

LEXIS

Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica

33.2015

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Pubblicato con il contributo di:

Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia)

Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici (Università degli Studi di Salerno)

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ISSN 2210-8823

ISBN 978-90-256-1300-6

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Lexical Notes to Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499) – Cruces, Contradictions, Contributions

While preparing the publication of my translation into German of the 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili' (Venice 1499, henceforth HP) by Francesco Colonna, O. P. (around 1433-1527; cf. e.g. Ariani – Gabriele, LXIII-LLXII; Ciapponi – Pozzi, 3-20; Reiser 2014a, v-VIII), I was constantly reminded that, albeit for economical reasons rather restricted to essential lexical explanations, my commentary nevertheless comprised about two thousand notes. Their primary purpose being to further the vernacular reader's comprehension of the text and to clarify certain of my linguistic decisions, these glosses also critically reflect and recount the annotations provided by my authoritative predecessors, namely Lucia Ciapponi's and Giovanni Pozzi's emendated and elucidated edition (Padova 1968 ff.) as well as the mastodonic and meticulous masterpiece by Marco Ariani and Mino Gabriele, first published in Milan 1998. Whilst Ariani – Gabriele mostly concur with Ciapponi – Pozzi, they also castigate and offer, or even propagate, alternative solutions. In such cases I pondered, then sided, remained impartial or decided to discard the proposals of both editions. Additionally, the process of transferring the HP into a language which lacks the very Romanic roots, from which Colonna developed his idiom, drew my attention to further details – as did the specialised literature, mainly historical dictionaries, which appeared during my study provide a plethora of supplementary hints and a few novel and notable explanations.

There has always been someone somewhere translating the HP into his mother tongue and commenting upon it in part or as a whole, from the 'Songe de Poliphile' of 1546, the Elizabethan versions, or the presumably lost 17th century Krakovian Yiddish fragments, up to the modern English, Spanish and Dutch editions, not to mention the numerous excerpts in anthologies on architecture, countless conference papers, annual announcements, publication dates postponed per annum. Certainly much more is to come (I should particularly encourage the preparation of a Polish Poliphilo) and revised (re-)editions are to be reckoned with. Having experienced firsthand what a dreary business it is to peruse commentaries (particularly those I write)¹, and being well aware that the novelties within my annotations ought to be readily accessible to the international Colonnese community, I chose to do three things: to compile this separate synopsis of crucial notes (including stalemates) and observations not made previously within 'my' HP, to consult further secondary literature on the matters discussed, including a newly available indexed digitalisation of one of Colonna's own books of reference, the illustrated 'Roccabonella' codex on simples², and to compare my suggestions with those of the

¹ For taking these troubles on the level of this 'meta-commentary' I am immensely indebted to Maggie Daly Davis.

² The *Liber de simplicibus* – whose entries strikingly mirror Poliphilesque phytotaxonomy – was concluded not long after the first half of the 15th century by the Padovan doctor of medicine Nicolò Roccabonella (around 1386-around 1459), then resident in the parish of San Giovanni Novo in Venice. The book was inherited by his son who died there in 1479. Before the Venetian physician Benedetto Rinio (1485-1565) acquired the codex, it is traceable in apothecaries in the

best-selling modern English translation by Joscelyn Godwin.

The original expressions were lemmatized and kept in their order within the HP³, the pagination of which follows Ariani – Gabriele (applicable also to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's Gallica-digitalisation and roughly to Godwin), in order to arrange this florilege. And a florilegium it actually is, for much lexical despair lurks in those passages that the common readers – who either seek bibliophile diversion or an impressive quotation to pimp his or her priggish postmodernist platitudes – will by nature skip or skim; that is the catalogues of plants. I say, the HP's great and true secrets need to be unravelled with the methods of an etymological and comparative phytotaxonomy! Therefore I shall, wherever possible, provide the Linnéan (L. or Linnaeus or Linné, for the sake of variation) designation, indicate the pre-Linnéan (marked as such) or scientific term of today (unspecifically: bot.), in addition to common and less common names in national idioms. Apart from dendrology and floriculture (one may take a closer look at HP 357 'tora') the disciplines, whose assistance would oblige me the most, are: the history of optical theory, particularly the reflections on the Ptolemean laws of refraction and the state of ophthalmology in medieval and Renaissance Padua and Venice (cf. below HP 312 together with 439, and probably the fact that to Colonna $\pi = 3$; cf. HP 293 f. and 297); epigraphy and Quattrocento antiquarianism (HP 252 f. et *passim*); nautical history (generally HP, 276 ff.; and within this article HP 284 and 291); Egyptology (HP 248); and the history of textiles (HP 334).

HP 13: *corticosi Subderi apto additamento muliebre* [Within the frightful forest's catalogue of trees⁴ the «thick-barked cork-oaks apt for woman's adornment» (Godwin 1999, 13) are easy to translate yet one is unlikely to stumble over the bark's actual purpose, since none of the modern editions steps in with a foot-note. So, might we ask, has the cork been crafted into some kind of trinket? Does it serve as a component of make-up, or burnt as a sort of black eyeliner? Or does Colonna

Rialto area. Rinio's heir then bequeathed the manuscript to the library of the monastery San Giovanni e Paolo. Since 1789 the book belongs to the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana as 'cod. Lat. VI. 59 (= 2543)' and has just recently been made available online. Roccabonella usually reserved one entire page for each of his 458 plants, the 'recto' showing an illustration by the otherwise unknown Venetian painter Andrea Amadio. The 'verso' is divided into two columns, the left one lists all names for the specimen, that the Padovan could acquire from literary and oral sources, thus apart from Latin, Greek and Arabic he also recorded Italian dialects, 'slavonic' languages and an Early New High German that resembles an attempt of phonetic transcription. The other column contains excerpted notes on the plant's qualities from antique to medieval authorities; cf. Fogliati 2002, 94 f.; Marcon 2002; Pozzi, 90 f. Some of the depictions of flora occurring within the HP are reproduced (and identified with their modern denomination) in Fogliati 2002, 99 ff.

³ Their immediate context is – nota bene: without any further explanation – provided as footnotes, which quote the Ariani – Gabriele reproduction of the 1499-edition. The original interpunction and spelling remain (irrespective of the incunabula's 'errata') untouched, only ligatures and abbreviations have been expanded.

⁴ Cf. HP 13: «Ma nella dumosa silua appariano si non densi uirgulti, pongente uepreto, el Siluano Fraxino ingrato alle uipere, Vlmi ruuidi, alle foecunde uite grati, corticosi Subderi apto additamento muliebre, duri Cerri, Forti roburi, et glandulose Querce et Ilice, et di rami abundante, che al roscido solo non permetteuano gli radii del gratioso Sole integramente peruenire».

allude to one of those mysterious beauty-accessories, with which women have been embellishing themselves throughout recorded history but for which they do not actually have a name? Antiquity also, alas, does not assist with an answer. But the early 16th century gloss in a Modenese incunabulum explains: «of whose barks are made the soles that are put into their slippers, thus in some places the slippers are called ‘subere’»; cf. Stichel 1992, 220 f.: «delle cortice di quelli si fanno i lagnacci che si pongono nelle loro pianelle, però in alcuni luoghi le pianelle si chiamano subere».

HP 60: *barba Silvana* [On the ceiling of the portico’s passage there are depictions of aquatic grotesques⁵ and a jostling horde of marine puttos who are joyfully whacking each other with a cauliflorous plant of that name. Albeit vexingly verbatim Godwin 1999, 60’s ‘wood-beard’ outmatches Ariani – Gabriele, 77’s ‘barba silvestre’, since what Roccabonella, 218r-v designates as ‘centum nervia, barba silvana, coclearia, plantago aquatica, et al.’ unquestionably is a representation of ‘*Alisma plantago aquatica*’ (L.): the ‘water-plantain’ or ‘pettacciola d’aqua, alisma’ or Teutonic ‘Froschlöffel’ – once, teste Marzell 1 (1943), 191-3, also as Germanic adaption of the medieval ‘barba silvana’: ‘Wilder Bart, Waltsbart, Waldbart’; cf. moreover Genaust 1996, 491; Sauerhoff 2003, 30⁶.

HP 68: *Naxi bicolori nel aspecto di Aquilo rubenti, et di meridionale albente* [The counterpart to the catalogue of plants prolific in perilous places as a list of what sprouts on the hillsides of the locus amoenus⁷. Among others there is ‘naxi’ which is displaying red to the North and white to the South. Ariani, 662 and Pozzi, 90 do not identify it. Godwin 1999, 68 spots «flowering privets with their perfumed blossoms of two colours» i.e. some sort of ‘*Ligustrum*’ (Linné). Yet what should the privet have to do with the isle of Naxos when according to Pliny the shrub ‘*ligustrum*’ (from the Italian region of Liguria) merely bears the other toponym of ‘cypros’ (Plin. nat. 12.109 and 24.74; Sauerhoff 2003, 367-70)? Did the ancient world, per Baccho, associate anything botanical with Naxos?

They did, firstly but metaphorically: ‘*lignum Naxi*’ or *Ναξία λίθος* the whetstone (ἡ ἀκόνη) imported from there; cf. Stephanus 5 (1842-46), 1355. Though metals and

⁵ Cf. HP 60: «Sopra laquale perpolita ligatura il suffitto principiaua inarcuare, conforme il fornicato flexo ad quello dilla porta. Di tale excogitato foecundo dilectabile offeriuase cum tale praestante caelatura, Piena concinnamente di aquatici monsterculii nellaqua simulata et negli moderati plemmyruli semihomini et foemine, cum spirate code pisciculate. [...] Alcuni cum multiplici uasi di fructi copiosi, et cum stipate copie. Altri cum fasciculi di achori, et di fiori di barba Siluana. mutuamente se percoteuano».

⁶ At the time still ignorant of the actual herbal, the ‘barba’-plants in MlatWb 1 (1967), 1361 f., where the odds are in favour of ‘barba buglossa’, and Genaust 1996, 61 and 109 flummoxed me and I opted for ‘Ochsenzunge’ (Linné’s ‘*Anchusa*’). This bull will be set right in ‘my’ HP’s second edition.

⁷ Cf. HP 68: «Io reguardai una non rata montagna cum moderato accliuo tutta di uerdissime et lente fronde arborosa, di glandiferi roburi, di Fagi, di Querci, Iligni, Cerri, Esculi [...] Daposcia uerso la planitie era densata di cornuli, di coryli, di olenti, et florigeri ligustri, et di odorante fiore albiscente, Naxi bicolori nel aspecto di Aquilo rubenti, et di meridionale albente, Carpini et fraxini [...]».

minerals were, well into the 18th century, believed to 'grow' within the earth, would our pickings of whetstone then differ in granulation as does coloured sandpaper at the do-it-yourself market? I doubt it. Secondly, the said 'Naxi' may well metonymically refer to the Dionysian wine, sporting red and white grapes, despite there being no locus classicus; cf. Gesner 3 (1749), 408 – *ThLL*'s 'N' is not available yet. Thus, while not rushing to conclusions, a third candidate arises: Forcellini 3 (1940), 342 reports 'naxum/natus' as 'Juncus' (L.) of the subspecies 'naxius' (L.): the 'rush' whose qualities are discussed in Plin. *nat.* 21.115 f., where one is told that it is actually the 'Gladiolus' (L.) or 'cornflag' of the species 'cypirus', of which a particular, acute smelling kind is native to Naxos; cf. «Cypirus est gladiolus, ut diximus, radice bulbosa, laudatissimus in insulis Creta, dein Naxo et postea in Phoenice. Cretico candor odorque vicinus nardo, Naxio acrior»; cf. Genoust 1996, 316; Sauerhoff 2003, 287 f. and 337 f.

On the basis of these considerations Colonna's 'Naxi' must be (at least for now) either wine or cornflag.

HP 68: *trifolia tora, ouero triangularis* (also see below HP 324: *trinita*) [On the said slopes also thrives this trifoliate and triangular alliteration⁸. Pozzi, 90 f. lengthily consulting medieval and Renaissance herbaries on the plant 'taura/tora' (and variants), the illustrations or interpretations of which embody these morphic criteria, is for some paragraphs of his commentary favouring a certain 'taura' within Roccabonella, 104r-104v: «herba picta in hac carta infrascriptis appellatur nominibus: tora / taura – latine». Regarding the illumination, it is one of the 'Ranunculacea'-family (L.), precisely, as Pozzi asserts: 'Anemone hepatica' (L.). Yet finally he discards this interpretation, for the plant not being (in the sense of bearing three leaves) trifoliate, and eventually he capitulates. Ariani, 662 and Godwin 1999, 68 follow suit and keep 'tora' in their translations. Neither is Sauerhoff 2003, 518 of any help nor is Genoust 1996, 641 f., who, in his entry on 'thora', arguing with historical etymologies from 'φθορά' (destruction, ruin), concludes that it must be 'Ranunculus thora' (L.): the poisonous 'Thora buttercup'. Yet neither were its leaves to count three, nor were they particularly triangular, but rather roundish. And a mere 'amply generical trifoglio, trifolium, τρίφυλλον' can mean anything from the Linnéan 'trifolium, lotus, melilothus' to different 'Leguminosae'; cf. Bonacelli 1929, 288.

There is, however, the most Trinitarian plant belonging to the Ranunculaceae and fitting the description: hepatica (bot. 'Hepatica nobilis/Hepatica triloba') or in Linnéan taxonomy, the very 'Anemone hepatica' that Pozzi favoured, but then by counting actual 'leaves' and not 'lobes' (which the profane phytophile not knowing better might call 'leaves') abandoned as a miscalculation. The single leaf of 'Hepatica triloba' consists of three triangular lobes which not only fit the description but also make the plant a symbol of the Holy Trinity. Hence Medieval Latin glossaries list it as 'trinitas', and in the Italian language it is up to our day known as 'erba trinità' or simply 'trinità'; cf. *GDLI* 21 (2002), 356.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.* «[...] Et ambi gli Melampodii dal pastore denominati et la trifolia tora, ouero triangularis, et il Senniculo et di altre assai umbriphile herbe [...]».

HP 73: *Vaticinio* [Albeit innocently growing among others on the river bank next to the small octagonal *balneae*⁹, housing the mechanical ‘*puer mingens*’, Gabriele, 671 foretells a sort of ‘*herba uatica*’ (that is, any plant bestowing the consumer with the power of prophecy) in some abbreviated form, whilst Pozzi, 95 cursorily corrects to ‘*uac(c)inium*’ (‘*Vaccinium*’ L.) and bothers no further, as does Godwin 1999, 73: «Around this tranquil place and its babbling brooks flourished whortleberries», as did I (Reiser 2014a, 109 f.: ‘*Heidelbeere*’); cf. also Genaust 1996, 673; Sauerhoff 2003, 642 ff.; Plin. *nat.* 16.77; Verg. *ecl.* 2.18.

HP 73: *Cedouaria* [Within the same habitat¹⁰. Gabriele, 671 and Pozzi, 95 discuss the plant ‘*cedovaria*’, and the dictionaries of historical botany and medieval Latin succour: It is the ginger species ‘*Curcuma zedoaria*’ (L.) at the time also ‘*zedo(w)aria*’ or ital. ‘*zettovario*’; cf. Genaust 1996, 190 f.; MlatWb 2 (1999), 426; Pozzi, 95; Sauerhoff 2003, 209. This being the case, Godwin 1999, 73 might for his next edition ginger up his ‘*cedovaria*’ to ‘*zedoary*’; cf. *OED* 20 (1998), 798.

