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ARETINO'S URBAN GARDENS

James Grantham Turner

I frutti mandati da la Magnifica cortesia vostra ... mi son paruti gloriosi, non che perfetti. Ma per non aver qui possessioni da contracambiarvegli, mi obbligo a rendervene altrettanti de i colti ne l'orto piccolo del mio poco ingegno, caso che mai ci si maturino

The fruit so courteously sent by Your Excellence seemed to me glorious, even perfect. But because I don't have any possessions here to reciprocate, I must give you back the equivalent in produce from the little kitchen garden of my small genius, in case it ever ripens

(Pietro Aretino to Girolamo Polcastro, 1542)

Oh il bello orto! exclaims the disreputable but eloquent Midwife who discourses with the bawd Nanna in the sixth of Aretino's *Ragionamenti*.¹ *Orto*, descended from the Latin *hortus*, had by 1536 acquired several parallel and potentially contradictory meanings. It could be used as a generic term for gardens, as when a draughtsman recorded the famous statue of Psyche 'nel orto dagostinchigi' – that is, in the resplendent gardens of Agostino Chigi (1466-1520), the great banker and patron of the arts, which extended around the villa on the banks of the Tiber in Rome that Chigi commissioned from the young architect-painter Baldassare Peruzzi.² (The house survives as the present-day Villa Farnesina, but the gardens themselves have been largely destroyed, and the remnant altered beyond recognition.) Here *orto* comprises the most luxurious and exclusive part of the grounds, where the patron felt confident that he could install this precious antique. But more commonly it meant the kitchen garden, the working plot walled off from the more prestigious and ornamental *giardino*, meaning either the privileged *giardino segreto*, enclosed for reasons of privacy rather than utility, or the whole complex of what we would now call landscape architecture; Chigi's entire Trastevere estate, including the palazzo with the celebrated frescoes, was often referred to simply as his *Giardino*. As Piers Baker-Bates mentions in the previous essay, artists and literati would gather in this 'superb *giardino*' to hear Aretino recite amorous poetry; one boyish disciple, feeling himself 'incited' and 'overwhelmed by love' of the verse itself, decided in that garden setting to dedicate his life to poetry rather than commerce.³

The erotic garden had a long history in Rome. The fertility-god Priapus, a crude wooden sculpture with a perpetual erection, guarded all gardens, even those of the great aristocratic patron Maecenas – a prestigious gathering-place where friends such as Virgil were encouraged to augment the rude statue with epigrams that bring it to life, called *Priapea*. The most famous writer in Chigi's inner circle, Pietro Bembo, published his own scholarly edition of those ancient

Priapea, displayed his own statue of Priapus in his garden, encouraged other writers to post epigrams on it, and composed a Latin poem simply titled *Priapus* – ancestor of many vernacular poems in praise of the genitals coded as fruit or vegetables.⁴

Gardens entered the cityscape both literally –as in the gardens of Chigi and Fra Mariano that Aretino evokes when he describes Nanna’s *bello orto* in Rome – and as representations in mural painting. An early and prominent example is the huge arcaded loggia built in 1466 atop the mediaeval Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi. Two sides open into the famous cityscape – the Capitoline, Trajan’s Column, the Torre di Milizia and the Palazzo Colonna – but the two solid walls, in contrast, have been ‘greened’. A complex trompe-l’oeil landscape extends in multiple layers, from a leafy ‘hedge’ to a rolling landscape seen through specimen trees depicted virtually life-sized. This melts the distinction between house and garden, country and city, illusion and reality. Aretino aspired to recreate this effect in words. And those words had weight. The high point of indoor/outdoor illusionism took shape in the Farnesina itself while Aretino lived there – Peruzzi’s 1518 Sala delle Prospettive, where a 360-degree panorama of both cityscape and countryside appears between the immense columns of a ‘terrace’ that is entirely painted. Aretino’s praise of Peruzzi’s achievement made it canonical. When the architect and theorist Sebastiano Serlio lays down the rules for integrating frescoes into the building he singles out Peruzzi’s illusionistic ‘prospects’ as his prime example of the successful painted interior, and to reinforce this judgement he recalls that ‘the great Pietro Aretino, as judicious in painting as in poetry’, pronounced it ‘the most perfect picture of its kind’ – even compared to the nearby work of ‘the divine Raphael’.⁵

This essay on the ecology of the urban garden begins by expounding that episode in the fictional *Ragionamenti*, drawing out its implications and its allusions to the real sites developed by Chigi and Fra Mariano. Section 2 then surveys hortolan motifs in Aretino’s letters, particularly those responding to gifts of fresh produce and promising to exchange them for the fruits of his mental garden (a fundamental theme, as my epigraph suggests). It goes on to examine lengthier recreations of the rural villa, showing how they are still permeated by urban sensibilities. Section 3 concludes with Aretino’s Venetian cityscapes, which are revealed to be greener and more horticultural than their location would lead us to expect.

THE ROMAN *PARADISETTO*

The ambitious but plebeian *bello orto* that delights Aretino’s earthy Midwife was not adjacent to Nanna’s house, like those of Roman patricians, but in her separate *vigna*, towards the outskirts of the city though still in easy walking distance; the Midwife calls it her ‘robba-fastidio’ and ‘spassa-tempo’, a hobby or pastime, tasteful but whimsical, on the side yet somehow central. Each of the six day-long dialogues are set there, around picnics at a stone table, under a fig or peach tree, but on each day the participants stroll there from their lodgings and saunter home in the evening. Chigi’s Farnesina likewise was bought as a *vigna*, literally a vineyard, but there the

previous owner had started to build a house, and the patron saw the potential for developing a more ambitious home with the help of his beloved Peruzzi. The freestanding arrangement in Aretino resembles more an English allotment, though a fancy one with arbours and flowers rather than a mere vegetable patch. Nanna has grown rich from the sex trade, and it is here that she and her intimates meet to discuss the finer points of the courtesan's art, the trickery needed to outwit the men, and the absurdity of those who denigrate and suppress desire; the fig and the peach are chosen precisely for their sexual connotations. Nevertheless, the Midwife distinguishes this modestly-named *orto* from the upper-class *giardino*, even when singing its praises and declaring Nanna's creation even finer than the most famous beauty spots of Rome: 'certo certo egli pò disgraziarne il giardino del Chisi in Trastevere e quello de fra Mariano a monte Cavallo'; it could definitely put to shame the *giardino* of Chigi in Trastevere and Fra Mariano's on the Monte Cavallo (the Quirinal Hill). With a few improvements, in fact, 'you could name it *il giardino dei giardini*' – a superlative idiom like 'the song of songs', meaning the *giardino* to end all *giardini* – 'not just the *orto* to end all *orti*.'

