’ (b5r) E interprets the ‘ambiguous gods’ as referring to such alchemical hermaphrodites.

diis ambiguus id est metallis hermafroditis guarda enim metalla sunt mas et foemina guarda enim metalla sunt foemine et mas aura-argentu enim in sua altitudine mas est in sua profunda foeminina argentum vero in sua altitudine est foemininum in suo profundo mas.

‘To the ambiguous gods’, that is, to the metallic hermaphrodies, when once they are *massa* [the alchemical matter] they remain feminine [and thus] they are [both] silver-gold, in their height they are feminine silver, truly in its height it is feminine [refined silver] and in its depths unrefined matter.

Though it must be conceded that this reference to the alchemical hermaphrodite occurs before a depiction of the alchemical process which would have conceived the ‘child’ in the human chess match, the alchemical process is to be understood as interactive, rather than linear. Alchemical refinement was understood to happen across multiple distillations, with the child of one operation becoming one of the components of a later reaction. The reference to the genders being gold in one height, and silver in another, serves as a further indication of the operation of the Geberian schema of alchemy.



Detail, (b1r)

The multiple hands and variety of interests in this copy serve to confirm that the interests and practices seen in other copies were not confined to those individual annotators. The BL annotator was not alone in inferring an alchemical subtext, nor were the Giovio brothers the only respondents to the HP to take up the challenge of identifying sources in Pliny. Even if prolific annotation was not the norm, recurring streams of thought are evident in annotators working at a geographic distance from each other. Though this chapter has only been a preliminary approach to this remarkable copy, its multiple hands have established common threads in the reception of the HP, most notably, indicating the persistence of alchemical readings after Béroalde.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana – Inc.Stam.Chig.II.610

The most prominent among the annotators found in the census is Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi, 1599-1667, hereafter ‘Chigi’).¹ As the patron of Bernini and Pietro da Cortona, and thus the builder of *Roma Alessandrina*, the fact that Chigi had annotated an architectural romance sparked high hopes. On becoming aware of this copy through a footnote in article by William Heckscher, it was eagerly anticipated that the present copy would offer some insight into the Pope’s thought process behind the architectural monuments he left as his legacy.²

Such an investigation took on an air of added purpose when it became apparent that this present copy had not been the subject of a dedicated study in his own right. Surprisingly, for a book containing this wealth of material from such a prominent figure, this copy has been mentioned only tangentially in previous scholarship. Chigi’s copy has been noted with reference to an obelisk setting in the piazza outside of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, affectionately termed the *Pulcino della Minerva* (‘Minerva’s Chick, from a corruption of ‘Porcino’, ‘Piglet’; hereafter ‘*Pulcino*’). Heckscher convincingly demonstrates that the statue is derived from the image of the elephant and obelisk on (b7v) of the HP. Yet it is through this tangential reference that the existence of an extensive copy, in the hand of a Pope, came to light.

The present study is the result of a three-day visit to view this copy conducted in December, 2011. The investigation returned unexpected results. I had approached the copy anticipating, or perhaps predisposing myself to see, new evidence of the relationship between

¹ The best introduction is the entry in Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, ‘Alexander VII: 1655-1667’, in *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages: drawn from the secret archives of the Vatican and other sources*, trans. Dom Ernest Graf, OSB, vol. 31 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, 1891-1952), pp. vii-313, esp. ‘Alexander VII – a Promoter of Science and Art’, pp. 269-313. A period biography is that of Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, *Vita di Alessandro VII Sommo Pontefice Libri Cinque* (Milan: Giovanni Silvestri, 1845). Another good general introduction is the entry by John Bertram Peterson, ‘Pope Alexander VII.’, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907); Alessandro Angelini, Monika Butzek and Bernardina Sari, eds., *Alessandro VII Chigi (1599-1667). Il Papa senese di Roma moderna* (Montespertoli - Siena: Maschietto & Musolino - Protagon, 2000); Richard Krautheimer, *Roma Alessandrina: The Remapping of Rome under Alexander VII, 1655-1667* (Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York: The Agnes Rindge Claflin Endowment, 1982); Id., *The Rome of Alexander VII: 1655-1667* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); Alexis-François de Montor, ‘Alexander VII 1655-1667, Fabio Chigi born 1599’ (New York: The Catholic Publication Society of New York, 1911), 10 vols.

² Heckscher, ‘Bernini’s Elephant and Obelisk’.

Bernini and Chigi regarding the *Pulcino*. Contrary to expectations, no discussion of the *Pulcino* was found on (b7v), or anywhere else in the present copy, for that matter. Bernini's name was nowhere visible in the marginalia. The leaf from which the *Pulcino* is derived features only one piece of annotation, a cross-reference to an image of the Trinitarian obelisk on the sixty-sixth-leaf. Nor was there, ostensibly, any open discussion of Chigi's building program. Instead, the marginalia consisted primarily of short labels marking off blocks of text. Terms such as '*descrittione*', '*dichiarazione*', and '*bel detto*' appeared in a staggered yet consistent manner. The Pope refrains from more elaborate comment. Though differing from the expected, these notes are yet of interest, due to the fact that they offer insight into the Pope's conceptual framing of the nature of the HP. From that framing, one can make some inferences into the mind of Chigi and, by extension, into his building program and broader papacy.

This chapter will propound two arguments with regard to the text. First, it will argue that Chigi approached the text in order to conduct a rhetorical analysis. Shaped by Baroque rhetorical theory, and particularly the concept of *acutezze*, or witty metaphors, Chigi's interest in the author's use of language and wit took primacy over the content. In foregrounding the style of the HP, Chigi differs significantly from the Giovio brothers and Jonson, who read the text in order to extract information. He likewise diverged from the alchemical annotators, who inferred an underlying subtext. Chigi takes less interest in what the HP contains, than in the spirit with which that content finds expression.

Chigi's reading was not devoid of architectural interest. The second point this chapter will propose is that Chigi framed his progress as a reader through the HP, encountering its fictive architectural monuments, by analogy with his own progresses through the city under renovation during his papacy. As Poliphilo moved from monument to monument, so did Chigi through *Roma Alessandrina* in the making.

Bibliographic Description

This copy found at shelfmark Inc.Stam.Chig.II.610 is number C-384 in the BAV incunabula catalogue.³ It is one of three copies of the 1499 edition of the HP in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. It was not feasible to acquire a facsimile. The leaves of the present copy

³ William J. Sheehan, ed., *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae incunabula*, vol. 2 (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1997).

are trimmed slightly less than a centimetre, cutting off some of the marginalia. The errata corripse leaf is missing. As with other copies lacking the errata, the only place where Aldus' authentic publication date of 1499 is listed, the removal of the final leaf was most likely the result of a fraudulent bookseller attempting to pass off a fictitious '1467' edition, on the basis of the date given in the scribal colophon. Chigi himself was aware of the misdating, writing 'Aldi Manutij 1499' on the flyleaf as clarification.

The date of Chigi's acquisition of the present copy is unknown. His marginalia are likewise undated. An attempted reconstruction must then proceed by inference. The last year in which Chigi could have obtained the present copy is 1664, the year in which the *Pulcino* was completed.⁴

The sole indication of ownership in the copy prior to its acquisition by Chigi is an earlier hand, writing on the initial leaves in Latin almost illegibly.⁵ In general aspect, the hand appears to date from the early sixteenth century. If correct, this would place this annotator among the earliest hands in the corpus of HP annotators, near in time to Sixtus Medici's 1516 dedicatory poem in the copy in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Chigi added a number of collections to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter 'BAV') in collaboration with his librarian Lucas Holstenius (1596-1661). The HP may have come into Chigi's possession as part of one of these collections. Among these are the manuscripts of the previous Siennese popes Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini) and III (Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini), selections from the library of Queen Christina of Sweden, and the collection of the Dukes of Urbino. Bearing in mind the HP's dedication to Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, who therefore presumably owned a copy,⁶ the intriguing, if unverifiable question arises as to whether Chigi's HP may have been Federigo's own copy, which passed into the BAV as with the remainder of his collection.

Inquiries into this possibility have not turned up any record of the HP in the catalogues of the ducal library of Urbino which could either confirm or deny this connection. Alexander acquired the collections in a situation of questionable legality. The Clerics Regular Minor

⁴ Heckscher, 'Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk'.

⁵ As the focus of this study is on Chigi's reception, this limited hand will be left to the side.

⁶ Anthony Colantuono has argued in *Titian, Colonna and the Renaissance Science of Procreation* that the HP was intended to educate Duke Federigo in the pseudo-Aristotelian theory of the 'libidinal seasons' as articulated in Mario Equicola's *Libro de Natura de Amore*. In conjunction with Titian and Bellini's paintings in the *camerino* of Urbino based in part on the HP (e.g. *The Feast of the Gods, Sacred and Profane Love*, etc.), the book was to assist Federigo in identifying the time of year believed to be the most fertile, in order that he might have an heir and ensure the survival of his line. Federigo died without issue, and his family's estate passed into the hands of the Papacy. If Colantuono's thesis is correct, then ironically Chigi acquired the HP because the book failed in its purpose of perpetuating the ducal line of Urbino.

(Adorno Fathers) also inherited books from Urbino, which passed into the library of the University of Rome ('La Sapienza') founded by Chigi. The HP does not appear in a 1632 inventory of the collection by Count Francesco Scudacchi. The book is also absent from a second inventory of 11 November, 1657.⁷ Nor is a copy mentioned in any of the available controversial literature surrounding the transfer. There is also the possibility that the HP, printed in 1499, entered into Chigi's hands through the Piccolomini library attached to the Duomo of Siena after the death of Pius III in 1503.⁸ Having exhausted these possibilities, the early provenance of the present copy remains unknown at present. The marginalia are not likely to date from the final years of his life, when persistent illness would likely have given the Pope a tremulous hand which is not evident in this copy.

From La Sapienza, the present copy presumably passed into the BAV and into the Chigiana collection within it.⁹ In 1919 the library passed into the hands of the Italian state, after which the Vatican library regained the Chigiana collection in 1923. The present copy was not the copy of the 1499 HP which was publicly exhibited at the Vatican Library's Quincentennial Exhibition in 1975.¹⁰

Literature Review

The prominence of an historical figure does not necessarily correlate with the degree to which the entire corpus of his writings has been studied. For a Pope who stood at the centre of so many of the major developments of his age – the Treaty of Westphalia, the reception of Queen Christina of Sweden into Catholicism, and the commissioning of much of Baroque Rome – the absence from scholarship of these significant annotations is surprising. Chigi's annotation appears nowhere in Pastor's monumental history of the Papacy. It is likely that such readings escaped notice because of their tangential nature. A sculpture of an elephant is not a likely route into papal writings of historical significance. Though the opening which

⁷ The legality of Chigi's acquisition of the collections has been a matter of controversy. An anonymous critic in the *Rivista Europea* (1877) accused Chigi of violating Federigo's will in an act of 'oppressive ecclesiastical domination.' Antonio Valenti retorted that the library was 'ceded to the splendour of Rome and the good of Christianity'. Pastor also defended the purchase, asserting that Chigi paid the city of Urbino more than the collection's worth (pp. 274-75). Cf. Maria Moranti and Luigi Moranti, *Il Trasferimento dei "Codices Urbinate" alla Biblioteca Vaticana: Cronistoria, Documenti, e Inventario* (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 1981); first inventory Moranti, p. 369; second inventory Moranti, p. 333.

⁸ I have not sought a catalogue for the Piccolomini library. The HP did have a reception in Siena: see Chapter 9.

⁹ The flyleaf bears two modern shelfmarks in pen, 'K.VIII' and 'on2.γ.n.557.n'.

¹⁰ *Quinto Centenario* – it was the Stamp.Ferr.II.524, which was exchanged with Marino Massimo de Caro (Verona), 13 February 2003. A new copy has been given that call number.

led into the Pope's writings in this case has been oblique, even this most unexpected of inroads has opened up a significant new quantity of material.

The similarities between the woodcut image of the Elephant and Obelisk as found in the HP, and the *Pulcino*, have been noted in the literature around this prior to the discussion of the present book. One early mention is in an 1899 article by Domenico Gnoli.¹¹ In a guide book to Santa Maria sopra Minerva, J.J. Berthier also mentioned the association between the the HP and the obelisk setting.¹² Rudolf Wittkower also accepted the HP as the source for the *Pulcino*.¹³

These prior sources were in fact found in retrospect, in order to contextualize the findings below, for it is through the entry point of this sculpture that the present copy was located. A 1947 article by William S. Heckscher, surveying the use of elephantine imagery in iconography, pointed scholars in the direction of the Chigi copy.¹⁴ A citation of the *Pulcino* in this context would not be unexpected. The article itself, on a tangential subject, would have merited little more than a footnote itself in the reception history of the HP, were it not for a marginal yet vital discussion around the history of the *Pulcino*. In passing, Heckscher makes mention of a copy annotated by Chigi, which is 'everywhere described as "heavily annotated."' ¹⁵ Heckscher thus implies the existence of prior studies of the text, without citing his sources. Since Heckscher's interest remained within his primary focus on elephant iconography, he confined his examinations to those 'relevant folios' bearing on that topic. He notes simply that the woodcut of an elephant and obelisk on (b7v) 'evoked no keener interest than any other hieroglyph.' Here Heckscher does not record the marginal cross reference 'car. 66' on the right margin of the woodcut, which refers to the Trinitarian obelisk image on (h5r).¹⁶

Yet what was most tantalizing about this fleeting reference present copy is the fact that Heckscher noted that the copy contains a 'careful marginal index of topics'. The implications of such a description are extensive. The compilation of an index implies that the Pope had read through the entire text, for subject matter, in a manner which far exceeds the borrowing

¹¹Domenico Gnoli, 'Il Sogno di Polifilo'.

