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Four Leaves from 'La Hypnerotomachia di Polifilo'

In 1467 the first printing press was set up in Venice. In the next year the first book printed from moveable type—a volume of Cicero's *Epistolae ad familiares*—appeared there, but it was not until the end of the century that books—other than religious books—with subject-illustrations became popular.¹ Among these non-religious illustrated books are Boccaccio's *Decameron*, printed in 1492 by Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis; Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which appeared in two separate editions, one printed in 1491 by B. Benalius and Capcasa, the other printed in the same year by Petrus de Plasiis; and Petrarch's *Trionfi*, printed in 1488 by Rizus, in 1490 and again in 1492 by Plasiis, and in 1492/93 by Capcasa.² In 1499 there appeared the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, printed by Aldus Manutius, who was the most famous of all the printer-publishers of Renaissance Venice. "Poliphilo's strife of love in dream," as the title is usually translated, has been widely praised as one of the most beautiful examples of Renaissance book-production and as the most handsome of the Aldine publications. Certainly anyone who turns the pages of the volume will not fail to be impressed by the fine quality of the printing and, on those pages with illustrations, by the perfect harmony between the amount of, and in some cases the shape of, the printed text and the

woodcut (Fig. 1). Even the style of the illustrations is an appropriate complement to the weight or 'color' of the printed text. The Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, is fortunate to have been given four leaves on which are six woodcuts from this well known but not widely read book.³

Aldus printed the *Hypnerotomachia* at the expense of a Venetian humanist, Leonardo Crasso, who wrote the dedication to Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, that appears at the beginning of the book, and, although the title is in Latin, the text is in a macaronic Italian, a circumstance which makes the reading of it difficult.⁴ The second edition was printed in 1545 at Venice by Paulus Manutius, Aldus's son. For the second edition the title was changed from Latin to Italian and the type, which is slightly smaller than that of the first edition, was re-set, but all of the illustrations, save eight, were printed from the same woodblocks used in 1499.⁵ The eight woodblocks not used in the second edition were apparently

1. Folio o¹ recto. La Hypnerotomachia di Polifilo. 1545. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.



Nó cusi præsto questo sancto iusso feci, Che essa tollèdo il ptiòso le-
 pilla iacynthino, & cù una cordicella doro, & di Chermea, & uerde seta,
 a tale officio deputata, in la cisternale aq ifundèdo exhaurite dilla bene-
 dicta aqua, & cù religioe alla Nympha sola offerite. Et ella cù pmptra di
 uotiòe, la bibe immediate poscia la hieratica Antista, cù la clauicula do-
 ro, il copertorio dilla cisterna diligète raturoe, & alquanto sopra legèdo
 le sancte, & efficace præce & exorcismi, Impero còtinuo alla Nympha,
 che tre fiate queste parole iuerso me diceffe, La diuina cytharea te exaudi
 sca al uoto, & in me propitiata, il figliolo suo si nutrisca. Respòtorio dal
 le uirgine. Cusi fia.

Le dicte cerimonie religiofamète terminate, La Nympha in quel pù-
 cto riuereéte agli sandaliati pedi di purpura ritramata doro, cù multipli-
 ce gème ornati dilla Antistite prouolutate, Di subito la fece subleuare,
 & detegli una sancta deosculatiòe, Et ad me poscia la Nympha ardita ri-
 uoltata, cù la uenusta præsentia placida, piena di pietosi lembiati, cù uno
 sospiro uscito caldamente dalla basi dello infiamato core, cusi mi disse.
 Optatissimo & mio cordialissimo Poliphilo, Lo ardète tuo & excessiuo
 disio, & il sedulo & pertinace amor, dal casto collegio me ha dil tutto sur-
 rept, & constricta me ha chio extingui la facola mia. Et per questo hogi
 mai, benchè tu ragioneuolmète suspicauì che io qlla fusse, aduenga che

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2. Folio o¹ recto. Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. 1499.
The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
Yale University.

lost or severely damaged before 1545. And the beautiful woodcut-letters at the beginning of each chapter in the first edition are missing in the second.

