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# ORNAMENT AND THE THEORIES OF THE ARTS IN THE RENAISSANCE

Volume 1 / 2

Clare Estelle Lapraik Guest



Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Trinity College, University of Dublin, 2002

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## Summary

The thesis is an interdisciplinary study concerned with the understanding of ornament and the relationships between the arts in the Renaissance, as they are disclosed by a richer understanding of ornament in this period. The work entailed study of rhetorical, literary and artistic theory in this period, as well as the more general speculations of music theory (*i.e.* concerning *musica universalis*) and the ancient philosophical sources, whether mediated through Roman rhetorical culture or "recovered" such as the Platonic corpus translated by Ficino. The work is articulated in three large sections, which take for their principal themes music and poetry, rhetoric, culminating with the discussion of emblematics, and decorated architecture. One moves back, in a sense, from the enactment of the union of music and poetry in the Florentine *intermedi* of 1589, with which we start out, through the discourses in which the relation of word and image, to the setting in which these relations were set forth; the role of theatre as a central setting and topos is a sustained theme of the argument. The work demonstrates the fundamental importance of understanding rhetorical meditations on *figura* and locus and philological preoccupations with the nature of historical meaning in approaching theoretical discussions of the visual arts; it also works constantly with the paradigmatic status of music as both universal harmony and consummate art of moving expression, and with the conjunction of body and soul in the emblem, like music founded in the meeting of contraries conceived in terms of likeness and unlikeness, or form and matter. We look both at unmediated conjunction of the two and the continuum of mediation, articulated in Platonic philosophy and vulgarisations thereof, this continuum underpinning the seven liberal arts and the structure of many Renaissance decorative schemes.

This continuum is to be considered alongside the rhetorical and philological considerations mentioned above, as the meaning of emblematic figures lies both in the "hieroglyphic" conjunction of body and soul and in the variety of contextual or metaphoric meanings that constitutes one of the ornaments of speech, as explored by philology. This interweaving of a vertical continuum inherited from Platonic thought and the philological insistence on the situated character of meaning results in the preoccupation with the ordering of levels and abundance of meaning (hence the interest in encyclopaedism from the later fifteenth century onwards), and with the creation of loci, whether conceptual, figurative or physical, which can contain these meanings. The arguments give some attention to attempts to create loci that are at once conceptual, figurative and physical, such as the memory theatre constructed by Giulio Camillo Delminio, which held places signalled by hieroglyphic images, these places containing as their material figurative locutions, ordered according to the topics of rhetorical and dialectical invention, the whole structure being arranged as a microcosm of the universal order as set forth in Christian Platonism and Cabbalism. Like many of the speculations on music in the first section, Camillo's theatre is conceived as magical and operational – the artificial conjunctions of poesis should be seen in relation to the conjunctions which work transformations in the external world or in the soul, another argument which runs through the work in those parts dealing with musical and poetic theory. To this one might add that the creations of poesis and the fashioning of the subject are brought closer together by the

insistence on the setting forth of character, as derived from Roman rhetoric and elaborated by Castiglione. The *Libro del cortegiano*, we shall argue, is important for the subsequent discussions of the productions of poesis (notably emblematic figures) in terms of body and soul, and the analogy between the conception and structure of the work of artifice and the soul's processes of cognition. To return to Camillo, his mnemonic theatre aimed not only to activate the memory, and thus the learning accumulated through historical study, but to activate it through a process that entailed transformation, underpinned by Camillo's analogy between transformation in matter (alchemy), in words (rhetoric) and in the soul (*deificatio*).

Aside from the exploration of Camillo's influence on Italian literary theory in the later cinquecento, a matter which is much neglected in Italian literary history, the other attempt to be considered here at the construction of a "theatre" capable of containing and unfolding the copia of historical meanings held by the memory, ordered in the terms of the ascent through the continuum of mediation, is the Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican, designed by the Neapolitan antiquarian and architect Pirro Ligorio. Ligorio is the *terminus ad quem* of the present argument, whose monumental built works (the Vatican Casino and the Villa D'Este at Tivoli) attempt to provide loci for the wealth of archaeological and mythological meanings explored by Ligorio in the two redactions of an immense antiquarian encyclopaedia, the *Libro dell'antichità*, which have remained in manuscript to the present day. Ligorio is exemplary for the larger arguments in the work, the interweaving of verbal and visual that underlies speculations on the *figura*, the analogy of body and soul that permits artifice to become a privileged place for the rehearsal of human conditions of being and salvation, the central role of music and the fundamental role of importance of ornament, which can work together the abundance of historical, situated meanings, so that they are disclosed with respect to the larger whole for the cosmos provides the paradigm.

This gives a brief outline, and by necessity neglects much material that is adduced in the development of these themes, which emerges in the course of reading. The work attempts to cover the figures who might be considered central to an understanding of ornament in the Renaissance – in antiquity Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, in the Renaissance Bruni, Alberti, Donatello, Landino, Ficino, Pico, Poliziano, Mantegna, Erasmus, Bembo, Castiglione, Raphael, to an extent Michelangelo, Vasari, Salviati, Vignola, Ligorio, Camillo, Minturno, Tasso, Patrizi, Lomazzo or Puttenham and such works of the very late Renaissance as the 1589 Florentine *intermedi* and the poetry of Spenser. While many of the arguments that must be rehearsed concern theories derived from literature or rhetoric, the interest lies in the way that meaning is created in a given place, and the way that the visual articulation shapes or responds to this creation. In addition to the attempt to understand the significance that ornament held for the Renaissance and the rich elaboration of ornament as artifice and as vehicle of meaning in this period, before its absorption into a more synthetic conception of grand style in the seventeenth century, the work has uncovered the importance of certain figures who have been obscured by the historical narrative that distorts the understanding of ornament which we try to uncover here - such figures are Camillo, Patrizi and Ligorio, whose project forms the end of the present work.

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**Abbreviations used in the argument:**

*G.B.H.T. – Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, Frances Yates, Chicago, 1964
*J.W.C.I. – Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
*S.A.C. – Scritti d'arte del cinquecento*, 3 vol., ed. Paola Barocchi, Milan 1971-76

## SECTION ONE

THE POETIC EMBODIMENT OF PLATONIC THOUGHT

*Introduction: general comments on the role of the theatre*

In this first part of the argument we are concerned with establishing some of the fundamentals for later discussions, in particular regarding the Platonic tradition with whose vulgarisations we work throughout. In laying down, however inadequately, these arguments, we shall insist on the centrality of music in providing a core for the elaboration of Platonic thought in the arts, and we shall emphasise throughout the relationship between the development of a body of theoretical speculation and the embodiment of these speculations in a given context; if we have spoken of music as central to theoretical thinking in the arts, we shall look at theatre as providing the context for their embodiment, and the tension between speculation and theatre is one which should be seen as running through much of the material discussed here. This material takes us from the *intermedi* performed in Florence in 1589 for the marriage of Ferdinando de'Medici and Christine of Lorraine through an overview of the Platonic argument which they dramatise, and which is set forth in the Renaissance principally by Ficino; we shall glance at Ficino for those parts of his work which were translated into poetic theory, such as the commentary on *Symposium* and which relate to music, considered as a vehicle of spiritual magic (*De vita* III). These connections between poetics, music and magic will preoccupy us at this stage of the discussion and we shall find repeatedly that meditations on conjunction in poesis may have parallels in magical thought; the *Corpus Hermeticum*, we shall argue, is a most important source for celebrations of the power of the poet. These arguments take us through the "poetic theology" of the early Humanists, and to the poetic theorists influenced by Renaissance Neoplatonism from Landino to Tasso, culminating with the Neoplatonic philosopher and poetic theorist Francesco Patrizi; alongside these poetic discussions the involvement with music is sustained and the discussions of *harmonia universalis* in the musical theory of Gafurius and Zarlino are fundamental to the argument. We return at length to the *intermedi*, which represent both *summa* and embodiment of much that we have discussed; if the origin of harmony in the blending of being and becoming in *Timaeus* underlies the argument, we look at how this conjunction of unlike things which produces music in the sphere of temporality is conceived in verbal and visual terms, and this leads to the discussion of metaphor and "hieroglyphics", conceived fundamentally in terms of the conjunction of body and soul. We bring the discussion of the theoretical speculations influenced by Neoplatonism to a close with the artistic theory of Lomazzo who attempts to bring concerns of musical theory – *e.g.* the basis of expressivity and movement in proportion, or the magical force as channel of astrological influences, together with an effort to account for stylistic diversity in painting.