The garden-setting of Aretino's bawdy *ragionamenti* – tapping into a tradition of dialogues in an idyllic green oasis close to the city, going back to Plato's *Phaedrus* – may be fictitious, but it is concrete and believable. The Midwife names the precise places that compete with it and are now outdone, just as those gardens had been praised as outdoing the famous beauty-spots that came before: Chigi's Villa Farnesina, the pivotal example, had itself been eulogized as having far outshone the gardens of the Hesperides and Homer's Alcinous, and the finest villas of ancient Rome.⁶ Every feature is then presented in loving though sometimes critical detail. The plum-tree needs watering, but 'look, look, this pergola's got flowers, green fruit and ripe grapes' at the same time – a marker of the earthly paradise or the gardener's genius. 'Oh what a lovely espalier of jasmine! lovely box-trees in pots! lovely little rosemary hedge!' and so on through a list of 'miraculous' fruits and herbs such as September roses, Damascus violets, 'Lady Mint' and 'Sir Orange Blossom'. The sensuous profusion and 'the beauties of this *paradisetto*' make the Midwife forget the time, but on parting that evening she offers one criticism that reasserts the achievement of the Farnesina, famous for its fountains: 'Everything's smiling happily here. What breezes are blowing, what air, what a location!' But 'if there was a little fountain to squirt up water or trickle it over the rim to water the grass along the paths ...', then it would truly deserve the crowning epithet *giardino dei giardini*.

All these fictional features surely derive from Aretino's memory of Chigi's real garden. In his letters, dialogues and drama Aretino frequently evokes the golden years he spent as Agostino's protégé, his formative residence at the Farnesina (c.1516-1520) – a time of freedom and creativity, when he gained the friendship and respect of the major artists who worked there.⁷ The *pergola* and the *spalliere* in this affectionate comedy-scene are not mere literary conceits, as they are mentioned by eye-witnesses and documented in contracts for the upkeep of the *Giardino de Ghisi*. The park-like Farnesina grounds remained the definitive site for recreation and debate, a point of reference for plebeian midwife and aristocratic horsemen alike. The character Grillo in Aretino's comedy *La Cortegiana* refers to having to go to the 'giardino di messer Agostin Chisi'

on some important matter, an appointment so pressing that he ‘cannot stay to watch the festivity’, *la festa*. The irony here is that Chigi’s gardens were famous precisely for their ‘festivity’, for spectacular banquets, theatrical performances and diplomatic receptions amidst ‘glittering’ fountains. But a contract signed there in 1537 proves that the Chigi ‘jardino’ was used as a meeting-place for business too.⁸

The Midwife’s slightly drunken raptures convey not just the botany of Nanna’s urban garden but its design principles and its effect on the visitor. The site is well-chosen for its airs and breezes, as Vitruvius recommended, though irrigation remains a problem. The gardener displays her ability to manipulate Nature so as to conflate the seasons, so that the vine-pergola displays *i fiori, lo agresto e l’uva* at the same time, and the pomegranates are both full- and half-ripe (though this comes with a warning to pick them now before they are ‘picked’ by some thief). The garden-features also synthesize Art and Nature in a playful way, with its hedge literally a *muricciuolo* or little wall, but made of rosemary rather than bricks and mortar; those *vasi di bosso* might be bushes planted in pots or box-trees carved into topiary vases. The larger world is miniaturized in green. The connoisseur Midwife sees specimen plants so well-grown that they become glamorous guests that she might ‘make love to’ (Monna Menta, Madonna Magiurana, Madama Pimpinella and Messer Fiorancio), and varieties so impressive that she can only utter their name and gasp (‘Fichi Brogiotti, ah?’). More realistically, she sees the clumps or ‘heads’ of violet-plants and promises – or threatens? – to come back in April or May and ‘fill my bosom and my lap’ with their flowers. The conjunction of fruit and flower in a perpetual Spring, and the word *paradisetto*, evoke the Garden of Eden, reminding us that Aretino’s little bible of sex ends, as the real Bible begins, with a garden vulnerable to intruders and in danger of parching. The lewd fig-tree also evokes the Eden-myth, since Aretino asserted – earlier in this dialogue, and in the first of the *sonetti lussuriosi* – that the original Forbidden Fruit was a fig. In this bawdy context the Midwife’s ‘squirting’ or ‘trickling’ fountains can be read sexually, as can other images that we will encounter later in this essay, such as the ‘liquid furrows’ of Venice.⁹

Aretino’s Midwife, an expert in coupling, relates Nanna’s *orto degli orti* not just to Chigi’s Farnesina but to the famous garden *de fra Mariano a monte Cavallo*. Fra Mariano Fetti himself resembled a character out of Aretino, who mentions him not only here but in the still-more-scandalous *Modi* sonnets; Mariano was the most outrageous papal jester at the court of Pope Leo X, but also Keeper of the Lead Seal and a senior cleric in the Dominican and Cistercian orders. Again, only a rump remains of the monastic gardens he commissioned for his own enjoyment at San Silvestro al Quirinale, but literary and graphic sources allow us a glimpse. Giorgio Vasari reports in his life of Peruzzi, the architect and painter of the Farnesina and probably the designer of its gardens, that he also painted ‘a *St Bernard*’ for Fra Mariano ‘di terretta nel giardino, bellissimo’ – that is, the saint was not for private devotion indoors but ‘in the garden’, and the whole was rendered in *terretta*, the same warm, earth-toned medium that Peruzzi used for the mythological decorations that covered the exterior of the Farnesina. This ‘most beautiful’ painting is lost, but it was clearly an extensive mural landscape with the hermit-saint praying in a forest, to judge from a print that shows him in dense, rock-strewn woodland

with a glimpse of open country, and from a seventeenth-century account of how Paul Bril ‘remade the landscape’ (*il paese*) that occupied an entire ‘corner’, presumably of the cloister-garden nearest to the church. Mariano himself described his garden as densely wooded, with ‘boschetti ed ornamenti silvestri’ of ‘100 varieties and 1000 caprices’ (including a pun on San Silvestro), so Peruzzi’s landscape would have extended this sylvan effect, dissolving the boundary between real and represented space, bringing the wilderness into the urban garden, and thus continuing the ‘urban landscape’ that Aretino had encouraged. The effect would not have been strictly illusionistic, since the fictive scenery was not polychrome like that in his Farnesina Sala delle Prospettive, but the pigments would still be natural and close to the terrain depicted: as Vasari explains, *terretta* was made of clay, charred wood, powdered stone, and sometimes ‘green earth’.¹⁰

