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Self-Transformation in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili

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Self-Transformation in the *Hypnerotomachia* Poliphili

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Abstract

This thesis critically engages with the narrative of the *Hypnerotomachia* and with Poliphilo as a character within this narrative. Using narratological analysis, it critically engages with the journey of Poliphilo and the series of symbolic, allegorical, and metaphorical experiences narrated by him that are indicative of his metamorphosing interiority within a mystagogic journey. This is conducted through an analysis of the relationship between Poliphilo and his external surroundings in sequences of the narrative pertaining to thresholds; the symbolic architectural, topographical, and garden forms and spaces; and Poliphilo's transforming interior passions pertaining to his love of antiquarianism, language and rhetoric, and of Polia, the latter of which leads to his elegiac description of lovesickness. The thesis examines the relationship between the narrative, which functions both realistically and symbolically to portray the protagonist's transforming self into its final state at the climax of the narrative, and the symbolic function of the architecture and objects of art within the narrative. The thesis engages with the source material for the narrative drawn from classical, medieval and humanist literature in the areas of philosophy, poetry, natural history, travel diaries and architectural treatises. It demonstrates, through analysis of the broad literary source material of the *Hypnerotomachia,* how antiquarian objects, buildings, gardens, and topography are used as expressive narrative devices by the author, drawing on medieval and Renaissance concepts, to demonstrate Poliphilo's transforming interiority, symbolically, metaphorically or allegorically, established through the character's encounters during the narrative.

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Abbreviations

In this study I have avoided abbreviations choosing instead to refer to the full name. This is apart from the abbreviation of referencing citations of the *Hypnerotomachia* in the main body of the argument. For these occurrences I have abbreviated the *Hypnerotomachia* as follows:

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

1

Introduction

The *Hypnerotomachia* is a Renaissance romance published anonymously in 1499.[1] The title, from the Greek μαχία (*machia*) or 'strife', εϱως (*eros*) or 'love', and hɪpnɒs (*hypnos*) or 'dream', forms a word that is absent in the Greek lexicon but is reminiscent of the late Roman romance-quests, such as the struggle between frogs and mice in the *Iliad* parody *Batrachomyomachia* and Prudentius' allegory, the *Psychomachia*. The narrative is also reminiscent of the late Medieval romances such as the *Roman de la rose* and Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione*.[2] The conflict of love in the *Hypnerotomachia*'s title refers to a more introspective strife, whose name signifies the 'lover of many things' and 'lover of Polia', referred to in Poliphilo studies as 'venerated idea', 'antiquity,' or 'wisdom.'[3]

The text is over 450 pages, printed as a foglium in eights (where each sheet of paper is folded once, gathered in sets of four, and numbered a-z) and was printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in December, 1499.[4] This original edition included 172 woodcuts and is considered one of the world's most elaborate cultural artefacts to emerge from the Quattrocento printing press, now referred to as 'one of the most beautiful books in the world.'[5] Indeed, the extent of its architectural description and instruction have led to the text being received as the third architectural treatise of the Renaissance.[6]

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[1] Identification with Francesco Colonna is due to the acrostic formed from the initials from the first 36 chapters, which reads: 'FRATER FRANCISVS COLVMNA POLIAM PERARMAVIT' ('Father Francisco Colonna greatly loved Polia', who we later read is a young woman from Treviso).

[2] Helena Katalin Szépe, 'Desire in the Printed Dream of Poliphilo,' *Art History* 19, no. 3 (September 1996): 370–92; Domenico Gnoli, 'Il sogno di Polifilo,' *La Bibliofilia* 1, no. 8/9 (1899): 189–212; Luigi Foscolo Benedetto, *Il 'Roman de la rose' e la letteratura Italiana*, 21 (Rome: M. Niemeyer, 1910), 196–238; Charles Mitchell, 'Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy,' in *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. E. F. Jacobs (London: Faber, 1960), 455–83.

[3] Giuseppina Brunetti, 'Pellegrinaggio e letteratura', in *Romei e Gibelei. Il Pellegrinagio Medievale a San Pietro, 350-1350* (Milan: Electra, 1999), 157–64.

[4] BL.uk, consulted in April 2017. During the fifteenth century Venice published 3,549 texts, 12.5 percent of the texts emanating from the Quattrocento; Paris published 2,764 and Rome published 1,922. The figures are subject to slight change as new copies are reported. Exact figures are given but should be treated as close estimates.

[5] Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 9–16. See also Jennifer Schuessler, 'Peering into the Exquisite Life of Rare Books', *The New York Times*, 23 July 2012, sec. Books, 28.

[6] Anthony Blunt, 'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in 17th Century France', *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1, no. 2 (1937): 123.

The *Hypnerotomachia*, the twenty-ninth publication from the Aldine press, was a rarity for Aldus – who specialised in classical and contemporary philosophical works – situated as it is amidst Aristophanes, Lucretius, the Latin translations of Aristotle and St Catherine of Siena, all published between 1498-1500 for a learned audience. The extent of the publications is remarkably enterprising, leading Lowry to the opinion that Aldus was one of the most ambitious printers in Venice during the 1490s.[7] The Aldine Press published 526 texts during its lifespan between 1494-1592, and 127 during Aldus's life between 1494-1515, assuming a leading position in publishing in Venice.

The British Library's Incunabula Short Title Catalogue lists approximately 28,000 editions. Breaking this down by decade demonstrates that there are 51 extant publications for the years between 1452-1460; 570 from 1461-1470; 5,508 from 1471-1480; 9,131 from 1481-1490; and approximately 13,004 publications from 1491-1500, of which the *Hypnerotomachia* is one. Of these publications, 70 percent were printed in Latin, with 34.7 percent of all publications emerging from Italy, the most of any country, and mainly from Venice, which published over 1,000 more texts than its closest rival, Paris. This places the *Hypnerotomachia* within a European hub of printing and from a publisher with a very specific clientele.

The poem continues the philosophic dream vision, the lovesick elegy, tantric, and initiatory narratives of the classical and medieval periods whilst augmenting the medieval dream vision format with an abundance of terminology from architecture and nature. Pozzi and Ciapponi's 1964 study of the classical and contemporary sources traced a highly diverse source material in the text, ranging from Diodorus Siculus's *Library of History*, Horace, Catullus, Columella, Martial, Homer, Varo, Cicero, Gellius's *Attic Nights*, Virgil, Festus, Ovid, with many references from Apuleius and Pliny the Elder.[8] Regarding the philosophic source material, Gabriele observes references to

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[7] Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 126.
[8] Liane Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 58.

Andrea Cappellano, Alano di Lilla, Apuleius, Macrobius, Servius, Marziano Capella and Calcido, all of whom were Neoplatonists, that help demonstrate its conceptual framework.[9] Consequently, by interweaving a diverse body of antique texts, it comes to epitomise what Harvey describes as the Quattrocento's spirit of homogeneity with regard to its passion for absorbing antiquity.[10]

The narrative of the *Hypnerotomachia* begins in the first person, emphasising personal experience, and consequently dramatizes the passions of the soul in a landscape characterised by a strong symbolic relation to Poliphilo's interiority. Here, Poliphilo awakens in a second dream in a foreign land, before losing his way in a dark forest:

> Io Poliphilo sopra el lectulo mio iacendo, opportuno amico del corpo lasso, niuno nella conscia camera familiar essendo, se non la mia chara lucubratrice, Agrypnia… Nella quale alquanto intrato non mi aui diche io cusi incauto lassasse (non so per qual modo) el proprio calle.

> (And I, Poliphilo, was lying on my couch, the timely friend of my weary body with no one with me in my familiar chamber but the dear companion of my sleepless nights, insomnia … scarcely had I entered it than I realised that I had carelessly lost my way, I knew not how.) (HP, 2).

The language is supersensible, describing Poliphilo's phenomenology of a mental journey. The locus of the forest, or *selva* (likened to the Greek *hyle*, a word used to describe the primary substance of matter out of which, for Neoplatonists, the Demiurge shapes reality) creates a relation between the soul and the forest. Here, his experiences are paradoxical: joy is bound with strife, pleasure with pain, and the love that initiates him into the mysteries brings equal suffering.

The Story of the Hypnerotomachia

The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* begins with Poliphilo falling asleep at the end of Mayday upon his couch, with insomnia over his love for Polia who has shunned him. On awaking he finds himself in a dream in a dark forest (the *selva oscura*).

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[9] Marco Ariani and Mino Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, vol. 2 (Milan: Gli Adelphi, 1998), LXXXVII.
[10] Elizabeth D. Harvey, *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 205.

Poliphilo proceeds, like Dante before him, through the dark forest similar to the opening of *Inferno*. He experiences an incredible thirst before a divine-mysterious music, and after much hardship and bodily torment wandering through the forest, falls asleep once more. He awakens now in a second dream, and hears, again like Dante, the howls of a wolf, from which he flees. He wanders through this new clearing littered with classical sculptures and artefacts, including a giant elephant bearing an Egyptian obelisk, a winged horse, and a colossus, the former and latter he explores inside of. In front of him stands a pyramidal building with a grand entrance (Magna Porta) which he describes and ventures inside before being chased into the pitch-black subterranean depths of the building by a dragon. Poliphilo here prayers to grant his escape from the 'entrails of the building' before seeing a dim light far away down a funnel shaped tube-like passage, before entering the realm of Eleuterylida (Free-Will) as if being born again.

In this realm Poliphilo meets the nymphs of the five senses, Aphea (touch), Osfressia (smell), Orassia (sight), Achoe (hearing), Guessia (taste) who cloth him and take him to the Bath of Venus to be washed. They tease Poliphilo after he declares his love of Polia, before taking him to their Empress, Queen Eleuterylida. He is led through three curtains within the palace, the first guarded by Cinosia (active intellect); the second by Indalomena (imagination), and the third by Mnemysna (memory). After passing through the unveiled curtains, led by the five senses, he arrives into the open aired courtyard at the rear of the palace of Eleuterylida.

After the banquet, in the palace of Queen Eleuterylida, and after various royal games, Poliphilo is taken by his guides, Logistica and Thelemia (Greek, meaning Logic and Will/Desire respectively) through the gardens. The first that he marvels at, to the left, is made entirely of glass, and is divided into two sections: in the first part of the garden there is a spiral staircase leading up to a tower where Logistica describes a water labyrinth, positioned in the second part, representing the journey of man through the world. Once descended from this spiral tower Thelemia takes the trio into the adjacent garden on the right-hand side of the palace, where she sings of the origins of the realm of Queen Eleuterylida and, in the second part of the garden, describes a great obelisk representing

the Holy Trinity. After this Logistica and Thelemia lead Poliphilo to a mountain pass to three gates where he must decide which to enter.

The first gate is opened by Theude (Religious/Pious) and represents Catholic theological piety. The second gate is opened by Euclelia (Glorious) who seemingly represents military endeavour and honour in the world of man. The third gate that Poliphilo knocks upon is opened by Philtronia (Seductive) who represents love/desire. This gate Logistica warns against, yet Thelemia promotes. Poliphilo, feeling that this is the correct gate, enters and leaves his guides behind.

In this third realm, called Telosia (End-Aim) Poliphilo, like Dante in Purgatorio before he is led through Paradise by Beatrice, encounters a maiden who he feels must be his beloved Polia, but who remains in disguise. The maiden (Polia) leads Poliphilo to a temple to be engaged to his beloved. In walking toward the temple, they come across five triumphal processions celebrating the union of lovers, including a procession celebrating the triumph of the four seasons, and the fecundity of nature involving Janus, the God of journeys.

In the temple of Venus Physisoa, the nymph reveals herself as his beloved, Polia, and works beside the Hierophant in conducting the arcane wedding ritual. They are then taken to the island of Cythera by boat, with Cupid as the boatswain; there they see another triumphal procession celebrating their union, before enjoying the consummation of the marriage in the fountain of Venus, situated in the Theatre of Venus Cytherea. Finally, they leave the Theatre and walk with a group of maidens to the garden of Adonis.

It is at this point that the narrative is interrupted, and Polia takes over in describing Poliphilo's 'erotomachia' from her own point of view as Book One ends and Book Two begins. This second voice is noticeably in a different style to the previous book. Polia narrates her family origins, how Poliphilo began to woo her and how the plague afflicted her and her city. She prayed to Diana and swore that she would become a priestess if her life be saved. This is granted and she describes shunning Poliphilo to start her new life in the service of Diana. However, Poliphilo ventures to her in the temple, declares his love, and through lovesickness seemingly dies. Cupid appears to her

in a vision and compels her to return and kiss Poliphilo, who remains fallen in a deathlike swoon, back to life. Venus blesses their love, brings peace to the feud with Diana, and the lovers are united, again. Finally, as he is about to take Polia into his arms, Polia vanishes into the air and Poliphilo wakes up as the narrative ends.

Images

The role of the illustrations requires some brief attention regarding the accuracy of their use in analysis and the extent of involvement of the author in their creation. Firstly, the categorisation of the illustrations is the focus of Rafael Arnold's analyses observing the limits of representability in the language of the *Hypnerotomachia* which the images account for and places the themes of illustration into several groups including narrative, architecture, and hieroglyphs.[11] In a similar vein Rosemary Trippe argues that the illustrations function as an analytical mirror of humanists practices, conceptually integrated with the text.[12] However, on observing the inaccuracies of the images in relation to text, Martine Furno states that it is perhaps because the *Hypnerotomachia* is a novel and not a treatise as being the reason for Colonna obliging to include poor visual representations.[13]

Similar to Furno, for John Bury, the anonymous artist of the full-page Magna Porta woodcut produced an unfaithful rendering of the architectural description by Poliphilo, incorrectly listing the Corinthian order and the liberties taken with the measurements listed in the text.[14] Furthermore, Dixon Hunt observes that the artist chooses to omit any attempt at illustration which

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[11] Rafael Arnold, "Die Grenzen des Darund Vorstellbaren: Bild und Text in der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," *Die Grenzen des Dar- und Vorstellbaren*, 2010, 139–55.
[12] Rosemary Trippe, *The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and the Image of Italian Humanism (Francesco Colonna).* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004).
[13] Martine Furno, "L'orthographie de la porta triumphante dans l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili de Francesco Colonna: un manifeste d'architecture moderne ?," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 106, no. 2 (1994): 486.
[14] John Bury, 'Chapter III of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and the Tomb of Mausolus', *Word and Image* 14, no. 1–2 (1 January 1998): 46.

cannot fully represent the similitude of the desired object, such as glass stones or silk foliage, opting for pastoral scenes and figures.[15]

The images take an important position in the text, they cover a great deal of themes and offer an incredible attempt at publishing both image and text on a single page, as the recent work by Stefano Colonna illustrates.[16] There are, however, too many issues between the illustrations and the text (the erroneous columns outside the temple of Venus Physizoa p205 for instance) to assume the author had any great influence over them, and based on this issue, the images shall be handled as an addition to the text only, and it is on the textual narrative that this analysis focuses on and upon which all conclusions are made. The illustrations shall be used as a point of comparison, or to illustrate a particular subject, but not as strict analysis in themselves. Although images are included at poignant narrative moments displaying a plausibility for the author's involvement in their textual location, it is evident that the author's input is not in their finished details. As such, although there may be occasional analysis between image and text (see the first chapter) this shall not be part of the methodology of this study.

Authorship

An original copy contains a printed couplet that refers to a famous 'Francisco alta columna;' this acrostic formed from the initials from the first 36 chapters has prompted a standard in Poliphilo studies to conclude the author to be Francesco Colonna (See fig. 1). First evidence for the acrostic comes from a copy of the *Hypnerotomachia* in the Dominican library of the Zattere, Venice, seen by opera librettist Apostolo Zeno in 1773. There, was written: '1512, June 20th. The name of the author is Franciscus Columna of Venice, who was a member of the Order of Preachers and, being

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[15] John Dixon Hunt, 'Experiencing Gardens in the Hypnerotomachia Polifili', *Word and Image* 14, no. 1–2 (1 January 1998): 16.

[16] For a recent critical examination of the iconography in the *Hypnerotomachia*, please see Stefano Colonna's recent work, Stefano Colonna, 'Il Contributo Di Biondo Flavio Alla Identificazione Di Porta Naevia in Roma', *Icoxilopoli: Iconografia Delle Xilografie Del Polifilo*, 2017, 485–502; Stefano Colonna, 'De Navevia et Amore: Nevia Polisemantica e Il Mito Di Bruto Nella Cerchia Del Polifilo' 274 (2017); Stefano Colonna, 'Per Un'interpretazione in Chiave Politica Delle Tre Gracie Di Raffaello', *Studi in Onore Di Emanuele Paratore: Spunti Di Ricerca per Un Mondo Che Cambia*, n.d., 981–92.

ardently in love with one Hippolyta of Treviso, changed her name to Polia and dedicated the chapters of the book to her, as we see. The chapters of the book show this through the first letter of each chapter; thus together they say: 'FRATER FRANCISVS COLVMNA POLIAM PERARMAVIT' (Father Francisco Colonna greatly loved Polia.) He now lives at SS. Giovanni e Paolo.'[17]

Fig. 1 The acrostic formed from the first letter of each of the thirty-eight chapter titles

Secondly, a poem preceding the narrative by Matteo Visconti of Brescia, originally contained the lines: "Mirando poi Francisco alta columna/Per cui phama imortal de voi rissona" (admiring Francisco the high column through whom your immortal fame resounds) where the Italian 'Colonna' is replaced by the Latin 'columna' creating an architectural pun on the surname. This line was later withdrawn in printing, yet a few copies still contain the lines.[18] Thirdly, the preceding poem by Andrea Marone, after asking who Poliphilo really is, replies "Nolumus agnosci" (we do not wish to tell) Marco Ariani observes this to be an anagram of "Columna Gnosius", Gnosius meaning Knossus, the ancient capital of Crete, and possible first cult of Aphrodite/Venus, thus

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[17] Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: edizione critica e commento*, ed. Giovanni Pozzi and Lucia Ciapponi, vol. 2 (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1968), 63.
[18] Colonna, 2:94–95.

an apt reference to the author of the *Hypnerotomachia*.[19] Lastly, Godwin observes that the three lines in the epigraph to Polia, starting "F C I" most likely spells "Franciscus Columna Invenit" (Francesco Colonna invented [this]) suggesting strong evidence for a Francesco Colonna as author of the Hypnerotomachia. The main question, then, is which Colonna?[20]

Regarding early authorial analysis, Khomentovskaia proposed the Veronese Felice Feliciano as the author (1936) based on similarities of antiquarian rhetoric between the novel and his letters and the Hellenized nouns found in the narrative of the *Hypnerotomachia,* relatable to Feliciano's epistolary style.[21] Although she ignores the content of the narrative, she does present evidence for the northern geographic position of the composition of the text. Somewhat similarly, based on antiquarian passion and correlations between the writings of Ciriaco and the antique ekphrasis of the *Hypnerotomachia*, Charles Mitchell has proposed Ciriaco d'Ancona as the author (1960) stating that the author 'with his head full of antiquarian writing, Horapollo's hieroglyphs and pagan religion, meant to transport us into an antique world.'[22] This theory, however, suffers, as other candidates do, from the issue that the *Hypnerotomachia* can be shown to have been written as late as 1499, and the evidence of referencing Germanicus' *Aratea*, published in 1499, proves too great an issue, as Felice Feliciano died in 1480. Furthermore, the *Hypnerotomachia* takes numerous words from Perotti's *Cornucopia* printed after his death in 1489, some thirty years after Ciriaco's death.

Roswitha Stewering (1996) has proposed the Trevisan-Paduan *letterato* Niccolò Lelio Cosmico (1428-1500) as the author, based largely on his esteemed education and presumed acquaintance with Teodoro Lelli, Bishop of Treviso (d. 1466).[23] This is on account of the similarity of their last names, Lelio and Lelli and the mention by Polia, in the *Hypnerotomachia*, that the bishop is her

[19] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:495–96.

[20] Joscelyn Godwin, *The Real Rule of Four: The Unauthorized Guide to the International Bestseller* (Newburyport: Red Wheel Weiser, 2005), 76.

[21] Anna Khomentovskaia, 'Felice Feliciano da Verona comme l'auteur de l' Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *La Bibliofilía* 38, no. 3/4 (1936): 161–70.

[22] Mitchell, 'Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy', 467. See also, Charles Mitchell, 'Felice Feliciano Antiquarius', *Proceedings of the British Academy* xlvii (1961): 197–221.

[23] Roswitha Stewering, 'Architektur und Natur in der "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" (Manutius 1499) und die Zuschreibung des Werkes an Niccolò Lelio Cosmico' (Hamburg, 1996).

relative (HP, 379).[24] However, the text would have been something of an anomaly, due to its use of Venetian language.

Eliseo da Treviso is the authorial candidate for Alessandro Parronchi (1963) based on a book of annals of the Servite Order by A. Giani in 1618-22 which erroneously refers to him as a Poliphio, on which claim later English libraries attributed authorship.[25] Pierro Scapecchi similarly argues for Colonna to be only the dedicatee, and the true author as Fra Eliseo from Treviso.[26] Though Gabriele surmises that Eliseo, due to his scholarliness and erudition, was known by his brothers as a venerable 'Poliphilo' and over a century later this whimsical attribution became confused with fact.[27]Alternatively, for Lamberto Donati it is an entirely unknown person, who wished to remain unknown using Colonna as a fictitious attribution. Donati (1963) also does not agree with the Venetian elements of the writing, though he does not give further linguistic analysis as to the geographic position of a vernacular style to qualify this statement or grapple with specific Venetian elements of the language.[28]

The attribution of the Venetian Dominican Colonna (c. 1433-1527) is initially observed by two early philological examples. The Venetian monk is the candidate of authorship in both Charles Nodier's 1844 study and Clément Janin's prelection to the early twentieth century work by Nodier (wherein we read, neither for the first time or last, the importance of being a bibliophile and bibliographer in comprehending the Venetian Colonna's broad degree of interests).[29] This is the assumption of Gnoli's 1899 biography, who also observes other "*machia*" titles emerging from the Aldine press, such as the pseudo-Homeric *Batracomyomachia* (Battle of the Frogs and Mice), or the

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[24] Stewering, 162–245. See also Myriam Billanovich, 'Francesco Colonna, Il "Polifilo" e La Famiglia Lelli', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 19 (1976): 419–29.

[25] Alessandro Parronchi, 'Eliseo Ruffini Da Lucca Servita Autore Dell' "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili"', in *Omaggio a Gianfranco Folena* (Padua, 1963), 889–904.

[26] Pierro Scapecchi, 'L'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili e suo autore', *'Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia* 51 (1983): 286–98; Pierro Scapecchi, 'Giunte e considerazioni per la bibliografia sul Polifilo", *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia* 53 (1985): 68–73.

[27] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:lxxxiii–iv.

[28] Lamberto Donati, 'Il mito di Francesco Colonna', *La Bibliofilia* 64, no. 3 (1962): 247–70.

[29] Charles Nodier, *Franciscus Columna derniere nouvelle de Charles Nodier* (Paris: Galeries des beaux-arts, 1844); Clemente Janin, *Charles Nodier. Franciscus Columna, Prelection* (Paris: La Connaissance, 1927).

Galeomyomachia (Battle of the Rats and Cats) demonstrating something of a cultural practice of such texts written in the north of Italy and published by Aldus Manutius.[30]

The attribution of Francesco Colonna from the Dominican monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo is also Pompeo Molmente's conclusion, who takes his cue from Gnoli, and presents further archival evidence of the life of this Francesco Colonna, the Dominican friar.[31] Roberto Weiss presented an updated biography of Francesco Colonna (1961) observing the established parallel with Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione* though disregarding the narrative as 'a serious runner up as the most boring work in Italian literature' without any further analysis on the narrative.[32]

Rino Avesani (1962) reviewed the work by Casella and Pozzi confirming the attribution to the Francesco Colonna of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.[33] The later work by Eduardo Fumagalli (1992) argues against the Roman Colonna attribution, continuing to adhere to the Colonna venezia de SS. Giovanni e Paolo. He also comments on the lack of evidence to suggest a historical figure for the character of Polia, arguing for a conceptual figuration of her embodiment of virtue.[34]

Scholarship on the life of the Venetian Colonna was greatly augmented by Maria Teresa Casella's exhaustive archival research (1959), correlating dates and events of the Venetian friar with proposed dates in the narrative of Polia and Poliphilo.[35] Casella and Pozzi observe that Colonna was born in 1433, Venice, and became a Dominican priest in the convent of Saints John and Paul.[36] In 1465 he is in Treviso, possibly since 1462, and in 1965 teaches at Treviso. In 1473 he began his bachelor's degree in theology in Padua and this is awarded in 1481 *per ballum* (not by examination).

[30] Gnoli, 'Il sogno di Polifilo', 190."Certo è che frate Francesco Colonna nacque nel 1433 circa, e morì, non nel luglio, ma il 2 ottobre del".

[31] Pompeo Molmenti, 'Alcuni documenti concernenti l'autore della "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili"', *Archivio Storico Italiano* 38, no. 244 (1906): 291–314.

[32] Roberto Weiss, 'A New Francesco Colonna', *Italian Studies* 16, no. 1 (1 January 1961): 78.

[33] Rino Avesani, 'Intorno a Francesco Colonna e Marco Antonio Ceresa', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 24, no. 2 (1962): 435–40.

[34] Edoardo Fumagalli, 'Due esemplari dell' "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" di Francesco Colonna', *Aevum* 66, no. 2 (1992): 421. See also Edoardo Fumagalli, 'Una supplica di Francesco Colonna: con una premesa su Eliseo da Treviso', *Italia mediovale e umanistica* 29 (1986): 207–31.

[35] Giovanni Pozzi and Lucia A. Ciapponi, 'La cultura figurativa di Francesco Colonna e l'arte veneta', *Lettere Italiane* 14, no. 2 (1962): 320–25. See also Giovanni Pozzi Pozzi, 'Francesco Colonna e Aldo Manuzio', *Berna, Monotype Corp. Limited*, 1962.

[36] Maria Teresa Casella and Giovanni Pozzi, *Francesco Colonna: biografia e opere*, vol. I (Padua: Antenore, 1959), 17.

He reappears in Venice in 1481 entitled as 'Magister' most likely obtained in Padua.[37] He latterly spent his later years in the convent of San Zanipolo before living outlawed by October 19th 1500 (most likely on account of moral misconduct) before emerging by 1512 in the convent. From 1515 he is again in Treviso and in 1516 defends himself in Venice against the case of "sverginata putta."[38] In 1518 he has a job teaching grammar, and in 1523 he is documented as supervising restoration work in San Zanipolo.[39] He dies on October 2nd 1527.

This biography is added to by Emilio Menegazzo (2001) commenting also on the character of Colonna and corroborating the information provided previously by Daniela Fattori (1996).[40] This attribution is the focus of the commentary of Ciapponi and Pozzi's 1964 publication on the textual sources and language of the *Hypnerotomachia*.[41] The most ground-breaking commentary and note on the authorship by the Venetian Colonna of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, however, is by Ariani and Gabriele's analysis of the philosophical material (1999) with a further evidence for a Venetian Francesco Colonna as the author.[42] Finally, this Colonna has since become of standard acceptance in most recent Poliphilo scholarship of the last two decades and remains the norm.

In spite of this, however, this Colonna, who was not ordained until the age of 30, did not receive his bachelor's degree until 40 at the university of Padua, perhaps displays a slow acquisition of grammar, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, music, and astronomy, in the Dominican curriculum. This creates a portrayal at odds with the total mastery of humanist learning present in the *Hypnerotomachia.* The author requires a mastery of classical languages, architectural theory; types of engineering, antiquarianism, a connoisseurship of the arts, and interior design; contemporary and

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[37] Casella and Pozzi, I:29.

[38] Casella and Pozzi, I:69.

[39] Casella and Pozzi, I:78.

[40] Emilio Menegazzo, 'Per la biografia di Francesco Colonna', in *Andrea Canova: Colonna, Folengo, Ruzante, e Cornaro: Ricerche, Testi, e Documenti* (Rome: Antenore, 2001), 3–47; Emilio Menegazzo, "Francesco Colonna baccelliere nello studio teologico padovano di S. Agostino (1473-74', in *Colonna, Folengo, Ruzante, e Cornaro: Ricerche, Testi, e Documenti* (Rome: Antenore, 2001), 48–64; Daniela Fattori, 'Per la biografia di Francesco Colonna: due schede d'archivio', *La Bibliofilia (Firenze)* 98, no. 3 (1996): 281–87.

[41] Maria Teresa Casella and Giovanni Pozzi, 'Una "predica d'amore" attribuita a Francesco Colonna, in Vestigia. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Billanovich', *Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura* A cura di Rino Aversani, Mirella Ferrari e Giuseppe Billanovich, Roma (1984): 159–80; Casella and Pozzi, *Francesco Colonna: biografia e opere.*

[42] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento.*

classical knowledge of literature and compositional techniques of genres; knowledge of the tradition of lovesickness; and interests steeped in Medieval and classical authors sympathetic to Neoplatonic and mystical concepts. This is notwithstanding the mediocre educational system he would have experienced, imparted by each convent in each province of theological studies and natural philosophy complimented by the *studium Bibliae et sententiarum*, a more thorough analysis of holy scripture, and which appears to have given Colonna apparent difficulties in gaining, casting doubt over his ability to compose such a text.

The attribution of Alberti as the author first appears in Emanuela Kretzulesco-Quaranta's publication, this is after an initial attribution to the Colonna, lord of Palestrina, and her prior attribution of the text to a committee consisting of Leon Battista Alberti, Lorenzo de'Medici, Francesco Colonna romano, Pico Mirandola, Domizio Calderini and Gaspare da Verona.[43] This latter attribution by 'committee' is refuted by Gabriele, on account of the work, and serious examination in the original language, as being penned by only one hand and cannot be argued to have been written by group stratifications, whose variations in form and content would not be possible to hide.[44]

In spite of this, however, Giovanni Pasetti (2010) argues for a Florentine connection with authorship through an inspiration for the journey from Pico Mirandola.[45] Seemingly unacquainted with Kretzulesco-Quaranta's Albertian attribution, Lefaivre argues for the same attribution based on the proliferation of Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*.[46] This is refuted by Gabriele for not accounting for the Venetian language, or for the death of Alberti in 1472 despite the text of the *Hypnerotomachia* borrowing from texts up until its publication in 1499, such as the Nicolo Perotti's *Cornucopia*

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[43] Emanuela Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *Les jardins du songe: Poliphile et la mystique de la Renaissance*, 1 edition (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1986); Emanuela Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *L'itinerario archeologico di Polifilo: Leon Battista Alberti come teorico della Magna Porta* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1970); Marguerite Charageat, 'Emanuela Kretzulesco Quaranta, Les jardins du songe. "Poliphile " et la mystique de la Renaissance (ouvrage couronné par l'Académie française, Prix Montyon, 1977)', *Bulletin Monumental* 137, no. 1 (1979): 85–86.
[44] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:lxxxiv.
[45] Giovanni Pasetti, 'L'"Hypnerotomachia Poliphili e l'enigma Del Rinascimento', *Roma, Gruppo Editoriale l'Espresso*, 2010.
[46] Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance*.

printed after his death in 1489, or the borrowing from Germanicus' *Aratea*, published by the Adline Press in 1499.[47] Finally, and most recently, Lionel March (2015) argues, on the basis of numerical symbolism, for an Albertian attribution of authorship which does well to engage with the numerological symbolism that connects the two, yet fails to come to terms with Alberti's death before 1499, or the Venetian elements in the text.[48]

Donati refutes a Venetian Francesco Colonna (1962) and concludes a Colonna romano, lord of Preneste, through the relationship to the temple of Fortuna Primigenia, and the mausoleum of S. Constanza. He goes on to argue the relationship between text and image with the temple of *Domina Venere* (1975).[49] Although this argument is also taken up by Gerhardt Goebel, the most prominent Roman Colonna advocate is, of course, Maurizio Calvesi.[50] His seventy-five point thesis on this attribution may be, very roughly, summarised as thus: [51]

Calvesi references Jean Martin's 1546 edition of *le Song de Polifile* in which he writes the author was of an illustrious house, and Jacques Gohorry's edition of 1554 where he states that he thinks the author was of an illustrious Roman family.[52] He observes how Leonardo Crassi's brother was married to the daughter of Francesco's sister, demonstrating a familial connection.[53] Beside observing Matteo Visconti's line 'Mirando poi Francisco alta columna/ Per cui phama immortal

[47] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:lxxxv.

[48] Lionel March, 'Leon Battista Alberti as Author of Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Nexus Network Journal* 17, no. 3 (2015): 697–721.

[49] Lamberto Donati, 'Polifilo a Roma: le rovine romane', *La bibliofilia* 77 (1975): 51–55; Lamberto Donati, 'Di Una Copia Tra Le Figure Del Polifilo (1499) Ed Altre Osservazioni', *La Bibliofili* 64, no. 2 (1962); Maurizio Calvesi, *Il sogno di Polifilo prenestino* (Roma: Officina Edizioni, 1980), 302–4.

[50] Gerhard Goebel, 'Le Songe de Francesco Colonna prince prénestin', *Fifteenth Century Studies* 7 (1 January 1983): 97–119.

[51] Maurizio Calvesi, 'L'Hypnerotomachia e il Petrarca', *Studi in onore di Guilio Carlo Argan*, 1984, 137–45; Maurizio Calvesi, 'Il gaio classicismo: Pinturicchio e Francesco Colonna nella Roma di Alessandro VI, in Roma, centro ideale della cultura dell'antico nei secoli XV e XVI da Martino V al Sacco di Roma, 1417-1527' (Convegno internazionale di studi su Umanesimo e Rinascimento, Rome, 1989), 70–101; Maurizio Calvesi, 'Venere-Iside-Fortuna nell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili di Francesco Colonna' Bibliographie d'Histoire de l'Art (1997): 34–36; Maurizio Calvesi, 'Franciscus Columna Venetus": un falso Apostolo Zeno', *Storia dell'arte* 38/40 (1980): 217–24. See also, Maurizio Calvesi, "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Nuovi Riscontri e Nuove Evidenze Documentarie per Francesco Colonna Signore Di Preneste," *Sto-Ria Dell'arte* 60 (1987): 85–136; Maurizio Calvesi, "Fratello Polifilo: L'enigma Di Francesco Colonna," *Art e Dossier* 60 (1987): 85–136; Maurizio Calvesi, *La" Pugna d'amore in Sogno" Di Francesco Colonna Romano* (Rome: Lithos, 1996); Maurizio Calvesi, "Parenti e Discendenti Di Francesco Colonna," *Miscellanea Marcinana* 16 (2005): 17–30; Maurizio Calvesi, "Ancora per Francesco Colonna," *Storia dell'arte* 124 (2009): 25–30.

[52] Maurizio Calvesi, *La 'pugna d'amore in sogno' di Francesco Colonna romano* (Rome: Lithos, 1996), 33.

[53] Calvesi, 34.

de voi rissona' (admiring Francesco, the high column, through whom your fame resounds) that was used by Petrarch in a poem to the noble Roman Colonna family, Calvesi also looks at the similarity of a heraldic imagery of a siren on the Colonna coat of arms (though without a crown in the *Hypnerotomachia* demonstrating some difference).[54]

He observes Colonna's interest in verse (though none survive) and his families antiquarian interests, and the ownership of the Temple of Fortune, which Colonna restored, for Calvesi, was the basis of the Magna Porta.[55] He relates the banquet of Eleuterylida with the banquet held in 1473 for Eleonora of Aragorn and observes the similarities with the illustrations and Roman frescoes arguing that the artist must have known the Borgia frescoes.[56] Regarding the connection with Treviso and the Veneto, Calvesi argues for Polia to be a symbolic character and not based on a real woman, and that the language is not particularly Venetian at all.[57]

The life of the Colonna romano, from Calvesi's research looks thus: born to Stefano Colonna and Eugenia Farnese, 1453, and mentioned in an epigram by Paolo Porcari in 1468 and by 1471 becomes a master of Latin prose and verse.[58] Becomes Magister of Saint Peter's in 1473 and in 1482 the Pope appoints him 'commander' of the monastery of Santo Pastore in Riete and frees him from any future excommunication.[59] In this year he succeeds his father in becoming lord of Palestrina.[60] By 1485 he becomes governor of Tivoli, and marries Orsini Orsina in c.1490 and in 1493 finishes restoration of the Palastrina temple as a palace (as dated on the temple).[61] He observes in 1503 the Pope sends soldiers to Palestrina to occupy Francesco's properties, which are restored that year on the Popes death, then finally in 1517 the distribution of wealth and property of Francesco's suggests his death.[62]

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[54] Calvesi, 35–48.
[55] Calvesi, 75–82.
[56] Calvesi, 106–20; 158–71.
[57] Calvesi, 198–213.
[58] Calvesi, 259.
[59] Calvesi, 260.
[60] Calvesi, 260–61.
[61] Calvesi, 261–64.
[62] Calvesi, 267–70.

In a comparative study between Colonna's description of the magna Porta and tempio di Venere, and Filarete's conceptions for the bronze door for S. Pietro, Rome (1445) Angela Cianfarini concludes a similarity of mythological and historical iconography suggesting a direct inspiration.[63] Corroborating this notion Debora Vagnoni concludes that the hieroglyphic illustrations in the *Hypnerotomachia* are a source for Valeriano's own *Hieroglyphica*, on account of both dissimulating compositions, written within the humanist atmosphere of 15th century Rome.[64]

More recently, Stefano Del Lungo argues that the narrative reflects a medieval pilgrimage of Rome, allegorically progressing between S. Peters and S. Giovanni in Laterano, and argues that the 14bi-frontal dancers, represent the 14 gates of Rome.[65] Stefano Colonna, the most recent bearer of the Calvesian 'Colonna romano' theory adds further to the discourse, documenting evidence of the Roman Colonna's journeys to Venice as historical evidence. However, both examples offer limited exploration of specific details, and do not explicitly relate to Poliphilian architectural examples.[66] Nevertheless, Stefano Colonna draws on a list of previous studies in support of his claim, including, Danesi's 1987 study constructing a cultural profile of a Palestrinian Colonna;[67] Borsi's 1995 analysis of the Roman architectural components; Adorisio's 2004 study of Roman antiquarianism;[68] Bober's 2004 study of a relationship between Pomposio Leto and Francesco

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[63] Angela Cianfarini, 'Tangenze FIgurative e Riscontri Letterari Tra l'opera FIlaretiana e l''Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *In Roma Nella Svolta Tra Quattro e Cinquecento. Atti Del Convegno Internazionale Di Studi, Roma*, 1996, 561–76.

[64] Debora Vagnoni, "Le Immagini Della Dissimulazione: I Hieroglyphica Di Pierio Valeriano e l'Hypnerotomachia" (Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi; Roma; De Luca, ROMA, 2004), 601–5.

[65] Stefano Del Lungo, 'La cultura archeologico-leggendaria nell'Hypnerotomachia di Francesco Colonna' (Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Roma, 2004), 505–10.

[66] Stefano Colonna, 'Per Martino Filetico maestro di Francesco Colonna di Palestrina: la'polyphilia'e il gruppo marmoreo delle tre grazie', *Storia dell'arte* 102 (2002): 23–29; Stefano Colonna, 'L'Hyperotomachia e Francesco Colonna romano: l'appellativo di'frater'in un documento inedito', *Storia dell'arte* 109 (2004): 93–98; Stefano Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili e Roma: metodologie euristiche per lo studio del Rinascimento* (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2012); Stefano Colonna, 'Il soggiorno veneziano di Francesco Colonna romano signore di Palestrina e le incisioni dell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Bollettino Telematico dell'Arte* 720 (2014): 2–4. See also Stefano Colonna, 'Variazioni sul tema della fortuna da Enea Silvio Piccolomini a Francesco Colonna', 1989, 127–42; Stefano Colonna, 'Francesco Colonna e Giovanni Pontano' (Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi; Roma; De Luca, ROMA, 2004), 577–600; Colonna, 'L'Hyperotomachia e Francesco Colonna romano'.

[67] Sylvie Davidson, 'L'Hypnerotomachia Polphili ovvero l'abolizione del tempo', *Nemla Italian Studies*, 1989, 137–54; Silvia Danesi, 'La continuita di un tema letterario e iconografico antico fra umanesimo e Rinascimento', *Electa* 2 (1988): 86–97.

[68] Stefano Borsi, Polfilo Architetto. Cultura architetonica e teori artistica nell'Hypnerotomachia di Francesco Colonna, Roma Officina, 1995.

Colonna Romano;[69] Briganti's 2004 study of the link between the Roman families Counts, Orsinis, Aguillaras, and Colonna di Palestrina;[70] Cianfarni's 2004 relationship between the Roman Colonna and the door of San Pietro by Filarete;[71] Davidson's 2004 study exploring the relationship between narrative and the literary figures of Cardinal Bessarione, Pomponio Leto and his followers;[72] and Del Lungo's 2004 study exploring the relationship between the Tor de' Specchi in Rome and the tower in the *Hypnerotomachia*.[73] This long list of Roman studies do not, however, engage in the issues of the Venetian language, making the endeavour seem, at times, superfluous to an authorial argument with only general evidence at best, mainly on well-known landmarks that are not explicit examples of the author's Roman identity.

Colonna romano is, on all accounts, an unlikely author, simply due to his lack of literary compositions, with almost no literary remains except an epigram addressed to him. A matter that is further emphasised when we consider that there is no familial mention of the *Hypnerotomachia* by the family over the last five hundred years, despite many of the family members in proceeding centuries being scholars and bibliophiles. Lastly, as Ariani states: 'Non è comprehensibile, da parte del romano Franceco Colonna, il senso di una simile alienazione del proprio patrimonio linguistico e culturale di origine per una così totale oblazione di sé in favore di un fondo linguistico e di un ambiente, come quelli veneto-padani, che gli sono biograficimante e culturalmente estranei' [it is incomprehensible that the Roman Francesco Colonna would have been thus alienated from his own linguistic and cultural heritage, sacrificing it in favour of a language and ambience like those

[69] Antonio Maria Adorisio, 'Un enigma romano: sulle Antiquarie Prospettiche Romane e il loro autore', 2004, 465–80; Antonio Maria Adorisio, 'cultura in ligua fra Quattro e Cinquecento, in Studi di biblioteconomia e di storia del libro in onore di Francesco Barberi', *Roma*, 1976, 34.

[70] Phyllis Pray Bober, 'The Legacy of Pomponius Laetus', in *Roma Nella Svolta Tra Quattro* (Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi; Roma; De Luca, ROMA, 2004), 455–64; Phyllis Pray Bober, Ruth Rubinstein, and Susan Woodford, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London: Harvey Miller, 2010).

[71] Angela Cianforni, 'Tangenze Figurative e Riscontri Letterari Tra l'opera Filaretiana e l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *ROMA*, 2004, 561–76.

[72] Sylvie G. Davidson, "In Search of Francesco Colonna's Rhetorical and Political Ploys" (Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi; Roma; De Luca, ROMA, 2004), 553–60; Davidson, "L'Hypnerotomachia Polphili Ovvero l'abolizione Del Tempo."

[73] Del Lungo, 'La cultura archeologico-leggendaria nell'Hypnerotomachia di Francesco Colonna', 505–10; Stefano Colonna, *La Fortuna critica dell' Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Rome: CAM editrice, 2009), 19–66.

of Venice and Padua, which biographically and culturally were completely foreign to him.][74] There are, however, still greater issues with this theory, for there is no Lazio element of the language at all, which would make the Colonna romano's efforts to create a Veneto-Latin hybrid language particularly bizarre. The academy of Pomponio Leto, that Colonna romano was said to frequent, disbanded in 1467 when the nobleman was 14 years of age, and despite supervising and paying for the refurbishment of the Temple of Fortune there are no further architectural references to him.

Based on the issues observed above regarding the proposition of each candidate I will not argue for a specific authorship, but acknowledge the northern Geographic location of the text, from the Veneto, and assume it was most likely a Francesco Colonna, but without reference to one in particular. For this reason, I will not give a name to the author, but to state 'the author' leaving him anonymous until future evidence proves otherwise.

Landscape of Research

The landscape of research can be categorised into four areas: the literary period in which to place the *Hypnerotomachia*; its language; the literary style; and, finally, the methodological approach.

Much of Poliphilo studies pertains to the question of which literary period to place the *Hypnerotomachia* in. Early work that examined book collections, publications by Horatio Brown, Neil Harris, Domenico Gnoli, and William Ivins, discussed practical matters in the Aldine Press, such as how the printer managed to insert moveable type into the woodcuts.[75] Such scholarship defined the book as a product of the Renaissance by virtue of its being an incunabulum, and the relationship between text and image.

Pozzi and Ciapponi's landmark publication developed this field significantly by observing the broad and eclectic source material of the text, noting the classical sources in the narrative,

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[74] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:lxxxi.
[75] Neil Harris, 'Rising quadrats in the woodcuts of the Aldine Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1499),' *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, no. 2 (2002): 159–67; Horatio Forbes Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press, 1469-1800: An Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (Amsterdam: Gérard Th. van Heusden, 1969), 58; Gnoli, 'Il sogno di Polifilo,' 189–212; Ivins, 'The Aldine Hypnerotomachia Poliphili of 1499,' 273–77.

including, amongst others, Cicero, Ovid, and Apuleius, and demonstrating that the text had emanated from early Renaissance scholarship.[76] Pozzi, also, however stresses the medieval aspect of the narrative, and observes it as emerging from a scholastic approach, based on literary sources, with disparaging remarks on the narrative, which he sees as loosely connecting the more important subjects of artistic creations, coined from mostly Classical literary material.

More recently, Ariani and Gabriele's commentary included a broad array of the classical, medieval and Renaissance source material for the text, including not only Dante's *Commedia*, Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione*, and Guillaume de Lorris' *Roman de la rose*, from which the Poliphilo takes its position within the philosophic dream vision narrative, but also Alain de Lille's *De planctu naturae*, Andreas Capellanus' *De amor*, and Petrarch's *Triunfos*.[77] Whilst developing Pozzi's research, Ariani and Gabriele include a far greater observation of source material, whilst also commenting more greatly on the narrative, its Nonplatonic depth, and particularly in the introduction, the voyage Poliphilo takes as indicative of a transformation of the soul.

The divide between the medieval and Renaissance sources, observed in the above commentary, is most clearly defined in Peter Dronke's evaluation of the author between two worlds, with one foot in medieval thinking and the other in Renaissance thought.[78] This observation poignantly presents a reason for the great differences in individual studies that observe the text as emanating from either a medieval literary tradition or a humanist one. It also observes the creativity of the story and addresses the importance of the narrative, which, previously, had been somewhat overlooked.

Emanuela Kretzulesco has analysed the gardens in the text, with an observation regarding its influence on future Renaissance gardens such as the Borromean 'Isola Bella' in the Lago Maggiore,

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[76] Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: edizione critica e commento*.
[77] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*.
[78] Peter Dronke, *Sources of Inspiration: Studies in Literary Transformation: 400-1500* (Rome: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1997).

which is also Liana De Girolami Cheney's area of work.[79] Emanuela Kretzulesco is also noted as one of the first scholars to engage with the depth of the narrative, and correctly observing the great debt the work had to Alberti, offering an alternative viewpoint to Pozzi's contemporary dismissive remarks regarding the narrative.

More recently, John Dixon Hunt has looked at certain symbolic elements of the *Hypnerotomachia*'s garden, focusing on both physical attributes and the phenomenological experiences of their descriptions applying a Renaissance usage of its space.[80] He observes the operation of the gardens within the text as highly complex spaces of great humanist learning. A notion which is echoed in Sophia Rizopoulou's analysis of the types of plants that appear in the *Hypnerotomachia*. She observes a great contemporary learning of botany, used in both a practical and symbolic sense, discerning a humanist interest in Poliphilo's fairly comprehensive narration of available botanical knowledge.[81]

The Renaissance interest in renewing classical architecture is the concern of Stefano del Lungo's publications from a Roman geographical context, alongside Stefano Borsi's.[82] Both these authors offer textual and iconographic analysis in relation to the iconography, and geography of Rome. As discussed above, however, neither grapples with the Venetian elements of the text particularly.

Regarding iconographical analysis, Onians examines the illustrations in relation to the text and observes the discrepancy of proportions of the Magna Porta between text and image, whilst also commenting on other architectural concerns. Onions does not, however, engage with the philosophical elements of the architecture in text or image, which is the focus of Stewering who

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[79] Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *Les jardins du songe*. See also Liana De Girolami Cheney, 'Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: A Garden of Neoplatonic Love', in *The Italian Emblem: A Collection of Essays*, by Donato Mansueto, ed. Elena Laura Calogero, Bilingual edition (Glasgow: Librairie Droz S.A., 2008).
[80] Hunt, 'Experiencing Gardens in the Hypnerotomachia Polifili', 109–19.
[81] Sophia Rhizopoulou, 'On the Botanical Content of Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Botany Letters* 163, no. 2 (2 April 2016): 191–201.
[82] Del Lungo, 'La cultura archeologico-leggendaria nell'Hypnerotomachia di Francesco Colonna'.

notes the narrative's Aristotelian affiliation.[83] She goes further to comment on the transformative nature of Poliphilo in the text, although does not go into great depth regarding the process of this or how it operates from realm to realm.

Alberto Pèrez-Gòmez discerns a sexual experience with architectural findings, and comments upon the erotic-philosophic nature of the narrative. He observes the similarity between Poliphilo's erotic journey to wisdom and Socrates who twice mentions that his wisdom is through a knowledge of erotic things. Although Pèrez-Gòmez offers a great deal of interesting insights into the text, he does not observe the moments in which there are no narrations of amorousness, such as in certain moments of the analysis of architecture. Despite this, and similarly, Lefaivre observes architecture as a sexual experience designed to re-cognize the human body in Renaissance culture.[84] She tackles the narrative with one of the most in-depth analyses of Poliphilo studies, yet, the constant association with the works of Alberti ultimately offer little more than an observation of the author's great debt into Alberti's architectural, and love writings.

Unlike the architectural examinations and their relationship to the narrative of the *Hypnerotomachia*, Estaban Alejandro Cruz engaged only with the architecture. In his three volumes on the buildings of the *Hypnerotomachia* he has reconstructed, through digital modelling, each building from the text offering the first overview of the visual creativity of the author. There are, however, issues with the mathematics in this study, and, at times, a great license taken on the colours and patterns that he has used (such as in the tiling in the front courtyard of the palace of Eleuterylida) whilst other elements are almost entirely invented (such as the ancient port from p.286).

In a similar vein, Ian White, using trigonometry, has reconstructed the ground plan of the Temple of Venus Physizoa based on Poliphilo's narrations and has demonstrated the author's

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[83] John Onians, 'L'arte di Raffaello tra musica e poesia', *Raffaello e l'Europa*, 1990, 49–68. See also Roswitha Stewering, 'Architectural Representations in the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" (Aldus Manutius, 1499)', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 1 (1 March 2000): 92–101.

[84] Alberto Pérez-Gómez, *Built upon Love: Architectural Longing after Ethics and Aesthetics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008); Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance*.

contemporary architectural knowledge and theory.[85] This is work displays the author's adept ability with architectural theory of number and geometry, and presents the notion that the author almost certainly was a highly skilled amateur architect. This, furthermore, presents the notion that original drawings must have been used to then describe, through the mouthpiece of Polipihlo, the various elements of the buildings, and presents the idea that the buildings offer reliable information that can be used to fully reconstruct them.

The theme of love draws a further distinction between the medieval and Renaissance source material. Although there is no current research on lovesickness in Poliphilo studies, Mary Wack, Massimo Ciavolella, and Donald Beecher have examined the concept of lovesickness in elegiac poetry of the classical and medieval periods, which provide a literature review of likely sources for the author regarding Poliphilo's lovesickness, most notable in Book II.[86] This may be augmented, however, by contemporary amorous texts, such as Alberti's writings on love and Petrus Haedus' *Anteros*, which characterise moments in the narrative of Book I, notably Logistica's speech against love and sensuality in praise of reason.[87] It is, therefore, not possible to define the theme of love as either a product of Medieval or Renaissance literature, but rather as both elements being united in the pursuit of narrative, reminiscent of Dronke's remarks.

Secondly, regarding the language of the *Hypnerotomachia*, there is a further divide between the Latin and Italian elements, as the language has grafted on Latin suffixes and syntax, coining many variants on – usually Latin but also Greek – vocabulary. This creative use of language is observed

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[85] Esteban Alejandro Cruz, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Discovering Antiquity Through the Dreams of Poliphilus* (Trafford Publishing, 2006); Ian White, 'Mathematical Design in Poliphilo's Imaginary Building, the Temple of Venus', *Word and Image* 31, no. 2 (June 2015).

[86] Mary Frances Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The Viaticum and Its Commentaries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990); Donald Beecher, 'Lovesickness, Diagnosis and Destiny, in the Renaissance Theatre's of England and Spain: The Paralel Development of Medico-Literary Motif', in *Parallel Lives: Spanish and English National Drama, 1580-1680*, by Kenneth Arthur Muir and Louise Fothergill-Payne (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1991); Massimo Ciavolella, 'Mediaeval Medicine and Arcite's Love Sickness', *Florilegium*, 1979, 222–41.

[87] On this matter see Robert V. Merrill, 'Eros and Anteros', *Speculum* 19, no. 3 (1944): 265–84; Sharon A. Adams, 'The "Anterotica" of Petrus Haedus: A Fifteenth-Century Model for the Interpretation of Symbolic Images', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 2, no. 2 (1978): 111–26; Massimo Ciavolella, 'Eros and the Phantasms of Hereos', *Eros and Anteros. The Medical Traditions of Love in the Renaissance*, 1992; Massimo Ciavolella, 'Trois Traités Du XVe Siècle Italien Sur Anteros: Contra Amores de Bartolomeo Sacchi, Anterotica de Pietro Edo et Anteros de Battista Fregoso', in *Anteros: Actes Du Colloque de Madison (Wisconsin) Mars 1994*, 1994, 61–73.

by Giorgio Agamben as the sole purpose for the text, who argues that all creations, including the narrative, are used in order to create such an eclectic and inventive language.[88]

Sympathetic to this notion, Salvatore Battaglia and Carlo Caruso have similarly observed the narrative as a prop for exploring linguistic ideas as an experiment in language.[89] Although they have engaged with the highly diverse and daring lexical constructs both Battaglia and Caruso fail to assimilate their notion that the language is the principal concern of the author with Polia as the principal concern of Poliphilo. It must be argued that the narrative does not need to make Polia a Beatricean guide in order to explore the limits and possibilities of language.

Regarding the rare words used in the text, Pozzi, and Ariani and Gabriele have noted the eclectic use of verbs from Greek and Latin (though most frequently in Latin) such as *umido,* meaning to cook or stew (see below). Pozzi also notes, however, the broad usage of regular Latin words, such as *offeriteno*, meaning to offer. He observes how around the rare words there are the regular words in Latin and Italian that allow the text to be comprehensible and allow the rarer words to stand out and take effect.

As with the disparaging remarks for the narrative, it is observed that Pozzi also views the syntax and flow of the writing as appearing formless, with little punctuation, creating verbal pictures of what Poliphilo sees, in block paragraphs of unending narration. This verbal picture is at its most obvious in the hieroglyphs, described by Wittkower as resembling sentences through their arrangement in rows, creating a 'Roman hieroglyph.'[90] Conversely to Pozzi's opinion, however, White observes deliberate stylistic elements in certain parts of the narrative, creating characteristics that aid the narrative content. He observes moments in the narrative that have neither extravagant

[88] Giorgio Agamben, 'Il sogno della lingua. Per una lettura del Polifilo', *Lettere Italiane* 34, no. 4 (1982): 466–81.

[89] Salvatore Battaglia, *La letteratura italiana: Medioevo e umanismo* (Florence, 1971), 428–36; Carlo Caruso, 'Un geroglifico dell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.', *Filologia italiana.* 1 (2004): 14–16. See also Efthymia Priki, 'The Narrative Function of Hieroglyphs in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili1', *Jeroglíficos En La Edad Moderna*, 2020, 150.

[90] Rudolf Wittkower, 'Hieroglyphics in the Early Renaissance', in *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson London, 1977), 118; Giovanni Pozzi, 'Les hiéroglyphes de l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Société d'Édition d'Enseignement Superieur*, 1982, 15–24.

vocabulary nor devices, but rather a precise modulation of rhetoric describing Poliphilo's experience of his environment:[91]

> et cum benigne aure ivi era uno certo silentio, né ancora alle promptissime orechie de audire strepito né alcuna formata voce perveniva, ma cum gratiosi radii del sole passava il temperato tempo.
>
> (And with gentle breezes, here was a settled silence; nor yet did either noise, or any articulated speech, reach, for the quickest ears to arrive at hearing; but, with gracious rays of the sun, passed by, temperate, the time.) (HP, 5).

Such poetic prose does not only express a love of language, but also of narrative. The cadence creates a defined atmosphere within a journey that leads, through elegiac lovesickness, to Polia, all features which may, again, be deemed unnecessary in an experiment of language. In this sense, we may argue that the Latin and Italian elements in the author's language becomes unified in their application in a narrative concerned with the journey to Polia.

Thirdly, and as has been observed in Dronke, and Ariani and Gabriele, the literary style of the *Hypnerotomachia* incorporates both humanistic and medieval elements. This is also noted later in her career by Emanuela Kretzulesco who studied the Renaissance elements of garden design and the thematic content pertaining to a mystical and metaphysical allegory of the narrative, identifying the author with Leon Battista Alberti's humanism, whilst the *hortus conclusus* at the end of the narrative and the use of elegy in the narrative set here characterises a medieval influence.[92]

This observation is a medieval-Renaissance distinction that we see repeatedly throughout the text is also observed by Maurizio Calvesi's work that highlighted many medieval and humanist symbolic elements in the narrative that, to his argument, reflect an alchemical allegory (for instance, the unification of water and fire in the wedding rites within the Temple of Venus Physizoa, displaying, for Calvesi, the transmutation of elements into new, perfected, transformed substances). For Calvesi, Poliphilo enacts the initiation of a magus, insinuating an ontological

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[91] Ian White, 'Multiple Words, Multiple Meanings, in the Hypnerotomachia', *Word and Image* 31, no. 2 (3 April 2015): 79.

[92] Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *Les jardins du songe*.

progression and interior transformation, although often Calvesi's attempt to tie Colonna to Rome's geographical position competes for the direction of his scholarship.[93]

Elements of humanism in the text are also commented upon in great extent in Ariani and Gabriele's meticulous study of its philosophical sources, adding to prior philosophical analysis, commenting on the references to Andrea Cappellano, Alano di Lilla, Apuleius, Macrobius, Servius, Marziano Capella and Calcido amongst a multitude of others. They observe Colonna's incredible ability to attempt to homogenise a vast extent of classical, medieval and contemporary authors into one vision, typical of humanist thought. This engagement with the philosophical sources and examination of how they work in the narrative is sympathetic to Edgar Wind's earlier work that observed the narrative as a mystagogic union of love and death and Poliphilo as the initiate of Neoplatonic mysticism and Orphic allegory.[94]

The narrative's philosophic-mystagogoic elements are not universally concluded as being Neoplatonic, however. Alternative conclusions have been drawn by Vladimiro Zabughin, who sees the narrative reflecting a Christian initiation of the soul into salvation, or in Linda Fierz-David's examination from a Jungian psychoanalytic perspective, which argues that the narrative is an example of a fully-realised process of individuation.[95] Indeed, Pozzi was also not convinced that the narrative portrayed influence from Neoplatonic thought.

On account of Poliphilo's vast and (mostly) accurate vocabulary of terms, historiography of object type, and classical erudition infers a scholarly interest not only in the artefacts but also in the cultures and ideas of classical antiquity, characterising through classical artistic and cultural interests a strong antiquarian inclination in the narrative. His antiquarian explorations in the text share notable similarities with Pausanias' *Guide to Greece*, Polydore Vergil's *De inventoribus rerum*, and Ciriaco d'Ancona's *Commentaria*. Furthermore, the inclusion of fantastical architectural creations

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[93] Calvesi, *La 'pugna d'amore in sogno' di Francesco Colonna romano.*
[94] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento.*
[95] Vladimiro Zabughin, 'Una fonte ignota dell'" Hypnerotomachia Poliphili"', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 74, no. 220 (1919): 41; Linda Fierz-David, *The Dream of Poliphilo: The Soul in Love* (Dallas: Texas: Spring Publications, 1950).

set within a body of text shares obvious similarities with Filarete, noted by Tamara Griggs, that consequently displays his interest and knowledge in contemporary antiquarian matters.

In this vein, John Bury investigates the architectural source material for the Magna Porta, based on an ancient Roman triumphal arch, and the pyramid itself deriving from Pliny's description of the tomb of Mausolus, beside the octagonal bathhouse observing similarities with early Christian baptistries, in particular that of San Giovanni at Florence, the temple of Venus Physizoa derived from the Constantinian sepulchral monument outside Rome, later converted into the church of Santa Costanza, and the Theatre of Venus Cytherea, derived from the Roman Colosseum, beside the hanging gardens of Babylon and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, in the *Hypnerotomachia*.[96] Such observations display a striking contemporary interest in antiquarianism and the experiences Poliphilo narrates in the text, similar to a travel diary, offer striking evidence for the author's own experience in exploring ruins and analysing the objects he found.

Fourthly, regarding the above areas of Poliphilo studies, the methodological approach taken usually pertains to philological analysis, notably in Pozzi and Ciaponni's commentary, the publications of Marizio Calvesi, Ariani and Gabriele's commentary, and Martine Furno's work, amongst many others.[97] There is, however, no study that analyses the narrative from realm to realm, the thematic transformations in the progression of narrative in a study over article length, or the symbolism of Poliphilo's walking route through the gardens and landscape. Although Gabriele observes the voyage of the soul as the primary theme of narrative in the introduction to his commentary, and Priki has analysed narratologically various elements of the text, such as how the dream-narrative compares and contrasts to the *Roman de la rose* and *Livistros and Rodamne*, there is still much to analyse with regard to how the realms operate differently in the text, how the

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[96] Tamara Griggs, 'Promoting the Past: The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili as Antiquarian Enterprise', *Word and Image* 14, no. January-June (1998): 24–25; Bury, 'Chapter III of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and the Tomb of Mausolus', 54.
[97] Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: edizione critica e commento*; Calvesi, *La 'pugna d'amore in sogno' di Francesco Colonna romano*; M. Ariani and M. Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Riproduzione dell'edizione italiana aldina del 1499-Introduzione, traduzione e commento* (Milan: Adelphi, 2004); Martine Furno, 'Imaginary Architecture and Antiquity: The Fountain of Venus in Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', in *Antiquity and Its Interpreters*, ed. Ann Kuttner Rebekah Smick Edited by Alina Payne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Furno, 'L'orthographie de la porta triumphante dans l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili de Francesco Colonna'.

buildings and artworks relate to Poliphilo's self-transformation and how the author weaves various elements together in the narrative, such as elegiac, antiquarian, arithmosophical, and travel-diary rhetoric's, and how these impact on the narrative.

This thesis is intended to fill a gap in Poliphilo studies through a narratological argument that considers the primary theme of self-transformation and how the artworks, buildings, gardens and artistic creations interact symbolically on this issue. It will study the symbolic placement of plants, architectural form and space, walking routes and their thresholds, to explain more fully the depth of meaning within the narrative, and the relationship between external environment and Poliphilo's self-transformation.

The Dream of Language

The language of the *Hypnerotomachia* is also the focus of numerous studies that have noted its extraordinarily broad usage of rare words. For instance, the rare Italian verb *excarnificavano*, from the Latin *carnifex*, exclaimed by Polia to describe the flaying of the maiden's flesh who did not submit to love, denotes an encyclopaedic vocabulary and, through the narrative use of its rarity, it adds lexical emphasis to the tragic context of Polia's nightmare.[98] This is similarly noted in the multiple narrations of botanical specimens, such as maidenhair, sometimes in the vernacular as *adianto* and sometimes using Greek lexicon as *polythricose* (see appendix two for page numbers). Ian White observes the playful use of the rare Latin verb *cohumido*, meaning 'wet all over', used by Apuleius to describe the wet cheeks of a crying girl and at the feast of Eleuterylida where the phrase *cohumidamente iurulento* refers to the mouth-watering food through *umido*, meaning (beside humid) to cook a 'stew'.[99] The playfulness of this lexicon is used to suit the pleasantness of the feast occasion, placing emotive emphasis on the succulent food. Of course, in order for these rarer words, suited to a specific mood and context, to have effect, many ordinary words surround them,

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[98] White, 'Multiple Words, Multiple Meanings, in the Hypnerotomachia', 76.
[99] White, 77.

such as the verbs *offeriteno* [p.78], the third person plural from the Latin *offero,* meaning to offer, and *superposeno* [p.74], the third person plural from late Latin *superpositio,* meaning to put on.

The author creates a language that is readable yet interspersed with linguistic rarities in an encyclopaedic collection of Latin verbs, displaying the notion that the purpose of the text is language. However, it is precisely the contextual usage of those rare Latin verbs, at key narrative moments, which lends emphasis to Poliphilo's emotive narration. Consequently, the language ultimately buttresses the narrative through a linguistic effect.

Poliphilo's reflection on architecture or sculpture combines a symbolic relation and a realistic experience which is subsequently divided into the bi-modal rhetoric of a travel-diary rhetoric, besides a language indicative of allegory or metaphor. As the author displays a multifarious interest, so Poliphilo is emotively drawn in numerous directions.[100] For instance:

> Insaturabilmente dunque speculando mo' una mo' l'altra bellissima et molosa opera, tacitamente diceva: 'Si gli fragmenti dilla sancta antiquitate et rupture et ruinamento et quodammodo le scobe ne ducono in stupenda admiratione et ad tanto oblectamento di mirarle, quanto farebbe la sua integrtate.'

> (I gazed at one huge and beautiful work after another, saying to myself: 'If the fragments of holy antiquity, the ruins and debris and even the shavings, fill us with stupefied admiration and give us such delight in viewing them, what would they do if they were whole?') (HP, 59).

The author comments upon Poliphilo's awe at design, form, and execution while reflecting on the rare experience, with an elusive interplay between artistry and the narrative of self-transformation. The inclusion of symbolically designed art is so ekphrastically described as to seem arbitrary without much scholarship on behalf of the reader, creating a lack of contextual relationship between the art and Poliphilo's soul (anima).

The notion that Polia is a metaphor for the love of language (or antiquity) is ultimately undermined through the journey and interaction to and with Polia as a real person within the narrative. Although she bears a symbolic position within the narrative she is not characterised as a

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[100] Calvesi, *La 'pugna d'amore in sogno' di Francesco Colonna romano*, 201–2; Hermann Bauer, *Kunst und Utopie: studien über das kunst-und staatsdenken in der Renaissance* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965), 89; Domenico Gnoli, *'Il sogno di Polifilo', Rivista d'Italia* (Rome, 1900), 23. Dronke argues for the importance of reading Polia's narration as a physical real person, see Dronke, *Sources of Inspiration*, 197–98.

metaphor but granted extensive physical and psychological descriptions as Poliphilo's primary focus in the love narrative. For instance, in the consummation of marriage the metaphor of architecture is used to describe the act of sex, as opposed to the body of Polia being used to represent the erotic experience of architecture:

> Et che quello che la mellea et integerrima Polia fare non audeva che io thelithoro et avidissimo di mirare la sanctissima genitrice exequire dovesse; là onde non cusì praesto il divino instrumento tractai che, di caeca flamma circumacto, non ricusando immo cum urgente affecto proiectissimo la cortinetta.
>
> (And I completed the penetration that the honey-sweet and wholesome Polia dared not do, avid as I was to behold the most holy Mother. No sooner had I taken the divine instrument than I was surrounded by a sourceless flame, and with urgent emotion I violently struck the little curtain.) (HP, 361.

Here, the act of love brings closure and climax to the narrative, it finalises the path of initiation through love for Poliphilo and initiates him into the mysteries (a term used to refer to entering the Classical pantheon, denoting also an experience of knowledge, mystical visions, and encounters beyond the senses). For, whilst Poliphilo narrates in a verbose, encyclopaedic diction, littered with the rarest classical lexicon, and the antiquarian discoveries he chances upon, it is ultimately the purpose of Polia, the physical symbol of divinity, that he narrates, journeys, experiences, and metamorphoses toward.

Finally, it is necessary to remark on how the present work will engage with the language of the *Hypnerotomachia*. There have been numerous studies of the language (notably in the work of Pozzi, Calvesi, Ariani and Gabriele, and more recently Ian White, beside numerous others) indeed, it is fair to say the topic of language in the *Hypnerotomachia* is a greatly saturated field with very little more to add. It is not the purpose of the present work to develop conclusions that have not previously been made with regards to the language, and, although the language will be discussed in relation to Poliphilo's connoisseurship and antiquarianism in chapter four, it will not be a primary theme of discussion. I shall observe in chapter four the rare words and their uses in the text, with an emphasis here on the ways in which they impede comprehension. Language, therefore, is not something that this work will engage with too greatly, but, rather, the narrative.

The secondary themes comprise five aspects of the primary theme of self-transformation, where self-transformation acts as a unification for the sub-categories. Through symbolically relating the external environment and artistic creations there is a constant emphasis on metamorphosis that characterises each area, observation, and interaction. The handling of self-transformation is divided into sequences by a narrative threshold, physical or otherwise, and the necessity of developing morality, knowledge, and love (each per individual realm) as the means for crossing them. In this way, the narrative of self-transformation is compartmentalised from one area to another.

The theme of architectural form, which is at play throughout the narrative, not only frames the narrative, providing context, but assumes symbolic form that narratologically relates to Poliphilo through his analysis granting it an expressive quality that transforms from realm to realm. As the architecture transforms with the soul's (anima's) stage of transformation it assumes a position as a narrative device relating ontology with edifice, design with consciousness, form with the anima. Consequently, it equally takes a transformative theme within the narrative.

The theme of transformable nature assumes the position of a narrative device reflecting the Poliphilo's interior development through the beautification of the natural world of topography, and the refined beauty of the topiary of the gardens; that is, the position of a transformable theme of metamorphosis of garden and topography, and their corresponding symbolic content with the soul's (anima's) stage of transformation.

The description of lovesickness in the narrative, mostly existing in the second book, relates to the elegiac tradition echoing Gallus, Tibullus, and Propertius besides contemporary Quattrocento poets, most notably Alberti's *Ecatonfilea* and *Deifira* and Boccaccio's earlier *Filostrato*, Leonardo Bruni's *Stratonice*, and the novella *Ippolito e Lionora*, while the character of Logistica echoes the dismissive tone of Petrus Haedus's *Anterotica*. Lovesickness displays the central power of the venereal forces (or, powers of Venus) over the anima and its initiatory power within the narrative.

The theme of Poliphilo's connoisseurship of the arts (that is to say, his knowledge and understanding of what he sees, as well as an historic context for the object and the relatable artists of a given object and genre) deviating somewhat from the narrative, is observable. This is observed through lengthy ekphrastic monologues on antiquarianism that appear at a tangent with the narrative and that include connoisseurly comparisons with classical artists that, on account of the extent of indulgence, appear as deviations from the narrative (for instance the 26 page description of the pyramid). In various ways these descriptions symbolically relate to the transformation of the soul, but often the extent of indulgence into classical art, and mainly architecture, transitions into passages that read either as a travel diary of antiquarian exploration of as an architectural *trattato*. These rhetorical modulations shift the focus from the narrative and into the author's secondary pursuits of classical art that outbalances the symbolic design of what Poliphilo is narrating – and by extension, the primary theme of self-transformation – thus becoming deviatory.

An important aspect of the book is its placement within a philosophical dream structure. The narrative of the *Hypnerotomachia* continues the philosophical dream vision, and can be placed in each of Macrobius' three categories of the genre not pertaining to nightmares (based in turn on Augustine's trinitarian hierarchy of vision: *visio intellectualis,* a direct experience of the spiritual realities, *visio spiritualis,* a vision achieved through the imagination, *visio corporalis,* material knowledge from the senses) in a tradition starting with Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis.*[101] Those categories that define its narrative are the *somnium,* or philosophic dream, described by Macrobius as 'conceal[s and requires] with strange shapes and veils with ambiguity the true meaning of the information be offered, and requiring an interpretation for its understanding'; the *visio,* or prophetic vision, revealing a vision of something that 'actually comes true'; and the *oraculum,* or oracular dream, in which a man of elevated standing 'or even a God' gives important advice.[102] The love for the female

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[101] Karma Lochrie, *Nowhere in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 24. See also A. C. Spearing, *Medieval Dream-Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 10; Seth Lerer, *The Yale Companion to Chaucer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 168.

[102] Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, Trans,* trans. William Harris Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 145–68.

vision-guide embodying wisdom that ascends ontology, places the *Hypnerotomachia* in a literary tradition starting with Boethius' *Consolation*, albeit one augmented with a medieval psychology of love from the elegiac and medical traditions, and Boccaccian delight in the sensual.

The feature of a psychology based on elegiac and medical observations does not appear in the largely allegorical composition of the dream-vision tradition. Dream divination played an important role in medieval society, as thorough research attests, creating a belief in the prognostic power of the dream; indeed, Macrobius tells us that dreams have a didactic message, though pertaining only to the virtue of civil service.[103] Of necessity, they are subject to interpretation, requiring the reader to work toward conceptualisation. For instance, Polia narrates that Poliphilo was 'altogether lost' when he saw her, seeing her as a 'cure for his enflamed heart' and, after spurning him, she narrates, 'I saw that he was surely half-dead. His flesh, reddened with sorrow, grew pale, and the natural warmth fled from his extremities.'[104]

While there is a poetic-psychological narration of love, combining the elegiac and dream-vision traditions, there is also a physicality to love. Unlike in Dante, love is not teleological until the end of the narrative, and seeks to explore the spiritual in a vocabulary of the senses, further developing the experience of the physical body in the *Roman de la rose*.[105] For instance, the Magna Porta represents, through its association with Venus and its narrative position before the realm of free will, the concept that love frees the soul from the senses, yet the language of physicality places equal emphasis on the *materia* beside the *anima* within the dream-vision:

> Cum quale virtute et humane forcie et ordine et incredibile impensa, cum coelestae aemulatione tanto nell'aire tale pondo suggesto riportare … Pervenuto dunque ad questa veterrima porta … uno quadrato collocato soto le columne, bine per lato, diligentemente mensurai.
>
> (What power and human energy, what organisation and incredible expense were needed to hoist this weight so high into the air to rival the heavens… I came, then, to this ancient

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[103] Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 15. See also Dean Swinford, *Through the Daemon's Gate: Kepler's Somnium, Medieval Dream Narratives, and the Polysemy of Allegorical Motifs* (London: Routledge, 2013), 60.

[104] *Hypnerotomachia,* 389.

[105] For analysis on masculinity and the dream vision in relation to teleology see Steven F. Kruger, 'Dream Space and Masculinity', *Word and Image* 14, no. 1–2 (1 January 1998): 16.

portal of splendid workmanship … I measured diligently the squares beneath the columns.) (HP, 25-42).

Poliphilo is describing the human excursion required to physically construct the building. There is an emphasis, therefore, in the reality of building, physicality and practicality of construction enabled through physical, exertive effort, which contrasts with the *fantasia* of design: on the one hand there is an antiquarian realism and on the other there is through the design, and through the symbolic attributes of the buildings, the *fantasia*. The spiritual dimension emphasised through the dream-vision contrasts with a language serving human exertion within the material world. It intimately connects the imagination and love with the corporeal, demonstrating that love is a force uniting the spiritual and physical as much as the intellectual and creative. The fulfilment of spiritual and sensual love is, similar to the *Roman de la rose*, met with obstacles that obstruct the path, requiring exertion to proceed.[106]

The climax of the narrative creates a sexual metaphor through 'the sapphire and emerald columns' where 'there was the most beautiful velvet curtain … brocaded with lovely flowers and with four Greek letters subtly embroidered on it in decorative raised work: YMHN' which Poliphilo penetrates, before describing their 'transformation' as 'being accomplished' and leaving 'the sacred fountain together with my noble Polia.'[107] It is this mode of describing the sensual, heightened by sexually-charged descriptions throughout the narrative, that takes the theme of eroticism beyond other philosophical dream-visions. By placing physicality and spirituality on equal terms described through metaphor and allegory, the language capably combines physical intercourse and mystical experience, where sex is a process to divine revelation.

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[106] On this matter see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing Through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 53.

[107] On the concept of dream-vision narrative and self-reflection see Laura C. Lambdin and Robert T. Lambdin, *A Companion to Old and Middle English Literature* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), 179. *Hypnerotomachia*, 361-69.

Narratological Framework

The focus of this study is to analyse the metamorphosis of Poliphilo as a character in the narrative of the *Hypnerotomachia* and critically observe the ways in which the concept of self-transformation functions in this narrative. This examination analyses the relationship between the self-transformation of Poliphilo and what I have considered the most important sub-themes of the text, which are analysed in respective chapters. Consequently, the study is a narratological one, comprised of analysis of a first-person narration of experiences and encounters that portray the protagonist's metamorphosis from an initial state into a more developed form, sufficient for initiation into the mysteries (by this, we assume, based on the author's philosophical interests, a mostly Neoplatonic notion of initiation into the realm of the forms, as well as of classical Gods and Goddesses, the origins of wisdom, love, and of higher consciousness). Analysis is assisted from primary literature by cross-referencing the narrative with other relatable narratives from Classical, medieval and Renaissance literature.

The methodology for this study, consequently, comprises a plethora of different methodologies to most fully engage with the broad variety of elements in the narrative, from philosophy to art and architecture. This will encompass philosophic, iconographic, literary and narratological components to the methodology.

Firstly, with regards to the philosophic component, the present work has used Plato (especially the *Timaeus*) greatly, in tandem with Neoplatonic authors and philosophers (Macrobius, Boethius, Plotinus, for instance). This is in tandem with Pythagoras, and Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, not an uncommon assimilation within Quattrocento Neoplatonism (the use of Neoplatonism here referring to the humanist revival of interest in Platonic and middle Platonic concepts and ideas).

Secondly, with regard the iconographic content, I have used Edgar Wind as a means to approach the iconographic interpretation of the many reliefs, echoing his conclusions that the described relief's illustrate the soul's migration into its ontologically higher state of wisdom and being.

Thirdly, regarding the literary component, I have utilised Peter Dronke's approach in reading the *Hypnerotoamchia* as a text between two worlds, the Medieval and Renaissance, and have examined source material for the *Hypnerotomachia* in both *Trecento* and *Quattrocento* periods. Dronke's summary of the narrative and consequent analysis has been a source of inspiration that I have tried to emulate, reviewing the full narrative from chapter to chapter from the perspective of the chapter's respective theme to fully understand how the theme operates within the narrative and how the narrative themes change from realm to realm.

Fourthly, regarding the philological element of the methodology, I have observed the work of Ariani and Gabriele and Thomas Reiser as the leading exponents of current philology within Poliphilo studies. This largely refers to the architectural and botanical elements within the text, beside the garden spaces and objects of art.

Lastly, regarding the narratological component of the methodology, the narratological perspective of Genette's method has been used, on account of the model's numerous and precise terminology for narratology, and ease of applying terms (more greatly so than, for instance, Franz Karl Stanzel's theory).[108] I shall briefly describe the terms that I have borrowed from Genette, and their meaning:

Genette's model of narratology enables analysis of Poliphilo's 'narrative situation' on three levels: firstly, with regard to the narrator's *voice*, the narrative is comprised of a *homodiegetic* example on account of Poliphilo's first-person narration (this is in contrast to a *heterodiegetic* narration, where the voice does not partake in the events of the narrative) and, as Poliphilo is also the protagonist, we must further categorise him as an *autodiegetic* narrator.[109] Within this type of narration we further distinguish rhetorical modes, such as the use of ekphrasis in narrating antiquarian encounters, the use of elegy in his encounters with Polia, or the plain prose of exposition. Poliphilo's transition

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[108] Consider the comparison between Stanzel's and Genette's theories in Monika Fludernik, *An Introduction to Narratology* (Routledge, 2009), 88–109. See also F. K. Stanzel, *A Theory of Narrative* (CUP Archive, 1986).
[109] Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (Cornell University Press, 1983), 245–50.

between these rhetorical modes allows the reader to experience the transition between perception and introspection, offering much analysis of Poliphilo as a character within the narrative.

Secondly, with regard to the narrator's sight, or *mode*, there is a *focalization*, restricting narrative information in relation to the experience and knowledge of Poliphilo, the narrator.[110] Furthermore, we may more specifically characterise the *focalization* of Poliphilo's narration by using Rimmon-Kenan's development of Genette's theory, which displays Poliphilo's narration as an *internal-focalizer* (also called *character-focalizer*) since the narrative is described directly from Poliphilo's perception, as opposed to an *external-focalizer* (also called *narrator-focalizer*) where description may be granted external to Poliphilo's perception.[111] There is, however, a tension here: as nearly all objects encountered by Poliphilo are symbolic of his interiority, or metaphorical of the divine processes of the universe that pertain to form, shape, colour, and numerical symbolism in which Poliphilo is situated, there is a constant series of what Genette terms *metalepsis*, or disconnections, from a believable narrative reality.[112] This is on account of the literary genre, as symbolism, allegory, and metaphor are integral aspects of medieval literature (such as in the *Roman de la rose*).

Thirdly, with regard to the temporal succession of events, or *tense*, there is in the first book a 'present tense narrative' deemed 'behaviourist' by Genette in exploring the 'now' of the narrator.[113] Genette's tense is firstly comprised of the event *order*, which we may categorise in the *Hypnerotomachia's* first book as *acrony* through narrating the events chronologically as they happen.[114] This changes to a narration of *anachronie* in the second book where Polia re-tells her story, that is, through *analepsis*.[115] Secondly, with regard to the *duration* of events there is little *elipses* (where at certain moments the narrative skips ahead) but, like Dante's *Commedia*, narration occurs in real-time and is categorised by *scene* (where narrative time corresponds to the story's time) and *summary*

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[110] Genette, 189–94.
[111] Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics* (Routledge, 2003), 74.
[112] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 235.
[113] Genette, 219.
[114] Genette, 79.
[115] Genette, 62.

(where parts of the event are summarised to accelerate narration).[116] Thirdly, regarding the *frequency* of events, the narrative pertains to *singulative narration,* in that events occur once.[117]

Finally, the *narrative level* that categorises the *Hypnerotomachia* is that of the *narrator's discourse*, on account of Poliphilo's *autodiegetic* narration, or *voice*.[118] This is on account of his narrating his experiences of the world as they come, living in only that moment, from his perspective.

Genette's model of narratology is not without its methodological issues, however. Although it succeeds in systematising a terminology for analysing narrative, which seems largely compatible with other developments in narratology, there is a lack of engagement with the second person narrative in his theory.[119] Furthermore, as Fludernik outlines, Genette's theory was drawn from examinations of Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu* and, as such, medieval and early modern texts were not literary examples in his consideration.

It is possible, however, to augment Genette's narratological theory with more recent theorists. Developments in the field such as Rimmon-Keenan's notion of an *internal focalization* or Monika Fludernik's analysis of the episodic pattern of medieval narrative allow an appropriation of Genette's methodology to be applied to a narratological study of the *Hypnerotomachia*.[120]

Lastly, Monika Fludernik's narratological analysis of medieval poetry offers an examination with cultural appropriateness. For instance, the literary device of shifting between metaphoric or allegoric scenes to allow the reader to interpret the moral message is observed by Fludernik as a common medieval theme that is uncommon in modern fiction.[121] Although I have not quoted from Fludernik greatly in this study, I have consulted with her own application of Genette's terminology as a model to follow, such as in the placement of *voice*, *mode*, and *tense* to be appropriately applied to Medieval literature.

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[116] Genette, 97.
[117] Genette, 113.
[118] Genette, 277.
[119] Fludernik, *An Introduction to Narratology*, 2009, 103.
[120] Monika Fludernik, *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology* (Routledge, 2002), 97.
[121] Fludernik, 80.

The present work endeavours to examine the primary narrative theme of self-transformation and the sub-themes that work in synthesis within it.

Chapter one examines how the three realms function differently depending on the narrative of each realm, and how the theme of self-development is compartmentalised in its stages by the narrative-thresholds – be they physical thresholds or either physical or metaphysical boundaries. This chapter analyses how the first realm pertains thematically to the development of ethics, or morality, particularly with regard to bodily compulsion; to an epistemological development in the second realm of Eleuterylida, through the acquisition of knowledge regarding the Earth and the Heavens; and in the third realm of Telosia to the experience of ontological development, specifically though the experience of love and of the initiation rites in the temple and theatre of Venus. These themes are set within a broader epistemology combining natural physics and metaphysics, which, once Poliphilo has developed each respectively, permits him to cross each respective threshold and, consequently, advance the narrative. It will be noted that each threshold within the narrative bears two qualities: being both symbolic and literal, ontological and ekphrastic, describing a physical thing while relating to Poliphilo's interiority.

Chapter two examines how the formal design of architecture, and the numerical symbolism of the proportioning of four of the main buildings, relate to Poliphilo's metamorphosing interiority and to the respective theme of the realm in which he is narratologically progressing. In each realm it will be noted that the buildings are designed, and consequently operated, differently to others of different realms. For instance, Poliphilo firstly narrates the pyramid of the Magna Porta in the nameless first realm, symbolic through the reference to the creative force of the triangle in Plato's *Timaeus*. In the second realm there follows a dominant use of the square and rectangle which Platonically relates to the Earth and to nature, which Poliphilo, both narratologically and in relation to his self-transformation, progresses through, augmenting his knowledge of the Earth and its relationship with the Heavens; and an oval in the third realm related to Venus and love. This

thematically corresponds formal structure with the theme of each respective realm (which is also reflected in the *order* per realm, beginning with the Doric and culminating in the Corinthian in the third, symbolic of the feminine and Venus).

Within the thematic transformation of architecture in the narrative the proportions also portray a symbolic numerical usage that relates both to Poliphilo and the respective realm that he is in. For instance, the proportioning of the Magna Porta around the value of '6' symbolically relates to Poliphilo's physical body, whilst the use of '10' in Teloisa symbolises Poliphilo's interior perfection metaphorically, through the perfect proportioning of the structure through Pythagorean thinking.

The architectonic transformation of formal differences also corresponds with Poliphilo's alteration in the method of his architectural examination. For example, there is a rudimentary description of measurement and shape pertaining to the ground plan and the building's elevation in the first realm; the plan and elevation in Eleuterylida is then augmented by a thorough description of the highly symbolic domestic interior, which also reflects the situation of Poliphilo within the journey of the soul's transformation into the initiation of the mysteries; and, finally, a thorough description of the geometry of the building in Telosia, including plan and elevation alongside a disembodied analysis from a birds-eye perspective, completes the transformation of architectonic examination. This establishes a threefold alteration in the way Poliphilo approaches the buildings, corresponding to the threefold transformation of his interiority.

In Chapter three, Poliphilio's connoisseurship of antiquarianism is examined, firstly in relation to the Magna Porta, and how both Poliphilo's self-transformation and the subject matter of antiquarianism find their limits through his pedagogic and didactic rhetoric delineating the narrative. This is in conjunction with the position that fantasia has in the rhetoric of architectural invention. Secondly, it will consider how Poliphilo's connoisseurship of the interior design described in the palace of Queen Eleuterylida creates a dislocation in the symbolic connection between narrative and iconography, on the one hand, and the greater emphasis given to the

invention of design, on the other. This is also found in conjunction with the digression from the objective antiquarian through emotive indulgences when describing the Temple of Venus, Physizoa, undermining Poliphilo's narrative position as connoisseur of antiquity and contemporary furniture and architecture. Finally, it will analyse how Poliphilo's sexual indulgences delineate from the narrative of self-transformation and the secondary narratological theme of antiquarianism in the Temple of Venus Physizoa, and how the linguistic complications limit the textual comprehension of self-transformation and the description from an antiquarian perspective in the amphitheatre of Venus, Cytherea.

Chapter four examines how the latent realism in the *Hypnerotomachia* bears a discernible relationship with contemporary travel diaries, such as Ciriaco d'Ancona's *Commentario,* which demonstrates Poliphilo's passion for archaeological discoveries. Akin to a travel diary, the integration of text and image comments on the necessity of mobility for antiquarian travel-writing, yet this is augmented by Poliphilo through the foregrounding of these descriptions within the symbolism of the narrative. The narrative is facilitated by Poliphilo's mobility, which enables him to encounter the antique places and artworks narrated in a quick and spontaneous manner, as if sketched in the first person before the antiquarian objects.

It will demonstrate that, secondly, the author's use of topography and topographical markers in Poliphilo's narrative externally express his interior self-transformation. This will be established, firstly, through the progressive beautification of the landscape in the narrative, echoing the progressive transformation of Poliphilo's anima; and, secondly, through the use of signposts at salient narrative positions that convey to the reader through the maxims written on them the necessity of Poliphilo's self-transformation for the progression of his journey.

Chapter five will consider the way in which the gardens in Eleutherylida and Telosia frame Poliphilo's narrative of self-transformation. The interest in gardens, in both medieval and Renaissance styles, is observable through the copious descriptions of gardens, the 285 botanical specimens listed in the text, and the 49 woodcuts depicting a botanical context. The symbolic

purpose of the gardens, where specifically-chosen plants are situated, establishes a context for Poliphilo's narrative of transformation.

This is examined, firstly, through the ways that the symbolic form of the gardens in Eleutherylida and Cytherea relate to Poliphilo's self-transformation in their metaphoric and allegoric components, facilitated through the process of walking; secondly, in Cytherea, through the symbolic form of the garden, and in relation to both the position and type of botanical items; and, lastly, through an examination of the Garden of Adonis as the context for Poliphilo's final stage of self-transformation.

Chapter six examines the medical tradition of lovesickness, analysing the physical descriptions narrated by Poliphilo as a real ailment that affects the body and brain through the humours. Constantine's *Viaticum* and the works of Galen offer literary examples of this physiological effect.

The medical attributes of lovesickness pertain to the literary genre of elegy, which consciously places Poliphilo amidst a discourse of literary love-struck protagonists, and within a contemporary climate that included the counter-literary genre of the 'ante-erotic.' This chapter considers how Poliphilo takes a literary position in an elegiac discourse with regard to contemporary Quattrocento publications and with medieval examples; and how Logistica assumes a narratological position defined by the contemporary ante-erotic literary discourse.

Finally, this chapter assesses the philosophical position of love in relation to the unique inclusion of the twin Venuses of Earthly procreative and Heavenly characteristics, which are given an equal narrative placement.

Chapter seven examines lovesickness in the interactions between Polia and Poliphilo in Book II, and how the description of sensory perception affects the theme of self-transformation in both detrimental and beneficial ways. This analysis focuses on the narration of lovesickness from both Poliphilo and Polia and its relationship to *honestum* in Polia, who, despite not describing a love of Poliphilo, begins to reflect the latter's condition of lovesickness and consequently inverts the malady by displaying symptoms without the original cause.

It considers how the worsening malady is narrated by Poliphilo as the experience of being 'diseased'. It is here that the theoretical framework in the text establishes an Aristotelian medical context to the physical 'diseased' body, while the anima receives a Platonic attribute, metaphysically transcending the corporeal through love. Love thematically transforms from a malady into a divine force; no longer destructive, but the impetus for self-transformation and initiation for Poliphilo.

Finally, it is important to state how this present work distances itself from those before it. It must be said that there are previous studies on Poliphilo's narrative of self-transformation, such as Calvesi's observation of the narrative as an alchemical allegory, or the 'viaggio dell'anima' by Mino Gabriele in the introduction to the Ariani and Gabriele 1998 commentary which observes the dream sequence as 'un'architettura dell'anima', establishing the romance as an exteriorization of Poliphilo's inner state and self-transformation. Roswitha Stewering's study of 'Architectural Representations' is a further study whose aims observe the philosophical and transformative nature of Polihpilo in the narrative. It must also be stressed, however, that within this relatively small discourse within Poliphilo studies the present work sets out a much larger perimeter of analysis: it will engage with the separate themes of each realm, how architecture and arithmosophy operates differently within each narrative stage; how the topography and botany operate as a reflection of the transforming interiority of Poliphilo. The present work offers, therefore, new insights, as well as additional conclusions to old insights, on the topic of Poliphilo's self-transformation. It does not, therefore, state that it is the first to engage with this theme, but perhaps the largest single study to do so.