Following this discussion, there is a short bridging passage, which prepares for the next section, on rhetoric, and raises the question of the kind of rhetorical invention

presupposed by Lomazzo's exhaustive planetary alignments. This leads to a brief discussion of the triumph, linked both with the gods, especially the planetary gods, and with the celebration of historical meaning, or with its recovery. The triumph takes us towards historicism, rhetoric, praise, but in the Renaissance it also presents the recovery of the past in terms of regeneration, conceived in the golden age propaganda cultivated in particular by the Medici in terms of the providential renewal of the age: *il secolo si rinnuova*. In this regard it is interesting to note that the comprehensive display of things in the triumph has its analogy in the plenitude of creation, and the attempt to work together history as celebration of fame with the regenerative temporality of Nature and the plenitude of creation may lead to meditations on the time of origins or end time from which the regenerative time of Nature has arisen and to which it leads. The display of things "returned" in their plenitude in the triumph should be considered alongside the depiction of their originary conjunction in Nature, imitated in poesis; while we do not even begin to cover the subject, the triumph is an important locus for the consideration of the way in which the visual embodiment and display of arguments works together with speculations on temporality. We merely signal this, and conclude arguments in this section with a poor acknowledgement of the deployment of the triumph in the civic sphere, as part of the festivities that accompanied the 1589 *intermedi*; again, such civic entries, with ornate triumphal arches framing disclosed vistas, can be seen as a stage in a process of synthesis which culminates at the end of the sixteenth century in the Rome of Sixtus V. In these introductory pages, we should however set forth some of the working concerns with theatre which occupy us in these arguments.

In forcing us to look at how the arts work together, it has already been intimated that the 1589 *intermedi* lead us to move away from preoccupations with text as a given paradigm for representation, to theatre, which implies a setting and conceives of mimesis in terms of enactment. We shall discuss the implications of theatre as fundamental setting for artistic representation in the Renaissance throughout the argument, not in terms of dramatic literature but in the accommodation of the arts within concrete settings that are realised by the way that these settings are occupied. Such "occupation" may consist in the ritualised performance which is most elaborated in religious celebrations or ceremonial, and permeates through other activities, it may be depicted in the liveliness of figurations, as in *intermedi*, which concern amongst other things the dramatisation of the criterion of liveliness of representation, or it may entail contemplative activity within space which reflects the cognitive processes of the spectator and the conjunction or contest of body and soul. Theatre in this sense exhibits its descent from sacred festival (of which the Renaissance had the most lively awareness) in creating a setting that discloses the situation of human actions in the larger order, and this disclosure takes place in a setting which aspires in antiquity and again in the Renaissance to create a complete and unified field of visual representation, hence the history of perspective starts with the scenography of Agatharcus for the tragedies of Sophocles.[1] If theatre concerns the mimesis of praxis, as Aristotle said, it presents this mimesis as an object of *theoria*, of contemplation, and in

[1] Vitruvius, *De architectura*, VII, preface 11 states that Agatharcus, credited with writing a lost treatise on painting and the beginnings of architectural literature, painted the *scaena* for the *Oresteia*. According to Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449a, scene painting with introduced with the tragedies of Sophocles, not Aeschylus.

this sense one should not lose sight of the close relationship between the Greek *theatron* - a place of seeing, and *theoria* as contemplation, defined in Book Ten of the *Nicomachean Ethics* as the highest form of praxis.[2] The relationship between praxis, *theoria* and theatre is most evident in tragedy, as described by Aristotle, with the elevated and coherent depiction of human action (praxis) and character (ethos) through mythos, which gives a more universal and philosophic character to the representation, whose spectacular character is called a "cosmos for the eyes".[3] In the argument to come, we shall be dealing with a "cosmos for the eyes" in a slightly different sense, in terms of the speculative background of the totalising iconography of Renaissance decorative schemes, where the *sotto in su* ornament seems to reiterate - to the point of commonplace - the cosmic situation that underlies the creation of meaning in specific contexts, illustrated through the iconography of the elements, the planets, the virtues, the arts and so on. In such schemes the clarity of the plot (*mythos*) with its single, complete action frequently gives way to a multiplicity of narratives which demand to be accommodated with the various levels of reading, so that the structure of interpretation may be simultaneously analogical, with "parallel" or proportionate schemes of signification, and allegorical, where the "vertical" relationship between representation and meaning is more emphatic. We are taking a first step into this material with the *intermedi* because they display in overt form the theatric nature of the conditions of the creation and fulfilment of meaning within these decorated spaces.

The centrality of theatre also points to the importance of the enactment of meaning, and thus to an embodiment which leads to meditations on this enactment, and on the role of the body and soul. The discourses that treated of meaning enacted and the relation of body and soul were both inherited (or "recovered") – *e.g.* Pauline meditations on body and soul, rhetoric consummated in the performance (*actio*) of speech – or invented in this period, *e.g.* emblematics, formed from the convergence of various discourses – philological, rhetorical, iconographical. It should also be noted that we are dealing with the continuity between the embodiment of the actor's performance and the "lively figuration" of decoration, and between the places which form settings for this enactment - not only between rooms, but between spaces that can be conceived as a scene – court, piazza, street, garden.

The continuity between such spaces lies, in part, in the fact that they all become in the Renaissance subject to perspectival structuring. As noted above, perspective is linked with theatre from antiquity, evident in the theatrical motifs in Roman wall painting, and the continuity created between beholder and beheld should be considered alongside the narrative enacted in drama, where the actions of the gods and men are depicted in a way

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[2] *Poetics*, 1451b, *Nicomachean Ethics*, X, 7-8. In the *Life of Pythagoras* 58, Iamblichus echoing Aristotle's division of the three types of life at *Nihomachean Ethics* I.5, discusses the *theoretikos* as spectation and as contemplation through the metaphor of the games: the three classes of men who come to the games (traders, competitors and spectators) correspond to the life of pleasure, of activity (or politics in the sense of civic activity), and of contemplation.

