



Arcadia at the Newberry

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Arcadia at the Newberry

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THE WING COLLECTION (ZP 5351.07) of the Newberry Library in Chicago holds one of the first editions of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, described in the catalog as follows: "Former Ownership History: Mounted on 16 pages are colored borders and initials done by hand, cut from another copy of this work./Notes: Signatures: A-N./Reprints the Naples, Sigismund Mayr 1504 edition, edited by Pietro Summonte; the type is not the same as that used by Mayr in 1504."¹ The Newberry *Arcadia* is in reality the first reprint of the *princeps*, published in Naples by Mayr in 1504, the culmination of a passionate editorial labor that took place during the twenty decisive years of the evolution of the Italian language and literature toward unity and commonality among the diverse areas of the peninsula.² The work was born in the mid-1480s against a backdrop of political and civil crisis in Aragonese Naples, when Sannazaro, a young nobleman in the service of Alfonso d'Aragona, duke of Calabria, having again taken up and reworked some of his eclogues composed in the preceding years (ca. 1480–82), inserted them into an original prosimetrum structure, resulting in ten prose pieces and ten eclogues introduced by a prologue under the title *Libro pastorale nominato Arcadio* (late 1482–early 1486). The "pastoral book," following a popular trend in the courts

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Translated by Danielle Callegari.

1. *Dictionary Catalogue of the History of Printing from John M. Wing Foundation in the Newberry Library, Second Supplement*, vol. 4, *Chronology* (Boston, 1981), 4. Acquired by the London dealer Maggs in 1977, the volume presents a typescript record on the inside of the first plate: "SANNAZAR. JACOPO. Arcadia del Sannazaro tutta fornita et tratta emendatissima dal suo originale et novamente in Napoli stampita. Small 4to, old oak boards, with leather back and brass clasps/Naples about 1505./ Rare Early Edition of Sannazaro's Famous Poem. Of Unique interest from a former owner's having enriched it by insertion of a number of old hand-painted borders containing small views of Naples, Monks, Birds and Musical Instruments." On fol. A2r, on the upper-left corner, a note in pencil: "John Doe/77-33701."

2. Material from this and the three paragraphs that follow is drawn from the introduction to Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. Carlo Vecce (Rome, 2013), 43–53.

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and in Italian intellectual circles (from Florence and Siena to Mantua, Ferrara, and Venice), immediately met with great success, enjoying a substantial manuscript tradition extending especially across northern Italy, into the Po valley and the Veneto. In the allegory of the pastoral world, the refined habits of shepherds mirrored an entire community of poets, literati, and courtiers, with their rituals and codes and with respect to the friendship and reciprocal exchange that distinguished, for example, the Venetian circle of the young Pietro Bembo.³

It was in Venice and the Veneto that the work would find its most attentive readers and its first intense interactions with other forms of expression and interpretation between the end of the quattrocento and the beginning of the cinquecento: the figurative arts (represented by Lorenzo Lotto, Giorgione, the young Titian), theater, music, architecture, and the art of gardening. It is no coincidence that the first edition (unauthorized) of the *Libro pastorale nominato Arcadio* was Venetian, published by Bernardino Vercellese, June 14, 1502 (then reprinted November 22, 1502, and again December 12, 1504), immediately followed by Sigismond Mayr in Naples (January 26, 1503) and by Giovanni Angelo Scinzenzeler in Milan (January 9, 1504). The problem with the first editions of the *Libro pastorale* was that the text no longer corresponded to the work that remained in the author's workshop after 1486, heavily revised in a second redaction between 1490 and 1496 with the addition of two prose pieces and two eclogues and given the new title *Arcadia*. It was not only a metamorphosis of form but an elevation of the entire imaginary world Sannazaro had created, enriched with new humanistic, ancient, and artistic experiences (including a unique citation of Andrea Mantegna) that the Neapolitan poet had acquired in the intervening years. While it was printed in Venice, without the permission of the author, as the *Libro pastorale nominato Arcadio*, the *Arcadia* remained unpublished in Naples, left in its original manuscript form by Sannazaro to his brother Marcantonio. Sannazaro himself had left Italy for France, following the last Aragonese king of Naples into exile. In Blois, February 3, 1503, a correspondent of Isabella d'Este informed him of the unfaithful Venetian edition of the *Libro pastorale*, and Sannazaro requested that the correspondent procure him a copy "così come se ritrovava affinché se potesse correggere et provvedere ad tanto errore" (as it was found so that it could be corrected and every error seen to).⁴ Perhaps only then he may have asked his

3. Compare, esp., Lina Bolzoni, *Il cuore di cristallo: Ragionamenti d'amore, poesia e ritratto nel Rinascimento* (Turin, 2010).

4. Carlo Vecce, *Iacopo Sannazaro in Francia: Scoperte di codici all'inizio del XVI secolo* (Padua, 1988), 50.

friends who had remained in Naples (the humanist Pietro Summonte and the poet Cariteo) to publish his incomplete work, sending them the final piece, a *congedo*, *A la sampogna*, that is simultaneously a bitter farewell to the work and to bucolic vernacular poetry. The completed *Arcadia* was finally released in Naples in March 1504 through Mayr (hereafter S), with the frontispiece “ARCADIA/DEL SANNAZARO/TVTTA FORNITA/ET TRATTA/EMENDATISSIMA/DAL SVO/ORIGINALE” (The Arcadia/of Sannazaro/fully enhanced/and drawn/thoroughly amended/from its original; S f. A1r).

In the end, the edition was granted a decennial privilege from the new Spanish viceroy of Naples, Consalvo di Cordova, to prohibit the work from being either reprinted within the kingdom or imported from abroad: “IMPRESSA/in Napoli per Maestro Sigismundo Mayr: con somma & assidua diligenza di Petro Summontio: nel anno .MDIIII. del mese di Marzo. Con privilegio del Illustrissimo .S. Gran Capitano Vice Re: & generale Locotenente dela Catholica Maiesta: che per X anni in questo Regno tal opera non si possa stampare: ne stampata portarsi da altre parti: sotto la pena: che in esso si contiene” (Printed/in Naples by Master Sigismund Mayr: with the highest and most assiduous diligence of Petro Summontio: in the year 1504 in the month of March. By concession of His Most Illustrious Lord Great Captain Viceroy and Lieutenant General of the Catholic Authority: that for ten years under this Reign such a work cannot be printed: nor printed in order to be taken abroad: under the penalty foreseen for this act; S f. N4v).

The text had been edited, as the colophon indicates, by Pietro Summonte, who in the preface to Cardinal Luigi d’Aragona declared himself to be working from “quello originale medesimo quale ho trovato di sua mano correttissimo” (the original itself which I found corrected by his hand; S f. A2r) from Marcantonio Sannazaro. Having an original that was, however, without the final revisions of the author (and thus perhaps still bearing later redactional variants or uncertainties in the script and the spellings), Summonte, a student of Giovanni Pontano and a specialist of predominantly Latin texts, encountered more than a few difficulties. At the end of the edition, Summonte was forced to add an *errata corrige*, while the surviving copies today present a series of variants, introduced by the editor during his work on the revision.