2

Thresholds of Transformation

> This made me suspect, not unreasonably, that I had arrived at the vast Hercynian Forest, where there was nothing but the lairs of dangerous beasts and caverns full of noxious creatures and fierce monsters.
>
> Poliphilo
> *Hypnerotomachia* (p.14)

The narrative of the Hypnerotomachia (here, concerning the first book) is divided into three realms: the nameless first realm synonymous with Dante's *selva oscura*; a second realm entitled Eleutherylida; and a third entitled Telosia. Once Poliphilo falls asleep on his couch the narrative of the *Hypnerotomachia* follows Poliphilo awaken in a dream within a dark forest, where, after a prayer to Jupiter, he is induced into a second dream. He awakens in a different land, in the valley of the great sun pyramid within what we gather is the second half of the narrative of the first realm. After exiting the Magna Porta of this great pyramid he finds himself in the realm of Eleuterylida, and there, after wandering beside the buildings along the river, is taken by the maidens of the five senses to the palace of Queen Eleuterylida. Here, after a banquet and ballet he is led through the gardens of Queen Eleutherylida to reflect and form concepts on topics discussed by his guides, Logistica and Thelemia, where he reflects on a great water-labyrinth and the trinitarian monument.

They then lead him up to a mountain pass where he must choose to enter one of three gates, synonymous with the narrative of Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione*. Choosing the gate of love he here enters Telosia, and is guided by Polia past a procession of triumphs and the rites of the seasons, to the temple of Venus Phyisizoa where he is married to Polia. After this Poliphilo explores the ruins of a Polyandrion taking a moral lesson on tempering the soul's hot and cold reactions towards love, before sailing in the boat of eros to the island of Venus Cytherea. Here, Poliphilo explores the vast round gardens and woodlands, and taken inside the amphitheatre where he consummates

his wedding to Polia, before being led to the eastern part of the island where in the garden of Adonis he hears Polia recount her side of the tale, falls into a third, higher state of consciousness amidst the Gods and Goddesses, before awakening on his couch at home (see Tab. 2.1).

TABLE OF NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

Realm Number/Name	1 Nameless	2 (Eleuterylida)	3 (Telosia)
Narrative situation	The dark forest; the Sun Pyramid	Octagonal fountain and bathhouse; Palace and gardens of Eleutherylida	The three gates; Temple of Venus Physizoa; Polyandrion; Island of Venus Cytherea; Amphitheatre of Venus Cytherea; Garden of Adonis
Poliphilo's journey	Awakens in a dream. Falls into a second dream, awakening in a valley of classical ruins before the Sun Pyramid	Led by the five senses to the courtyard of Eleuterylida; led by two guides representing reason (Logistica) and feeling/will (Thelemia)	Led by Polia to the magical wedding ritual in the temple of Venus; consummation in the fountain of Venus Cytherea; final initiation in the garden of Adonis.
Buildings and objects of importance	The equestrian statue, the colossus, and obelisk bearing elephant; The Magna Porta	The open aired courtyard of Eleuterylida; the water-labyrinth; the trinitarian monument; the glass and silk gardens	The three portals; the chapel of Venus Physizoa; the tribunes of the Polyandrion; the fountain of Venus Cytherea; the fountain of Adonis

Tab. 2.1)

The story of Poliphilo's journey of self-transformation in the first book is, consequently, divided into three realms, and sub-divided into stages by a threshold that either demarcates geographic space as a boundary or architectural space.[1] The threshold in all three realms is used to define a narrative strongly symbolic of supersensible experience, allegorically relating the process of a metaphysical journey and thus the thresholds become agents of ontological experience.

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[1] On space and narrative see Monika Fludernik, *An Introduction to Narratology*, 1 edition (London: Routledge, 2009), 5–10.

Thresholds pertaining to the main narrative cannot be crossed at will, but require a form of interior advancement by Poliphilo, preventing narrative progression until he is adequately prepared. Progressing beyond the narrative thresholds requires two elements: the desire for Polia, and a need to achieve something in himself to progress to her. In the first realm defined by the *selva oscura* and valley of the Magna Porta, the threshold corresponds to the theme of moral advancement in overcoming the senses; epistemology characterises the thresholds of the second realm, in Eleuterylida, where interiority is advanced through percept and conceptualisation of both earthly and heavenly knowledge (most clearly represented in the water labyrinth and the trinitarian monument); in the third realm the experience of love in relation to an ascending ontology characterises the narrative threshold, most noticeably in the magical marriage in the temple of Venus Physizoa, the consummation of marriage in the fountain of Venus Cytherea, and the final stage of initiation in the garden of Adonis.

In this chapter I shall explain how the three realms function differently depending on the narrative of each realm; and how the theme of self-transformation is compartmentalised in its stages by the narrative-thresholds. It creates a structure that can be seen thus:

TABLE OF THE THREE REALMS

Realm Number/Name	1 Nameless	2 (Eleuterylida)	3 (Telosia)
Narratological theme	Morality	Epistemology	Ontology
Agency over threshold	Ethic	Earthly/heavenly knowledge + free-will	Love
	Self-Mastery	Percept and conceptualisation	Experience
Narratological Subject			

Tab. 2.2)

Tab. 2 displays the classical virtues of practicing ethics, epistemology and ontology in a journey that oscillates between natural physics and metaphysics. Once Poliphilo has developed each virtue respectively, they allow him to cross each respective threshold.[2] Thresholds are consequently

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[2] Consider Alberto Pérez-Gomez' remarks on architecture being a site of limitation and the threshold as metaphor for architecture's liminal condition, in Alberto Pérez-Gómez, 'Poliphilo's Thresholds: Alternatives for Nomadic

symbolic and literal, ontological and ekphrastic, and intimately related to Poliphilo's self-transformation.

Poliphilo, Morality, and the Thresholds of the First Realm

The opening scene of the *selva oscura* relates the forest to the body through a relationship with the senses and is thematically completed in the labyrinth of the Magna Porta, where interiority is metaphorically explored, expressing a narrative of self-transformation. The scene weaves together a plethora of literary references to classical deities, such as Echo, echoing Poliphilo's pains as he journeys through the forest; and botanical references such as *branca ursina*, or *arbuscati*, from Pliny, Perotti, or Niccolo Roccabonella, used for their less-beautiful aesthetic in the forbidding wood.[3]

The classical references convey Poliphilo's plight allegorically (as opposed to the literal exploration by Barolini and Irvins) as a tropological allegory concerned with ethics and salvation, whilst reflecting the dream-vision canon concerned with ontology and wisdom:[4]

> Per la quale cosa principiai poscia ragionevolmente suspicare et creder me pervenuto nella vastissima Hercynia silva, et quivi altro non essere che latibuli de nocentge fere et carvenicole de noxii animali et de serviente belve.
>
> (This made me suspect, not unreasonably, that I had arrived at the vast Hercynian Forest, where there was nothing but the lairs of dangerous beasts and caverns full of noxious creatures and fierce monsters.) (HP, 12).

The classical appropriation from Dante's *Inferno* indicates an existential crisis, echoing *The Cloud of Unknowing* and the later *Dark Night of the Soul,* emphasised through the first-person narration, or

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Dwelling', in *Transportable Environments 3*, by Robert Kronenburg and Filiz Klassen (Abington: Taylor and Francis, 2006), 9.

[3] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:[Met., 3, 339-510], 530-31; Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: edizione critica e commento*, 2:[Branca ursina see Plin. XXX 18; for arbuscati see Pliny. XVII 201], 15. On Boccaccio's herbal usage, Perotti's *Cornocopiae*, and the *Herbal* of Niccolo Roccabonella, which was 'on display in …Testa d'Ora from 1479 to the early sixteenth century', see Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 215.

[4] Guillaume De Lorris and Jean De Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Frances Horgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), The first 4,000 lines by Guillaume de Lorris; William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, trans. Schmidt A (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Ambrosias Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. William Harris Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009). See also Helen Barolini, *Aldus and His Dream Book* (New York: Italica Press, 2008), XXI; Ivins, 'The Aldine Hypnerotomachia Poliphili of 1499', 6. It is pertinent to recall the importance and the fourfold systemisation of medieval allegorical reading, see Stephen Barney, *Allegory: Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. Vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1989); Norman F. Cantor, *Civilization of the Middle Ages: Completely Revised and Expanded Edition, A* (London: Harper Collins, 2015), 40.

heterodiegetic voice.[5] Poliphilo is conscious of his plight, exclaiming, 'over la odibile morte oppetere overo nell'ombrifero et opaco luco nutante sperare salute … nel quale, quanto più che pervagando penetrava tanto più obscuriva' [would I meet a hateful death, or could I hope for rescue as I wandered the opaque and shadowed wood?…but my search only took me deeper in, and ever darker] into the trees, which police his exit (Figure 2.1).[6]

Contrary to Giannetto's romantic reading, the forest prevents Poliphilo's journey with the obstructing trees, and is finally crossed through a second dream induced by a moral act (suggestive of Dante's rules of a rational ethical and aesthetic world, which all creatures must obey).[7] The scene establishes the subsequent noetically-ascending oneirological structure, in which the anima must overcome its moral obstacles to proceed.

Fig. 2.1) Poliphilo in the *selva oscura* (p.14)

Poliphilo, without being able to exit, is reliant on Jupiter's grace for his salvation, reminiscent of Augustinian absolute surrender, and is rewarded by the heavenly music that he pursues instead of the bodily desire to quench his thirst:[8]

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[5] See Augustin's description of 'the cloud' in Saint Augustine, *The Confessions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). See also *The Cloud Of Unknowing* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001); Saint John of the Cross, *The Dark Night of the Soul* (New York: Cosimo, Inc., 2007). See also Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 245–50.

[6] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 15.

[7] Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto, '"Not before Either Known or Dreamt of": The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and the Craft of Wonder:', *Word and Image* Vol 31, no. No 2 (2015): 112–16; Olimpia Pelosi, 'Letteratura italiana e antropologia: percorsi bibliografici', *Annali d'Italianistica* 15 (1997): 19.

[8] Saint Augustine, *The Confessions*. See also the similar role that the saviour Virgil plays to the lost Dante at the beginning of the *Inferno*. Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*, trans. Robin Kirckpatrick (London: Penguin Classics, 2006).

Acadette che non cusì praesto le expectate et appetibile aque claustrale, nella cave ata mano ad la bucca aperta era per approximarle, che in quello instante audivi uno Do io cantare, che non mi suado, che Thamiras Thratio el trovasse, per le mie cavernicu ate orechie penetrante, et ad lo inquieto core tanto suave dolce et concino traiecta to. Cum voce non terrestre, cum tanta armonia, cum tanta incredibile sonoritate cum tanta insueta proportione umè! … reserati gli nodi se sparse ad humida terra.

(But just as I was raising my hands with the delicious and longed-for water to my open mouth, I was sure that it was by Thamyras of Thrace. It filled my disquieted heart with such sweetness and harmony, such increasable sonority and unusual rhythm that it could not be an earthly voice…My mind was as though stupefied and senseless, my appetite sated… I loosed my knuckles and spilled [the water] on the damp earth.) (HP, 17). (Figure 2.2).

Fig. 2.2) Poliphilo beside the stream hearing the heavenly music (p.18)

The divine music, neither in *translatio* (metaphor) or *denominatio* (metonym), but in allegory, becomes the means of crossing the threshold, operated by the active agent of morality, granting progress into a higher dream dimension and establishing a vertical axis of ontology alongside the horizontal axis of *character-focalized* narration and self-transformation, which progress together (see Figure 2.3).[9]

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[9] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:544; Thomas Reiser, *Francesco Colonna: Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Interlinearkommentarfassung* (Leipzig: TheonLykos, 2014), 32. See also Rosemary Trippe, "'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili", Image, Text, and Vernacular Poetics', *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 55, no. Issue 4 (Winter 2002): 1247. See Also Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 74.

Before the threshold

Horizontal axis of narratological progression

Agent of threshold crossing

THRESHOLD

Vertical axis of ontological ascension

I.E Morality in the first realm

Horizontal axis of self-transformation
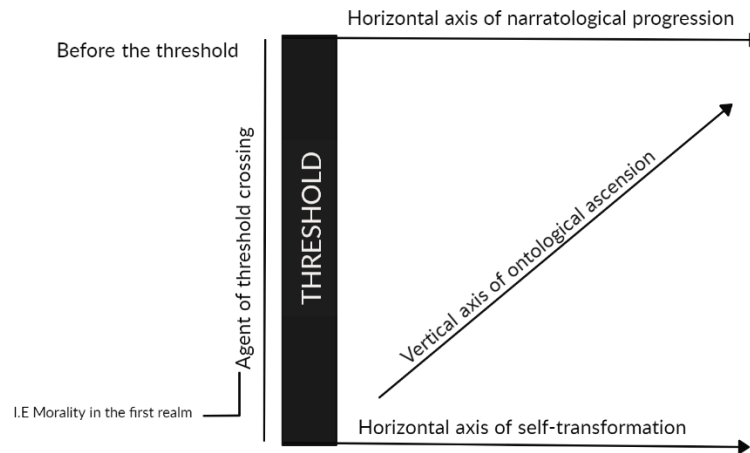
Fig 2.3.) Diagram detailing the narrative device of the threshold in the first realm

A relationship between the wood offering no escape and the body offering no relief of thirst is established, as Poliphilo exclaims: 'desiderando allhora Hypsipyle che ancora qual agli Graeci, Langia fonte mi monstrase … tanto era la mia sete insupportabile.' [How I longed for Hypsipyle to show me, too, the Spring of Langia, as she did to the Greeks!…so unbearable was my thirst.][10] This duality is dramatized through the theme of death and salvation from Statius's source of Langia, in which the king's son, left alone, is eaten by a dragon, contrasting with the life-giving source of water.[11] Exiting the *selva oscura* relates to the act of overcoming Poliphilo's compulsion for thirst, symbolic of mastering the senses, and his reward is the harmony that induces a second dream within the first dream, spreading throughout his body: 'i fui di eminente somno oppresso et, sparso per gli membri il dolce sopore, iterum mi parve de dormire' [An overwhelming drowsiness came over me, a sweet lassitude spread through my members, and it seemed to me that I slept again.] creating an ontological gateway of noetic ascension (Figure 2.4).[12] Space is symbolic

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[10] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* 19.
[11] Statius, *Thebaid*, trans. A. D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 4.716. See also Dante's *Inferno* and the three terrible figures of Hate, Cruelty and Baseness in the *Roman de la Rose* that also appear in the beginning of the poem in a wood, beside a stream, Guillaume De Lorris and Jean De Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, lines 139-149.
[12] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*

and transcendent, not an extension of the reader's space as in Sydney's later *Astrophil and Stella* or

Wroth's *Urania*.[13]

Fig. 2.4) Poliphilo falling into the second dream within the dream (p.20)

The threshold providing exit from the wood is not only a literary device but operates in the

freeing of the soul from the senses through self-restraint, expressing a theurgic principle. For

Aristotle, sound does not have a higher function and he refutes the notion of heavenly music.

Conversely, while hearing in the *Timaeus* is considered a sensory aid to wisdom, one of the senses

of the creator, together with seeing and knowing, it contrasts with the proximal bodily senses that

tempt one to detours of pleasure, impeding wisdom.[14]

Besides this *character-focalization* of narrative, the above introspection is further accomplished

through the *order* of events occurring in *acrony*. This establishes an experience of real-time, assisting

the sympathetic relation with Poliphilo the character, and allowing a narrative that delves into his

experiences to be successfully related to the reader. The real-time experience the author creates

allows for a sympathetic relationship to build with Poliphilo's experiences and through this draws

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[13] Hester Lees-Jeffries, 'Sidney, Wroth, Wilton House and the Songe de Poliphile', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, by Helen Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 203. On the image of nature in dreams, see Patrizia Castelli, 'La natura nel sogno', in *Uomo e natura nella letteratura e nell'arte italiana del Tre-Quattrocento: atti del convegno interdisciplinare, Firenze, 1987*, by Wolfram Prinz (Florence: Edifir, 1991), 201–30.

[14] Aristotle Aristotle, *On the Heavens*, trans. W. K. C. Guthrie, 2006 edition (Cambridge: Loeb, 1989), 36. This is differentiated from Plato, *Timaeus*, 41e in Carolyn Korsmeyer, *Making Sense of Taste: Food and Philosophy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 14; Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:XLVI.

the reader to emotionally follow Poliphilo's transformation in this scene, as he progresses out of the *selva oscura* synonymous with the binding grasp of the senses upon the soul. Powerful iterations of personal strife such as 'rinunciata la taediosa vita et proscripta' [I renounced my weary and outlawed existence] and 'cum gravissimi cogitamenti attonito et alienato, quasi maniando vacillava' [stunned and mindless after my heavy thoughts, indeed almost insane, I staggered again] help create this bridge between audience and character through sympathy, whilst representing Poliphilo's anguished state of existential crisis.

This conceptual life of the text is also observed in the *paratexts*.[15] In one of his preliminary remarks, Leonardo Grassi promotes a specific way of thinking about the book: 'Tanta est enim in eo non modo scientia, sed copia, ut, cum hunc videris, non magis omnes veterum libros quam naturae ipsius occultas res vidisse videaris' [For it contains not only knowledge, but, as you will see, more secrets of nature than you will find in all the books of the ancients.][16] The mystical narrative hinted at here by Grassi is foregrounded in the *selva oscura* and establishes the first realm's epistemological perimeters, which are:

1. Thresholds must be crossed after an interior progression is made;

2. Spiritual advancement is granted from Heaven after adequate interior advancement;

3. Morality in this realm is the agent of passing the divinely-empowered threshold.

The *locus amoenus* that Poliphilo awakens in re-enacts the psychological path of the medieval chivalric hero in the exploration of a valley of antique wonders, metaphorically expressing aspects of Poliphilo's transformation.[17] Firstly, the winged steed positioned here (interpreted by Calvesi as symbolising the dual nature of fortune/misfortune, which is corroborated by Flavia de Nicola's analysis) may be seen as an element of Poliphilo's past and present existence.[18] This is based on one of the bas-relief, where *Appio amaro* is carved, likely referring to *Apium graveolens,* used in the

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[15] Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 8.

[16] *Hypnerotomachia*, 2.

[17] On this matter see Hervé Brunon, 'Du "Songe de Poliphile" à la grande grotte de Boboli: la dualité dramatique du paysage', *Polia, Revue de l'art des jardins*, no. 2 (2004): 7.

[18] Calvesi, *La 'pugna d'amore in sogno' di Francesco Colonna romano*, 287.

Middle Ages to alleviate melancholy, and in funeral rites.[19] Secondly, carved on the bas-relief are the words TEMPUS (time), AMISSIO (loss), with the signature AMBIG .D.D, '*Deo Ambiguo Dedicatum'* (dedicated to the ambiguous gods), referencing for Pozzi the God Janus, symbol of time and change.[20] Consequently, the horse is related to Poliphilo's past lascivious misfortune through 'loss' and 'time', and to his present through the association with Janus, the God of new beginnings.

The obelisk-bearing elephant, by comparison, is defined by rational thinking and wisdom, yet is portrayed as both carrying the obelisk synonymous with wisdom and being penetrated by it. Should the elephant represent venereal forces of the soul, and the obelisk be associated with helical wisdom, the sculpture figuratively represents the sun's rays penetrating the soul with procreative life-force. It is thus an original creation by the author referencing the impregnation of the anima, and venereal properties of the soul, with spiritual light, echoing Poliphilo's future penetration of Polia. Thus, the elephant is defined by Poliphilo's future venereal wisdom, the winged steed is concupiscible, and the colossus is the irascible property of Plato's tripartite soul.[21]

This moment of reflecting on previous and current existences in order to progress toward the promise of a future one is most clearly defined on the threshold of the Magna Porta where Poliphilo confronts a dragon: 'Ecco di subito io vedo apertamente al lime de porta … ma uno spaventevole et horrendo dracone' [suddenly there appeared on the threshold of the portal … a frightful and horrific dragon] (Figure 2.5), from which he flees into a labyrinth.[22]

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[19] Flavia De Nicola, 'Equus infoelicitatis: analisi iconografica di una xilografia dell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili fra testo e immagine', *Bollettino Telematico dell'Arte*, April 2015, 12.

[20] Nicola, 12.

[21] For further analysis on the relationship between the association between the rational soul and the elephant, see Flaminia Cosmelli, 'L'elefante, l'albero e l'obelisco', *Storia dell'arte*, 1989. For the relationship between this woodcut and Bernini's later sculpture, see William S. Heckscher, 'Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk', *The Art Bulletin* 29, no. 3 (1 September 1947): 155–82. For the relationship with other artists see Michael Petzet, 'Der obelisk des Sonnenkönigs', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 47, no. 4 (1984): 439–64. See also Mino Gabriele, 'Armonie ineffabili nell'"Hypnerotomachia Poliphili"', *Musica e storia*, no. 1/2007 (2007): 57. On the *Hypnerotomachia* as an expression of erotic frenzy and a work by Alberti, see J. P. Guepin, 'L'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: espressione di "furore erotico" o di "purus amor"?', *Incontri* Vol. 14, no. No. 2-3 (1999): 117–21.

[22] *Hypnerotomachia*, 61.
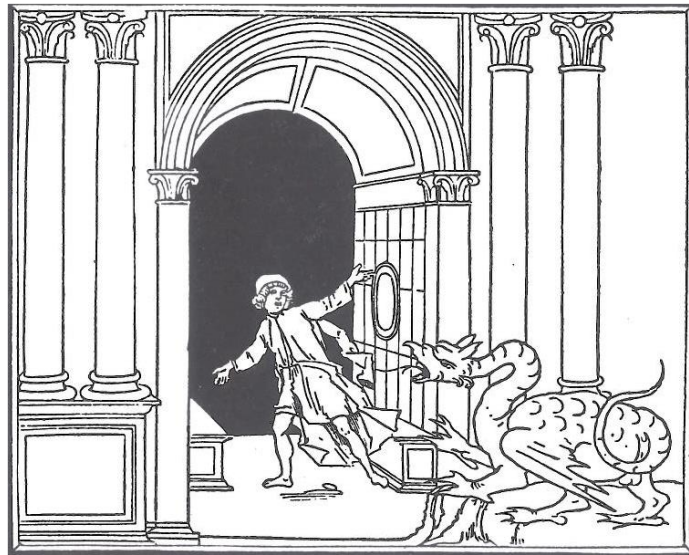
Fig. 2.5) Poliphilo fleeing from a dragon upon the inner threshold of the Magna Porta (p.62)

The iconography, possibly taken from woodcuts of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* printed in Venice in 1497, reads in Ovid and Macrobius as a symbol of vigilance, in contrast to the oblivion of memory that the dragon induces, which, Gabriele argues, relates to the 'vigilans dormiat', forgetfulness inflicted by the libido and the senses, and the fear felt by the soul separating itself from the body.[23] It may also allude to the wyvern of Italian bestiaries contrasting with the saint's virtue and symbolising the baseness of Poliphilo's desires, from which he flees, embodying, in the form of the beast, the base nature of his previous existence under the power of the senses over the soul.[24]

Here, the language is developed in weaving ekphrasis and parenthesis, creating linguistic thresholds requiring what Capello calls the creative efforts of the reader, in a narrative described by Edgar Wind as the mystagogic 'initiation of the soul to its final fate.'[25] The transition between these two forms of writing can be seen as Poliphilo narrates, from: 'Manifesto è che il residuo dilla

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[23] Macrobius, Sat., 1, 20, 3 'Nam ferunt hunc serpent acie acutissima et pervigili naturam sideris huius imitari, atque ideo aedium adytorum oraculorum thesaurorum custodium draconibus adsignari', see Ovid, Met., 7, 149. 'Pervigilem ... draconem ... / dentibus horrendo custos, in Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:655. See also Ariani and Gabriele, 2:655.

[24] Helmut Nickel, 'Of Dragons, Basilisks, and the Arms of the Seven Kings of Rome', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* Vol 24 (1989): 25.

[25] Christopher J. Nygren, 'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and Italian Art circa 1500: Mantegna, Antico, and Correggio', *Word and Image* 31, no. 2 (3 April 2015): 142; Sergio Cappello, 'L'enigma antiquario nell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', in *Lettere e arti nel Rinascimento. Atti del X Convegno internazionale, Chianciano*, ed. Franco Cesati (Florence: Chianciano-Pienza, 1998), 435–48; Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 54, 65.

antedicta clausura et da una et da l'altra parte era magno ostentamento di stupendo fabricato' [The remainder of the enclosure I have mentioned had evidently been built up with great splendour on both sides] to 'sencia quasi spirito nel pauculo animo, ciascuna divina potentia tremendo et perterrefacto divotamente invocai … converse le spalle, nella obscuritate intrando' [With my poor soul almost spiritless, in my fear and trembling I devoutly invoked every divine power … I turned my back and entered in full flight into the darkness], before exiting naked through a 'subtilissimo spiraculo de infundibulo' [narrow funnel shaped tube] here representing Poliphilo's spiritual rebirth after fleeing the dragon into the darkness.[26] The two forms of writing are distinct but fused through the use of the threshold.

The threshold also divides the external from Poliphilo's interior (see Figure 2.6). [27] The narrative transitions from description to an introspective space, emphasised through the labyrinth type in the Magna Porta.[28] The labyrinth is a central concept in Virgil's *Aeneid* – characterising labour, error, and confusion – summarised in 'hic labour ille domus et inextricabilis error' [Here is the toil of that house, and the inextricable wandering] a notion that denotes Poliphilo's own interior struggle, where the darkness in the depths of the underground labyrinth of the Magna Porta represents the lack of spiritual wisdom that shall be gained in Eleuterylida.[29]

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[26] Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. 54, 62, 65.

[27] Gabriele, 'Armonie ineffabili nell'"Hypnerotomachia Poliphili"', 57.

[28] Through the twists, turns, and dark and gloomy interior, it is Renaissance in type. Kern states, once at the centre, 'our subject is all alone, encountering him or herself, a divine principle, a Minotaur, or anything else for which the 'centre' might stand.' Hermann Kern, Through the Labyrinth: Designs and Meanings Over 5,000 Years (Munich: Prestel, 2000), 115. See also Penelope Reed Doob, The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 1.

[29] Virgil, Aeneid (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6.27. Translated by myself.
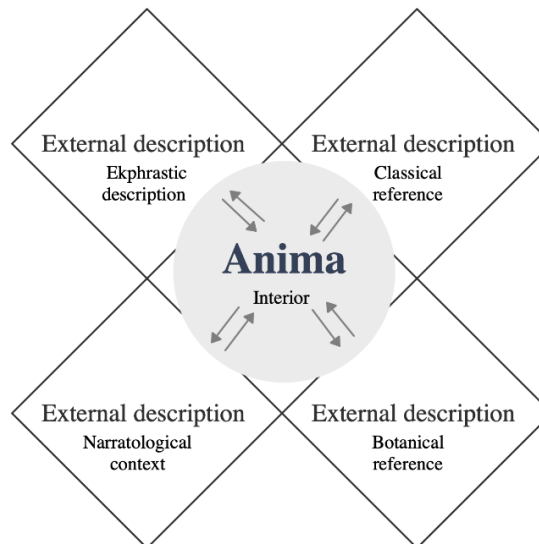
Fig. 2.6) Diagram detailing the threshold between exterior context and interiority

Similar to Roswitha Stewering's notion that both landscape and architecture 'reflect the stages of the lover's *rapprochement*,' in this diagram the external details of symbolic classical references – botanical, sculptural or architectural – express the state of Poliphilo's transforming anima.[30]

A final example of the transformation on the level of morality that Poliphilo undergoes in the first realm is described in a sculptural relief on the Magna Porta, whose iconography illustrates the moral theme at work in this realm, and the agent required to cross its threshold. Here, a middle-aged man sits on a rock, wrapped in a goatskin, before an anvil upon which he is working. Next to him is a winged woman with a naked infant being lifted from her 'maternal thighs' and the anvil.[31] This figural group references Vulcan, Venus and Cupid. However, the iconography also bears a narratological implication in which Vulcan personifies 'will' through a relationship with Poliphilo's interiority.[32] The representation of humble activity is testified through the simple mineral and animal components and his position by the anvil. The naked child, resting on his anvil

[30] Roswitha Stewering and Lorna Maher, 'The Relationship between World, Landscape and Polia in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Word and Image* 14, no. 1–2 (1 January 1998): 2. See also Gerhard Goebel, 'Poeta faber: erdichtete architektur in der italienischen, spanischen und französischen literatur der Renaissance und des Barock', *Arcadia* Vol. 9, no. No. 1 (January 1974): 61–71. For the sculptural description of the banquet and its platonic references in Eleuthrylida see Ken Albala, 'Poliphilo's Dream of Divine Feeding', *CEA Critic* 69, no. 1/2 (2006): 80.
[31] *Hypnerotomachia*, 48.
[32] Erwin Panofsky, *Studies In Iconology: Humanistic Themes In The Art Of The Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2018), 148–49. See also Pozzi and Ciapponi, 'La cultura figurativa di Francesco Colonna e l'arte veneta', 159.

and Venus's thigh, represents the fruits of yoking the will to a higher pursuit through love, is referenced in the woman's 'hair combed forward over her broad brow and copiously encircling her head' that identifies her as Venus.[33]

Poliphilo, Knowledge, and the Threshold in Eleutherylida

In the second realm, commencing once Poliphilo exits the Magna Porta, the narrative becomes mostly concerned with reflection and conceptualisation. Consequently, the narrative-tool of the threshold is philosophically rather than morally charged, thus we see that his physical progress made in this realm is after an epistemological, rather than ethical, advancement. That is not to say that all of Eleuterylida reads as a philosophic narrative entirely, indeed, at the beginning of his journey through Eleuterylida Poliphilo meets a group of maidens representing the five senses, that, in the countryside, jokingly arouse him unto uncontrollable sexual desire, where he exclaims 'Perdonatime che me contorqueo più che una salicea strophia' [forgive me for twisting like a willow wand].[34] The topographical threshold in this geographic region distinguishes this light hearted space from the architectural space of the octagonal fountain just prior, assisting the author in modulating between dialogue and comic relief to architectural ekphrasis, and before the philosophic narrative that characterises the court and gardens of Eleuterylida.

This philosophic narrative is most apparent in the sequence of the two gardens, in which Poliphilo journeys with two embodied aspects of his psyche: Logistica, or 'reason', and Thelemia, or 'will-desire', representing a subjective faculty, supporting Michael Leslie's observation that Poliphilo's journey progresses by external help only.[35] Here (as will be examined) the threshold has

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[33] *Hypnerotomachia*, 58.

[34] *Hypnerotomachia*, 87.

[35] Michael Leslie, 'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and the Elizabethan Landscape Entertainments', *Word and Image* 14, no. 1–2 (1 January 1998): 142. Readers would have been familiar with this device from medieval Christian allegories, namely the *Roman de la Rose*, as an *alieniloquium*, that is, as Isidore's definition of *allegoria* states, 'saying something else', in John V. Fleming, *Roman de La Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 5. For the relationship between Logistica, Thelemia, epistemology and architecture, see Deborah van der Plaat, '"Would You Know the New, You Must Search the Old": William Lethaby's Architecture, Mysticism and Myth (1891) and the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1499)', *Fabrications* 12, no. 1 (June 2002): 7. On architectural aesthetic see Keith Evan Green, 'Between Angels and Lovers (The Architect's Proper Embrace)', *Architectural Theory Review* 3, no. 2 (November 1998): 35.

changed from being divinely empowered in the *selva oscura* sequence, to being guarded by Poliphilo's interior guides (Logistica and Thelemia), stressing the action of active self-transformation in order to physically progress past the thresholds guarded by his two guides.

Poliphilo is led through the glass garden that lies to the left of the palace by the subjective faculty of Thelemia, who guides him through a space representing the vainglorious nature of man on account of its position, and material.[36] There is an initial *elipses* from the palace to the garden, summarised in the exclamation 'Le due comite delegate me festivamente cum domestica promptitudine et gesti virginei prehenseron' [The two companions took me gaily with unceremonious speed and virginal gestures][37] followed by the rest of events occurring in *acrony* describing a 'et al sinistro … uno spectatissimo viridario' [gorgeous orchard on the left] and 'capsule hortense' [flower beds] made from 'purgatissimo vitro' [clear glass] that he observes when being led through this garden in real time.[38] This places emphasis on the narration of the garden area and not the space leading up to it.[39] The garden sequences in *acrony,* where the reader experiences Poliphilo experiences in real-time, assists, as in the *selva oscura*, in a sympathetic relation to his character, and assisting in comprehending the conceptual subject matter.

An example of the advancement in knowledge as a *thematic patterning* of the Eleutherylidian thresholds occurs in this glass garden on the far west side when Poliphilo is led by Logistica up a spiral staircase to the sight of a colossal water labyrinth circling seven towers: 'Poliphile, ascendamo questa excellentissima specula propinque al giordino.' Et rimanendo giù Thelemia, per cochleaeta scansione, nella superna parte coaequata, alacramente salissemo' [Poliphilo, let us go up this fine tower near the garden.' Leaving Thelemia behind, we leapt nimbly up the spiral staircase to the flat

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[36] Poliphilo's knowledge of the technical practices (here, and in the glass lamps burning with 'the spirit of wine distilled five times' from Venus's bath) of Murano opaque glass was rare in the fifteenth century, suggesting an interest in alchemical practices and the transformational potential of material. On this matter see Khomentovskaia, 'Felice Feliciano da Verona comme l'auteur de l' Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', 92–93.

[37] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 123.

[38] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 123.

[39] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 97.

top], depicting seven separate scenes leading to a central portal, indicative of the afterlife.[40]

Suggestive of Glenn Ehrstine's phrase of 'performative acts of the imagination' (a typical medieval

trope), the scene portrays groups of people who, after entering the labyrinth, cannot turn back so

travel from tower to tower before being struck down by a dragon.[41] Logistica tells Thelemia:

> Non era sufficiente solamente al nostro curioso Poliphilo di vedere, ma ancora ch'io li
> desse comperto di quello che la materia, non potendo ire, cum il mio interpretato almeno
> intendando el possi cognoscere
>
> (It was not enough for our curious Poliphilo simply to see, but I had to give him
> information about that which matter cannot penetrate, so that at least he could know it by
> hearing my interpretation). (HP, 127).

The threshold of the staircase ascended by Logistica represents the act of achieving higher thought,

where Poliphilo comprehends a vision not ordinarily accessible, of the soul's procession through

life and into death.[42] This has similarly prompted both Jeffries and Kern to suggest that this

labyrinth is a picture of life that, although taking influence from classical sources for the

relationship between life and water, is singular to the author in the idea of the water labyrinth.[43]

Gabriele comments in greater detail, observing '7' circuits per '7' towers, thus totalling '49' turns,

the Aristotelian number of years needed for the soul's maturity (Figures 2.7-8):

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[40] Although denoting an archetype of luxury and vanitas, as well as a pertinent example of the Renaissance interest in representational plastic art as a 'second nature', this is probably a literary reference to the palace covered in glass by Filarete, or Pliny's glassy tesserae theatre scene of Marco Scauro. See Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:726–37.

[41] As opposed to the kinesthetic mode of threshold-crossing analysed by Ehrstine looking at mystery plays in German-speaking Europe, we are dealing here with the purely imaginative faculty of audience performative acts, most relatable to the *Roman de la Rose*, *La Commedia*, and *Amorosa Visioni*. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson, *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), 5.

[42] Pozzi here reminds us of the Dream of Scipio, Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: edizione critica e commento*, 2:127.

[43] Hester Lees-Jeffries, *England's Helicon: Fountains in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 48; Kern, *Through the Labyrinth*, 188. On the river of life deriving from Heraclitus see Seneca, *Epistulae Morales Ad Lucilium*, ed. Richard M. Gummere (Creative Media Partners, 2019), 58; Apuleius, *De Platone et eius dogmate* (Bononia University Press, 2016), 1, 6. On the universal flow see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 15.178. On life as a navigation within the whirling of time see Seneca, *Epistulae Morales Ad Lucilium*, 70, 2.

Planetary influences on the sevenfold numeric phases of life
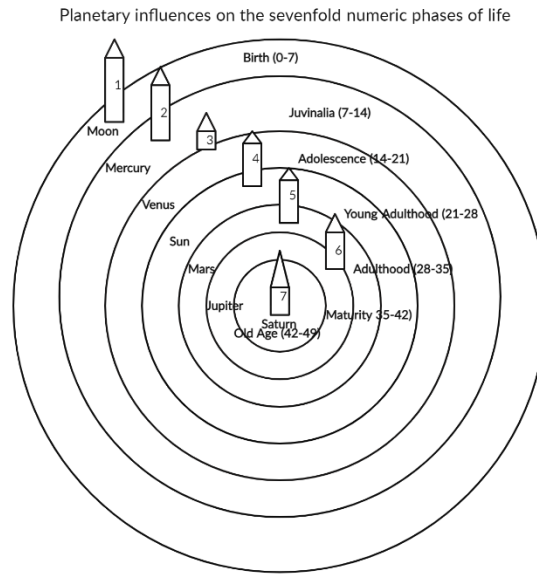
Fig. 2.7) The water labyrinth vision

Le loup des dieux, qui est sans pitie.
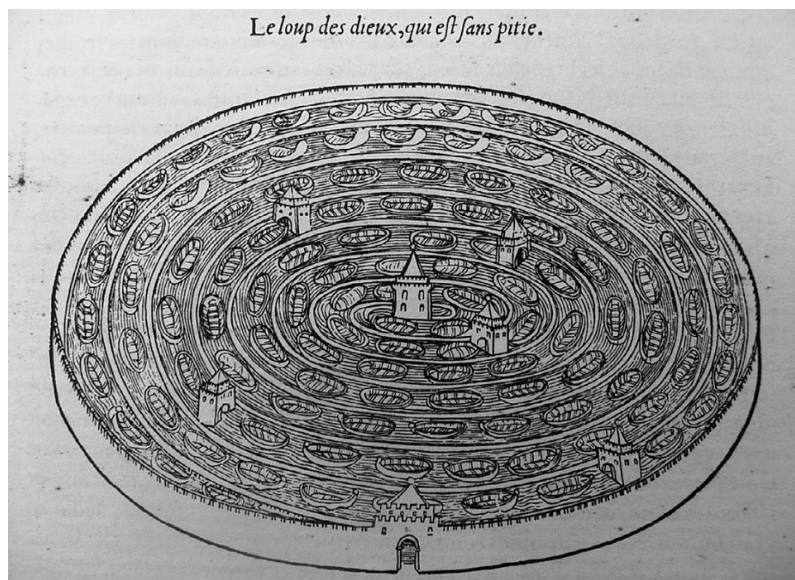
Fig. 2.8) Illustration from *Le Songe de Poliphile* (1546)

Figure 7, informed by Gabriele's commentary of this vision and accompanied by the 1546 French illustration, describes a sevenfold set of periphrases, which reflects the author's conception of the process of crossing thresholds being firmly rooted in free will yet necessitated by assistance within an ontologically-ascending paradigm, partially ruled through arithmosophical and astrological determinism of the soul, passing through seven towers and seven turns into its maturity at the 49th

year (7x7).[44] The arithmosophical determinism places further parameters in the use of the divinely-powered threshold, suggesting Poliphilo's journey of the soul must take place only after the first three rudimentary seven-year cycles have passed and have appropriately formed the soul into a suitable shape to make its journey.[45] The importance of this description is that its conceptual framework functions identically to the narratological logic that Poliphilo is bound by: development exists in divisions formulated by external powers, presented here as a metanarrative.[46]

In Plato's *Thaeatetus* the spiral is seen by Theodorus, the geometrician, as a visual metaphor for the harmony of united strands of thought, representing knowledge.[47] Similarly, the harmony of Thelemia and Logistica allows Poliphilo to achieve knowledge: the threshold of the spiral staircase becomes metaphorical for contemplation, where reason, as the agent facilitating the ascent of thought, presents an image of a vision of life.[48] This is equally apparent in the similarity with Cicero's *De Re Publica,* in which Scipio the younger is confronted by Scipio Africanus and learns of the heavens according to Ptolemaic cosmology, of the smallness of the earth, of the immortality of the soul, and the judgement of souls in the afterlife as dependent upon earthly actions displaying in this sequence a common attribute of the philosophical dream narrative.[49] Poliphilo comprehends the knowledge he is receiving from Logistica, representing, like the narrative of Scipio Africanus, a meditative introspection as a means to knowledge and means to progression.

It is also in keeping with the tradition of the *hortus deliciarum*, like Augustine, John Scot, Alain de Lille, and John Salisbury, that creating gardens from 'ineluctable scriptural meaning' into the 'ambiguous arena of the "lust of the eyes"', a space that is familiar in moral allegory, but is here

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[44] Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. Hugh Lawson-Tancred, Reissue edition (New York: Penguin Classics, 1991), 1390b. See also Ariani and Gabriele, 729. For a definition of arithmosophical, I refer to the symbolism and philosophic meaning of the use of specific numbers, here from Platonic and Aristotelian texts.

[45] Carl Nordenfalk, 'The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 48 (1985): 19–22. See also Ambrosius Aurelius Theodosius Macrobius, *The Saturnalia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 19.

[46] On the use of metanarrative in medieval narrative see Fludernik, *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology*, 80.

[47] Plato, *Timaeus and Critias* (London: Penguin UK, 2008), 153a.

[48] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:726–43.

[49] The Dream of Scipio, in Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De re publica. De legibus* (New York: Leob, 1970), VI 9-29. See also Spearing, *Medieval Dream-Poetry*, 8.

emphasised for its epistemological value.[50] Logistica gives 'laudava la praestante' [remarks in praise] for the garden's subject but 'et vituperando la sua natura' [disparaging of its [fragile] nature], possibly borrowing her view from Horace and Petrarch, the latter of whom states:[51]

> Lasso, non di diamante, ma d'un vetro
> Vessio di man cadermi ogni Speranza
> Et tutti miei pensier' romper nel mezzo[52]

> [Frame not of diamond, but of glass
> I want to lose all Hope
> And all my thoughts will break in the middle][53]

This imaginative form of *priori* relates to Poliphilo's perception of the transitory ephemeral beauty of the world represented by the glass garden, and his belief that the connection to the water labyrinth lies in the motto of the first tower: 'ΔΟΖΑ ΚΟΖΣΜΙΚΗΩΣ ΠΟΜΦΟΛΥΣ' [Worldly glory is like a bubble.] Here, knowledge of the fragile and transitory state of nature on the conceptualisation of his percept (aided by reason/Logistica) is understood, allowing him to experience the vision positioned above Thelemia (sensation). Consequently, numerous thresholds are at play here, demarking space between sensation and rational thinking; thematically between morality and epistemology; textually between reader and author, through the performative act of understanding the author's allegory; and literarily between this narrative, the speculum, moral allegory, and dream-vision medieval narratives.[54]

Once Poliphilo has understood what Logistica has shown him, Thelemia leads them into the silk garden on the right hand side, saying: 'Andiamo a spasso all'altro giardino … contiguo allo alamento dextro del superbo, magno et regio pallatio' [Let us walk to the other garden adjoining the right wing of the great, proud and royal palace].[55] Here, worldly vainglory is depicted to the left, synonymous with evil, and the divine image of being to the right, synonymous with the sacred.

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[50] John Fleming, *Medieval Gardens* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 234.
[51] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 123.
[52] Horace, *The Satires of Horace* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 221–22; Petrarch, *Canzoniere* (Penguin UK, 2002), 12–14.
[53] Translated by myself.
[54] Consider the relationship between the protagonist and the embodied beings in the garden of pleasure, Guillaume De Lorris and Jean De Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, 139–1445.
[55] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphilo*, 127.

The silk garden is accessed to the right of the palace opposite the glass garden on the left, where Poliphilo reached the vision of earthly life. The threshold into this final garden is crossed after deep meditation in order to contemplate the Christian-platonic concept of 'being', the highest aspect of the epistemological threshold, represented in the object of the trinitarian monument observed at the far-right side of the silk garden. Upon this obelisk (Figure 2.9) are the symbols of the sun, a rudder, and a flaming vase. Above these are pictured the Greek letters *Omicron*, *Omega* and *Nu*. Logistica translates the hieroglyphs on this obelisk as 'DIVINAE INFINITAEQUE TRINITATI UNIUS ESSENTIA' (TO THE DIVINE AND INFINITE TRINITY, ONE IN ESSENCE) and describes the sun as joy and power over everything, the rudder as infinite governing wisdom, and the flaming vase as symbolising a loving participation in all things.[56]
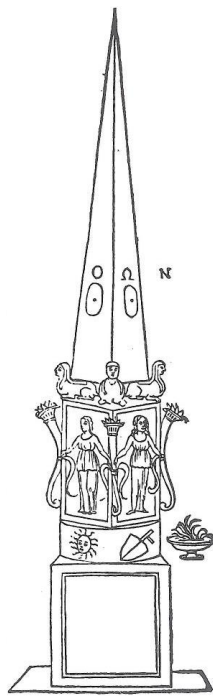
Fig. 2.9) The obelisk of the Holy Trinity (p.129)

Wind defines it only as a truly mysterious monument, and Pozzi restricts himself to tracing the sources of the cube to Alberti, and the Greek writing that runs along its sides to Plato. Giehlow and Volkmann do not go beyond general allusions to the Pythagorean and Hermetic-Christian culture of Ficino and Pico, whilst Calvesi describes only the symbolism of the Holy Christian

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[56] *Hypnerotomachia*, 129-30.

Trinity.[57] In agreement with Gabriele's notion that it is 'forse il vertice simbolico più ardito ed enigmatico di tutto il romanzo [perhaps the most daring and enigmatic symbolic vertex of the whole novel] (and a wholly original creation by the author) we can see it as a narratological marker of Poliphilo's transformation.[58] It is a further creation of the author's metanarrative that, like the water-labyrinth, relates his philosophical experiences to the reader, but must be understood with regard to Poliphilo's interiority. The threshold into this garden divides mental states of thinking in the contemplation and conceptualisation of knowledge. The gardens are intrinsically linked to Poliphilo, geographic location is a reflection of his soul, and crossing the threshold into the silk garden is crossing a threshold into the highest contemplative space of Poliphilo.

Written on the side of the cube, from Plato, is 'ΔΥΣ Α ΑΩΤΟΣ' [hard to comprehend].[59] This refers to the material principle of the universe, the mother/receptacle of what is visibly and sensibly generated.[60] The Greek (Ὁ ὬΝ, Yahweh in Hebrew) means 'I AM', referencing God's response to being asked his name on Mount Sinai.[61] It is thus the nature of the ascending ontology of the soul to the original demiurge/cosmic mind, symbolised through the contrast with matter and the 'I am' principle of the soul.[62] Crossing the threshold into experiencing and understanding the monument signifies sufficient epistemological development by Poliphilo. The relief representing a trinity is described by Logistica as being comprised of joy and power, comprehension of all things, and participation in the love of all things.[63] This signifier is reflected in the microcosm of Poliphilo's narratological position: having achieved moral power over himself in freeing his senses

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[57] Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, 1958, 310; Karl Giehlow, 'Die hieroglyphen kunde des humanismus in der allegorie des Renaissances besonders der ehrenpforte kaisers Maximilian I', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* Vol. 32, no. No. 1 (1915): 73–75; Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance: hieroglyphik und emblematik in ihren beziehungen und fortwirkungen* (Leiden: De Graaf, 1969), 18; Calvesi, *La 'pugna d'amore in sogno' di Francesco Colonna romano*, 118–19; Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: edizione critica e commento*, 2:124–25.

[58] Ariani, Gabriele, 747.

[59] Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, 51b.

[60] Plato, 49a–53a.

[61] On one of the many levels of iconographical reading of this symbol we may interpret an allusion to the burning bush and Moses' active participation as a narrative prototype on the subject of being.

[62] Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, 41d.

[63] *Hypnerotomachia*, 129.

he now advances in knowledge of the world and heavens, before the loving union he will enact with Polia in a theurgic ascension above earthly matter.

One of the remarkable features of the *Hypnerotomachia*, which it goes beyond the remit of this chapter to fully analyse, are the thresholds between text and images. Throughout the text there is a seamless inclusion of the pictorial within the textual body, illustrating the narrative with quick succession of representation, often within the same scenes, creating a visual portrayal of the narrative as opposed to occasional stand-alone representations. There is, consequently, a purposeful homogeneity of image and text created at both great expense and time; they are not simply added to the narrative on facing pages, nor sporadically included, but are made part of the written body similar to the *il trattato d'architettura* of Serlio. Categorisation of the images includes, but not excluded to, architectural representations (with many incorrect attributions when compared to the text), narrative cartoons illustrating story and plot, illustrations of objects, illustrations of ceremony and ritual, and reliefs and epigraphs, possibly stemming the textual description through pictorial representation, or else serving as pictorial clarification to textual description.[64] They enhance the thematic progression of the narrative as pictorial aids without distracting the reader from the text (Fig. 2.10).

There is, however, an issue with the images with regards to analysis of the narrative. We know from depictions of, for instance, the Magna Porta (c8r) and temple of Venus Physizoa (n3r) that some illustrations do not depict the narrative correctly (with incorrect representation of capitals and columns, respectively, in those examples). Although we may speculate as to the extent the author was involved in the images (either by stating in his manuscript where the images should go, or with further addition of details, such as a rough image for the artist to work from) the extent of the author's input in the images is still not clear. Based on this I shall not offer further analysis

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[64] On this matter consider the remarks by Pozzi, and Refini Giovanni Pozzi, 'Ll "Polifilo" Nella Storia Del Libro Illustrato Veneziano', in *Giorgione e l'Umanesimo Veneziano*, ed. Rodolfo Pallucchini (Florence: Olschki, 1981), 89–113; Eugenio Refini, 'Leggere Vedendo, Vedere Leggendo. Osservazioni Su Testo Iconico e Verbale Nella Struttura Della "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili"', *Italianistica: Rivista Di Letteratura Italiana* 38, no. 2 (2009): 146–48.

between image and text. This is in part due to the difficulty of authorship over the images, and the difficulty of attributing any symbolism found in the narrative to exist equally in them. Nonetheless, the images offer a highly inventive visual representation of the narrative and its settings and serve to emphasise the importance of the narrative, and the author's inventions within it.
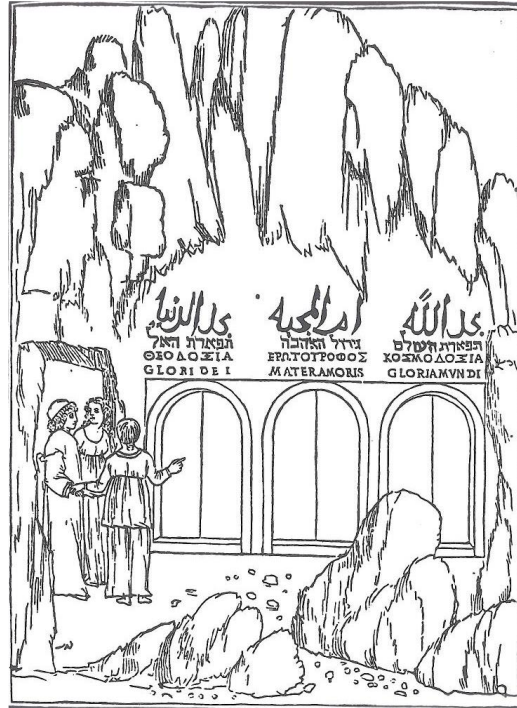
Fig. 2.10) The three portals of Eleuterylida's mountain pass (p.135)

Poliphilo, Love and the Threshold in Telosia

In the third realm, after having chosen the central portal, the *vita voluptuaria*, the threshold is characterised by a venereal experience over an ontological threshold, where the narrative continues on account of Poliphilo's sufficient initiate experiences.[65] If we examine the scenes outside and within the Temple of Venus Physizoa, the architectural threshold thematically divides the union in the temple from what is outside it in an ontologically ascending narrative. In the temple, led now by Polia, his Sophianic guide comparable with Beatrice, Poliphilo is magically united with her, suggestive of Stewering's notion of a combination of male and female elements (mind and form/matter).[66] The pagan marriage acts as part of the final stage of the mystagogic journey,

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[65] The term 'Venereal' is used specifically with regard to the experience of love under the ruling powers of Venus.
[66] Gabriele, 'Armonie ineffabili nell'"Hypnerotomachia Poliphili"', 57., From the Greek meaning 'End-Aim'; the symbolic character of Telosia being often omitted from research, such as in Madison U. Sowell, 'Erminia Ardissino.

mimicking the *Roman del la Rose* in the tropological climax of the *Miroër aus Amoureus*.[67] Again, the use of *heterodiegetic* narration occurring in *acrony* emphasises Poliphilo's interior experiences, and our comprehension of this experience, through the narrative's symbolic episodes.

Firstly, with regard to Poliphilo's experience outside of the Temple of Venus Physizoa we read 'io vidi grande turma de insueta gente et raro visa" [I saw a great crowd gathered of extraordinary people] who we learn bear certain objects and engravings of importance, where he observes the procession of fauns pulling the chariot of Vertumnus and Pomona (proceeded by Faunus). This procession represents a metaphor for the passing of time and the renewal of nature through the hourglass, the cornucopia of fruits, and the tablets of the four seasons (Figures 2.11-15) and portrays a pageant of Dionysian mysticism and fecundity of nature in this *locus amoenus*.

Fig. 2.11) The procession of Vertumnus and Pomona (p.191)

Tasso, Plotino, Ficino: In margine ad un postillato.', *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (ed 2004): 1366. The choice of the central door of love is observed as a literary reference to the choice of Hercules, yet the original choosing of love is often unanalysed, see Federica Pagliarini, 'La xilografia di Polifilo davanti alle tre porte dell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Bollettino Telematico dell'Arte*, 2015, 8. See also Stewering, 'Architectural Representations in the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" (Aldus Manutius, 1499)', 9.

[67] Fleming, *Medieval Gardens*, 234; Hester Lees-Jeffries, 'Sacred and Profane Love: Four Fountains in the Hypnerotomachia (1499) and the Roman de La Rose', *Word and Image* 22, no. 1 (1 January 2006): 1–13.

TO FLOWERING SPRING.

Fig. 2.12) Relief of a depiction of Spring in the procession of Vertumnus and Pomona (p192.)

TO YELLOW HARVEST.

Fig. 2.13) Relief of a depiction of Summer in the procession of Vertumnus and Pomona (p.193)

TO AUTUMN VINTAGE.

Fig. 2.14) Relief of a depiction of Autumn in the procession of Vertumnus and Pomona (p.193)

TO WINTER WINDS.

Fig. 2.15) Relief of a depiction of Winter in the procession of Vertumnus and Pomona (p.194)

The procession of Faunus is followed by Janus (Figure 2.16), 'Hora, drieto a questo glorioso triumph, conducevano cum antiqua et silvatica cerimonia illaqueato el seniculo Iano' [now behind the glorious triumph they led little old Janus, harnessed with ancient woodland ceremony], original to the author in his placement behind Vertumnus and Pomona in an Priapeian procession.[68] Evoked at the beginning of the narrative as the guardian of the threshold and Poliphilo's journey,

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[68] See Francesco Petrarca, *Trionfi* (Milan: Mondatori, 1996), Cupidinis I-V.

Janus implies a power over the personified chaotic venereal life of the elements and seasons as the God of beginnings and endings.[69] This liminal space demarcates the threshold of the temple as the end of Poliphilo's old life and beginning of the new as master of his own elements, whilst looking forward to enacting the procreative powers of marriage, synonymous with the rites of Flora.[70] Mirroring the procession, gender agency is here reversed as Polia leads Poliphilo to the temple before performing the sacred rites with the hierophant who permits or restrains his mobility, unlike the male-led figures outside the temple, indicating the internal area represents the soul, and opposed to external area of nature.[71] The scene is also witty, satirising Patrarch's *Triunfi*, with the great God referred to as 'illaqueato el seniculo Iano' and depicted with an enormous erection, which, beside its representation of nature's fecundity, bears an element of tongue-in-cheek.

Fig. 2.16) Celebration of Janus (p.195)

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[69] Ariani and Gabriele, 833.

[70] *Hypnerotomachia*, 195. See also Sheila Sweetinburgh, 'Religious Women in the Landscape: Their Roles in Medieval Canterbury and Its Hinterland', in *Gender in Medieval Places, Spaces and Thresholds*, ed. Victoria Blud, Diane Heath, and Einat Klafter (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2019), 12–15.

[71] For a general analysis on gender see Emma Letizia Jones, 'Castles in the Air', *Cartha* 2, no. 1 (2017); Mary Louise Ennis, 'From Gardens to Grub Street: Cythera after Watteau', *Dalhousie French Studies* 29 (1994): 145. On the subject of the inversion of gender roles see Paul Hills, 'Titian's Veils', *Art History* 29, no. 5 (2006): 776.

The mystical significance of crossing the threshold into the temple is emphasised through the initial act of the hierophant who performs a prayer to 'Forculus' [Forculo], the Roman deity guardian of doorways, from *'Fores'*; 'Limentino' [Limentinus], the Roman deity guardian of thresholds; and the goddess 'Cardinea' (commonly spelt Cardea) presiding over hinges, which collectively police the entrance and exit of important spaces.[72] Prayers to these powers were performed to mark a sacred space and its boundaries in ancient and Christian Rome, which, being positioned directly after the rites of nature, serve to highlight the spiritually-differentiated place Poliphilo has entered.[73]

In the Roman religion, Janus symbolises the beginnings and ends of journeys, acting as a signifier of both ontological ascension and division of symbolic narrative space by presiding over the act of travel and passing from one state to another. As we read from Ovid: 'But among us the name of Janus shows that he was the patron of all doorways… Indeed he is represented also with a key and a stick, as if he were the protector of all doorways and the ruler of all roadways…'[74] His inclusion in the journey through nature to the sacred place of the temple symbolises the liminal passage from nature's procreative love into the sacred. For Alberti, 'the first who founded the temple in Italy was, I find, father Janus; this is why the ancients would always say a prayer to the God Janus before they sacrificed.'[75] Janus marks the divide between past and future experiences and the transition into higher states of existence; like the threshold of the temple, Janus is a demarcation of states of being, a transition of ontology, which is reinforced as Poliphilo exclaims:

> Daposcia subitariamente dalla simpulatrice donna el pesulo amoto, quelle gemelle valve, non strepito stridulo, non fremito grave, ma uno arguto murmure et grato, per el testudinato temple reflectendo exsibilava.
>
> (Then suddenly the bolt was shot open by the chalice-bearing lady, and the twin doors sang – not with a creaking noise, nor with a deep groan, but with a pleasant and melodious murmur that whispered echoing around the round vaulted temple.) (HP, 212).

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[72] Roger D. Woodard, *Indo-European Sacred Space: Vedic and Roman Cult* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 246–47.

[73] Melissa Barden Dowling, 'A Time to Regender: The Transformation of Roman Time', in *Time and Uncertainty*, ed. Paul Andre Harris and Michael Crawford (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 184.

[74] Ovid, *Fasti*, ed. Anthony Boyle and Roger Woodard (London: Penguin Classics, 2000), 254–55.

[75] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), 72.

The mystical music of the singing doors and undulations of the breathing portal signify that here the threshold is a metaphysical agent of selfhood, as if the very temple is ascending from its location.[76] For sacred or civic ends the ancients considered walls to be sacred, as they unite and protect what lies within, presided over by deities whose favour was maintained through 'sacred incantations.'[77]

For Weinstock the doorway, hinges and threshold deities had a place in Roman cosmology as the '*ianitores terrestres'* or 'doorkeepers of the earth' (Figure 2.17), policing the path from heaven to earth.[78] Although this would suggest an iconography symbolic of the soul's journey into matter, Dowling reports that the four seasons were often depicted on late Roman sarcophagi around a trebeated portal that marked the threshold between the realm of earth and the afterlife.[79]
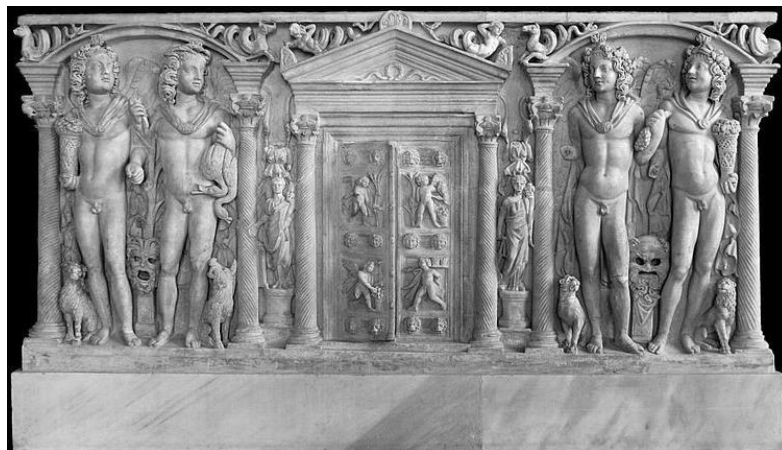
Fig. 2.17) The four seasons (Horae) around the door of the afterlife (c. mid-third century CE) marble, Roman, Musei Capitolini – MC1185.

Similarly, the threshold of the temple of Venus Physizoa lies in a trebeated portal divided from the procession of the external four seasons and their trains. Consequently, since the author is not commenting on the process souls make into the afterlife, he is demonstrating a mystagogic experience. This feature is narratologically new to Poliphilo, for in the previous two realms the

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[76] Alberti observes that the division of space on a small scale was a customary practise of the ancients, who saw the role of walls as symbolically divisive. Alberti, 190.

[77] *Hypnerotomachia*, 190.

[78] René Guénon, 'The Solstitial Gate', in *Fundamental Symbols* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 289.

[79] Barden Dowling, 'A Time to Regender: The Transformation of Roman Time', 184. On the transition from the scholastically-approved combination of sensation and imagination, as observed by Smick, that speaks in allegory of a metaphysical sensation, see Elizabeth Harvey, 'The Sense of All Senses' in, Harvey, *Sensible Flesh*, 20.

threshold marks a divide between object and conceptualisation where physical progression displays interior advancement in ethics and knowledge, now it divides levels of experience and being.

Daniel Jütte observes the church door as the archetype in premodern cultures, as the place for religious ceremonies and correlating to modern conceptions of salvation. In premodernity paradise was believed to be reached through gates, whose metaphysical power could permit or decline entry based on the traveller's soul.[80] Jütte explains, 'the theological underpinnings of the sacrality of the church door were largely based on two biblical passages, the clearest being from the Gospel of Saint John, where Christ says, "I am the door: by me if any man enter in he shall be saved" (10:9).'[81] The door of the temple has a dual purpose here: as a place of metaphysical and liminal power for salvation, and as a signifier of sufficient self-transformation for a mystical marriage.

In the temple, Polia's spiritual position is illustrated through the lexicon of objects the maidens bear for her. The 'subtilissime suffubule' [diaphanous veil] establishes the bride's position as having 'come of age' yet, coupled with the 'aurea mitra' [golden mitre], establishes a link to the Roman cult in which female sacrificial assistants were veiled in white; the accompanying 'tutuli purpurei' [purple hats] placed upon the hierophant and Polia symbolise their higher station as bearers of ancient wisdom.[82] Poliphilo, however, receives nothing narrating only the commands addressed to him, such as 'Indute duunque, divotamente sopra lo orificio dilla mysteriale cisterna sencia indugio quivi accostare fecime' [Thus, devoutly apparelled, she made me approach forthwith to the mouth of the mysterious cistern] contrasting his position to the multifarious role of Polia in the text.[83]

Iconographic indicators allow the reader to interpret Poliphilo's sufficient self-transformation in the ceremony through the objects held by the maidens. For instance, the 'sancto murie in uno vaso aureo' [sacred salt water in a golden vase] relates to medieval baptism and is placed by the maiden into the 'cisterna' [cistern] referencing Christian purification, love through the waters in

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[80] Daniel Jütte, *The Strait Gate: Thresholds and Power in Western History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 27.
[81] Jütte, 36.
[82] *Hypnerotomachia*, 215. The veil is likely from Varro, *Ling.*, 7, 44. On sumptuous mitres see Lucretius, 4, 1129.
[83] *Hypnerotomachia*, 216.

which Venus was born, and magical transformation through the reference to sorcery in Homer, Apuleius and Virgil.[84] Secondly, 'el secespito' [the sickle] relates the auspicious time of the union with the classical reference of harvesting crops, and reaping spiritual rewards.[85] These items are accompanied by the final maidens bearing a 'iacynthina lepista oculissima' [an attractive water-pot of hyacinth], 'ina mitra' [a mitre] and 'el ritual libro', possibly referencing the priest instructing Lucius in the '*sacorum arcanis*.'[86] For Gantz, the classical myth of Hyacinth is a metaphor for death and rebirth, characterising here a space of spiritual transformation and ontological ascension.[87]

In the temple's chapel the performance allegorising an internal process of heavenly unification becomes decidedly magical in its nature, in relation to Venus and the role of initiation through wisdom that Isis plays in the Egyptian mysteries:[88] '

> Et l'altra uno paro di candide turturine per gli piedi in uno vinculate cum seta chermea sopra uno viminaceo cartallo di vermiglie rose et scorcie di ostrea pieno et apresso le auree valve sopra una sacra et quadriculata anclabri disposita, divote et venerante riposino'

> (The other had a pair of white turtle-doves, tied by the feet with red silk, placed on a wicker basket full of red roses and oyster shells. They set them down devoutly and reverently on a square sacrificial table near the golden doors)

So narrates Poliphilo, observing the magical rites orchestrated by the hierophant before the golden doors, whose detail re-emphasises the rites in this space as sacred. Unlike the morally-apprehensible role of windows, doors in the Quattrocento are ubiquitous spaces of charity, devotion and penance, echoing the archetypal monastery gate, appropriated here to the temple and its inner sanctums in which the hierophant performs her initiation (Figures 2.18-19).[89]

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[84] Apollonius Rhodius, *The Argonautica* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 4. 563; Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, New Ed edition (London: Penguin Classics, 1998), 11, 1; Homer, *The Iliad* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4, 512–17.

[85] *Hypnerotomachia*, 215.

[86] Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, 22.

[87] Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 107.

[88] See Calvesi's observation of the author's knowledge of the Egyptian Mysteries and his identification of Venus Genetrix with Isis: Maurizio Calvesi, 'Venere-Iside-Fortuna nell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili di Francesco Colonna', in *Antike Mythos und Europa: Texte und Bilder von der Antike bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Francesca Cappelletti and Gerlinda Huber-Rebenich (Berlin: G. Mann, 1997).

[89] Hannah Shepherd, 'Women's Visibility and the "Vocal Gaze" at Windows, Doors and Gates in Vitae from the Thirteenth-Century Low Countries', in *Gender in Medieval Places, Spaces and Thresholds*, by Victoria Blud, Diane Heath, and Einat Klafter (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2019), 214.
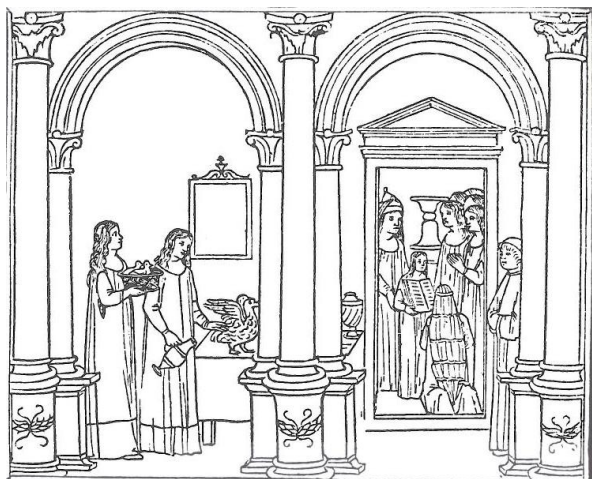
Fig. 2.18) Vestal maidens bearing the ritual objects (p.220)   *Fig. 2.19)* The hierophant completing the incantations (p.229)
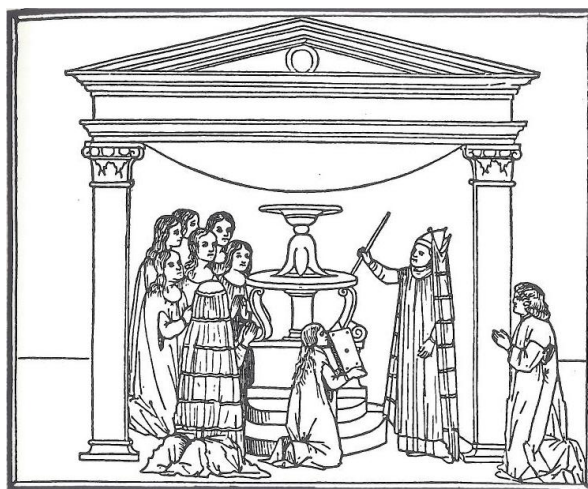
Similarly, the symbolic use of 'cereo' [candle(s)] is fitting (found in the Isiac mystery cult in Apuleius), referring to Christian virginity and, for Gabriele, to Poliphilo's transition from the darkness of the *soluptas* to the light of the *sientia*, illuminating Poliphilo framed on the threshold of new being.[90]

Next, Polia and the hierophant dip a finger into swan's blood (symbolic of Venus) and write mysterious signs: 'cum grande riverentie l'indice suo nel purpurante sangue, molti archani charactere diligentemente signò et, vocata Polia il simiglianti gli fece fare' [and with great reverence and care wrote many arcane characters with her index finger dipped in crimson blood, and summoning Polia, had her do the same]. This causes an earthquake and thunder to strike the temple 'io sentiti movere et la grave terra diquassare sotto' [I instantly felt the earth stir and shudder] Then, revealed through the smoke is a miraculous 'rosario' [rosebush] (symbolic of the libido) upon the altar (Figure 20).[91] Carver believes that the author was steeped in the Golden Ass, while Colton observes that Polia resembles the heroines Photis, Charite, Psyche and Venus, strengthening the magical narrative indebted to Apuleius. For Boury, the initiation of Poliphilo

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[90] Ariani and Gabriele, 865.
[91] This is original to the author, but probably referencing the swan as a symbol of Venus leading her chariot, from Horace, *Carm*, 3, 28, 14-15, Ovid, *Met.*, 10, 717-18; the ritual sequence of turtle doves in Virgil, *Aen*, 6, 253.

mimics Lucius's own, and it is pertinent here to observe the similar ritualistic use of magic that Poliphilo engages in.[92]

Poliphilo watches from outside the chapel's threshold, not permitted to engage, akin to Lucius' experience of agency and, although he is allowed to sample the magically-appearing fruit with Polia, he is not an agent of its miraculous appearance, it occurs through divine female agency after his sufficient self-transformation.[93] Poliphilo conveys his renewal of life exclaiming 'Hora non più praesto che io degustai il miraculoso et sauvissimo pomulo, che sencia mora in me sentivi ricentare et rinovare il rude et crasso intellecto et lo affannoso et moerente core tuto ricrearse in amoroso gaudio delibuto' [no sooner had I tasted the miraculous and sweet fruit than I felt my crude intellect renewed, my anxious heart revived in amorous joy] (Figures 2.20-21).[94] Only at this stage is Poliphilo allowed to cross the chapel's threshold to taste the fruit, commanded by the hierophant.

Fig. 2.20) The miraculous fruit tree upon the alter (p.232)   *Figure 2.21)* The tasting of the miraculous fruit (p.234)
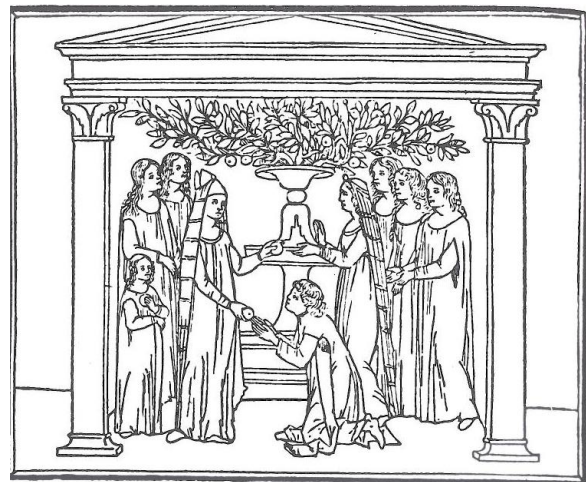
This language of physicality allegorises Poliphilo's metaphysical journey in the temple, which, for Perifano, presents itself in allegory to express the secrets of alchemy through the transformation of *materia*, and analogous to the miraculous earthborn soldiers sewn from dragon's

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[92] Joke Boury, 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili or Lucius's Strife of Love in a Dream?', in *Psyché à La Renaissance*, vol. 9, Études Renaissantes 9 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013), 131–41; Robert H. F. Carver, *The Protean Ass: The Metamorphoses of Apuleius from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 183–236; Robert E. Colton, review of *Review of The Protean Ass. The Metamorphoses of Apuleius from Antiquity to the Renaissance, (*Oxford Classical Monograph)*, by Robert H. F. Carver, *Latomus* 68, no. 4 (2009): 1131.

[93] *Hypnerotomachia*, 232.

[94] *Hypnerotomachia,* 234.

teeth in the *Argonautica*.[95] As the wedding ceremony climaxes, Poliphilo declares to be: 'd'more transmutarme' [transmuted through love] and 'et perciò principiai evidentemente di cognoscere et effectuosamente di persentire quale gratie sono le veneree [I began to know and directly and actually feel the graces of Venus] completing his transformation at this stage.[96] The threshold operates decidedly here in relation to Poliphilo's ontological experience; it is thematically characterised by the narrative of love and divides allegorical scenes which portray his transformation incrementally. Similarly, in the ruined polyandrion, Poliphilo will learn, at the behest of Polia, to temper his love through understanding the ruins he explores, and where architectural-thresholds divide degrees of learning upon love, space by space, scene by scene.

Having analysed the narrative-tool of the threshold and how it operates within the three respective realms of the narrative (the nameless first, Eleuterylida, and Telosia) it is now necessary to analyse the narrative framings, or contextualisations, that the author grants such important symbolic significance. To this end, the next chapter shall analyse the architectural spaces of the narrative (which receive such a great deal of description on behalf of Poliphilo) and the symbolic significance of their form, proportions, and how they relate to the transforming interiority of Polipihlo, over the course of the narrative.

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[95] Alfredo Perifano, 'Giovan Battista Nazari: Et Francesco Colonna: La réécriture alchemique de l'Hypnerotomachia', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 66, no. 2 (2004): 257–59; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Jason and the Golden Fleece*, trans. Richard Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 96–99. See also the relationship between the primordial mother archetype and Poliphilo in Parker Tyler, 'Jung's Emblems, the Poet's Enigmas', ed. Linda Fierz-David et al., *Poetry* 77, no. 3 (1950): 170; Ian MacPhail, 'The Mellon Collection of Alchemy and the Occult', *Ambix* 14, no. 3 (October 1967): 199.
[96] Godwin, *The Real Rule of Four*, 77.

3

Self-transformation and Architecture

> I have spoken in several places about the proper goal of architecture, which is its supreme invention: the harmonious establishment of the solid body of a building.

<div align="right">

Poliphilo
Hypnerotomachia (p.46-7)

</div>

Key moments of narrative occur in architectural spaces, framing episodic scenes that are allegorical of self-transformation, yet architecture also symbolically relates formal design to Poliphilo's self-transformation through shape and arithmosophical symbolism (i.e the numbers used in the proportions). Architectural analysis of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, however, mostly pertains to philology, omitting the narratological relationship between edifice and Poliphilo. For instance, the architectural terminology, described as 'fluid and picturesque rather than rigorous' by Godwin, echoes Pozzi and Schmidt, who found strict accuracy to be not always possible, while, for Del Lungo, architecture assumes a Roman geographic significance, supporting his argument of a *Colonna romano*.[1] Onians observes a musicality of the intercolumniation, whilst Stewering characterises architecture through Aristotelian natural philosophy.[2] Cruz observes how narrated dimensions allow for the digital reconstruction of the buildings;[3] for Gomez and Lefaivre both human and architectural bodies facilitate sensuous experiences through their formal relationship.[4]

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[1] Godwin, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of Love in a Dream* (Thames & Hudson, 2003), xi; Dorothea Schmidt, *Untersuchungen Zu Den Architekturekphrasen in Der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Die Beschreibung Des Venus Tempels* (RG Fischer, 1978); Stefano Del Lungo, 'La Cultura Archeologico-Leggendaria Nell'Hypnerotomachia Di Francesco Colonna' (Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi; Roma, 2004). In support of Del Lungo see Fabio Benzi, *Percorso reale in sogno di Polifilo, dal tempio della Fortuna di Palestrina a palazzo Colonna in Roma* (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1998).

[2] *Edinburgh Architectural Research* (Press: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 132; Stewering, 'Architectural Representations in the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" (Aldus Manutius, 1499)'. See also Onians, 'L'arte di Raffaello tra musica e poesia'.

[3] Esteban Alejandro Cruz, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: An Architectural Vision from the First Renaissance* (Bloomington: Xlibris, 2011); Cruz; Cruz, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.

[4] Liane Lefaivre, 'An Erotic Interference: The Unrecognized Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Daidalos* 41 (1991): 92–101; Liane Lefaivre, 'Eros, Architecture, and the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Design Book Review* 18 (1990); Brian Curran

The formal design of architecture in the narrative is defined by the theme of its respective realm, starting with the pyramid in the first realm, followed by the square and rectangle in the second, and the oval in the third. This formal difference corresponds with Poliphilo's alteration of architectural analysis, starting with a narration of proportions in schemata and elevation in the first realm; schemata, elevation, and interior design in Eleuterylida; and the geometry, plan, elevation and interior in Telosia. This establishes both a formal transformation of architecture and a transformation of Poliphilo's analysis, which relates to his interiority, as we shall see.

The inaugural structure of the Magna Porta reflects the triangular forms of the creative forces of the cosmos in Plato's *Timaeus*; the rectangle palace of Queen Eleuterylida and its perfectly square plan correspond Platonically with nature and the earth; the rotund structures of the third realm symbolises Venus, corresponding formal structure with the theme of each realm. This is also reflected in the *order* in each realm, beginning with the rudimentary Doric and culminating in the refined Corinthian, symbolic of Venus (see appendix. 1) for architectural explanations and index).

TABLE OF THE THREE REALMS

Realm Name	Nameless	Eleuterylida	Telosia
Narratological theme	Freed senses	Heavenly and earthly knowledge	Heavenly union in love
Architectural form	Tetrahedron	Square	Circle
Qualities	Fire	Earth	Water

Tab. 3.1)

In this chapter I shall conduct a formal and arithmosophical analysis of architecture and examine its relationship to the narrative specifically its relationship to Poliphilo's self-transformation) with reference to Plato's *Timaeus* regarding the structure's formal characteristics. The importance of doing this is due to the importance that number has in the design and symbolic

content of the narrative.[5] This will focus on the primary buildings of each realm: the Magna Porta; the palace and courtyards of Eleuterylida; and the Temple of Venus Physizoa and the amphitheatre of Venus, Cytherea. This analysis will be conducted with regards to their formal and arithmosophical design relating to their respective realm, their symbolic relationship to Poliphilo in that realm, and the alteration in his formal analysis from realm to realm. For calculation of length I shall be using Poliphilo's terminology, where the Roman pes is one foot; a cubit is 1.5 pedes; a pace (or, passus) is 5 pedes; and a stadia is 625 pedes. Consequently, all measurements shall be in pes (henceforth noted as 'p', which refers to one foot in modern usage), and pace (henceforth 'P').[6] For a list of the architectural terms in this *Hypnerotomachia* see *Appendix 1*.

The Pyramid and Beginnings of Self-Transformation
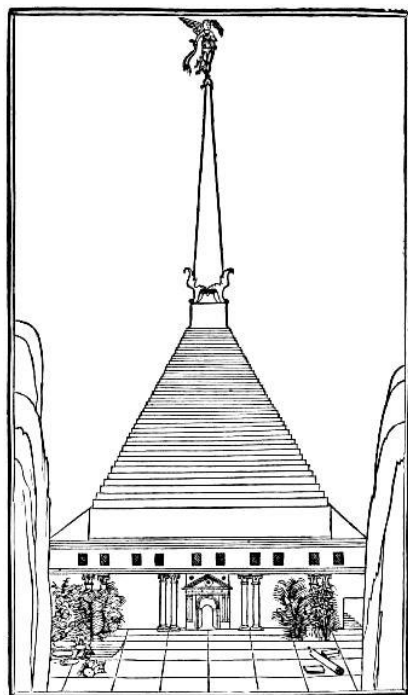
Fig. 3.1) Elevation of the pyramid (p.26)   *Fig. 3.2)* Elevation of the Magna Porta (p.55)
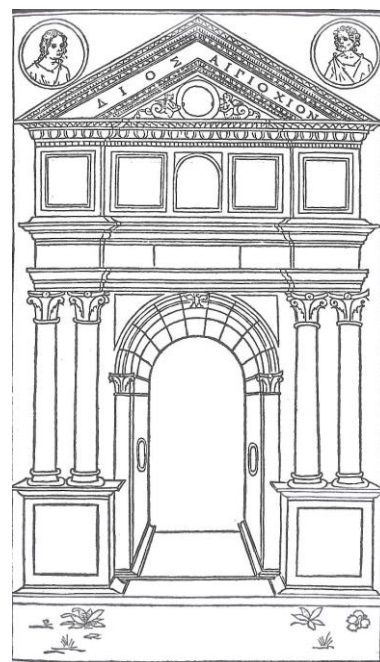
There are four aspects of narrative analysis in the first realm that draw a connection between Poliphilo's self-transformation and the architectural transformation. These are: the narrative theme

5 Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2: xvi, xxiii, xxvii, lix, 555, 585, 988, 1012, 1046.

6 Menso Folkerts, 'Roman Weights and Measurements in Glarean's Liber de Asse et Partibus Eius', in Heinrich Glarean's Books: The Intellectual World of a Sixteenth-Century Musical Humanist, ed. Iain Fenlon and Inga Mai Groote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 159–79.

of morality that occurs in the Magna Porta; the formal design of the structure and its symbolic attributes; the theme of triumph that defines the structure; and the approach of Poliphilo's architectural analysis.

Firstly, regarding the narrative framed within the structure of the Magna Porta, the theme of morality that characterises the first realm (see Chapter one) portrays a change from one existence to another through the metaphor of a new birth: 'Me ritrovava dunque nelle caece viscere et devii maeti dille umbrose caverne' [Here I was in the blind entrails and winding channels of the dark caverns] Poliphilo narrates, fleeing from a dragon in the dark and 'Et quivi ritrovantime nudo et privo di omni suffugio' [finding myself thus naked, utterly helpless], he observes as he passes an altar 'uno modiculo di desiderato lume che subluceva' [a particle of blessed light that seemed to gleam through a narrow funnel-shaped tube… Forth I came out of this horrible abyss].[7] Here, the narrative is the culmination of an allegory in which Poliphilo overcomes his bodily senses, freeing soul from matter. This narration grants the architectural space an ontological capacity, relating the edifice to the anima. It becomes a metaphor for the body wherein Poliphilo overcomes his base urges, represented by the dragon.

Narratologically, this is accomplished through Poliphilo's *character-focalization*, in which his experiences are narrated in *acrony*, establishing a sense of real-time in *singulative narration* in which the events occur one after the other.[8] This aids the theme of self-transformation as the scenes represent metaphoric signifiers within the broader allegory of overcoming the senses.

The atmospheric gloom emphasises the narrative theme of an internal transitioning of self, echoing a mystical aspect of eschatology in the 'dark night of the soul' from St John of the Cross. St John of the Cross writes, 'In an obscure night/ Fevered with love's anxiety (O hapless, happy plight!)/ I went, none seeing me/ Forth from my house, where all things quiet be', reflecting Poliphilo's experience. Here, the '' [particle of blessed light] is observed immediately after a prayer

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[7] Hypnerotomachia: 63-68.
[8] Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 62–97.

to Polia, demonstrating her role as spiritual guide in this scene of interior transition from darkness to light.[9]

The relation between the microcosm of man and architectural body and the macrocosm of the universe, allegorised here, bears a mystagogic nature.[10] The Magna Porta represents the same notion of James of Edessa's comment on man as a world unto himself, observed in the relationship of the Magna Porta as the architectural embodiment of Poliphilo, placing Poliphilo's experience within the medieval mysticism of Bernadus Silvestis, Hildegard of Bingen or Hugh of St Victor.[11]

Secondly, regarding the symbolic design of the Magna Porta, there are three main elements. The first pertains to the numerical symbolism of '6' that equates the edifice with the human body through Vitruvian argument: he observes the foot as one sixth of a man's height, and identified the number as a perfect number, observing also that the cubit contained six palms, or, of twenty-four fingers. Similarly, Poliphilo explains how to create a grid of twenty-four squares to plan the elevation of the portal: 'Addendo poscia alla figura quanto è la sua medietate, et cum quelle medesime partittione dividendo l'adiuncto, travasi xxiiii quadrati' [Next, a figure half the size is added to it, and when this added figure is divided in the same way, twenty-four squares are to be found] and the size of each square as being 14 cubits[2] based on the fact that the columns flanking the portal, that take up two squares each, are measured at twenty-eight cubits: 'Et per piacere mesurando la crassitudine di una base et duplicantila, exprimeva il diametro integro dilla ima crassituddine dilla columna. Per la quale mensuratione trovai la proceritate sua più che duidetriginta cubiti' [For my pleasure I measured the thickness of one base, and found that doubling it gave the lowest diameter of the column. By this measurement I found its height to be more than twenty-eight cubits].[12] Here, the portal's schemata is divided on a module 6 units high, created through 24

[9] Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman, *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 1–5; Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism: A Study of the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (New York: American Library, 2018), 83. *Hypnerotomachia*, 65.

[10] On this matter see also Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 16.

[11] Manfredo Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 14.

[12] *Hypnerotomachia*, 42; 45.

squares, through diagonal, vertical and horizontal lines converging orthogonally in the centre of the first 4 squares, with an additional rectangle above (making a ratio of 6:4, with each square 14 cubits[2] or 84p in width and 126p in height, each divisible by '6') with a rhombus drawn above (Figures 3.3-4). There is, consequently, a purposeful affiliation in the use of number '6' with Vitruvian thought, and thus, with identifying the arithmosophical symbolism of the portal with the human body.
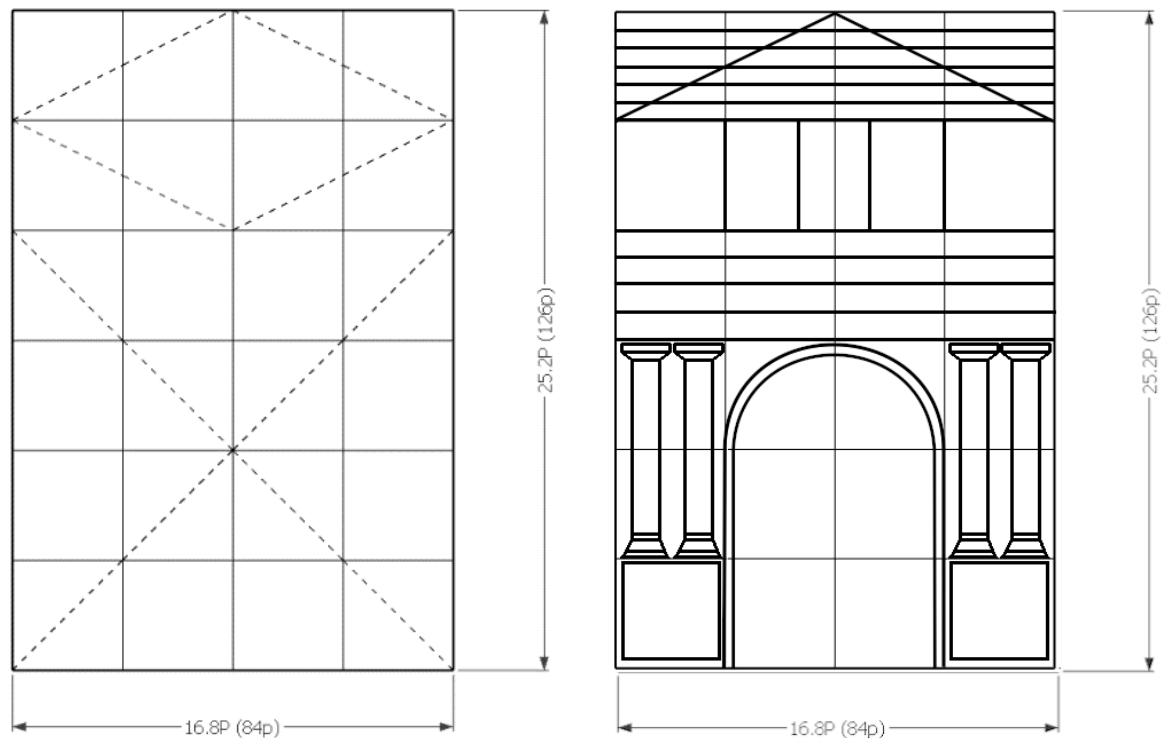
Figs. 3.3-4) Titled squares of the 'intercisio'

The module is established based on the square as a unit of measuring the proportional division of constituent parts, referred to by Wittkower as a geometric necessity for harmonious proportions.[13] The columnar method of determining the module of the structure is taken from Vitruvius, where the *modulus* creates the *proportionis*, thus establishing *ratio compositionis*.[14] This is performed by an intersecting grid of orthogonals that echo Alberti's *intercisio*, creating a 'pavement' of divided

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[13] Vitruvius, *Vitruvius, the Ten Books on Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914), 110; Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: W. W. Norton, 1971), 18.

[14] John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 34.

squares on a plane, a common feature of architectural practice found in Luca Pacioli, Filarete and Francesco di Giorgio.[15] The metaphor here, taken from Vitruvius and Alberti, geometrically relates the building to the human body, described by Vitruvius in the *Vitruvian Man* as being where one part of man relates to the whole in the ratio 1:6, and described by Alberti as '*hominis bene figurati membrorum*'. Similarly, Poliphilo states:[16]

> Questo è che optimamente primo ad isso s'appertene: il solido disponere et nell'animo definire … Poscia licentemente quello invento lo architecto per minute divisione el reduce, né più né meno quale il musico, havendo invento la intonatione et il mensurato tempo in una maxima, quello da poi proportionando in minute chromatice concinnamente, sopra il solido lui el riporta. Per tale similitudine, dapò la inventione, la principale regula peculiare al'architecto è la quadratura.

> (He must know above all how to arrange the solid mass and complete in his mind … After the architect has done this, he reduces it by minute divisions, just as the musician sets the scale and the largest unit of rhythm before subdividing them proportionately into chromaticisms and small notes. By analogy with this, the first rule that the architect must observe after the conception of the building is the square.) (HP, 46-7).

The significance of the number '6' used in the proportioning of the portal and the schemata of its elevation that relates to the human body is not accidental but allegorises the building that Poliphilo enters as a journey into his interiority. The relationship with the human body, divided like notes of music – deriving from Alberti's notion that music, geometry and arithmetic are unified as requisites in architectural theory – attributes significance to the numerical value of '6' in governing proportion, signifying that the building relates to Poliphilo's body.[17]

Indeed, the significance of '6' is found in the design of the whole pyramidal, in fact, and thus emphasising the correspondence between human and architectural bodies. For instance, Poliphilo

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[15] Leon Battista Alberti, *Leon Battista Alberti: On Painting: A New Translation and Critical Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 9.31-32; 53; Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:630. See also Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 126; Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002), 124.

[16] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 309; Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, *Classical Architecture: The Poetics of Order* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), 37; John R. Senseney, *The Art of Building in the Classical World: Vision, Craftsmanship, and Linear Perspective in Greek and Roman Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 147. See also Zara Vasco Zara, 'From Quantitative to Qualitative Architecture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A New Musical Perspective', *Nexus Network Journal* 13, no. 2 (2011): 422.