[3] *Poetics*, 1449b. Aristotle insists however that the spectacular elements of theatre should be subservient to the *mythos*.

that shows the necessity and meaning that unfolds through the sequence of beginning, middle and end, and presents this narrative as a play, which works within a temporal framework of recurrence, festival or ritual that celebrates human situation in the cosmos. In short, the character of completeness and necessary meaningful sequence in scenic action is given visual framework by perspective so that the viewer can enter into participation with the more ordered and effective realm revealed in the drama. This participation is not unmediated either in drama or perspective – in drama the chorus mediates between audience and dramatic *mythos* on one hand, and between the particularity of *mythos* and the universal background, denoted as the cosmos, on the other. The song and dance of the chorus was associated with the movement of the heavenly bodies – we shall find that sixteenth century writers on dramaturgy such Giovanni Bardi in the Camerata Fiorentina and Angelo Ingegneri at the Teatro Olimpico regarded the *intermedi* as a comic counterpart to the tragic chorus. As regards perspective, the scene is mediated by a framing arch which takes various forms – if the most common are the frame of the decorated room, and the decorated opening which has its monumental expression in the triumphal arch, one should recall specifically theatric examples, such as the massive *frons scaenae* recreated by Palladio at Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza, or the portico or loggia used for spectacles in antiquity and again in the Renaissance.[4] One should note here the fluidity of the *frons scaenae*, which in antique theatre could take on associations appropriate to the scene, especially given the *periaktoi* that depicted scenes that would alter the reading of the *frons scaenae* – urban prospect, harbour, road leading from the city, *etc.*[5] Our concern here is not with scenography, but one should note at the outset the universality of the framing arch; the relationship between the scene beheld through the framing arch and the ornament that appears on the arch itself will concern us in the third section of the work, where we shall consider the mediating, framing role of ornament – here we should observe that if perspective appears to affirm and regulate the participation of the beholder in the beheld, it also heralds the generalising of the spectator, since the outcome of perspectival construction is a given irrespective of the setting of the construction. This means that the conditions of the relationship between viewer and viewed are the same for a painted image, a theatre scene, a piazza, a street or a garden and this continuity is emphasised by the reiteration of forms, in which the framing arch is conspicuous – as picture or sculptural frame, proscenium arch, loggia or portico, triumphal arch or nymphaeum, the wall fountain framed within an installation that resembles a triumphal arch, first used by Bramante in the Belvedere Court. Thus similar conditions of visual disclosure appear in a variety of settings that

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[4] Amongst the many examples of the use of the portico for spectacles, we might consider the remarks of Palladio on the use of the colonnades of the agora for theatricals (*Quattro libri*, III.xvii) editions of Terence, the design of palace courts by architects working for Lorenzo de'Medici (Benedetto da Maiano and the older da Sangallo) with steps which could be used as seats in entertainments, as in the palace at Poggio Reale, Naples, or the Odeo and Loggia Cornaro in Padua, built for the Humanist Alviso Cornaro by Falconetto in 1524.

[5] The *periaktoi*, the rotating prisms discussed by Vitruvius at V.vi.3 and V.vi.8, painted with different scenes to be placed at the openings of *frons scaenae* were revived by sixteenth century architects, principally those associated with Florence – in an account of the use of the *periaktoi* in an edition of *Le due regoli della prospettiva pratica* of Vignola of 1583, the Florentine mathematician and cartographer Ignazio Danti claims that Bastiano ("Aristotile") da Sangallo was the first to use them in a set for Pierluigi Farnese at Castro, followed by Baldassare Lanci, pupil of Girolamo Genga, in a production of *La vedova* of Giovanbattista Cini in the Salone dei Cinquecento of Palazzo Vecchio in 1569.

range from ephemeral to monumental, from painting to sculpture to architecture, and from solemn civic or sacred setting to the more relaxed decorum of pleasure buildings.

With these conditions established, so that a perceptual paradigm which has its core in theatre is communicated through a whole sequence of settings, one has to turn to the question of how this continuum of settings that comprise a culture relate to one another. This is a question addressed by Alberti, who writes the first working explanation of perspectival construction, in his treatise on architecture, *De re aedificatoria* in which the city (and thus its physical settings) is conceived as a whole, articulated in a measured and harmonious way into sectors of activity which balance and complete one another. Alberti views the city as an embodiment of ethical virtue on one hand and the beauty based on proportion on the other, and the city, it seems, serves to relate or realise the relationship between these two discourses based on measure. We shall discuss this in more detail when we consider Alberti in part two of the argument – here we should note the continuity of theatre in Alberti's ideal city, which underlies *negotium* and *otium*, public and private buildings and the sacred and secular rituals of civic life. Alberti introduces the analogy of theatre and sacred ceremony through a comparison of Moses and classical theatre - Alberti cites Moses as an originator of spectacle, which Alberti regards as a mode of fostering friendship between fellow citizens: "Moysem laudant, qui unico in templo gentem omnem suorum convenire solemnibus et commmessationes statutis temporibus inter se concelebrare instituit. Quid ego hunc spectasse aliud dixerim praeter hoc, ut vellet conciliis et communione civium mitescere animos atque ad amicitiae fructum parationes reddere? Sic censeo maiores nostros non magis festivitatis iocunditatisque in urbibus spectula constituisse quam utilitatis".[6]

Other writers claim theatre as a classical, ethical counterpart to the moral teaching of Christianity, notably Cesariano in his edition of Vitruvius (1521) who insists on classical theatre as the pagan counterpart to contemporary religious ritual, developed a comparison between religious processions in which the streets are covered over, and the *velarium* of the antique theatre. Cesariano writes: "cum fusse ad loro antiqui graeci cosa necessaria a constituire il Theatro per dare a le persone utile eruditione [...] operono in questo como scrive Vitruvio, ma con versi e parole di maturo senso instruendo le persone [...] li

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[6] *De re aedificatoria* VIII vii ("Moses is praised as being the first to gather his entire nation into a single temple on feast days and bringing them together at the harvest. His motive, I might suggest, was but the desire to cultivate the minds of the citizens through concourse and communion and to make them more receptive to friendship. Thus to my mind our ancestors established show buildings in their cities as much for pleasure as for any functional reason" trans. Rykwert, Leach and Tavernor, MIT, 1988, p.298). Alberti's comments are translated by Pellegrino Prisciano in his treatise on spectacle and recreative building, *Spectacula*: "Moysè fu lodato [...] per haver instituto che in uno templo tuta la gente de soi dovesse convenirse a certi solemni tempi et lie insieme confabulare et mangiare. Et questo a ciò che per il convenire insieme, stare et cibarsi li animi loro se facessero piú miti, piú dolci et piú prompti et parechiati al fructo de la amicitia", Ferruccio Marotti, *Lo spettacolo dall'Umanesimo al Manierismo*, Milan 1974, p.54. Prisiciano's manuscript treatise is conserved in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, cod. lat. 466.α.X.1.6 and published in an edition by Danilo Barbagli Aguzzi, Modena, 1992. In the citation of Prisciano and other Renaissance authors through the argument, spelling and grammar is retained as written, rather than amended to modern, standard Italian.

