Reading Readers: Documenting Reader Response and Analyzing the Colored Illustrations found in the Cary Graphic Art Collection's Copy of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili

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Reading Readers: Documenting Reader Response and Analyzing the Colored Illustrations found in the Cary Graphic Art Collection’s Copy of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE BACHELOR OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN MUSEUM STUDIES

PERFORMING ARTS & VISUAL CULTURE DEPARTMENT

BY

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Abstract

The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili was published in 1499 by Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius. The incunable\(^1\) is a distinct example of Renaissance printing; it is illustrated with 172 elaborate woodcuts including eleven full page illustrations and thirty-nine decorative capitals. The Cary Graphic Arts Collection located in The Wallace Center at Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT) holds a first edition of Aldus’ work. This copy possesses hand-coloring on eighty-four of the 172 woodcuts. I hypothesize that the coloring was done by a previous owner as a form of reader response. How does the reader response and color annotations communicate to other readers? To answer this question, I attempt to establish a provenance and document the reader response. Finally, I document the hand-colored illustrations in a spreadsheet, analyze, and interpret the pigment, selection of material that is colored, neatness and textual evidence to support the visual annotations. In conclusion, I give a complete contextual history to the printing of this copy of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili and gain a sense of the book’s journey from printing to the present.

\(^1\) An incunable is the singular form of “incunabula” which refers to a European book printed before 1500.
Introduction

In 1499, Venetian printer Aldus Manutius printed the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, a mysterious book filled with illustrations ranging from erotic pagan images, classical architecture, and scenes of the ancient world. With classical antiquity as the backdrop, the book follows its protagonist, Poliphilo, through his dream of his adventures to find his love, Polia. At Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT) a first edition copy of this book is held in the Cary Graphic Arts Collection located in The Wallace Center. For this study I will outline the historical context in which the book was published and printed, Aldus’ education during the humanist movement and the influence that this had on his printing career with particular focus on the printing of the *Hypnerotomachia*. Then, I will analyze the reader history of the Cary Collection’s copy by looking at the provenance, marginalia, and reader response in the form of colored illustrations.

Literature Review

In preparing to write this thesis I had to build a theoretical framework in order to analyze the marginalia and visual annotations in the form of coloring. A study looking at and discussing reader response cannot be complete without looking at Louise Rosenblatt’s transactional theory of reading and writing. Rosenblatt’s theory states that between a reader and literary text that there is, “a reciprocal, mutually defining relationship.”\(^1\) She argues that the text and reader are able to work together and influence one another. Her theory suggests that the text on the paper is only text. However, when a reader comes along the text is given meaning and purpose. Her theory is dependent on the readers, who they are and the experiences they bring to the text. According to Rosenblatt, there are two different stances a reader can take. The first is the efferent

stance which is when a reader is reading for information for a certain task. The second stance is aesthetic which is when a reader is reading for enjoyment. Rosenblatt emphasizes that readers fluctuate between the two stances even while reading one specific text. Marginalia from early readers is evidence of the transaction between reader and text. By analyzing the written annotations in the margin of the *Hypnerotomachia* it should become evident which stance the previous readers or owners took. By adding the marginalia to the book, the readers are communicating which passages are the most interesting, or they bring background knowledge to the text. This background knowledge allows the modern reader to come to the text with the same information as the past reader. In conjunction of the textual response, I will also be applying this theory to the colorization of the images. Taking the basic concepts of Rosenblatt’s theory, the illustration is only an image until a reader looks upon it and gives it meaning. Perhaps the addition of pigment to the illustration allows it to always have a meaning regardless if a reader is looking at it.

In addition to Rosenblatt I am using Muhamad Fajkovic and Lennart Björneborn’s article, “Marginalia as Message: Affordances for Reader-to-Reader Communication” as a framework for my research question by using one of their two research questions, “What specific conditions make marginalia possible as communicative acts between readers, and how do marginalia perform that communicative function.”2 This study discusses briefly the historical attitudes of readers towards marginalia and how the practice has evolved during modern times. The authors had similar problems to my research in the fact that they were faced with many unknown variables such as who, where, and when the annotations were made.3 This study’s

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discussion on affordances and reader-to-reader communication is the fundamental basics that has influenced and shaped the framework for this thesis. They found that the most common annotation in the books surveyed was underling and summaries / explanations written in the margins. They also found that the marginalia was a result of the organic process of reading and studying. Part of this study also included a questionnaire that was given to users of the libraries most of whom were students. The researches asked the participants what they thought of marginalia and there was an astounding fifty-two percent that commented negatively on marginalia. Many respondents who viewed marginalia as a negative practice commented that it is because the books are public property and so should not be personalized by users. However, books like the *Hypnerotomachia* and many other books that create library collections were once owned by individuals. The book was once someone’s copy and so that individual could use them however he/she wished. If marginalia is added after the book is brought into the public sphere it more or less becomes a dialogue between previous owner and the public or more interestingly, from reader to reader. Thirty-two percent of the participants had expressed that they had tried or did write in the books some of their reasons included, “‘not to use too much time when trying to retrace an important paragraph; in order to better comprehend the text; to better remember; to create better overview; for personal benefit.’”

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5 It should be noted that modern readers are those with problems with marginalia. In history writing in books was a personal practice that occurred extensively. It is only in modern history that we expect books to be void of any handwritten notes. However, this is counter-intuitive since students are encouraged to highlight and underline scholarly texts and articles. Muhamad Fajkovic and Lennart Björneborn, “Marginalia as Message: Affordances for Reader-to-Reader Communication,” *Journal of Documentation* 70 (2014) 911.

I believe that the purpose of modern marginalia is no different than early reasons and justifications. For example, in the *Hypnerotomachia* there is an abundance of underlining. These passages were most likely marked because the past reader had found it interesting and wanted to find it easier. This is no different than a student underlining a textbook in order to find information easier. The study also discusses the idea of permanence, or, the idea that marginalia does not make sense without the book’s text and so the two are linked causing a “lasting context”. However, in most cases marginalia is not meant for others. In most cases, it is for personal use. Though because of the marginalia’s permanence in a public collection it is in constant communication with its readers. Finally, the study proposed three ways to classify marginalia, embedded, evaluative, and extratextual. These classifications are created by the relationship that the marginalia has with the text. I will be using these classifications later in the thesis as I analyze the reader response found in the *Hypnerotomachia*. However, before discussing marginalia and reader response in the *Hypnerotomachia* it is important to first discuss the book’s maker, Aldus Manutius, the historical context in which it was printed, and its content in textual and visual terms.

**Aldus Manutius c.1449- 1515**

Aldus Manutius, born Aldo Manuzio was born in the mid-fifteenth century. Keeping with the trends of the Italian Renaissance and humanism, Aldus Latinized his name; his full

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9 Most scholars agree on the years 1449-1450.
10 Humanism is the study of classical antiquity.
Latin name was Aldus Pius Manutius Romanus.\textsuperscript{11} His birthplace was a small Italian village named Bassiano about 35 miles outside of Rome. Aldus’ early life is fairly undocumented, however, it is speculated that he came from a modest family, and so was able to afford to get an education. He began lessons in Latin in Bassiano, however he travelled to Rome, at the peak of humanism, to continue his education.

During the time that Aldus was in Rome he would have gotten an education infused with humanist ideals and knowledge on classical antiquities. Around 1478 Aldus left Rome and continued his Greek education in Ferrara, the hub of Greek learning. However, he did not stay long and left for Capri to tutor in the Pio court. Between 1488-1489 at almost forty years old, Aldus left Capri for Venice to become a publisher.

His first book was published in 1495 and was a reprint of a 1476 book printed in Milan. Also published in 1495 was the first of five volumes of the works of Aristotle. It was the first time, “the works of Aristotle have appeared together, some available for the first time, since antiquity” it is considered to be the greatest printing achievement of the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{12} The book was printed in a Greek typeface that Aldus had designed. Aldus took the type and refined it. By the end of his career, he had created six different Greek typefaces as well as his own type, called italic. Inspired by his humanist education and experience with manuscripts, he shaped the type to resemble handwritten scripts of the period. Creating the typeface gave a nod to manuscripts. Aldus was able to expand upon this idea and went so far as to create ornamental capitals and decorative borders in order to give the printed work a more organic and classic feel. The other advantage to italic was that it was possible to fit more words per page, lowering the

\textsuperscript{11} “Pius” came from Prince Alberto Pio of Capri who he tutored and “Romanus” came from Rome where he studied. Helen Barolini, \textit{Aldus and His Dream Book} (New York: Italica Press, 1992, 1.

\textsuperscript{12} Helen Barolini, \textit{Aldus and His Dream Book} (New York: Italica Press, 1992, 76.
cost of the book. The first book to be completely printed in italic was the works of Virgil and was printed by Aldus in 1501.

It was not until 1496 that Aldus’ own printing press, the Aldine Press, came to fruition. Two years later the plague infested Venice and even Aldus was not immune. He was taken ill but was able to recover. Shortly after his recovery Aldus began a new project unlike any of his other works, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.

**15th Century Venetian Printing**

Venice was the heart of the Italian Renaissance. During the 15th century Venice produced the largest amount of printed works not only in Italy, but in all of Europe, one-eighth of which were produced over the course of the century.\(^\text{13}\) This marked the Incunabula period of western printing, coming from the combining of two Latin words, incunabula literally means “in the cradle”. European printing\(^\text{14}\) was in its infancy; it had only been around for fifty years. Due to the economic viability of the city, printers from all over Europe, especially Germany, came to Venice. Though it was expensive to make a book, because large quantities of paper were expensive, many printers found their way around this by getting commissions from the wealthy and elite. The most economically viable situation for a constant stream of revenue was to establish a publishing company. When publishing companies or individual printers got the privileges to a popular work, or a work that sold well, the book would have many editions. Knowing this, we can deduce that the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* was not a popular work in


\(^{14}\) I make the distinction of “European” printing since printing has such a long history. Mesopotamia used to make impressions in clay as early as 3000 BCE. The Chinese had woodblock printing as early as 220 CE and it was also found in Europe in the 1300s. Movable type and the invention of the modern printing press took place in 1439 by Johannes Gutenberg, although, it was not until 1455 that the Gutenberg Bible was printed.
Venice since it was published once in 1499 and again 46 years later in 1545. The book found more popularity in France, it was published in 1546 with three additional editions.\textsuperscript{15}

Since Venice was the center of book production, “it led in the field of copyright legislation”\textsuperscript{16} according to author and Publishing Historian, Leonardas Gerulaitis. In his book, \textit{Printing in 15\textsuperscript{th} Century Venice}, Gerulaitis writes about early copyright laws known as “privileges” (see table 1). Factors such as time and money in book production caused printers to become weary that their work was not protected. In the early incunabula period (1450-1500) privileges were granted to individual printers.