HP 74: *papiracie Mixe, o uero muse* [Still the same catalogue of plants¹¹; see below HP, 190: *Mixe*.

HP 74: *pancuculo* [A few lines below¹². Ariani – Gabriele, 92; Gabriele, 672 assume ‘*pan di cuculo*’ to be ‘*Orchis purpurea*’ (L.) (‘purple orchis’; Plin. *nat.* 26.96), and also ‘*paniculaceum*’, commonly known as ‘*Panicum*’ (L.), Ital. ‘*panico*’ and Engl. ‘millet / panic (grass)’, would seem fruitful. But the simple which according to Roccabonella, 310rf. bears among others (e.g. ‘*aleluia*, *stellaria*, *acetosella*’) the name of ‘*panis cucucli*’ is, irrefutable in its depiction: ‘*Oxalis acetosella*’ (L.) – the ‘wood-sorrel’; or, as Godwin 1999, 74 congenially calls it, the ‘cuckoobread’; likewise in German: ‘*Kuckuksbrot*’ (for ‘*Sauerampfer*’); cf. Genaust 1996, 448 and 454; Grimm 11 (1873), 2528; *OED* 4 (1989), 106; Sauerhoff 2003, 447-551; Schubert-Wagner 1967, 233 and 235; Watts 2000, 206; Plin. *nat.* 18.49 and 27.112.

HP 75: *di camussato* [Of delicate nymphine sutorial art, or vulgar: women’s shoes¹³. Contradicting are Pozzi, 96, who derives the crafting from the Venetian word ‘*camufo*’ (Boerio 1856, 125: ‘fringe’), and Gabriele, 673, who sticking to both the leather and the dialect, derives ‘*camussato*’ from ‘*camozza/camòccia*’ (cf. Boerio

⁹ Cf. HP 73: «Circuncirca dunque di questo placido loco, et per gli loquaci riuuli fioriuano il Vaticinio, Lillii conuallii, et la florente Lysimachia, et il odoroso Calamo, et la Cedouaria, Apio, et hydrolapio [...]».

¹⁰ Cf. above HP 73.

¹¹ Cf. HP 74: «[...] Irroraua [il canaliculo] fundentise in uno praedio, di papiracie Mixe, ouero muse, cum grandissime foglie, lacerate dalle flante aure, Cum il stipato grumo pendente dil dulcissimo fructo».

¹² Cf. HP 74: «Et remirando alla planicie uidi in omni parte uerdissimo, di uarietà di seminata di fiori ornatamente depicto, di gialli dil ranuculo, [...] et la seratula, et pancuculo, et dinfiniti altri bellissimi floruli».

¹³ Cf. HP 75: «Calciate alcune [damigelle] poscia sopra le extente calige di cocineo et uerdigiantè panno, et tale sopra il nudo di mollicolo et gratioso corio luculeo, et altre di camussato di bellissimi coloramenti tincto, senza accusare gli detta».

1856, 123) – that is ‘of goat skin’ which seems the least capricious both to me (cf. Reiser 2014a, 113: ‘weißgegerbtes Leder’) and to Godwin 1999, 76: ‘chamois’.

HP 82: *quali di optimi passalli* [As comparison for the fragrant of incense wood and gum in the baths scenting ‘as if from the best passalli’¹⁴. This comparison is commonly considered the most desperate crux within the HP. Hitherto several solutions have been put forward:

- Pozzi, 100 takes the easy way and emends to ‘pastilli’, that is, all kinds of ‘aromatics’, with Godwin 1999, 82 joining in: ‘as fragrant as the best pastilles’ – which would be the first option.

- Ariani, 682 is apparently deriving his line of reasoning from Popelin 1883, vol. 1, 129 and Songe 1546, 47, who have ‘oyseletz de Cypre’. Those ‘Cyprian birdies’ or ‘hens from Cyprus’ are ‘small balls of all sizes filled with exquisite fragrances, that one put together using gum in order to shape them as certain little birds of whose skin they were composed, so one would crack them for the purpose’ (cf. Fournier 1855, 21: «oysetletz de Chippre [sic] [...] de petites balottes de toutes grandeurs remplies de parfums exquis, et qu’on joignit ensemble avec de la gomme, pour leur faire prendre la forme de certains petits oiseaux de la peau desquels on les composoit, afin de les faire crever à propos.»). Or, in other words: ornithomorph parchment blister packs filled with perfume as option number two.

- Yet then Ariani passes on from ‘passali’ to the Late-Latin term ‘passales’ (which appears once in Paul. Fest. 222: «Passales et oves et gallinae appellantur, quod *passim* pascuntur.») and from parchment to archaeological catalogues on Roman household objects, which inform: «Birds of glass [the accompanying illustration showing one of 18,5 cm with long protruding neck, without feet or features, wings folded] were used in the same manner as the spheres [i.e. as ‘unguentarium’, after probing the residual contents therein]. The pointed tails were broken to sprinkle the contents.» (Isings 1957, 27). Those objects, usually smaller and dove-shaped, were used by perfume makers. Dating from the 1st century B. C. to the 1st A.D. and found in cis- and transalpine Gallia and in Germania, they were very likely known to the Italian Renaissance. Yet consulting those avowed to antique glass-wares (cf. Stern 2007, 398 f.; also Bellezza e seduzione 1990, 95; Bracker 1974, 142 f.; Calvi 1968, 108; Saldern 2004, 518 ff. and 637-9.) one must state that a terminological connection between the intended specific type of ‘unguentaria’ and the Festinian hapax ‘passalles’ was first and exclusively established in the 1990s by a certain commentator of the HP whom we know and honour under the name of Marco Ariani. Nevertheless we shall keep avi- or oviform jars for odorants as alternative number three.

- For the sake of completeness: One might, as another comparison, also read ‘passalli’ as ‘pascali’ for ‘pascha/pasqua’ (Eastern), in either a lightly liturgical association of spring-like air which is further perfumed by incense; or in the extra-clerical and established idiomatic Italian sense of ‘evento gioioso’ assuming that most ‘joyous events’ partake of a somewhat mirthfully fragrant atmosphere; *GDLI*

¹⁴ Cf. HP 82: «Non molto distante era nella terra una fessura, laquale continuamente uomeua ignita materia, tolta di questa et farcita la concha dil uaso superposeno alcuni gummi et ligni odorati feceron uno inextimabile suffumigio di fragrantia quale di optimi passalli».

12 (1984), 728. Hence ‘pascha – joyous feast’ would be number four.

- Or, returning to the field of speculative botany as ‘Pascha Rosata’: the time of the rose blossom, and metonymically, its fragrance or product ‘rosalium’ (oil, ointment, petals); Du Cange 3 (1710), 200 and 697; Forcellini 2 (1827), 444; MlatWb 1 (1967), 480 f.; which may be listed as number five.

- Nonetheless, I tend to hyphenate ‘pass – alli’ (that is: ‘passa alli’ as plural of ‘passum alli’) from the Middle-Latin ‘allum, -i’ (n.) or ‘alla, -ae’ (f.), which was passed on from Isidorus’ (Hispanic vernacular) ‘ala’ (cf. Isid. *orig.* 17.11.9: «Inula, quam rustici alam uocant, radice aromatica, odoris summi cum leui acrimonia») and adopted by Middle High German scribes as ‘alant’; cf. Du Cange 1 (1883), 156; Sprague 1933, 401. As far as the ‘passum’ is concerned, I propose the perfect passive participle of ‘pando’ (in the sense: ‘to dry fruit, etc.’), as in the *passim* ‘passi racemi’ for ‘plums’.

The thus obtained ‘inula passa’ is the dried simple (or a part thereof) that supposedly sprung from the tears of Helen of Troy (or was first discovered on the isle Helena); hence Engl. ‘elecampane’ or, to Linné: ‘Inula helenium’. Most common are variations of ‘enula/inula’ combined with ‘campana/helenium’; cf. Ernsting 1 (1741), 408 and, with scores of other synonyms, Ernsting 2 (1741), 445 f. and 578; further Genaust 1996, 308; Sauerhoff 2003, 327; Watts 2000, 330.

Since the days of Dioscorides (Dsc. 1.27; also 28 or 29) and Pliny (*e.g.* Plin. *nat.* 19.91 f.; also Lucr. 2.430; etc.) elecampane has been employed culinarily, as spice and appetizer, and medically, as tonic and antidote, as expectorant and abortifacient. Though one made use of its flowers, leaves and stems, its greatest powers were located in the roots (cf. one of the most voluminous botanical compendia of its time Bock 1552, 171: «omnis Enulae facultas, meo quidem iudicio, in radice posita est») about which the Medieval medical school of Salerno rhymed: ‘Enula Campana reddit praecordia sana, / Cum succo rutae succus si sumitur huius / Affirmant ruptis nihil esse salubrius istis’ – a verse apothecaries knew by heart up until the 18th century; cf. Ernsting 1 (1741), 337; Marzell 1938, 263. ‘Ala’ was powdered for ointments, preserved with sugar, boiled with wine (or distilled) as ‘vinum enulatum’. And, since elecampane was generally praised for its ‘warm and humid’ qualities, its dried root – similar to the resin (‘gummi’) of ‘opopanax’ – was lauded as a most exhilarating and salubrious incense; cf. Bock 1552, 169-73; Dilg 1977; Ernsting 1 (1741), 575; Genaust 1989, 438; Marzell 1938, 263 f.; Matthioli 1549, 26 f. (i.e. the 16th century Florentine commentary on the said passage of Dioscorides); MlatWb 1 (1967), 527; Stadler 1912; Zedler 8 (1734), 1327-30.

Thus my translation is: ‘as the best dried elecampane / wie die beste getrocknete Alantwurz’ (Reiser 2014a, 122 f.)

Contrary to the previous five suggestions, one is neither required to meddle with the original text, nor is one compelled to take the long shot at Ariani’s ad-hoc semantics of ‘passalles’. And Colonna, to conclude my argumentation, had while collecting material for his ‘Poliphilo’ – either straight from the Roccabonella herbal or through the pharmacists of Rialto – learned that ‘ala’ was then both an exquisite name for ‘inula’, and that burnt elecampane gives forth a most refreshing fragrance. At least thus it is indicated in Roccabonella, 353r-353v, where, after listing the Greco-Latin terms of ‘Elenium, panax tricomia, Enula, Inula, Elna’ and before

giving the German and Slavonic denominations, the botanist implies that 'according to others' it is also called 'ala' ('Alam – secundum aliorum expositionem') and, set apart from the herb's other characteristics, lines out: 'de hac herba fit melius opopanacum'.

HP 87: *Draconculo* [Poliphilo rejecting this herb as an apt remedy to leniate his libidinous lust;¹⁵ see below HP 321: *tarchon*

HP 128: *symmetriato displuio, o uero laxamento* [As defining one of the marvellous inner courtyards of Queen Eleuterilyda's miraculous palace; and, for a change, something architectural¹⁶. Citing the 'cauum displuiatum' (Vitr. 6.3.1 f.): one of the five types of inner courts according to 'De architectura'. Whilst Gabriele, 745, and the infallible Termes techniques 1995, 178, distinguish these according to the way in which rainwater is drained off (circumscriptive Godwin 1999, 128: 'all tiled so that the rain ran to the outside'), I follow the Vitruvian lexicon by Baldi 1612, 61 f. ('totum sub diuo positum') and the fact that the described inner courtyard is plein-air: 'exposed to the elements' (cf. Reiser 2014a, 186: 'ein ganz dem Regen ausgesetzter Innenhof').

HP 148: *basilica fibra* [While Poliphilo is ogling Polia's arms¹⁷. More precise than Ariani – Gabriele, 165's 'vena principale' (as main blood vessel) would be to translate the expression as the medical term of that time, as the surgeons called 'basilicus' what was 'exterius in brachio situs'; cf. MlatWb 1 (1967), 1386. Or, as Godwin 1999, 148 lays his finger unto: 'basilic vein'; cf. OED 1 (1989), 983: «the large vein of the arm starting from the elbow and discharging into the auxiliary vein. So called from its supposed great importance; the right and left basilic veins were formerly thought to be in direct communication with the liver and spleen respectively».

HP 150: *Sisura auicula* [Being irritated by his beloved, Poliphilo compares his heart to this birdie which, in turn, illuded the interpreters¹⁸. Gabriele, 787 interprets 'sisura' (a vestment of lambswool) metaphorically as 'plumage' translating this merely as 'trembling more than the feathers of a birdie' (cf. Ariani – Gabriele, 166: «più tremolante delle piume di un ucellino»). Pozzi, 133 surmises a compound of

¹⁵ Cf. HP 87: «Per laquale cosa io ricsuai la Nympha. Damnai il Draconculo per il suo caustico. Acceptai Amella. Et questa mundificata suaseme di gustare».

¹⁶ Cf. HP 128: «Laquale [i.e. Logistica] cum praeclarissimo comitato uicino ad questo uiridario introdussime in uno altro [giardino]. Oue mirai uno arcuato aerostylo, dal Area fina al supremo inflexo, passi cinque alti, et tre in hiato, tutto lateritio. Cum symmetriato displuio, o uero laxamento, In gyro continuo, Tutto bellissimamente inuestito di uerdigiant edera et contacto».

¹⁷ Cf. HP 148: «La extrema graciliscence parte de quella [facola], cum istringente pugno retinente. Et porgendo accortamente el soluto brachio, candidissimo piu che mai fusse quello de Pelope. Nelquale appariano la subtile cephalica et la basilica fibra quale sandaline lineature tirate sopra al mundissimo papyro».

¹⁸ Cf. HP 150: «Et retro essa sequendo cum el palpitante (et damore inquieto) core, piu quassabondo che Sisura auicula. Et non per altro modo che la timida pecora dal rapace lupo portata per la morsicata gula».

‘σειώ’ (‘shake, stir’) and ‘οὐρά’ (‘tail’). Yet he does not name the little rascal although our dear plummy fellow can be found in the dictionary: Pape 2 (1849), 852 indicating the said compound as a variant form of ‘σεισοπυγίς’ – which is also the bird Godwin 1999, 150 caught: the ‘wagtail bird’ (zool. ‘Motacilla’ i.e. ‘motacauda’) and as a such well known from France ‘hochequeu’, over Germany ‘Wippsterz’, to modern Italy ‘batticoda’.

HP 178: *Sticados* [Within the odd pleasure-ground flower catalogue¹⁹; Ariani – Gabriele, 190 ‘lo sticado’ are not stirred because the Latin/Italian name is obvious (also from Roccabonella, 360r-361v’s ‘sticados’) and persists until today: ‘(Lavandula) stoechas’ (bot.) or ‘French/Spanish lavender’; cf. Genaust 1996, 612; *GDLI* 20 (2000), 115; Watts 2000, 385. How on earth did Godwin 1999, 178 come up with ‘horse-mint’ – in Europe after Linné: ‘mentha longifolia’ or ‘aquatica’? Cf. *OED* 7 (1989), 409; Sauerhoff 2003, 404 f.; Watts 2000, 480.