¹² Joachin-Joseph Berthier, *L'Église de la Minerve à Rome* (Rome: Cooperativa Tipografica Manuzio, 1910).

¹³ Rudolf Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: the sculptor of the Roman baroque* (London: Phaidon, 1966), Cat. No 71.

¹⁴ Heckscher, p. 157, footnote 14.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ This study has led to discounting one of Heckscher's more humorous observations. Next to a section of text derived from Vitruvius discussing the qualities of a good architect, Chigi corrected the phrase 'loquace' by adding 'non' ('non loquace'). Heckscher infers a connection between changing the wording to 'non loquace' and Chigi's motto 'molto fare e poco dire.' In this case, however, Chigi simply inserted an emendation from the errata. The phrase was intended to be 'non loquace' all along.

of sculptural forms. As will be seen below, the word ‘topics’ extends beyond indexing to the use of the word in its Ciceronian and rhetorical sense. Though it is uncertain whether Heckscher meant the term ‘topics’ in its general or specific sense, Chigi was, quite literally, compiling an index of ‘topica’ with rhetorical purpose.

An expanded association between the sculpture, the Pope himself, and a rhetorical reading of the text was first adumbrated by Emanuela Kretzulesco-Quaranta. In the context of a discussion of the influence of the HP on landscape architecture,¹⁷ she noted the striking coincidence that Bernini completed the *Pulcino* in 1667, the bicentennial of the HP’s date of completion as given in its colophon, 1467. There may have been another reason for the choice of date: 1667 was the last year of Chigi’s life, when his health was frail and the Pope, who was so fond of inscriptions and conscious of his own mortality, might have been seeking an appropriate memorial. However, if one takes into account the prevailing Baroque rhetorical theory in which Chigi was saturated, the Poliphilian association of the statue can be read as one component of a larger composite visual argument on the Pope’s own mortality.¹⁸ Such an interpretation can be contextualized within the Baroque rhetorical constructions of the period known as *imprese*. It was another reader of the HP discussed in this dissertation, Paolo Giovio, who in his *Dialogo delle imprese amoroze e militari* (1551) codified the practice of *imprese*. The *impresa* tradition also mingled with the reception of hieroglyphs as first conceptualized in the *Hieroglyphica* of pseudo-Horapollo. Hieroglyphs had been interpreted by humanists, unable to translate them semantically, as a collection of visual arguments, an articulation of a single concept made by assembling pieces of illustration.

Built so close to the Pope’s own death, featuring an animal associated with prodigious memory, the *Pulcino*, beyond its initial charming impression, could perhaps be read as an *impresa*, or a hieroglyph, of Chigi’s own mortality. Noting, in a manner often forgotten, that each page of an incunabulum is not a self-contained unit but part of a two-page spread which forms a visual whole, Kretzulesco-Quaranta considered the elephant and the obelisk on the spread of D5r-D5v as constituting a single symbolic unit with the image of the woman and man on the facing page, whom she interprets as ‘qui étaient morts, ensevelis [buried] renaissant triomphalement de leurs sepulchres’ (ibid, p. 115).¹⁹ This cognisance that the page spread in its entirety may form a composite argument regarding the resurrection then informs her approach to the one cross-reference found on the page of the elephant and obelisk. This

¹⁷ Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *Jardins du Songe*, p. 100.

¹⁸ For Chigi’s declining health in 1667, see Pastor, p. 311. Chigi kept *memento mori* images around him, including a coffin at the foot of his bed.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 152 (‘The man and the woman, who were dead and buried rise triumphantly from their sepulchres’).

she describes as ‘une note dans le marge est de sa main: elle indique un passage au 66^e Feuillet, où il est question du dogme de la Sainte Trinité. Il a inscrit cette note dans le marge de la page de l’Éléphant, symbole du dogme de la Résurrection de la chair. Par conséquent Alexandre VII connaissait le sens théologique du Songe de Poliphile.’²⁰ This interpretation of the page as symbolising the resurrection of the body was shared by Maurizio Calvesi. He however interpreted the two figures according to alchemical symbolism. The union of male and female are instances of *coniunctio oppositorum*, the stage following the *nigredo* stage of the alchemical process in which broken elements are reunified.²¹

The fourth individual, to my knowledge, who has approached the present copy is Anna Partini, who notes that the copy is ‘attentamente postillata dal papa a ogni pagina.’ Strictly speaking, there are not marginalia on every page, but the quantity is nonetheless remarkable. Partini also reaffirms the interpretation of the elephant and obelisk as one of resurrection.²²

Partini likewise reads the composite images as symbolic of an initiatory transition of death and rebirth. She notices that the image of the elephant in the woodcut differs from the *Pulcino* in that the HP’s elephant sculpture features the entrance to a flight of stairs leading down into its own viscera. Recalling that the spatial relations between objects in the dreamscape are easy to overlook, it is notable that the crowned and risen man and woman are actually within the elephant, at the base of the stairs. Partini draws a connection between Poliphilo’s entrance into the belly of the pachyderm and Jonah’s into the whale, but does not extend this observation toward a typological interpretation of Jonah’s emergence as symbolic of the Resurrection.²³

Thus each of the four previous scholars known to have approached this annotated copy documented how Chigi interpreted, or superimposed, an argument in the form of an *impresa* onto an imaginary sculpture in the HP, later to render that visual argument in actuality. The cross-reference to the obelisk offers another instance of how Chigi interpreted an additional

²⁰ Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *Les Jardins du Songe*, p. 113. ‘A note on the margin is from his hand: it indicates a passage on the 66th page, dealing with the dogma of the Sacred Trinity. He wrote this note on the margin of the page on the Elephant, a symbol of the dogma of the Resurrection of the Flesh, and as a consequence Alexander VII understood the theological sense of the Dream of Poliphilus.’

²¹ Calvesi, *La Pugna d’Amore in Sogno*, p. 229.

²² Anna M. Partini, *Alchimia, architettura, spiritualità in Alessandro VII* (Rome: Edizioni Mediterranee, 2007)

²³ ‘Then certain of the scribes and of the Pharisees answered, saying, Master, we would see a sign from thee. But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas: For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale’s belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.’ Matthew 12:38-40, KJV. The Catholic Church interprets ‘The Sign of Jonah’ as the Resurrection. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 988:547.

piece of sculpture in the HP as a cluster of signs forming a theological argument. In this case, Chigi consciously grounds an ambiguous image within a discussion of Catholic doctrine.

The nymph Logistica (Reason), accompanying Poliphilo, offers her interpretation of the obelisk thus.

Incomincioe quivi la Theophrasta Logistica praeconizare et a dire. Per queste figure la coeleste harmonia consiste. Et advertisci Poliphile, che queste figure cum perpetua affinitate et coniunctione, sono praeclarissimi monumenti antiquarii, et aegyptii hieraglyphi, gli quali insinuare volendo ti dicono. DIVINAE INFINITAEQUE TRINITATI UNIUS ESSENTIAE (h5r)

God-inspired Logistica now began to prophesy, and said, ‘The celestial harmony is in these figures. Take note, Poliphilo, that these figures, with their perpetual affinity and conjunction, are noble antique monuments and Egyptian hieroglyphs, whose hidden message tells you this: TO THE DIVINE AND INFINITE TRINITY, ONE IN ESSENCE. (G 129)

That an explicit reference to the Trinity would attract the attention of a Pope is unsurprising. What is remarkable in this case is how, through associating the Trinitarian Obelisk with the previous elephant and obelisk, Chigi both disambiguates the intent of the sculpture and defines the terms of its argument. So doing offers insight into the Pope’s conceptions of the HP’s own mode of argumentation, a topic of interest which extends beyond the explanation of a single sculpture.

As in Chapter 4, in which the Trinitarian Obelisk was also discussed, the reader will be spared an extensive discussion of this highly ambiguous image. A&G described this sculpture as ‘forse il vertice simbolico più ardito ed enigmatico di tutto il romanzo’. They also note that the sculpture proclaims its own complexity, as the image bears the word ΔΥΣΑΛΛΩΤΟΣ. The modern commentators source this term to Plato’s *Timaeus* 51, where it can mean ‘hard to understand’ or ‘incomprehensible’.²⁴ Thus A&G propose that the image is an assertion of Colonna’s Renaissance pagan allegiance to Platonic, rather than to Christian imagery. A&G thus describe the monument as one ‘permeato completamente di precisi richiami platonici e *non* aristotelici o cristiani.’²⁵ The ‘Trinity’ alluded to here would then supposedly be the Platonic tripartite division of the *anima* rather than the Triune Godhead.

Chigi’s linkage of the latter obelisk with the former would indicate that he disagreed with this Platonic assertion, interpreting the symbolism as fully Christian. If the author is indeed

²⁴ A&C, p. 747.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 758, emphasis theirs.

the Dominican Colonna, this would likely have also been his intent. Colonna might indeed be developing a theological argument in the form of sculpture, a kind of visual preachment which would not be unexpected from a member of the Order of Preachers.

Even so, the specific connection Chigi made between these two obelisks remains nebulous. It appears, in this case, that the association Chigi makes is not one of dogma, but of rhetoric. He seems to observe that the two images structure their argument in a similar fashion, despite their differing intents.

Both the Elephant's Obelisk, and the Trinitarian, begin with a cube at the base, and culminate at the upper point of a triangle. The key distinction between the two is that while one ascends from cube to point through a cylinder, the other ascends through the body of an elephant. The two sculptures thus have a similar structure to their respective arguments, with the central core forming the point of inflection. The result is two arguments which complement one another across the span of the pages.

In each case, the central object has bearing on mental capacity. The popular association of Elephants with wisdom, as expressed in the proverb 'an elephant never forgets', coincides with an association between the cylinder and mental capacity. A&G identify the four components of the obelisk as coinciding with the four levels of understanding as documented in Plato's *Republic*: εικασία (imagination), πίστις (belief), διάνοια (mental understanding) and νόυς (intellect). Though the direct correlation between the elephant and the faculty is unclear (since the elephant could represent both πίστις (belief) and διάνοια (mental understanding), as the structure is reduced from four parts to three), in either case the middle component refers to mental faculties.

Chigi's interest was primarily, therefore, in comparing the matching structure of the arguments rather than in their content. Thus the lines of inquiry centered on a particularly small and amusing structure resulted in a broader conclusion about Chigi's approach to the text, namely, that he analyzed the text for rhetorical effect. This is corroborated by the nature and frequency of his annotation elsewhere in this copy.

Chigi's annotation is of a markedly different character than that of other annotators in this study. For those copies characterised as 'encyclopedic' and 'alchemical', the readers read through the text looking for information to extract. In Chigi's case, he read the text for the pleasure of seeing wit well expressed. Chigi was looking for instances in which the text of the HP expressed itself in manners which matched the canons of rhetoric of his own age. The notes found in the BAV copy document a reader who divided the content into what he perceived to be distinct units of argumentation, forming delineated and bordered *imprese*.

Finally, it is noteworthy that Chigi, noted for his enthusiasm for inscriptions, paid remarkably little attention to the artificial inscriptions found throughout the HP. His attentions remained centered on rhetoric.

The Framing of Symbolic Images

Each reader who attempts the *Polifilo* is immediately confronted by a staggering quantity of information, which overwhelms the mind and the senses. The organizational schema which readers devise for themselves to manage this wealth of information indicates, to a great extent, what kind of object they conceive the HP to be. For example, the discrete pieces of information extracted by Benedetto Giovio indicate that he conceptualized the HP as an encyclopedic text. From the fact that Benedetto's notes stop upon those passages dealing with musicology, but not upon other topics, his areas of interest can be reconstructed by tracing his journey through the text.

Chigi's purpose in reading the text is to analyze the use of wit within passages he determined to be composite visual arguments. Before doing so, it was necessary for him to define the boundaries of individual units of argumentation for analysis. While Chigi may have read the entire text, his annotations themselves are clustered around individual analyses of the effectiveness of arguments. The text can be conceptualized as moving from argument to argument, passing swiftly through the vacant spaces between them where examples of wit are less likely to be found. To mark these boundaries, Chigi used individual words as signposts to mark the beginning of an argument and to describe its individual components. This chapter's analysis will proceed by focusing on the occurrence of rhetorical terms in Chigi's marginalia.

'Comincia'

Chigi marks the start of perceived units of argumentation with the word 'comincia.' Though the term can mean simply '[it] begins', the *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* ('Cominciare') notes that the term has a specific meaning in a rhetorical context. 'Comincia', marked 'in un discorso o in una narrazione, al principio o a un determinato punto o ad argomenti che vi si ricollegano.' A typical use of the term commences the longest ekphrasis

in the HP, that of the ‘Gran Porta’ which extends from (c1v-d1v).²⁶ Adjacent to the following passage, Chigi wrote ‘Polifilo comincia a descrivere una superba porta e segue a narrar’.

Having thus arrived at this place, my eyes were ravished and filled by the sight of a mighty and rare work of antiquity, and above all by a beautiful portal that was as stupendous and incredible in its artistry and elegant in its lineaments as ever could have been fashioned or finished. Without a doubt, I lack the knowledge that would allow me to describe it perfectly, especially since in our time the proper vernacular and native terms peculiar to the art of architecture are buried and extinct, along with the true men. (G 31)

Ironically, Poliphilo’s statement that he ‘lacks that knowledge that would enable me to describe it perfectly’ serves as the beginning for a long and elegant description. Following Chigi’s note above, Poliphilo proceeds to describe the portal section by section.

there were two orders of columns at ground level, with the exquisite areostyle spacing dictating the proper distances of the columns from one another...The epistyle or continuous straight beam lay on top of them...Beside this curving colonnade ancient plane-trees were still surviving. (G 32)

In addition to marking the opening of the passage, Chigi observes that the ‘Gran Porta’ section contains several complete sub-descriptions which could each be considered to be an individual unit of argumentation in itself. For example, adjacent to the following title in massed capitals, Chigi writes in ‘comincia a descrivere l’ornamento della gran porta e segue.’