Books in fifteenth-century Venice were subjected to both religious and political censorship though official laws were not introduced until the sixteenth century. In the beginning, approval was needed from the Pope, bishops, or heads of state. In Venice especially there was religious censorship in regards of presenting the Catholic Church and the faith in a positive manner. The other aspect of censorship came with the literature itself. Greek literature in particular was scrutinized since Venice was the leading producer of books printed in Greek by Aldus Manutius. Though the height of censorship at the Aldine Press, Aldus’ publishing company, was during the sixteenth century, it is important to note that the illustrations found in the \textit{Hypnerotomachia Poliphili} were subjected to censorship due to its erotic images and representation of the phallus. The copy held at the Cary, which is the focus of this study, is not censored. I will return to a discussion of the images in the Image Analysis section. Before doing so the paper turns to an overview of this text.

\textsuperscript{15} The French editions of the \textit{Hypnerotomachia Poliphili} were printed in 1546, 1554, 1561, and 1600.
General Overview of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*

In 1499 Aldus printed the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (hereafter abbreviated as *HP*), which is considered to be, “the most glorious book of the Renaissance…a marvel of graphic beauty and variegated composition, the most beautiful of all books containing woodcut illustrations.”\(^{17}\) The *HP* features 172 woodcuts including thirty-nine ornamental capitals and eleven full-page illustrations. The remaining illustrations vary from three quarters of a page, half page, or quarter page.

The *HP* is considered to be a genre called dream vision or dream allegory. What separates fiction and dream vision is that in the beginning of the book the author or narrator falls asleep, then tells their story in their unconscious state. At the end of the book the author or narrator wakes up and realizes it is all a dream. The word *Hypnerotomachia* is actually a conglomeration of three Greek words, “hypnos (sleep), eros (love), and mache (strife)”. Combining the words together creates a roughly translated title of, “The Strife of Love in a Dream”\(^{18}\). The second word in the title, *Poliphili* comes from the narrator’s name, Poliphilo. *Poliphili* translates roughly to “The lover of Polia”\(^{19}\) who is the female counterpart of the story. Translated into English, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* is “Polia’s Lover’s Strife of Love in a Dream.”\(^{20}\) Polia is actually a Greek term meaning, “old age” or “antiquity.”\(^{21}\) This makes Polia an allegorical figure representing Poliphilo’s love for classical antiquity. This complex and dual functioning language carries on throughout the book. Making the challenge of reading this book

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\(^{19}\) Ibid.

\(^{20}\) There are many variations on the title’s translation. At the present time there is not a single proven or preferred English translation.

even more difficult, it is written in a mixture of, “Latin, Greek, and the vernaculars of Italy organized through Latin syntax.”

The content of the book features illustrations of scenes from antiquity such as ancient Greek and Roman sculptures, architecture, and features elements of Greek mythology. The text is separated into two books. The first is the longest of the two and is told from Poliphilo’s point of view. The second book is told from Polia’s point of view. Though the identity of the illustrator and the woodblock carver is unknown, discussion among scholars have focused on the identity of the original artist, as well as author. Dr. Helena K. Szepe, an art historian who specializes in Venetian book production in the Renaissance, argues that, “We should therefore think of the first manifestation of the Poliphilo as a text already incorporating images in the author's own hand or by artists supervised by the author.”

The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili at the Cary Collection

Provenance is an extremely important topic when discussing this copy of the HP. As previously stated the book has 75 of its 172 illustrations colored. Though we cannot know the identity of the colorist, we are able to trace back the history of owners to narrow down the list. To establish the provenance of this book, I had to start with the most recent owner and work my way back to the printing of the book itself. The copy under study in this thesis, as noted earlier is located in the Cary Graphic Arts Collection on Rochester Institute of Technology’s campus. The Cary Collection acquired the book in 1969 as part of the original donation from the namesake donor to RIT. He collected, “printer's manuals and type specimens, as well as great books of the

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In 1932 Cary bought the *HP* in the, “Lothian Sale”[^24]. I was able to date the bookplate on the pastedown endpaper (figure 1).[^25] The bookplate is a representation of one iteration of the Kerr family crest. I believe that the third Earl of Lothian, William Kerr (1605-1675) bought this book and brought it to Scotland, more specifically, to the Newbattle Abbey Library. The National Library of Scotland holds his library’s catalog. It shows that in 1666 he added over one thousand books to the library, “The largest proportion were in French, and many others were in Latin or Italian, with only a few in English”[^26] and topics ranged from, “the collection was rich in humanist works of history, philosophy, geography, politics, and even science”.[^27] As a “sophisticated connoisseur of Renaissance culture”[^28] the Earl would be the perfect buyer for the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.

In the process of researching I was able to track down an auction catalog from the 1932 Lothian Sale[^29]. The catalog also gives more insight about the book’s condition prior to 1932.

When the book was purchased it had a calf skin binding with some gilding and tooling. There were two copies of the 1499 edition of the *Hypnerotomachia*. The one held at the Cary was not in as good of shape as the other. The other copy was in perfect condition with no colored illustrations. However, it was missing a large part of the second book and a few leaves from the beginning. The Cary’s copy was in fine condition with colored illustrations. The auction catalog


[^25]: A pastedown endpaper is an endpaper or flyleaf that is glued down to the front board of the book.


[^27]: Ibid.

[^28]: Ibid.

[^29]: Anderson Galleries Inc, Illuminated Manuscripts, Incunabula, and Americana: From the Famous Libraries of the most Hon. The Marquess of Lothian, January 27-28, 1932, sale 63. [auction catalog].
mentions that there are colored illustrations and that the illustration of the “Worship of Priapus” is still fully intact – meaning it was not censored.

Today’s binding of the *Hypnerotomachia* is not the original calf skin. It was rebound in 1974 by master binder Fritz Eberhardt. Tucked away in the back of the *HP* is a letter from Eberhardt. It explains the condition the book was in when he first received it. However, there are some discrepancies between the catalogue and Eberhardt’s letter. While the auction description states that the binding was seventeenth century, the letter states that the binding was eighteenth century, the covers “detached” and some cords were broken. The auction book does not go into full detail of the issues with the binding it only states that the book was in “fine condition” and “one hinge [was] partly repaired”. Eberhardt’s notes on the state of the book indicate that the work was not in good shape when he went to rebind it. The covers were “detached”, and cords were broken. Furthermore, the book had been trimmed and glued. The condition of the *Hypnerotomachia* tells us that the text had been heavily used.

**Reader Response**

The auction catalog mentions some of the marginalia found inside the book. The relevance of the marginalia to this study is the framing of this type of writing. As noted in the introduction to this study, for the purposes of this discussion, marginalia constitute reader response. For the *HP* in the Carry Collection, the main form of reader response are corrections taken from the errata page that have been re-inserted into the text of the book. In other words,

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30 This image is one of the most censored images of the Renaissance. See Figure 2.
31 See Figure 3.
32 *Anderson Galleries Inc, Illuminated Manuscripts, Incunabula, and Americana: From the Famous Libraries of the most Hon. The Marquess of Lothian, January 27-28, 1932, sale 64.* [auction catalog].
34 See Figure 4.
the errata have been rewritten in a later reader’s hand onto the page of the publication where those errata occur. Some interesting findings included, manicules\textsuperscript{35} that were drawn by an early reader. The book is heavily underlined in the beginning of the book and it tapers off toward the end. The underscoring could have been used as a memory trigger or because the reader found it interesting.

Who has made the marks on the pages of the book? There are at least four different hands at work here. In other words, four individuals have written in the margins. From front to back, the first hand wrote call numbers on front flyleaves.\textsuperscript{36} This is from when the book was, possibly, in the Newbattle Abbey. The second hand added pagination. The page numbers can be found in the upper right hand corner of the recto.\textsuperscript{37} The third hand can be found throughout the book underlining certain sentences or phrases. Interestingly, this hand uses a particular symbol that looks like an early percent symbol every time a correction in the margin is made. It appears as though this is the same hand that crossed out the errata page.\textsuperscript{38} The fourth hand is difficult to find because the reader writes in red ink that has faded over time. This hand underlined and made annotations. This hand also decorated some of the indentations and even embellished page headers.\textsuperscript{39} These are the four annotators who have added marginalia to the book.

However, it bears noting that there is the presence of a fifth hand – one that is not found anywhere else in the book – that can be found in the very last flyleaf, where the paper contains an inscription that states that the book is complete according to DeBure.\textsuperscript{40} At first I thought that

\textsuperscript{35} A manicule is a drawing or symbol of a hand with an extended index finger. Manicules were popular in the Middle Ages up until the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. They were drawn by readers to mark important or interesting passages. See Figure 5.
\textsuperscript{36} See Figure 6.
\textsuperscript{37} Front side of a leaf of paper in a book.
\textsuperscript{38} See Figure 7 for an example of the second and third hand.
\textsuperscript{39} See Figure 8.
\textsuperscript{40} See Figure 9 for the inscription.
DeBure was a past owner. However, I now know that DeBure was a Frenchmen involved in the book trade. He wrote a book called *Bibliographie Instructive* or the *Instructive Bibliography*. (c. 1763). DeBure’s publication did include a section on the *Hypnerotomachia*. Perhaps this inscription in the Cary’s *HP* comes from the hand of an owner asserting use of DeBure’s book to ensure that this copy of the *HP* was complete.