HP 178: *Spiconardo* [On the selfsame meadow²⁰. While the name itself provides no difficulty and can rightly be translated with ‘spikenard’ (Godwin 1999, 178), semantics present some problems: Pozzi, 147 resolves ‘spiga di nardo/spica nardi/nardostokion’ (as in Roccabonella, 333r-333v, which one opines to be Linné’s ‘Nardostachys grandiflora’) and places it next to ‘nardus spicata/nardostachys’ and thus assumes that it has to be one of the historical composite forms of ‘nard’ and ‘spike’, which are spaciouly discussed in Genaust 1996, 410 f. and Watts 2000, 857. As regards the ‘significata’ both phytotaxonomists advise us to consult the great national dictionaries. That is the entry ‘spikenarde’ (etc.) in Grimm 16 (1905), 2478 ff. and in *OED* 16 (1989), 223 to which I add *GDLI* 19 (1998), 910. All three lexica correspond: As ‘spikenard’ are known the aromatic substance, oil and ointment of the plant ‘Nardostachys iatamansi’ (bot.), as well as lavender and valerian (both also called ‘spike’) and ‘spikenard’ appears in the names of greasy liquids, of liquor and of candies, which are concoctions of wormwood/absinthium (‘Artemisia absinthium’ L.) or rosemary (‘Rosmarinus’ L.); cf. *GDLI* 19 (1998), 891; Sauerhoff 2003, 77 and 538 f.

HP, 178: *basilico citreo, et chariophyllaceo* [Not a yard away, we are left in doubt whether there germinate two kinds of basils or one lemon basil and one other plant²¹. Whilst Pozzi, 148 identifies ‘gariofilatum’ (Ariani – Gabriele, 190: ‘cariofillaceo’) as another kind of basil, Genaust 1996, 131 f. and MlatWb 2 (1999), 317 f. convey under ‘caryophyllacium/cayophyllum’ (with a dozen of alternative forms, all deriving from ‘καρυόφυλλον’), the clove as spice and medicine; or if one wishes to be more precise ‘Eugenia caryophyllata’ (bot.) or ‘Caryophyllus aromaticus’ (L.), and Engl. ‘Eugenia’ (cf. Sauerhoff 2003, 255). Yet, as basil is sold

¹⁹ Cf. HP 178: «Quiui le quatro maniere di uiole. paralis. melilotho. anemoni. [...] Liliu conualliu, et Amarantho. Sticados. Spiconardo. Saliuncha. Ambrosia. Amarato,[nota bene: twice] Idiosmo. basilico citreo, et chariophyllaceo, et li altri minutissimi, et molte altre odorifere, et florigere herbe».

²⁰ Cf. above HP 178.

²¹ Cf. above HP 178.

in small pots at the nearby green grocers and clove is a tree they do not quite pair up. Lacking an Italian mama who would sort things out during a stroll through her native village's market, I once more end up bartering with botanists: There I learn that two befitting basils exist and they both belong to the subgenus 'Ocimum basilicum' (L.) of the section 'citriodorum' (bot.); of yore and to other systematisations also known as 'citratum, anisatum, dichotonum' etc.; cf. Eckelmann 2003, 2-10; Marzell 3 (1977), 363 f. The other one ('chariophyllaceo') is 'Ocimum gariophyllatum / caryophyllatum' (Pré-Linné; in German: 'Nelkenbasilienkraut') and a close relative of 'Ocimum minimum' (L.); cf. Marzell 3 (1977), 364. Thus Godwin 1999, 178's "also the basils – lemon, clove" is not wrong but better would be: 'lemon and cloven/cloved basil'; cf. *OED* 3 (1989), 362.

HP 190: *Mixe* [While being led in procession Poliphilo spots this specific specimen as component of some exotic costume²², and we are baffled whether it might be the first Assyrian or Sebesten's plum (Linneanly 'Cordia myxa' – according to Pozzi, 154 due to its asserted aphrodisiac virtues; cf. also Genaust 1996, 176), or the second banana on his journey after the first had (as 'mixa papiracea o musa') delighted him HP 74. The banana has been known since the time of Alexander the Great, and in the 13th century the occident bestowed it with the name of 'musa' (univocal in Roccabonella, 391r-391v; later also palatable to Linné; cf. Sauerhoff 2003, 415) – at the same time that European savants registered the Sebesten's plum as 'myxa'.

Hence one might wonder whether these two wondrous plants differed indeed in the eyes of Colonna. Would a 'myxa' not have suited him equally well as a 'musa'? Or, in other words: Why should he not paraphrase a banana as a sort of 'papiiracea myxa / papyrus-like sebest' (HP 74)? Therefore I translated 'mixe' (HP 190) with 'Sebesten's plum' (whilst Ariani – Gabriele, 204 and Godwin 1999, 190 mingle with 'mixe') and the earlier mentioned 'mixe papiracee o muse' (HP 74) with 'papyraceous Sebesten's plum, also known as banana' (Ariani – Gabriele, 92 retain: 'mixe papiracee o muse', whereas Godwin 1999, 74's 'plantation of bananas' is just bananas); cf. further Gabriele, 671; Genaust 1996, 253 f. and 278; Pozzi, 95.

HP 199: *petra Sogobrina* [The material of which the windows of the Temple of Venus Physioza are made²³ does neither stem from the Spanish town of 'Segovia' (as located by Ariani – Gabriele, 212 and Godwin 1999, 199) nor from ancient 'Sogobriga' (actually modern 'Segorbe' close to Valencia), but rather from the antique 'Segobriga', which today is a picturesque field of ruins. Hence I translated 'Segobriger Stein' (Reiser 2014a, 285).

²² Cf. HP 190: «cum agregaria moltitudine io uidi grande turma de insueta gente et raro uisa promsciamente laetabondi, Vestiti ruralmente de pelle alcuni del Hinuli de macule candide, gutate et depicte, [...] Alcuni de Psilopato, et de colocasia, de Mixe, et del maiore farfugio, et de altre fronde cum gli uarii fiori et fructi sopra la nuda carne [...]».

²³ Cf. HP 199: «Sotto quello circumligamento poco sopra narrato, tra luna et l'altra striata semiquadrangula nel primario pariete era una quadrangulata fenestra di uno quadrato et semi. Come se richiede negli templi antiquarii. La apertione, o uero la laminatione della quale occupaua artificiosamente una speculare, o uero diaphana lamina de petra Sogobrina non temente la uetustate».

The puzzling adjective form ‘Sogobrinus, -a, -um’ (and not ‘Segobrigensis, -e’ or ‘Segobriganus, -a, um’, as in a different context proposed by the Spanish historian Masdeu 1797, 395-7) is due to the fact that Colonna (ibid: ‘Come se richiede negli templi antiquarii’) relates to Plin. *nat.* 160.51 (i.e. on translucent stones from ‘Segobriga urbs’) through Alberti. In ‘De re aedificatoria’ the mineral’s provenance is – like most of the Vitruvian and Plinian vocabulary; cf. *e.g.* Reiser 2014b, 242-7 – altered: ‘ex Sogobria Hispaniae’ (cf. Alberti, 627). Thus Colonna, by appropriating an Albertian ‘lapse’ as a Poliphilesque ad-hoc epitheton, obfuscated a matter that had not been perspicacious from the beginning even further²⁴; cf. Gabriele, 838; Pozzi, 160.

HP 204: *infasciatura cistellata* [Within the same ekphrasis, regarding the fabrication of the binding of the brass festoons (wreaths of fruits and flowers) connecting the buttresses that support the outside of the central drum²⁵. According to Ariani – Gabriele, 217 the ribbons are ‘swollen’ (‘tumida’ or Pozzi, 166 ‘di forma rigonfia’) which implies that they, obviously for the sake of weight, are hollow-cast. Whilst Godwin 1999, 204’s ‘coffered binding’ would, according to cf. *OED* 4 (1989), 440, either be an ‘enclosed binding’ or more probably one ‘with coffers’ it seems more likely to me to read ‘cistellato’ as a Collonesque participial form of ‘cista/cistella’ (‘chest’) or/and a borrowing from the Greek ‘κιστοειδής’ – a binding that is ‘shaped like a chest’.

HP 225: *blactebisantis, ouero ungule indice* [As an ingredient of a most aromatic and precious incense burnt during the rites of Venus Physizoa²⁶. According to Pozzi, 172 and MlatWb 1 (1967), 1506, this refers to the animal ‘blathe bisancie / blactebixancie’ or Middle Latin ‘blatta byzantina’ – a label, which the Padovan pharmacists used to denote a ‘shellfish’ from the Red Sea and a talon-shaped snail shell from the Indian coast: the ‘murex’ or ‘purple snail’. Thus ‘Byzantine moth, also Indian stingy snail’ (cf. Reiser 2014a, 320: ‘Byzanz-Schaben, oder aber Indische Stachelschneckelein’) were the plain translation.

As regards Godwin 1999, 225, he is led astray by the ingredient before ‘ponderabile zilaloe’ reading: ‘zilaloe or (ouero) blactebisantis’, which he translates as ‘aloe of Byzantium (also called Indian unguent)’. And thus he errs even further, for ‘xylaloe’ is not ‘Aloe’ (L.) but ‘lignum aloes’. In Rocabonella, 130r (Fogliati 2002, ill. 10) the subscription ‘aloe’ relates as well to an image of two trunks of wood: the Egyptian ‘tarum’ (cf. Ariani, 1016; Isid. *orig.* 17.8.9; Plin. *nat.* 27.98 f.); for the modern classification ‘Aquilaria’ or ‘Aloexylon agallochum’ (bot.) or the

²⁴ For the hint at Iberian epigraphy and toponymy I am grateful to the editorial board of Lexis.

²⁵ Cf. HP 204: «Da luna et laltra ansa degli quali [candelabri] mirauagliosamente una resta pendeua inuinculata et disnodata in molte parte cum subtilissimo artificio retinentise, de fronde, et fiori, et diuersificati fructi, cum debita pregnatura nel medio curuescente, et lorata, et peruiamente excauata. Sopra la cistellata infasciatura degli lori nel Tubulo mediano incubaua una uiuace et inane Aquila [...]».

²⁶ Cf. HP 225: «In questa [platina] dunque posito fue il suauiissimo sperma degli ingenti ceti, mosco odorifico. La crystallina et fugitiua Camphora, olente ladano, dilla magna crete. Thimiona et mastice, ambidui gli stiraci lo amigdaloto benezui il ponderabile zilaloe blactebisantis, ouero ungule indice, et gli felici germi di Arabia».

'Indian aloe tree' cf. Genaust 71; Sauerhoff 2003, 40.

HP 228: *uirgula molucra* [A sacred instrument beaten thrice on the altar of Venus Physiozoa²⁷ that can in some manner be traced back to the venerable 'molucrum', best known as the Vestal Virgins' 'wooden board with a trough' (according to Paul. Fest. 140: «lingneum quoddam quadratum, ubi immolatur») – yet rather clumsy to wield for the said purpose, even if it were the 'forzatura analogica' that Gabriele, 889 and Pozzi, 174 assume. It is less cumbersome to choose the first and basic meaning in Paul. Fest. 140: «quo molae verruntur» – a profane and more probable 'brush for dusting-off the millstone' or 'μύλακον'; cf. Gesner 3 (1749), 321; Siebert 1999, 52 f. and Stephanus 5 (1842-46), 1263: 'μυλήκορον' expounded as 'scopa molaria/farinaria' or 'molucrum et quo molae verruntur'.

Hence, as Godwin 1999, 228's 'sacrificial wand' does not boast of any bristles, my suggestion would be: 'sacrificial brush' or 'Mühlfeger-Rütlein' (cf. Reiser 2014a, 324).

HP 235: *chrysocari* [Of Polia²⁸. Contrary to Gabriele, 897, who draws from 'χρυσός' and 'χάρις' in a wider sense of 'aurea bellezza' (Ariani – Gabriele, 245) and contrary to Pozzi, 175, who surmises something of 'χρυσόχειρ' ('with golden hands/rings') and, considering that hitherto all Greek composites with 'χρυσ-' (cf. e.g. HP 141 'isotrichechrysa' or HP 225 'isochrysia') adoringly adorned the nymph's gorgeously curly head, an origin of 'χρυσοκάρονος' ('with golden head' or Godwin 1999, 235 'golden-headed') is also what a coiffeuse of my acquaintance called 'Capital!'; cf. Pape 2 (1849), 1356; Eur. *Hec.* 375.

HP 236: *Cachile* [Growing among the debris of the mole below the polyandron of lovers is the 'cakile' or popularly 'sea rocket' ('Cakile maritima' bot.)²⁹. Cf. Genaust 1996, 114; Sauerhoff 2003, 130; Schubert-Wagner 1967, 85 – and once more the contemporary herbal: Roccabonella, 342r-342v's 'Cachile'. How Godwin 1999, 236 (phonetically, or from it./gr. 'caccherare/κακκάζω': 'to cackle?') arrived at 'cock's crest' which is neither in the printed *OED* 3 (1989), 408, nor in the *OED* online (consulted October 2013), let alone in Watts, remains his secret.

HP 236: *Caratia, et Mirsinythes* [In the selfsame spot³⁰. Gabriele, 899 supplements 'Euphorbia characias' (L.) and 'Euphorbia myrsinythes' (L.) – which herbalists confirm, for these two Mediterranean kinds of 'Euphorbia' (L.) have been bearing the said names since the days of Dioscorides; cf. Genaust 1996, 240 and 406; MlatWb 2 (1999), 517; Sauerhoff 2003, 257; Schubert-Wagner 1967, 123; Plin. *nat.*

²⁷ Cf. HP 228: «cum quello processo et ordine [le Nympe] riotornorono nel mirabil sacello. Oue [la summa Antistite] la diuina ara tre fiata cum la uirgula molucra percosse, cum molte archane parole et coniuuratione».

²⁸ Cf. HP 235: «Tamen uale dicendo, fora dil magnifico et superbo tempio uscissimo, et amonita la mia chrysocari Polia dilla uia et itinere nostro, finalmente se partissemo».

²⁹ Cf. HP 236: «Nelle fracture dilquale [mole] et lassate compacture il salsiphilo et littoreo critani germinaua, et in alcuni lochi uidi il litorale Cachile, et molto Kali [...] et assai altri celebri simplici, il Caratia, et Mirsinytes et simigliante litoracole herbe».

³⁰ Cf. above HP 236.

26.62 ff. Yet Godwin 1999, 236 arrives at ‘characias and myrtites’: ‘characias’ correctly being the cited ‘*Euphorbia characias*’ (Genaust 1996, 147) but ‘myrtite’ (from ‘μυρτίτης / μυρρινίτης’) would ‘myrtle wine’, and thus a product, not the plant itself; cf. *OED* 10 (1989), 170; Pape 2 (1849), 217.

HP 237: *tibie sacrifice et miluine* [What is being played here?³¹ Godwin 1999, 237 hears ‘sacrificial Milvine flutes’, which were ‘ritual flutes sounding like a kite’, and Ariani – Gabriele, 248 (‘squillanti tibie sacrificiali’) hark a similar din. Yet I hearken the sound of two different wind instruments: the ‘tibiae’ (as used in the rites) and the shrill ‘miluina’ designed to imitate the vulture’s or falcon’s piercing cry; cf. Gesner 3 (1749), 284; Pozzi, 177; Paul. Fest. 110: «Milvina genus tibiae acutissimi soni».