Another artist who worked in Fra Mariano’s San Silvestro estate was Polidoro da Caravaggio, a protégé of Peruzzi’s who had painted at the Farnesina under his guidance. Mariano commissioned two landscapes by Polidoro in his own chapel, establishing a ‘green’ connection between the church and the adjacent garden. These scenes from the life of Mary Magdalene and St Catherine have been recognized since Vasari as initiating the genre of true landscape, since the incidents from each saint’s life are so reduced in scale – probably emulating Peruzzi’s St Bernard in the forest. As Peruzzi had augmented and mirrored the ‘sylvatic’ garden and optically dissolved its solid wall, so Polidoro’s ‘macchiati de’ paesi fatti con somma grazia e discrezione’ as Vasari put it, atmospheric ‘sketches of country scenes’ or ‘landscapes, done with consummate grace and discretion’, created fictive windows on either side of the Fetti Chapel, replacing the dense urban fabric just beyond the church wall (Fig. 1).¹¹ Having helped Peruzzi realize an



1 Fetti chapel, church of S. Silvestro al Quirinale, Rome, c.1525. Photomontage © James Grantham Turner

outdoor landscape within a garden, Polidoro now devises a garden within an indoor landscape. The ruined fragment of the Pantheon dome makes the scene more Rome than Jerusalem. The grand colonnaded dining-portico in the middle distance represents as real the space that Peruzzi had created by trompe-l’oeil, and the location, high above a river with steps leading to a grotto, alludes to Chigi’s famous banqueting-house and ‘cave of the nymphs’ on the Tiber, where he staged his banquets. And the garden where Mary meets Christ shares many features with Nanna’s *orto* on the outskirts of Rome. Even though the paint has abraded we can still make out informal multi-hued flower-beds, a hedge like a ‘little wall’ with darker vegetation beside it, the deep shade of *berceaux* or hooped trellises, *pergola* and *spalliere*, all frothing with an abundance of flowering vines – dominated



2 Fetti chapel, detail of Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Landscape with the Life of St Mary Magdalene*, c.1525. Photo: Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom

by the white flecks of jasmine, just as Aretino specifies (Fig. 2). Mary's sensuous past surely prompted Polidoro to conjure up this lush garden, which Aretino then evoked in a fictional *paradisetto* designed by a less penitent Magdalene.

Aretino's pairing of Chigi's and Fra Mariano gardens is not random, therefore, but highly specific; the same artists generated both, and the same motifs unite them. Both are urban meta-gardens that nest landscapes within landscapes and bring the country into the city. The keen-eyed Midwife has chosen places densely planted with significance.

L'ORTO PICCOLO DEL MIO POCO INGEGNO

Aretino's correspondence and fiction repeatedly evoke urban gardens, though more obliquely than in this eulogy of Nanna's magnificent *orto*. In his 1537 letter justifying the *Modi*, for example, he draws a parallel between his explicitly sexual sonnets and the Farnesina's 'marble satyr ... trying to violate a boy', an ithyphallic statue often identified as *Pan and Daphnis*. Aretino merely locates it 'nel palazzo Chisio', but it would make perfect sense in an outdoors setting like that of the *Psyche* 'nell'orto', in the *giardino segreto* or the entry courtyard greened with citrus trees, in dialogue with the painted satyrs on the exterior wall. As one expert remarks, this erotic statue exemplified the close relationship between sculpture, painting and 'the fertile nature of the surrounding gardens'.¹² Chigi's Priapic satyr in its urban garden setting became the model and the rationale for Aretino's own ventures into sexual literature and his promotion of the erotic in painting, engraving and sculpture.

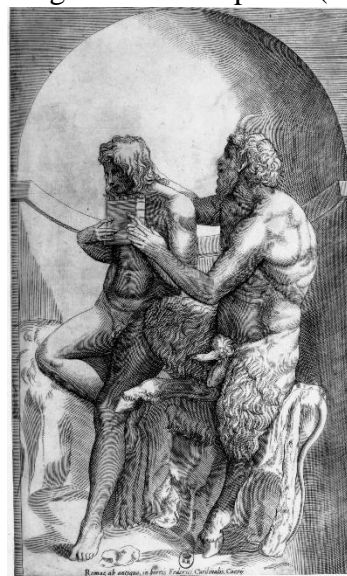
After Agostino's death the Cesi family acquired this *Pan/Satyr* and installed it in their own Roman gardens, which were even more ambitious than Chigi's and Fra Mariano's and on a

scale to rival the Vatican Belvedere; Hendrick van Cleve's panoramic view shows it still under



3 Hendrick van Cleve III, *The Sculpture Garden of Cardinal Cesi*, 1584. National Gallery, Prague. Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons

construction (Fig. 3). Somewhere in this vast ensemble of courtyards, formal gardens and *berceaux* the visitor would come across Aretino's 'marble satyr' in a niche, with a naturalistic rough-hewn rock plinth (Fig. 4). One eye-witness declared it 'vivo e cosa stupenda da vedere',



4 Unknown Italian engraver after Battista Franco, *Pan teaching Daphnis to play the Pipes* (identified by Aretino as *Il Satiro di marmo che tenta di violare un fanciullo*), c.1550. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

'alive' as well as stunning to see.¹³ Such were the thrills of this garden/cityscape, which translated the Chigian symbiosis of sculpture and horticulture to even greater grandeur.

Aretino is sometimes credited with contributing directly to the green world of the Farnesina (as well as recording it and using it to stage his poetry readings). He probably suggested the copulating fruit and vegetables that Giovanni da Udine painted in the entry-porch of Chigi's villa, part of a fictive pergola that transformed it into a celebration of Psyche's wedding (Fig. 5). Vasari found this lewd detail delightfully 'natural', appropriate for that setting because they were done 'per Priapo', in a neo-pagan loggia that gave onto, and represented, the garden-realm of that deity. Aretino often cited Priapus and the prestigious verse-anthology *Priapea*, thought to be by Virgil and dedicated to the phallic statue in the Roman garden of Maecenas. Like Pietro Bembo, Aretino conceived the garden as a realm of utopian free-play where the powers of Venus, Bacchus and Priapus could be celebrated with the highest

resources of art. His disciple Lodovico Dolce captures the spirit of



5 Giovanni da Udine, detail from ceiling cove, Loggia di Psiche, 1518–19. Villa Chigi (Farnesina), Rome. Alinari / Art Resource, NY