The Museum's leaves were originally part of a volume from the second edition, as a comparison between them and the corresponding leaves from the first and second editions conclusively demonstrates. On fol. o¹ recto, for example, in the 1499 edition (Fig. 2) the last word of the first line, the word *lepista* (meaning a kind of vase) is hyphenated thusly: *lepi-sta*, but the same word on the same line of the corresponding page in the second edition (Fig. 3) is hyphenated differently, i.e., *le-pista*. The hyphenation of the corresponding leaf in the Museum collection (Fig. 1) conforms to that of the second edition. Furthermore, on the same page the word *cisterna* in the sixth line from the top is capitalized in the first edition (Fig. 2), but not in the second edition (Fig. 3). Again our leaf (Fig. 1) conforms to the second edition.

The Museum's woodcuts are evidence of an important difference between the first and second editions which to my knowledge has not been discussed in the literature. Evidently some of the delicate lines carved by the craftsman responsible for the woodcuts suffered damage during the forty-six years between the printing of 1499 and that of 1545. A careful examination of those differences provides further proof that the Muse-



Nó cusi prasto questo sancto iusso feci, Che essa tollédo il p̄tioso lepista iacynthino, & cù una cordicella doro, & di Chermea & uerde seta, a tale officio deputata, in la cisternale aq̄ ifundédo exhaurite dilla benediçta aqua, & cù religiõe alla Nympha sola offerite. Et ella cù p̄mpta diuotioe, la bibe, Immediata poscia la hieratica Antista, cù la clauicula doro, il co-pertorio dilla Cisterna diligéte raturoe, & alquanto sopra legendo le sancte & efficace præce & exorcismi, Impero continuo alla Nympha, che tre fiate queste parole iuerfo me diceffe. La diuina cytharæa te exaudisca al uoto, & in me propitiata, il figliolo tuo si nutrisca. Responforio dalle uirgine. Cusi fia.

Le diçte cerimonie religiofaméte terminate, La Nympha in quel punto riueréte agli sandaliati pedi di purpura ritramata doro, cum multiplicé gême ornati dilla Antistite prouolutase, Di subito la fece subleuare, & detegli una sancta deosculatiõe, Et ad me poscia la Nympha ardita riuoltata, cum la uenusta præsentia placida, piena di pietosi sembianti, cum uno sospiro uscito caldamente dalla basi dello infiammato core, cusi mi disse. Optatissimo & mio cordialissimo Poliphilo, Lo ardente tuo & excessiuo disio, & il sedulo & pertinace amore, dal casto collegio me ha dil tutto sur reptã, & constricta me ha, chio extingui la facola mia. Et per questo hogi mai, benché tu ragioni uolmente suspicauì che io q̄lla fuisse, aduenga che



Nó cusi præsto questo sancto iusso feci, Che essa tollédo il p̄tioso le-
pista iacynthino, & cū una cordicella doro, & di Chermea, & uerde seta,
a tale officio deputata, in la cisternale aq̄ ifundédo exhaurite dilla bene-
dicta aqua, & cū religiōe alla Nympha sola offerite. Et ella cū p̄mpta di
uotioe, la bibe immediate poscia la hieratica Antistta, cū la clauicula do-
ro, il copertorio dilla cisterna diligéte raturoe, & alquanto sopra legédo
le sancte, & efficace præce & exorcismi, Impero cōtinuo alla Nympha,
che tre siate queste parole iuerso me dicesse, La diuina cytharea te exaudi
sca al uoto, & in me propitiata, il figliolo suo si nutrifca. Resp̄sorio dal
le uirgine. Cusi fia.

Le dicte cerimonie religiosaméte terminate, La Nympha in quel p̄-
cto riueréte agli sandaliati pedi di purpura ritramata doro, cū multipli-
ce gēme ornati dilla Antistite prouoluta se, Di subito la fece subleuare,
& detegli una sancta deosculatiōe, Et ad me poscia la Nympha ardita ri-
uoltata, cū la uenusta præsentia placida, piena di pietosi sembianti, cū uno
sospito uscito caldamente dalla basi dello infiamato core, cusi mi disse.
Oprattissimo & mio cordialissimo Poliphilo, Lo ardéte tuo & excessiuo
ditio, & il fedulo & pertinace amor, dal casto collegio me ha dil tutto sur-
repta, & constricta me ha chio extingui la facola mia. Et per questo hogi
mai, benche tu ragioneuolméte suspicau i che io q̄lla fusse, aduenga che

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3. Folio o¹ recto. La Hypnerotomachia di
Polifilo. 1545. The Beinecke Rare Book and
Manuscript Library, Yale University.

um's leaves are from the second edition (see Appendix). One other point should be made: many of the woodcuts in the first edition show breaks or other imperfections, a fact which suggests that in their original state some of the woodblocks were already slightly damaged or imperfectly cut.