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.

Thus Godwin 1999, 242’s ‘ground-creepers’ come close, and Ariani – Gabriele, 254’s ‘terrambula’ is down to earth. But, since Gabriele, 907 directly relates to Pozzi, 179, who has ‘ardilo’ or ‘arietillum/arotilia’, taxonomically – via *MlatWb* 1 (1967), 950 – classified as ‘*Allium vineale*’ (L.), the English ‘crow garlic’, such taxonomists, including my ‘Weinbergslauch’ (Reiser 2014a, 344), better be eradicated in favour of the indicated ‘*edera terrestre*’.

HP 248: *aperto al rito aegyptico* [Poliphilo opines that the cupola above the remnants of the polyandron must have had an opening for the fumes (I interpreted: of the defunct incinerated there) as required by the ‘Egyptian rite’³³ – and Gabriele, 912 (revealing the reminiscence to Alberti, 91) and I would be glad if an Egyptologist provided a plausible theory on crematorial architecture in the land of mummification.

A different, admittedly more verisimilar, opinion is held by Furno 2003, 72 f. who, favouring an altar for burnt offerings and taking into consideration that Alberti, 91 is meant as general advice for the positioning of altars in churches, suggests that ‘rito aegyptico’ might generically relate to the underlying principles of sacral architecture. Thus, as she proceeds, Alberti/Colonna either misinterpreted or confounded their antique sources (*Vitr.* 4.9.1 demands all altars be outside, although underground temples existed) or simply shaped some of their antiquary speculation

³¹ Cf. HP 237: «Ritornauano festigianti cum altre rose, quelle per tuto il tempio disseminantile, et praecipuamente sopra gli sepulchri, cum funereo pianto, gliquali ordinatamente nel tempio erano situati, cantanti carmini lugubri sepulchrali et flebili, sonanti cum tibie sacrifice et miluine».

³² Cf. HP 242: «In quel tempe [metonymically: Vale of Tempe] suauissimo odoranti (sencia altro cogitare absorto) da chosta di Polia per quelli deuui aggeri, di fastigiato et uasto cumulo et ruina, in la maggiore parte occupate di chamaeciso, et di terrambula et di spini implicita sollicito perueni».

³³ Cf. HP 248: «Et per aduentura suspicai che il tholo, oueramente culmo mediano dil tempio fusse aperto al rito aegyptico, et dil sancto fumo il nidore, ouero ustrina sentia molestare il tempio ussirsine».

according to Christian models.

If one further followed Schweickard 1997, 698 (a historical dictionary of derivations from place names), who cites Ciapponi – Pozzi's critical edition of the HP, 'rito aegyptico' would be 'rito copto'. Combined with Furno's hypothesis – cremation in the Coptic Church is absurd – Alberti/Colonna would describe what they presumed to be a typical feature of ancient Christian architecture in Egypt: indoor altars below chimney openings. So, our Egyptologist better also be an expert in this field.

HP 249: *tenaro* [Describing the rock with the three fatal gates³⁴; from 'taenarius / Taenarus / ταίναρον'. Going a bit further than Ariani, 915 and Pozzi, 181 f. I neither assume a merely metonymical 'entrance to the infernal reign' nor the simple comparison (cf. Godwin 1999, 249 'gouged out like the Taenarian Cave') but instead infer an actual stone plate quarried from the Laconian promontory where the ancients purported the said gateway to be: both black marble and grim pars pro toto of the Plutonian passage; cf. Plin. *nat.* 36.135 and 158; Prop. 3.2.9; Verg. *Aen.* 6.552 ff.

HP 252 f.: *Laodia Publia* (...) *Annira Pupilla* [A task for epigraphists³⁵. Ariani – Gabriele, 918 ff. and Pozzi, 182 f. conclude that the inscribed names of lasses and lads were contrived by Colonna. Although I, too, am incapable of finding any of the hapless trysts in the usual databases or in the dictionaries of Latin person names, I am a confessed amateur and can only wildly guess that they be 'noms parlants'; e.g. 'Laodia Publia: l'odia pubblica: be she publicly hated for spurning the boy (?)' or a 'petty/pusillanimous' 'Annira Pusilla' or (as an editor of Lexis glimpsed) 'Annira Pupilla': a 'black pupil' ('nera pupilla') or a 'blackening/darkening' eye ('annigra/annegra pupilla'), etc. – in brief: professional assistance would be most welcome³⁶.

HP 255: *Dendro caeso* [Botanic speculation within the ekphrasis of a sacrificial relief of a tree against which a bucolic and shaggy flautist is leaning³⁷. It is fully described as «toroso trunco di Dendro caeso, da uetustate tuto uacuo, cum perue

³⁴ Cf. HP 249: «Nella quale fossura era impacto tenaro cum una aenea porta ruuidamente exacta in questo arso et punicoso saxo».

³⁵ Cf. the woodcuts HP 252 (in transcription): «ARAM DEVM INFERORVM. / VIATOR / HIC CAESAM LAODIAM / PVBLIAM / INSPICE EO / QVOD AETATEM / SVAM FRAVDAVERAT / ABNVERATQVE / CONTRA PVELLARVM / RI/TVM IVSSA AMORIS / SEMET EXPES GLADIO / INTERFICIT»; and HP 253 (likewise): «DIIS MANIBUS / ANNIRAE / PVCILLAE / PVELLAE IN/COMPARABILI, / DIDVS AE/MVLATRICI,/ MOESTISSIMI PA/RENTES POSVERE».

³⁶ Furno 2012's most recent study on 'les inscriptions latines du Polyandron' is mainly exemplifying Colonna's method of composing epitaphs (and their reception in the French 'Songes de Poliphile') by means of the tomb of Faustina's gladiator; cf. HP 254.

³⁷ Cf. HP 255: «Ilquale cum le tumefacte bucce sonaua due rurale Tibie, et appodiato ad uno toroso trunco di Dendro caeso, da uetustate uacuo, cum peruei creature et rami discoli rarii et folii, Cum il capillamento incompto et infrondato. [...] Dalaltro lato era uno, che sopra gli robusti humeri, uno Armillo futile baiulante lo orificio inuerso sopra il cornigero capro il mero spargeua».

crepature et rami discoli rarii et folii» (ibid.) Pozzi, 184 (allegedly from Roccabonella, 145r-145v, who for ‘hedera spinosa’ collected, among several others, ‘corticus’ and ‘cussus’) and with him Ariani, 923 both assume that the said trunk is infested by a parasitical plant, a sort of ivy, which Colonna knew as, or named ad hoc: ‘dendrocysso’ – ‘tree-feller’. But neither did they find any firmer pythographical reference nor do Genaust 1996, MlatWb, Schubert-Wagner 1967 or Sauerhoff 2003, list such a creeper.

Godwin 1999, 255 however translates ‘toroso trunco di dendro caeso’ with ‘knotty trunk of pitted wood’ that is a ‘knotty trunk whose wood was marked with pits’; cf. *OED* 11 (1989), 930. Whence it can be deduced that Godwin 1999 had an intermediate version of the ‘dendro caeso’ in mind which was probably an Italianized ‘casso dentro’ – that is: ‘battered/broken within’.

As far as the ‘cassum’ is concerned and the state of the wood is characterised, I do agree with him, yet ‘dendrum’ obviously is – as Ariani and Pozzi suggest and MlatWb 3 (2007), 301 f. explains – the Colonnese and/or the Middle Latin loan word ‘dendrum, -i / dendra, -ae’ from ‘δένδρον / δένδρον’: ‘tree’. Thus the translation would be: ‘the knotty trunk of a battered tree’.

HP 255 *Armillo futile* [A vessel carried within the same relief imagery³⁸, vexing, whether it be, according to Ariani – Gabriele, 263 and 923, a hybrid of two types of receptacles: an ‘armillum-futtile’ – or whether it be an ‘armillum’, that by design is ‘futile’, for ‘fut(t)ilis, -e’ (adj.) basically means ‘easy to pour’ or ‘brittle, fragile’; Klotz 1 (1879), 1612 f.

What the woodcut of the 1499 edition and also Songe 1546, 167 depict can be described as: long neck, narrow mouth, no handles, round body, with a foot.

Classically the ‘armillum-type’ vessel is defined as a one-handled vine jar (Siebert 1999, 219 f.) and the ‘futtile-type’ is wide-mouthed with a spherical and rocky bottom, thus resembling the medieval MHG. ‘tum(e)ler’ (or engl. ‘tumbler’ / fr. ‘boit-tout’) as preferably a mammiform drinking vessel that, once emptied, was to be placed on the table upside down. For these reasons the vessel in the xylograph may neither be labelled the one or the other, nor a combination of both.

Did the draughtsman therefore, ignorant of textual subtleties, simply sketch something ‘all’antica’ for the woodcutter? He did not. For, according to Pozzi, 39 f.’s list of illustrations commissioned independently – that is, without Colonna’s approval and consent – by his friend and financier Leonardo Grassi, the image of HP 255 is not among them and thus it was most likely supervised by our author himself. Hence one might conclude that Colonna’s ‘armillum-futtile’ was to him or to the Aldinian circles he frequented exactly that what is shown: some sort of (as Godwin 1999, 255 puts it) «ritual wine-vessel».

HP 266: *canono* [The part of a shield which is attached to a trophy-ornated tree³⁹. Whilst Ariani – Gabriele, 273 identify it as ‘la guiggia’ from old French ‘guiche’ (f.)

³⁸ Cf. above HP 255.

³⁹ Cf. HP 266: «Nel mediano dilquale [monumento] promineua uno troncho, neli rami dilquale inuestita era una militare toraca, et per lo exito brachiale gli rami se extendeuano truncati di cime, ad uno degli dicti appenso era per el canono uno clypeo [...]».

as 'striscia di cuoio con cui s'imbracciava lo scudo – leather strap which held the shield on the arm'; cf. *GDLI* 7 (1972), 169; and Godwin, 266 takes it for 'its handle', Colonna boldly borrows his 'canono' from the Homeric 'κανόνες': the two crossed staves that hold the rim of a shield in shape; cf. *LSJ*, 875; Pape 1 (1849), 1206; Hom. *Il.* 8.193, et *passim*.

HP 272: *pyriurizo* [As epitheton of Mount Aetna⁴⁰. From 'πυριβροῖθης' which is 'igni gravis' or 'laden with fire' – as state both Ariani – Gabriele, 275 'infucato', and Godwin 1999, 272 'the fire-laden crater'. Yet contrary to Ariani, 933 f. and Pozzi, 191 this attribution is not a hapax and therefore arguing with its 'exceptionality' ought to be reconsidered; cf. *LSJ*, 1157; Pape 2 (1849), 806; Stephanus 6 (1842-1847), 2265 f.; Orph. Fr. 38; Procl. in *Ti.* 2.54.

HP 275: *dioclea* [Of Polia in front of Eros⁴¹. The immediate context of 'la mia patrona et dioclea Polia' may have misled Ariani, 937 and Pozzi, 192 since they suspect a certain patronizing Greekling 'Diokleitos', after whom Colonna fashioned an adjective, although no lore of such a virtucrat has come upon us. Hence Ariani – Gabriele, 279 cautiously translate with a 'gloriosa patrona Polia', and Godwin 1999, p. 275 eulogises a 'generous mistress Polia'.

Yet, she being situated next to a 'Poliphilo geniculato', and the Collonesque style-guide demanding a variation for 'geniculate', why not derive from 'διοκλάζω / διοκλάω' – 'in genuo procumbo / I bend my knee' – not in the *LSJ*, but e.g. in Pape 1 (1849), 548 and Stephanus 2 (1833), 1516 – thus referring to the most beauteous damsel as 'my patroness and kneeling Polia'?

HP 277: *Melledaro, cum uermiculata et aerea sutura* [Of the cloth from which the costumes of a pair of nymphs within Eros' entourage are tailored⁴², and a sartorial ekphrasis in need of unpicking. Godwin 1999, 277, enticed by his association of 'melledaro – melos', loses the thread: 'splendid honey colour with a loose and intricate weave'. Ariani – Gabriele, 281 (and 942, in suit of Pozzi, 193) writing 'melledaro, con costure a giorno finissimamente ricamate' unveil a spin-off from 'μήλωθρα (τὰ βάρμματα)' defined as 'coloramenta quibus panni immerguntur' – both the 'colours with which fabrics are dyed' and a metonymy for 'coloured clothes' in Eust. 1394, 32; which would also be the opinion of *LSJ*, 1127 and Stephanus 5 (1842-46), 993; regrettably, nothing within the Suda! Thus 'melledaro' in any case designates a fabric having undergone a particular process of dying.

But what does it look like? The 'aerea' is clear: 'light, loose, thin' i.e. shining through of a kind. But 'uermiculata' can neither be merely 'a giorno' nor just

⁴⁰ Cf. HP 272: «Proserpina cum Cyane et cum le Sirene, fiori colligente apresso lardente monte di Etna perfecto si cerniua. Oue Plutone reserando il cratere pyriurizo dil flammispiro monte, al suo amore uolupticamente la rapiua, et Cyane per non la potere soccorrere pietosamente illachrymante».

⁴¹ Cf. HP 275: «Perseuerante la mia patrona et dioclea Polia, et io geniculato stetemo cusi dummentre il uolabile Dio incommincioe a parlare».

⁴² Cf. HP 277: «Le ultime Adea et Cypria, inuestite erano di nobilissimo Melledaro, cum uermiculata et aerea sutura, Cum minutissime et peruie fracte plurifaria laciniata, [...]».

‘intricate’, since ‘uermiculus, -i’ in Pliny *nat.* 24.8 and Isid. *orig.* 19.21.7, and throughout the Vulgata, denotes ‘coccum – scarlet’ (for example Exod. 35.25 ff.; in combination with ‘hyacinthum, purpureum, byssum’ even ‘coccum bis tinctum – twice dyed scarlet’, and its simple adjective form ‘uermiculus, -a, -um’ represents ‘rubicundus, rubeus, rutilus’). However, ‘uermiculatus, -a, -um’ is most prominently recorded as technical term for ornamentations (e.g. Plin. *nat.* 13.66 and 35.2 – not in Vitruvius), which are either floors or walls encrusted with ‘tesserulis rubris fundo albo interpositis – red tessera set within white ground’; cf. Gesner 4 (174), 970. Aside: An origin from ‘μηλωτή’ as the traditional fleece coat of Elias (Septuaginta Reg. 3.19.19) and of the Hermit fathers (e.g. Athan. *vita Anton.* 91.8) is, in this very context, absurd; cf. Dihle 1979, 23; Reiser 2009, 286 f.

Thus maintaining the trade name I come to muster: ‘Melothra of a chequered (red and white) and gauzy cut’ or ‘von rot-weiß buntgewürfeltem und luftigem Schnitt’ (Reiser 2014a, 397).

HP 280: *monstruoso Cephiso* [A member of the Tritonian throng cheering the vessel of Amor⁴³: River and river deity, father of Narcissus, endowed with the gift of prophecy and thus ‘monstruosus’, in the sense of ‘fatidicus’, and not the hitherto unknown sea-monster which caught Ariani, 947 (and probably Godwin 1999, 279 ‘monstrous’) by surprise; Gesner 1 (1749), 848; Lucan. 3.175; Plin. *nat.* 4.8 et *passim*.