[17] Georges Duby, Jean Luc Daval, and Philippe Bruneau, *Sculpture: From Antiquity to the Middle Ages ; from the Eighth Century B.C. to the Fifteenth Century* (London: Taschen, 1999), 70; Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 308. See also Robert Tavernor, *On Alberti and the Art of Building* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 47, 73–74, 125, 221.

describes the 6-stadia-long building equalling an ambitus of 24 stadia: 'al aedificamento, in extensione longitudinale era stadii sei; multiplicati per quatro in ambito, la dicta nel pedamento aequilatero occupava comprehendendo quatro et vinti stadii' [the building, was six stadia in length. Multiplied by four, this gave the ambitus of the pyramid's equilateral footing as twenty-four stadia] making the base a perfect square of 3,750p per side (6x625p).[18] He climbs 1,400 steps (1,410 minus 10 to create the flat top for the square base of the obelisk) above an equilateral base: 'La quale immensa et terribile pyramide cum miranda et exquisita symmetria gradatamente adamantale salendo, continiva dece et quatro centro et mille gradi overo scalini decrustati, dempti gradi dece opportuni ad terminare el gracilamento' [This immense and awe-inspiring pyramid rose stepwise with remarkable and exquisite symmetry, like a diamond, and was encased in I410 steps or stairs, minus ten steps where its tapering stopped] inferring an equilateral polyhedron of 60°per angle, giving a height of 3,243.75p (making the 1,410 steps a remarkable 2.3p each), which display proportional figures divisible by 6.[19] The author, consequently, has used '6' as a means to form the pyramid and Magna Porta; '6' is bears symbolic significance and due to its relationship in Vitruvius with the human body, and due to the Magna Porta contextualising a narrative that allegorises the freeing of the soul from the senses, we must determine that the function of the Pyramid and Magna Porta is to represent the body.

The compositional basis around '6' is noted in the square courtyard of 3 stadia^2 that is half the 6 stadia pyramid; the 4 x double columns on either side of the Magna Porta at an intercolumniation of 30 paces make 36 columns, with the two double columns flanking the Magna Porta, establishing a broad rhythm using multiples of 6;[20] and based on the description of the buildings diamond shaped symmetry and its base of 6 stadia we observe the angle of 60°creating a height of 3,243.75p

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[18] *Hypnerotomachia*, 23.
[19] *Hypnerotomachia*, 24.
[20] On the importance of establishing columnar-rhythm see John Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 19–22. On the symbolic function of the obelisk see Mino Gabriele, 'La grande construction pyramidale de l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: reconstruction et confrontation des dimensions architecturales', 1999. *Hypnerotomachia*, 22-5; 45.

(5.19 stadia) which again plays with approximate multiples of 6. Lastly, the pyramid rests on a plinth of 14 paces, or 70p, as Poliphilo states: 'Ritorniamo, dunque alla vastissima pyramide, sotto la quale uno ingente et solido plintho overo latastro overo quadrato supposito iacea, di quatordeci passi la sua altitudine et nella extensione overo longitudine stadii sei' [Let us return now to the vast pyramid, beneath which lay a single huge and solid plinth or square slab, fourteen paces high and six stadia in extent or breadth] which, combined with the height of the Magna Porta being 126p, plus the plinth equals 196p, making the pyramid 3,243.75p. The gate is 3.88% of the total structure, the plinth is 2.157%, together making a total of 6.037%. Here, again, we observe the repeated emphasis and importance of the number '6' that symbolically, through Vitruvian theory, relates the structure's design to the human body through the number '6'6 used in its proportioning (Figures 3.5-7).
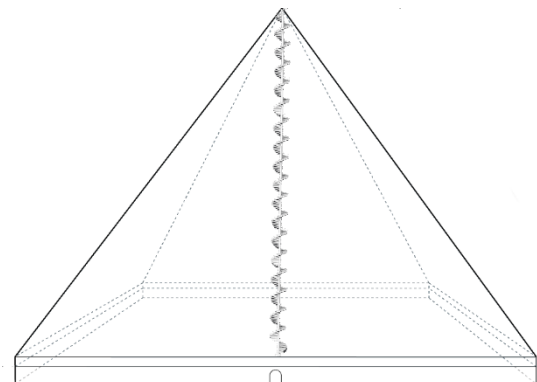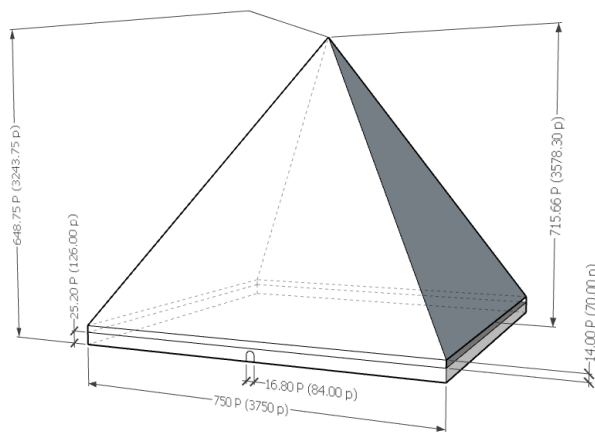
Fig. 3.5) Dimensions of the plan and elevation of the pyramid   *Fig. 3.6)* Elevation and stairs

648.75 P (3243.75 p)

715.66 P (3578.30 p)

25.20 P (126.00 p)

14.00 P (70.00 p)

16.80 P (84.00 p)

750 P (3750 p)
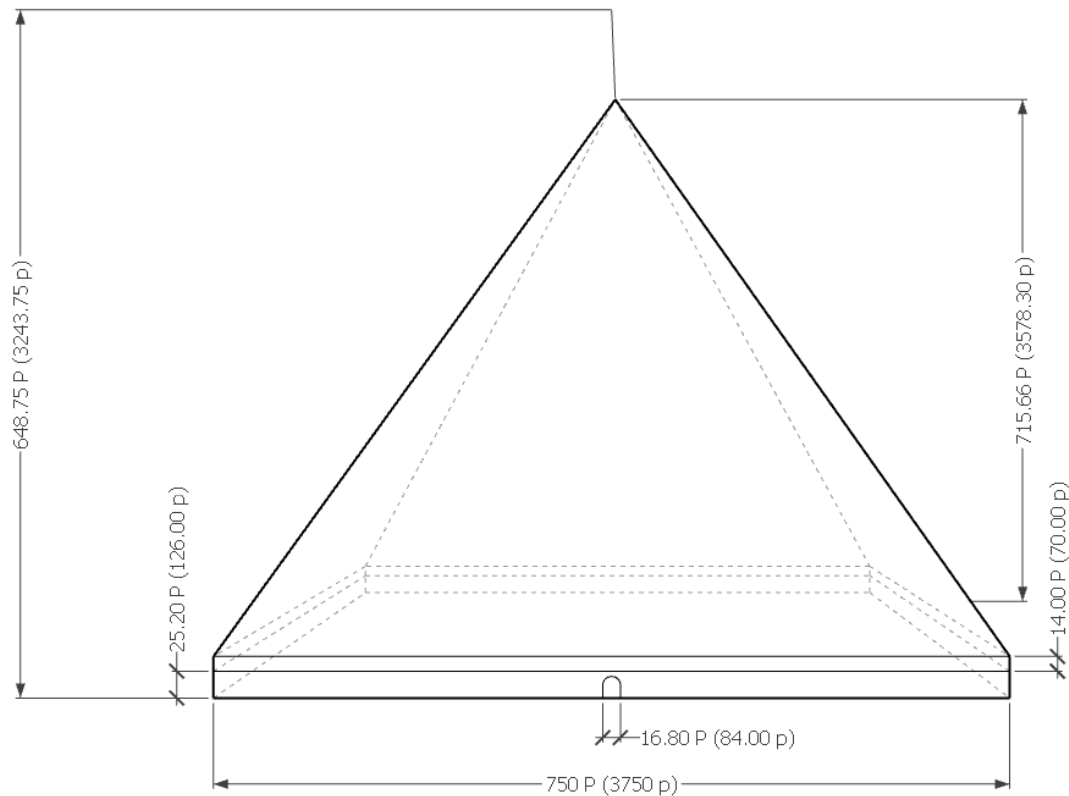
Fig. 3.7) Scale drawing of the pyramid displaying the 6% given to the plinth and portal

Having observed that there is evidently a prominent emphasis on using '6' to proportion the pyramidal structure, we may ask, how does this relate to the narrative of self-transformation? To answer this brings us on to the third point, that is how the theme of creative life force is established through the pyramidal design. For instance, while the proportions of the pyramid establish a rational Euclidian legitimacy, the tetrahedron evokes Plato's life-forming triangles in the *Timaeus* that create all bodies in the intelligent cosmos, symbolised by the element of fire.[21] The tetrahedron is a symbolic shape synonymous with the spiritual beginnings of life, and indeed within the Magna Porta Poliphilo finds his own spiritual beginnings: the architecture represents through its shape

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[21] Plato, *Timaeus*, 54B. See also Francis MacDonald Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology: The Timaeus of Plato* (London: Routledge, 2014), 211–15; Benno Artmann and Lothar Schäfer, 'On Plato's "Fairest Triangles" (Timaeus 54a)', *Historia Mathematica* 20, no. 3 (1 August 1993): 255–64; Furno, 'L'orthographie de la porta triumphante dans l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili de Francesco Colonna', 492–93. Consult also Plato, *Timaeus*, 31b-57d; Donna M. Altimari Adler, *Plato's Timaeus and the Missing Fourth Guest: Finding the Harmony of the Spheres* (Leiden: BRILL, 2019), 39.

Poliphilo's spiritual new life and through its proportions and arithmosophical symbolism it relates to the human body, from which the new life begins.

The design of the Magna Porta thus signifies that it is both allegorically ensouled and embodied, and that its nature is fire, synonymous in Christian logic with the spirit. The architectonic metaphor of the creation of a new life is thus referenced through the formal design of the pyramid, evoking Poliphilo's transition from the earthly body, indicated in the square base of the building, to the cosmic soul, in the tetrahedron, thus establishing the beginning of his initiatic journey.[22]

Poliphilo's forging of a new existence allegorically within the Magna Porta is related through the number '6' that defines the structure's proportions, also echoing the days of creation. The square of '6', being '36', bears Pythagorean significance by being the first number that is both quadrangular (6x6 noted in the plan of the pyramid) and rectangular (6x4 noted in the schemata of the elevation for the Magna Porta). This number was termed 'agreement' by Pythagoras as it contains the first four odd numbers united with the first four even: 1+3+5+7=16; +4+6+8=20; 16+20=36, emphasising the proportional harmony of the structure as representative of the body from which metaphor for the anima's new-found life is formed within.[23]

Fourthly, and in relation to the soul freed from the body, the theme of triumph is established through the structure's visual impact, echoing Berger's observation of the 'compositional unity' that lends itself 'fundamentally to the power of its image', created here through the Roman triumphal arch (perhaps reflecting the contemporary use of adapting Roman arches in Alberti's *S. Andrea*, or *Tempio Malatestiano* and Mantegna's *St. James Led to His Execution*).[24] Indeed, the sculptural reliefs on the Magna Porta emphasise the theme of triumph (see chapter one) transposing physical

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[22] Consider also the concept of combinatorial logic in Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance*, 34; A. Tzonis and I. White, *Automation Based Creative Design - Research and Perspectives* (Oxford: Newnes, 2012), 186.

[23] Vincent Foster Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression* (New York: Dover Publications, 2000), 45.

[24] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin UK, 2008), 13; E. H. Gombrich, *The Story of Art - 16th Edition* (New York: Phaidon Press, 1995), 248–59.

conquest into the spiritual freedom from matter, indicating that the fortune to which the pyramid alludes is one connected to the anima's transformation:[25]

Furthermore, the transformation of the *order* is significant in understanding an architectural transformation that changes from basic, rudimentary beginnings here in the first realm to a refined development of the classical orders in the third. In the first realm we understand the order to be Doric, based on the 28 cubit height of the column due to the diameter of its base, and which Poliphilo makes clear to us, saying: 'Le due prompte porphyrice columne dorice di septe diametri, sopra qualunque di questi cusì explicati quadrati' [Two freestanding Doric columns of porphyry, seven diameters high, stood on each of these two squares that I have described] which relates to Alberti's Doric order that requires a height seven times the diameter of its base.[26] This also corresponds to the Doric music in the *selva oscura* characterising this realm as pertaining to 'rudimentary beginnings' in the iniatic narrative of self-transformation, consequently suggesting development, refinement and transformation in the subsequent realms (examined below).[27]

Finally, regarding Poliphilo's approach of architectural examination, unlike the later two realms, the characteristics here describe his interest in the elevation of the building and its schemata, ornaments and order only, he entirely omits any examination of the interior design that will largely characterise the architectural descriptions of the second realm, or the birds-eye view and emphasis on geometry that will characterise the architectural descriptions of the third realm:

> Essendo io studioso et di voluptate infiammato di intendere il fetoso intellecto et la pervestigatione acre dil perspicace architecto, dilla sua dimensione et circa il liniamento et la prattica, perscrutandola subtilmente cusì io feci.
>
> (I was inflamed with the pleasure of studying and understanding the fertile intellect of the wise architect; and thus I made this careful scrutiny of its dimensions, its lineaments, and its practical aspects.) (HP, 42).

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[25] For analysis of the Roman triumphal arch see Donald Emrys Strong, *Roman Art*, ed. Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee and Roger Ling (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 202. For a socio-historic contextualisation of the Triumphal Arch in Rome see Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 30–31.
[26] *Hypnerotomachia*, 17.
[27] *Hypnerotomachia*, 17.

Poliphilo is drawn to architecture at this early narrative stage, in the nameless first realm, through external design only: that is to say, through schemata of plan and elevation. Consequently, as narrative is assimilated on to architectural description, there is a relationship formed between consciousness and architecture in which architecture, like a blueprint for Poliphilo's metamorphosing self, itself slowly becomes fully-formed and whole.[28]

The Palace of Eleuterylida, Intellect and Nature

The architectural space of Eleuterylida concerns the intellectual development of Poliphilo in a threefold manner, establishing a narratological relationship between edifice and the human head (as opposed to the body in the Magna Porta); the relationship between the shape of the square and it Platonic symbolic representation with the earth; and a cosmological determinism of the anima through the description of interior decoration, which is also related to Poliphilo's developing architectural analysis that would appear to operate as a metaphor for his developing interiority.

Firstly, as Poliphilo arrives at the entrance of the palace, the first curtain, the relationship between his intellectual development and the architectural design symbolic of the head, is observed as Queen Eleuterylida greets him:

> Questa praecipua et primaria cortina non si concede d'intrare a niuno, sencia recepto di una simplice et vigilante damigella ianitrice, Cinosoa chiamata … Quivi era uno spatio intercluso et per un'altra velatura diviso … All'ultima cortina quella matrona Memosyna molto affectuosamente mi … che al regio suaso et salubre consiglio … ecco che agli ochii mei s'arepraesentorono più praesto divine cose che humane.

> (This first and principle curtain will not allow any to enter unless he is admitted by a simple and vigilant maiden portress, called Cinosia [Poliphilo reflects] … Here there was a closed space divided by another curtain… at the last curtain Memosyna told me affectionately … to offer myself in strict obedience… as she permitted me to enter my eyes were struck by a sight of things more divine than human.) (HP, 93-4).

There are three curtains situated in the palace entrance, within the palace, and the throne-courtyard requiring admittance to enter from the palace to the open-air throne-courtyard: gold (where

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28 This notion also finds similarity with the transformation in the alchemical argument, see Beatriz Fraguela, 'Polifilo: un viaje hermético y físico, o de cómo superar las fronteras religiosas y geográficas', Abaco: Revista de cultura y ciencias sociales, no. 63 (2010): 101–8.

admittance is by the portress Cinosia or *Intelligence*); multi-coloured (by the portress Indalomena or *Imagination*); and green (by Mnemosyna or *Memory*). Here, reason, imagination, and memory represent intellectual capacity, echoing Poseidonus of Byzantinum, forming a threefold aspect pertaining to the liberality of nature, a cosmological divinity, and a capacity of comprehension through intellectual development, which collectively define the space of Eleuterylida's palace, courtyard, and gardens.

The conceptual characteristics of the palace consequently define the area as relating to the head, through admittance past the curtains of reason, imagination and memory, and this relationship is further noted in the correspondence between the plan and the head. For instance, the shape of the grounds portrays a physiognomic relationship whereby the road leading to the palace represents the spinal column, the palace the head, and the curtains the ventricles, associated with these three mental faculties of reason, imagination and memory.[29] The mystagogic quality of the lifted veil of the curtains as Poliphilo received admittance, before Logistica's explained mysteries of the soul's process from heaven and back to earth inside the throne-courtyard, alludes to this initiatory experience, placing a specific emphasis on the palace and courtyard of Eleuterylida to do with the capacity for thinking.[30]

The narrative is a macro-structural succession of allegorical scenes that are not designed for engaging in psychological portraits of characters through dialogue, as in Chaucer's *Troilus*. It is, rather, symbolically concerned with the author's *metanarrative,* in which Poliphilo is positioned and which he must comprehend in order for the narrative to proceed. Action and formal contextualisation are intimately connected, portraying the inner motions of Poliphilo's soul.

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[29] Ali Oguz Tascioglu and Ayse Beliz Tascioglu, 'Ventricular Anatomy: Illustrations and Concepts from Antiquity to Renaissance', *Neuroanatomy* 4 (2005): 58; Simon Kemp and Garth J. O. Fletcher, 'The Medieval Theory of the Inner Senses', *The American Journal of Psychology* 106, no. 4 (1993): 560.

[30] Jan N. Bremmer, *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 16; Kevin Clinton, *Myth and Cult: The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Athens: Swedish Institute in Athens, 1992), 77.

This section of the narrative is linked to an intellectual stimulus, echoing Kent Hieatt's description of a progressive penetration into 'the *intellectus possibilis* and then the *intellectus agnes*.'[31] The narrative is linked to Mnemosyna (memory) situated before the splendour of a court, as Poliphilo describes: 'All'ultima cortina de matrona Memosyna'[32] demonstrating the medieval theory that the fourth ventricle, operator of memory, is the *sensorium*, the seat of soul.[33] Narratively, it is in this architectural space that we observe the Phrygian mode of music, symbolic of the anima through its relationship with femininity, the beginning of Logistica and Thelemia (logic and feeling) as facilitators of memory, and lastly the embodied five senses, described by Galen as the five operations of the sensitive soul, that collectively establish a transformation in Poliphilo's intellectual life within the architectural space, as Poliphilo describes: 'Uno ambitiossimo apparato in una stupenda et spatiosa corte, ultra el pallatio contigua, ad opposito dell'altra, di quadrato perfecta. Il lepidissimo et pretioso pavimento, tra una ambiente tessellatura interiecto, vidiuno spatio di 64 quadrati, di pedi tre il diametro di ciascuno' [It was a stupendous and spacious court, pompously appointed, joined to the side of the palace opposite the first one and perfectly square. I could see that the neat and precious pavement, set inside a surround of mosaic, was made from sixty-four squares, each three feet across. They were like a chess-board].[34]

The courtyard where the narrative unfolds is composed of an inner square comprised of 64 square tiles of 3 feet^2 in the manner of a chess board, making the area 24p^2, outside of which is a frieze 1 pace wide, creating a 29p^2 square, set within a mosaic area 3 paces wide, creating a 44p^2 square that is, in turn, set inside a square room described as bearing 6 semi-squared columns circumnavigating the area, 4 paces apart, thus creating 7 areas and a room that is 28paces^2/140p^2.

[31] Kent Hieatt and Anne Lake Prescott, 'Contemporizing Antiquity: The Hypneroomachia and Its Afterlife in France,' *Word and Image* 8, no. 4 (October 1, 1992): 298.

[32] *Hypnerotomachia*, 94.

[33] Jamie C. Kassler, *Newton's Sensorium: Anatomy of a Concept* (New York: Springer, 2018), 56; Kenneth David Keele, *Anatomies of Pain* (Hoboken: Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1957), 59; Julius Rocca, *Galen on the Brain: Anatomical Knowledge and Physiological Speculation in the Second Century AD* (Leiden: BRILL, 2003), 178–97.

[34] Edwin Clarke and Charles Donald O'Malley, *The Human Brain and Spinal Cord: A Historical Study Illustrated by Writings from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century* (San Francisco: Norman Publishing, 1996), 462; Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:719–21.

Consequently, the numbers '6' '8' '28' and '64' are given significance, a matter of some symbolic importance as '6' relates to the cube due matching its total number of sides, whilst also being the Vitruvian number, representing the module for proportioning man; 64 is the total number of tiles on a chessboard, relating area to thinking and reason; and the significance of 28 appears to be on account of a prominent use of '7' in Eleuterylida, used on account of it being a sacred number, and '4' being the sum sides of the square, which is the symbolic shape of the plan of Eleuterylida, and the Platonic shape of the earth, which the gardens of Eleuterylida represent through the concept of the liberality of nature.

Lastly, there is also a Pythagorean importance observable in the use of numbers used to proportion the plan of the grounds of Eleuterylida. For instnace, both '6' and 28' being the first two digits whose parts produce their number (6=1+2+3) (28=1+2+4+7+14), hence regarded as perfect numbers.[35] The author, here, is playing with important Pythagorean numbers, especially those that correspond with Plato's *Timaeus*, and which has a narratological significance on account of the relationship with the area and the human head that contextually allegorises the process of self-transformation occurring in these spaces which is entirely on the level of intellectual advancement (see chapter one). Furthermore, Poliphilo describes, when passing through the palace, that every wall is 28 paces long:

> Per la quale cosa omni parte accuratissimamente di materia, di numero, di forma ad linea et qualunque minima parte et locatione aequatissimamente et a llibella correspondeva, et cusì mutuamente la parte dextra cum la sinistra et de qui de lì cum exquisitissimo congresso convenivano. Del quale superexcellente loco ciascuno alamento extenso era di passi vintiocto.

> (Every part corresponded with perfect accuracy as to material, number, form and lineaments, down to the smallest detail, so that the right-hand side matched the left, the front matched the back, in exquisite concord. Each wall of this superlative place was twenty-eight paces long.) (HP, 96.)

Poliphilo stresses the importance, here, of 'di materia, di numero, di forma ad linea' indicating that to understand the significance of the architectural plan, elevation, and interior design, one must

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[35] Annemarie Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), chap. 6.

look for the symbolic meaning in the formal characteristics, the numbers that define the proportional characteristics, and the plan in which form and number devise. The numerical harmony, observed in the use of '6' related to nature through Platonic thought and to the body through Vitruvian thought, reflects Poliphilo's physiological and intellectual harmonious form, just as the number '6' did in proportioning the pyramid and Magna Porta did in the first realm.

Secondly, regarding the symbolic design of the palace and its grounds, the author uses perfect squares and rectangles, Platonically symbolic of the earth, demonstrating the transition from the subject of the freed senses and the triumph of spirit over matter in the tetrahedral structure of the Magna Porta, to the earthly forces of the liberality of nature in Eleuterylida.[36]

The first area of the complex being a protected courtyard described as a square with a central fountain and walled by citrus trees, is described by Polipihlo as:

> La quale ornata via, di debito laxamento lata, ad una verdegianta clausura directamente tendeva; et alla apertione di quella ad libella gli cupressi distributi; di longitudine di stadii quatro. Al quale claustro pervenuti laetamente, trovai quello aequilatero, di tre alamenti alla simigliancia di drito muroalto quanto gli sublimi cupressi della via; il quale era tutto di spectatissimi citri, di naranci et di limoni … vidi che l'era uno elegante claustro in fronte ad uno mirando pallatio et amplissimo et di symmetriata architectura examino et molto magnifico, il quale della frondifera conclusione rendeva il quarto alamento: di longitudine passi sexanta; et era questo ambito uno hyaethrio quadrato subdiale. Nella parte mediana di questa spectatissima area vidi uno eximio fonte di limpidissime aque, scaturiente in alto fina alla sublimitate quasi della viridante clausura per angustissime fistulette.

> This attractive road was conveniently wide and led directly to a hedged enclosure four stadia long, whose entrance was as wide as the spaces between the cypresses. When we joyfully reached this enclosure, I found that it was equilateral, with three wings resembling perpendicular walls as high as the tall cypresses along the road, and all made from magnificent citrons, oranges and lemons … I saw that it formed an elegant cloister in front of a marvellous palace, of great size and magnificence and symmetrical in its architecture, which made a fourth wing for the leafy enclosure. It was sixty paces wide, and this was the dimension of the square open-air courtyard. In the centre of this admirable area, I saw an extraordinary fountain spurring clear water through narrow pipes as high as the enclosing hedge. (HP, 88-9.)

The place Poliphilo describes is not ordinary but a marriage of idyllic beauty of nature, and the rational geometry of the plan to arrange nature. Beside the formal and numerical significance, this place bears sacred connotations through the concordance with medieval notions of the walled

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[36] *Timaeus*, 53a-57b.

garden of Eden, as well as the garden in the *Song of Songs*, and the fountain of love in the *Roman de la rose* and Boccaccio's *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*.[37] The connotations here lend the area a sacred aspect beside the relationship with the human head, uniting epistemology and ontology in a reflection of Poliphilo's developing interiority.

The number symbolism pertains to the cube and, as such, the numbers '4' and '6' are significant. This is immediately evoked in the 4-stadia-long road placed on the central axis of the palace lined with citron, orange and lemon trees, trimmed to 6 feet in width each, which are designed on a grid of 7 perfect squares, 6 of which are 60 paces.[2] These are positioned around the palace, which is a square base and rectangular elevation of 60x60x28. In the numbers '60' the cube is being evoked, as it is alongside a use of the number '7' considered sacred a number and is used here to emphasise the perfect nature of the architectural plan, elevation and interior.

The symbolism of the cube is evoked through its 6 sides represented through the 6 squares of 60 paces (Figure 3.8-9). The smallest square, placed at the apex of the grounds is half the size, at $28p^2$ making each dimension in the grounds either $60pace^2$, or $28pace^2$. The design echoes Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, in which the temple of the soul are perfectly square gems. Also, in Chaplain Capellanus' *De amor* the castle of love is a square, pointed to the four cardinal points akin to the cosmological symbolism of Jerusalem, as well as Vitruvius' temple of *Hypaethrio*, an open-air square structure.[38] The cube and square, and their sacred perfection, noted through the use of '4', '6' and '7' here, therefore, has a further meaning: it not only corresponds to nature and the earth, to the human form (and specifically the head) but also to the soul and demonstrates through Poliphilo's pedestrian journey of self-transformation a further architectural signifier of his self-perfectionism, through the reference of the square and its numerical constituents.

[37] Lees-Jeffries, *England's Helicon: Fountains in Early Modern Literature and Culture*, 43–50; Fleming, *Medieval Gardens*, 179; Guillaume De Lorris and Jean De Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, 21; Giovanni Boccaccio, *An Annotated Translation of Boccaccio's Ameto (Comedia Delle Ninfe Fiorentine)* (New York: New York University., 1972), 120–29.
[38] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:693.
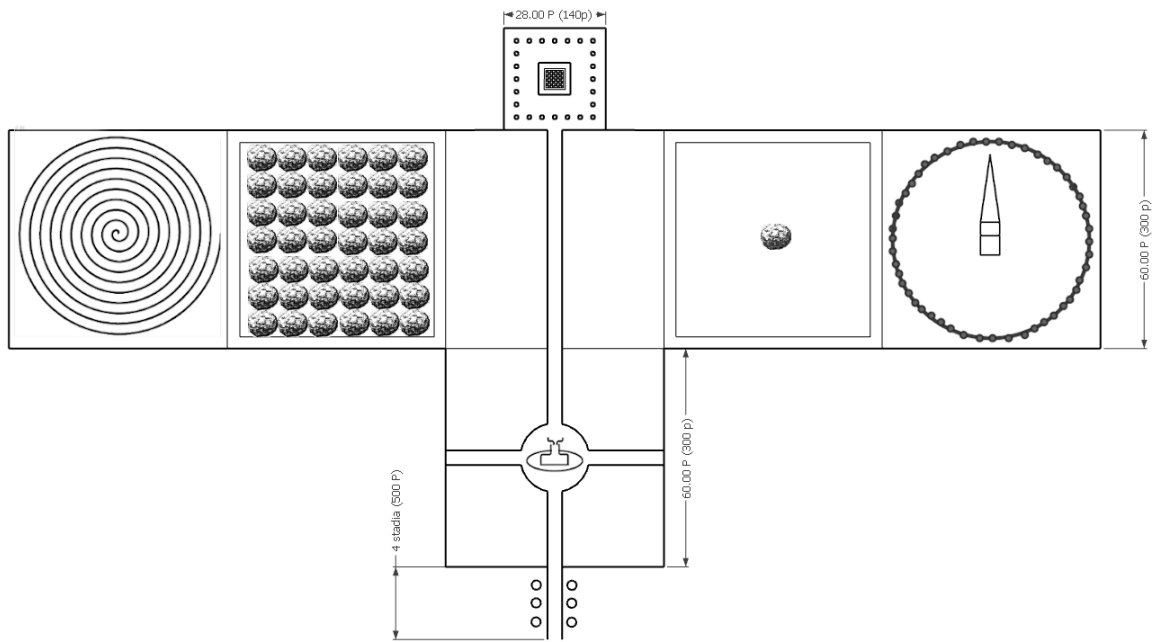
Fig. 3.8) Plan of the palace and grounds of Eleuterylida
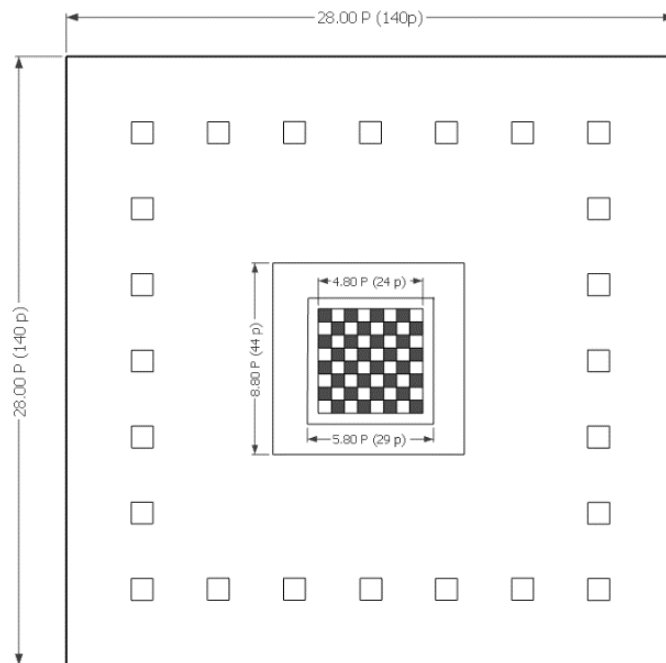
Fig. 3.9) Plan of the open-aired throne-courtyard

Fig. 3.10) Decorative relief of Eleuterylida's throne (p.98) *Fig. 3.11)* Detail of Eleuterylida's throne (p.97)

Thirdly, there is an alteration in the approach to architectural examination (echoing the contemporary mass urbanisation, which created an interest in interior design). Instead of plan and elevation as before, here Poliphilo describes the proportions of the room before narrating the interior design that portrays the order and ruling forces of the planets (Figures 3.10-11):[39]

> Cum richissimo anci inextimabile suffito et cum diversificata fogliatura, facta di splendido smaragdo scythico agli ochii acceptissimo … Per la quale miravegliosa cosa, aplicatamente cum subtilissimo examine trutinando, io pensitava di quelli rami intricatissimi la vagabonda extensione et di crassitudine proportionati, sì artificiosi per quale arte et temerario auso et obstinato intento fusseron cusì aptamente conducti.

> (They formed an unbelievably rich ceiling with their variegated foliage, made from splendid Scythian emeralds that delighted the eye … I brooded on this marvellous thing, examining it studiously and following in my mind the wandering extensions and the proportionate width of these intricate branches. What art, what bold ambition, what steadfast will had assembled them so perfectly?) (HP, 97-8).

The theme of nature's liberality that characterises Eleuterylida is balanced between the determinism of the planetary ruling forces depicted on the interior of the palace on the golden panelled-walls and the phenomenological experience of nature in the gardens. Poliphilo says, 'vero che in uno ocyssimo furare di ochio nel phrygio o vero zophoro di essa porta vidi annotato tale inscription: Ο ΤΗΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΟΛΒΟΣ [I stole a quick glance at the frieze … of the portal, and saw this inscription written there: OH THE WEALTH OF NATURE] denoting a polarity between nature and the cosmos, freedom and the planetary ruling powers. Comprehending this

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[39] *Hypnerotomachia*, 95.

duality allows Poliphilo's narrative to continue through the transformation of intellect, also echoed in the topiary, metaphorically transforming the crude into the perfect.[40]

As a further example, Poliphilo narrates the experience of the interior design before the left-hand wing of the open-aired courtyard, being divided by 7 rectangles and a wreath depicting 7 triumphs, ruled by 7 planets, likely relating to Aristotle's cosmos moved by intelligences. The right-hand wing is divided into 7 harmonies of the planets, displaying the transit of the soul receiving the qualities of the 7 degrees, with a representation of celestial operations.[41] The operations of the planets and their ruling powers over earthly life is narrated through a balance of experience and intellect, foreshadowing the walk guided by Thelemia and Logistica.[42] Poliphilo narrates:

> Il splendido alamento degli claustranti parieti mirai, di lame d'oro purissimo et collustrante tutto revestito, cum caelature correspondente et ad quella pretiosa materia condecentissime. Nel coaequato et tersissimo piano dunque dille dicte plaste, per alcuni pilastrelli o vero quadrungule cum concinnissima dimensione correspondentia distincte
>
> (I admire the splendid walls of the enclosure, which were all covered with plates of pure, lustrous gold, engraved in a manner appropriate to the precious material. The smooth, flat, surface of these plaques was divided by small pilasters into a number of distinct rectangles of harmonious dimensions.) (HP, 95).

The intellectual capacity of comprehending the iconography of the interior is balanced with the phenomenological experience of interior design. The experience, pertaining to the logical and feeling capacities of the intellect, represented by Logistica and Thelemia, displays the alteration in the approach of architectural analysis. This consequently correlates with Poliphilo's intellectual transformation in Eleuterylida as well as bearing a reflective connotation on his own interiority that has become formed, refined, illumined by the intellect and ruled by the powers of the cosmos.

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[40] *Hypnerotomachia*, 123. See also Karen Newman, 'The Medieval and Early Modern City in Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to the City in Literature*, ed. Kevin R. McNamara, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 42.

[41] Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (London: Penguin, 1967), 268; Meredith J. Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 39; Aristotle, *De Caelo* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Incorporated, 2020).

[42] Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 183.

The Temple of Physizoa and the amphitheatre express two parts of Poliphilo's initiation process and, as such, will be dealt with in this section. After the first realm the architecture becomes more radial and by the third realm is entirely so, indicative of the feminine circle, which is here represented by Venus. This is accompanied by an analysis in a mind's-eye view of the Temple of Venus and the island of Cytherea, presenting a disembodied observation that focuses on the structure's geometry, no longer requiring Poliphilo to physically climb the buildings to observe them (Figure 3.12).[43] Consequently, Poliphilo's architectural analysis becomes increasingly metaphysical, focused on geometry, portraying a transformation that mirrors his own: architecture, as architectonic representations of his transformation and contextualisations for the scenes of his self-transformation, here become complete.
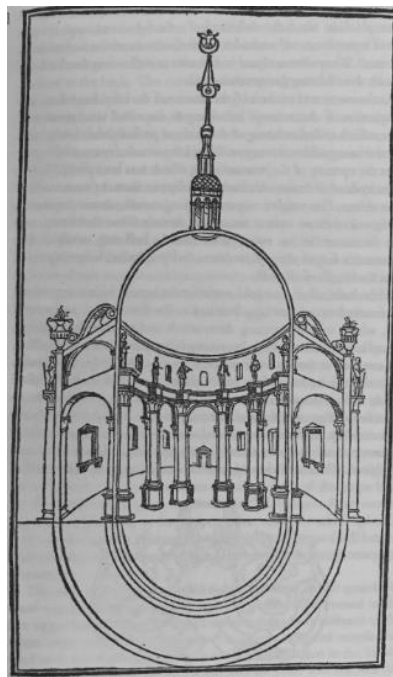
Fig. 3.12) Elevation and cross-section of the Temple of Venus Physizoa (p.205)

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[43] Kathryn Blair Moore, 'Ficino's Idea of Architecture: The "Mind's-Eye View" in Quattrocento Architectural Drawings', *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 3 (2010): 333–35. On the *Hypnerotomachia's* bisecting rotund buildings and drawings by Filarete and Francesco di Giorgio, see Wolfgang Lötz, 'The Rendering of the Interior in Architectural Drawings of the Renaissance', *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture*, 1990, 1–65.

The emphasis of radial geometry composed using the golden mean and curvaceous walls in the Temple of Venus, populated by curving inner porticos and straight columns, gives the reader the impression of experiencing architectural undulations through the contrast of these differing planes of vision, equating structure with breath, relating to the story of Venus.[44] Established here is Alberti's association of the circle and the generating force of Venus creating, out of the context of the narrative, an architecture of love based on curvaceous geometry, and further evident in the Corinthian capitols associated with Venus. The interval between the columns is 10.68 p, referencing the Pythagorean perfect number of '10', and the well of water, wherein the rites are performed, relates to Venus, union, and love further established Venus as the ruling power of the marriage.[45] Analysis is dependent on Albertian terms such as *concinnamente*, and the Albertian ontological and metaphorical model of theory, relating the edifice with the harmony of the cosmos, such as in the Pythagorean usage of *tetraktys* which, again, is referenced through the repeated use of '10' in establishing proportions in the plan of the building.[46]

The shift in Poliphilo's architectural analysis in this realm is evident through his using only geometry in describing the temple, as opposed to measurements as in the previous realms. For instance, he relates the circle's significance in the design by describing a rotunda inscribed within a square, outside of which and within which are two further circles.[47] Between one side and the circumference, following the diameter, are five parts with a sixth added toward the centre:[48]

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[44] On the golden mean in this temple see Gerhard Goebel, 'Der grundriss des tempels der Venus Physizoa und die vermessung von Kythera', *Architectura: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst* 14, no. 2 (1984): 139–48. This architectural effect likely inspired the Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza in Rome; on this matter see Stefano Borsi, 'Borromini e il'Polifilo'', *Palladio* 13 (2000). On the use of Alberti's architectural theory in describing this temple see Stefano Borsi, 'Il tempio di Venere Physizoa: precisazioni su Francesco Colonna e la sua cultura architettonica' (Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento : atti del Convegno internazionale di studi; Roma; De Luca, Roma, 2004). See also Gerhard Goebel-Schilling, 'L'idea originaria e le proporzioni della chiesa di Santa Maria della Salute', *Eidos* 10 (1992).

[45] On the link to hermeticism, particularly in the eighteenth century in relation to the hieroglyphs, see Anthony Vidler, 'For the Love of Architecture: Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and the" Hypnerotomachia"', in *Autour de Ledoux: Architecture, Ville et Utopie: Actes Du Colloque International à La Saline Royale d'Arc-et-Senans, Le 25, 26 et 27 Octobre 2006*, vol. 13 (Presses Univ. Franche-Comté, 2008), 389–95. See also Earl Baldwin Smith, *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 74.

[46] Zara Vasco, 'From Quantitative to Qualitative Architecture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', 422.

[47] *Hypnerotomachia*, 197.

[48] *Hypnerotomachia*, 197.

O = The centre
C1 = The first circle circumscribed within the square
C2 = The second circle outside the square
C3 = The third circle within the first circle
S1 = The square
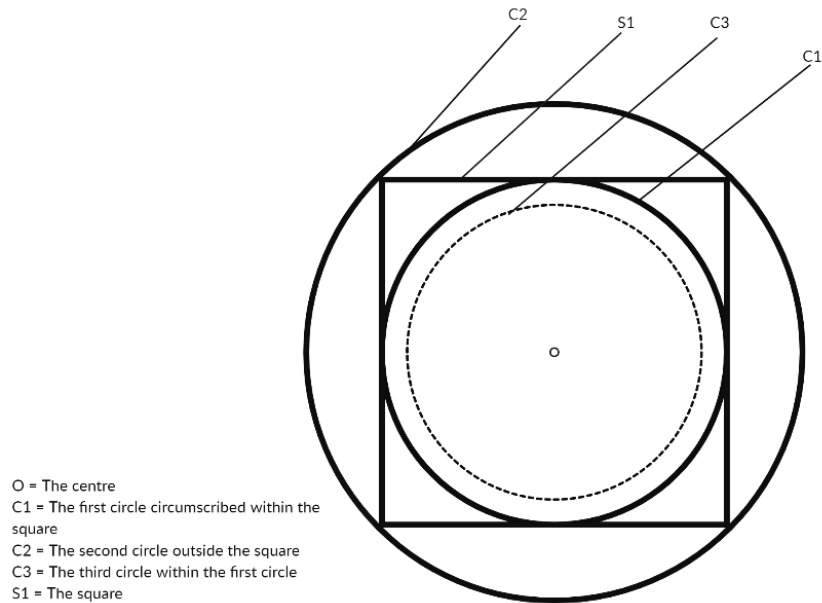
Fig. 3.13) The rotunda plan circumscribed within a square

Here, the distance between C1 and C2 is 5 portions, from C3 to C2 is 6 portions, and from C1 to C3 is one portion (Figure 3.13).

Using the Pythagorean theorem ($c^2 = a^2 + b^2$) a right-angle triangle is formed within the geometry (Figure 3.14-15).
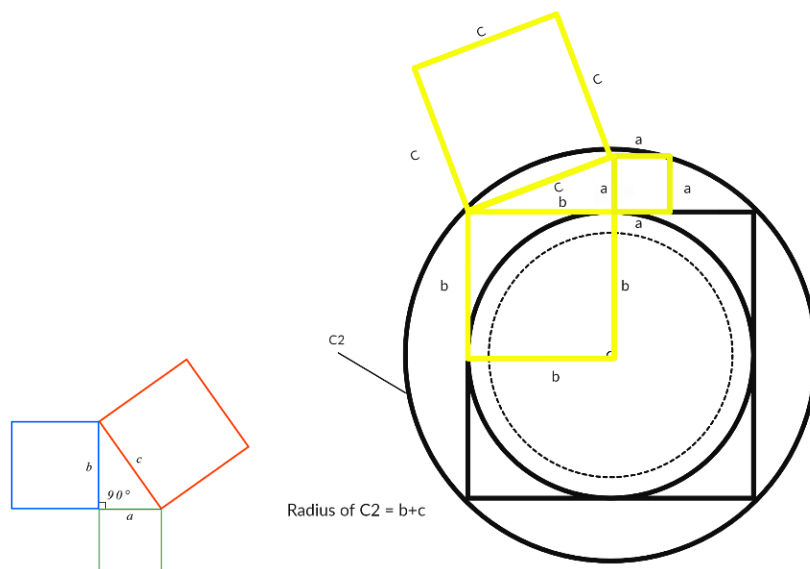
Figs. 3.14-15) Pythagorean theorem, plan of the temple with Pythagorean triangle

The radius of C2 is expressed as the sum of side a+b in the diagram. The value of 'a' is thus 5 units and the value of 'b' is found through: a + b (5+b) and, therefore, to find the diagonal side of the square:

$$a + b = \sqrt{2}(b)$$

as it is the same distance from the centre (o) to the corners of the square (S1). Thus, a = 5 and b = 12.07.

Having calculated the side 'b', we can calculate the approximation for the radius of C2, which is a + b = 17.07. Therefore, the radius of C2, the temple, is 17 units; the radius of C1, the temple's interior, is 12 units, and the radius of C3, the interior minus the wall thickness, is 11 units. Consequently, the temple's diameter is 34 units. The strict use of geometry in establishing the proportioning of the structure reveals the culmination of Poliphilo's approach to architectural analysis demonstrating that geometry is the final stage of refinement in his architectural thinking.

As in the previous two examples, there are symbolic measurements in the temple which enlighten us as to the symbolic significance in form and number and their relationship to Poliphilo's self-transformation: some of which are narrated and others we work out through simple trigonometry. For instance, to replace the unit with an actual unit of measurement is found through the columnar module. Poliphilo describes the temple's height as equal to its diameter, therefore 34 units high, and he describes the column as 2-feet thick, built in the Ionian proportion (9x its diameter) equalling 18 feet, which is approximately equal to the temple's radius (17 units).[49] Therefore, as the column equals the full height of the wall it matches the radius, making a unit a pes, or, foot. Thus, the radius and diameter of the temple are 17 and 34 p (feet), the circumference is 106.8 p and the 10 bays are 10.68 p, establishing a proportioning system devised through the number '10', which is the Pythagorean number of perfection (Figure 3.16).

This determines a correspondence between the geometric and proportional perfection of the building and the perfectionism of Poliphilo's interiority, which has been transformed over the course of the narrative. We may state, therefore, that Poliphilo, likened to the architecture, has progressed from his initial state ruled over by the body (associated with the numbers '6' being the

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[49] *Hypnerotomachia*, 198.

number associated with man) at the inaugural position of his journey in the first realm (associated with the numbers '3' and '5' being the number of the triangle and tetrahedron that characterise the pyramid of the Magna Porta), to the freedom of the senses and the intellect in Eleuterylida (again, associated with the number '6' representing man) in the palace of nature's liberality (associated with the numbers '4' and '6' being the numbers associated with the square and cube), to the state of perfectionism ruled over by Venus here, in Telosia (associated with the circle and the number '10'); furthermore the sacred aspect of Poliphilo's transformation and the sacred nature of this journey and the buildings that populate it is identified through the repeated use of '7'. Consequently, the arithmosophical symbolism reflects exactly the transformation of Poliphilo.
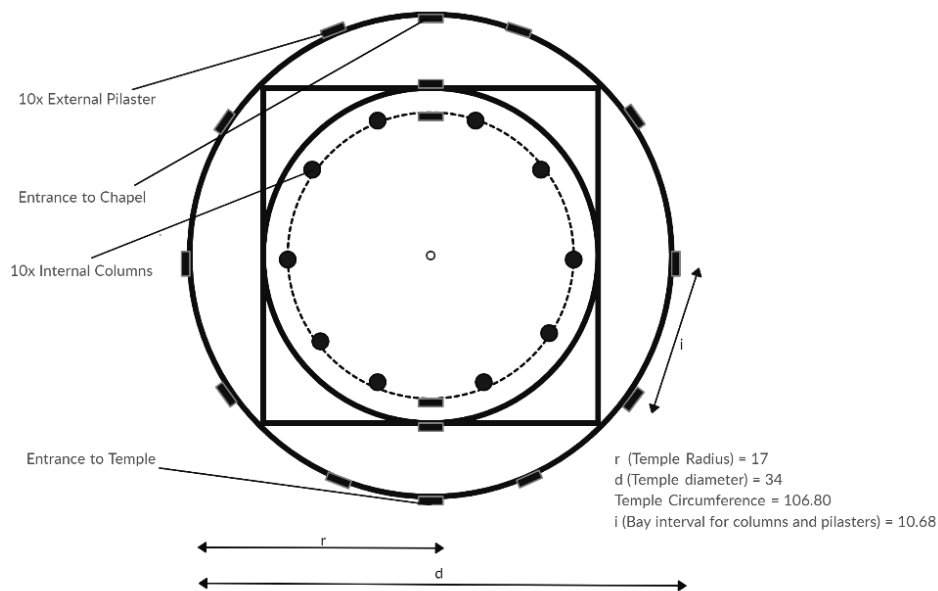
Fig. 3.16) Plan of the interior and exterior position of columns and pilasters

Going further, the height of the exterior wall is 17 p, corresponding with the height of the interior column, and approximately the radius of the temple (17 p). As the height of the rotund temple matches its diameter, according to Poliphilo, the dome is consequently 17 p (or, feet) high.[50] He establishes a thickness of the external wall as 1.5-p wide, and 3 p wide where the pilasters are.[51] This adds 3 p per radius, making an external diameter of 40 p (or, feet) and an external height of

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[50] *Hypnerotomachia*, 204.
[51] *Hypnerotomachia*, 210.

40 p (or, feet), which establishes a numerical relationship with the amphitheatre; as each bay is 10-feet wide this gives the diameter of the adjoining chapel, which, following the logic of the plan and elevation of the temple, dictates a diameter and height of 10.68 feet (Figures 3.17-19).[52]

External Wall

Inner Wall

Inner
Temple

Aisle

id (interior diameter) = 34 unit
ed (exterior diameter) = 40 unit

id   ed

a = external pilaster
of 18p
b = internal column
of 18p

External wall   Internal wall
Aisle

Internal colonade   Door to the chapel
External windows

Column
height
=18p

Total
height of
temple =
34p
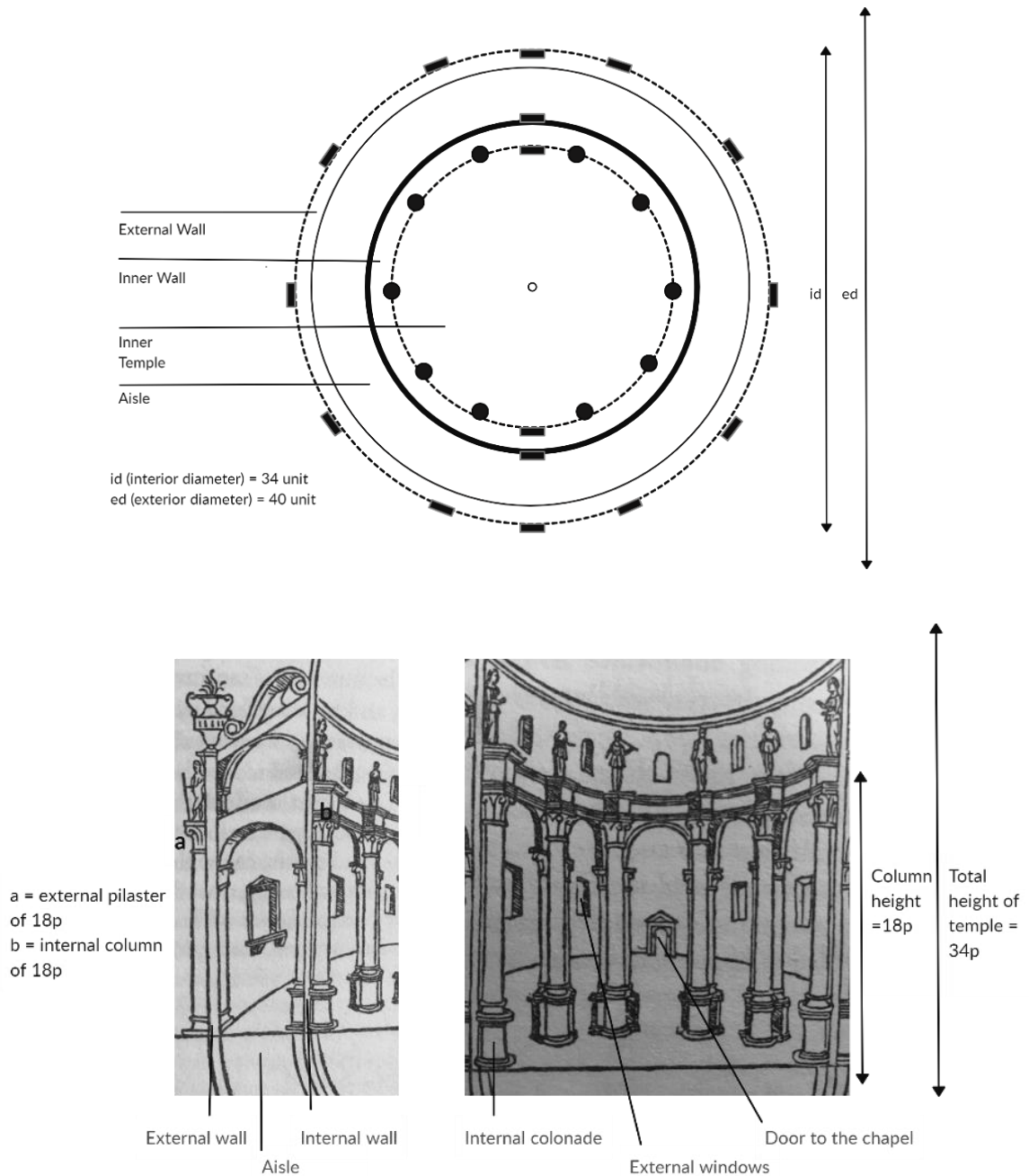
[52] This echoes Alberti's use of using rations such as 1:1, 1:2 regarding elevations proportioning, see Rudolf Wittkower, 'Alberti's Approach to Antiquity in Architecture', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4, no. 1/2 (1940): 10.
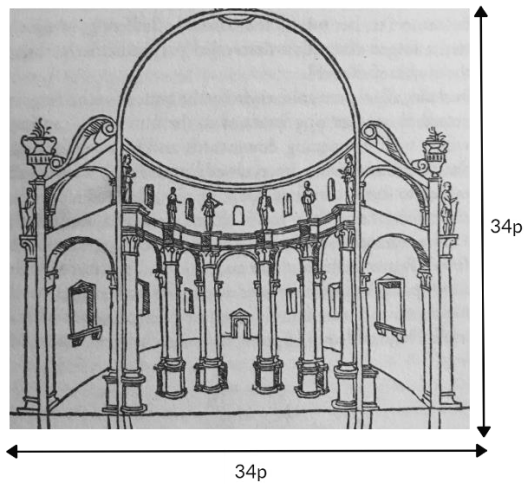
Fig. 3.17) Proportions and dimensions of the plan *Fig. 3.18)* Interior elevation *Fig. 3.19)* Interior cross-section elevation

The symbolic significance of '10' in proportioning the temple is signified, on the one hand, through the 10 radii mentally drawn by Poliphilo from the centre to the circumference, establishing the position of the 10 internal columns, external pilasters and arches in-line with each other:[53]

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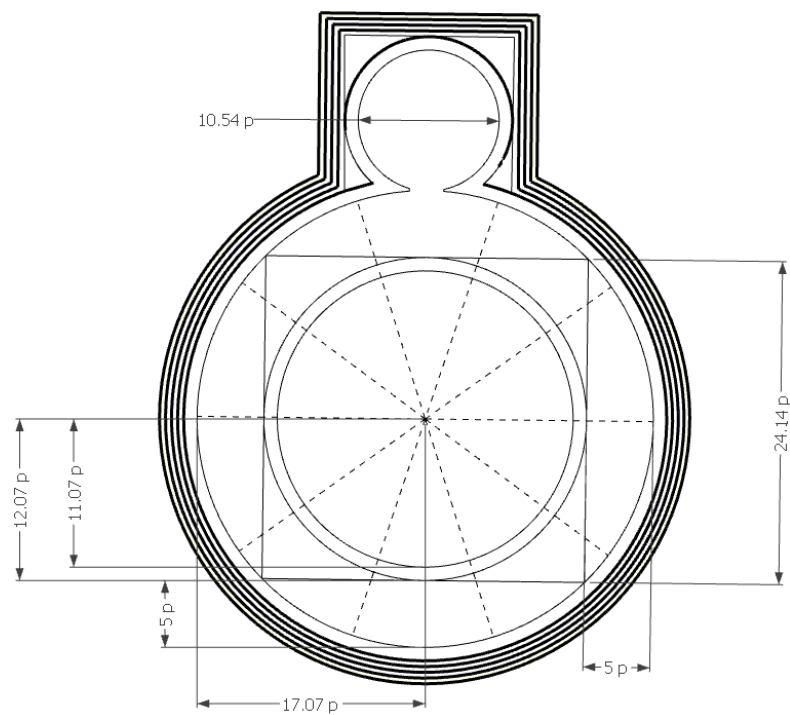
[53] *Hypnerotomachia*, 197.
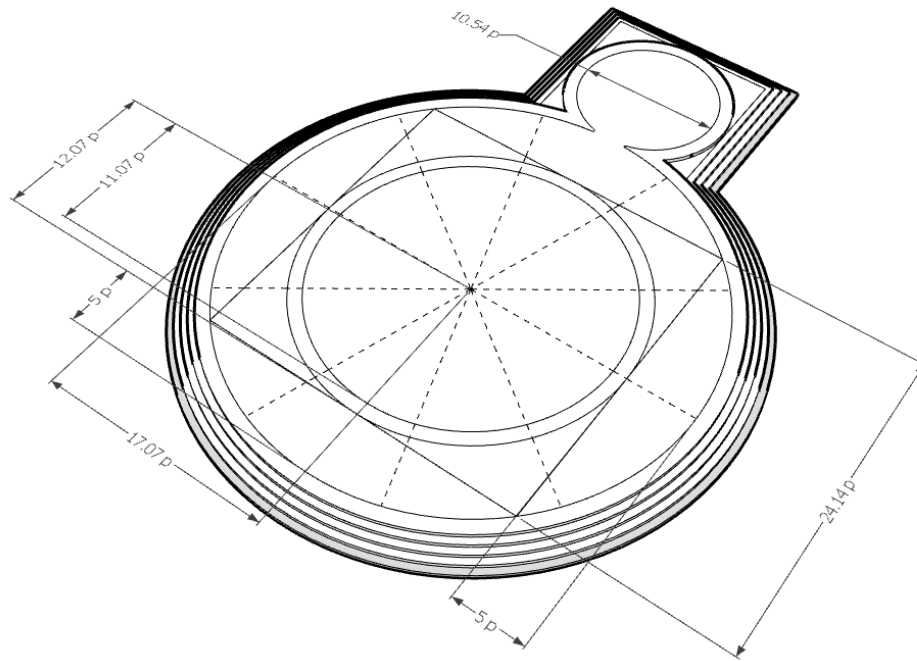
Figs. 3.20-21) Plan with 10 radii configuring the column position

And, on the other hand, by drawing a line from the centre to one of the vertices establishes the

golden mean, symbolic of the temple's perfectionism (Figure 3.22):[54]
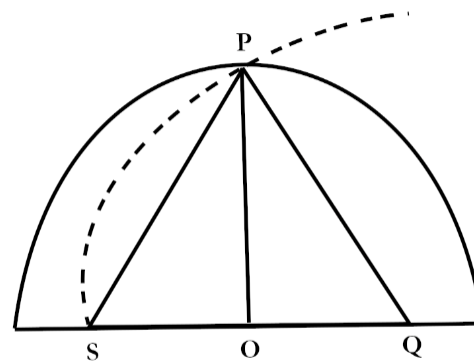
OS = The side of the regular decagon
PS = The side of the regular pentagon
OP = The side of the regular hexagon

Fig. 3.22) Plan with adjoining chapel

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[54] See analysis on this in White, 'Mathematical Design in Poliphilo's Imaginary Building, the Temple of Venus', 70–71. On the golden mean see Euclid, *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, trans. Thomas Heath (New York: Courier Corporation, 1956), 457; Barnabas Hughes, *Fibonacci's De Practica Geometrie* (New York: Springer, 2007); Luca Pacioli, *Summa de Arithmetica, Geometria, Proportioni Et Proportionalita. An Original Translation of the Distinctio Nona. Tractatus IX «De Computis Et Scripturis»* (Shenzhen: RIREA, 2016); Kim Williams, Lionel March and Stephen R. Wassell, *The Mathematical Works of Leon Battista Alberti* (New York: Springer, 2010), 101. On the division of space akin to the division of notes see Ptolemy, *Almagest*, trans. G. J. Toomer, vol. 13 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 48.

The significance of this has no explicit bearing on the formation of the rotunda; rather, as Ian White notes, it lies in the geometric consequences valuable for planning, which, we may add, further displays how Poliphilo's thoughts follow in absolute geometric terms, as opposed to piecing architectural parts together. The temple's geometry reveals the final stage of architectonic thinking as an expression of interior transformation where geometric thinking is associated with the final stage of architectonic thought. There are two final stages of architectonic perfectionism here: the first is the emphasis on thinking in geometric terms, and the second is the use of '10' as the Pythagorean number of perfectionism, lending the architecture symbolic proportions.

The shape of the rotund temple signifies the circle, representing water, and denoting a spiritual return to the maternal waters of Venus Genetrix. The circle in *Timaeus* is also expressive of the motion of the heavens, the sun, and is related to spiritual maturity.[55] Beside the significance of '10' as the number associated by Pythagoras with perfection, the use of '9' in the columnar proportion may refer to the angelic hierarchies figuratively at work; '8', the value of Christian baptismal initiation and regeneration, which we may observe in the elevation designs such the number of windows; and '3', the value of homogeneity, trinitarian synthesis, and the tripartite of heaven, earth and intermediary waters, signifies the utmost spiritual importance through the thickness of the walls which were an important element in Roman culture, offering protection and endowed with power.[56]

Collectively, the narrative, formal, geometric and numerological signifiers pertain to the union of heavenly spirit and matter, represented through the crowning of Apollo and the Nine Muses on the elevation of the temple relating the building to the *hamonia mondi*, thus echoing Poliphilo's state of perfected interiority for initiation.[57] Indeed, Magda Campanini observes the repeated

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[55] Plato, *Timaeus*, 39e-40d.

[56] Christoph Riedweg, *Pythagoras: His Life, Teaching, and Influence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 118. See also Vittorio Montemaggi and Matthew Treherne, *Dante's Commedia: Theology as Poetry* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Pess, 2010), chap. 2; R. A. Stalley, Professor of the History of Art Roger Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 61. Consult also Albertus Magnus, *De Caelo et Mundo, Ed* (Ascendorff: Münster, 1971); Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* (Authentic Media Inc, 2012), I.45, art.7.

[57] Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, 2–3.

description of Polia's scent being like perfume, a symbol of Venus, in the theme of the venereal initiation.[58]

As a side note, regarding the correct portrayal of the outer pilasters and arches, Poliphilo describes the external pilaster as a 3-foot-square block, where half its portion is taken by a 1.5-foot-thick wall; a further 1.5 foot by the niching, resulting in 4.68 of arch-space (Figure 3.23). Consequently, previous depictions of the temple have erroneous external columns, such as the French edition of 1600, and Esteban Alejandro Cruz's reconstruction. Neither are narrated by Poliphilo, nor do the dimensions make sense in previous illustrations, as the additional 2-foot column, and niching, would allow only 2.68 feet per arch-space.
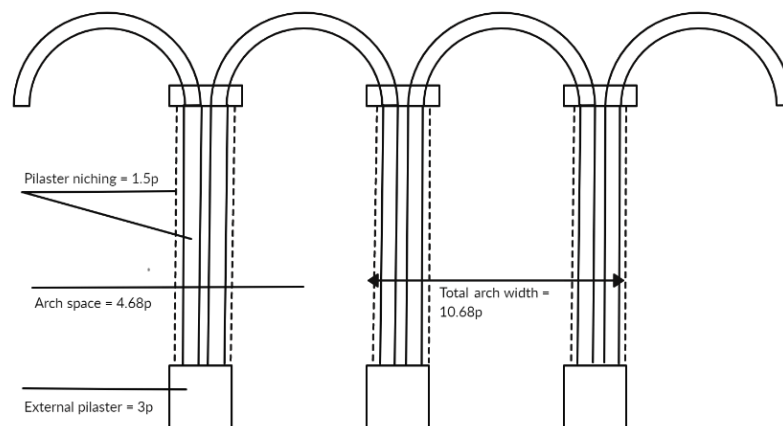
Fig. 3.23) Elevation of external arches and pilasters

Self-transformation finds its final architectural setting in the amphitheatre of Venus, centre of the *locus amoenus*, where the transformation of the allegory of architecture, as reflecting the transformation of Poliphilo's anima, is now complete in the final state of perfectionism.

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[58] Magda Campanini, *Sacred and Profane Perfume Sensorial Mazes and Paths of Meaning in Italian and French Renaissance*, trans. Christian Cawthra (Padua: Idvisual, 2017), 108.
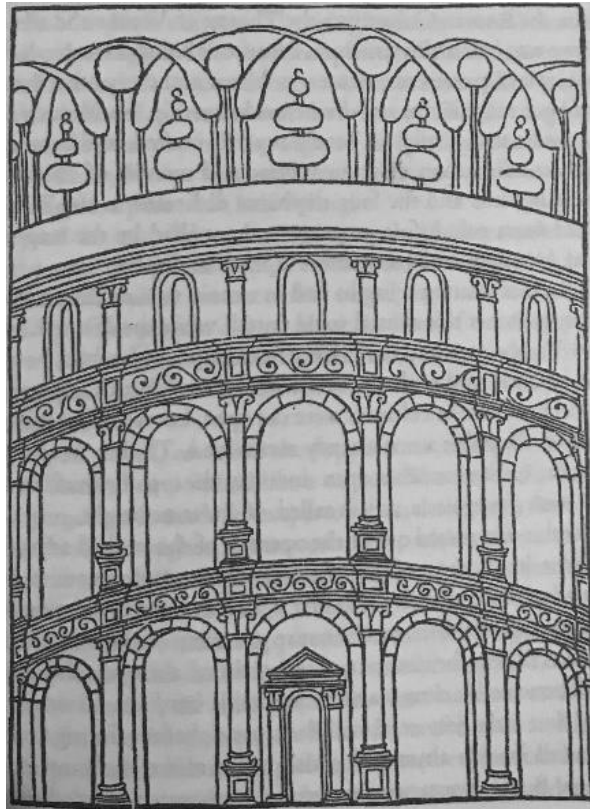
Fig. 3.24) Elevation of bath-house of Venus, Cytherea (p.351)

The amphitheatre of Venus, Cytherea, is described as having two equal orders of open arches: porphyry, assigning the virtue of patience to Poliphilo's journey, and serpentine columns, before an entablature above with a decorated cornice (Figure 3.24).[59] The top of the first colonnade corresponds with the top row of seats in the auditorium, with the first three levels of the external façade being 8 paces high, and the dome being 8 paces, reflecting the interior diameter. This equals a height of 40 paces and, as Poliphilo describes, an interior diameter of 32 paces and an exterior wall thickness of 8 paces, the sum width is 48 paces (Figure 3.25), so the plan is based on the number '8' symbolising Venus' regenerative power.[60]

The circumference of the surrounding colonnade is divided into 4 parts with 8 divisions in each, creating 32 radii from the centre, establishing the external columns on these lines, between which are placed the arches, creating a tricontadoagon (or icosidodecagon).[61]

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[59] *Hypnerotomachia*, 350-51, Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:1043.
[60] Harold Bayley, *The Lost Language of Symbolism* (New York: Courier Corporation, 2013), 230.
[61] *Hypnerotomachia*, 351; Also, possibly alluding to the 32 names of God in the first Chapter of Genesis, chap. 1, inferring this path is one of the 32 leading to the Godhead.
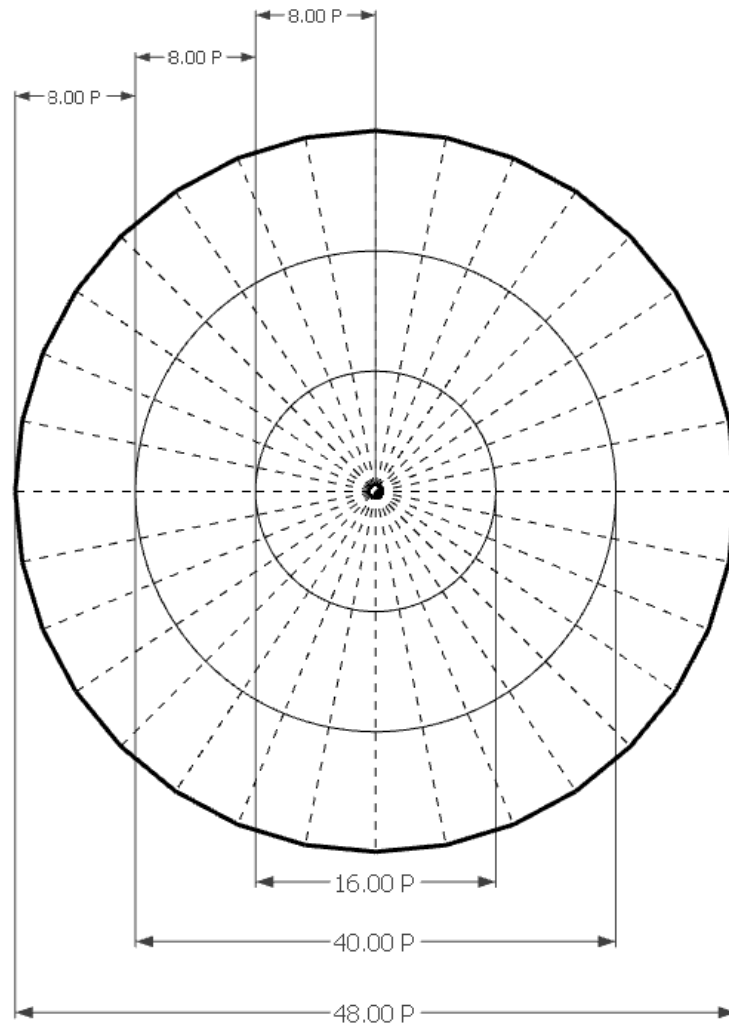
Fig. 3.25) Plan of the amphitheatre depicting the colonnade, adytum, and auditorium

The significance of the value of '8' is reflected in the interior. For instance, Poliphilo describes three areas of seating in the auditorium establishing numerical symmetry, which collectively rest above the adytum's 8 pace or 40p width: each ring of seats have three steps that are 2.5 feet in depth, and a fourth that is 5 feet, creating a pathway (decorated by a pergola 7.5p high). This establishes levels one, two and three and is described as being 12.5-feet wide, creating a sum width of 37.5p, leaving 2.5p of space presumably accounted for by the thickness of the wall between adytum and auditorium.[62] The height is 15.5 feet (2.5x3 for the steps and 8p for the wall, described as slightly higher than the pergola) for the first two levels. The third level is 17p (2.5x3 per step and 9.5 for the space containing the hanging flowers). This creates a sum seating area height of

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[62] *Hypnerotomachia*, 352-55.

48p, correlating with the external sum height of 48 paces; and a correlation with the interior sum height is 32 paces from floor to ceiling, making '8' the symbolic figure Figure 3.26-37).

We have moved from '10' being the Pythagorean number of perfection in the Temple of Venus Physizoa, to '8' being the number of Venus and regeneration, here in the Amphitheatre of Venus. As Polphilo finds his journey of self-perfectionism in itself complete in the temple of Venus, now it is architecturally taken to the next stage in assimilating with the divine powers of Venus.

The compositional symmetry is expressive of cyclical power through its circular form. This is observed through the 8-pace-thick colonnade on the outside, positioned beside the 8-pace-thick corridor that, unlike the colonnade, has the arches filled in to make an enclosed ring circumnavigating the auditorium, emphasising circular form, cyclical paths, and symmetry which emphasises the feminine symbolism under the associated power of Venus.[63]

Level Three   Height   Width:

9.5 p   7.5 p   Step four + pergola
2.5 p   17.5 p   2.5 p   12.5 p
2.5 p   2.5 p   Step three
2.5 p   2.5 p
Step two
Step one

Level Two

8 p   7.5 p
2.5 p   15.5 p   2.5 p   12.5 p step four + pergola
2.5 p   2.5 p
2.5 p   2.5 p   Step three
Step two
Step one

Level One

8 p   7.5 p
     2.5 p   12.5 p   Step four + pergola
2.5 p   2.5 p   Step three
   15.5 p   2.5 p   Step two
2.5 p   2.5 p
2.5 p   Step one

Height of seating area: Width of the seating area:
Level one = 15.5 p   Level one = 12.5 p
Level two = 15.5 p   Level two = 12.5 p
Level three = 17 p   Level three = 12.5 p
Total height of the   Total width = 37.5 p
seating area = 48 p   (Allowing 2.5 p for wall width of the cella
               making 40 p in total width)

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[63] *Hypnerotomachia*, 351-51.

Internal height = 32P

External height = 40P

Internal diameter = 32 P

External diameter = 48 P

Fig. 3.27) Dimensions of exterior elevation

The narrative here is architecturally contextualised, yet the symbolism of form breaches the divide between narrative context and allegory. The edifice is here part of the love-narrative metaphorical of the metaphysical body while physically contextualising the narrative:

> Et che quello che la mellea et integerrima Polia fare non audeva che io thelithoro et avidissimo di mirare la sanctissima genitrice exequire dovesse; là onde non cusì praesto il divino instrumento tractai che, di caeca flamma circumacto, non ricusando immo cum urgente affecto proiectissimo la cortinetta.

> (And I completed the penetration that the honey-sweet and wholesome Polia dared not do, avid as I was to behold the most holy Mother. No sooner had I taken the divine instrument than I was surrounded by a sourceless flame, and with urgent emotion I violently struck the little curtain.)[64] (HP, 361).

Architecture becomes synonymous with love and initiation, as the Apollonian tripod in a sacrificial relief on an external column base illustrates.[65] The architectural description merges the external with the interior, the material with the immaterial; as Stewering comments, the fountain represents

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[64] Consider here Bembo's notion that beauty springs from God and resembles a circle, the centre of which is goodness in Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (London: Penguin UK, 2004), IV. 57-58.
[65] *Hypnerotomachia*, 349.

a harmonious synthesis of body and spirit, masculine and feminine.[66] Architectural form corresponds to both the divine and human.

The correspondence between body and edifice is further noted in the narrative occurring in the fountain. For instance, Poliphilo tells of Venus appearing from the waters: 'cum tanto lumine trasparente il divino corpo cum praecipua perspicuitate quella maiestate et venerabile aaspecto obiectantise, quanto pretioso et corruscante carbunculo agli solarii radii fulgura' [The divine body appeared luminous and transparent, displaying its majesty and venerable aspect with exceptional clarity and blazing like a precious and coruscating carbuncle in the rays of the sun][67] where the water of the fountain echoes the description of the divine body within it. The fountain, symbol of universal synergy, echoing the forces of Plato's demiurge in the creation of the *anima mundi*, establishes, through the numerical symbolism observed in the design and measurements of fountain in '8', the generative forces of Venus, synonymous with island as creation and Venus as the *anima mundi* that governs it, whilst the prominent use of '7' again infers a sacred association through its sacred position as a number.[68]

The significance of '7' is expressed through the fountain's form, at the centre of the regenerative force symbolised in 8-pace seating area above the adytum, with a remaining radius of 8 paces (40p), at the centre of which is the heptagonal source of Venus (Figures 3.28-29).[69] This fountain is given a side dimension of 3p, allowing us to establish the dimensions thus:

[66] Roswitha Stewering, 'Harmonie von kunst-und naturschönem der venusbrunnen in der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums und Berichte aus dem Forschungsinstitut für Realienkunde; Realität und Bedeutung der Dinge im zeitlichen Wandel: Werkstoffe, ihre Gestaltung und ihre Funktion*, 1995; Stewering, 'Architectural Representations in the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" (Aldus Manutius, 1499)', 9. Concerning combinational sources of this fountain see Martine Furno, 'Imaginary Architecture and Antiquity : The Fountain of Venus in Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', in *Antiquity and Its Interpreters*, ed. Ann Kuttner Rebekah Smick Edited by Alina Payne (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 70–82.
[67] *Hypnerotomachia*: 362.
[68] Plato, *Timaeus*, 55e. See also Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, 3–4.
[69] *Hypnerotomachia*, 358-61.

$$e = Shortdiagonal = e = 2xax\cos(\pi\sqrt{7}) = 5.4$$
$$h = Height = h = (2x\tan(\pi\sqrt{2\sqrt{7}}) = 6.6$$
$$p = Perimeter = 7xa = 21$$
$$A = Area = 7\sqrt{4xa^2\sqrt{\tan(\pi\sqrt{7})}} = 32$$
$$Rc = Circumferenceradius = a\sqrt{2x\sin(\sqrt[7]{7})} = 3.5$$
$$Ri = Innercircleradius = ri = \sqrt[a]{2x\tan(\sqrt[7]{7})} = 3.2$$

$$Angle = 5\sqrt{7x180} = 128,57°$$
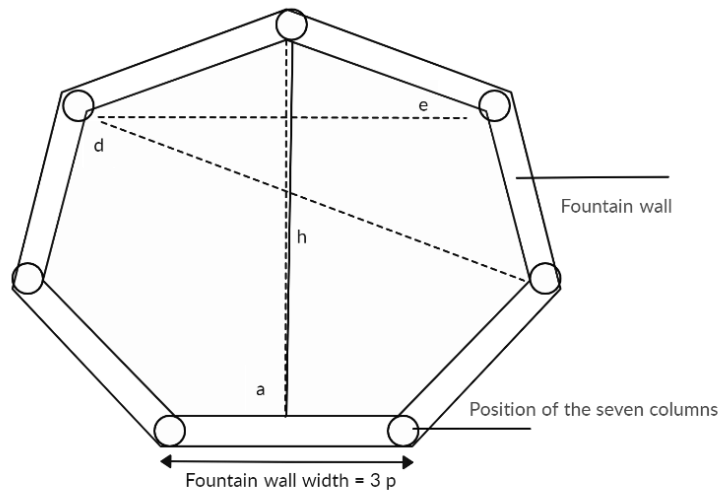
a = Edge length   = 3 p
d = Long diagonal   = 6.7 p
e = Short diagonal   = 5.4 p
h = Height   = 6.6 p
p = Perimeter   = 21 p
A = Area   = 32 p
rc = Circumcircle radius = 3.5 p
ri = Inner circle radius = 3.2 p

Fig. 3.28) Proportions of the fountain

Column
height = 7 p

Height from wall
base to cupola = 8 p

Fountain height = 1 p

6 steps = 0.17 p per step
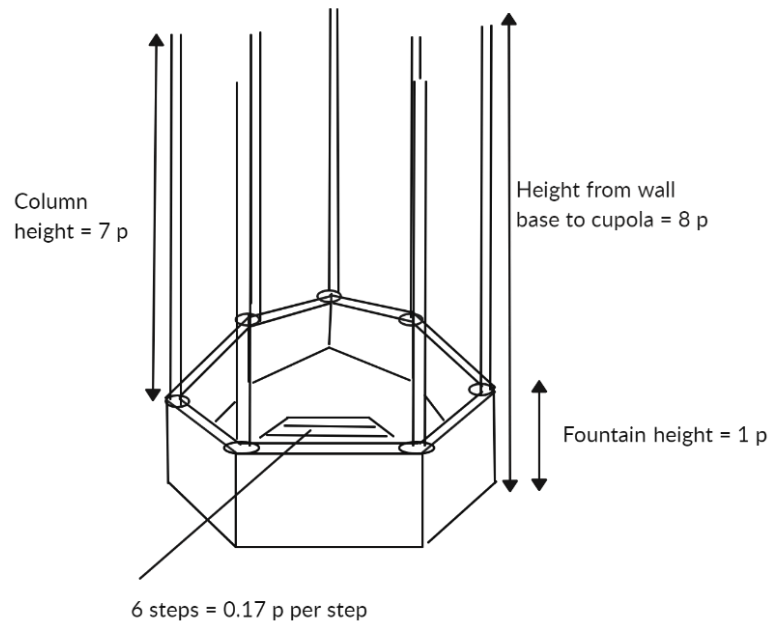
Fig. 3.29) Plan and perspective diagram of the fountain

The symbolism of '7' is here reflected in the longitudinal diameter, which is a fraction under 7p; the near 7p height of the heptagonal shape; the 7 sides of its shape; and the 7 stairs behind the fountain that lead to the first pergola in the first ring of seating. This pertains to a universality in medieval thought, alluding to the transition from the specificity of the anima to the generality of the heavens, the unification of anima and divinity which characterises the final part of the narrative in the Amphitheatre of Venus Cytherea.[70]

And, thus, we have the culmination of architectural transformation, from the triangular tetrahedron of the Magna Porta, to the quadrangular cube and rectangle of the palace and ground of Eleuterylida, to the rotund circle of the Temple of Venus Physizoa and Theatre of Venus Cytherea. As we have observed, each shape is symbolically associated with the stage of Polipihlo's narrative, where the tetrahedron is expressive of inauguration and creative life forces in Platonic thought, indicative of Poliphilo's soul freed from the senses, the cube with nature, and the circle with Venus; whilst each building also shares a level of correspondence with Polipihlo himself, through the use of '6' in the pyramid and palace of Eleuterylida that is associated with man through

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[70] Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism*, 95.

Vitruvian thought, and corresponding with the body in the Magna Porta and the head in the palace of Eleuterylida; creating both narratological and a personal mirroring between Poliphilo and edifice. The numerological symbolism is, consequently, specifically used to relate philosophic concepts related to the narrative and to Poliphilo's self-transformation, where, for instance, the use of '10' in the Temple of Venus Physizoa represents absolute perfection in Pythagorean thinking, and, lastly, the prominent use of '8' in the Amphitheatre of Venus, corresponds, on am arithmosophical level, with the union between divine Venus and the soul of Polipihlo.

As a final thought, and with regards the temporal shift in architectural analysis, in the experiencing of sex with Polia, Poliphilo portrays the allegory of penetration architecturally, establishing a relationship between her body and edifice in a temporal present: 'Quivi, tra la columna saphyrica et smaragdinea se contineva in orbiculi flexi cum laqueoli innodati una la più bella cortinetta … et cum quatro litere d'oro graece subtilemente super ritramate, YMHN' [Between the sapphire and emerald columns there was the most beautiful velvet curtain, hanging in circular folds and attached by knotted cords … and with four Greek letters subtly embroidered on it in decorative raised work: YMHN].[71] This is framed in an architecture that bears a temporal shift back to antiquity, establishing a balance: the first realm temporally pertains to the antique, the second to the present, and here to both.[72] Consequently, the circular form of the Amphitheatre of Venus Cytherea may also be acknowledged with a temple union of past, present and future, indicative of the initiated soul of Poliphilo that now stands above the ordinary experience of time.

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[71] *Hypnerotomachia*: 361.

[72] On the usage of altering antique form to create new artwork see analysis on the tomb of Artemisia in Lorenzo Pericolo, 'Heterotopia in the Renaissance: Modern Hybrids as Antiques in Bramante, Cima Da Conegliano, and the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Getty Research Journal*, no. 1 (2009): 8–10.

4

Poliphilo, Connoisseurship and Self-Transformation

> Let us now return to the vast pyramid, beneath which lay a single huge and solid plinth, or square slab, fourteen paces high and six stadia in extent or breadth, which formed the footing of the lowest step of the massive pyramid… After careful reflection, I thought that it must not have been brought here from elsewhere, but that human effort had carved it out from the very mountain.
>
> Poliphilo
> *Hypnerotomachia* (p.27)

Having examined Poliphilo's self-transformation from the perspective of narrative thresholds, and the formal and arithmosophical symbolism of architecture in the narrative, we shall now critically explore the relationship between Poliphilo and the antiquarian objects that populate the narrative, from the perspective of his connoisseurship. Through observing a similitude to a type of classical building, examples of similar sculptural reliefs, or the type of font inscribed into a mason's stone (Figures 4.1-3) Poliphilo is, from the beginning of the narrative, not only in possession of great erudition and knowledge, but is one of Humanism's great Quattrocento connoisseurs.[1]

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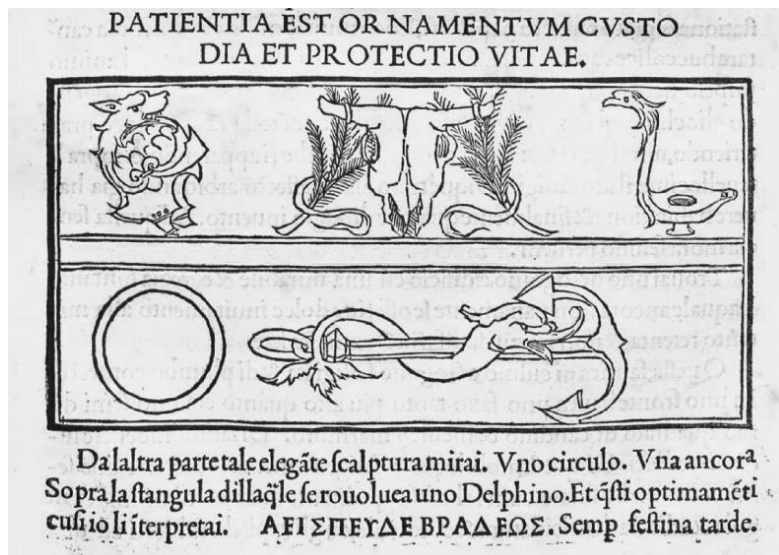
[1] On placing the objects of art within the tableau of Quattrocento scholars concerned with making a Renaissance of antiquity despite the medieval source material of the narrative, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Humanism and Scholasticism in the Renaissance', in *The Italian Renaissance*, ed. Harold Bloom (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). Consider also Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana's* enamour of Ciceronian eloquence and Neoplatonic metaphysics, which resonate in Colonna's attempt to beautify and symbolise the objects of art he creates, in Meredith J. Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance: Art and Philosophy from Petrarch to Michelangelo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 148.

Fig. 4.1) Stylised Egyptian hieroglyphs (p.69).
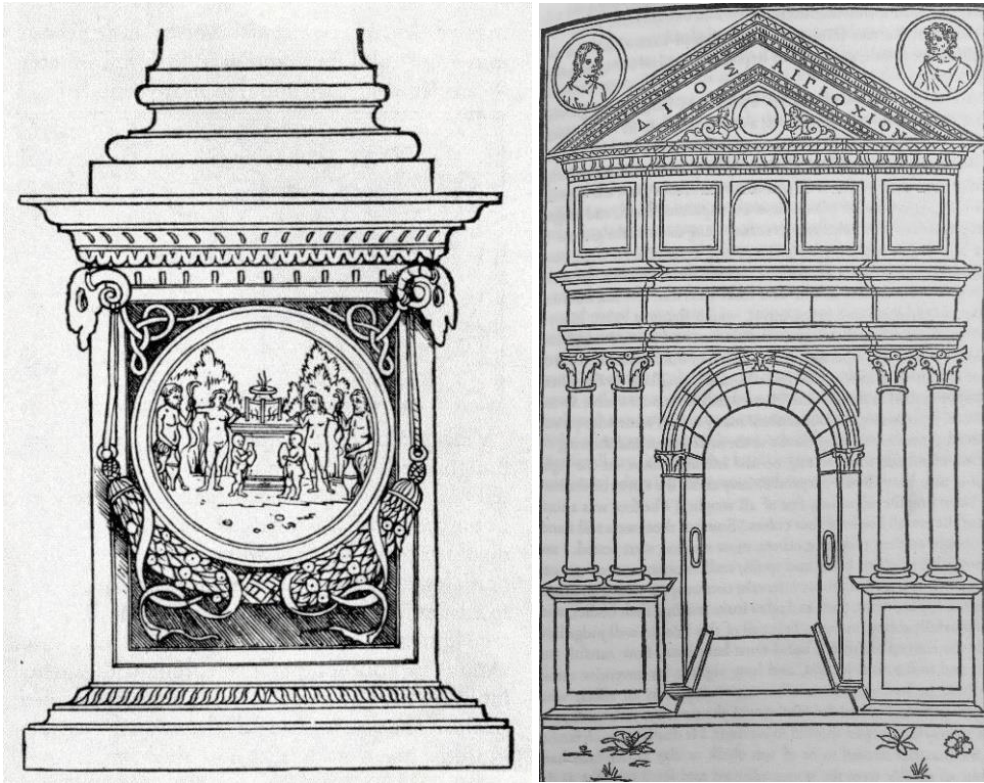
Fig. 4.2) Relief on a column in the amphitheatre of Venus Cytherea (p.349).

Fig. 4.3) Entrance to the Magna Porta (p.55).

The term 'connoisseur' is used here to denote a person who has a great deal of expert knowledge about the fine arts, not merely a superficial dilettantism but bearing an expert depth of learning by his contemporary standards.[2] The term is attributed to Poliphilo based on his educated definition and description of objects and their historiography in the environments he chances across. From the beginning of the narrative, he displays an intimate knowledge of philology, architecture, mathematics, interior design, garden design, and agriculture. Such general and antiquarian learning supports Tamara Griggs' observation of Poliphilo's repeated transition between 'naivety and skilled verbal appraisal', where he 'figures himself as both the knowing contriver and the dumbfounded audience', in other words displaying an oscillation between naivety and scholarliness.[3] Although Griggs' observation is apt, an augmentation of this notion is necessary to more fully explain the role that Poliphilo, the antiquarian connoisseur, has in the narrative and

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[2] James H. Beck, *From Duccio to Raphael: Connoisseurship in Crisis* (London: European Press Academic Pub., 2006).
[3] Griggs, 'Promoting the Past', 21.

how this position – which is not necessary for the journey of initiation into wisdom through self-transformation – is effected by other relatable themes. These themes include invention; modes of description such as ekphrasis, and didactic forms of rhetoric; and how these descriptive modes of rhetoric are affected by emotive digressions that undermine their implicit objectivity.[4]

Additionally, and linked to the term 'connoisseur' is the term 'antiquarian', raising the question 'what form of antiquarian is Polihpilo by the contemporary standards of the Quattrocento? By his erudition, historiography of type with classical examples and vast vocabulary of terms we must refer to a scholarly interest not only in the artefacts but also in the cultures and ideas of classical antiquity, referring mostly to classical architecture, and sculpture, and the exploration of these sites of cultural interest. The term 'antiquarian' is, thus, applied in its most learned form.

Consequently, in the skilful evaluation of each object of art lies the conundrum: apart from the implicit narrative of his initiation into the mysteries thematically demanding interior transformation, there is a complication in the extent of Poliphilo's learning in the story of his soul's migration to wisdom – for although Polipihlo constantly develops his learning in forming concepts of ontology, order, and earthly and celestial processes in relationship to the human soul, he also exits the narrative with an antiquarian learning equal to what he possessed at the beginning. There are, therefore, two processes at work: on the one hand there is the narrate in which Poliphilo develops and transforms his self on a pedestrian journey from uninitiated into initiated, in which, as we have observed in the past two chapters, antiquarian symbolism is a vital key in the author's handling of this theme; and on the other hand, Poliphilo's antiquarian knowledge does not develop and in the passages dominated by antiquarian interests there is no narrative development, no progression of self-transformation, or advancement in learning.

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[4] Consider also the concept of invention as pertaining to reclaiming the parameters of the antique, in Pamela Joseph Benson, *Invention of the Renaissance Woman: The Challenge of Female Independence in the Literature and Thought of Italy and England* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 2; Julian Kleimann, 'Dall'invenzione al programma', in *Programme et invention dans l'art de la Renaissance*, ed. Michel Hochmann (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 2008), 17–26.

How is this, we may ask? The answer to this is due to the fact that antiquarian interests, although expressive of symbolic form, proportion, and content are used also for another purpose, that is, to explore in a realistic fashion the contemporary interests of classical antiquarianism. Thus, despite classical objects bearing a symbolic relationship to the narrative, the *extent* of ekphrasis or non-ekphrastic description, didactic rhetorical modes and description of the experience of antiquarian exploration is, ultimately, parallel to the narrative, thus demonstrating a secondary purpose of the text where narrative and antiquarianism are connected and yet intrinsically separate.

Poliphilo is in love with antiquity, he displays an emotional language rich in the description of love, using phrases such as 'voluptuous pleasure' and 'amorous sighs' that have even caused debate over the apparent sexual reaction to antiquity.[5] Maurizio Calvesi goes as far as to label both the primary purpose of the narrative and the allegorical meaning of Polia as relating only to antiquity.[6] But, as we shall explore, it is not as straightforward as to assume the narrative and its antiquarian content are always relatable.

This chapter shall initially explore Poliphilo's connoisseurship of the Magna Porta and how through its relationship to pedagogic and didactic rhetoric, on the one hand, and the role fantasia plays in the description of his architectural invention, on the other, self-transformation is related to, and then obstructed through his connoisseurship. Secondly, we will explore Poliphilo's connoisseurship of the furniture in the palace of Queen Eleuterylida, which connects to the narrative through symbolic form; and how his emotive digressions when describing the Temple of Venus Physizoa, undermine the objectivity of antiquarian connoisseur. Thirdly, we will discuss Poliphilo's sexual digressions in the connoisseurship on the Temple of Venus Physizoa; lastly, we

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[5] *Hypnerotomachia*, 196; 31.

[6] Calvesi, *La 'pugna d'amore in sogno' di Francesco Colonna romano*, 201–2; L. E. Semler, 'Robert Dallington's "Hypnerotomachia" and the Protestant Antiquity of Elizabethan England', *Studies in Philology* 103, no. 2 (2006): 213. See also Albert Ilg, *Ueber den kunsthistorischen Werth der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kunstliteratur in der Renaissance* (Braumüller, 1872), 28; Julius Ritter von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur: ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte* (A. Schroll & Company, Ges. m.b.H., 1924), 117; Hermann Bauer, *Kunst und Utopie: Studien Über Das Kunst-und Staatsdenken in Der Renaissance* (de Gruyter, 1965), 89.

will consider how the complications of language limit the clarity of the theme of self-transformation as well as the connoisseur in the realm of Telosia.