Returning to the owners and the marks made in the book, the considerable lack of information about the previous owners and previous readers makes it difficult to assert reader type with regard to Rosenblatt’s theory. In fact, no knowledge exists regarding readers, their backgrounds, and what brought them to read this book. According to Rosenblatt’s theory a reader fluctuated between being an efferent reader and an aesthetic reader. There is more evidence to suggest, however, that the readers in this case were all aesthetic readers. They are obviously taking something away from the reading, if they did not then there would not be any reason or want to annotate.41 According to the study done by Fajkovic and Björneborn, however, I am able to classify the marginalia using their classification system. As previously stated, the researchers created three classifications, embedded, evaluative42, and extratexual43. At this point I can confidently say the marginalia found in the Cary’s copy of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* can be considered embedded marginalia. This classification has characteristics such as, “mostly underlining, vertical lines, and translations…are a kind of annotations that interact closely with

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41 There is a section in this book that shows a lack of interest or investment on the part of the reader. This will be discussed more in depth in the image analysis section.
42 Evaluative marginalia, “take[s] a stance on the text, either by comments, questions marks or some other sign of the annotator’s attitude” Muhamad Fajkovic and Lennart Björneborn, “Marginalia as Message: Affordances for Reader-to-Reader Communication,” *Journal of Documentation* 70 (2014) 917.
43 Extratexual marginalia, “projects its attention outside of the text, referring to other authors or works” Muhamad Fajkovic and Lennart Björneborn, “Marginalia as Message: Affordances for Reader-to-Reader Communication,” *Journal of Documentation* 70 (2014) 917.
the text, in fact, they do not give any meaning without it, and are also physically close to the text.”

In the Hypnerotomachia, both written annotations in the form of marginalia and visual annotations in the form of coloration in the illustrations are present. Both forms of annotations have permanently become a part of the book as a physical object. The annotations from what could potentially be hundreds of years ago are able to affect the reader. Though the annotations were done for personal reasons there is an intrigue now as to what the previous owner found interesting or their thoughts on a particular page, paragraph, section, or chapter. This is how marginalia is used to communicate. As a modern reader, I believe that the annotations help me see what was important. They guide my reading of and experience with the book. The corrections to the text allow a reader fluent in the book’s vernacular to read it without (much) trouble. The reader response allows modern readers to connect themes, motifs, or ideas about the book that without the annotations may have been missed or lost by modern readers.

In regard to the colored illustrations, as stated previously, I do think that it is a form of reader response. However, because it is a different form of reader response as opposed to textual annotations the colored illustrations had to be evaluated differently and separately.

Methodology

After I spent some time with the first edition Hypnerotomachia I decided that I wanted to do a project with the illustrations. I chose to do a spreadsheet using blank illustrations found in the English translation of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili45 and juxtapose these with the Cary’s

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colored illustrations. In order to account for all the colored images, I looked at the Cary’s copy and the English translation side by side. I went through the first edition and when I came across a colored illustration I found that illustration in the English translation and marked it with a sticky note. The illustration from there was given a number. I took the marked illustrations from the English text and scanned the blank illustrations. The final step of this part of the correlation process was to insert both the blank images and colored images into the spreadsheet.

Once I correlated all of the images and inserted them into the spreadsheet I wanted to describe the amount of pigment applied to the illustration. I developed the following classification system. First, “Minimal Coloring” this refers to an illustration that has some coloring but it does not fill any substantial amount of space. Next, is “Some Coloring” this label is applied to illustrations with at least a quarter colored. Finally, the last label is “Half Colored” and it is used for illustrations that have at least half of the illustration has some kind of pigment. I did not create a label for “Fully Colored” because none of the illustrations are completely colored. Along with the labels I also made note of what pigments were used and the neatness of the color application. The final and most important step in creating this spreadsheet was looking for any textual evidence to justify using the pigments. Examples of textual evidence include the color name itself (e.g., green, blue, and so on) or a word that connotes a specific color (e.g., “water” makes you think of blue, “forest” makes you think of green, and so forth). If I did find some kind of textual evidence, those words were bolded in the spreadsheet.

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46 See Figure 10.
47 See Figure 11.
48 See Figure 12.
Image Analysis

In this section I analyze each image in order of appearance. I treat each image individually. I discuss the pigments used, the neatness of application, and any textual evidence that supports the color selections. Please be aware that there are specific cases that I will be grouping together based off their content, amount of color present, and specific pigments used. To see a simplified version of this analysis, the spreadsheet can be found in the appendix, Table 2.

Illustration 1: This image is the second decorative capital in the book. Very little of this illustration is colored. There is only a brown streak at the top of the P’s stem. There is no textual evidence to support this choice of color. However, it is possible the pigment is from a pen or the or is the brown used in future illustrations. This could have been an accident or a trial to make sure the applicator worked.

Illustration 2: This image is the first quarter page illustration. It depicts Poliphilo walking through a forest. Green is used for the leaves on the trees and the grass, blue is used for Poliphilo’s robes, yellow for his hair, and brown is used for his hat. The pigment is not applied neatly. The green in the leaves especially seem to be colored as a whole segment rather than individual pieces. The grass follows the same type of application and the pigment seeps into Poliphilo’s feet. Green is also applied in the tree trunks. His robes are neatly colored in as well as the yellow and brown. The blue from his robes creeps into the leaves that are adjacent to Poliphilo. Both the green and blue pigments change in intensity. In some areas the green is darker and in others the green is very light. A similar pattern happens with the blue. The top half of the robes are darker than the bottom half. The text mentions a forest which brings up connotations of green. I consider this textual evidence to support the use of green pigment.
Illustration 3: The third illustration is the second quarter page woodblock in the book. This image depicts Poliphilo coming across a river at the edge of the forest. As it was previously, the green was used for grass and trees. The green pigment is used in a similar fashion as before. It is not carefully done. In some places the color drops off leaving areas uncovered. The blue was used for Poliphilo’s robes and the river. In both instances the color was applied neatly and the intensity stayed consistent. The brown and yellow pigment were used for his uniform hat and hair (respectively) were also applied neatly and stayed consistent. There is also textual evidence to support using these pigments. Firstly, it is obvious to the reader that Poliphilo is still the in forest which again means green to the colorist. The text also mentions a flowing spring which brings up the color blue for water. While these are obvious choices for the color palette it is still important to take note of.

Illustration 4: Next, the fourth illustration is the third quarter page image. This illustration shows Poliphilo sleeping underneath a tree. As we have seen in the last two illustrations Poliphilo is dressed in the same exact way and nature is of course colored green. Green once again shows variability in its intensity while blue, yellow, and orange remain the same. In this depiction of the main character his robes are all blue except for his sleeves that have not been colored. The green once again soaked into his feet and traces of green can be found in the bottom of his robes. In many places the green also goes outside of the lines this is especially true in the leaves. The text provided the word grass and oak tree to justify coloring the grass and tree, green.

Illustration 5: This image is the fourth quarter page illustration in the book. This is the first image that we see illustrations of ruins and statues which will start to become running themes. In this illustration Poliphilo is standing amongst fragments of Greek and Roman statues. It comes to no surprise that the green is applied in the same exact manner as the previous three illustrations.
The blue is applied in the same manner as the previous illustration – the robe is fully colored except the sleeves. The hat and hair are uniform. The one thing that is odd about this coloring is that the lower half of Poliphilo’s body is colored yellow. The statues and ruins are not colored in this illustration. The textual evidence provided for this illustration is that the text describes green plants.

Illustration 6: With only two colors present, this is the least colored illustration thus far and it is also the first time an intact statue is represented. The statue is of a Pegasus with six cherubs trying to ride on it. The ground that the statue is standing on is colored green to represent grass. Though it does change in intensity it does so in a way that works with the color of the paper to create shading. Unlike the previous illustrations the application of the green is done neatly. The only other color pigment in the image is yellow for the cherubs’ hair. There is no textual evidence to support the choices of color. However, it does seem that yellow is reserved for hair color.

Illustrations 7 and 8: These two illustrations are placed side by side in the text. Together they take up the same amount of space as a quarter page illustration. The only color present in both images is green. Illustration 7 depicts the front of a statue. The green pigment stays consistent in intensity but is not applied neatly. Illustration 8 is a rendering of the back of the statue. In this case the green pigment is consistent and is applied neatly. It could be argued that it is the neatest of all the colored images so far. Both illustrations have textual evidence to support the color addition. Text for Illustration 7 mentions a green marble wreath on the front while the description of the back refers to a wreath of leaves.

Illustration 9: Directly following Illustrations 7 and 8 comes the sixth quarter page illustration. This strange image shows a group of people who are forming a circle. It appears that the people
have two faces. Four individuals directly show that there are two faces while those in the foreground have their backs and their faces towards the reader. There are three colors in this image: blue and yellow. In this case blue is strictly reserved to clothing and the yellow is used for clothes and hair. Of the thirteen individuals all of them have yellow hair but only five have colored clothes. The third pigment is of course green for the grass. The color is darker in the background than it is in the foreground. It also bleeds into the feet, legs, and dresses of the people. The yellow and the blue colors are added neatly. For this illustration there is no textual evidence. This image is part of the same statute as Illustrations 7 and 8.

_Illustration 10:_ This image is on the very next page. It shows a group of ten people, five of whom have clothing colored in yellow and blue and they all have yellow hair. The green pigment follows the same pattern of changing intensities and messy application. This is the second and last time that yellow is applied to an individual’s skin. In all other circumstances yellow is only used for clothes and hair. This illustration does not have any textual evidence. It is part of the same statue as Illustrations 7, 8, and 9. This image is supposed to be the opposite side of Illustration 9 and that could be why both the images are colored in a very similar manner.

_Illustration 11:_ The colorist skipped one illustration and proceeded with this image. It is the first full page woodblock illustration in the book. The image depicts an Egyptian obelisk with an elephant going through it. This is the first time Egyptian hieroglyphics were printed in a book. There is only green pigment in the image. The pigment is applied neatly for the most part. There are some areas especially on the left that is the sloppiest. The intensity is consistent. At the bottom of the illustration the pigment tapers off. There is no textual evidence to support the color but there is the same intention of painting nature green.
*Illustration 12:* Three illustrations were skipped to get to this illustration. This is the second full page illustration is an image of a façade of a temple. There is little coloring and only one pigment is used. Again, the grass is colored green. The pigment is applied sporadically on the grass. The motion of application is not smooth. The intensity of the pigment of is varied and does not completely fill the section that is being colored. Once again, there is no textual evidence to support the pigmentation.