HP 284: *amplustre* [As part of a ship⁴⁴ (also ‘aplustre/aplustrum’): to Godwin 1999, 284 a ‘bow-crest’, that is an ‘ornamental stern post’; cf. *OLD*, 148; to Ariani, 952 f., a ‘struttura ornamentale a forma d’ala, della poppa – an ornamental structure shaped like a wing, belonging to the bow’ and, metonymically, a type of vessel thus adorned.

Yet it is said that the voyage to the Cytherean Isle was made ‘sencia amplustre et temone nauiganti – navigating without(!) an amplustre and without(!) a temone (rudder)’ for the skiff is effectively controlled and driven by the stretched wings of Eros himself. Therefore the ‘amplustre’ is what Gesner 1 (1749), 389 and MlatWb 1 (1967), 749 f. tell us, and the god of love is ‘navigating save steering and rudder’. Savvy?

HP 287: *inubere* [Qualifying Poliphilo’s ponderations⁴⁵. Both Godwin 1999, 287 (‘abundant thoughts’) and Ariani – Gabriele, 292 ‘fertili’ presumably understand the ‘in-’ as an intensifying prefix or some ‘ablativus loci/modi’ construction (‘in ubertate’). But isn’t that all too much? Since Gesner 2 (1749), 1207 (citing Gell. 20.8.3 who laments of a meagre dish of oysters) has ‘inuber, -eris’ as the negative form (‘quod contrarium est’) to ‘uber, -eris’, and though Poliphilo’s mind be in

⁴³ Cf. HP 280: «Et quiui il fluctigena Melantho, ouero Posidonio [...] et gli cerulei et tibicinarii tritoni [...] cum una turbula di Nymphè dirce et le nereide, [...] et il monstruoso Cephiso».

⁴⁴ Cf. HP 284: «Hora nella fatale nauarchia, sencia amplustre et temone nauiganti nui protoploi, et sopra questo impraemitato [sic] nauigio, Oue tuti gli mysterii damore spirauano».

⁴⁵ Cf. HP 287: «Perlaquale di inubere pensiculatione la anxiamente cum refocilatione danimo pabulaua, et cum curiosuli riguardi, et petulci appetiti».

permanent labours, all his longings and desires have, at this point of the story, been utterly: 'unproductive'.

HP 289: *sagurato* [As attribute of an Ulysses touched by the music he hears at the Phaiacian court (Hom. *Od.* 8.83 ff.)⁴⁶, forgoing Ariani – Gabriele, 295's 'sventurato' and Godwin 1999, 289's 'unhappy Ulysses', in my translation I preferred an analogy to 'togatus': that is an Ulysses donning the – albeit non-Homeric yet of Caesar's times – antique military cloak 'sagum/sagulum' (or 'σάγος / σάγανον'); cf. Fischer 2012, 135 and Gesner 4 (1749), 266 f.; Reiser 2014a, 416: «ins Sagulum gehüllten». Yet, as an editor of Lexis plausibly put forth that 'sagurato' – all the while(!) evoking the 'sagulum' – derives from 'exauguratus, -a, -um' ('ex-auguro: ex sacro profanum reddere, a consecratione solvere'), our Ulysses thus becomes a 'desecrated, disgraced' one (stronger and more suitable than 'unlucky, hapless') who is still clad in the garments he wore during the siege of Troy; cf. Gesner 2 (1749), 456; *ThLL* 2 (1904), 1193 f.

HP 291: *sencia arte stiparia* [Of the manner the hull of Eros' vessel was fabricated⁴⁷, and not the 'metodo di carico' ('manner of naval storage') Borsi 1995, 42 suggests, whilst conceding that on a small pleasure-boat («la nave vista da Polifilo è tutt'altro che commerciale») the storing of goods makes no sense.

To Ariani, 960 the punt is built without 'mortising' or 'coaking' ('arte di incastrare'), and she is both to Pozzi, 198 ('parla della stoppa messa fra i vasi') and to Godwin 1999, 291, save (cernibile) 'oakum between the planks'; the material being known to sailors as: 'oakum: old pieces of rope untwisted, picked into shreds and tarred, for use in caulking ships' seams' (King 1995, 268).

Since – as strong intratextual argument – to Colonna only a construction without (visible) cement (e.g. Lichas' pyramid HP 22, or the temple of Venus Physioza HP 247) betrays true mastery, I agree with Godwin and Pozzi and accordingly wrote 'ohne irgendeine Kalfaterung' (Reiser 2014a, 418).

HP 292: *arida memoria* [Thus Poliphilo (again) portrays his memorial faculties⁴⁸; an expression preserved by Ariani – Gabriele, 299. Though 'arid/dry' might lead to assume a 'barren' or 'faulty memory' (Godwin 1999, 292) the Modenese glosses clearly point out the reference to a contemporary (humoralpathological) anatomy which locates the 'memory' in the 'dry' occiput: 'it is in the back part of the head where the consensus of all doctors confirms that memory is located; and as this is a dry place, the author adds to it the epitheton dry'; cf. Stichel 232: «la parte di dietro della testa, nella quale il consenso di tutti i medici afferma essere posta la memoria:

⁴⁶ Cf. HP 289: «Et Polia [...] cantilaua, cum tale uehementia et dulcisono, Quale dil caeco Demodocho alludita dil sagurato Vlysse, cum ululante cithara non peruene».

⁴⁷ Cf. HP 291: «et tuto il ligneo composito tanto diligentemente, et cum eximia politura cum le tabule coassate loricatamente sencia arte stiparia redacto, et sencia alcuno calcamine, apprendo una coaequata compactura, quasi di uno integerrimo solido».

⁴⁸ Cf. HP 292: «Per laquale cosa piu che arduo iudicio, et difficile arbitro il uolere, (et cum acre ingenio) narrare. Ma quanto la rapace retinente, et arida memoria nellalauda collocata mi souenirae, tanto io breuemente me adaptero adscriuere».

et per essere esso luogo secco, l'autore gli aggiunge questo epiteto, arida».

HP 293-7: *in aequipartione XX. ciascuna dimensitate di uno stadio, et adiecta una quinta parte (...) perche una circumferentia di circolare figura (...)* [The geometrical reconstruction of the Isle of Cytherea remarkable for Colonna intentionally setting $\pi = 3$.

HP 294: *tanno, ouero uite nigra* [Winding itself through the trellis-work on the Isle of Cytherea⁴⁹. The case seems obvious as pre-Linné 'uitis nigra siue(!) Tamnus Plinii' (cf. Plin. *nat.* 21.86; Ariani – Gabriele, 303 keep 'vite nigra') became the Linnéan 'Tamus' which in common English is 'black bryony'; cf. Genaust 1996, 628; Pozzi, 92; Sauerhoff 2003, 610f. Hence Godwin 1999, 294's 'wild or black vine' better be unwinded, since Watts merely knows the 'wild or white bryony' as 'Bryonia dioica' (L.); cf. also Sauerhoff 2003, 126.

HP 294: *flammula Iouis* [Another twiner⁵⁰. Pozzi, 201 merely recounts that the plant name occurs in herbals of the time whilst Ariani – Gabriele, 302 simply translate this as 'flammula di Giove'. In Italian and also in proto-scientific pythonomy, 'flammola/flammula' is the Linnéan 'Clematis flammula', ere, also known as 'clematis urens' and 'flammula Iouis' or, as in Roccabonella, 91v, among others, 'flammula / Iovis flamma'; cf. further Marzell 1 (1943), 1045; Genaust 1996, 251; MlatWb 4, 2 (2009), 305 f. In English it is known as 'fragrant(!) clematis' (Watts 2000, 216). Godwin 1999, 294: 'Jupiter's wall-flowers' were, according to Sauerhoff 2003, 166 f. and Watts 2000, 957, the plant 'Cheiranthus' (L).

HP 294: *di uutilago, di uiticula, cum intriquetro uiscaria* [Two flowers and the quality of one ('vutilago' and 'viticula cum intriquetro viscaria') or three alliterating plants ('vutilago – viticula cum intriquetro – viscaria')?]⁵¹

Both Ariani – Gabriele, 302 f. «il vitilago, la viticella che provoca vesciche triangolari con il seme maculato di bianco» and Godwin 1999, 294 «There was vitilago, and clemantis that causes triangular spots» favour the two-flower arrangement. Since I came to disagree «von [1] Vitilago, von der [2] Rebenbewohnerin mit der [3] Pechnelke im Dreieck» (Reiser 2014a, 423) I explain as follows, in backward order:

- '(in triquetro) uiscaria' evidently is 'Lychnis viscaria' (L.) the German 'Pechnelke' or English 'clammy campion' or 'lampflower', which I consider blossoming in some of the triangular elements ('in triquetro') of the immediately before mentioned 'multiform trellis' (cf. HP 294: «cancellature et tale rumbee, et quadrule, et tale degenerate dal tetrangolo, et per altri bellissimi expressi»); cf. Genaust 1996, 687; Marzell 4 (1979), 1197; Sauerhoff 2003, 386; Watts 2000, 546.

⁴⁹ Cf. HP 294: «Serpiuano quelle [cancellature] tale il periclymeno, altre iossamino [...] alcune di tanno, ouero uite nigra, [...] Quale di flammula Iouis, [...] di uutilago, di uiticula, cum intriquetro uiscaria, cum il seme di albedine maculate, et di molti altri, che in sublime serpeno de la nominatione incognoti».

⁵⁰ Cf. above HP 294.

⁵¹ Cf. above HP 294.

- 'uiticula' is an old variant form of 'uiticella' (Isid. *orig.* 17.9.92) which Linné chose as name for his 'Clematis viticella' (L.), or which, according to Plin. nat. 24, 68 and Pallad. 4.9.8, would today be 'Clematis vitalba' (L.): the English 'clematis' or my (with poetic license) 'Rebenbewohnerin'; cf. Genaust 1996, 688; Marzell 1 (1943), 1046-56; Sauerhoff 2003, 185.

- 'uitilagio' has to be validated, however. And both Ariani, 984 and Pozzi, 201 f., although adopting it as the name of a flower, despair, merely hinting that it might derive from 'uitiligo, -onis' in the sense of 'macula alba': thus either a iatrobotanical antidote against such afflictions of the skin, or a toxin to inflict the said irritations? Cf. Forcellini 4 (1940), 1017. Or simply a flower with light polka dots?

HP 295: *gilibano, romidascalo* [The selfsame circular park landscape⁵². Ariani – Gabriele, 303 retain 'il gilibano, il romidascalo' and 983 point to Pozzi, 202, who, pondering on other possibilities, proposes that the first one presumably be the 'olibanum / incense tree' – a suggestion fostered both by the entry in Genaust 1996, 339 f. 'libanotos, olibanum' (bot. 'Boswellia sacra') and by Godwin 1999, 295's 'frankincense tree' (cf. also Watts 2000, 383), to which I have no objections; cf. Reiser 2014a, 425: 'Weihrauchbaum'.

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 catharticus'; German 'Bocksborn') as the popular adaptation of the Middle-Latin/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 Graecised a 'spinacervina', combining 'ῥάμνος' ('thorn bush') and 'δόρυξος' ('buck'), or whether the term (unknown to the Suda) actually existed, still needs to be ferreted out.

HP 301: *forma collea* [Embracing the shape of the bellies of three gilt hydrae belonging to a fountain⁵³; from 'coleus, -i' ('testicles' or 'sack of leather'). Therefore the said tummies are 'pouch-shaped' or less scratchy and more elegant: 'scrotiform'; cf. *OED* 14 (1989), 747; which is also supported by Ariani – Gabriele, 311: 'forma di otre'; cf. additionally Gesner 1 (1749), 1004. Whereas Godwin 1999, 301's 'dividing again at the belly' seems inspired by a Rohrschach, rather than the very ekphrasis.

HP 304: *muscatuli [...] crustummi [...] fragili, et succulosi syriaci [...] curmunduli* [A selection of 'Pyrus communis' (L.) which albeit easy to transliterate (cf. Godwin 1999, 304: «first the muscat pear; the second the Crustumerian; third the tender and succulent Syrian; and last, the Curmundulian.») caused the commentators some

⁵² Cf. HP 295: «In uno altro septo seguiva cum aequo ordine uno altro gratissimo boschetto di olenti cupressi siluestri, gilibano, romidascalo, ouero iuniperi, conducti topiariamenti in multiplici figurati expressi [...]».

⁵³ Cf. HP 301: «nel meditullo dillaquale [platina] tre uaricante caude di auree hydre, per il fundo peregrinamente trifarie daposcia in bellissimo nodulo strictamente se intortilando, diuise cum il uentre in forma collea una da laltra, cum repanda discrepantia, [...]».

indigestion⁵⁴. Both Ariani, 996 and Pozzi, 207 concur that, whilst ‘pyrus crustumia’ and ‘siriaca’ are mentioned Plin. *nat.* 15.53 ff. and Colum. 5.10.18 and 12.10.4 (cf. also Macr. *Sat.* 3.19.6 and Verg. *georg.* 2.88), the other two are only traduced by Perotti 1526, 946, 26 ff. Yet with assistance from the Renaissant refounder of agronomy, Agostino Gallo (1499-1569) and his dialogue ‘Vinti giornate dell’Agricoltura’ (first published Venice 1572; here citing from the improved and indexed second edition Turin 1588), from the Frederician garden-architect and pomologist Heinrich Ludwig Manger (1728-1790) and from his French colleague André Leroy (1801-1875) even these remoter pomaceous fruits will not avoid being plucked:

- ‘muscatuli’: One has to agree with Perotti that a praiseworthy pear impossibly borrowed its best quality from ‘muscus’ (‘moss’) and that, since the more pleasant ‘muscum’ (‘musk’) was introduced by the Arabs, this sort of fruit must have been unknown to the ancients; cf. Perotti, 946, 30 ff.: «Moschum ignorarunt ueteres, nihilque aliud est, quam sanies animalis, quod Arabes eodem nomine appellant. Ignotum id quoque ueteribus fuit. [...] Muscus uero est lanugo uiridior, quae in fontium marginibus frequens esse solet. Vnde muscosi fontes dicuntur. Virgilius: Muscosi fontes, et somno mollior herba».

So, as Leroy 1867, 39 f. alleges, 15th century Italy knew the sorts of ‘moscatelli’ and ‘moscatelli grossi’, and indeed Gallo 1588, 126, on the fifth day of the discussion arriving at the subject of pears, sets out with ‘peri moscatalli’; cf. «Cominciare a ragionarui primamente de i peri moscatelli, che vengono buoni al fin di Maggio: I quali benche siano delicati al gusto; nondimeno molti li rifiutano per li medici che li biasimano, et perche a pena sono spiccati, che si corrompono».

Manger 1783, 163, in his great ‘pyrographical’ index of non-Plinian but antique taxonomy lists under ‘Muskatbirne’ six sorts of ‘Muscate’ and ‘Muskateller’ which bear different denominations: Italian ‘Pyra moschata’; Latin ‘muscatellina minima’ identified with the ‘ocyssima Plinii’; further ‘Muscatellina rubra’ and ‘Pyro moschato’. And in his ensuing catalogue of Plinian pomotaxonomy he assumes the ‘muscatellina’ to be the ‘ocyssima’ (‘ripening very fast’ Colum. 5.10.18 calls it ‘praecocia’) of Pliny, also named ‘superb(i)a’; cf. Plin. *nat.* 15.53: «in piris taxatur superbiae cognomine: parua haec, sed ocissima.»; or Rackham 1960, 325: «[Plin. *nat.* 15.53] The same charge in the case of pears is censured by the name of pride; this is a small pear, but ripens very quickly». Finally Manger 1783, 168 f. characterizes it thus: the first to ripe during the year, small, to be eaten immediately; probably the modern sort ‘Petit Muscat’; cf. Manger 1783, 28 f. nr. XXXVIII.