detenevano in epsi Theatri. Et intra queste cose con soni e cantici excellentissimamente non solum si operavano li actori de lo Scenico choro a le dimonstratione, ma etiam li proprii Poeti con li Mimmi et altri exercenti, vestiti secundo che la Commedia aut Tragedia vel Satira essere representata rechiedea. Ma queste cose, avante a tuti li spectatori, erano quodammodo como fano li sacri praedicatori quelle devote representatione, aut de la vita del nostro Signore, aut di qualche Divo Sancto, vel sí como faceno li solemni e Divini officii, con soni e cantici affigurati etc, de le quale cose, Hercules estense, Duca de Ferrariensi, assai a la nostra etate de queste si è dilectato".[7] Thus for Cesariano, the heart of theatre, if not its historical origin, is in Christian ceremony and the communion of seeing: "Ma li apparati de le cose opportune e necessarie che se usavano in epsi (theatri), e de tapacerie, e de le vestimente facte a la Attalica magnificentia, sí de le tabule pincte, sí de altre care e delectevoli ornati in epsi si videano cose mirande: queste cose in tali spectulari erano dimostrate como faceano in li dí de le solemne processione, maxime in li giorni che fu portato il corpo del nostro Signore per le nostre Civitate Christiane. Ma in epsi Theatri, ultra le cose che pascevano per le huarechie l'anima e lo intellecto, potesse capire per li sensi visivi contemplando le infinite varietate de li humani artificii, aciò si li patri e le matre dasesseno memoria facilmente a li filii ad erudirse, et adotare la loro anima in qualche cose audite vel dimonstrate in epsi loci; etaim aciò sapesseno con qual modo lassesseno et evitasseno e totalmente se contenesseno da le viciose lassive e darse animosamente a le virtute quale fusseno digne e grate ad essere dimonstrate e non biasmate in le sedie di epsi Theatri".[8] In a similar comment, Cesariano speaks of the theatre "di sopra coperta con le velarie tende, como si faceano a similitudine de uno Scenale pavaglione como si sole etiam per qualche advento solemno di feste quando si porta improcessione il predicto corpo di nostro signore Iesu Christo, aut andando aut si porta aperto il balduchino qualchi pontifici aut Regi o Duci aut prelati, prima è coperto de panni le strate sopra como è notissimo".[9]

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[7] ("the ancient Greeks found it necessary to build the theatre to give useful instruction to people [...] they did as Vitruvius describes, but with verses and words of sound sense the people were instructed and held [...] in the theatres. Amongst these things there were songs and music, performed excellently not only by the actors of the chorus but also by poets themselves with mimics and other performers, costumed according to tragic or comic or satiric convention. Such performances were like sacred dramas performed by holy preachers of the life of Our Lord or of a Holy Saint or the ceremonies performed on solemn and Divine offices, with music and hymns on banners, things that delighted Ercole D'Este, Duke of Ferrara, in our own time".) For Cesariano, the antithesis of this civil communion is represented by the rudeness of the Satryic scene, where the "la gente vitiosa e rustica, aut senza intelletto, sta como gli exuli [...] per che cosí fano quilli che sequono li vitii e le male opere, sono expulsi da li boni e civili"("vicious and boorish people without intelligence, live like exiles [...] because those who so act and follow a life of vice and ill-living are expelled by the virtuous and citizens" Cesariano, in Marotti, *op. cit.*pp. 40-41.

[8] *ibid* ("The fitting and proper adornments used in the theatres, tapestries and vestments of Attic magnificence and paintings and other costly and lovely ornaments, these wondrous things were seen there: these things were shown in spectacles as they did on days of solemn processions, above all on the days when the body of Our Lord was carried through our Christian cities. In these theatres, beyond the delights for the soul and the intellect, one could understand things by means of vision, in contemplation of the infinite variety of human artifice, so that parents remembered these things for the instruction of their children, to absorb and adopt things heard or shown in these places; so that they would know how to leave and avoid and restrain themselves from vice and give themselves wholeheartedly to the virtues worthy to be shown and not despised in the seats of the theatres").

[9] ("Covered over with awnings or *velaria*, as they did to make a scenic pavilion like that used on solemn festivals when the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ is carried in procession or when the baldachin in the

The street through which the sacred procession passes takes on the character of a theatre or "Scenale pavaglione", and thus of a room, its space enclosed by cloths which Cesariano likens to the antique *velaria*; it is also noteworthy that the ceremonies to which theatre is likened are those in which the body of Christ is carried through the streets - in other words, what is made visible is the embodiment of the divine. Like Prisciano, Cesariano emphasises that the civil communion of theatre is that of shared seeing "la dilectatione et il commodo stare a videre sopra li gradi [...] perhò fu nominato Theatrum, quasi dei atrium, vel potius ut aliqui voluerunt αποτυ θεωμαι, quod latine dicit video".[10] Theatre thus provides certain conditions of seeing within which the disclosure of divinity may take place, and these conditions relate to the enclosure of a space, a "dei atrium" as Cesariano puns, and its systematic ordering with regard to sound and to vision, the former treated in Vitruvius' discussion of harmony and acoustics at V.iii, iv and v. In the light of Cesariano's remarks, one might say that the "scenic value" which Hubert Damisch regarded as "primary characteristic" conferred by "perspectival configuration",[11] is not a product of this "configuration", but rather that such configuration concerns a clarification or systemisation of the conditions of seeing which had their most forceful embodiment in theatre. Such conditions lie in the ritual which binds citizens together in the communion of festival and which is given a stable and established form when it is conducted in the "dei atrium" or "theatro: cioè visorio, nel quale, stando grandissima turba, dala longa ancora senza impedimento alcuno vedesse et potesse esser visto".[12]

In Alberti and Cesariano the repeated emphasis on the analogy of sacred ceremony and classical theatre, in which the antique as object of revival is also firmly associated with the reiterative temporality of festival. This is clear in Pellegrino Prisciano's definition of theatre, which we have given in part above: "sí como quelli primi agricoli in li giorni feriali celebravano soi sacrificii a diversi soi dèi per boschi, campagne et ville, cusí li atenesi prima, tal aggreste principio revolgendo in spectaculo urbano, lo chiamano theatro: cioè visorio, nel quale, stando grandissima turba, dala longa ancora senza impedimento alcuno vedesse et potesse esser visto".[13] This reiterative temporality may be associated with sacred ritual, with the imitation, or mimetic participation in the universal cycles of Nature, and with the return or recovery of a historic object, thematised in the triumph. This accommodation or confusion of symbolic and historic meanings is one reason for the rich representational culture of the Renaissance, which can be acted out in the sequence of settings which share similar conditions of visual disclosure, and in this period one should be wary of creating net oppositions between the sacred, symbolic and

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cortège of a pope or King or Duke or prelate is opened and the streets instead are covered over with draperies, as is well-known").

[10] Marotti, *op.cit.*p.42 ("the delight and comfort in sitting looking over the rows beneath [...] therefore it was named theatre, *dei atrium* or hall of god as it were, or as some prefer *apotu theomai*, which in Latin means to see"). It is not clear if by *apotu theomai* Cesariano means *apotheomai*, as middle of *apotheorein*.

[11] *The Origin of Perspective*, trans. MIT, 1995, p.226.

[12] Prisciano, *Spectacula* cited in Marotti *op.cit.* p.55 ("theatre: that is a place for seeing, in which one could see far and be seen without obstruction even when there was a great crowd").

[13] *ibid* ("Just as the first farmers celebrated sacrifices to their gods in woods, countryside and towns on festive days, so the Athenians first turned this rustic beginning into a civic spectacle, and called it theatre..."). A note in the margin to the passage quoted reads θεωμαι, to behold, or gaze.

historical – history is essentially providential, culminating at the personal and universal level with the journey to God. We shall see that for figures such as Spenser or Pirro Ligorio, who exemplify the complexities of late Renaissance poetic speculation in the densest way, it seems that the "recovery" of antiquity in all its forms and potential meanings and the unfolding of all that exists and is conceived in the "theatre" of representation is a species of anticipation or rehearsal, in terms of artifice, of the return of all things to God. Aside from the eschatological end of such elaborate configurations of sacred, cosmic and historical or philological meaning, often played out through the relationship of word and image, or soul and body, the notion of history as return is present in the notion of *imitatio* itself.