*Illustration 13:* This image is one of the more well-known images form the *Hypnerotomachia* and it is the next image in the book. This woodblock represents Poliphilo running from a dragon. Only some of the image is colored and there are three pigments used which are green, blue, and brown. Poliphilo, on the left, is colored in his usual manner. His hat is colored brown and it is very carefully and neatly applied. While his robes are not fully painted blue, his legs and feet are. Poliphilo's left foot has one spot in particular that the pigment has gone far out of the lines. Other than that one space, the blue pigment stays within the lines. There is one other section with blue and that is around the dragon's eye. The majority of the dragon is colored green. There are some areas that the pigment does bleed outside the lines but it is not as substantial as the blue. The coloration on the dragon seems to have been applied to give a shading effect. The last part of the illustration that is colored is the dragon's tongue which is outlined brown. Though there is not specific textual evidence there are trigger words such as *scaly body* and *serpentine* which may allude to the usage of green. The brown on the tongue I believe could be used to represent red. The justification could come from the description, *spewing out foul smoke.* There is one feature of this illustration that is not related to color. Above Poliphilo's head in the black hallway there appears to be an 's' shape. This could potentially be a hair that fell onto the woodblock as the book was being printed.
Illustration 14: After skipping one image, which happens to include Aldus' early printers mark, the colorist decides to paint this image. This woodblock is a representation of a sculpture that Poliphilo sees. It shows a sleeping nymph underneath an arbutus tree. A satyr is holding on to the tree and is standing over the nymph with an erect phallus. There are two satyr children in the background. The child on the left is holding two serpents and the child on the right is holding a jug. There is little coloring in this illustration and only green and yellow are used. The wreath in the pediment is colored a dark forest green. The application is messy and in several spots goes outside the lines. The intensity of the color does not stay the same and there are some leaves that are not colored at all in the wreath. In the middle of the wreath there is an amphora that is colored a pale yellow. The next colored object in the image is the leaves of the arbutus tree. Similarly, to the wreath, the color in the tree is green that changes in intensity and is not applied neatly. The trunk of the tree is shaded with yellow in a similar fashion to the dragon both of which are reminiscent of chiaroscuro. The text does lend a hand to the colorist’s decision. The text mentions the arbutus tree’s evergreen foliage which justifies the green pigment.

Illustration 15: This is the next image in the book. The image is depicting the scene where Poliphilo (the figure on the left, he can be identified by the consistency in his dress and the way he is colored) is watching a group of five nymphs and is caught by them. The leaves and grass are again colored green. The leaves are messy but the intensity of the pigment is consistent. The grass is also messy and goes outside the lines in several areas. The intensity is also consistent in the grass as well. Poliphilo, as stated before, is colored in the same way as he had in past illustrations. His robes are colored neatly in blue except for the arms and his hat is also colored neatly in brown. The last nymph on the far right is the only nymph that is colored. Her top is

49 Chiaroscuro is the treatment of lighting or shading in a painting or a drawing.
painted blue just like Poliphilo. Her skirt is painted in a pale yellow as is the instrument and the hair of all the nymphs and Poliphilo. All of the coloring apart from the green is neatly applied with consistent intensity. There is textual evidence to support the colorization of the images. The book mentions that the nymphs had, *blonde ringlets* and they all wore robes in various colors.

*Illustration 16:* After skipping two illustrations we come to the fourth full-page illustration. This image shows a fountain. There is little coloring and only green is used. The fountain is topped with cornucopia it is colored green. It is not neatly applied, in many areas the pigments does go outside of the lines. The second colored part of the illustration is the platform with the dragons. Only one of the six dragons is colored. It is shaded similarly to illustration thirteen’s dragon. Both colored elements do have some textual evidence to support the pigmentation. The dragons are supported by the phrase *greenish serpentine*. The cornucopia on the top of the fountain is supported by the phrase *various fruits and leaves*.

*Illustration 17:* The next illustration in the book is the next illustration that is colored. Like Illustration 16, this one also has little coloring and only uses green pigment. This illustration shows a part of a capital. It shows two male children holding on to two dolphins which are curling around them. The tail of the dolphin turns into leaves. The text mentions *leaves* and *leafy* four times while describing the illustration. This is textual evidence to support the green colorization. The pigment is applied neater than most of the previous illustrations. There are only a few places where the pigment does go outside the lines. As with some of the previous illustrations the colorist attempted to apply some shading.

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50 A capital is an architectural and decorative feature at the top of a Greek column.
Illustrations 18: These are the next illustration. Illustration 18 depicts Queen Eleuteryldida’s throne room. The walls are elaborately decorated and include wreaths with names of planets. Above the throne is a wreath that says SOL. To the left is a wreath that says VENVS and on the right MARS. There is some coloring in this illustration and there are three pigments present: green, yellow, and blue. The leaves on the wall and on the bottom of the throne are all colored green. The majority of the green pigment is not applied neatly. The blue pigment is applied to the flowers that are also on the wall. The yellow is painted onto the SOL wreath and the lamps. The colorization of the illustration is justified by the text. The text mentions foliage made of Scythian emeralds, flowers made of sapphire. It makes sense that the SOL wreath is colored yellow because sol is Latin for Sun which has connotations of the color yellow.

Illustration 19: Illustration 19 depicts the queen sitting at her throne with a room filled with women. The colors of the walls are the same as Illustration 18. In this illustration the yellow is applied to the hair on all the people in the illustration, the lamp, and the feet of the bench. Poliphilo is colored in his usual blue robes. The pigment is not neatly applied on the wall however on the hair of most of the women it is applied neatly and the robes of Poliphilo are also neat. The only textual evidence to support the coloring of this illustration is the same as Illustration 18 since the walls are the same. The text actually states the colors of the silk that the queen is wearing and mentions that she has black hair, not yellow. This shows that the colorist is only using yellow for hair.

Illustration 20: This is the next illustration in the book. According to the text, this wreath hangs above the Queen’s throne. It is a painting of a young man. Below the portrait is an eagle with his wings opened. Surprisingly, the young man’s hair is not painted yellow even though that is the colorist’s pattern, the text also states that he has yellow hair. Yellow is used for the decorative
parts of the wreath. The wreath and the leaves behind the eagle are colored green, the pigment is not applied neatly, and the leaves directly at the top of the wreath and directly at the bottom are not colored at all. Perhaps this is because the colorist did not want the yellow and green to mix. There is textual evidence to support the painting. First the term *wreath* gives a reader the idea that it is green. The text states that the eagle had *green laurel* on each side.

*Illustration 21:* Printed on the very next page, this illustration is of a tripod table that was set up for the Queen. This illustration has minimal coloring. Only green is used on the leaves on both columns. The green is not as vibrant as it is in other illustrations but it is applied neatly. There is textual evidence to support the colorization. While describing the table in great detail, the book mentions *foliage* on the columns. Which again, connotes the color green.

*Illustration 22:* To get to this image the colorist skipped over nine illustrations. This image shows Poliphilo and two his two female companions arriving at a spinster’s house. The spinster had six servants that the three encounter. Green is used again to represent nature. The grass and trees are very sloppy and the intensity of the green does not stay consistent. Yellow is used once again for Poliphilo’s hair and the hair of his companions. The female directly behind Poliphilo has a yellow skirt. The application is very soft and neat. Poliphilo’s robes are once again blue. This is the last time that blue is used in the remainder of the book. I believe the colorist simply ran out of blue pigment. The pattern has been so strictly followed that I do not believe the colorist would stop in the middle of the book.

*Illustration 23:* This image is directly next to Illustration 22 on the next page. This illustration shows Poliphilo and his companions facing a noble woman with six of her handmaidens. The noblewomen named Euclelia holds a sword in her hand. The green pigment for the grass is messy and the intensity is not consistent. The only other pigment in this illustration is yellow
which is reserved for hair. It appears that Ecledia’s robes had a soft application of blue. However, upon further examination it turns out to be the blue from Poliphilo’s robe from the previous illustration that bled onto this illustration.

**Illustration 24:** This is the next illustration found in the book. In this image Poliphilo and his female companions met Philtronia and her six maids. Half of the image is colored and there are three pigments used. The first is green which covers the grass and trees. The application is sloppy though the intensity of the green is more consistent than in previous illustrations. Poliphilo’s hat is again brown. The application of the brown is neat and it is darker than it has been previously. The last pigment used in this image is yellow. Hair is once again colored yellow however, the middle section of the image seems to have a yellow tint to it that is not the color of the page. After further examining this illustration it seems that the tint is actually pigment from the next page bleeding through.

**Illustration 25:** Next in the book is an image shows Poliphilo’s companions leaving him with a group. One of his companions, Thelemia, kisses and embraces Poliphilo as his other companion and a group of four nymphs watch. The green pigment that covers the grass and trees was not neatly applied but the intensity of the color is consistent. Poliphilo’s hat is neatly colored brown. His hair, Thelemia’s, and the nymphs all have yellow hair. While this is a stylistic choice that the colorist keeps consistent there is textual evidence to justify the colorization stating that the nymphs’ heads were *yellow*.

**Illustration 26:** On the next page is a depiction of a nymph approaching Poliphilo who is standing at the other side of an overgrown archway. Poliphilo is colored with his usual brown hat and yellow hair which are both neatly colored. The grass is only colored in the upper left section and tapers off as it goes down towards the bottom left. The trees in the upper left are also not
completely colored. It is the plants that are growing in the grass that have sloppy application. There are many areas that the pigment goes outside of the lines. The plants growing on the archway are colored with more care on the left than they are on the right. In the upper right corner are plants that look as if they were painted in a single brush stroke instead of painted one leaf at a time. The final green portion of this image is the nymph. This is the first and last time that green is used to color clothing. However, I believe this stylistic choice was influenced by the text when it states that the nymph’s robes were made of green silk.

Illustration 27: This image shows Poliphilo walking through the archway with the nymph from the previous illustration. Poliphilo is neatly colored with his brown hat and yellow hair. The nymph in this image is colored with yellow hair which is supported by the text as it says that her head was golden. This image is perhaps has the sloppiest coloring so far. The green pigment for the plants are each colored with a single brush stroke. The grass is colored far more than the previous image and is the messiest portion of the image. The colorist did not take the time to paint the grass neatly or completely. There are sections of grass that are not colored at all. It is possible that it could be the colorist’s attempt at shading however I do not believe that is correct. In previous images there have been attempts at shading that were done successfully and look as if it were done on purpose. This image simply looks like the colorist did not care how the image looked.