In 1505, Sannazaro returned to France and began to personally supervise Summonte’s editorial activity, then dedicated to the works of Pontano (who had died in 1503). Not long after, the reprint of the *Arcadia* came out in Naples, to which print run belongs the Newberry copy (hereafter S¹), undated and without further publication details: “ARCADIA/DEL SANNA/ZARO TVTTA FOR/NITA ET TRATTA/EMENDATISSI/MA DAL SVO/ORIGINA/LE ET NO/VAMEN/TE IN/NA/POLI RESTAMPITA” (The Arcadia/of Sanna/zaro fully fur/nished and drawn/thoroughly amend/ed from its/original form and

ne/wly printed in Na/ples; S¹ f. A1r). The typeface, very similar to that of S, suggests an attribution to the same Mayr; however, the line spacing has been changed (greater) as well as the gathering (more regular: all quaternion), thus giving a sense of greater elegance in the pagination (S is composed of 98 folios, S¹ of 104). Moreover, the absence of variants in the exemplars of S¹ would seem to attest to a single editorial work without further typographical intervention.

If the printer is Mayr, the absence of the colophon and of the publication details might be explained by the embarrassment of explicitly naming Consalvo, who had fallen into disgrace with Ferdinand the Catholic. A probable date would then be 1507, during the time of the sovereign's residence in Naples (November 1, 1506, to June 4, 1507), and the edition could have been meant for circulation specifically at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, rather than a generic book market. The antigraph sent to the printer might have been an exemplar of S that had collected in its margins the emendations of the *errata corrige* of S, as well as other corrections. The printer limited himself to reproducing it as it was, adding, however, a few minimal errors mostly of composition in the last three prose pieces, as though he had to rush to complete the project (e.g., before the king departed). But above all it appears evident that an undertaking of that sort, in Naples in 1507 and through Mayr (not an average printmaker but the editor of reference for the court and the humanist elite), could not have occurred without Sannazaro's implicit authorization. For all intents and purposes, the reprint had the role of "substituting" the *princeps* and was received as such by contemporary readers, such as the original owner of the Newberry copy.

Printed on paper and bound in an antique binding with wood plates (leather bound near the spine and fastened with brass studs), the Newberry *Arcadia* (S¹) presents a series of splendid miniatures before the prose and eclogues. We can follow the development of the illustrative apparatus in order, beginning from folio A3r, where the text of the prologue is encircled by a frame of cobalt blue with decorative elements of leaves, berries, and (below) two dolphins, with delicate chiaroscuro and imitation bas-relief. In the panel above appear two kneeling fawns. On the right panel, in color, there appear, from top to bottom, a little monkey, two masks, a vase with three richly bound books, a sheet of music, musical instruments (a lute, a lyre, a viola), and a red heraldic shield. At the bottom, a larger panel (partially abraded) presents a landscape in which can be distinguished a plain encircled by trees (fig. 1).

These are not gratuitous inventions of the artist but elements that can be discovered in the very text of the *Arcadia*. In the prologue, Sannazaro dismisses the classic confrontation between nature and art, contrasting instead the humble,

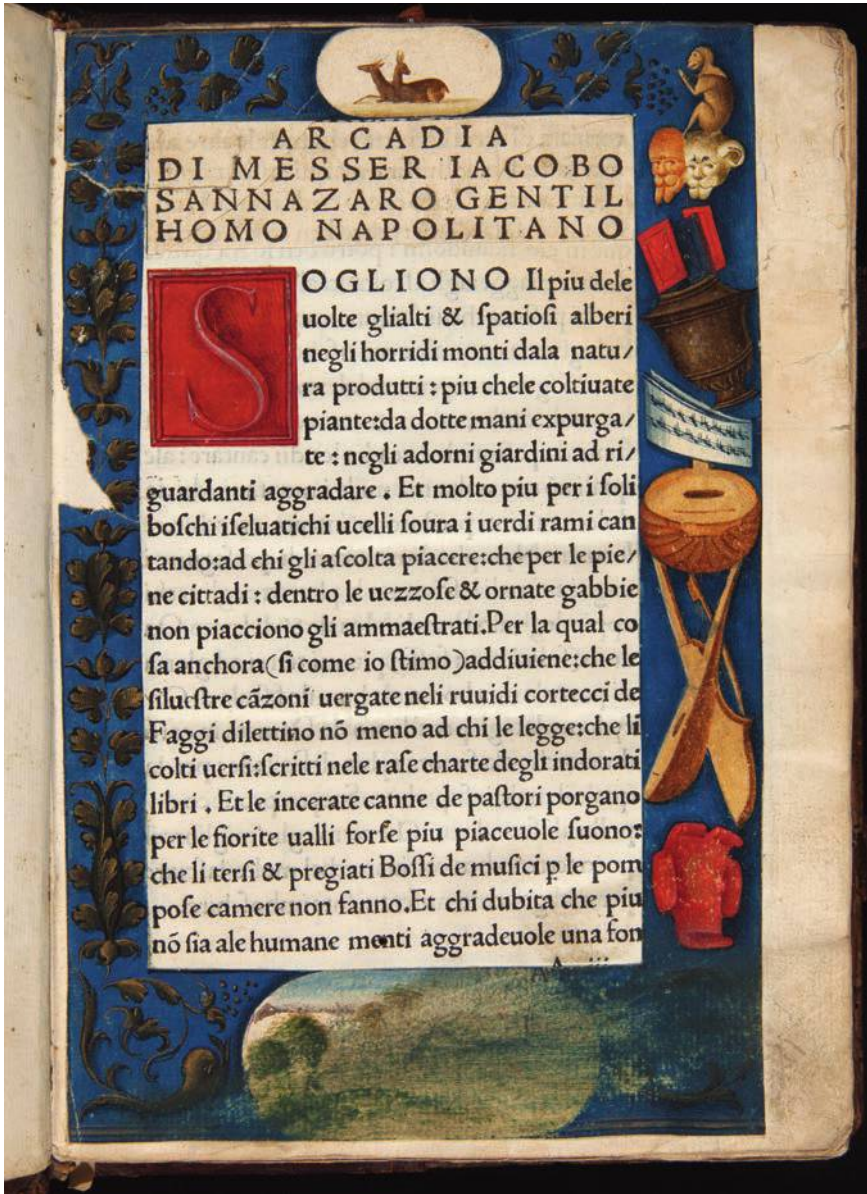


Figure 1. Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* Newberry, fol. A3r. (Photo courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Call no. Wing ZP 5351.07.)