The degree to which *imitatio* is consciously conceived in theatric terms emerges clearly in Juan Luis Vives's *Fabula de homine* (1518). Vives's *Fabula* takes the notion of man as god of the world in the Hermetic texts and as protean magus in the so-called *Oratio* of Pico della Mirandola, who can range through the whole world, and presents this mobility as the basis of the creativity founded in imitation: if the protean character of these transformative abilities is identified with the distinctly human capacity of mimesis, it is therefore anchored in the world, which is also the world of human artifice.[14] The linking of universal variety and imitation in the *Fabula* is very similar to the claims that we shall find in sixteenth century apologies for poetry, but still more important is the insistence that man's world of creation is a theatre.[15] In place of Pico's *enthusiasmos*, with the dialectican-magus replacing the traditional poet, the *Fabula* thus shows man fulfill himself as mime, when he represents the whole world as theatre before the gods. Vives's fable takes place in an amphitheatre erected by the gods for the birthday of Juno, which represents the whole world "so large, so elaborate, so diversified and beautiful in places, just as you see it".[16] Amongst the actors of this world-theatre, none is more praiseworthy than man, who imitates all things in the world, and reveals his resemblence to Jupiter "as he of gods the greatest, embracing all things, is all things, they saw man, Jupiter's mime, be all things also".[17] When man, transcending the mundane, imitates perfectly the gods, they beg him to be unmasked and brought to be a spectator rather than an actor - in other words to rise from active to contemplative life, the latter represented in festive terms through the theatre as mimesis of the whole world. As he puts off his mask and body, which "had made of him an animal so diverse, so desultory, so changing like a polypus and a chameleon",[18] man is disclosed to be like the gods themselves, yet when he banquets with the gods at the end of the fable (*i.e.* when he joins the ranks of the immortals), he resumes his mask as "worthy" of the occasion. Likeness to the gods is not just an expression of true man as *imago dei*, but reveals human nature to be in its essence imitative, and thus it is proper that man resumes his archmime's garb - his body - when he banquets with the gods, since this is his true ornament. Vives refutes notions of

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[14] One should see the Hermetic claims as "sanctioned" so to speak by their similarity to the passage in Genesis I.27 that speaks of God creating man in his image and likeness.
[15] Reference to Shakespeare's frequent references to this topos is so obvious as to seem gratuitous.
[16] *Fabula*, tranlsated Nancy Lenkeith in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, ed. Cassirer, Kristeller and Randall, Chicago, 1980, p.387.
[17] *op. cit.*, p.389.
[18] *op. cit.*, p.390.

mimetic rupture or distance by asserting that human being *is* imitation, whether this imitation shows man revealed in likeness to the divine or the protean mimesis of all things in the world, which is the work of man. Thus man as archmime substitutes the division between active and contemplative life for a continuity: in place of the apotheosis which ends the heroic life of praxis (symbolised primarily by Hercules, who is also Cicero's exemplar for decorum), we progress from similitude as mimicry (*i.e.* as artifice) to similitude as revealed likeness, but this continuity is achieved at the cost of conflating the world and the theatre, the body through which we live in the world and the *ornatus* - the accoutrements through which we imitate it in its variety and completion.

In Vives's *Fabula*, which seems almost to exalt the imitative capacities over likeness to the divine, we should note that the Olympians whom man can imitate to such perfection are representatives of antique culture, and their "divine" nature is in part a reference to the idealisation of antiquity as a more ordered, more beautiful world. Theatre becomes here a representational requirement for human orientation to providence and God, and to history, with its Olympian figures; the central means of representation within this theatre is language. One must be careful here to distinguish the roles of language and theatre in the thinking which attempts to make everything available to representation - if language is the privileged instrument of representation in the *Fabula*, theatre not only provides a setting but emphasises the universal character of this setting so that the world in its wholeness is imitated in theatre. The *Fabula* illustrates why theatre becomes a topos for certain ways of conceiving representation in the Renaissance, apparent in such phraes as *theatrum mundi*, *theatrum sapientiae*, *theatrum memoriae* and so on – in contrast with the similar use of mirror or *speculum*, the theatre presupposes a notion of enactment, rather than reflection and one might conceive this "theatre of" topos as proclaiming a "comprehensive" treatment of its subject, presented as a lively figuration.

In short, we have linked the visual continuity presented by perspective, which can be reiterated throughout the visual field, with the coherence and completion of drama, and the conflation of sacred, symbolic, and historic meanings in the theatre as privileged vessel or setting of *imitatio*, and we should add the idea of representation which has a universal character. Such universality may present itself as the mimesis of a complete action in drama, as the encyclopaedic imitation of Vives's *Fabula*; it may also be constituted by the way that the two principal modalities of order – visual and verbal – work together. If we have spoken of drama, and noted the affinities between the *Fabula* and defences of poetry, we should recall that the chief art of speech is rhetoric, which was classified according to occasion, so that all actions, words and gestures as well as their setting form a coherent whole in response to a certain situation. We might try and work these two totalising structures together by noting that perspective has its basis in descriptive geometry *i.e.* in the demonstration of knowledge through the sureties of mathematics, oriented to the vision, while rhetoric is linked with the philological explication of contextual meaning, with its invention and its basis in the categories of analysis formulated by dialectic. We might see the "theatres of representation" with

which we shall work as founded in this two-fold structure of an ordering founded on geometry unfolded for the vision and an ordering founded on the dialectical basis of rhetorical invention. We might also see this verbal structure in relation to the other varieties of word-image depiction, such as the exploration of the rhetorical *figura*, the mnemonic image and the elaboration of "hieroglyphs", *imprese*, or emblems in the sixteenth century. One might consider the most accurate and universal forms of human knowledge, the reasoning on which mathematics and logic are founded, as coming to embodiment and particularity in the decorated room; against this embodiment of the universal certainties of reason one must consider the progression which is narrated in the decorations of a room, which figure the relation of the human and the higher sphere in terms of history and poetry. The decorated room is thus the place in which higher discourses come to embodiment, while these embodiments may depict themes such as the "sacred" disclosures of poetry, which stress that the "inspired" character lies in a figure incapable of abstraction; thus perspectival structure, invention and iconography may signal manifold forms of ascent. In this sense, the density of decorative detail that we see by the mid sixteenth century would not only signal the attempt to collage together all the analogies that can be invented in a certain context, but an effort to explicate the continuity between the various levels of thought and embodiment entailed in the process of representation itself, from the discourse of reason shared by mathematics and logic to the "mysterious" unity of word and image manifest in the hieroglyph.