AFTER POLIPHILLO HAS SUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED THE GREAT PORTAL AND ITS MEASUREMENTS, THERE FOLLOWS HIS BEST DESCRIPTION OF ITS FINE AND SKILLED ORNAMENTATION, AND OF ITS REMARKABLE COMPOSITION. (G 47, block capitals)

In marking the beginnings of descriptions, Chigi appears to consider a woodcut illustration and its accompanying description as part of one integral argument, in the manner of an *impresa*. For instance, the description of Jupiter and the Gigantomachy begins on the leaf prior to the actual woodcut it illustrates, so Chigi indicates the connection by writing ‘comincia a descrivere la seguente figura’ (b2r).

²⁶ This image was of particular interest for the producers of the 1546 French edition, who commissioned a new woodcut to illustrate its geometrical proportions. In this section I shall only quote from the English translation, as the attention of the annotator is focused exclusively on rhetorical segmentation of the text.

Another instance of Chigi subdividing a description into phases is that of the human chess match. He marks out the beginning of the game itself, while also marking a starting point or boundary for the sub-comments that are to follow. On g8r he writes ‘comincia a descrivere il ballo in figura del gioco di scacchi cosa bella’. Like the Buffalo annotator, he records the beginning of the three rounds the match as follows.

g8v: ‘Torna di nuovo al gioco ò ballo’

h1r: ‘terzo ballo ò gioco’

h1r: ‘finito il 3° ballo la regina parla al Polifilo e gli dice che vada dalla regina Telosia.’

g8v: ‘Returns again to the game or dance’

h1r: ‘third dance or game’

h1r: ‘the third dance finishes, the queen speaks to Poliphilo and tells him to go to the queen Telosia’

Nevertheless, Chigi is not always consistent in marking the point where the description is supposed to end. For example, on opening the description of the ‘TEMPUS AMISSIO’ horse (b4v), Chigi writes in ‘comincia a descrivere la seguente figura del cauallo’. While this instance of ‘comincia’ opens a description, no other annotation follows for this particular image. The terminal boundaries are left open-ended.

In other cases, Chigi marks the conclusion of what he perceives to be a single passage, and the beginning of the next. For example, in the following section, Poliphilo is being led towards the palace of Queen Eleutherylida by his nymphal guides. As they approach the edifice through its spectacular surrounding gardens, Poliphilo lingers on the description of a fountain, but is then propelled onward to the Palace itself, which necessitates the opening of another description. Adjacent to the following paragraph Chigi writes ‘finisce la descrizione della fontana e comincia quella del Palazzo della Regina Eleutherylida o sé libero arbitrio [free will]’ (f2v).

...Not one piece of the mosaic, whether round, triangular or square, was uneven, but all were perfectly flat and level. All these things left me stunned and in a senseless reverie, as I pored over this work whose utter splendour was beyond my experience. I would gladly have lingered to contemplate it more carefully, for craftsmanship of such dignity deserved a more protracted investigation, but I could not, because I had to keep following my talkative companions and guides.

However, my first encounter with this superb, sumptuous and magnificent palace, its ideal situation and its marvellous symmetrical design produced in me an extraordinary joy and gratitude...

(G 92)

Though ‘finisce’ is used in this case, Chigi uses the term ‘segue’ more frequently as an indication of transition, as well as to mark the end of a unit of argumentation. He also employs the term to record the movement between individual subsections of a description. For instance, in the extended description of Venus’ island which concludes the first book of the HP, Chigi writes (u3r): ‘segue a descrivere le meraviglie del Giardino di Cupido.’ This is particularly the case in sections where a transition results as a consequence of an action. Chigi takes particular interest in the after-effects of incidents in the HP. This emphasis on consequence may result from Chigi’s overall interest in the theme of argumentation, with an emphasis on causality. After a premise has been given establishing the motivation for the following description, ‘segue’ indicates the start of that description. For instance on (a4r), Chigi indicates that the following description takes place as a result of the lost Poliphilo’s invocation to Jupiter to save him from the dark forest. ‘a4r: Polifilo si raccomanda al Diespiter e quello che segue.’

‘Segue’ is also used to indicate a change Poliphilo’s literal point of view, his ‘camera angle’ as it were. There are points in his progress where Poliphilo does not walk between monuments, but rather stands in the midst of a group of monuments and turns his gaze from one object the next.²⁷ ‘Segue’ here indicates that, within a single, stationary episode of description, he is transferring his vision to the next monument.

c1v: ‘Polifilo torna al Cavallo e segue a descriverlo’

c2v: ‘Torna a descriver la porta e segue’

c1v: ‘Poliphilo returns to the Horse and proceeds to describe it’

c2v: ‘Returns to describe the door, and proceeds’

A comparison of the respective locations of these instances of signposting – ‘comincia’, ‘finisce’, ‘segue’ – allows the reader to infer how Chigi conceptualized his own progress as a reader through the HP. He moves at a sprightly pace, skipping from monument to monument. On encountering a visual argument, he pauses, looks around, concludes his description, and moves on to the next marvel. Chigi was not interested in the space between ekphrases, so he clearly marked the boundaries of each description. He pays little heed to the

²⁷ Again, the author has a clear understanding of the three-dimensional ‘space’ within the novel, which is easy for the reader to miss, especially in compressed modern editions, where the woodcuts appear as a series of sequential still images.

wider narrative. The spaces between descriptions are passed through in a cursory manner without discussion. It is as if the reader were a tourist, completing a hasty itinerary of the main sights of a city, progressing in stages through the dreamscape.

This approach, one of movement from monument to monument, bears a striking resemblance to Chigi's recorded descriptions of his own progresses through his bishopric. As the builder of much of the fabric of Baroque Rome, he put his stamp on the city such that it could be termed *Roma Alessandrina*.²⁸ Chigi's own vision and experience of the Rome beyond St. Peter's consisted in large part of the building of monuments and movement between them. The sense of iterative movement between monuments which characterizes the structure of Chigi's annotations is similar in structure and form to his own records of his papal progresses through Rome.

Chigi kept a diary throughout his papacy up until shortly before his death.²⁹ This record has primarily attracted the attention of art historians, as it provides a day-to-day attestation of his meetings with Bernini and Pietro da Cortona. Yet the diary also records the Pope's frequent tours through his city in order to view churches and monuments, borne in a sedan chair as his health declined. The diary offers the same sense of leaping, iterative motion through the physical city as are found in his 'movement' as a reader through the text.

For example, his entry for 4 April 1666 records:

arriviamo a S. Carlo à Catinari vediamo la chiesa e la fabbrica e poi a la Fonderia vediamo belle statue pel Portico di Travertino di poi i Bronzi che si fanno per Siena et entriamo nella Sagrestia in S. Pietro ov'è il C. Barberino e veniamo alle stanze pel portico, Scala Regia.³⁰

We arrive at San Carlo ai Catinari, see the church and its construction works, and then to the Foundry [where] we see beautiful statues for the Travertine Portico and then the bronzes which are being made for Siena, and [then] we enter into the Sacristy in St. Peter's where Cardinal Barberino is, and we come to the chambers through the portico, Scala Regia.³¹

There are thus resonances between Chigi's own experience of moving through the city and Poliphilo's journey through the architectural dreamscape. A number of these records of

²⁸ See Krautheimer, *Roma Alessandrina*; Id., *The Rome of Alexander VII*.

²⁹ Richard Krautheimer and Roger B. S. Jones, 'The Diary of Alexander VII: Notes on Art, Artists and Buildings', in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1975), pp. 199-233.

³⁰ Krautheimer and Jones, 'The Diary of Alexander VII', Entry 547 (444r). Chigi uses historical present tense in his journal. I have maintained this tense in my translation.

³¹ In translating Chigi's diary entries, I have retained place names in the original Italian where this would make their identification clearer than in translation.

progresses fall between the years 1666-7, the same time span in which Chigi was presumably returning to the HP as he consulted with Bernini about the *Pulcino*. As the year progresses, Chigi's diary entries become even more Poliphilian, including this remarkable example on June 10 which records a long day's journey from building to building. (Entry 567, 457r)

Porta del Popolo, Madonna, mura, piazza con due chiese. Chiesa della pace e la sua strada. La Sapienza, la strada, e la piazza. San Marco e imboccatura del Corso. Piazza di Sciarra. Piazza Colonna. Piazza Capranica, Collegio Romano. Torre Sanguigna, S. Agostino, Piazza Monte Giordano, Piazza avanti la Chiesa Nuova, la piazza avanti a S. Carlo dei Catinari, piazza e fontana di S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Dorotea vicina a porta Settimiana, a la Minerva verso la fornaccia dei Vetri, Salita di 3 cannelle e S. Silvestro, Tavolati, Cordonata, Colonnelle...

The Porta del Popolo [a gate in the Aurelian walls], the Madonna, the walls, a square with two churches. The church of Peace and its street. La Sapienza [the University of Rome], the street, and the square. St. Mark's, and the entrance to the Corso. The Piazza di Sciarra. The Piazza Colonna. The Piazza Capranica, and the Collegio Romano. The [Piazza di] Tor Sanguigna, Sant'Agostino, Piazza Monte Giordano, the square before the Chiesa Nuova (Santa Maria in Vallicella), the square before San Carlo ai Catinari, the square and the fountain of Santa Maria in Trastevere, Santa Dorotea near the Porta Settimiana, to [Santa Maria sopra] Minerva near the glass factory, the Salita delle Tre Cannelle [Ascent of the Three Conduits] and San Silvestro, the Tavolati [market stalls], [Via] Cordonata, [Via delle] Colonnelle...

Like his signposting of descriptions which continually 'segue' into another, in this recorded itinerary of a very full day of visits, an encounter with one monument flows immediately into that of another.³²

Having discussed Chigi's interest in the symbolic power of images in the HP, we now proceed to his discussion of individual visual arguments in detail. The interpretation of a symbolic image first called for a decompiling of the visual assemblage into its component parts, and then the description of its composite meaning.

The HP itself models this process of interpretation for the reader. (c1r) features a woodcut containing multiple hieroglyphs arranged in order. Poliphilo begins by breaking the image into its component parts.

I saw the following hieroglyphs engraved in suitable style around the porphyry base. First, the horned skull of a bull with two agricultural tools tied to the horns; then an altar resting on two goat's

³² Diary entries 505, 553, 562, 563, 594, and 613 among others bear similar Poliphilian characteristics.

feet, with a burning flame and, on its face, an eye and a vulture. Next a washing basin and a ewer; then a ball of string transfixed by a spindle... (G 41)

Poliphilo considers these and a number of subsequent images, then offers his own composite interpretation.

After thinking over these ancient and sacred writings, I interpreted them thus:

FROM YOUR LABOUR TO THE GOD OF NATURE SACRIFICE FREELY. GRADUALLY YOU WILL MAKE YOUR SOUL SUBJECT TO GOD. HE WILL HOLD THE FIRM GUIDANCE OF YOUR LIFE, MERCIFULLY GOVERNING YOU, AND WILL PRESERVE YOU UNHARMED.(G 41)

The protagonist does not offer his reasoning behind this interpretation, or explain the significance of each individual component behind this overarching conclusion. Instead, he offers a two-step process: first itemising the components of the image, and then offering a holistic interpretation unpacking the symbolism condensed into the assemblage. Chigi, in approaching those objects, follows a similar two-stage process. He labels what he presumes to be itemisations with the phrase *descrittione*, also spelled *descrizione*. Then the interpretation is labeled as a *dichariazione*. I will discuss each of these phrases in turn.

‘Descrittione’

This is the most frequently occurring term in the text, occurring over twenty times.

Descrittione is never abbreviated. In using this term, Chigi is marking the occurrence of a rhetorical device, for *descrittione* is derived in turn from the rhetorical term *descriptio*, whose Greek equivalent is, in fact, ἔκφρασις. Chigi applies this term to extended lists of items which each may carry a symbolic charge. To take one example, a passage labelled ‘Descrittione della fontana’ (a5r) marks an extended, sequential list which begins with a description of a spring itself, moves to listing its riparian plants, and continues into a comparison to great rivers.

...a glorious spring presented itself to me, gushing forth a great vein of fresh water. around it grew sweet-flags and half-concealed plantains, flowering loosestrife and tufted imperatoria: and a clear stream arose from it that wandered through its tributaries... ‘It was more welcome to me than the

Hypasis and Ganges to the Indians, or the Tigris and Euphrates to the Armenians; more blessed than the Nile to the people of Ethiopia... (G 17)

Another example is offered in order to demonstrate the consistency of this recurring pattern. Chigi applies the term ‘descrittione’ to another stream, to which he appends the composite interpretation. On (d7v), he mentions a ‘descrittione di uena summum bonum di Poliphilo’, another stream which follows a similar expanding pattern from body of water, to botanical description, to overall consideration.

Beneath this antique, solid, and noble bridge there rushed a broad stream of fresh water... On these banks one could see various roots laid bare, among which were hanging spleenwort, maidenhair fern, navelwort and other woodland plants... As I considered this place, it seemed so pleasant, such a perfect dwelling and resort for shepherds, and certainly conducive to singing bucolic songs. (G 70)

‘Descrittione’ is primarily used to identify a cluster of signs which calls for unpacking into its overall argument – in the case of the previous stream, the *summum bonum*. Chigi also uses the term for when he identifies the unnamed referent of a cluster of signs. For example, on (c4v) there is a description of a nude man who remains unnamed.

[On a pedestal] was carved a nude man of virile age with a kindly face and signs of great speed. He was seated on a square bench decorated with ancient carvings, and wearing books that were undone from the thigh to the calf, from which protruded two wings, one on each foot. (G 48)

Chigi, taking a cue from the text to attempt identify the anonymous man from his attributes, writes ‘Descrittione di Marte’ (c4v).