natural instruments of communication of pastoral poetry (the beechwood barks and lilacs of shepherds) with those of more refined literature (the “gilded books” and the “polished and costly boxwood instruments”): “le silvestre canzoni vergate ne li ruvidi cortecci de’ faggi dilettono non meno a chi le legge che li colti versi scritti ne le rase carte degli indorati libri; e le incerate canne de’ pastori porgano per le fiorite valli forse più piacevole suono che li tersi e pregiati bossi de’ musici per le pompose camere non fanno” (woodlands songs carved on the rugged barks of beeches no less delight the one who reads them than do learned verses written on the smooth pages of gilded books; and the waxbound reeds of shepherds proffer amid the flower-laden valleys perhaps more pleasurable sound than do through proud chambers the polished and costly boxwood instruments of the musicians).⁵ The nod to landscape returns instead precisely to the beginning of the first prose composition: “Giace nella sommità di Partenio, non umile monte de la pastorale Arcadia, un dilettevole piano, di ampiezza non molto spazioso. . . . Ove (se io non mi inganno) son forse dodici o quindici alberi di tanto strana et eccessiva bellezza che chiunque li vedesse giudicerebbe che la maestra natura vi si fusse con sommo diletto studiata in formarli” (There lies on the summit of Parthenius, a not inconsiderable mountain of Pastoral Arcadia, a pleasant plateau, not very spacious in extent. . . . There, if I am not mistaken, there are perhaps a dozen or fifteen trees of such unusual and exceeding beauty that any who saw them would judge that Mistress Nature had taken special delight in shaping them).⁶

On the following *foglio* (fol. A4r), the beginning of the first prose piece is surrounded by a pink frame on the upper half and a blue one on the bottom half, with the usual decorative motif of foliage and dolphins and (below) two grotesque figures. On one side and again on the other, the two halves are divided by ovals, in which two green parrots appear in full color. In the top panel, there is a little monkey walking on all fours. Particularly notable is the microscopic precision of the details and their realistic depiction: the parrot on the left is caught in the act of raising one claw (a “second thought” by the artist, who at first had traced the claw resting on the ground), while the long tail-feathers of the other extend beyond the margins of the oval and the frame. Here too, the rare specimens of exotic birds evoke the passage in the prologue in which Sannazaro compares the harsh song of wild birds with that of “domesticated” ones: “molto più per i soli boschi i selvaticchi ucelli sopra i verdi rami cantando a chi gli ascolta piacere, che per le

5. Translations of *Arcadia* are from Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia and Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. with an introduction by Ralph Nash (Detroit, 1966), here prologue 2; Nash trans., 29.

6. *Ibid.*, I.1; Nash trans., 30.

piene cittadi dentro le vezzose et ornate gabbie non piacciono gli ammaestrati” (the birds of the woodland singing upon the green branches in the solitary forests give much more pleasure to him who hears them than do those birds that have been taught to speak from within their lovely and decorated cages in the crowded cities; fig. 2).⁷

The illustrations (absent from the beginnings of the second prose piece and the second eclogue) return at the beginning of the third prose piece (fol. B4r), with a red frame of candelabras, ornaments, and grotesque masks. In the oval at the top a pheasant bows forward, with microscopic representation of its plumage, a precise reference to the beginning of the prose: “i fiochi fagiani per le magioni cantavano” (the hoarse pheasants were singing from their nests).⁸ The lower panel depicts a landscape with a rural village at the top of a hill, smoke that rises from a chimney, impressionistic silhouettes of the outlines of the trees, and in the distance the blue contour of the mountains. Near the village there are a few small, dark vertical strokes that might be the shepherds returning to their homes at dusk, as recounted in the text (“ne riconducemmo a le nostre capanne” [we made our way back to our cottages]; fig. 3).⁹ The beginning of the fourth prose work at folio C2r takes up the partition of the floral frame again in two halves, one blue and one red. In the lateral panels are two birds (of which the one on the right is in the midst of raising his claw); in the lower quadrant, another country landscape, with a village of houses and towers at the top of a hill, the azure mountains in the background (fig. 4).

Interaction between the images and the text is visible again in the fifth prose piece (fol. C7v). Beyond the usual blue frame (with a roebuck in the top oval: cf. “cavriuoli saltando” [roe deer bounding away] in *Arcadia* V.8), the landscape below (two hills with a thatched hut and a farmhouse with a tower and stable: cf. “le pagliaresche case” [thatched cottages] in *Arcadia* II.4) clearly alludes to the beginning of the prose, when the shepherds return in the evening “verso la nostra villa” (“agli usati alberghi de’ compagni, che a la lieta cena ne’aspettavano, fummo ricevuti” [we were welcomed to our accustomed abodes by the companions who were awaiting us at a merry feast]; fig. 5).¹⁰ For the sixth prose piece (fol. D6r), the blue frame recaptures the frame of the prologue and, in particular, the series of symbolic elements represented in the right vertical panel: an owl with its wings spread, a red heraldic shield, a red grotesque mask, and various musical instruments (lutes,

7. *Ibid.*, prologue 1; Nash trans., 29.

8. *Ibid.*, III.5; Nash trans., 41.

9. *Ibid.*, III.6; Nash trans., 42.

10. *Ibid.*, V.8; Nash trans., 56.