We have suggested here a continuum for the relationship of word and image within the theatre of representation, which stretched from the abstraction of rational discourse to concrete embodiment and the claims of a figured or lively image as animated through its "inspired" character – the question of the competing claims of rational and inspired speech lying at the core of discussions of rhetoric (invention of arguments and ornament as *vis maxima dicendi*) and of beauty (beauty as proportion and grace). If the relationship of the visual and the verbal is pursued through a series of levels, we should not forget that the relationship of word and image contains within itself a hierarchy, which has its most explicit rendering in the treatises in the *impresa* that characterise the relation of the two in terms of body and soul. We shall come to these discussions later, which in fact envisage both verbal and visual elements as embodying a thought or insight held in the metaphoric form of the *concetto*; in the first section we shall consider the background of the account of the blending of being and becoming in the creation of the harmony in the world soul in *Timaeus*, and argue for the importance of music in the structuring of the theatre of representation. Music, we shall argue, embodies the speculation on harmony as the *concors discordia*, the conjunction of contraries, or the plantery hierarchy from earth to heaven which has its counterpart in the capacities of the human understanding.[19] We shall base the discussion of the paradigmatic status of music and the Platonic structure of vertical ascent which it embodies on the *intermedi* or dramatised musical interludes, performed as part of the wedding festivities for the marriage of Ferdinando de'Medici and Christine of Lorraine in Florence in 1589. These *intermedi*, the most lavish and

[19] We shall use the terms *concors discordia* and the Italian translation *discorde concordia* frequently; it is useful to stress that *concors* is an adjective, so that the expression does not mean "concord of discord" (*i.e. concors discordiae*) but concordant discord.

speculative of the genre, also exhibit a phenomenon which signals a development in the theatre of representation at the end of the Renaissance, namely the convergence of the dramatic performance and the elaborate layers of framing and ornament which explicate the "cosmic" situation of the drama. This may seem an odd assertion since the *intermedi* were interludes for a comedy, but the *intermedi* themselves were concerned with the display of the *affetti*, the affective powers of music, and in so doing the universal framework itself becomes dramatised. The next Florentine musical performance, acted for the wedding of Maria de'Medici and Henri IV of France, was the musical drama *Euridice* of Jacopo Peri (1600), heralded as the first opera, in which the *affetti* predominate and the "background" or "situating" role of music seems to be absorbed by the idealised fusion of music and speech in the sung pastoral, in which melody starts to take a leading role. This synthesis of the dramatic centre and the situating frame leads beyond the analogical figurations that shall occupy us here, which we shall see often depicted in a setting where the actor may be a spectator, or rather contemplator, whose activity consists in discovering the significance of the arguments played out for the eyes. To return to the *intermedi* of 1589, they formed as noted the culminating entertainments for a wedding, which included a triumphal entry, with ephemeral arches called "teatri" in the descriptions and likened also to sacred buildings.[20] It was originally my intention to look at the festivities of 1589 and previous Florentine festivals, such as that of 1565, in order to consider the relationship between the city as theatre in the entries and the civic theatre scene which appeared in the dramatic entertainments, which frequently featured an image of Florence itself; the work would thus have followed through a series of settings, linked through an iconographic progression and reiteration of the same perspectival disclosure. This project proved impracticable owing to difficulties in dealing with the descriptions of triumphal entries, in which arches loaded with iconographic detail are inserted into the fabric of the city; it seemed impossible even to conceive of recovering the significance of these arches in their civic context, or the way in which they altered the meaning of this context, beyond the obvious fact that they frame a street as a vista of the kind used in contemporary theatre and painting. On reflection it became apparent why the vast literature of descriptions of sixteenth century festivals and "apparati" or ephemeral structures is not more exploited, yet, if these documents do throw up the interpretative problems in giving an account of a city space, with its myriad

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[20] The printed description of the entry was by Raffaello Gaulterotti and says of the first of the ephemeral arches "nel primo aspetto sembra un maraviglioso teatro, e in qualche parte un leggiadro, e bene adornato tempio" ("at first glance it seems a marvellous theatre, and in certain places a beautiful and adorned temple"), *Descrizione del regale apparato fatto a Firenze per le nozze del serenissimo Grand duca di Firenze e di Madama Cristina di Lorraine*, Mantua, 1589. The principal ornaments were the "teatro" at Porta al Prato, with scenes and statues representing the glory of Florence, designed by Alessandro Allori, the second *aparato* was at the Ponte della Carraia, dedicated to the union between the two families in the wedding, the third at the Ponte Santa Trinita consists of four relief figures of Octavian, Charlemagne, Cosimo Vecchio and Duke Cosimo I. Another arch at the Canto de'Carnesecchi again showed *storie* depicting the glory of the houses of Medici and Loraine, and the Duomo had an ephemeral façade depicting famous sons of Florence (the façade of the church had been torn down in 1587). The next decorations were at the Canto de' Bischeri (statues at a street corner, celebrated the Hapburgs) and the Canto de gli Antelesi, an arch covering a street junction, dedicated again to the Medici, and finally a façade at Palazzo Vecchio celebrated the history of Etruria and the piety of Cosimo I. The triumph in route and theme echoed the more elaborate entry for the Medici wedding of 1565, designed by Vicenzo Borghini and Vasari, which we shall discuss briefly below.

of associations and implicit meanings, they are also invaluable in showing how Renaissance decorative cycles were read and on occasion can illuminate the working of more permanent iconograpic theatres; the festival iconography of Julius II is one such example. Such remarks as we make on ephemeral decorations will concentrate on their role in clarifying the readings of "theatres" of representation and the cycle of depictions which can be organised in a building, a garden or through a civic topography – one might even see the reading of the city in this way, leading to the Rome of Sixtus V, in which the predominance of the triumphal arch gives way to a great axial topography, where obelisks draw the gaze to the end point of a vista, rather than establishing conditions of mediation as does the arch. One might suggest a synthesis at work here, not unlike that present in the 1589 *intermedi* in which the relationship between actor and situating frame evolves towards convergence; in the urban projects of Sixtus V, the dwindling role of the triumphal arch means that the city as a whole becomes a theatre into which the spectator is drawn and whose every move is dramatised. We shall say a little more about this in discussion of gardens, where the process of dramatisation is so explicitly worked out – again, we should repeat that this synthesis is not out concern here, but the representational theatre of which it is an outcome in the very late Renaissance. Without pausing further, we should commence consideration of the representational theatre, commencing as we said with music as the art which provides a paradigm for the conjunction of being and becoming, the ascent from matter to heaven and the expressive force that cannot merely affect, but transform.

## THE FLORENTINE *INTERMEDI* OF 1589 AND THEIR SPECULATIVE BACKGROUND – INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Florentine *intermedi* of 1589, performed in the Uffizi theatre for the marriage of Ferdinando de'Medici and Christine of Lorraine, have frequently been regarded as a culmination of the genre, the most spectacular and best documented *intermedi* before they are eclipsed by the earliest operas with their attempt to set a pastoral entirely to music. The *intermedi* were celebrated not only for the lavish and ingenious character of their *macchine teatrali* and the richness of the music performed but for their dramatisation of what might be called the iconography of music as promulgated throughout the arts beyond the specific debates of musical humanism. The theme of the spectacle, invented by Giovanni Bardi, concerned the affects of music, a topic central to the musicological researches of Bardi's Camerata Fiorentina, an unofficial academy of the 1570s and 1580s that had as its central aims the understanding of ancient music, and the attendant reform of contemporary music from polyphony to monody. Amongst the most celebrated products of the Camerata were the polemical discourses of Vincenzo Galilei, written in opposition to the works of his former teacher, Zarlino, author of the *Istitutioni Armoniche* (1562), and it was closely linked to the earliest operas, such as Peri's *Euridice* (1600), performed in Palazzo Pitti for the next great Florentine court festival after 1589, in celebration of the marriage of Maria de'Medici and Henri IV. While the *intermedi* themselves exhibit a rich variety of musical forms at odds with the monody advocated by the Camerata, their theme of the affects (*affetti*) was at the core of the debate over the nature of antique music. What we have in the *intermedi* is a representation of the effects of music expressed not through adherence to one musical form but through spectacular visualisation of the iconography of music, and in particular to the two varieties of cosmic and earthly music, *musica mundana* and *musica humana*, on which contemporary music theory was founded.[21]

As musical entertainments, the 1589 *intermedi* stand at a singular moment in the history of musical theory, in which the Pythagorean-Platonic tradition of meditation on music as *harmonia mundi*, consolidated by the position of music as the culminating art of the quadrivium, is shifting towards concerns about the nature of musical representation itself, and its relationship with the expressive arts of rhetoric or poetry (*i.e.* with the *trivium*), as evinced in the preoccupation with the *affetti*, with "word painting", and the questions of *stile rappresentativo* and *stile recitativo*, which occupy Monteverdi, for example.[22] Our concern here is not so much with the musicological character of the

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[21] See Claude Palisca, *The Camerata Fiorentina*, Yale 1989, on Bardi and Galilei and the *intermedi* and on the music of the *intermedi* themselves, D. P. Walker, *Musique des Intermèdes de la Pellegrina*, Paris CNRS, 1963.