Illustration 28 – Illustration 32: These images are grouped together because they are all images that depict the different parts of the first of four chariots. One and a half images that also depict the first chariot are not colored. Illustration 28 is the second panel on the left of the chariot. This panel shows four nymphs. Three are on shore and the third is riding a bull in the middle of the water. All of the nymphs have yellow hair. The only other pigment color is green which is messy
and applied to the trees and bushes on the shore. Illustration 29 is a diptych only the left side is colored and the only pigment used is green. This text labels this image as the front and back. The left side, according to the description of the text, is the front of the chariot. It shows cupid shooting an arrow into the sky in front of a crowd of people. The green pigment is used in this image and again it is used to color nature; in this case the grass, bush, and tree. Yellow is used to color the hair of cupid and one other man who looks like Poliphilo. However, this cannot be a portrayal of Poliphilo because he is looking at a pre-existing panel. I believe that this particular man’s hair was colored in order to establish him as Poliphilo by the colorist. Illustration 30 and 31 are shown next to each other on different pages. These two images are on the plinth that the chariot is displayed on. Both of the illustrations show a parade of people, nymphs, and centaurs. Green and yellow are present in both illustrations and they are similarly applied. The green in both images is messy and in both the yellow is applied to only a few heads. It is worth noting that the green on the plants is darker than the green on the grass. There is no textual evidence for any of these images.

Illustration 32-33: These images depict the different aspects to the second of four chariots. Three and a half images that are also used to depict the second chariot are not colored. Illustration 32 is a diptych that shows the front and back panels of the chariot. Only the right side is colored and only green is used to color the image. The application of the green pigment is messy, however, it is clear that the colorist was trying to be careful when applying the green around the two figures that are furthest to the left. The two figures to the right have green on their faces and the woman has green on her leg. Illustration 33 is part of the plinth that the second chariot is displayed on. This image depicts another parade of people with a carriage being pulled by elephants. Green and yellow are also used in this image. The green is used for leaves; the ones on the left are
messy and have a high intensity while the ones on the right are neat with a low intensity. Yellow is not only used for hair this time. It is also used to color the harp-looking instrument in the middle of the image and it is used to decorate the saddles on the elephants. The only textual evidence is that the text describes the elephants’ harnesses are made with gold and silver thread.

*Illustration 34- Illustration 38:* These images depict the different panels of the third of four chariots. All of the images that are used to depict the second chariot are colored. Illustration 34 is another diptych that shows the right hand panel. Only the right side of the illustration is colored. There is minimal coloring in this image. Green is the sole pigment and it is applied neatly to the trees. Directly underneath Illustration 34 is Illustration 35 which tells a story in three parts of a soldier receiving a shield, decapitating a woman, and then a winged horse running away. Green is the only pigment used in the image. Its application is relatively neat however, the intensity of the green does not stay consistent. Illustration 36 is a triptych that represents the front and back parts of the chariot. The furthest left image is of Venus after she is freed from a net. She is plucking the feathers from Cupid’s wings. The grass in the image is painted green. The colorist attempted to keep the green outside the figures. Directly opposite on the furthest right shows Cupid shooting an arrow into the sky and making it rain. The green grass on this end of the image is neater than the one on the right. The man on the left of the furthest right panel has brown clothing. This is the first time that clothing besides Poliphilo’s hat is colored brown. The middle illustration is Mercury presenting Cupid to Jupiter. The only color in this panel is the yellow in Jupiter’s throne which is the neatest portion of the image. The last illustrations, Illustrations 37 and 38, have the least amount of color. These two images show a parade of people and a chariot being pulled by unicorns. In Illustration 37 only the leaves that are held by a woman in the parade and some of the heads are colored. Naturally, the leaves are colored green
however, the green is very dark the pigment covers some of the black outline and detail work that causes the application quality to decrease. There are some figures that have yellow applied to their hair. There is also yellow on the clarinet type instrument that is being held by a nymph riding one of the unicorns. Illustration 38 is only colored with green pigment. Similarly, to Illustration 37 the leaves that are being held by that woman are also painted green. It is still a darker green than what has previously been applied in other illustrations. The only other place where green is applied is to the plants growing in the grass, the grass itself is not colored green.

Illustration 39-Illustration 40: These images depict the different panels of the final chariots. One image that is also used to depict the fourth chariot is not colored. The first of the images for the final chariot is Illustration 39. In this image Jupiter is handing a baby to a man who looks to be Mercury. The tree in the middle of the image is used to divide the illustration in half. On the right side of the tree it shows Mercury handing the baby to nymphs who were living in a cave. This image is colored primarily in green. There is some yellow pigmentation for the hair of the baby, Mercury, and the nymphs. The grass and tree is colored green and it is neatly applied. There is only one instance that the green goes outside the lines. Illustration 40 is a diptych that shows the front and back panels of the chariot. The left side is the front panel which shows Jupiter in the sky after Cupid summoned him. The grass is incredibly neat and the green stays the same shade in both panels. There is a man in the middle of the image that is kneeling down in front of Jupiter; this man is wearing a shaded brown robe. This is the second and last time that brown will be used for clothing. On the right side of the image shows Cupid, behind him a nymph, and Venus are standing in front of Jupiter. The grass on this side also has incredibly neat grass. There are only two instances that the pigment goes onto a figure.
Illustration 41-Illustration 42: The text briefly turns away from the chariot and begins to discuss a vase. These two images are two friezes on the vase. The first, Illustration 41 shows seven nymphs transforming into trees in front of Jupiter. This image shows the colorist’s clear intent while adding the pigment. The grass is neat and green but as the nymphs progress from tree like to human-like the green becomes absent. There is also intentional shading on the tree trunks which carries on until the last nymph closest to Jupiter. All of the women have leaves on their head that are also colored green. In some areas the application of the pigment is neat though there are some areas that are messy. The second illustration. Illustration 42 depicts a scene of naked figures harvesting grapes, offering grapes to the deity on the far left which could possibly be Bacchus. On the right the figures seem to be making grape juice or wine. Green is again the most heavily used pigment. Everything that is nature except for the grapes is colored green and the pigment is applied neatly. There is a tint of yellow to the basin that is very faint. Perhaps the most interesting part about the coloration of this specific image is the use of brown which, in this case, the colorist is using to represent red. The figure in the foreground that is standing on the basin has his chest colored red. This is to show that the figure has been making grape juice. One the opposite side of the image is the deity, Bacchus. His face is also painted brown perhaps to suggest that he has been drinking and is getting red-faced from it. This deliberate choice of colors will come up again.

Illustration 43-Illustration 44: The text finally returns to the plinth that the fourth chariot is displayed on. These two illustrations depict a parade of people. There is a chariot was pulled by lion-like creatures. Both of these images are colored the same way and only green is used. The leaves, trees and plants in both images are colored neatly.
Illustration 45: This image shows a parade of people that Poliphilo has come across. The image shows two people riding in a carriage pulled by four fawns. There are two colors used in this image: green, and yellow. The green, as it has been, is applied to the leaves and plants, but not the grass. Its application for the most part is neat it is only with the smaller leaves that a pigment escapes the lines. The only textual evidence to support that coloration is that some of the women were wearing banana leaves.

Illustration 46-Illustration 49: These next four images is from an altar with four sides. The front side is Illustration 46. It shows a goddess and a cherub standing together next to a fire. There are three doves that fly above them. Their hair is colored yellow as is the caldron that holds the fire. The application of the yellow is neat. The two figures are standing on neatly colored green grass. There was an attempt to make the green of the leaves in the woman’s hands neat however the brush may have been too thick which resulted in the pigment going outside the lines. Similar to Illustration 42, brown in this image is being used as a substitute for red. The brown is applied to the fire in the caldron. An interesting aspect to this illustration is that the writing on the bottom of the image was put in by a reader to make the image match the description of the text. The writing translates to “To Flowering Spring”. Illustration 47 is the depiction of the next side of the altar, the text does not say which specific side it is. This image shows a goddess with a headpiece made of wheat. In her left hand she holds a cornucopia. A young naked child sits at her feet to the right. There is minimal coloring in this image. Yellow is used for her hair and the hair of the child. It is also used for the leaves of the cornucopia. Though it may seem strange that the yellow is used for the leaves instead of the green it is supported by the text. The name of this

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image is “To Yellow Harvest” the cornucopia is a symbol of the harvest so it makes sense that the colorist chose to incorporate yellow. Green is once again used for the grass the application is smooth and neat. The third side of the altar is depicted in Illustration 48. This image shows a divine figure, who looks much like the figure in Illustration 42. I believe that this is an image of Bacchus. He holds a cornucopia in his left hand and a bundle of grapes in his right. At his feet lies a goat. By no surprise, the grass and leaves are colored green and the application is extremely smooth and neat. The only other color is the brown, once again used as a representative of red, for his face. While the text states that he is, “laughing lasciviously” which would cause a red face I also think it could be because he is Bacchus and was represented in the same way in Illustration 42. The name of this illustration is called, “To Autumn Vintage”. The final image on this altar shows a man looking towards the sky. It is raining around him. The only pigment used in this image is green for the grass. It is not as neat as the grass on the previous three images. This illustration is called, “Sacred to Winter Winds”. Interestingly, the text describes the man in “Winter Winds” as red-faced which brings me back to the point that the figure in “Autumn Vintage” is Bacchus. With no textual evidence to support the usage of red / brown pigment on his face I conclude that the colorist also believed that the figure was a representation of the wine god.

Illustration 50: This image is a full page and is the most censored image of the Renaissance. It shows an ancient ritual and festival. Out of all the images so far this is the neatest and the most detailed. The primary pigment used for this image is green. Leaves covers the dome and the posts that hold it up. There are some places that the pigment comes outside the lines though. The

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53 Ibid.
54 Ibid.
As it has been, the yellow is used to color hair. In this image the yellow is also used to color the altar in the middle of the page. The lamps hanging down from the dome are painted yellow most likely to represent them burning.

As a whole, the yellow pigment is applied neatly. The most surprising element of the coloration of the image is the use of brown. Thus far it has only been used for Poliphilo’s hat. In this image the brown is used as red would have been. At the bottom of the illustration there is a woman bleeding a donkey. The colorist added the brown pigments to the bowl in order to represent the blood of the donkey. Perhaps the most shocking placement of color is the brown on the head of the phallus.

Illustration 51: After skipping three illustrations the colorist chose this image that depicts a sculpture that has a crescent moon on the top that an eagle with its wings spread. Four balls are connected to the ring below the moon. These balls have been neatly colored yellow.