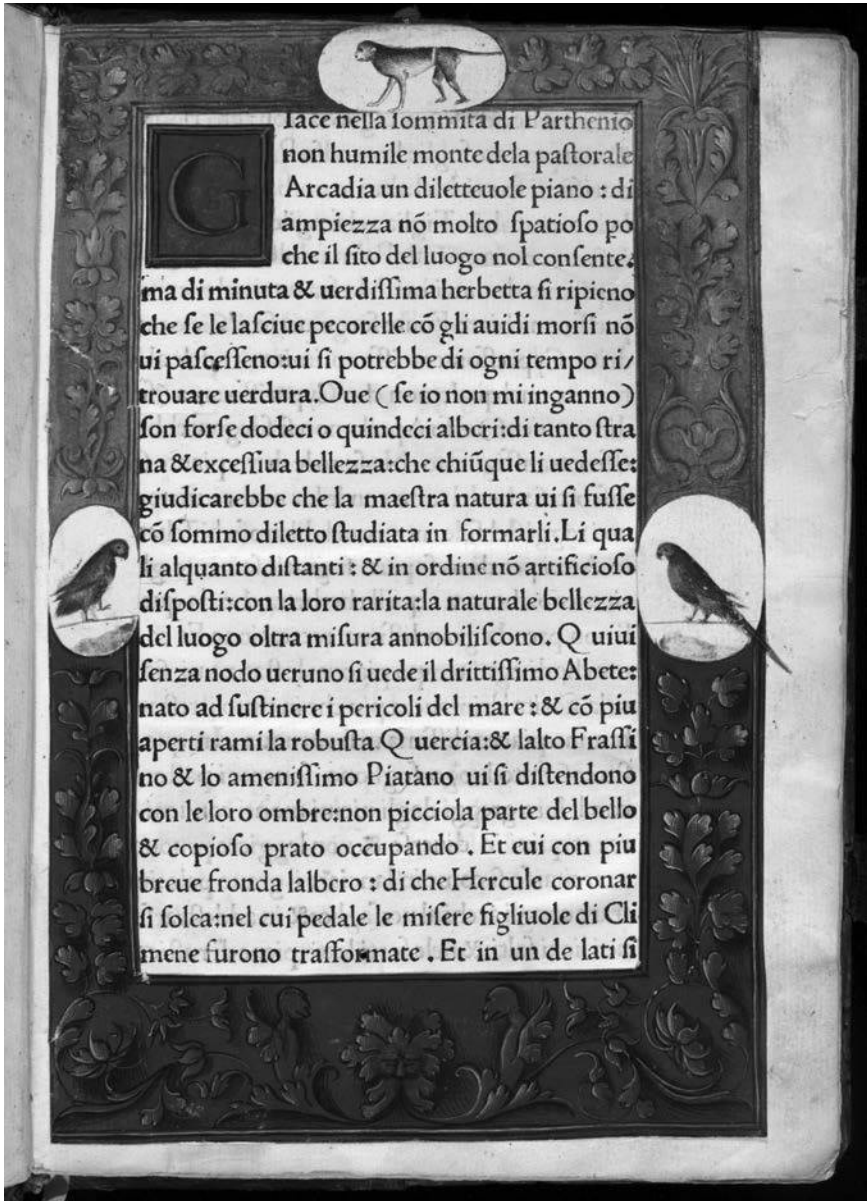


Figure 2. Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* Newberry, fol. A4r. (Photo courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Call no. Wing ZP 5351.07.) Color version available as an online enhancement.

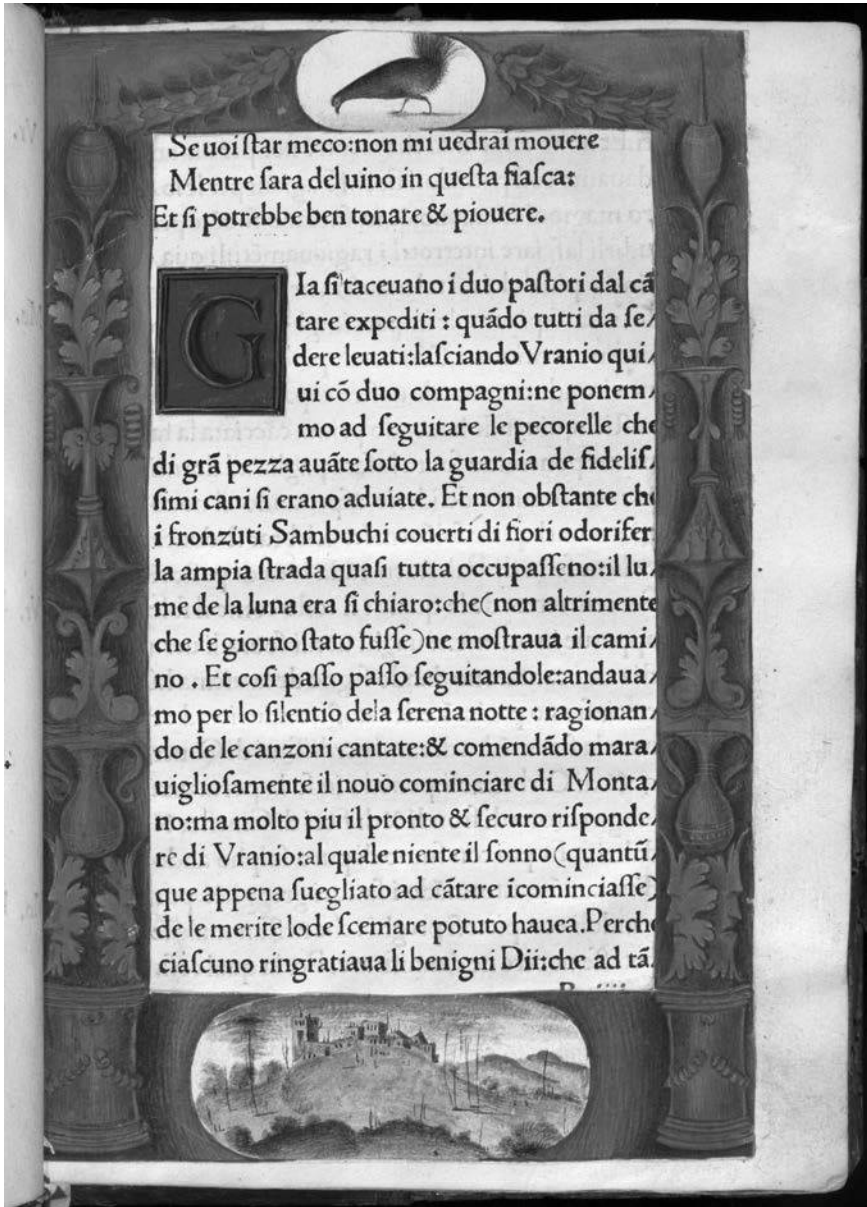


Figure 3. Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* Newberry, fol. B4r. (Photo courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Call no. Wing ZP 5351.07.) Color version available as an online enhancement.

