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BETWEEN TIGER AND UNICORN: THE TEMPLE OF LOVE*

Axel Stähler

To the memory of Gunter Schweikhart

The first week of February 1635 must have been a busy one for Inigo Jones. And there must have been a good many other busy weeks before that, for on 10 February, Shrove Tuesday, there was a masque to be performed at Whitehall.[1] Jones not only provided its scenic design, he was also responsible for its invention. With this in mind he turned to Italian festival books, and it is an aspect of his use of these that I aim to explore here. The influence of Italy on the English architect and stage designer has, of course, been the subject of much research,[2] and Jones's appetite for the commemorative volumes that described the pageantry and festivities of the European courts is also well known.[3] With reference to one specific example, I hope to illustrate how Jones succeeded—as he himself claimed—in creating a 'Masque which for the newnesse of the invention, variety of Sceanes, Apparitions, and richnesse of habits was generally approved to be one of the most magnificent that hath beene done in England.'[4]

I

When, finally, on the evening of Shrove Tuesday, the court and foreign ambassadors assembled in the Banqueting House, they must have found themselves confronted, at the lower end of the lavishly decorated hall, with a view not unlike that shown in Figure 1 (the stage initially being hidden by a curtain).

Jones's sketch and the description of the proscenium in the published text of *The Temple of Love* by Jones and William Davenant are remarkably consistent with one another. Thus, even if the decorative ornament eludes any attempt at detailed reconstruction, it seems safe to assume that Jones, as architect and engineer, was responsible for both, and that, although each is subject to the conventions of its genre, both the drawing and the description convey his intentions adequately.[5] In the printed booklet the proscenium is described as follows:

* I am very grateful to the Graduiertenkolleg 'Die Renaissance in Italien und ihre europäische Rezeption: Kunst - Geschichte - Literatur' established at Bonn University for its generous funding of my Ph.D. project. This essay is an offshoot of my work within the Graduiertenkolleg on the representation of architecture in the English court masque and the Italian festival book.

[1] It was to be repeated at least twice, on 11 and 12 February, and possibly also a third time, two days later. For these dates see *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, ed. S. Orgel and R. Strong, 2 vols, London 1973, ii, p. 599.

[2] See e.g. E. Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels*, New York 1927, repr. 1962; the introduction by Orgel and Strong to *Inigo Jones* (as in n. 1); and most recently J. Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context*, Cambridge 1995.

[3] See J. Orrell, 'Inigo Jones and Amerigo Salvetti: A Note on the Later Masque Designs', *Theatre Notebook*, xxx, 1976, pp. 109–14.

[4] *The Temple of Love. A Masque. Presented by the Queenes Majesty, and her Ladies, at White-hall on Shrove-Tuesday, 1634. By Inigo Iones, Surveyour of his Majesties Workes; and William Davenant, her Majesties Servant*, London [Thomas Walkley] 1634, sigs D1^{v}–D2^{r}; the text is given with modern spelling in *Inigo Jones* (as in n. 1), ii, pp. 600–4.

[5] While Jones must be credited with the invention, its practical execution and the descriptive passages of the published account, the poetic text was composed by William Davenant. A variant earlier title prints Davenant's name in smaller type; see W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, 4 vols, London 1939–59, ii, no. 497.

At the lower end of the Banquetting-house, opposite to the State, was a Stage of six foot high, and on that was raised an Ornament of a new Invention agreeable to the Subject; consisting of Indian Trophees: on the one side upon a basement sate a naked Indian on a whitish Elephant, his legges shortning towards the necke of the beast, his tire and bases of severall coloured feathers, representing the Indian Monarchy: On the other side an Asiatique in the habit of an Indian borderer, riding on a Camell; his Turbant and Coat differing from that of

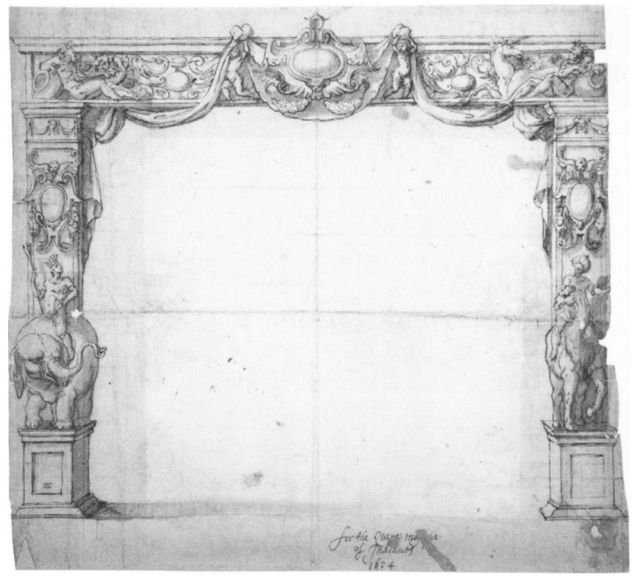

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Fig. 55—Inigo Jones, proscenium arch for *The Temple of Love* (1635), drawing. London, Royal Institute of British Architects

the Turkes, figured for the Asian Monarchy: over these hung sheild like Compartiments: In that over the Indian was painted a Sunne rising, and in the other an halfe Moone; these had for finishing the Capitall of a great pillaster, which served as a ground to sticke them of, and bore up a large freeze or border with a Coronice. In this over the Indian lay the figure of an old man, with a long white haire and beard, representing the flood *Tigris*; on his head a wreath of Canes and Seage, and leaning upon a great Urne, out of which runne water, by him in an extravagant posture stood a Tyger.

At the other end of this freeze lay another naked man, representing *Meander*, the famous River of Asia, who likewise had a great silver urne, and by him lay an Unicorne.

In the midst of this border was fixed a rich Compartiment, behind which was a crimson Drapery part of it borne up by naked Children tack'd up in severall pleats, and the rest was at each end of the Freeze tyed with a great knot, and from thence hung downe in foulds to the bottome of the pedestalls: In the midst of this Compartiment in an Ovall was written *TEMPLUM AMORIS*: all these figures were in their naturall colours bigger than the life, and the Compartiments of Gold.[6]

Just as, on entering the hall, the spectator's first impression would have been of the room itself and the striking proscenium arch, so the reader began with a description of the hall and its temporary fittings as a setting for the stage. Thus the image of

[6] *Temple of Love*, sigs A3^{r-v}. Following Jones's practice, the term 'ornament' will be used in this article to denote the proscenium arch. For Jones's use of the ornament and its continental models see Peacock (as in n. 2), pp. 208–66.

the proscenium arch, as evoked in the reader's mind in words, appears to feature as prominently in the published text as the real architectural framing of the stage.

As in most Caroline masques, however, an argument—a summary of the content—is prefixed to the text proper. This practice came into use with Ben Jonson's *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, of 1631, where the argument begins with a programmatic claim: 'To make the Spectators understanders'.[7] Although Jonson, who was dismissed shortly afterwards, had no part in *The Temple of Love* or any other of the court masques following *Love's Triumph*, the function of the argument in these remained the same. Since it precedes even the account of the proscenium arch, it effectively informs readers of the invention of the masque before they have a chance to form a mental image of the arch. The interpretation of the architectural element is thus subject to the context of the masque. At the same time, the knowledge imparted by the argument secures a 'correct' first reading of the ornament in relation to the masque's content—as was surely intended. In fact, the detailed description of the proscenium arch as it evolved in the 1630s is usually preceded by an argument.[8] They are obviously meant to be appreciated in conjunction by the reader, the argument serving to evoke a simultaneous perception of action and design. For the spectator, of course, the proscenium arch supplied quite literally a frame of reference throughout the performance of the masque. The arch, and the dramatic enaction of the text in its scenic setting, worked reciprocally, as complementary elements, in the presentation.

The system of inter-textual reference is especially complex in the case of *The Temple of Love*,[9] for which art historians and literary critics have established various affinities with dramatic spectacles performed at the Medici court in Florence.[10] It is easy to see why Jones, searching for models for his theatrical production, chose the visual representations of spectacles at this particular court, which was famed throughout Europe for its theatrical innovations. But Jones did not limit his interest to accounts of purely theatrical events, and, while it was obviously natural that for his own scenic design he should look for evidence of precedents in this area, he made good use of other sorts of accounts of festivals as well. The ornament of *The Temple of Love* proves to have been inspired by accounts of a Florentine and (possibly) a Trevisan festival in a way which provides a particularly telling instance of Jones's practice as a stage designer.

II

The Florentine carnival celebrations of the year 1616 [1615 Florentine style] featured a magnificent mock battle and equestrian ballet in the Piazza Santa Croce, put on

[7] *Loves Triumph through Callipolis. Performed in a Masque at Court. 1630. By his Maiestie with the Lords, and Gentlemen assisting. The Inventors. Ben. Ionson. Jnigo Iones...*, London [I. N. for Thomas Walkley] 1630, p. 1; for a modern edition see either *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford and P. Simpson, 11 vols, Oxford 1925–52, vii, pp. 731–43, or *Inigo Jones* (as in n. 1), i, pp. 405–7.

[8] Jacobean masques usually include neither an argument nor a description of an ornament. Exceptions are Ben Jonson's *Hymenaei* (1606), *The Haddington Masque* (1608), *The Masque of Queens* (1609) and *Lovers Made Men* (1617), where proscenium arches are mentioned. But only *The Haddington Masque* provides a real description. Other early instances of descriptions of proscenium arches may be found in *Tethys' Festival* (1610) by Samuel Daniel and *The Somerset Masque* (1613/14) by Thomas Campion. A very brief description of an ornament is included in *Neptune's Triumph* (1624) by Ben Jonson. None of these masques is provided with a separate argument. Other exceptions are the masques offered by the Inns of Court, like George Chapman's *Memorable Masque* (1613) and the anonymous *Masque of Flowers* (1614) which have arguments but no descriptions of ornaments, and James Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace* (1634), which includes a description of the ornament but not an argument. Of the nine extant Caroline masques produced after 1630, *The Triumph of Peace*, Thomas Carew's *Cœlum Britannicum* of the same year and Ben Jonson's *Love's Triumph* are the only ones which do not include both a description of the ornament and an argument.