[22] On music theory of the later sixteenth century, see Palisca and Walker *op. cit.*, Maria Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530-1630*, Manchester 1979, Gerard Le Coat, *The Rhetoric of the Arts 1550-1600*, European University Papers, Frankfurt 1975 and Ståle Wikshåland, "The theatre of text in Monteverdi's Marinistic madrigals" in *Tradition and Innovation*, ed. D.Anderssen and R.Eriksen, Rome 2001. As an early composer of opera and writer of madrigals Monteverdi was especially interested in the question of musical representation of poetry, as evinced in the *Dichiarazione* of Giulio Cesare Monteverdi on *prima pratica* and *seconda pratica* "Prima pratica intende quella che sia che versa intorno alla perfetione del'armonia; cioè considerà l'armonia non comandata, ma comandante; e non serva ma

*intermedi*, as with their embodiment and summing up, in a sense, of a whole corpus of Renaissance meditations on the nature and end of the arts, as well as the relationships between them. In a spectacle such as the 1589 *intermedi*, the dramatic performance is inseparable from its perspectival character, and the spectacle can be seen as fulfilment of the decoration of the Mannerist room as figuration passes into enactment in which rhetorical criterion of lively expression – *energeia* is literally embodied in the song and

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signora del oratione. [...] Seconda pratica [...] intende che sia quella che versa intorno alla perfetione de la melodia, cioè che considera l'armonia comandata; e non comandante, e per signora del armonia pone l'oratione" ("*Prima prattica* concerns the perfection of harmony, in other words harmony not as subordinate but mistress [of the words] *Seconda pratica* concerns the perfection of the melody, with the harmony subordinate and makes speech mistress of harmony") in Claudio Monteverdi *Scherzi musicali*, Venice 1607, printed in *Monteverdi Opere* ed. G. Malipiero, Vol.10, p.70. In these discussions, one must consider carefully whether one sees the relation of music and poetry in terms of musical representation of a text, or as an ideal "union" in which the musical enactment of speech is viewed as the "Orphean" measuring of words to music that combined inspired rhapsody with the rendering of the proportions (rhythm and harmony) that *musica humana* derived from its origins in *musica mundana*. The Platonic background to this thinking on the union of music and poetry, which shall occupy us in this section, is explored by Frances Yates in *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1947 and Walker, *op.cit.*

One might note that amongst the efforts to recover antique music, the understanding of the ancient modes was an issue of especial importance. The history of the modes starts with the introduction of the octave by Pythagoras, which was used by the Greeks in the octave scale seven ways. The Greek modes were adopted by St Ambrose in the fourth century, who set out four ways or modes of using the scale, which correspond to the octave scales beginning on D,E,F and G on the white notes of a piano keyboard. (A mode can be taken at any pitch – these notes merely give the tones and semitones that arise in each mode.) The fifth, or dominant, was treated as a note of great importance, and when Gregory the Great re-organised the modes at the end of the sixth century, he added to Ambrose's modes four further modes, known as plagal modes, which began on the dominant of the modes mentioned above, now known as authentic modes. In the *Dodecachordon* (1547) Henricus Glareanus identified the modes with what he believed to be their ancient Greek names, and argued that there should be twelve, not eight modes, *i.e.* adding two authentic and two plagal modes, which can be taken as white-note scales starting on C (the Ionian) and A (the Aeolian) – our major and descending melodic minor scales. The modal system starts to break down at the end of the sixteenth century as the modes received modifications which served to flatten or sharpen notes, such as the introduction of B flat, in order to avoid the "disagreeable" interval of an augmented fourth with F. Such modifications may have been inserted by singers rather than scored – they become in any case more numerous in harmony, where different parts are moving together and it is in the great contrapuntal music of the late sixteenth century (Palestrina, Lassus, Victoria, Byrd) that the writing of music in a key system, with two modes for every key, starts to emerge. It is thus misleading to set up a net opposition between the purist monody advocated by the Camerata and the "lascivious" harmonies of polyphonic music (such as the madrigal, where the phrases are incomplete in any one part) without taking into account the changes in polyphonic writing itself over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. If we look at Peri's *Euridice*, generally regarded as the first opera and finest product of the Camerata's theories on the "purification" of polyphony, the monody does not consist in a single voice but a melodic line over a "figured bass", *i.e.* the other three parts form chords with strong emotional qualities (*affetti*). The harmony has not disappeared, but in place of a contrapuntal weaving of parts it stands out in the chords. *Euridice* allows us to see how the shifts in harmony entailed by the movement from modal to key systems, works together with the Camerata's insistence on the audibility and emotional intensity of the words. What this produces is the effect of a moving melodic line and harmony rendered in chords in "vertical" unison which produce emotional affect – quite different from the polyphonic music which unfolds in time through the interweaving of parts and yet seems as though sustained. In the most magnificent examples this creates the impression of a complex whole which simultaneously exists in its wholeness and develops in time – the kind of paradox which artists throughout the arts in the later sixteenth century search to express, as we shall see.

dance of the performers. The music is presented both as the rhapsodic utterance that denotes the inspired speech of the mythological figures, who descend from and apotheose to the heavens and the universal embodiment of order and measure whose structure underlies all other things. It is interesting to note that in the published description of the spectacle says "i Musici [potessero] risponder, cantando, all'armonia della Prospettiva" – perspective and music are seen as working in harmony to provide the ordering structure for the poetic enactment of the spectacle.[23] The use of music as both the speculative structure and mimetic mode of the spectacle is assimilated to the perspectival room as theatre; in each case we find a stratification of levels of lively embodiment from background to enactment, while the "background" itself also receives a spectacular thematisation as the dramatisation of *musica mundana* finds its counterpart in the self-proclaiming illusions of the perspectival stage.

Before moving into further speculation, it is well to recall the origins of the *intermedi* and the sequence that takes place in 1589 in relation to previous spectacles. In the late fifteenth century, the earliest *intermedi* or *intramedi* were brief dances, recitations, or spectacles inserted between the courses of a banquet.[24] With the Humanist revival of Roman comedy in the same period, these musical interludes are performed between the acts of the drama, and in this form they are lavishly elaborated in the sixteenth century, remaining however intermediary spectacles that alternated with comedies which they progressively overshadowed. The first description we possess for a sequence of *intermedi* that show a dramatic invention rather than presenting a series of thematic tableau showing the seasons or the elements in triumph, for example, is a letter from Castiglione to Ludovico Canossa describing the *intermedi* for Bibbiena's *La calandaria*, performed in Urbino in 1513. The *intermedi* featured the theme of *amor vincit omnia* with Venus and Cupid overcoming the forces of war and discord (the warriors sprung from dragons' teeth sown by Jason), with the four elements proclaiming their concord in keeping with the comments in *Timaeus* on the *philia* of the elements. The *commedia* itself was played before the first recorded perspectival civic scene, designed by Girolamo Genga whose stagecraft in Urbino Serlio later praised; the co-appearance of the perspectival theatre scene which gave the illusion that the space where the audience sat was continuous with the idealised "street" where the drama took place, alongside the coherent iconographic framework of the *intermedi* show that the *commedia* with and the *intermedi* were being planned together as a unit from the early appearance of the perspectival theatre.[25]

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[23] *Descrizione dell'apparato e degl'intermedi fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle nozze de'Serenissimo Don Ferdindando Medici, e Madama Cristina di Loreno, Gran Duchi di Toscana*, Raffaello Gualterotti, Florence, 1589, p.7.