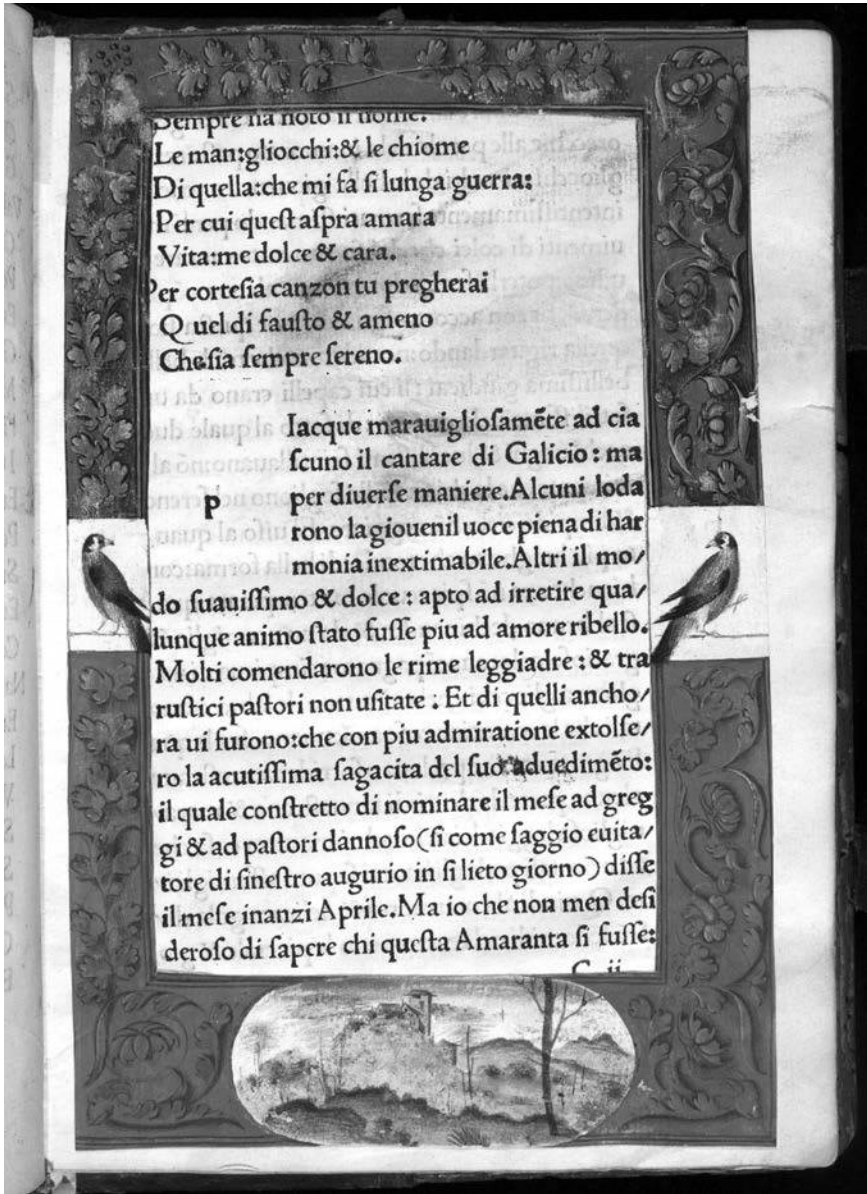


Figure 4. Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* Newberry, fol. C2r. (Photo courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Call no. Wing ZP 5351.07.) Color version available as an online enhancement.

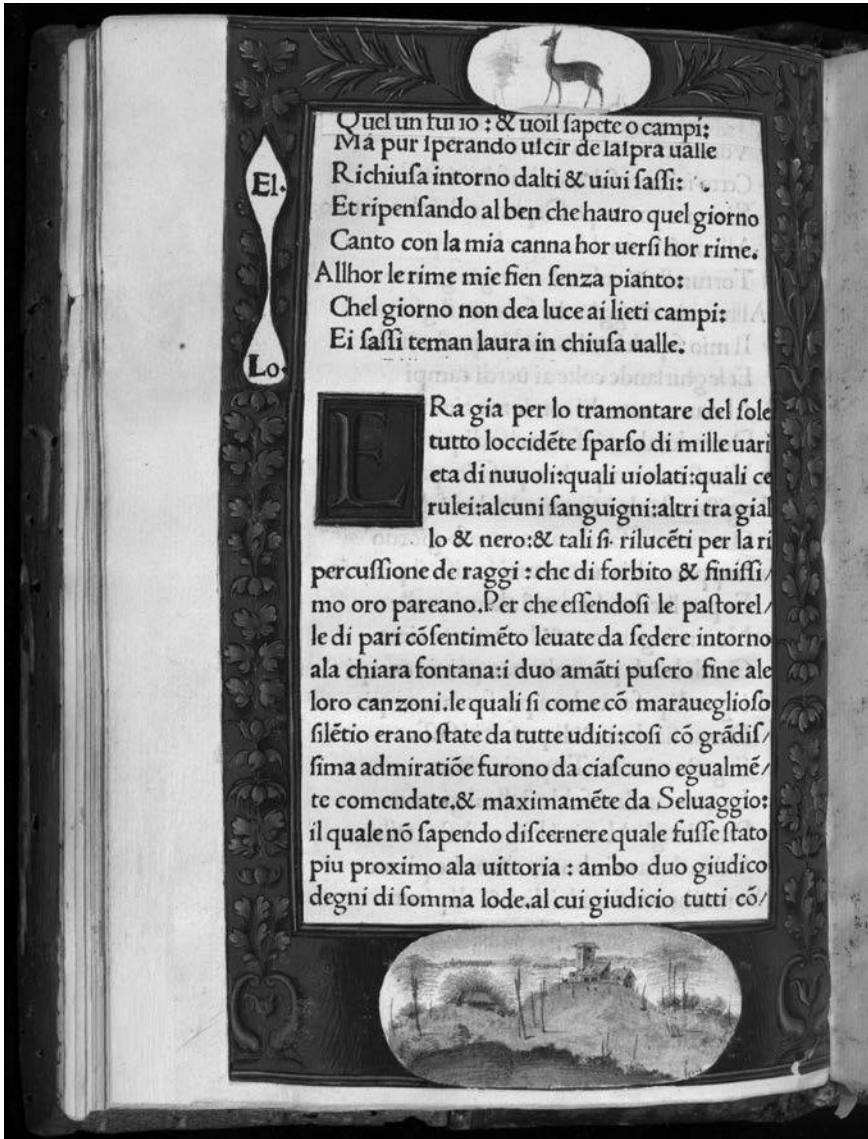


Figure 5. Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* Newberry, fol. C7v. (Photo courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Call no. Wing ZP 5351.07.) Color version available as an online enhancement.

violas, flutes, cornets). The oval at the top features a fox with a long straight tail (cf. “movendosi d’una parte volpi”; foxes being scared up in one quarter),¹¹ while the panorama presents a village on a hilltop, a forest of tall beechwood on the left, and in the foreground a nude torso. At the beginning of the prose work, in fact, Sannazaro recounts that the shepherds had gone toward a tall pine and that he himself had laid down mournfully under a tree (*Arcadia* VI.4; fig. 6).

Unlike the page that precedes the prose works, the introductory page to the eclogues is not framed but only decorated on the margin with an elaborate candelabra, while the heading of the eclogue (with the names of its interlocutors) appears on a scroll that rolls up into many coils. The first example is found at folio A5r, at the beginning of the first eclogue: on the left there is a grotesque candelabra of red (and recognizable below, the little mask of a monkey), and near the dedication, “SELVAGGIO ET ERGASTO,” a green scroll (fig. 7). At folio B8v, the beginning of the third eclogue is accompanied by a green, floral candelabra and by a violet scroll that reveals the name of the shepherd who sings the eclogue: “GALICIO SOLO.”

Something new is found at the beginning of the fourth eclogue: the decorative elements are instead separated on two facing pages. On folio C5v there is the grotesque candelabra; on folio C6r, the scroll with the shepherds’ names, “LOGISTO ET ELPINO.” The same motifs return at the beginning of the following eclogues: on folio D4v, the fifth eclogue, “ERGASTO SOVRA LA SEPVLTVRA”; folio D7r, the sixth, “SERRANO ET OPICO”; folio E8r, the seventh, “SYNCERO SOLO”; folio G1r, the eighth, “EVGENIO ET CLONICO.” In this last case, only the scroll appears, while the corresponding candelabra is “transported” onto the margins of the beginning of the ninth prose piece (fol. G4r), where the illuminator seems to have stopped his work.