- ‘crustummi’: The favourite of the natural historian as Pliny collaudes: «cunctis autem Crustumia gratissima» (Plin. *nat.* 15.53); or Rackham 1960, 325: «[Plin. *nat.* 15.53] Of all the varieties of pear, however, the Crustumian is the nicest» (catalogized also Colum. 5.10.18 and 12.10.4). But to Perotti, 946, 41 ff. the ‘crustumina’ (named ‘a glacie / icy’ by the ‘contadini’ of his day, for they are prone

⁵⁴ Cf. HP 301: «In nel [sic] mediano superiore similmente inplantato resideua uno fruteto per ciascuna [capsa]. Ma dissimile di fructo, et di topiaria forma agli primi. Imperoche erano essi quatro di figura spherica bellissimamente, produceuano quatrefaria specie de piri, Vno piri muscatuli. Laltro crustummi. Il tertio fragili, et succulosi syriaci. Lo ultimo tenerrimi curmunduli».

to cracking) only ranks second: «Sunt secundo loco crustumina omnibus gratissima, a crustumino agro Tusciae ut quidam uolunt cognominata. Franguntur facillime, unde uulgo a glacie nomen sumpserunt». And Gallo 1588, 126 expounds: «Dietro a questi immediatamente vengono i peri ghiacciuoli, i quali sono delicatissimi nel mangiarli crudi». Manger 1783, 168 f. in his great pomographic oeuvre, provides both the etymology and an attempt at contemporary classification: The 'Crustumina' named after a place called 'Crustuminum' (either the town Crustuminum in Tuscia or the orchards of Crustuminum, three miles from Rome) is also called the 'Crustumeniana' or the 'Glatiola' in Italian, 'Poire Perle' in French, in German 'Crustumenianer Birn' or 'Paradiesbirn'. It matures in summer, is reddish and was most appreciated at the time of Pliny, had it been cooked before being served. Manger further assumes that it survived as the modern sort of 'Muscat Robert', nr. LXII in his catalogue (Manger 1783, 58 f.) with the English name of 'Red Pear Robert'; cf. also Leroy 1869, 697 f., nr. 697.

- 'syriaci': According to Plin. *nat.* 15.53 a kind of ultra-juicy Falernian pear (also called the 'lactea / milky'), whose skin is black; cf. «proxima his Falerna potu, quoniam tanta vis suci abundat, lacte hoc vocatur, in hisque alia colore nigro, dono Syriae» or Rackham 1960, 325: «[Plin. *nat.* 15.53] Next to this are Falernian pears, used for perry, as they contain such a large quantity of juice – this is called being 'milky' – and among these are some others of a very dark colour, given us by Syria». Colum. 5.10.18 provides a third denomination: «Tarentina, quae Syria dicuntur». Perotti 1526, 946, 45 ff. elaborates a distinction between the 'falerna' and the 'Syriaca': the first being of reddish skin, the latter black, yet also brings forward the Cinquecento name of 'coroela'; cf. «Proxima his bonitate falerna, rubiginosis corticis, sed a potu ita appellata, quoniam mira uis succi abundat. Quidam haec ob eodem causam lacteam uocant, alii a colore Syriacam, uulgo nunc coroela dicuntur».

Thus we are left with five names for our kernel fruit: 'Syria(ca)', 'lactea', 'Falerna', 'Tarentina' and 'coroela'.

Prussian pomology now handles the case as follows: To Manger 1783, 169-71 the 'schwarze syrische Birne / black Syrian pear' is of black or dark brown skin and of white flesh. He further (168 f.) ranks the 'Falerna' and the 'Lactea' as subspecies of the 'Syriae'. Of them the 'lactea' (after its white flesh and juice) and the 'Falerna' (being as delicious as the fabulous Falernian wine; cf. Plin. *nat.* 14.38 ff.) have for Manger 1783, 60-3, nr. LXIV (none in Leroy) survived as the modern sorts 'Blanquette / Blanchette / Bourdon'. The 'Tarentina' among the 'Syriae' is for Manger 1783, 92 f. and 170 f. akin to the 'Graue Zuckerbirne' or the Dutch pear 'Grauw Suiker-Peer' or 'St. Nicolaas Peer', which the French call the 'Sucrin noir' or 'Blanquet d'Automne'; not in Leroy.

Perotti's 'coroela' (not in Gallo) alternatively spelled 'Coraela' (sic) can also be found within Manger's historical section on the 'Syria': named in analogy to the Falernian, for 'coroeno' is 'vino cotto dolce / boiled down sweet wine'; *GDLI* 3 (1964), 795; cf. also MlatWb 2 (1993), 301: 'car(o)enum' ('mustum inspissatum').

- 'curmunduli': In the opinion of Perotti 1526, 946, 47 ff. the 'curmundula' was also called the 'pseudo-decumana': «Praeter haec curmundula gratissimi et ipsa saporis corticis tenerrimi, propter quod a plerisque nequaquam detracto corio eduntur, unde nomen habent. Item decumana uulgo nota, quibus similia, sed

differentia bonitate pseudodecumana appallantur». Both were already known to Plin. *nat.* 15.54: «sed confessis urbis vocabulis auctores suos nobilitavere Decimiana et ex eo tractum, quod Pseudodecimianum vocant» or Rackham 1960, 325: «[Plin. *nat.* 15.53] peers that have advertised their producers by the accepted designations of Rome are the Decimian, and the offshoot from it called the Sham Decimian» (and Colum. 12.10.4). As far as its etymology is concerned the ‘Decimiana’ or ‘Decumana/Decimiana’ bears the name of the ophthalmologist Eros Merula Decimius who introduced it in Rome; cf. Manger 1783, 170 f. As regards the ‘curmundula’ it might originate from ‘curmi / κοῦρμι’ (n.) as either a beverage of fruit and cereals, or as an Egyptian beer seasoned with fruit juice and honey; cf. Gesner 1 (1749), 1348; Pape 1 (1849), 1376; Stephanus 4 (1841), 1894; whereas *LSJ*, 987 considers it a drink made of barley. Whether the ‘curmundula’ or ‘decimiana’ exist still today is unknown; cf. Manger 1783, 170 f.

HP 312: *Laque poscia [...] per si facto modo lypide purificate et subtile erano, che il medio tra il senso et lo obiecto non occupauano, ne disproportionato il faceuano* [Behold: «These waters were so limpid, pure and subtle that they placed no obstacle or distortion between the sense and the object» (Godwin 1999, 312). Neither did Pozzi nor Ariani – Gabriele pay any particular attention to the passage, but what historical concepts of (Ptolemean) optics had Colonna borne in mind when dispensing with refraction? Someone please enlighten me on the matter.

HP 312: *balsamita, ouero cimiadeo, ouero trachiotis* [Thriving on the Cytherean Isle among many other hydrophilic plants; on the banks of the canals⁵⁵. Whilst there is many a reference for ‘balsamita’, its likely variations of ‘cimiadeo’ and ‘trachiotis’ are troublesome.

- ‘balsamita’: To Pozzi, 211, *MlatWb* 1 (1967), 1331, and also Roccabonella, 226r-226v ‘Balsamitta [sic], menta aquatica – latine’ (cf. Fogliati 2002, ill. 29), the indicated ‘balsamita’ is a venerable name of ‘mint’ (Linnéanly ‘Mentha’), which includes the subspecies ‘Mentha aquatica’ (L.), long ago also memorized as: ‘menta calamintha’ or ‘calamentum’ and ‘calamintha (aquatica)’; cf. Marzell 3 (1977), 139 f.; and also ‘mentha domestica’ (L.); cf. further Genaust 1996, 92; Sauerhoff 2003, 404; Plin. *nat.* 19.176.

Yet apart from ‘mint’, ‘balsamita’ might historically just as well be (bot.) ‘Tanacetum’ (once: ‘Tanacetum balsamita’), that is the English ‘tansy’. Furthermore ‘Hedera terrestris’ (bot.) had been cultivated as ‘balsaminta’; cf. Genaust 1996, 114; *MlatWb* 1 (1967), 1331; Marzell 4 (1979), 574; Sauerhoff 2003, 611 f. Thus the plant espied by Poliphilo is either a tansy or ‘Mentha aquatica’.

But, whence the Colonnese variations?

- ‘cimiadeo’: is not lemmatized, not indexed, neither in the pythographical reference works consulted, nor in the dictionaries. Only in Stephanus 4 (1841), 2104 does one find ‘κυμάτιον’ for what Pliny and Columella call ‘Cyma Celsus’ – from ‘cyma/κύμα’: originally ‘wave, billow’ and botanically ‘sprout’ (as such in Plin. *nat.* 19, 137 ff. et *passim*). Hence, until a better source shows up, ‘cimiadeo’ must be

⁵⁵ Cf. HP 312: «Quiui copiose erano [le ripe] di [...] balsamita, ouero cimiadeo, ouero trachiotis, et di altri nobilissimi amnici germini».

considered a lost name of 'Mentha aquatica'.

- 'trachiotis': Since Pozzi, 211 received no help from his historic herbals he assumes it might be a toponym of the Kilikian landscape of 'Τραχειώτις'; cf. Pape 3 (1850), 386. Thus it could be: 'mint from of the ancient Thessalian town and region of Τραχίς'. Or with Genaust 1996, 650, listing 'trachyodon' under 'Equisetum' (L.), it could be the 'horsetail', if only any derivative form of 'cimiadeo' or 'trachiotis' appeared among the scores of older denominations in any of the languages found in the lengthy entries 'Equiseta' in Marzell 2 (1972), 233-67 and Sauerhoff 2003, 244-7.

Facing these lexical blanks, the translators either just copy the Colonnese names (cf. Ariani – Gabriele, 320 «la balsamite ovvero cimadon o trachiotis» or Godwin 1999, 312 «there was sea-mint, also called cimadion or trachiotis»), or vary them with out-of-fashion names of 'mentha aquatica'; cf. Reiser 2014a, 451 'Balsamminze, oder aber Schönminze, oder aber Badekraut'.

HP 321: *Tarchon* [For knot-gardening⁵⁶. The historical plant dictionaries of Genaust 1996, 217 f. and 630, of Marzell 1 (1943), 428-30, of Sauerhoff 2003, 78 recount 'tarchon' as the old romanian name of 'Artemisia dracunculus' (L.) and its origin in some (putative) Arabic 'dragun/dragon' which per popular etymology went from 'dragontea' via 'darcunculus' and 'draco hortensis' to 'estragone' and so forth to the English (and Godwin 1999, 321's) 'tarragon'. Cf. further Marzell 2 (1972), 166.

So far so good, but then it might be the same herb as is meant HP, 87 with 'Draconculo' (Godwin 1999, 88's 'aron'): 'Arum dracunculus' (L.) or 'Dracunculus vulgaris' (bot.) or English 'Aron, Arum, Dragon, Dragonworth, Serpentine Edderworth' (Watts 2000, 34 and 37); either named after the staff of Biblical Aaron (4 *Mos.* 17.23; German 'Aronstab') or from 'δρακόντιον' (German 'Drachenwurz'), metaphorically from its serpentine root; cf. Ariani, 689; Genaust 1996, 79 and 149; Marzell 1 (1943), 442 ff.; idem 2 (1972), 166; Sauerhoff 2003, 80; Watts 2000, 37; Plin. *nat.* 19.96 and 24.142. In MlatWb 3 (2007), 1001 'dracunculus' is merely mentioned as a star and a skin disease.

Aside: Upon consulting Plin. *nat.* 24.142, one begins to wonder whether Colonna – who HP 57 f. and HP 58 f. taunts Pliny who has to fiddle with the Seven petty Wonders of the Ancient World because he is lacking both the erudition and the experience to describe true artistic and architectural marvels – arbitrarily kept an antique ambiguity, despite the fact that the natural historian himself ('quidam enim eandem esse dixere...') had already clarified the case; cf. Jones 1976, 101 f.: «[Plin. *nat.* 24.142] It is Egypt especially that produces this clematis, and also the aron, which I have mentioned in my section on bulbs; about it and dracontium there has been sharp controversy, for some have assumed that the two are the same. Glaucias distinguished them by their mode of reproduction, declaring that dracontium is wild aron. Some have called the root aron, but the stem dracontium, though the latter is a totally different plant, if at least it is the same as that called by the Romans dracunculus. For the aron has a black root, broad and round, and much larger, large

⁵⁶ Cf. HP 321: «Il distributo picturariamente olusculario tale se praestaua [...] Gli octogonii circumuallando gli liberi quadri, cum requisita sortitione di herbuscule cusi praestauano uirenti. Vno di Laurentia. Vno di Tarchon. Il tertio di Achilea. Il quarto di Senniculo [...]».

enough to fill the hand, but dracunculus is a reddish one like a coiled snake, from which its name is derived».

Ariani – Gabriele, 331, however (or for the very reason), merely transliterate ‘tarcon’ and Ariani, 1012 refers to Pozzi, 213, who identifies ‘tarchon’ with ‘piretrum/pyrethron’ or ‘Anacyclus pyrethrum’ (how Linné précised ‘pyrethrum’ or ‘πύρεθρον’ in Dioscorides), which vulgo is: ‘Pellitory of Spain, Alexander’s foot’, or as popular derivation: ‘Bertram’; cf. Genaust 1996, 521; Marzell 1 (1943), 251-3; Sauerhoff 2003, 47 f.; Plin. *nat.* 28.151. Since Fogliati 2002, ill. 49 is further precisising ‘tarchon’, according to its picture in Roccabonella, 400r, as the one of the ‘piretra’ which in Italian is named ‘pietro della Dalmazia’ and scientifically ‘Tanacetum cinerarifolium’, the Colonnese ‘tarchon’ could also be the ‘Dalmatian chrysanthemum’.

HP 322: *cum pinnatura classica* [Of topiary sculpting⁵⁷; raising the question whether the foliage is trimmed to resemble warships (cf. Godwin 1999, 322: ‘a fleet carved in the foliage’), or, generally, something nautical, that is evoking sails, masts, etc. (cf. Pozzi, 213 f. ‘alberi tagliati in forma di vele o qualcosa simile’) – or, following Gabriele, 1013 (with the locus classicus Gell. 17.21 ‘abies folio pinnato densa’), that the leaves evoke the picture of a dense plumage (cf. Ariani – Gabriele, 332 ‘foglie perfettamente coese come piume di uccello’) – a solution, which I also consider the most convincing (cf. Reiser 2014a, 464 f. ‘Verbund der Blattfederchen’ – ‘dense body of feathery foliage’), reading ‘classis’ in the collective sense of ‘body, multitude, squad, unit’; cf. Gesner 1 (1749), 949; *OLD*, 333.