[9] See e.g. *Inigo Jones* (as in n. 1), i, pp. 41–2, and in a wider context Peacock (as in n. 2), pp. 6–34.

[10] See *Inigo Jones* (as in n. 1), ii, p. 605 and nos 293, 295 with figs 97, 99; and, for other sources, Peacock (as in n. 2), p. 252 and pls 138, 145–7.

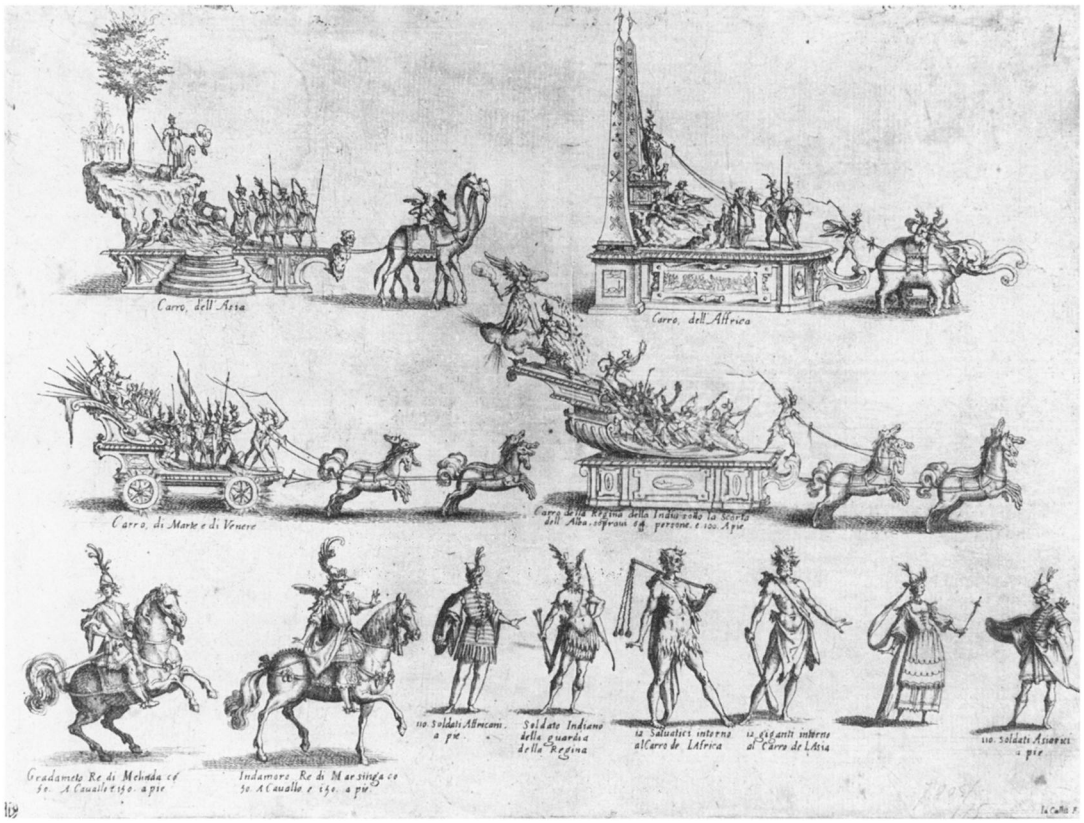

Fig. 56—Jacques Callot, chariots and costumes for the *Guerra d'Amore* (1616), etching. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

By concession of the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Florence

by Cosimo II de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in honour of his Habsburg wife, Maria Magdalena. The lavish spectacle planned by Giulio Parigi is documented in an account by Andrea Salvadori, in four etchings by Jacques Callot (Figs 56–9), and in an anonymous description, in the guise of a letter to Alberico Cibo, into which cutout pieces of Callot's etchings were pasted.[11] It was entitled *Guerra d'Amore*, the War of Love. The Grand Duke himself as Indamoro, King of 'Narsinga',[12] and his younger brother Lorenzo de' Medici as Gradameto, King of 'Melinda', competed for the hand of the noble Lucinda, 'Regina dell'India'. She apparently entered the amphitheatre, created by Parigi in the Piazza, on a triumphal chariot drawn by animals of monstrous aspect, native to the horrid woods of India—the anonymous letter to Cibo talks of

[11] See Andrea Salvadori, *Guerra d'Amore, Festa del Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana Cosimo Secondo, Fatta in Firenze il Carnevale del 1615*, Florence (Zanobi Pignoni) 1615; for Callot's etchings (Figs 56–9) see J. Lieure, *Jacques Callot*, ii, 1: *Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé*, Paris 1924, repr. 1989, nos 169–72. See also Cosimo II [de' Medici], *Lettera al Sig. Alberico Cibo, Principe di Massa, sopra il Giuoco fatto dal Gran Duca intitolato Guerra d'Amore, Il di 12. di Febraio 1615. in Firenze*, Pisa (Giovanni Fontani) 1615, British Library pressmark 9930.g.49: pasted in are 26 selected illustrations cut from Callot's etchings (see Lieure, nos 169 and 172, corresponding here to Figs 59 and 58). (In the copy of the *Lettera* in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, the order of the third and fifth squares of the choreography has been muddled.)

[12] The name of Ind-amoro, Lover of India or Indian Lover, hardly needs elucidation. I have found no other instance of a country called Narsinga, whose name presumably derives from the Persian king Narses (reigned AD 293–302).

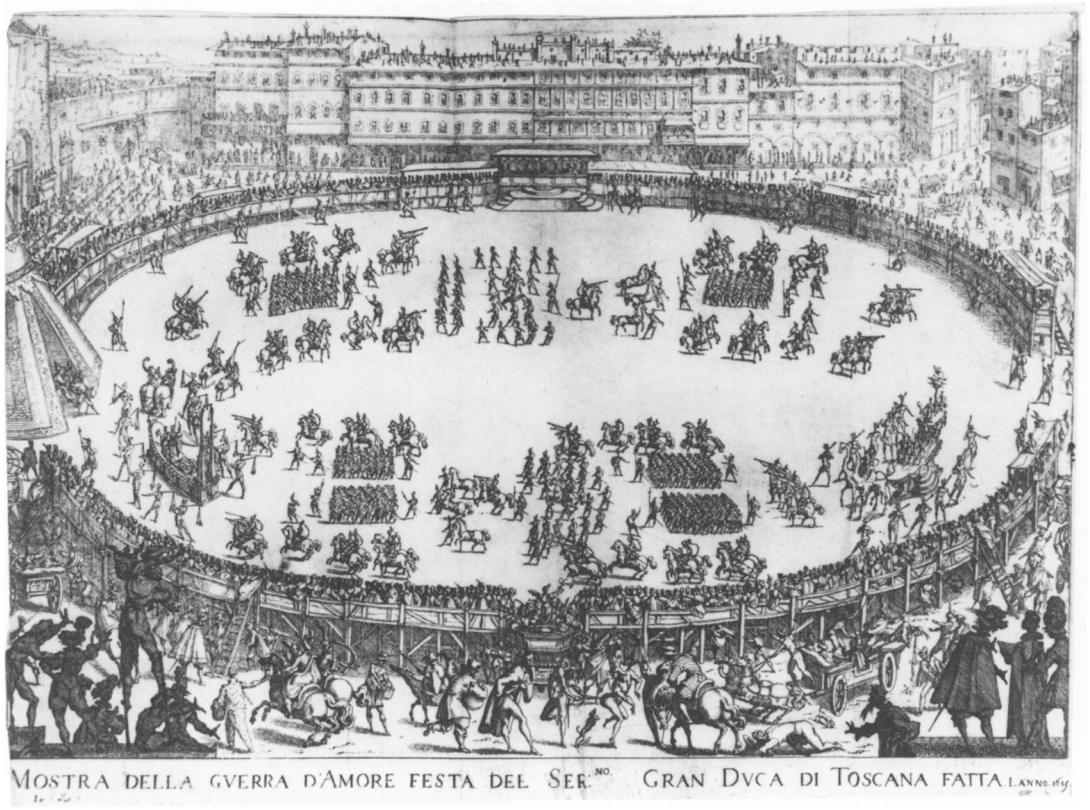

Fig. 57—Jacques Callot, *Mostra della Guerra d'Amore* for the *Guerra d'Amore* (1616), etching. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

By concession of the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Florence

six rhinoceroses although Callot's etching simply shows four horses (Fig. 56).[13] Her chariot, we are told, was accompanied by a retinue of one hundred Indian soldiers. This vehicle astonishingly accommodated sixty-four young ladies and Brahmins ('Sacerdoti Bramanni'),[14] along with a figure, supported on a little cloud of her own, who represented Alba, the Dawn; she addressed some fifty-one octaves composed by Salvadori to the Grand Duchess. The two kings then made their magnificent entries into the arena from opposite gates, each with his entourage, mounted and on foot, and his own triumphal chariot (Fig. 57). Eventually, after parading around the theatre, the battle began (Fig. 58). But it was suddenly interrupted by the hasty arrival of Mars and Venus on a further chariot which then divided itself into two. Prompted by the remonstrations of the Goddess of Love the battle metamorphosed into a harmonious

[13] See *Guerra d'Amore* (as in n. 11), p. 7 and *Lettera* (as in n. 11), sig. A2v. A. R. Blumenthal, *Theater Art of the Medici*, exhib. cat., Hanover, New Hamps. 1980, p. 95 states that Indamora was represented not by a living person but by a golden statue set up on the chariot; see also A. M. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539–1637*, New Haven, Conn. 1964, p. 127. Of this I could find no evidence in the festival accounts. The letter to Cibo (sig. A2v) does not characterise Lucinda as a statue; and Salvadori (p. 8) describes her as seated on a golden throne in the uppermost part of the chariot ('Nella piu elevata parte del carro sovra un soglio d'oro sedeva una Regina quanto si puote immaginare ornata…').