Pedagogy and didacticism as the limit of self-transformation and fantasia in the Magna Porta

Outside the Magna Porta, Poliphilo engages in a series of antiquarian narrations, which he contextualises in a rhetoric of connoisseurship. The narration, although displaying symbolic arithmosophical and formal symbolism, as observed in the previous chapter, modulates from connoisseurship to a pedagogical and didactic rhetoric to explain the manufacturing process, which ultimately delineates from the narrative of self-transformation due to the extent of this indulgence.

Antiquarian interest and knowledge in the Quattrocento was not uniform: the writings of Flavio Biondo in *Roma instaurata*, not dissimilar from Ciriaco's *Commentaria*, explore the historicity of Roman ruins, identifying buildings with classical terminology; and although Cristoforo Buondelmonti displays skills in geography and cartography, other travel writers misidentify ruins and display little knowledge of architectural period, type, or the correct vocabulary.[7] Poliphilo not only accurately identifies the Magna Porta (Figure 4.4) as a classical edifice using the correct terminology such as 'zophoro' [*zophorus*], 'pedamento/fastigio' [*pediment*], 'corona' [*corona*], and 'stilypodio' [*stylopodium*] and an understanding of the geometric proportioning of its elevation, but also compares the dream edifice to those by antique artists, establishing a connoisseurial context of analysis. For instance, inside the Magna Porta, Poliphilo reads the iconography of a cornice, observing Clymene, Cyparissus, and Daphne, saying, 'O quanto artificiosamente adimpivano il mysterio suo di praeclara facture! Toreumata sencia fallo non di lithoglypho Policleto, né di Phidia, né di Lysippo' [Oh, how artistically the mystery of its magnificent execution had been accomplished! Such faultless bas-relief was never made by the stone-carver Polycleitus, nor by

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[7] Angelo Mazzocco, 'A Reconstruction of Renaissance Antiquarianism in Light of Biondo Flavio's "Ars Antiquaria"', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 59/60 (2014): 138; Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Description of the Aegean and Other Islands* (Reading: Italica Press, 2018); Michail Chatzidakis, *Ciriaco d'Ancona und die Wiederentdeckung Griechenlands im 15. Jahrhundert* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017), 21.

Phidias, nor Lysippus], thus identifying a classical style and its specifically Hellenic sculptors, displaying, through literary sources, an understanding of sculptural type and style.[8]
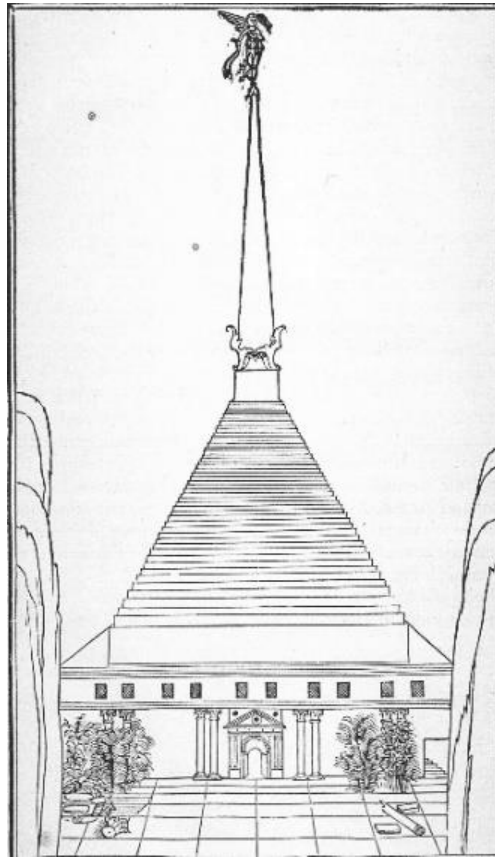
Fig. 4.4) Elevation of the Magna Porta (p.26).

The Magna Porta bears formal similarity to the triumphal Arco dei Gavi, Verona, while the sculptural reliefs echo the design of the Arco di Traiano, Benevento. Within this architectural genre Poliphilo compares the style of flanking monumental monolithic columns to Agrippa's Pantheon, establishing a specific historicity.[9] As explained in the previous two chapters, the formal and iconographic symbolism, narrated by Poliphilo as he examines the building, correspond to his current state of self-transformation and establishes an outward symbolic architectonic manifestation and contextualization of his interior transformation. However, the limits of the

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[8] *Hypnerotomachia*, 54. See Ernst Cassirer, *Individu et cosmos dans la philosophie de la renaissance; suivi de Nicolas de cues, de la pensée; charles de bovelles, le sage* (Paris: Les Éd. de Minuit, 1983), 67. See also Alexander Roose, 'Le Songe de Poliphile: Curiosité et altérité', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 71, no. 2 (2009): 243. There are also many paintings the *Hypnerotomachia* inspired, for instance, in the early work of Le Sueur, Pierre Rosenberg, Marc Funaroli, and Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York N.Y.), *France in the Golden Age: Seventeenth-Century French Paintings in American Collections* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 270. Consider also the influence on Bernard Palissy, in Leonard N. Amico, *Bernard Palissy: In Search of Earthly Paradise* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996).
[9] *Hypnerotomachia*, 50.

theme of self-transformation are reached when he describes the process of manufacturing, transitioning from symbolic description into a pedagogical rhetoric (inadvertently opposing Blunt's claim of an absence of scientific spirit).[10] For instance, Poliphilo describes the process of constructing the portal as:

> Uno quadrato collocate soto le columne, bine per lato, diligentemente mensurai; dalla quale mensuratione facilmente tuta la symmetria compresi dilla praelibata porta, la quale explanando transcorrerò brevemente. Una tetragona figura, A.B.C.D., divisa per tre linee recte te tre transversarie aequidistante, sarano sedeci quadrati. Addendo poscia alla figura quanto è la sua medietate, et cum quelle medesime partitione dividendo l'adiuncto, trovasi xxiiii quadrati.

> I measured diligently the squares beneath the columns, which were two on either side, and understood from this measurement the whole symmetry of the portal, which I will run through with a brief explanation. A four/sided figure, ABCD, divided by three equidistant straight lines and three transverse lines, will become sixteen squares. Next, a figure half the size is added to it, and when this added figure is divided in the same way, twenty-four squares are to be found. (HP, 42.)

The process of drawing the portal, superlative to the narrative, and set within a near fifty page description of the building, engages in a pedagogical capacity which delineates from the otherwise ongoing triumph of soul over the senses that the sun pyramid represents. This notion is, to some extent, also exemplified in the required behaviour of the architect, described as being 'non loquace, benigno, benivolo, mansueto, pachiente, faceto, copioso, indagatore curioso' [well-spoken, kindly, benevolent, mild-mannered patient, good humoured, hardworking, a man of universal curiosity] reading suddenly as a schooling on architecture and educational decorum.[11]

Rhetorical modulation further blurs the way in which we are to read the passages in this sequence. For instance, inside the arch of the portal Poliphilo observes a sculptural relief that corresponds allegorically to his victory over the senses, relating: 'In the triangles made by the arch there was a noble sculpture of a Victory, made in the manner commonly known as cameo'

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[10] Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism*; Blunt, 'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in 17th Century France', 118. Consider the possible influence of the Hypnerotomachia on the Saint Agatha chapel in Parma Cathedral, in Alessandra Talignanit, 'Quis evadet: una traccia della Hypnerotomachia Poliphili a Parma nel sepolcro di Vincenzo Carissimi', *Artes* 5 (1997): 111–37. See also Esteban Alejandro Cruz, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: An Architectural Vision from the First Renaissance Volume II* (Bloomington: Xlibris, 2011).
[11] *Hypnerotomachia*, 43, 47.

expressing also a connoisseurial knowledge of the type and sub-category of the artistic object.[12]

Yet, shortly before this, there is an entirely different form of rhetoric that uses Alberti's terms of *quadrangulus* (the visual pyramid) *lineamenta* (shape) and *pavimento*, (where the orthogonals emanate from the central vanishing point of the picture-plane) from *De Pictura*. Poliphilo uses Alberti's terms to establish perspective with didactic rhetoric, explaining how to create the portal: 'a four-sided figure, ABCD, divided by three equidistant straight lines and three transverse lines … next a figure half the size is added to it' (see quote above) and continues to describe the full process.[13] Here, the threshold between allegoric narrative, antiquarian connoisseurship, and a didact rhetoric from an architectural treatise becomes intertwined, blurring the theme of self-transformation into an antiquarian example of erudition and connoisseurship which undermines, perhaps unintentionally, the introspective episode Poliphilo has been relating.

Indeed, the inventive digressions, defended by Kent Hieatt, who criticised 'chauvinistic nineteenth century' research that did little to understand the author's creativity, however, take up more of the text than the narrative itself.[14] This places invention, and its modes of rhetoric used to relate the invention, on a par with narrative, and though trying to assimilate the two the extent of description vies for importance over the theme of self-transformation throughout the text, and the narrative ultimately fails to combine these textual modulations thus juxtaposing the position of the connoisseur and antiquarianism against the narrative.

This narratological deviation, observed by Godwin as 'hero and author … repeatedly distracted in their love-quest by the monuments they encounter', falls into nearly all areas of antiquarianism,

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[12] *Hypnerotomachia*, 51.
[13] *Hypnerotomachia*, 42; Godwin, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, xi; Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance*, 121. For an analysis on the detrimental aspects of the extent of Poliphilian measurement, see Victoria Kirkham, 'Hypno What? A Dreamer's Vision and the Reader's Nightmare', Word and Image 31, no. 2 (3 April 2015): 110. For an example of the interest future artists took in the artworks and buildings of Hypnerotomachia see Marcel Françon, 'Francesco Colonna's "Poliphili Hypnerotomachia" and Rabelais', The Modern Language Review 50, no. 1 (1955): 136–37. For the source material see Eleutherylida concerning the fountain and beautiful ladies. See also Victoria Kirkham, 'Amorous Vision, Scholastic Vistas,' in Victoria Kirkham, The Sign of Reason in Boccaccio's Fiction (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1993), 55–116. For an observation of both invention and fantasy see Salvatore Settis, 'Artisti e committenti fra Quattro e Cinquecento', Storia d'Italia: Annuali Intellettuali e Poetere 479 (2010): 701–61.
[14] Hieatt and Prescott, 'Contemporizing Antiquity', 291.

but through the originality of invention each share the common ground of *fantasia* which helps to emphasise the dream-scape that he and the reader wander through and which, at least in this instance, asserts the introspective qualities that each building holds.[15]

Regarding the *fantasia* of the Magna Porta, Poliphilo narrates 'L'altudine della quale, quantunche fusse stato el celebre monte arbitrava Olympo, Caucaso et Cylleno' [the height of this (obelisk) far exceeded the summits of the flanking mountains, and would have, so I thought, even if they had been famous Olympus, the Caucasus, or Mount Cyllene] resting upon a 'portentosissima pyramide …in extensione longitudinale era stadii sei …Faci silentio quivi omni altra incredibile et maxima structura' [monstrous pyramid … six stadia in length … it was enough to silence every other structure, however large or incredible] creating an Egypto-Roman hybrid of obelisk-bearing trabeated-pyramidal structure with a triumphal arch-portal (Figure 4.5) original to the Renaissance in its art-historic appropriation of style and structural type, yet lacking the historic context of type required of the connoisseur and which he displays elsewhere.[16] There is, therefore, a dichotomy: the modulation into pedagogy creates a rational realism in which the buildings feel as if part of a *trattato*, and which at times undermine the narrative of self-transformation through the extent of this rhetoric, and yet the description of the author's *fantasia* and invention help assert the feeling of remaining in Poliphilo's dream-scape, through the act of the reader imagining what is unreal, and original. Through the prioritising of the author's inventive powers, however, it negates Poliphilo's ability to act as a connoisseur of antiquarianism, and so the two exist, each obstructing the other: over-indulgence in didactic pedagogy and connoisseurial rhetoric countering the narrative of self-transformation, and the fantasia of imagination countering the rational realism of the author's indulgence into antiquarianism.

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[15] Godwin, *The Real Rule of Four*, 50. See also Joscelyn Godwin, 'Poliphilo's Dream, or Alberti's?', n.d., 48, accessed 12 January 2020. We may refer to a plethora of examples on nearly every page, ranging from the elephant bearing an obelisk to the man-made flower gardens in Eleuterylida, etc. On the relationship between text and image see Alessandro Parronchi, 'Lo xilografo della Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', Prospettiva, no. No. 33/36 (April 1983): 111. For artistic identity see Helena K. Szepe, 'Artistic Identity in the (Dream of) Poliphilo', Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada Vol. 35, no. 1 (1 April 1997): 111.

[16] *Hypnerotomachia*, 23-5
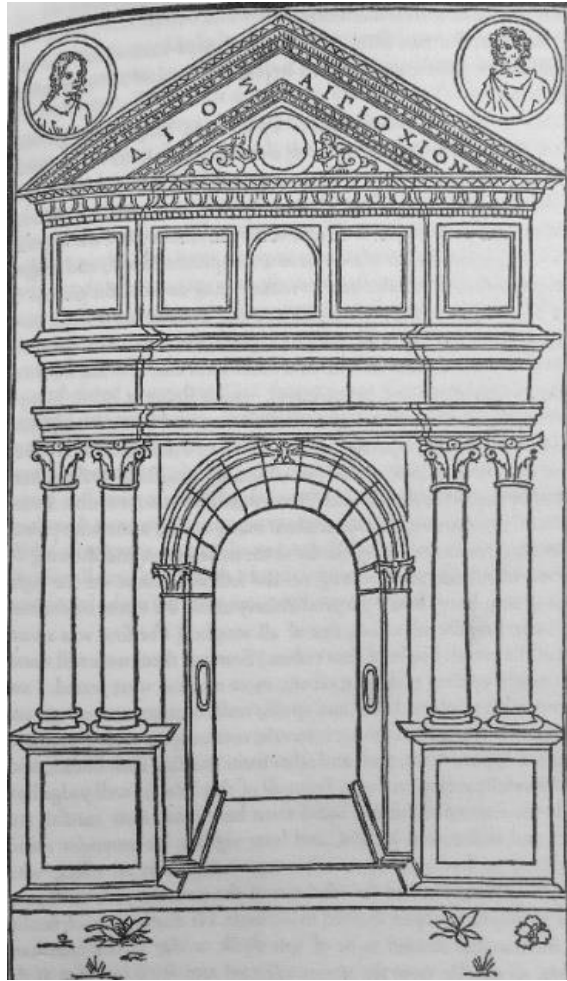
Fig. 4.5) The portal of the Magna Porta (p.55).

This notion finds example in the use of Egypto-Greco-Roman elements within the Magna

Porta that are seemingly indebted to Pliny. We read from Pliny that the building was:

> Erected by his wife Artemisia in honour of Mausolus, a petty king of Caria … the breadth
> from north to south sixty-three, the two fronts being not so wide in extent. It is twenty-
> five cubits in height, and is surrounded with six-and-thirty columns … above the Pteron
> there is a pyramid erected, equal in height to the building below, and formed of four and
> twenty steps, which gradually taper upwards towards the summit; a platform, crowned with
> a representation of a four-horse chariot by Pythis. This addition makes the total height of
> the work one hundred and forty feet[17]

Pliny describes a mausoleum, dedicated to Mausalus by his wife Artemisia, bearing a North and

South side of 63-feet (and the other sides shorter, making a rectangle). The building bears obvious

formal similarities: a square classical base with columnar support, a pyramid and sculpture summit;

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[17] Pliny, *Natural History*, 6.4. See also, Bury, 'Chapter III of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and the Tomb of
Mausolus', 40. See also Brian Anthony Curran, The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early
Modern Italy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 11.

there is a similarity in the language used even, as Poliphilo lists facts and figures as a Plinian dispensary of information. But there is also a conceptual influence between the mausoleum of the dead with the soul's freeing from the body into the afterlife, and the pyramid symbolising Polipihilo's triumph over the senses and spiritual rebirth. Pliny offers architectonic influence, as much as antiquarian influence, beside a prosaic rhetoric that is rational and precise.

On the other hand, and fitting seamlessly into the dream-scape of Poliphilo's interior journey of self-transformation, is the fantasia of unimaginable structures so characteristic of Filarete. In his *Buidling on the plan of a labyrinth realised after the Golden Book of Plusiapolis* (codex Magliabechianus, f.110r) there is a striking resemblance to the Magna Porta, where a monstrously sized building of extraordinary invention towers up, containing a labyrinth, as the Pyramid of the Magna Porta does, and with a sculptural summit. Filarete's architectural marvels similarly create a structure that is impossible to realise within the constraints of mechanical physics but create, through the Aristotelian notion of *phantasia*, the desire to reach out to the unimagined and unobtainable.[18] Here, both the limits of connoisseurship and pedagogy are realised through the *fantasia* of invention used to relate specifically to Poliphilo's stage of self-transformation. This heightens further the disconnection between antiquarianism and connoisseurship on the one hand, and *fantasia* and self-transformation on the other, in spite of the author's great efforts to assimilate both into textual unity.

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[18] Aristotle, *De Anima*, 414b33–415a3.
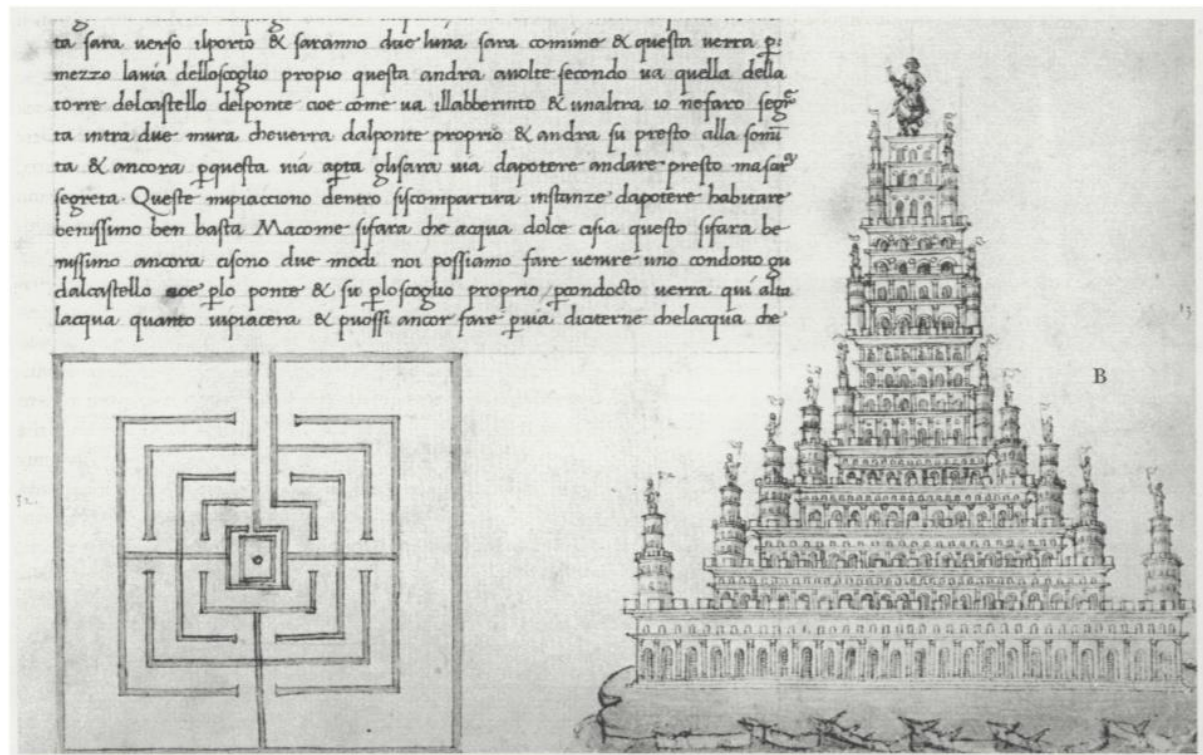
Fig. 4.6) Building on the plan of a labyrinth realised after the Golden Book of Plusiapolis *(codex Magliabechianus, f.110r)*

Furniture, connoisseurship, emotion and self-transformaiton in the palace of Queen Eleuterylida and the Temple of Venus Physizoa

The furniture in the palace of Eleuterylida comments on contemporary traditions, perhaps limited in their invention through practical necessity and, while other crafts engage with a more original inventive capacity, both largely display Poliphilo's connoisseurship as well as bearing formal symbolism related to the celestial powers that govern the processes of Poliphilo's self-transformation in the realm of Eleuterylida. This is not the case in the previous realm at the Magna Porta, as we have above observed, and is not the case in Telosia, on account of the extent of antiquarian indulgence at the temple of Venus Physizoa and Theatre of Venus Cytherea, in which connoisseurship is incorporated. The reason Eleuterylida works differently in assimilating connoisseurship and the narrative of symbolic encounters representing Polipihlo's journey of transformation is on account of the more limited antiquarian and connoisseurial observation which

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can thus be incorporated into the narrative, and on account of the narrated objects bearing a symbolic quality in the palace and open-aired courtyard of Queen Eleuterylida.

The finest Quattrocento furniture was mainly made of wood, often walnut or willow and rich in style with inlays of ivory, gold, stone, marble or other precious materials, typically decorated with marquetry, and bore resemblance to the benches Poliphilo describes in the open aired courtyard: 'sedili di sandalino ligno, erythreo et citrino, dilligentissimamente facti et ricoperti di viluto verdissimo' [red and yellow sandalwood, carefully made and upholstered with green velvet] and fastened with golden nails, demonstrating great luxury, and interior refinement that mirrors Poliphilo's own interior advancement. These benches are located on the checked floor of the open-aired courtyard, not uncommon in Venetian aristocratic homes, and echoing the homes of the wealthiest Venetian palazzos, defining a relatable space in which Poliphilo will go on to characterise as being anything but usual.[19]

For instance, Poliphilo describes a development of the Venetian Quattrocento feature of using wood panelling painted to resemble marble when referring to the furnishing of Queen Eleuterylida, narrating, 'Il splendido alamento degli claustranti parieti morai, di lame d'oro purissimo et collustrante tutto revestito … [uno throno] ornatamente referto di multiplice concinnatura di ardente gemme et di factura mirabile, che unque tale fue la sede nel tempio di Hercules Tyro, facta di eusebes petra' [I admired the splendid walls of the enclosure, which were all covered with plates of pure, lustrous gold … [the throne was] decorated with many designs of glowing gems, even more wonderfully made than the throne in the temple of Hercules at Tyre, which was of Eusebes stone] (Figure 4.6)[20] What is being referred to is so superfluously fine by comparison that it exists solely in the realm of the imagination and consequently, his position of connoisseur is used now to create a metaphor that, rather than obstructing the narrative, assists it. The relationship with the

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[19] *Hypnerotomachia*, 95. On Renaissance interior decoration see Judith Miller, *Furniture* (London: Dorling Kindersley, 2010), 28–29; Frida Schottmüller, *Furniture and Interior Decoration of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Hoffman, 1921), 28–29; Wilhelm von Bode, *Italian Renaissance Furniture* (London: Franklin Classics, 1921), 27–29.
[20] *Hypnerotomachia*, 95-8.

Temple of Hercules defines a spiritual place, transforming the lavish palazzo into a sacred space. This is further emphasised through the iconography depicting the movements of the planets demonstrating the celestial forces on the soul.[21] The furnishings, consequently, act as a bridge between the symbolism of the narrative and the decorative capacity of the connoisseur of fine interiors, operating differently than we observed in the previous realm.
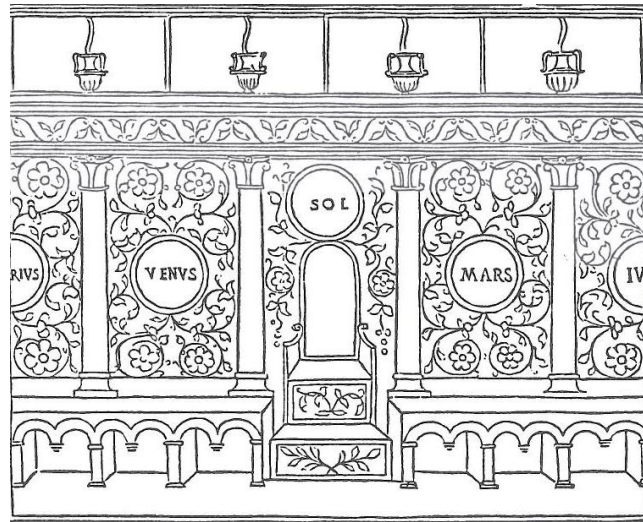
Fig. 4.7) Decorative relief of the panelling behind Eleuterylida's throne (p.98).

Pisanello displays *varietas* and *ekphrasis* as important parts of Quattrocento rhetoric. George of Trebizond in *De sauvitate dicendi ad Hieronymum Bragadenum* (1499) describes *varietas* as an intrinsic and natural component of beauty that 'teaches us that, if we want to speak well and attractively, we should studiously, diligently, and carefully seek for variety of discourse.'[22] This view is echoed in many humanist authors commenting on the contemporary systematisation of beauty in the language of the social sphere.[23] In this respect beauty has a twofold purpose here: narratologically, through the relationship between *character-focalizer* and external context of the room, each space reflects Poliphilo's current interiority, echoing his attained refinement through a variety of beatific

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[21] See Margaret A. Morse, 'Creating Sacred Space: The Religious Visual Culture of the Renaissance Venetian Casa', *Renaissance Studies* 21, no. 2 (April 2007): 169.

[22] Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350-1450* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 95.

[23] Deborah Howard, Sarah Quill, and Laura Moretti, *The Architectural History of Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 17.

objects. Indeed, a comparison with the temple of Hercules demonstrates Eleuterylida's superior splendour and sacred space, metaphorical of the riches of nature that the gardens of Eleuterylida represents as well as the celestial symbolism the golden wall panels depicting the planets represent; whilst secondly, the invention reflects the author's own *fantasia* creating something similar in vein to Larry Silver's description of the Aldine text showing 'exquisite linear contours and confident presentation of spatial settings.'[24]

This is further evidenced in the glass garden of Eleuterylida where there is an intricate glasswork that bears no comparison to the contemporary product of Venice, despite Poliphilo comparing it to the leading position Venice had in manufacturing glass on the island of Murano (Figure 4.7).[25] Poliphilo's description, however, far exceeds the manufacturing ability of even Angelo Barovier's transparent 'crystallin' glass of the fifteenth century.[26] For instance, he narrates:

> Circuncirca cohaerente ad gli alamenti protendevano accommodate capsule hortense, in le quale, in loco di virentia, omni pianta era di purgatissimo vitro, egregiamente oltra quello che se pole imaginare et credere, intopiati buxi cum gli stirpi d'oro, tale materia conducta, tra l'uno et l'altro degli quali alternava uno cupresso, dui passi non excedendo la sua altitudine, et degli bussi uno; referte poscia di mirabile fincto di moltiformi simplici, cum elegantissima secta dilla natura et cum iocundissime devariate forme di fiori, cum distincto coloramine et praegratissimo.

> (All around it were flower beds, attached to the enclosure and protruding from it, in which, instead of living plants, everything was made from clear glass, surpassing anything one could imagine or believe. There were topiary box trees moulded of the same material with golden stems, alternating with cypresses no more than two paces tall, while boxes were one pace high. The beds were filled with marvellous imitations of various simples, elegantly trimmed as in nature, and with gaily varied forms of flowers in distinct and delightful colours.) (HP, 123-24).

Poliphilo's descriptive language is a vehicle of didactic rhetoric on behalf of the author to exhibit to future artists the artistic possibilities in the developing contemporary field of garden design.[27]

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[24] Larry Silver, '"Those Other Venetian Book Illustrations"', *Word and Image* 31, no. 2 (3 April 2015): 153–63. On the vainglory denoted in the material wealth of the glass garden see Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:726–27.

[25] Jules Labarte, *Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages and Renaissance: As Applied to the Decoration of Furniture, Arms, Jewels* (London: J. Murray, 1855), 339; Paola Lanaro, *At the Centre of the Old World: Trade and Manufacturing in Venice and on the Venetian Mainland (1400-1800)* (Toronto: Victoria University Press, 2006), 143.

[26] Cristina Gregorin, Norbert Heyl, and Giovanni Scarabello, *Venice Master Artisans* (Treviso: Grafiche Vianello, 2003), 151. See also Karel Hetteš, *Old Venetian Glass* (New York: Spring Books, 1960), 17–18.

[27] Matteo Burioni, 'Polyperspectival Terminology in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', in *Vitruvianism: Origins and Transformations* (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 118; Matteo Burioni, 'Das Ich der Baukunst. Traumwandlerische

And yet, similarly to the furnishing of the courtyard, the invention of the glass garden relates also to a narrative symbolism, here symbolically pertaining to Poliphilo's knowledge of earthly *vanitas* in a scenario concerned with his epistemological education (see Chapter one), displaying a dual purpose to the garden as both didactic and symbolic without delineating from the narrative, as observed previously. Details of the production process – such as Vannoccio Biringuccio's (1480-1539) *De la pirotechnia* (Venice, 1540) – are omitted here, however, suggesting through the narrative *metalepsis* a lack of technical authorial knowledge on the subject, that to some extent, undermines Poliphilo's pedagogy and erudition in his secondary role as antiquarian and connoisseur.
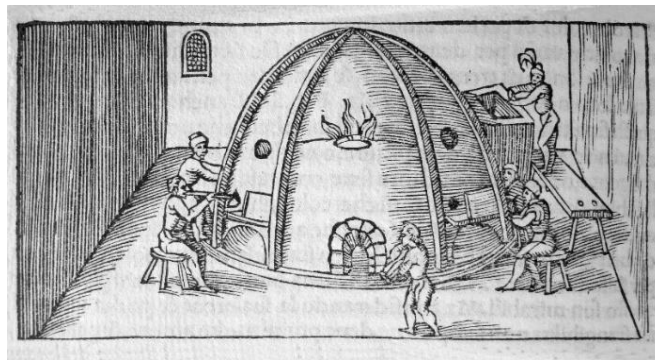
Fig. 4.8) Glass furnace, showing the upper annealing chamber. *De la pirotechnia* (Venice, 1540) Vanoccio Biringiccio (1480-1539).

One thing to consider in the text, when evaluating Poliphilo's objective antiquarianism and connoisseurship, are his consistent emotive exclamations. The emotive exclamation, and often related to the amorousness when describing architecture, heighten the experience of the artworks whilst attributing an erotic philosophic quality with echoes of Socrates's statement that his search for wisdom was through pursuing the knowledge of 'erotic things.'[28] The author consequently creates a tension in text's antiquarianism through Poliphilo's verbal content that limits his connoisseurship through emotive digressions, where Polipihlo oscillates between the amorous or objective pursuer of wisdom, on the one hand, or the amorous or objective and erudite connoisseur of antiquity. For instance, outside the temple of Venus Physizoa, Poliphilo narrates:

Architekturen in der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Zwischen Architektur und literarischer Imagination*, 1 January 2013, 357–84.

[28] Plato *Symposium*, 177d; Plato *Theages* 128b, quoted in Pérez-Gómez, *Built upon Love*, 41.

Diqué molto a grado mi se offeritte tale dimonstratione, per la quale fui non mediocremente di ardente desio commosso quella più proximo perfectamente spectare, suspicando ragionevolmente quivi essere magna et antiqua structura …In uno solido, muro arcuato et pilli. Questa exquisita observantia laudavano gli eleganti architecti … Suspicai che tale arte fusse quivi ordinata dal nobilissimo mathematico Petosiris o vero da Necepso.

(This sight gave me so much pleasure that I was moved immoderately by the ardent desire to see it properly from close to suspecting with good reason that it was a grand and ancient structure. …Wall, arch, and pilasters were all made in a solid piece. The finest architects favoured this exquisite practice … I suspected such a work of art must be the noble mathematician Petosiris, or else by Necepso.) (HP, 297-200).

He correctly identifies the constituents of the edifice before contextualising the structure using classical names in relatable fields. Whether his connoisseurship echoes that of the connoisseurs of the Venetian Barbaro families, the Madonna dell'Orto, or Santa Maria dell Orto, is not clear, but we can determine that the strong, emotive presence in the rhetoric of Poliphilo resonates a tension with his connoisseurial and antiquarian positions at odds with contemporaries.[29]

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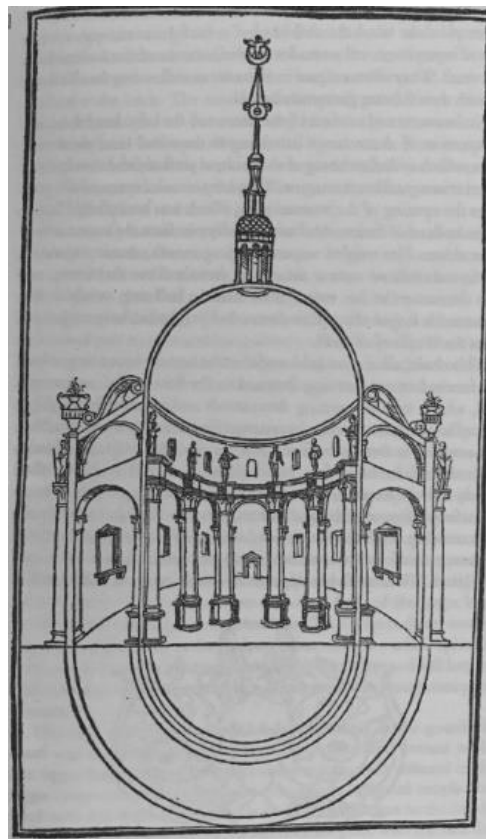
[29] Peter Ackroyd, *Venice: Pure City* (New York: Doubleday, 2009), 96; Dennis Romano, 'Aspects of Patronage in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (ed 1993): 713–14; Leon Rosenstein, *Antiques: The History of an Idea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 71–79., Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 1–64; Ann E. Moyer, 'The Wanderings of Poliphilo through Renaissance Studies', *Word and Image* 31, no. 2 (3 April 2015): 83.

Filippo Villani in *De origine civitatis Florentiae et eisdem famosis civibus* observes the wonder that

Giotto's *arte et ingenio* imparts to the spectator (which Petrarch and Bocaccio also comment on in

relation to *ingenio*), an idea echoed later in Giorgio de Martini's comment that the perfect artist

lacks neither good pedagogy of *dottrina* in *ingegno* or the ingeniousness of *ingegno* in *dottrina*: 'As says

Vitruvius, the architect needs creativity and doctrine, because creativity without doctrine, or

doctrine without creativity, will not make the perfect artisan.'[30] Poliphilo emulates such esteemed

texts through his lengthy observation of the Temple of Venus Physizoa, with emphasis on its

geometric portion:

> Questo sacro templo dunque, per architectonica arte rotundo constructo et dentro della quadrangulare figura nella aequata area solertemente exacto et quanta trovasse la diametrale linea tanta rende la sua celsitudine et nel circulo nell'area contento notase una quadratura; da una pleura della quale sopra la diametrale linea verso la circunferentia, tale spatio divise in cinque partitione et verso el centro suppliva una sexta.

> This sacred temple was built by the architectonic art in the form of a rotunda, carefully inscribed within a square figure on the flat ground, so that the diameter was the same length as the height of the square; and within this circle on the ground was drawn another square. The space between one of its sides and the circumference, following the diametral line, was divided into five parts, and a sixth part was added toward the centre. (HP, 197).

This lengthy deviation from the narrative describes exactly how the plan and elevation of the

building came to be devised by the 'docto architecto' [learned architect] and which can be divided

into a bi-modal rhetoric of *trattato* and antiquarian rhetoric, that is to say, didactic, and ekphrastic.[31]

As previously examined, the author creates pedagogic passages, akin to an architectural treatise,

and in which Poliphilo's emotive response appears to counter the objectivity of the *disegno* and

ingenio of the Temple of Venus Physizoa (likely based on the church of Santa Constanza, see Figure

4.8).[32] As the author includes too great a multifarious interest, so Poliphilo is emotively drawn in

numerous directions, and each from the narrative of self-transformation:

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[30] Martin Kemp and Martin Kemp, *Behind the Picture: Art and Evidence in the Italian Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 231; Pari Riahi, *Ars et Ingenium: The Embodiment of Imagination in Francesco Di Giorgio Martini's Drawings* (London: Routledge, 2015), 81.

[31] *Hypnerotomachia*, 197.

[32] Bury, 'Chapter III of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and the Tomb of Mausolus', 55. See also Albala, 'Poliphilo's Dream of Divine Feeding', 77–85; Alberto Pèrez-Gòmez and Filiz Klassen, 'Poliphilo's Thresholds: Alternatives for Nomadic Dwelling', in *Transportable Environments 3* (Abington: Taylor & Francis, 2006), 4.

> La regula del discenso del tecto non si debi negligere: si tuole la intercapedine da muro a muro, ove collocare se debi el culmeo lapso et, riducta in perfecte quadrature bine quanto valeno venire et extenso il diagonio secante la linea gli dui quadri discriminante, d'indi belle se exige el clivio … O infoelici tempi … come dagli moderni … sì bella et dignifica inventione è ignorata?
>
> (The rule of the slope of the roof should not be neglected. One takes the space between the walls where the sloping roof is to be, and fills this space with two squares. By drawing the diagonal of the resulting rectangle, cutting the line between the two squares, the exact slope is given … Oh, how unhappy is our time … when the moderns … are ignorant of so beautiful and worthy an invention!). (HP, 204).

He comments upon the correct design, form, and execution for a harmonious structure with an awe that makes him appear as both designer and audience, with an often-neglected symbolic relationship between art, edifice and the narrative of self-transformation in the context of the temple. Indeed, Blunt argues that the narrative is poorly described escapism feigning classical authority;[33] Harbison considers it a collection of artistic invention loosely connected to basic narrative;[34] the language of which, being at odds with apparently sacred subject matter, is regarded as 'obscene' by Pozzi.[35] Such criticism, though unjust, indicates the textual issues with assimilating pedagogical, and ekphrastic passages at great length that stem in type from *trattato* and antiquarian writings, into the symbolic dream-scape of Poliphilo's interiority-focused narrative.

Libido, Rhetoric, and Connoisseurship in the Temple of Venus Physizoa, the Polyandrion, and the Theatre of Venus Cytherea

Poliphilo's sexual digressions are part of the emotive excursions that deter his narration from self-transformation and from the objectivity of both antiquarianism and connoisseurship. But erotic motivation does not show itself to be the sole motivation. The indication is that the impetus behind Poliphilo's emotive digressions is a general conceptualisation of desire (*orexis*) which acts as impetus for all his textual deviations.

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[33] Blunt, 'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in 17th Century France', 117–18.

[34] Robert Harbison, *Eccentric Spaces* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 81.

[35] Dronke, *Sources of Inspiration*, 161; Dorothea Stichel, 'Reading the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in the Cinquecento: Marginal Notes in a Copy at Modena', in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance. Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy. Acts of an International Conference* (Aldus Manutius and Renaissance. Essays in memory of Franklin D. Murphy. Acts of an International conference, Venice-Florence: A cura di David S. Zeidberg, Firenze, Olschki, 1998., 1994), 217.

Positioned after the marriage to Polia in the Temple of Venus Physizoa, Poliphilo examines the ruins of a polyandrion temple (Figure 4.9) after telling of nearly raping Polia. Although there is a literary tradition of sexual desire and the *hortus conclusus*, the inclusion of this theme outside the garden of Adonis undermines both the narrative of perfecting the anima and renouncing bodily compulsion, and his role as objective connoisseur of the arts.[36] In this passage, noticing Poliphilo's desires, Polia suggests he observe the local ruins, the idea of which instantly captivates him and transfers his sexual desire into an intellectual desire, which is implicitly equally abundant:

> Assuefacto hogi mai ad una assidua et familiare morte d'amore, passione per questo non reputava la sua attrocitate che d'indi ne fusse asseguita, et peroe omni inconveniente, quantunque damnosissimo, licito mi suadeva. Diqué la mia eutrapela Polia, solerte del'improbe condictione dil coecuciente Amore et accortasi, per mortificare tanto importuno incendio et alquanto sincoparlo et come singulare sospitatrice mia succurrendo, cusì benignamente me dice: "Poliphile, di tuti amantissimo mio, già mai non son ignara che le antiquarie opere ad te summammente piaceno di vedere."

> (Accustomed as I was to a continuous and familiar death from love, I did not recognise the atrocity of this urge, nor what would come of it, but persuaded myself that every violation, however damnable, was permitted. My ready-witted Polia noticed this dishonourable condition of blinded love, and seeking to dampen importunate a fire and to break it off for a while, she came to my rescue as my only saviour and said to me gently: "Poliphilo, my best-beloved, I am well aware that you are extremely fond of looking at the works of antiquity.") (HP, 242).

So says Poliphilo, before exploring the ruins of the Polyandrion, and immediately transitioning into antiquarian rhetoric, attributing one monument as belonging through symbolic attribution to the Queen of Caria and providing an antiquarian analysis of its architectural type and Greek lexicon.[37] This places Poliphilo's description of sexual desire on par with the antiquarian exploration of the polyandrion, where sexual desire is outbalanced by intellectual desire, as intellectual desire shall be outbalanced by the drive to protect Polia shortly hereafter, displaying that it is not erotic desire that fuels the narrative, rather that any desire experienced in the soul forces Poliphilo to explore its new direction.[38]

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[36] Griggs, 'Promoting the Past', 18; Michael Niedermeier and Louise Davidson-Schmich, '"Strolling under Palm Trees:" Gardens, Love, Sexuality', *The Journal of Garden History* 17, no. 3 (1 September 1997): 118.

[37] *Hypnerotomachia*, 265.

[38] This point is missed in the majority of Poliphilo studies, for instance in Helmut Puff, 'Self-Portrait with Ruins: Maerten van Heemskerck, 1553: The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory: Vol 86, No 4', n.d., 265, accessed 12 January 2020. See also Talignanit, 'Quis evadet'.
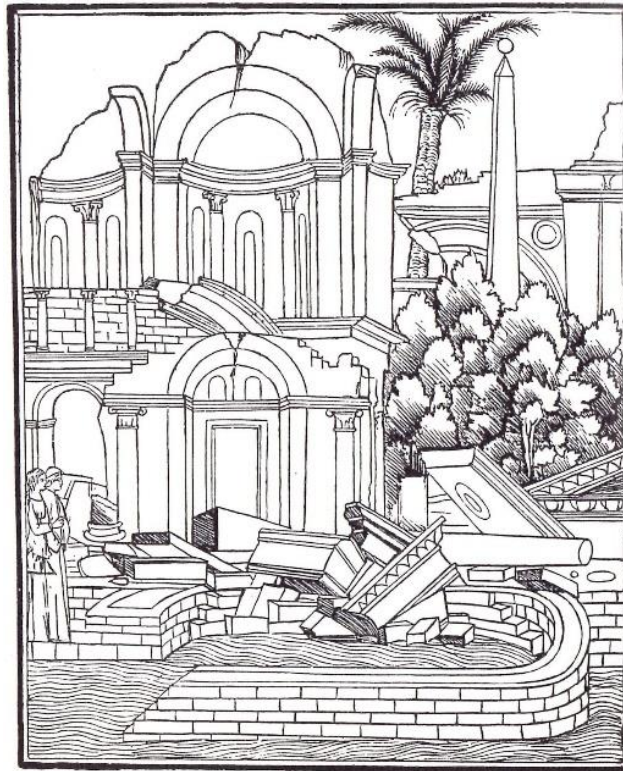
Fig. 4.10) The ruins of the Polyandrion temple (p.238).

A keen interest in the amorous gaze has prompted Lefaivre to view all artefact descriptions as symbolically expressing a 're-categorisation of the human body from something "contemptible" to something 'good'", through a constant identification with art and the human body. Similarly, Alberto Perez-Gomez suggests a rational erotic experience in architectural spaces, locating sexuality as an impetus to experience form and space.[39] This point is supported by Luke Morgan, who sees in the garden scenes of Cytherea and elsewhere, a 'sensuous and obsessive search for love that is *not* fulfilled.'[40] Poliphilo narrates:

> Dunque, copiosamente stivato d'incredibile laetitia cum la mia gratissima comite peragrando, continuavemo el nostro foelice itinerario et amoroso ambulachro. Diqué alcuna fiata gli ochii dalla sua dolce pregione et ligatura et quasi proscriptione dimovendo alquanto, echo che de sopra le tenelle come et verdissime cime degli lascivienti abori mirando, io vedi uno excelso pterygio sopra apparentimi de uno rotundo fastigio.
>
> (Overflowing with incredible joy, I and my graceful companion continued on our happy journey and our amorous stroll; but sometimes my eyes escaped the a little from their sweet captivity and bondage, as if it were forbidden – and behold! Looking above the delicate

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[39] Pérez-Gómez, *Built upon Love*, 40–44; Perez-Gomez, 'Polyphilo or the Dark Forest Revisited'.

[40] Liane Lefaivre, 'The Metaphor of the Building as a Body in the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili'", *Arte Lombarda*, no. 105/107 (2-4) (1993): 88–89; Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance*. See also Luke Morgan, *The Monster in the Garden: The Grotesque and the Gigantic in Renaissance Landscape Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 79; Pérez-Gómez, *Built upon Love*, 40-44.

foliage and the green tops of the frolicsome trees, I spied a high and turret above a rounded roof.) (HP, 196).

The issue of a singular theme conceived as the narrative impetus negates the equally primary position of the narrative's plethora of themes. That is, there appears no single impetus but a plethora, comprising the erotic, pedagogical, connoisseurial, and mystagogic together. It is, moreover, desire, in its most pure and general form, that drives the sub-categorical themes of the narrative.

Aristotle writes, "we desire something because it seems good to us, rather than it seeming good because we desire it" contrasting with the Socratic notion that we desire something because it is good.[41] Desire, for Aristotle, begins withs rational thought (*noēsis*) and where human action is to be explained by reference to two distinct factors: reason and desire, or, in a later terminology, reason and will, and which see anthropomorphised in the gardens of Eleutherylida in Logistica and Thelemia. Aristotle observes three types of desire: *boulēsis* (rational desire for what is deemed to be good); secondly, *thymos* (feelings of assertion connected with both pride and anger); and lastly *epithymia* (an appetite or desire for what is pleasurable). The term which embraces these three types is *orexis*, or simply desire in general. The author of the *Hypnerotomachia*, therefore, uses *orexis* (general desire) to oscillate between *boulēsis* (rational desire of what is deemed good) and *epithymia* (the appetite for the pleasurable) and which drives the human motion and action on behalf of Poliphilo. There does not appear moments of constant erotic motivation in which *epithymia* could apply, and similarly there is not a constant portrayal of *boulēsis* but something of a balance.

Whilst Lefaivre purports that architectural description presents an attempt to change the humanist mindset in a comparison with the architectural body, sexualised through the metaphor with the human form, Robert Harbison equates the mechanised inventions with thinking, observing that, 'becoming conscious of the body's capacities is a kind of mechanisation, which

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[41] Aristotle, *Metaphysics,* a.7.1072a29.

leads to pleasure, which itself is viewed mechanically', a point that could be argued by its opposite.[42] In the Temple of Venus Physizoa, Poliphilo describes his entry as: 'Daposcia, subitariamente dalla simpulatrice donna el pesulo amoto, quelle gemelle valve non strepito stridulo, non fremito grave, ma uno arguto murmure et grato per el testudinato templo reflectendo exsibilava' [Then suddenly the bolt was shot open by the chalice-bearing lady, and the twin doors sang — not with a creaking noise, nor with a deep groan, but with a pleasant and melodious murmur that whispered echoing round the vaulted temple], describing the sound of the 'gemelle valve' that let a 'murmure' waft throughout the temple.[43] Here, the edifice of the temple is granted the appearance of breathing life; the mechanical becomes anthropomorphised: life is observed with new potencies, where the relationship between edifice and the senses display a relatable experience, as opposed to the mechanisation of the body that would otherwise imply a void of higher consciousness and a *meteria* void of a potential divine sentience referenced in the prayer to the Gods *Foculus*, *Limentinus* and *Cardinea* in the same scene (see chapter one).

Desire (*orexis*) has, consequently, been transposed from the sexual (*epithymia*) experienced on entering Telosia, as Polis narrates: 'Et, recluse le metalline valve, rimansi claustrato immediate tra quelle egregie nymphe, le quale meco lepidissime et lscivule incominciorono d'antorno a scherciare et, vallato dalla voluptica caterva delle quale, ad provocarme ad le illecebre concupiscentie, illice et sausibile' [the metal doors were closed, and I was left inside with these noble nymphs, who began to banter with me in a familiar and lascivious manner, and began to provoke me, captured as I was by their voluptuous band, to seductive, enticing and tempting desires] into an mystagogic and intellectual form (*boulēsis*). Thus, we observe the modulation of *orexis* from *epithymia* and into *boulēsis*

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[42] Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance*, 228; Rebekah Smick, 'Touch in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Sensual Ethics of Architecture', in *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 205–23. On the mechanisation of thinking in the text see Harbison, *Eccentric Spaces*, 40. See also Gilles Polizzi, 'Les trois natures ou le corps de Polia: un parcours colonnien dans le paysage contemporain', *Revue de L'Arte des Jardins* 3 (2005): 31–54; Gilles Polizzi, 'Les machines, la tecnique et le mythe dans Le Songe de Polyfile', *L'invention au XVIe siècle*, 1987, 27–49.
[43] *Hypnerotomachia*, 210.

which becomes the impetus for Poliphilo's self-transformation in the marriage scenes within the Temple of Venus Physizoa (see chapter one).

The last issue to raise regarding Poliphilo's connoisseurship is that of language. Poliphilo's use of language offers so vast a connoisseurial choosing of rare Latin and Greek words, grafting on Latin suffixes and ultimately creating an art-language that is by no means easy to read and comprehend. This creating of so unique a language, consequently, offers multiple lexical challenges at every turn which not only prevent clear reading of the narrative but ultimately undermines the theme of self-transformation, and presenting another important theme in the narrative besides antiquarianism and connoirsseurship, self-transformation and architectural theory, which is that of sophisticated and beautiful language.

As a vehicle for the narrative the lack of clarity through a vernacular base, with Latin lexical influences and syntax grafted on (not uncommonly in the medieval North Italian art languages) creates a hindrance furthered by the extent of ekphrasis and classical simile.[44] Giorgio Agamben comments on the difficulty of comprehending the language, wondering if it is Latin, vernacular, or the 'lingua poliphylesca', while Ardis Butterfield observes, 'never-before-known formations of meaning' such as 'mia isotrichechrysa Polia' ('my golden-haired Polia') where *isotrichechrysa* is explained by Pozzi as a hybrid Greek term comprised of three words and uncharacteristic of Greek.[45] For Blunt, the story is woven on an architectural framework that competes for importance with the narrative, while Capello observes that the allegorical veil is so thick that it prevents

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[44] Matteo Burioni, 'Polyperspectival Terminology in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', in *Vitruvianism: Origins and Transformations* (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 118; Matteo Burioni, 'Das ich der baukunst. Traumwandlerische architekturen in der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Zwischen Architektur und literarischer Imagination*, 1 January 2013, 357–84. Indeed, Marin Sanuto reported Emo Zorzi to hear 'words of Polphilo' from his opposition in the Venetian Senate. See Burioni, 357–84; Andrea Elmer, 'Die Hypnerotomachia Poliphili als (vergessenes) Paradigma einer Ästhetik des Staunens', *Poetiken des Staunens*, 21 November 2018, 191–219; Giorgio Agamben, 'Il Sogno della lingua. Per una lettura del Polifilo', *Lettere Italiane* 34, no. 4 (1982): 417–30. On Poliphilo's language see also Stefano Arduini, 'La Hypnerotomachia Poliphili e il sogno linguistico dell'Umanesimo' XXIII (1987): 197–219. For Emo Zorzi see Helena Katalin Szépe, 'Desire in the Printed Dream of Polphilo', *Art History* Vol. 19, no. No. 3 (September 1996): 379.
[45] HP, 141., Ardis Butterfield, 'The Dream of Language: Chaucer "En Son Latin"', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 41, no. 1 (2019): 7–8. See also Heinrich F. Plett, *Rhetoric and Renaissance Culture* (Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 299; consider also the concept of a semiotic equivalence between image and text as sharing the capacity of signification in 15th-c. thought, Krüger, 'Wanderungen auf der Nekropole der an Liebe Verstorbenen', 6.

comprehension.[46] When we consider that the extent of narrative written pages equates to less than the amount of passages describing architecture and objects of art, this observation bears merit.[47]

A battle for comprehension takes place in which the encyclopaedic language used to describe the inventive artistry impedes ease of reading the narrative of self-transformation, creating compositional obstacles and lexical puzzles. For instance, and related to the phrase above, the phrase 'chrysocari Polia' during the mystagogic marriage ceremony in the temple of Venus Physizoa refers to Polia's golden (χρυσός) rings or curls (χάρις), identifying Polia's hair as golden and thus Godwin translates the phrase as 'golden-headed Polia' (though we may also say 'golden haired Polia').[48] The Greek term is not easy to comprehend by its contemporary readership, however, and it does not clearly assist the narrative of transformation currently afoot in the temple. The ingredient in the magical wedding ceremony of 'ponderabile zilaloè, blactebisantis, overo ungule indice' offers greater confusion, with Godwin translating it as 'Aloe of Byzantium', however, as Reiser makes clear, 'xylaloe' (zilaloe) is not 'Aloe' but 'Indian aloes' and 'blactebisantis' is otherwise referred to by Pozzi as the 'blathe bisancie / blactebixancie or, in Middle Latin 'blatta byzantine' referring to a 'shellfish' from the red sea.[49] Indeed, the element of the sea and its inhabitants would be particularly pertinent given the mystagogic marriage in a temple dedicated to Venus, and yet the choice of obscure references inhibit the symbolic function of 'blactebisantis' in this sequence of the narrative veiling allegoric meaning in a confusion of lexical obscurity.

Dronke observes beside the 'functional' lexical rarities 'many unmotivated ones', which we may observe after the mystical wedding when standing before Eros Poliphiilo describes Polia as 'la mia patrona et dioclea Polia' translated by Godwin as 'generous mistress Polia' by Ariani and

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[46] See also Blunt, 'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in 17th Century France', 122; Sergio Cappello, 'L'enigma antiquario nell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili di Francesco Colonna', *Lettere e Arti Nel Rinascimento*, Florence: Franco Cesati, 2000, 435–48.

[47] Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 39.

[48] *Hypnerotomachia*, 235.

[49] *Hypnerotomachia*, 225; Godwin, 225; Pozzi, 172; Thomas Reiser, 'Lexical Notes to Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1499): Cruces, Contradictions, Contributions', *CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform*, 2015, 500.

Gabriele as 'gloriosa patrona Polia' but suggested by Reiser as 'my patroness and kneeling Polia' due to 'dioclea' as pertaining not to 'generous' but from the behaviour of 'Diokleitos' after whom Colonna fashioned the verb. The action of bowing before Eros would appear, perhaps, a poignant moment in the narrative, symbolic of submitting to love and its awaiting mysteries, and yet the moment is lost in the complicated usage of 'dioclea.'[50]

Additionally, Ian White observes how Poliphilo's words have multiple meanings through lexical combinations, such as the oars of Cupid's boat that are made of white and luminous ivory, and referred to as 'genuino' a word related to firstly 'nature, kind', where *genuinus* means 'innate, genuine' but also from *gena* 'side of the face', where *genuinus* means 'in the jaw' (indeed, Pliny refers to *genuini* for wisdom teeth) meaning that *genuino* applies in both instances to ivory, and something formed from a tusk.[51] Within this framework, Pozzi argues the rare use of Poliphilian words originate from the late antique grammarian Nonius Marcellus and Festus' *De verborum significatione*, and so we observe a lifting of rare words, re-coined and with sophisticated levels of meaning in an attempt to make a beautiful and rich lexicon, with echoes, perhaps, of the later maxim associated with Michelangelo's *ignudi* 'art for art's sake.'

Secondly, there appears to be a rhetoric of *paragone* between the written and visual arts.[52] For instance, concerning a painting in a vault in the Polyandrion, Poliphilo describes:

> In questo horrendo et cuspidinso littore et miserrimo sito dil'algente et fetorifico laco stava la saeviente Tisiphone efferata et crudele, cum il viperino capillamento in le meschine et miserrime anime implacabilemente furibonda; la quale cadevano catervamente nello aeternalmente rigidissimo laco giù dal ferreo ponte, et rotantise per la algente onde fugire properante il penoso et mortifero algore, pervenivano al frigidissimo littore.'

> (In this horrid and cuspidinous littoral and most miserable site of the algent and fetorific lake stood saevious Tisiphone, efferal and cruel with her viperine capillament, her messchine and miserable soul, implacably furibund at the wretched and miserable souls who were falling by hordes from the iron bridge on to the eternally frozen lake) (HP, 249).

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[50] *Hypnerotomachia*, 275; Reiser, 505.
[51] White, 'Multiple Words, Multiple Meanings, in the Hypnerotomachia', 77; Dronke, *Sources of Inspiration*, 172.
[52] For historic analysis of the visual arts and *paragone* see Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 141–61.

He draws, with exuberance, a comparison between the art of depicting text and the art of painting

through the oratorical skill of ekphrasis, creating an artwork out of the language, yet the language

used becomes impractical through its syntaxial and lexical complications, hindering the exercise of

paragone. Nor is the language as precise when compared to Bruni's usage of *status*, *ingressus*, *color*,

lineamenta, *forma*, which create visual metaphors in the mind of the reader.[53]

Lastly, there is a frequent issue with an overuse of classical nouns which overpopulate the page,

distracting from the narrative, similar to the 12 classical references used to describe dawn on the

first page.[54] On pages x6r-x7r, just prior to examining the amphitheatre of Venus Cytherea, there

are 22 allegorical and mythological characters.[55] They stretch the reader's ability to remember what

each represents, how they relate to their literary context and to Poliphilo's narrative state of self-

transformation. The mythological nouns of the author's *metanarrative*, though easily understood,

load the page with a plethora of allegorical contexts that become digressional. The similarity with

the oratorical style of the epic poets, laden in mythological simile, is evident here, but become

(unlike Virgil's *Aeneid*, which has been painstakingly compositionally edited so that balance is

paramount) superfluously piled high.[56] Consequently, despite the author's attempt at

sophistication, the extent of classical references help to negate comprehension, creating narrative

incongruity and thematic dissonance between object, Poliphilo's rhetoric of expression, and the

broader theme of self-transformation into the mysteries, in which these nouns are placed.[57]

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[53] Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators*, 26. We may refer here to the individual designs that Colonna creates, as well as using *disegno* to refer to the *Hypnerotomachia* as a whole, in the same way that Filarete uses *disegno* to refer to both a design and the whole process of creation itself, such as his reference to a wooden scale model as a 'disegno di legname' (book XVI, f.123r, *trattato di architettura*, 460-461, in Mario Carpo and Reyner Banham, *Architecture in the Age of Printing: Orality, Writing, Typography, and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 219.

[54] Leucothea, Pyrois, Eous, Cynthia, Rhiphaean, Eurus, Taurus, Orion, Hyperion, Aurora, Halcyons, Hero [a2r.]

[55] First comes Psyche, followed by Imeria (desire) and Erototimoride (avenger of love), Toxodora (bow-giver), Ennia (thought), Phileda (voluptuousness), Velode (arrow) Omonia (concord), Diapraxe (fulfilment), Typhlote (blindness), Asynecha (incontinence), dancing extravagantly like Thimele the entertainer, Aschemosyne (immodesty) who drunk of the Salmacian Spring, resembling a shameless Gaditanian, or a filthy Hostius; Teleste (concluder), Vrachivia (short life), Capnolia (smoke), plexaura (binder), Ganoma (pleasure) and Synesia (union), HP, 338-41.

[56] David Scott Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 102. Consider also the learned clientele who might display such a text to socially express both education and an interest in the arts, in Brian Richardson, 'Isabella d'Este and the Social Uses of Books', *La Bibliofilia* 114, no. 3 (2012): 325.

[57] On this matter see Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014), 50; 247.

5

Travel Writing and Topographical Interiority

> What remained of it was a great ruin of walls and enclosures, structures of white marble … in the fissures thereof I saw growing the salt-loving littoral cock's crest, in some places ox-eye, much saltwort … this building had collapsed into the damp earth, leaving here and there a shaft without a capital, or a headless trunk of some immense column.
>
> Poliphilo
> *Hypnerotomachia* (p.236)

Walking is a crucial element of the *Hypnerotomachia* as it facilitates all aspects of the narrative, allowing Poliphilo to explore topography, garden, building and all antique ruins, however, how do we critically engage with the act of walking? Firstly, walking in the *Hypnerotomachia* is not a straightforward activity, but a complex issue, consisting of a bi-modal model. On the one hand walking is the means to which Poliphilo progresses through the narrative, where scenes are composed in symbolic encounters, weaving metaphor and allegory in a narrative characterised by self-transformation.[1] On the other hand, walking is the means by which the scenes existing outside the narrative are accessed: walking allows Poliphilo to explore a world of antique ruins where Poliphilo writes down what he sees, their characteristics, proportions and dimensions, akin to the travel diary's Ciriaco d'Ancona. I argue that these scenes exist parallel to the narrative, they are distinct and separate from it. Consequently, walking either facilitates the purpose of narrative, or the purpose of antiquarianism.

Secondly, the question then arises: but if all artwork in the *Hypnerotomachia* is created to symbolically relate to Poliphilo, how can antiquarian exploration and its narration in the form of a travel diary rhetoric be considered external to the narrative? The answer to this is straightforward: it is on account of the *extent* of indulgence in these antiquarian scenes that we begin to see that the

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[1] Peter Dronke, 'Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia and Its Sources of Inspiration', in *Sources of Inspiration: Studies in Literary Transformation : 400-1500* (Rome: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1997), 10–11; Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: edizione critica e commento*, 2:124.

author is using the architecture and sculpture as a means to deter away from the narrative and enter what appears to be a secondary aim of the *Hypnerotomachia* that is, to create original architecture and sculpture and describe them in minute detail and to relate to the reader the experience of exploring ruins. For instance, the number of pages in which the narrative is the main focus amounts to less than the sum pages in which Poliphilo is describing architecture, let alone the many sculptures encountered (indeed, exploring the Magna Porta amounts to forty-five pages, the Polyandrion amounts to thirty-one pages, and the temple of Venus Physizoa to eighteen pages). We then see, as outlined already in chapter three, that the author is attempting two things: the narrative, on the one hand, and creating classical-styled sculpture and architecture on the other. The travel diary rhetoric facilitates an example of first-hand experience of exploration whilst all other passages referring to walking facilitate the narrative.

Thirdly, it is also crucial to define what we mean by antiquarianism. By this, I refer exactly to the same definition as in the previous chapter, explicitly referring to a scholarly interest not only in the artefacts but also in the cultures and ideas of classical antiquity, referring mostly to classical architecture, and sculpture, and the exploration of these sites of cultural interest.

Having now defined the bi-modal model of walking used in the *Hypnerotomachia*, to facilitate in self-transformation, or antiquarian exploration, we will now proceed with an initial analysis of the walking in the *Hypnerotomachia* that is not related to the narrative or self-transformation, that is the scenes of antiquarian interest, to better understand how walking in the narrative functions. To this end, we will initially study the use of walking in the travel diary sections of the narrative, how they operate, and to what end they appear to be used. Secondly, I shall analyse the way topography and topographical markers on the journey express self-transformation. Lastly, I shall explore walking as a narrative method and its relationship with space, and how it grants agency to Poliphilo.

Travel Writing

David Kim describes mobility in the Quattrocento as being:

Far more than a phenomenon that elicited cut-and-dried description. Nor did the travel book remain in exclusive dialogue with the solitary reader … rather, the book with mobility as its subject could also be a nerve centre and hub of discussion among a community of participants.[2]

This observation reflects the contemporary interests of Poliphilo's archaeological discoveries, analysing and writing his findings down as if in a travel diary. From studies on Poliphilo Studies marginalia, we can see a readership that was responding to the archaeological observations through numerous side notes contextualising the descriptions in a culture of antiquarian fascination.[3]

Travel in the late Quattrocento was social and educational as well as professional, where trade in spices and sugar took Venetian merchants as far as China, and where architectural projects were influenced by the Eastern Byzantine empire.[4] Cardinal Bessarion wrote that: 'The peoples of almost the whole world come together in great numbers in your city', describing the Quattrocento Venice in which the Poliphilo was written as a cultural melting pot of travel and commerce.[5]

Poliphilo's archaeological discoveries echo the *commentaria* of Ciriaco d'Ancona's geographic study, from visual and verbal records.[6] Ciriaco's drawing of an elephant with a motto on love written above it, bears similarity to the *Hypnerotomachia* in both aesthetic and verbal-visual content.[7] The extent of simile used in the found objects on Poliphilo's journey also reflects the rhetoric

[2] David Young Kim, *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility, and Style* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 3.

[3] On the architectural drawings in the Siena copy see James Russell, '"Many Other Things Worthy of Knowledge and Memory': The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and Its Annotators, 1499-1700," *Durham Theses, Durham University*, 2014, 13; Dorothea Stichel, "Reading the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in the Cinquecento: Marginal Notes in a Copy at Modena," in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance. Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy. Acts of an International Conference* (Aldus Manutius and Renaissance. Essays in memory of Franklin D. Murphy. Acts of an International conference, Venice-Florence: A cura di David S. Zeidberg, Firenze, Olschki, 1994).

[4] Peter Spufford, *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 306–15.

[5] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (London: Penguin, 1990), 19. Consider the similarity with the later description by Francesco Sansovino, that 'peoples from the most distant parts of the world gather here to trade and conduct business … [who] differ among themselves in appearance, in customs and in languages', in John Jeffries Martin and Dennis Romano, *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 20–21.

[6] Jasenka Gudelj, 'The Triumph and the Threshold Ciriaco d'Ancona and the Renaissance Discovery of the Ancient Arch', *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea* 22, no. 2 (2014): 159.

[7] Kim, *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance*, 33; Hester Schadee, 'Caesarea Laus: Ciriaco d'Ancona Praising Caesar to Leonardo Bruni', *Renaissance Studies* 22, no. 4 (2008): 437; Andrea Mattiello, 'The Elephant on the Page: Ciriaco d'Ancona in Mystras', in *Cross-Cultural Interaction Between Byzantium and the West, 1204–1669* (London: Routledge, 2018), 201–14.

found in medieval travelogues.[8] Walking is, consequently, a complex term that the author implements as an integral tool to grant Poliphilo descriptive agency.

In the author's time, the fascination with antiquarianism was already rich in Venice, evident in the eclectic application of classical motifs in painting, such as Jacopo Bellini's works, as much as Polydore Vergil's encyclopaedic *On Discovery* (*De inventoribus rerum*, 1499), which bears some comparison to Poliphilo's own, and most significantly in Ciriaco d'Ancona's *Commentaria*.[9] If we consider, for instance, Niccolò da Martoni's description of the Parthenon on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1395), the building is described only as a major Marian church in Athens.[10] Similarly, Jean de Courcy (c.1420) and Hartmann Schedel (1493) described Athens as a Gothic city, demonstrating a lack of antiquarian knowledge, which Poliphilo is steeped in.[11] Poliphilo, conversely, describes his archaeological findings through a thorough first-hand examination, displaying an historic contextualisation similar to Ciriaco's.

Herein, however, lies the issue: whilst the antique discoveries are used to relate to Poliphilo's narrative of self-transformation, the realism of describing the encountered artworks and extent of ekphrasis, and detailing what he sees, is superfluous to the narrative of self-transformation and engages rather with contemporary antiquarian fascination, as explored in the previous chapter.[12] Antique art therefore represents a division in the *Hypnerotomachia*, used for its symbolism in the narrative, whilst the extent of description is used in a rhetoric at odds with the narrative, and more similar to the travel diary (or at times *trattato*). For instance, at the Magna Porta that we know represents the freeing of the senses from the soul, Poliphilo also narrates:

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[8] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), 68.

[9] Patricia Fortini Brown, 'The Antiquarianism of Jacopo Bellini', *Artibus et Historiae* 13, no. 26 (1992): 65; Polydore Vergil and Polydorus Vergilius, *On Discovery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Brown, *Venice & Antiquity*, 54; Elizabeth M. McCahill, 'Rewriting Vergil, Rereading Rome: Maffeo Vegio, Poggio Bracciolini, Flavio Biondo, and Early Quattrocento Antiquarianism', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 54 (2009): 165–99; Mary Bergstein, 'Donatello's Gattamelata and Its Humanist Audience', *Renaissance Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (2002): 845.

[10] Chatzidakis, *Ciriaco d'Ancona und die Wiederentdeckung Griechenlands im 15. Jahrhundert*, 29.

[11] Chatzidakis, 21.

[12] Consider also the relation to Ledoux's *Utopia*, see Paul Turner, 'Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Word and Image* 14, no. 1–2 (1998): 208; Mino Gabriele, 'Plinio il Vecchio nell' Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences* 61, no. 166–167 (1 January 2011): 332.

> Per la quale cosa, rapto et prehenso de dilecto et inexcogitabile solatio essendo et dalla sancta et veneranda antiquitate cum tanta gratia et admiratione, ch'io me ritrovai cum indeterminati, instabili et impasti riguardi. Indi et quindi volentiera mirando et di admiratione stipato et nella mente circunfulto, examinava discorrendo quello che le caelate historie significavano, cum ultroneo piacere quello fixamente speculando, cum gli labri aperti intento per longo protracto.
>
> (This is why I was seized and overcome with pleasure and unthinkable happiness, and with such gratitude and admiration for the holy and venerable antiquity, that I found myself looking around with unfocused, unstable and unsated gaze. I looked eagerly here and there, filled with wonder and overwhelmed in my mind as I thought over the meaning of the carved scenes I was examining, looking fixedly at these with the utmost pleasure and remaining for a long time with my mouth agape.) (HP, 57).

The observation describes the emotive effect of antique art, narrating to the reader the experience of archaeological exploration. It is enabled through the *character-focalization* and *scene* relating what Poliphilo sees in real-time to the reader. Poliphilo elsewhere explains: 'Per la quale cosa molto istava cogitabondo, sospeso et pieno di stupore in quale loco al praesente ritrovasse, tanto ad gli mei sensi delectabile, praecipuamente havendo la miravegliosa fontana accuratamente speculato' [I stood thus for a long time, musing in suspense and wonder at having found myself in this present place which was so delectable to my sense, and in particular at having carefully examined the marvellous fountain.][13] He describes the experience for the reader, after carefully examining an object, emphasising the length of time it takes to patiently observe, the emotive reaction, and walking as a means to explore this antique site of interest.[14] I argue this element of the text is not necessary and adds nothing to the narrative but rather reflects the author's interest in antiquarian discovery, possibly indicative of biographical experience.

Let us now consider the similarity of Poliphilo's ekphrases (the second quote beneath) with a description by Ciriaco:

> We went back to see the octagonal marble temple of Aeolus, which bears eight winged representations of the winds with their attributes, one at the top of each angled wall, carved with the artisans's admirable skill. Each figure has his name written above it in large, Attic-style lettering, as we observed from close at hand.[15]

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[13] *Hypnerotomachia*, 75.

[14] Consider the same passion for antiquarian discovery in Paola Tosetti Grandi, 'Andrea Mantegna, Giovanni Marcanova e Felice Feliciano', *Andrea Mantegna, Giovanni Marcanova e Felice Feliciano*, 2010, 273–361.

[15] Ciriaco d'Ancona et al., *Later Travels*, ed. Edward W. Bodnar and Clive Foss (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 15.

(I discovered an octagonal building with a rare and marvellous fountain … This edifice had an octagonal roof covered with lead. On one face it had a stone of shining white marble whose height was one and a half times its width; I judged the latter to be six feet … I saw inscribed this mysterious saying in fine Attic letters: THE MOTHER OF ALL.) (HP, 70-2).

There is a remarkable similarity between Ciriaco and the author's description. It displays a clear desire to mimic the literary style of antiquarian discovery, making Poliphilo's narration in passages pertaining to archaeological exploration echo entries of a travel diary similar to Ciriaco's own.[16]

The widely-copied and popular accounts of Pausanias' *Guide to Greece* (c. 150-170) in the fifteenth century (which Ciriaco brought to the Renaissance readership) display the same passion for travel and antique observations as Poliphilo.[17] Although his literary method of arranging material in alternative routes from the same focal point is dissimilar to Poliphilo's linear method of describing his journey (as well as the grounding in literary works differing from the oral tradition), the same insistence on first-person observation provides similar credibility when, in the *Periegesis,* Pausanius writes, 'I know because I have seen it.'[18] For instance:

> It is said that there stood beside Hera a work by Naukydes, a statue of Hebe, this too of ivory and gold: but on a pillar beside her is an ancient statue of Hera. The very oldest is made of pear-wood … On the left, beside the road as you go from Mycenae to Argos, is a shrine of the divine hero Perseus. He has local honours here, but his greatest honours are in Sriphos, where there is a sacred enclosure of Perseus beside Athene.[19]

Pausanias describes the sculpture with minimal ekphrasis and a quick tempo of *periegesis* from one object to another in the broader geographical context of the Greece he is travelling through.[20] Unlike Poliphilo's descriptions, there are limited details of the materials used, and a lack of size measurements, yet, through the combination of mobility and antiquarian observation the echo of this literary genre is present in Poliphilo's rhetoric.

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[16] Consider the relationship with Felice Feliciano's antiquarian description in Alina Payne, *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 131–33.

[17] Pausanius, *Pausanius, Guide to Greece: Volume 1, Central Greece*, trans. Peter Levi (London: Penguin Classics, 1985), 3.

[18] Maria Pretzler, 'Pausanias and Oral Tradition', *The Classical Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (May 2005): 235; Maria Pretzler, 'Turning Travel into Text: Pausanias at Work', *Greece and Rome* 51, no. 2 (October 2004): 207–8. On this matter consider also Andrew Hui, *The Poetics of Ruins in Renaissance Literature* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017).

[19] Pausanius, *Pausanius, Guide to Greece: Volume 1, Central Greece*, 170–71; Maria Pretzler, *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece* (London: A and C Black, 2013), 119.

[20] John Elsner, 'Pausanias: A Greek Pilgrim in the Roman World', *Past and Present*, no. 135 (1992): 4; William Hutton, *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 145.

Regarding the integration of text and image, Ciriaco discusses the object described on-site in a similar fashion to *Hypnerotomachia*, and with accompanying sketches. The example of an elephant grazing with a Roman motto related to love resonates with Poliphilo's own journey (Figure 5.1), while the combination of text with the drawing of the Parthenon, by both Sangallo and an unknown artist copied in Ciriaco, comments on the integration of text and image in travel diaries, that we find reflected in the *Hypnerotomachia* (Figure 5.2-3).[21] The visual integration displays walking as a prerequisite for the travel diary, where examination of the object by moving around it permits accurate analysis and description which Poliphilo displays clearly with each antique encounter.

Fig. 5.1) Elephant grazing, 1440s, manuscript, Mut. Gr. 144, fol. 179v, alfa. T.8.12, Miscallanea, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena, Italy

Fig. 5.2) Giuliano da Sangallo, copy from Ciriaco d'Ancona. Parthenon. Vatican Code Barberino Latino 4424

Fig. 5.3) Unknown author, Copy from Ciriaco d'Ancona. Western facade of the Parthenon. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Codex Hamilton 254, folio 85r

The integration of text and image is most noticeable in the lengthy, thirty-one page Polyandrion sequence, where discovered objects of antique interest are placed beside textual description reminiscent of the quick sketches accompanied by drawings of Ciriaco or Felice Feliciano, whilst walking from area to area in a given site (Figures 5.4-6) For instance:[22]

> Poliphile, di tuti amantissimo mio, già mai non son ignara che le antiquarie opere ad te summamente piaceno di vedere. Adunche commodamente potes tu in questo intervallo che nui il signore Cupidine espetiamo, ire licentemente queste aede deserte et dalle edace et exoleta vetustate collapse o per incendio assumpte o vero da annositate quassate … In

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[21] Ciriaco d'Ancona, *Life and Early Travels* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); Ciriaco d'Ancona et al., *Later Travels*.

[22] See Mitchell, 'Felice Feliciano Antiquarius', 197–221.

questo loco, ananti tute cose, alla parte postica di esso archaeo tempio mirai uno obelisco magno et excelso di rubente petra. Et nel supposito quadrato vidi in una facia tali hieroglphi insculpti. Primo, in una circulare figura, una trutina tra la quale era una platine … Ad l'ingresso dilla distructa porta, iacente vidi uno frusto di trabe, zophoro et parte dilla coronice in uno solido.

("Poliphilo, my best-beloved, I am well aware that you are extremely fond of looking at the works of antiquity. You might well use this interval while we are awaiting the Lord Cupid to go and admire these deserted temples that have collapsed through the ravages of time, or have been consumed by fire, or shattered by old age" … I observed first of all, at the rear of this ancient temple, a great, tall obelisk of reddish stone. On its squared support I saw the following hieroglyphs carved: first, in a circular figure, there was a pair of scales between which was a plate… At the entrance of the broken doorway I saw a fallen fragment of the beam, the zophorus and part of the cornice, carved from a single piece.) (HP, 242-45).

Here, Poliphilo walks from place to place noting down objects of fascination in what would later be known as 'the aesthetic of ruins.'[23] The form of notetaking appears quick and spontaneous as he moves, dictated by passion. The *singulative narration* presents these objects as Poliphilo moves from place to place allowing the reader to experience the act of spontaneous antiquarian exploration. Sources for the population of the polyandrion range from Virgil, Ovid, Valerius Maximus, Apuleius, as well as Vitruvius, Alberti, and contemporary antiquarian accounts, presenting what Martine Furno philologically refers to as an *accommodatio* of architectural, archaeological, linguistic and literary elements.[24] Yet, the development of the narrative, the progression of self-cultivation, is ultimately at a standstill. Although the general moment of exploring the polyandrion ruins alludes to tempering the soul with regard to the flames of love, or its cold reception, the extent of exploration here loses the symbolic meaning and becomes an antiquarian interlude relating the experience of antiquarian discovery through the extent of antiquarian indulgence on behalf of the author.

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[23] Matteo Vercelloni, Virgilio Vercelloni, and Paola Gallo, *Inventing the Garden* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2010), 40.

[24] Martine Furno, *Une 'Fantaisie' sur l'Antique: Le goût pour l'épigraphie funéraire dans l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili de Francesco Colonna* (Genever: Librairie Droz, 2003).

semicubo o vero taxillo,¹ alto pede uno o vero [q 4 v] palmi quatro. Nel quale in una facie dal fronte dila fractura era inscripto et similmente ove era rupto per indicio di alcune litere, parte fragmentate et integre parte rimaste. Poscia, nella subiecta corpulentia dalla circinante cinctura verso el fondo, nella quale erano appacte le anse, nel fronte dilla fractura era questa praestante scriptura:²
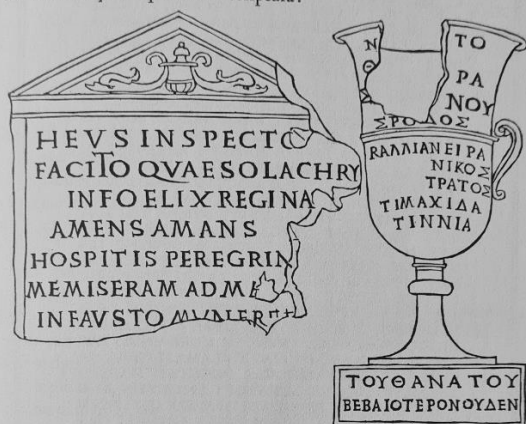
Relicti questi rupti monumenti, ad una destructa tribuna deveni, nella quale alquanto fragmento di museaco si comprendeva. Ove picto mirai uno homo affligente una damicella et uno naufragio, et uno adolescentulo, sopra il suo dorso equitante una fanciulla, natava ad uno littore deserto. Et parte vedevasi di uno leone, et quegli dui in una navicula remiganti: il seguente distructo, et ancora questa parte era in molti lochi lacerata. Non valeva intendere totalmente la historia. Ma nel pariete crustato marmoreo era intersepta una tabula aenea, cum maiuscule graecae: tale epigramma inscripto havea. Il quale,
nel proprio idiomate, in tanta pietate me provocava
legendo sì miserando caso, che di lachryme con-
tenirme non potui, damnando la rea For-
tuna. Il quale saepicule perlegendo,
quanto io ho potuto cusì
il fece latino.³

[q 5r]

Fig. 5.4) Broken frontispiece and stone goblet (p.257)
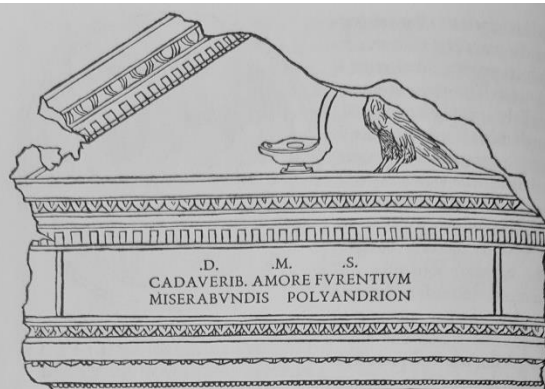
Questo nobile et spectatissimo fragmento in uno solido frusto ancora et una portiuncula dil suo fastigio o vero frontispicio se retinea egregiamente liniato, nella triangulare planitie dil quale dui figmenti io vidi inscalpti et non integri: uno volucre decapitato, arbitrai fusse di bubone,¹ et una vetusta lucerna, tuto di perfecto alabastryte. Cusì io le interpretai: VITAE LETHIFER NVNTIVS.

Pervenuto daposcia in la mediana parte dil tempio, alquanto immune et disoccupata di fressidine² la trovai, ove ancora il consumabile tempo ad una opera praeclara di narrato, tuta di rubicundo porphyrite, solamente havea perdonato. La quale era sexangula, cum le base sopra una solida petra ophites, dilla medesima figura nel pavimento impacta et sei columnelle, distante una dall'altra pedi sei, cum lo epistilio, zophoro et coronice, sencia alcuno liniamento et signo, ma simplicemente terso et puro, gli quali³ erano extrinseco la forma imitanti, ma intersticii in figura circinata; ove, sopra la piana dilla corona, nasceva una cupula, di unico et solido saxo, mirabile artificio, la quale graciliva nel'acumine quale uno pervio infumibulo⁴ strisso et speculare; copriva una
subterranea vacuitate illuminata per una circulare aper-
tione, di egregia cancellatura impedita, di metal-
lina fusura. Il quale spectando ciborio⁵
di maxima pollitura cusì
il trovai.

[p 7v]

Fig. 5.5) Broken pediment (p.246)

Excitato summopere da tanta venustate di monumenti, indagabondo ad me uno epigramma,¹ alquantulo perplexo, candido in marmoro trovai, solamente la parte inscripta di una arula rimasta, il residuo confracto in terra iaceva.
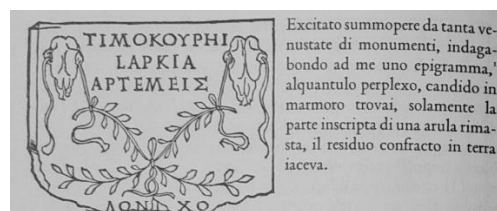
Cum maxima delectatione et piacere questi spectandi fragmenti mirando, avido più anchora indagante altro di novo trovare, d'indi dunque, qual animale quaeritabondo il pabulo sempre più grato, non altramente transferendome per gli aggeri di ruine di ingenti frusti di columne et tale integre. Dille quale volendo sapere la sorte, una mensurai al solo extensa, et, dal socco fina alla contractura, trovai dil suo scapo la proceritate septeno diametro dilla sua ima crassitudine. Quivi proximo mi se offerse uno veterrimo sepulchro, sencia alcuna scriptura, nell'⟨o⟩² quale per una fractura rimando vidi solo le funerale vestimenti et calciamenti petrificati. Coniecturai ragionevolmente dilla petra sarcophago, per tale effecto, di Troade di Asia, suspicando dil cadavere di Dario.³

Et ad vicino vidi uno nobile sepulchro di porphyrite, exquisitamente excalpto tra silvatichi arbuscoli, dil quale mi se offerse ad legere uno
elegante epitaphio, et havea il coopertorio in templo egregio
et scandulato squameamente; una parte dil dicto
sopra l'arca ristato et l'altra iaceva deiecta
solistima, et di tale praestante
titulo inscripto.⁴

[q 6v]
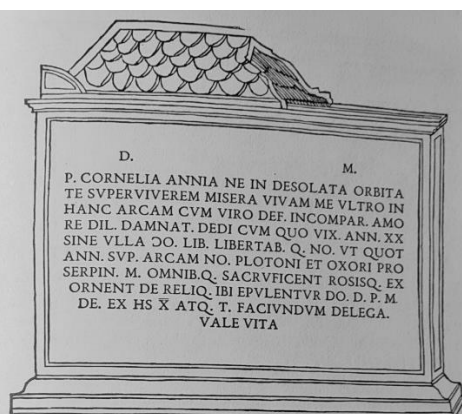
Sotto ancora, de qui partitomi, di una corymbifera¹ et errante hedera, da uno deroso alamento di muro propendula, molto di fronde densa, uno spectabile zygastrion² assideva di una petra all'eboro simigliante, fin allhora nella maiore parte ancora tersa et luculea. Dentro la quale curiosamente riguardando per una fixura o vero rima dil coopertorio plano, dui cadaveri integri riservati vidi: per la quale cosa dritamente arbitrai che di saxo chemites³ era questo sepulchro. Nel fronte dil quale vidi questi hieroglyphi aegyptici insculpto et intro ancora molte ampulle di vitro et molte figulinate di terra et alcune statuncule archaeo more aegyptitio; et una antiquaria lucerna di metallo artificiosamente facta et nel suffito dil tegumento pendice, quella una catenula illaqueata retinente suspensa, ardeva; et proximo alla testa degli sepulti erano due coronule. Le quale cose auree
iudicai, ma per il tempo et per il
lucernale fumo infuscate:
tale fue la interpre-
tatione:⁴

[q 7r]

Fig. 5.6) Fragments of an ancient sepulchre (p.260-61)

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A further similarity between Ciriaco's prose and that of the author is the extent of knowledge that both authors express regarding their archaeological findings. For instance, writing about exploring the Acropolis, Ciriaco writes:

> But after we had come into the main hall itself, [we saw that] six huge columns, arranged in two rows, three feet wide in diameter, supported a marble, coffered ceiling and twenty-four beams, entirely of polished marble, arranged in three rows … But my special preference was to revisit … that greatly celebrated temple of the divine Pallas and to examine it more carefully from every angle. Built of solid, finished marble, it was the admirable work of Phidias.[25]

Ciriaco elsewhere would describe the Parthenon as having '58 marvellous columns of such greatness that have seven palms of diameter. It is adorned everywhere with the most refined sculptures … on both the tympanums, the walls, the cornices, the friezes, and the epistyles.'[26] His historic contextualisation, classical vocabulary and authority of measurements, present a similar attempt at antiquarian knowledge to Poliphilo's when he says:

> Ad questo deserto loco pure avidamente venuto, circunfuso de piacere inexcogitato de mirare liberamente tanta insolentia di arte aedificatoria et immensa structura et stupenda eminentia me quietamente affermai, mirando et considerando tuto el solido et la crassitudine de questa fragmentata et semiruta structura de candido marmo de Paro … cum gli epistyli et cum capitelli eximii de excogitato et de aspera celatura; coronice zophori overo phrygii, trabi arcuati …Ciascuna facia dilla quadratura della meta … in extensione longitudinale era stadii sei; multiplicati per quatro in ambito, la dicta nel pedamento aequilatero occupava comprehendendo quatro et vinti stadii.

> (As I hurried up to this deserted place I was seized with an unexpected joy, and stopped to admire at leisure the immensity and stupendous height of the structure, which was such a bold example of the architectural art, considering with astonishment the weight and density of this fragmented and half ruined building of Parian marble … There were the epistyles and capitals, excellently designed and roughly carved; cornices, zophori or friezes and arched beams … each face of the square base … was six stadia in length. Multiplied by four, this gave the ambitus of the pyramid's equilateral footing as twenty-four stadia). (HP, 22-3).

Both authors illuminate their description with classical knowledge and a familiarity with appropriate vocabulary. The similarity between Poliphilo's Polyandrion amidst ruins and a Polyandrion drawn on-site at Delos by Ciriaco and owned by Felice Feliciano, may present, (although outside the remit of this chapter), not only a knowledge of Ciriaco's travel diaries but

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[25] Ciriaco d'Ancona et al., *Later Travels*, 17.
[26] Chatzidakis, *Ciriaco d'Ancona und die Wiederentdeckung Griechenlands im 15. Jahrhundert*, 12.

also an acquaintance with Feliciano.[27] Again, this realism, founded in contemporary artistic and academic popularity for the exploration of antiquity is at odds with the narrative of self-transformation, and here forms a substantial *metalepsis* in the narrative (which appears to be waiting with Polia beside the Temple of Venus Physizoa).

Walking enables Poliphilo's travel-diary rhetoric to detail the size, form, and material of what he sees, with integrated illustrations and the inclusion of literary subjects creating contextual metaphor (Figures 5.7-9). The literary inclusion of archaeology (not the preferred aesthetic in the Byzantine-Veneto) displays the author's contemporary interests.[28] One might say of Poliphilo, as Peter Levi says of Ciriaco, 'in his enthusiasms, in his passion for classical antiquities, in his restlessness and his loving drawings [he] is one of the most sympathetic of all the ghosts who haunt the fringes of classical scholarship.'[29]
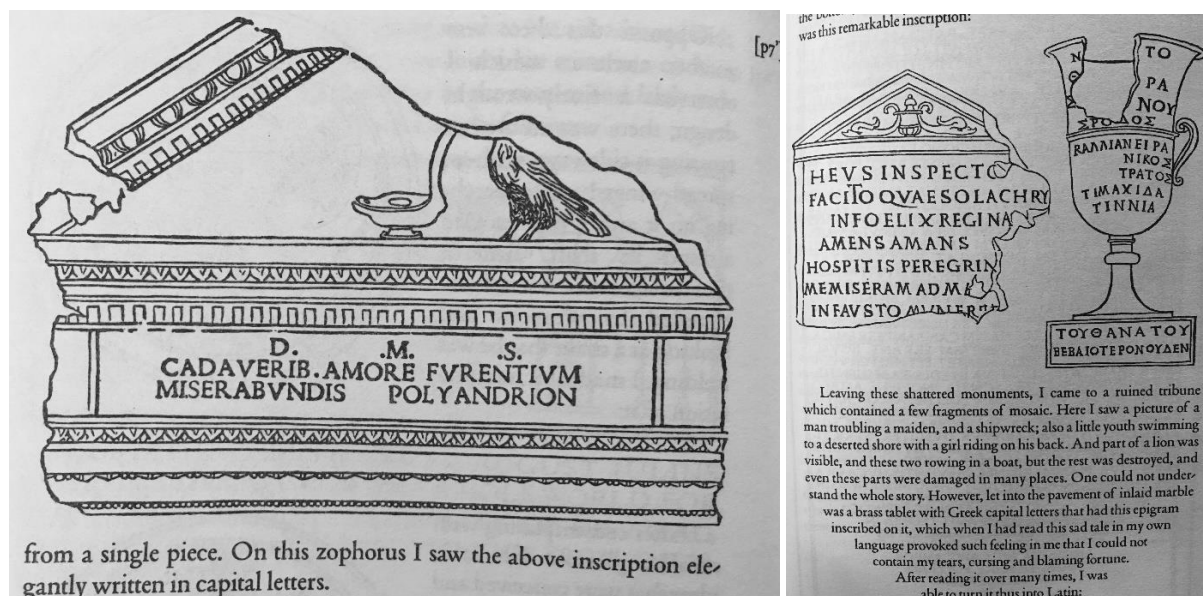
Fig. 5.7) A zophorus fragment in the Polyandrion (p.246) *Fig. 5.8)* Tribune fragments in the polyandrion (p.257)

[27] For analysis of Felice Feliciano's antiquarianism see Myriam Billanovich, 'Interno alla iubilatio di Felice Feliciano,' *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 32 (1989).

[28] See chapter two of Deborah Howard, 'Responses to Ancient Greek Architecture in Renaissance Venice', *Annali Di Architettura* 6 (1994); Giada Damen, 'The Trade in Antiquities Between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean (ca. 1400-1600)' (Princeton, Princeton University, 2012).