The identity of the artist responsible for the designs of the woodcuts has not been convincingly established, although many names have

been suggested, including, among others, Andrea Mantegna, Giovanni Bellini, Benedetto Bordone, Jacopo dei Barbari, and Titian. Some scholars have assumed that a clue to the artist's identity is the small letter *b* that appears on two of the woodcuts, but this initial may refer to the master who cut the woodblocks rather than to the artist who designed the compositions.⁶ The design of the illustrations is not of equal quality throughout the book, and it seems likely that the commission

for the illustrations was given to an artist who was aided by assistants. The style of this artist at times combines the archaeological classicism of Mantegna and the compositional devices of Giovanni Bellini.⁷ Perhaps the artist worked in the shop of Giovanni Bellini, or frequented his studio.⁸ Certainly the best of the woodcuts are similar in conception and expression to paintings usually attributed to Bellini.⁹

IF THE IDENTITY OF THE ARTIST who designed the woodcuts is still a mystery, we do know that the author of the *Hypnerotomachia* was a certain Francesco Colonna, for he left his name, not on the title page as might be expected, but in an acrostic formed by the first letter of each of the thirty-eight chapters of the book: POLIAM FRATER FRANCISCUS COLUMNA PERAMAVIT (Fra Francesco Colonna adored Polia). Moreover, there was a Dominican friar named Francesco Colonna who spent much of his life in the monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, where he died at the age of ninety-four in 1527. It is usually assumed among students of the *Hypnerotomachia* that it was this mysterious Venetian friar who wrote the book.¹⁰

As suggested by the book's title and by the acrostic, the story told by Colonna is of Poliphilo's dream in which he searches for his beloved Polia. The narrative begins with the hero finally falling asleep after a restless night. Like Dante in the *Divine Comedy*, Poliphilo, in his dream, first finds himself in a dark forest where he becomes despondent and frightened, and after falling asleep again he awakens and eventually finds an ancient temple among ruins. Following a detailed description of this temple dedicated to the sun and the various monuments nearby, Poliphilo enters the pyramid-like structure and is chased by a drag-

on, which he escapes. Fleeing the temple and the dragon, he finds himself on a fertile plain, where he meets five beautiful women, who personify the five human senses. These women lead the hero to a bathhouse and then to the palace of Queen Eleuterilda, who personifies free will. The Queen assigns two maidens, Logistica (reason) and Thelemia (will), to lead Poliphilo to the gate of Queen Telosia (aim or goal). The gate is comprised of three portals over each of which, from left to right respectively, is written in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and Latin "The Glory of God," "Mother of Love," and "Worldly Glory" (in Latin, *Gloria Dei*, *Mater Amoris* and *Gloria Mundi*). It is no surprise when Poliphilo chooses the central portal, a choice that angers Logistica, who departs. Later, left alone by Thelemia, the lover falls in love with a nymph who is actually his beloved Polia though he does not recognize her. The nymph leads the hero to see five triumphal chariots and ultimately to the temple of Venus Physioza. After sacrificial rites are performed and the nymph reveals herself to be Polia, the high priestess of the temple blesses the couple. The two lovers then set sail in Cupid's boat for Cythera, the island of Love, where Venus speaks to them. At the fountain of Adonis several nymphs persuade Polia to tell how she came to love Poliphilo.