Why have I chosen the word “transported”? Because in truth (as the card catalog entry described it) all of the illustrations have been “cut from another copy of this work”—from another edition of the *Arcadia*—and pasted into the Newberry exemplar: a meticulous and attentive cut-and-paste task that even included the initials and preserved the smallest details, such as the tail of the parrot at folio A4r. However, it was also quick work, as there was not time to allow the humidity of the adhesive to dry (traces of color are visible on facing pages on fols. C5v, C8r, D5r, D5v). The most noticeable aspect is nonetheless the imperfect correspondence of the images with the pagination of the text. Already at first glance the space outlined by the cut-out frame seems smaller than the text field of the new edition. But the phenomenon is most keenly observed at the beginning of the eclogues: the candelabras and the vegetal ornamentation were in truth laid out along the left margin of the folio,

11. Ibid.



Figure 6. Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* Newberry, fol. D6r. (Photo courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Call no. Wing ZP 5351.07.)



Figure 7. Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* Newberry, fol. A5r. (Photo courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Call no. Wing ZP 5351.07.) Color version available as an online enhancement.

incorporating the small abbreviations of the names of the interlocutors of the eclogues that nonetheless end up “displaced” with respect to the text of the edition (cf. fols. A5r, C5v, C7v, D7r, G4r). In two cases the abbreviations are ultimately found on different pages: on folio C5v the abbreviations “Lo.” and “El.” are in the margin of the third prose piece, while the fourth eclogue “LOGISTO ET ELPINO” begins on the following page; on folio G4r the abbreviation “Eu.” is on the margin of the ninth prose piece, although it should have been placed at the beginning of the eighth eclogue “EVGENIO ET CLONICO” (fol. G1r).

Where does the illuminated apparatus of the Newberry *Arcadia* come from? The only possibility is provided by the 1504 Mayr edition (S), and indeed the dimensions of the frames and the decorative elements are nearly perfectly adapted to the print field of S, which, as noted above, is smaller than S¹. Superficial fragments of the text of S can be seen in thin horizontal lines, as it was necessary to cut and paste to complete the page (the title on fol. A3r; verse 68 of the fourth eclogue at fol. C7v, “Quel un fui io: & voil sapete o campi” [that man was I; ye know it, O ye fields]; the beginning of the sixth prose piece at fol. D6r, “<M>Entre Ergasto canto la pietosa” [While Ergasto was singing his plaintive song]). The different pagination creates the displacement observed earlier in the position of the abbreviations for the shepherds in the eclogues, a problem that would have escalated in the second part of the volume until ultimately becoming insurmountable. This could be the reason why the miniatures end at the ninth prose piece (fol. G4r). But the interruption could have occurred in the original volume as well, if the artist realized he was working on an edition that had to be “substituted” by a better version, almost identical to the preceding one but more authoritative, or else simply because the incomplete book was collected by its commissioner.

Who was the illuminator? The style, the delicacy of the brushstroke, the recurrence of traditional elements, and the taste for nearly microscopic detail and for the representation of the real (in particular the landscapes and animals) are all reasons to propose the name of a Venetian illuminator whom recent studies have permitted us to know more about, the Paduan Benedetto Bordon (1450–1530). At the beginning of the cinquecento, Bordon distanced himself from the early influence of Mantegna and Girolamo da Cremona to align himself more closely with the style of Giorgione and Cima da Conegliano.¹² The figurative atmosphere of

12. Myriam Billanovich, “Benedetto Bordon e Giulio Cesare Scaligero,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 9 (1968): 187–256, and “Bordon, Benedetto,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 12 (Rome, 1970), 511–13; Giordana Mariani Canova, “Profilo di Benedetto Bordon, miniatore padovano,” *Atti dell’istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti: Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 127 (1968): 99–121, and *La miniatura veneta del Rinascimento* (Venice, 1969), 68–74, 122–30, cat. 78–82;

Maniera Moderna has already been effectively associated with more advanced developments of vernacular literature at the beginning of the cinquecento and, indeed, with the reception of the *Arcadia* and the bucolic world.¹³ Furthermore, Bordon has been revealed to be a complex personality, whose activity extended to that of editor of his own work (the Latin translation of the dialogues of Lucian [Venice, 1494]—a membrane copy of which, today in Vienna, was illuminated by the same Bordon), expert woodcutter (the frontispiece of Lucian, a 1504 *Triumph of Caesar*, as well as the controversial attribution of the celebrated *Polifilo* xylograph, printed by Manutius in 1504), and a scholar of cosmography, as the author of a well-received *Isolario* (Venice, Niccolò d'Aristotile detto lo Zoppino, 1528).¹⁴

The illuminations of the *Arcadia* must have been undertaken by Bordon, in his Venetian workshop near the Rialto, in the years immediately after 1504, but not much later, if it was the arrival of the Neapolitan reprint (ca. 1507) that caused the artist (or the commissioner) to desist. Evident stylistic affinities can be seen in a well-defined series of Bordon's contemporary works, such as his work in two volumes of the Venetian courtier Antonio Grifo, then at the service of Gaspare Sanseverino at the Milanese court, the Querinian Petrarch (Venice, Vindelino da Spira, 1470: Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, Inc. G V 15, annotated and illustrated by the same Grifo), and the *Canzoniere Grifo* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. It. Z.64 = 4824).¹⁵ We are likely in the early years of the cinquecento, when

Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt, "Cima, Benedetto Bordon e il Maestro delle sette virtù: Nuove attribuzioni e coincidenze," *Venezia Cinquecento* 4 (1994): 103–25; Milvia Bollati, "Bordon Benedetto," in *Encyclopedia of Italian Renaissance and Mannerist Art*, vol. 1 (London, 2000), 229–30; Susy Marcon, "Bordon, Benedetto," in *Dizionario Biografico dei Miniatori Italiani: Secoli IX–XVI*, ed. Milvia Bollati (Milan, 2004), 121–25.

13. Angela Caracciolo Aricò, "Mito e bucolica nell'*Arcadia* di Iacopo Sannazaro e la cultura figurativa del quattrocento," in *La Serenissima e il Regno: Nel V Centenario dell'*Arcadia* di Iacopo Sannazaro*, ed. Davide Canfora and Angela Caracciolo Aricò (Bari, 2006), 65–96; Guido Beltramini, Davide Gasparotto, and Adolfo Tura, eds., *Pietro Bembo e l'invenzione del Rinascimento* (Venice, 2013).

14. Jean Michel Massing, "The *Triumph of Caesar* by Benedetto Bordon and Jacobus Argenterotensis: Its Iconography and Influence," *Print Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (March 1990): 4–21; Giovanna Dapelo, "Benedetto Bordon editore di Luciano: Il *De veris narrationibus* dall'archetipo al *textus vulgatus*," *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, n.s., 9, no. 6 (1995): 233–58; Lillian Armstrong, "Benedetto Bordon, 'Miniator,' and Cartography in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 65–92, and "Benedetto Bordon, Aldus Manutius and Lucantonio Giunta: Old Links and New," in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. David S. Zeidberg and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi (Florence, 1998), 161–83; Benedetto Bordon, *Isolario* (Paris, 2000).