[29] Edward Bodnar and Charles Mitchell, 'Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444-45', *Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society* 30, no. 1 (1976): 127–29; Peter Levi, 'The Journeys of Cyriaco of Ancona', *The Classical Review* 30, no. 1 (1980): 129. See also Beverly Louise Brown and Diana E. E. Kleiner, 'Giuliano Da Sangallo's Drawings after Ciriaco d'Ancona: Transformations of Greek and Roman Antiquities in Athens', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42, no. 4 (1 December 1983): 321–35.
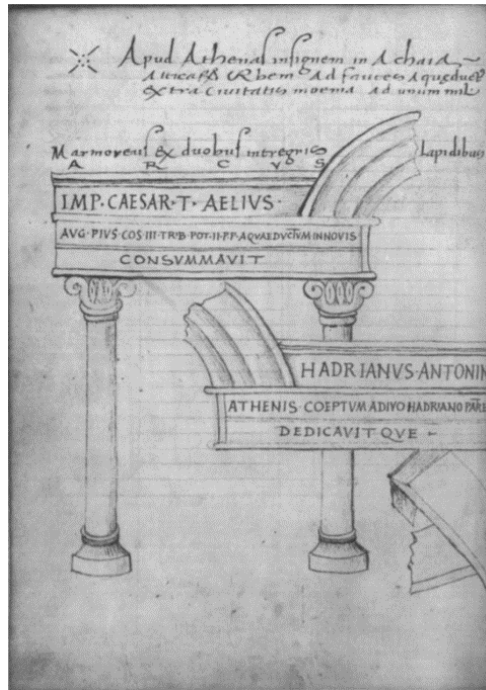
Fig. 5.9) Hadrian's Arch, *Commentaria* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Hamilton MS 254, f. 85v)

With regard to the walking rout in the *Hypnerotomachia*, and a consideration that applies throughout the text, we may observe how the exploration of the ruins of the Polyandrion narrated in real-time portrays a functional route leading from one space to another, and allowing the reader to draw a map of the site (Figure 10; as one may do elsewhere, for instance, Poliphilo's path toward the octagonal fountain after exiting the Magna Porta (Figure 11)).[30] For instance, after leaving Polia to explore the ruined temple, Poliphilo says:

> Sencia altro cogitare absorto, da chosta di Polia per quelli devii aggeri di frastigiato et vasto cumulo et ruina … In questo loco, ananti tute cose, alla parte postica di esso archaeo tempio mirari … Pervenuto daposcia in la mediana parte dil tempio … Per la qual cosa, accenso di curiosa cupidine di potere ad questa parte descendere rimabondo tra quelle fracture et minutie et ruine, perquirendo qualche meato, ecco che in uno marmoreo pilone … in quale, da troppo scrutario disio seducto intravi. Ove per uno caeceo accliuo scalinato descendendo [al crypto] … di sopra ritornai … Hora, quivi inspectando, mossi gli ochii et vidi una tribuna alquanto integra … ad quella festina andai …avido più anchora indagante altro di novo trovare, d'indi dunque, qual animale quaeritabondo il pabulo sempre più grato, non altramente transferendome per gli aggeri di ruine.

> Without another thought I left Polia's side and came to those out-of-the-way mounds of vast, lofty heaps and ruins… soon afterwards I reached the middle of the temple … Possessed by an inquisitive desire to go down there, I rummaged through the debris and ruined fragments, searching for some passage, and behold, I found a gap in a marble pillar … led on by excessive curiosity I entered it. As I descended by a dark stairway [to the crypt]… I returned to the surface … now I cast my eyes about and saw that one of the

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[30] *Hypnerotomachia*, 242-73.

tribunes was almost intact … and hastened toward it … I was still avid to search out new finds. I roamed like an animal always seeking better pasture over the heaps of ruins. (HP, 242-60).

Such a detailed narration of moving from one object to another, although omitting the direction, demonstrates the author's creative process in listing the geography as realistically as possible.
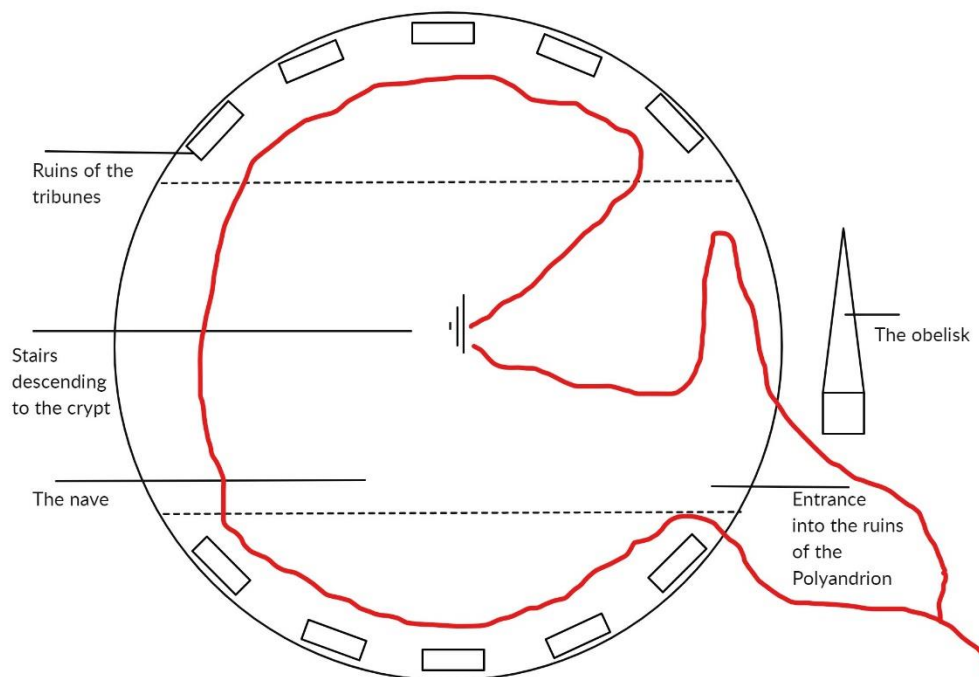
Fig. 5.10) Map of Poliphilo's walk through the ruins of the Polyandrion
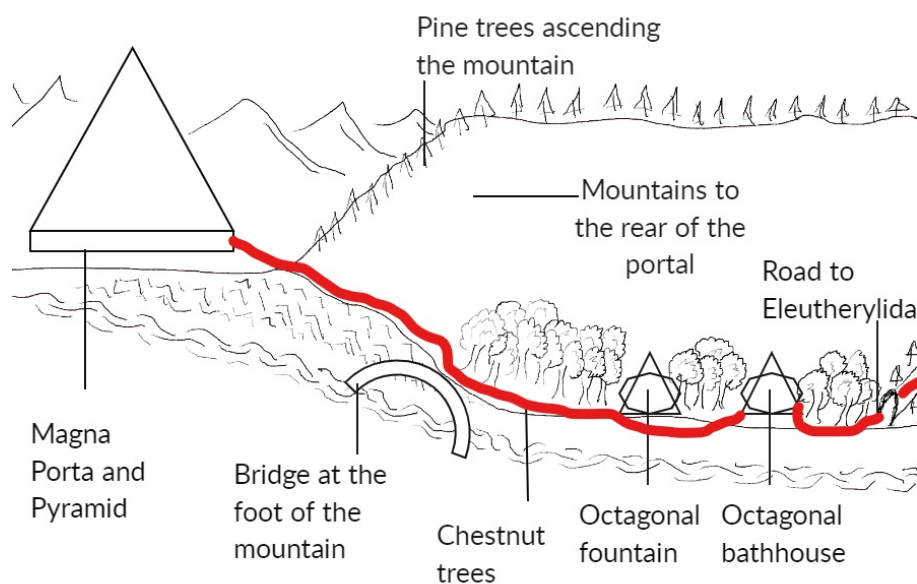
Fig. 5.11) Map of Poliphilo's walk from the hill of Eleuterylida to the palace of Eleuterylida

With regards to the second map, Figure 11 illustrates how Poliphilo starts from the hill at the rear of the Magna Porta on to the road leading to the palace of the Eleuterylida.[31] He describes descending the hill, arriving at a bridge and walking to an octagonal fountain, before walking to an octagonal bathhouse and finally arriving at the road leading to the palace of Eleuterylida, yet this description is filled with *metalepses* in which the real-time description is broken, omitting the accuracy of personal experience given to architectural exploration. This demonstrates a hierarchy of importance for the author as far as walking is concerned, where architecture is fully described with measurements; gardens are mostly described with measurements; but nature is only partly described without measurements, thus demonstrating a lesser signification and where walking, as the facilitator of experience, is not as fully described as the preceding examples.

The theme of self-transformation during the travel-diary accounts is narratologically in limbo. Poliphilo does not better himself as he does in scenes dedicated to narrative symbolism, rather in the exploration of his mobility in a landscape of antiquarian invention, he acts as a vessel for the author's own antiquarianism. Having examined this mode of walking in the *Hypnerotomachia*, it is now necessary to examine how walking functions in the scenes dedicated to the narrative and its primary theme of self-transformation.

Topographical Interiority and Signposts of Interior Transformation

Thus far examined, walking grants the means to explore the narrative disruptions of realistic descriptions of antique discovery but can now be seen to facilitate the narratological transformation of the soul. This creates a dichotomy as far as motion is concerned in the text as walking is also the means to progressing the narrative. The pedestrian journey corresponds Poliphil's interior state through symbolic topographical descriptions, and topographical signposts

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[31] *Hypnerotomachia*, 68-88.

that relate to his self-transformation.[32] Motion, consequently, has as much a vertical, ontological axis, as much as a horizontal, geographic one (see chapter one on this point).

While the garden spaces of the *Hypnertomachia* have been studied, most notably by Quaranga, Dixon-Hunt, Kruger, and Segre, topography has gone largely unstudied in Poliphilo studies; for Niedermeier and Davidson-Schmich the landscape is associated with love, sexuality, and the conquest of reclaiming classical-antiquity, consequently negating the central theme of self-transformation and its reflection in the external landscape.[33]

The relationship between topographical and interior advancement in the *Hypnerotomachia* is first identified in the dark forest, symbolic of the base beginnings of self-transformation.[34] This leads Poliphilo to a valley of archaeological interest before ascending into Eleuterylida, where there is a large area of lawns inhabited by a group of beautiful maidens that recalls Boccaccio's *Valle delle Donne*, then a path leading to the 'divine' realm of Telosia. Here, the topography of the first half is of natural beauty while the latter half displays an abundance of exquisite manmade gardens.[35] The topography transforms with Poliphilo's journey from the base to man-perfected beauty and is experienced through walking.[36] For instance:

> Conciosia cosa che ad gli ochii mei quivi non si concedeva vestigio alcuno di videre né diverticulo, ma nella dumosa silva appariano si non densi virgulti, pongente vepretto, el silvano fraxino ingrato alle vipere, ulmi ruvidi alle foecunde vite grati, corticosi subderi apto additamento muliebre, duri cerri … che al roscido solo non permettevano gli radii del gratioso sole integramente pervenire, ma, come da camurato culmo di densante fronde coperte, non penetrava l'alma luce.
>
> (I realised that no track or side path was to be seen in this thorny wood – nothing but dense thickets, sharp brambles, the wild ash that vipers shun, rough elms that suit the

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[32] Responding to Simon Goldhill's question 'what is ekphrasis for?' Bearden purports that it functions rhetorically to reveal ethos, as an emblematic exchange between image, text, and self; on this matter see Elizabeth B. Bearden, *The Emblematics of the Self: Ekphrasis and Identity in Renaissance Imitations of Ancient Greek Romance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 2–9.

[33] Serenella Iovino, 'Redeeming Nature? The Garden as a Moral Allegory. |' (Cultural Landscapes: Heritage and Conservation. III Biennial Conference of the European Association for the Study of Literature, Culture and Environment, University of Torino: Universidad de Alcalà, 2010), 278–84; Niedermeier and Davidson-Schmich, '"Strolling under Palm Trees"', 190.

[34] Lawrence Warner, 'The Dark Wood and the Dark Word in Dante's "Commedia"', *Comparative Literature Studies* 32, no. 4 (1995): 449–50.

[35] Thomas C. Stillinger, 'The Language of Gardens: Boccaccio's "Valle Delle Donne"', *Traditio* 39 (ed 1983): 302; Edith G. Kern, 'The Gardens in the Decameron Cornice', *PMLA* 66, no. 4 (1951): 522–23.

[36] On a social context of man and nature in the early Renaissance see Allen G. Debus, *Man and Nature in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 2–16.

fruitful vines, thick-barked cork-oaks apt for a woman's abdomen, hard Turkey oaks …they did not allow the sun's rays to greet the damp soil, but covered it like a vaulted roof with dense leaves that the nurturing light could not penetrate.) (HP, 13).

The author places both Poliphilo and his symbolically-mirroring topography within a binary between the crude, here quoted, and the beautiful that we will observe, metamorphosing through the agent of motion.[37]

Petrarch's relationship with nature is complex: although gardens represent beauty in a moral and physical sense, combining the *locus amoenus* with the place of the poet, in his *Seniles* IX.2 he describes his displeasure at lengthy travels, preferring to access remote places by walking 'a tiny map', so that he could be back in an hour, and feel 'healthy and alive, but also … untouched by briars, stones, mud, and dust', presenting an ambivalence to topography foreign to Poliphilo's sentiment.[38] Contrarily, Boccaccio composes landscapes that transform, dependent on the narrative. If we consider, for instance, *Il ninfale d'Ameto*, there is a correspondence between Lia's divinity and the woods, air, light and immediate nature, expressive of the same topographical perfection as an outer manifestation of the perfection of the soul narrated by Poliphilo.[39]

An example of this is identified in the contrast between the landscape of the first realm, after exiting the *selva oscura*, and that of the first lawns of Eleuterylida, we can see a transformation in Poliphilo, where the visual effect of beauty becomes synonymous with ontology. The naturalistic representation of nature mirrors Poliphilo's anima in the landscape through the sudden 'delectable' inclusion of flowers, grass, plants, and open expanse of nature:[40]

> La spaventevole silva …evaso… me ritrovai di novo in uno più delectabile sito assai più che el praecedente. El quale non era de monti horridi et crepidinose rupe intorniato né falcato di strumosi iugi, ma, compositamente de grate montagniole di non tropo altecia … Et giù al piano erano grate silvule di altri silvatici arboscelli et di floride geniste et di multiplice herbe verdissime.

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[37] *Hypnerotomachia*, 15.

[38] Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto, 'Writing the Garden in the Age of Humanism: Petrarch and Boccaccio,' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 23, no. 3 (September 1, 2003): 232.

[39] Giovanni Boccaccio, *L'Ameto* (London: Routledge, 2019).

[40] Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History* (New York: Courier Corporation, 2012), 13; Ernst Hans Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 16; Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy - Third Edition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 26.

> Per la quale cosa molto istava cogitabondo, sospeso et pieno di stupor in quale loco al praesente me ritrovasse, tanto ad mei sensi delectabile, praecipuamente havendo la miravegliosa fontana accuratamente speculato, la varietate di herbe, il coloramento degli fiori, il loco di abori consito, la nobile et accommodissima dospositione dil sito, il suave canto et irrequieto degli ucielli, il temperamento et di l'aire purgatissimo … Et alquanto mi angeva la petulantia di procedure, iucundo sempre più offerentisi ad me il benigno loco.

> (Leaving behind the terrible forest … I now found myself in a much more agreeable region. It was not hemmed in by dread mountains and cloven rocks, nor encircled by craggy peaks but by pleasant hills of no great height … Even on the plain there were pleasant copses of other wild shrubs and flowering brooms, and many green plants. (HP, 20-1).

> I stood thus for a long time, musing in suspense and wonder at having found myself in this present place which was so delectable to my senses, and in particular at having carefully examined the marvellous fountain. The verity of plants, the colour of the flowers, the plantations of trees, the noble and comfortable arrangement of the site, the sweet and unceasing bird-song, the temperature and purity of the air … as I felt the urge to proceed further, the place seemed to please me more and more.) (HP, 74).

The difference in language in the second quote indicates the beautification of the anima, where a 'suspense and wonder at having found myself in this present place which was so delectable to my senses' emphasises the increasing natural beauty as a narrative tool for mirroring Poliphilo's metamorphosing interiority. This references the Neoplatonic notion of outer beauty expressing inner virtue, while the threefold narrative structure progressing from the *selva oscura* to a paradisical bliss amidst the higher divinities is reminiscent of Dante's *Commedia*, which is also narratively and ontologically facilitated by walking.[41] This is also, importantly, not present during the extended scenes of antiquarian exploration previously studied in this chapter.

The reader is also made aware of the relationship between transforming topography and the transforming anima through textual signposts. An example appears in Eleuterylida, when Poliphilo, observing the seventh tower of the water labyrinth, reads the phrase in Greek lexicon: 'The wolf of the Gods is hard hearted.'[42] The image of the labyrinth, accompanied by a motto,

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[41] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Passing Strange and Wonderful: Aesthetics Nature And Culture* (Washington: Island Press, 1993), 193. Consequently, the emerging contemporary view of reading nature as feminine is opposed, see Mary D. Garrard, *Brunelleschi's Egg: Nature, Art, and Gender in Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 105. For the representation of nature in painting in Venice see Arthur Steinberg and Jonathan Wylie, 'Counterfeiting Nature: Artistic Innovation and Cultural Crisis in Renaissance Venice', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 1 (January 1990): 68. For a socio-historic context of Venice, see Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 13–55.

[42] *Hypnerotomachia*, 126.

creates a form of literary *impresa* wherein the wolf appears as a representation of final justice – derived from Petrarch and Alberti – demonstrating life's moral necessity. The placement of this motto in Eleuterylida, symbolic of free will, moral virtue and knowledge, is thus a signifier of Poliphilo's stage of transformation as a narrative-signpost relating the self to the topography.

Compared with the phrase inscribed on the San Miniato tabernaculum, we may see how religious and philosophical inquiry colours the act of walking itself, and the space one walks through. This is similarly represented in the phrase, inscribed on a Florentine tabernaculum where Via Giramonte and Via Passo all'Erte meet in San Miniato, which reads: 'Fermati o passagger la testa inchina alle madre di dio del cielo regina' (Stop, oh wayfarer, and bow your head to the mother of god who is queen of heaven).[43] This type of sentiment is transposed in the *Hypnerotomachia* into one reflecting classical wisdom and used to present Poliphilo's current state of interiority.

The signposts relate to Poliphilo's travel by offering maxims of wisdom at salient positions within the narrative, much like the inscriptions within cities positioned in symbolic places people travel through.[44] Omar Borettaz observes the extent of graffiti on churches, hospices, taverns and city walls – scratched signs, figures, words and whole sentences – revealing the traces of passing guests, pilgrims, and wayfarers in an era of renewed literacy.

The marker is itself a general form of wisdom but conveys to the reader that Poliphilo is in the process of transformation. Juliet Fleming has demonstrated that graffiti was not illegal, but served to convey a social voice concerned with, for instance, poetic or religious sentiments, a view William Sherman shares regarding marginalia, which he views as synonymous with the contemporary concept of graffiti.[45]

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[43] Arpad Szakolczai and Agnes Horvath, *Walking into the Void: A Historical Sociology and Political Anthropology of Walking* (London: Routledge, 2017), 1.

[44] Omar Borettaz, *I graffiti nel castello di Issogne in Valle d'Aosta* (Scarmagno: Priuli and Verlucca, 1995), 5. On early Christian graffiti see Margherita Guarducci, *Graffiti sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano* (Rome: Libreria editrice vaticana, 1958). For graffiti on medieval frescoes see Franz Cumont, 'Guillaume de Jerphanion, une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce Planches', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 8, no. 3 (1929): xxii–iii.

[45] Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011), 9–72; William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 20–24; Véronique Plesch, 'Memory on the Wall: Graffiti on Religious Wall Paintings', *Journal of Medieval and Early*

A further example of such topographical signposts relating to Poliphilo's interiority can be observed at the beginning of Eleuterylida, near an octagonal fountain (symbolic of new spiritual beginnings, notable in the typically-octagonal baptismal font) where we read 'dil lato sinistro dil ponte … ad gli transeunti tale monument, digno di caelatura aurea: Semper Festina Tarde' [on the left hand-side of the bridge …such a monument had not been placed there for the passers-by in vain but was worthy of the golden inscription: Always Hasten Slowly], reminiscent of Latin proverbs, suggesting a will controlled by patience.[46] The hieroglyphic motto, likely derived from Alberti and Vitruvius, is a textual signifier to the second stage of Poliphilo's self-transformation in the second realm of Eleuterylida, characterised by free will and morality.[47] Emphasis on restrained will and patience relates to the control of the senses that Poliphilo has succeeded in, reflecting the primary themes of Eleuterylida and places narratological significance on the inscribed sign-posts, symbolic of Poliphilo's interior journey.

Walking as Narrative Method

There is, thus, a relationship between walking and interior transformation, where the stage of transformation in the narrative is symbolic of place and area. Walking is here consequently used as a narrative method, and echoing both the peripatetic philosophic practice as much as a meditative tool in religious practice.[48] With regards to practicality, Joseph Amato observes, through the material choices of leggings, cloaks, clogs, hoods, etc, the medieval person daily dressed to be

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Modern Studies 32, no. 1 (1 January 2002): 179–82; Jason Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2010): 363–81.

[46] *Hypnerotomachia*, 75.

[47] Rooted also in Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum: Augustus, 25*, da Gellius, *The Attic Nights*, 10, 11; and Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 6, 8, 9; see Ariani, 615.

[48] Consider also Gros's philosophical treatment of walking as method, comprised of suspensive freedom, transgressional freedom, and renunciation, as processes of the experience of walking; see Frédéric Gros, A Philosophy of Walking (New York: Verso Books, 2014), 3–9. For a modern reflection on the activity of walking see Henry David Thoreau, Walking (Gardiner: Tilbury House, 2017). Walking as epistemological and ontological method will later echo in Friedrich Nietzsche, Ecce Homo: How To Become What You Are (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 21. On the power of magic in controlling the mobility of dead or living bodies in the Renaissance see Darren Oldridge, Strange Histories: The Trial of the Pig, the Walking Dead, and Other Matters of Fact from the Medieval and Renaissance Worlds (London: Routledge, 2017); Timothy Chesters, Ghost Stories in Late Renaissance France: Walking by Night (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Armando Maggi, Satan's Rhetoric: A Study of Renaissance Demonology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 171.

outdoors with walking apparel.[49] He notes, 'despite the appearance of the horse and the later development of town and city, medieval life was, no differently than in the Roman countryside, principally played out on foot.'[50] Walking was the basic necessity to living and would have been similarly experienced in travel, worship, artistic, and ordinary-living duties.

In the *Hypnerotomachia* walking is not simply the most basic requirement for the progression of narrative, it is also a methodological tool allowing for the exploration of the themes of antiquarian exploration, philosophic inquiry, and the experience of topography and gardens, it grants the author to modulate between rhetoric and facilitates in the compartmentalisation of narrative space. For instance, prosperity is enacted through walking as the vehicle that allows Poliphilo to move from an undesirable and fear-filled space to escaping the *selva oscura*:[51]

> Diciò, dubitando ispagurito, ivi proposi, damnata qualunque pigredine, più non dimorare, et de trovare exito et evadere gli occorrenti pericoli et de solicitare gli già sospesi et disordinati passi, spesse fiate negli radiconi da terra scoperti cespitando, de qui et de lì pervagabondo errante, hora ad lato dextro et mo' al sinistro, talhora retrogrado et tal fiata antigrado, inscio et ove non sapendo meare.
>
> (My fear made me waver, but I cursed my inertia and determined to lose no more time in finding an exit, and escaping the immanent dangers. I forced my hesitant and wondering paces to hurry on often falling over roots protruding from the earth, seeking at random now this way, and now that, now right, now left, now forwards, now back again, not knowing where I was going.) (HP, 14).

The author's mental exploration of fear is enacted through the vehicle of motion, where Poliphilo encounters 'frasche' [briars], 'spinosi prunuli' [prickly prunus] and which 'la facia offensa; [scratched my face](Figure 5.12)[52]. Poliphilo physically exits the dark wood through the moral dimension of self-restraint over impulse and, where the transformation of Poliphilo's interiority from the animal is portrayed, as he explains: 'Hora, quale animale che per la dolce esca lo occulto dolo non perpende, postponendo el naturale bisogno retro ad quella inhumana nota sencia mora'

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[49] Joseph Amato, On Foot: A History of Walking (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 44.

[50] Amato, 43.

[51] Liane Lefaivre notes that 200 out of the book's 370 pages 'are exclusively devoted to architectural description'. Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance*, 9. Peter Dronke observes the text as the 'first vernacular work' and the 'first modern work of a purely literary nature' to emerge from the Aldine Press. Dronke, 'Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia and Its Sources of Inspiration', 161.

[52] *Hypnerotomachia*, 14.

[Now, like an animal distracted by a sweetmeat from noticing a hidden snare, I postponed my unnatural want and immediately hurried off toward the inhuman music.][53] Walking transcends the undesirable for the desirable, combining the inner motion of self-restraint with the outer motion of prosperity (echoing the meandering transformation of Lucius in *The Golden Ass*).[54]
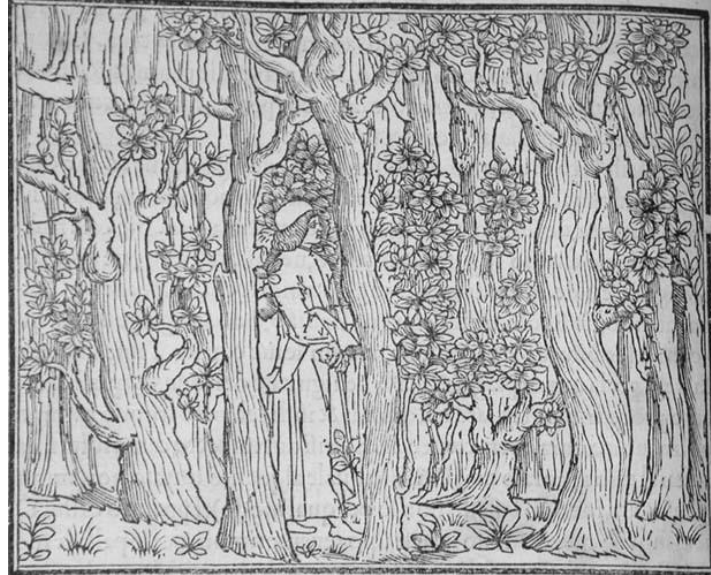
Fig. 5.12) Poliphilo lost in the *selva oscura* (p.14)

Secondly, walking as a methodological tool allows the author to modulate from an inwardly-orientated development of narrative into either outwardly-orientated description, or, in the interludes from the narrative, the rhetoric of the antiquarian travel diarist. For instance:[55]

> Io alhora incontinente steti, sublevati gli capigli; senza altro consulto verso il gemito festinante, uno agere di ruine scando di grande fracture et recisamenti marmorei; et inde acconciamente progresso, echo ch'io vedo uno vastissimo et mirando colosso, cum li pedi senza solea excavati et tutte le tibie pervie et vacue.

> (I stopped immediately, with my hair standing on end and no idea of what to do; then hurried toward the groaning, clambering across a field of ruins covered with large fragments of chips of marble. I was advancing carefully when I saw a vast colossus, whose sole-less feet opened into hollow and empty shins.) (HP, 35).

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[53] *Hypnerotomachia*, 18.
[54] Carver, *The Protean Ass*, 186–88; Trippe, "'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili'', Image, Text, and Vernacular Poetics', 1222–58.
[55] Considering the practice of hand gestures in the author's society as expressing the motions of the soul; it is interesting to note the lack of gesture in the *Hypnerotomachia* as a device of the self. See Jean Claude-Schmidt, 'The Rationale of Gestures in the West', in *A Cultural History of Humour: From Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Hoboken: Wiley, 1997), 65; Joanna Woodall, *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 2.

Here, walking is the process by which percept is experienced as a basis of forming concepts after reflection on the object of art (Figure 5.13).[56] There is a portrayal of controlled will, where movement corresponds with cognitive motion, echoed in Frederick Gros's modern notion of *suspensive freedom*, or the opportunity to lose oneself in the moment through motion, in a manner of self-control (that we see reflected in the archaeological exploration of Ciriaco and Mantegna).[57]
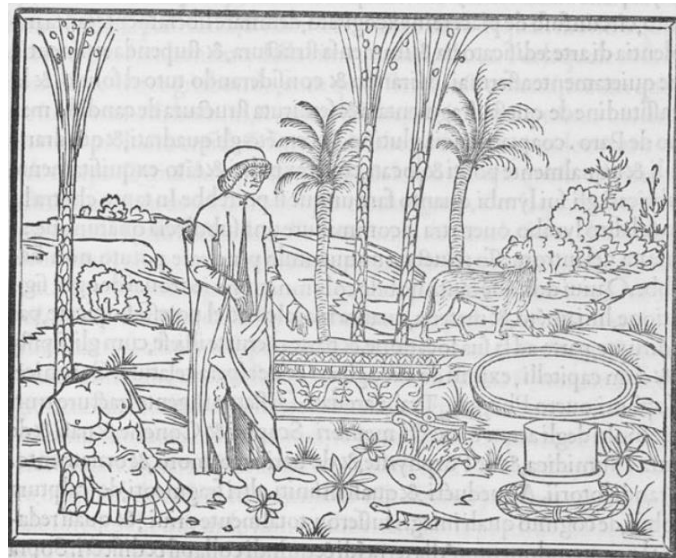
Fig. 5.13) Poliphilo exploring the valley of antique ruins (p.21)

In the palace of Queen Eleuterylida, Poliphilo describes sitting among five maidens representing the five senses: Aphea, Osfressia, Orassia, Achoe, and Guessia.[58] This symbolic group of maidens represents the freedom of the senses that he has achieved in himself. The physical contextualisation of space offers the author an opportunity to relate his interior architectural designs, displaying a rhetorical modulation in the narrative from the symbolic to the descriptive:

> Diqué, ad questo sincero et sancto imperio, finito il suo facondo et benigno parlare, humilmente fecime servo cernuo, et cum pusilla audacia et exiguo auso di subito parendo,

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[56] Gros, *A Philosophy of Walking*, 3–9.

[57] This is the opposite of Augustine's view of the weakness of the will, see Larry Siedentop, *Inventing the Individual: The Origins of Western Liberalism* (London: Penguin UK, 2017), 100. Consider also the modern parallel with Thomas Buzzi's City of Buzzinda, where walking is the agent for experiencing philosophic enigmas related to the process of Jung's concept of individuation, a psychoanalytic equivalent to the Humanist concept of self-transformation, see Luca Pasquarelli and Chiara A. Ripamonti, 'Buzzinda: Walking through an Architectural Metaphor of the Jungian Individuation Process', *Psychological Perspectives* 59, no. 3 (2 July 2016): 319–37; Paolo Belardi, *Why Architects Still Draw* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014), 1. Norman Land augments this position by observing the author's use of ekphrasis as either rendering the object naturalistically, or not, in Norman Land, *The Viewer as Poet: The Renaissance Response to Art* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 66–68. On the artist and beauty see James Hall, *The Self-Portrait: A Cultural History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2016), 43–44; Laura Cumming, *A Face to the World: On Self-Portraits* (London: Harper Collins, 2014), 101–2.

[58] Touch, smell, sight, hearing, taste, respectively.

sopra quelle delitiose banche ad lato dextro posime ad sedere … in medio delle cinque comite, secondo tra Osfresia et Achoé, dopo la regina collocato … La corona ch'è sopra il throno di enchaustica pigmentura, una venusta imagine imberbe caesariata di flava capillatura continiva, cum alquantulo di pecto coperto di exiguo panno, sopra le passe ale d'una aquila, cum il capo levato fixamente quella contemplado.

(When she had ended her kindly and eloquent speech, I showed my humble obedience to this sincere and holy command, and immediately complied – with timid courage and feeble daring – by sitting myself down on the comfortable benches on the right hand side… I was seated amongst the five companions, placed second away from the Queen between Osfressia and Achoe … the wreath above the throne contained an encaustic painting of a beautiful beardless figure with yellow hair and part of his chest covered with fine cloth, above the open wings of an eagle that raised its head to stare fixedly at him.) (HP, 101-02).

The author uses the context of Poliphilo to showcase the spaces he has created for the interior aristocratic buildings.[59] To venture into this discourse he uses the observation from Poliphilo's gaze, taking the reader's thoughts from the philosophical stage of narrative related to free will to the discourse of architectural *disegno*. Walking allows for the shift from Poliphilo's interior advancement into the harmonious architectural structure based on the *quadrature*. We thus move with Poliphilo as he draws us around the interior of the building.

With regards to the scenes dedicated to the narrative, the theme of limited movement requiring permission based on adequate interior transformation persists throughout the narrative. For instance, in the spatial and private Eleuterylidian gardens representing Queen Eleuterylida's regal power, access to each space requires permission dependent on Poliphilo's comprehension of knowledge. The space of this Renaissance garden, designed through a compartmentalisation of design, finds a reflection in the garden spaces of contemporary ruling powers. For instance, through the lessons demonstrated in the Medici gardens, the artwork collected there and the use of gardens for theatrical performances, a notion of learning, power and magnificence is echoed.[60]

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[59] This is meant in a unification of Platonic and Christian elements. See Nick Temple, 'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili as a Possible Model for Topographical Interpretations of Rome in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Word and Image* 14, no. 1–2 (1 January 1998): 148; Hanno-Walter Kruft, *History of Architectural Theory* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), 61.

[60] Isabella Lapi Ballerini and Mario Scalini, *The Medici Villas: Complete Guide* (Florence: Giunti Editore, 2003), 33. Consider also the idea of developed space and its liminal experience regarding artwork and the viewer in John K. G. Shearman, *Only Connect: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 59. For analysis of Poliphilo's sensual experience of artwork in their fictional spaces see Morgan, *The Monster in the Garden*, 30.

The garden space is here, however, translated into a purely philosophic form: knowledge grants mobility.

Finally, how does the author unify the disparate uses of walking, to either facilitate the narrative, or antiquarian discovery? The answer lies in the tri-purpose of many of the artistic creations, being symbolic through their narrative application; akin to travel-dairy through the extent of ekphrasis of the artistic object with a written experience of exploring the areas they are found; and elsewhere akin to a *trattato* through didactic rhetoric, with each artistic object arrived at through motion, and where each modulation of rhetoric is facilitated through motion.[61] Consequently, the use of *disegno* (already used by Ghiberti, Filarete and Alberti almost a hundred years after Petrarch's comment in *Remedies Against Fortune* in which *graphis* - Latin for *disegno* - is used as the source for the fine arts) becomes an intersection of rhetorical modes.[62] For instance, the Magna Porta's composition (Figure 11) displays a contemporary understanding of *disegno* comprising a symbolic relation of architectural form which relates narratively to Poliphilo; a superlative rhetoric of the method of construction belonging in an architectural treatise, and the experience of exploring the ruins which references the rhetoric of the travel-diary:[63]

> Ciascuna facia dilla aquadratura della meta, sotta all'initio della gradatione de questa admiranda pyramide, sopralocata al praefato aedificamento, in extensione longitudinale era stadii sei; multiplicati per quatro in ambito, la dicta nel pedamento aequilatero occupava comprehendendo quatro et vinti stadii.
>
> (Each face of the square base from which the steps of this admirable pyramid began, located on top of the building, was six stadia in length. Multiplied by four, this gave the ambitus of the pyramid's equilateral footing as twenty-four stadia.) (HP, 23).

This detailing of its symbolic proportions (that we have examined in chapter two) would suffice in characterising its symbolic presence in the narrative. However, author does not simply grant a

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[61] Consider annotated re-tellings of the narrative in Luigi Bandiera, *Epitome della Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Roma: Il Propileo, 1996).

[62] Francesco Petrarca and Conrad H. Rawski, *Petrarch's Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul: Book I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

[63] On twentieth century criticism of idealism in Renaissance art see Edward Wouk, *'Prints in Translation, 1450-1750: Image, Materiality, Space'* (London: Routledge, 2017), 105–8; James Elkins and Robert Williams, *Renaissance Theory* (London: Routledge, 2008), 161.

paragraph to this symbolic purpose, instead he modulates into a didactic rhetoric, taking on the

position of an architectural teacher that we, the reader may learn to construct the Magna Porta:

> Trahendo iterum nella prima figura A.B.C.D. dui diagonii et ancora in quella segnando due linee, recta et transversaria, mutuamente intersecte, quatro quadrati se feceano. Item, in quella vacua sopra le isopleure facti quatro mediani puncti et da uno ad l'altro deducte le linee, si constituisce il rhombo. Conscripte per tale via le praedicte figure…

> (Now two diagonals are drawn across the first figure ABCD, and then a straight and transverse line, intersecting one another, making four squares. Then in the space above the equal-sided one the four median points are marked, and the lines joining them constitute a rhombus. After thus drawing the said figures …) (HP, 42).

Here, outlining a carefully-broken-down architectural process of the manufacture of an edifice is

the didacticism, denoting the practical means of production.[64] Thirdly, there is the antiquarian

rhetoric of the travel diarist, describing his experiences clambering through the classical structure:

> Alla parte della antedicta apertione de bucca deveni per un'altra solida et directa scala, saliendo, che al pedamento areo del'aedificio verso la parte dextera, collaterale al monte delumbato, era introexcavata nel proprio saxo, ove era lo intervallo delli dieci passi; per la quale, certamente più curioso forsa che licito non era, io montai.

> (I reached the opening of the mouth by climbing another solid and straight stair that led to the base of the building on the right-hand side. It was cut into the rock beside the mountain cliff, where there was the interval of ten paces, and I climbed up through it, perhaps with more curiosity than was permitted). (HP, 28).

Here, and over most of the Magna Porta sequence, we experience a travel-diary rhetoric of antique

exploration, the extent of which creates a dislocation from the narrative, describing an educated

description of his observation with fine-details.[65] The *disegno* of the pyramid thus becomes a

multifarious space of both physical and rhetorical forms, permitting the author to carry out various

aims of the text, not all of which relate to the narrative, but all of which are facilitated by walking.

Having now examined the bi-modal model of walking the author adopts during the

topographical scenes of the *Hypnerotomachia* we shall now explore the act of walking in the gardens

of the text and the relationship between walking, and self-transformation in those garden spaces.

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[64] Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, 1. See also Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo, '"Laura tra Polia e Berenice" di Lorenzo Lotto', *Artibus et Historiae* 13, no. 25 (1992): 103.

[65] Evelyn S. Welch, *Art in Renaissance Italy, 1350-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 37. On the author's possible familiarity with Filarete's work see Angela Cianfarini, 'Tangenze figurative e riscontri letterari tra l'opera filaretiana e l'"Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, in Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento', *Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento* Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Roma, 28-31 ottobre 1996, no. A cura di Stefano Colonna, Roma, De Luca editore d'arte, 2004 (2004): 561–76.

Walking and Self-Transformation in the Gardens of Eleuterylida

and Telosia

'Let us walk to the other garden adjoining the right wing of the great, proud and royal palace, which is no less full of pleasures and delights than the last one.' And when we came to it, I stood astounded and amazed to see a work not only difficult to make, but also difficult to describe.

Poliphilo
Hypnerotomachia (p.127)

The narratological importance of gardens and walking in the gardens in the *Hypnerotomachia* function, like the architectural spaces, to frame Poliphilo's self-transformation. There is a wealth of botanical and garden knowledge through the 285 referenced botanical specimens (appendix two) which reflects a near sum total of contemporary botanical knowledge, probably influenced from the earlier remains of the famous Paduan botanical gardens, beside Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, The *Carrara herbal*, and *Roccanobella herbal*.[1] The first realm depicts Poliphilo walking only through topography, but at the end of the proceeding two realms he walks through narratively-important garden spaces populated by symbolically chosen botanical items, that I argue are used to reflect the theme of self-transformation.

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[1] On the importance of botanical depictions in the woodcuts see John Dixon Hunt and Michael Leslie, 'Garden and Architectural Dreamscapes in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Word and Image* Vol. 14, no. No. 1-2 (June 1998): 85–93; Rhizopoulou, 'On the Botanical Content of Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', 8; Sophia Rhizopoulou, 'Fascinating Landscapes of "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili": Source for Research of Plant Diversity, Horticulture and Culture', *Acta Horticulturae*, no. 1189 (December 2017): 19–24.
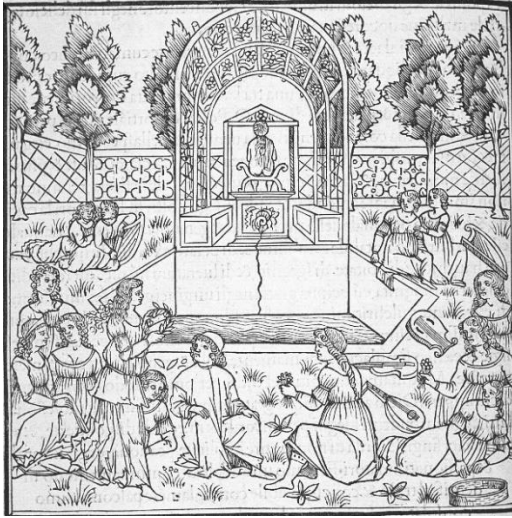
Fig. 6.1) The garden of Adonis (p.378) *Fig. 6.2)* Polia disguised as a nymph (p.142)
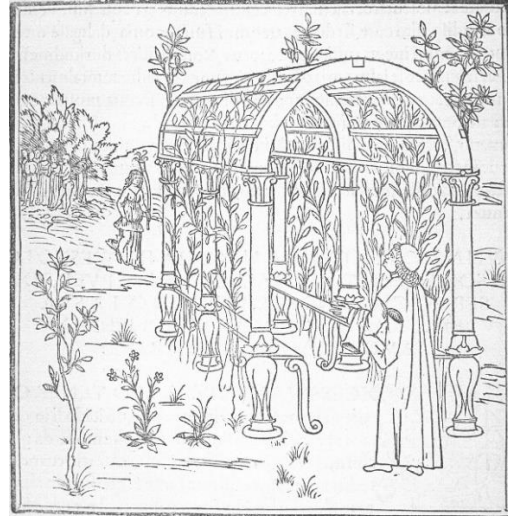
The gardens are created with symbolic purpose, where form and botanical population of space contextualise the particular stage of self-transformation.[2] The garden aesthetic is a testament to an alteration in late Quattrocento taste in favour of classical reappropriation of aesthetic and moral themes. Gardens are part of the creativity of *disegno*, they are sensory-stimulating suspended temporal spaces created through literary reflections and developments in contemporary aesthetic.[3]

The landscape of literature on the gardens of the *Hypnerotomachia* is considerable, but largely focuses on the gardens inspired by the author's descriptions, with very little on the symbolic use of plants.[4] Walking as a methodological tool within historical research focuses largely on social and physical thresholds within the societal space, demarcating mobile norms and practices; other cultural historians have demonstrated the historical experience of the audible, visual, and olfactible

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[2] Indebted to an extent by the *Roman de la rose*, see Lees-Jeffries, 'Sacred and Profane Love'. Regarding the relationship between the Garden of Adonis and the *verzieri de le mezane persone* (meadow garden for owners of average rank) in Corniolo Della Cornia's *La Divina Villa* see Segre, 'Untangling the Knot', 82. On the relationship between space and classical design see Hunt, *Greater Perfections*, 16.

[3] See Yvonne Yiu, 'The Mirror and Painting in Early Renaissance Texts', *Early Science and Medicine* 10, no. 2 (1 January 2005): 191.

[4] Lees-Jeffries, 'Sacred and Profane Love'; Segre, 'Untangling the Knot'; Hunt and Leslie, 'Garden and Architectural Dreamscapes in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili'; Stewering and Maher, 'The Relationship between World, Landscape and Polia in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili'; Gilles Polizzi, 'Le Poliphile ou l'Idée du jardin: Pour une analyse littéraire de l'esthétique colonnienne', *Word and Image* 14, no. 1–2 (1 January 1998): 61–81. Regarding the latter see Rhizopoulou, 'On the Botanical Content of Hypnerotomachia Poliphili'; Segre, 'Untangling the Knot'. On the relationship between motion and gardens see Hunt, *Greater Perfections*, 16; John Dixon Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 59. See also Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 6; Alexander Samson, *Locus Amoenus: Gardens and Horticulture in the Renaissance* (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, 2012), 17; J. C. Shepherd, John C. Shepherd, and G. A. Jellicoe, *Italian Gardens of the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993).

that walkers would have experienced, besides the visual symbols inscribed, for instance, in the *calli* and *campi* of Venice experienced by walkers.[5] Garden historians of Poliphilo studies demonstrate how the Renaissance garden was designed for the experience of visual pleasure in geometric patterns, compartmentalised to create different sensory experiences.[6] Social and art historians demonstrate how the outdoor space was utilised for musical, theatrical and political purposes, while scientific historians have observed how the proliferation of written and oral communication on Venetian streets are socially charged as places of gossip and knowledge, accessed through mobility.[7]

In this chapter I shall examine how the gardens frame Poliphilo's self-transformation. Firstly, in Eleuterylida, I will examine the symbolic form of the garden in relation to the narrative themes developed through the process of Poliphilo walking in the gardens. Secondly, on Cytherea, I shall examine the symbolic form of the garden in relation to self-transformation, how it is assisted through walking, and the symbolic use of botanical items in the gardens; and lastly, I will make an examination of the Garden of Adonis.

The Four Gardens of Eleuterylida

Walking is the means by which perception is made and as Poliphilo's conceptions are formed through walking it infers a peripatetic model of thinking.[8] From a practical position, without walking, the physical journey Poliphilo undertakes would not unite him with Polia or initiate him into the mysteries.[9] Walking advances one narrative-stage to the next, simultaneously advancing

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[5] Jo Wheeler, 'Stench in the Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture Since 1500*, by Dr Alexander Cowan and Dr Jill Steward (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013), 25–38.

[6] On movement in gardens see Helena Attlee, *Italian Gardens: A Cultural History* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2012); Hunt and Leslie, 'Garden and Architectural Dreamscapes in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', 85–93; John Dixon Hunt, 'Experiencing Gardens in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', in *The Afterlife of Gardens* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 60–76.

[7] Dario Tessicini, 'Viewing the Stars from the Rialto: Astrological Dialogues in Sixteenth-Century Venice', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 19, no. 1 (1 March 2016): 211.

[8] I refer here to the means of Poliphilo's walking toward the object of his desires before he analyses and understands what he is looking at. From percept to conceptualisation through mobility.

[9] *Hypnerotomachia*, 142, 213-36; By mysteries I mean here the notion the author infers to Poliphilo's mystagogic initiation, that is a divine experience of love and wisdom distilled from scholastic learning of Classical hierarchies;

Poliphilo's interiority from one state to the next within important narrative garden spaces, yet, as John Dixon Hunt argues, the gardens have gone largely unobserved amidst the architectural and source material scholarship.[10]

The type of gardens described in Eleuterylida are of stark contrast to the small, enclosed Venetian gardens the author would have been familiar with, developing beyond the practical purpose of the healing medieval garden.[11] The hygienic *villeggiatura*, or the small luxurious gardens, contrast greatly to the large, sprawling geometrically-compartmentalised space.[12] The silk and glass gardens and their adjacent garden dedicated to the trinitarian monument and the water labyrinth, respectively, are grandiose (9,000 feet²) and demonstrate the author's contemporary interest in developing garden design and aesthetics.[13] They constitute highly differential areas, contrasting the walker's sensory experience from one space to another.

Poliphilo arrives at the gardens of Eleuterylida after travelling down a road 4 stadia long 'La quale ornate via …di longitudine di stadia quatro', which leads to a courtyard enclosed by citron, orange and lemon trees: 'Intrando dunque nui in questa verdosa et quam gratissima clausura … di longitudine passi sexanta; et era questo ambito uno hypaethrio quadrato subdiale' [Now that we had entered this green and pleasant enclosure … it was sixty paces wide, and this was the dimension of the square open-aired courtyard]'. As described, this square courtyard is 60 paces (300 feet, or 9,000 feet²) and is later described as setting the standard in the palace and grounds

Cassandra Falke and Efthymia Priki, 'Teaching Eros', in *The Phenomenology of Love and Reading* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016), 212.

[10] Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens*, 59.

[11] Marijane Osborn, 'Women's Reproductive Medicine in Leechbook III', in *Health and Healing from the Medieval Garden*, ed. Peter Dendle and Alain Touwaide (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), 145. On the medieval garden as a focal point for social gatherings see Elisabeth B. MacDougall, *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers: Studies in Italian Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1994), 103; David R. Coffin, 'The Study of the History of the Italian Garden until the First Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium', in *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999), 31.

[12] R. Coffin, 'The Study of the History of the Italian Garden until the First Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium', 31; Attlee, *Italian Gardens*, 10. For analysis on Renaissance garden design see Claudia Lazzaro and Claudia Lazzaro Bruno, *The Italian Renaissance Garden: From the Conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-Century Central Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 10. For analysis on Poliphilo and the antique see Efthymia Priki, 'Mirrors and Mirroring in Dreams: Self-Reflection and Liminality in the Roman de La Rose and in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', in *Mirrors and Mirroring from Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020).

[13] Philippe Prévôt, *Histoire des jardins* (Bordeaux: Sud Ouest, 2006).

(for instance, 'il quale di ambito et continentia tanto quanto era quello ove stava la maiestale residentia')[14], i.e., the palace and adjoining gardens are all designed in squares of 60 paces.[15] The gardens are located to the left of the palace and are described as sharing the same schemata (Figure 6.3) with a courtyard to the front and a smaller one to the rear. Within this complex Poliphilo is led from the rear courtyard to the gardens on the diagram's left before to those on the right:

> Le due comite delegate me festivamente cum domestica promptitudine et gesti virginei prehenseron, l'una per la mano dextra et l'altra per la sinistra et, praecipuamente dalla regina primo et poscia da tutte riventemente obtente la licentia … Essendo nella conclusa area del naranceo septo pervenuti, Thelemia cum singulare affabilitate mi dice: 'Oltra le praeexcellentissime et miravegliose cose che tu hai, Poliphile, mirate, ancora quatro admirande ti resta di vedere.' Et al sinistro lato del'incomparabile pallatio in uno spectatissimo viridario me condusseron … Andiamo a spasso all'altro giardino non meno delectoso et di delitie conferto che il vitrino, contiguo allo alamento dextro del superbo, magno et regio pallatio'

> (The two companions took me gaily with unceremonious speed and virginal gestures, one by the right hand, and one by the left, and after taking reverent leave, first of the Queen and then of all the others … When we had reached the area enclosed by the hedges of orange trees, Thelemia said to me affably: 'Beside the excellent and marvellous things that you have already seen, Poliphilo, there are four more sights for you to admire.' Then she led me into a gorgeous orchard on the left hand side of the incomparable palace … Let us walk to the other garden adjoining the right wing of the great, proud and royal palace, which is no less full of pleasures and delights than the glass one). (HP,123-27).

Here, he describes being led from the open aired courtyard to the rear of the palace, through the palace back to the front courtyard where he is told there are four more sights to see, referencing the four gardens. Then he is led left to observe the glass garden and colossal water-labyrinth, before being led to the right garden made of silk, and the trinitarian monument to the far right. Consequently, bearing in mind the equal sized squares each respective part is based on, and the horizontal and vertical axis of the site, we may detail a picture and a walking rout as follows:

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[14] *Hypnerotomachia*, 123.
[15] Signornini observes the creations in these gardens as source material for later illustrators in Rodolfo Signorini, 'Two Mantuan Fantasies: Lombardy in the Image of a Garden and an Architectural Vertigo', *Word and Image* 14, no. 1–2 (1 January 1998): 195–200.
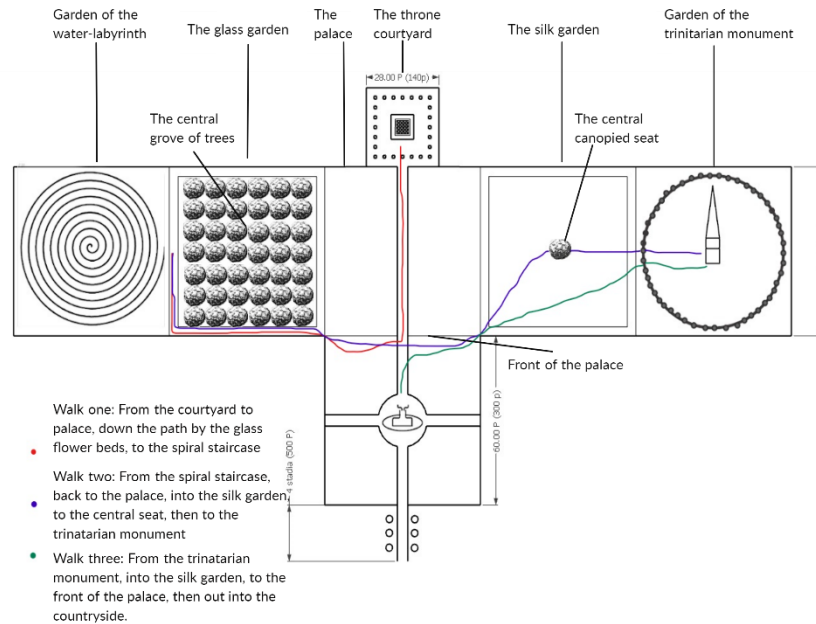
Fig. 6.3) Walking map of the palace, courtyards, and gardens

The choice of garden-design as the setting for Poliphilo's transformation at the level of knowledge suggests a twofold reason: firstly, the necessity of space for the learning required for interior growth from one place to another, as exemplified in the walk from the glass garden to the labyrinth, and opposite to the trinitarian monument; secondly, the necessity of combining the natural with the man-made is metaphorical of transforming the crude nature into the perfect.

There are four Eleuterylidian gardens: in the garden to the left there is an orchard bordered by flowerbeds made of glass representing the vainglory of the world, leading to a spiral staircase at the top of which one views a further garden consisting of a water labyrinth on the far left (Figure 3) representing man's path from the heavens, through life (see chapter one). To the right of the palace there is a lawn bordered by more flowers and plants, this time made out of silk. This leads to a circular garden on the far-right-hand side, where the trinitarian monument stands at the centre (see chapter one) (Figure 3). The four gardens are equilateral squares of 60 paces (300 feet, or, 9,000 feet^2) divided by themes of the earth to the left and the heavens to the right (as analysed in Chapter one), thus consisting of 36,000 feet^2 of intricate allegorical creations of nature and the plastic-arts.

Poliphilo narrates walking and observing first-hand as he is led from the rear courtyard to the front of the palace, then along the flowerbeds of the glass garden to the spiral staircase, seeing the water labyrinth before retracing his steps to the centre of the silk garden on the right after which Logistica leads him to the trinitarian monument (Figure 3):

> Le due comite delegate me festivamente cum domestica promptitudine … fora per li medesime siparii et porta agressi … essendo nella conclusa are del narranceo septo pervenuti … et al sinistro lato del'incomparabile pallatio in uno spectatissimo viridario me condusseron … referte [vitro] di mirabile fincto di moltiformi simplici … cum subtilissimi liniamenti.

> (The two companions took me gaily with unceremonious speed … through the same curtains and doorways … [to] the area enclosed by the hedges of orange trees … then she led me into a gorgeous orchard on the left hand side of the … palace … the [glass] beds were filled with a marvellous imitation of simples … finished and decorated with subtle lineaments.) (HP, 123-24).

He describes the experience of being led at speed, and the enjoyment of looking at the objects of the glass garden as they circumnavigate to the spiral staircase. The focus is not only on the creative inventions of the garden, but on their psychological effect and the sensory experience of walking, for instance, in the same area he exclaims: 'Et quanto che cum gli praestissimi sensi poti trahere, tanto praegratissimamente acceptai, in esso transito extremo dilecto sumendo, quanto che a dire è incredible. O foelice dunque chi in tale loco sempre concesso gli fusse essere patritio o vero inquilino! [When my exalted senses had rapidly grasped it, I found it very satisfying and felt such extreme pleasure as would never be believed. O happy they to whom it is granted to dwell forever in such a place, either as natives or as sojourners!][16] He emphasises the walkers psychological experience of pleasure and stimulation of the senses, as he walks into the glass garden.

The gardens appear to echo Alberti's concept of *concinnitas*, creating a solid body that is harmonious and perfect in its design, with the privileged view of describing the object directly in front of it as opposed to from a distance through linear perspective, demonstrating the author's creative process of fashioning each object from Poliphilo's perspective. For instance, in the silk garden, Logistica says to Poliphilo (Figure 3), 'Andiamo a spasso all'altro giardino' [Let us now

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[16] *Hypnerotmachia*, 123.

walk to the other garden], where Poliphilo describes standing 'allucinato et excessivamente mirabondo' [astounded and amazed] before the 'gli buxi et cupressi sericei, stipiti et rami d'oro' [silken box-trees and cypresses with golden stems and branches] and the ground made of 'il solo della aequatissima area vedevase gratissimo di seta verdigiante villoso, quale spectatissimo prato' [the ground of the level area appeared to be of green silken velvet, like a lovely meadow].[17] The description of something as one stands before it is paramount, noting its shape, colour, and size without describing from afar, emphasising the close interaction of each object.

Narratologically, this is achieved through *character-focalization* of the narrator's (or Poliphilo's) sight, or *mode*, presenting a realistic account of garden-walking. There are, nevertheless, still significant ellipses, where Poliphilo does not fully narrate the physical act of walking but gives a summary of walking until his arrival at the next object of fascination in the garden. These moments allow for the reflection necessary in his formation of understanding the concepts at work.

In peripatetic fashion, the author uses walking as a process of thinking, leading to understanding. As Poliphilo is led through the gardens by his embodied guides of logic and feeling, the sense of sight is primarily mentioned, suggesting a conformity to the traditional hierarchy for valuing the mental capacity of perception over the physical sense of touch.[18] Once the topic of knowledge has become the primary theme of the narrative in Eleuterylida, Poliphilo narrates:

> Dopo dicto il divino poema, subito la theophilia Logistica per la mano prehendentime, del praesente loco fora me conduxe 'Poliphile' dicendo 'voglio che tu sapi essere di maiore oblectamento allo intellecto le cose obiective che ad gli sensi tanto: per questo, intramo quivi a satisfare alle due receptibile operatione.'
>
> (As soon as the divine poem was over, the god-beloved Logistica took me by the hand and led me out of there, saying "Poliphilo, I want you to know that things perceived give more enjoyment to the intellect than to the senses alone. For this reason, let us go into this place so as to satisfy both modes of perception.") (HP, 128).

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[17] *Hypnerotmachia*, 127.
[18] Elizabeth Harvey, 'The Sense of All Senses', in *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Elizabeth D. Harvey (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 1–2; Smick, 'Touch in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Sensual Ethics of Architecture', 214; Danijela Kambaskovic, 'The Senses in Philosophy and Science: From the Nobility of Sight to the Materialism of Touch', in *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance*, ed. Herman Roodenburg (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), 110.

Poliphilo's observation here is a metaphor for an entirely mental, or interior, reflection inferring that his conceptualisation and subsequent acquisition of knowledge is through philosophic reflection, and narrated to us through metaphor. Once obtained, there is a transition indicated by Logistica whereby the sense of sight may be indulged in, performed through the act of walking, allowing the garden to be enjoyed and understood. The twin forms of percept (imaginary and physical, or mental and external) and motion are intrinsic agents allowing Poliphilo to physically and philosophically progress: knowledge is consequently narratively tied to walking and experienced through percept and motion. Thelemia's allegorical demonstration of mental reflection is the path to knowledge, where explanation becomes metaphorical of deduction, revealing concepts through mystagogic syllogisms.[19]

The historic context for the gardens of Eleuterylida are wholly Renaissance (as opposed to Medieval) and reminiscent of the developing field of garden design in contemporary Florence and Padua.[20] The gardens thus resemble in aesthetic the emerging Renaissance style, while the invention and design suggests a familiarity with Filarete's designs in his *Trattato di architettura* (c. 1460). Filarete depicts an imaginary building with a complex system of gardens that stretch over rooftops and terraces (Figure 6.4-6), which is dissimilar to the medieval gardens inspired by Pietro de'Crescenzi's *Libro di Agricoltura* or the rooftop garden illustrated in Verona that characterises some of Poliphilo's contemporary gardens.[21] Both the author of the *Hypnerotomachia* and Filarete

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[19] For analysis on Poliphilo and memory see Frances A. Yates, *The Art Of Memory* (New York: Random House, 2011); John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600-1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 68. Stephen Hetherington and Stephen Cade Hetherington, *Epistemology: The Key Thinkers* (London: A and C Black, 2012), 51; David Bronstein, *Aristotle on Knowledge and Learning: The Posterior Analytics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 39; Michail Peramatzis and Michail M. Peramatzis, *Priority in Aristotle's Metaphysics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 11–16; Jonathan A. Jacobs, *Aristotle's Virtues: Nature, Knowledge and Human Good* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 56; Martin Heidegger, *The Phenomenology of Religious Life* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 41; Aristotle, *Metaphysics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 1029a.

[20] Blunt, 'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in 17th Century France', 127; Michael Leslie, 'The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and the Elizabethan Landscape Entertainments', *Word and Image* 14, no. 1–2 (September 2012): 137–38. Consider also the influence on interior decoration in Cecilia Paredes, 'Des jardins de Vénus aux jardins de Pomone: note sur l'iconographie des décors des tapisseries de Vertumne et Pomone', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 48 (1999).

[21] Antonio Averlino detto il Filarete, *Trattato di architettura*, 1972. See also Vercelloni, Vercelloni, and Gallo, *Inventing the Garden*, 36–37.

are at the forefront of the developing Renaissance garden, sharing the moral aesthetic of raising civilisation back to the heights of antiquity, with inexhaustive, often fantastical, features.[22] This moral aesthetic is heightened further in the *Hypnerotomachia* due to the mystagogic narrative in which the gardens are situated, making them a complex loci of symbolic compartmentalised spatial areas.

Fig. 6.4) Ridge and furrows in the garden beds of a late fifteenth-century edition of De'Crescenzi's *Libro di Agricoltura*, (Venice 1495), c.121r
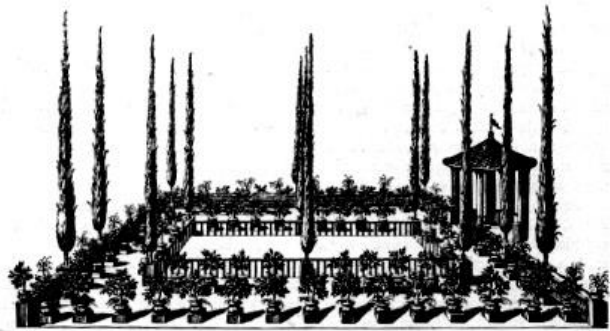
Fig. 6.5) Print by Johann Christoph Volkamer, 'Roof Garden at Verona' (1708), The Morton Arboretum
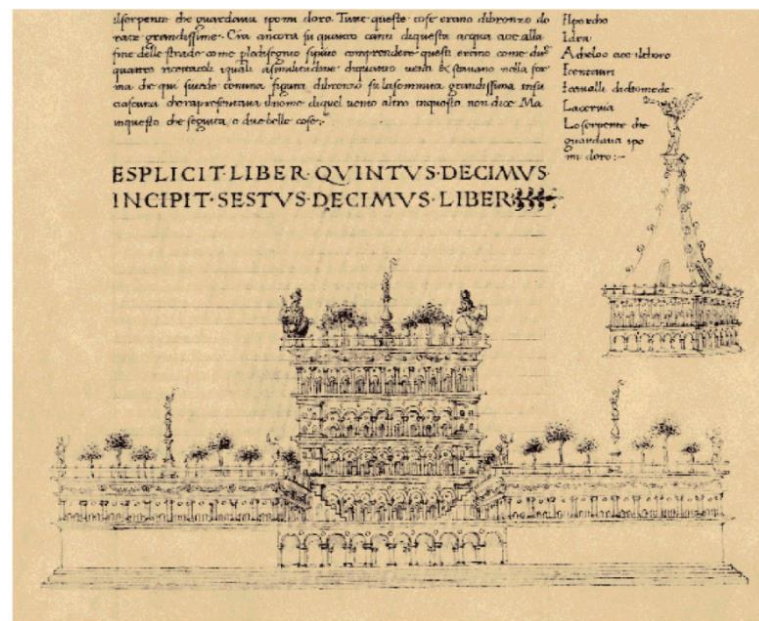
Fig. 6.6) Filarete, rooftop gardens Trattato d' architettura by Filarete (1460-1464)

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[22] Hubertus Gunther, 'Society in Filarete's "Libro Architettonico" between Realism, Ideal, Science Fiction and Utopia', *Arte Lombarda*, no. 155 (1) (2009): 56.

The most obvious connection to the geometric design of Eleuterylida is Filarete's ideal city of Sforzinda, which is designed on an eight-pointed star, referring to the Vitruvian eight prevailing winds, and is a geometrically-ordered, rational, hygienic city. The text of Sforzinda also bears similarity to the *Hypnerotomachia* in its unfolding like a fiction with narratological rhetoric centred around the unearthing of an antique book of architectural wisdom, in which the mise-en-abyme grants antique knowledge. The two squares placed over each other to make the city's design of an eight-pointed star draws a parallel with the two separate squares in Eleuterylida, at the centre of which is the centrally positioned palace that is, like the Roman forum, the judicial seat of power and spiritual authority, embellished with colonnades and broad avenues.

Filarete's palazzo-centred labyrinth-garden is one of the more obvious connections to the labyrinth-garden of Eleuterylida in subject and in architectonic garden space. Filarete's tower of Vice and Virtue focuses on the importance of the social body's morality, functioning on the principle of ascension through virtue, moving from the mundane base of the tower to the realm of the intellect and the soul at the top, where there is an astronomical observatory.[23] This journey of ascension within an architectural context echoes the spiral staircase Poliphilo ascends to observe the colossal water-labyrinth, describing a cosmological and earthly journey of the soul from birth to death. Indeed, three of Filarete's labyrinths are positioned beside castles as private aristocratic spaces, similar to Eleuterylida's palace.[24]

Regarding the element of the fantastical, there is also an echo in Eleuterylida of the highly-elaborate centrally placed hospital within the paradisiacal countryside that surrounds Sforzinda. As we can see from Figure 6 Eleuterylida, set amid beautiful countryside, is designed on a cross plan of equilateral squares, to the far left of which is a labyrinth-garden designed by squaring the circle

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[23] Filarete, *Trattato di architettura*, 209. See also Hubertus Fischer, 'Utopia, Science and Garden Art in the Early Modern Era | SpringerLink' (Gardens, Knowledge and the Sciences in the Early Modern Period. Trends in the History of Science, Birkhäuser, Cham, 2016). On the relationship between edifice and nature see Roswitha Stewering, *Architektur und Natur in der "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" (Manutius 1499) und Die Zuschreibung des Werkes an Niccolo Lelio Cosmico* (Hamburg: Lit-Ver., 1996); Tracey Eve Winton, 'A Skeleton Key to Poliphilo's Dream : The Architecture of the Imagination in the Hypnerotomachia' (Ph.D., University of Cambridge, 2002).

[24] S. Lang, 'Sforzinda, Filarete and Filelfo', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 35 (1972): 393.

on a grandiose scale and, like Filarete's, it has a tower at its centre. Furthermore, the square schemata draws comparison with Filarete's ecclesiastical designs based on the Greek cross plans, such as the market church and Benedictine monastery (Figures 6.7-9).[25]
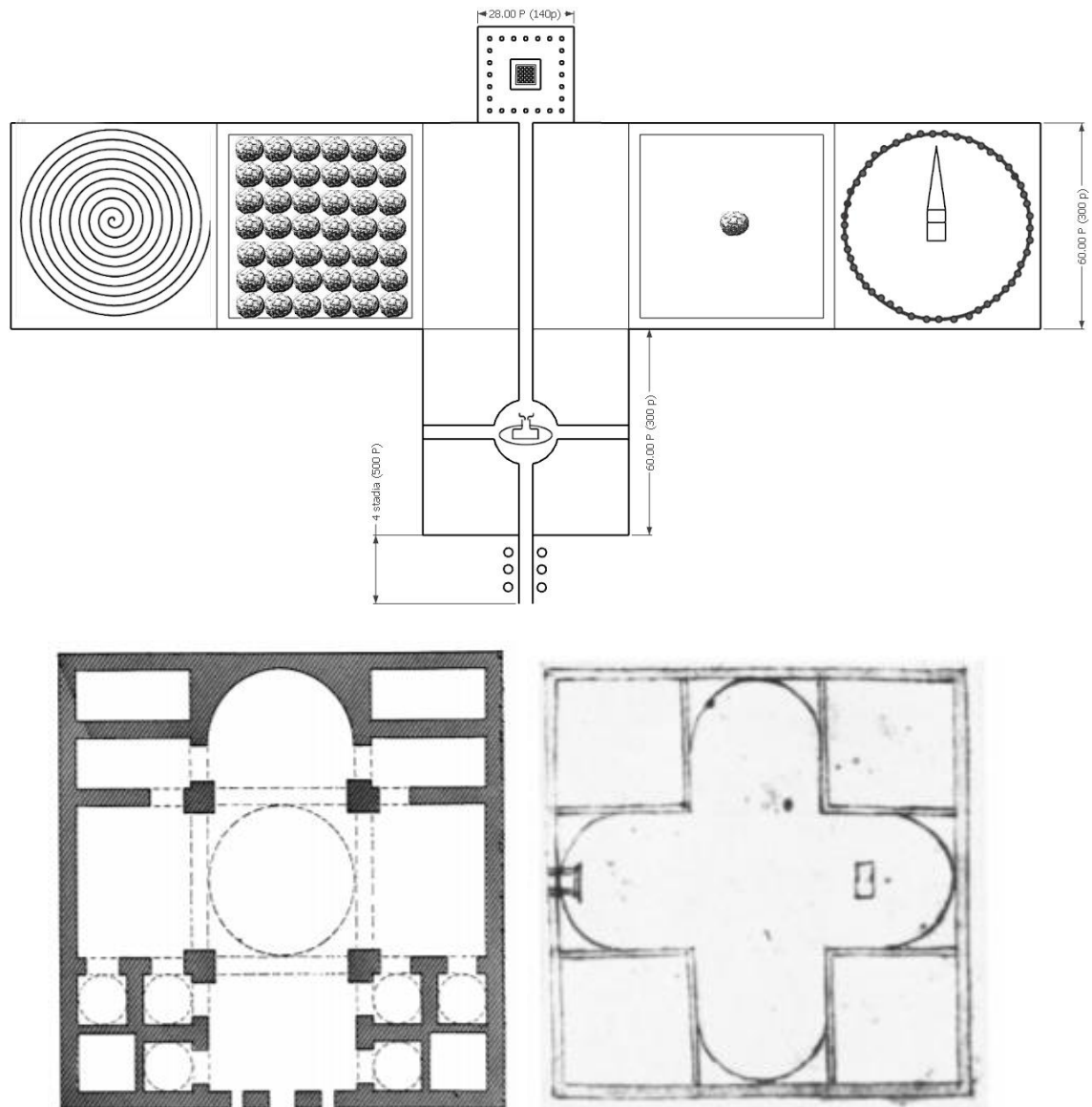
Fig. 6.7) Plan of the Eleuterylida gardens *Fig. 6.8)* Redrawn plan of a Benedictine monastery *Fig. 6.9)* Plan of a market church

Filarete describes in Sforzinda a castle with an interior courtyard at the centre of a park that has a walled garden around the architectural site.[26] He establishes a broad expanse of nature that

[25] John R. Spencer, 'Filarete and Central-Plan Architecture', Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 17, no. 3 (1958): 13.
[26] John Dixon Hunt, *A World of Gardens* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 30–31. See also Tessa Morrison, *Unbuilt Utopian Cities 1460 to 1900: Reconstructing Their Architecture and Political Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 2016), 24–27.

has been designed and ordered for the benefit of health and enjoyment. Similarly, the spatial compartmentalisation, use of geometry, and insistence on motion as a means of experience and cognitive reflection draws comparison to the Eleuterylidian gardens.

The garden at Villa Quaracchi described in Giovanni Rucellai's *Zibaldone* (Figure 6.10) reveals a similarly geometric and large garden where Alberti's principal of *concinnitas* establishes a balance in the variety and division of space. For instance:[27]

> A fish-breeding pool extending twenty yards long and twelve yards wide, all walled around and full of fish. Around this pool are numbers of green pines … there is a hillock, with evergreen pines and shrubs (juniper, strawberry trees, bay, broom and box), eight yards high and it runs a hundred yards below and fifty above, with paths leading around in the centre of the mount.[28]

Motion in Rucellai's description and in the *Hypnerotomachia* is created by the spatial configuration, necessitating walking in order to enjoy the design. In Eleuterylida, *concinnitas* configures the space through the symmetry of the gardens to the left and right, based upon equilateral squares.[29] Balance is created through the duplication in size of each of the four areas, which are populated with the most inventive of the author's garden creations. We observe a balanced and symmetrical outline of area positioned within the composition of a cross and ordered by the same measurements, echoing the *numurus*, *finitio* and *colocatio* that comprise Alberti's concept of *concinnitas*.

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[27] A Florentine merchant, friend, and patron of Alberti. For an overview of the Quattrocento garden emerging from central Italy see Shepherd, Shepherd, and Jellicoe, *Italian Gardens of the Renaissance*.

[28] Giovanni Rucellai, *A Translation with Critical Commentary of Giovanni Rucellai's Zibaldone Quaresimale* (Melbourne: Monash University, 1983), 2–22.

[29] Caspar Pearson, *Humanism and the Urban World: Leon Battista Alberti and the Renaissance City* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 171–73.
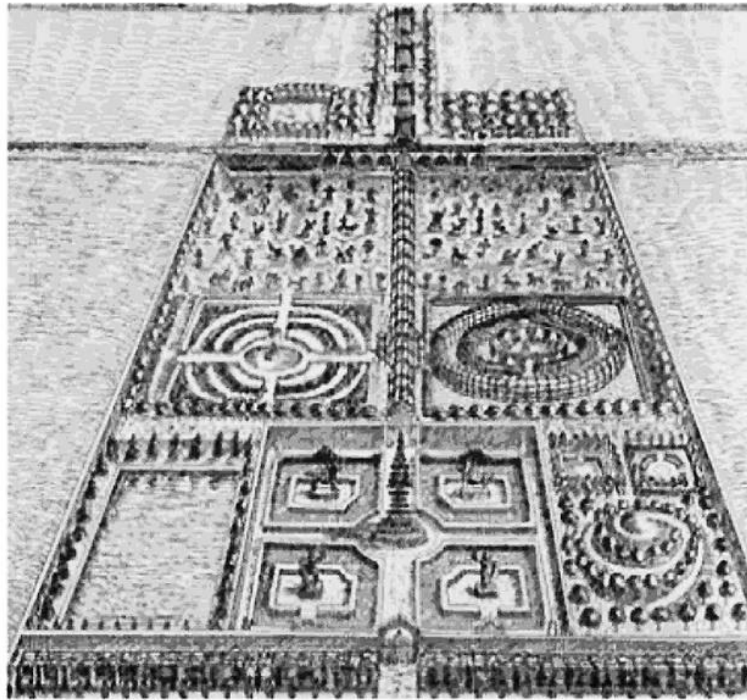
Fig. 6.10) Villa Quaracchi, imagined depiction, from Grazia Gobbi Sica, *The Florentine Villa: Architecture, History, Society* (London: Routledge, 2007): 66.

Lastly, with regards to the view, Alberti's suggestions of harmonious views between garden and building are further reflected here.[30] Through the direct pathways leading from one side of the four gardens to the palace and courtyard there is a similar idea at play. Alberti's garden resembles an edifice to be constructed for the purpose of aesthetic enjoyment, where the tunnels of greenery and shaded trees enclose the garden walker. Similarly, in the *Hypnerotomachia*, the garden is treated as an edifice, and for Poliphilo becomes like an edifice of the intellect.[31]

Gardens of Cytherea

By Telosia Poliphilo's journey now thematically explores the experience of love, transitioning from walking as the impetus for knowledge (the means of narratological advancement) in the previous gardens of Eleuterylida and for morality in the first realm. Motion is thus transposed from the

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[30] On the 'infusion' between garden and architecture see Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance*, 52.

[31] Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto, *Medici Gardens: From Making to Design* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 93; Catherine King, 'Making Histories, Publishing Theories', in *Making Renaissance Art*, ed. Kim Woods, Carol M. Richardson, and Angeliki Lymberopoulou (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 257.

reflective and conceptual to the purely experiential.[32] Walking, in Telosia, is the vehicle of experiencing love, and is the final mystagogic step to initiation. For instance, on first entering Telosia, here in the topography, Poliphilo exclaims:

> Excessivamente il mio tenero core d'amorose punctiture percosso, non intendo si io delirava che cusì rimansi stupefacto in che modo da gli ochii mei et cusì repente il gratissimo consortio evanescente disparve. Diqué, quasi fora di me et quasi rapto, alquanto io gli ochii levando, et ecco dinanti ad me vedo solo una artificiosa pergula di floroso gelsamino, cum procera incurvatione, depicta per tutto degli sui adorabili flosculi del triplice colore commixti.

> (Excessively wounded in my tender heart by the pricks of love, I do not know whether I was delirious as I stood there, stupefied by the way my gracious company had vanished instantly before my very eyes. I was beside myself and in a kind of rapture as I raised my eyes a little and saw before me an artificial pergola of flowering jasmine, its high arch decked all over with fragrant flowers, with the three colours mingled together.) (HP, 141).

The language conveys the heightened state of Poliphilo's inner experience. On the one hand, the space is a place of combining natural beauty with artistic ingenuity, and also a place to walk through and experience fully with 'gratissimo consortio' [gracious company.] The space necessitates motion, it requires it as its features are only enjoyed and experienced through walking, but it is not for the advancement in morality of knowledge here, but the experience of 'rapto' [rapture], the experience of love which Poliphilo will more fully experience when journeying to the island of Venus Cytherea on the boat of eros.

The island of Cytherea consists of three disc spaces, or *semitertios* a mile in diameter, as Poliphilo narrates: 'il circuito di questa delitiosa et amoenissima insula di curcummensuratione constava di tre milliarii: la figura dilla quale di uno millario il suo diametro praestava, il quale in divisione tripartio' [Its circuit measured three miles around, and it was a mile in diameter, which was divided into three parts]. In the centre of which is Venus's theatre and fountain, where the circularity of the utopia may represent Plato's description of Atlantis and his three degrees of love: *siccitas*, *umiditas*, *amoenitas*.[33]

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[32] Sean McDowell, 'The View from the Interior: The New Body Scholarship in Renaissance/Early Modern Studies', *Literature Compass* 3, no. 4 (2006): 780. On 'rapture' and the cult of the saints see Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, 22.

[33] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:971–75; Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, 33b.

Each *semitertio* is divided into 20 equal parts, as Poliphilo explains: 'vidi, per deductione de linee dal centro alla circunferentia litorea in aequipartitione xx' [I could see that the lines drawn from the centre to the surrounding shore made a division of twenty equal parts] by fences, from the jasper trellis dividing the inner and middle *semitertios* to the outer edge.[34] The circular gardens sit one inside the other as opposed to Eleuterylida's grid of equilateral squares on a cross plan, meaning that, with regards to walking and narrative, Poliphilo does not explore each area individually in a compartmentalised fashion as in Eleuterylida, but by weaving to the central area he experiences the entirety of Cytherea's three parts, unlike his specific isolated experiences in the previous realm: 'il quale in divisione tripartio' [(the islands diameter) was divided into three parts] (Figure 6.11).[35] Each of the three *semitertios* are 'passi 166 et palmi 10 occupava' [166 *passi*, and 10 *palmi*] in width, making a diameter of 333 *passi* per *semitertio*, or 1665 feet, in width, as he explains: 'uno tertio 333 passi continiva'.[36] Using a *passi* as 5 feet and a *palmi* as 3 inches, we have 832.5 feet per sixth of a diameter, making the mile in question 4995 or 999 *passi*.[37] The sum area of the first *semitertio* is therefore 10,886,527.6 feet^2 making each of the 20 divisions of each grove approximately an enormous mean of 544,326.38 feet^2.

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[34] *Hypnerotomachia*, 293.
[35] *Hypnerotomachia*, 311.
[36] *Hypnerotomachia*, 311.
[37] *Hypnerotomachia*, 473.

Fig. 6.11) Outer gardens. Red line: from the laurel to the gumtree groves. Blue line: returning halfway and straight down to the theatre through the three garden rings, the middle gardens and inner gardens. Green line: from the theatre to the Garden of Adonis
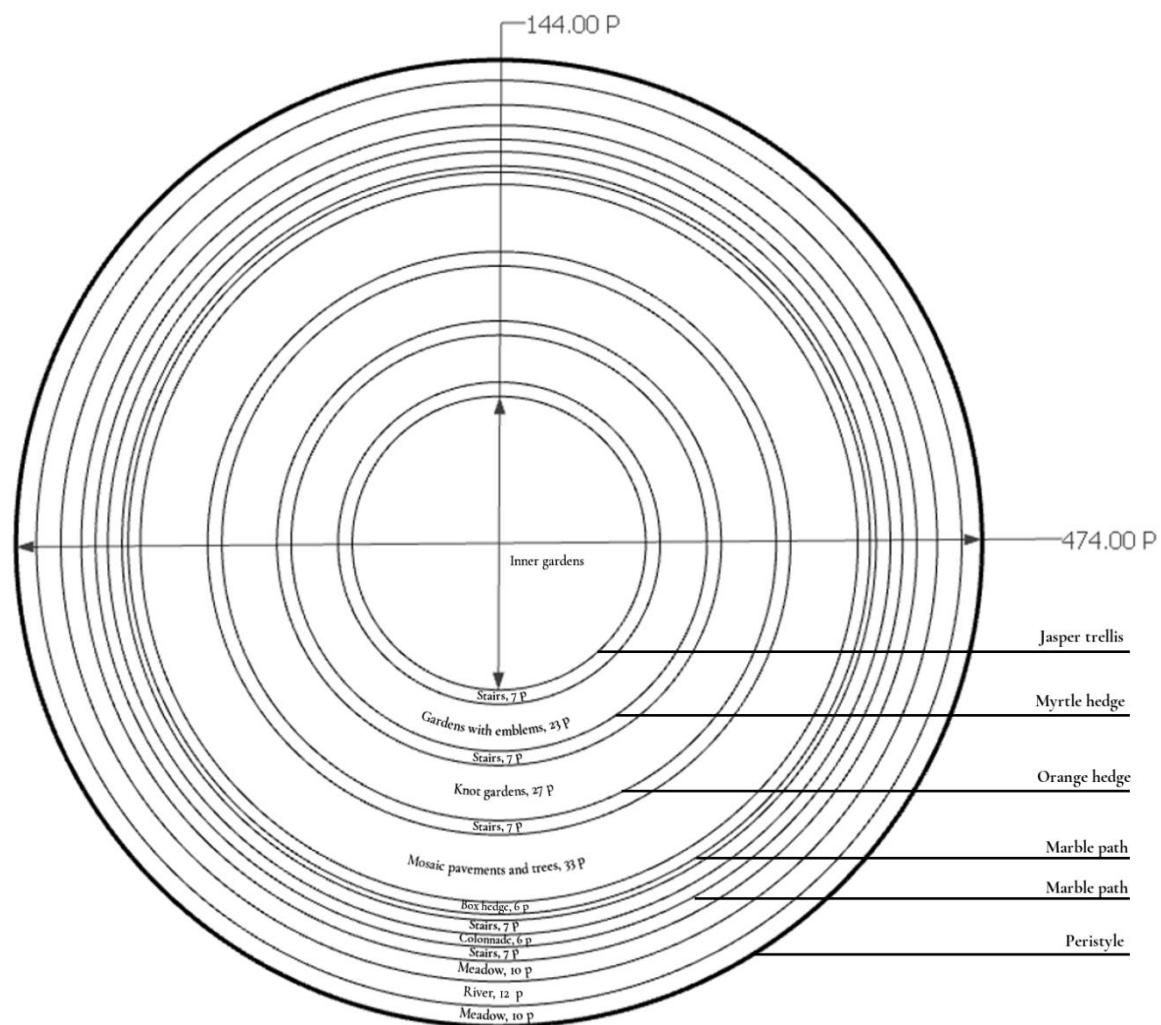
Fig. 6.12) Middle gardens
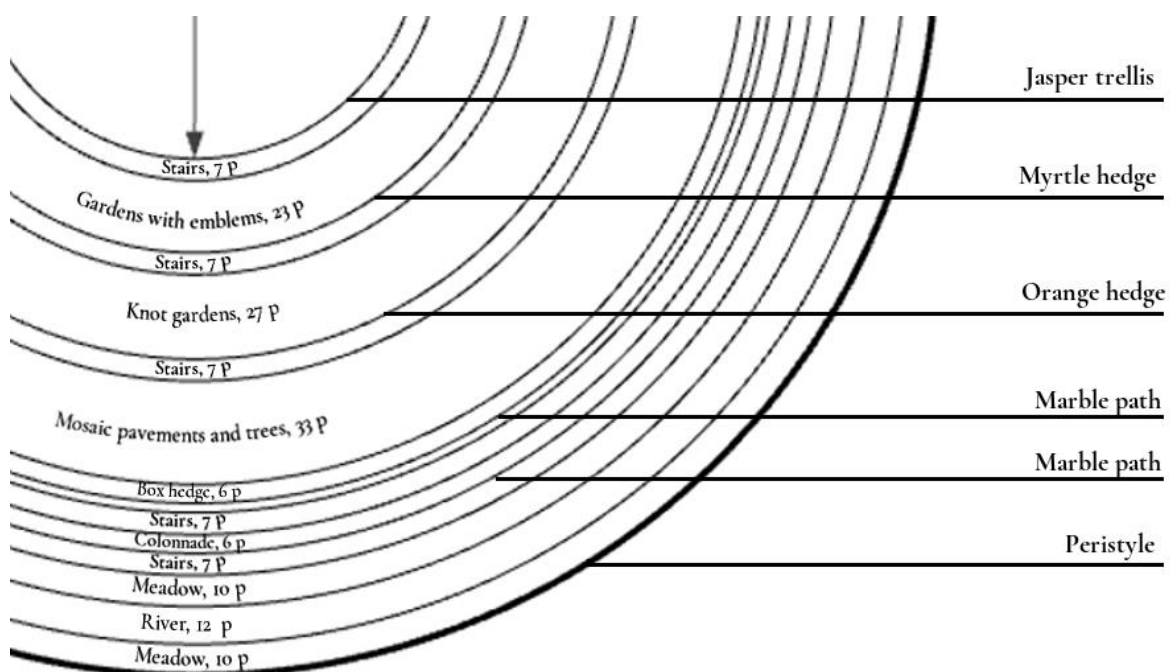
Fig. 6.13) Detail of Middle gardens

Jasper trellis

Circular forest of rare trees

7 stairs = 7 p

Colonnade

Amphitheatre
and fountain of
Venus

48 P

25 P   16 P   16 P   25 P

The triumphal way
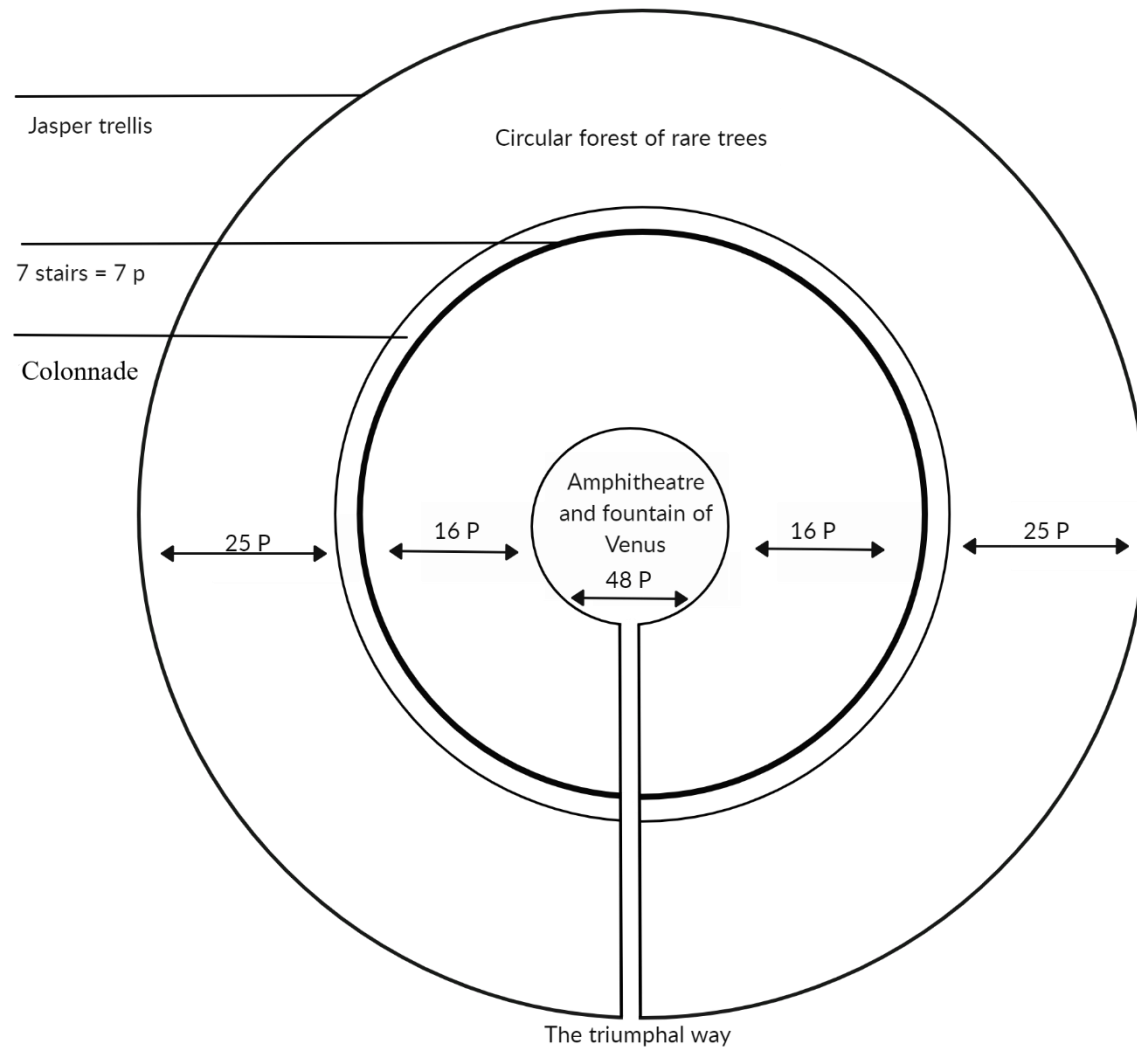
Fig. 6.14) Inner gardens

The middle *semitertio* equals a sum area of 653,917.6 feet^2, making each of the 20 grove divisions

an approximate mean of 32,695.88 feet^2, making each division of the three rings approximately

10,898.63 feet^2. The central *semitertio* equals a sum area of 2177305 feet^2, creating a total sum area

of 19,595,749.6 feet^2 for the island of Cytharea. Consequently, Poliphilo's experience of travelling

through the gardens is vast, and to explore fully could take days, yet the narration of walking is in

fact minimal where the use of *elipses* allows the narration to focus on details of the botanical

arrangements and less on the real-time narration of walking, indeed, he explores the island in what

feels to be but a few long moments (Figures 6.11-14).

As Poliphilo lists the groves of trees that populate the outer *semitertio* 'non sencia maxima voluptate mirai et una silvecula di nuce castanee … erano dunque quivi et silvule et di nobilissimi cotonei overo cydonei' [with great pleasure I now admired a little wood of chestnut trees … there was next a grove of noble quice trees] we understand that he indeed travels through each of the first 20 divisions of the outer *semitertio*, describing each grove of tree, before moving down the middle of the island as far as the theatre of Venus.[38] Given the dimensions, there is an implication of travelling over five miles, a walking time of perhaps two hours, a feeling we do not get from the text (Figure 24 displays the path walked by Poliphilo, the initial part being over three miles).