HP 323: *Iua* [Of the background of the letters (‘ALES MAGNA DICATA OPTI[MO] IOVI’) encasing the flower-bed that is depicting Jove’s eagle⁵⁸. Ariani – Gabriele, 332 and 1014 keep ‘iva’ hinting at Pozzi, 214, who suggests ‘Stachys (maritima)’ (L.): the English ‘betony, woundwort’; cf. Genaust 1996, 607; Marzell 4 (1979), 459 ff.; Sauerhoff 2003, 598; Plin. *nat.* 24.136.

Yet ‘stachys’, I believe, is neither particularly decorative, nor does it befit this imagery. Thus, why not the ‘iva’ that can be found in Roccabonella, 29r-29v (‘Iva - latine / Camepiteos - graece’), where is also clearly identified by Fogliati 2002, ill. 3 as ‘Ajuga chamaepitys’ (bot.); supported by Genaust 1996, 311 and 607? The plant which Linné taxonomised as ‘Ajuga iva’ (retained in Godwin 1999, 322 ‘ajuga’): the English: ‘bugle, ground pine’ or German ‘Günsel’? Cf. Genaust 1996, 47; Marzell 1 (1943), 163-6; Sauerhoff 2003, 24 f.

HP 324: *trinita* [Same floriated picture⁵⁹. Ariani – Gabriele, 333 keep ‘trinità’ with Ariani, 1014, referring to Pozzi, 214, who strongly surmises Linné’s ‘Aquilegia vulgaris’ (supported by Fogliati 2002, ill. 48, who refers to Roccabonella, 394v

⁵⁷ Cf. HP 322: «Sopra il sublime circumcludeua in modo di parietale muro di uerdissimo myrto, cum le turre, come le altre designate cum gli cupressi, et cum tuto il residuo, cum pinnatura classica ottimamente congesto».

⁵⁸ Cf. HP 323: «La Aquila di serpilo. Lo escluso dagli circumtermini di polio montano. Le litere di maiorana circumuallata di Iua».

⁵⁹ Cf. HP 324: «Le extrinsece fascie cum tuto il suo corso di uincaperuinca. Laltra fascia di trinita».

'trinitas una, consolida minor, caput galli, aquilegia'; and followed by Godwin 1999, 323 'aquilegia'), that is the '(common) columbine' or 'Fool's cap', although Pozzi himself admits that it would be too tall a flower for the composition. Yet as (see above) HP 60 'trifolia tora, ouero triangularis' has already been shown to be synonymous to the 'trinità' – and Colonna variegates wherever feasible – again 'Anemone hepatica' (L.) better befitted this blooming ekphrasis.

HP 330: *in acto cum larcho pectente* [Of a small sculpture of Cupid atop a trophy pole⁶⁰. Pozzi, 216 corrects to 'plectente', which would entail a translation such as 'in the act of punishing with his bow' – and would seem most verisimilar to me; cf. Reiser 2014a, 475 'im Begriff, mit dem Bogen zu strafen'.

Thus I had to forgo Gabriele, 1019 f., who recognises a choreographic figure (described Stat. *Ach.* 1.832 f.), in which the performers are facing one another like the teeth of a comb (lat. 'pecten'). But, how might one single figure represent a choreography that requires a group of dancers? And why should the said pose (cf. Gabriele, 1012 'raffigurato in atteggiamento di danza') be evident from the xylograph HP 331 which sports a jubilant/greeting 'Eros triumphans' in counterpose? (Godwin 1999, 330 «bending his bow» would be a neutral way to put it.)

HP 334: *armenica textura* [The material of the straps securing a seductive shoe⁶¹. Opinions differ: Pozzi, 218 (referring to Plin. *nat.* 35.30 and 81) considers 'armenium' a red dye. To Ariani, 1022 a 'foggia armena' has to be a particular weaving technique albeit lacking textual evidence for this interpretation. Godwin 1999, 334 transposes the expression into 'woven of ultramarine' – presumably after looking up the Middle Latin 'armenium' which is azurite or copper carbonate; cf. MlatWb 1 (1967), 963.

Since the sandals, which immediately preceding allure Poliphilo, are doubtlessly of 'sky blue silk' (for 'caerulea caesia'; cf. Pozzi, 217; Gell. 2.26.19), another pair of the same colour would contradict Colonnese extravagance. Admittedly, this mere principle of style does not advance us a single step towards a solution. Thus I cede the enigmatic 'Armenian fabric' (cf. Reiser 2014a, 481 'Armenisches Gewebe') to the experts on historic textiles.

HP 342: *pyrouolo* [Another name for one of the two arrows Psyche is carrying for her lover Cupid⁶². Ariani – Gabriele, 349 translate 'dardeggiante fuoco / darting fire' and Pozzi, 200 combines an Italian 'spiedo' of 'πῦρ' with 'ὄβελος', which were the culinary and Homeric 'spit'. Although Eros wielding a 'firy skewer', or Godwin 1999, 342's 'fire-spit', is rather charming to imagine, such an iconography would, even within the HP, seem a bit too whimsical.

⁶⁰ Cf. HP 330: «Et immediate imitaria sequiua unaltra [Nympa], cum una triumphale celibari, laquale nel supremo haueua uno alato Cupidine et disuelaminato in acto cum larcho pectente calcaua uno pomo, nel supremo inflexo duna gioia di foliatione laurina di bractea».

⁶¹ Cf. HP 334: «Et dallangusta solea il laqueolo in nodulo bellulamente intricato, di armenica textura usciua impedito tenendo il pollice digito».

⁶² Cf. HP 342: «portaua essa [i.e. Psyche] la uolante et uehemente sagitta doro, o uero il suo pyrouolo».

Why not therefore, the good old ‘πυροβόλος’, either as adjective ‘ignes iaculans’ or as ‘machinamentum ad ignem iaculandum’, which as Amor’s approved attribute would be a ‘flaming arrow’? Cf. *LSJ*, 1158; Pape 2 (1849), 807; Stephanus 6 (1842-47), 2273.

HP 343: *syrinati fili erei* [What Nymphine musicians are plucking on their citharae⁶³. More tuned than ‘long strings of bronze’ (cf. Ariani – Gabriele, 351 ‘lunghe corde bronzee’ and Ariani, 1036 quoting Isid. *orig.* 22.1 – albeit ‘Etymologiarum libri XX’; not indexed in the Oxford-edition), and Godwin 1999, 343’s ‘exciting the brazen resonance with plectra’, are, to my ear, ‘whirring brazen cords’ (cf. Reiser 2014a, 494 f. ‘bronzene, schwirrende Saiten’) since the ‘συριγμός’ is the whirring noise produced by a rope pulley; cf. Pape 2 (1849), 1021; apart from *LSJ*, 1731: ‘hissing, sybillant’.

HP 344: *dui aegipani, et procaci satyri, cum hircino barbitio, cum gli caprei, et bisulci pedi* [Like counting sheep, only with goats: What creatures and how many are here numbered within Cupid’s entourage?⁶⁴ The first beast (from ‘Αἰγίπαν’) denotes either some ‘half-goat deity’ (‘semicaper deus’) or literally a ‘caprine Pan’; cf. Gesner 1 (1749), 149; Giraldi 1548, 623; Pape 1 (1849), 49. Ariani – Gabriele, 352 count one pair of lubricious semiferals (‘due egipani lascivi, dalla barbetta caprina, [...] con piedi fessi di capra’). Ariani, 1037 (atone to Pozzi, 211) explains that they were a ‘fabulous, semiferal population in Lybia’ (which some of today’s euhemeristic boffins think to be the pavian) mentioned in Plin. *nat.* 5.7 and 5.44. And also Godwin 1999, 344 treats the ‘satyri’ as a sort of definition: ‘two Aegipans: impudent satyrs’.

Yet, why be so definite when one does not absolutely have to be? Hence my German adaptation (cf. Reiser 2014a, 496: ‘zwei wollüstige Ziegenpane und verwegene Satyrn, mit Bocksbartwuchs, mit ziegischen und zweigespaltenen Füßen’) would translate as ‘two lascivious Goat-Pans and impudent satyrs, of goatish beard, with capriped and cloven feet.’

HP 347: *Pensai degli uasi allingresso dil templo di Ioue in Athene collocati* [One of Poliphilo’s reminiscences in the Amphitheatre upon admiring elaborate vases of sapphire, emerald and porphyry⁶⁵; cf. Godwin 1999, 347: «putting me in mind of the vases at the temple of Jupiter in Athens». Which, by Jove, presents quite a conundrum since none of the antique authors (e.g. Paus. 1.187 or Vitr. 3.2.8 and 8, *praef.* 15 ff.), who cite the building, ever describes such decorations; cf. Ariani, 1043; Pozzi, 222. Did Colonna confuse things, rely on hearsay, or refer to sources which today are lost? Maybe those patient archaeologists piecing together the

⁶³ Cf. HP 343: «Alcune cum garulose lyre lyrante, et tale cum cithare Citharizante sopra gli syrinati fili erei, cum gli teneri et delicati diti, ouero cum plectri lereo sono conuerberando excitauano».

⁶⁴ Cf. HP 344: «Nel ultimo loco immediate, dinanti proximo gli trahenti serpi, dui aegipani, et procaci satyri, cum hircinio barbitio, cum gli caprei, et bisulci pedi procedeuano».

⁶⁵ Cf. HP 347: «Dinanti laquale uno per lato, era uno pretiosissimo uaso, uno di saphyro, laltro di smaragdo, di maximo et obstinato artificio faberrimente daedale facti. Pensai degli uasi allingresso dil templo di Ioue in Athene collocati».

diaries of Ciriaco of Ancona and others might offer a clue.

HP 357: *gli glauculi et bellissimi flori dilherba tora* [A riddle sprouting on the ranks of the Amphitheatre; literally 'the glaucous and wonderfully beautiful flowers of the herb tora'⁶⁶. Baffling in its blossom but taxonomically bewildering: Gabriele, 1051 gives in, Pozzi, 225 refrains from furnishing an explanation and Godwin 1999, 357 leaves it simply as 'herb thora'. What does historical botany contribute? Since nothing similar is lemmatized in Marzell, one must turn to Genaust who provides two ways of approach:

As first option Genaust 1996, 624 etymologizes from 'θήροαξ' ('harness', anat. 'thorax') and proposes the 'crowfoot' and the 'buttercup' – which, alas, both sport yellow petals. Then he continues in his morphic analogies and assumes some shield-shaped flowers of Linné's 'Ranunculae' such as 'Caltha palustris' (L.) or '(common) march marigold' – which, again, is blooming white and yellow.

As second option Genaust 1996, 641 f. derives from 'φθορά' ('destruction, ruin, pestilence') and thus proposes poisonous plants such as the 'Aconitum' (Pre-Linné and Linné), which is not unknown to classicists, for Medea used it to dispose of Theseus (cf. Ov. *met.* 7.406-19), and it has been very popular throughout the centuries in the veneficial trade; cf. Isid. *orig.* 17.9.25: «Acone portus est Bithyniae qui proventu malorum graminum usque adeo celebris est ut noxias herbas aconita illinc nominemus»; and Plin. *nat.* 8.100; 23.43 and 29; 27.4 ff. A story of success still to be seen in some of aconitum's folkloristic names, such as German 'Teufelswurz' ('Devil's root') or 'Hundstod' ('dog's death') and French 'tue-chien' ('hound-killer') and 'étrangle-loup' ('wolf-slayer') and English 'wolf's bane'; cf. also Marzell 1 (1943), 98 f. and 99; Watts 2000, 988.

But why should Venus, the live-giving deity of love, permit such a butcher on her sacred premises?

Well, surely because it has the right colour (no one proposed eating it) and perhaps(!) owing to the popular tradition, originating in the Romania, of associating the plant with the very owner of the garden: Other associations such as 'monkshood' aside, 'Aconitum napellus' (L.) is most famously known as 'Venus chariot (drawn by doves)' or French 'char de Vénus' or Italian 'carro di Venere' for its nectarines have generally been associated with the goddess's birds and her vehicle; cf. *GDLI* 1 (1961), 123 f. 'aconito'; Marzell 1 (1943), 98-102; Sauerhoff 2003, 9-11; 137; 518; Watts 2000, 945. Nota bene: 'is' known. For lovely though this metaphor may be, the dictionaries (including *MlatWb*, at least behind 'currum/-us') do not tell whether it had already been established in the Quattrocento. And, regrettably, as it can here be not my task to line out the etymological filiations of 'aconitum' in the vernacular tongues, I once more request a linguists to take over.

HP 357: *passerina [...] opula [...] bulla alba [...] Pulliphura* [Embellishing the Amphitheatre's ascending flower boxes⁶⁷. An assertion posing no great difficulties

⁶⁶ Cf. HP 357: «Nel tertio ordine ultra la pergula secunda nasceuano nel primo grado gli glauculi et bellissimi flori dil herba tora».

⁶⁷ Cf. HP 357: «La quinta [partitione continiua] Passerina Ianthina. La sexta la opula, ouero bulla alba. La septima Pulliphura luteola [...]».

since the whole arrangement of flowers is (as Pozzi, 255 puts forth) plucked from Dsc. 3.123 (I also found 3.128 and 3.138 for ‘Περὶ Λευκοῦ’): Ρωμαῖοι ὄπουλα ἄλβα, οἱ δὲ βίολα ἄλβα [or as Pozzi, 222 found in a San Marco (Marc. gr. Z 271) manuscript: ‘βουλααλβά’] οἱ δὲ πασσαρίνα, οἱ δὲ πουλλίφουρα [and again variants thereof]. Thus all are either specimina of ‘*Matthiola incana*’ (L.; Engl. ‘Gilliflower’) or of ‘*Cheiranthus cheiri*’ (L.) with ‘*bullalba*’ indeed being the most reasonable re-transcription of the Venetian variant – an assemblage that is also suggested by Roccabonella, 55r-57r’s colourful series of ‘*Matthiola/Cheiranthus*’; cf. Fogliati, 2002, ill. 5-7. Such Godwin 1999, 357’s version is fine: «the fifth, purple sparrow-wort; the sixth, opula or the white bulb; the seventh, yellow-white violets»; as is Ariani – Gabriele, 364 f.: ‘la quinta la passerina violetta, la sesta l’opula ovvero bullalba, la settima la pullifura gialla’; and, similarly, I, cf. Reiser 2014a, 514 f.: ‘der fünfte die violette Passerina, der sechste Schneeball, oder aber weiße Kugel, der siebte orange Viole’.

Or, in detail:

- passerina (also adopted by Linné) is thus the ‘sparrow wort’ or, in former times, ‘lingua passerina’, the Dioscoridian ‘θυμελαία’ or ‘thymelaea’ of Plin. *nat.* 13.114; to modern taxonomy ‘*Thymelaea passerina*’ (bot.): the ‘silver leaved daphne’; cf. Genoust 3.462; *GDLI* 12 (1984), 764, Marzell 3 (1977), 587 and 4 (1979), 698 f.; Watts 2000, 854. Berendes 1902, 345, by the way, who derives Dioscorides’ ‘passerina’ (or ‘passarina’) from ‘pondo, passi, passum’ that is the ‘spreading-out violet’, is in error, since *ThIL* 10.1.1 (1982-97), 607 f. and André, 189 list the ‘nomen herbae quod est leucoion’ under ‘ad passerem pertinentes’, leaving to our imagination whether the naming was due to some specific predilection on behalf of the birds, the plant thriving on their muck, or due to similar colourations.

- opula: is ‘*Viburnum opulus*’ of Linné for the ‘European cranberry bush’ or popularly ‘snowball rose’ (as ‘Schneeball’, one of my mother’s favourite); cf. Sauerhoff 2003, 651 f.; Watts 2000, 841.

- bulla alba: synonymous with the above.

- pulliphura: according also to *GDLI* 14 (1988), 930 ‘πουλλίφουρα’, or ‘*uiola lutea*’ to Plin. *nat.* 21.27: the said ‘*Cheiranthus cheiri*’ of Linné.

Hence, if one wished a legomachian translation, it would be: ‘sparrow-wort, snowball rose, white bulb and yellow violet’.

HP 357: *uranio* [Ornating the ninth rank⁶⁸. Pozzi, 225 does not identify the plant, and both Ariani – Gabriele, 365 (‘*uranio*’) and Godwin 1999, 357 (‘*Uranian*’) quickly move on. And indeed it is lacking in modern botanical glossaries. But the voluminous German Baroque encyclopaedia Zedler 50 (1746), 1145 reveals that it is the ‘in den Himmel blickende iris caelica’, that is, a skyward facing ‘*Iris*’ (L.); or to the Quattrocento Roccabonella, 50v: ‘*lilium celeste*’.

HP 357: *hyreos candido* [Pleasing the eye in the same ninth row⁶⁹. Godwin 1999, 357’s ‘white Hyraean[sic]’ is nice, yet Ariani – Gabriele, 365’s ‘*iris bianca*’ matches

⁶⁸ Cf. HP 357: «Nella nona multiplici lilii. Lo uranio et hyreoscandido et Hiacyntho, et gialli, et rubenti [...]».

⁶⁹ Cf. above HP 357.

the true beauty, for 'erysimon/erysimum' is, according to Pliny (cf. *Plin. nat.* 18.96 and particularly 22.158: «Iriem inter fruges sesamae similem esse diximus et a Graecis erysimon vocari»), the 'irio' or Linnéan 'Erysimum' (L.): one of the 'white' blossoming 'wallflowers', as also Roccabonella, 50v discriminates betwixt 'ireos cuius flores sunt albi – graece / et iris cuius flores sunt purpurei – graece'; further Genoust 1996, 310; Marzell 2 (1972), 318 f.; Sauerhoff 2003, 253; Watts 2000, 957.

HP 367: *uiriato* [Enter Mars⁷⁰. Less as the 'valiant warrior' (Godwin 1999, 367) or 'vigoroso guerriero' (Ariani – Gabriele, 377; Pozzi, 229) than as the carnificious god 'donning warrior-bracelets', since 'uiriae, -arum: armilla sunt uirorum'; cf. Gesner 4 (1749), 1034; *Isid. orig.* 19.31; *Plin. nat.* 33.39.

HP 370: *altitrorso pendipi* [On the vertical dimension of the hedges fencing the Cytherean orchards⁷¹. Pozzi, 230 corrects to 'pendici', and thus merely to 'steep' enclosures. Yet, as immediately preceding an interval between trees is given as 'dece passi longitrorso' and 'πεντέ(ά)πους' is Greek for 'of five feet' (*LSJ*, 1362), and, furthermore, Ariani – Gabriele, 379 write 'alte cinque piedi' (expounded Ariani, 1083) and Godwin 1999, 370 measures 'five paces high', no such emendation is necessary.

HP 370: *punicato* [Of marble blocks⁷². Why Ariani – Gabriele, 380 ('leuigato con la pomice') taciturnly polish the passage to 'punicatus – pumice politus' is as unclear to me, as is Godwin 1999, 370's 'not polished'. The 'punicato' is not a known erratum and 'punicatus – puniceum colorem habens' should not be too absurd among mineralogists, thus, what about 'purple coloured'? Cf. Gesner 3 (1749), 1177-9.

HP 385: *Calo Maurio* [The name attributed to Polia's noble ancestor Lelius Maurius after he had done handsomely well on the battlefield⁷³. Deriving obviously from 'κάλλος/καλός', but as all other appellatives of the numerous 'gens Lelia' have been turned into place names Ciapponi, 237 justly asks herself where this chap might have ended up on the map.

HP 409: *Prestantissime Nymphe, se la candidicia al gli ochii egri, impuri, et lippi. nigriscente aparendo offende. Si le cose rutilante, di liuido tectorio, et le micante di candore, et di splendore renitente. Maculate, di rubigine consperse, obtecte di*

⁷⁰ Cf. HP 367 f.: «Aduene dunque che uno uiriato milite nellaspetto diuo giu per gli graduli fora dille forule sotto la prima pergula, ualerosamente al sacrosancto fonte aduentando, nella maiestale faccia uehemente, et di formidabile ferocitate pectoroso et cordato, cum ample spalle lacertoso et procero, cum gli lumi degli occhi acri et atroci, ma di una ueneranda dignitate».

⁷¹ Cf. HP 369 f.: «Lequale [strate definite per le piante degli pomiferi horti] erano uirente di perenne et uerna foliatura uallate di buxo murulamente, et di Myrto, et di iuniperi, dece passi longitrorso alternati per uno et altitrorso pendipi».

⁷² Cf. HP 370: «ornate erano [gli canali] di limiti di marmoramento macedonico, non punicato, ma suapte collustrabile et uersiuenato».

⁷³ Cf. HP 385: «Quale Bellerophonte exaltato da Heurie, per tale ratione non piu Lelio Maurio Ma per la egregia conditione, et praestanti effecti. Fue nominato Calo Maurio».

caligine, di uomicione sepiale perfuse, et di atramento infusate sono damnate, senza dubbio, non per diffecto dillo obiecto, ma per il sensuale morbo. Cusi ne altramente io. [Poliphilo describing his sensual confusion; in my own (more literal than Godwin 1999, 409) translation: ‘Most egregious Nymphs, when candescence, that seems to be blackening itself, is offending ailing, impure and bleary eyes; when things rufescent are condemned to seem of livid coating, and the ones glittering of candour and shimmering of splendour [are condemned] to seem stained and strewn with ruddiness, coated with caliginosity and profused with sepiacean vomit and darkened with black ink, then this is without doubt not due to a failure of the object but due to a sensual disorder. Thus not differently was it happening to me’. Has anybody come across similar symptoms in contemporary medical (or visionary) literature?

HP 415: *Yphi* [In a malevolent twist of mythology the frustrated nymphomaniac in the parable told by Polia’s nurse pines for the very same fate which Iphis craved as the marital moment approached⁷⁴. Therefore the person referred to is, contrary to Ariani, 1129, not the man ‘Iphis’ (mentioned above, HP 396, as a hopeless lover of the wicked woman Anaxarete; cf. Ciapponi, 243; *Ov. met.* 14.698 f.; *Petr. Tr. Cup.* 3.151 f.) but next to a decrepit husband’s repulsive reek and creepy canoodling: ‘Iphis’ the girl who was raised as a boy and in the last moment before the fatal nuptials was feminized by a miracle of Isis; cf. *Ov. met.* 9.666 f.

HP 420: *disio Peletronio* [Of a repenting Polia’s desire⁷⁵. Ciapponi, 253 corrects to ‘disio a-peletronio’ as negative form to ‘τό πέλεθρον’ (‘an acre of land’) which would be an ‘im-mense desire’, i.e. exceeding an already large surface measure. Yet since Tityos, doing his stretch in Hades (cf. *Hom. Od.* 11.576; *Verg. Aen.* 6.595 ff.), is very far off (somewhere HP 186 f.), the Thessalian landscape ‘Πελεθρόνιον’ is what we are looking for; famous for her horsemen, the fearless ‘Λαπίθαι’; cf. *OED* 8 (1989), 649; Pape 3 (1911), 1162.

Hence Godwin 1999, 420 surmises the desire be akin to the warriors’ bravado: ‘a passion as inflamed as that of the Pelethronian Lapith’; and Gabriele, 1133, arguing with *Plin. nat.* 7, 202, that the said tribes were the first to come up with bridle and reins, sees the emotional effusion equalling their stride, both swift and steady; cf. Ariani – Gabriele, 433 ‘acceso desiderio’; *Gesner* 3 (1749), 753; *Serv. georg.* 3.115. Yet among the many attributions to (meta-)physical concupiscence (harassing in general) ‘passion’ is within the entire novel on only two other occasions linked to something barbarian or equestrian: HP 12 ‘frameo disio’, which stems from the Germanic spear ‘framea’ (cf. *e.g. OLD*, 730), and thus is a ‘pungent desire’; cf. Ariani – Gabriele, 19 – not the ‘famished lust’ of Godwin 1999, 12. And HP 414 ‘effrenato disio’ – that is how Colonna expresses the ‘unbridled’ which Gabriele

⁷⁴ Cf. HP 415: «Et gli facili ochii in piu amari pianti di Egeria conuertiti, Niuna cosa grata, niuna appetibile, ogni cosa ingustabile, si non la improba morte, et desiderare lo accelerato fine che fece Yphi».

⁷⁵ Cf. HP 420: «Immo per lo incremento damore spreto allimprobitate dil mio infiammato disio Peletronio, et cusi profondamente uulnerata. Sola immediate sollicitante gli incitati passi di accelerare alla sacrata Basilica perueni».

alleges for 'Pelethronio'.

With one other reference to weaponry, why not consider the other tell-tale invention of the Lapithians: the 'Pelethronia pinus' or lance? Cf. Klotz 2 (1879), 707; Stat. *Theb.* 2.598. And since I already employed 'stechend/pungent' for the above mentioned 'framea' I retained a 'Pelethronian desire' (cf. Reiser 2014a, 602) and pinned a footnote to it.

HP 430: *arieta* [From 'arietare', to depict what the muchness of love keeps inflicting upon our poor humanist⁷⁶. Since this active verb to 'aries' is not too uncommon and makes complete sense Ciapponi, 255's erectile improvement, 'mi aricta / arouses me' (from 'arrigere'), is unneeded. And Godwin 1999, 430's 'afflicts me like a battering-ram' fully hits the mark; cf. further Ariani, 1139; Gesner 1 (1749), 450; Cic. *nat. deor.* 1.44.22; Plin. *nat.* 2.198 ff.; Serv. *Aen.* 11.890.

HP 439: *Ne dicio redimere sapeua, cum ualide force dingegno, gli insatiabili ochii dal dolce lenocinio, del core mio dal uiso formosissimo paedicati.* [Godwin 1999, 439's 'insatiable eyes [to be turned] away from the sweet allurements of my heart, fascinated as they were by the lovely sight' is bowdlerized beyond recognition. And Ariani – Gabriele, 451 prefer, as Ariani, 1146 justifies, the 'euphemistic translation' of 'occhi [...] penetrati e corrotti dalla sublime bellezza del volto' which though far from pietistic is not yet the real romping. For 'lenocinio' is, more prominently, the hustler's make-up and teasing, and 'paedciare' (with the passive form 'paedicari') is applicable to 'quaecumque constupratio postera, seu in in exoletum, seu quidem in foeminam' (cf. Adams 1987, 123-5; Pierrugues 1908, 368 f.; Engl. 'to paedicate'; cf. *OED* online – not in the printed edition.) That is: 'to practise anal sex with a boy and/or with a woman' – for your own safety, dear reader, mind: one at a time; cf. Gesner 4 (1749), 653; Klotz 2 (1879), 649; *OLD*, 1281; e.g. Cat. 16.1; 21.4; Mart. 6.56; 11.94 et *passim*. Since this is the only occurrence of this verb within the HP, the expression is rhetorically remarkable and since such bold and rare a metaphor is applied to illuminate an act of visual perception the passage is exceptionally striking: 'Hence I did not know how to release, even with the valiant power of the mind, the insatiable eyes from the sweet seduction of the heart, which were bugged by the most shapely sight.' And one gazes at it and tries to grasp whether this is merely a bawdry metaphor, or, since the optical nerve is on the eyes' backside, a bawdry metaphor against a background of Padovan anatomy and students' jokes in the 15th century.

HP 453: *Piu noxiamente a mi infesta, che gli Britannici lapilli alle mellificante Ape*] Poliphilo lamenting that Polia is 'more injurious to him than the stones of Britain to the honey-bees' (cf. Godwin 1999, 453). Both Ciapponi, 262 and Gabriele, 1154 surmise a locus classicus, and I also have a hunch, but from which apiary verse and author it might be taken, we do not know.

⁷⁶ Cf. HP 430: «Ilperche debbi cognoscere troppo piu amore che se conuene me inuade et arieta, et stimulante me exacerbisce, et acio (postergata omni altra cosa) a questo me constringe e preme».

HP 458: *Hyperoria* [The state of Poliphilo's evicted soul⁷⁷, from 'ὑπερορία' which according to Suda 4 (1935), 658 (333) is the same as 'ἐξορία / banishment, expatriation' may well be translated with 'ruinous exile' (cf. Godwin 1999, 458) or 'penoso esilio' (Ariani – Gabriele, 471).

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FREQUENT ABBREVIATIONS

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GDLI = S. Battaglia et al. (a c. di), *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, 21 vols, Torino 1961-2002.

Grimm = J. Grimm – W. Grimm et al. (hrsg. von), *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 16 vols, Leipzig 1854-1954. [also: www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB]

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Ariani – Gabriele = F. Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, intr., trad. e comm. di M. Ariani – M. Gabriele, 2 vols, Milano 1999, vol. 2 [the pair referring to the translation, the single author to the commentary].

Athan. *vita Anton.* = Athanase d'Alexandrie, *Vie d'Antoine*, éd. par G. Bartelink, Paris 1994.

Ciapponi – Pozzi = *Hypnerotomachia*, edizione critica e commento di L. Ciapponi – G. Pozzi, 2 vols,

⁷⁷ Cf. HP 458: «Questa e la causa del male et cordolio, et del pernicioso exulare, et molesta Hyperoria, di questa pauperula et misella, exula, et cruciosa anima».

Lexical Notes to Francesco Colonna's 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili'

- Padova 1964, vol. 2 [commentary].
- Colum. = L.I.M. Columella, *On Agriculture*, ed. and transl. by H. Boyd Ash – E.S. Forster – E.H. Heffner, 3 vols, London-Cambridge MA 1955-60.
- Dsc. = Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei *De materia medica libri quinque*, cur. M. Wellmann, 3 vols, Berolini 1906-14.
- HP = Ariani – Gabriele, vol. 1 [facsimile of the 1499 edition].
- Isid. *orig.* = Isidorus Hispalensis Episcopi *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, cur. W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols, Oxonii 1987² [6th repr.].
- Paul. Fest. = Sexti Pompei Festi *De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome*, cur. W.M. Lindsay, Lipsiae 1913 [repr. Stuttgartiae-Lipsiae 1997].
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Abstract: The first translation into German of Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice 1499) has just been published in 2014. Its notes were kept as brief as possible and, to provide a comfortable reading, they were inserted into the main text. Thus, new proposals for solving both the known and hitherto unnoticed difficulties within the original, as well as calls for assistance to specialists from other fields, had to remain somewhat hidden. This accompanying publication will therefore discuss these proposals at length, provide further secondary literature and reflection, making them available to an international public, to future translators and to revisors of existing versions.

Keywords: *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Francesco Colonna, Commentary, Textual notes, Botanical taxonomy.