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*Research
Opportunities in
Renaissance
Drama*

With a Medieval Supplement

EDITOR

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The Arduous Path to the True Temple of Love

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Love, never simple, was considered an arduous enterprise in early modern Europe. Arduous, because according to Neo-Platonic doctrine true lovers were required to overcome their sensual desires.¹ *The Temple of Love* is one of several court masques written and produced for Queen Henrietta Maria in the 1630s which illustrate aspects of moral philosophy. It was invented by the architect and scenographer Inigo Jones and the poet William Davenant and performed in the Banqueting House at Whitehall in February 1635. In it true love is presented as the middle way between the extremes of passion and chastity; it may be found in the Temple of Love which, however, is hidden by dark mists. Unfortunately, Jones's architectural design of the Temple of Love is not only hidden but lost.

It is the purpose of this article to discuss two possible models of this structure and thereby, perhaps, to lift some of the mists surrounding the Temple of Love. One of these models is the description of a tournament held in Ferrara in 1565 and published as *Il Tempio d'Amore* the year after. The other is, really, a source of the Temple of Love described in the Italian festival book, but one with which Inigo Jones would have been familiar: the Temple of the Venus Physiozoa from Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499.² Being more than mere pattern book sources, both temples, by association, carried meanings significant in the context of moral philosophy that informed the background of *The Temple of Love*.

I

The *via media* certainly is not one of the arcana of moral philosophy. Yet I think that Jones, when he made it the basic idea of his invention for *The Temple of Love*, was influenced in particular by Alessandro Piccolomini's *Institution morale* (1542 and 1560), a copy of which he owned.³ Only a few years earlier the architect had made good use of Piccolomini's tract for the invention of *Tempe Restored*, a masque commissioned also by Queen Henrietta Maria and performed in 1632.⁴ Piccolomini reiterates an image coined by Aristotle when he describes virtue as the midpoint of a circle, surrounded by the vices.

The ancient philosopher offers two remedies, both recounted by Piccolomini:⁵ one consists in forcing ourselves to shun those vices to which we feel inclined the most. The other consists in shying away from the extremes and thereby finding the golden mean of virtue. Virtue, thus Piccolomini, is then the product of deliberately acting virtuously or, as Jones paraphrased in the margin of his copy of the *Institution*: "virtu is gotten by / the operations & li-/ ke to the virtuous."⁶ It is the result of a free decision to act virtuously, made by man's free will (*volontà*) and his understanding or intellect (*intelletto*); and, once acting virtuously is internalised by habituation, virtue is also a result of the ethical virtue of temperance which aims at correcting the affects towards a happy medium.⁷

Alerted by the iconographic programme of the proscenium arch to the subject of the masque — that the Temple of Love was to be found between the extremes of passion and sensual desires on the one hand, and a barren and abstemious love on the other hand⁸ — the spectator, or the reader of the printed description of the masque, would have followed the enfolding action with an idea of the invention already in his or her mind. Divine Poesy descends from the heavens to the grove where the souls of the ancient poets dwell. She censures them for their immoral verses propagating "false Love"⁹ and heralds the appearance of Indamora, Queen of Narsinga (danced by Henrietta Maria). She, "by the influence of her beauty,"¹⁰ will re-establish the Temple of Love in the island (England) and retribute true and chaste love, which had been perverted by evil magicians, who are "enemies to chaste Love"¹¹ and mean to use the temple for their own "intemperate ends."¹² Divine Poesy therefore had hidden the Temple of Chaste Love from them with concealing mists. Disappointed in their schemes, the magicians in turn used their magic to prevent that the temple could be found by anybody else and seduced many a noble knight and lady to stray from virtue's path. The penitent poets rejoice in anticipation of Indamora's arrival, exulting in the prospect that

*Truth shall appeare, and rule 'till she resists
Those subtle charmes, and melts those darker mists,
In which Love's Temple's hid from Exorcists.*¹³

When three Persian Youths land at the island's shore the magicians hope, by tempting them to indulge in corrupt desires, to avert their own fate with the help of magic. Already the Persian Youths had almost yielded to the magicians's temptations (embodied by the antimasques), when Divine Poesy appeared to save them and to

show them a part of the true temple. She prophesied the impending arrival of Indamora and the complete discovery of the temple:

*But Divine Poesie appearing, discover'd unto them some part of the Temple unshadow'd, and prophecied of the time when Indamora and her traine should arrive to effect this miracle; which though it seemes somewhat hard Doctrine to most young men, yet these being spirits of the highest ranke, forsaking the false Magicians and their allurements, were resolved to entertaine themselves to contemplate on this Apparision untill the comming of the glorious Indian Queen. At whose sight they being inspir'd with chaste flames might be permitted by their faithfull observance and legitimate affections to enter and enjoy the privileges of that sacred Temple.*¹⁴

Divine Poesy then directed Orpheus and the temple's priests, called Brachmani, to the shore to calm the waves for the arrival of the Queen. After Indamora's disembarkation Sunesis (understanding or *intelletto*) and Thelema (will or *volontà*) entered¹⁵ and while they united in an embrace to become "one virtuous appetite"¹⁶ the Temple of Chaste Love finally appeared, Chaste Love descending from the heavens and afterwards guiding the King onto the stage to his own virtuous union with Indamora.

No sketch of the Temple of Love survives. The drawing reproduced by Orgel as "a wooded landscape, with the Temple of Love in the distance"¹⁷ does, in fact, not show the temple but, as is explained by Jones's descriptive text, "a spacious grove of shady trees; and a farre off on a mount with a winding way to the top was seated a pleasant bower environed with young trees, and in the lower part walkes planted with Cypresse, representing the place where the Soules of the Ancient Poets are fained to reside."¹⁸ The true Temple of Love, finally discovered to the audience and the reader, is recorded exclusively by its concise description in the printed masque:

[The] Sceane was changed into the true Temple of Chast Love; this Temple instead of Columnes had termes of young Satyrs bearing up the returnes of Architrane [*sic*] Freeze and Coronice, all enrich'd of Gold-smiths worke, the further part of the Temple running farre from the eye was design'd of another kind of Architecture, with Pillasters, Neeches, and Statues; and in the midst a stately gate adorn'd with Colomns and their Ornaments, and a Frontispice on the top, all which seemed to bee of burnish'd gold.¹⁹

The division of the temple in two distinct parts was due in some degree to the layout of the stage with wings and a backdrop. More importantly, the invention made it necessary that at first only a part of the temple be revealed to the Persian Youths. (This part would have been depicted on the wings, while the backdrop would have shown the "darker mists" hiding the true temple.)

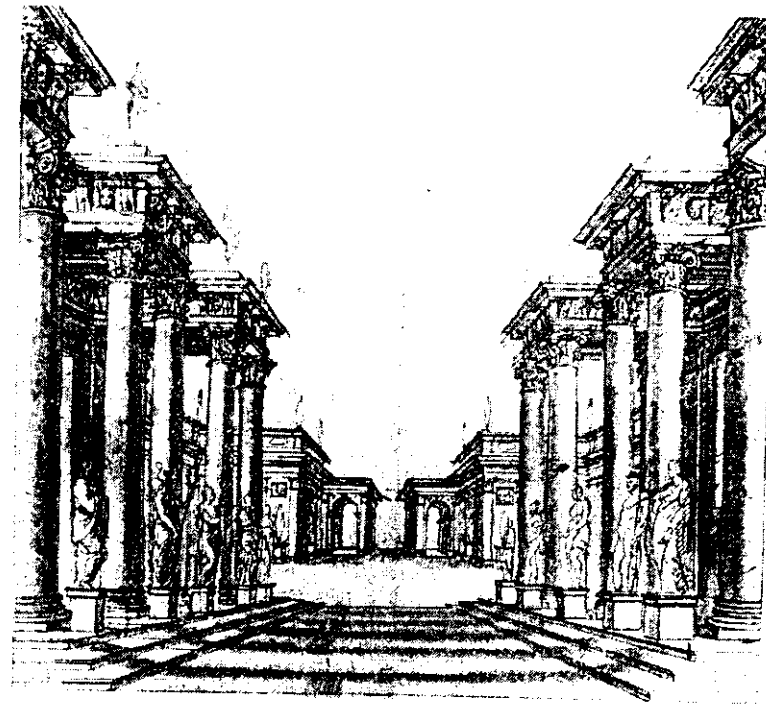


Fig. 1—Inigo Jones, 'A Roman Atrium' for *Albion's Triumph* (1632), drawing. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of The Duke of Devonshire and the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement. Photograph: Photographic Survey, Courtauld Institute of Art.