Illustration 52-Illustration 53: These two images are grouped together because of their relationship to one another. These two slabs are described as being hung together outside of the door. Interestingly, the Greek letters printed in the text does not match the inscription on the image. It seems that the on the image what are supposed to be the Greek letter pi (Π) is actually printed as the Greek letter gamma (Γ). Both of these images only have green pigment which is used to color the leaves. In both cases the pigment is applied neatly.

Illustration 54-Illustration 62: These images are all grouped together because each one is depicting the same place. Also, the coloring for Illustration 54 to Illustration 60 have the same amount of color, same pigment used, and the same application quality. This series of images are taken from a temple that Poliphilo is visiting where he is to be engaged to Polia. The images show the preparation and ritual and the two go through with the High Priestess and members of
the temple. From Illustration 54 to Illustration 60 the only pigment used in the image is yellow for the hair color. The only exception is Illustration 54 which has additional yellow pigment applied to some of the objects held by the virgins. It is important to note that the objects that are colored yellow are not the objects that the text describes as gold. Rather the objects that are colored are made of brass and beeswax which could also have connotations of yellow. There is no textual evidence for Illustrations 55 through Illustration 60. Illustrations 61 and 62 also have the same yellow pigment for hair but these two also have green pigment. The text describes a rose bush which spontaneously grew after Polia and Poliphilo completed their ritual. In both images (61 and 62) the bush is colored green. In Illustration 61 the leaves are colored carefully and neatly. In Illustration 62 it is no longer the case. It seems as if the colorist tried to color the leaves with one brush stroke instead of going through individually like in Illustration 61.

Illustration 63-64: The colorist skips one illustration to get to Illustration 63 and skips four illustrations to get to Illustration 64. These two images are grouped together because both images have minimal coloring and brown is the only pigment present in both images. They are also both circular details on the same Egyptian obelisk. Illustration 63 depicts a set of scales and Illustration 64 according to the text shows, “The rich trophy or insignia of the victory and spoils of the divine Julius”. 55

Illustration 65- Illustration 67: The colorist skips seven woodblocks to get to Illustration 65, (s)he skips five more images to get to Illustration 66, and then skips four illustrations to get to Illustration 67. These images are grouped together because they all are found in the ruined temple. The first image, Illustration 65 is a figured tomb. The center shows an altar with a

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prepared goats head, on the right a man leans against a tree and plays the flute, on the left is an old woman with a basket of fruits on her head, and at her feet satyr children are playing with snakes. The only pigment in this illustration, and in all the illustrations in this grouping, is green. The grass and leaves are colored but the application is sloppy. The leaves look like they were painted with one brush stroke and the green in the grass goes onto the figures’ feet. Illustration 66 is a fragment of a monument. The leaves are painted green and done so neatly. Illustration 67 is an epigram telling a sweet tale of two lovers. The wreath on this slab is neatly colored green. The leaves on the top of it are half neat and half messy. There is a vessel that the leaves are coming out of that is neatly colored yellow. Interestingly, a reader went through the epigram and underlined it as a form of decoration. The first two lines are indented and the reader has embellished the empty spaces.

Illustration 68: This image comes after the colorist skips eight illustrations. This image is a simple one, it is a single tree. Naturally it is painted green but only minimally. The colorist only colored 20 or so individual leaves rather than the whole thing. The ground that the tree is growing out of is also colored green which is neatly applied.

Illustration 69-Illustration 70: Twenty-four images are skipped over to get to Illustrations 69 and 70. These two images both show the same procession that Poliphilo has come across. Both images have green and yellow pigment for leaves and hair respectively. The green in Illustration 69 is sloppy while the yellow is applied neatly. In Illustration 70 the green is neater than it is in sixty-nine. The yellow which is applied to every figure’s head is also neatly applied.

Illustration 71- Illustration 73: The very next images are Illustrations 71, 72, and 73. These images are grouped together because they are all found in the palace. Illustration 71 is a design of a pedestal which had ram skulls in the top two corners. The painting in the middle, which
depicted nymphs sacrificing satyrs, was surrounded by garland. The garland was colored green and the ribbons inside the garland were painted yellow. The yellow pigment is far neater than the green pigment. Illustration 72 is a frieze that depicts a satyr and a naked woman riding a bull. The only pigment used in this illustration is green. The intensity of the green is much greater than in previous illustrations. The pigment was neatly, carefully, and smoothly applied.

Illustration 73 shows the architecture of the palace. Once again only green is used. In this case the green is applied to one of the archways. This is the first and only time green is used to highlight an architectural detail.

_Illustration 74-Illustration 76:_ After skipping one image the colorist came to Illustrations 74, 75, and 76. These images are grouped together because they all depict the same setting, the same pigments are used and the application quality is all the same. Illustration 74 shows one side of the tomb of Adonis the hunter. This side depicted how Adonis died. Green pigment was applied to the trees, grass, and the leaves on the side of the tomb. The pigment is, for the most part, neatly applied. On the end of the tomb there is a coil that was painted yellow. According to the text it is a _golden_ serpent. Illustration 75 shows the top of the tomb which has a sculpture of the Divine Mother (aka Venus) nursing Cupid. A woman kisses the top of Venus’ feet and five other women pray at the end of the tomb. The grass and trees are again, painted green. The application of the color in the trees is neat. The grass in many areas intersects with the figures. Yellow is also used in this illustration as the color of hair. Illustration 76 shows the backside of the tomb where there is a large congregation of people. The grass and trees are colored green which are both sloppy. Once again yellow is present in the form of hair color which is neatly applied. This is the last image of Book 1.
Colored Images Found in Book 2 (Illustrations 77-84)

Illustration 77-Illustration 79: The first two images of Book 2 were skipped by the colorist. Illustrations 77, 78, and 79 are the first three colored images in Book 2. These images are grouped together because they depict different actions of the same scene. They are also both colored with the same pigments and with the same application quality. Illustration 77 is a depiction of a scene that Polia stumbled upon while she was in the forest. The image shows two women who are pulling a chariot that is being driven by a winged figure. On the next page is Illustration 78. This image shows the same winged figure brutally murdering the two women as Polia watches from the forest. In Illustration 79 the bodies of the two slain women are devoured by wild animals as the winged boy flew away. All three images only have green pigment which colors the trees and grass of each image. In each image the pigment is sloppy and regularly goes outside the lines. The application of the color is choppy and has many instances of blank space.

Illustration 80: The next colored illustration is three images later. This images show Polia on her bedroom floor which roses and green myrtle (a symbol of Venus) suddenly appeared. Outside her window there is a chariot flying in the sky carrying a goddess. The only pigment in this image is green which covers the grass outside Polia’s window and her bedroom floor. The application is messy, some areas were left intentionally blank in order to keep it from going into Polia’s figure, and the intensity of the green does not stay consistent.

Illustration 81: This is the next image in the book. In this illustration Polia is confronting the temple Priestess and telling her that she has fallen in love with Poliphilo. Poliphilo stands between the two women. In the back of the room on the right is a vessel containing fire. Brown is the only pigment in the illustration that covers the fire. This is the last time that brown is used
as a substitute for red. The text does not even mention that there is a fire in the room so it is interesting that the fire was chosen to be highlighted by the colorist.

Illustration 82- Illustration 83: These two images are grouped together because of the way they are colored and because the images are connected to one another. The colorist skips two illustrations to get to Illustration 82 that shows Poliphilo writing a letter. The grass outside his window there is green grass that has differing intensities and is not applied neatly. Illustration 83 is the next illustration that shows Polia reading one of the letters he sent her. Outside her bedroom window there is again, green grass. In this image the pigment is applied neater and the intensity is more consistent. Illustration 83 also has yellow pigment in Polia’s hair and the details of her bed.

Illustration 84: The colorist skips two illustrations to get to the final image in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. The image is of Cupid, Polia, Poliphilo, and Venus. Yellow is the only pigment in this image and it is neatly applied on Cupid and Polia’s hair. There is no pigment on Poliphilo or on Venus.

General Overview of Colored Illustrations

For this section I will continue to reference my spreadsheet of images found in the appendix (Table 2).

As I created the spreadsheet and analyzed the images I found that certain patterns were emerging from the book. These were results I never expected to find. The first finding was the uniformity of the coloring for each of the colored illustrations. For example, the first time we see the main character, Poliphilo, he is dressed in a flowing robe, his hair comes down to his shoulders, there is a hat on his head. The pigments applied were blue for his robe, yellow for his
hair, and his hat was colored a brownish orange\textsuperscript{56}. If we skip ahead to Illustration 19, his hair is still yellow and his robe is still blue. This pattern continues throughout the whole book. In almost every depiction of Poliphilo he is colored in a uniform way. Though not all the pigments (blue, yellow, brownish orange) are always present in every colored illustration of him there is still some kind of consistency. This could only be his hat being colored (Illustration 23) or only his robes are colored (Illustration 21) or his hair is just colored (Illustration 52). The only pigments used are green, yellow, blue, and brownish orange. I believe that the colorist ran out of blue pigment early on in the process since it is not found in any other illustration after Illustration 22.

Since I was reading some of the pages that had some sort of colored illustration I noticed another interesting phenomenon. There are many illustrations that depict an outside scene or some kind of nature. I found that of the colored illustrations depictions of nature were always colored in green \textit{regardless} if they are described in the text as being part of a statue or frieze. In those instances, it made it difficult to prove or even believe that the text influenced the colorist at all. Though I do believe that the colorist was coloring what was familiar. Nature is green so therefore any color that would be applied would logically be green regardless of what the text was saying. It is not the case every time though. There are many instances where the text does influence the colorist’s choices in pigment.

**Conclusion and Implications for Future Research**

Aldus Manutius’ \textit{Hypnerotomachia Poliphili} has a reputation for its mystery, erotic subject, and its groundbreaking design. The Cary Collection’s copy of this famed book has allowed me to experience its intrigue first-hand. Through this thesis I found that reader response

\textsuperscript{56} I believe that the brownish orange was originally a red pigment that has faded overtime and has become brown in appearance. This assumption is based off the usage of the pigment to color flames and blood.
theory can inform our understanding of a book’s readers if we understand these responses as forms of communication from reader to reader even if said readers are separated by hundreds of years. I was still able to connect with a past reader through reader response in the form of the colored images. The colorist of the images chose them for a reason. For example, Illustration 50 is the most well-known and highly censored image and it happens to have the most detailed coloring out of all of the eighty-four colored images. This is not a coincidence and neither is coloring Poliphilo the same way, or the only pigment used for hair color being yellow. These are choices that the colorist made and the reasoning for choosing certain images over others will always be a question. However, I believe that the reader chose specific images based on the amount of interest [s]he had while reading a passage, the content of the image, or simply because the individual liked the image. While there is no way to prove my theory, I also believe that the colorist had read the text before and was working on the images chronologically. Had the colorist painted the images out of order then blue pigment would be scattered throughout that book and not just in the first twenty-two images.