However, after describing walking from the groves of trees in the outer garden, through the three rings of fields and gardens, the three rings of meadows, a river, six flights of seven stairs, a colonnade, marble paths, a box hedge, mosaic pavement, and through various knot gardens to the jasper trellis, it transpires that Poliphilo has only just disembarked from the boat and is only on the outer edge of the outer gardens. The narration, implying walking from one space to another, has been imagined, and the process of realistic travel writing is replaced by a metaphysical model of observation. This is an important inclusion for this is the only instance of narrating an observation that was not physically accessed. It is also in this imaginary act of garden-walking that he says, 'facile è dunque che le seconde operatrice faci secundo il primo operante' [one could easily believe it to be made by the secondary powers, following the first mover], generating a simile with the Aristotelian divine powers of the prime mover, thus emphasising the disembodied act of movement he has experienced on the island.[39] The island, comprised entirely of gardens, is an enormous expanse of botanical ingenuity and symbolises a metaphor for the refinement of the soul through horticultural creativity and refinement, to an extent unseen in the narrative.

There are copious details of the island, listing paths, streams, pergolas, and steps, to illustrate a highly landscaped and refined colossal garden space. For instance, speaking of the garden design

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[38] *Hypnerotomachia*, 296.
[39] *Hypnerotomachia*, 298.

in the fields that lie after the groves of trees, he describes: 'Sotto le opere topiarie et pergule le strate silicate erano di più excellente silicate di facture che unique accessorio essere nello ingegnio humano et cogitato' [Beneath the topiary works and pergolas, the stone paths were the best example of paving that could ever be achieved by human ingenuity and invention].[40] The botanical designs and population of the island has trifold purposes: firstly, with regards to aesthetics, there is a vying with classical literary sources, such as Pliny the Younger's description of shaded paths bordered with hedges, ornamental parterres, fountains, trees and bushes trimmed to geometric and pleasing shapes, which finds its echo in the pleasant, varied parts of Cytherea.[41] The meaning of the garden was of a place of tranquil retreat, or 'otium', and in direct opposition to the exterior, urban spaces that may be classified as 'negotium.' For Allain and Christiany, these gardens were a place to relax, retreat and to think.[42] It is in this literary tradition that the botanical specimens of the *Hypnerotomachia* are used.

One annotator of the *Hypnerotomachia* observes (somewhat incorrectly) that all the plants listed in the text can be found in the 25th chapter of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*.[43] Pliny the Elder cites numerous lost Roman authors as sources for his information, the antiquity of which certainly excited the author of the *Hypnerotomachia*.[44] The importance of botanical knowledge for Pliny was its health benefits, and he quotes an example of the garden of Antonius Castor who lived beyond 100 due to the cultivation of certain plants in his garden.[45] Indeed, Carole Rawcliffe observes that hospitals and monasteries offered their inhabitants restorative leisure and relaxation within their protective walls, while Peter Murray Jones regards herbs as the most integral part of medieval therapeutics.[46] This contextualises the use of botany in *Cytherea* in a healing and leisurely purpose.

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[40] *Hypnerotomachia*, 307.
[41] Patrick Bowe, *Gardens of the Roman World* (New York: Getty Publications, 2004), 51.
[42] Yves-Marie Allain and Janine Christiany, *L'Art des jardins en Europe* (Paris: Citadelles & Mazenod, 2006), 132.
[43] Russell, '"Many Other Things Worthy of Knowledge and Memory": The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and Its Annotators, 1499-1700'; Rhizopoulou, 'On the Botanical Content of Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', 197.
[44] Sara Myers, 'Representations of Gardens in Roman Literature', in *Gardens of the Roman Empire*, ed. Wilhelmina F. Jashemski et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 259.
[45] Roy Gibson and Ruth Morello, *Pliny the Elder: Themes and Contexts* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 119.
[46] Carole Rawcliffe, '"Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles": Gardens and Health in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', *Garden History* 36, no. 1 (2008): 6; Peter Murray Jones, 'Herbs and the Medieval Surgeon', in *Health*

Secondly, the naturalistic and symbolic purposes may be considered alongside one another. For instance, on the one hand, the riparian plants that grow along the shore of the river in the *selva oscura*, such as *imperatoria* [masterwort] and *loosenstrife* [lisimachia] (see appendix, tab. 1) make a naturalistic display of common riverbank plants, besides *anagyro* [bean-trefoil], *lentisco* [mastic], *cynocephalo* [dog's-head], *silphion* [silphium], *smylace* [bindweed], and *centaurea* [centaury], are shrubs and plants which naturally grow in hot Mediterranean landscapes and present the author's botanical knowledge and desire to create realistic topography with by appropriately placed plants.

On the other hand, there is a symbolic listing of plants to create atmosphere and to serve the narrative, such as as *fraxino* [ash] *ulmi* [elm] *querce* [oak] or *ursica* [nettle], *iunci* [reed] and *scirpi* [rush] (see Appendix. 2. tab. 1) placed in the *selva oscura* that do not bear a clear individual significance within the narrative, but as they are collectively placed tightly beside each other they create a fearful atmosphere (Appendix. 2. Table 1). This is in contrast to the more beautiful display of plants and trees in Eleuterylida, through the population of trees such as *pomi* [apple], *coryli* [hazel], *aquifolia* [ilex (holly)], *smilace* [ilex (yew)], and *populi* [poplar], albeit, amidst occasional larger specimens such as *fraxini* [ash] and *cupressi* [cypress] (see Appendix. 2. tab. 3) besides *edera* [ivy], lilii *convallii/nymphea* [lily of the valley/water lily], and *myrtho* [myrtle], and citrus fruits such as *limoni* [lemons] and *naranci* [oranges] (Appendix. 2. Table 3) all of which collectively beautify the landscaped travelled through.

In Telosia, where there was already apple, orange, lemon and banana in Eleuterylida, there is now also *caprifici parata* [fig], tillie [lime], besides the *pistacii* [pistachio] and *meli catoni* [quince] demonstrating the most fruiting realm within the narrative. To this visual aesthetic is added aromatic trees and plants such as the distinctive smelling tree *cedri* [cedar] which appears only twice in the narrative, firstly in the topography of Telosia, and secondly in the first *semitertio* of the Cytherean gardens in Telosia. There is *citri* [citron] *basilico* [basil], *chariophyllaceo* [carnation] *sticados*

and Healing from the Medieval Garden, ed. Peter Dendle and Alain Touwaide (New York: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), 162; Liz Herbert McAvoy, 'The Medieval Hortus Conclusus: Revisiting the Pleasure Garden', *Medieval Feminist Forum* 50, no. 1 (July 2014): 6; Jerry Stannard, 'Alimentary and Medicinal Uses of Plants in Medieval Gardens', *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture* 9 (1986): 72.

[lavender] *amaraco* [marjoram] *idiosmo* [mint] which further emphasise the olfactible element which completes the sensory immersive experience of nature in Telosia (see Appendix 2. tab. six) (this is further noted in the aromatic plants that populated the Garden of Adonis (Tables 9-10)). Telosia is at once the most sensorially immersive experience whilst reflecting, through its botanical population and its metaphor of Poliphilo's own refinement, the most refined state of interiority and metaphysics.

The series of plants, trees and flowers on the island of Venus Cytherea includes numerous real and historic botanical items known to the author and presented through systematic groupings, a collection of comments by the author on philosophical garden arrangement. The listed plants are most likely lifted from the *Carrara Herbal*, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* or else Roccabonella's *Liber de simplicibus* and serve to give, within compartmentalised spaces, a picture of a near sum knowledge of the names of Medieval and early Renaissance botany. Here, the flower arrangements in the raised beds, as Rhizopoulou has observed, are grouped on account of their flower colour, such as for the choice of yellow, *melilotus* [sweet clover] and *ranunculus* [crowfoot]; for blue Poliphilo narrates *euphraisa* [centaury], or for azure he cites *sclareola* [chicory], and *vincapervinca* [periwinkle]; for white he cites *myrtho* [myrtle] and *lilium convallium* [lily-of-the-valley]; and for purple, he cites *lisimachia* [loosestrife] demonstrating a further development of aesthetic beautification of botany.[47]

The symbolic use of individual botanical specimens in the *Hypnerotomahica* is dependant on the narrative stage Poliphilo is currently in. For instance, the *moly* is located in the nameless first realm when Poliphilo strives to free himself from the constraints of the senses, and used by Odysseus as an antidote against Circe's poisonous drugs, indicating that in this stage of the narrative that is concerned with moral perfectionism, it is used for its similar usage in the narrative. Similarly, The *cervicello* is referred to by Robert Darlington as 'like to Angelica, but not in smell', referred to by Pliny as *elaphovoscon*, from the Greek *elaphóboskon*, 'plant eaten by deer as an antidote against the

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[47] Rhizopoulou, 'On the Botanical Content of Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', 192.

bite of snakes', which seems to be the 'parsnip' or '*pastinaca sativa.*'[48] It is placed after the *selva oscura*

in the valley of healing plants as an expression of the state of interior development and healing

sufficiently occurred within Poliphilo's *anima* through the humanist notion of self-perfectionism.

The theme of crude nature into man-refined perfection is also completed in the botany of

Telosia where we observe the merit of Grazia Gobbi's description of the *Hypnerotomachian* gardens

as 'heralding a new trend' through the use of plants as architectural materials, employed with trees

and bushes for sculptural purposes.[49] This notion is observed in the many variety of topiary and

box-tree that are used as sculptural details around the island, as he explains: 'Ultra poscia de questo

descripto primo ordine di vireto verso all'insulare centro, nel secondo ordine nel mediano dill'area,

in loco dilla specula mirai uno spectatissimo excogito di buxi in artificioso topiaro' [After this first

range of greenery, which I have described, going toward the centre into the second range, I saw in

the middle of a field, in place of the pavilion, a remarkable creation made of box-trees by artificial

topiary] demonstrating the importance of smaller, man-refined botanical items such as laurel, box-

tree and plane-tree as a metaphor for the final stage of botanical transformation, reflecting

Poliphilo's own final state of transformation.[50]

A number of documents record the evolution of the design of the parterres and the plants they

contained, ranging from the geometric plans reproduced in the *Hypnerotomachia*, where marjoram,

thyme, and other aromatic herbs are grown together with primulas and violets, to the flowerbeds

illustrated by Serlio in his *Quarto Libro*, printed in Venice in 1542, to those of the botanical garden

in Padua described by Parro in a guide dated 1591.[51] Indeed, the *Carrara Herbal*, written in Padua

in the later fourteenth century, contains entries on 365 plants, while the author lists 285 plants,

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[48] See Robert Darlington, *Hypnerotomachia* (1592): g21. See Semler, 'Robert Dallington's "Hypnerotomachia" and the Protestant Antiquity of Elizabethan England', 233.
[49] Grazia Gobbi Sica, *The Florentine Villa: Architecture History Society* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 71.
[50] *Hypnerotomachia*, 302.
[51] Giacomo Antonio Cortusi, *L'horto dei semplici di Padova (etc.)* (Padua: Girolamo Porro, 1592); John Dixon Hunt, *The Italian Garden: Art, Design and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 100.

indicating the extent of knowledge and the aim of creating an encyclopaedia of botanical specimens, either symbolically or aesthetically, in future Renaissance gardens.[52]

The variety of symbolism is also evident. For instance, in Telosia, we see the *cupressi* [cypress], symbolic from classicism as a funerary symbol, denoting the end of Poliphilo's previous life and the beginning of the new; the pine, as well as also being a funerary symbol, also represents immortality; and *smilace* [smilax], from Ovid's metamorphosis, symbolic of transformation.[53] While *cupressi* [cypress], *lauro* [laurel], *buxi* [box-tree] and *platini* [plane tree] (noted above) likely taken from Pliny the Younger, are used for their symbolic aesthetic representation, *sandalo* [sandalwood], synonymous with red, represents the blood of Venus, and there is a similar use of vermillion, representing the red fire of Venus' love.[54]

Regarding the symbolic design of the island garden, the outer gardens of Telosia are original to the author, with no previous account of concentric gardens in medieval agricultural manuals, yet historic accounts of circular gardens would have been known to him.[55] Theodore Hyrtakenos describes the sacred imaginary garden of Saint Anna in the Byzantine text *Ecphrasis in Paradisum S. Annae*, in ekphrastic style, from the outside to the centre (Figures 6.14-15). Deniz Kural observes a similarity between Cytherea and Saint Anna, possibly based on circular gardens in Constantinople, which Hyrtakenos may have seen and which may have informed his design, reinforcing the possible connection between Byzantine and Venetian gardens.[56]

[52] Sarah R. Kyle, *Medicine and Humanism in Late Medieval Italy: The Carrara Herbal in Padua* (Abington: Taylor and Francis, 2016), 3.

[53] Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*, 2:979–1010.

[54] Ariani and Gabriele, 2:581, 984.

[55] Sylvia Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 11–13.

[56] Deniz Çaliş Kural, 'Three Circular Gardens in Venice and Constantinople/Istanbul in the Context of Early Modern Mediterranean Cross-Cultural Exchange', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 38, no. 2 (2018): 66–67.
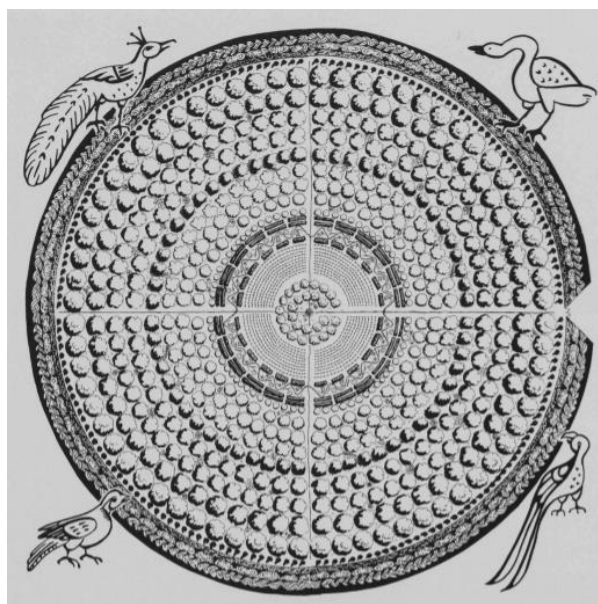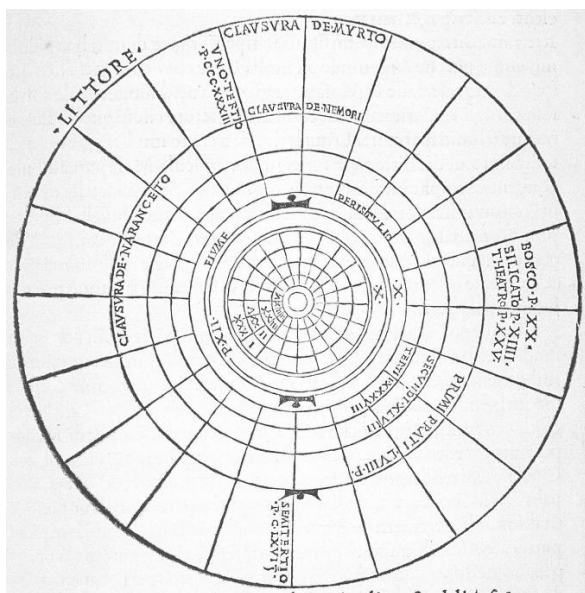
Fig. 6.15) Illustration of the island of Cytherea   *Fig. 6.16)* The circular garden of Saint Anna: A contemporary reconstruction drawing after the Byzantine writer Theodore Hyrtakenos' fourteenth century description of the Garden of St. Anna, as examined and studied by Mary L. Dolezal and Maria Mavroudi, and drawn by Kate McGee, printed in Mary-Lyon Dolezal and Maria Mavroudi, 'Theodore Hyrtakenos' Description of the Garden of St. Anna and the Ekphrasis of Gardens' in Anthony Littlewood, Henry Maguire, et al (eds.) *Byzantine Garden Culture* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), pp. 105–158: p. 114; and B. Deniz Çalış Kural (2018) *Three circular gardens in Venice and Constantinople/Istanbul in the context of early modern Mediterranean cross-cultural exchange*, Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes, 38:2, p. 160.

A further likeness of this *giardino paradiso,* or *temenos,* is with Venetian cosmographs, such as the depictions by Erhard Ratdolt and Johannes Lucilius Santritter (Venice, 1482 and 1483 respectively) of Johannes Sacrobosco's celestial treatise (Figures 6.16-17), portraying an association between Cytherea and the heavens.[57] To the east of the island, referencing the rising sun, the origins in Eden, and the most sacred geographical and cosmographical direction, is the *hortus conclusus* dedicated to Adonis, symbolic, through the term's source in the song of songs, of purity and love.[58]

The placement for the Garden of Adonis also bears a symbolic relationship with Poliphilo's transformation in relation to its geographic location. We can gain a placement for the location based on the rout Polihilo describes:

> Et per la sancta insula, le quale erano virente di perenne et vernea foliatura … hora per le suave umbre dille arboroso strate di florida vincapervinca coperte cum il culmo di opera

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[57] Segre, 'Untangling the Knot', 83; Gilles Polizzi, 'L'intégration du modèle: le Poliphile et le discours du jardin dans la Recepte véritable', *Albineana, Cahiers d'Aubigné* 4, no. 1 (1992): 68.

[58] Bryan C. Keene and Alexandra Kaczenski, *Sacred Landscapes: Nature in Renaissance Manuscripts* (New York: Getty Publications, 2017), 75; Bryan Daley, 'The "Closed Garden" and "Sealed Fountain": Song of Songs 4: 12', in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986).

topiara … gaudiosamente ad uno limpidissimo et sacrato fonte di una larga scatebra manante pervenissimo'

(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 … Sometimes we passed through the pleasant shade of arbours paved with flowering periwinkle under a roof of topiary work … and so we arrived gaily at a limpid and sacred spring that bubbled forth plentifully.) (HP, 369-71)

The walking rout describes 'traversing the holy island' and walking beneath pergolas, through meadows characterising the middle *semitertio* and groves characterising the outer *semitertio*. Secondly, given the symbolic placement of all things in the text, it is unlikely the Poliphlo would be led on the left-hand path, going west, but rather the right-hand path going east, associated with Eden, the Heavens and directional-sacrality. And as the garden is surrounded by a grove of trees, I argue we must place this garden due east, in the area defined by pine-trees (see fig. 6.11) symbolic of wisdom, longevity, death and sex (through its straight, phallic, form) (Figure 6.24). [59] The author cloaks these details with clues to heighten both the realism of narrative, where action transpires in specific geographic spaces, and the sacred, symbolic nature of the narrative's conclusion, by making the garden hidden and secret. Self-transformation is here accomplished in the fitting context of the *giardino paradiso*, drawing deliberate comparison with other literary standards of this trope.

Fig. 6.17) Johannes Sacrobosco, Sphaericum opusculum (Venice-Erhard Ratdolt, 1482), a2v

Fig. 6.18) Johannes Sacrobosco, Sphaera mundi (Venice- Joannes Lucilius Santritter and Hieronymus de Sanctis, 1488), A9v-A10r

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[59] B. L. Gordon, 'Sacred Directions, Orientation, and the Top of the Map', *History of Religions* 10, no. 3 (1971): 212.

Cytherea connotates a space beyond the usual earthly condition, emphasising the union of earthly and heavenly through love, the laying the figurative and literal groundwork for the final stage of initiation in the protective walls of the *hortus conclusus*.[60]

The Garden of Adonis

The source material for the Garden of Adonis is easier to observe through its traditionally medieval design. In certain medieval gardens, Attlee observes designs inspired by literary descriptions of gardens found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in the letters of Pliny the Younger, in Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*, and in Varro's *Rerum rusticanum*. These described in detail the leisure and tranquillity of gardens in Roman villas (we may observe a Roman social response to the garden in the image of a Roman resting in the fields of Elysium on a sarcophagus lid at Ostia (Figure 6.19)).[61] While the size and design are the most medieval form of Poliphilian garden, the Roman source material, positioned at the climax of the narrative, demonstrates the author's joint medieval-humanist background and displays the spiritual weight attributed to classical literature.

[60] Consider Husserl's notion of phenomenology as means of understanding Poliphilo's experiences, in Edmund Husserl, *The Idea of Phenomenology: A Translation of Die Idee Der Phänomenologie Husserliana II* (New York: Springer, 2013), 12; Edmund Husserl, *Formal and Transcendental Logic* (New York: Springer, 2013), 150.
[61] Attlee, *Italian Gardens*, 10; Ann Kuttner, 'Delight and Danger in Roman Water Garden: Sperlonga and Tivoli', in *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2003), 103–56; Linda Farrar, *Ancient Roman Gardens* (Cheltenham: History Press Limited, 2011); Anthony Beeson, *Roman Gardens* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing Limited, 2019), 5; Katharine T. von Stackelberg, *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense, and Society* (London: Routledge, 2009), 2; Wilhelmina F. Jashemski et al., *Gardens of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 20.

The medieval garden was enclosed by walls, with areas devoted to growing vegetables, fruits and medicinal herbs or, in the case of monastery gardens, for prayer.[62] The garden that Poliphilo describes here is medieval, echoing the Roman leisure garden in the inventive extent of decoration to create a beautiful, small area for relaxation and leisure purposes.[63] Pietro de'Crescenzi's thirteenth-century Latin treatise on agriculture, *Liber ruralium commodorum*, which had a wide circulation from 1305 to 1478 (Figures 6.20-22), describes the construction and design of gardens, drawing on the writings of Roman authors such as Cato, Columella, Varro and Palladius, as well as on his own experience as a country landowner. The author of the *Hypnerotomachia* would be a responsive part of its readership, developing the idyllic medieval space through an emphasis on Roman mythological subject matter, creating a garden indicative of change and transformation and suitable for a place of mystagogic initiation.[64]

Book VIII, Chapter 3 of *Liber ruralium commodorum* Piero de' Crescenzi suggests a similarity regarding the decorating of a pleasure-garden with the design of the Arbor Terrace that the author of the *Hypnerotomachia* depicts in the Garden of Adonis:

> Each of these [gardens] should be adorned with sweet-scented flowers, arbours of clipped trees, grassy lawns, and if possible, a sparkling fountain to lend joy and brightness to the scene. A pergola of vines will afford shade in the noonday heats, but in small gardens it is well to plant no trees on the lawn, and to leave the grass exposed to the pure airs and sunshine.[65]

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[62] Attlee, *Italian Gardens*, 10; Brunon, 'Du "Songe de Poliphile" à la Grande Grotte de Boboli', 18.

[63] Consider the influence on French and Tudor English knot gardens, in David Jacques, 'The Compartment System in Tudor England', *Garden History* 27, no. 1 (1999): 32–55.

[64] Lois Olson, 'Pietro De Crescenzi: The Founder of Modern Agronomy', *Agricultural History* 18, no. 1 (1944): 36; Mauro Ambrosoli, *The Wild and the Sown: Botany and Agriculture in Western Europe, 1350-1850*, 1 edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 49. See also Robert G. Calkins, 'Pietro de' Crescenzi and the Medieval Garden', in *Medieval Gardens* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 155–73; Pietro de' Crescenzi, *Il libro della agricultura* (Venice: Matteo Capasca di Codeca, 1495), 31.

[65] G. Calkins, 'Pietro de' Crescenzi and the Medieval Garden', 155–73.

Fig. 6.20 Piero de' Crescenzi (1233-1321) Liber *ruralium commodorum* 1304-09. Illuminator - Master of Fitzwilliam MS. 268 - 1470-1485. Le livre des prouffis champestres et ruraux, Book 8, Ch. 3 On pleasure gardens (folio 205v), Pierpont Morgan Library. MS M.232.

Fig. 6.21 Piero de' Crescenzi (1233-1321) Liber *ruralium commodorum* 1304-09. Illuminator - Master of Fitzwilliam MS. 268 - 1470-1485 - French. Le livre des prouffis champestres et ruraux, Book 5 On trees (folio 112v) Pierpont Morgan Library. MS M.232.

Fig. 6.22 Piero de' Crescenzi (1233-1321) *Liber ruralium commodorum* 1304-09. Title page of a vernacular translation of the De agricultura of Piero Crescentio, printed by Capcasa in Venice in 1495; Boston Public Library (Rare Books Department) copy Q.405.118.

An emphasis is placed, here, on the beauty of the lawn, where the flowering plants create a *locus amoenus*, drawing literary parallels to the idyllic gardens of *Roman de la rose*, the peaceful villa gardens of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and Alberti's *Della Famiglia* (in reference to Cicero, Horace and Pliny),

where space is created to breathe the pure air in a bright, clear atmosphere with cheerful surroundings and views, for the purposes of health.[66] The Garden of Adonis translates the association of the garden with 'good' and 'just' behaviour into the 'virtuous' and 'perfect.' Indeed, Polizzi observes that the gardens are important narrative areas bearing a cosmological significance that is absent in the *Roman de la rose*, where allegory is related to an ascending ontology, pursuing the Apuleian model.[67] This highlights how space is determined through walking as an allegory of self-transformation: as Poliphilo requires no further transformation, the narrative requires no further walking, thus the smaller garden is determined through the physical stasis in the narrative.

After the mystic consummation of marriage has taken place in the fountain of Venus's theatre, Polia and Poliphilo are led by nymphs traversing 'the holy island through the paths and ways marked out by the plantings of the fruitful gardens which were green with the perennial spring foliage, walled with hedges of box, in which every ten paces there was alternately a myrtle or a juniper …the nymphs began to lead us through these parts, holding us each by the hand …we went on joyously and tirelessly, now through flowery meadows, now through green groves circled by irrigating canals' to a hexagonal spring. Here, after being led through the inner and outer garden rings of Cytherea (Figures 12-13) – for some time we may presume – Poliphilo finally enters the Garden of Adonis, 36 paces in rectangular circumference, walled by orange, lemon and citron trees 'Al quale sacro fonte et sancto deformato hexagon et di mensura ambiente xii passi lo interno circumsepto aborario distava dal continente del fonte, cioè dagli limiti marmoracii, passi iiii et di circunferentia passi xxxvi' [The sacred spring was hexagonal in shape and twelve paces around. It was four paces from its edge (that is, from the marble rim) to the inside circle of trees; and the circumference of the latter was 36 paces.][68] This is trellised (5-feet-high) with roses woven through, and with a flat mosaic floor on the ground of the enclosed garden and the final area of the narrative.

[66] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron* (Penguin UK, 2003), 64; Leon Battista Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 21.

[67] Polizzi, 'Le Poliphile ou l'Idée du jardin', 12.

[68] *Hypnerotomachia*, 371.

In the Garden of Adonis, a place not listed on the illustrated map, we see a *hortus concluses* (Figures 6.24-25) not dissimilar in size and shape with those of the *casa* or monastic garden in Venice, Poliphilo describes the garden's small size, aesthetic and features after his transformation:

> Ornato di novelle qualitate, cum la mia praestante Polia et cum le comite nostre d'indi al sacro fonte dispartendo nui, per quella medesima porta et adito che nui intrassemo fora similmente retornassimo … Quivi, per una posticula della prope dicta medesima operatura religiosamente ingressi, nel comspecto de l'introito al fonte era una perguletta contermina, lata quanto una facia della fontana tra angulo ad angulo et levata altro tanto … longa xxii pedi, contecta di nobilissimi rosarii di vermiglio flore.

> (Our transformation now being accomplished, I left the sacred fountain together with my noble Polia and our companions, and exited by the same gateway that had admitted us… [speaking about the garden] I entered in here with awe through a little gate of the same kind work. Adjoining the entrance there was an arbour as wide as one half of the spring from corner to corner, and of equal height … It was twelve feet in length, covered with noble roses with abundant vermillion flowers.) (HP, 369-71).

Here, Poliphilo narrates the transition from the physical to the metaphysical to complete his journey and it is here where, once Polia narrates her journey, he will travel disembodied into the classical hierarchies of the Gods and Goddesses. This geographic sacrality is further emphasised by the three flowers the author uses to populate the garden: the *roasri* [rose], *serpillo* [thyme], and *vermiglio* [vermillion] (Appendix 2, tab 10) bearing connotations of love, purity and death, referencing the experience of transitioning from the physical senses to the spiritual.[69]
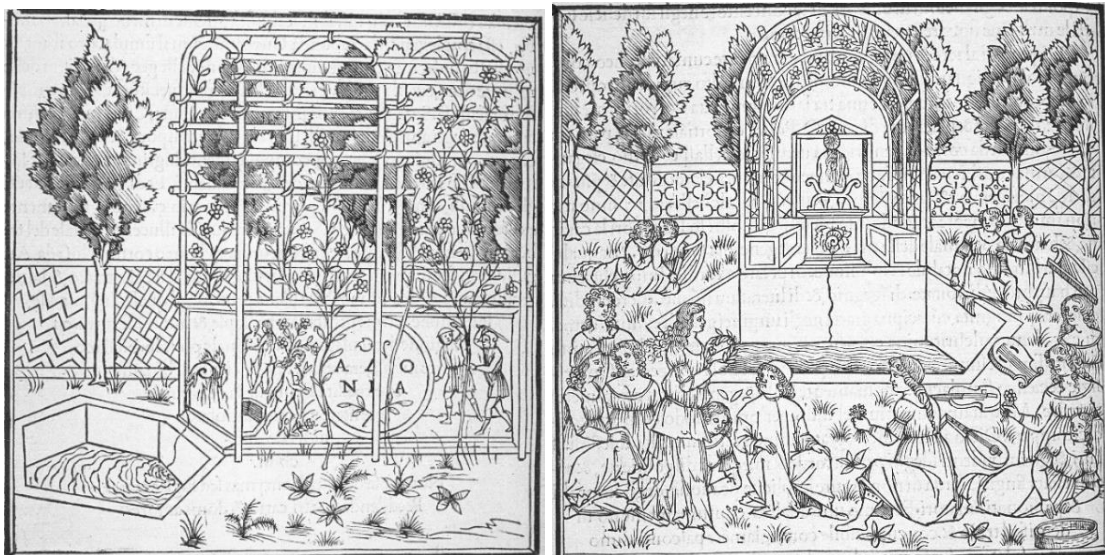
Fig. 6.23) Woodcut of pool and garden pagoda (p.373) *Fig. 6.24)* Garden of Adonis (p.378)

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[69] *Hypnerotomachia*, 371-72.

Love and Self-Transformation in Book I

> Since she did nothing to extinguish my ardent concupiscence, I did my best to calm my languishing and overheated heart.
>
> Poliphilo
> *Hypnerotomachia* (p.152)

The transformation of the self in the narrative of the *Hypnerotomachia* has been so far observed from philosophical and literary, antiquarian, and horticultural perspectives. In this chapter, one of the main aspects of the narrative shall be examined in reference to self-transformation, that is, love. On the one hand, there is a positive aspect of love, characterised by a humanist notion of self-transformation and a medieval elegiac, and romance characterisation akin to Boccaccio's novellas, that is the impetus throughout the novel's journeying to Polia, the impetus behind self-transformation and the force for initiation into the mysteries. On the other hand, there is an aspect of love that creates a physical degradation illustrating a form of lovesickness in Poliphilo besides a philosophic reasoning against love, displaying a medical-literary tradition and anti-love tradition popular in the fifteenth century. Love, therefore, is a complex force within the narrative, at once the force behind his pedestrian journey of transformational, whilst also being a force of obsession for Polia, and leading to physical degradation and forming an obstruction to his self-transformation.

In the Italian literary discourse on love the *Hypnerotomachia* is positioned between the early Quattrocento humanist compositions, notable in Alberti's amorous writings, such as *Deifira* and *Ecatonfilea* that regard the effects of love without remedy, the earlier Medieval elegiac and romance novellas of Boccaccio, most notable in La *Amorosa Visione* but also with echoes of the Boccaccio's characterisation lovesickness in *Filostrato*, and the later compositions such as Bembo's *Gli Asolani* with its fulfilment of the elegiac and ante-erotic type through the balancing effect of a Neoplatonic discourse on love that we see to some extent already present in the *Hypnerotomachia's* Neoplatonic

handling of love.[1] Although the handling of love in the *Hypnerotomachia* largely looks back to the medieval compositions of Boccaccio, contextualising an elegiac sentimentality within a dreamscape, Logistica's ante-erotic sentiment echoes the fifteenth century literary trend of the *anteros* (ante-love/erotic), placing sensuality within a rational cynicism, which collectively creates a synthesis of literary tropes on love in the narrative of the *Hypnerotomachia.*

This chapter analyses three aspects of Poliohilo's pedestrian love-journey, firstly through the notion of love as an impetus for self-transformation through the structure of the philosophic dream vision narrative and its relationship with a reappraisal of the Platonic concept of the Twin Venuses. Secondly, shall be examined the medical tradition on lovesickness conducted through descriptions and narrations of Poliphilo's love-malady, portraying the negative aspects of love that obstructs the narrative of self-transformation; and lastly, Poliphilo's position within the elegiac and *anteros* discourses in contemporary Quattrocento publications, displaying and their effects in progressing the theme of self-transformation.

Love as the Impetus for Self-Transformation in the Philosophical literary Tradition

As will be noted, love is both a force of Poliphilo's physical degradation that results in lovesickness in the absence of Polia, causing his pedestrian journey of self-transformation to pause, thus preventing self-transformation, but it also is the means to Polia, initiation, and the impetus of his self-transformation. Regarding love as an impetus for self-transformation, on the one hand it drives Poliphilo's pedestrian journey through the genre of the philosophic dream narrative, in which the journey from ignorance to the initiation into wisdom is implicit. On the other hand, there is a reappraisal of Platonic notion of the Earthly and divine Venuses within this journey, placing equal narrative importance on spiritual and procreative love as a force driving the narrative,

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[1] Carol Kidwell, *Pietro Bembo: Lover, Linguist, Cardinal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 109; Thomas Hyde, *The Poetic Theology of Love: Cupid in Renaissance Literature* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 95.

and thus also Poliphilo's self-transformation. How these two perspectives on the positive aspect

of love function in the narrative, and on Poliphilo's self-transformation, will be here examined.

The *Hypnerotomachia* fits into three of Macrobius's categories of dreams, being the *somnium*,

characterised by philosophic meaning that Macrobius describes as concealing 'with strange shapes

and veils' the hidden wisdom of the dream; the *visio*, or prophetic vision, characterised by content

that 'actually comes true'; and the *oraculum*, or oracular dream, in which a man of elevated standing

'or even a God' grants advice unto the neophyte.[2] However, the way in which these categories are

handled are decidedly humanist in their application, offering a wholly Renaissance appropriation

of the genre that assists the concept of self-transformation through emphasising Poliphilo's role

in his own perfectionism. For instance, whilst Poliphilo awakens in a philosophical dream vision

with allegorical, metaphoric and symbolic structures, sculptures and topography that illustrates a

somnium, unlike Polia's experience of a *visio,* there is no *visio* of the future experienced by Poliphilo,

indeed, the only visions are used as metaphors for Poliphilo's inductive thinking, such as his

conception formed on the colossal water labyrinth in the gardens of Eleuterylida that depict the

transition of the soul from the Heavens, through the world, and into death.[3] Here, Logistica, the

embodiment of his faculty of reason, states:

> Non era sufficiente solamente al nostro curioso Poliphilo di vedere, ma ancora ch'io li
> desse comperto di quell oche la materia, non potendo ire, cum il mio interpretato alemno
> intendando el possi cognoscere'
>
> (it was not enough for our curoious Poliphilo simply to see, but I had to give him
> information about that which matter cannot penetrate, so that at least he could know it by
> hearing my interpretation) (HP, 127).

Thus, demonstrating his own faculty of thinking as the means to conceptualisation. Furthermore,

although Poliphilo is guided throughout his journey, he does not, unlike Polia, receive advice from

a teacher that would characterise the *oraculum*, moreover, his guides allow him to come to

understand a particular concept through his own deduction and reflection.

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[2] Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, Trans*, William Harris Stahl, 145–68.
[3] *Hypnerotomachia*, 124-27.

In Cicero and Macrobius the pursuit is not of the divine woman commonly associated with the medieval dream vision but of moral perfection, defined as the soul's release from the material confines imposed by the body. Cicero, narrating Scipio Aemilianus' sleep journey led by his grandfather writes: '…as I had sat up till late at night, sleep folded me in a closer embrace than was usual … Then there appeared to me … Africanus … "Come!" said Africanus, "how long will your mind be chained to the earth? … See! the universe is linked together in nine circles or rather spheres; one of which is that of the heavens, the outermost of all, which embraces all the other spheres, the supreme deity, which keeps in and holds together all the others; and to this are attached those everlasting orbits of the stars … Exercise this soul in the noblest activities … And this will it do more readily if, even while still imprisoned in the body it strains beyond it, and, surveying that which lies outside it, as much as possible, endeavours to withdraw itself from the body'. Similarly, Boethius writes in *The Consolation of Philosophy*, 'Her eyes sparkled with fire, and her look was far more piercing than that of any mortal', embodying wisdom and moral perfection in a divine woman akin to Isis-Sophia. Philosophy in the medieval tradition can be identified with the heavenly feminine, evidenced in Dante's *Commedia*, Alain de Lille's *De Planctu Naturae*, Guillaume de Lorris' *Roman de la rose*, Boccaccio's *Visione amorosa*, beside the *Hypnerotomachia,* in which Polia, elevated to divine status, becomes the anima's guide through the process of initiation.[4]

The *Hypnerotomachia* takes, however, a unique position in this discourse, and a dissimilar one compared to the contemporary thirteenth century Byzantine and French romances *Livistros and Rodamne*, and the *Roman de la Rose*. In these two texts, in the category of *oraculum* and *somnium* clear instruction is given to the neophyte to gradually progress through the stages of their respective initiation into the experience of love, such as Cupid Guard's advice to Livistros, Armour to Amant (and even Cupid to Polia).[5] Instead, and as has been observed by Efthymia Priki, 'Poliphilo's

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[4] See Elizabeth D. Harvey, Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 207; A. C. Spearing, Medieval Dream-Poetry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). See also Marcus Tullius Cicero, De re publica. De legibus (New York: Leob, 1970), 3; Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 1.
[5] *Tale of Livistros and Rodamne*, 147–98; 232–84; *Roman de la Rose*, 2041-2743.

instructors, such as the Five Senses, Thelemia, and Polia, function mainly as guides, providing practical instructions for his participation in particular rituals and directing him to the places and objects that he is called to understand for himself' displaying that Poliphilo's progression is self-taught through observation and reflection, where the self is decidedly its own master, in a primarily deductive demonstration of Humanist thinking illustrating a highly Renaissance way of approaching the dream vision genre, which is traditionally structured around an instructor and neophyte dynamic in an *oraculum somnium*.[6]

Secondly, we may inquire how then does love operate as an impetus for Poliphilo's self-transformation within this Humanist application of the dream-vision genre? The answer to this is in a similar way as to the *Roman de la Rose*, yet not without certain differences, where the role of love appears in a Medieval-Renaissance form. For instance, Polia narrates Poliphilo falling in love with her through the power of her beauty upon his gaze as one day she stands at the window combing her hair:

> (passando allhora Poliphilo), diqué io ardisco di dire che cusì belli a Perseo non aparveron quegli di Andromeda, né quegli di Fotide a Lucio. Cusì ello, cum intenti et mordaci risguardi accortose, sencia mensuratione et cum incremento d'amore repente se accense'
>
> (Poliphilo chanced to pass by. I dare say Andromesa's hair looked no more beautiful to Perseus, nor that of Fotis to Lucius, for he staired with intent and piercing gaze, suddenly taking fire with immeasurable and increasing love) (HP, 386).

Here, Poliphilo's gaze is struck by beauty, creating an ardent love and beginning the impetus for his self-transformation that will define the narrative as a whole. In a similar manner, the narrator falls in love with the rose in the secret garden in the dream of the *Roman de la Rose*. Indeed, both the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Poliphilus* narratives illustrate the concept of visual beauty resulting in love at first sight, for instance:

> Then I began to make my way towards the sweetly scented rose-bud … when love saw me approach, without warning he loosed the arrow, which was made without steel, that so that it entered my eye and wounded my heart … now you may know if I had greatly desires the rose-bud before, my longing was now increased.[7]

762; *Hypnerotomachia*, 407– 418. See Efthymia Priki, *Teaching Eros*, 214; 218.

[6] Efthymia Priki, *Teaching Eros*, 218.

[7] *Roman de la Rose,* 1731-41.

Although the power of the gaze as the cause of love is the same, the operation of falling in love is different in the *Roman* as it also is in the *Livistros*, where Cupid plays an active role in stimulating and orchestrating the experience of love. In the *Hypnerotomachia*, love enters the eyes but there is no embodiment of love in Cupid in the action of Book I, placing the onus on Poliphilo in accepting love, and emphasising the role the self has in its own action of falling in love. This love for Polia by Poliphilo subsequently drives the narrative in single minded pursuit typical of allegorical agency akin to the same drive within the narrative in the *Roman* and *Livistros*, it is the reason for all three pedestrian journeys, yet through the Humanist handling of this journey compartmentalised into scenes allegoric of developing facilities of morality, knowledge, before the experience of love and initiation, Poliphilo's narrative is created through his own powers of self-perfectionism. Consequently, the impetus of love in the narrative of self-transformation in the *Hypnerotomachia* is an amalgamation of Medieval and Renaissance tropes, appropriated into a Renaissance handling of the *somnium* and in this manner offers Poliphilo greater agency in the pursuit of love.

Thirdly, the combination of love for the ideal woman as divine embodiment in the dream-vision, which by virtue of its structure is a self-reflective exercise in allegory, creates an interplay between lower and higher, inner and outer, localised on love.[8] For instance, the climax of the narrative through metaphor describes both a physical and spiritual act of love:

> Quivi, la columna saphyrica et smaragdineea se contineva in orbiculi flexi cum laqueoli innodati una la più bella cortinetta velacea … ma di sandalaceo coloramento, cum textura di belissima floritura et cum quatro litere d'oro graece subtilemente super ritramate, YMHN … Ornato di novelle qualitate, cum la mia praestante Polia et cum le comite nostre d'indi al sacro fonte dispartendo nui.

> (Between the sapphire and emerald columns there was the most beautiful velvet curtain … but its colour was that of sandalwood, brocaded with lovely flower and with four Greek letters subtly embroidered on it in decorative raised work: YMHN… Our transformation now being accomplished, I left the sacred fountain together with my noble Polia and our companions) (HP, 361-69.)

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[8] On the concept of dream-vision narrative and self-reflection see Lambdin and Lambdin, *A Companion to Old and Middle English Literature*, 179.

The psychological tension of anticipating sex in the language of the material body, is not original; love, typically in this genre, establishes an internal and external relationship, as the end goal and the means in completing the journey. It is, however, through the mode of describing the sensual, heightened by sexually charged descriptions throughout the narrative, that distances the *Hypnerotomachia* from other philosophical dream-visions and emphasising further the desire for a physical woman over an abstract symbol, as in the *Roman*. By placing physicality and spirituality on equal terms described through metaphor, the language is capable of describing physical intercourse and mystical experience, where sex is the means to divine revelation. Self-transformation operates consequently both physically and spiritually, embodying an otherwise abstract process, with the impetus of self-transformation in earthly and divine love.

This brings us to consider, then, the handling of the philosophic aspect of love in relation to Poliphilo's self-transformation, which can be observed through the equal treatment of divine and earthly love embodied through the doctrine of the twin Venuses. The two Venuses (or Aphrodites) are first postulated by Plato, in the *Symposium*, where Pausanius states: 'We all know Aphrodite is inseparable from Love … but since there are two Aphrodites, there must also be two Loves. And sure there *are* two kinds of Aphrodite? One of them is older and is the daughter of Uranus … we call her Uranian or Heavenly Aphrodite. The younger one is the daughter of Zeus and Dione: we call her Pandemic or Common Aphrodite' describing the separation of their powers.[9] Perhaps the most renown exposition of the theory of the two Venuses and the two forms of *furor* kindled by them is in Ficino's *Commentary on the Symposium* where Ficino talks of the first Venus 'born of Uranus' that is 'exalted over all spirits' and the second Venus 'located in the World Soul … infused into the matter of the world.'[10]

Whilst there is no explicit reference linking the *Hypnerotomachia* to Ficino, there is also no proof that the author would have been familiar with Ficino's 1484 publication on Plato's *Symposium*,

[9] Plato, *The Symposium* (Penguin UK, 2005), 180d-e.

[10] Marsilio Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love* (Spring, 1985), Speach II, Section VII (pp 53-54).

where the doctrine of the two Venuses is stated. Ficino does, however, offer a reformulation of a Plotinian view of Plato's doctrine through highlighting the contrast between the two Aphrodites, common and celestial, and thus we may read a similar view from Plotinus's *Enneads* in which there is no reason to suggest the author would not have been familiar with (indeed, we may ask, if not through Plotinus, where did the author come across this concept?).[11] In the fifth part of the third *Ennead*, on Love, Plotinus states 'to us Aphrodite is twofold; there is the heavenly Aphrodite, daughter of Ouranos or Heaven,: and there is the other daughter of Zeus and Dione, this is the Aphrodite that presides over earthly unions … the heavenly Aphrodite is no other than the Intellectual Principal … [that] must be the Soul at its divinest … remaining ever above … this Aphrodite, the secondary Soul, is of this Universe … the Love presiding over marriages' thus similarly characterising the Earthly power from the celestial, common love from the divine and presenting the most likely passage that would have influenced the author of the *Hypnerotomachia*.[12]

Regarding the philosophical question of the placement of the twin Venuses in the narrative, Publilius Syrus in *Sententiae* states, 'Amare et sapere vix diis conceditur' (It is not granted the gods themselves to be both wise and in love), yet the embodiment of Polia, characterising both the sensual procreative forces and a guide to the divine, creates an original model of love, in both it's forms, as the means to divinity.[13]

In Eleuterylida and Telosia both forms of Venus, that of procreation and of divine love, are narratologically equal.[14] This conception is unique in Renaissance philosophy and original to the author. For instance, Queen Eleuterylida proclaims:

> Poliphile, horamai poni in oblivio gli praeteriti et occorsi casi et d'indi gli fastidiosi concepti et il transacto discrime, imperochè io son certa che al praesente pienamente sei restaurato.

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[11] On the relation between Ficino and Plotinus see James Lesher, 'A Course on the Afterlife of Plato's "Symposium"', *The Classical Journal* 100, no. 1 (2004): 80.

[12] Plotinus, *The Enneads,* trans, Stephen MacKenna, (London: Penguin UK, 2005), III.IV (178-80).

[13] Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae* in John Wight Duff and Arnold Mackay Duff, *Minor Latin Poets: With Introductions and English Translations* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961), 16.

[14] See Michael J. B. Allen, Valery Rees, and Martin Davies, *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 124.

> Dunque, volendo tu nelle amorose fiamme di Polia intrepido prosequire, convenevole cosa arbitro che per questa recuperatione vada ad tre porte, ove habita l'alta regina Telosia.

> ('Poliphilo, henceforth you should consign to oblivion your past misfortunes, and put away your painful thoughts and all that has happened, because I am certain that by now you are fully recovered. Therefore, since you are bravely bent in pursuit of the amorous flames of Polia, I think it best for your attainment of her that you go to three portals, where the old Queen Telosia dwells.) (HP, 121).

The narrative allegory of overcoming temptation is problematised through Poliphilo's pursuit of the sensual aspects of Polia in the 'amorose fiamme di Polia', whose position in the narrative as guide to initiation and object of Poliphilo's self-transformation, as well as the object of desire for procreative forces, re-coins the traditional view rooted in medieval culture that heavenly Venus presides over marital sex and earthly Venus bears the negative connotation of carnal desire.[15] Indeed, Boccaccio describes in his *opere minori in volgare* a 'celestial' Venus commonly called the Goddess, and an 'earthly' Venus of lasciviousness, thus maintaining a hierarchical differentiation.[16]

The reappraisal of sensual love is emphasised by the author through the literary trope of love at first sight, where Polia states Poliphilo to have 'Cusì ello, cum intenti et mordaci risguardi accortose, sencia mensuratione et cum incremento d'amore repente se accense'[17] This elevates Polia to the same literary plinth as the earlier Beatrice and Laura but augmented with a sensuous description of Polia's physical form and Poliphilo's desire for physical union with her: 'La quale formosa et caelicola nympha hora ad me feste … incontinente ad gli ochii mei le rarissima bellecie, alquanto dalla longa speculate, più palesemente da vicino conmtemplandole, remansi stupido et arrepto' [This beautiful and heavenly nymph hurried toward me … revealing her rare beauties to

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[15] Beverly Louise Brown et al., *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 240.

[16] Theresa Tinkle, *Medieval Venuses and Cupids: Sexuality, Hermeneutics, and English Poetry* (San Francisco: Stanford University Press, 1996), 13. See also Victoria Kirkham, Michael Sherberg, and Janet Levarie Smarr, *Boccaccio: A Critical Guide to the Complete Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 110–13; Katie Scott and Caroline Arscott, *Manifestations of Venus: Art and Sexuality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 29–30; Nora Clark, *Aphrodite and Venus in Myth and Mimesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 187.

[17] *Hypnerotomachia*, 386.

my eyes while I remained dumbstruck as I gazed at the revelation at close quarters][18] thus differentiating her from Dante's Beatrice who is a poetic example of chastity.[19]

Polia's narrative position, which is that of the path of sensuality leading to the mystical, is reflected in how she is described, where the material description of physical beauty is elevated to the spiritual in Petrarchan language. For instance, 'et, postala nella sua, strengerla sentiva tra calde neve et infra coagulo lacteo' [As I placed it in hers, I felt grasped between warm snow and solid milk] that seemed 'pur altro che cosa di conditione humana' [beyond the human condition] creates decidedly Petrarchan descriptive inclusion of opposites.[20] On the one hand, there is the verb *philein* and its cognates (*philia* the noun, *philos* the adjective), which is the word used to coin the protagonist's name, Poliphilo, and is designated to a more general form of love that his name attests to. However, 'to love', *eran* (*erôs* is the psychological force, *erastês* relates to the lover, and *erômenos*, the beloved), is the force driving Polia and Poliphilo onward to their final state of love-initiation in the bathhouse of Venus. There is, therefor a purposeful union of both forms of love to fully characterise the narrative and pedestrian journey of Poliphilo: the impetus of his self-transformation is the experience of common and celestial forms of love. This then begs the question: is the equal position of the two Venuses that Polia represents and that acts as impetus for Poliphilo's pedestrian journey and narrative of self-transformation a serious philosophic statement by the author, or a jest, undermining the Plotinian model that Boccaccio too prescribed to (where he states in the *chiosa* to *Teseida* 'all of the minor works operate on the same moral matrix, the principal axes of which are the carnal and the celestial Venus') in an Apuleian reaction to authority and obedience to preconception?[21] Ultimately, this question is impossible to answer.

[18] *Hypnerotomachia*, 147.
[19] Albert James Smith, *The Metaphysics of Love: Studies in Renaissance Love Poetry from Dante to Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 47; Hyde, *The Poetic Theology of Love*, 18; Christopher McIntosh, *Gardens of the Gods: Myth, Magic and Meaning* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2005), 54; Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 3–4.
[20] *Hypnerotomachia*, 149.
[21] Robert Hollander, *Boccaccio's Two Venuses* (Columbia University Press, 1977), 73.

Serious philosophic postulation or jest aside, that the general forms of love encompassed in Poliphilo and Polia should be elevated into the greater love of *eran* is emphasised when Eros himself sails Polia and Poliphilo over to the island of Venus Cytherea in his 'sicuro tutamine' [sure protection] crossing into his 'demeare materno regno et destinata insula' [Mother's realm, to the destined isle], where they shall be unified.[22] Here, Poliphilo is described as his own captain, suggesting that to travel, ontologically, requires one's own will and determination, as well as admittance by the god of love, emphasising again the onus of the self for the journeys development. The boat, then, is a metaphor for Poliphilo's soul traversing from one state and existence to another through love.[23]

In the fountain of Venus we have the most potent example of the author's reappraisal of the earthly Venus. Although Plato is aware that sexual intercourse can be pleasant, he does not take the pleasantness of an experience, in isolation from its cause or object, to be a point in its favour.[24] Pleasure is good if it is beneficial and if not, then detrimental; indeed Plato recognises that embracing and kissing are appropriate expressions of one person's desire for another, but does not include the sexual act.[25] In contrast, the ecstatic phenomenon of Poliphilo's experience is emphasised in language that exuberates in the personal pleasures of sensual physicality:

> Et ecco repente che ivo la divina forma nel salso fonte palesemente vedo exprompta, dalla veneranda maiestate dilla quale omni pulchritudine delitiosamente emanava; né più presto quel'aspecto inexpectato divino ad gli ochi mei spirando scorse, che ambi dui, da extrema dolcecia excitati et da novello et da tanto diutinamente concupito piacere impulsi et velitati, cum divoto timore inseme quasi in extasi rimansimo.

> (And behold! I saw clearly the divine form of her venerable majesty as she issued from the springing fountain, the delicious source of every beauty. No sooner had the unexpected and divine sight met my eyes than both of us were filled with extreme sweetness, and invaded by the novel pleasure that we had desired daily for so long, so that we both remained as though in an ecstasy of divine awe.) (HP, 361-62).

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[22] *Hypnerotomachia*, 275.
[23] Consider Ficino's notion of Eros as a form of magic, unifying things which bear similarity to one another, in Ioan P. Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 87.
[24] Plato, *Philebus* (Routledge, 2012), 45d–e.
[25] Plato, *Gorgias* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 495d–499d; Plato, *Phaedrus: And, The Seventh and Eighth Letters* (Penguin, 1973), 255e–256a.

Poliphilo's rhetoric is fashioned in the language of the physical senses, yet metaphorically the act of sex teleologically transcends the senses to a mystical union of divinity and mortality. The transformation of the soul is that Polphilo has had to undergo in order to proceed to this final narrative stage is, consequently, a prerequisite for the initiation through the act of love.

As stated above, love is the impetus for the narrative journey to Polia, the force through which he is initiated into the mysteries, and the force for which he is transformed. It is also clear, however, that love is treated ontologically as bearing equal sensual and spiritual components, where the one is fulfilled in the other. That is to say, as Poliphilo's physical body is healed through the fulfilment of his love in Polia, the narrative treatment of the divine love is fulfilled in the sensual, and vice versa. To reiterate, the author has no hierarchy of the Venuses, they are presented as bearing equal impetus to his pedestrian journey of transformation and initiation into the mysteries.

Lovesickness as an obstacle of Self-Transformation, in the Medical Literary Tradition

The theme of love is observed from the beginning of the narrative, as Poliphilo describes lying on his couch in a fatigued and insomniac lovesickness for Polia. From here, the author uses a plurality of literary genres in the handling of love. Here, we will focus on the medical tradition in relation to love-sickness and how it operates to prevent narrative progression and the journey of self-transformation.

The literary trope of mania in lovesickness, present in classical and medieval texts, and discernible in Simaetha's lovesickness for Delphis, that developed from a fever into a frenzy that weakened the body and was finally cured through sex, or in Marcus Aurelius' description in *Historia Augusta* of Faustina's infatuation for a gladiator cured through sexual congress with her husband, Marcus, in the blood of the gladiator, is absent in Poliphilo. He exclaims, 'la longa et taediosa nocte insomne consumando' [I passed the long and tedious night sleeplessly, altogether disconsolate] and, 'per importune et non prospero amore illachrymando, di puncto in puncto ricogitava che cosa è inaequale amore, et come aptamente amare si pole chi non ama ' [I sighed and wept for my

importunate and unsuccessful love, thinking over point by point the nature of unmatched affection, and how best to love someone who does not love in return] thus narrating the effects of obsessive love in the absence of Polia, the object of his desires that result in anguish and suffering.[26] This point is further conveyed when Poliphilo exclaims:

> Di ritrovare la mia isotrichechrysia Polia: 'Heu me, Polia' sospirante diceva, che 'l risonavano per sotto quella virdura gli amorosi sospiri informati dentro il riservabile et acceso core. Né più praesto in questa angonia agitato et per questo modo absorto essendo, che inadvertente al fine di quella floribonda copertura perveni et, riguardando, una innumerosa turba di iuventude.

> (That I would find my golden-haired Polia. 'Alas, Polia!' I sighed to myself, and the amorous sighs engendered inside my inflamed heart echoed beneath the green bower. Thus agitated by my anguish and absorbed in myself, I came without noticing it to the other end of the flowery shelter, where, looking out, I saw an innumerable crowd of young people.) (HP, 141-42)

He describes being 'absorto essendo' [absorbed in myself] with 'gli amorosi sospiri' [amorous sighs] saying her name in his thoughts and unobservant of life around him, characterising, beside a depth of psychological characterisation, an elegiac form of the malady, resulting in 'angonia' [anguish] in the absence of his beloved.

Insomnia, a common trope of lovesickness in elegy, is referenced on the opening page of the text, narratologically setting the theme of love's partly detrimental effect throughout the narrative:

> Io Poliphilo, sopra el lectulo mio iacendo, opportuno amico del corpo lasso, niuno nella conscia camera familiare essendo se non la mia chara lucubratrice Agrypnia, la quale, poscia che meco hebbe facto vario colloquio consolanteme, palese havendoli facta la causa et l'origine degli mei profundi sospiri … De cusì facto et tale misero stato havendome per lungo tracto amaramente doluto (et già fessi gli vaghi spiriti de pensare inutilmente) et pabulato d'uno non mortale ma più praesto divo obiecto di Polia, la cui veneranda Idea in me profundamente impressa et più intimamente insculpta occupatrice vive (et già le tremule et micante stelle incohavanno de impallidire el suo splendore).

> (And I, Poliphilo, was lying on my couch, the timely friend of my weary body, with no one with me in my familiar chamber but the dear companion of my sleepless nights, insomnia. She was consoling me after several conversations in which I had explained to her the cause and origin of my deep sighs … I bewailed long and bitterly this miserable fate of mine; my unsettled spirits were already weary of futile thought, and I being nourished by a false and feigned pleasure, albeit one with Polia as object. She, without a doubt, was not mortal but

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[26] *Hypnerotomachia*, 12. See Peter Toohey, 'Love, Lovesickness, and Melancholia', *Illinois Classical Studies* 17, no. 2 (1992): 269. See also Peter Toohey, *Melancholy, Love, and Time: Boundaries of the Self in Ancient Literature* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 60.

divine – she whose holy image was deeply impressed within me, and dwelt carved in my inmost parts.) (HP, 12).

Poliphilo lies on his couch 'lucubratrice Agrypnia' (sleepless) 'profundi sospiri' (with deep sighs) bewailing a 'misero stato' (miserable fate) upon Polia as object and her absence, and spurned love, causing him great suffering. He is motionless and seemingly incapable, illustrating a physical stasis, before falling into his *somnium*.

Once the engendering force of love, observed previously as the impetus for the journey of self-transformation, has entered Poliphilo through his gaze, in love's absence and tin certain moments of anguish, the detrimental effect of lovesickness takes shape, that will be seen to obstruct the theme of self-transformation. This form of lovesickness assumes a Galenic form, for although Beecher writes that, 'because all physicians are in common agreement that, as the shadow follows the body, so all symptoms follow some disease … melancholy corresponds to a related state of disease which they assert to be the cold and dry in the temperature of the brain, and which are effected by love' Galen differs from other classical authors in asserting that lovesickness is not a divine-sent illness but something that enters the soul through human interaction, referring to a leanness in lovers and a quickened pulse at the sight of the beloved.[27] Similarly, Poliphilo does not receive lovesickness as an affliction of higher powers but something received into the soul through sight and interaction, as we have seen above in Poliphilo's first love of Polia seeing her comb her hair at her balcony, which is dissimilar from the *Roman* and *Livistros* where Cupid is the active agent in the reception of loves *furor*.

Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *Epidemics* describes lovesickness as a malady pertaining to the passion of the soul, and not the body, operating through the humoral composition, establishing a somatic concept of love:

> I know men and women who burned in hot love. Depression and lack of sleep overcame them. Then, one day, as a result of their love-sorrows they became fevered. The physicians who were treating them sought to heal their bodies by forbidding them to bathe, by ordering rest and a good regimen. But as we took over their treatment and recognized that

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[27] Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages*, 7; John Livingston Lowes, 'The Loveres Maladye of Hereos', *Modern Philology* 11, no. 4 (1914): 28.

their suffering consisted of love-sorrow, then we applied ourselves to their cure without revealing to them, much less to others, what we had discovered. We ordered them to take frequent baths, to drink wine, to ride, and to see and hear everything pleasurable. Thus, we directed their thoughts toward these things … For if continual love-sorrow oppresses someone, his condition then assumes forms that are difficult to cure.[28]

Galen goes on to list forms of distraction to cure the love-malady. In the *Hypnerotomachia*, the author's modulating from lovesickness to antiquarian exploration or ekphrasis indicates that antiquity, beside also clothing, or interior design, is a form of distraction from the malady. For instance, when admiring the Magna Porta, Poliphilo recalls the absence of Polia, creating distress, which he alleviates through the distraction of exploring the Great Gate:

> Spogliato dunque et sequestrato di omni altra penisculatione, solamente la mia philesia Polia spesse fiate nella viscida memoria servabile et gratissima succurrea. Ma per tutto questo cum uno sonante sospiro da parte alquanto malamente la riponea. Perseverava dunque mirabondo alle acceptissime vetustate.

> (I was deprived and as though sequestered from every other thought, except that my beloved Polia often came graciously and helpfully into my tenacious memory. But for all that, it was with a loud sigh that I painfully recalled her, then continued admiring these most welcome antiquities.) (HP, 57).

This contrasts to the later experience of 'd'una piacevole et domestica flammicella dilatarsene nel praeparato subiecto' [a flame, at first tame and harmless, growing and spreading over the fuel prepared for it] when he meets Polia characterising the opposing, engendering, influences of love.[29] Here, the introspective experience of the soul's interaction with the object of desire affirms both an elegiac handling of love, in Polia's absence, but where lovesickness creates a narrative interlude through his antiquarian distraction and, subsequently, a form of stasis regarding the theme of self-transformation (that is to say, the theme of self-transformation is at halt when exploring antiquity).

Here, then, is a theoretical puzzle in the narrative: love is the means for the journey of self-transformation, but the anguish of this love is the cause for distraction in antiquity that delineates from both the narrative and the theme of self-transformation. Love is consequently an impetus and hindrance (albeit one that grants Poliphilo greater psychological depth) depending on its positive of negative effects. We must also then ask, is antiquity only explored as a distraction from

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[28] Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages*, 8.

[29] *Hypnerotomachia*, 150.

love? The answer to that must be no, we know this as the ardent exploration of antiquity continues after meeting Polia. There is, consequently, an obvious love of antiquity independent of his love of Polia and this love is used, at times, to alleviate his lovesickness but offers no experience demonstrating a progressive step regarding his self-perfectionism.

Poliphilo, unlike many Medieval portrayals of lovesickness in narratives, allows himself to be easily distracted from his lovesickness by his antiquarian or artistic passion. The multifarious modes of *character-focalization* that enable the author to modulate from a didactic rhetoric, or ekphrasis, then to a new area of interest assisted by ellipses into *scene* where the narrative of self-transformation resumes, also brings a *metalepsis* through the disengagement and re-engagement with his lovesickness. That is to say, antiquarian and artistic distraction creates the ability to step in and out of his lovesickness with ease, granting modulations of rhetorical possibilities not present in other medieval literary portrayals of the malady and is a handling of lovesickness unique to the author. It is, however, during those scenes dedicated to characterising his anguish for the absence of Polia, as we have already stated, in which there is no development in the theme of self-transformation. This creates narrative stasis on the one hand and grants the scenes of lovesickness to form a literary device to segway into artistic descriptions, on the other. For instance:

> Io, che continuamente pativa per qualunque intima latebra del mio infervescente core la indesinente pugna, quantunque absente, di madona Polia, di omni mia virtute occuparia et depopulabonda praedatrice … chi unque cogitare valeria il richo habito et exquisite ornato et curiosissimo culto
>
> (I, who suffered continually in the secret parts of my heated heart from the ceaseless attack of my lady Polia, who though absent sapped all my valour and left me in devastation? … Who could ever conceive of the rich accoutrements, the exquisite ornaments and the curious customs) (HP, 117)

Here, a few lines apart, Poliphilo demonstrates a rhetorical modulation from lovesickness into a description of interior design and courtly customs, illustrating elegy as a narrative device.

Similar to Galen, in Constantine's *Viaticum* (with a similar description in the *Liber Pantegni*) Constantine describes lovesickness as an illness of the soul affecting the body through fatigue coupled with the obsessive nature of uncontrollable thinking of the beloved and the inability to

eat, drink or sleep properly. It is the sight of the beloved, in the *Viaticum*, that causes lovesickness

and, as a remedy, Constantine advocates distraction from the beloved to ease the malady of black

bile that causes the lover's distress. He writes 'Aliquando huius amoris causa nimia naturae est

necessitas in multa humorum superfluitate expellenda: unde ruffus coitus inquit valere videtur

quibus nigra colera et melancolia dominantur: eis sensus redditur et molestatio hereosis tollitur si

cum dilectis loquantur.'[30] Poliphilo similarly places emphasis on sight as the impetus for his

lovesickness, as Polia describes the first time that he laid eyes on her as being, in Dantean fashion,

love at first sight:

> Omni singulo dì dal palacio mio sedulo viagio prendeva; a l'alte et vacue fenestre
> riguardando, non valeva adimpire il frameo desio di rivederme almeno una fiata. Et per
> tale cagione havendo cum tanto angore assai giorni et nocte passi, vigilie, canti et soni cum
> parolette da sospiri formate cum urgente solicitudine vanamente deperdite
>
> (Every single day he headed for my palace and looked up at the high and empty windows,
> for he could not free himself from the desire to see me at least once more. To this end he
> spent many troubled days and sleepless nights, serenading with instruments and singing
> poems that he had formed out of sighs; but his urgent solicitude was all in vain) (HP. 386-
> 87.)

Thus, emphasising the moment of love and its increasing effect through Poliphilo's vision leading

to obsession. In such moments however, he does not learn something to better himself, and does

not come to any visions of personal revelation; the scene creates a psychological characterisation

entirely void of the theme of self-transformation.

Lastly, we must engage with the use of lovesickness to facilitate a notion of realism in the

narrative at the expense of the theme self-transformation. Comparing Poliphilo's lovesickness to,

for instance, Boccaccio's *Filostrato* offers a comparable likeness. Described by Anna Seldis as

entirely concerned with the effects of longing, joy, possession, sorrow and loss in love, it provides

an earlier psychological observation of the emotive effects of love.[31] Troilo's 'anguished sufferings',

in which he exclaims, 'I weep and abandon myself completely to a sorrow which surpasses every

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[30] Breviarium Constantini dictum viaticum, Lugd., 1510 (John Crerar Library), Liber primus, cap. X in Lowes, 'The Loveres Maladye of Hereos', 515.
[31] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Filostrato*, trans, Arthur Beckwith Myrick, Nathaniel Edward Griffin, (London: Routledge, 2019), 18.

power of mine, so severe has been its great blow', portray a melancholia reflected in Poliphilo's narration of 'Et però a questi mei asperi et insuportabili langori non più sperava di potere opportuno rimedio consequire si non quando gli benigni cieli te rividere mi concedesseron' [I hoped for no other remedy to suit my bitter and unbearable languor than that the kindly heavens should allow me to see you again], observing that the effect of the beloved's absence has caused emotional trauma which does not assist but resists his self-transformation.[32]

Narratively, such passages do not relate to allegory or metaphor, rather, lovesickness is a means to create a discernible realism of Poliphilo's experiences, and depth of characterisation, as a literary creation. For instance, when Polia declares, 'Per l'amore del quale hogimai excludendo omni rigidecia … dal continuamente pensare dil quale non valeva l'alma mia sequestrare' [for love of him I henceforth renounce all hardness … my soul could not separate itself from its constant thought of him] she echoes the lovesick exclamations of Criseida when she says, 'Great is my sorrow … as of one who loves him more than herself' in describing an experience of love so painful that death is preferable.[33] Indeed, Polia tells of Poliphilo, saying: 'Et quanto horomai esso valeva, cum gli pauculi spirituli trovandose et cum debelecia et laxitate et cum il volto discoloro … "nel presente il morire meglio mia fi ache erumnosamente et sencia il tuo amore vivere"' [He could scarcely find the breath to speak, as with extreme weakness and face discoloured he uttered these halting words… "As a last resort it seems to me better to die now, rather than to live burdened with the absence of your love"], demonstrating a lovesickness as in *Filostrato* and heightening the realism of the drama through the physical degradation wrought by love. This parallels Troilo's painful experiences of lovesickness:[34]

> he almost did not eat or drink, so full of anguish was his/ sad breast, and beside this he could not sleep … and in his face he had become such that he seemed a beast rather than a man; nor would anyone have recognized him,/ so pale and so upset was his appearance. All his strength had left/ his body.[35]

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[32] *Hypnerotomachia*, 425. Boccaccio, 4.66.2-5.
[33] Boccaccio, 4.104.1-3.
[34] *Hypnerotomachia*, 390.
[35] Boccaccio, *Filostrato*, 7.19-20.

Lovesickness relates the degradation of the physical and the anguish of the soul due to the inability to fulfil his desire. This heightens the complexity of Poliphilo's experience of love but his self-transformation through love is not present offering, instead, psychological and emotional realism.

The sentimental elegiac narration concerned with the educated young man of intense-infatuation, finds a contemporary contextualisation in the elegiac sentimentalism of certain *spicciolate* publications, such as the *Novella di Ippolito e Lionora* or Leonardo Bruni's *Stratonice*. Here, Antiochus' love-malady is notable through a near-fatal physical decline but is ultimately cured after his father grants Antiochus his bride, Stratonice, thus resolving his lovesickness *homeopathically*. For Poliphilo, although there is a physical union alleviating lovesickness *homeopathically*, it is also cured *allopathically*, through diversion or distraction, as we have seen, through exploring antique ruins or other forms of artistry offering further realism through the travel-diary rhetoric of those episodes (see chapter three) but which does nothing to develop the theme of self-transformation.

Having observed how lovesickness applies to elegy to grant depth of characterisation and psychology, but halts the theme of self-transformation, it is now important to engage with other aspects of love in the narrative, that is how other forms of elegy and *anteros* (ante-love) function in the narrative to aid Poliphilo's journey of self-transformation.

Elegiac and anteros traditions of love

There are two further types of love narrated by Poliphilo to consider, firstly in the sentimental elegiac genre that does not pertain to lovesickness and, secondly, Logistica reflects the contemporary *anteros* (ante-erotic, or against love) genre through her suspicious disregard for the effects of love. Here, we shall observe how they relate to and aid the theme of self-transformation.

The physical decrepitude of Plutarch's lovesick Antiochus in *Demetrius* portrays a melancholy and inability to cope without the beloved (found also in Lucian, Appian, and Valerius Maximus), that is echoed in Poliphilo's physical decline and intense sorrow in Books I and II with regards to

lovesickness.[36] The genre of elegy, however, offers not only portrayals of lovesickness, but a great variety of examples of amorous love. The Quattrocento offered many Latin elegies and contemporary developments, meaning the author's narration of Poliphilo is a portrayal that would find immediate comparison. Catullus' ode to Lesbia, in which he desires 'an eternal night' and 'a thousand kisses' with his beloved; Propertius' torpor in the absence of his beloved, where he declares, 'my soul is starved for her kisses'; and Echo feeling that, 'The more she followed him/ the hotter did she burn, as when the flame/ flares upward from the sulphur on the torch./ Oh, how she longed to make her passion known!' in both Ovid and Guillaume de Lorris' version of Echo's love for Narcissus, all find correspondence in Poliphilo.[37] Elegy, when not defined by love-sickness, offers a rich vocabulary of emotion that drives Poliphilo to Polia. For instance:

> Hora, per tale via non extinguendole ardente concupiscentie, quanto io valeva aquetava el languascente core oltra modo inflammato.
>
> (Since she did nothing to extinguish my ardent concupiscence, I did my best to calm my languishing and overheated heart.) (HP, 152).

This sentiment is repeatedly used to relate Poliphilo's psychological experience and the emotionally stimulating effect that love has on him, that excites him to either be with her or to travel to her, thus establishing a narrative drive that his self-transformation is fundamentally related to.

The trope of the medieval errant enticing a lady – synonymous with higher existence – within a philosophic dream narrative, such as in the *Roman de la rose* and *Amorosa Visione*, closely characterises Poliphilo's narrative. Gilles Polizzi comments on the comparison between the texts in the consummation in the Fountain of Venus;[38] Hester Lees-Jeffries observes the central position

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[36] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives: Demetrius and Antony; Pyrrhus and Caius Marius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943), 37.2-3; Lucian, *Luciani Opera: The Syrian Goddess*, ed. M. D. Macloed, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 17; Appian, *Roman History*, ed. P Viereck, A. G. Roos, and L Mendelssohn, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1905), 1.408; Valerius Maximus, *Factorum*, ed. Carolus Kempt, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1966), 5.7.261-63. Consider also Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 3.531-34; Loriano Zurli, ed., *Aegritudo Perdicae* (Walter de Gruyter, 2011). For a Renaissance reception on this theme see Beecher, 'Lovesickness, Diagnosis and Destiny, in the Renaissance Theatre's of England and Spain: The Paralel Development of Medico-Literary Motif', 152–57.

[37] Sextus Propertius, *Propertius in Love: The Elegies*, trans, David R. Slavitt, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 26. For an historiography of Narcissus see Lieve Spaas and Trista Selous, *Echoes of Narcissus* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000). on Propertius see W. P. Trent, 'The Roman Elegy', *The Sewanee Review* 6, no. 3 (1898): 263.

[38] Polizzi, 'Le Poliphile ou l'Idée du jardin', 61–81; Gilles Polizzi, 'Le devenir du jardin médiéval? Du verger de la Rose à Cythère', in *Vergers et jardins dans l'univers médiéval*, Senefiance (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence,

fountains have in the love narrative, making them, as in the *Roman*, an integral structural component;[39] Efthymia Priki discerns in the texts a similar rhetoric of instruction as an integral process of the initiatory love journey;[40] and Roswitha Stewering notes how the assault of the castle of Venus where the rose lies is reiterated in Poliphilo's destruction of the curtain in the amphitheatre of Venus.[41] Kikham argues a formal similarity between the *Amorosa* and the *Hypnerotomachia,* observing a series of triumphs helping the poet to become worthy of Fiammetta's heavenly love, with an affirmation of the sensual path akin to Poliphilo's.[42]

These narratives lie within the literary discourse of elegy wherein we may discern the term *hereos* that compounds *eros* with the derivative of the term *hero*, associating with the love, creating the notion of the love-hero and, by association, the notion that to love is noble (otherwise one could not be *amor heroes).*[43] Indeed, as Giovanni Michele Savonarola writes in *Practica Major*: 'Hoc [nomen] nos decet honorare,/Arca cordis inserare,/Cogitare, peramare,/A more sed heroic', referring to the love-hero who honours the 'box of the heart.'[44] Similarly, Poliphilo narratively embraces and pursues the theme of love; despite the occasional malady of lovesickness, love drives the narrative and his pedestrian journey of self-transformation. He does not complain or attempt to remedy his love for Polia. On the contrary, he pursues love as the very purpose of his journey, as an *amor heroes*, as he narrates: 'Polia. Omè, paucula intermissione se praestava che quella amorosa et coeleste Idea non fusse simulacrata nella mente et sedula comite al mio tale et cusì incognito itinerario' [Polia. Ah, how short a time had this amorous and celestial ideal been absent from my mind, whose image was the perpetual companion of my unknown journey], or later when fleeing

2014), 267–88; Gilles Polizzi, 'L'estetique de l'enigme: le spectacle et le sense dans le "Songe de Polyphile"', *Rivista di letterature moderne e comparate* 16, no. 3 (1988): 209–33.

[39] Lees-Jeffries, 'Sacred and Profane Love', 1.

[40] Efthymia Priki, 'Teaching Eros: The Rhetoric of Love in the "Tale of Livistros and Rodamne," the "Roman de La Rose," and the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili"', *Interfaces: A Journal of Medieval European Literatures*, no. 2 (30 June 2016): 210–45.

[41] Stewering, 'Architectural Representations in the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" (Aldus Manutius, 1499)'.

[42] Kirkham, 'Hypno What?', 109. See also Pagliarini, 'La xilografia di Polifilo davanti alle tre porte dell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili'; Anna Klimkiewicz, 'Cultura sincretica dell'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili di Francesco Colonna', *Cuadernos de Filología Italiana* 21 (2014): 185.

[43] Lowes, 'The Loveres Maladye of Hereos', 42–48.

[44] Lowes, 42.

within the Magna Porta 'Et hora più ad la mia amabile Polia infixo, me cum innovati intricamenti più compressamente ligantime, suadevami cum ferma et adulatoria speranza quello per l'avenire amorosamente et adoria conseguire che' [Now, fixed all the more strongly on my beloved Polia, I tied myself to her with fresh bindings and resolved with firm and flattering hope that I would henceforth honour and adore her] the love of Polia drives the narrative, she is associated with the journey and with the divinity to which Poliphilo walks towards and perfects himself to be with, incrementally through progressive stages of self-transformation.[45]

In Alberti's amorous writings, love is a multifaceted process which may, for Filarco in *Deifira* embody the psychological interaction between the beloveds, resulting in emotional responses that initially bear no obsession with only pleasant possibilities, but eventually result in obsession, suffering, and even anger; while the elegiac character of Pallimacro embodies the longing of his beloved, concluding in a melancholic suffering and farewell: 'Goodbye, my homeland, goodbye my friends. Pallimacro, too faithful and too submissive a lover, flees to foreign countries, to live tearfully in exile.'[46] Here, the dangerous experience of love comments also on the dependency, obsession and possession of the beloved. Although discernible in Poliphilo's moments of experienced lovesickness (see above), the use of elegy in the *Hypnerotomachia* is otherwise a positive affair which drives Poliphilo to be mystically united with Polia, as Queen Eleuterylida states: 'Dunque, volendo tu nelle amorosa fiamme di Polia intrepido prosequire, convenevole cosa arbitro che per questa recuperatione vadi ad tre porte, ove habita l'altra regina Telosia' [Therefore, since you are bravely bent on pursuit of the amorous flames of Polia, I think it best for your attainment of her that you go to three portals, where the old queen Telosia dwells] or, walking through Telosia with the disguised Polia he thinks to himself, 'essendo Polia, la quale caelatamente me ha accenso et sencia inducia perure et delle flamme del rigido Cupidine per tutto me arde' [by this goddess who, being Polia, has enflamed me in disguise, so that I am blazing up in my whole being with the

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[45] *Hypnerotomachia*, 31; 65.
[46] Alberti, *Deifira*, in C. Grayson, ed., *Opere Volgari*, vol. 3 (Laterza: Bari, 1973), 245. Translated by myself.

flames of rigid Cupid] as opposed to physical stasis here there is movement, love drives the pedestrian journey through desire for Polia, resulting in the following scenes of self-transformation in the Temple of Venus Physizoa (chapter one).[47]

The elegiac portrayal of love's positive effect on Poliphilo also finds a courtly similarity of learning in Alberti's *Ecatonfilea*.[48] Here, the chivalrous lover is described as:

> Neither poor, unclear, dishonourable, nor cowards … studious of the good arts and letters … both bold and meek … poised, quiet modes … loving compassionate and respectful … and expert in music, sculpture, and any other most noble and useful art.

Alberti portrays the ideal lover, who has cultivated himself to be worthy of receiving love.[49] Poliphilo similarly says: 'il quale architecto … Et, oltra la doctrina, sia bono, non loquace, benigno, benivolo, mansueto, paciente, faceto, copioso, indagatore curisio, universale et tardo' [the architect … beside being learned, he should be well-spoken, kindly, benevolent, mild-mannered, patient, good-humoured, hard-working, a man of universal curiosity, and slow] drawing a portrait of the ideal architect as a reflection of self-perfectionism, where, to be a worthy lover of such buildings, requires self-perfectionism through cultivating learning and refining behaviour.[50]

Similarly, Piccolomini's *Historia de duobus amantibus* creates an elegiac portrayal of love between Lucretia and Euryalus, referencing Virgil's tenth *eclogue* in his defence in submitting to love: 'Amor vincit omnia et nos cedamus amori' (love conquers all, let us all yield to love). The characters' infatuation with each other, despite the difficult social situation in which they are placed, creates the dramatic tension customary in the genre demonstrating the anguish of love.

This elegiac portrayal was, however, radically altered in the later *De remedio amoris,* composed once Piccolomini became Pope Pius II, which examines the causes of falling in love as a cautionary warning to those students who may choose to avoid it. The text places the onus of love-malady on the woman, with rhetoric denoting its destructive power over man and its nature as wholly

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[47] *Hypnerotomachia*, 121; 187.
[48] Consider, for instance, *Novella di Ippolito e Lionora*; Leonardo Bruni, *Stratonice*; Alberti, *Deifira*, and *Ecatonfilea*.
[49] Aldo D. Scaglione, *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry and Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 232.
[50] *Hypnerotomachia*, 43.

against the rational intellect (a view that would later be reflected in Ferrend's treatise on lovesickness, viewing erotic love as a disease of the imagination.)[51] This contemporary notion finds sympathy in the readership of the *Hypnerotomachia*, which Edoardo Fumagalli discusses in the marginalia of one copy that reads 'Poliphilus, indulgens voluptati et delascivo amori, deperdit viam virtutis sequebaturque ignorantiam fomitem errorum' [Poliphilo, indulging in pleasure and lascivious love, loses the way of virtue and begins to follow ignorance, the kindling-wood of errors], displaying a readership critically reviewing the sensual elements of the text, and equating the disorientation of the *selva oscura* with sensual love.[52] Conversely, the pursuit and realisation of Poliphilo's love in Polia, although it brings suffering, is narratively composed as transforming the soul into a suitable vessel for its migration to heaven, as he explains, describing his amorous love of Polia before boarding Cupid's vessel to the isle of Venus Cytherea:

> Per la quale cosa digno non arbitrava essere né conveniente che l'amoroso et carbonculato core, in queste tale opere vigorosamente exercitato et sustinente, di summoverlo et per molestia debilitarlo, ma più presto modestissimamente io doveva quello tollerante supportalo, il quale tanto voluntiera per mio affabile contento havea operosamente contracto'

> (Therefore I thought it neither worthy nor proper that the amorous and glowing heart, vigorously exercised in such matters, should suffer itself to be upset and exhausted by its troubles, but rather that I should bear this burden quietly, since I had entered into this trouble of my own free will) (HP, 283-4).

It demonstrates the desire to experience love and pursue his journey to its completion through it.

Logistica's position in the text is as the representative of reason, establishing an affiliation with the contemporary fifteenth century genre of *anteros*. She is suspicious of love, affirming it as primal, void of reason and unsuited to the refined scholar, and that cultivated intellect is the only remedy for love. Like Alberti's Filarco, an evaluation of love with suspicion and the conclusion that it is

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[51] Jacques Ferrand, *A Treatise on Lovesickness*, ed. and trans. Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 151; Jamus Oomen and Woet L. Gianotten, 'Lovesickness', *Search of a Discarded Disease. Med Antropol* 20, no. 1 (2008): 73. See also Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *The Tale of Two Lovers, Eurialus and Lucretia*, Amsterdamer Publikationen Zur Sprache Und Literatur (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988); E. J. Morrall, 'The Tale of Eurialus and Lucretia by Aneas Sylvius Piccolomini and Niklas Von Wyle', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 81, no. 4 (1980): 428–38.
[52] Carver, *The Protean Ass*, 191–92.

something to avoid is echoed in Petrus Haedus's *Anterotica* (and similarly in Pietro Cavretto's *Anterotica sive De amoris generibus*, and Gerardus de Lisa's *de Flandria*), which is reflected in Logistica:[53]

> O di quanti delori et amara poena et cruciamento gerula sei! O pravo, impio et execrabile appetito, o insania detestabile, o defraudati sensi, per voi cursì lubricamente cum il medesimo piacere belluo et gli miseri mortali ruinano!
>
> (O how many sorrows, what bitter pain and torture you bear with you! O depraved, impious, and accursed desire, O detestable madness, O defrauded senses, which you seduce with the self-same bestial pleasure, for the ruin of miserable mortals.) (HP, 138).

Logistica, similarly, equates love with a bestial pleasure, relegating it to the animal kingdom, a form of madness that 'defraudati' the senses and makes 'gli miseri mortali ruinano', stopping short only of referencing the literary trope of the lover driven to suicide that was not without popularity in the Renaissance (noted in *Ippolito e Leonora*, Alberti's sonnet *Chi vol bella victoria e star sicuro* alongside other novellas presented by Luigi Monga).[54] There is an obvious echo of Petrus Haedus' *Anterotica*, where the sufferings of love are listed before love's remedy prescribed in philosophy and the urge of heavenly love.[55] The dominant force of Antonius in Books I and II says, referring to Virgil, that love is a 'hidden fire [that] once entering the chest eats the heart and like poison runs through the veins and, clinging to the bones, devours their marrow', illustrating the position of intellect remedying sensuality.[56] Both Antonius and Logistica see the body as pure before love pollutes it, in total contrast to regarding love as purification, initiation, and union with Polia.

What then, is the role of Logistica's portrayal of *anteros* and its relation to Poliphilo's self-transformation? The positive forms of elegy can be characterised by Thelemia and balanced by

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[53] Pietro Cavretto, *De amoris generibus* (per Gerardvm de Flandria, 1492); Latini Brunetto, *Le Trésor* (Treviso: Gerardus de Lisa, de Flandria, 1474); Sharon Ann Cioran, ed., *The Anterotica of Petrus Haedus* (London: Warburg Institute, 1971). For analysis on Petrus Haedus see Sharon Adams, 'The "Anterotica" of Petrus Haedus: A Fifteenth-Century Model for the Interpretation of Symbolic Images', *Renaissance and Reformation,* 2, no. 2 (1978): 111–26. For analysis on *anteros* as a literary response against the elegiac *spicciolate*, and not necessarily against love itself, see Stefano Cracolici, "'Remedia amoris sive elegiae': Appunti sul dialogo antierotico del Quattrocento", in *Il sapere delle parole: Studî sul dialogo latino e italiano del Rinascimento*, ed. Walter Geerts, Annick Paternoster, and Franco Pignatti (Rome: Bulzoni, 2001), 23–35. See also Massimo Ciavolella, 'Trois traités du XVe siècle italien sur Anteros: Contra amores de Bartolomeo Sacchi, Anterotica de Pietro Edo et Anteros de Battista Fregoso', in *Anteros: actes du colloque de Madison (Wisconsin) mars 1994*, 1994, 61–73.

[54] Luigi Monga, 'Romeo and Juliet Revisited: More Novelle from the Italian Renaissance', *Manuscripta* 33, no. 1 (1 March 1989): 47–48.

[55] Adams, 'The "Anterotica" of Petrus Haedus', 1978, 114.

[56] Cioran, *The Anterotica of Petrus Haedus*, I:x; Adams, 'The "Anterotica" of Petrus Haedus', 1978, 115.

Logistica, harmonising reason with sentimentalism creating, through the combination of elegy and *anteros*, a philosophical comment on the development of self-perfectionism through the balancing of both mental faculties. For instance, speaking of the third portal characterised by love, Thelemia says 'Questo è quell loco, Poliphile, ove non sarà dilation di tempo che tu trovarai senza fallo la più amata cosa da te, che è tua, ch'è cosa del mundo della quale il tuo obstinato core senza intermissione pensa et opta' [This is the place, Poliphilo, where it will surely not be long before you find the thing you love most: the thing that is yours, the one thing in the world which your obstinate heart unceasingly thinks about and hopes for] illustrating that her embodiment is characterised by the opposite of Logistica, encompassing all forms of sentimentality, including love.[57] Conversely, Logistica, as the faculty of reason, demonstrates her position by vehemently opposing the third portal of love, describing its inhabitants as 'O tristi et sciagurati chi se inviscida cum tanti mali in tanto poco et venefico piacere et in fincto bene praessati!' [0 tragic and unfortunate ones, who let themselves be lured by so slight and poisonous a pleasure and by deceptive goodness into a morass of evils!'] observing the 'lover' as a victim.[58] Poliphilo is, however, guided by both and proceeds to receive conceptualisation of his visions through both guides (see chapter one on the gardens of Eleuterylida) illustrating that his self-transformation is fundamentally based on his developed faculties of reason and sentimentality, but which, contrary to the genre of *anteros*, is not diminished by ultimately pursuing the *amorose fiamme*.

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[57] *Hypnerotomachia*, 139.

[58] *Hypnerotomachia*, 138-9.

8

Love and Initiation in Book II

> As I kept reviewing all these things, thinking especially of my imagined repugnance, I felt in my awkward and tremulous heart a warm and unexpected flame which throbbed gently as by little it grew, and as it spread by divine impulsion all through me and gradually changed me.
>
> Poliphilo
> *Hypnerotomachia* (p.419)

In the second book of the *Hypnerotomachia*, an integral part of the narrative of self-transformation relates to the experiences of love as a revelation of feeling (where the love of Polia ascends the soul to divinity) through the beatific effect of Polia's *honestum*, transforming the self on the one hand, whilst lovesickness causing physical decline, before a divine-sent love remedies the body and soul.[1] She is not simply the object of desire, but a paragon of beauty and virtue embodying physical and moral perfection, and in relation to the author's great interest of classical learning, she must most closely be defined by a Ciceronian conception of *honestum*.[2]

Polia and the second book of the *Hypnerotomachia* have received little critical reading, the latter regarded as an earlier piece of writing stuck on to the narrative. It is, nonetheless, the part of the text that has the most varied description of the sensory life of Poliphilo and Polia and offers the most heightened contrast between physical decrepitude and self-decline and a revelation in the realm of feeling and self-transformation.[3] Indeed, Luigi Foscolo Benedetto writes of the 'beauty

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[1] For a relationship between self and the sensory, see Richard Kearney, *The Wake of the Imagination*, 2nd US ed Minnesota University Press, Minneapolis MN (London: Routledge, 1992), 111; Martin Kemp, 'From Mimesis to Fantasia: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts', *Viator* 8 (1 January 1977): 347–98.

[2] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Officiis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), Book I. See also Max Pohlenz and Maria Bellincioni, *L'ideale di vita attiva secondo Panezio nel 'De officiis' di Cicerone* (Antikes Führertum, 1970): 35.

[3] For instance, in Trippe, '"The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili", Image, Text, and Vernacular Poetics', 1224; Lefaivre, 'The Metaphor of the Building as a Body in the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili"', 88; Stewering and Maher, 'The Relationship between World, Landscape and Polia in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', 2–6. Although the lack of research on Polia is not commented upon by Kallendorf, the disparate research is noted in Craig Kallendorf, 'Une fantaisie sur l'antique: le goût pour l'epigraphie funéraire dans l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili de Francesco Colonna',

and coherence of the second book, Polia's narrative with the first book, that of Poliphilo,' a view which Dronke confirms, consequently supporting the necessity of a narratological analysis.[4]

In this chapter I shall explore: how the experience of love in Poliphilo leads to a revelation of feeling that progresses his self-transformation and the relationship between Poliphilo's self-transformation and Polia's *honestum*; Poliphilo's lovesickness and its mimicry in Polia's diseased senses; and, lastly, love as remedy for the soul, body and both corporeal and incorporeal senses, as the force of initiation in the soul of Poliphilo, as he completes his journey of self-transformation.

Narratively speaking, love in the second book has no connection with the plastic arts, architecture, or any form of craftmanship, which earlier chapters focused on. It is not determined by the same narrative rules that would later define Book I (such as clearly defined symbolic themes characterising each realm: morality in realm 1, knowledge and epistemology in realm 2, love and ontology in realm 3, etc). The narrative of Book II is wholly controlled by the force of love and love's initiation, and is divided into three stages: the ignition of love; its detrimental effect through unfulfillment; and, finally, the remedy of love through its fulfilment once permitted by the gods:

<div align="center">TABLE OF THE THREE STAGES</div>

Sequential Narrative Spaces	1 Polia's home	2 Polia's home; Poliphilo's home; The Temple	3 The heavens
Narratological theme	Ignition of Love	Lovesickness	Love-remedy
Agency over threshold	*Honestum* and desire	Death and allegiance to Venus	Divine interference
Narratological Subject	Poliphilo	Poliphilo and Polia	Poliphilo, Polia, the heavens

Tab. 8.1)

This table displays the narrative's journey, without the intricate symbolic and allegorical devices of the first book. It illustrates a narrative concerning a sensory perception that involves Poliphilo's love, lovesickness and initiation, and Polia's spurning of love before embracing love. This section of the narrative, written earlier than Book I, facilitates a basic concept of self-transformation that

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Seventeenth - Century News 64, no. 1/2 (2006): 120. Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: edizione critica e commento*, ed. Giovanni Pozzi and Lucia Ciapponi, vol. 2 (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1968): 23.
[4] Peter Dronke, *Sources of Inspiration: Studies in Literary Transformation: 400-1500* (Rome: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1997): 164.

does not go through the same processes of self-transformation as the first book but nonetheless displays Poliphilo's final initiation into the heavens, fulfilling his self-transformation through love.