15. Giuseppe Frasso, Giordana Mariani Canova, and Ennio Sandal, *Illustrazione libraria, filologia e esegesi petrarchesca tra quattrocento e cinquecento: Antonio Grifo e l'incunabulo Queriniano G.V.15* (Padua, 1990); Francesco Petrarca, *Il Canzoniere e i Trionfi: Edizione anastatica dell'incunabulo Queriniano G.V.15* (Brescia, 1995); E. T. K. Guest-Conzales, "The Second Master of the Grifo Canzoniere: New Attributions," *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 12 (2008): 111–16.

Bordon collaborated actively with Aldus Manutius in the illustration of a few editions in octave (all on parchment) printed between 1501 and 1502: among the Latin classics, Virgil (Manchester, J. Rylands Library, 1501), Juvenal and Persius (London, British Library, 1501; Manchester, J. Rylands Library, 1501), Martial (London, British Library, 1501), Ovid (Manchester, J. Rylands Library, 1502), and Statius (London, British Library, 1502); on the vernacular side, Dante (Chicago, Newberry Library, 1501), and above all Petrarch, illuminated in no fewer than six copies (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1501; London, British Library, 1501; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 1501; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1501; Manchester, J. Rylands Library, 1501, two copies).¹⁶ All of these editions reveal characteristic elements of Bordon's style, just as can be seen in the Newberry *Arcadia*: the frames with braids of leaves, flowers, racemes, berries, dolphins, and grotesque elements (masks and bucrania) are all found in the Ovid and the Juvenal and Persius of London, as well as in the Statius and Dante. So too are the naturalist appearance of the scrolls or the leaves of crumpled or torn parchment that surround the headings or portions of text (in Virgil and Dante); studies of animals; and above all the landscapes of obvious Venetian origin, the green hills topped by villages, thatched cottages, towers, little castles, and in the distance the blue mountains that blend with the sky (in the Martial, the Juvenal and Persius of London, and the Petrarch of London). Bucolic themes appear in the Virgil, where the beginning of the *Bucolics* presents a panel of Tityrus, who plays for his flock in a pastoral landscape, and in the Juvenal and Persius of Manchester, with the scene of a mad satyr and three figures in flight. Finally there is the notable influence of Giorgione and his school, in particular the landscape of the *Venere di Dresda* and the musical instruments of the *Fregio delle arti liberali e meccaniche* of the Museo Casa Giorgione di Castelfranco Veneto, which inspired the decorations of the frames of folios A3r and D6r.

Generally speaking, the close association of Bordon with the editorial activity of Aldus Manutius resulted in the illumination of invaluable membrane copies for influential members of the Venetian aristocracy (Pisani, Civran, Mocenigo, Dal Molin, Barbarigo), an undertaking of political and cultural promotion dedicated to the newest Manutian invention, the octave format and the use of italic characters. Pietro Bembo was himself involved in the project, as editor of the Petrarch and Dante editions and dedicatee of the second copy of Petrarch in

16. Martin Lowry, "Aldus Manutius and Benedetto Bordon: In Search of a Link," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 66, no. 1 (1983): 107–33; Susy Marcon, "Una Aldina miniata," in *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano, 1494–1515* (Venice, 1994), 107–33; Helena K. Szépe, "The Book as Companion, the Author as Friend: Aldine Octavos Illuminated by Benedetto Bordon," *Word and Image* 11, no. 1 (January–March 1995): 77–99, and "Bordon, Dürer and Modes of Illuminating Aldines," in Zeidberg and Superbi, *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture*, 185–200.

Manchester. Another interesting aspect of this “laboratory” is the Princeton Virgil (Firestone Library ms. 41), a unique membrane codex written by the great calligrapher Bartolomeo Sanvito to “compare with” the 1501 Manutius edition (and thus laid out in the same octave format), illuminated by Bordon, and annotated by Bembo.¹⁷ Particularly beautiful, and part of the bucolic theme, is the illumination at folio 2r, with Tityrus who plays the flute seated on a beechwood and Meliboeus leaning on a pastoral staff, among sheep, forests, and blue mountains. These images can ideally be seen in dialogue with those of the Newberry *Arcadia*, which is lacking human figures.

Questions remain regarding the identity of the owner of the Newberry *Arcadia*, who was also likely the owner of the earlier edition (Mayr 1504), as well as Bordon’s patron. More than a bibliophile (who would have certainly preserved both editions, without destroying the older one), he seems to have been an “expert” reader, able to suggest to the artist the subtle textual references that often bloom in the frames and landscapes. Moreover, he was likely a philologist, aware of the fact that the new edition that had arrived from Naples brought with it a few textual improvements and thus substituted for the earlier one. The work of transferring the illuminations (truly rare in the history of printed books) was meant to unite in the same volume the excellence of these images with the text considered most authoritative.

Taking into account the close relationships among Bordon, Manutius, and Bembo, I believe that with relative probability one can advance the hypothesis that Bembo himself was the owner of the Newberry *Arcadia* and the commissioner of a refined illustrative apparatus for a work considered decisive in the renewal of contemporary vernacular literature, revised along the lines of those principles of classical imitation (from Petrarch in poetry and Boccaccio in prose) to which the last redaction of the *Arcadia* seems to then be the most advanced and coherent witness. The beginning of the direct relationship between the two intellectuals can be dated precisely to April 13, 1505, when Bembo (preparing to leave for Rome) sent a letter in Latin to Sannazaro, lamenting that he had been unable to meet the Neapolitan poet when the latter, on his return from France, had passed briefly through Venice to see Manutius.¹⁸ Bembo’s letter accompanied a gift of the *Asolani*, just printed by Manutius (March 1505); the autograph copy was jealously guarded by Sannazaro among his letters (today held in Vienna