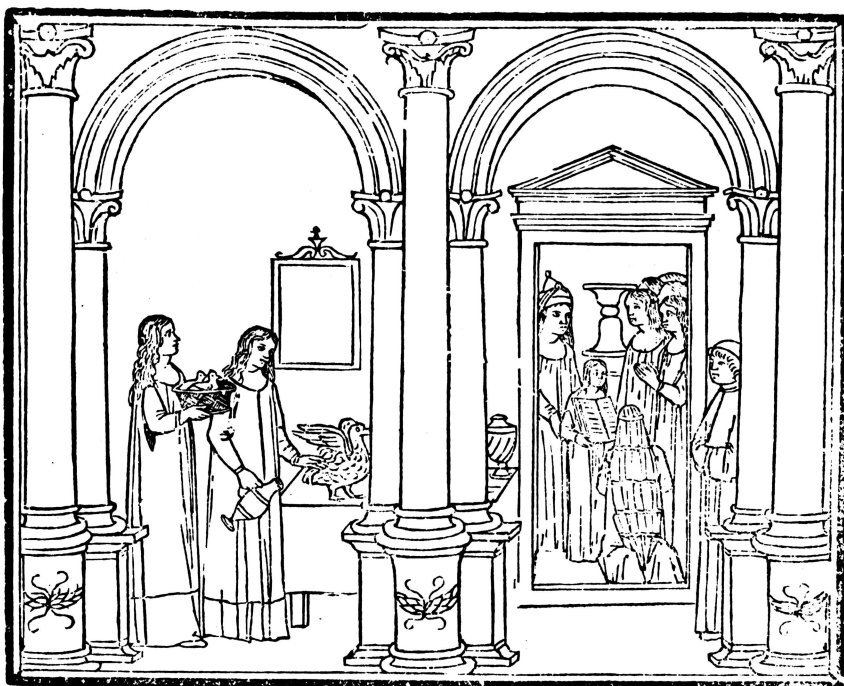
In the second part of the book, which is much shorter than the first, Polia tells the story of how she fell in love with Poliphilo. He caught sight of her one day as she was drying her lovely blond hair in the sun on the roof of her palace in Treviso. She was too young at that time to feel any love for Poliphilo, and when she fell ill during a plague, she dedicated herself to the goddess Diana (i.e., to chastity) and thereby miraculously recovered. One year later Poliphilo dis-



4. Folio o¹ verso, 1545, in the Missouri collection.

covered Polia in the temple of Diana and told her of his ardent love for her, but his deeply felt revelations only increased Polia's dislike for him. Making no progress with his beloved, the hero fell into a deathlike trance on the floor of the temple. Then Polia dragged her suitor's body into a corner where no one could find it, but the next day she returned and taking pity on Poliphilo laid him in her lap. Suddenly love began to grow in her heart. When the priestess of Diana's temple found the lovers in a close embrace, she drove them away, and the couple made their way to the priestess of Venus to whom Polia confessed her sins against love. The heroine next relates that while Poliphilo was in the deathlike trance, his soul ascended to the heaven of Venus where Cupid brought an image of Polia to him. The god of Love then pierced the image with one of his golden arrows, and at that moment Poliphilo's soul re-entered his body. Polia finishes her story by recounting how the priestess of Venus blessed the loving pair, and the book ends with Poliphilo bidding farewell to the beautiful Polia as he awakens from his dream.

TWO INCIDENTS FROM THE STORY just outlined are illustrated in the Museum's woodcuts; one from the first part of the book, the other from the second part. In the series of illustrations from the first part of the book we witness some of the elaborate rites in which Poliphilo and Polia participated in the temple of Venus Physizoa. First we see Poliphilo immersing the torch, which the nymph (i.e., Polia) had carried since he first saw her, into the cistern filled with sacred water (Fig. 1). As Poliphilo lowers the torch he says, "*Così come l'aqua questa arsibile face extinguerà, per il modo medesimo il foco d'amore il suo lapificato et gelido core reaccendi*" (As the water extinguishes this torch, so may the fire of love be rekindled in her stone-cold heart). Surrounding the sacred cistern are six virgins, one of them a small girl holding a book, who are attendants to the priestess (*antistite*) standing to the left and wearing a veil and mitre. Behind the priestess is Polia, also wearing a veil. The outcome of the extinguishing of the torch by Poliphilo is illustrated in the next woodcut which shows Polia and Poliphilo to the right embracing one another (Fig. 4). Polia has just revealed her



5. Folio o² verso, 1545, in the Mis-souri collection.

true identity with these words: “. . .io sum sencia dubio quella Polia tua, che tanto ami. . .” (I am without doubt your Polia whom you love so much. . .). The ritual is not yet completed for the priestess next leads Polia to a circular chapel that Poliphilo is not allowed to enter (Fig. 5). In the illustration we see to the left, outside the chapel, two of the priestess’s attendants, one carrying two doves in a basket, the other a vase. Later the doves will be sacrificed and their blood collected in the vase. To the right of the door stands Poliphilo waiting patiently, while inside the chapel Polia kneels before the priestess and the young girl with the sacred book. In the rear of the chapel on an altar is a sacred vessel in which at the end of the ritual a rosebush with sacred fruit will miraculously appear.