‘Dichiarazione’

Once an image is located and its components listed, there remains the interpretation. Here the term takes on a particular meaning beyond its general sense of ‘declaration’. In the context of symbolic images, a *dichiarazione* is the unpacking of the argument, from the root of *declaratio*. This rhetorical term is the second only to *descrittione* in frequency, with the term and its conjugations occurring fourteen times in the marginalia. For example, following

the table of hieroglyphs on (d7r) mentioned above, Chigi labels Poliphilo's interpretation with 'dichiarano'.

On the other side I saw this elegant carving: a circle, and an anchor around whose shaft a dolphin was entwined. I would best interpret this as ΑΕΙ ΣΠΕΥΔΕ ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ: Always hasten slowly'. (G 69)

'Comparazioni'

The discussion of images has established that Chigi's purpose in reading was to appreciate the HP's rhetorical elegance, rather than its informational content. Chigi's eye went beyond the structure of arguments to the degree of wit with they were composed. Baroque theories of wit (*ingegno*), as formulated by Matteo Pellegrini and Emanuele Tesauro, foregrounded the effective use of metaphors, or *acutezze*.³³ The more disparate the domains of experience from which the components of the metaphor are drawn, the more witty, or cutting, the metaphor is considered to be. This thesis has proposed that the HP was utilized by some of its prolific annotators as a means for the self-cultivation of this faculty. Chigi continues this practice. In addition to delineating the structure of arguments, he scans through the text seeking individual metaphors of particular effectiveness. This statement must be qualified by the fact that the reader labelled these finds as 'comparisons', rather than explicitly as *acutezze*. However, it can be observed that in practice the term is applied to metaphors of particular effectiveness and force. The term *comparazioni* is used twice on a single page (i7v) adjacent to the following phrases.

Following behind her with my heart fluttering and unsettled by love, I was shaking like the wagtail bird, and was as powerless as the timid sheep when the rapacious wolf drags it off by the throat. (G 150)

³³ Matteo Pellegrini (Peregrini), *Delle Acutezze*, ed. by Erminia Ardissino (Turin: Edizioni Res, 1997). Emanuele Tesauro, *Il cannocchiale aristotelico, o sia, Idea dell'arguta et ingeniosa elocutione: che serue à tutta l'arte oratoria, lapidaria, et simbolica* (Venice: Paolo Baglioni, 1663) (Reprinted La Vergne, TN, USA, 2010).

Here Poliphilo's timidity is accentuated by two references to the animal kingdom, stated in unison. Likewise, the term appears next to the following phrase.

Her amorous glances had not become pernicious and deadly blows, just as flashing thunder causes hearty oak-trees to split beneath its sudden blow. (Ibid.)

Chigi took note of the fact that the author would locate clusters *acutezze* in a single section of text, labelling such gatherings as 'varie comparatione' (k1v) and 'comparatione diverse' (p2r), without marking each individual comparison. He would also note the common referent of a variety of comparisons, clustered for escalating rhetorical effect. On (s4r) he wrote 'comparatione del dolore' above the following cluster. Enraptured by Polia, Poliphilo

...would have made a window of my lacerated breast, just like the pious Egyptian Pelican that dwells in the solitude of the turbid and sourceless Nile: with her sharp, cruel beak she tears herself and eviscerates her pious maternal heart...the lethal and deadly weapon that transfixed my wounded heart hung balanced, like the one that hung without any support in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. (G 287)

'Bel detto'

The annotator would also praise the text with a single word, such as *bella* or *bel detto*. Though this simple act of praise does not immediately clarify the reasons for his approval, the objects which he selects indicate his interests and preferences. As a commissioner of buildings with a fine eye for detail, Chigi remarks on the beauty of subtle architectural features. He marks the following text with the phrase 'descrive un'altra bella entrata di un teatro.' (y4v)

In this adytum alone the spaces between the columns were not open, but walled in and closed by slabs of the noble stone already mentioned. Thither we proceeded beneath the vault to another open doorway, the top of which was contiguous with a pergoletta, as it is called, of the same height. (G 351)

So attuned was he to detail that Chigi even offered praise for a clever method of channelling waste water through a gutter, noting on (n1r):

Upon the areobates, or stylobates, or rather footings, the temple's base was encircled by an ornate band of toruses, [sic] fascias, and gullets and quarter-circles...The interiors of these were drilled or perforated with channels, so that water falling from the gutters or roof would rush down through these tubes until it reached the ground. (G 201)

This attention to detail is unsurprising for a Pope who would meet with Bernini on an almost daily basis, as documented in his diary, presumably to discuss the finer points of the architect's projects.

The other matters which the Pope marks as beautiful relate to procession, movement, and dance. The elaborate reception which Chigi orchestrated for Queen Christina of Sweden upon her conversion to Catholicism is testimony to his refined taste for parade and spectacle. As noted above, he labelled the human chess match a 'cosa bella' on g8r. Chigi also praised the movement of waiters during the banqueting scene on (g2r), writing 'modo bello e bella maniera di parlare' above the relevant passage.

Theatrical Elements

Chigi's appreciation of the HP as performance, particularly the episode of the human chess match, extends further into his annotation. Having demonstrated an appreciation for drama, Chigi marks up certain passages with directions which bear a resemblance to stage directions. In passages of long dialogue in which the speaker can be confused, Chigi records the speaker and the addressee, in notes such as 'Parole di Polia à Poliphilo' (k1v), (n8v): 'Parole del Antista' (The High Priestess in the liturgical sequence) (n8v), and 'Parole di Cupido a Poliphilo e Polia' (r6r). Chigi also records Poliphilo's inner dialogue with the phrase 'Parole di Poliphilo da se stesso' on (i7v), (k2v), and (m1v). Chigi is the only annotator in this study who takes an interest in Poliphilo's inner life, perhaps as a result of the Pope's experience in the cure of souls. The protagonist has long discussions with himself while he works out a question, as on (i7v):

Already almost overcome and conquered by the provocative appetite within me, I gave myself over to a silent debate, saying first: 'O happy above all other lovers is he who is coupled with this person... Then, reproaching my improper desires, I argued that contrary: 'Alas, I cannot possibly believe that such nymphs condescend to those who are inferior... On the other hand, I consoled myself that I had offered my amorous soul to her'. (G 150)

The annotator also notes the gestures of the characters. When Polia bends the knee, he notes this by writing ‘Poli geniculatione’ on (p1r). Likewise, by writing ‘ligamento di Polia e Polifilo fatto da due ninfe dietro al carro di cupido’ he locates where Polia and Polifilo are standing in relation to cupid’s car at the moment of their marriage, as if he were blocking the performers in a stage production. In this respect, Chigi shares with Jonson the distinction of being the only known annotators to have approached the HP from a theatrical point of view.

Chigi’s interest in rhetoric and dramatic presentation is also the likely reason that he is the only annotator in this study to directly discuss Poliphilo’s emotions. The HP notably features an abundance of detailed description of Poliphilo’s own emotive experience.³⁴ As Chigi’s argument discusses the features of the HP rhetorical persuasion, it is not unsurprising that he would note instances of *pathos* in the HP’s argument. This being said, the only emotion which Chigi marks is fear, with the words *timore* and *spaventato*.

Upon encountering a dragon in an underground tunnel, Chigi writes ‘Polifilo spaventato dalla vista dal dragone fugge e muove in pericolo ancora nella figura’ and immediately following, ‘Nota lo spaventato Polifilo’ (d4r). Other episodes of fear include when Poliphilo is lost in the opening Dark Forest sequence, writing ‘Timore di Polifilo’ (a3v) near the passage:

Scarcely had I entered it [the forest] than I realized that I had carelessly lost my way, I knew not how. A sudden fear entered my hesitating heart, whose rapid beating spread it throughout my pallid limbs and drained all colour from my bloodless cheeks. (G 13)

Why Chigi would single out the experience of fear, to the exclusion of other emotions, is unclear. While it is tempting to relate this concern to some aspect of Chigi’s psychobiography, any attempt to do so would be speculative. A more prosaic explanation seems more likely. As previously discussed, Chigi would divide the text into individual units of ekphrasis. In so doing, he sometimes followed, and sometimes skipped, over the author’s own sometimes clumsy transitions between sections. For example, the author uses encounters with a wolf (a7r), and later with a dragon (d3r) as a narrative justification to jolt Poliphilo out of his ekphrastic reverie and to propel him onward to the next architectural marvel. In line with his project of segmenting the HP according to perceived arguments, as

³⁴ Stefano Cracolici, ‘The Poliphilo Syndrome: Love, Humanism, and the Infatuation of Historiography’. Paper presented at the RSA Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA, April 2013.

detailed above, Chigi may simply have noted each emotion as a dividing line between arguments. On the other hand, Roswitha Stewering has also observed Poliphilo's lessening fear and growing confidence toward the end of the novel.³⁵ Perhaps the Pope, himself attuned to these qualities of the HP through his own reading of devotional literature, would also have noticed Poliphilo's shift in character.

In the second book, Chigi notes Polia's experience of fear as well, making the annotator the only annotator to remark on the inner life of the novel's deuteragonist. On (b5r) he notes Polia's night fears, turning over her mind her lack of receptivity to Poliphilo's affections writing, 'spaventato di Polia in sogno.'

'My shaken body relaxed in its first sleep, which is the best, sweetest and most refreshing...But it was as if I had the eumeces stone in my head: I seemed to hear a great noise as though bolts were being shot, locks forced, and burglars breaking the iron bars...' (G 405)

Inscriptions

In his marginalia, Chigi indulged his fascination with the development and construction of arguments. This being said, Chigi's annotations are lacking in one expected feature. The Pope is distinguished by his great interest in classical epigraphy, and for the many new inscriptions which he commissioned throughout the city. Among the most visible remnants of his 'inscription proud'³⁶ papacy are the epigrams bearing his name which adorn many of the monuments of Baroque Rome, from the gate to the Piazza del Popolo to the Colonnade of St Peter's. Often accompanied by the Chigi emblem of five mountains, a star and a cork tree, these inscriptions are a maker's mark on what would come to be known as *Roma Alessandrina*.

Richard Krautheimer traced Chigi's enthusiasm to civic pride in his native Tuscany, with its abundance of epigraphic vestiges. Chigi took a great interest in letter forms and the aesthetics of inscriptions, and some of his drafts survive, which I viewed in the Vatican Library's manuscript collection.³⁷ He even made notes on Etruscan inscriptions.³⁸ Chigi was

³⁵ Roswitha Stewering, 'Architectural Representations in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Aldus Manutius, 1499)', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59.1 (2000), pp. 6-25.

³⁶ Richard Krautheimer, 'The Diary of Alexander VII: Notes on Art, Artists and Buildings', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1975) pp. 199-233 (at p. 199).

³⁷ BAV, cod. Chig. I. vi, 205, fols 340-1.

so attentive to detail in his inscriptions that in composing an epitaph to a sixteenth-century figure, he asked his librarian Lucas Holstenius to ensure that the epitaph was in perfect period sixteenth-century style.³⁹

It is therefore surprising indeed that in a book with a wealth of pseudo-epigrams, Chigi wrote only one note labelled *inscrizione*. This note is next to a Greek epigram on (z1r).

z1r: ‘inscrizione di una delle colonne del fonte’

‘On the face of the low wall of black stone, upon which the columns rose in well-proportioned spacing, some ancient Greek letters were perfectly engraved, with their uprights nine times their width. Refined silver in their cavities glowingly spelled these words. Only two letters were visible on the front, joined with an embellishment elegantly made from gold. Thereafter, the letters went three by three on the other sides, saying: ΩΣΠΙΕΡΣΠΙΝΘΗΡΚΗΛΗΘΜΟΣ.⁴⁰ (G 360-61)

Why would he only note one epitaph, and this at the end of Book 1, when the HP has a wealth of epitaphs in which one would expect that he would take an interest? He passes over the HP’s graveyard of lost loves, or *Polyandrion* (q2v- r4r) with a number of extraordinary images of epigrams which would not only be fascinating models for his own inscriptions, but which were also typographically complex.⁴¹ It may be that the Pope had designated this copy for the analysis of arguments, and as fascinated as he would be otherwise with such epigrams, this was not the primary purpose of this reading.

³⁸ Ingrid D. Rowland, ‘Etruscan Inscriptions from a 1637 Autograph of Fabio Chigi’, *American Journal of Archaeology* 93.3 (1989), pp. 423-28.

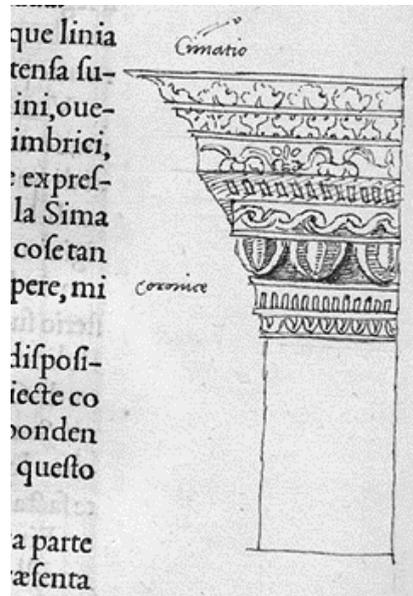
³⁹ Pastor, p. 137.

⁴⁰ ‘Seduction is like a spark’ (G 471).

⁴¹ For this see Harris, ‘Rising quadrats’.

Siena, Biblioteca degli Intronati – O.III.38, and
 Sidney, The State Library of New South Wales – SAFE/RB/LQ0002/C

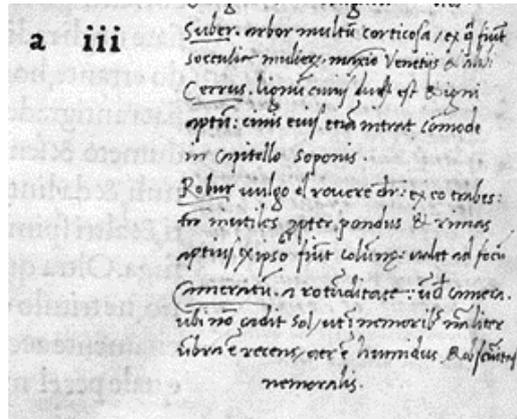
The most significant marginalia are not always the most spectacular. A reader approaching the Siena copy of the HP will be struck by the beauty of the illustrations and the refinement of the hand. The architectural sketches are executed to a standard not found in any other copy.



Detail, c7r

Precise, orthogonal diagrams lie alongside notes in a careful, even calligraphic hand.

These are not hasty, responsive notes, but serve as an aesthetic complement to the printed material. The modern-day reader receives the impression that these annotators were impressed by the beauty of the HP and rose to the occasion, writing marginalia that would benefit such a text. These extraordinary annotations call for much further study.



Detail, (a8r)

Notwithstanding these eye-catching features, this chapter will direct its attention to a more unobtrusive feature in the Siena copy, which may yet bear a profound significance. Scattered between these illustrations are a type of marginalia not evident in any of the previously-examined copies. At intermittent locations throughout the book, two of the hands have written extensions to the printed sentence which continue into the margins. These continuations form a syntactic unit with the printed line, and appear to restore the sentence to its original wholeness. These notes do not have the character of glosses, since they extend the text rather than comment upon it. For example, in the original text of the following passage, the sentence ends with the phrase ‘lucido et terso’ followed by a full stop.

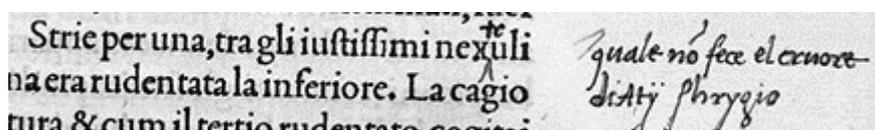
Le due prompte Porphyrice colonne Dorice di septe diametri, sopra qualunque di questi cusì explicati quadrati premevano di puniceo colore fusco cum gli sui orbiculetti più chiari, confusamente disseminati, lucido et terso. (c5r)

Two freestanding Doric columns of porphyry, seven diameters high, stood on each of these two squares that I have described. They were **bright and polished**, and dark red, randomly dotted with circles of lighter colour. (G 49)

In the Siena copy, an annotator extends the final line with additional material

(c5r)

lucido & terso. > lucido & terso quale no(n) fece el cuore di Atij Phrygio



Detail, (c5r) 1

There is no mention of an ‘Atii Phrygio’ in the surrounding text, or any other feature which might occasion such a comment. The annotator appears to hold some privileged knowledge about the text, in excess of what could be inferred from the text in its present state.

These anomalous notes were first highlighted by Edoardo Fumagalli in his foundational article on annotated copies of the HP.¹ Proclaiming this copy to be, ‘without equal, the most interesting of those copies known to me, for the numerous and dense marginalia (*postille*) which accompany a great part of the work’, Fumagalli identified four hands (A-D) in the text.² The two primary hands, (A and C), responsible for these line extensions, evince a remarkable knowledge and authority with regard to the text. Moreover, the two hands alternate commentary and work together, not in the manner of successive readers, but of two collaborators in the same environment. On these grounds, Fumagalli proposes that the hands emerged from Dominican circles in the vicinity of the author himself.³ Since Fumagalli makes this suggestion amid a discussion of multiple copies, he mentions that his study is partial and that his purpose is to ‘anticipate a few lines of research.’⁴

The primary purpose of this chapter was to return to this copy and, as with Stichel’s research to the Modena copy, elaborate upon the categories of annotation outlined in this previous article. Fumagalli also mentions a possible additional line of research in a related copy. He observes that an emendation by hand A in Siena is exactly replicated in a copy in the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.⁵ Should the copies indeed be linked, then an expanded comparison with the Sydney copy might make it possible to ‘triangulate’ the annotators’ responses, perhaps offering insight into the HP’s Dominican readers. An examination of facsimiles of both copies reveals the annotators of both copies, even if deriving from a similar environment, took different approaches. While Siena exhibits line extensions in addition to its more impressive marginalia, the Sydney annotator takes interest primarily in the definition of words, prefaced by ‘.l.’, abbreviating ‘licet’. For example, the Poliphilesque compound word ‘micropsycho’ (d3r) elicits an alternate definition.

¹ Edoardo Fumagalli, ‘Due esemplari dell’*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* di Francesco Colonna’, *Aevum* 66 (1992), pp. 419-432.

² Fumagalli, ‘Due esemplari’, p. 422. ‘senza paragone, la copia più interessante fra quelle me note fino ad oggi, per le numerose e dense postille che accompagnano una gran parte dell’opera.’ For the sake of consistency I have retained Fumagalli’s assignments of letters to hands, although it might be more logical for the most significant hands to be labelled ‘A’ and ‘B’ rather than ‘A’ and ‘C’.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 422 ‘anticipare alcune linee d’indagine’.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 428. The emendation (a1r) appears in the phrase ‘quassabondo el mandava gli teneri ramuli.’ Both Hand A of Siena and the annotator of Sydney emend this line to ‘quassabondo mandavano ad.’

Heu me da ritrahere il coelifero Atlante dal suo officio, non che homo adolescente et micropsycho, et tra lochi incogniti solo inerme et suspectoso di periculo ritrovantise. (d3r)

Alas, if it would have dragged sky-bearing Atlas from is post, what then of a timid young man in these unknown parts, all alone, unarmed and nervous about danger? (G 62)

The annotator directly translates the Greek components ‘micro’ and ‘psycho’ to their Latin equivalents, resulting in ‘pusillanimous’.

microsycho .I. pusilanimo (d3r)

A comparative approach to two copies would itself be a contribution to knowledge, as Fumagalli did not return specifically the Siena or Sydney copies for further study as anticipated. Fumagalli did however return to the discussion of the *Polifilo* with regard to its presumed early Dominican readers. Between these two articles, an application of marginalia became evident which may not have occurred even to its author. Fumagalli discusses how the proposed circle of early Dominican readers may have interpreted the HP according to a collectively shared interpretive key, whose signifying components were of Apuleian origin.⁶ The evaluation of this proposal is intriguing, but beyond the scope of this present study. The line extensions do however take on a greater significance in light of one of Fumagalli’s secondary considerations.

Fumagalli remarks, in a concern which has emerged with regard to other copies, that the discrepancy between the date of 1467 given in the scribal colophon and that of 1499, on the errata, led annotators to speculate as to the chronology of the HP’s compositional process, leading Fumagalli to reflect on the process as well. The arrangement of the novel into two books of very different styles suggests that the work was assembled in phases. The stark contrast between the effusive style of Book I and the relatively more prosaic style of Book II, as well as the fact that the second book seems to enfold the narrative structure of the longer first book within itself, suggests that the HP’s two divisions were written as distinct stages of composition. Poliphilo’s dedicatory letter to Polia, which opens the novel (‘POLIPHILUS POLIAE S.P.D.’), even states that Poliphilo [and by extension, the author] had originally

⁶ Edoardo Fumagalli, ‘Francesco Colonna lettore di Apuleio e il problema della datazione dell’*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*’, *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 27 (1984), pp. 233-66.

written the HP in a different style, but rewrote the work according to the preferences of his beloved.

Il quale dono sotto poscia al tuo solerte et ingenioso iudicio (lasciando il principiato stilo, et in questo ad tua instantia traducto) io il commetto. (a1v)

I [Poliphilo] commit this gift to your wise and intelligent judgment, abandoning the original style and having translated it into the present one at your behest. (G 10)

These hints at previous stages invite inferences into the textual history of the HP. Knowledge of the process behind the elaboration of the work would offer a number of insights into the structure and purpose of the HP. One could, for instance, correlate documented events in Francesco Colonna's life with the probable composition dates of specific episodes. One could also gain insight into the compositional methods that resulted into a text so unusual in both form and style. The HP stands as a bizarre monument, as if without precedent. Nevertheless, even the most unconventional texts do not emerge as if by divine inspiration, but as the result of the daily work of a person (or group of persons) over a period of time. Such work can be documented.

In inferring the textual history of any text which survives only in printed form with no extant authorial manuscripts, one must proceed with caution. Print imposes a finality to a text which, through its stages in manuscript, had been in the process of organic development. It is as if the printed text can be compared to the ice on the surface of a frozen lake, with the currents, moving yet invisible, beneath. Such inferences can be made on the basis of inconsistencies, breaks, and other wrinkles on the surface, but cannot be confirmed in the absence of manuscript material.

It is the contention of this chapter that the 'line extensions' in Siena and Sydney may offer that confirmatory manuscript material. If indeed they trace from the vicinity of the author, as I hold to be the case, then these annotations may represent remnants from the manuscript stage which the writers saw fit to reattach to the manuscript copy.

Fumagalli proposes a three-stage hypothesis for the HP's composition. If indeed these line extensions are remnants of the manuscript, then they can serve as a means to evaluate this hypothesis.

(1) In its earliest form, the embryonic HP, written in the more prosaic 'principiato stilo', was a short autobiographical novel based upon Colonna's relationship with Hippolyta Lelli. This

story formed the nucleus around which the HP would grow, like the grain of sand around which forms a pearl. The events in this first novel would form the substratum of what would become Book II. This original love narrative in the ‘*principiato stilo*’ was completed in 1467, shortly after the historical Polia’s death, hence the date on the colophon.

(2) The first book was then written as an expanded second draft of the first novel. For this reason Books I and II have the same broad narrative arc, linked by the clever framing device of having Polia recapitulate the story to a group of nymphs from her own point of view. This expansion increased the size of the novel manifold. Peter Dronke estimates that only forty pages of novel consist of the ‘love story’ – presumably the kernel of the original novel – while the rest consist of description and ekphrasis.⁷ The addition of individual ekphrases served to expand out this initial framing device.

(3) In the final stage, Colonna rewrote both novels in the Poliphilesque style, bringing two works sprung from the same source into an organic unity. This involved adding some elaboration and flourishes to the second book in order to establish a unity of style. The contours of the more factual first novel can still be perceived under the surface of Book II. This model seems broadly plausible, but is based largely upon the internal evidence of stylistic comparisons between the two books. That the revision process was in progress after 1467 is indicated by citations of texts known to be published after that date. Yet it would strain credulity to think that an author of Colonna’s force of imagination would leave a text of this kind untouched for thirty-two years.

Fragmentary as they may be, these remnants of the pre-print life of the HP offer the opportunity to bring to light some pieces of this otherwise occluded body of manuscripts. A key indicator that these notes emerge from the proximity of the author is that the text in the line extensions has a consistently Poliphilesque style to that of the printed line. As such, they are highly unlikely to be readers’ emendations. These changes are not in the mode of glossing or commentary. While it could be proposed that a later reader emulated the Poliphilesque style, that would be a highly idiosyncratic practice, as that is not seen in any of the other annotators.

⁷ Dronke, ‘Introduction’, pp. 27-28.

Even if these modifications do date to the vicinity of the author, the choice of lines to extend is uncertain. At first glance, the selection of lines to extend seems more or less random. The content they contain is not remarkable, nor does it add a significant amount of new material to the text. There is not a clear theme, or consistent subject of interest, within the lines that receive such an extension. This apparently haphazard selection of ostensibly insignificant annotations leaves the reader to wonder as to why the annotators would choose to extend these particular lines as opposed to any other.

One possibility is simply authorial perfectionism. The author, taking pride in his own work, could correct insignificant errors omitted by compositor for his own satisfaction, which would have escaped the notice (or even interest) of any other reader. A correction of printing errors be a step towards explaining the seemingly random nature of the line extensions, as random as a compositor's carelessness.

The re-insertion of material which had been proscribed is another possibility, though unlikely. There is no marginal content that appears in any way controversial or worthy of being hidden. The only possible exception is the insertion of the phrase 'in tono lasio', which may mean 'lascivious', into the phrase 'Edyepea incomincio \in tono lasio/ a cantare' on (h4v). This phrase is tame by the HP's standards, and word 'lascivia' occurs seven other times through the printed HP.⁸ These omissions were either compositor's errors or stylistic refinements, but they were not left out to obscure questionable content.

There is nevertheless an unmistakable consistency through the notes as found. Each appears to be situated at a point of transition between ekphrases. The extensions are found precisely at the point in which Poliphilo switches from describing one architectural marvel to another. They are also found at points where the narrator moves from one section of the dreamscape to another.

This chapter proposes that these notes are, in fact, catchwords, marking the boundaries between the manuscript leaves in a previous stage of the HP's development. Specifically, they mark the boundaries where pre-existent ekphrastic texts were inserted into the existing narrative structure in order to expand the text to its present dimensions.

Presenting such an impressive printed display, it is easy to overlook the limitations which the physical mechanics of writing by hand imposed upon the creative process. The text would have first have been composed on manuscript sheets. In order to insert new material into an existing text, one had only to separate two loose leaves and interpolate a new text. Doing so,

⁸ E.g. c5r: 'Et però gli periti antiqui patri al sexo femineo, maggiore parte di cavatura attribuivano, che al mascolo il rudentato perché quella lubrica natura, excede la virile in lascivia.'

however, would necessitate the creation of some sort of suture between the existing text and the interpolation. The preciousness of paper, with each leaf already being filled with existing content, would necessitate one of two solutions. Either the suturing text would have to be short and abrupt enough to fit into the remaining space of the header and footer of the existing leaf, or the transition would require the insertion of an entirely new leaf which would need to be filled with more content. In either case, a catchword would be convenient to situate between the leaves in order to mark the point of transition.

Marking the boundaries of the points of interpolation would suggest that some of the ekphrases which would have been used to pad out the second book were not composed for the purposes of the HP, but were rather previously-composed, independent ekphrastic texts which were inserted into the HP at a later date. The composition of ekphrases as a rhetorical exercise has a humanistic precedent, building upon a tradition dating to Philostratus. Therefore, it would not be unexpected for Colonna to have written ekphrases as individual compositional acts distinct from the composition of the HP, into which they were later inserted.

The identification of these phrases as catchmarks illuminating the boundaries of the manuscript leaves ‘beneath the surface’ of the HP would resolve two major textual problems. The first is the lack of a clear connection between the ekphrases and the novel as a whole. As detailed as the descriptions may be – whether of a building, or a party of nymphs, or even the plants along a river bed – they often do not serve to advance the plot. They are written in an expository style quite different from the more florid mode of the rest of the prose. In fact, Poliphilo himself considers these ekphrases to be distractions, temptations to his curiosity from which he must pull himself away in order to advance towards Polia. Plausible arguments could be made for a subtle symbolism behind the arrangement of ekphrases, though such thematic critique would be beyond the bounds of the textual-critical analysis of this chapter. However, they do appear as *non sequitur* from the narrative surrounding them. An explanation of these ekphrases as previously-independent interpolations would explain this disconnect, as they are a later addition rather than an integral part of the text.

The identification of manuscript interpolations would also provide a justification for what appears to be one of the HP’s stylistic deficiencies, namely the artlessness of these connecting passages between the description and the novel. These transitions are an exception to Colonna’s otherwise more elegant compositional style. To take one example, in the following scene the narrative shifts abruptly from a warm and sensual description of

nymphs to a dry and technical architectural description with only one line marking the transition, ‘Eventually we reached the place’, *aggiungessimo finalmente al loco*.

Cum voluptici acti, cum virginali gesti, cum suasivi sembiani, cum caricie puellare, cum lascive riguardature... ma alquanto domesticatome incominciai cum esse affabilmente tripudiare. Et elle dolcemente rideano, et io parimente cum esse, aggiungessimo finalmente al loco. (e4v).

They [the nymphs] led me on with voluptuous movements, virginal gestures, engaging manners, girlish graces, lavish looks...I tamed myself sufficiently to begin dancing along affably with them, while they laughed sweetly, and I laughed with them. Eventually we reached the place. (G 80).

If such connections seem abrupt and contrived, it may be due to the nature of the manuscript insertion. The writer had limited space with which to write a transition, and so for this reason movements between descriptive passages can be jarring and *pro forma*. Rather than being reduced to a compositional deficiency, these transitions be seen as the ‘seams’ where the ekphrastic texts were ‘sewn’ into the broader novel. The line extensions complement a consideration of the style in determining where the manuscript divisions lay.

Indications of where the borders lay between manuscripts also offers further insight into how the physical constraints of the medium shaped the author’s compositional arrangement. The order and arrangement of leaves has a conditioning effect upon the dimensions of the arguments written thereon. For instance, the end of a leaf offers a natural concluding point for an argument. Though an author can, of course, continue a piece of exposition onto a new leaf, the dimensions of a page subtly but forcefully imposes a boundary on thought. By the same token, an author might find to expand an argument which could logically conclude halfway through a leaf in order to fill up a page due to a *horror vacui*. The differing pagination of the printed edition likewise hides these constraints, leaving only otherwise inexplicable transitions in the print edition. A literary critic working on an abstracted text divorced from its embodiment in manuscript could easily go astray looking for a literary justification for a transition which is simply a consequence of the material nature of writing. An understanding of the physical nature of composition thus acts as a precaution against scholarly excesses.

Before discussing the line extensions in detail, this chapter will discuss the bibliographic characteristics of the copies under consideration.

Siena O.III.38

The Siena copy is a perfect copy of the 1499 edition. There is no comment about the date on the colophon. It bears four hands, as distinguished by Fumagalli, three of which are anonymous and appear to date from the early sixteenth century, for reasons to be discussed below. The only known owner is one 'Fridericus David Schaller Augustanus', who is recorded as matriculating at the University of Siena in 1599. In distinction to other copies, there is no comment on the difference between colophon date and printed date as found in the errata.

This copy was viewed in a digital facsimile on CD-ROM provided by the Biblioteca Comunale di Siena, from which the images in this chapter were taken.



A Detail, Siena, 005r 1

The hand which marked its ownership with the inscription 'Francisci Fini Sum' is the most prolific and elegant of the hands, responsible for Siena's remarkable architectural diagrams. Its notes are written with such care, free from mistakes and revision, that they seem to have the quality of being more ornamentation than practical observation. The annotation of this 'Franciscus' appears to be the product of reflection, rather than impromptu annotation. It seems likely that this annotator wrote his initial impressions on a separate sheet, and later added the more polished material into the present copy.

Identifying the individual behind the name 'Franciscus Finus' is a more challenging matter. The association with 'Franciscus Columna' immediately comes to mind, and A is the earliest of the hand of the hands in the text. C responds to A and not to any of the other hands, suggesting that both derive from that early circle. Hand A also demonstrates a refined appreciation for the text itself, and a desire to continue the project by elaborating upon its illustrations. The ascription to the given author is immediately complicated by the difference of surname or title. The use of 'Finus' rather than 'Columnus' does not necessarily rule out the ascription to the Venetian Colonna. 'Finus' may have been a title or nickname derived from membership in an *accademia*. The circumflex over the 'i' may also be an abbreviation for a longer term.

Internet searches for ‘Franciscus Finus’, the Italianized ‘Francesco Fino’, and its spelling variants, have resulted in three contemporary candidates. The earliest possibility is one *magister Franciscus Finus* recorded as a collaborator of George of Trebizond (Trapezuntius) (1395-1472).⁹ Only 27 years separate Trebizond’s death from the HP’s publication in print, and there is a five-year overlap between Trebizond’s death and the HP’s given completion date of 1467 in the colophon. If we accept Fumagalli’s view that this hand is one of the early Dominican readers of the HP, it is entirely possible that an individual, across a wide age range, who worked with Trebizond could have annotated this copy a few decades later. Another ‘Franciscus Finus’, attested as a notary based at Rome from 1585 to 1590 remains within the range of possibility.¹⁰ In a later reference, Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten’s *Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern* (Notes on Remarkable Books) mentions one Petrus Franciscus Finus in a discussion of the works of Saint Ephraim of Syria.¹¹

The chance that ‘Fini’ is in fact an abbreviation opens up further possibilities. ‘Fini’ may be an abbreviation for ‘Florentini’. There is an attested ‘franciscus florentinus’ whose dates and interests do correlate with the HP, who is recorded as taking part in the remodelling of Wawel Castle in Cracow into a contemporary Renaissance style, a project which lasted from 1502 to 1537.¹² Florentinus is recorded as being at Buda, presumably en route to Cracow, in 1502 and at Wawel itself from 1506-1516.¹³ The highly precise and detailed architectural manuscript illustrations betoken a professional. If the hand is early, then Florentinus would have had two years, during what was presumably the HP’s fastest sales period, in order to acquire the book and fill it with his renderings. ‘Fínus’ may also be an abbreviation for ‘Fiorini’, although I have not identified any candidates by that name within the date range. For our present purposes I will suspend judgment on the identity of A, awaiting future research, and concentrate on this reader’s patterns of interaction.

⁹ John Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana: texts, documents, and bibliographies of George of Trebizond*, (Binghamton: The Renaissance Society of America, 1984), p. 24.

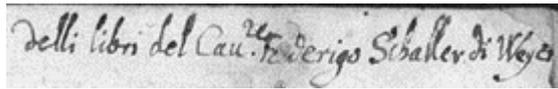
¹⁰ Johanna Elfriede Louise Heideman, *The Cinquecento Chapel Decorations in S. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome* (Amsterdam: Academische Pers, 1982), p. 62.

¹¹ Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten, *Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern*, vol. 7 (Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer, 1755), p. 450.

¹² Dora and József Sisa Wiebenson, *The Architecture of Historic Hungary* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998); for the surname cf. Jeannie Labno, *Commemorating the Polish Renaissance Child: Funeral Monuments and Their European Context* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 80.

¹³ Dietmar Popp and Robert Suckale, *Die Jagiellonen: Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit* (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2002) p. 219.

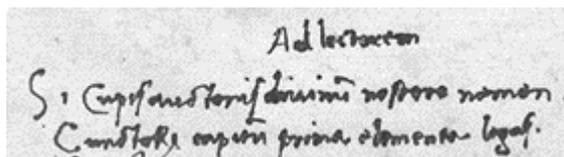
B



Detail, Siena, 1r 1

Friedrich (Federigo) Schaller's only mark in the book is an ownership inscription on the upper flyleaf, offering the only certain date in the provenance. Schaller's name has been found in a matriculum of German students at Siena. He is listed as 'Fridericus David Schaller Augustanus' [i.e., from Augsburg], matriculating on July 3, 1599.¹⁴ This late attestation to the book's presence in Siena suggests that the book remained in the city throughout the sixteenth century, and that the other hands are therefore likely to be Siennese. After the colophon, Schaller wrote '1467' in Arabic numerals. Schaller may simply have been transcribing the Roman numerals. Yet given the concern of other readers from the early seventeenth century onwards as to the actual date of printing due to the prevalence of torn-out colophons, one can infer that Schaller's concern for the date was part of this issue.

C



Detail, Siena, 1r 1

Ad lectorem

Si cupis auctoris divini(m) noscere nomen.

Cunctar(um) capitul(m) prima elementa legas.

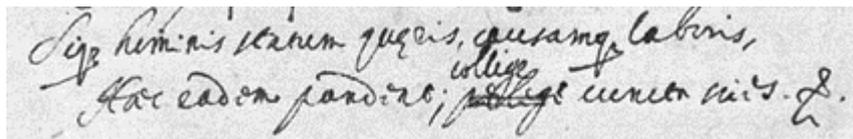
If you wish to know the author's divine name,

Read the first letters of each chapter.

The third hand writes an *ad lectorem* explaining the acrostic at the beginning, and then proceeds to respond to and elaborate upon the comments of A. The two hands take different yet complementary approaches to the text. Where A is concerned with resolving ambiguities, C provides context. For example, A will define an allusion to an obscure mythological figure, while C will provide a synopsis of the myth in which the figure features. C is a more scratchy, less elegant hand than A.

¹⁴ MS. Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, A. XI. 13, f. 248v, published in Fritz Weigle, ed., *Die Matrikel der Deutschen Nation in Siena (1573-1738)* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1962).

D



Detail, Siena, 1r 2

D's only contribution to the text is a distich added to the bottom of C's *ad lectorem*.

Sique hominis statum quaeris, causamq(ue) laboris,

Haec eadem pandunt; >perlege< collige cuncta, scies [monogram?]

And if you enquire about the man's condition and the work's origin,

Those same [letters] reveal them; put them all together, and you will know.

The Case for Proximity

Fumagalli makes a strong case for associating these hands with the earliest phases of the HP's reception in Venetian Dominican circles. This chapter will review Fumagalli's case, to which I will add additional evidence. The most concrete piece of evidence Fumagalli adduces is that the annotators made use of a revision of the Greek lexicon of Crastone, made by the Dominican Gioacchino Torriani. Torriani survives in two manuscripts in the Marciana, both of which derived from SS Giovanni e Paolo. Crastone, in turn, had been published by the Aldine press only two years before the HP.¹⁵ The use of a specific manuscript lexicon by both the author and the annotators serves as a strong indication for a common origin.

The annotators also appear to have access to privileged information about the author's intentions. The author's identity can easily be inferred from the acrostic, of which awareness is attested as early as 1516.¹⁶ A and C also exhibit an extreme fastidiousness about the accuracy of the text. They give time to resolving textual problems which would not cause complications for, even be noticed by, most readers. Why, Fumagalli asks, would a commentator make the HP even more recondite than it needs to be unless he had a personal

¹⁵ *Joannis Crastoni Dictionarium Graecum copiosissimum secundum ordinem alphabeti, cum interpretatione Latina* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1497).

¹⁶ Fumagalli, 'Due esemplari', p. 428.

interest in the matter?¹⁷ Such matters would likely concern only those able to cross-reference the printed text with manuscript material.

A more qualitative observation to supplement Fumagalli's case is the almost defensive concern the annotators exhibit for portraying Polia as an entirely allegorical figure. In presenting Poliphilo's beloved as pure symbolism, they protect against any association of Polia with a real woman with whom Colonna could have had an illicit relationship with the veil of allegory.

Both A and C present Polia solely as a personification of virtue on g4r:

A: *Cuncta haec Poliphilus considerando, instabilia cognovit: solam Poliae, id est virtutis, existimavit pulchritudinem, quoniam virtus stabilis aeternaque habetur.*

Poliphilus, considering all of these [things], knew them to be inconstant: he esteemed only the beauty of Polia, that is, of virtue, for only virtue has eternal constancy.'

C likewise identifies Polia with virtue, on different (but not necessarily mutually exclusive) etymological grounds, by associating her name both with old age.¹⁸

Polion. canities. Polia pro ipsa prudentia, quae in canis est, et pro ipsa virtute.

'Polion' [means] old age. 'Polia' for wisdom, which is found in old age, and for virtue itself'.

While both of these definitions are etymologically valid, they remain suspect for two reasons: the clichéd nature of the comparisons made, and their dissimilarity from the expressed character of Polia herself in the novel. Polia does exhibit classic feminine virtue in some regards. She does wait until after marriage to have sexual relations with Poliphilo. Yet throughout the novel, Polia is portrayed as a youthful and vibrant figure.

Catchwords

Having established the relationship between the two copies, discussion now proceeds to presenting the line extensions in context in order to demonstrate the likelihood that these

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 427.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 424.

notes, distinct to the Siena and Sydney copies, mark the points of connection between manuscripts interpolated into the HP. To take the first example of the ‘Atij Phrygio’ sentence

(c v r)

lucido & terso. > lucido & terso quale no(n) fece el cuore di Atij Phrygio

Quivi similmente ritrovavase l’armigero et una femina galeata, la quale sopra di una hasta gestava uno Trophaeo d’una veterrima toraca appensa, et nella cima una sphaera, cum due ale, et tra una et l’altra dille ale, inscripto cusì stava. NIHIL FIRMUM. Vestita di volante subucula, cum ostensione dal suo pecto sopra’.

Le due prompte Porphyrice colonne Dorice di septe diametri, sopra qualunque di questi cusì explicati quadrati premevano di puniceo colore fusco cum gli sui orbiculetti più chiari, confusamente disseminati, **lucido et terso**.

Here, too, were the armed man and a helmeted woman who held a trophy on a spear: it was made from an ancient cuirass, and on top a sphere with two wings, between which there was this inscription: ‘NOTHING FIRM’. She was wearing a loose dress that showed the upper part of her breast.

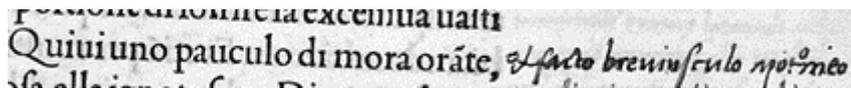
Two freestanding Doric columns of porphyry, seven diameters high, stood on each of these two squares that I have described. They were **bright and polished**, and dark red, randomly dotted with circles of lighter color. (G 49)

The transition between the descriptions of the statues and the Doric columns is abrupt and inelegant, with simple adjacency used as the justification for the transition from one ekphrasis to another. It appears as if the author had composed two ekphrastic descriptions as individual pieces, and then briefly knit them together. Rather than composing the HP whole cloth, it appears that the author took texts which he had written for other occasions and fused them into the narrative. Previously self-contained manuscripts became amalgamated into the HP. Abrupt transitions between descriptions are like the seams, or scars, where other manuscripts were sutured into the HP.

The presence of a line-extension catchword indicates that the sharp transition is due to the complications regarding an interpolation of additional manuscript leaves, and not simply due to a stylistic deficiency on the author’s part. When a catchword appears at the same time as a transition, this serves as a double confirmation that, like the presence of a mountain range at the intersection of tectonic plates, we are seeing the grinding points of the shifting manuscript foundation.

Another such line extension appears during the episode in which Poliphilo explores the tunnels underneath the Great Pyramid. A line extension appears near the point at which Poliphilo exits from the pyramid's tunnels (and the long passages of description set within them) to pass onto other ekphrases. At this point, he transitions to describing the other self-contained ekphrases for the structures which surround the pyramid.

He is on the verge of exiting the Pyramid into the sunlight, a transitioning device to prepare him for the description of other structures entirely unconnected to the Pyramid.



Detail, d5r 1

(d5r)

Quiui uno pauculo di more ora(n)te > Quiui uno pauculo di more ora(n)te, & facto breuiusculo

ma alquanto appariano le nigrate statue, et d'antorno se offerivano gli vasti et incerti laxamenti et paurose Itione subterranei, ouero submontanei substantati de qui et de lì et in lochi infiniti distributi molti maximi pili tetragoni et exagoni et in altri lochi octogone fulture apena cernendole per il debile lume, aptamente subiecte di sofrire la excessiva vastitate dilla premente Pyramide superna. **Quiui uno pauculo di mora orante**, sencia inducie tendeva sopra omni cosa alla ignota fuga. Diqué cusì exanimo non più praesto oltra la sanctissima Ara correndo havea transacto, che ancora mi apparve uno modiculo di desiderato lume che subluceua quasi per uno subtilissimo spiraculo de infundibulo vedentise. O cum quanta festa et cum quanta laetitia dello exhilarante core il mirava.

Some dark statues were visible, whilst all around were vast and indiscernible corridors and fearsome subterranean passages beneath the mountains, supported on either side by great piers in endless rows, some square, others hexagonal or octagonal, scarcely discernible in the feeble light but of a size fit to bear the excessive weight of the pyramid pressing down upon them. **Having paused a moment here to pray**, I could think of nothing more than to flee into the unknown; but no sooner had I run dispiritedly past the holy altar than I saw again a particle of blessed light that seemed to gleam through a narrow funnel-shaped tube. As I looked at it, how my heart leaped with joy! (G 65)

The line extension appears exactly at the point when Poliphilo witnesses the first glimpses of light from the outside world, from where he will proceed to additional descriptions. The catchword specifically describes Poliphilo's pause for prayer, and the newly added text accentuates the brevity of this episodes. The author uses this pause as a one-sentence transition between two distinct episodes of ekphrasis, one which could fit into the top or bottom of a manuscript.

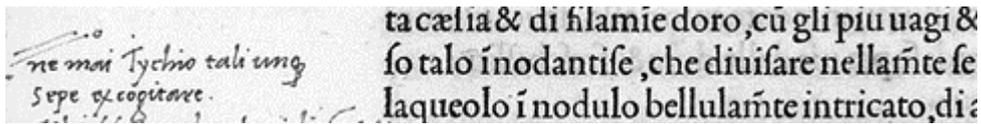
An understanding of the basis of these transitions as due to the practicalities of working with material texts may go a way towards explaining other awkward transition points in the HP. Poliphilo sees one, then another, with similar ‘awkward seams’ between them. For example, in the Polyandrion sequence (p5v-r4r), Poliphilo encounters a field littered with mock-epigraphs. These inscriptions all relate to the theme of lost love, but the transitions between them are not entirely logical. Yet an understanding of the HP’s printed transitions as reflecting manuscript divisions helps explain these passages. Collecting transcriptions of real epigraphs and creating artificial ones on classical models were recognised humanistic pursuits¹⁹

It is not then unlikely that a humanist author such as Colonna would have written his own epigraphs as individual texts, which he would later seek to integrate into his novel. Yet why were some catchwords reproduced and not others? If they were indeed used as an aide for sequencing the manuscripts during their concatenation for printing, why would catchwords not be preserved on every leaf, and recorded for each?

The answer lies in their interpolation. Narrative, and even ekphrasis, was also composed as part of the redrafting process and thus was a part of the organic text which did not merit a line extension; any catchwords that did exist were already recorded on the manuscript. These extensions, instead, delineate the boundaries of where interpolated texts were inserted into the structuring framework.

The explanation of the extended lines as catchwords is not necessarily all-encompassing explanation for these extended features. In some places, these may indeed have been phrases that were omitted for simple redundancy, stylistic choice, or a compositor’s error. Such a case can be seen on x3v, where it seems that the author at the last point chose a different rhetorical construction. One of the HP’s common rhetorical devices is to praise a monument by stating that it ‘exceeds even’ the monuments of antiquity. It appears here that in the original version, this trope of praising-by-exceeding was used. By the time of printing, it had been changed to a different formulation. In describing the gilded sandals worn by a group of nymphs:

¹⁹ Fabio Chigi himself wrote a volume of artificial epigraphs, BAV Chig.a.I19 and Chig.M.VIII.LX. Likewise, Benedetto Giovio published a collection of epigraphs found in the region of Como in his *Veterum Monumentorum ... Collectanea*.



Detail, x3v 1

(x3v)

che diuisare nella m(en)te se ualesse. <ne mai Tychio tali unq(uam) sepe excogitare.>

Tale exquisitamente di expolito et lunato calciamine calciate, overamente cum recurvata apertura, et di amentate solee, cum più nove et maravegliose ligature, ligule et coregie, che mai dir se potesse, di seta caesia et di filamine d'oro, cum gli più vagi et grati implicamenti circa il polposo talo innodantise, **che divisare nella mente se valesse**, et dall'angusta solea il laqueolo in nodulo bellulamente intricato, di armenica textura usciva impedito tenendo il police digito.

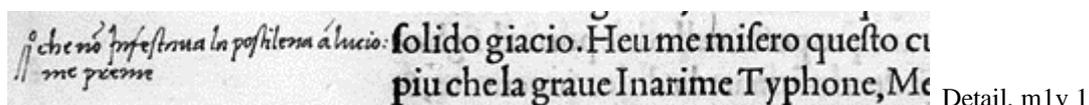
...exquisitely adorned with moon-shaped and recurved openings, while from the sole came thongs that made the most novel and amazing ties, tongues and straps that could ever be described, of blue-gray silk and gold filaments, knotted around the plump ankle with such beautiful and graceful **entanglements as the mind could ever conceive**. The thongs, woven of ultramarine and tied in a graceful knot, issued from the narrow sole and embraced the big toe. (G 334).

The extension, 'such as Tychio could never conceive', employs this device, although the figure of reference and the source for the comparison are unclear. The annotator thought that this emphatic phrase should be reinserted into the text.

Literary References

The annotators also use marginal notes to indicate the literary sources of individual terms. There is one location in which a Greek translation of a Latin word, rendered in Latin letters, is then used in order to invoke a literary reference.

This recognition of the author's literary sources is another manifestation of the annotator's remarkable familiarity with texts. He brings in the sources gently, not as an external reader who has experienced that spark of recognition at recognising a source, but as one close to the author who has used that very source in composing this passage.



Detail, m1v 1

On m1v, we find an extension inserted into the line itself, marked by a symbol of insertion consisting of two lines culminating in a circle.

(m1v)

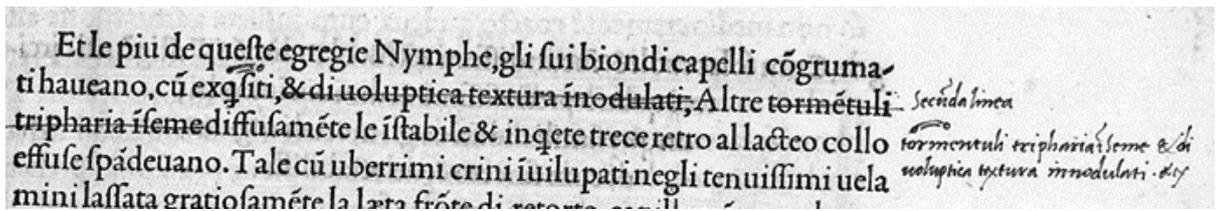
Heu me misero questo cusigraue amore tropo me molesta piu che la graue InarimeTypone > Heu me misero questo cusigraue a more tropo piu me molesta <che non infestaua la pestilenza á Lucio: me preme [more than the pestilence infected Lucius, it took me]> piu che la graue Inarime Typone

io me consummo in flamma nutrientime, et la exuberante flamma augmenta, et ardendo quale Oro nel forte cemento trovome solido giacio. **Heu me misero questo cusì grave amore tropo me molesta più che la grave Inarime Typhone**, me dissipa più che gli rapaci Vulturi le glomerate viscere di Tityo

I am consumed in the flame which nurtures me, and as the flame is used up, it increases. I burn like gold in the hard rock, yet I find myself solid ice. **Alas for my misery! This heavy love crushes me more than Inarime Island on top of Typhon**; it tears me apart more than the rapacious vultures in the tangled intestines of Tityus... (G 186)

The emphasis on the burning quality is further accentuated with this addition. Its reference to ‘Lucio’ also invokes *The Golden Ass*, which would lend credence to Fumagalli’s concept of an Apuleian ‘interpretive key’ among its early Dominican readers. In addition to literary references, another case in which line extensions are used in manner other than as catchwords is when the annotators rearrange the order of a sentence in order to increase its poetic force.

Two possibilities present themselves to explain these transpositions. The first is that the compositor made an error during the printing process. The order of lines was reversed by mistake. This slight mistake in copying is all too easy to make, as anyone who has done a palaeographical transcription can attest! This explanation may suffice, but it bears noting that the change in sentence order can strongly affect the poetic force of the sentence. In one case, this ‘poetic’ change happened in the process of making a more utilitarian change from the errata. On k3r, the original text reads



Detail, (k3r)

‘cu(m) exq(ui)siti, & di voluptica textura i(n)nodulati. Altre torme(n)tuli tripharia i(n)seme diffusame(n)te le i(n)stabile.

The reader applied the correction from the errata sheet, which is

{errata: ch.3.f.i.1.i.fa co(n)grumati haueano, cum exquisiti torme(n)tuli tripharia insieme, & di uoluptica textura inodulati. Altre diffusamente instabile }

It appears that the reader, in the process of mechanistically applying the errata, with his attention drawn to the passage by the process of correcting, decided to alter the phrase in order to make it flow better. The version instead written on the margins reads

cu(m) exq(ui)siti torme(n)tuli tripharia i(n)seme, & di volupticatexturainnodulati. Altre torme(n)tuli tripharia i(n)seme diffusame(n)te le i(n)stabile.

Perhaps uncertain as to where in the sentence the phrase ‘tormentuli tripharia’ fit best, the reader decides to write it in both places. This example may simply illustrate the process, employed by other writers, of writing a phrase in two locations to see which works best before deciding on the final arrangement.

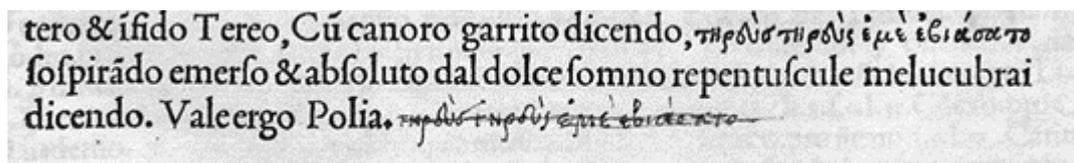
The next example of altering lines to increase the poetic effect of a passage is more poignant, and of such force as to possibly change the reader’s taste of the entire novel. The HP concludes with a strange and disturbing valediction. The Philomela nightingale, a traditional symbol of romantic love, concludes the novel by singing ‘Τηρεὺς Τηρεὺς ἐμὲ ἐβιάσατο’, ‘Tereus, Tereus raped me.’