The wings are described in sufficient detail for the informed reader to reconstruct the architecture of this part of the temple. The "returnes of Architrane [*sic*] Freeze and Coronice" suggest a structure made up of several porticoes, aligned laterally according to the foreshortening perspective, as, for instance, in Jones's design of the Roman Atrium for *Albion's Triumph* of 1632 (see fig. 1) or in his design of the Vale of Tempe (fig. 2) for *Tempe Restored*, also of

1632. The latter Jones had described in more detail, but with some similar wording:

[In] a Valley environ'd with Hills a farre off was seated, a prospect of curious Arbours of various formes. The first order of marble Pillasters. Betweene which were neeces of rocke worke and Statues: some spurting water received into vazes beneath them, and others standing on Pedestals. On the returnes of these Pillasters run slender Cornishments. From which was raised a second order of gratus termes with womens faces which beare vp the ornaments.²⁰

In *The Temple of Love*, as in *Tempe Restored*, the usual columns were replaced by atlantes, this time in the shape of satyrs.

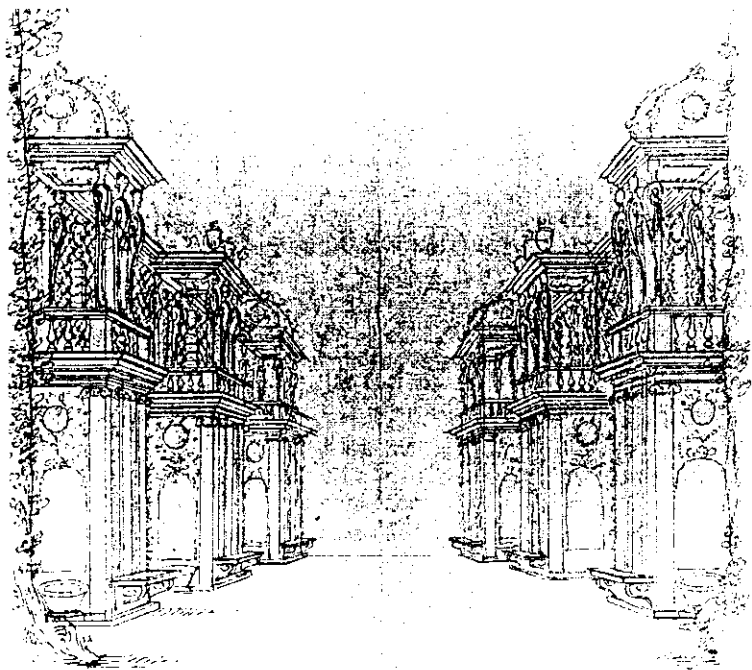


Fig. 2—Inigo Jones, ‘The Vale of Tempe’ for *Tempe Restored* (1632), drawing. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of The Duke of Devonshire and the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement. Photograph: Photographic Survey, Courtauld Institute of Art.

The central body of the temple — whose location in the back, painted on the backdrop, may be deduced from both the descriptive text and the conventions of contemporary stage design — is described

in explicit contrast to the wings as “design’d of another kind of Architecture.” Exactly what it did look like cannot be inferred from the description. But with pilasters and niches (and the statues probably placed in these niches) some ordering criteria of the façade are specified, and they also suggest in which way the architectural composition differed from that of the lateral porticoes. Beyond that, the reader is told only that a portal was affixed to the central bay, erected in one of the classical orders — which is not identified but seems to have been complete with base, column, capital and entablature (“Columns and their Ornaments”) — and a frontispiece above. No other architectural elements or compositional relations are specified and Jones’s description of the Temple of Love remains, therefore, rather vague.

Throughout his career — but most obvious perhaps in his work of the 1630s — it was Inigo Jones’s practice to cite from the systems of reference provided by Continental art, architecture and scenography.²¹ It was thereby possible to activate further levels of meaning complementing and expanding the symbolic potential of his stage design — provided the reference was appreciated by the courtly, or reading, audience. It is, in fact, only when falling back upon the extensive system of reference provided by Italian festival descriptions, to which Jones referred time and again,²² that the (predominant) “blank” left by his description of the Temple of Love may be filled with some details, and it seems to me that the architect and scenographer expected just that of the attentive and educated reader of his day.

II

In Italian festival books of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries the Temple of Love is one of the most frequently recurring motifs of scenic design to be described.²³ Most of these structures have some features in common which establish a certain type: a round centrally planned edifice spanned by a dome and (often) erected in the Corinthian order. With the exception of the Corinthian order (an order is not specified here), the particular Temple of Love I assume to have been a model of Jones’s structure also fits this pattern.

On 11 December 1565 Ferrara saw the production of a scenic tournament called *Il Tempio d’Amore*. The commemorative description of the event that was part of the festivities celebrating the wedding of duke Alfonso II d’Este and Barbara of Habsburg, first published by Rossi in Ferrara early in 1566, is attributed to Agostino Arienti (*d.* 1576) and Giovanni Battista Niccolucci (1529-75), known

as Pigna.²⁴ The text consists of two parts, the first of which, attributed to Arienti, includes both descriptive passages and speeches.²⁵ The second part, by Pigna, provides an exegesis and appears to have been commissioned by the duke²⁶ and was, at first, probably not intended for publication.²⁷

The most central among the several architectural structures of the set design is the Temple of Love — or rather the two temples, since the original “Tempio d’Amore imperfetto” is later replaced by the “Tempio d’Amore perfetto.” Arienti describes both temples in detail, and Pigna interprets them exhaustively. The first “Tempio” is described by Arienti as a tholos (a round centrally planned structure), built on a stereobate and spanned by a dome:

vn Tempio di tutto tōdo; alquale si saliuo per alcuni gradi, & hauea nel basamento vn corridore, a cui corrispondeua vn’altro, che era vicino alla cupola: & tra essa & il piano erano vn’ordine di volti, & vn’altro di finestre tutte con teste di cristalli tocchi d’oro, & di colori variati. Erano le cornici & le basi dorate, & le colonne, che stauano a i pilastri tra volto & volto, rappresentauano il lucido riuerberero d’vno smalto verde; oltre gli altri ornamenti di pittura & di rilieuo, di specchi, & di gioie di piu colori concertati con bellezza troppo difficile da poter essere aguagliata in parte alcuna dalle parole. Luceuagli nella cima vna gran palla di cristallo. & perche i volti erano cinque, restando quel di mezo per vso di porta, ne gli altri stauano quattro statue inargentate.²⁸

Around the ground floor ran a pteron (“corridore”) and above this — above an arcade with five bays of an arch order (whose order is not identified) — was yet another *corridore*, close to the dome which was crowned by a big crystal ball. The central arch of the arcade served as the temple’s portal; under the lateral arches stood four statues. The windows mentioned by Arienti opened most probably in the wall of the cella or in a kind of mezzanine above the arcade, since they are described (like the arcade) as being situated between the two *corridori*. The columns seemed to be made of green enamel, bases and ledges appeared to be gilt. In addition, Arienti describes paintings and reliefs, mirrors and multicoloured jewels as further ornaments of the temple.

The structure thus evoked almost seems to be a version of the Temple of the Venus Physizoa turned inside out. Francesco Colonna had described this temple in his *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499. Colonna’s book is part treatise on architecture, part fictional text in

the tradition of the medieval dream vision. Poliphilo, whose love to Polia is unrequited, narrates how, in his dream, he approaches his beloved and finally achieves a union: his solitary wanderings lead him to dark and menacing places; after a while he is joined by some nymphs, one of whom finally leads him to the Temple of the Venus Physizoa where she discovers to him that she is, in fact, Polia. In the temple they delight in the fulfilment of their love and on this note the first part ends. In the shorter second part Polia tells Poliphilo and some nymphs her own story; the lovers enjoy a few more moments of being together, but then the dream fades and Poliphilo awakes. The detailed description of the temple²⁹ — as a round centrally planned structure erected in the Corinthian order and spanned by a dome — is only one of many architectural ekphrases.

The analogies of the Temple of the Venus Physizoa with the “Tempio d’Amore imperfetto” are quite obvious when comparing the Ferrarese temple to some details of the illustrations of the 1499 and 1545 Aldine editions of the *Hypnerotomachia* (see fig. 3). In addition to the features already mentioned, there, too, is shown an arcade of five arches behind which, and above which, if the interior of the temple were turned outside, there would be a number of windows; there is, however, no stereobate, and instead of the crystal ball the dome here is crowned by a lantern and an elaborate *tintinabulum*. To turn the inside out is actually the method used by Colonna himself to describe the exterior of the building, according to the “congruentia della structura.”³⁰

Even more striking are the analogies with the illustrations of the first translation of Colonna’s book into French, which appeared in 1546 as *Le Songe de Poliphile*.³¹ The illustration of the temple’s interior (fig. 4) differs in some details from the Aldine edition and was, now, complemented by an elevation (fig. 5). This elevation, I think, may give some indication of what the Ferrarese “Tempio d’Amore imperfetto” may have looked like,³² although there are some minor differences. The most significant is the lack of a pteron and the substitution of the columns with pilasters, but the (in this case, blind) arcades are there, as are the windows, the mezzanine, the dome and the stereobate.

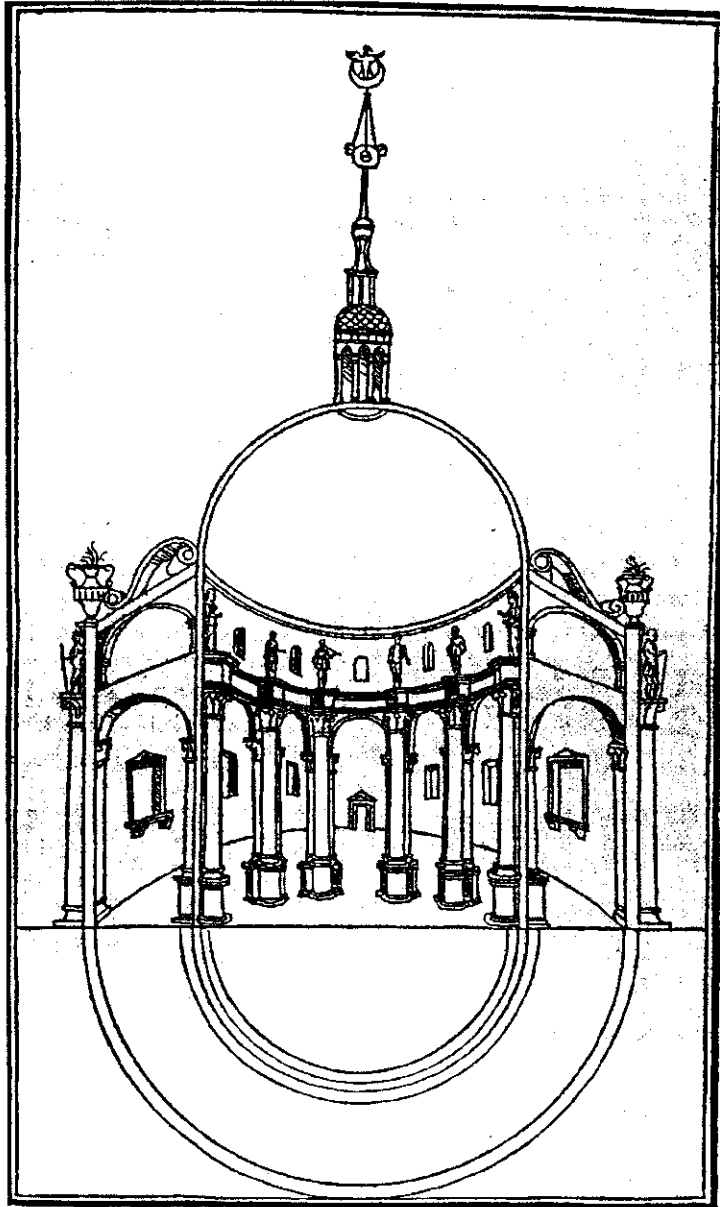


Fig. 3—'Temple of the Venus Physioza' (interior) from Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), Venice 1545, sig. n3', woodcut. British Library, London [C.60.o.12]. By permission of the British Library

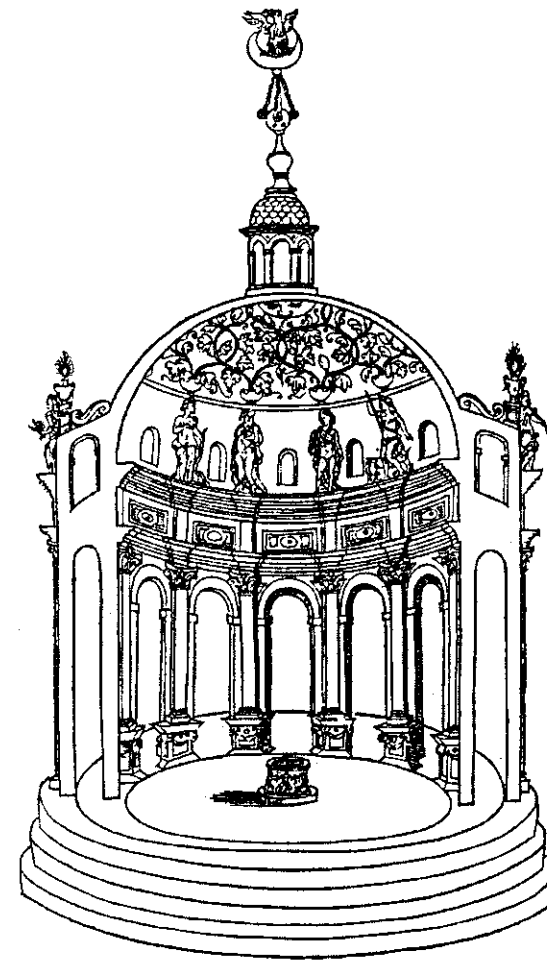


Fig. 4—'Temple of the Venus Physioza' (interior) from Francesco Colonna, *Le Songe de Poliphile*, Paris 1546, p. 72' (first French edn), woodcut. British Library, London [635.m.17]. By permission of the British Library

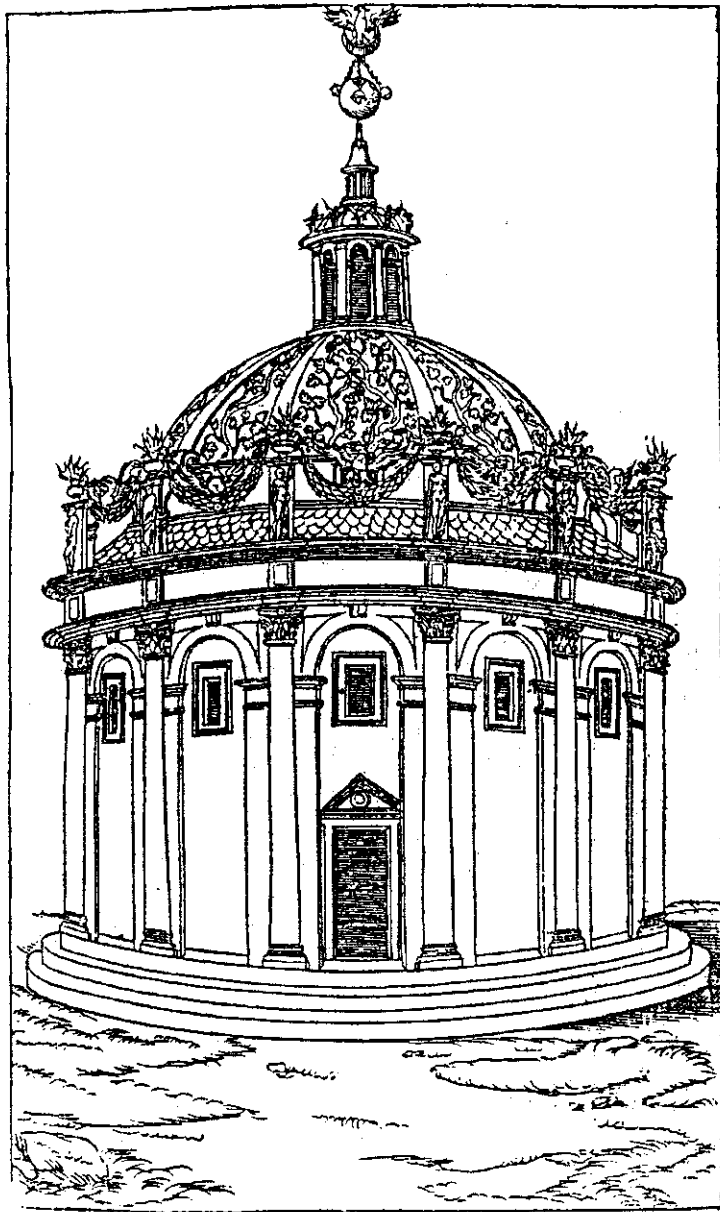


Fig. 5—'Temple of the Venus Physizoa' (exterior) from Francesco Colonna, *Le Songe de Poliphile*, Paris 1546, p. 72' (first French edn), woodcut. British Library, London [635.m.17]. By permission of the British Library

Although the "Tempio d'Amore imperfetto" was not necessarily an exact copy of Colonna's temple, Arienti's architectural ekphrasis is sufficiently detailed to help the reader approximate the exterior and thereby sustain the reference to the Temple of the Venus Physizoa. That Arienti actually sought this reference seems likely when considering a further correspondence of motifs. With the Venus Physizoa Colonna had portrayed the manifestation of Venus also known as "genitrice" — of wordly love, aiming at procreation.³³ The allegoric details enumerated by Arienti in his description suggest that it is this kind of love which is also symbolised by the "Tempio d'Amore imperfetto."

First, Arienti identifies the four statues mentioned above and then proceeds to describe the other ornaments of the temple, presenting its iconographic programme:

le due [statue] dalla destra del Tempio figurauansi per l'Appetito dinotato all'età, alla viuacità, al voler mouersi, & piu alle braccia & alle gambe alate, & all'esser posto tra due fuochi finti, l'vno dilatato sopra il piano, l'altro di fiàmella acuta: & per la Ragione, c'hauea vn'occhio solo nel mezo della fronte, dal cui braccio destro pendeua vna misura diritta, & dal sinistro vna torta. Le due dall'altra banda si dimostrauano per il Consiglio, significato alla biscia di molti capi: & per la Risoluzione che si facea conoscere ad vn capo d'vna biscia trôcato da molti altri. Stauano sopra il basso corridore diuersi Amorini: parte de' quali haueua la benda de gli occhi, & parte a i piè. & sopra l'alto varij altri Amorini: la metà de' quali haueua la benda de gli occhi alquanto slegata, si che lasciava parte della vista in libertà, & l'altra metà era parimente co i piè quasi disciolti. Vno poi resideua sopra la palla della cuppola senza sorte alcuna di benda. Le mani di queste & di tutte le altre statue erano disobligate da ogni impaccio, perche tutte doueano poi tener i torchi accesi. Da i tre volti di mezo pendeuano breui, che diceuano, che per quì si penetraua ne i secreti d'Amore. ne i quali si potea vedere l'animo della Donna amata, & godere la gratia della medesima. Hauea il breue pendente da quel di mezo HINC AD AMORIS ARCANA. l'vno de gli altri due conteneua HINC AD VIDENDVM AMATAE DOMINAE ANIMVM. & l'altro HINC AD PRVENDAM AMATAE DOMINAE GRATIM.³⁴

Placed underneath the two arches to the right of the portal were the statues of Appetito (appetite) and Ragione (reason), in those to the left the statues of Consiglio (counsel) and Risoluzione (perseverance). In the lower *corridore* were also some amorini — either blindfolded

or with their ankles tied together. In the upper *corridore* were placed some other amorini whose blindfolds or ties were loosened. On top of the crystal ball crowning the dome another amorino was seated, unfettered by any ties or blindfolds.

The significance of these representations which portray a progression from the blindfolded and tied amorini to the unfettered and seeing amorino must have been obvious to the contemporary courtly audience which would immediately have drawn the connection to the many printed *trattati d'amore* circulating at the Italian courts³⁵ on which the philosophic invention of the tournament was based.³⁶

Mamczarz believes, moreover, that Torquato Tasso, who had been staying in Ferrara since October 1565, may have had a hand in the invention of the tournament.³⁷ She points out several analogies with Torquato's *Rinaldo* (1562), whose Canto VI she describes as "un ardent éloge de l'Amour vertueux, opposé à l'Amour voluptueux,"³⁸ with his father Bernardo Tasso's *Amadigi di Gaula* (1560), and with Bernardo's *Il Floridante*, finished by Torquato and published only in 1587.³⁹ All of these literary works include descriptions of temples — of Castità,⁴⁰ of Bellezza,⁴¹ and of Amor.⁴² As common characteristics of those temples, which partly also correspond to those of the "Tempio d'Amore" of the tournament, Mamczarz enumerates: "forme architecturale ronde, construction en marbre blanc avec décoration en or, richesse des ornements, présence des loges à colonnes avec des statues."⁴³

Pigna's exegesis of the "Tempio d'Amore imperfetto," which ignores any architectural elements, confirms the interpretation of a teleological progression and explains all the significant decorative details:

questo primo Tempio ha nella cima vna palla di cristallo, che per la sua rotondità & lucidezza vuol dinotare la pura ragione dell'huomo. & vi è però sopra vn'Amorino senza hauere ne abbandato gli occhi, ne legati i piè. Gli occhi liberi sono tolti per quella abilità, mediante la quale si comincia a gire per li debiti mezi al ben conosciuto & proposto. Ma perche questo è vn'amore ben giouanetto si viene a significare che non è adulto, ne ridotto al suo intiero compimento. perciò che egli si fa compiuto con la continua correctione de gli affetti. & cò la piena esperienza delle cose del mondo. & si all'vna, come all'altra fa mestiero di lungo corso di tempo. Ma l'intendere il bene & il volerlo: & l'applicarui le operationi per aggiungerui, senza hauer anche fatto altro; é la minor imperfettione per esser la piu discosta dalle maggiori: & la

piu propinqua che le altre al segno della perfettione. & perciò prima che si peruenga a quella palla di cristallo vi sono due ordini d'Amorini. il primo é il piu rozzo: & il secondo che piu s'affina è il migliore. Nel primo sono gli Amorini, co i legami parte a gli occhi & parte a i piè. donde si comprendono gli incontinenti & gli inesperti. perciò che quei che hanno legati gli occhi & non i pie, mostrano la conditione di coloro che per l'impedimento delle perturbationi non si contengono, che non facciano male, ma nol fanno però con mala intentione. & quelli che hanno legati i piè & non gli occhi, sono in luogo di coloro che hanno composto l'animo, si che la ragione non è impedita, ma non sanno anche la maniera del ben procedere. Nell'ordine secondo si veggono gli Amorini con le bende alquanto giu dagli occhi & co i piè alquanto in libertà. che è posto per li continenti & per gli intelligenti. Continenti sono coloro, che hauendo gli occhi poco meno che dischiusi, conoscono tãto il bene, che si contengono da far il male: ma non pero tanto prontamente, che sentano satisfattione nell'astenersene. Intelligenti diremo quegli altri, che hãno tanta conoscenza dell'vso dell'operare, che quando sarà leuato quel poco di nodo, che è loro a i piè, potranno conseguire la pratica. Euui poi nella cima quell'Amorino, che dicemmo hauere gli occhi & i pie in tutto liberi, il quale per còto d'ambidue queste parti è gia incaminato verso la perfettione. Stanno appresso all'entrata del Tempio dall'vna banda l'Appetito & la Ragione. che seruono per la parte del domare gli affetti, dõde la vista si possa rischiarare, & proporsi il buon fine: perciòche la ragione con tutto che sia vna sola & ha però vn sol occhio nel mezo della fronte puo esser diritta & torta secondo che l'Appetito se la accomoda. che quando egli sia moderato, si nel fuoco sparso che è la cupidita, come nell'eleuato, che è l'ira, ella non s'offuscherà, ne perciò uerrà a guastare la sua dirittura: ma si, quando venga turbata. Et dall'altra banda stanno il Consiglio & la Risolutione. che dimostrano la parte del poter ben essequire per arriare al buon fine. nascendo dall'esser copioso di buoni termini del bene operare, & tutti i mali dal contrario. Et perche questo è l'ingresso all'Amore, che è il principio delle nostre operationi, ha bisognato lasciar queste dispositioni dell'animo nostro nel puro stato loro. si che l'Appetito & la Ragione siano quali conuerrãno insieme: & siano ancora il Consiglio & la Risolutione secondo che si prenderanno o bene o male. Giace questo Tempio sopra vna piaggia montuosa per inditio della difficulta, che vi è a peruenirui. perciòche se ben esso è imperfetto, non è pero secondo quella sorte d'imperfettione, che va a trauerso, ma secondo quella che ha da conuertirsi in meglio & da condurci a i Tempij della Virtù & dell'Honore, & è perciò al piè dell'alpe, che è il grado, donde si

ascende a quei due Tempj. & ha l'alpe a i fianchi, per la sterilità del luogo: che arguisce il poco numero de gli habitatori. essendo pochissimi coloro, a i quali sia permesso l'arriuarui.⁴⁴

The progression leads from the *incontinenti* (those ruled by their senses) and *inesperti* (the inexperienced) to the *continenti* (the continent) and *intelligenti* (those ruled by reason) and, finally, to the amorino crowning the dome, who still is not perfect, but close to perfection. This is shown by his proximity to the crystal ball which is explained to be a symbol of pure reason, but — he too still needs correction and further experience. For this reason he is portrayed as a boy; and for this reason the temple appears to be built at the foot of the surrounding mountains, which yet need to be climbed. Perfection is possible for this amorino, however, as is expressed by the location of the temple — erected on a hill. To “conquer” this hill equals the first step on the arduous path towards the higher realms of virtue and honour. The barrenness of the surrounding mountains indicates at the same time that it is given only to a precious few to achieve this goal.

More complex is the reference to notions of moral philosophy expressed by the statues. *Appetito* (appetite), meaning both sensual and intellectual appetite (*cupidità* and *ira*) and itself subjected to *Ragione* (reason), presents the desired object to reason, which answers this stimulus by directing man's actions. Both the statues, of appetite and of reason, are therefore symbols of the ability of man to control the affections and to perceive what is right and good. They are complemented by the statues of *Consiglio* (counsel) and *Risolutione* (perseverance) which represent the ability to pursue the path towards the goal that has been perceived as right and good. The four statues are placed at the entrance of the Temple of Love because in pursuing love, which is the motive power of human actions, appetite and reason as well as counsel and perseverance need to unite in harmony to enable man to achieve perfection.

Arienti describes the second Temple of Love in explicit contrast to its predecessor:

vn Tempio, non come il primo, se ben quello fu bellissimo, ma vn'altro che l'auanzaua di gran lunga, & che era di vista differentissima, mostrando medesimamente altra stabilità, che nõ era nell'altro. percioche in vece de i corridori posti nel basamento haueua vna galeria ornata di colõne doppie, che per colori rossi tirati in su l'oro pareua che fiammeggiassero. laquale tra i due volti di mezo haueua due Veneri dorate modestissime. l'vna con la palla del cielo, l'altra con quella della terra. & sosteneua sopra l'architraue

piu Amori inargentati di età adulta & liberi affatto d'ogni benda & vestiti, con le faci di fuoco chiaro nelle mani. dietro a i quali n'erano parecchi altri ne i nicchi. & altri tuttaua sopra gli alti ballausti della cuppola, ch'era tutta di cristallo. Gli ori, gli argenti & le pietre di piu colori haueuano i proprij luoghi tanto a proposito, che ben si conosceua che non s'era sparmiaua cosa alcuna, che alla delicatezza si richiedesse. Sopra il volto che era nel mezo, sorgeua vna tauoletta inscritta.

Aduentu Barbaræ.

Due altre si leggeuano ne i due volti, che accompagnauano quel di mezo. & due altre sopra la cornice diritte a queste. Nell'vna delle due inferiori era.

Quod alpius perpetuo velatum. nell'altra,

Nunc mortalium oculis conspicuum.

Haueua l'vna delle due superiori.

Virtutem atque Honorem sectantibus.

Et haueua l'altra.

Ad Virtutem atque Honorem aditus.⁴⁵

The “Tempio d'Amore perfetto” is described as being even more beautiful than its predecessor. Its aspect differed strongly from that of the earlier building and it was characterised especially by its strength and firmness, or stability (“stabilità”). Instead of the green enamelled columns, the new temple had double columns whose red-golden colour made them look as if they were enflamed; their order again is not specified. The “stabilità” resulting from the use of double columns is a specially emphasised feature of the architecture and the edifice may consequently be understood as a representation of the stability, or constancy, of true love, unscathed by *instabilità*.⁴⁶ Although Arienti does not specifically say so, there seem to have been arcades again, because he adds that underneath each of the two central arches (he says “volti,” or vaults) there was placed the modest and gilded statue of a Venus. Of these, one held a globe of the world, the other a globe of the heavens. Placed above the architrave were many amorini seemingly made of silver and holding cleanly burning torches; they were grown up, unfettered by any ties or blindfolds, and dressed. Behind them others were to be seen in niches, while still more amorini were placed on the balustrade of the dome. The dome was made entirely of crystal. Summarily Arienti describes the materials used (gold, silver and various coloured stones) to have been employed in such a way, that it was evident that no expenses had been spared to contribute to the exquisiteness (“delicatezza”) of the building. Above the five arches panels were displayed whose

inscriptions, relating the temple to the wedding event and the arrival of the bride, Arienti quotes in full.

The mention of the five arches indicates, that the ground floor of this temple, too, was defined by an arcade with five arches, but these arches rested on double columns. The statues of the two Venere may then be supposed to have been placed on either side of the central arch. The niches mentioned suggest that there may have been a second floor, probably in shape of a drum underneath the dome. Arienti does not explicitly state that the "Tempio d'Amore perfetto" was a tholos. This, however, is hinted at, on the one hand, by the existence of the dome; on the other hand, the perfect shape of the circle seems to be the only geometrical form suitable for the Temple of Perfect Love. In fact, the statue of Perfettione (perfection) did appear among the statues adorning one of the vestibules which flanked the temple⁴⁷ and was described by Arienti with the attribute of a circle ("col circolo").⁴⁸ Where exactly the "alti ballausti della cupola" were located is not quite clear. They may either have run around the base-line of the dome as a balustrade, or around a lantern, not mentioned by Arienti.

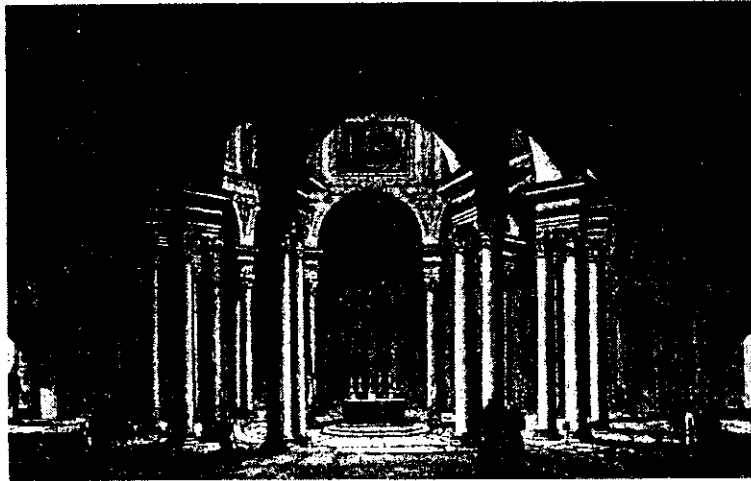


Fig. 6—Giovanni Fontana, interior of Santa Costanza, Rome, etching. [Private possession.]

If, as has been put forward above, the "Tempio d'Amore imperfetto" was indeed modelled on the Temple of the Venus Physizoa as it is described and, more importantly, illustrated in the *Hyperotomachia Poliphili* (fig. 3) and the *Songe de Poliphile* (figs 4-5), then there may be also an interesting analogy of the "Tempio

d'Amore perfetto" with the model that has been suggested for Colonna's temple — with the mausoleum of Santa Costanza in the Via Nomentana in Rome (fig. 6).

Is it possible that this model, first noted as such by Lamberto Donati in 1968,⁴⁹ had been recognized, and deliberately made use of, already by the anonymous scenographer of the tournament produced in Ferrara in 1565? The arcades resting on double columns — giving the true Temple of Love its "stability" and symbolising, at the same time, the constancy of the particular kind of love represented by this structure — are also a distinctive feature of the edifice built in Rome in late antiquity (c. 4th century) and known as Santa Costanza. Here they form, in the manner of the Temple of the Venus Physiza, an inner circle of twelve arches. Any segment, with one bay in the centre, therefore exhibits altogether five arches to the view, as in Fontana's etching (fig. 6). Moreover, the name of the patron saint is significant especially in view of the expressly emphasised quality of stability (or constancy) of the "Tempio d'Amore perfetto," since *constantia* means just this: stability or constancy.⁵⁰ It seems not unlikely, then, that the scenographer had, indeed, intended the reference to both Colonna's Temple of the Venus Physizoa and its architectural model, in both cases evoking by association some significant aspect of the two buildings that added another level of meaning to the architectural structures of his *apparato* and served to enhance its symbolic potential.⁵¹

Pigna's exegesis of the "Tempio d'Amore perfetto," again ignoring any architectural details, refers back to his exegesis of the "Tempio d'Amore imperfetto" in the same way that Arienti's ekphrasis also referred back to the earlier edifice:

Questo Tempio che hora fu veduto non era il primo, ma l'altro che staua appiattato tra esso primo & l'alpe. il quale gli giró dinanzi per modo che suelto il monte, rimase libera la salita & l'entrata. Et fu ragioneuole che essendosi purificata la strada & scoperte le figure della vita perfetta, il Tempio d'Amore perfetto fosse similmente palese. La cuppola sua era tutta di cristallo per dar assai maggior indicio di lume che non daua vna palla come fu quella dell'altro Tempio. percioche tutto il coperto & non vna particella douea essere luminoso. essendo tãta la chiarezza dell'intelletto nella perfettione del viuere, che ha tutte le potenze gia habituate all'operare esquisitamente. Gli Amori che vi stanno sopra & d'intorno non sono fanciulli ignudi, ne abbendati, ma giouani uestiti & adulti: accioche di questo modo, oltre che le lasciuie dell'appetito con la grauità delle veste si mostrino leuate, vi sia

l'età vigorosa. che è considerata non quanto al discorso rationale di quei che sono in tale età: perciò che ha poca esperienza & molta agitatione; donde viene a mancare del maturo & saldo giuditio: ma quanto al vigore de gli anni. il quale ha da essere il significato della sopra forza d'Amore. Et dal fuoco chiaro delle faci è dichiarata la purità de gli amanti. Le due Veneri che stanno di quà & di là dalla porta dinotano la vita attiuā & la contemplatiuā, & perciò l'vna ha la palla della terra, che hora nō serue per la geografia, ma per le attioni del mondo. & l'altra ha la palla del cielo, che nō è posta per l'astrologia, ma per tutta la contemplatione, che è ritirata da negocij: & si contenta di se stessa nell'essaminare & sapere la causa di tutte le cose che possano hauerla. Ne vi è dubbio che queste due vite s'aiuano l'vna per l'altra, & che la vera felicità consiste nella cōgiuratione di ambedue. le quali per questo, come quelle che i veri amanti si propongono stanno loro dinanzi a gli occhi & li fiancheggiano nell'entrare che fanno in questo beatiss. Tempio.⁵²

This temple now is located between the Temple of Imperfect Love and the summits of the surrounding mountains. Since the path to a perfect life has been cleared, it stands to reason that the Temple of Perfect Love be revealed, too. Its dome, made entirely of crystal, symbolises the clarity of the intellect which is no longer subject to any correction but acts correctly by habit. This applies also to the amorini who are now no longer portrayed as children; rather, they are described as young adults. That they are dressed implies that their appetites are subdued, although their youth is meant to suggest that the appetite is still strong in them. Someone their age has but little experience yet many excitements. For this reason they lack a mature and firm faculty of judgement and their youth is therefore meant to symbolise the power of love. However, the clear light of their torches signifies the purity of the lovers. The statues of the two Venere, finally, represent worldly and heavenly love and, correspondingly, the *vita attiva* and the *vita contemplativa* in whose balance man is supposed to achieve true happiness.⁵³

Following a practice later also adopted by Jones, Arienti prefixed an *argomento*, a concise summary of the invention, to his description of the tournament. This enabled the reader to peruse the immediately following description of the set design with an idea of the whole invention in mind. (This process has been reversed here because the focus is mainly on the architectural structures of the two temples.)

The set was erected in one end of the theatre put up in the *Giardino della Duchessa*.⁵⁴ It depicted a precipitous ridge of mountains covered with pine trees. In its centre soared a very high summit, covered with various kinds of trees; underneath it gaped a grotto. This ridge was flanked on both sides by other ridges of the same height, which consisted partly of bare rocks and were partly covered with woods. In the distance some huts were to be seen, castles, roads and bridges and other things, "che per linee tortuose dimostrauano vna lōtananza mirabile."⁵⁵ From the hollow between the mountain ridges rose a gentle slope; the hollow itself broadened to a vale which was again surrounded by high mountains. There, at the foot of the mountains the "Tempio d'Amore imperfetto" was erected. On the slopes of the mountains, above the Temple of Love, were located the "Tempio di Virtù" (to the right) and the "Tempio d'Honore" (to the left). Access to both of these temples was possible only via the Temple of Love. To both sides of this temple were erected pyramids (obelisks), one of which rose from the centre of a labyrinth, the other from a grove of cypresses.

When the tournament began a large number of magicians (maghi) descended from the mountains, and from the labyrinth and the cypress grove came forth three witches (maghe) each. They were old and frail and attempted to gain access to the Temple of Love. But this was denied to them by Amor who, to the accompaniment of a growling earthquake,⁵⁶ transformed his temple into a rocky mound with four grottoes, spanned still by the same dome. Since they lacked the power to destroy the temple, the witches decided that they would bar anyone's access to the edifice. When they uttered their spells the mountains belched horrible flames and demons emerged from clefts. At the same time two burning towers arose, one on each side of the set and a cloud sank from the heavens onto the slope; touching down it struck lightning and evaporated and the "Palagio di diamanti" and the "Palagio delle delitie" appeared.

Led by Fame to the Temple of Love, the tournament's six *mantenitori* (challengers) now entered. Transforming themselves into beautiful virgins, the witches tried to seduce the knights. When they found their efforts to be in vain they conjured up six monsters which fell upon the knights, who put them to flight, but were then themselves transformed into beasts by the witches.

Fame now announced the arrival of the "Trionfo di Diana": six knights accompanied the image of the goddess installed on a chariot drawn by panthers. The witches confronted them but against the goddess their power failed and since they were not able to transform Diana's knights they returned the six challengers to their proper shape and made them fight against Diana's knights. This set the pattern for

the following bouts, and several other *trionfi* followed. When vanquished, the opponents were transformed into beasts, stones or trees and only with the "Trionfo dell'Arco della Virtù & dell'Honore" the power of the witches was finally overcome. Seeing the "Trionfo," one of the witches had cried full of foreboding:

I sento i sento vna forza terribile,
Sento compagne mie tutta commouermi.
Su furiosamente riuoltiamoci
A questi monti, doue parte vagano,
Parte son fatti fiere, sassi & arbori
I Cauallieri, che veniano al Tempio.
Mettiamli in libertà pur che ci aiutino.⁵⁷

Called upon by one of the other witches to defend "Amore" and "le delitie / Del mondo, & la felicità perpetua,"⁵⁸ the knights, retransformed into their proper shapes, appeared again. While the ensuing battle still raged flames blazed up all around and to a terrible quaking of the earth and the heavens everything perished in a sea of flames.

Once the air was clear again, there arose a brave new world — "il mondo fosse rinouellato & fattosi senza proportione piu bello del primo esser suo."⁵⁹ The altered scene mirrored the former one, but in a new and varied shape: There was the new and true "Tempio d'Amore," flanked by two pyramids; next to these, opposite each other, appeared two statues, one of Jove, the other of Minerva, and next to them two buildings which were connected with the Temple of Love as vestibules.⁶⁰

The battle had found its conclusion when the knights, after the magic of the witches had finally failed, were able to recognise "la vera luce."⁶¹ Now, that the "Tempio d'Amore perfetto" had been revealed and the path to the temples of Virtue and Honour been cleared, from the Temple of Love the Three Graces exhorted not only the knights (freed from the evil effects of the witches' magic) but every person pursuant of virtuous and honourable intentions to approach:

Il Tempio d'Amore, che fin qui è stato celato, hora si scopre poi che la Regina BARBARA rasserenando il cielo ha girato gli occhi suoi a questi luoghi. & per questa discoperta cessa ogni impedimento, & resta libero l'ingresso & il camino a i Tempij della Virtù & dell'Honore. & noi così di rado vedute nel mondo, come ministre diuine veniamo in questo punto ad annōtiarlo a voi, che sete tutti Cauallieri di virtù & d'honore: se ben alcuni per la troppa forza dell'incanto si trouauano trauiati dal loro preso sentiero.

Venite, venite tutti insieme, che a tutti è data sicura facultà di conseguire i vertuosi & honorati intenti vostri.⁶²

With a final praise of the Habsburg and the d'Este dynasties the tournament then was concluded.

III

Even when we are well aware of the differences, the correspondences of Inigo Jones's and William Davenant's *The Temple of Love* with *Il Tempio d'Amore* are striking and not at all limited to the titles: in the masque, too, evil magicians crave access to the Temple of Love, which then is hidden from their view. When thwarted in their schemes, the magicians too try to obstruct the entrance to the temple. They, too, successfully attempt to seduce knights (and ladies) to succumb to sensual delights, if not by transforming themselves into lascivious young women. Finally, here too a virtuous higher power frustrates their designs and reveals the "true" Temple of Love.

It seems more than likely, then, that Inigo Jones had been aware of *Il Tempio d'Amore* and had, in fact, used it as a source for *The Temple of Love*. The proscenium arch of the masque had presented spectators and readers alike with the ideal of the *via media*, advising them to steer between the extremes of passion and chastity. How to realise this ideal was demonstrated in the masque not only by the virtuous union of Sunesis and Thelema and of Charles and Henrietta Maria. It was also illustrated by the architectural structure of the temple.

In the Ferrarese tournament the kind of love symbolised by the "Tempio d'Amore imperfetto" was not a sterile and exclusively chaste, or "Platonic," love; nor was, strictly speaking, the kind of love represented by the "Tempio d'Amore perfetto." For here, too, with the statues of the two Venere and the exalted equilibrium between worldly and heavenly (or divine) love, between *vita attiva* and *vita contemplativa*, the mediation between two extremes was proffered as an ideal of human felicity: "la vera felicità consiste nella cōgiurazione di ambedue."⁶³ The realisation of this ideal, moreover, had been shown to be a result of the habituation of acting virtuously enforced by the intellect, as a result of the development from *continentia* to *temperantia*: "[l'intelletto] ha tutte le potenze già habituate all'operare esquisitamente."⁶⁴ The course of this development had been outlined already by the iconographic programme of the statues adorning the "Tempio d'Amore imperfetto": appetite needs to be directed by reason with counsel and perseverance enabling man to

know the difference between good and evil and to persevere in the right course.

In the light of a strict Neo-Platonism the kind of love symbolised by the first temple — with a remaining element of sensuality, even though subjected to reason — appeared to be deficient and therefore “imperfect.” To substitute for this the Temple of Perfect Love meant to extoll the virtue of a love that was more refined. But here, too, remained a sensual element represented by the “worldly” Venus: perfect love is presented as the amalgamation of both a virtuous sensual love and a spiritual love.

Jones’s description of his Temple of Love is so vague that there can be no certainty as to which of the temples he chose to adapt for his own design, if any. But it seems to me that the double columns of the second temple would have been a feature of sufficient moment to Jones to mention them explicitly. Since he does, in fact, mention pilasters, niches and statues I think that he rather referred to the “Tempio d’Amore imperfetto” or, possibly, as is indicated by the pilasters (instead of columns), even to its visual source in the *Song de Poliphile* which he might have recognised as its model.

All three, the “Tempio d’Amore imperfetto,” the Temple of the Venus Physioza, and the “Tempio d’Amore perfetto” agree with his own invention which emphasises the necessary balance between the extremes. For Jones, the difference must have appeared to be one of gradation, and it may be that he finally chose the Temple of the Venus Physioza because it was more readily recognisable as a representation of the middle state. Procreation, embodied by the Venus Physioza, was, moreover, an issue explicitly raised in Davenant’s poetic text — very prominently so, at the culmination of the masque:

Sunesis.

To CHARLES the mightiest and the best,
And to the Darling of his breast,
 (Who rule b’ example as by power)
May youthfull bleßings still increase,
And in their Off-spring never cease,
 Till Time’s too old to last an hower.⁶⁵

That Jones and Davenant identify their temple as consecrated to Chaste Love is no contradiction, because it is Chaste Love’s aim to propagate the virtuous but fruitful union, as is made clear in his song immediately preceding that of Sunesis, commending the union of Indamora (Henrietta Maria) and Charles:

(1.)

VVHilst by a mixture thus made one,
Y’ are th’ Embleme of my Deitie,
And now you may in yonder Throne,
The patterne of your Vnion see.

(2.)

Softly as fruitfull showres I fall,
And th’ undiscern’d increase I bring,
Is of more precious worth than all
A plenteous Summer payes a Spring.

(3.)

The benefit it doth impart,
Will not the barren earth improve,
But fructifie each barren heart,
And give eternall growth to Love.⁶⁶

The “patterne” of their union is presented to Henrietta Maria and Charles in “yonder Throne.” This, surely, is a reference to the Temple of Love. The architectural composition is thereby quite explicitly imbued with significance.

The bipartite structure of the English Temple of Love was not only motivated by practical considerations (the layout of the stage and the need to reveal the building in successive stages). The contrasting architectural compositions of wings and central body of the Temple of Love are also accounted for by the description of the edifice as a symbol of Chaste Love. Orgel assumes that the satyrs bound into the tectonics of the porticoes “express emblematically the taming of sensuality.”⁶⁷ This may be so, but it seems to me that the description is focused particularly on the contrast of the two parts of the building, which is, after all, explicitly stressed by the text. The architecture of the porticoes represents, as it were, a vestibule of the temple proper whose architecture, the way the text describes it, lacks any symbolic details. Its semantic potential is activated rather by the (absolute and mathematical) harmony that may be assumed to be inherent in the architectural elements,⁶⁸ by the (conjectural) reference to its (potential) model, and by its location relative to that part of the building defined by the satyrs. The temple then articulates within the confines of “one” building a development similar to that expressed by the succession of the two Ferrarese temples: from the vestibule, whose ornaments suggest the need of reigning in sensuality, to the inner sanctum of the Temple of Love. But into this inner sanctum, modelled

on the Temple of the Venus Physizoa, a refined sensuality is also admitted, for: "Into this Temple enters *Sunesis* and *Thelema*."⁶⁹

Jones had already prepared the audience and the reader for this solution when he had designed the proscenium arch for his masque and described its motto as: "In the midst of this Compartment" — between the personifications of the rapid and raging Tigris and the slow and winding Meander, between the tiger, emblematic of ferocious passions, and the unicorn, emblematic of chastity — "in an Oval was written *TEMPLUM AMORIS*".⁷⁰

Notes

¹See, for instance, J. Krayer, "The Transformation of Platonic Love in the Italian Renaissance," *Platonism and the English Imagination*, ed. A. Baldwin and S. Hutton, Cambridge 1994, pp. 76-85, esp. p. 85.

²A. W. Johnson discusses the possibility of Jones's being familiar with the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in his *Ben Jonson: Poetry and Architecture*, Oxford 1994, pp. 39-41. He suggests that Jones might have owned a copy of the English translation which appeared as *The Strife of Love in a Dream* in 1592 and is attributed to R[obert] D[allington], see *ibid.*, p. 40. Johnson argues that both Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson borrowed material from the *Hypnerotomachia* for their court masques during the early years of their collaboration, see *ibid.*, p. 57. The Temple of the Venus Physizoa Johnson assumes to have been a model of Jones's design of the "fairy palace" in *Oberon* (1611), see *ibid.*, p. 73.

³See A. Stähler, "Perpetuall Monuments": *Die Repräsentation von Architektur in der italienischen Festdokumentation (ca. 1515-1640) und der englischen court masque (1604-1640)*, Münster 2000, p. 366.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 366-74.

⁵See A. Piccolomini, *Institution morale* (1542 and 1560), edn Venice 1575, V.xi.205-6 (Inigo Jones's copy: Oxford, Worcester College, LR.A.2.14).

⁶Jones's annotation in Piccolomini (as in n. 5), VI.iii.245: 20.

⁷See V. von Fleming, *Arma Amoris: Sprachbild und Bildsprache der Liebe. Kardinal Scipione Borghese und die Gemäldezyklen Francesco Albanis*, Mainz 1996, p. 137.

⁸See A. Stähler, "Between Tiger and Unicorn: The Temple of Love," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, lxi, 1998, pp. 176-97.

⁹*The Temple of Love. A Masque. Presented by the Queenes Majesty, and her Ladies, at White-hall on Shrove-Tuesday, 1634. By Inigo Jones, Surveyour of his Majesties Workes; and William Davenant, her Majesties Servant*, London [Thomas Walkley] 1634, sig. A4^r.

¹⁰*Temple of Love* (as in n. 9), sig. A2^r.

¹¹*Ibid.*, sig. A2^r.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*, sig. A4^v.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, sigs A2^r-A2^v.

¹⁵For these personifications and their origin in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, see my article as in n. 8, pp. 193-6.

¹⁶*Temple of Love*, sig. C4^v.

¹⁷See S. Orgel, "Plato, the Magi, and Caroline Politics: A Reading of *The Temple of Love*," *Word & Image*, iv, 1988, pp. 663-77 (fig. 2).

¹⁸*Temple of Love*, sig. A3^v.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, sigs C4^r-C4^v.

²⁰A. Townshend and I. Jones, *Tempe Restored. A Masque. Presented by the Queene, and fourteene Ladies, to the Kings Maiestie at Whitehall on Shrove-Tuesday, 1631*, London [Robert Allet and George Baker] 1631, pp. 3-4.

²¹See, for instance, E. Welsford, 'Italian Influence on the English Court Masque', *Modern Language Review*, xviii, 1923, pp. 394-409 and more recently J. Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context*, Cambridge 1995 and Stähler (as in n. 3).

²²See, for instance, *ibid.*, pp. 319-21, 362, 364-5, *et passim*.

²³In addition to the temple discussed below, a Temple of Love was described, for instance, by Oreste Biringucci in *Apparato e barriera del Tempio di Amore Feretrio*, Mantua 1585, pp. 8-11, 29; by Federico Follini in *Compendio delle sontuose feste*, Mantua 1608, pp. 100-2 (the same temple was also described by Federico Zuccari in less detail in *La Dimora di Parma*, Bologna 1608, p. 28); by Giovanni Villifranchi in *Descrizione della barriera e della mascherata*, Florence 1613, p. 21; by Ottavio Magnanini in *L'Alceo favola pescatoria ... con gl'intramezzi*, Ferrara 1614, p. 15; and by Vittorio Benacci in *Breve descrizione della festa*, Bologna 1615, pp. 7-8.

²⁴A. Arienti and G. B. Pigna, *Il Tempio d'Amore. Nelquale si contengono le cose d'arme fatte in Ferrara nelle nozze del Duca Alfonso et della Regina Barbara d'Austria*, n.p. 1566. A second printing appeared in 1567 as part of *Cavalleria della città di Ferrara* which included also the descriptions of two other tournaments (*Il Castello di Gorgoferusa* and *Il Monte di Feronia*) produced in Ferrara in 1561. Irène Mamczarz describes also a shortened version of *Il Tempio d'Amore* printed by the Guerra brothers in Venice in 1567, see I. Mamczarz, "Une fête équestre à Ferrare: *Il Tempio d'Amore* (1565)," in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, ed. J. Jacquot and E. Königson, Paris 1975, pp. 349-72 (351 and n. 9).

²⁵See *Tempio d'Amore* (as in n. 24), pp. 1-115.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 115.

²⁷See *ibid.* and Mamczarz (as in n. 24), p. 351.

²⁸*Tempio d'Amore*, p. 7.

²⁹F. Colonna, *La Hypnerotomachia di Poliphilo, cioè pugna d'Amore in sogno* (1499), edn Venice 1545, sigs m6^v-n6^v.

³⁰Ibid., sig. m8^v. For the principle of "congruentia," the correspondence of interior and exterior, in this context, see D. Schmidt, *Untersuchungen zu den Architekturephrasen in der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Die Beschreibung des Venus-Tempels*, Frankfurt a. M. 1978, p. 130.

³¹F. Colonna, *Le Songe de Poliphile*, Paris 1546.

³²See *ibid.*, pp. 72^r and 72^v.

³³See, for instance, M. Calvesi, *La "Pugna d'Amore in sogno" di Francesco Colonna Romano*, Rome 1996, p. 87.

³⁴*Tempio d'Amore* (as in n. 24), pp. 7-9.

³⁵For a recent overview of the literature of love tracts, see von Flemming (as in n. 7), pp. 90-164.

³⁶See Mamczarz (as in n. 24), p. 370.

³⁷For a detailed discussion, see *ibid.*, pp. 359-70.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 364.

³⁹See *ibid.*, p. 365.

⁴⁰See B. and T. Tasso, *Il Floridante*, Canto X.26.

⁴¹See T. Tasso, *Rinaldo*, Canto III.32-47.

⁴²See B. and T. Tasso, *Il Floridante*, Canto XI.17-18 and T. Tasso, *Rinaldo*, Canto V.59.

⁴³Mamczarz (as in n. 24), pp. 364-5.

⁴⁴*Tempio d'Amore* (as in n. 24), pp. 122-5.

⁴⁵*Tempio d'Amore* (as in n. 24), pp. 99-101.

⁴⁶In his description of a tournament held only a few years earlier in Milan (1559) Ascanio Centorio degli Ortensi has Fraude, Ingratitudine and Instabilità personify the condemnatory vices in a cruelly proud lady: "[Camminando] accompagnata dalla Instabilità uestita di mille colori, con una uela in testa, e dalla Fraude con uesti lionate, dipinte a spine fiorite, con una uolpe in capo, & dalla Ingratitudine, uestita d'una uesta fatta di foglie di Hellera, con una Vipera in testa, che era nel partorire da i proprij figliuoli lacerata e morta," *I Grandi apparati e feste fatte in Melano*, Milan 1559, p. 7^v.

⁴⁷*Tempio d'Amore* (as in n. 24), pp. 103-4.

⁴⁸See *ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴⁹See L. Donati, "Polifilo a Roma: Il Mausoleo di S. Costanza," *La Bibliofilia*, lxx, 1968, pp. 1-38.

⁵⁰See *OED*, s.v. "Constancy": "1.a. The state or quality of being unmoved in mind; steadfastness, firmness, endurance, fortitude. [...]" and "Stability": "1. In physical senses. a. Power of remaining erect; freedom from liability to fall or be overthrown. [...] 3.a. Of a person, his character or dispositions: The condition of 'standing fast'; fixity of resolution or purpose; firmness, steadfastness. [...]"

⁵¹In the course of his description Arienti makes explicit the scenographer's reference to the Septizonium in Rome, erected by Septimius Severus and destroyed in 1588/89, which he identifies as the model of the "Palagio delle delitie," see *Tempio d'Amore* (as in n. 24), p. 24; and, unmistakable for anyone familiar with Ferrara and the *Addizione Ercolanea*,

the "Palagio di Diamanti" would have conjured up the image of the real Palazzo dei Diamanti in the Via degli Angeli designed by Biagio Rossetti, see *ibid.*, pp. 22-5. Begun in 1493, work on the palace had been stopped in 1504, and the building, especially most of the "diamond" structure of the façade, had been finally completed only in 1567 and early in 1566 work must have been in progress. For the second building phase of the Palazzo dei Diamanti see B. Zevi, *Super vedere l'urbanistica Ferrara di Biagio Rossetti, la prima città moderna europea*, Torino 1960, pp. 188-9.

⁵²*Tempio d'Amore* (as in n. 24), pp. 163-4.

⁵³For Marsilio Ficino's promotion of the *vita contemplativa* in his *Commentaria in Platonem* (1496) and for the revaluation of the *vita activa* and (to some degree) the sensual aspect of love and for the *amore humano* (between *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa*) advocated by Pietro Bembo in *Gli Asolani* (1505) and, subsequently, by Baldassare Castiglione in *Il Libro del cortegiano* (1528) and, especially, by Leone Ebreo in his *Dialoghi d'amore* (1535) see von Flemming (as in n. 7), pp. 106-33.

⁵⁴For the *Giardino della Duchessa* which measured approximately 58 m x 42 m see Mamczarz (as in n. 24) and *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*, 9 vols, Rome 1954-66, vol. v, col. 179 and tav. 4.

⁵⁵*Tempio d'Amore* (as in n. 24), p. 6.

⁵⁶For the emotive use of music in this tournament, supporting the visual impression, see recently F. Dennis, "Music in Ferrarese Festivals: Harmony and Chaos," in: *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and E. Goldring, Aldershot, 2002, pp. 287-93, esp. p. 289.

⁵⁷*Tempio d'Amore* (as in n. 24), p. 94.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁶²*Ibid.*, pp. 105-6.

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 163. Piccolomini wrote in similar words, if somewhat more precise and with regard to the achieved ideal of temperance: "nel temperato l'appetito, essendo in tutto superato dalla ragione," Piccolomini (as in n. 5), VI.iii.244.

⁶⁵*Temple of Love* (as in n. 9), sig. D1^v.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, sigs D1^r-D1^v.

⁶⁷Orgel (as in n. 17), p. 668.

⁶⁸For the theoretical foundation of the mathematical harmony of humanist architecture see, for instance, R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, London 1952, pt. 4.

⁶⁹*Temple of Love* (as in n. 9), sig. C4^v.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, sig. A3^v.