The other series of woodcuts illustrates the incident in the second part of the book when Poliphilo meets Polia in the temple of Diana. In the first illustration Polia has returned to the temple after having rejected her lover the day before and kneels behind his prostrate body (Fig. 6). In the illustration the artist responsible for the

woodcuts has drawn upon the tradition of Christian iconography for Polia’s gesture. Her lowered and outstretched arms with the palm of her hands turned outward toward the viewer was a gesture often associated with pity and sorrow, emotions that the heroine, according to the text, feels at this particular moment.¹¹ In the next illustration (Fig. 7) we see Polia ardently embracing Poliphilo whom she has laid across her lap. This particular arrangement of figures recalls another subject familiar in Christian art—the *Pietà*—in which the Virgin holds the dead Christ in her lap.¹² In the last illustration (Fig. 8), the loving couple are driven out of the temple of Diana by two attendants of the priestess, while the priestess herself stands rather calmly to the left admonishing Poliphilo and Polia with an upraised finger.

COLONNA’S CHARMINGLY BIZARRE tale has so far remained impervious to a convincing interpretation. A few aspects of the story, however, which link it to its cultural milieu, may be briefly mentioned. First; the sentimental rather than rational



6. Folio c^s recto, 1545, in the Missouri collection.



7. Folio c^s verso, 1545, in the Missouri collection.

attitude toward classical antiquity and the attempt to synthesize classical, modern and medieval elements connect the book to late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Venetian art and architecture.¹³ Colonna's essentially Christian allegory has its roots in such medieval works as the *Roman de la Rose* and *Divine Comedy*, but the characters, incidents and setting, even the language, owe much to classical literature and mythology. The woodcuts reflect this eclectic character of the book. In the scene representing *Polia Resuscitating Poliphilo* (Fig. 7), for instance, the piers to the right are inspired by the architec-

ture of classical antiquity, the space is constructed according to a modern system of one-point perspective, and the gesture of Polia is inherited from medieval Christian art. Another aspect of the book can also be found in Venetian art of the time. Colonna often carefully describes the architecture that he encounters during his quest for Polia. Near the beginning of the book, for example, he describes a building composed of a base with a classical portal in the center, a stepped pyramid and an obelisk crowned with a statue of a *nympha*. The various parts of the building are classical in form but the structure as a whole does



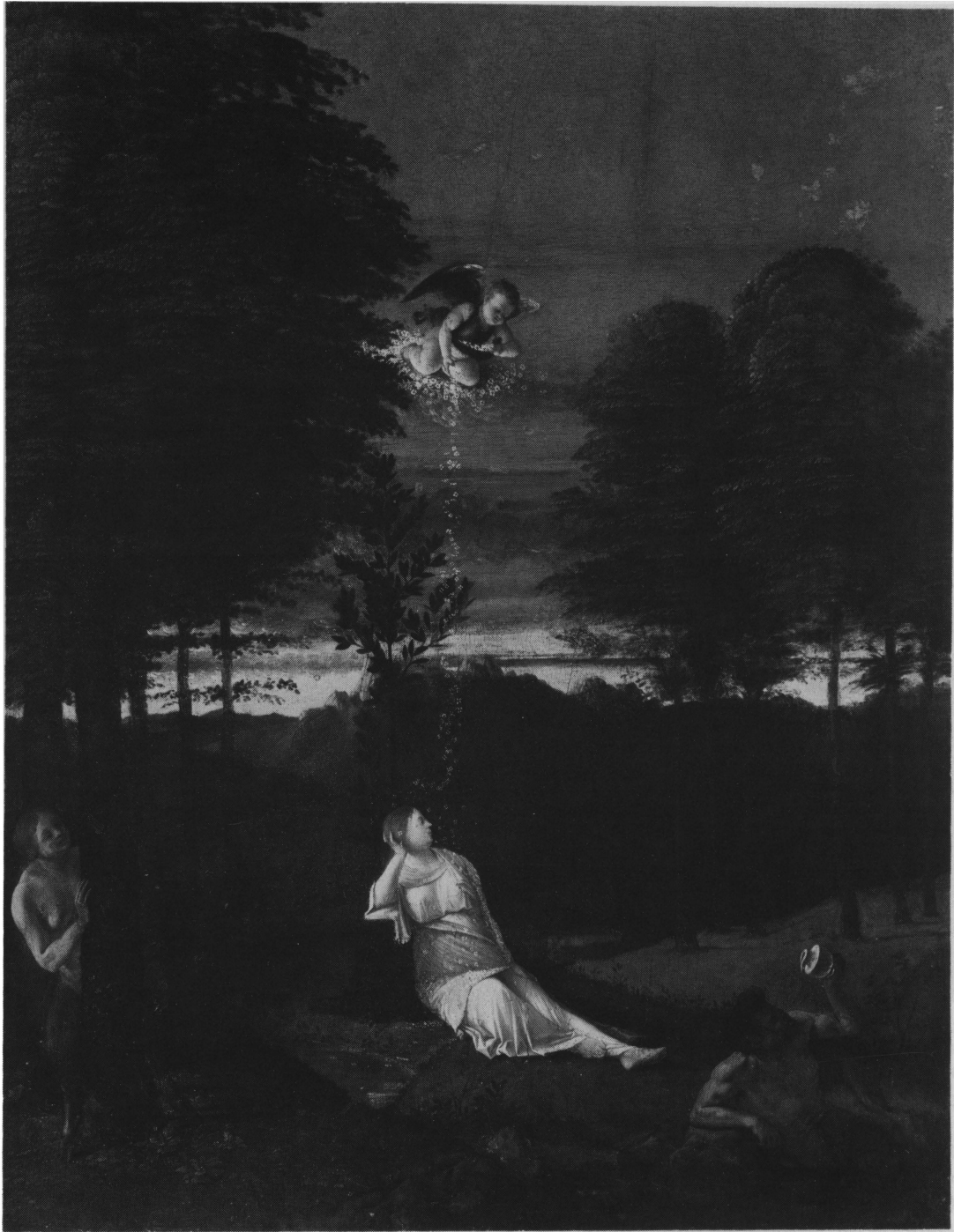
8. Left: folio c⁶ recto, 1545, in the Missouri collection.