Et quivi Philomela anteluculo flendo promeva, tra gli spinosi rubi operta, et tra boscheti pressi di opaca coma di querculi, involuti della obliquante Periclymeno le violentie dell’adultero et infido Tereo, cum canoro garrito dicendo, Τηρεὺς Τηρεὺς ἐμὲ ἐβιάσατο sospirando emerso et absoluto dal dolce somno repentusculè me lucubrai dicendo. Vale ergo Polia. (F3r)

Then Philomel proclaimed her sorrow before the dawn, hidden in the thorny brambles, and in thickets dense with the dark foliage of oaks, entwined with twisting honeysuckle, and telling of the violence of adulterous and perfidious Tereus, saying in her twittering song: Τηρεὺς Τηρεὺς ἐμὲ ἐβιάσατο. I awoke and emerged with a start from my sweet dream, saying with a sigh: ‘Farewell, then, Polia’. (G 465)

This juxtaposition of Poliphilo’s sweet romantic adieu with a lamentation for a rape forms an unsettling conclusion to the novel. The reader also experiences a double, redundant circularity. This scene is palliated by Poliphilo’s awakening, and the reassurance that this entire novel was only a dream, the last words of which were addressed to his beloved.

The annotations found on F3r offer the disturbing suggestion that Τηρεὺς Τηρεὺς ἐμὲ ἐβιάσατο was in fact intended to be the last line of the novel. The annotator wrote a strikethrough line across the ‘Τηρεὺς...’ phrase in the above paragraph, then rewrote the phrase in its entirety below and after the ‘Vale, Polia’. This raises the possibility that the novel does not end with a valediction, but in a nightmare.



Detail, F3r 1

‘D’ is undated, although the fact that D engages in dialogue with another annotator, as does C, may indicate that C derives from the early circle of annotators.

Sydney Z/LQ2/C

Sydney is an imperfect copy lacking the leaves from F onward in Book II. These were most likely torn out in the process of removing the colophon and the errata page in order to obscure the date of printing. The copy features a single early-modern hand. It also bears the bookplate of the nineteenth-century Milanese artist Agostino Caironi, who wrote a brief note

testifying to Colonna's authorship.²⁰ The Sydney copy was viewed in microfilm, for which digital rendering was beyond the resources of this project.

The identical emendation located by Fumagalli in Siena and Sydney, combined with the fact that both copies open with invocations to Apuleius, serves as an indication of a common origin. With this in view, comparing the annotations to the Sydney copy with those of its twin offers additional glimpses into earlier composition stages the HP. As with the Sienese, the quantity of annotation is too great to befittingly discuss all of the material, and thus my discussion is limited to those marginalia bearing on the textual history of the HP. There is significant potential for future study of this copy.

In addition to the 'mandavano ad' example given above, there are corrections, identical to Siena, found in Sydney, including in spelling. These corrections are not found in the errata, indicating that the annotator of Sydney was in the proximity of A or C. These identical corrections themselves cluster near the front of the book. If two annotators began a collaborative enterprise, their energy, as would be expected, would be strongest at the outset.

b2r:

Siena: temeramente > temerariamente (Gloss: uel.Temerariamente)

Sydney: temerariamente

The Siena and Sydney annotators are not entirely consistent with one another.

a2r:

Siena: i(n)usitata uisio(n)e > inuisitata uisione. Siena mistakenly glosses this as 'raro vista'.

Sydney:i(n)usitata uisio(n)e > ut inuisitate .l. [licet] inuisa

c6v:

Siena: Cariatrice > Canellate

Sydney: Cariatrice > Carielato

The use of the '.l.' (licet) abbreviation is distinct to the Sydney annotator, who uses the term to indicate Latin translations of Greek terms. Though Siena does not habitually use 'licet', they do have one identical latinisation for the term 'micropsycho', with Sydney also writing 'd3r: micropsycho > .l. pusilanimus'. Sydney continues this project of latinisation,

²⁰Caironi is noted for his paintings at the Duomo of Milan and as a professor at Brera Academy < <http://www.drawingsandprints.com/CurrentExhibition/detail.cfm?ExhibitionID=41&Exhibition=43> > Accessed 01/04/13. The copy also bears a shelfmark from a 'Hackett Collection' which I have been unable to identify.

possibly through ‘reverse engineering’ Poliphilesque terms of Greek origin by use of Torriani. Other examples include:

a2v: Agrypnia > vigilia
a8r: panglypho > tutoreliono
b3r: lithogliphi > Saxisculptura
d3r: micropsycho > .l. pusilanimio

The latiniser also translates the Greek motto on the cloth hanging over the elephant’s brow on the ‘Elephant and Obelisk’ statue, as ‘labor et industria.’ (b7r, G 37).

The Sydney hand takes a particular interest in latinizing the symbolic names of nymphs, in order to clarify their symbolic significance. The annotator indicates the equivalency in two ways. In some cases he simply writes the Latin translation in the margin (indicated with an ‘>’ in my transcription), while in others, abbreviating ‘licet.’

(e3v)
Aphaea .l. tacus
Osfressia .l. odorat
Orassia .l. visi
Achoé > Auditus
Geussia > Oiputus.

A list of words of matching meaning across languages is found for another group of female figures. The annotator compiles feminine royal titles used in praise of Polia from across a variety of languages (Latin, Greek, and even Parthian) and offers an equivalent in contemporary Italian.

(z5r)
Augusta Imperatrice
Silvia Regina
Ptolomea Signora
Arcasida Principessa
Murana Madona

These he extracts from the following passage.

non haesitante di Polia, ma come ad unica Augusta de l'alma mia. Silvia del core mio, et di la vita Ptolomaea. Arsacida degli sensi, et Murana del mio amore, et de me tutto patrona et reverenda. (z5r)

I had no more doubts about Polia, who was now the one and only Augustus of my soul, the Silvia of my heart, and the Ptolemy of my life. She was the Arsacis of my senses, the Murana of my love, the patron and revered empress of my whole being. (G 369)²¹

The annotators of the linked copies also take a different approach to the architectural content of the text. While Siena contains elegant architectural diagrams, Sydney contains no illustrations of any kind. Yet even if the Sydney annotator's interest is not expressed in drawings, he takes note of architectural vocabulary, again making use of 'licet'. For example:

b3r: lithoglyphi .l. Saxi sculptura

b4r: metopa .l. fronte

If the two annotators were working in collaboration, it is surprising that illustrations would be lacking in Sydney. It may simply be that the renderings to Siena were more than sufficient for the project; there was not need to duplicate the illustrations in an additional copy. In Siena, C did not illustrate but nonetheless contributed a great deal to the text, so there is no need to assume that Sydney would as well.

Another possibility is that, while both working from authorial material, the two collaborators were not sharing the same manuscripts – or even the manuscripts for the same stage of the HP's composition – over matching time periods. Sydney contains no comments or line extensions in Book II, except for a single emendation found in the errata corrigé. Since the two books represent distinct stages of composition, it may be that Sydney had access only to one of Fumagalli's theorized previous strata of the HP's composition. The fact that the Sydney annotator confined himself largely to latinizations suggests that his source material is primarily the manuscripts of the third and final pre-print stage, but perhaps prior to the re-integration of Book II in the revised Poliphilesque style. Though it is risky to argue from absence, and the lack of annotation this late in a difficult text may be attributable more to the weariness of the annotator than to lack of access to manuscript material, the complete lack of references to the second book in a source so close to the environs of the author suggests that Book II remained a separate entity until the latest stages of composition.

²¹ In this translation, Godwin masculinizes the originally feminine royal titles.

In conclusion, a return to the Sydney copy and addition to the corpus of its notes has corroborated Fumagalli's proposal that hands A and C, as well as the third hand of Sydney, derive from the vicinity of the author. All three annotators were working primarily from the third and final stage, before print. However, the Sydney annotator's lack of access to Book II may indicate that the text remained largely an independent entity.

As with the Modena and BAV copies, returning to a previously-studied annotated HP opens additional grounds for further research. This chapter has not exhausted the study of either copy. What it has accomplished is to demonstrate the utility of studying marginalia which are a remnant from manuscript stages, in order to illuminate how the physical constraints of manuscript composition shaped the final form of a text.

Conclusions

This study has documented an approach to annotating the HP, practiced by a small collection of readers who left prolific marginalia, which has been termed the ‘humanist activity book’. These readers approached the act of annotation in an almost ludic manner, utilizing the text as a set of intellectual challenges for refining their own *ingegno*, or wit. Whether through identifying the etymological components of compound words, documenting the contours of a presumed alchemical allegory, or drawing ekphrases without an accompanying woodcut, readers uses these ‘games’ to burnish their own humanistic capacities. In the process of reading through a text that is largely an assemblage of commonplaces knit together by a narrative, readers increased their mental repertoire of *loci* for composition.

In so doing, the examination of marginalia in surviving copies has afforded the opportunity to verify hypothesised approaches to the text against the recorded behaviour of certain, and admittedly exceptional, period readers. Jung and Fierz-David’s alchemical interpretations of the 20th century, expanding upon Béroalde de Verville’s 1600 codification of alchemical readings of the text, were grounded in the record of actual readers’ interpretations of the 16th century. A passing reference to ‘Francesco Colonna’ in Ben Jonson’s masque is shown to emerge from the playwright’s own meticulous reading of the text. The author’s own allusions to a *principiato stilo* may be evidenced by remnants of that style visible as catchwords in Siena. Lefaiivre’s proposal was shown to be generally correct in its model, if erroneous in its attribution. The HP was indeed utilized as a space for the practice of *inventio*, the gathering of ideas for composition. This reading was, as Lefaiivre suggested, facilitated by the distinct constellation of qualities found in this idiosyncratic text. Its nature as a dream narrative exploited the freedom of the dreamspace, where ‘no’ does not apply, liberating its readers to envision the impossible. The accumulation of a vast array of commonplaces, assembled in an accessible manner through narrative, presented readers with an abundance of material to toy with and reassemble in new compositions.

Previous studies of the artistic and literary influence of the HP had passed over the significance of readers as mediators of that influence. The marginalia examined show the HP as a text used and applied in composition. The second hand in the BL copy derived what he

or she presumed to be instructions for alchemical laboratory procedure from the narrative. Fabio Chigi read through the HP looking for *acutezze*, which informed his own composition. Though the marginalia did not offer insight into the creative process behind the *Pulcino della Minerva*, they did document the fact that the Pope envisioned his process of reading through the HP in a manner akin to his own papal progresses through the *Roma Alessandrina* he was constructing.

These readings emerged among readers who were socially and geographically isolated from one another. Though there was not a single organized circle of ‘prolific annotators’, comparable practices emerged convergently in multiple locations, engendered by the distinct qualities of the HP. The practice of prolific annotation spanned over two centuries, with some extensive annotations in Buffalo deriving from perhaps as late as the early eighteenth century. Extensive annotation was not confined to the initial years following the publication of the first edition, but emerged independently time and again.

There also appears to be a correlation between examples of prolific annotation and the issuing of new editions. One is not necessary causative of the other: extensive annotation is likely to be one symptom of a resurgent interest in the text which would also occasion a new edition. The notes of Benedetto and Paolo Giovio appeared near in time to the publication of the second edition by the sons of Aldus in 1545. Likewise, it is notable that the Buffalo copy’s alchemical annotations derive from France, where Béroalde’s 1600 edition explicitly defined the HP as an alchemical allegory.

This study examined only six of thirteen prolifically-annotated copies identified in the census, with other copies of varying degrees of annotation awaiting future study.¹ For example, a prolifically-annotated copy at the Lilly Library of the University of Indiana awaits examination.² A first avenue for future research would be to examine additional annotated copies of the HP, in light of the findings from copies examined in this thesis, in order to build a broader base of evidence for readers’ reception of this text. Since this study concentrated on the *editio princeps*, and the BL 1545 copy shows that extensive annotation was practiced in later editions, a survey of marginalia in the ensuing instantiations of the HP would likely offer additional information of value.

¹ See Russell, ‘The Annotated Copy of *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in the Chapin Library’.

² The Lilly Library, PQ4619 .C9.

The patterns of annotation documented in this thesis offer a point of departure for broader research questions extending beyond the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* itself. A first question that arises is whether this mode of ‘activity book’ annotation is peculiar to a uniquely suitable environment within the HP, or whether it is found in other texts. It is unlikely that this mode of reading is without precedent, or consequence. Further research into whether this style of ludic reading is found elsewhere, or whether variations on this approach can be found, would be most useful.

Individual copies also present more specific threads of research. The identification of the second annotator in the BL copy, and the clarification of his or her relationship, if any, with Jonson, would offer further insight into Jonson’s complicated relationship with the subject of alchemy, which extended beyond the informed satire of *The Alchemist*. This hand also made use of alchemical ideograms which do not appear in the lists of alchemical shorthand symbols found in Dobbs. The further study and itemization of these ideograms, and the identification, if possible, of comparable symbols in other texts, would offer further information on the visual vocabulary of alchemical practice.

The interrelated questions of authorial identity, and authorial intent, have been deliberately left to one side in this study in order to foreground reader’s responses. This being said, the model of reader engagement described here raises new questions about the purpose behind the composition of the HP. It is as yet uncertain whether the author or authors intended the HP to be used in this manner, or whether this reading was imposed upon the HP by its readers. Resolution of this question must await further research into the biographies of the proposed candidates for in order to establish any correlation between the evidence which may become available for authorial intent, and the responses of readers.

Poliphilo concluded the HP with a lament for Polia, writing ‘FLOS SIC EXSICCATUS, NUNQUAM REVIVISCIT.’³ If this thesis has had the opposite effect, in any way enlivening HP studies, then it will have accomplished its purpose.

³ (F3r). ‘A FLOWER SO DRY NEVER REVIVES. FAREWELL.’ (G 466).

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