‘lascivious play’ that prevailed in Maecenas’s garden and by implication those of Chigi and Bembo: ‘per giuoco ... scherzarono lascivamente’.¹⁴ In a sonnet by Nicolò Franco, another disciple-protégé of Aretino (though later his deadly enemy), Priapus himself explains how the formal manners and indirections of the ‘palace’ are suspended the moment you step into the garden. Franco’s Priapus anticipates some censorious violence – ‘I don’t want any of you to stone me for being so *liberazzo*’ – but disarms it by granting the reader liberty to do and say whatever he wants; using the humble or rustic word *orti*, as Aretino’s Midwife had done, he promises that ‘in my gardens *si può ben fare*’, you can do well, you can relax. The amusing coinage *liberazzo* means not absolutely free but largely and somewhat comically free, setting up a rhyme-scheme that will bring in the inevitable *cazzo* as well as the *palazzo*; male guests, at least for a privileged moment, can become Priapists and *liberazzi* in this recreational space, naughty but free.¹⁵

The principal occasion for evoking horticulture in Aretino's urban environment was the thank-you letter for gifts of vegetables, flowers and fruit. The first time that the 'Sonnets and lustful figures' are mentioned, they are sent in return for presents that included 'a basket of fruit'. The delicious food is imagined as it is cultivated and selected with special care, and Aretino then returns the gift in the form of a literary ecphrasis equally florid, perfumed and juicy, since he never owned an actual garden to which he could invite the generous friend in return. As glimpsed in my epigraph, when Girolamo Polcastro sends him fruit in 'glorious perfection', abundant enough to share with friends, Aretino responds to this 'Magnificent courtesy' by explaining that 'because I don't have any possessions here to reciprocate, I must give you back the equivalent in produce from the little kitchen garden of my small genius, in case it ever ripens'.¹⁶ The modest term *orto*, as opposed to the grand *giardino*, now supplies a modesty-topos – a conventional gesture of sprezzatura from an author not known for modesty. Aretino was of course extremely proud of his *ingegno* and the abundant fruits of its *orto degli orti*.

More characteristic is the letter to his beloved publisher Francesco Marcolini. Aretino equates the 'first fruits' offered in ancient sacrifices, the first of his literary publications to earn the epithet 'divine', and 'the continuous little presents' that Marcolini has made him, 'of the first things that issue from the hand of good Nature, and of Art too'. The theme of *primizie* – the earliest fruits and vegetables that still send Italian gourmets into a frenzy – runs throughout the letter, a tribute to the Art of forcing Nature to yield them ripe when according to the season they should scarcely be in bud. This brings in some of the same horticultural 'miracles' that the Midwife cites, orange-blossom and pimpernel, violets that bloom only in April – except that Marcolini delivered them before April, along with such an abundance of other premature flowers and fruit that Aretino pretends to wonder where he could have found them. Each gift induces its own effect and affect. Marcolini 'comforts and delights me with every bunch of pansies, white, vermilion and yellow'. 'Tender' young almonds please him as much as if he were a pregnant woman. Cucumbers make the real women in his family 'leap' for joy, strawberries momentarily upset the nature/art balance with their *grana naturale* and *moscado nativo*. Marcolino's gifts reveal the 'heart' of the donor, and Aretino will keep them 'in mezzo del core'. The profusion (both literary and horticultural) continues as he imagines the muscatel pears, apricots, melons, plums, grapes and peaches he *will* be getting, but also the artichokes and courgettes that are missing, long since eaten. Receiving these 'first fruits' gives him a special privilege: he offers to bet against anyone who claims to have seen earlier figs this year. But those figs also ground him in a particular space, after all the effects of excited, incoherent disorientation ('non so dove ... dove lascio ... che dico io?'). Perhaps thinking of the tree in Eden or the fig-wood from which Priapus is carved, Aretino now recognizes that everything has been raised and gathered in Marcolini's own 'garden of delights', 'colti nel vostro dilettevole giardino'.¹⁷

The same trope works to criticize the inadequate or inhospitable present. Girolamo Sarra has sent Aretino bunches of *ceyronella* or lemon balm, a herb he dislikes almost as much as 'rue of the dead'. Taking the horticultural imagery one step further, he exclaims that even if he had squeezed out his thoughts in an olive-press he could never have imagined such an unpleasant

gift. Altering a phrase from the Midwife's praise of Nanna's herb-garden, he conjectures that the normally-reliable Sarra has been bewitched by the arrogant Monna Ranciata, Lady Orange, who dominates all the *orti*. After this initial explosion of distaste, however, he turns to expounding what he would have liked, revealing why vegetables matter so much. Produce should express the 'cortesia' of the giver and, correspondingly, should fill the recipient with an almost erotic joie de vivre: 'let me enjoy the fruits that come from the seeds that March scatters into the softness of the earth to delight the market-gardeners'. The greens he was hoping for, like the fruit sent by Marcolino, would have expressed art as well as nature, since a good mesclun requires great 'dottrina' or learning; 'knowing how to mitigate' or blend contrasting leaves, sharp and sweet, produces a balanced 'composition', just as the words *amaro*, *acuto*, *acro*, *dolce* and *soave* are balanced in Aretino's sentence, and just as rebuke and encouragement are 'tempered' in the letter as a whole. But where the epistle to Marcolino ended by promising to reciprocate -- that is, by sending him more and more profitable manuscripts to publish, like the *Lettere* itself -- this one concludes in a more condescending or threatening tone: starting tomorrow, Sarra must 'begin restoring me to the state of grace' so that Aretino once again enjoys 'the offspring of its kitchen gardens', the exuberant plural ('i parti de i suoi orti') undoing the memory of the single herb he dislikes.¹⁸

Aretino illuminates his salad lecture with little scenes or scenarios of garden culture. He evokes the everyday tasks of maintenance by describing monks and nuns busy watering and cleaning gravel from the beds. He calls on 'the Poets' to 'sing the Virtues of Salad'. He imagines a debate between aromatic greens such as wild radicchio and catnip and plain, odourless leaves (endive, lettuce), so infuriating the god Priapus that he threatens the lettuce-advocate with anal rape -- a motif straight out of the *Priapea*. And he introduces the idea that foodstuffs embody, not only the good heart of the donor, but the qualities of individual regions. Aretino boasts about the supremacy of Tuscan cuisine, but he also praises the game-birds that Titian sends him 'for the glory of Cadoro' -- as if that artist's remote mountain homeland infuses the writer's lunch with its local essence, its *goût de terroir*.¹⁹