Honestum, Lovesickness, and Self-Transformation

The complex handling of love that we have explored in Book I, (displaying a philosophical dream narrative structure in which a Neoplatonic handling of the doctrine of the twin Venuses is related to literary discourses on love from a medical and elegiac perspective, beside contemporary influences of the *anteros* genre, that in various ways progress or obstruct Poliphilo's self-transformation (see previous chapter)) are mostly absent in Book II. There is instead a reliance on a medieval medical and elegiac handling of love in which, once Polia spurns Poliphilo's love, leads to an intense physical demise through lovesickness leading to death, before she embraces love and the Heavens initiate Poliphilo into his final state in the narrative. Self-transformation through love, here, is characterised through the simpler notion of a transformation in the realm of feeling, reminiscent of Medieval elegy, most notably in Boccaccio. Why then, we may ask, is it important to examine this second book, so different form the first, in relation to Poliphilo's self-transformation, which is a less developed theme here than in the first book? The answer to this is twofold: firstly, Poliphilo's pursuit of Polia that leads him to be received into the Heavens demonstrates the final state of his self-transformation; secondly, Polia is the vessel of moral perfection that leads Poliphilo to his final state of initiation. Here, we will make the assumption that the second Book was by the same author as the first, written at an earlier time, and that the ideas of the second book have been used to complete the story of the first book, written later.

From the beginning of Book II Polia is described as an embodiment of moral virtue, and the object of Polihpilo's desires, for whom he falls completely in love with, declaring: 'si nell atua diva natura et nella tua singulare bellecia vive quella virtute che l'alma mia como ad solo nel seculo electoet primario signore … hora movite placabile, benigna et mitific, soccorrendo agli mei gravi marttyri' [If in your divine nature and your unique beauty, that virtue still lives by which my soul,

having elected you as its sole ruler in this age as its first lord… pray be gracious, gentle and benevolent, to assuage my grave sufferings] and 'Heu me, Polia belissima, immo conspicuo exemplare di qualunche bellitudine' [Alas my beautiful Polia, paragon indeed of all loveliness].[5] On seeing her outward beauty manifested from inner virtue we come to quickly read an intense love infatuation, kindled at first sight, and reminiscent of Dante's description of first meeting Beatrice in *la vita nuova*.

In Ovid's *Heroides* we observe one of the few instances of the woman as narrator, yet Polia's characterisation of *honestum* more closely resembles the vernacular characters of Dante's Beatrice from *La vita nuova* and the *Commedia*, Petrarch's Laura from the *Canzoniere*, and Boccaccio's Fiammetta, for instance in *Il Filocolo*, *Amoroso visione*, and *Elegia di Madonna Fiametta*.[6] Unlike Fiammetta, or Ovid's *Heroides*, Polia does not lament her experience of love but rather shuns it:

> Et intromissa nel sancto tempio et nel consortiale convento et solitate, de molte altre virgine puelle ricevuta che a quella dea pudica et mundamente famulavano [Diana] … et essendosi islontano dal mio fredo core et più diviso che Abila da Calpe, et del mio sterile pecto d'amore fora abraso et totalmente diluto et della mia reminiscentia obliterato.
>
> (And so I entered the holy temple and was received into the isolated company of many other virgin girls in the unstained service of this chaste goddess [Diana]… He was as distant from my hard heart as Abila is from Calpe, for my sterile breast was washed and scrubbed absolutely clean of love.) (HP, 388-89)

Polia pursues a sacred service to Diana, renouncing love, and making herself the unrequited object of Poliphilo's desires whilst narratively assuming the position of virtue, morality, and chastity. She does not narratively assist Poliphilo like Beatrice (as she does in Telosia of Book I) or inspire and engender life as does Laura, but rather brings the experience of his love malady, narrated as: 'Poliphilo, misello amante che non appretiava più la gratiosa vita che la spaventevole morte'

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[5] *Hypnerotomachia*, 390; 392.

[6] Ovid, *Heroides* (Penguin UK, 2004), Ch.7; Dante Alighieri, *Vita nuova* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 72–77; Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy* (Oxford University Press, 1998), Paradiso.XXVII.88-96; Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, 90; 159; 248; Giovanni Boccaccio, *Filocolo* (Delphi Classics, 2017); Giovanni Boccaccio, *Amorosa visione* (G. C. Sansoni, 1944), 26.22-27; Giovanni Boccaccio, *Elegia di Madonna Fiametta* (Wildside Press LLC, 2008), 3.11.1-2. See Massimo Ciavolella. 'La tradizione dell' 'aegritudo amoris' nel "Decameron."' Giornale storico della letteratura italiana 147 (1970): 498–517; Massimo Ciavolella, 'La tradizione dell'" aegritudo amoris" nel" Decameron"', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 147, no. 460 (1970): 498-; Massimo Ciavolella, 'La malattia d'amore dall'antichità al Medioevo', *Bulzoni* 12 (1976); Giovanni Boccaccio, 'Elegia Di Madonna Fiammetta. In Tutte Le Opere Di Giovanni Boccaccio', ed. Alberto Limentani and Vittore Branca, *Edited by Vittore Branca. Verona: Mondadori* 2 (1964): 114–22.

[Poliphilo, miserable lover that he was, no longer valued sweet life any more than fearful death] bearing a destructive role. Her position in the narrative is consequently complex, assuming the position of Polia-Sophia, or spiritual guide in Book I, whilst her position in Book II firstly obstructs Poliphilo's journey of self-transformation (as at times it had in Book I) and creating the most potent examples of his physical degradation through lovesickness; and yet as her role changes from embodying *honestum* to embodying *honestum-venerium* she becomes the force of Poliphilo's initiation and fulfilment of self-transformation, once she embraces love. She remains, therefore, his means to initiation, after being the force of his physical decline.

Thematically, Polia's *honestum* drives the narrative of love through the perception of her physical appearance in response to Poliphilo's desire, despite shunning love, as she narrates: 'et per tanto mai non lassasse a mi qualunque di voi mirare che, tuta velitante …accedendo nell amia mente tranquilla a ccommovere la dilaniata Dirce, la piangiente Biblis, la invidiata Galathea' [But nymphs, do not wonder if you see me trembling all over … for my tranquil mind is shaken by the thought of lacerated Dirce, mourning Biblis, envied Galathea][7] describing the averse mental and physical effects of Poliphilo's love for her, establishing, through her trembling fear, an anxiety for giving herself over to love on account of her inner virtue and chastity.[8] Indeed, Polia wishes to maintain the vow of chastity she gave to Diana in return for saving her from the plague, and to assist in her temple. Here, we have the crux, for although Polia's *honestum* and outer manifestation of beauty is the reason for Poliphilo's love, conversely, Poliphilo's love is the force of death in Polia and represents to her an obstruction to her *honestum*.

What, then, is the type of self-transformation acknowledged and experienced by Poliphilo here? It is not the conceptual humanist ideas of the first book, certainly, but through his experience

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[7] *Hypnerotomachia*, 382.
[8] Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 10. See the trials of Lucrezia and Artemisia as testaments to male actions causing feminine loss of virtue in Thomas V. Cohen, *Love and Death in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 196. See also Richard G. Newhauser, 'The Senses in Medieval and Renaissance Intellectual History', *The Senses and Society* 5, no. 1 (March 2010): 7. On this topic, consider Helena Katalin Szépe, 'Desire in the Printed Dream of Poliphilo', *Art History* Vol. 19, no. No. 3 (September 1996): 381. See also Avesani, 'Intorno a Francesco Colonna e Marco Antonio Ceresa', 438–39.

of falling in love with Polia there is a transformation of another kind, experienced also in the first book alongside his many allegorical scenes of introspective revelation, that is a sentimental transformation in feeling. This, then, displays a more medieval handling of the theme, more characteristic of Boccaccio than the contemporary humanist authors used to characterise self-transformation through love in Book I. For instance, Poliphilo exclaims:

> Heimè Polia, nympha callitrica, dia mia, core mio, vita mia et lanista dolcissima dil'alma mia, habi pietate di me: si nella tua diva natura et nella tua singulare bellecia vive quella virtute che l'alma mia como ad solo nel seculo electo precipuo et primario signore, non reneunte ma festivamente offerentime, inclinoe arendevola, hora movite placabile, benigna et mitifica, soccorrendo agli mei gravi martyri.

> (Alas Polia - nymph of the lovely hair - my goddess - my heart - my life - and the sweet executioner of my soul - have pity on me! If, in your divine nature and your unique beauty, that virtue still lives by which my soul, having elected you as its sole ruler in this age and as its first lord, did not hesitate in its joyous offering but abased itself before you, pray be gracious, gentle and benevolent, to assuage my grave sufferings) (HP, 390)

Poliphilo's transformation of feeling (sentimental) is immediate and inexhaustible, causing him to write and recite poetry on his love of Polia and serenade her for a year, whether she appears at her balcony or not. Love has entirely consumed him and made him, through his capacity of feeling, to serve love, changing his emotional life, transforming and developing it accordingly.[9]

The process of this transformation on the level of feeling is through his sight of her, and this sensory experience of the gaze displays two qualities. Firstly, it demonstrates that his experience of intense feeling resonates with Polia's narrative position as a 'exemplare di qualunche bellitudine' [paragon of loveliness] and demonstrating that his revelation of feeling is related to her embodiment of *honestum*[10] For instance, regarding his love at first sight, she narrates:

> Io stava, come alle vage adolscentule è consueto, alla fenestra overamente al podio del palacio mio, cum gli mei biondissimi capelli, delitie puellare, per le candide spalle dispositi et dall'ambrosia cervice dependuli, quali fili d'oro …così ello, cum intenti et mordaci risguardi accortose, sencia mensuratione et cum incremento d'amor repente se accense.

> (I was standing one day, like any fair adolescent, at the window or balcony of my place, taking girlish delight in my blonde hair which hung down from my ambrosial neck over my white shoulders. It shimmered like threads of gold … he started with intent and piercing gaze, suddenly taking fire with immeasurable and increasing love.) (HP, 386).

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[9] *Hypnerotomachia*, 387.

[10] Ruth Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 25.

Her outer beauty as manifestation of inner virtue induces so great an effect on Poliphilo that his emotional life is completely transformed, he experiences an intense love and longing for her, becoming an *amor hereos* on account of her beauty and virtue. Secondly, as the power of the gaze is the first ignition of love for Poliphilo, the visual stimuli are thus a primary vehicle of love, revealing one's true character through outward form.[11]

Once Poliphilo has been struck by the power of Polia's form and its symbolic beauty, and once she has spurned his love, love's absence creates an excess of black bile, resulting in a melancholia in Poliphilo and a fixation due to an inability to relieve his lovesickness.[12] For instance, Polia narrates, 'tamen, ignaro che fare egli dovesse, si non mirare et remirare cum intentissimi obtuti la gratissima testa cum decoramento delle flave trecce, in cui decoramento esso summamente collocate havea solidamento' [but he did not know what to do, except stare and stare again with obsessive gaze on the charming head with its decoration of yellow tresses to which he had firmly attached himself].[13] Poliphilo is not the master of his gaze and in losing this becomes fated to the malady of physical decrepitude displaying the force of lovesickness in destroying his self, that was so recently transformed through the revelation of new-feeling through love. He proclaims further: 'Et però a questi mei asperi et insuportabili langori non più sperava di potere opportuno rimedio consequire si non quando gli benigni cieli te rivedere mi concedesseron' [I hoped for no other remedy to suit my bitter and unbearable languor than that the kindly heavens should allow me to see you again] emphasising the visual power and effect over his physical body.

The obsessive longing to look at her displays the power of the visual stimulus of sight to cause obsession, further exasperating the effects of lovesick anguish into a self-repeating behavioural pattern, as Polia narrates:

> Omni singulo dì dal palacio mio sedulo viagio prendeva; a l'alte et vacue fenestre riguardando, non valeva adimpire il frameo desio di rivederme almeno una fiata … vigilie, canti et soni cum parolette da sospiri formate cum urgente solicitudine vanamente

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[11] Possibly echoing the Epicurean doctrine of the origin of ideas, see Domenico Gnoli, 'Il sogn di Polifilo', *La Bibliofilia* 1, no. 8/9 (1899): 207.

[12] Peter L. Allen, *The Wages of Sin: Sex and Disease, Past and Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 2.

[13] *Hypnerotomachia*, 389.

deperdite solamente esso pena et tedio del suo fastidioso et molesto vivere disperato consequiva et continua tristitudine et l'animo di amaricata doglia indesinente affligere.

(Every single day he headed for my palace, and looked up at the high and empty windows, for he could not free himself from the desire to see me at least once more … serenading with instruments and singing poems that he had formed out of sighs; but his urgent solicitude was all in vain. The pain and tedium of this disagreeable and grievous way of life drove him to despair and continual depression.) (HP, 387).

The detrimental power of sight leads to the deterioration of Poliphilo's health through lovesickness, described as causing 'fervido et insolentemente inamorato' [perpetual sorrow and anxiety].[14] This is described by Polia as:

Et quanto horamai esso valeva, cum gli pauculi spirituli trovandose et cum debelecia et laxitate et cum il volto discoloro

(He could scarcely find the breath to speak, as with extreme weakness and face discoloured). (HP, 390).

And further:

Et per novissimo refugio di questo, nel presente il morire meglio mi fia che erumnosamente et sencia il tuo amore vivere.

(As a last resort, it seems to me better to die now, rather than to live burdened with the absence of your love.) (HP, 390).

This passage of a physically altered state describes the further detrimental effect of unrequited love on the body. Gerard lists two forms of relief: *psychical* (through conversation or pleasant pastimes, such as reciting music) or *somatical* (through intercourse, wine, baths and evacuation). The former, which Poliphilo pursues, and the latter he eventually attains, supports a standard *amor hereos*, echoed in Maurizio Calvesi's description as 'the unbreakable chains that bind him to Polia.'[15]

The external force of love is charged with the power for interior change. As we have already noticed love transformed the inner-life of Poliphilo in the realm of feeling, before lovesickness, on account of Polia's spurned love, physically corrupted his body, leaving it decreasingly functional. However, what is most puzzling in the narrative is that, although Polia experiences no

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[14] *Hypnerotomachia* 389.
[15] Valeria Sobol, *Febris Erotica: Lovesickness in the Russian Literary Imagination* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2011), 7; Mary F. Wack, 'Lovesickness in "Troilus"', *Pacific Coast Philology* 19, no. 1/2 (1984): 56. Consider also Louise Fothergill-Payne, *Parallel Lives: Spanish and English National Drama, 1580-1680* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1991), 272; Calvesi, *Il sogno di Polifilo prenestino*.

feeling of love that has transformed her inner-life, nevertheless, she experiences a similar material

corruption that impairs her physical and mental state through out of balance humours in response

to Poliphilo. This curiously placed plot device narratively mirrors Poliphilo's own deterioration,

meaning that, although only Poliphilo is in love, yet both are now physically in decline until Polia's

own inner-life will be transformed through love. For instance, Polia narrates that her nurse:

> Piamente refocilante, … proferendose di tuti mei gravi et molesti langori essere vera
> remediatrice si io ad gli sui trutinati et salutiferi moniti arendevola me prestarò observabile.
> Et quivi, sublata di omni altro pensiero et extraneo cogitato soluta, precipua et solamente
> ad gli sui fidi et dolati consiglii sequissima imitatrice et cum miro effecto mansuetissima
> disciplinabonda me offerisco, si essa solamente fora di tanto angustioso, afflicto et
> prodigioso periculo traherae la mente mia et la successiva vita di tanto merore et lucto.

> (She gently revived me … then revealed that she could in fact cure my grave and painful
> state, so long as I would follow obediently her well-weighed and helpful advice.
> Thereupon, freed from every other thought and distracting idea, I offered myself wholly
> and exclusively to her faithful and compassionate advice as an obedient follower, tame,
> and disciplined to a remarkable degree, if only she would free my mind from such pain,
> affliction, and prodigious danger, and my future life from such chagrin and sorrow.) (HP,
> 408).

Polia is in a physical condition of impairment and mental anxiety due to rejecting love (as opposed

to being infatuated by Poliphilo) and yet the remedy, akin to lovesickness, is to follow her nurse's

advice and pursue love to cure her physical and mental malady, like a prescription for a real

lovesickness.[16] This inverts the traditional experience of lovesickness (perhaps most likely through

jest at the serious elegiac medieval narratives) and we read that she is cured only from her

'angustioso' [pain], 'aflicto' [affliction], 'merore' [chagrin], and 'lucto' [sorrow] through following

love, similarly suggesting a somatic remedy of a genuine lovesickness, which as we know, is not

presently manifest. Love, thus, has the power to transform the self through the revelation of feeling

on first seeing the outward form of beauty and *honestum*, to deteriorate the body through

lovesickness, and to manifest its physical effect of this malady even without the emotional

reception in the inner-life of Polia.[17]

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[16] Toohey, 'Love, Lovesickness, and Melancholia', 269.

[16] Michal Altbauer-Rudnik, 'The Changing Faces of Love Torments: Continuity and Rupture in the Medical Diagnosis of Lovesickness in the Modern West', *Knowledge and Pain*, 1 January 2012, 83–106.

[17] For some Renaissance accounts of lovesickness see also Donald Beecher, 'Citations from Antiquity in Renaissance Medical Treatises on Love', *Parergon* 12, no. 1 (1994): 1–13.

Love and the Diseased Senses

Now that we have examined how self-transformation operates in the second book, that is, through a transformation through love sentimentally in the realm of feeling (characterising a medieval handling of the theme) and having observed, through unrequited love, and through hard-heartedness, a physical decline takes place, we shall now look at the extent of the detrimental and destructive power of love, through the subject of the 'sensuale morbo' [diseased senses] in the second part of Book II, before continuing with love as a force for self-transformation.

The detrimental effect of love in the second stage of the narrative of Book II is described as a worsening of lovesickness into a sensory decrepitude.[18] The impairment of the senses is such that they are considered diseased, representing the height of the malady of love's destructive power. In the second stage of the narrative, sight, the vehicle for lovesickness in the first stage, now becomes corrupted alongside the body that became corrupted in the first stage. Polia narrates:

> Et quello nel contrario volerlo adaptare et rivertire, dil tuto alienato per fallace estimatione, summamente difficillimo se dimonstra. Et diciò mirando non si presta unoquantulo si il senso, alcuna fiata dipravato, distorto et corrupto, le cose di materia dulcicule, ingrata inusave, aspernabile et amare soleno aparere. Et meno maraveglioso se offerisse, prestantissime nymphe, se la candidecia algli 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 consperse, obtecte di caligine, di vomicione sepiale perfuse et di atramento infuscate … senza dubio non per diffecto dillo obiecto, ma per il sensuale morbo.
>
> (Wanting to adapt and turn it in a contrary and altogether alien direction seems to it faulty judgement altogether too difficult. one should not be surprised in the least if its senses are sometimes depraved, distorted and corrupted, so that things of an agreeable nature seem to it unwelcome, despicable, and bitter. Nor is it any wonder, distinguished nymphs, if white appears black and offensive to the 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 … this is not the fault of the object, but of their diseased senses.) (HP, 409).

The distorted senses, referencing the medieval conception of love's assault on the eyes, have compromised the visual data and consequently places Polia at odds with the true nature of her

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[18] François Quiviger, *The Sensory World of Italian Renaissance Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), 99. Consider also the influence of Aristotelian thought in the popular *ars memorativa,* in Karen Pinkus, 'The Moving Force in Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies*, Ed. Rhoda Schnur (Copenhagen: Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts, 1991), 831–38.

external surroundings. It is an inversion of the standard of the female eye emitting harmful rays, synonymous with arrows, experienced by Polia, akin to Francesco Landini's lament of 'gli ochi angosciosi e l'corp' afflitto e lasso' and similar to Petrarch's 'ochi lagrimosi e nfermi', for here Poliphilo's gaze has destroyed her own.[19] There is still no reference to her feelings for Poliphilo, only a mirroring of his sensory degradation and a mimicry of lovesickness.

This passage marks an important distinction within the theoretical framework: while the body is regarded in Aristotelian terms, affecting behaviour and mental anguish, the soul is reserved for Platonic attributes. Aristotle observes sight as a receptacle power, receiving all forms as they exist before us, whereas in the *Timaeus* Plato views perception as an exchange, not simply receiving light and comprehending objects, but omitting a light from the eye, where vision becomes an active exchange in order to comprehend an object.[20] The distortion of the sensible object may thus refer to the corruption of sight in Polia, through the adverse effects of love at work on her soul suggesting that hard-heartedness will destroy both body and soul, as will lovesickness. And further suggesting that only receiving the transformative power of love can remedy both maladies.

As with other medieval romances displaying the heavens interference with man on the theme of love (such as *Livistros and rodamne*, and particularly Boccaccio's tale of Nastagio from *Decameron*) of Polia narrates her vision of the torment of chaste women who do not submit to love, describing in a rational explanation her experience of the heavens interfering with her own dreams. She describes: 'et, reserato il femello pecto suo, il vivace core detraxe, et quello ad gli feri volatili proiecto et le fumante viscere alle sceve aquile et il residuo degli pallidi corpi inquartato ad gli rabidi animali iactato' [Then slicing open the woman's breast, he tore out the still beating hearts and threw them to the birds of prey. He gave their steaming innards to the ill-omened eagles, and the

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[19] 'With anguished eyes and a weak, afflicted body'; 'tearful and infirm eyes' in Julie Singer, *Blindness and Therapy in Late Medieval French and Italian Poetry* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), 48, 50. Consider also Sophie Ossterwijk's essay commenting on sensory perception in relation to the experience of the flesh as tropes of in Sophie Oosterwijk, 'Sensing the Death: The Danse Macabre in Early Modern Europe', in *Sense and the Senses in Early Modern Art and Cultural Practice* (London: Routledge, 2017), 77–92.
[20] Pauliina Remes, *Neoplatonism* (London: Routledge, 2014), 138. Consider also the relationship between and truth, and the intellect (nous) in Aphrodite Alexandrakis and Nicholas J. Moutafakis, *Neoplatonism and Western Aesthetics* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2002), 72.

rest of their pallid bodies he quartered and threw to the raving beasts] here, chastity becomes a sin opposed to virtue (Figures 8.1-3).[21] The imagery draws a connection between the physical and incorporeal, commenting on the corruptible body burdening the soul, and also on Polia's position as embodiment of *honestum* which, without being given over to love, is now ironically the force of death in both Poliphilo and Polia.[22] It relates to the Socratic position that love only resides in the soft hearts of those open to receive it, and an echo of Plotinus's description of the passivity of the human subject with regards to mystic visions and the activity of the heavens in creating the vision:

> Not to pursue it [the vision] but to wait quietly for it to appear and prepare to look at it just as the eye waits for the rising sun.[23]

Love is imposed on Polia by the agency of the gods, to whom she must submit for the remedy of not only her nightmare, but the diseased senses that now characterise the corporeal bodies of herself and Poliphilo.

Fig. 8.1) Maidens being whipped in Polia's nightmare (p.400) *Fig. 8.2)* Maidens being dismembered in Polia's nightmare (p.401)

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[21] *Hypnerotomachia* 406.

[22] Paola Tinagli et al., *Women in Italian Renaissance Art: Gender, Representation and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 21–46. Consider also the notion of the corruptible body in Saint Augustine of Hippo, *Augustine: The City of God Against the Pagans* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 385; Plato, *Plato's Phaedo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 79c.

[23] Plotinus, *The Enneads*, V. 5. 8. 3-5; John Stephens, *The Italian Renaissance: The Origins of Intellectual and Artistic Change Before the Reformation* (London: Routledge, 2014), 23–29.

Fig. 8.3) Polia and Poliphilo being driven from the temple of Diana (p.423)

In the second book there are no details or terminology of architecture, and the only references to the natural world symbolically emphasise the harshness of the environment of Polia's dream, after the whirlwind takes her into the arid forest.[24] The vegetable and animal kingdoms heighten the psychological state of fear that Eros induces in her (inverting the medieval concept of plants as a form of medicine noted in Chapter five).[25] For instance, thorn bushes (p.399, p.400), briar-brakes (p.402), sloe-trees (p.402), dog-roses (p.402) and Christ-thorns (p.402), are used for their visually-threatening appearance, in contrast to the red roses (p.425), and myrtle (p.425) in Polia's bedroom. Nature is used as an expressive device to symbolise the threat of death, inducing fear. This is further emphasised by the use of animals in the dream of the maidens being whipped and cut to pieces: the lion (p.402), wolf (p.402) and kite (p.402) (Figure 8.1). Taken from Boccaccio's Nastagio from *Decameron*, where a vision reveals the gruesome consequence for a woman who will not submit to love (Figures 8.5-8), animals are here used to symbolically represent the destructive

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[24] Quiviger, *The Sensory World of Italian Renaissance Art*; Louise Vinge, *The Five Senses: Studies in a Literary Tradition* (Solna: Liber Läromedel, 1975).

[25] Cristina Bellorini, *The World of Plants in Renaissance Tuscany: Medicine and Botany* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 1. Consider also Gilles Polizzi's criticism that the narrative is analysed largely as a pretext for descriptions, instead of in the evolving literary techniques, such as the influence of *Livre du Cuer d'Amours espris*, Polizzi, 'Le Poliphile ou l'Idée du jardin', 62. On matters of description see Efthymia Priki, 'Crossing the Text/Image Boundary: The French Adaptations of Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 2012, 19. On analysing levels of meaning adapted from classical narratives and reconstructs the conventional allegorical account of the enigma and intertextuality see Gilles Polizzi, 'Emblématique et géométrie: l'espace et le récit dans le Songe de Poliphile (traduction par Jean Martin de l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili de Francesco Colonna)' (thesis, Aix-Marseille 1, 1987).

results of shunning Poliphilo's love. Simona Cohen points out the importance of context for explaining the symbolism of animals in the medieval tradition, where the lion may represent the destructive power of the devil, such as the depiction on the Parma baptismal font where *salve me ex ore leonis* is inscribed beside a depiction of a lion claiming its victim.[26] Like Nastagio, Polia regards this iconographic dream of warning to be as real as the life she narrates. The imagery, taken from Boccaccio, demonstrates that, even in the virtuous *honestum* of Polia's life, without submitting to love, a celestial torment awaits her, in conjunction with the physical decrepitude of the senses, demonstrating, and not without tongue-in-cheek humour, mankind's place to be servants love.

Fig. 8.4) Maiden devoured by lion, wolf and kite in Polia's nightmare (p.403)

Fig. 8.5) Botticelli, Nastagio meets the woman and the knight in the pine forest of Ravenna, Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 8.6) Botticelli, Killing of the woman, Prado, Madrid.

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[26] Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (London: BRILL, 2008), 215; Pia F. Cuneo, *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (London: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014), 76.

Fig. 8.7) Botticelli, The banquet in the forest, Prado, Madrid.

Fig. 8.8) Botticelli, Marriage of Nastagio degli Onesti, Palazzo Pucci, Florence.

At the end of the second stage of the Book II Poliphilo, in his accommodation, narrates a reference to Socrates:

> O me, potess'io aprirgli et discoprirli l'animo mio et indicare gli mei intrinsichi disii, cum il socratico affecto di fenestrare il pecto et di monstrarli la percussura dell'amorosa plaga et lo immoderato amore che io li porto et dirgli del mio premente laqueo et della urgente fiamma, per la quale liquato il core se strugie, et monstrarli la dissipatione della amorosa vita.
>
> (Ah, that I might open and bare my soul to her and tell her my inmost desires! Follow Socrates's idea, I would make a window in my breast and show her where the wound of love had struck. I would tell her of my boundless passion for her, of the tight snare in which my heart was caught, the burning flame in which it was melting, and show her how my amorous life was ebbing away.) (HP, 440).

He references Socrates's comment that love comes to those who are ready and open themselves to its presence.[27] It conjoins this idea with the notion that moving away from love leads to torments, as if it is against heavenly law and suggests to be fully human is to love. This further comments on the notion of self-transformation through the revelation of love in the realm of feeling, suggesting that only through love can Poliphilo, and Polia, experience self-transformation.

This epistemological alteration regarding the incorporeal allows for love to thematically alter from being a detrimental force to one that nurtures life within the narrative.[28] Love as a force for

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[27] Consider the analysis of interiority of Poliphili in the first book in Piña Rubio, Liza Nereyda, 'Los espacios insondables del hombre interioren la Hypnerotomachia Poliphili de Francesco Colonna. Lección monástica, visión y memoria medieval', *Thesis (Doctorate in Literature) - Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2018.*, 2018.

[28] Consider also the relation between the physical and metaphysical tropes in Quattrocento experiences in the argument of Katie Barclay and Bronwyn Reddan, *The Feeling Heart in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Meaning, Embodiment, and Making* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), 31. Consider also the place of the domestic interior as a space for health and wellbeing in Russel Susan, 'The Villa Panphilij on the Janiculum Hill: The Garden, The Senses and Good Health in Seventeenth-Century Rome', in *Sense and the Senses in Early Modern Art and Cultural Practice* (London: Routledge, 2017), 129–48.

positive transformation in the third stage of Book II replaces its detrimental predecessor and, like the *Roman de la rose*, a poetic theology of love is introduced through the narrative interference of Eros.[29] For instance, when Polia returns to where Poliphilo has died from lovesickness, she narrates (Figure 8.9):

> Et più et più seratamente abraciantilo se riscaldorono excitati gli sui fugati spiriti, et il vivace core sopra sé le tanto optatissime carne sentendo, nelle quale l'alma sua vigendo se nutriva, se evigiloe suspirulante et reaperte le occluse palpebre… sencia vario di hora, rivenne nelle mie caste et delicate bracce.

> (As I hugged him closer and closer, his fleeting spirits began to warm and revive, his heart beat faster as it felt the beloved flesh above it, feeding and invigorating his soul, and with a sigh he awoke and opened his sealed eyelids … and in no time at all he regained consciousness in my chaste and delicate arms.) (HP, 421).
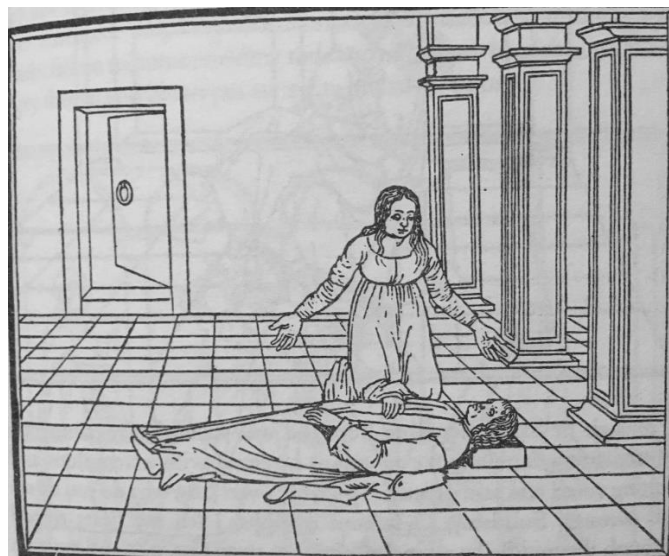
Fig. 8.9) Polia over the dead body of Poliphilo (p.421)

Love has transitioned from what Danijela Kambaskovic refers to as a 'cornucopia of … hearing, taste, and smell' in Book I into a strongly emphasised perception of sight in the experience of love, lovesickness, death, and return to life through Polia's submission to love.[30] Polia further adds: 'Per la quale cosa essendo Amore cum duratrice firmitudine nel mio abstemio et illibato pecto cum più forte fiamma d'omni hora fermentantise' [This caused Amor to establish himself firmly in my abstemious and inviolate breast, and to ferment with hourly increasing flame.][31] Polia's experience

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[29] Hyde, *The Poetic Theology of Love*, 19.
[30] Danijela Kambaskovic-Sawers and Charles T. Wolfe, 'The Senses in Philosophy and Science: From the Nobility of Sight to the Materialism of Touch', in *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 117.
[31] *Hypnerotomachia* 424.

blurs the division between metaphysical and physical, now echoing the literary mythological trope of gods interacting with humanity (referenced also in the Roman *rosalia,* where Venus appears from her waters to visit the sarcophagus of Adonis and perform the rites of the dying roses) and where Poliphilo traverses to the heavens and achieves the help of Eros.[32]

We have observed how hard-heartedness to love results, in the narrative, with the same effect as lovesickness, demonstrating how the remedy, and means to self-transformation on the level of sentiment, or feeling, may only result through submission to love. Now we shall observe love as remedy of the diseased senses, lovesickness, and the means to Poliphilo's final stage of self-transformation.

Love as Remedy of the Senses and force of self-transformation

There is, throughout the second book, a constant repetition of the heart aflame with the fires of love. Allegorically it relates to the emotional state of the protagonists and their fulfilment in divinely-inspired love, whilst possibly commenting on the medieval concept of *caritas* – and consequently negating Antony Colantuono's notion that this narrative only instructs the reader on the natural cause of sexual desire – as it describes the interplay between divine and mortal love.[33]

The heart has transitioned from hard-hearted to soft, love-inviting and now aflame, sitting at a crux between open and closed and offering what Barclay and Redding call 'the location of secrets and hidden truth.'[34] For instance, Polia recounts her initial transformation from being chaste to submitting to Eros as:

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[32] Daniela Ciani Forza and Simone Francescato, *Perfume and Literature: The Persistence of the Ephemeral* (Padua: Linea, 2017), 98; Patricia Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 74; A. S. Hoey, 'Rosaliae Signorum', *Harvard Theological Review* 30, no. 1 (January 1937): 30.

[33] Consider also Antony Colantuono's notion of the narrative being a reflection on the Aristotelian theory of libidinal seasons and the natural causes of sexual desire as a health manual to elite readership, in Anthony Colantuono, *'Titian, Colonna and the Renaissance Science of Procreation': Equicola's Seasons of Desire* (London: Routledge, 2017), 180; Patricia Simons, 'The Flaming Heart: Pious and Amorous Passion in Early Modern European Medical and Visual Culture', in *The Feeling Heart in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Meaning, Embodiment, and Making*, ed., Katie Barclay and Bronwyn Reddan (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), 31; Carol Williams, 'Two Views of the Feeling Heart in Troubadour Song", in *The Feeling Heart in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Meaning, Embodiment, and Making* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019).

[34] Katie Barclay and Bronwyn Reddan, *The Feeling Heart in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Meaning, Embodiment, and Making* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019). Introduction. See also Chloé Vondenhoff, 'Matter(s) of the Heart in Yvain

Et merco replicando tutte queste cose et né prima tale imaginario repudio pensiculato hebbi che dentro dal tremulo et rude core una tepida et inopinata flammula mi sentivi procedere cum uno paulatino incremento gliscente et cum uno dolcello palpitato et divinulo impulsato per tuta diffusamente dispensantise et.

(As I kept reviewing all these things, thinking especially of my imagined repugnance, I felt in my awkward and tremulous heart a warm and unexpected flame which throbbed gently as by little it grew, and as it spread by divine impulsion all through me and gradually changed me.) (HP, 419).

The transformation has both a mental and metaphysical aspect. Love is not only an experience of the sensory but a divinity affecting her, and consequently Poliphilo's final state of self-transformation through her receptive and freely-given love. This theology of love finds a similarity, for instance, in Uc Brunec's Ovidian stanza:

Amors, que es us esperitz cortes,
Que no s laisse vezer mas per semblans,
Quar d'huelh en huelh salh e fai sos dous lans,
E d'huelh en cor e de coratge en pes[35]

(Love is a courteous spirit
Who lets himself be seen only in his semblance,
For he shoots his sweet arrows from the eyes to the eyes,
And passes from the eyes to the heart and from the heart to the thoughts.)

The physical perception blurs the threshold between metaphysical and physical, written in the language of experience describing love that has entered the body and soul, affecting both.

Poliphilo similarly states:

Non per altro modo l'alma mia intersita et nel fornaculato pecto introclusa da isfocato et ardente amore consumavase. Perché non tanto la humanitate guade et gesticula usando gli sui delectamenti, quanto se dolora poscia et contristase più della privatione di quelli.

(My soul was just like that, shut up inside my furnace of a breast, and consumed with fiery and ardent love. For the happiness that humans get from their enjoyments is less than the sorrow and regret they feel when they are deprived of them.) (HP, 442).

This notion of opposites existing in a single force within a theology of love registered through the senses also echoes the metaphysical ontology in Cusan philosophy, the *coincidentia oppositorum*, where knowledge of divinity is obtained through contemplation on the existence of all things that

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and Ívens', in *The Feeling Heart in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed., Katie Barclay and Bronwyn Reddan (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), 43. On analysis of gender politics of the heart see Susan Boomhall, 'Heart Tombs: Catherine de'Medici and the Embodiment of Emotion', in *The Feeling Heart in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed., Katie Barclay and Bronwyn Reddan (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019).

[35] Hyde, *The Poetic Theology of Love*, 33. See also L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 133.

exist in contraries, as Tansillo exclaims in Bruno's *Eroici fuori*.[36] The language here is physical yet

metaphysical, spatial and in-corporeal, unifying the physical and metaphysical within this classical

philosophical trope. Narratologically, sensory perception is drawn inward, focusing on the heart

as a centre of the emotional life.

Polia, in the third part of Book II, after Eros wounds her with love, narrates:

> Per l'amore del quale hogimai excludendo omni rigidecia et postponando omni austeritate; et humanato dolcemente omni ferino et dispiacevole animo; et convertito in una fornacula il regente pecto di incense amore … dal continuamente pensare dil quale non valeva l'alma mia sequestrare, perché ivi intrusa comprehendeva incredibel dilectamento.

> (For love of him I henceforth renounce all hardness and put aside all austerity; I gently tamed my wild and disagreeable soul, and transformed my frigid breast into a furnace of burning love … My soul could not separate itself from its constant thought of him, for it felt incredible delight in thus being penetrated.) (HP, 425).

The imagery of penetration of the heart recalls Saint Teresa's experiencing the piercing arrow of

heavenly love into the heart, emphasising from the saint's reference the power that love has on

transforming the soul.[37] Part of the agency of love as a healing and transformational force is the

through interference of heaven in physical bodies in a poetic theology of love. Saint Teresa states:

> I saw in his hand a long spear of gold, and at the iron's point there seemed to be a little fire. He appeared to me to be thrusting it at times into my heart, and to pierce my very entrails; when he drew it out, he seemed to draw them out also, and to leave me all on fire with a great love of God. The pain was so great, that it made me moan; and yet so surpassing was the sweetness of this excessive pain, that I could not wish to be rid of it. The soul is satisfied now with nothing less than God. The pain is not bodily, but spiritual; though the body has its share in it.[38]

The penetration of love narrated by Polia, echoing Teresa's ecstasy, looks narratologically to the

consummation of Polia and Poliphilo's marriage in the bathhouse of Venus, where Poliphilo,

enacting love's ecstasy, penetrates Polia whilst emphasising the divine rites that this enacts. This

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[36] Patricia Skinner, *Health and Medicine in Early Medieval Southern Italy* (Leiden: BRILL, 1997), 93; Daniel McCann and Claire McKechnie-Mason, 'Dreadful Health: Fear and "Sowle-Hele" in The Prickynge of Love', in *Fear in the Medical and Literary Imagination, Medieval to Modern: Dreadful Passions* (New York: Springer, 2018), 18–19. See also the mental and physical relationship of fear in May Ann Lund, 'Without a Cause: Fear in the Anatomy of Melencholy', in *Fear in the Medical and Literary Imagination, Medieval to Modern: Dreadful Passions* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 43; Noel L. Brann, *The Debate Over the Origin of Genius During the Italian Renaissance: The Theories of Supernatural Frenzy and Natural Melancholy in Accord and in Conflict on the Threshold of the Scientific Revolution* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 320.
[37] It also comments upon the natural possession of patriarchy upon the feminine body, see Judith C. Brown, Robert C. Davis, and Robert C. Davis, *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* (London: Routledge, 2014), 151–57.
[38] Saint Theresa, *The Life of St. Teresa of Avilla by Herself* (London: Penguin Classics, 2004), XXIX–17.

blends further the physical and metaphysical tropes into an epistemologically homogenous narrative, tying the more realistic beginning of Book II with the poetic theology of love which characterises the climax of Book II.

Narratologically, Polia's *homodiegetic voice* finds closure the closer physical and metaphysical bodies become united, and where love becomes the force of initiation for Poliphilo. In this sense, the realism of *story* present in Polia's episodes are undermined through the author's *metanarrative* as it ultimately focuses on male transformation. Although Polia undergoes a transformation through love, she is not given the same psychological characterisation in her relationship with the mysteries. Instead, despite the female voice being prominent in the second book, the focus is mostly male.

The final stage of self-transformation for Poliphilo occurs when he experiences his soul separated from the body, which is lifeless on earth (Figure 8.9). As Joscelyn Godwin has observed, the narrative of Polia being devoted to Diana before granting love to Poliphilo – following Poliphilo's beseeching Eros – and taking refuge in Venus's rival temple after being expelled by the devotees of Diana, shares Homeric themes of the rivalry of gods affecting human action.[39] Poliphilo narrates: 'Essendo dunque per tale modo rapta et sublimata et di mirare le coeleste opere stupefacta, et resucato il fluxo delle solicite lachryme et auscultati benignamente gli mei miserandi lamenti' [While I was thus utterly rapt and transported, and stupefied with admiration of the celestial works, the flow of my tears was dried and my sad laments were kindly heard.][40] The remedy of his senses and their transformation depends on the deeds of the gods, and depends upon the narrative theme of love.[41] This point is reiterated when Poliphilo states:

> La diva antista … disse: 'Cusì como agli dii immortali hae piasuto, non altramente fia. Diqué sancto et iusto a mi pare che vui dal primo stato deviate ad uno più laudabile demigrare. Siate dunque da me benedicti, et vivite foelici amorosi, et seduli visitate questo sancto tempio per vostro tutto confugio et sicuro praesidio del vostro mutuo amore et aequa dilectione.

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[39] Godwin, *The Real Rule of Four*, 129–31.
[40] *Hypnerotomachia*, 460.
[41] For the negative and remedial attitudes towards sex, see Luke DeMaitre, *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe: The Art of Healing, from Head to Toe* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 310.

(The holy Priestess … said, 'As it has pleased the immortal Gods, so be it, and not otherwise. It seems to me holy and just that you should graduate from your first state to a more praiseworthy one. Be therefore blest by me: live in amorous happiness and visit often this holy Temple, which is your refuge and the sure protector of your mutual love and equal delight.) (HP, 461).

Poliphilo, transformed through the narrative from normality a revelation of love in the realm of feeling, to then fall victim to lovesickness, now experiences a metaphysical percept through love initiating him into the mysteries, completing the journey of self-transformation (Figure 8.10).

Fig. 8.10) Poliphilo beseeching Venus and Eros (p.457)

His sensory perception reflects his interior transformation, changed from internal anguish, anxiety, and distorted senses which is poised on the crux of Polia's submission to love and the rule of Venus. For instance, Poliphilo narrates:

> Imperoché io tanto extremamente la amo che unque me ho ritrovato mio, ma sempre tutto suo: iusta cosa è che cusì, como io sono tutto suo et humile servo, et ella uniformamente sia tutta mia veneranda signora et totalmente possessora … excellente sacrificula, essando sola et praecipua nella cui sententia consiste et depende il potere di communire sotto questo amoroso iugo et cum summa peritia amaestrare et disciplinare quelli che del tutto sono cum sincere et puro core addicti a questo sancto famulato, de le sanctissime et mysteriose fiamme perpetuo servire.

> (For I love her so extremely that I am no longer mine, but am hers entirely; thus it is only just since I am all hers, and her humble servant, she should correspondingly be my venerated lady and possess me totally … O excellent Priestess [you] are the best and only one who can make the decision and wield the power to unite under this amorous yoke; the one with the high knowledge to control and discipline those who are sworn, with sincere and pure hearts, to this holy and perpetual service of the sacred and mysterious flames.) (HP, 430).

Love is the vehicle of transformation that, through the receptive organs of sensory perception beside the open and receptive heart, remedies the soul through the revelation of love in the realm of sentiment, or feeling, and that can, in this instance, initiate the soul into the heavens. It neither promotes the corporeal over the in-corporeal, or the metaphysical over the physical but emphasises a holistic notion of love's transformative powers. Yet, as Polia and Poliphilo do not then live out their days together, but rather Poliphilo awakens from his dream to realise Polia has vanished, is love fulfilled? The answer is no: although love fulfils Poliphilo's self-transformation it itself cannot be termed complete. The emphasis, therefore, is on the journey that love creates, the *mythopklos* as Sapho calls it, the process of self-transformation, and the journey into initiation, at times rational, at times erotic, and echoing Socrates' statement that his search for wisdom was through pursuing the knowledge of 'erotic things.'[42] As the journey of Poliphilo's self-transformation comes to an end with his position as initiate, so does the narrative, having now completed its mystagogic purpose.

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[42] Plato *Symposium*, 177d; Plato *Theages* 128b, quoted in Pérez-Gómez, *Built upon Love*, 41.

9

Conclusion

This study examined the theme of Poliphilo's self-transformation within the narrative of the *Hypnerotomachia*, an approach that contributes something new to Poliphilo studies. The conclusions drawn from the study have found that the theme of transformation in the narrative is a complex, interwoven nexus for all sub-themes. The study observed that self-transformation is: i) narratologically divided by thresholds that compartmentalise the sequence of narrative and its space; ii) related to the arithmosophical and geometrical symbolism of the architecture in a given place; iii) has a somewhat awkward relationship with Poliphilo's connoisseurship concerning the artworks of a given space; iv) has a symbolic relationship to the topography, gardens, and botanical population of a given space; v) besides a relationship with the introspective concern of Poliphilo's relationship to Polia and his narration on love in a given space.

Self-transformation, consequently, is the crux on which each narrative element is positioned. It is a theme which unifies internal and external elements, whereby a given spatial context in the narrative will symbolically relate to Poliphilo's specific state of self-transformation, reflecting his interiority. This means that, where the linear axis of the narrative develops, there is a corresponding vertical axis of Poliphilo's ontological/interior development.

By pursuing an examination of the narrative and Poliphilo as a character in that narrative, the study has distanced itself from previous research in Polphilo studies, such as the purely philological research exemplified in Pozzi and Ciapponi and Ariani and Gabriele's exhaustive commentaries; research on authorship notified in Maria Taresa Casella, Maurizio Calvesi, and the recent work by Stefano Colonna; or research on the readership of the *Hypnerotomachia*, notified in Dorothea Stichel and James Russel's publications on the marginalia.[1] Although work on the symbolic significance

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[1] Please refer to Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: edizione critica e commento*; Ariani and Gabriele, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: introduzione, traduzione e commento*; Casella and Pozzi, *Francesco Colonna: biografia e opere*; Calvesi, *La 'pugna d'amore in sogno'*

of certain attributes of architecture is explored by Liane Lefaivre, Ian White, Maurizio Calvesi, Stefano Borsi, and Roswitha Stewering amongst others, and on gardens and the symbolism of plants by Emanuela Kretzulesco-Quaranta, John Dixon-Hunt and Sophia Rizoupolou, amongst others, there has not been a large-scale study that explores the relationship between Poliphilo and these subjects.[2]

Previous studies on the symbolic meanings of places, spaces and the population of items in those spaces have not focused upon the significance of the narrative in thematically unifying the narration of objects and the spaces that Poliphilo encounters. This consequently omits the opportunity for a narratological reading and analysis of those spaces and items to more fully account for their layered significance. The narratological reading of the *Hypnerotomachia* in this study, aided by philosophical, philological and iconographic method, has demonstrated that geometric form, ratio, the numbers used in proportioning, the iconography of art, and spatial contextualisation of object, all bear a symbolic relationship to Poliphilo and pertain to a particular narrative category, that is, categorised by: themes of morality and overcoming the senses in the first realm; epistemology, and developing faculties of thinking in the second, realm; and experiencing the mystical effects of love in the initiation into the mysteries in the third realm. Consequently, all objects, spaces, and encounters are thematically categorised within the narrative sequences and should be read as such. It is suggested here that this analysis may subsequently shed light on different philological readings in future Poliphilo research.

Walking in the *Hypnerotomachia* is a complex issue, consisting of a bi-modal model. It is, on the one hand the means by which Poliphilo journeys through the narrative, narrating scenes of

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di Francesco Colonna romano; Stichel, 'Reading the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili in the Cinquecento'; '"Many Other Things Worthy of Knowledge and Memory": The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and Its Annotators, 1499-1700'.

[2] Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance*; White, 'Mathematical Design in Poliphilo's Imaginary Building, the Temple of Venus'; Calvesi, *Il sogno di Polifilo prenestino*; Stefano Borsi, 'Francesco Colonna lettore e interprete di Leon Battista Alberti: il tempio di Venere Physizoa', *Storia dell'arte* 109 (2004); Stewering, 'Architectural Representations in the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili" (Aldus Manutius, 1499)'; Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *L'itinerario archeologico di Polifilo*; Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *Les jardins du songe*; Emanuela Kretzulesco-Quaranta, *L'itinerario spirituale di" Polifilo": uno studio necessario per determinare la paternità dell'opera* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1967); Hunt, 'Experiencing Gardens in the Hypnerotomachia Polifili'; Rhizopoulou, 'On the Botanical Content of Hypnerotomachia Poliphili'.

symbolic encounters, where metaphor and allegory are woven in a narrative defined by self-transformation. On the other hand, walking is also the process to explore the world of antique ruins where Poliphilo writes down what he sees, their type, proportions and dimensions, characteristically similar to the travel diary's Ciriaco d'Ancona. Consequently, the author transitions into a scholarly interest not only in the artefacts but also in the cultures and ideas of classical antiquity, referring mostly to classical architecture, and sculpture, and the exploration of these sites of cultural interest.

Although the antique discoveries symbolically relate to Poliphilo's narrative of self-transformation, the realism and extent of description ultimately becomes superfluous to the narrative of self-transformation and transitions instead into a rhetoric of antiquarian fascination, as explored in the third chapter.[3] Antique art consequently characterises a divide in the text, being used for its symbolism in the narrative, but where the extent of description in fact counters the narrative, being more similar to the travel diary (or at times *trattato*).

There is also a relationship between topography and self-transformation in the text, first identified in the *selva-oscura*, symbolic of the base beginnings of self-transformation. The topography of the first half is of natural beauty while the latter half displays an abundance of exquisite manmade gardens and ultimately transforms with Poliphilo's journey from the base beginnings to man-perfected beauty.

In a peripatetic manner, the author uses walking as a process of thinking leading to understanding. As Poliphilo is led through the gardens by his guides embodying logic and feeling, the sense of sight is primarily mentioned, indicative of conforming to the traditional hierarchy for placing mental capacity of perception above the physical sense of touch. Poliphilo's observation of the water labyrinth describes a metaphor for a completely mental, or interior, reflection inferring that his conceptualisation and acquisition of knowledge is through the process of philosophic

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[3] Consider also the relation to Ledoux's *Utopia*, see Turner, 'Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', 208; Gabriele, 'Plinio il Vecchio nell' Hypnerotomachia Poliphili', 332.

reflection, described to us through metaphor. Once obtained, there is an alteration suggested by Logistica where the visual sense may be indulged in, enacted through the process of walking, allowing the garden to be observed, enjoyed and understood. Both percept (imaginary and physical) and motion are integral elements allowing Poliphilo to physically and philosophically progress.

The theme of love operates as both the means of Poliphilo's mental and physical degradation, resulting in lovesickness in Polia's absence, and resulting in his pedestrian journey of self-transformation being paused, thus obstructing the primary theme of the narrative. And yet love is also the means to Polia, to Poliphilo's initiation, and the force of his self-transformation. Love is the impetus for Poliphilo's self-transformation, driving his pedestrian journey through the literary philosophic dream narrative, characterising a journey from ignorance to the initiation into wisdom.

The reappraisal of the Platonic notion of the Earthly and divine Venuses within this journey, places equal narrative importance on spiritual and procreative love in the narrative of Poliphilo's self-transformation. Plotinus characterises the Earthly power from the celestial, in the fifth part of the *Ennead*, differentiating common love from the divine and offering the most likely passage that the author of the *Hypnerotomachia* would have used, but who originally places them both on equal footing, where the celestial and procreative draw Poliphilo on through his journey.

Love, as the impetus for the journey of self-transformation, and that enters Poliphilo through his gaze, is also the cause of such anguish, however, commenting on the elegiac literary tradition. Love has the capacity to create a detrimental effect in Poliphilo, disrupting the pedestrian journey of self-transformation. In these moments love as the impetus for narrative progression is replaced by descriptions of lovesickness, that ultimately obstructs the theme of self-transformation. Demonstrating the complex and dramatic function that love holds within the narrative.

For future consideration, the subject of music in the *Hypnerotomachia* could prove valuable, as it pertains to the harmony of architecture (and by extension to Poliphilo's interiority) the rhythm of intercolumniation, and to Poliphilo's self-transformation through the narrated musical modes.

The role of banqueting in the palace scenes of Eleuterylida, and the relationship to other literary references of the period on the same theme, beside reference to research on medieval and early modern eating habits and customs, may be of interest to future research.

This research demonstrated that the author had a very proficient knowledge of architecture, the ways a building is constructed, and the philosophical and symbolic meaning of the architectural geometries and proportions narrated by Poliphilo. Research into the role of the author as an amateur architect requires further consideration, for it appears that the proportions and narration of details can offer a full reconstruction of each building, presenting the argument that the author may have worked from architectural drawings that he made for the narrative.

Although the relationship between Poliphilo and the gardens, and topography was examined in this research, there was not sufficient room to examine in detail the relationship between Poliphilo and botany. Further research on the relationship between plants and the narrative would offer fruitful conclusions as to whether each plant, or perhaps groupings of plants, have a symbolic meaning to that particular area of the narrative, and consequently, to Poliphilo. This, of course, could then include comparison to other texts of the Quattrocento to further understand the author's unique position in Renaissance literature.

Finally, the role of humour has not been given analysis in the text, despite numerous examples of wit, whimsy, and jokes existing in the narrative. Further research into medieval and Quattrocento poetry on the subject of wit and joking may reveal relatable precedent (in such scenes as the maidens teasing Poliphilo on entering Eleuterylida, and elsewhere in the narrative).

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Appendices

Appendix 1)

Realm 1

<u>Table One</u>

THE SUN PYRAMID AND ARCHITECTURAL SURROUNDINGS

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Areobate	Aerobati, areobate	p.23	a8r	Referring to the sterobate[1]
Apothesis	Hypotesi	p.32	b4v	A recess on the south side of the chancel in early churches, lined with shelves for books, vestments etc[2]
Aquaduct	Aqueducti	p.22	a7v	An artificial channel carrying water, usually in the form of a bridge across a valley or other gap
Arched beams	Trabi arcuati	p.22	a7v	A curved horizontal support resting on the columns
Areostyle	Areostylo	p.31	b4r	A broad intercolumniation of a columned building equal to four or more diameters of one of the columns
Astragals	Astragali	p.31	b4r	A semi-circular moulding/band[3]
Avenue	Ambulatione	p.32	b4v	Referring to the paths between the external structures outside the Magna Porta
Base/Slab	Meta overo tassella	p.28	b2v	Referring to the base of the pyramid beneath which the classical façade and magna porta stand.
Beam	Trabe	p.31; 32	b4r; b4v	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Bronze tablet	Tabella aenea	p.28	b2v	A plaque set upon the obelisk bearing an inscription
Canal	Euripo	p.32	b4v	Referred to as possibly once existing on the site of the avenues at the front of the Magna Porta
Capitals	Capitelli	p.22	a7v	The topmost part of a column supporting the architrave
Capital	Capitello	p.31	b4r	The uppermost member of a column
Colonnade	Columnatione	p.22; 32	a7v; b4v	A long sequence of columns joined by their entablature[4]
Column	Columne	p.30	b3v	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base
Column-drums[5]	Retondatione	p.23	a8r	Referring to the shape of the column shaft
Cornices	Coronice	p.22	a7v	The uppermost part of the entablature
Cornucopia	Artificiosa copia	p.24	b1r	A large horn-shaped container overflowing with produce
Coronae	Corona	p.23	a7v	A projecting moulding that is a section of the cornice
Cupola	Cupula	p.24	a8v	A rounded dome forming, or in an addition to, a ceiling
Cushioned capitols	Pulvinati	p.31	b4r	The uppermost member of a column
Door	Porta	p.32	b4v	Referring to the Magna Porta from the piazza
Doric capitol	Capitelli dorici	p.31	b4r	The uppermost member of a Doric column
Echinus	Echini	p.31	b4r	The rounded moulding under the abacus in the Doric capital of a column, usually in an egg-and-dart pattern
Epistyle	Epistylio	p.22; 31	a7v; b4r	Referring to the architrave of the structure
Friezes	Phrygii	p.22	a7v	The central section of an entablature, usually decorated
Hexagonal pillar	Pile	p.28	b2v	A hexagonal engaged column embedded in the wall
Hippodrome	Hippodromo	p.32	b4v	A stadium designed for horse racing and chariot racing
Hypotrachelia	Hypotrachelia	p.32	b4v	The junction of the capital and the shaft[6]
Lighting channels	Superiori illuminarii	p.27; 28	b2r; b2v	Referring to recesses in the pyramid allowing light to illuminate certain parts of the interior elevation
Leadened[7]	Implumbata	p.28	b2v	
Metope	Metopa	p.31	b4r	A square panel alternating with trygliphs

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[1] A less common word, meaning the same as "stereobate" from Vitruvius (*De. Arch.* 3. 4. 1).

[2] On this definition see John Weale, *A Dictionary of Terms Used in Architecture, Building, Engineering, Mining, Metallurgy, Archaeology, the Fine Arts, Etc: With Explanatory Observations on Various Subjects Connected with Applied Science and Art* (Lockwood, 1868), 16. See also Gabriele (581), Reiser (49).

[3] From Vitruvius, (*De. Arch.* 3.5.3)

[4] The term "columnatione" does not appear in Vitruvius, however, Gabriele finds the word in Apuleius with the meaning of a theatrical scene colonnade and used by Alberti referring to both real colonnades and ornamental columns meaning against a wall. See Gabriele (548).

[5] Godwin translates *retondatione* as "column-drum" though we may also say "rounded surface" or something similar.

[6] From Vitruvius (*De. Arch.* 3. 3,5. 12)

[7] Godwin translates "implumbata" as "set in lead" Ian white trnalsatrs this word perhaps more accurately as "leadened" (White, 24).

Mosaic	Mosaico	p.30	b3v	A pattern or image made of small pieces of coloured material
Niches	Scaphe	p.22	a7v	A recess set into a wall of the structures outside the entrance of the Magna Porta for displaying a statue or other object[8]
Numidian stone	Petra numidica	p.22	a7v	A red marble from Syria
Obelisk	Obelisco	p.22; 24; 28	a7v; a8v; b2v	A stone pillar with a tapered top forming a pyramidion
Orichalcum	Auricalco	p.24	a8v	A precious stone mentioned in Plato's *Critias*[9]
Paradromides	Paradromyde	p.32	b4v	Referred to as a promenade
Parian marble	Marmo de Paro	p.23; 27	a8v; b2r	A fine white marble originally from the Greek island of Paros
Passageway	Calle	p.27	b2r	Referring to the interior corridors of the pyramid
Pavement	Pavemento	p.31; 32	b4r; b4v	The stone on which thew building rests
Pedestal	Suppedio	p.24	a8v	Here used in conjunction with alter
Pediment	Pedamento	p.23	a8r	The triangular upper part of the front of a classical building[10]
Piers	Columnamento	p.30	b3v	A vertical loadbearing member
Pillar (hexagonal, square)	Pile tetragoni, hexamenti	P.30	b3v	An engaged column embedded in the wall, here both hexagonal and square
Platform	Piano	p.27; 28	b2r; b2v	An elevated walkway at the top of the pyramid's stairs
Plinth	Plintho	p.23	a8r	Rectangular support for a statue
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.22	a7v	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Portal	Porta	p.23; 24; 25; 27; 28	a8r; a8v; b1r; b2r; brv	Referring to a doorway
Porticos	Portici	p.32	b4v	A colonnaded porch or a covered walkway supported by columns, referring to the ruins before the pyramid
Promenade	Ambulacri	p.32	b4v	A paved public walkway
Pyramid	Pyramide	p.22; 23	a7v; a8r; a8v	The sun pyramid resting upon the Greek edifice
High and low relief	Semisculptura, sculptura	p.23; 29	a8r; b3r	A form of sculpture that is carved from a flat two-dimensional plane creating a three-dimensional appearance
Roman style baths	Grandi lotorii	p.22	a7v	Referring to large-scale structures for public baths
Serpentine[11]	Ophite	p.23	a8r	A green marble composed of serpentine and other minerals
Snail-volutes	Volute cochleate	p.31	b4r	Horned spiral of the Ionic capital
Spiral staircase	Scale flexuoso	p.27	b2r	A shell-shaped volute
Square pillar	Pile tetragone	p.30	b3v	A square engaged column embedded in the wall
Staircase	Scale	p.27	b2r	Referring to the main staircase of the pyramid
Steps	Gradatione	p.23; 30; 31	a8r; b3v; b4r	Referring here to stone paved steps
Theban stone	Petra pyropecila thebaicha	p.24; 27	a8v; b2r	A reddish stone possibly connected to the Petra stone[12]
Tintinnabulum	Tintinabulo	p.25	b1r	Referring to the baths of Hadrian; the chimes of Hadrian's baths called for time to bath.[13]
Vases	Vasi	p.22	a7v	An open decorative container made of stone here
Vaulted roof	Involtato	p.27	b2r	A roof in the form of an arch or a series of arches
Vaults	Fornici	p.30	b3v	A roof in the form of an arch or a series of arches
Xystus	Xysto	p.32	b4v	Referred to as a promenade[14]
Zophori	Zophori	p.22	a7v	A frieze of an entablature[15]

Table Two

THE MAGNA PORTA, OR GREAT GATE

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Abaci	Abachi	p.43	c2v	A flat slab forming the uppermost member of the capital
Antis-columns	Ante	p.44	c2v	The column attached to the jambs of a portal[16]
Arch	Archo	p.43	c2r	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Arched beams	Trabi arcuati	p.43	c2v	A curved horizontal support resting on the columns[17]
Arula	Arula	p.44	c2v	A square pedestal supporting the column
Astragals	Astragali	p.44	c2v	A semi-circular moulding/band

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[8] From Vitruvius (*De. Arch.* 9.8.1)

[9] A. E. Taylor, *Plato: Timaeus and Critias (RLE: Plato)* (Routledge, 2013), 118–25. Referred to by Virgil as "white orichalc" (*Aen.* 12.87); Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 34.2.4.)

[10] The term "pediment" is taken from Alberti's vocabulary, see Alberti (*De. re.* 187-89); Gabriele (550).

[11] One may retain the original "orphite" but "serpentine" of course, is also applicable.

[12] See Reiser (39); Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36. 63).

[13] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36.92)

[14] Reiser refers to "xystus" as an "ambulatorium" (Reiser, 49) and "exercise-gallery" by White (30).

[15] The term "zophori" is defined by Godwin, incorrectly, as relating to a frieze originally depicted animals. It is certainly meant here, however, as a synonym for *frieze*.

[16] The "ante" is referred to by Gabriele as the piers or pillars on which the auch or vault is set (644).

[17] Referring to an *archivolt*, see Ariani and Gabriele (27); Pozzi (59).

English	Original	Page number	Original passages	Definition
Base (square)	Quadrato	p.44; 45	c2v; c3r	A square plinth used to support a pedestal or column[18]
Base	Base	p.45	c3r	A plinth used to support a pedestal or column
Bronze base	Baes aenea	p.45	c3r	A bronze plinth used to support a pedestal or column
Beam	Trabe	p.43; 44; 45; 46	c2r; c2v; c3r; v3v	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Capitals	Capitello	p.45	c3r	The topmost part of a column supporting the architrave
Cariatic marble	Cariatice	p.45	c3r	A marble used for caryatids[19]
Channels	Canalioli	p.44	c2v	A decorative grooving of the column
Column	Columne, columna	p.42; 44; 45; 46	c1v; c2v; c3r; c3v	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base
Concave trochilo	L'excavato trochilo	p.45	c3r	A concave moulding with a lower projecting edge
Cornice	Coronice	p.44; 45	c2v; c3r	The uppermost part of the entablature
Corona	Corona	p.44; 45	c2v; c3r	A projecting moulding that is a section of the cornice
Cyma	Sime	p.44; 46	c2v; c3v	A double-curved moulding
Deep relief	Profundamente interscalpti	p.45	c3r	A form of sculpture that is carved from a flat two-dimensional plane creating a three-dimensional appearance
Doorway	Porta	p.46; 50	c3v; c5v	Referring to the entrance of the Magna Porta
Double columns	Bine columna	p.44	c2v	Referring to the double shafts supporting the architrave
Double windows	Fenestre binate	p.46	c3v	Two windows designed as a singular creation
Entasis	Enthesi	p.45	c3r	The swelling of a column for optical effect
Epistyle	Epistylio	p.45	c3r	Referring to the architrave of the structure
Fascia	Fascia	p.45	c3r	A vertical frieze under a roof edge or the surface of a cornice
Fillets	Cordelle/nextruli	p.45	c3r	A narrow moulding
Fluted (furrowed)	Striate/canaliculate	p.45	c3r	The vertical grooves or channels decorating a column
Frieze	Phrygio	p.44	c2v	The central section of an entablature, usually decorated
Fronds	Fronde	p.45	c3r	A decorative leaf-pattern, describing the Corinthian capital
Frontispiece	Frontispicio	p.45; 46	c3r; c3v	The combined parts that frame the entrance of the building
Gulas	Gulature	p.46	c3v	Gullet, same as cyma, throat shaped moulding
High relief	Aspramente gli exacti	p.51	c6v	A form of sculpture that is carved from a flat two-dimensional plane creating a three-dimensional appearance
Inset work	Inserte opere	p.45	c3r	The decorative act of inserting one material inside another
Intarsia	Lepturgia	p.42	c1v	A decorative form of marquetry using inlays in wood
Jambs	Ante	p.43	c2r	The vertical portion of the door frame onto which a door is secured
Laconic stone	Petra laconica	p.45	c3r	A stone likely heralding from the region of Laconia, Greece
Marquetry	In segmento	p.42	c1v	Inlaid small pieces of coloured wood or other materials
Mouldings	Illigamento	p.44	c2v	The contour or outline of a surface's edge
Mutules	Mutuli	p.46	c3v	One of the flat blocks below the corona of a Doric cornice
Orbiculo (scotia, trochilo)	Orbiculo, scotia, trochilo	p.45; 46	c3r; c3v	A concave moulding with a lower projecting edge[20]
Paved area	Silica area	p.44	c2v	A flat area lined with stone slabs underfoot
Plinth	Plintho	p.44	c2v	Rectangular support for a statue
Podium	Podio	p.44	c2v	Pedestal beneath a column
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.45	c3r	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Portal	Porta	p.42; 45; 46	c1v; c3r; c3v	Referring to a doorway
Reversed cymas	Sime	p.44	c2v	A double-curved moulding
Roundels	Rotundi	p.46	c3v	A circular decorative plate on positioned on the edifices
Serpentine	Orphites	p.45	c3r	A green marble composed of serpentine and other minerals
Socle	Sochi	p.44	c2v	Block beneath a column
Spindles	Stipiti	p.45	c3r	Vertical posts that connect the base rails with handrails [21]
Straight beam	Trabe	p.44	c2v	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Tendrils	Pampinulatura	p.45	c3r	A slender, coiling extension, associated with the acanthus of the Corinthian capital
Torus	Thori	p.44; 45; 46	c2v; c3r; c3v	Moulding, circular and convex
Zophorus	Zophoro	p.44; 45; 46	c2v; c3r; c3v	A frieze of an entablature

Table Three

ORNAMENTATION OF THE MAGNA PORTA (OUTSIDE)

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Abaci	Abachi	p.49	c5r	A flat slab forming the uppermost member of the capital
Abacus	Abachi	p.50	c5v	The upper member of the capital of a column

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[18] The term "quadrato" is referred to as a singular "synecdoche", as it indicates the type of square that marks the line of the upper frieze. See Gabriele (634).

[19] See Ariani and Gabriele (61), Gabiele (636).

[20] On the term "scotia" and its synonyms *orbiculo* and *trochilus* see Vitruvius (*De. Arch*. 3.5.2)

[21] In relation to the spindles are the "spondili" that run in succession to the spindles but the word is not found in Vitruvius or Alberti.

Entrance (hall)	Adito	p.51	c6r	Referring to the entrance of the building[22]
Agate, or, onyx	Achates overo onyce	p.50	c6r	A rock made of chalcedony and quartz in a variety of colours
Alabaster	Alabastrite	p.47; 54	c4v; c8v	A soft white rock used for carving[23]
Altar	Ara	p.47	c4v	Meaning pedestal[24]
Antis-column	Ante columne	p.50; 51	c5v; c6r	The column attached to the jambs of a portal
Arched beam	L'arcotrabe	p.50	c5v	A curved horizontal support resting on the columns
Archway	Arcotrabe	p.51	c6r	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Astragal	Astragali	p.53	c7r	A semi-circular moulding/band
Base	Base	p.47; 49	c4r; c5r	A plinth used to support a pedestal or column
Base-relief	Anaglypho	p.52; 54	c6v; c7v	A form of sculpture that is carved from a flat two-dimensional plane creating a three-dimensional appearance
Cable	Rudentato	p.49	c5r	A convex circular moulding sunk in the fluting of a column
Capitals	Capitelli	p.49	c5r; c5v	The topmost part of a column supporting the architrave
Caryatids	Cariatice columne	p.49; 52	c5r; c6v	A sculpted female figure taking the place of a column
Channels	Canalioli	p.49	c5r	A decorative grooving of the column
Column	Columne	p.47; 50; 51; 52; 54; 56	c4r; c5v; c6r; c6v; c7r; c8r; c8v	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base[25]
Corinthian capital/column	Columne corinthie	p.54	c8v	Referring to capital and proportion of the Corinthian order
Cornice	Coronicetta	p.47; 52; 53	c4r; c6v; c7r	The uppermost part of the entablature
Cushion-shaped base	Base pulvinate	p.56	c8v	A rounded plinth used to support a pedestal or column
Cyma	Sime	p.47; 53	c4r; c7r	A double-curved moulding
Cymatium	Cimasio	p.53	c7r	The uppermost moulding at the top of the cornice
Cymbia	Cymbie	p.49	c5v	A moulding, circular and convex, synonymous with torus
Detached columns	Expedite columne	p.49	c5v	The projection of a column from a flat surface
Doric columns	Columne dorici	p.49	c5r	Referring to the capital and proportions of the column
Entasis	Enthesi	p.54	c8v	The swelling of a column for optical effect
Fascias	Fascia	p.50	c5v	A vertical frieze under a roof edge or the surface of a cornice
Fillets	Cordelle/nextruli	p.49	c5r	A narrow moulding
Fluted	Canaliculate	p.49; 52	c5r; c6v	The vertical grooves or channels decorating a column
Half-capitol	Semicapituli	p.50	c5v	The uppermost member of a column
High relief	Contento	p.51	r6r	A sculptural relief in which forms extend out from the background to at least half their depth
Hypotrachelias	Hypotrachelia	p.56	c8v	The junction of the capital and the shaft
Ionic	Ionice	p.54	c8v	Referring to the capital and proportions of the Ionic order
Keystone	Cuneo	p.50	c5v	The top stone of an arch which holds it together, and across which the weight of the building is distributed
Lappeted rinceaux	Sinuate overo laciniate	p.50	c5v	A decorative wavy stemlike motif
Lesser volute	Volute	p.50	c5v	Horned spiral of the Ionic capital
Moderate relief	Subtile incisure	p.47	c4r	A technique where sculpted parts remain in a background
Nextruli	Nextruli	p.49	c5r	A narrow moulding, synonymous with fillet
Numidian marble	Petra numidica	p.54	c8v	A red marble from Syria
Orichalcum	Auricalcho	p.52	c7r	A precious stone mentioned in Plato's *Critias*[26]
Ovolo	Ovolato	p.53	c7r	An egged-shaped moulding
Pedestal	Suppedio	p.56	d1r	Here used in conjunction with alter
Plinth	Plintho	p.49; 56	c5r;	Rectangular support for a statue
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.49; 51; 54	c5r; c6v; c8r	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Portal	Porta	p.51	c6r	Referring to a doorway
Pronaos	Pronao	p.50	c5v	The inner area of the portico of a classical temple
Rosette	Rosarii	p.51	c6r	A sculpted, painted or carved, decorative circular form arranged radiating out from a centre, like petals of a rose
Serpentine	Ophite	p.54	c8v	A green marble composed of serpentine and other minerals
Silver	Argento	p.51	c6r	Referring to the precious metal
Spartan marble	Lacedaemonice	p.54	c8v	A beige marble originating from Sparta, Greece[27]
Stylopodium, or, column-footing	Stilypodio overo columnipedio	p.47	c4r	Pedestal beneath a column
Threshold	Limite	p.50	c5v	The divide between one room or space
Torus	Thori	p.49	c5r	A moulding, circular and convex
Trochili	trochili	p.56	c8v	A concave moulding with a lower projecting edge
Vault	Fornici	p.51	c6r	A roof in the form of an arch or a series of arches
Volutes	Volute	p.49	c5r	Horned spiral of the Ionic capital
Zophorus	Zophoro	p.51	c6r	A frieze of an entablature

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[22] This has been erroneously translated by Godwin here as "adytum" referring to the sacred central area of the Greek temple.

[23] The term "alabastrite" is taken from Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36.60-1).

[24] The term "ara" is referred to Reiser as not exactly an alter but an "altarium" or cube, rising from the floor (in this way like a pedestal) (72); see also Ariani and Gabriele (64).

[25] The term "columnarum" is from Vitruvius (*De. arch.*3.5.14).

[26] See footnote 4.

[27] Godwin translates "lacedaemonice" as Spartan marble, but we may as easily say "lacedaemonian stone"

Table Four

INSIDE THE MAGNA PORTA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Capitals	Capitello	p.59	d2r	The topmost part of a column supporting the architrave
Cement[28]	Glutino	p.61	d3r	Referring to the binding agent
Coronet[29]	Gioia	p.59	d2r	Referring here to a leafy design crowning the wall
Corridors[30]	Itone	p.65	d5r	Referring to the interior passageways
Discs of black stone that resists iron and polished like a mirror	Petra nigerrima al duro ferro contentibile, di nitore speculabile	p.59	d2r	An unnamed black stone attached to the wall
Doors	Porte	p.63	d4r	Referring to the doors inside the pyramid
Doorway	Porta	p.60; 61	d2v; d3r	Referring to the Magna Porta
Hallway	Adito	p.61	d3r	Immediately inside the entrance to the Magna Porta[31]
Mosaic	Musea	p.59	d2r	A pattern or image made of small pieces of coloured material
Panelled walls	Tabulati pariete	p.59	d2r	A thin flat material used decoratively on the walls
Passages	Calli	p.65	d5r	Referring also to the interior passageways
Pavement	Pavemento	p.62	d3v	The stone on which the building rests
Pilaster	Ante	p.59	d2r	Engaged column/half column embedded in the wall
Portal	Porta	p.58; 60	d1v; d2v	Referring to a doorway
Square, hexagonal and octagonal piers	Pili tetragoni, hexamenti, octogone	p.65	d5r	Referring to square, hexagonal and octagonal vertical loadbearing members of the elevation
Tesserae (tessera)	Thessellatura	p.60	d2v	An individual tile used in decorative mosaics
Vault	Fornici	p.60; 64	d2v; d4v	A roof in the form of an arch or a series of arches

Eleuterylida

Table Five

OUTSIDE THE MAGNA PORTA (THE AGED PORTAL)

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Doorway	Porta	p.66	d5v	The doorway used to exit the pyramid
Gateway	Porta	p.68	d6v	Referring to the Magna Porta entrance on the other side
Pillar	Pile	p.66	d5v	An engaged column embedded in the wall
Portal	Porta	p.66; 69	d6r; d7r	Referring to a doorway
Pyramid	Pyramide	p.65	d5r	The pyramid structure upon the Greek edifice beneath

Table Six

IN THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ELEUTERYLIDA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Bridge	Ponte	p.69; 70; 132	d7r; d7v; h6v	A horizontal structure that spans supports on either side
Cyma	Sime	p.69	d7v	A double-curved moulding
Panel	Tabulati	p.69	d7v	A thin flat material used decoratively on the walls
Parapet	Apodii	p.69	d7r	A short wall or thick railing around the pathway
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.69; 132	d7v; h6v	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Serpentine	Ophite	p.132	h6v;	A green marble composed of serpentine and other minerals

Table Seven

THE OCTAGONAL FOUNTAIN

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition

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[28] Godwin translates "rapace glutino" as "the [strong] cement" but one may say gripping, or binding glue.

[29] Godwin translates "frondose gioia" as coronet but one could say "leafy garland"

[30] Godwin translates "itione" as corridor, Ian White (57) has used gangways, one may also say "passageways, although the author tends to use "calli" for this.

[31] The term "adito" sometimes appears translated by Godwin, incorrectly, as "adytum", instead of passage see (pp.199;352). This is referred to by Ariani and Gabriele as "entrance" (lvi).

Bases	Base	p.70	d7v	A plinth used to support a pedestal or column
Beam	Trabe	p.70; 71	d8r; d8r	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Capitals	Capitelli	p.70	d8r	The topmost part of a column supporting the architrave
Colonettes	Columnule	p.71	d8r	A small column, usually decorative, supporting a beam
Cordings	Cordicule	p.70	d7v	Referring to a cord-shaped moulding
Cornice	Coronice	p.70	d8r	The uppermost part of the entablature
Cyma	Sime	p.70; 71	d7v; d8r	A double-curved moulding
Dentils	Denticulato	p.70	d7v	Rectangular stone positioned between frieze and cornice
Fascia	Fascia	p.72	d8v	A vertical frieze under a roof edge or the surface of a cornice
Fluting	Canaliculate	p.70	d7v	Shallow groove along the face of a column
Fountain	Fontana, fonte	p.70; 71; 73	d7v; e1v	Referring to the structure that squirts water into its basin
Frontispiece	Frontispicio	p.70-71	d8r	The combined parts that frame the entrance of the building
Gullet	Gulatura	p.70; 71; 72	d7v; d8r; d8v;	Gullet, same as cyma, throat shaped moulding
Limestone[32]	Coniugati solido	p.71	d8r	A type of carbonate sedimentary rock
Moulding	Undule	p.72	d8v	The contour or outline of a surface's edge
Pedestal[33]	Pedamento	p.71	d8r	Here used in conjunction with alter
Pilasters	Pillastro	p.70	d7v	Engaged column/half column embedded in the wall
Plinth	Plintho	p.71	d8r	Rectangular support for a statue
Porphyry vase	Vaso porphyrite	p,71	d8r	A vase made from the porphyry stone
Roof	Fastigio, fastigiata	p.70	d7v	Referring to a respective ceiling[34]
Scotia	Scotie	p.71	d8r	A concave moulding with a lower projecting edge
Torques	Torque	p.71	d8r	Referring to the moulding at the bottom of the column
Torus	Thori	p.71	d8r	A moulding, circular and convex
Trough (hollow)	Alvelo intersito	p.71	d8r	A receptacle taking water from the fountain out into nature
Wave-moulding	Undulava	p.71	d8r	A wave-shaped contour or outline of a surface's edge
Zophorus	Zophoro	p.70	d8r	A frieze of an entablature

Table Eight

THE OCTAGONAL BATHOUSE

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Areobates	Aerobati	p.80	e4v	Referring to the stylobate[35]
Arch	Archo	p.83	e6r	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Bath-building	Aedificio di therme	p.80	e4v	Referring to the octagonal structure housing the bath
Beam	Trabe	p.81	e5r	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Beam (miniature)	Trabetto	p.84	e6v	A short horizontal support resting on the columns
Capitols	Capitello	p.81	e5r	The uppermost member of a column
Chalcedony	Calcedonii	p.81	e5r	Here referring to multiple hues of the chalcedony stone
Colonettes	Columnelle	p.82	e5v	A small column, usually decorative, supporting a beam
Column	Columne	p.81; 82	e5r; e5v	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base
Corinthian column	Columne corinthie	p.81	e5r	Referring to the capital and proportions of the column
Cornice	Coronice	p.80; 82; 84	e4v; e5v; e6v	The uppermost part of the entablature
Cupola	Cupula	p.80; 82	e4v; e5v	A rounded dome forming, or in an addition to, a ceiling
Dome	Cumula	p.80	e4v	Referring to the rounded shape of the ceiling[36]
Door	Porta	p.83	e6r	Referring to the entrance of the bathhouse
Fountain	Fonte	p.79; 83	e4r; e6r	Referring to the structure that squirts water into its basin
Frieze	Phrygio	p.80	e4v	The central section of an entablature, usually decorated
Frontispiece	Frontispicio	p.84	e6v	The combined parts that frame the entrance of the building
Jasper	Diaspro	p.81; 82	e5r; e5v	Here referring to different hues of the jasper stone
Miniature beam	Trabe	p.84	e6v	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Mosaic	Museaco	p.82	e5v	A pattern or image made of small pieces of coloured material
Niche	Interstitio	p.83	e6r	A recess set into a wall for displaying a statue or other object
Paved floor	Pavitata	p.82	e5v	Referring to the stone tiles lining the floor
Pedestal	Suppedio	p.82	e5v	Here used in conjunction with alter
Pilaster	Pillastro	p.80	e4v	Engaged column/half column embedded in the wall
Semi-circular or half-columns	Semicolumnule	p.84	e6v	The column moulding from a flat surface
Spire	Stylo	p.80	e4v	A steeply pointed termination of a tower
Steps	Gradi	p.86	e7v	Referring here to stone paved steps
Straight beam	Trabe recta	p.80	e4v	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Vaulting, Vault	Fornicato	p.80; 82	e4v; e5v	A roof in the form of an arch or a series of arches

[32] Godwin appears to have erroneously translated "coniugati in uno solido" as "limestone" as opposed to referring to a solid block of stone that had been firmly attached.

[33] It may also refer to the base of something

[34] The term "fastigiata" is referring to a pyramid, see Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36.92) and Pozzi (60).

[35] See footnote 1.

[36] Regarding the term "cumula" Gabriele hypotheses a typo for "cupula" (dome) or else a neologism coined from "cumulare" (column) meaning to bring to completion (681); see also Reiser (120).

Zophorus	Zophoro	p.82; 84	e5r; e6v	A frieze of an entablature

Table Nine

THE COURTYARD TO THE PALACE OF ELEUTERYLIDA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Amethyst	Amethystio	p.89	e8v	A violet variety of quartz
Archway	Porta	p.88	e8v	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Basin	Concha	p.89; 91	f1r; f1v; f2r	Referring to the receptacle for water[37]
Bas-relief	Anaglypho	p.89	f1r	A form of sculpture that is carved from a flat two-dimensional plane creating a three-dimensional appearance
Calyx	Calice	p.89	f1r	Describing the whorl sepal shape of the vase
Chalcedony	Calcedonio	p.89	f1r	Referred to here as the colour of sea water (light blue)
Cornucopia	Omnifera copia	p.89; 91	f1r; f2r	A large horn-shaped container overflowing with produce
Courtyard (square open-ared)	Hypaethrio quadrato subdiale	p.88; 91	e8v; f2r	The enclosed area in front of the palace [38]
Cloister	Claustro	p.88	c8v	A covered walkway typically with a colonnade open to a quadrangle on one side
Fluting	Canaliculate	p.92	f2v	Shallow groove along the face of a column
Fountain	Fonte	p.89; 92	e8v; f2v	Referring to the structure that squirts water into its basin
Jasper	Diaspro	p.89	f1r	Not explicit here in its hue
Mosaic	Museaco	p.92	f2v	A pattern or image made of small pieces of coloured material
Paved	Pavimento	p.92	f2v	A flat area lined with stone slabs underfoot
Pavement	Pavemento	p.91	f2r	The stone on which the building rests
Pillar	Stylo	p.89; 91	f1r; f2r	An engaged column embedded in the wall
Plinth	Plintho	p.89; 91	f1r; f1v; f2r	Rectangular support for a statue
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.91	f2r	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Rinceaux	Frondatura	p.89; 91	f1r; f1v	A decorative wavy stemlike motif
Serpentine	Ophite	p.91	f1v	A green marble composed of serpentine and other minerals
Wave mouldings	Undule	p.91	f2r	A wave-shaped contour or outline of a surface's edge

Table Ten

THE PALACE OF ELEUTERYLIDA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Beams	Trabe	p.92	f2v	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Carystean marble	Tistie	p.92	f3r	Possibly the green marble from Carystos, or, Tissensian marble, from Tisse, Sicily (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3. 91)[39]
Chambers	Penetrali	p.92	f2v	Referring to the interior rooms of the palace
Claudian marble	Claudiane	p.92	f3r	A marble from Roman reign of Claudius, either painted or of porphyry as was popular[40]
Colonnade	Columnatione	p.92	f3r	A long sequence of columns joined by their entablature
Columns	Columne	p.92	f2v	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base
Halls	Conclavi	p.92	f2v	Referring here to Poliphilo's imagining of the interior
Numidian marble	Numidice	p.92	f3r	A red marble from Syria described by Pliny as yellow with reddish veins[41]
Panels (encrusted precious wall-panel)	Pretioso coassamento intectibet incrustati	p.92	f2v	A thin flat material used decoratively on the walls
Passages	Caviedeli	p.92	f2v	Referring also to the interior passageways
Phoenician marble	Petre phoenicie	p.93	f3r	Referring to a marble from Phoenicia,
Podium	Podio	p.93	f3r	Pedestal beneath a column
Portal	Porta	p.93	f3r	Referring to a doorway
Propylaeum, or, vestibule	Propyleo, vestibulo	p.93	f3r	The monumental porch or gatehouse at the entrance of the palace (usually supported by columns but not here)
Rafters	Caanterii	p.92	f2v	Referring to the inner structure of the roof of the palace
Scaffolding	Contignatione, trabeata	p.92	f2v	Referring to the structure used for building the palace[42]

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[37] The term "concha" meaning, here, a basin, is taken from Alberti (*De. re.* 509, 805).

[38] Referred to by Vitruvius as a temple with an uncovered cella (Dr. arch. 1.2.5) See Gabriele (691), Reiser (132).

[39] The entries of "Numidian, Claudian, Synnadic and Carystean" marble columns referencing the fifty of the named columns of the great structure of the imperial Gordiana family. These appear to be mostly taken from Pliny's *Natural History* Book 3, or 35. See also Reiser (137); Gabriele (695); Pozzi (105); Alberti (781).

[40] See Pliny, (*Nat. Hist.* 35. 3)

[41] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 3. 49)

[42] The term "contagnitione" is taken from Vitrvius (De. Arch. 2.8. 17). See also Gabriele (694).

Synnadic	Simiade	p.92	f3r	A white Phrygian marble with reddish parts[43]
Walls	Parieti	p.92	f2v	Referring generally to the palace walls loadbearing or not

Table Eleven

THE OPEN-AIRED COURTYARD REAR TO THE PALACE OF ELEUTERYLIDA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Agates	Achates	p.95; 97	f4r; f5r	A rock made of chalcedony and quartz in a variety of colours
Amethyst	Amethystio	p.97	f5r	A violet variety of quartz described here as being vermilion
Beam	Trabe	p.96; 97	f4v; f5r	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Beryl	Berillo	p.97	f5v	Referring to the crystal without reference of hue
Candelabra	Candelabro	p.96	f4v	A candleholder with multiple arms
Capitols	Capitello	p.96	f4v	The uppermost member of a column
Chalcedony	Calcedonii	p.95; 97	f4r; f5r	Referring to the chalcedony stone without reference of hue
Column	Columne	p.95	f4r	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base
Cornice	Coronice	p.97	f5r	The uppermost part of the entablature
Cornucopia	Copie	p.96	f4v	A large horn-shaped container overflowing with produce
Courtyard	Corte, quadrate	p.96; 97	f4v; f5v	The enclosed area in front of the palace
Door	Porta	p.96	f4v	The door connecting the place to the courtyard
Emerald	Smaragdo	p.97	f5r	A green coloured gemstone[44]
Fillets	Cordelle/nextruli	p.95	f4r	A narrow moulding
Frontispiece	Frontispicio	p.96	f4v	The combined parts that frame the entrance of the building
Garnet	Granata	p.97	f5r	A gemstone in various colours (here not specified)
Gemstones	Gemme	p.97	f5v	Polished mineral-crystals in various hues and colours
Gold	Oro	p.95; 96; 97	f4r; f4v; f5r	Referring to the precious metal
Gold-vine or convolvulus	Convolvolo di specie variator d'oro	p.97	f5r	Referring to the artificial decorative overhead gold vines
Jasper	Iaspide	p.94; 95; 97	f3v; f4r; f5r	Here referring to two alternating hues of the jasper stone
Lapislazuli	Lapislazuli	p.96	f4v	A deep blue rock used as a semi-precious stone
Mosaic	Museaco	p.94	f3v	A pattern or image made of small pieces of coloured material
Pilasters	Front	p.95; 96	f4r; f4v	Engaged column/half column embedded in the wall
Pilasters, or, semi-square columns	Pilatrelli o overo semiquadrangule	p.96	f4v	Engaged square column embedded in the wall
Portal	Porta	p.123	h2r	Referring to a doorway
Prases	Praxini	p.95	f4r	A green gemstone variety of chalcedony[45]
Rinceaux	Sinuate	p.96	f4v	A decorative wavy stemlike motif
Sandelwood	Sandalino	p.95	f4r	A yellow, fine-grained wood from the genus Santalum
Sapphire	Sapphyrici	p.97	f5v	A blue precious gemstone
Silk	Serico	p.95	f4r	A fabric made from the fibres taken from silk-worm cocoons
Silver	Argento	p.95	f4r	Referring to the precious metal
Throne	Throno	p.96	f4v	The elaborately designed chair of the Queen
Torus	Thori	p.95	f4r	A moulding, circular and convex
Velvet	Viluto	p.95	f4r	A type of woven tufted fabric here likely made from silk
Zophorus	Zophoro	p.96; 97	f4v; f5r	A frieze of an entablature

Table Twelve

THE GLASS GARDEN AND WATER LABYRINTH

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Arches	Archi	p.124	h2v	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Beam	Trabe	p.124	h2v	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Capitol	Capitello	p.124	h2v	The uppermost member of a column
Columns	Columne	p.124	h2v	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base
Cornice	Coronice	p.124	h2v	The uppermost part of the entablature
Glass		p.123	h2v	A hard, brittle, transparent substance famous from Murano
Glass roundel pavings	Rotundatione vitrinule	p.124	h2v	Referring to round glass tiles without reference to colour[46]
Gold	Oro	p.124	h2v	Referring to the precious metal
Labyrinth	Labyrintho	p.124	h3r	Here referring to the great water-labyrinth in the garden
Tower	Turre	p.125; 126	h3r; h3v	Referring here to a tall, narrow, free-standing structure
Vault	Fornici	p.124	h2v	A roof in the form of an arch or a series of arches
Zophorus	Zophoro	p.124	h2v	A frieze of an entablature

Table Thirteen

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[43] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 35.5)
[44] For "smaragdo scythico" refer to Pliny (Nat. Hist. 37.64-5).
[45] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 37.113).
[46] The term "rotundatione" refers to a cylindrical shape see Ariani and Gabirle (148), Pozzi (124), Reiser (186).