9. Opposite: Feast of the Gods (597), Giovanni Bellini. National Gallery of Art, Washington. Widener Collection.



not convey a sense of the classical past, as would a building by, let us say, Alberti, or a painting of a classical subject by Mantegna. This disregard for historical accuracy and distance in Colonna's classicism, which is after all appropriate for a dream-tale, is echoed in such works as Pietro Lombardi's façade for the Scuola Grande di San Marco in Venice (ca. 1487-1496)¹⁴ and Giovanni Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* in the National Gallery, Washington (Fig. 9). Lombardi's forms are based upon

classical prototypes, but the spaces between the columns flanking the two portals are filled with marble reliefs with illusionistic perspectives, a circumstance that, along with Coducci's lunette shapes silhouetted against the sky, avoids any sense of classical harmony and balance. And Bellini's painting, although it is peopled with antique gods, is thoroughly unclassical in its disregard for solemnity and monumentality. Like Colonna, neither Lombardi nor Bellini attempts



10. *A Maiden's Dream* (258), Lorenzo Lotto. National Gallery of Art, Washington. Samuel H. Kress Collection.

to reconstruct the past with historical accuracy and distance; rather, the classical details of their work, like those of Colonna's book, "only serve to impart a historical tone" and to evoke a feeling.¹⁵

Secondly, the importance in the story of sleep, dream and other states of unconsciousness makes the *Hypnerotomachia* preeminently Venetian. The subtitle proclaims that all of human life is but a dream and, as we have already mentioned, the story begins with the hero falling asleep only to dream that he falls asleep again. In addition, about midway through the book Poliphilo encounters a carved relief in which is represented a sleeping nymph identified by an inscription as "her who brings forth all things." There is also the incident in which Poliphilo swoons into a deathlike trance in the temple of Diana (Fig. 6). Colonna's fascination with unconsciousness finds an echo in the very style of Giorgione's paintings. The figures in his Castelfranco altarpiece, for example, "bespeak withdrawal, as if their spirit were preoccupied by a remembered dream."¹⁶ Furthermore, as Meiss has pointed out, sleep was a popular subject in early sixteenth-century Venetian art.¹⁷ A sleeping nude woman appears in Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), in Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* (Fig. 9) and in Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (Madrid, The Prado). But the painting that is perhaps closest in content and subject matter to Colonna's work is Lorenzo Lotto's *The Maiden's Dream* (Fig. 10) of ca. 1505 in the National Gallery, Washington. In the center of an enchanted wood a young woman languidly reclines while an *amorino* sprinkles flowers over her from above. To the left a female satyr peers out from behind a tree, and to the right a reclining satyr holds a jug. The painting has been inter-

preted as an allegory of vice, personified by the satyrs, and virtue, symbolized by the flowers.¹⁸ In other words, the young woman is being awakened from dark sensuality by a higher love which bestows virtue upon her. A similar theme runs through Colonna's story: Poliphilo's stirring passions for Polia are purified and tamed by the rituals and trials he undergoes in the pursuit of his beloved.