[14] Ibid.: '…et haveva sotto i suoi piedi sessantaquattro persone tutte sull carro, e superbissimamente addobbate parte erano Damigelle dell'istessa Regina, parte Sacerdoti Bramanni tanto famosi nell'Oriente; questi venivano tutti sonando diversi strumenti, e facevano sentire dolcissima armonia…'

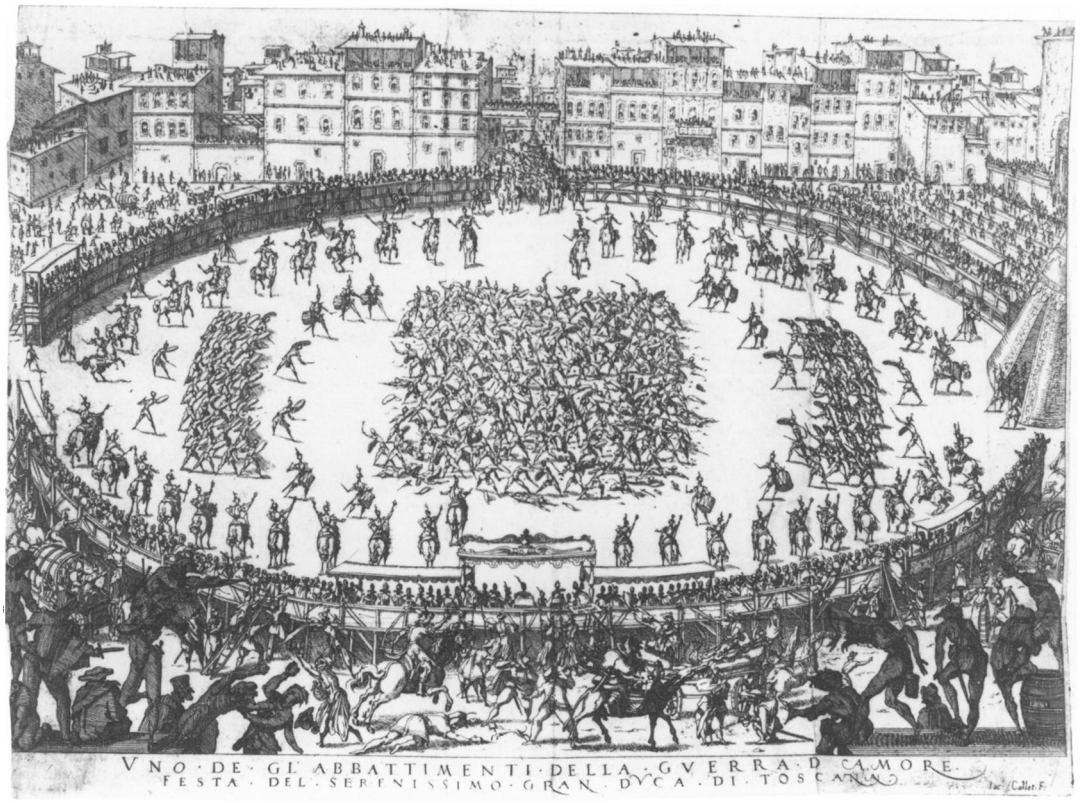

Fig. 58—Jacques Callot, *Combat* for the *Guerra d'Amore* (1616), etching.
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
By concession of the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Florence

ballet (Fig. 59). The intention, recorded as a fact by Salvadori, was that the participants should later on proceed in triumph through the town to end the evening with a 'masquerade with great pomp and an immense number of lights'.[15] They were to parade past the most famous sites in Florence ('i più famosi luoghi della Città') and there sing madrigals.[16] But this was not how it turned out. Cesare Tinghi, *aiutante di camera* to the Grand Duke, reports in his diary that bad weather made the masquerade impossible and that the great hall of the Palazzo Pitti was resorted to, instead, for a ball and a feast.[17]

As one of the Queen's masques, *The Temple of Love* might have been expected to pay homage to that so-called cult of Platonic love introduced to the English court by Henrietta Maria.[18] Platonic love is indeed referred to in *The Temple of Love* at several points, but it has been suggested that the doctrine is criticised here as unnatural and sterile.[19] In the early 1630s the theme of love and its true form was rather in vogue in

[15] *Guerra d'Amore*, p. 51: 'Mascherata con gran' pompa, e con immensa copia di lumi'. A more detailed summary of the event may be found in Nagler (as in n. 13), pp. 126–8.

[16] See *Guerra d'Amore*, p. 51 (the sites visited are not specified by Salvadori). The *Lettera* does not mention any of the events succeeding the equestrian ballet; see sig. E1^{v}.

[17] The relevant passage is quoted from his manuscript source by Angelo Solerti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla Corte Medicea dal 1600 al 1637*, Florence 1905, repr. 1968, p. 103.

[18] For the 'cult' of Platonic love see K. Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*, Cambridge 1987, p. 24.

[19] See ibid., pp. 244–7. Sharpe argues that this criticism was aimed at the queen herself. For a differing view see

the Queen's entertainments, as is notably attested in Walter Montagu's pastoral *The Shepherd's Paradise* (published in 1659).[20] This work was written for, and performed by, the Queen two years before *The Temple of Love*, and both its set and costumes were designed by Inigo Jones.[21] Montagu's aim was, as Erica Veevers has put it, 'to expound to the court an ideal of chaste courtship and marriage' which was ultimately derived from French social fashions—of *préciosité* and, even more, of *honnêteté*.[22] It was therefore quite distinct from the conception of Platonic love as developed in the Italian Neoplatonic tradition: 'a non-sexual, spiritually uplifting love between the sexes'.[23]

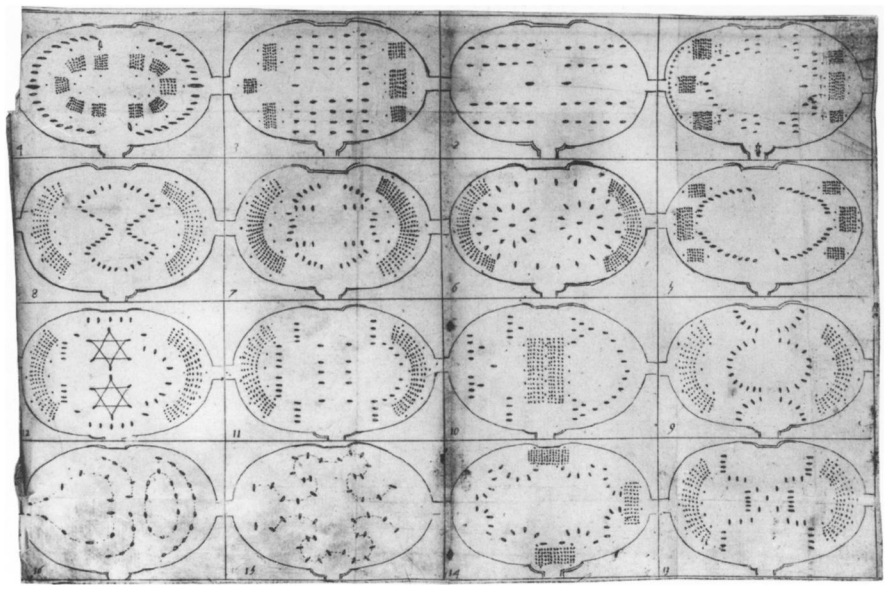

Fig. 59—Jacques Callot, choreographic plan for the *Guerra d'Amore* (1616), etching. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

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The ideal of a chaste and fruitful union in marriage, similar to that advocated by Montagu and thus indeed opposed to a barren 'Platonic' chastity, is also the subject of *The Temple of Love*:

Divine Poesie (the Secretary of Nature) is sent by Fate to Indamora, Queene of Narsinga, to signifie the time prefix'd was come, when by the influence of her beauty... the Temple of Chast Love should be re-established in this Iland; which Temple being long sought for by certaine Magicians (enemies to chast Love) intending to use it to their intemperate ends, was by Divine Poesie hidden in mists and clouds; so as the Magicians being frustrate of their hopes, sought by enchantments to hinder all others from finding it; and by this imposture many Noble Knights and Ladies had been tempted and mis-led.[24]

M. Butler, 'Reform or Reverence? The Politics of the Caroline Masque', *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and M. Shewring, Cambridge 1993, pp. 118–56, esp. p. 143.

[20] For a discussion of *The Shepherd's Paradise* in this context see E. Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 32–3, 39–47.

[21] See *Inigo Jones* (as in n. 1), ii, pp. 504–35.

[22] Veevers (as in n. 20), p. 39. For both concepts see ibid., pp. 1–33.

[23] For this Italian conception see J. Kraye, '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, the quotation is from p. 85.

[24] *Temple of Love*, from 'The Argument', sig. A2^{r}.

Also in danger of falling prey to the magicians' evil machinations are three noble Persian youths. Nevertheless, inflamed with pure love for Indamora, they recover the path of virtue and with the appearance of Sunesis and Thelema, personifications of Understanding and Free Will, the true Temple of Love is finally discovered to the

Fig. 60—Inigo Jones, Indamora's costume for *The Temple of Love* (1635), drawing. Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection
Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees

'Platonicall Lovers' and Chaste Love leads the king to the revels and his chaste union with Indamora, impersonated by his queen (Fig. 60).[25]

III

Callot's etching (Fig. 56) purports to show with some precision several of the participants in their costumes as well as the triumphal chariots which entered the arena in the Piazza Santa Croce in February 1616. The remaining etchings give an impression of the successive stages of battle and equestrian ballet (Figs 57–9). However, only

[25] For the use of the term 'Platonicall Lover' see *Temple of Love*, sigs $B2^{v}$, $B3^{r}$ and $C1^{r}$.

when we read Salvadori's account or the anonymous *Lettera* do some of the details emerge.[26] Salvadori states that Indamoro's troupe was followed by a chariot drawn by camels belonging to the Grand Duke's menagerie. The chariot was crowded with trophies; set up on it were a phoenix, a palm tree and a statue of Asia whose every attribute the text painstakingly enumerates. Of these it is for the present purpose important to note only that Asia stood astride a prostrate camel ('stava sopra un' Cammello prostrato').[27] The rocky declivity on which the phoenix perched on top of the chariot had four hollows which accommodated the personifications of four river-gods. From their urns issued real water, surging around the feet of four statues which represented the Asian Monarchies. The first river was the Meander, who was finely and richly dressed ('d'habito ricco e vago'). On his urn was portrayed a swan. His waters flowed towards Monarchia de' Turchi. The second was the Volga. His urn showed a fierce tiger ('una Tigre ferocissima') and his waters billowed around the feet of Monarchia de' Tartari.[28] With his beard and wild mane, dishevelled and full of icicles, and clad all in frozen snow, he was terrible to behold. The third was the Tigris, in a rich and magnificent robe, flowing towards Monarchia de' Persiani. On his urn was a horse. Finally there was the Ganges, his waters swelling around the feet of Monarchia degl'Indiani. On his urn could be seen a white elephant. His robe was entirely made of gold and pearls which also adorned his hair and beard, both resembling the finest gold. Salvadori then goes on to describe the statues of the four Monarchies of which, however, only a few features are relevant here. Each carried arms and an escutcheon, decorated with an *impresa*. Monarchia de' Turchi's was a half moon, while Monarchia degl'Indiani had a sun rising out of the waves ('un' Sole, che usciva dall'onde').[29] Then there were eight giants who brought up the rear of Indamoro's retinue; and this was followed by Gradameto, his train and his triumphal chariot, which in a similar way represented the greatness and the empires of the African nations ('la grandezza, e gl'Imperij delle Nazioni Affricane').[30]

At this point it seems appropriate to recall once more the various elements of the proscenium arch of *The Temple of Love* (Fig. 55).[31] There are quite obvious analogies, extending far beyond Allardyce Nicoll's passing remark that 'Italian influence was strong in this masque.'[32] Nicoll was in fact the first to note that in *The Temple of Love* '[the] name Indamora and the Brahmin priests were taken directly from a pageant tournament held at Florence in 1615'.[33] But he did not further explore the numerous affinities in scenic elements.[34] There are, for one thing, the personifications to

[26] While it is evident from certain particulars in Inigo Jones's adaption that in addition to Callot's etching he must have known at least one of the two published festival accounts, it is difficult to determine which, since the relevant passages occur in both. But it is more likely that Jones had access to Salvadori's text, printed in Florence. This assumption is supported by the (albeit meagre) evidence of similar wording; see below, pp. 196–7 and n. 92. I will therefore use Salvadori's text as the basis. This, of course, is to assume (as seems reasonable) that Jones did not gain his knowledge from an unknown eye-witness.

[27] *Guerra d'Amore*, p. 31. This—or at least the attendant camel—corresponds to a familiar feature of the iconography of Asia, adopted by Ripa in the 1603 edition of the *Iconologia*; see S. Poeschel, *Studien zur Ikonographie der Erdteile in der Kunst des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1985, e.g. pp. 75, 169, 349, 367, figs 29, 37. The animal here, as in Jones's proscenium, is, properly speaking, a dromedary, but following the usage of my sources I shall simply talk of camels.

[28] *Guerra d'Amore*, pp. 31–2.

[29] Ibid., p. 33.

[30] Ibid., p. 34. For Parigi's representations of the two continents as documented by Callot see Poeschel (as in n. 27), cat. no. 28, pp. 340–1.

[31] See above, p. 177.

[32] Allardyce Nicoll, *Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage*, London 1938, p. 107.

[33] Ibid. The date is given in Florentine style.

[34] In the case of *The Temple of Love* Nicoll's examination of Jones's use of the decorative element of the proscenium arch does not extend beyond the mere observation that 'Indian trophies formed the chief *motif* of the frame'; and, although he was the first to notice the connection between the masque and the equestrian ballet, he seems to have missed the iconographical correspondences; see ibid., p. 50.

either side of the stage. To the left, sitting on an elephant which the text specifies as 'whitish' was a 'naked' Indian, his nudity covered with feathers. He represented Indian Monarchy. To the right, riding a camel, was an Asian, wearing a turban and dressed in a robe of unspecified character—turban and robe were, however, evidently not Turkish in their mode. He embodied Asian Monarchy. Over both their heads were placed cartouches each of which, as is explained in the text but cannot be discerned on the sketch, shows an appropriate *impresa*, and these turn out to be a rising sun for Indian Monarchy and a half-moon for Asian Monarchy. There are also the two personified rivers represented in the frieze framing the stage at the top. Above Indian Monarchy was the Tigris as an old man, naked, with white hair and beard, an urn and a tiger. Opposite him was the Meander, also naked, and also provided with an urn, but accompanied by a unicorn instead of the swan.

Much of this is unquestionably derived directly from the description of the Carro dell'Asia.[35] Only the unicorn appears neither in Salvadori's account or the anonymous letter, nor in Callot's etchings.[36] Since, however, the mythical creature is emblematic of chastity it fits nicely enough with the theme of the masque.[37] It is the only element of any importance that Jones adds to Parigi's iconographical programme. Otherwise, his scheme proves to be a selection and conflation of various elements of the Carro dell'Asia which, however, I would like to propose, invests them with new meaning.

IV

Parigi's iconographical programme, for all its elaboration, may be summed up in one sentence—as Salvadori did in his opening remark: 'The chariot was filled with Asian trophies, and showed the greatness and the empires of that most noble part of the world, which it pleased the King of Narsinga to rule over'.[38] From its feast of iconographic detail Jones chose purposefully and adapted his selection to the limited space of his ornament as defined by the architectural frame (Fig. 55).

He adopts the idea of personified monarchies, reducing them in number, however, to two. This follows from the logic of the proscenium arch with its vertical elements which traditionally accommodated statues or their pictorial representations, usually one to either side.[39] Aptly, Jones's conceit for these figures turns on the representation of contraries. To the left, Indian Monarchy is mounted on an elephant, the Indian variety of which was thought to be most ferocious, as is explained, for instance, by Pierio Valeriano in his celebrated manual of symbolism, the *Hieroglyphica*.[40] The naked

[35] On the basis of the drawing (Fig. 55) Peacock (as in n. 2), p. 252, proposes models for the elephant and camel in a fresco by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo Te in Mantua, although the earlier suggestion by Simpson and Bell (1924), reiterated by Orgel and Strong, that the elephant was, in fact, copied from an etching by Cornelius Cort after Giulio Romano seems more plausible to me: see *Inigo Jones* (as in n. 1), ii, p. 605 and fig. 96. The cartouches Peacock traces to a series of etchings of grotesques by Antonio Tempesta and the putti holding up the curtain to the Villamena print of Clement VII; see ibid. and pls 145–6, 147 and 138.

[36] The unicorn might have been suggested to Jones by the rhinoceroses described in the *Lettera*, sig. A2^{v}, reflecting an association still encountered in early modern times; see e.g. G. P. Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris aegyptiorum literis commentarii libri octo* (Basle 1556), edn Basle 1575, fol. 21d-e (ii: *de rhinoceronte*), who recounts something about the unicorn in his chapter on the rhinoceros. The two woodcuts accompanying his account, however, show rhinoceroses very similar in aspect to the famous one by Dürer, while Jones's unicorn looks definitely like the mythical horse-like creature.

[37] See S. Orgel, 'Plato, the Magi, and Caroline Politics: A Reading of *The Temple of Love*', *Word & Image*, iv, 1988, pp. 663–77 (666). The unicorn is found in an image of Asia; see Poeschel (as in n. 27), pp. 85, 170. But the anonymous German bronze plaque (c. 1580–90) cited by Poeschel appears to be unique and Jones would hardly have known it; see ibid., cat. no. 6, pp. 315–16.

[38] *Guerra d'Amore*, p. 30: 'Il Carro era pieno di Trofei dell'Asia, e dimonstrava la grandezza, e gl'Imperi di quella parte del mondo nobilissima, nella quale si pregiava di regnare il Re di Narsinga'.

[39] See also the descriptive text of the masque: *Temple of Love*, sig. A3^{r}.

[40] See Valeriano (as in n. 36), fol. 19d (ii: *de elephanto*).

Indian rider is by his very nakedness identified as uncivilised and, with the attributes of bow and arrows, as savage and dangerous.[41] By contrast Asian Monarchy, to the right, is dressed with turban and coat; and being dressed, characterised as civilised. He is not armed. The camel, moreover, can be a symbol of gentleness, as is also noted by Valeriano, and of continence or abstemiousness (Figs 62–3).[42] Following the gaze of the two contrasting Monarchies, the spectator's eye is to be drawn towards the middle of the frieze to meet, distinctly set off against the crimson drapery, the motto: 'TEMPLUM AMORIS'.

The Monarchies' attributes, derived from Parigi, are imbued with new significance. The white elephant, for instance, which in Parigi's programme is an attribute of the Ganges, Jones accommodates to his design by evoking its ferocity, the aspect of the animal's symbolical potential which contributes to the overall meaning of his ornament.[43] Similarly, to understand the camel as a symbol of gentleness or continence is to activate only two of the possible meanings.[44] The specific reference intended here can be discovered only by looking to the conceit of the ornament as a whole.

The same applies to Jones's adaptation of other elements of Parigi's scheme. Thus, he transferred the tiger of the River Volga—which of course does not appear in his design at all—to the Tigris. Stephen Orgel has seen this as a sort of etymological joke.[45] But the transposition is surely more significant. Jones actually corrects Parigi, for Ripa's *Iconologia* describes the Tigris with just such an attribute on the authority of a coin of Trajan.[46] In the *Iconologia* the River Tigris is an 'old man, who, like the others

[41] For these attributes see Poeschel (as in n. 27), pp. 78–9, 83. Callot's etching and, more obviously, a preliminary sketch by Parigi (Fig. 61) which, however, could hardly have been known to Jones, show that the 'Soldati Indiani' of Lucinda's guard are—but for the same sort of scanty 'plumage'—as naked as Indian Monarchy. Such 'plumage' is, properly speaking, an attribute of the West Indian or American; see ibid., p. 187. Orgel (as in n. 37) remarks that Jones deliberately ignored the distinction between West and East Indian, thereby iconographically conflating the 'newest world ... with the oldest', p. 665. I do not see any particular reason for this conflation and it rather seems to me that Jones was simply following Parigi's design. Although he usually was quite prepared to re-arrange iconographical details, Jones also always thought in terms of recognisability and would, I believe, not have wanted to risk losing the link to the system of reference provided by his Italian source.

[42] See Valeriano (as in n. 36), fol. 94d-e (xii: *de camelo*).

[43] Valeriano records the elephant among other things as a symbol of munificence, piety or temperance and gentleness; see ibid., fols 18a–20a (ii: *de elephanto*), but for the Indian elephant he is quite explicit about its ferocity.

[44] The camel for Valeriano can also be a symbol of opulence and jealousy; see ibid., fols 93f–94c (xii: *de camelo*).

[45] See Orgel (as in n. 37), p. 666.

[46] See C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, edn Rome 1603 (repr. ed. E. Mandowsky, Hildesheim and New York 1970), p. 160. Ripa's own source was most probably the coin book of Antonio Agustín: see A. Agostini, *Dialoghi ... intorno alle medaglie*, tr. D. O. Sada, Rome 1592, pp. 106–7; cf. S. Erizzo, *Discorso ... sopra le medaglie de gli antichi*, edn Venice [c. 1572], pp. 179–80. Ripa's Ganges (unlike Parigi's) is given a rhinoceros or a griffon; see ibid., p. 162. Ripa has no personification of the Volga and the Meander

Fig. 61—Giulio Parigi, Indian soldier for the *Guerra d'Amore* (1616). Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana (col. B 33)

Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Florence

[i.e. river-gods], is reclining with an urn on one side and a tiger on the other'.[47] This tallies with the description of the 'English' Tigris, who, however, is further specified as naked, a standard feature of river gods in the *Iconologia* as in antiquity, with white hair and beard and wearing a wreath of cane and sedge.[48] Ripa also goes on to explain:

Figs 62, 63—*Cibi potusque abstinentia*, and *Tractabilitas*, woodcuts from Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, Basle 1575

Bonn, Bibliothek des Kunsthistorischen Instituts

'It is said that [the river] has its name of Tigris because of its swiftness, and also, because where it flows there are said to be great numbers of these wild beasts.'[49] Complementing Jones's Tigris is the River Meander: another combination of contraries. While the Tigris is a raging and rapid stream, the winding Meander, as may also be learned from Ripa, is a river 'that winds back on itself'.[50] The motto 'TEMPLUM AMORIS' is thus aptly set between these extremes. The conceit explains why Jones chose the Meander rather than, say, the Ganges.

The same contrary principles are embodied in the animals attached to the Rivers: the tiger (as Ripa indicates), often associated with Bacchus, god of drunkenness and wild passions, or seen as characterising *Ferocità*, is juxtaposed with the unicorn which, in turn, is associated with *Virginità* and *Castità*.[51] Again, midway between extremes lies 'TEMPLUM AMORIS'. The Temple of Love, then, is to be found where passion and chastity, tiger and unicorn, Tigris and Meander meet in temperance. This, of course, is the just mean, the *via media*—already set out by Jones in the proscenium arch for *The Temple of Love*.

is mentioned only under 'Historia'; p. 218. The extensive use to which Jones put the *Iconologia* has long been established (see *Inigo Jones*, as in n. 1, i, p. 43), although he left no copy of it in his library—nor, for that matter of Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* or any festival book; see *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court*, exhib. cat., ed. J. Harris, S. Orgel and R. Strong, London 1973, p. 64.

47 Ripa (as in n. 46), p. 160: 'Huomo vecchio, che come gl'altri sta giacendo con l'urna da un lato, & dall'altro una Tigre.' For the tiger as an attribute of the River Tigris in classical as well as in early modern times see E. McGrath, 'River Gods, Sources and the Mystery of the Nile. Rubens's *Four Rivers* in Vienna', *Die Malerei Antwerpens - Gattungen, Meister, Wirkungen: Studien zur flämischen Kunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (colloquium, Vienna 1993), ed. E. Mai, K. Schütz and H. Vlieghe, Cologne 1994, pp. 72–82, esp. 75.

48 See *Temple of Love*, sig. A3^{r}. A wreath of reeds (*canne*) is in the *Iconologia* an attribute of the River Po; see Ripa (as in n. 46), p. 158.

49 Ibid., p. 160: 'Dicesi, c'hebbe questo nome di Tigre per la velocità, come anco, perche nel luogo, ove passa, si dice esservi quantità di queste fiere'. For the tiger as a symbol of the river's swiftness—already in Pliny's *Natural History*, vi.25—see McGrath (as in n. 47), p. 75.

50 Ripa (as in n. 46), p. 218: 'il quale si raggirava in se stesso'. A similar description of Meander is already in Pliny, *Natural History*, v.29.

51 See Ripa (as in n. 46): 'Carro di Bacco', p. 59; 'Carro della Castità', p. 62; 'Homicidio', p. 201; and 'Virginità', p. 505. *Ferocità* with her tiger is not yet included in the 1603 edition, but would have been accessible to Jones in the expanded edition of 1618: *Nova Iconologia … ampliata …*, Padua [Pietro Paulo Tozzi] 1618, ed. P. Buscaroli, 2 vols, Turin 1988, i, pp. 157–8. Ferocity is in fact associated with the tiger by Valeriano; see *Hieroglyphica* (as in n. 36), fol. 84e-f (xi: *de tigride*) and n. 63. I am not aware of any precedent for the iconographic connection between Meander and the unicorn.

I do not think this meaning would have escaped contemporary spectators. Even if they had failed, for example, to identify the river-gods—though the figure of Tigris could hardly be misread—each of the layers of meaning in Jones's design points to the same conclusion. Despite Orgel's view that none of the spectators 'could have understood either the stage imagery or the action without access to the text',[52] the opposition of tiger and unicorn to either side of the prominent, central motto seems so forceful to me that I cannot conceive of a contemporary courtly audience, well-versed in the deciphering of emblems and *imprese*, missing the point.

V

Of the various emblematic representations of the contraries of passion in Jones's ornament, tiger and unicorn were probably the least ambiguous and the easiest to decipher. Their juxtaposition might have been suggested by another festival book, one in which an impressive array of mostly familiar authorities, classical and modern, are made to testify to the symbolical significance of both animals. Here, too, the context in which tiger and unicorn are interpreted is determined by a discussion of contrary kinds of love.

To celebrate the carnival of 1597 several young noblemen from Treviso held a tournament. Again, there are two accounts of the event. One, by the physician, academician and dilettante poet Bartolomeo Burchelati, is a short and straightforward pamphlet of eight quarto pages and of no relevance to the present context. The other, published in the year after the tournament by the lawyer Giovanni dalla Torre in the guise of a dialogue, is much more elaborate.[53] In fact, it concentrates almost entirely on the description and learned interpretation of the diverse triumphal chariots and the *imprese* adopted by the combattants. Here we learn that the fourth cavalier, one Signor Annibale Bombene, was followed by

> a triumphal chariot delightfully adorned on whose rear part were to be seen Minerva and Mercury with interlocked arms and in front of them Amor without a blindfold, who, having laid down his bow, was holding bridled a fearsome tigress, with a motto in his right hand which said 'Thus monsters are tamed', and in his left another motto, 'Under my guidance you will achieve everything'. And on the top of this rear part of the chariot was a phoenix, and on the outside the figure of a woman who was striking a rock with a spear in her hand. On the top of this spear were a bull's skull and a helmet attached with a tress of hair; and there was a motto above the aforesaid figure, 'Learn to endure, you who long always to conquer': And this chariot was painted all over with fiery flames and was drawn by two snow-white unicorns with the guidance of two moors on foot, who walked in front.[54]

[52] Orgel (as in n. 37), p. 668. See also *Inigo Jones* (as in n. 1), i, p. 11.

[53] Bartolomeo Burchelati, *Sommario della Giostra fatta in Trevigi di XVII. Febraio MDXCVII*, Treviso (Evangelista Dehuchino) 1597; and Giovanni dalla Torre, *Dialogo della Giostra fatta in Trivigi L'Anno MDXCVII. Descritta per Giovanni dalla Torre dove s'hanno diversi ingegniosi, & piacevoli Discorsi intorno alla Dechiaratione & Interpretatione delle Livree, Imprese, & Motti di ciascuno de' Cavalieri. Con un Sommario d'un'altra notabilissima Giostra fatta L'Anno 1481. All'ill.mo Sig. Giustiniano Contarini Podesta, et Capitano di Trivigi*, Treviso (Evangelista Dehuchino) 1598. Dalla Torre's account is illustrated with 15 woodcuts of the *imprese* carried by the contending cavaliers.

[54] *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), pp. 42–3: '... un Carro Trionfante vagamente adorno sopra ilquale nella parte di dietro si vedevano Minerva, & Mercurio, che si tenevano l'un l'altro per un braccio, & nella parte davanti Amore senza benda, ilquale deposto l'arco à basso teneva à freno una horrida Tigre, con un Motto nella mano destra, che diceva SIC MONSTRA DOMANTUR, & nella sinistra un'altro Motto. ME DUCE OMNIA PERFICIES, & nella sommità di detta parte del Carro di dietro vi era una Fenice, & nel di fuori una figura di Donna, che con un' hasta in mano percoteva sopra una pietra; sopra laquale hasta era uno Teschio di Toro, & una celata attaccata con una Treccia di capelli, con un Motto sopra la suddetta figura DISCE PATI QUISQUIS VINCERE SEMPER AVES: Et era detto Carro tutto dipinto à fiamme di fuoco, & era tirato da duo bianchissimi Alicorni con la guida di duo Mori à piedi, che li andavano avanti.'

The image of the woman at the rear of the chariot is identified by Dalla Torre as the personification of *Perseveranza*, '... by which I wish to convey that the Cavalier by persevering with virtuous strategies is going to gain his honest desire with his loved one'.[55] As his source he quotes Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicae quaestiones*, where, however, the figure personifies *Patientia* (Fig. 64).[56] To the aspects of honest and virtuous love is thereby added the concept of patience and endurance.

Fig. 64—Julio Bonasone, *Patientia*, engraving from Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicae quaestiones*, Bologna 1574

In the learned discussion which ensues, Dalla Torre has the three participants in his dialogue, a Vicentine and two Trevisan noblemen, expound the literary and philosophical precedents behind the conceits. They ascertain that the cavalier intended to assert himself as a lover of virtue, honest in his love; and then go on to distinguish several types of love, referring to Cicero, Boccaccio and Alciati, the basic contention being that there are two kinds, one honorable, the other debauched.[57] To characterise these Dalla Torre quotes at some length, almost verbatim, from Boccaccio's *Filocolo* (c. 1336–8) and his *Corbaccio* (c. 1365):

but to speak of the first, [Boccaccio] says [in the *Filocolo*], that the Love that is upright, good and true is the one that everyone must embrace; through him the heavens, the world, kingdoms, provinces and cities perpetuate themselves, through him we deserve to become

[55] *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 50: 'Detta figura denotava la perseveranza, con laquale si vince ogni difficoltà, ò vogliamo intendere, che il Cavaliero perseverando con le virtuose operationi fosse per ottenere l'honesto suo desiderio con l'amata sua...'

[56] *Dialogo della giostra*, p. 50; A. Bocchi, *Symbolicae quaestiones* (1555), edn Bologna 1574, ii, p. CVI, symb. XLIX.

[57] The reference to Cicero is to his *De natura deorum*, iii.44, where *Amor* is identified as one of the children of Erebus and Night. Dalla Torre's assumption that this is meant to be the genealogy of *Amor per diletto* is not, however, explicitly borne out by Cicero's text; see *De natura deorum*, ibid.

eternal possessors of the celestial kingdoms, and [he says] that without him we lose that potential we have of acting well. As for the second, called the Love of delight and lasciviousness, [Boccaccio] says in the *Labyrinth* [i.e. *Labirinto d'amore et altrimenti Il corbaccio*], that it is a passion that blinds the mind, misleads the intellect, dulls, or rather deprives the memory; it is the dissipator of earthly wealth, the ruin of bodily strength, the enemy of youth and the death of the elderly, begetter of vices, occupant of foolish breasts, a thing without reason, without order, and without any stability, the vice of diseased minds, and the suppressor of human liberty...[58]

There is also a third type of love identified by Boccaccio in the *Filocolo* which Dalla Torre correctly names as *Amore per utilità*, but with which he concerns himself no further.[59] All three types are well known to the scholastic tradition and the distinction between them is a commonplace.[60] But naturally Dalla Torre is interested only in the antithetical opposition of *Amor honesto* and *Amor per diletto* which underlies the iconographical scheme of the chariot he describes. To the negative characteristics of *Amor per diletto*, copiously quoted from Boccaccio, Dalla Torre adds instances from the work of modern poets of its irrational and inebriating effect, which confirm this type of love as potentially 'the cause of many evils'.[61] He cites Petrarch, Dante and his own contemporary (albeit now obscure) Antonio Beffa Negrini.[62] *Amor honesto* of course abhors *Amor per diletto*, and this is vividly illustrated by an emblem of Alciati, the epigram of which Dalla Torre quotes in full from the Italian translation by Giovanni Marquale, first published in 1549 in Lyons and subsequently reprinted several times.[63] The emblem is numbered XCVIII in this edition and is headed: 'Che l'Amor virtuoso vince il lascivo' (see Fig. 66).[64] Its companion piece, numbered XCVII, 'Amor di Virtù' (see Fig. 65), is subsequently also quoted; and with these two kinds of love established Dalla Torre begins to relate the various emblematic elements of the chariot to its design as a representation of *Amor honesto*.[65]

[58] *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 43–4: '... ma del primo parlando dice, che è l'Amore dritto, buono, & leale, ilquale da tutti deve esser preso; per quello i Cieli, il Mondo, i Reami, le Provincie, & le Città pervengono in stato, per quello meritiamo noi di divenir eterni posseditori de' celestiali Regni, & che senza di lui è perduto ciò, che noi habbiamo in potentia di ben fare. Del secondo poi chiamato Amor per diletto, & lascivo dice nel Labirinto, ch'è una passione accecatrice dell'animo, desviatrice dell'ingegno, ingrossatrice, anzi privatrice della memoria, dissipatrice delle Terrene facoltadi, guastatrice della forza del corpo, nemica della giovanezza, & morte della vecchiezza, genitrice de vitij, habitatrice de vani petti, cosa senza ragione, senza ordine, & senza stabilità alcuna, vitio delle menti non sane, & sommergitrice dell'humana libertà...' Dalla Torre's description of *Amor honesto* is from Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, iv.44.5, that of *Amor per diletto* from *Corbaccio*, § 128.

[59] See Giovanni Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, iv.44.4–7 and Dalla Torre, *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 43.

[60] See Giovanni Boccaccio, *Filocolo*, ed. A. E. Quaglio, in *Tutte le opere*, ed. V. Branca, Milan 1967, i, p. 872 n. 5. For a discussion of the 16th-century philosophical background see V. von Flemming, *Arma Amoris: Sprachbild und Bildsprache der Liebe. Kardinal Scipione Borghese und die Gemäldezyklen Francesco Albanis*, Mainz 1996, pp. 90–164.

[61] *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 44: 'causa di molti mali'. In *The Temple of Love* appears a chorus of resurrected poets, who are censured by Divine Poesy for making 'false Love in Numbers flow / Till vice became a mysterie'. Instead they are admonished to 'Helpe with [their] voyces to declare / What Indamora comes to show', sig. A4^{r}.

[62] See Dalla Torre, *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), pp. 44–5. Of Petrarch, Dalla Torre quotes from *Rime*, vi.1–2, 11 and ccxc.9–10 and from *Canzoniere*, cxxxv.1.39–44. Of Dante he quotes from *Divina commedia*, Paradiso, canto XXVII ll. 5–6, and of Beffa Negrini from his contribution to a contest of madrigals published as *Ghirlanda della Contessa Angela Bianca Beccaria*, ed. S. Guazzo, Genoa 1595, p. 142.

[63] See Dalla Torre, *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 44; and Andrea Alciati, *Diverse imprese accomodate a diverse moralità, con versi che i loro significati dichiarono tratte da gli emblemi dell'Alciato*, Lyons 1549. Figs 65–6 are from the Lyons 1551 edition which used the same plates.

[64] Alciati (as in n. 63), p. 107.

[65] See Dalla Torre, *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 46 and Alciati (as in n. 63), p. 106. In Claude Mignault's commentaries to Alciati's emblems, which were included in the Plantin edition cited below, the distinction between the two types of love is explained at length with reference to, among others, Plato and Ficino; see *Omnia Andreae Alciati J.C. Emblemata*, Antwerp (Plantin) 1577, no. cix, pp. 368–70, esp. pp. 369–70. This emblem corresponds to no. XCVII in the Lyons edition of 1549 quoted by Dalla Torre.

The bridling of the tiger signifies the subjugation of lascivious affections and vices ('affetti lascivi, & i vitij').[66] The image Dalla Torre describes, a *Hermathena*, is also taken from Bocchi (Fig. 67).[67] It is quite appropriate for Bombene's chariot, evoking an analogous instance of the conquest of sexual appetites. There are various

Figs 65, 66—'Amor di Virtù' and 'Che l'Amor virtuoso vince il lascivo', from Andrea Alciati, *Diverse imprese...*, [= *Emblemata*], Lyons 1551

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ancient precedents for the bridled tiger, recorded by a number of Renaissance authors referred to in the *Dialogo della giostra*;[68] and, unpicking the metaphor into its components, Dalla Torre seeks to prove its current validity. First he cites ancient

66 Dalla Torre, *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 45.

67 *Symbolicae quaestiones* (as in n. 56), iv, p. CCXVI, symb. CII. For Bocchi's *Hermathena* see E. McGrath, 'Rubens's *Musathena*', this *Journal*, l, 1987, pp. 240–5. As McGrath explains with reference to a contemporary source, the *Hermathena* which Bocchi took as the emblem of his Bolognese academy symbolised *sanctissima Philologia*, philology guided by divine love, which leads students to the attainment of true felicity through the conquest by wisdom and eloquence of base sensual appetites (ibid., p. 240).

68 Dalla Torre's other Renaissance sources can be identified as Alexander ab Alexandro, *Dies Geniales*, Rome 1522, fol. III^{r}; Valeriano (as in n. 36), fol. 84d (xi: *de tigride*), illustrated by a woodcut of Bacchus in his tiger-drawn chariot, entitled 'Ferocia emollita'; and Pietro Messia [i.e. Pedro Mexia], *Le vite di tutti gl'imperadori da Giulio Cesare a Massimiliano*, Venice 1558, p. 331. Mexia's *Lives of the Emperors* were originally published in Spanish in 1547; an English translation by W. T[raheron] appeared in 1604 and was re-issued, revised and enlarged by E. Grimeston, in 1623.

authority—Vergil—for the parallel between the animal's ferocity and that of man.[69] When he goes on to call Martial, Pliny and Volaterranus to witness that 'tigers, contrary to what some have claimed, are beasts which may be tamed, and may then also be domesticated',[70] the general validity of the metaphor and therefore also the merit of the scenic invention become evident.[71]

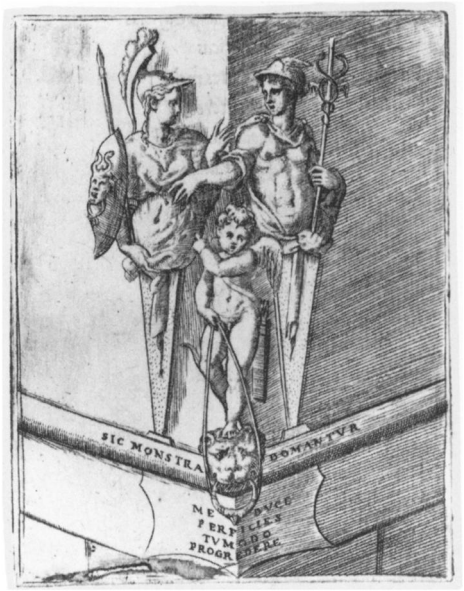

Fig. 67—Giulio Bonasone, *Hermathena*, from Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicae quaestiones*, Bologna 1574

Similarly, the unicorn is explained as an attribute of chastity and as a remedy against the vices, though in this case Dalla Torre cannot bring ancient references.[72] Instead he recounts the old story of how to catch a unicorn as transmitted by the bestiaries. The animal, drawn to the chaste body of a virgin, puts its head in her lap and falls asleep, and can then be captured.[73] Its love for chastity is one of the two reasons given by Dalla Torre as to why the unicorns drawing the chariot 'served the rest of the cavalier's intention well'.[74] The second reason he explains in much more

[69] Vergil, *Aeneid*, iv.367 and *Eclogues*, v.29–30; see Dalla Torre, *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 45.

[70] Ibid., p. 46: 'le Tigri contra quello, ch'alcuni hanno voluto, sono fiere domabili, & che anco domesticar si possono'. He quotes Martial, *Liber spectaculorum*, xviii.1–4, and refers to Pliny, *Natural History*, viii.17, as well as, separately, to the edition of this work with commentary by, among others, Volaterranus [i.e. Raffaello Maffei] (Lyons 1516); the relevant chapter is numbered viii.25.

[71] In the course of his explorations Dalla Torre later also points to Ariosto's use of an analogous metaphor, substituting a lion for the tiger, but essentially to the same purpose; see *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 48, quoting from Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso* (definitive edn 1532), xiv.114; this was translated into English by Sir John Harington in 1591. For the lion tamed by love in the 'Amor vincit omnia' tradition see J. Becker, '"Amor vincit omnia": On the Closing Image of Goethe's *Novelle*', *Simiolus*, xviii, 1988, pp. 134–56; on the image in the emblem tradition see pp. 142–5.

[72] *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), pp. 48–9. Both aspects of the unicorn's symbolic potential can be found in Valeriano: *Hieroglyphica* (as in n. 36), fol. 21d-e (i: *de rhinoceronte*), which Dalla Torre does not acknowledge as his source.

[73] *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), pp. 48–9. Dalla Torre's version of the story corresponds almost verbatim to the passage in Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* (as in n. 36), fol. 21e.

detail, and with reference to the authority of Paolo Giovio and Lodovico Domenichi.[75] It is the peculiarity of this mythical creature's horn to be a remedy against all poisons and therefore, by implication, also against the vices:[76]

> Thus also considering the power of the horn of these animals against poison, there is no doubt but that it alludes to the knight's intention, declared above, to chase the vices away from himself.[77]

The unicorn's association with chastity, in fact cited by Ripa,[78] was apparently the principal point of reference in Jones's ornament; its power against vice is not, it seems, taken over from the Trevisan festival. But even so, the appearance of tiger and unicorn in the context of a discussion of the right kind of love seems suggestive. Jones may or may not have known the Trevisan account or the authorities discussed therein. In the end, it is important to note that Jones's symbolic use of the two animals is rooted in contemporary ways of thinking, as witnessed by the numerous references cited by Dalla Torre, at least some of which would have been available to the educated Caroline courtier.

VI

The poetic text by William Davenant provides an alternative version of the masque's invention, complementing and explaining the design. Entering the stage from the newly discovered Temple of Love, near the end of the masque proper, appear Thelema and Sunesis. These personifications of Will and Understanding, symbolising desire and a force controlling it, represent another opposition of contraries to be reconciled. The dialogue between them captures the significance of their imminent union:

> Sunesis.
> Come melt thy soule in mine, that when unite,
> We may become one virtuous appetite.
>
> Thelema.
> First breath thine into me, thine is the part
> More heavenly, and doth more adorne the heart.
>
> Both.
> Thus mix'd, our love will ever be discreet,
> —And all our thoughts and actions pure,
> When perfect Will, and strengthned Reason meet,
> —Then Love's created to endure.[79]

[74] *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 48: '[gli Alicorni] bene servivano al resto dell'intentione del Cavaliero'. With reference to the unicorn symbolism in various *imprese* Dalla Torre again quotes Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (xliv.77) and alludes to the ancient *impresa* of the Farnese family as described in an account of the Roman 'feste d'Agone' and 'Testaccio' during the papacy of Paul III; see Dalla Torre, *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 49. The description referred to is possibly G. Giglio's *Gli grandi trionfi, feste, pompe et livree fatte dalli Signori Romani per la festa d'Agone, e di Testaccio, con il significato de li carri, ed imprese che vi erano*, [Rome 1545]. But I have not been able to trace a copy of that account to verify this.

[75] See Dalla Torre, *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 49. Dalla Torre refers to Paolo Giovio's *Dialogo dell'imprese d'arme e d'amore*, Rome 1555, p. 49 (an English translation of this was prepared in 1585 by Samuel Daniel), and to Lodovico Domenichi's *Ragionamento d'imprese* which first appeared in 1556 appended to a Venetian edition of Giovio's *Dialogo* (and also, in 1585, to its English translation). For the use of both texts in Elizabethan England see A. Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, London 1987, p. 127.

[76] For the virtue of the horn against poison see also Valeriano (as in n. 36), fol. 21e.

[77] Dalla Torre, *Dialogo della giostra* (as in n. 53), p. 49: 'Così anco passando nella consideratione della virtù del Corno di detti animali, che è contra i veneni, non ha dubbio, che allude alla intentione del Cavaliero, disopra dechiarita, ch' è discacciar da se i vitij'.

[78] He mentions the method of catching a unicorn under *Virginità*, to whom it can serve as an attribute; see *Iconologia* (as in n. 46), p. 505.

[79] *Temple of Love*, sigs C4^{v}–D1^{r}.

Only their union makes possible the appearance of *Amianteros* or Chaste Love on a bright and transparent cloud which comes 'softly downe from the highest part of the heaven'.[80] The conceit, verbalised in Davenant's dialogue, again seems to have been that of Jones, invented by borrowing from familiar iconographic sources:

Sunesis a man of a noble Aspect, and richly attir'd; his garment of Cloth of gold reaching downe below his knees, and girt with a tucke at the wast, with wide sleeves turn'd up; his mantle of Watchet fastned on both shoulders, and hanging downe long behind, a garland of Sinope on his head, with a flame of fire issuing out of it, his Buskins were yellow, wrought with gold. *Thelema* a young woman in a Robe of changeable silke girt with severall tuckes, under her breast, and beneath her wast, and great leaves of silver about her shoulders hanging downe to the midst of her Arme; upon her head a garland of great Marigolds, and puffs of silver'd Lawne betweene. And at her shoulders were Angels wings.[81]

The personifications as described in the printed text clearly derive from related figures in Ripa's *Iconologia*. *Volontà*, the equivalent of Thelema, there appears in three variants. For the second we read:

A woman dressed in iridescent clothing; she will be winged, and in both hands she holds a sphere of various colours.

Volontà is the faculty with which one desires things which are judged good, either in reality or in appearance, and, because there is no constancy in her, she has the sphere of various colours, the iridescent dress, and the wings.[82]

Thelema's garland of marigolds was adapted from Ripa's third prescription for *Volontà*.[83] She carries in one hand a heliotrope, a flower which was conflated with the marigold in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English usage:[84]

And the heliotrope which keeps turning with the movement of the sun indicates that the action of *Volontà* can only be judged by what is known to be good, which is what necessarily moves the said *Volontà* to want, and to command within us, although sometimes it happens that she deceives herself and that she follows a counterfeit good instead of the real and perfect good.[85]

The inclusion of this attribute, which makes a self-conscious reference to his source, illuminates Jones's conception of Thelema and, by implication, her relationship with Sunesis, whose equivalent in the *Iconologia* is *Intelletto*. Even more telling is a passage in Ripa not referred to by Jones because it is not associated with any particular attribute. This comes from the first version of *Volontà* described in the *Iconologia*:

Of *Volontà* some write that she should be like a queen, who, seated in the most noble part of man, dispenses her laws according to occurrences, whether favourable or adverse, which either the senses relay or reason persuades; and when she is ill informed, whether by one or the other, she is deceived in her commands and disturbs the harmony of the inner man, which one might perhaps call the servant of the intellect...[86]

[80] Ibid., sig. D1^{r}.