These vignettes of garden activity sometimes expand into full-blown *topographia*, where the urban poet displays his urbanity by recreating the joys of country life or the splendours of a remote region. Writing in winter to a 'sister' growing old as he is, he conjures up a beneficent villa life more vividly than the recipient actually experiences it: she 'should feel young again seeing how the trees begin to grow buds' (my emphasis); let her 'grow green again, taking on the qualities of the green that shoots from this hill and that hedgerow'. Aretino's demonstrative rhetoric creates the illusion that he is present, pointing to the signs of Spring 'here' and 'there'; language becomes performative, bringing on verdure and harvest as he describes them in minute botanical-agricultural detail, infusing plant-life with an erotic energy as the 'vapours' of Spring 'embrace and heat' the grain until it 'surges up'. The imaginary *vigna*, complete with *pergole* like Nanna's, becomes a kind of surrogate homestead: when he 'sees again' the thick foliage and ripe clusters, having left the place before the growing season, he feels like 'the father of a family' who returns to find that his loutish little boys have grown up into fine gentlemen.²⁰

Aretino's most elaborate surrogate travelogue involves the town of Garda on the lake of the same name (known then as Benacus or Benaco), expanded from an oral description by the Duke of Urbino. Using every device of *copia* and *energia*, he declares that he can 'almost see' the local shrine, then that he actually *can* see the entire site in his *fantasia*.²¹ His description emulates the new genre of panoramic landscape, which he could have learned from Titian in Venice even though he could not have seen Polidoro's work in Rome: church, temple and castle in the middle distance, hunters in the wood, bustling port, a glimpse of the opposite shore, all ringed by distant mountains. But his closest attention is drawn by 'i giardini che ricreano chi ci entra', the gardens that 'recreate', in several senses, whoever enters them:

I gaze and gaze at the different varieties of flowers, the extraordinary condition of the beloved trees, the beautiful multitude of fruits good for the heart; even from here I smell odoriferous fragrance breathing sweetly its nourishing softness, thanks to the black and white myrtles, thanks to the grace of the fresh green laurels and the goodness of cedars, great and small, mingled with attractive lemon and orange trees; this is why perfumiers from all over Italy source their precious oil and delicate tinctures from here.²²

In this ecphrasis imaginary sight is augmented by scent, by the sound of birds, by touch and taste (ice-cold spring water, rabbit-warrens, pepper-trees, hearty pub fare), by the kinaesthetic sensation of walking through the grounds under fig, olive, cherry and pear trees, and by transformative-procreative virtues in the environment itself: melancholy humours turn to *gioviali*, barren women conceive after drinking the spring-water mixed with 'juice' from the nearby cedars, the air is 'filled with health and love'. In this 'lap' of the earth St Bernardino thought he was 'Adam in his terrestrial paradise'. 'Violet-adorned, frondiferous Primavera' reigns here all year long. Recycling the topoi used to praise Chigi's garden, Aretino declares that this spot on Lake Garda beats the perfumed forests of Arabia where the phoenix lives, the haunts of Cupid and Venus, the sybaritic villa of Lucullus, and even the Elysian Fields (which are, after all, fictitious). And yet, despite the hyperbole and despite the fact that it belonged to a villa on a promontory at the edge of town, our author makes this garden sound real and urban, emphasizing the proximity of the church and the 'German tavern'.²³

THE 'LIQUID FURROWS' OF VENICE

Though Aretino evoked the *giardini*, *orti* and *vigne* of Rome, these descriptions, like those of the rural villas just cited, were actually crafted in the very centre of Venice – his permanent home since 1527, his inspiration and 'his canvas' (as proclaimed in the Introduction above). How then did he represent his immediate surroundings in 'painterly' words, and how did they relate to his horticultural fascination? Aretino found himself in a lagoon city presumably devoid of gardens, and he possessed no villa on the *terrafirma* where he could indulge georgic and pastoral

fantasies, like the Venetian élite. Even when his ‘sister’ did winter in such a villa, we saw that his response was to conjure up its delights in a letter rather than to visit her in person.

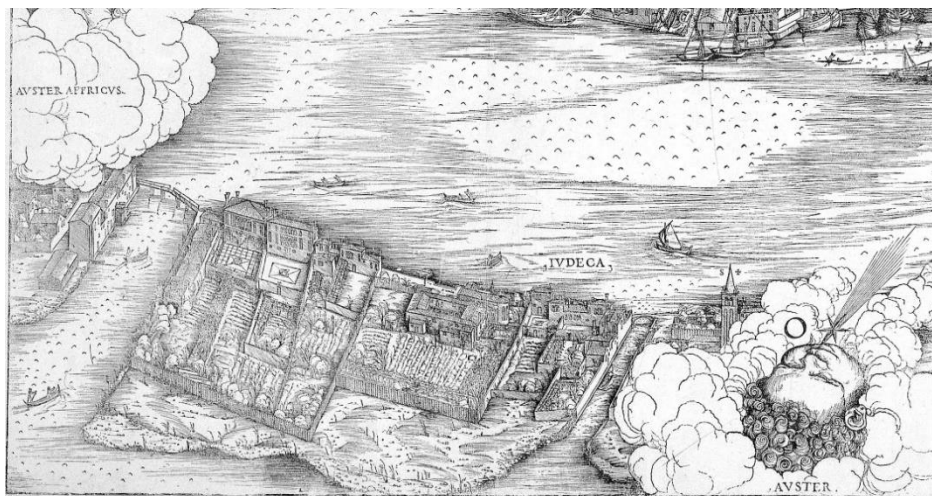
The art historian Jodi Cranston has shown, however, that Venice abounded in gardens, and that the city was significantly ‘greened’ during the sixteenth century. The cultivation of these verdant enclaves was the more intense because (like the city itself) they were so densely-packed and hard-won from the surrounding waters. Venetians made the maximum use of pergolas, as ‘supports for dense growth of climbing plants such as jasmine and grapevines that would further enclose the visitor within the garden’. (Nanna’s *orto* shares several of these features, including a *spalliere* of jasmine.) Venetian gardens, Cranston continues, ‘became the sites for a variety of literary experiences, shaped the kinds of poetry produced around and in them, and conditioned how visitors inhabited them’. They thus ‘hovered between an actual place and an imagined text’. Literary dialogues set in specific Venetian gardens ‘demonstrate how discussion – and, by extension, thought – take place in the world and how the garden functions as a medium, rather than as a setting, for thought itself’. Effectively ‘the garden can be found anywhere, especially when it serves as the medium for love’.²⁴