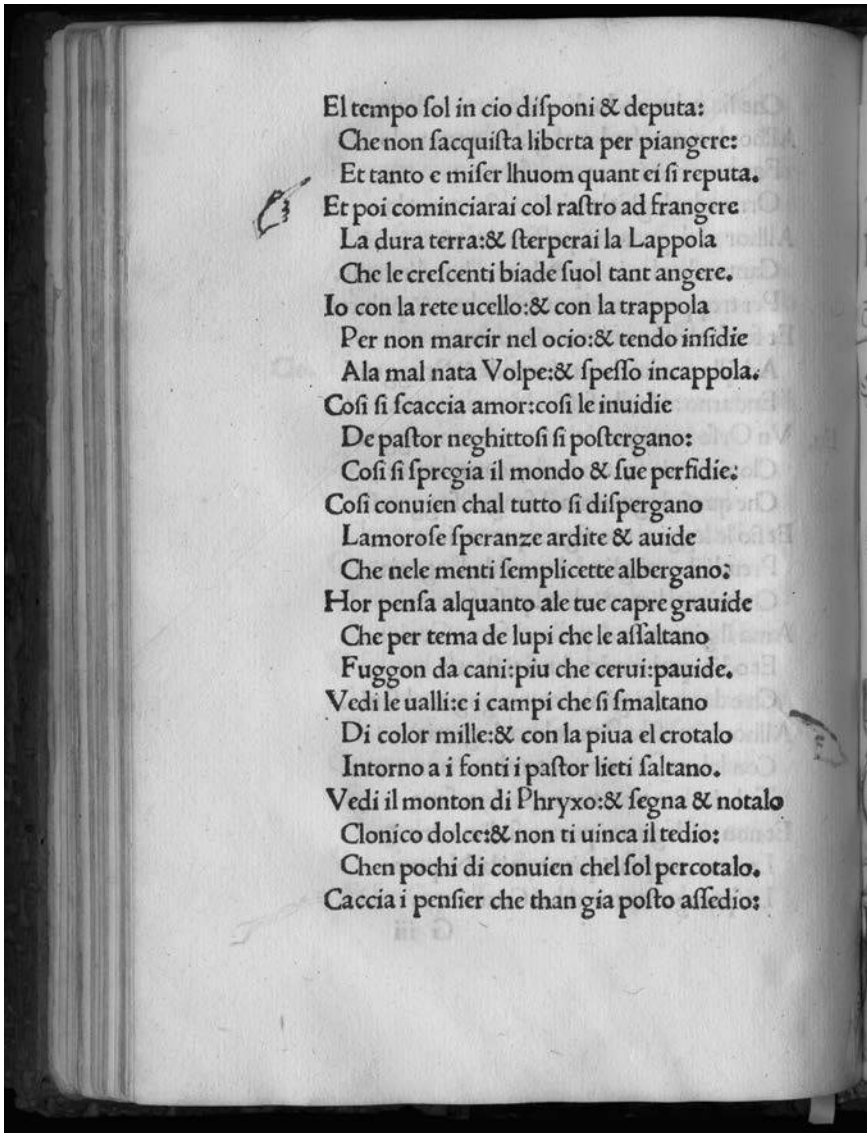
17. Albinia Catherine De La Mare and Laura Nuvoloni, *Bartolomeo Sanvito: The Life and Work of a Renaissance Scribe*, ed. Anthony Hobson and Christopher De Hamel (Paris, 2009), 354–55 n. 114; Don C. Skemer, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library*, vol. 2 (Princeton, NJ, 2013), 224–27. Bordon also executed the miniatures of Virgil, British Library, Add. 11355 (copied by Giuliano Cenci and indexed by Sanvito), and of a Manutian Virgil from 1514, recalled by Andrea Navagero in a letter to Giambattista Ramusio from January 13, 1515.

18. Iacopo Sannazaro, *Opere volgari*, ed. Alfredo Mauro (Bari, 1961), 404–5.

at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 9737e, fol. 7r). On October 7 of that year, Bembo attempted in vain to be appointed for a diplomatic mission to Naples by the Serenissima, and in the summer of 1506 he left Venice nonetheless for Urbino, perhaps bringing with him the 1504 *Arcadia* not completely illuminated by Bordon. In Urbino he would have managed to unite it with the new Neapolitan edition, to which the images would be “transferred.”

Unfortunately, in the margins of the Newberry *Arcadia* we do not have clear signs of Bembo’s hand but just a few *maniculae* (similar to those that appear in other annotations by Bembo) and signs of attention in the form of wavy dashes, to mark passages meaningful to the reader. Three *maniculae* are in the margins of the eighth eclogue, around the discourse through which the shepherd Eugenio tries to turn Clonico away from the desperation of love (similar to themes found in the *Asolani*), underlining in particular verses 116–17 against the god Love (fol. G3r: “Et odia quel crudel che sì ti strazia/ch’è danno in gioventù, vergogna al senio” [and hate that cruel one who abuses you so,/he who is harm in youth, shame in old age]), verse 126 (fol. G3v: “E tanto è miser l’uom quant’ei si reputa” [and man is just so wretched as he thinks himself], a gnomic verse that will capture the attention of Giacomo Leopardi),¹⁹ and verse 142 (fol. G3v: “Vedi le valli e i campi che si smaltano/di color mille” [Behold the valleys and fields how they are enamelled/with a thousand colors], notable for its use of the verb *smaltarsi*, “coprirsi di colori vivi brillanti come smalto”; fig. 8). In the ninth prose piece, a *manicula* marks a section of the story of Opico on the enchantments of Enareto (fol. G8r: *Arcadia* IX.30, “contro le perverse effascinationi di invidiosi occhi” [against the perverse effascinations of the evil eye]), and, in the twelfth prose piece, the passage in the tunnel Sincero will traverse in order to complete his subterranean voyage (fol. M1r: *Arcadia* XII.13). In the *congedo*, *A la sampogna*, the exhortation to weep (reinforced by the anaphora of *Piagni*) is marked by small wavy dashes (fol. N5r: *Arcadia*, *cong.* 7), while other *maniculae* and small dashes accompany the gnomic conclusions of the work (fol. N6v: *Arcadia*, *cong.* 17, “Che veramente chi de le altrui adversità si dole, di se medesimo si ricorda” [For verily he who sorrows for the ill fortune of another is reminded of his own]; and fol. N7r, *Arcadia*, *cong.* 19–20). In conclusion, recognizing in the Newberry *Arcadia* the hand of Bordon and a likely commission of Bembo’s provides the opportunity to illuminate a significant moment in the reception of Sannazaro’s work, between Naples and Venice, at the beginning of the cinquecento, in a laboratory of words and images where the foundations were laid for a completely “Italian” literature.

19. Carlo Vecce, “Leopardi e Sannazaro,” in *Leopardi e il ‘500*, ed. Paola Italia, introduction by Stefano Carrai (Pisa, 2010), 9–25.



El tempo sol in cio disponi & deputa:
Che non facquista liberta per piangere:
Et tanto e miser lhuom quant ei si reputa.
Et poi cominciarai col rastro ad frangere
La dura terra:& sterperai la Lappola
Che le crescenti biade suol tant angere.
Io con la rete ucello:& con la trappola
Per non marcir nel ocio:& tendo insidie
Ala mal nata Volpe:& spesso incappola.
Cosi si scaccia amor:cosi le inuidie
De pastor neghittosi si postergano:
Cosi si spregia il mondo & sue perfidie:
Cosi conuien chal tutto si dispergano
Lamorose speranze ardite & auide
Che nele menti semplicette albergano:
Hor pensa alquanto ale tue capre grauide
Che per tema de lupi che le asfaltano
Fuggon da cani:piu che cerui:pauide.
Vedi le ualli:e i campi che si smaltano
Di color mille:& con la piuma el crotalo
Intorno a i fonti i pastor lieti saltano.
Vedi il monton di Phryxo:& segna & notalo
Clonico dolce:& non ti uinca il tedio:
Chen pochi di conuienchel sol percotalo.
Caccia i pensier che than gia posto assedio:

Figure 8. Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* Newberry, fol. G3v. (Photo courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Call no. Wing ZP 5351.) Color version available as an online enhancement.