[81] Ibid., sig. C4^{v}.

[82] Ripa, *Iconologia*, p. 519: 'Donna, vestita di cangiante, sarà alata, & con ambi le mani terrà vna palla de varij colori. / Volontà è potenza, con la quale s'appetiscono le cose conosciute bene, ò con verirà [*sic*], ò con apparenza, & per non essere in lei stabilità tiene la palla di varij colori, il vestimento di cangiante, & l'ali.'

[83] See ibid., p. 520.

[84] See, for instance, John Florio, *A Worlde of Words*, London 1598, repr. 1972, s.v. 'Heliotropia': 'the herbe Turnesole, Ruddes, Wartwoort, or Sun-flower, which turneth with the sunne, both at rising and at going downe. Some take it for the Marigold.' See also *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn, prepared by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 20 vols, Oxford 1989, s.vv. 'heliotrope', 'heliotropia' and 'marigold'.

[85] Ripa, *Iconologia* (as in n. 46), p. 520: 'Et lo Eliotropio che si gira sempre col giro del Sole, dà indicio, che l'atto della volontà non può esser giudicato, se non dal bene conosciuto, il quale necessariamente tira detta valontà [*sic*] à volere, & à commandare in noi stessi, se bene avviene alle volte, che ella si inganni, & che segua un finto bene in cambio del reale, & perfetto.'

Volontà, as understood by Ripa and also, I think, by Jones, thus needs *Intelletto*'s moderating influence to direct her towards the true good.[87] *Intelletto* (Fig. 68) is pictured in the *Iconologia* as:

A youth dressed in gold; on his head he will wear a crown, also of gold, or a garland of mustard seed. His hair will be fair and dressed with lovely curls; from the top of his head will rise a flame of fire; in his right hand he will hold a sceptre and with his left he will point to an eagle next to him. The intellect is by nature incorruptible and never ages, and so he is painted as a youth.

The golden dress signifies the purity and simplicity of his being, gold being the purest of metals, as it is said.

His hair corresponds to the beauty of his works.

The crown and the sceptre are tokens of the dominion he has over all the passions of our soul and over that selfsame *Volontà* which does not desire anything which has not first been proposed by him.

The flame is the natural desire for knowledge, born of the capacity of the intellectual faculty, which always aspires to lofty and divine things...

Pointing with his finger to the eagle signifies the act of understanding, which is proper to the intellect...

The mustard seed inflames the mouth and cleanses the head and thus signifies the great work of an intellect purified over a period of time, which neither the fog of the passions nor the shadows of ignorance can obfuscate.[88]

Fig. 68—*Intelletto*, woodcut from Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome 1603, p. 238
Deutsches Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence

[86] Ibid., p. 518: 'La volontà scrivono alcuni, che sia come Regina, la quale sedendo nella più nobil parte dell'huomo, dispensi le leggi sue, secondo l'avvenimenti, ò favorevoli, ò contrarij, che ò riporti il senso, ò persuada la ragione: & quando, ò da questa, ò da quello vi è malamente informata, s'inganna nel commandare, & disturba la concordia dell'huomo interiore, la qual si può ancora forse dire ministra dell'intelletto...'

[87] Both, intellect and will, are also explained in a particularly Neoplatonic context in Baldassarre Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano* (1528; the quotations that follow are taken from the edition ed. G. Carnazzi, Milan 1994, iv.51.315). Love is defined there as 'un certo desiderio di fruir la bellezza'. But, of course, it is possible only to long for things already known and thus, Castiglione has Pietro Bembo say, knowledge must necessarily precede desire, 'il quale per sua natura vuole il bene, ma da sé è cieco e non lo conosce'. With the senses, rational thought and the intellect, the human soul has recourse to three faculties to understand and to perceive things: 'dal senso nasce l'appetito, il qual a noi è commune con gli animali bruti; dalla ragione nasce la elezione, che è propria dell'omo; dall'intelletto, per lo quale l'uom po communicar con gli angeli, nasce la voluntà. Così adunque come il senso non conosce se non cose sensibili, l'appetito le medesime solamente desidera; e così come l'intelletto non è vòlto ad altro che alla contemplazion di cose intelligibili, quella voluntà solamente si nutrisce di beni spirituali.' An English translation of the *Libro del cortegiano* was published by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561 and again in 1588.

[88] Ripa, *Iconologia* (as in n. 46), pp. 238–39: 'Giovinetto vestito d'oro, in capo terrà una corona, medesimamente di oro, overo una ghirlanda di senape, i suoi capelli saran biondi, e acconci con bell'anellature, dalla cima del capo gl'uscirà una fiamma di foco, nella destra mano terrà un scettro, e con la sinistra mostrerà un'aquila che gli sia vicina. L'Intelletto è per natura incorruttibile, & non invecchia giamai, & però si dipinge giovane. / Il vestimento d'oro significa la purità, & semplicità dell'esser suo, essendo l'oro purissimo fra gl'altri metalli, come s'è detto. / I capelli son conformi alla vaghezza delle sue operationi. / La corona, e lo scettro sono segni del dominio, ch'esso hà sopra tutte le passioni dell'anima nostra, & sopra l'istessa volontà la quale non appetisce cosa che prima da esso non venga proposta. /La fiamma è il natural desiderio di sapere, nato dalla capacità della virtù intellettiva, la quale sempre aspira alle cose alte, e divine, sè da sensi che mal volentieri l'obediscono alla considerationе di cose terrene, e basse non si lascia sviare. / Il mostrar l'aquila col dito, significa l'atto dell'intendere, essendo proprio de l'intelletto, il ripiegar l'operatione sua in se stesso vincedo l'aquila nel volo, la quale supera tutti gl'altri ucelli, & animali in questo, come anco nel vedere. / La senape infiamma la bocca, e scarica la testa, & per questo significa l'operatione grande d'un' intelletto purificato nel tempo, che non l'offuscan le nebbie delle passioni, ò le tenebre dell'ignoranza.' Jones used this second variant of the two personifications for *Intelletto* described by Ripa which is accompanied by a woodcut (Fig. 68).

In devising his *Temple of Love* it seems quite possible that Jones started out with the idea of the opposites embodied by Thelema and Sunesis as suggested by Ripa's personifications of *Volontà* and *Intelletto*. The latter's garland of mustard seed, as explained by Ripa, might also have had some influence on the mists concealing the true Temple of Love which 'at an instant disappeare' in anticipation of Indamora's entry and the imminent reconciliation of the principles represented in Sunesis and Thelema.[89] Their felicitous union, resulting in a 'virtuous appetite' and a love 'created to endure', a concession to the Queen's conception of Platonic love, is mirrored in the reality of the fruitful union of the royal couple. But it also takes up the interrelated elements of the proscenium arch.

VII

It appears that the architectural design of the proscenium arch, both as recorded visually and described in words, is capable of carrying a sub-text, or even a 'pre-text', identical to the intention of the poetic text itself—in the sense that the ornament which presented itself both to reader and spectator established the dramatic content emblematically before the masque unfolded in its successive stages. For the spectator the proscenium arch remained an accessible frame of reference throughout the performance. To the reader the argument provided not only a summary of the (meagre) action of the masque but, much more to the point, a written aid to the understanding of the arch. Alerted to the essential outlines of the masque proper, the reader would continually be referred back to the description of the ornament, which thus effectively retains a 'pre-textual' function even in the printed text.

The symbolism of the ornament as a recommendation to a *via media* is quite explicit. Knowledge of the *Guerra d'Amore* or the *Dialogo della giostra* does not seem to be a prerequisite for its accurate interpretation. But, by taking over elements from the system of reference provided by the Italian festival books and Callot's etchings, Jones created something new within the established and recognisable framework of an iconographic system of signs—a system to which his other major source, Ripa's *Iconologia*, was also heavily indebted.[90] He did so by adapting them to another genre and to an architectural context. This testifies not only to the general utility of the iconographical system expounded in the Italian festival books, as Jones perceived it, but also to the flexibility and adaptability which he himself applied to it. In 1616 Andrea Salvadori claimed:

> Thus ended the festival of His Serene Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany called *Guerra d'Amore*, which for its novelty, beauty and variety deserves to live on as the equal of any other masquerade performed on horseback.[91]

Some twenty years later, Inigo Jones, transforming borrowed elements, repeated this claim almost literally:[92]

[89] *Temple of Love*, sig. C2^{r}.

[90] See G. Werner, *Ripa's 'Iconologia': Quellen - Methoden - Ziele*, Utrecht 1977, pp. 43–4; E. Mandowsky, *Untersuchungen zur Iconologie des Cesare Ripa*, Hamburg 1934, pp. 42–6.

[91] *Guerra d'Amore*, p. 52: 'Cosi hebbe fine la festa del Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana nominata Guerra d'amore la quale per la novità, bellezza, e varietà sua è degna di vivere a par' di quali si voglia altra che si faccia a Cavallo'.

[92] The conventional quality of this passage in such contexts is witnessed by the similar wording of the concluding words of other masques of the 1630s: Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace* (1634), and William Davenant's *Luminalia* (1638), both of which were produced in collaboration with Inigo Jones. A similar phrase in fact occurs much earlier in George Chapman's *Memorable Masque*, also produced in collaboration with Jones for the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn in 1613; see G. Blakemore Evans's edition in *The Plays of George Chapman: The Comedies*, ed. A. Haladay, Urbana 1970, pp. 557–94, p. 567, ll. 99–101.

Thus ended this Masque which for the newnesse of the invention, variety of Sceanes, Apparitions, and richnesse of habits was generally approved to be one of the most magnificent that hath beene done in England.[93]

Despite the formulaic character of the passage, his claim seems quite justified.

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[93] *Temple of Love*, sigs D1ᵛ–D2ʳ.