Over the course of writing this thesis I have had the privilege of uncovering some of this book’s secrets but it holds so many more. Future researchers of this particular copy should look into multispectral imaging in an attempt to bring out any faded ink. Also, a survey of the images should be done to ensure that I did not miss any colored images. Lastly, more work should be done to try to uncover more provenance of the book. That could help identify some of the readers who left marginalia and may bring us one step closer to identifying the colorist.
Table 1. 15th Century Printing Privileges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Privilege Type 1</th>
<th>Privilege Type 2</th>
<th>Privilege Type 3</th>
<th>Privilege Type 4</th>
<th>Privilege Type 5</th>
<th>Privilege Type 6</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual Monopoly</td>
<td>- Individual Monopoly&lt;br&gt;- Allows an individual to be the only one to publish during a specific period of time.</td>
<td>- Copyright&lt;br&gt;- Allows an author rights to their own work.&lt;br&gt;- Allows an author to choose a printer to work with, only that printer could publish that particular book.</td>
<td>- Copyright&lt;br&gt;- Allowed a printer to be the sole printer and distributor of a particular book title or author.</td>
<td>- Patent for new technologies or production improvements.&lt;br&gt;- Similar to Privilege 2 (validated the &quot;claims of the intellect&quot;)&lt;br&gt;- Gave rights to a translated work to the translator / editor.&lt;br&gt;- The most popular privilege of the 15th century.</td>
<td>- Copyright&lt;br&gt;- Allowed printers to “protect specific titles”&lt;br&gt;- 74/106 type 6 privileges were granted in the fifteenth century&lt;br&gt;- Printers abused this privileges which led to legislation change in 1517.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1. Newbattle Abbey Library Bookplate, in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), The Cary Graphic Arts Collection, Photo courtesy of The Cary Graphic Arts Collection.
Figure 2. *The Worship of Priapus*, 1499, in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, The Cary Graphic Arts Collection, Photo courtesy of The Cary Graphic Arts Collection.
Figure 3. Letter from binder Fritz Eberhardt, 1974, the Cary Graphic Arts Collection, Photo courtesy of the author.
Figure 4. Errata Page in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili (1499), The Cary Graphic Arts Collection, Photo courtesy of The Cary Graphic Arts Collection.
ad glideros litorii el doloroso & ingrato decescio del natante Leandro
caldamente solpira, lo Polipho loprc lectulo mio incendo, oppor
tune amico del corpo laso, nunc ina conscia camera familiare esen-
do, fera non mi chara lucubratorice Agrypnia, Laquale pocin che me-
co hebbe facto vario colloquio compartimento, pale haudendi fata la
caua & origine degli mei profundi fospiri, pietosamente suadeami al
temperamento de tale perturbatione, Et audita de delhora che io gia do-
uelle dormire, dimando licentia. Dique negli altri cogitamenti amore fia
lo relieto, la longa & radusa nocèr informe consumando, per la mia fe-
rule fortuna & aduerseatrice & unqua sie la tutto aconsolato, & fospiro fia,
per importun & non prospero amore illaerumido, di puncio in pun
eto ricogitaua, che cosa cina qualque amore, Et como apatamente amare si
pole, chi non ama, Et cu quale protezione da insitiati & credire congre-
si affiati, & circumvenuta da hostile pugna, la fluuente anima possi
tanto inerme resistere, essendo pracicpe intellima la fedtiosa pugna, & af-
siduamente irretita di soliciti, insenbili & noui penseri. De cufo faco & ta
le misero fato, haudendo per longo traéto amaramente doluto, & gia
fessi gli uaghi spiriti de penfare intuirelmente, & pabulado duno fallace & fin
eto piacere Madritamente & fencia falso duno mortale, ma più prae-
fio duno obietco di Polia, La cuueneranda Idea in me profundamente
impresta, & piu intimamente insculpta occupatrice uius, Etha le tremou
le & micante selle incohanano de impallidire el suo splendor, che tacen
do la lingua, quel nemico desiderato, dal quale procede questo tanto & in
definito certoe, impatite solicitando el coro faciato, & per proficuo &
efficace remedio el chiamaua indeferro. Il quale altro non era che ino-
uatione del mio tormento, fencia intercalatione, crudle. Cogitabondo &
la qualitate degli miseli amatori, per quale condizione per piacere ad
altri dolcemente morire optano, & piacendo ad feme malemente uiterre, Et
el franco dio piacere, & non altramente de laborioso & fospirabile ima-
aginazione. Dunde quale homo, che dapò le diurne fatiche laso, cuai
ne piu ne meno, sedato apena el doloroso pianto esteriore alquato, & in-
claustrato el corpo delle irrorante lachryme le guance damoro linguo-
relacunate, desiderata hogimai la naturale & opportuna quiete. Hora
li madidi ochi uno pocho tra le rubente palpebre rachiusi, &encia dimo
rare tuto acerbà, & suaue morte. Fue inuasa & quella parte occupata &
da uno dolce somno oppresa, laquelle cum lamente & cum gli amanti &
perugli spiriti non ita unitate parciad in fale operazione. O Jupiter
alstonante, felice o mirabile teo terrifica, diro io questa, siutata uscente, che
in me non fatoua atomo che non tremi & ardi excogitandola. Ad me
parue
Figure 6. First Hand in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), The Cary Graphic Arts Collection, Photo courtesy of The Cary Graphic Arts Collection.
Figure 7. Examples of the Second and Third Hand in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), The Cary Graphic Arts Collection, Photo courtesy of the author.
Figure 8. Example of the Fourth Hand and Embellishments in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), The Cary Graphic Arts Collection, Photo courtesy of the Cary Graphic Arts Collection.