Still there is a strongly sensuous and erotic quality in Colonna's tale. Poliphilo delights in the sensuousness of nature; for instance, he often describes a seemingly infinite variety of flowers and their colors. He is also constantly noting the physical beauty of the nymphs he meets and the prurient emotions they and Polia arouse in him. Something of Poliphilo's erotic sensuousness can be seen in the wine-induced drowsiness of Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* (Fig. 9). The subject is erotic; in the lower right corner lustful Priapus has stolen upon the sleeping Lotis and, were it not for Silenus's ass, would reveal her hidden charms to the encircled gods, including Neptune, who firmly grasps Cybele's thigh.¹⁹

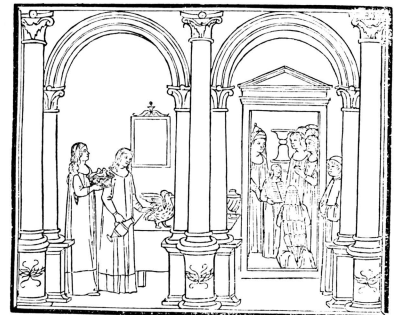
Customarily the Renaissance is viewed as an era of intellectual illumination, of reason and consciousness, of mathematics and the scientific study of nature, but Colonna's perplexing tale seems to be an affirmation of another dimension of human life, an affirmation of sentiment, dream and sensual love—conditions of the human soul also revealed, to the sympathetic mind, in the sensuous dream that was Venetian art. And certainly the book is a manifestation of the spirit of Venice, of the city that serenely floats, dreamlike, in the waters of a lagoon.



Fol. o¹ recto



Fol. o¹ verso



Fol. o² verso



Fol. c⁵ recto



Fol. c⁵ verso



Fol. c⁶ recto

Illustrations from leaves of *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. 1499. The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

APPENDIX

The following comparison of woodcuts is based upon an examination of four copies of the first edition and one copy of the second edition of the *Hypnerotomachia* in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. In addition I examined two copies of the first edition in the Alderman Library, University of Georgia. I would like to thank the staffs of those libraries for kindly giving me access to their holdings.

1. Fol. o¹ recto. *Poliphilo extinguishing Polia's torch in the temple of Venus*. In the Museum's copy the circular line forming the lid of the cistern is broken in one place and irregular in another (Fig. 1). These defects are found in the second edition (Fig. 3), but not in the first (Fig. 2).

2. Fol. o¹ verso. *Polia reveals her identity to Poliphilo*. There is a small break, or gap, in the upper left-hand corner of the outermost line of the border in the Museum's copy (Fig. 4). This same flaw appears in the second edition but not in the first.

3. Fol. o² verso. *Polia at the altar in the temple of Venus*. We may notice four *lacunae* in the Museum's copy (Fig. 5); one is in the uppermost portion of the left-hand line forming the shaft of the largest central column; a second is in the outermost line in

the left-hand portion of the pediment over the door; another is the outermost line forming the left-hand side of the door; and the last is in the base of the large column on the extreme right and the innermost border next to the base. These defects are found in the second edition but not in the first.

4. Fol. c⁵ recto. *Polia kneeling beside the sleeping Poliphilo*. In the Museum's copy (Fig. 6) there is a defect in the line forming the outermost edge of the open door; a gap in the second, fourth and seventh orthogonals counting from the left along the base of the woodcut; a break in the innermost rectangle of the far pillar; and a break in the upper right-hand corner of the innermost line of the border. These flaws appear in the second edition but not in the first.

5. Fol. c⁵ verso. *Polia resuscitating Poliphilo on her lap*. The break in the farthest orthogonal to the left and in the lower right-hand side of the step to the altar appears in the Museum's woodcut (Fig. 7) and in the woodcuts of the second edition but not in those of the first edition.

6. Fol. c⁶ recto. *Polia and Poliphilo driven from the temple of Diana*. The only defect in the Museum's copy (Fig. 8) appears in the right-hand side of Poliphilo's hair (he is the figure farthest to the right). This imperfection can be found in the second edition but not in the first.

¹For a brief discussion of the history of printing and of illustrated books in Renaissance Venice see S. H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (Baltimore 1966) 72-79, and A. M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut* (Boston and New York 1935) 415-422, 456-507. See also H. F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press* (London 1891).