Aretino participated in this garden culture both as an author and as a character. His 1538 dialogue *Ragionamento delle corti*, for example, is set in the same garden of Francesco Marcolini that he praises so volubly for its early fruit and flowers. Celebration of the place is put into the mouth of the disciple and fellow-author Lodovico Dolce, who calls it the *ventaglio* or ‘fan of the summer’ on account of the wind ‘breathing’ there: ‘the shade of its greenery, the softness of its flowers, and the song of its Petrarchan birds refresh, recover, delight, and induce sleep – and, much more, enable strolling along the walks’ even in the heat of August. Marcolini himself, in a book subtitled *Il giardino dei pensieri*, describes the nearby Palazzo Cornaro garden in language recycled from this tribute to his own, Aretino’s ‘augelli petrarchevoli’ becoming ‘innumerable birds who restore the soul with their *musica petrarchesca*’; in turn, Aretino himself complimented Cornaro on the marvellous *verdeggia* or greenery of his garden. Another intellectual publisher describes a dinner-party and symposium in Titian’s garden, located ‘in the extreme part of Venice on the sea’ looking across to the verdant island of Murano, during which Aretino proposes a discussion of language – the ‘sweetness of the fruit’ having suggested ‘the sweetness of letters’. Somewhat uncannily, being in Titian’s garden triggers in this author a reverie or mental journey that parallels Aretino’s flight of fancy when he conjured up Nanna’s *vigna* from his ‘studio’ in a rented house on the Grand Canal: he imagines himself back in equally splendid gardens on the Quirinal, near those of Fra Mariano, and loses track of whether he is in Rome or Venice. Aretino’s presence, as well as the similarities of garden design, makes these places interchangeable, each one in Cranston’s terms ‘a synecdoche, an encapsulation of place’.²⁵

The garden metaphor operated on several scales and in multiple frames of reference. Marcolini composed his ‘garden of thoughts’ in his literal *giardinetto*. Renaissance intellectuals conceived the whole of Italy as a ‘giardino’ to be defended against the barbarians, or as the *giardino del mondo* more beautiful than any Northern landscape. Actual gardens could therefore

be nested within a *paese* that was itself a garden. To complicate this imagery further, Aretino referred to Venice itself as ‘il giardino di natura’, a dizzying reversal of country and city, natural and built environment, fuelled by his euphoria over the birth of his daughter Adria.²⁶ She herself was a living synecdoche, named as if she embodied the entire Adriatic.

Even Aretino’s most deliberate Venetian cityscapes – amply cited in William Rossiter’s and Marlene Eberhardt’s essays – show how the painted landscape and the urban garden provided a ‘medium’ for aesthetic effects and thoughts of ‘health and love’, motifs that we have already seen in sections 1 and 2. Recovering from a fever, our author ‘nourishes his soul’ by taking in the *mirabile spettacolo* from his window – and by describing it in a letter to and for his friend Titian. The Grand Canal is endowed with the same ‘recreative’ power that he gives elsewhere to the breezes, perfumes and greenery of Garda, with an additional layer of agricultural imagery: those who ply its waters actually ‘plough’ it (*solca*) like a field. He looks up at the sky, and suddenly sees ‘a beautiful painting of shades and lights’ such as only Titian could capture completely. The *aria* – the air, but also the painter’s style or manner – seems to turn solid stone buildings into some ‘*materia artificciata*’, while conversely the clouds on the right side of this *principal veduta* form a mass of *bigio nero*, a dark marble favoured by sculptors, though here softened by painterly ‘*sfumato*’. In contrast, other clouds glow with *minio*, the red pigment that gave its name to *miniature*. The ‘paintbrushes of Nature’ produce beautiful shadings (‘*belle tratteggiature*’) and effects of distancing or aerial perspective ‘exactly the way Titian does when he makes landscapes [*i paesi*]’. The transformation of cityscape into *paese* or landscape becomes complete when *la natura maestra de i maestri*, Nature mistress of the great masters, fills the canvas with bold contrasting shades of green, here ‘*un verde azzurro*’, there ‘*un azzurro verde*’. The greening of Venice has been achieved in words.²⁷



6 Detail of Giudecca from Jacopo de' Barbari, *Bird's-Eye View of Venice*, c.1500. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Aretino’s landscaping of the city is all the more striking because of his location. Most gardens including Marcolini’s were clustered in the Giudecca, ‘on the sea’ like Titian’s, an area less fashionable and less renowned for its architecture (Fig. 6). Aretino himself recognizes this

when complimenting Benedetto Cornaro: the verdure of his garden, the Plums, Figs and Peaches that the Duke of Urbino declared the best he has ever eaten, are so splendid that they compensate for the modesty of his surroundings.²⁸ Eulogies of this greener and more tranquil quarter often take a pastoral, anti-urban stance, characterizing the central area of the Grand Canal and the Rialto by contrast as fully urban, chaotic, bustling and stressful. Aretino turns this inside out. In an even longer and more detailed account of the view from his balcony, which included both the Rialto and the Canal, he explicitly praises the ‘tranquilla contentezza’ that he derives from its ‘visual delights’.²⁹ Marcolini’s gifts of fruit had likewise ‘comforted’ as well as ‘delighted’ him.

The contrast between the dingy, off-putting entry of Aretino’s rented house and the *delizie visive* of the ‘vista’ from his canalside portico works like a theatrical landscape framed by dark foreground *repoussoirs*. He exults in ‘the most joyful view in the world’ (*la piú gioconda veduta del mondo*) just as he had evoked the ‘giocondità de l’ombra e la freschezza de l’acqua’ at Marieta Riccia’s villa. But what he immediately focusses on are ‘le vigne ne i burchi, le caccie e l’uccellagioni ne le botteghe, gli orti ne lo spazzo’; he does not merely denote the grapes, game and vegetables in the market, but instead imagines the delivery-barges as *vigne* like Nanna’s, the shops as hunting-lodges, and the *spazzo*, the open stretches of pavement, transformed into his favourite *orti*. The urban spectacle produces a garden to end all gardens, one so satisfying that Aretino can explicitly declare that ‘I have no yearning for streams irrigating the meadow, when each dawn I can see the water covered with every kind of thing in its own season’. Whatever talent he has, whatever ‘spirit breathes from my chatty writings with the breath of genius [*confiato d’ingegno*], comes not from the air and the shade, not from ‘the violets and the greenery’, but from his fabulous lodgings. He is writing, of course, to his landlord.³⁰

The ‘gran copia de i frutti e de l’erbe’ – the core of his own cornucopian descriptions of gardens from Rome to Garda – now comes to him laid out by porters in the ‘assigned places’. The scene is certainly urban, the Grand Canal being designated ‘the most beautiful street in the world’, but this *strada* is also a *giardino* with its orderly compartments framing nature’s *copia*. The water itself is horticulturalized, as the sailboats laden with melons ‘make a kind of Island’, inverting what Cranston calls ‘the topography of Venice itself, with its urban center surrounded by a green necklace of outlying, less inhabited islands’. The letter then moves on to list Aretino’s prestigious neighbours and the aristocratic processions that pass under his windows, but even this social register is tinged by the garden conceit: he can ‘gaze at the orange trees that gild the feet of the Palazzo de’ Camerlinghi’, and he can see the house of Angela Sirena, to whom he addressed passionate pastoral love-poems that transform the region into an amorous garden and the sea into *liquidi solcati*, ‘liquid furrows’ – the same agricultural metaphor applied here to the Canal. ‘To sum up’, if he could feast his other senses the way he feasts his eyes on all he sees from his vantage-point, his room with a view ‘would be for me a paradise’, the archetypal garden of gardens, the *paradisetto* that Nanna almost managed to create, if her plum-tree hadn’t dried out.³¹ Now Aretino can have his blossoms, his sour grapes and his ripe fruit, all at the same time.

NOTES

¹ *Dialogo nel quale la Nanna ... insegna a la Pippa* (1536), in *Sei giornate*, ed. Guido Davico Bonino (Turin, 1975), 367; the full text, cited here and in sect. 1, is as follows: ‘La Comare, avviatasi per l’orto, cominciò a vagheggiarlo tutto, dicendo: “Nanna, il tuo robba-fastidio è un vago spassa-tempo”; replicando: “Oh il bello orto; certo certo egli pò disgraziarne il giardino del Chisi in Trastevere e quello de fra Mariano a monte Cavallo. È un peccato che quel susino si secchi; guarda guarda, questa pergola ha i fiori, lo agresto e l’uva; quanti melagrani, Iddio, e dolci e di mezzo sapore: io le conosco, e si vogliono ormai còrre acciò che non sieno colte. Oh bella spalliera di gelsomini, oh bei vasi di bosso; che bel muricciuolo di ramerino. To’ su questo miracolo: le rose di settembre, misericordia. Fichi brogiotti, ah? Infine, io delibero di venirci fra l’aprile e il maggio; e voglio empirmi il seno e il grembo de le viole a ciocche che io veggo qui. Oh quanti testi di viole da Dommasco! Per conchiuderla, le bellezze di questo paradisetto mi aveva fatto dimenticare che egli è già sera: e perciò monna menta, madonna magiurana, madama pimpinella e messer fiorancio perdoneranno al mio non più far l’amor seco; e per mia vita, che ogni cosa ride quinci; che ventarello che trae, e che aria, e che sito. Per questa croce, Nanna, che se qui fosse una fontanella la quale zampillasse l’acqua in suso, o che fuor degli orli versasse e a poco a poco innaffiasse l’erbe per i suoi viottoli, tu gli potresti por nome il giardino dei giardini, non che l’orto degli orti”.’

² Albertina, Vienna, inv. 111 verso, attributed to Battista da Sangallo, known as Il Gobbo.

³ Niccolò Martelli to Aretino, 1 Sept. 1540, *Il primo libro delle lettere* (Florence, 1546), 6r (himself a ‘giovanello’, he was ‘spronato d’amore’ when Aretino created a *capitolo* for him); compare Aretino’s use of ‘giardino’ as metaphor for his own ‘flowering’ youth, cited in William Rossiter’s essay above, n. 18. Unless otherwise specified, all details about Chigi’s villa come from my *The Villa Farnesina: Palace of Venus in Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge University Press, 2022), esp. Ch. 4 on the gardens. See also Ingrid Rowland, *The Roman Garden of Agostino Chigi* (Groningen, 2005) and Alessandro Cremona, *Felices procerum villulae: il giardino della Farnesina dai Chigi all’Accademia dei Lincei* (Rome, 2010).

⁴ See Philippe Morel, ‘Priape à la Renaissance: les guirlandes de Giovanni da Udine à la Farnésine’, *Revue de l’art* 69 (1985), 13-28, esp. 14.

⁵ *Regole generali di Architettura* (Venice 1537), f. 70 (‘il gran Pietro Aretino, così giudicioso nella pittura, come nella poesia, hebbe a dire non esser in quella casa la piu perfetta pittura nel grado suo, quantumque ci sono anco delle cose di mano dal divin Rafaello da Urbino’); Serlio must be recording oral testimony, since Aretino’s *Lettere*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli (Rome, 1997–2002), mention Peruzzi only in passing, once as an architect (I no.237) and once as a façade painter (IV no. 591).

⁶ Blosio Palladio (Blosius Palladius), *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii* (Rome, 1512), ed. and trans. Mary Quinlan-McGrath, *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* 39 (1990), 117.

⁷ *Lettere* I.201, no. 132, I.236 no. 160, I.425 no. 308, II.294-5, no. 264, III.242, no. 270, IV.245-6, no. 389.

⁸ *Cortegiana* IV.xiii (added only in the 1534 revision), and cf. Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance* (Tübingen, 1973), II.157 doc. 58.

⁹ Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.28, f. 86 (‘ficcò traditore’, as in *Sei giornate*, 331, rather than the corrupt printed texts that read *pomo*). One anonymous reviewer suggested these further erotic-genital interpretations, applying them also to the dry plumtree and relating Aretino’s love of salad to ‘French slang for oral sex’.

¹⁰ Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori: nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi (Florence, 1966–), IV.320 (and I.40-3 for the *terretta* medium, further discussed in my *Villa Farnesina*, ch. 3 sect. 1), Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti* (Rome, 1642), 296, and see A. Richard Turner, 'Two Landscapes in Renaissance Rome', *Art Bulletin* 43 (1961), 275-87, esp. 280-1, Heinrich Wurm, letter in *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962), 246 fig. 3, 254, and Cynthia Stollhans, 'Fra Mariano, Peruzzi and Polidoro da Caravaggio: A New Look at Religious Landscapes in Renaissance Rome', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23 (1992), 506-25, esp. 522 n. 33. The print (Stollhans's fig. 1) is in vertical format with the foreground rocks, and trees severely cropped; though it sets the saint and his vision deeper into the landscape than any other version of that subject, the engraver has clearly excerpted a segment from an original in horizontal format (Baglione's *paese*) where St Bernard appeared smaller, more on the scale of St Jerome or St Francis as depicted in the wilderness.