Figure 9. Flyleaf with Inscription, in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), The Cary Graphic Arts Collection, Photo courtesy of The Cary Graphic Arts Collection.
Figure 10. Example of Minimal Coloring, 1499, in the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, The Cary Graphic Arts Collection, Photo courtesy of The Cary Graphic Arts Collection.
Figure 11. Example of Some Coloring, 1499, in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, The Cary Graphic Arts Collection, Photo courtesy of The Cary Graphic Arts Collection.
Figure 12. Example of Mostly Colored, 1499, in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, The Cary Graphic Arts Collection, Photo courtesy of The Cary Graphic Arts Collection.
Please note that in the fourth column, E.T. refers to English Translation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Blank Illustrations</th>
<th>Colored Illustrations from the Cary</th>
<th>Color Analysis</th>
<th>Textual Evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 1</td>
<td>Minimal Color</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Brown: Struck on the upper stem of the P</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 2</td>
<td>Some Color</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Green: Nature - Grass, leaves Blue: Clothing Brown: Hat Yellow: Hair Green is messy. Blue, Brown, Yellow has neat application</td>
<td>&quot;...I had arrived at the vast Hercynian Forest...&quot; (p. 14 ET)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 3</td>
<td>Half colored.</td>
<td>Pigments used: Green: Nature - Grass, Leaves Blue: Clothing, Water Brown: Hat</td>
<td>Color does not stay in the lines. Color intensity is not cohesive. Green is not applied carefully.</td>
<td>&quot;I was destressed to find that the flowing spring I had had sought and found with such trouble and difficulty had disappeared and vanished from my sights&quot; (p. 18 ET)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 4</td>
<td>Half Colored.</td>
<td>Pigments used: Green: Nature - Grass, Leaves Blue: Clothing Brown: Hat</td>
<td>Color does not stay in the lines. Intensity is not the same.</td>
<td>&quot;Finally exhaustion overcame me...and I stretched myself out on the grass beneath an ancient, furrowed oak.&quot; (p. 18 ET).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 5</td>
<td>Half Colored.</td>
<td>Pigments used: Green: Nature - Grass, Leaves Blue: Clothing Brown: Hat</td>
<td>Color does not stay in the lines. Intensity is not the same.</td>
<td>&quot;Even on the plain there were pleasant copes of other wild shrubs and flowering brooms, and many green plants (p.20-21).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 6</td>
<td>Minimal Color</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Green: Nature - Grass Yellow: Hair</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td>Color changes in intensity, does not stay in the lines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 7</td>
<td>Minimal Color</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Green: Wreath</td>
<td>&quot;On the front of this stone facing the portal I saw a green marble wreath depicting bitter parsley mixed with the fennel-like leaves of sulphurwort, in which was set a round panel of white stone&quot; (p.33).</td>
<td>Color does not stay in the lines.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Pigments Used</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Green: Wreath</td>
<td>Similarly, on the opposite face there was a wreath of deadly aconite leaves, color does not stay in the lines (p.33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Some Color</td>
<td>Grass: Nature - Grass</td>
<td>Coloring is neat, and stays inside the lines. Intensity of the green is not consistent</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Some Color</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Grass</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Blue: Clothing</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellow: Clothing, Hair</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Grass</td>
<td>Coloring stays within the lines.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Grass</td>
<td>Intensity changes, coloring stays within the lines.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Some Color</td>
<td>Green: Dragon</td>
<td>Green and blue have intensity changes. Color stays inside the lines (except for the blue at the tip of the foot).</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brown: Hat</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Blue: Clothing</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Yellow: Clothing, Hair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illustration 14</td>
<td>Minimal Color: Pigments Used: Green: Nature - Leaves, Tree, Wreath Pigments Used: Green: Nature - Leaves, Tree, Wreath Pigments Used: Green: Nature - Leaves, Tree, Wreath Color changes in intensity, does not stay within the lines. “Behind her head was an arbutus tree with its evergreen foliage and many soft, round gruits, full of birds which seemed to be twittering and inducing the nymph's sweet slumber” (p.72).</td>
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<td>Illustration 15</td>
<td>Some Color: Pigments used: Green: Grass, Leaves Blue: Clothing Brown: Hat Yellow: skirt, instrument, and hair Blue pigment applied carefully, green pigment has different intensities, and not neatly done. “Their girlish heads were encircled with splendid ribbons of gold thread...The blond ringlets twisted and trembled on their snow-white foreheads...They were dressed in Scarpantian fashion with three tunics in ornate silk of various colors and textures...” (p.76).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illustration 16</td>
<td>Minimal Color Pigments used: Green: leaves (on top of fountain), dragon (furthest left). Color stays in the lines. “It stood erect, fastened to the centre of a circular plinth of greenish serpentine” (89). “Each one held in her right hand a cornucopia that reached a little above her head, then the mouths of all three horns met and made a single round, open form. An abundance of various fruits and leaves overflowed the opening or rim of the interwined horns” (89)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illustration 17</td>
<td>Minimal Color Pigments Used: Green: Leaves Color does not stay in the lines “next, dolphins, with leaf-like gills and ends of their finds turning into leaves...” (96).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illustration 18</td>
<td>Some Color: Pigments used: Green: leaves Yellow: Circle that says “SOL”, lamps Blue: Flowers on the wall Pigment applied neatly, only green pigment outside the lines. “They formed an unbelievable rich ceiling with their variegated foliage, made from splendid Scythian emeralds that delight the eye and with flowers of every season made from sapphire and beryl, distributed with great skill and artifice among the green leaves.” (97)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illustration 19</td>
<td>Minimal Color Pigments Used: Green: leaves Blue: Flowers, clothing, lightshade Yellow: Hair, light and lightshade, claw feet on the chairs, crown. Color is neatly applied, though there are spots of color outside the lines.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Pigments Used</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Some Color</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Leaves, Wreath Yellow: Wreath detail.</td>
<td>Color is not done neatly, color is outside the lines in multiple places.</td>
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<td>&quot;The wreath above the throne contained an encaustic painting of a beautiful beardless figure with yellow hair, and part of his chest covered with fine cloth, above the open wings of an eagle that raised its head to stare fixedly at him. He wore an azure diadem decorated with seven rays, and at the eagle's feet on either side was a branch of deathless green laurel.&quot; (p. 102)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Minimal Color</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Leaves Yellow: Wreath detail</td>
<td>Pigment is applied softly and neatly</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>&quot;The latter, where they joined the base, turned into fierce lion's claws of gold with exquisite foliage that embraced the columns.&quot; (103)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Half Colored</td>
<td>Yellow: Clothing, Hair Blue: Clothing Green: Nature - Grass</td>
<td>Color application is sloppy Green intensity is not consistent</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Some color</td>
<td>Green: Nature - grass Yellow: hair</td>
<td>Intensity of green is not consistent. Green pigment is sloppy.</td>
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<td>No textual evidence</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Half-colored</td>
<td>Brown: Hat Yellow: Hair Green: Nature - Grass, Trees</td>
<td>Green pigment was not applied neatly at the bottom of the illustration. Brown and Yellow applied neatly</td>
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<td>No textual evidence</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Half Colored</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Grass, Trees Brown: Hat Yellow: Hat</td>
<td>&quot;Their heads were yellow as the sun with the knotwork of interwoven silk and golden threads, exceeding all human skill, and wrapped around their heads in splendid arrangements held with hairpins.&quot; (141 ET)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Pigments Used</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Some coloring</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Grass, Plants. Clothing Brown: Hat.</td>
<td>&quot;I sighed to myself, and the amorous sighs engendered inside my inflamed heart echoed beneath the green bower* (ET. 141-142).&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Half Colored</td>
<td>Brown: Hat. Green: Grass, trees, plants. Yellow: Hair. Pigment application is extremely messy.</td>
<td>&quot;The sun-like nymph had dressed her virginal and divine little body with the thinnest material, of a green silk weft woven together with a warp of gold...&quot; (ET. 143).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Trees, Bushes.</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Some coloring</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Grass, Plants Yellow: Hair. Pigment outside the lines.</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Some coloring</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Grass, Plants Yellow: Hair.</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Coloring Style</td>
<td>Pigments used</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 32</td>
<td>Half Colored</td>
<td>Green: Trees, grass</td>
<td>Pigment is neatly applied</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 33</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Plants, dark-blue silk, beautifully intertwined with a mixture of gold and silver thread.</td>
<td>“They were harnessed with cords of fine Green: Nature - Plants, dark-blue silk, beautifully intertwined with a mixture of gold and silver thread.” (165).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 34</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Trees</td>
<td>Pigment applied neatly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 35</td>
<td>Half Colored</td>
<td>Green: Grass and trees</td>
<td>Pigment applied neatly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 36</td>
<td>Some Coloring</td>
<td>Green: grass, Brown: Clothing</td>
<td>Pigment applied neatly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 37</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Leaves, Yellow: Hair, Instrument</td>
<td>Pigment applied neatly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Coloring Level</td>
<td>Pigments Used</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Plants, Leaves; Yellow: Hair</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Half colored</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td>Green: Grass, Trees; Pigment is neatly applied</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Half colored</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td>Green: Grass; Brown: Clothes; Pigment is neatly applied</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Some Coloring</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td>Green: Grass; Trees; &quot;They then transformed themselves into green trees of transparent emerald...&quot; (ET 174)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Half Colored</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Grass, Leaves; Yellow: Basin; Brown: Body and Face; Pigments are neatly applied</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Trees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Illustration 44** | Minimal Coloring  
Pigments used:  
Green: Nature - Trees, Leaves, Plants  
Pigment applied neatly |
| **Illustration 45** | Little coloring:  
Pigments used:  
Green: Trees  
Yellow: Harp  
Pigment is messy  
Pigment from other page is bleeding through page  
“Some wore the leaves of the banana tree over their naked flesh” (E.T. 191) |
| **Illustration 46** | Some coloring  
Pigments Used:  
Green: grass  
Yellow: Hair, Caldron  
Brown: Flames.  
Pigment is neatly applied.  
“Be beneath the feet of this figure was written: ‘Sacred to Flowering Spring’” (E.T. 192).  
Bottom of the illustration, in the base an owner wrote the illustration caption using similar, if not the same ink used on the flame. |
| **Illustration 47** | Minimal Coloring  
Pigment Used:  
Green: Nature - Grass, Leaves  
Pigment applied neatly, on the bottom it does bleed into the baby’s legs  
No textual evidence |
| **Illustration 48** | Some coloring  
Pigments Used:  
Green: Nature - Grass, Leaves  
Brown: Face  
“He held in his left hand a bunch of fruiting vines, and in the other a cornucopia full of grapes, their leaves, and tendrils spilling out of its mouth.” (ET 193). |
| **Illustration 49** | Minimal Coloring  
Pigment Used:  
Green: Grass  
No textual evidence |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Coloring Style</th>
<th>Pigments Used</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring</td>
<td>Yellow: Balls</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring</td>
<td>Green: Leaves</td>
<td>Pigment is neatly applied.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring</td>
<td>Green: Leaves</td>
<td>Pigment is neatly applied.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring</td>
<td>Pigments Used</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellow: Hair, Objects</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellow: Hair</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellow: Hair</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellow: Hair</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellow: Hair</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellow: Hair</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Coloring Level</td>
<td>Pigments Used</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Yellow: Hair</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Green: Leaves; Yellow: Hair</td>
<td>&quot;Scarcely had I opened my frightened eyes a little to loo at the altar, than I saw a verdant rose-bush miraculously issue out of a the pure smoke, grow, and multiply.&quot; (ET 233)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Green: Nature: Leaves</td>
<td>Scarcely had I opened my frightened eyes a little to loo at the altar, than I saw a verdant rose-bush miraculously issue out of a the pure smoke, grow, and multiply. (ET 233)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Brown: Middle design</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>Brown: Medallion</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Green: Nature - Grass, Trees</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring</td>
<td>Pigments Used:</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td>Green: Nature-Leaves</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Green: Leaves</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pigments Used:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td>Green: Leaves</td>
<td>&quot;There were two small columns, one on each side, freely and expeditiously drawn, and nearly all the rectangular area was carefully carved out to make a leafy crown or wreath, inside which I read the inscription&quot; <em>(ET, 264)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pigments Used:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
<td>Green: Leaves</td>
<td>&quot;A fruit tree was similarly planted in the middle of each uppermost container, but different from the first range in its fruit and in the form of its topiary&quot; <em>(ET, 304)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pigments Used:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td>Green: Leaves</td>
<td>No Textual Evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pigments Used:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td>Green: Nature-Leaves</td>
<td>No Textual Evidence</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellow: Hair</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Green pigment is sloppy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellow pigment is neat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 71</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Green: Leaves Yellow: Ribbon</td>
<td>&quot;The columns were supported on suitable pedestals, with the requisite lineaments: two rams’ skulls hung at each corner with their corrugated horns curled like shells, and out of their spiraling points came some knotted shoots that held a leafy garland, with pressed leaves and prominent fruit&quot; (ET, 348).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illustration 72</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring: Pigments Used: Green: Nature-Leaves Pigment is applied neatly</td>
<td>&quot;There was a second satyr behind, holding the bull’s other horn in one hand and in the other grasping by its string a pendent garland of leaves which dropped across the lower body of the vase, then with a slight curve met the hand of the satyr on the other side.&quot; (ET 350).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 73</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Green: Archway</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 74</td>
<td>Half Colored</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Green: Nature-Grass and Trees Yellow: Serpent</td>
<td>&quot;This greenery continued in all its pleasing density and uniformity until it touched the periphery of the spring.&quot; (ET, 370).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 75</td>
<td>Half Colored</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Green: Grass and Trees Yellow: Hair Pigment is sloppy in some areas</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 76</td>
<td>Half Colored</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Green: Grass, Leaves Yellow: Hair Pigment is sloppy in most areas</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 77</td>
<td>Half Colored: Pigments Used: Green: Nature- Grass, Leaves</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 78</td>
<td>Half Colored</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Green: Nature- Grass, Leaves</td>
<td>&quot;The wild and wooden place echoed with their pitiful voices until their jaws seized up&quot; (ET, 401).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 79</td>
<td>Half colored</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Green: Nature-Grass, Leaves</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 80</td>
<td>Half Colored</td>
<td>Pigments Used: Green: Grass, Leaves Pigment is sloppy</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration</td>
<td>Minimal Coloring</td>
<td>Pigments Used</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td>Brown: Flames</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td>Green: Nature - Grass</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Intensity of the green changes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
<td>Green: Nature - Grass Yellow: Hair, Bed</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yellow: Hair</td>
<td>No textual evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pigment is on Cupid and Poly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography