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Aerostyle	Aerostyle	p.128	h4v	A broad intercolumniation[47]
Arcade	Arcuato	p.128	h4v	A succession of arches supported by a colonnade of columns or piers
Arch	Archi	p.128; 131	h4v; h6r	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Beam	Trabe	p.127	h4r	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Capitols	Capitello	p.127	h4r	The uppermost member of a column
Chalcedony	Calcedonii	p.128	h4v	Referring here to a translucent chalcedony stone
Cornice	Coronice	p.127	h4r	The uppermost part of the entablature
Cornucopia	Copia stipata	p.128	h4v	A large horn-shaped container overflowing with produce
Corona	Corona	p.127	h4r	A projecting moulding that is a section of the cornice
Cupola	Cupula	p.127	h4r	A rounded dome forming, or in an addition to, a ceiling
Gemstones	Gemme	p.127	h4r	Polished mineral-crystals in various hues and colours
Gold	Oro	p. 127; 128; 129; 131	h4r; h4v; h5r; h6r	Referring to the precious metal
Jasper	Diaspro	p.128	h4r	Referring here to a yellow and a red jasper stone
Obelisk[48]	Obelisco, pyra	p.130; 131	h5v; h6r	A stone pillar with a tapered top forming a pyramidion
Pearl	Perle, margarite	p.127	h4r	A hard, usually white, stone from an oyster shell[49]
Pedestal	Suppedio	p.128	h4v	Here used in conjunction with alter
Pilasters (rectangular)	Quadrangule auree capitule	p.127	h4r	Engaged column/half column embedded in the wall
Plinth	Plintho	p.128	h4v	Rectangular support for a statue
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.128	h4v	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Pyramid	Pyramide	p.129; 130	h5r; h5v	Referring to the shape of a polyhedron
Silk	Sericei	p.127	h4r	A fabric made from the fibres taken from silk-worm cocoons
Socle	Sochi	p.127	h4r	Block beneath a column
Velvet	Villuso	p.127	h4r	A type of woven tufted fabric here likely made from silk
Zophorus	Zophoro	p.127	h4r	A frieze of an entablature

Table Fourteen

THE STONE BRIDGE AND THE THREE PORTALS

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Arches	Archi, arco	p.133	h7r	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Bridge	Ponte	p.133, 134	h7r	A horizontal structure that spans supports on either side
Doors	Porta	136; 137; 138; 140	h8v; i1r; i1v; i2v	Referring here to the portals
Hymettus marble	Marmoro hymetio	p.135	h8r	A bluish white marble with bands of parallel grey lines that originates from Mount Hymettus, near Athens[50]
Keystone	Cuneo	p.133	h7r	The top stone of an arch which holds it together, and across which the weight of the building is distributed
Parapet	Sponde	p.133	h7r	A short wall or thick railing around the pathway
Pier	Pille	p.133	h7r	A vertical loadbearing member
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.133	h7r	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Portal	Porta	p.134; 135	h7v; h8r	Referring to a doorway
Serpentine	Ophytes	p.133	h7r	A green marble composed of serpentine and other minerals

Telosia

Table Fifteen

OUTSIDE THE TEMPLE OF VENUS PHYSISOA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition

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[47] "Areostyle" from Vitruvius see Gabriele (745).

[48] Godwin translates "pyra" as pyramid, but the author uses "pyramide" as "pyramid", placing linguistic emphasis on pyra, a word taken from Plato, lending philosophical symbolism to its formal structure. We may, then, follow suit with Ian White and translate "pyra" as "pyre" (p.111).

[49] Referring to the pearl, first in Italian and secondly in Latin, an occurrence that happens less regularly in quick succession.

[50] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36.7), Gabriele (764), Reiser (194).

English	Italian	Page	Folio	Definition
Entrance (hall)	Adito	p.199	m8v	Referring to the entrance of the building[51]
Areobate	Aerobati	p.201	n1r	Referring to stylobate, or pedestal[52]
Alabaster	Alabastrite	p.199	m8r	A soft white rock used for carving[53]
Arches	Archi	p.197; 198; 199; 202	m7v; m8r; m8v; n1v; n2r	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Astragals	Astragali	p.198	m7v	A semi-circular moulding/band
Bases	Base	p.198; 204	m7v; m8r; n3v	A plinth used to support a pedestal or column
Beam	Trabe	p.198; 202; 204	m7v; n1v; n2r; n3v	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Bronze	Aenea	p.198; 202	m7v; n1v	Referring to the largely copper alloy
Candelabra	Candelabri	p.202; 203; 204	n1v; n2v	A candleholder with multiple arms
Capitol	Capitello	p.198; 202; 204	m7v; n2r; n3v	The uppermost member of a column
Ceiling	Sufficto	p.204	n2v	Referring to a respective roof
Channels	Canalioli	p.202	n2r	A decorative grooving of the column
Chapel	Sacello	p.200	m8v	A small chamber for worship
Cinquefoil	Pentafilete	p.203	n2r	An ornamental design of five lobes arranged in a circle
Cistern	Cisterna	p.202	n1v	A receptacle for holding liquids, here, water
Colonnade	Columnatione	p.197; 204	m7r; n2v	A long sequence of columns joined by their entablature
Columns	Columne	p.196; 197; 198; 199; 200; 201; 202; 204	m6v; m7r; m7v; m8r; m8v; n1r; n1v; n2r; n3v	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base
Corinthian	Corinthie	p.198; 200; 202	m7v; m8r; m8v; n1v	Referring to capital and proportion of the Corinthian order
Cornice	Cornitione	p.198; 199; 200; 202; 204	m7v; m8v; n1v; n2v	The uppermost part of the entablature
Corona	Corona	p.202; 204	n2r; n3v	A projecting moulding that is a section of the cornice
Cupola	Cupula	p.202; 203	n1r	A rounded dome forming, or in an addition to, a ceiling
Cymas	Sime	p.198	m7v	A double-curved moulding
Cymatium	Coronatione	p.196	m6v	The uppermost moulding at the top of the cornice
Dentils	Denticulato	p.202	n2r	Rectangular stone positioned between frieze and cornice
Dome	Cupula	p.200; 201; 203	m8v; n1r; n2r	Referring to the rounded shape of the ceiling
Door	Porta	p.199	m8v	Referring to the entrance to the temple
Echinuses, or, eggs	Echinata	p.202	n2r	The rounded moulding under the abacus in the Doric capital of a column, usually in an egg-and-dart pattern
Entasis	Enthesi	p.198	m7v	The swelling of a column for optical effect
Fascia	Fascia	p.200; 201	m8v; n1r	A vertical frieze under a roof edge or the surface of a cornice
Floor-joists	Coassatione	p.204	n3v	A junction of structural elements of the floor meet
Fluting	Canaliculate	p.198; 199	m8r	Shallow groove along the face of a column
Frieze	Phrygio	p.198; 202; 204	m7v; n1v; n3v	The central section of an entablature, usually decorated
Gold	Oro	p.196; 199; 202	m6v; m8r; n2r	Referring to the precious metal
Gullets	Gulature	p.201	n1r	Gullet, same as cyma, throat shaped moulding
Gutters	Compluvio	p.201; 202	n1v	A receptacle attached to the building for disposing of water
Half-altar	Ara	p.198	m7v	A section of the base of the column
Half-capital	Semicapituli	p.198	m8r	A section of the topmost part of a column
Half-column	Semiquadrangule	p.200; 202	m8v; n2r	A section of the column
Half-pedestal	Suppedio	p.198	m7v	A section of the base of the column
Ionic	Ionice	p.198	m7v	Referring to the capital and proportions of the Ionic order
Jasper	Diaspro	p.198	m8r	Referring to the jasper stone without reference to colour
Mosaic	Inaurata tessellatura	p.200	m8v	A pattern or image made of small pieces of coloured material
Niche		p.202	n2r	A recess set into a wall for displaying a statue or other object
Pavement	Pavemento	p.204	n3v	The stone on which the building rests
Pedestal	Suppedio	p.198; 202	m7v; n1v	Here used in conjunction with alter
Peristyle	Peristyllio	p.197	m7r; m7v	A row of columns surrounding a space within a building
Pilasters/ pillars	Pillo, pillastro	p.197; 198; 199; 201; 202; 203	m7r; m8r; m8v; n1r; n2r; n2v	Engaged column/half column embedded in the wall
Plaster-work		p.204	n3v	A material for the protective/decorative coating of walls
Plinth	Plintho	p.198; 202	m7v; n1v	Rectangular support for a statue
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.198	m7v	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Rain-pipes	Gurgiti	p.201	n1v	Receptacles for disposing of rainwater
Roof	Sufficto	p.199; 202; 204	m8v; n1v; n2v	Referring to a respective ceiling
Semi-pedestals	Suppedio	p.199	m8r	Here used in conjunction with alter
Serpentine	Ophite	p.198	m7v	A green marble composed of serpentine and other minerals
Stylobate	Stylobati	p.201	n1r	The top step on which the columns and structure stand
Sub-column		p.198	m7v	Here referring to a half-cylinder base
Temple	Pemplo	p.204	r3r	A sacred building for religious ritual
Tesserae	Tessellatura	p.204	r3r	An individual tile used in decorative mosaics
Toruses	Thori	p.198; 201	m7v; n1r	A moulding, circular and convex
Vaults/ vaulting	Fornici	p.198; 202; 204	m8r; n1v; n2v	A roof in the form of an arch or a series of arches
Volute	Volute, cortice	p.202	n2r	Horned spiral of the Ionic capital[54]
Wall	Muro	p.197; 198; 199; 200; 201; 202; 204	m7r; m7v; m8r; m8v; n1v; n2v; n3v	Referring generally to the palace walls loadbearing or not

[51] This has been erroneously translated by Godwin here as "adytum" referring to the sacred central area of the Greek temple.
[52] See footnote 1.
[53] From Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36.60-1).
[54] The term "cortice" referring to the "volute" for Gabriele (842) and Pozzi (165).

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Wave-mouldings	Undulava	p.198	m7v	A wave-shaped contour or outline of a surface's edge
Window	Fenestra	p.199; 200; 201	m8r; m8v; n1v	An opening in a wall for admission of light and air[55]

Table Sixteen

INSIDE THE TEMPLE OF VENUS PHYSISOA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Agate	Achates	p.209	n5r	A rock made of chalcedony and quartz in a variety of colours
Alabaster	Alabastrite	p.206; 208	n3v; n5r	A soft white rock used for carving
Altar	Ara	p.225; 227; 230; 231; 233	o5r; o6r; o7v; o8r; o8v; p1r	Meaning pedestal
Astragal	Astragali	p.221	o3r	A semi-circular moulding/band
Augustan marble	Augustea petra	p.209	n5r	Referring to the marble from the reign of Augustus[56]
Balas ruby	Balasso	p.207; 222	n4r; o3v	A (red) ruby from the Spinel group[57]
Bases	Base	p.208	n5r	A plinth used to support a pedestal or column
Beam	Trabe	p.209	n5v	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Bells	Chodono	p.210	n6r	A directly struck idiophone percussion instrument[58]
Bowl	Platina	p.207	n4v	A rounded receptacle device, here ceremonial
Bronze	Aenea	p.209	n5v	Referring to the largely copper alloy
Candelebrum	Candelabro	p.225	o5r	A candleholder with multiple arms
Capitols	Capitello	p.208; 213	n5r; n7v	The uppermost member of a column
Chain	Catenule	p.206; 207; 210	n3v; n4v; n6r	A series of linked metal rings for fastening something
Chalcedony	Calcedonii	p.209	n5r	Here referring to multiple hues of the chalcedony stone
Chapel	Sacello	p.219; 220; 234	o2r; o2v; p1v	A small chamber for worship
Cistern	Cisterna	p.206; 209; 216; 217	n3v; n5r; n8v; n8v	A receptacle for holding liquids, here, water
Column	Columne	p.209	n5v	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base
Cornice	Coronice	p.209; 210	n5v; n6r	The uppermost part of the entablature
Corona	Corona	p.221	o3r	A projecting moulding that is a section of the cornice
Crystal	Crystallea	p.207	n4r	Referring here to the colourful, shiny mineral substance
Cupola	Cupula	p.209	n5v	A rounded dome forming, or in an addition to, a ceiling
Diamond	Adamanti	p.222	o3v	A precious stone of clear and colourless crystalline carbon
Dome	Cupula	p.206; 232	n3v; o8v	Referring to the rounded shape of the ceiling
Doors	Porta	p.211; 212; 213; 219; 220	n6v; n7r; n7v; o2r; o2v	The double doors of the temple
Doric	Dorici	p.211	n6v	Referring to the capital and proportions of the Doric order
Emerald	Smaragdo	p.207; 222	n4r; o3v	A green coloured gemstone
Fascia	Fascia	p.211	n6v	A vertical frieze under a roof edge or the surface of a cornice
Flagstones	Coaequata lastra	p.211	n7r	A flat stone used for paving a flooring
Floor	Solo	p.223	o4r	Referring to the respective flooring
Gemstones/ gems	Gemme	p.220; 222	o2v; o3v	Polished mineral-crystals in various hues and colours
Globes (hollow)[59]	Vacue pile	p.207	n4r	Referring here to decorative lamp designs
Gold	Oro	p.206; 209; 219; 221	n3v; n5r; o2r; o3r	Referring to the precious metal
Indian lodestone	Magnete indico, tabella di magnete	p.213	n7r	A naturally magnetized piece of the mineral magnetite[60]
Jasper	Diaspro	p.209; 211; 222	n5r; n6v; o3v	Referring to red, unspecified, and various colours of jasper
Lamps	Lampada, lampadule	p.207; 208	n4v;	Various decorative lamp designs
Lapislazuli	Lapislazuli	p.209	n5r	A deep blue rock used as a semi-precious stone
Marble	Marmo, marmoreo	p.207; 221	n4v; o3r	Here referring to a nonspecific colour of marble
Metal	Metallo	p.206; 211	n3v; n6v	Referring to common iron
Mosaic	Museaco	p.209	n5r	A pattern or image made of small pieces of coloured material
Pavement	Pavemento	p.220; 225	o2v; o5r	The stone on which the building rests
Pearls	Perle	p.222	o3v	A hard, usually white, stone from an oyster shell
Peristyle	Peristyllio	p.208; 209	n5r	A row of columns surrounding a space within a building
Phengite	Phengito	p.219	o2r	A translucent kind of stone known to the ancient world, probably crystallized gypsum or alabaster[61]
Pier	Pili	p.221	o3r	A vertical loadbearing member
Pilaster	Pillastro	p.208; 209; 214	n5r; n5v; n7v	Engaged column/half column embedded in the wall
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.208; 209; 211	n5r; n6v	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Portal	porta	p.211	n6v	Referring to a doorway
Propylaeum	Propyleo	p.211	n6v	The porch at the entrance of the temple
Reglet	Regulo, regulata	p.221	o3r	An external groove cut in a mortar joint to deflect water
Roof	Sufficto	p.209	n5v	Referring to a respective ceiling

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[55] See Gabriele (838).

[56] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36.55).

[57] See Gabriele (846).

[58] Godwin translates "chodono" as "bell" however, this is more accurately translated by White as a "cascabel", describing the sonorous sound the small ball makes hitting the metal casing (White, p.171); Pozzi (168).

[59] The author here infers the use of globe without explicitly referring to it.

[60] Referring to a magnetic stone, from Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36.130); see Reiser, (304), Gabriele (856), Pozzi (168).

[61] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36.163).

Roundels	Rotundi	p.209	n5r	A circular decorative plate on positioned on the edifices
Sapphire	Saphyro	p.207; 222	n4r; o3v	A blue precious gemstone
Serpentine	Ophite	p.208; 209; 212	n5r; n7r	A green marble composed of serpentine and other minerals
Silk	Serico	p.222	o3v	A fabric made from the fibres taken from silk-worm cocoons
Topaz	Topacio	p.207	n4r	A precious colourless, yellow or blue stone but unspecified
Trochlea	Troclea	p.221; 222	o3r; o3v	A concave moulding with a lower projecting edge
Vase	Vaso	p.209	n5v	An open decorative container made of stone here
Vault	Fornici	p.209; 232	n5r; o8v	A roof in the form of an arch or a series of arches
Vessel	Carchesio	p.207	n4v	A roof in the form of an arch or a series of arches
Volute	Volute	p.222	o3v	Horned spiral of the Ionic capital
Wall	Pariete	p.210; 213	n6r; n7r	Referring generally to the palace walls loadbearing or not
Well-cover	Puteale obturato	p.216	n8v	A decorative covering of a well
Well-head	Puteale	p.228	o6v	The place where a water issues forth
Windows	Fenestre	p.209; 219	n5r; 02r	An opening in a wall for admission of light and air
Zophorus	Zophoro	p.209	n5v	A frieze of an entablature

Table Seventeen

THE RUINS OF THE POLYANDRION

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Alabaster	Alabastrite	p.256	q4v	A soft white rock used for carving[62]
Altar	Arula	p.244; 247; 256; 259	p6v; p8r; q4v; q6r	Meaning pedestal
Arch	Archo	p.252	q2v	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Arched soffit	Inarcuato suffito	p.270	r3v	The arched underside of an architectural element
Archivolt	Trabe arcuata	p.266	r1r	The moulding following the curve beneath an arch
Astragal	Astragali	p.236	p2v	A semi-circular moulding/band
Base	Base	p.268	r2r	A plinth used to support a pedestal or column
Beam	Trabe	p.245; 265; 270	p7r; r1r; r3v	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Brass	Aenea	p.257	q5r	An alloy of copper and zinc
Bronze	Aenea	p.266	r1v	Referring to the largely copper alloy
Candelabrum	Candelabro	p.266	r1v	A candleholder with multiple arms
Capitol	Capitello	p.236; 265; 270	p2v; q8v; r3v	The uppermost member of a column
Chapel	Sacello	p.244	p6v	A small chamber for worship
Chernites stone	Chemite	p.261	q7r	Referring to chernite marble[63]
Chest-tomb[64]	Zygastrion	p.261	q7r	A memorial shaped like a stone box or cist
Chimney	Infumibulo	p.246	p7v	Referring to the structural recess for evacuating smoke[65]
Ciborium	Ciborio	p.246; 249	p7v; q1r	A large, covered cup – such as a chalice or goblet
Cinquefoil	Pentaphila	p.270	r3v	An ornamental design of five lobes arranged in a circle[66]
Column	Columne	p.243; 247; 260; 264; 270	p6r; p8r; q6v; q8v; r3v	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base
Cornice	Coronice	p.245; 266; 270	p7r; r1v; r3v	The uppermost part of the entablature
Corona	Corona	p.265	r1r	A projecting moulding that is a section of the cornice
Coronets	Coronule	p.261	q7r	Referring here to a leafy design crowning the wall
Cupola	Cupula	p.246; 247; 248	p7v; p8r; p8v	A rounded dome forming, or in an addition to, a ceiling
Cyma	Sime	p.265	r1r	A double-curved moulding
Door	Porta	p.244; 249; 270	p7r; q1r; r3v	Referring to the entrance to the ruined structure
Doorway	Porta	p.247	p8r	Referring to the entrance to the ruined structure
Epistyle	Epistylio	p.246; 265	p7v; q8v	Referring to the architrave of the structure
Fillet	Cordelle/nextruli	p.259	q6r	A narrow moulding
Frontispiece	Frontispicio	p.246	p7v	The combined parts that frame the entrance of the building
Gable-end	Fastigio	p.246	p7v	A triangular upper part of a wall at the end of a ridged roof
Gold	Oro	p.261	q7r	Referring to the precious metal
Gullet	Gulature	p.259; 265	q6r; r1r	Gullet, same as cyma, throat shaped moulding
Half-dome	Semicupula	p.265	r1r	Referring to a section of a rounded shaped ceiling
Hypothesis (apothesis)	Hypothesi	p.236	p2v	A recess on the south side of the chancel in early churches, lined with shelves for books, vestments etc
Hypotrachelia	Hypotrachelia	p.236	p2v	The junction of the capital and the shaft[67]
Marble	Marmo	p.247; 252; 264	p8r; q2v; q8v	Here referring to a nonspecific colour of marble
Mausoleum	Mausoleo	p.268	r2r	A structure which houses crypts or burial spaces for caskets
Metal	Metallo	p.246; 249	p7v; p8v	Referring to common iron
Mosaic	Museaco, museo	p.248; 251; 256	p8v; q4v; q5r	A pattern or image made of small pieces of coloured material
Mygdonian marble	Marmaro migdonio	p.236	p2v	A marble from Magdonia[68]
Niche	Nichio	p.265	r1r	A recess set into a wall for displaying a statue or other object

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[62] From Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36.60-1).

[63] See Pliny, (*Nat. Hist.* 25.3), Ariani (928).

[64] Godwin here refers to the phrase "zygastrion assideva di una petra" in the word "chest-tomb."

[65] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 24.135); see also Pozzi (181).

[66] From Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 21.20).

[67] See Reiser (335).

[68] See Pozzi, (175).

Obelisk	Obelisco	p.243; 245	p6r; p7r	A stone pillar with a tapered top forming a pyramidion
Orichalcum	Auricalcho	p.247	p8r	A precious stone mentioned in Plato's *Critias*[69]
Pavement	Pavemento	p.257	q5r	The stone on which the building rests
Pedestal	Suppedio	p.264; 265; 270	q8v; r1r; r3v	Here used in conjunction with alter
Pediment	Fastigiolo	p.264	q8v	A gable above the entablature supported by columns
Pier	Pili	p.247	p8r	A vertical loadbearing member
Pillar	Pile	p.247	p8r	An engaged column embedded in the wall
Plinth	Plintho	p.259; 266	q6r; r1v	Rectangular support for a statue
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.246; 248; 253; 259; 260; 264	p7v; p8v; q3r; q6r; q6v; q8v	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Pumice stone	Pumice	p.248	p8v	A stone formed when lava and water mix together
Roof (open)	Cielo di tempio	p.249; 260	q1r; q6r	Referring to a respective ceiling
Sepulchre	Sepulchro	p.253; 260; 261	q3r; q6v; q7r	A room or monument in which a dead person is buried
Serpentine	Ophite	p.246; 266	p7v; r1v	A green marble composed of serpentine and other minerals
Shaft	Trunco	p.236; 260; 270	p2v; q6v; r3v	Here referring to ruined column shafts
Slab	Latastro	p.259	q6r	Referring to a thick cut flat surface of stone
Socle	Sochi	p.260; 265	q6v; r1r	Block beneath a column
Stairway	Scale	p.247	p8r	Referring to the base of a column
Sub-column	Subcolumnio	p.265	r1r	Here referring to a half-cylinder base
Tablet	Tabella	p.257; 262; 264	q5r; q7v; q8v	A slab of stone upon which inscriptions are found
Temple	Tempio	p.242; 243; 245; 246	p5v; p6r; p7r; p7v	A building devoted to the worship of, here, many Gods[70]
Throne	Throno, solio	p.265	r1r	The elaborately designed ceremonial royal chair[71]
Torus	Thori	p.259	q6r	A moulding, circular and convex
Tribunes	Tribuna	p.242; 248; 256; 257; 264; 272	p5v; p8v; q4v; q5r; q8v; r4v	The medieval usage applies to an area within a vaulted or semi-domed apse in a room or church
Vase	Vaso	p.252; 256; 259	q2v; q4v; q6r	An open decorative container made of stone here
Walls	Pariete	p.236; 259; 272	p2v; q6v; r4v	Referring generally to the palace walls loadbearing or not
White marble	Marmaro	p.260	q6v	Here referring to a white colour of marble
Window	Fenestra	p.247	p8r	An opening in a wall for admission of light and air
Zophorus	Zophoro	p.245; 246; 265; 270	p7r; p7v; r1r; r3v	A frieze of an entablature

Table Eighteen

IN THE GARDENS OF VENUS CYTHEREA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Agate	Achate	p.309	t7r	A rock made of chalcedony and quartz in a variety of colours
Amber	Ambra	p.304	t4r	A fossilized tree resin used as a semi-precious stone
Arcade (little)	Arculi	p.300	t2v	A succession of arches supported by a colonnade of columns or piers
Arches	Archi	p.299; 303; 305; 306	t2r; t4r; t5r; t5v	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Atizoe	Atizoe	p.308	t7r	A precious ancient stone with a silvery sheen[72]
Baluster	Balausticato	p.301	t3r	Vertical posts that connect the base rails with handrails[73]
Bases	Base	p.299; 300; 307; 315	t2r; t2v; t6v; u2r	A plinth used to support a pedestal or column
Basin	Conchea	p.301; 303	t3r; t4r	Referring to the receptacle for water
Beam	Trabe	p.300; 308	t2v; t6v	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Capitols	Capitello	p.299; 300; 309	t2r; t2v; t7r	The uppermost member of a column
Chalcedony	Calcedonico	p.302; 308; 309	t3v; t6v; t7r	Referring to a translucent chalcedony stone here
Chloritis	Calorites	p.309	t7r	A green stone[74]
Choaspitis	Coaspites	p.309	t7r	A gold stone mixed with green from the river Choaspes[75]
Chryselectrum	Chrysolectro	p.305	t5v	Described by Pliny as an amber coloured stone[76]
Chrysoprase	Chrysophrasio	p.308	t7r	A green coloured gemstone, a variety of chalcydony
Colonettes	Columnule	p.299; 300	t2r	A small column, usually decorative, supporting a beam
Colonnade	Columnatione	p.305; 315; 316	t5r; u2r; u2v	A long sequence of columns joined by their entablature
Column	Columne	p.299; 300; 301; 305; 307; 308; 309; 315	t1v; t2r; t2v; t3r; t5r; t6r; t6v; t6v; t7r; u2r	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base
Cornice	Coronice	p.300; 321	t2v; u5r	The uppermost part of the entablature
Corona	Corona	p.305	t5r	A projecting moulding that is a section of the cornice
Cupola	Cupula	p.299	t2r	A rounded dome forming, or in an addition to, a ceiling
Cyma	Sime	p.307; 319	t6v; u4r	A double-curved moulding
Dome	Cupuleta	p.300	t2v	Referring to the rounded shape of the ceiling
Doors	Porta	p.303; 318	t4r; u3v	Referring to the little doors within the garden

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[69] See footnote 4.
[70] On the polyandrion temple see Ariani and Gabriele (900), Pozzi (176).
[71] For "solio" see Reiser (279).
[72] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 37.146).
[73] On "ballusti" see Pliny (Nat. Hist. 13.12); see also Gabriele (931).
[74] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 37.56).
[75] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 37.56).
[76] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 37.47).

Doorway	Porta	p.318	u3v	Referring to the little doorways within the garden
Doric	Dorici	p.299	t2r	Referring to the capital and proportions of the Doric order
Double column	Bine columne	p.315	u2r	Referring to the double shafts supporting the architrave
Echinisus	Echinata	p.309	t7r	The rounded moulding under the abacus in the Doric[77] capital of a column, usually in an egg-and-dart pattern
Electrum	Electro	p.309	t7r	A natural or artificial alloy of gold with at least 20% silver
Entasis	Enthesi	p.300; 307; 308	t2v; t6r; t7r	The swelling of a column for optical effect
Epistyle	Epistylio	p.299	t2r	Referring to the architrave of the structure
N/A[78]	Eustylo	p.307	t6r	A distance between successive columns equal to two-and-a-quarter diameters of a column
Fascia	Fascia	p.300	t2v	A vertical frieze under a roof edge or the surface of a cornice
Flat inlaid floor	Coaequata emblematura solistima	p.301	t3r	A floor comprised of inlaid materials
Fountain	Fonte	p.301	t3r	Referring to the structure that squirts water into its basin
Frontispiece	Frontispicio	p.308	t6v	The combined parts that frame the entrance of the building
Gable	Fastigio	p.308	t6v	A triangular upper part of a wall at the end of a ridged roof
Gateways	Porte	p.299; 308	t2r; t6v	Referring to the entrances to the inner garden areas
Gullets	Gulature	p.305; 307	t5r; t6v	Gullet, same as cyma, throat shaped moulding
Hexacontalithos	Hexaconthalitho	p.308	t7r	A precious, unknown stone[79]
Hieracitis	Hieracites	p.308	t7r	A green or black stone with streaks[80]
Indian touchstone[81]	Non s'atroverebbe	p.317	u3r	A stone used to identify precious metals[82]
Ionic	Ionice	p.299; 309	t1v	Referring to the capital and proportions of the Ionic order
Jasper	Diaspro	p.301; 302; 315	t3r; t3v; u2r	Referring to red, and unspecified jasper
Lapislazuli	Lapislazuli	p.305	t5r	A deep blue rock used as a semi-precious stone
Milk-stone	Petra lactea	p.308	t7r	A stone described as having the colour of milk
Mouldings	Undule	p.308	t6v	A contour or outline of a surface's edge
Oculi	Oculus	p.300	t2v	A round hole in the masonry
Pavilion	Specule	p.301; 302	t3r; t3v	An open sided building used as a place for entertainment or shelter in a park or garden
Pedestal	Suppedio	p.302; 305; 307; 309	t3v; t5r; t6r; t7r	Here used in conjunction with alter
Pergola	Pergularia, pergula	p.299; 307; 313; 315	t1v; t2r; t6r; u1r; u2r	An arched framework covered with climbing plants
Peristyle	Peristylio	p.301; 307; 308; 309; 312; 314	t3r; t6r; t6v; t7r; t8v; u1v	A row of columns surrounding a space within a building
Pilaster	Pillastro	p.296; 300	s7v; t2v	Engaged column/half column embedded in the wall
Plinth	Plintho	p.315	u2r	Rectangular support for a statue
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.314; 321	u1v; u5r	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Pycnostyle	Picnostyle	p.315	u2r	Having an intercolumniation of 1.5 times the diameter of the shaft of a column[83]
Roof (pointed)	Aculeo sustiniva	p.300; 305; 306	t2v; t5r; t5v	Referring to a respective ceiling
Serpentine	Ophite	p.302; 314	t3v; u1v	A green marble composed of serpentine and other minerals
Socle	Sochi	p.307; 319	t6v; u4r	Block beneath a column
Spartan stone	Petra spartania	p.312	t8v	A stone said to originate from Sparta
Sphragides	Sphragide	p.309	t7r	Referred by Pliny as a common Greek name for gemstones[84]
Stair	Scale	p.316; 317; 325	u2v; u3v; u7r	Referring here to stone paved steps
Steps	Gradi	p.303	t4r	Referring here to stone paved steps
Terraced containers	Altane colocate	p.302	t3v	Referring to raised beds for containing flowering plants
Tower	Turre	p.303; 318	t4r; u3v	Referring here to a tall, narrow structure
Trellis	Cancelli	p.296; 309	s7v; t7r	A structure, usually made from an open framework or lattice of interwoven or intersecting pieces of wood
Vase	Vaso	p.309	t7r	An open decorative container made of stone here
Volute	Volute	p.309	t7r	Horned spiral of the Ionic capital
White marble	Marmaro	p.296	s7v	Here referring to a white colour of marble
Window	Fenestra, fenestrati	p.299; 300; 303	t2r; t2v; t4r	An opening in a wall for admission of light and air
Zophorus	Zophoro	p.308; 309	t6v; t7r	A frieze of an entablature

Table Nineteen

OUTSIDE THE AMPHITHEATRE OF VENUS CYTHEREA

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[77] From Vitruvius, (*De. Arch.* 4.3.4).

[78] Godwin entirely omits translating or including this word.

[79] See Pliny, (*Nat. Hist.* 37.10, 60).

[80] See Pliny, (*Nat. Hist.* 37.60).

[81] Indian touchstone is here inferred form "indico nel flume Ocho non s'atroverebbe" but not explicitly referred to by the author.

[82] On this passage see Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 33.66), Ariani and Gabriele (997), Pozzi (208), Perotti (467).

[83] The term "pycnostyle" is from Vitruvius (De. Arch. 3.3.2);

[84] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 7.21).

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Abaci	Abachi	p.349	y3r	A flat slab forming the uppermost member of the capital
Entrance (hall)	Adito	p.352	y4v	A restricted area within the cella of a Greek temple[85]
Agate	Achates	p.355	y6r	A rock made of chalcedony and quartz in a variety of colours
Alabaster	Alabastrite	p.348	y2v	A soft white rock used for carving
Amphitheatre	Amphitheatro	p.348	y2r	Here, a roofed theatre for performances
Antis	Ante	p.347; 348	y2r; y2v	Where posts stand on either side of a doorway of a temple
Arcade	Arcuato	p.355; 356; 360	y6r; y6v; y8v	A succession of arches supported by a colonnade of columns or piers
Arches	Archi	p.348; 354; 355; 360	y2v; y5v; y8v	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Archway	Arcotrabe	p.347	y2r	A curved member that spans an opening and supports a load
Arena	Area	p.353; 356; 363	y5r; y6v; z2r	A large enclosed circular area of the theatre
Astragals	Astragali	p.348	y2v	A semi-circular moulding/band
Attic	Testudinati	p.356	y6v	Here denoting space partly inside the roof of the theatre
Bases	Base	p.347; 348; 352; 355; 360	z2r; y2v; y4v; y6r; y8v	A plinth used to support a pedestal or column
Beams	Trabe	p.347; 348; 349; 355; 360; 361	z2r; y2v; y3r; y6v; y8v; z1r	A horizontal support resting on the columns
Benches	Sedere	p.353	y5r	Referring to the stone seats of the auditorium
Capitols	Capitello	p.347; 349; 352; 356; 360	z2r; y3r; y4v; y6v; y8v	The uppermost member of a column
Cetionides (ceponides)	Cetionides	p.353	y5r	Described by Pliny as "found at Atarna, a borough, and once a city, of Æolis. It is transparent, presents numerous tints, and has sometimes the appearance of glass, sometimes of crystal, and sometimes of iaspis. Indeed, the stones of this kind that are tarnished even, are possessed of such singular brilliancy as to reflect objects like a mirror"[86]
Chalcedonies	Calcedonii	p.355	y6r	Here referring to multiple hues of the chalcedony stone
Choir	Chori, choro	p.356	y6v	An area of a church providing seating for the clergy and church choir
Colonnade	Columnatione	p.349; 351	y3v;	A long sequence of columns joined by their entablature
Colonnette	Columnule	p.355; 356	y6r; y6v	A small column, usually decorative, supporting a beam
Columns	Columne	p.347; 348; 349; 350; 351; 352; 359; 360; 361; 363	z2r; y2v; y3r; y3v; y4r; y4v; y8r; y8v; z1r; z2r	A supporting rounded shaft with a capital and a base
Cornice	Coronice	p.347; 348; 350; 355; 360	y2r; y2v; y3v; y6r; y6v; y8v	The uppermost part of the entablature
Corona	Corona	p.352	y4v	A projecting moulding that is a section of the cornice
Corridor	Itone	p.356	y6v	The interior small corridors behind the seating arena
Crystal	Crystallea	p.363	z2v	Referring here to the colourful, shiny mineral substance
Cupola	Cupula	p.360	y8v	A rounded dome forming, or in an addition to, a ceiling
Cyma	Sime	p.359	y8r	A double-curved moulding
Doors	Porte	p.356	y6v	Referring to the entrance to the amphitheatre
Doorway	Potya	p.352; 356	y4v; y6v	Referring to the entrance to the amphitheatre
Ebony		p.356	y6v	A dark hardwood of the genus Diospyros
Emerald	Smaragdo	p.347; 359; 360; 361	y2r; y8r; y8v; z1r	A green coloured gemstone
Entablature	Trabeo	p.350	y3v	The section supported by columns or a colonnade, comprising the architrave, frieze, and cornice
Fluted	Canaliculate	p.348	y2v	The vertical grooves or channels decorating a column
Fountain	Fonte	p.353; 356; 358; 360; 363; 367	y5r; y6v; y7v; y8v; z2r; z2v; z4v	Referring to the structure that squirts water into its basin
Frieze	Phrygio	p.349; 360	y3r; y8v	The central section of an entablature, usually decorated
Gold	Oreo	p.360; 361	y8v; z1r	Referring to the precious metal
Gullets	Gulature	p.353	y5v	Gullet, same as cyma, throat shaped moulding
Hieracitis	Hieracites	p.353	y5r	A green or black stone with streaks[87]
Indian Alabaster	Alabastryte indico	p.350	y3v	A soft white rock used for carving, from India
Indian beryl	Berillo indico	p.359	y8r	A crystal from India referred to as "the colour of oil"
Inlays	Crustatione	p.352	y4v	A process of embedding a material in another
Jasper	Diaspro	p.353; 359	y5v; y8r	Described as "hyacinth coloured" (purple/blue) jasper
Lapislazuli	Lapislazuli	p.347; 355	z2r; y6r	A deep blue rock used as a semi-precious stone
Mosaic	Museaco	p.352; 355	y4v; y6r	A pattern or image made of small pieces of coloured material
Obsidian	Obsidio	p.352	y4v	A volcanic glass formed when lava extruded from a volcano cools rapidly with minimal crystal growth
Pavements	Pavementi	p.352	y4v	The stone on which the building rests
Pedestals	Suppedio	p.347; 348; 350; 359; 360	y2r; y2v; y3v; y8r; y8v	Here used in conjunction with alter
Pediment	Fastigio	p.347	y2r	A gable above the entablature supported by columns

[85] This has been erroneously translated by Godwin here as "adytum" referring to the sacred central area, or cella, of the Greek temple.

[86] See Pliny, (*Nat. Hist.* 37.56)

[87] See Pliny, (*Nat. Hist.* 37.60).

Pergola	Pergula	p.353; 354; 355; 356; 357; 364; 367	y5r; y5v; y6r; y6v; y7r; z2v; z4r	An arched framework covered with climbing plants
Pergoletta	Perguleta	p.352	y4v	A small arched framework covered with climbing plants
Pilaster	Pillastro	p.350	y3v	Engaged column/half column embedded in the wall
Porphyry	Porphyrite	p.347	y2r	A red or purple coloured large-grained crystal rock
Portal	Porta	p.346; 347; 349; 352; 356	y1v; y2r; y3r; y4v; y6r	Referring to the doorway
Porticos	Portici	p.352	y4r	A colonnaded porch supported by columns
Sandalwood	Sandalino	p.356; 361	y6v; z1r	A yellow, fine-grained wood from the genus Santalum
Sapphire	Saphyro	p.347; 355; 359; 360; 361	y2r; y6r; y8r; y8v; z1r	A blue precious gemstone
Semi-columns	Semicolumne	p.348	y2v	Seemingly referring to their height, these are columns attached to the external arched-wall of the amphitheatre
Socle	Sochi	p.359	y8r	Block beneath a column
Spartopolias	Spartopolia	p.353	y5r	Described by Pliny as a stone thinly sprinkled with white[88]
Staircase	Scale	p.353	y5r	Referring here to stone paved steps
Stairs	Scale	p.353; 356	y5r; y6v	Referring here to stone paved steps
Steps	Gradatione	p.353; 354; 357; 363; 367	y5r; y5v; y7r; z2r; z4r	Referring here to stone paved steps
Theatre	Theatro	p.352	y4v	Referring to a roofed seating and arena area for performances
Topaz	Topacio	p.359	y8r	A precious colourless, yellow or blue stone but unspecified
Turquoise	Petra turchinia	p.359	y8r	An opaque blue-green mineral gemstone[89]
Vault	Fornici	p.352; 356	y4v; y6v	A roof in the form of an arch or a series of arches
Wave-moulding	Undulava	p.348; 359	y2v; y8r	A wave-shaped contour of a surface's edge
Zophorus	Zophoro	p.347; 348; 349; 350; 355; 360	y2r; y2v; y3r; y6v; y8v	A frieze of an entablature

Table Twenty

INSIDE THE GARDEN OF ADONIS

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Definition
Alabaster	Alabastrite	p.375	z8r	A soft white rock used for carving[90]
Basin	Concha	p.372	z7r	Referring to the receptacle for water[91]
Cloister	Claustro	p.371	z6r	A covered walkway typically with a colonnade open to a quadrangle on one side
Cornice	Coronice	p.374	z7v	The uppermost part of the entablature
Gate	Porta	p.371	z6r	Referring to the entrances to the garden of Adonis
Jacinth	Iacyntho	p.372	z6v; z7r	A reddish-orange gem variety of zircon
Macedonian marble	Marmoramento macadonico	p.370	z5v	Marble from the region of Macadonia[92]
Mosaic	Museaco	p.371	z6v	A pattern or image made of small pieces of coloured material
Onyx	Onyce	p.373	z7r	A semi-precious variety of black agate
Pergola	Pergula	p.375	z8r	An arched framework covered with climbing plants[93]
Sard	Sardoa	p.374	z7v	A yellow or red semi-precious stone, a variety of chalcedony[94]
Sardonyx	Sardonyce	p.374	z7v	A variant of onyx in which the colored bands are sard (shades of red) rather than black
Sepulchre	Sepulchro	p.376	z8v	A room or monument in which a dead person is buried
Tomb	Sepulchro, tumulo	p.372; 375	z6v; z8r; z8v	Here, an architectural structure where Adonis is buried[95]
Trellis (marble)	Cancellature di marmorario, cancellario	p.370; 375	z5v; z8r	A structure, usually made from an open framework or lattice of interwoven or intersecting pieces of wood

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[88] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 37.73).
[89] See Gabriele (1053).
[90] From Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36.60-1).
[91] See footnote 37.
[92] See Pliny (Nat. Hist. 36.126), see also Gabriele (1083).
[93] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 37.85).
[94] See Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 37.85).
[95] The author here varies the term "tumulo" with "sepulchro."

Appendix 2)

Appendix of Plants, Trees, and Flowers, Arranged alphabetically by Narrative Sequence

Realm 1

<u>Table One</u>

IN THE SELVA OSCURA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original passages	Scientific name
Ash	Fraxino	P.13, 16	a3r, a6v	Fraxinus spp.
Elm	Ulmi	P.13	a3r	Ulmus sp., Ulmus glabra Mill.
Fir	Abiete	P.11	a2r	Abies spp.
Galingale[96]	Cypiri	P.11	a2r	Cyperus longus L.
Ilex (holly)	Ilice	P.13	a3r	Ilex aquafolium L.
Loosestrife	Lisimachia	P.16	a4v	Lythrum salicaria L.
Masterwort[97]	Imperatoria	P.16	a4v	Peucedanum ostruthium (L.) W.D.J.Koch
Nettle	Ursica	P.16	a4v	Urtica dioica
(Cork)-oak	Subderi	P.13	a3r	Quercus cerris L.
Oak	Querce	P13, 19	a3v, a6r	Quercus spp
Ossier	Vimini	P.11	a2r	Salix sp.
Plantain	Silvana	P.16	a4v	Plantago sp.
Reed	Iunci	P.11	a2r	Arundo donax L.
Rush	Scirpi	P.11	a2r	Juncus spp.
Robur	Roburi	P.13,	a3r	Quercus macrolepis Kotschy
Prunus	Prunuli	P.14	a4r	Prunus sp.
Sweet-flags	Achori	P.16	a4v	Acorus calamus L.
Turkey Oak	Cerri	P.13	a3r	Quercus cerris L.
Willow	Salice	P.11	a2r	Salix spp.

<u>Table Two</u>

IN THE VALLEY OF THE MAGNA PORTA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original Passage	Scientific name
Acanthus	Ungula ursi	P.22, 49, 53	a8r, c5v, c7v	Acanthus mollis L.
Ash	Fraxini	P.20	a6v	Fraxinus spp.
Alder	Alni	P.20	a6v	Alnus sp.
Bean-trefoil	Anagyro	P.22	a8r	Anagyris foetida L.
Bindweed	Smylace	P.22	a8r	Convolvulus sp.
Blackberry	Nigre bacce	P.32, 56	b4v, c8v	Rubus sp., Rubus fruticosus L.
Centaury	Centaurea	P.22	a8r	Centaurea cyanus L.
Clover	Cythisio	P.21	a7r	Trifolium spp.
Crowfoot	Ranunculo	P.21	a7r	Ranunculus sp.
Chickweed	Alsine	P.56	c8v	Stellaria media (L.) Vill.
Crassulaceae, or, houseleeks	Aizoi	P.23; 56	a8r c8v	Sempervivum L.
Cypress	Cupressi	P.32	b4v	Cupressus sempervirens L.
Dog's-head	Cynocephalo	P.22	a8r	Antirrhinum majus L.
Great houseleek[98]	Erogenneto	P.56	c8v	Sempervivum L.
Hazel	Coryli	P.20	a6v	Corylus spp.

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[96] *Galingale*, a kind of rush, or Cyperus longus L. Both Popelin and Godwin refer to this as a *cypress*, despite the author using the word for cypress elsewhere as either *cupresses* or *cyparisso* (the name of the character in the myth in Ovid who was turned into the tree). Ariani and Gabriele, and Pozzi before them, correctly refer to this rush as *ciperi*, as does Reiser, referring to plant as *zyperngräser* (cypress grass). In the context of the description "gli mobili scirpi et pontuti iunci et debili Cypiri" this becomes evident as the cypress tree cannot 'bend feebly in the wind'. Special thanks to Ian White on this matter.

[97] Godwin does not translate *imperatoria*; it is translated as *muscarie imperaile* by Ariani and Gabriele (p.22), referring to an imperial hyacinth on account of the bell-shaped flowers of the plant. I have chosen the English translation of *masterwort* from the Latin Peucedanum ostruthium or Imperatoria ostruthium, on account of the plant being native to southern Europe and the seemingly straightforward attribution of *imperatoria* with *masterwort*.

[98] *Erogenneto* is not translated by Godwin, however it is referred to as a type of *aizoi* in the text, and in Pliny we see different *aizoüm* listed as, amongst others, *digitellus*, inferring that *erogenneto* is a type of house-leek (the Elder Pliny, *Natural History* (Penguin UK, 1991), 15.102.). Perhaps following this connection Ian White has translated *erogenneto* as *stergethron* (p.49) which is listed by Pliny as a great houseleek (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15.102).

Holm-Oaks	Ilice	P.20	a6v	Quercus ilex L.
Houseleek	Digitello	P.56	c8v	Allium ampeloprasum L.
Hornbeam	Carpini	P.20	a6v	Carpinus sp
Ivy	Edera	P.56	c8v	Hedera helix L.
Laurel	Laureto	P.32	c1r	Laurus nobilis L.
Lime tree	Tilie	P.20	a6v	Citrus aurantiifolia (Christm.) swingle
Maidenhair	Adianto	P.56	c8v	Adianthum spp.
Maple	Opio	P.20	a6v	Acer sp.
Mastic	Lentisco	P.22	a8r	Pistacia lentiscus (L.) var. chia (Desf. ex Poir.) DC.
Moly[99]	Moly	P.20	a6r	N/A
Naval-wart	Cymbalaria	P.23, 56	a8r, c8v	Umbilicus rupestris (salisb.) Dandy
Oak	Quercioli	P.20	d6v	Quercus spp.
Olive	Oleastri	P.20, 41	a6v, c1r	Olea europaea L.
Panachia[100]	Panachia	P.21	a7r	N/A
Palm	Palme	P.21, 41	a7r, c1r	Taxa of arecaceae family
Parsnip[101]	Cervicello/Elaphio	P.21	a7r	Pastinaca sativa L.
Pellitory	Parietaria	P.56	c8v	Parietaria spp
Polypodium	Polipodio	P.56	c8v	Polypodium spp.
Polytrico	Polytrico	P.56	c8v	Asplenium trichomanes L.
Plane-tree	Platini	P.32	b4v	Platanus orientalis L.
Privet	Ligustri	P.56	c8v	Ligustrum spp.
Robur	Roburi	P.20	a6v	Quercus macrolepis Kotschy
Sedge	Carice	P.21	a7r	Carex sp.
Silphium	Spatula	P.22	a8r	Ferula sp
Selenitis Lesser	Lunaria minore	P.56	c8v	Botrychium lunaria (L.) sw
Serratula (saw-wort)[102]	Seratula	P.21	a7r	Serratula tinctoria L.
Spleenwort (polytrico)	Citracho	P.56	c8v	Asplenium marinum L.

Eleuterylida

Table Three

IN THE GROUNDS OF ELEUTERYLIDA

English vernacular	Original	1999 translation	Original Passage	Scientific name
Achillea	Achillea	P.74	e1v	Achillea sp.
Apple	Pomi	P.56, 111	d1r, g4v	Malus spp.
Arbutus	Arbuto	P.72	d8v	Arbutus unedo L.
Artichoke	Cynara	P.74	e1v	Cynara scolymus L
Ash	Fraxini	P.68,	d6v	Fraxinus spp.
Arum/dragon-like arum[103]	Aron/draconculo	P.88	e8r	Arum sp.
Banana	Muse	P.74	e1v	Musa sp.
Beech	Fagi	P.68	d6v	Fagus sp
Calamus	Calamo	P.73,	e1r	various taxa
Carob	Silique	P.75	e2r	Ceratonia siliqua L
Cedovaria/ zedoary[104]	Cedovaria	P.73,	e1r	Curcuma zedoaria L.
Citron	Citri	P.88	e8v	Citrus medica L.

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[99] A mythical plant from Homer's *Odyssey* (Hom. *Odd.* 10.339).

[100] Ian White translates *panachia* as *lovage* (Levisticum officinale L. W.D.J.Koch) a Roman staple, well known to Pliny. It is not translated by Ariani and Gabriele who keep the original *panachia*, and is translated by Godwin as *panacea*, creating a mythical quality. Thomas Reiser observes a connection with the *panax* plant of Eastern Asia (Reiser, *Francesco Colonna: Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Interlinearkommentarfassung*, 33.) and there is no doubt a specific attribution of the plant, but it is not as yet clear. I have opted, following in Ariani and Gabriele's example, for keeping the original *panachia*.

[101] *Cervicello*, or *Elaphio* are the names kept in their original by Godwin who does not translate them; *Cervicello* is referred to by Robert Darlington as "like to Angelica, but not in smell", referred to by Pliny as *elaphovoscon* (Pliny, *Natural History*, 22.79; 25.92.) from Greek "elaphóboskon", as a "plant eaten by deer as an antidote against the bite of snakes" which is possibly a type of parsnip named Pastinaca sativa L.

[102] Despite the original *seratula* most resembling and thus most likely referring to the plant *serratula* (or saw-wort) Godwin translates *seratula* as *sertula* (*meliotus*). I have consequently changed this to "serratula (saw-wort)."

[103] Although Godwin keeps the original spelling of *aron*, the plant is translated as *snakewart* (Natturwurz) by Riser (p.130; see also Genaust, 264f), *taro* (colocasia) by Gabriele, and by White as *arum* (p.76) all of which are, of course, connected to the *araceae* family of southern Europe and northern Africa, (see Pliny. *Nat. hist.* 19.96). *Draconculo* infers a dragon-like quality to the arum on account of its caustic taste (Plin. *Nat. hist.* 24.142).

[104] Godwin does not find translation for *cedovaria*, but keeps the original, as do Ariani and Gabriele; both Reiser (*Interlinearkommentarfassung* p.110)) and White (p.64) translate *cedovaria* as *zedoary* (Zitwer) a plant similar to ginger, used for white turmeric, and seems the most suitable translation.

Chervil[105]	Scanndice	P.74	e1v	Scandix pecten-veneris L.
Clary[106]	Sclareola	P.74	e1v	Salvia sclarea L.
Colocasia (elephants-ears)[107]	Colocassia	P.74	e1v	Colocasia esculenta L.
Cork Oak	Suberi	P.68	d6v	Quercus cerris L.
Cornel-Cherry	Cornuli	P.68	d6v	Cornus mas L.
Cuckoo-bread (sorrel)	Pancuculo	P.74	e1v	Rumex sp
Cypress	Cupressi	P.88	e8r	Cupressus sempervirens L.
Elder	Alno	P.70, 106	d7v, g1v	Sambucus nigra L.
Euphrasia	Eufragia	P.74	e1v	Euphrasia sp.
Frogfoot, Oxeye, buttercup	Pede ranino/buphthalmo	P.74	e1v	Buphthalmum salicifolium L
Firs	Abiete	P.69, 70	d7r, d7v,	Abies spp.
Gladiolus	Gladioli	P.74	e1v	Gladiolus sp.
Hazel	Coryli	P.68	d6v	Corylus spp.
Hellebore	Melampodii	P.68	d6v	Helleborus sp.
Honeysuckle	Periclymeno	P.68	d6v	Lonicera spp.
Holm-Oak	Iligni	P.68	d6v	Quercus ilex L.
Hornbeam	Carpini	P.68	d6v	Carpinus sp.
Holly	Aquifolia	P.68	d6v	Ilex aquifolium L.
Ivy	Edera	P.68	d6v	Hedera helix L.
Larch	Larigni	P.69, 70	d7r, d7v	Larix sp.
Lemon	Limonarii/limoni	P.74, 87	e1v, e8r	Citrus limon (L.) osbeck
Lesser Centaury	Centaurea minore	P.74	e1v	Centaurea cyanus L.
Lime	Pomarii adami	P.74	e1r	Citrus aurantiifolia (Christm.) swingl
Lilies of the valley	Lilii convallii	P.73	e1r	Convallaria majalis L.
Loosestrife	Lisimachia	P.70	d7v	Lythrum salicaria L.
Lysimachia	Lysimachia	P.73	e1r	Lysimachia sp
Maidenhair	Adianto	P.70, 75, 76	d7v, e2r, e2v	Adianthum spp.
Melilot	Melliloto	P.74	e1v	Melilotus sp.
Myrtle	Myrtho	P.75, 105	f4v, g1v	Myrtus communis L.
Nard[108]	Saliuncula	P.87	e8r	Valeriana sp.
Navelwort	Cymbalaria	P.70	d7v	Umbilicus rupestris (salisb.) Dandy
Navew	Naponculi	P.74	e1v	Brassica campestris L.
Oak	Querci	P.68	d6v	Quercus spp.
Oleander	Oleandro	P.70	d7v	Nerium oleander L
Orange	Naranci	P.74, 87	e1v, e8r	Citrus sinensis (L.) osbeck
Osier	Vinci	P.70	d7v	Salix sp.
Osier-willow[109]	Vitrice	P.87	e8r	Salix viminalis L.
Parsley	Apio	P.73	e1r	Petroselinum crispum (Mill.) Fuss.
Periwinkle	Vincapervinca	P.88	e8v	Vinca major L.
Pine	Sapine	P.69, 70	d7r, d7v	Pinus spp.
Polypodium	Polipodio	P.68	cd6v	Polypodium spp
Poplar	Populi	P.70	d7v	Populus spp.
Privet	Ligustri	P.68	d6v	Ligustrum spp.
Ranunculus	Ranunculo	P.74	e1v	Ranunculus spp.
Reed	Iunci	P.87	e8v	Arundo donax L.
Robur	Roburi	P.68	a6v	Quercus macrolepis Kotschy
Rose	Rosarii	P.74	e1v	Rosa spp.
Rowan	Orni	P.70	d7v	Sorbus sp.

[105] Ian White offers, in his translation, the colloquial term "needle-chervil or Venus's comb" (White, p.64), to which we may add further the colloquialisms of "shepherd's-needle", or "stork's needle"; *scandix*, the Latin word for *chervil* is found in Pliny who seems to be the first to describe the plant as "pecten Veneris" signifying 'Venus's comb' (Plin. *Nat. Hist.*24.114). As *scandix* is commonly referred to in English as *chervil* I have opted for this translation.

[106] Godwin translates *sclareola* as *chicory*, however, *sclareola* is most obviously the *clary* plant, named *salvia sclarea*, which grows in a brilliant blue colour as 'blue Monday' in English colloquialism; *chicory*, named *cichorium intybus*, apart from being blue, bears no further discerning relation to Poliphilo's description of the blue sclareola.

[107] Godwin translates *colocassia* as *Egyptian bean* (*vicia faba* L.) however, Poliphilo is most likely referring to the *colocasia esculenta*, a plant related to the *tora* found in a similar fictional geographic vicinity in the text. White adds, in his translation, the English colloquial term "elephants-ears" (White, p.64) which I've added in brackets.

[108] Both Godwin and Reiser translate *saluncula* as *nard* (Reiser, *Interlinearkommentarfassung* p.130); Ariani and Gabriele refer to the herb *saliunche* (p.106) whilst White translates it as *valerian* most likely from *valariana saliunca* the plant related to *nard* (White, p.76). I have therefore left Godwin's translation as is.

[109] Although *victrix*, the tree Godwin translates from the original *vitrice*, does sound similar, the description doesn't make sense, as Poliphilo describes "et cum natante vitrice" noting a floating "vitrice" and the *Eucalyptus victrix* is a straight, upwards growing tree that could not float on the water; Ariani and Gabriele do not translate the word, leaving it as *vitrici* (p.106); White translates *vitrice* as *osier* (p.76) from the *salix viminalis*; however, as the author refers to *osier* as *vinci*, it suggests a particular kind of *willow* here, which is as of yet unclear.

Sanicle[110]	Senniculo	P.68	d6v	Sanicula sp.
Satyrion	Seratula	P.74	e1v	Sertula sp.
Serratula (saw-wort)[111]	Hydrolapato	P.73	e1v	Rumex sp
Smilax	Smilace	P.68	d6v	Taxus baccata L
Sorrel	Hydrolapato	P.73	e1r	Rumex sp
Sow bread	Cyclamino	P.68	d6v	Cyclamen sp
Spleenwort (polytrico)	Asplenon/trichomanes	P.68, 70	d6v, d7v	Asplenium trichomanes L.
Starwort	Amella	P.88	e8r	Stellaria sp
Strawberry	Frage	P.74	e1v	Fragaria sp.
Tora	Tora	P.68	d6v	S. Tora. L.
Turkey-Oak	Cerri	P.68	d6v	Quercus cerris L.
Waterlily	Nymphea	P.87	e8r	Nymphaea alba L.
Whortleberries	Vacinio	P.73	e1r	Vaccinium sp.

Table Four

IN THE PALACE OF QUEEN ELEUTERYLIDA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original Passage	Scientific name
Carnations	Gariophylli	P.110	g3v	Dianthus sp.
Cyclamens	Cyclaminos	P.110	g3v	Cyclamen spp.
Incarnadine, or, Mallow	Carnee/molochine rose	P.109	g3r	Malva sp.
Lemon	Limoni	P.108	g3r	Citrus limon (L.) osbeck
Lillie-of-the-valley	Lilii convallii	P.109	g3r	Convallaria majalis L.
Manna	Manna	P.109	g2v	Fraxinus ornus L*
Narcissi	Narcyso	P.109	g3r	Narcissus spp.
Olive	Olivea	P.108	g2v	Olea europaea L.
Orange	Naranci	P.106, 108	g1v, g2v	Citrus sinensis (L.) osbec.
Pine-nuts	Nuclei pinei	P.108, 109	g2v, g3v	Pinus pinea L.
Rose	Rosarii	P.109	g3v	Rosa spp.

Table Five

IN THE GROUNDS OF QUEEN ELEUTERYLIDA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original Passage	Scientific name
Apple (Orchard)	Hortense	P.123	g4v	Malus spp.
Box-tree	Buxi	P.123, 127	h2v, h4r	Buxus sempervirens L.
Ivy	Edera	P.127	h4r	Hedera helix L
Orange	Naranci	P.123	g1v	Prunus domestica L.

Telosia

Table Six

IN THE GROUNDS OF THE TEMPLE OF VENUS PHYSISOA

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original Passage	Scientific name
Amaranth	Amarantho	P.156, 178	k2v, l5v	Amaranthus spp.
Anemones	Anemoni	P.178	l5v	Anemone spp.
Ambrosia	Ambrosia	P.178	l5v	Ambrosia artemisiifolia
Arbutus (strawberry)	Comari	P.182	l7v	Arbutus unedo L.
Aquilegia	Aquilegia	P.189	l5v	Aquilegia spp.
Ash	Fraxino	P.189	m3v	Fraxinus spp.
Basil	Basilico	P.178	l5v	Ocimum basilicum L.
Beech	Fagi	P.189	m3v	Fagus sp.
Cedar	Cedri	P.184	l8v	Cedrus sp.

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[110] Although Godwin keeps the Latin name of the plant, *sanicula*, from *Sanicula europaea*, the English translation of this would be *sanicle* which I have corrected in the table.

[111] See footnote 46.

Cimbalaria[112]	Cimbalaria, cotilidone	P.202	n1v	Cymbalaria muralis
Citron	Citri	P.190	m3v	Citrus medica L.
Clove	Chariophyllaceo	P.178	l5v	Syzygium aromaticum L.
Cycleamen	Cyclaminos	P.178	l5v	Cyclamen spp.
Cypress	Cupressi, cyparisso	P.184, 189	l8v, m3v	Cupressus sempervirens L.
Fern	Adianto	P.202	n1v	Polypodiopsida L.
Fig	Caprifici parata	P.202	n1v	Ficus carica L.
Fir	Sappini, pini	P.182, 189	l7v, m3v	Abies spp.
Gith[113]	Gyth	P.178	l5v	Nigella sp.
Hazel	Coryli	P.189	m3v	Corylus spp.
Hornbeam	Carpini	P.189	m3v	Carpinus sp.
House leek	Digitello	P.202	n1v	Allium ampeloprasum L
Jasmine	Gelsamino	P.141	i3r	Jasminum sp
Juniper	Iuniperi	P.189	m3v	Juniperus spp.
Larch	Larice	P.189	m3r	Larix sp.
Laurel	Lauro	P.181, 189	l7r, m3v	Laurus nobilis L
Lavender[114]	Sticados	P.178	l5v	Lavendula stoechas.
Lemon	Citreo	P.178	l5v	Citrus limon (L.) osbeck
Lime	Tillie	P.189	m3v	Citrus aurantiifolia (Christm.) swingle
Lily-of-the-valley	Lilium convallium	P.178	l5v	Convallaria majalis L.
Maidenhair	Adianto	P.202	n1v	Adianthum spp.
Marjoram	Amaraco	P.178	l5v	Origanum majorana L.
Medlar	Mespili	P.190, 199	m3v, m8r	Crataegus azarolus L.
Melilot	Melilotho	P.178	k2v, l5v	Melilotus sp.
Mint	Idiosmo	P.178, 182	l5v, l7v	Mentha spp.
Myrtle	Myrtho	P.156, 178, 182, 190, 226, 228	k2v, l5v, l7v, m3v, o5v, o6v,	Myrtus communis L.
Nard	Salincha	P.178	m3v	Valeriana sp.
Oak	Quercie	P.184, 189	l8v, m3v	Quercus spp
Orange	Nerancii	P.184, 189	l7v, m3v,	Citrus sinensis (L.) osbeck
Palms	Palme	P.190	n1v	taxa of arecaceae family
Pellitory	Parietaria	P.202	l8v	Parietaria spp.
Periwinkle	Vincapervinca	P.184	l8v	Vinca major L.
Pine	Pini, pinastro	P.182, 184, 189	l7v, l8v, m3v	Pinus spp.
Pistachios	Pistacii	P.182, 188, 190	l7v, m3r, m3v	Pistacia vera L
Polipodium	Polypodio	P.202	m3v	Polypodium spp.
Pomegranates	Mali granati	P.190	l5v	Punica granatum L.
Primula	Paralisis	P.178	m3v	Primula spp.
Quince	Meli catoni	P.190	l5v	Cydonia oblonga Mill.
Ranunculus	Vatrachio	P.178	m3v	Ranunculus spp.
Robur	Roburi	P.143, 145, 189	i4r, i5r, m3v	Quercus macrolepis Kotschy
Rose	Rosarii	P.143, 145, 156, 178, 190,	i4r, i5r, k2v, l5v, m3v	Rosa spp.
Rose five-petelled	Pentaphylla rosa	P.161, 178	k5v	Rosa canina L.
Rose hundred-petelled	Rosarii centifolie	P.178	m3v, l5v	Rosa centifolia L.
Sorb	Sorbi,	P.190	m3v	Sorbus sp.
	Hippomelides	P.190	m3v	
Spikenard	Spiconardo	P.178	l5v	Nardostachys grandiflora DC.
Violet	Viole	P.178	l7v	Viola spp.
Vine[115]	Cynacanthe	P.190	m3v	Vitis vinifera L.
Water lotus	Dryope	P.182	l7v	Nelumbo nucifera Gaertn.
Yew (arcadian, cyrnean)	Taxo, smilace	P.182, 189	l7v, m3r	Taxus baccata L.

Table Seven

IN THE TEMPLE OF PHYSISOA

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[112] Although Ian White translates "cotilidone o vero cimbalaria" "as navelwort or wall-pennywort" (White, 165) I have left Godwin's original "cimbalaria" as the plant *cimbalaria* should be readily understood in English.

[113] Also referred to as *melanthium*, *nigella*, *Black-cumin*, or *love-in-a-mist* (the latter is used by White, p.144).

[114] Godwin identifies *sticados* with *horsemint*, an attribution whose logic is hard to follow. Although Ariani and Gabriele keep the original *sticado*, Reiser and White translated *sticado* as *lavender* (Reiser, *Interlinearkommentarfassung* "Schopflavandel", p.254; White, p.144. See also H. Genaust, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der botanischen Pflanzennamen* (Hamburg: Utgave, 1996), 612; Reiser, 'Lexical Notes to Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1499)', 498.) There is referral as far as the middle English usage of *lavender* as *sticado*, or <u>*stichado*</u>, for instance, see Guy de Chauliac's Grande Chirurgie (ME version 2): IPMEP 32, Manual 10.XXV.251 for a medieval recipe including *sticado* (referring to *lavender*) as an ingredient.

[115] Godwin keeps the original word *cynacanthe*, but what is being referred to is clearly the thorny grape vine (HP, 190).

English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original Passage	Scientific name
Rose-bush	Verdigiante rosario	P.232-33	o5r, 08r, p1r, p3r,	Rosa spp.

		OUTSIDE THE TEMPLE OF PHYSISOA		
Cakile (sea-rocket)[116]	Litorale Cachile	P.236	p2v	Cakile maritima L.
Crithmum (rock-samphire)[117]	Littoreo Critani	P.236	p2v	Crithmum maritimum L.
Characia[118]	Caratia	P.236	p2v	Euphorbia characias L.
Eryngium (sea-holly)[119]	Irringi	P.236	p2v	Eryngium campestre L.
Myrsinite, myrtle-spurge[120]	Mirsinytes	P.236	p2v	Euphorbia myrsinites L.
Purslane	Portulaca	P.236	p2v	Portulaca oleracea L.
Saltwort, kali, glasswort[121]	Kali	P.236	p2v	Kali turgidum L.
Sea-colewort	Eruca marina	P.236	p2v	Crambe maritime L.
Wormwood	Abscynthio	P.236	p2v	Artemisia spp.

		THE RUINS OF THE POLYANDION TEMPLE		
Burr	Lappe	P.273	r5r	Xanthium sp.
Fig	Caprifico	P.272	r4v	Ficus carica L.
Goats-beard	Barbula hircina	P.273	r5r	Tragopogon sp.
Hounds-tongue	Cynoglossa	P.273	r5r	Cynoglossum officinale L.
Ivy	Edera	P.261	q7r	Hedera helix L.
Nettle	Urtiche	P.273	r5r	Urtica dioica
Sowthistle	Sonco	P.273	r5r	Sonchus oleraceus L.
Thistledown	Languine	P.273	r5r	Various taxa

Table Eight

		FIRST GARDEN SEMITERTIO		
English vernacular	Original	Page number from the 1999 translation	Original Passage	Scientific name
Agrifolium, or cherry-Lotus[122]	Lotho	P.296-97	s8v	Nelumbo nucifera L.
Aquifolia[123]	Aquifola	P.295	s8r	Ilex aquifolium L.

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[116] Godwin translates *litorale cachile* as *oxeye* (Buphthalmum salicifolium L.) which is not completely clear. This plant is more likely *sea-rocket*, or, *cakile*, referred to in Italian as *cachile* (Ariani and Gabriele, p.246). This is noted by Reiser (*Interlinearkommentarfassung*, 334) and similarly translated as *cakile* [or sea rocket] by White (p.188) which I have likewise revised in the table.

[117] Godwin translates *littoreo critane* as *littoral cock's-crest* (Echinochloa crus-galli L.) yet a more likely translation is observable in Ariani and Gabriele's *critmo* (in English referred to as St. Peter's wort, or sea-fennel) (p.246); by Reiser as *Meerfenchel*, or sea-fennel (*Interlinearkommentarfassung* p.334); and as *critamo*, *rock-samphire* and *crestmarine* by White (p.188). The matter is straightforward, and I have subsequently used *crithmum* and *rock-samphire* due their more English common usage.

[118] This plant may also be referred to in English as *Mediterranean spurge* or *Albanaina spurge*. See Euphorbia characias" in 'Natural Resources Conservation Service Plants Database, or The Botanical Society of Britain and Ireland', 2007.

[119] Godwin translates *irringi* as *iringo*, however, *eryngium*, *eryngo*, or *sea-holly* are more common spellings of this plant. I have consequently changed the spelling in the list to a more common usage.

[120] The spelling of *myrtite* is unique to Godwin as the common spelling of this plant is *myrsinite*, which I have corrected. This may also be referred to in English as *myrtle spurge*, *blue spurge*, and *broad-leaved glaucous-spurge* (see "Euphorbia myrsinites" in 'Germplasm Resources Information Network (GRIN). Agricultural Research Service (ARS', n.d., accessed 3 March 2021.; *The Botanical Society of Britain and Ireland Botanical List of 2007*).

[121] Godwin correctly translates this *kali* as *saltwort,* though we may add that it could be referred to as *kali*, *Salsola kali*, or the more colloquial term *prickly saltwort*, or *glasswort*, on this see the online archive, *The Botanical Society of Britain and Ireland Botanical List of 2007*).

[122] *Lotho* is translated as *persimmon* (Diospyros sp.) by Godwin, but refers to *agrifolium*, named also *cherry-lotus*, *Syrian-bean*, *melilotos* or *celthis*. See Pozzi (p204); Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 13.13).

[123] Ian White, in his translation, offers the colloquialism "prickly-leaf hulver" (p.60) and we may add *common holly*, or *Christmas holly* as modern suggestions.

Aspalathus[124]	Aspalato	P.296	s8v	Ulex europaeus L.
Arbutus	Arbuto	P.295	s7v	Arbutus unedo L.
Ash	Fraxini	P.296	s8r	Fraxinus spp.
Buckthorn[125]	Romidascalo	P.295	s8r	Rhamnus sp.
Carob	Silique	P.296, 297	s8v, t1r	Ceratonia siliqua L.
Cedar	Cedri	P.295	s8r	Cedrus sp
Chestnut	Castanee	P.296	s8v	Castanea sativa Mill.
Christ's thorn[126]	Paliuro	P.297	s8v	Paliurus spina-christi Mill.
Clematus	Viticula	P.294	s7v	Clematis sp.
Convolvulus	Convolvoli	P.294	s7v	Convolvulus sp.
Crocus	Croco	P.294	s7v	Crocus flavus Weston, Crocus sp.
Cypress	Cupressi	P.293, 295	s7r, s8r	Cupressus sempervirens L.
Dogwood	Corno	P.295	s8r	Cornus spp.
Dorema ammoniacum[127]	Metropo	P.297	t1r	Apiaceae sp.
Elm	Ulmo	P.296	s8r	Ulmus sp., Ulmus glabra Mill.
Frankincense[128]	Gilibano	P.295	s8r	Boswellia sp.
Fig	Ficulno	P.297	t1r	Ficus carica L.
Dorema ammoniacum	Metropo	P.297	t1r	Apiaceae sp.
Hazel	Coryli	P.296	s8v	Corylus spp.
Honeysuckle	Periclymeno	P.294	s7v	Lonicera spp.
Hornbeam	Carpini	P.296	s8r	Carpinus sp.
Ilex	Ilice	P.295	s8	Ilex aquifolium L.
Ivy	Hederaceo	P.294	s7v	Hedera helix L.
Jasmine	Iossamino	P.294	s7v	Jasminum sp
Juniper	Iuniperi	P.295	s8r,	Juniperus spp
Laurel	Lauro	P.294	s7v	Laurus nobilis L.
Larch	Larici	P.296	s8v	Larix sp
Lemon	Limoni	P.298	t1r	Citrus limon (L.) osbeck
Lily	Lilio	P.296	s1v,	Lilium spp.
Lime	Phylire	P.296	s8r	Citrus aurantiifolia (Christm.) swingle
Linden	Tilii	P.296	s8r	Tilia sp.
Lotus	Celti	P.297	s8v	Ziziphus lotus (L.) Lam.
Medlar	Mespili	P.296	s8r	Crataegus azarolus L.
Morning-glory	Convolvolo	P.294	s7v	Ipomoea sp.
Mulberry (black, white)	Mori	P.297	s8v	Morus nigra, alba L.
Myrtle	Myrtho	P.293	s7r	Myrtus communis sp.
Oak	Querceto	P.295	s8r	Quercus spp.
(Beach) Oak	Fagi	P.295	s8r	Quercus spp.
(Cork) Oak	Suberi	P.295	s8r	Quercus suber L.
(Cork) Oak (sea)	Halipheos salsicortex	P.295	s8r	Quercus cerris L.
(Turkey) Oak	Cerri	P.295	s8r	Quercus cerris L.
Olive	Oliveto	P.297	t1r	Olea europaea L
Orange	Naranci	P.298	t1r	Citrus sinensis (L.) osbeck
Palm	Palme	P.296	s8r	taxa of arecaceae family
Pines	Pino	P.295,	s8r	Pinus spp.
Pomegranate	Punici	P.296	s8v	Punica granatum L.
Poplar	Populno	P.297	t1r	Populus spp.
Quince	Cotonei	P.297	s8v	Cydonia oblonga Mill.
Rose	Rosarii	P.299, 300, 307	t2r t2v, t6r	Rosa spp.
Rosemary	Roramine	P.292	s6v	Rosmarinus officinalis L.
Silver Fir	Abiete	P.296	s8r	Abies spp.
Smilax	Smilace	P.295	s7v	Smilax aspera L.
Spanish Broom	Sparto	P.296	s8v	Spartium junceum L.

[124] Although Godwin identifies *aspalato* correctly with *gorse*, we may be more specific, in attributing the name with the *aspalathus*, or *English gorse*, *cape gorse*. In the list I have modified gorse to *aspalathus*.

[125] A difficult matter, both Pozzi (p.220) and Ariani and Gabriele (p.303; see also 983) keep the original *romidascalo*. Reiser offers a suitable explanation: As regards the 'romidascalo' – excluding a synonym for juniper ('romdidascalo, ouero iuniperi') – whose semantics Pozzi, 202 declares uncertain, Godwin 1999, 295 may well have aimed correctly with 'buckthorn' (Linné: 'Rhamnus cathariticus'; German 'Bocksdorn') as the popular adaptation of the MiddleLatin/Italian 'cervi spina/spinaria'; cf. GDLI 19 (1998), 918; Marzell 3 (1977), 1307-13; Watts 2000, 144; Zedler 53 (1747), 1864 f. 'Wegdorn'. But whether Colonna Graezised a 'spinacervina', combining 'ῥάμνος' ('thorn bush') and 'δόρκος' ('buck'), or whether the term (unknown to the Suda) actually existed …" (Reiser, 'Lexical Notes to Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1499)', 509.) I have accordingly retained Godwin's translation.

[126] We may also say *paliurus*, or *Jerusalem thorn*, *garland thorn*.

[127] Although Poliphilo describes the weeping 'metropo' it is not specifically referring to the African gum tree. The 'metropo' 'amone' refers to the *ammoniacum*, or *gum ammoniac* the gum resin exuded from the perennial herb *dorema ammoniacum*. I have accordingly altered the name in the list.

[128] Like the *romidascalo*, both Pozzi (p.220) Ariani and Gabriele (p.303; see also 983) keep the original *gilibano*, suggesting *olibanum* may refer to an incense tree. I have therefore left Godwin's *frankincense tree* in as a perfectly likely solution. See also Reiser, *Interlinearkommentarfassung* p.425; Reiser, 'Lexical Notes to Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1499)', 509.

English vernacular	Original	1999 translation	Original Passage	Scientific name
Spurge-laurel[129]	Daphnoide/pelasgo	P.294	s7v	Daphne laureola L.
Tamarisk	Miryca	P.296	s8v	Tamarix sp.
Vine	Vite	P.294	s8r	Vitis vinifera L.
Vitilago[130]	Vitilago	P.294	s7v	N/A
Walnut	Iuglande	P.296	s8v	Juglans regia L.
Yew	Taxo	P.295	s8r	Taxus baccata L.

Table Nine

SECOND GARDEN SEMITERTIO

English vernacular	Original	1999translation	Original Passage	Scientific name
Acanthus	Acanthine	P.320, 322	u4v, u5v	Acanthus mollis L.
Achillea	Achilea	P.321	u5r	Achillea sp.
Ambrosia	Ambrosia	P.306	t5v	Ambrosia artemisiifolia
Apple	Pomi	P.302	t3v	Malus spp.
Apricot	Ameringi	P.306	t5v	Prunus armeniaca L.
Aquilegia, columbine[131]	Trinit	P.323	u6v	Aquilegia spp.
Arbutus	Comari	P.318	u3v	Arbutus unedo L.
Asarum [132]	Assaro	P.323	u6r	Asarum europaeum
Aurotano [southern] wormwood[133]	Avrotano	P.309, 319, 323	u4v, t7r, u6v	Artemisia abrotanum L.
Balsamite, balsam mint[134]	Cimiadon, trachiotis	P.312	t8v	Tanacetum balsamita L.
Balsamite[135]	Balsmita	P.312	t8v	Tanacetum balsamita L.
Balsamite, balsam mint[136]	Trachiotis	P. 312, 319, 322	t8v, u4v, u7r	Tanacetum balsamita L.
Basil	Basilico	P.301	t3r	Ocimum basilicum L.
Box-tree	Buxi/boxo	P.300, 302, 312, 318	t2v, t3v, t8v, u5v	Buxus sempervirens L.
Cassia	Cassia	P304	t4v	Cinnamomum cassia (L.) J.Presl.
Chervil	Cherophile	P.319	u4r	Anthriscus spp.
Cistus	Cistho	P.306	t5v	Cistus sp.
Citron	Citri	P.313	u1r	Citrus medica L.
Coriander	Gyth	P.320	u4v	Coriandrum sativum L.
Cyclamen	Cyclamino	P.320, 321	u4v, u5r	Cyclamen spp.
Cypress	Cupressi	P.317, 318, 319	u3r, u3v, u4r	Cupressus sempervirens L.
Dandelion	Leonina	P.312	t8v	Taraxacum officinale (L.) Webber ex F.H.Wigg cf. Taraxacum campylodes G.e. Haglund.
Dogwood	Corno/ Cynocanthe	P.318	u3v	Cornus spp.
Equisetum, lionstail, horsetail	Hipposeti/cauda equina	P.312	t8v	Equisetum sp.
Field-nard[137]	Baccara	P.321	u5r	Asarum europaeum L
Fleabane[138]	Pollicaria	P.309	t7r	Pulicaria dysenterica L.
Germander	Chamaedryos	P.306, 319	t5v, u4v	Teucrium spp.
Goldenhair	Polythrico	P.321, 323	u4v, u6r	Deschampsia flexuosa (L.) trin.
Gladiolus	Gladioli/xiphion	P.309, 312	t7r, t8v	Gladiolus sp.

[129] Godwin translates this as either retaining the original *daphnoide* or *pelasgo* or adding 'broad leaved laurel'. This is more specifically *spurge-laurel*, or *daphne laureola*; named alternatively as *laurel-leaved daphne*, *olive-spurge*, *wood laurel*, and *copse laurel*.

[130] Godwin treats the word *vitiligo* as a plant, however it may likely be an adjective describing an ivy-growing motion. On this matter see Ariani (p.984); Pozzi (p.210). White translates the vitiligo as "*vitis lageos* (running vine that runs like a hare)" (White, p.233). I do not suggest it is a plant but leave the word in for this footnote.

[131] Referred to as *trinita* to Pozzi (p.214) and Ariani and Gabriele (p.333; see also Reiser, *Interlinearkommentarfassung,* p.466-67), and as *herb trinity* to White (p.255). However, I see no reason not to refer to it as *aquilegia*, or *columbine*, until proven otherwise.

[132] Godwin retains asaron, yet it is most likely the *Asarum europaeum*, commonly referred to as *asarabacca*, *European wild ginger*, *hazelwort*, and *wild spikenard*, see the *The Botanical Society of Britain and Ireland Botanical List of 2007*).

[133] Godwin translates *Aurotano* as *southernwood* (p.309) *wormwood* (P.323), or in retaining the original *aurotano* (p.319).

[134] Godwin retains the original, however, both White (p.246) and Reiser, *Interlinearkommentarfassung,* (p.451) have translated this as *balsamite*, or *balsam mint* (tanacetum balsamita).

[135] See footnote 78.

[136] See footnote 78.

[137] Godwin translates *baccara* as *hazelwort* (Asarum europaeum L.) however, *baccara* is more specifically referring to *bacchar* or *field-nard* (Pliny. *Nat. Hist.* 14.19; 21.16).

[138] Although referred to by Godwin as *fleawort* (Plantago psyllium L) *pollicaria* is more likely to be *Pulicaria dysenterica* or, *common fleabane*. See (Pozzi, p.209; Reiser, *Interlinearkommentarfassung*, p.446; White, 244).

Ground ivy[139]	Terrambula	P.321	u5r	Glechoma hederacea L.
Ground pine	Chamaepiteos	P.316, 319	u3r, u4v	Pinus spp.
Helenian, elecampane[140]	Helenio	P.309	t7r	Inula helenium L.
House Leek[141]	Digitello	P.323	u6v	Sempervivum L.
Hulwort	Polio	P.320, 321, 323	u4v, u5r, u6r	Teucrium sp., T. polium L.
Hyacinth	Hiacynthi	P.309, 312	t7r, t8v	Hyacinthus orientalis L., Gladiolus sp.
Hyssop	Isopo	P.320	u4v	Hyssopus officinalis L.
Juniper	Iuniperi	P.318, 324	u3v, u6v	Juniperus spp.
Ladanum	Ladano	P.306	t5v	Cistus sp.
Laurel	Lauro	P.318	u3v	Laurus nobilis L
Laurentia, burgle[142]	Laurentia	P.321, 323	u5r, u6r	Primula laurentiana Fernald
Lavender	Lavendule	P.309, 323	t7r, u6v	Lavandula spp.
Lemon	Limoni	P.312	u1r	Citrus limon (L.) osbeck
Lily-of-the-valley	Lilii convalii	P.312	t8v	Convallaria majalis L.
Lupin	Lupuli	P.309	s7v	Lupinus sp.
Maidenhair	Adianto	P.313, 320	u1r, u4v	Adianthum spp.
Mallow	Malva	P.320	u4v	Malva sp.
Marigold	Caltha	P.309	t8v	Calendula officinalis L.
Marjoram	Amaraco/sansuco	P.309, 312, 319	t7r, u6r, u4v	Origanum majorana L.
Mastic	Lentisco	P.318	u3v	Pistacia lentiscus (L.) var. chia (Desf. ex Poir.) DC.
Mint	Mente, Idiosmo	P.304, 309	t4v, t7r	Mentha spp.
Mint[143]	Idiosmo	P.321	u5r	Mentha spicata L.
Myrtle	Myrtho	P.309, 321, 323	t7r, u5r, u6v	Myrtus communis L.
Nard	Nardo/salinuca	P.304, 306, 321, 324	t4v, t5v, u5r, u6v	Valeriana sp.
Narcissi	Narcissi	P.312	t8v	Narcissus spp.
Olive	Oleastri/olea	P.318	u3v	Olea europaea L.
Orange	Narancii	P.318	u3v	Citrus sinensis (L.) osbec
Oregano	Origani	P.309, 312	t7r, t8v	Origanum spp.
Periwinkle	Vincapervinca	P.302, 323	t3v, u6v	Vinca major L.
Pine	Pini	P.318, 320	u3r, u4v	Pinus spp.
Pistachio	Pistachii	P.306	t5v	Pistacia vera L
Pears	Piri	P.304	t4v	Pyrus communis L.
Primula	Paralisis/primulaveris	P.320	u4v	Primula spp.
Privet	Ligustri	P.318	u3v	Ligustrum spp.
Rosemary	Roramine/dendro livano	P.318	u3v	Rosmarinus officinalis L.
Rose (five petelled)	Rosaria pentaphylla	P.320	u4v	Rosa spp.
Rue	Ruta	P.320, 322	u4v, u6r	Ruta graveolens L.
Sanicle[144]	Seniculo	P.321	u5r	Sanicula sp.
Savin	Savina	P.317, 323	u3r, u6v	Juniperus sabina L.
Sea-Onion	Cepe marino	P.312	t8v	Urginea maritima Baker
Tarragon	Tarchan	P.321	u5r	Artemisia dracunculus L.
Thyme	Serpillo	P.287, 301, 304, 319, 322	s4r, t3r, t4v, u4r, u6r	Thymus spp.
Violet	Viole	P.312, 319, 324	t8v, u4v, u7r	Viola spp
Wormwood, absinth	Abscynthio/santonica	P.309, 320, 323	t7r, u4v, u6v	Artemisia spp.

Table Ten

TOWARD THE BATH-HOUSE (THIRD SEMITERTIO)				
Apple	Malo	P.324	u6v	Malus spp.

[139] Reiser explains: "HP 242: *terrambula*, while wandering from the coastline to the cemetery of lovers Poliphilo perceives this growing to his feet32. Fogliati 2002, ill. 47 recognises the herb depicted Roccabonella, 393v (and, untypically, explained on the recto, i.e. 393r 'ardillus, terambula') clearly as the Linnéan 'Glechoma (hederacea)' or 'ground-ivy' (similar in German: 'Grundelrebe'), which perfectly fits in the scenery; cf. also Genaust, 268." Reiser, 'Lexical Notes to Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1499)', 502.

[140] I have changed Godwin's *helenian* for the more common spelling *helenium*.

[141] Despite elsewhere translating *digitello* as houseleek, on p.323 Godwin identifies *digitello* as foxglove, perhaps taking cue from Robert Darlington, thus, above I maintain the translation as houseleek. Foxglove *digitalis* was only invented by Fuchs in 1542 – special thanks to Ian White on this point.

[142] Godwin spells this *laurentiana*, however, I have opted for the more common spelling of *laurentia*.

[143] Godwin retains the original *idiosmo* but as this refers to *mint* I have included the English herbal translation. For this singular inclusion as *idiosmo* instead of *mint* (listed beneath) I have given it a unique entry.

[144] Godwin translates *seniculo* as *groundsel*, (senecio vulgaris L.) however, *senniculo* is more likely to be *sanicle* (refer to foot note 54). See also Reiser, *Interlinearkommentarfassung*, (p.462).

Bdellium	Bedellio	P.324	u6v	Commiphora sp.
Cariophyle (carnation)	Cariophyle	P.324	u6v	Dianthus L.
Cinnamon	Cinnamo	P324	u6v	Cinnamomum zeylanicum Blume
Costus	Costo	P.324	u6v	Saussurea lappa Clarke
Ebony	Hebeno	P.324	u6v	Diospyros ebenum J.Koening ex retz.
Jasmine	Iossamino	P.345	y1r	Jasminum sp.
Lily	Lilium	P.345	y1r	Lilium spp.
Orange	Naranci	P.345	y1r	Citrus sinensis (L.) osbec
Pepper	Piperea	P.324	u6v	Piper nigrum L., P. longum L.
Pulliphora	Pulliphure	P.345	y1r	N/A
Rose	Rosarii	P.345	y1r	Rosa spp.
Sandalwood white	Sandalo	P.324	u6v	Santalum album L.
Sandalwood yellow	Sandalo	P.324	u6v	Santalum sp.
Sandalwood red	Sandalo	P.324	u6v	Pterocarpus santalinus L.f.
Silphium	Silphion	P.324	u6v	Ferula sp.
Terebinth	Terebinthi	P.324	u6v	Pistacia terebinthus L.
Violet	Viole	P.345	y1r	Viola spp.

IN THE AMPITHEATRE

Amaranth	Amarantho	P.357	y7r	Amaranthus spp.
Anemones	Anemoni	P.357	y7r	Anemone spp.
Aquilegia	Aquilegia	P.357	y7r	Aquilegia spp.
Carnation[145]	Cheropheli	P.357	y7r	Dianthus caryophyllus L
Cornflower[146]	Cyaneo	P.357	y7r	Centaurea cyanus L.
Cycleman	Cyclamino	P.357	y7r	Cyclamen spp.
Cypress	Cupressi	P.354	y5v	Cupressus sempervirens L.
Gillflower[147]	Cheropheli	P.357	y7r	Dianthus caryophyllus L
Juniper	Iuniperi	P.354	y5v	Juniperus spp.
Lily	Lilium	P.357	y7r	Lilium spp.
Lily-of-the-valley	Lilii convallii	P.357	y7r	Convallaria majalis L.
Marigold	Heliochrysso	P.357	y7r	Calendula officinalis L.
Melilot	Melliloti	P.357	y7r	Melilotus sp
Myrtle	Myrtho	P.355	y6r	Myrtus communis
Opula, white-boll	Opula/bulba alba	P.357	y7r	Prunus domestica L.
Primula	Primulaveris	P.357	y7r	Primula spp.
Tora[148]	Tora	P.357	y7r	Senna Tora L.
Vermilion	Vermiglio	P.357	y7r	Artemisia spp
Violet, red-white, yellow	Viola	P.357	y7r	Viola spp.
[Passarine] violet[149]	Ianthina	P.357	y7r	Viola odorata L.

LEADING TO THE GARDEN OF ADONIS

Arbutus	Arbuto	P.370	z6r	Arbutus unedo L.
Box-tree	Buxi	P.370	z6r	Buxus sempervirens L.
Citron	Citri	P.371	z6r	Citrus medica L.
Cypress	Cupressi	P.370	z6r	Cupressus sempervirens L.
Dianthus[150]	Adianthose	P.370	z5v	Adiantum capillus-veneris L
Hundred pettled rose	Rosarii di centrifolie	P.371	z5v	Rosa centifolia L.
Juniper	Iuniperi	P.370	z5v	Juniperus spp.
Lemon	Limon	P.371	z6r	Citrus limon (L.) osbeck
Maidenhair	Adianto/Polythricose	P.370	z5v	Adianthum spp.
Moss	Muscose	P.370	z5v	Bryophyta L
Myrtle	Myrtho	P.370	z5v	Myrtus communis L.
Orange	Naranci	P.371	z6r	Citrus sinensis (L.) osbeck
Palm	Palme	P.370	z6r	taxa of arecaceae family
Periwinkle	Vincapervinca	P.370	z5v	Vinca major L.
Pine	Pini	P.370	z6r	Pinus spp.
Poplar	Populi	P.370	z6r	Populus spp.
Rowan	Orni	P.370	z5v	Sorbus sp.
Sandalwood red	Sandalo	P.371	z6r	Pterocarpus santalinus L.f.
Spleenwort, asplenium	Asplenose	P.370	z5r	Lactuca virosa L.

IN THE GARDEN OF ADONIS

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[145] Godwin translates *cyaneo* as *cinquefoil* (potentilla reptans L.) however, this is more likely to be *cornflower* (centaurea cyanus L.). See, Gabriele (p.1051), Reiser, *Interlinearkommentarfassung,* (p.514), White, (p.280).

[146] Godwin translates *cheropheli* as *chervil* (anthriscus spp.) however, it is more likely to be *carnation* (dianthus caryophyllus L.) see Reiser, *Interlinearkommentarfassung,* (p.514), White, (p.280)

[147] Godwin translates the second *cheropheli* as *gladiolus*, (Gladiolus sp.) however, as this is a carnation as above noted, I have opted to use White's attribution of the *gillyflower* (White, (p.280).

[148] Godwin here spells *thora* with an additional 'h' despite the original in this passage being spelt *tora*, and as it refers to the same *tora* plant as previously, I have left it as *tora*.

[149] Godwin refers to [passerina] *ianthina* as *sparrow-wort* however, this appears to refer to a (passerine) *violet* (Viola odorata L.) (Ariani and Gabriele, p.364)

[150] *Adianthose* is translated by Godwin as *dianthus* (dianthus spp.) but rather refers to *adiantum* (Adiantum capillus-veneris L.) See Reiser, *Interlinearkommentarfassung,* (p.534, Ariani p.1083).

Rose	Rosarii	P.371	z6r	Rosa spp.
Rose hundred-petelled	Rosarii centifolie	P.371	z6	Rosa centifolia L.
Thyme	Serpillo	P.371	z6v	Thymus spp.
Vermilion	Vermiglio	P.371	z6r	Artemisia spp.

LEGEND

Sp: 'sp.' refers to a taxon of an uncertain bionomial genus.

Spp: 'spp.' refers to a plurality of species within a genus.

L: The 'L.' referred to Linnaeus' attribution of species.

(L): The parentheses referred to the fact that he had originally placed the plant in a different genus.