²Hind, op. cit. 482-487.

³Acc. No. 77.111.1-4. The leaves are the gift of Joseph O. Fischer in honor of Professor Saul Weinberg. Each leaf measures 30.5 by 20.7 cm. All of the leaves have dark water stains on the binding edge, but are otherwise in good condition, except for fol. o², which has a large semi-circle shaped tear on the bottom edge. Fols. c⁵ and c⁶ carry pen markings in the margin. The pen markings were made perhaps in the sixteenth century.

⁴The full title in the first edition is as follows: *Poliphili Hypnerotomachia. ubi humana omni non nis somnium esse ostendit, atque obiter plurima scitu sane digna commemorat.* (Poliphilo's strife of love in a dream, which shows that all human things are but a dream, and in which many things good and worthy of knowing are set forth.) For a comprehensive bibliography on the book see M. T. Casella and G. Pozzi, *Francesco Colonna, biografia e opere* 1 (Padua 1959) xvii-xxvii, and G. Pozzi and L. A. Ciapponi, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* 2 (Padua 1964) 47-51.

⁵The title in the second edition appears as follows: *La Hypnerotomachia di Polifilo, cioè pugna d'amore in sogno dov'egli mostra che tutte le cose humane non sono altro che sogno et dove narra molt'altre cose degne di cognitione.* For a discussion of the eight new woodcuts in the second edition see L. Donati, "Di una copia tra le figure del Polifilo (1499) ed altre osservazioni," *La Bibliofilia* 64 (1962) 163-182.

⁶The two woodcuts with initials are on fols. a⁶ verso and c¹ recto. Hind, op. cit. 469 suggested that the designers of Venetian book illustrations did not actually cut the woodblocks.

⁷Cf. G. D. Painter, *The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili of 1499* 1 (London 1963) 16. Long ago A. Ilg, *Ueber den kunsthistorisches Werth der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Vienna 1872) 94, suggested that two artists designed the illustrations. See also J. Poppelreuter, *Der anonyme Meister des Polifilo* (Strassburg 1904) who considered the woodcuts of the *Hypnerotomachia* in relation to other woodcut illustrations of the Renaissance.

⁸See W. S. Sheard, "The Widener Orpheus: Attribution, Type, Invention," in *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art* (New Haven and London 1978) 206 note.

⁹Cf. Sheard, op. cit. 190. I am referring here to the *Orpheus* in the National Gallery, Washington, and the *Martyrdom of St. Peter Martyr* in the National Gallery, London. In her article Sheard discusses both of these paintings.

¹⁰The fullest biographical study of Francesco Colonna is by M. T. Casella, op. cit.

¹¹The lowered-arm gesture was most commonly used in representations of Christ as the Man of Sorrows, an image intended to evoke pity and sorrow in the heart of the pious viewer.

¹²See for example Giovanni Bellini's *Pietà* in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, illustrated in F. Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e i belliniani* 2 (Venice 1962) fig. 96.

¹³Cf. F. Saxl, "Jacopo Bellini and Mantegna as Antiquarians," *Lectures* 1 (London 1957) 157.

¹⁴For an illustration of the façade of the Scuola di S. Marco see L. H. Heydenreich and W. Lotz, *Architecture in Italy, 1400 to 1600* (Baltimore 1974) pl. 88.

¹⁵Saxl, op. cit., 158.

¹⁶S. J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600*, The Pelican History of Art (Baltimore 1975) 127.

¹⁷M. Meiss, "Sleep in Venice: Ancient Myths and Renaissance Proclivities," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110 (1966) 348-386. Reprinted in *The Painter's Choice* (New York 1976) 212-239.

¹⁸G. de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600* 2 (Geneva 1959) 390-391. See also F. R. Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. Italian Schools XV-XVI* 2 (London 1968) 158, where the subject is identified as Plutus and the Nymph Rhodos.

¹⁹For a full discussion of Bellini's painting see E. Wind, *Bellini's Feast of the Gods, A Study in Venetian Humanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1948). See also J. Walker, *Bellini and Titian at Ferrara* (New York 1956), P. Barolsky, *Infinite Jest, Wit and Humor in Italian Renaissance Art* (Columbia and London 1978) 158-161 and P. Fehl, "The Worship of Bacchus and Venus in Bellini's and Titian's Bacchanals for Alfonso d'Este," *Studies in the History of Art* 6 (1974) 37-95.

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