¹¹ Vasari, *Vite*, IV.462, adding that as well as the chapel landscapes Polidoro 'fecero ... a S. Salvestro di Montecavallo per fra' Mariano, per casa e per il giardino, alcune cosette ... perché Polidoro veramente lavorò i paesi e macchie d'alberi e sassi meglio d'ogni pittore'. See also Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Polidoro da Caravaggio: l'opera completa* (Naples, 2001), plate 38, and David Franklin, *Polidoro da Caravaggio* (New Haven and London, 2018), 12, 32-4. Before drastic 19th-century changes Mariano's chapel would have been the second on the left after the entry, backing directly onto the street, and is still diagonally across from the door that leads into the cloister garden; see Luigi Mezzadri, *San Silvestro al Quirinale, chiesa di Michelangelo e Vittoria Colonna* (Rome, 2018).

¹² *Lettere* I.425, no. 308, to Battista Zatti, dated '11' December 1537 in the first two editions but '19' in later impressions, Frommel, *La Villa Farnesina a Roma* (Modena, 2014), 33. I surmise that Chigi and his protégé Aretino encouraged Maecenas-style epigrams posted directly on this libertine statue, a device that Aretino later applied to the Pasquino sculpture.

¹³ See Guido Rebecchini, 'Giovan Francesco Arrivabene a Roma nel 1550: una nuova descrizione del giardino del Cardinale Federico Cesi', *Pegasus: Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike* 2 (2000), 52, 59 n 33.

¹⁴ See Aretino, *Sei giornate*, 6 (and the 'salad' letter cited below), Morel, 'Priape à la Renaissance', my *Eros Visible: Art, Sexuality and Antiquity in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven and London, 2017), 60, 70-4, 401 n. 91, and sources cited there including Dolce; for poetic sculpture-gardens see also Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge, 1998), 182-92, and for 'satyric' elements at the Farnesina Raymond B. Waddington, *Aretino's Satyr: Sexuality, Satire and Self-Projection in Sixteenth-Century Literature and Art* (Toronto and Buffalo, 2004), 17-18, 134.

¹⁵ Franco, *Priapea*, cited in David O. Frantz, *Festum voluptatis: A Study of Renaissance Erotica* (Columbus, Ohio, 1989), 106.

¹⁶ *Lettere* I.66, no. 10, to Cesare Fregoso, 9 November 1527, II.376, no. 367, 17 May 1542 (see epigraph for a fuller text).

¹⁷ *Lettere* I.206-8, no. 137, 11 June 1537 (a date that somewhat undermines the excited thanks for receiving violets in March); Marcolini's gift-packages also included baskets, drinking-glasses 'in the latest style', hair-oil, soap and toothpicks.

¹⁸ *Lettere* I.306-8, no. 216, 11 November 1537 (the opening attack was mitigated in the third edition by adding 'fratello'). *Ranciata* according to the *Grande Dizionario della lingua italiana* meant either candied orange-peel or the colour orange, neither of which makes the allusion clear; my translation of the last phrase is also provisional as I am not sure what *suoi* refers to, the second-person address here being *voi/vostro*.

¹⁹ *Lettere* I.307-8; the third edition also caught a misprint ('invidia' for 'indivia') that unwittingly sums up Aretino's green philosophy: for *envy* read *endive*.

²⁰ *Lettere* II.187-8, no. 166, to Marieta Riccia (the mother of his mistress Perina), 28 February 1540; for *topographia* see also my *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry, 1630-1660* (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., 1979).

²¹ This recourse to *fantasia* is akin to Aretino's response to Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*, before he saw it (*Lettere*, I.193), which is marked by his insistent anaphorical repetition of *Veggio*: 'I see Nature ... I see Time ... I see Hope and despair ... Then I see ...'.

²² 'Rimiro la varia sorte de i fiori diversi, la inusitata condizione de gli alberi cari, e la bella moltitudine de i frutti cordiali; ma sin di qua sento la odorifera rifragranzia respirante con dolce fiato di soavità nutritiva, mercè de i mirti neri e bianchi, e in grazia de i lauri freschi, e verdi, e bontà de i cedri grandi e piccioli mescolati con le vaghe piante di limoni e d'aranzi; causa che i profumieri di tutta Italia ci forniscono d'olio prezioso e d'acque delicate.'

²³ *Lettere* III.21-4, no. 12, to Agostino Brenzone, not dated (but presumably celebrating Brenzone's new lakeside villa, designed by Michele Sanmicheli and completed 1542).

²⁴ *Green Worlds of Renaissance Venice* (University Park, Penn., 2019), 28, 31-5, and Ch. 1 ('The Greening of Venice') *passim*.

²⁵ Cranston, *Green Worlds*, 26, 31-2, 164-5 n. 66, 68, 70-1, citing Aretino's *Delle corti*, Marcolini's *Le sorti intitolato il giardino dei pensieri* (Venice, 1540), and Francesco Priscianese's *Della lingua latina libri sei* (1550), book 6. For Aretino on Cornaro's garden see n. 24 below, and for the rooms of his apartment *Lettere* I.302 (the morning sun sends light 'al mio letto, al mio studio, a la mia cocina, a le mie camere, e a la mia sala').

²⁶ *Lettere* I.220, no. 147, 15 June 1537, to Sebastiano del Piombo; compare Benedetto Varchi and Paolo Pino cited in Cranston, *Green Worlds*, 33, 165 n. 76.

²⁷ *Lettere* III.78-80, no. 55, May 1544; note that Aretino imagines Nature as a quirky genius not a conventional painter, her green strokes expressing her *bizarrie* (79).

²⁸ *Lettere* V.186, no. 240, June 1549; the produce-for-words exchange continues even in this late letter, acknowledging that Aretino receives the same fruit every morning, and in a postscript (187) thanking Cornaro especially for peaches that excelled the apple won by Paris when he judged the goddesses.

²⁹ *Lettere* I.302, no. 212, to Domenico Bolani, 27 October 1537; compare Cranston, *Green Worlds*, 33.

³⁰ *Lettere* I.301-3, II.187; note the exaggerated epithet for his entry staircase, 'bestial' (301), and the possessive 'la mia vista' (302).

³¹ *Lettere* I.301-3, Cranston, *Green Worlds*, 22, 38 (citing Aretino's 1537 *Stanze in lode della Sirena*).