[24] On the early history of the *intermedi*, see Nino Pirotta and Elena Povoledo in *Li Due Orfei*, Rome, 1969. Pirotta sees the origins of Poliziano's *Orfeo*, probably performed for a Gonzaga wedding at Mantua in 1480, in such entertainments.

[25] Castiglione's letter speaks of both painted perspective, free standing stage buildings (a triumphal arch), and structures in relief or semi-relief; the first scene showed a street between the last houses of the city and the wall, and the following scene a "magnificent city" which has the elements that appear in the perspectival panel now in Baltimore – in the centre an octagonal temple with statues, feigned marble, columns , cormices and *storie*, and to one side a triumphal arch. Cited in Damisch, *op.cit.*, p.216.

As well as relieving the boredom of spectators such as Isabella D'Este, unimpressed by philological productions of the plays of Terence and Plautus,[26] the *intermedi* served to frame such works in the context of civic and court festival in which banquets and plays formed part of a single continuum of spectacle; in printed descriptions of the *intermedi* for the 1565 and 1589 Medici weddings they are presented as the culmination of the triumphal entry which leads a bride from the city gates to the threshold of the palace.[27] We shall consider below some of this literature, with its movement from the city decked out as an extended theatre of moral virtue to the theatres set up within Palazzo Vecchio or the Uffizi, where the scene reflected back the image of the city - frequently of Florence itself.[28] Thus the staging of the allegorical *intermedi* between the acts of a comedy and often before the comic scene, as in the 1565 entertainments, itself explicitly mirrored the ephemeral architecture of the triumphal entry, where structures termed "teatri" in the descriptions served as the support for elaborate iconographic schemes which framed or, in the language of the descriptions, "discovered" prospects of the city. If the arches of the entries framed vistas of the city in terms of the iconography of the triumph of the civic virtues, the *intermedi* framed the civic scenes of the *commedia* in terms of music and musical iconography or mythology; they therefore depicted the topoi of *musica mundana* (such as the chorus of the gods, the harmony of the seasons or the elements) or of *musica*

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[26] The marchioness mentioned that only the *intermedi* interested her in a letter recounting the festivities for the wedding of Lucrezia Borgia in 1502 in Ferrara. Cited in Shearman, *Mannerism*, Harmondsworth 1967, p.105.

[27] The festivities are fully listed by Alois Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici 1539-1637*, New Haven 1964. In 1589, the celebrations beagn with the entry of Christine of Lorraine (April 30). Aball and maypole festivities followed in May 1, performance of *La pellegrina* on May 2, unveiling of the miraculous Madonna of Santissima Annunziata on May 3, Calcio in Santa Croce on May 4. After Good Friday (May 5) the entertainnemtns recommenced with the comedy *La zingara* performed in Uffizi theatre with the *intermedi* for *La pellegrina*, May 6, High Mass in San Lorenzo and a thirty two course banquet in the Salone dei Cinquecento on May 7, animal baiting in Santa Croce on May 8, transferral of the relics of Sant Antoninus from one chapel of San Marco to another via a civic procession, May 9, a quintain in Santa Croce on May 10, nocturnal jousting and naumachia in Palazzo Pitti on May 11, performance of *La pazzia* by the Comici gelosi, a *commedia dell'arte* group plus *La pellegrina inermedi* on May 13 and possibly a second performance of *La pellegrina* on May 15.

[28] The entertainments of 1565 (marriage of Francesco de' Medici and Joanna of Austria), 1568 and 1569 (Medici baptism and visit of Archduke Karl) and 1586 (marriage of Virginia de'Medici and Cesare D'Este) all featured a comedy set in Florence. Amongst the *vedute* for these comedies, the most famous is the design of Baldassare Lanci for the comedy *La Vedova* in 1569, which shows Palazzo Vecchio seen from the Uffizi. Lanci's design is extremely subtle - what initially appears to be a sketch of Piazza della Signoria with its heterogeneous elements faithfully recorded depicts the intricate relations between the Florentine Humanist deployment of perspective as an instrument for the transformation of the real city into the ideal city and the codification of theatre in terms of the types of monumental and vernacular city, *i.e* the tragic and comic Serlian scenes. We shall return to Lanci's drawing at the end of the second part; here one should signal the work of Ludovico Zorzi in *Il teatro e la città Saggi sulla scena italiana*, Turin 1977 attempts to trace the development of Florence as theatre, and its "fulfilment" in the spectacles of entry, or staging of political power. The essay, shorn of its extensive footnotes, also appeared as the introductory essay of *Il luogo teatrale* (Florence, 1975), an exhibition catalogue which charted the relationship between spectacle and Florentine civic self-consciousness from Brunelleschi to Buontalenti.

*humana* (such as pastoral).[29] In an account of the festivities (triumphal entry and dramatic entertainments) for the marriage of Francesco de'Medici and Joanna of Austria in 1565, it is said that the *intermedi*, which dramatised the myth of Psyche were so accommodated to the *commedia* that it seemed that what was done by the gods of the *intermedi* was echoed in the human events of the comedy.[30] One should always keep in mind a fundamental point about the *intermedi* as framing or intermediary representations: the more that the "frame" of the *intermedi* is elaborated, the more arts that they embrace, the more they concern the representational status of what is given in the iconography of the universal order - the concord of the elements, the harmony of the spheres, the descent of the gods to earth or the apotheosis of the soul. To regard the *intermedi* as bombastic or frivolous insertions, as did some sixteenth century contemporaries, like the playwright Il Lasca (Anton Francesco Grazzini), is to overlook the richness of their meditation on the relationship of the frame and the drama.[31] In short, rather than appendages to the *commedia*, the *intermedi* enacted the universal context that underlies individual narratives, or dramatic actions. The business of enactment is crucial, since it shows that the frame and ornament of representation starts to take on lively qualities that belong to the dramatic narrative. If this means that the ornament takes on life and eminence, it also undermines the distinction between mimetic action and its frame, or rather what has become an implicit relationship is made explicit in a way that brings great richness to the representational tableau, and yet, by placing both the universal context that contains and

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[29] One could point to the continuation of this material in the use of the myth of Orpheus by Peri and Monteverdi, which combines pastoral elements with the appearance of the gods and the infernal scenes which appear so often in the *intermedi*, with the difference that in the early opera music itself has become both central character (typified by the figure of Orpheus) and medium of representation, rather than scheme of universal ordering that underlies the particular fable.

[30] "[il] primo intermedio della commedia, cavato, come tutti gli altri, da quella affettuosa novella di Psiche e Amore, tanto gentilmente da Apuleio nul suo Asin d'oro descritta; e di essa preso le parti che parsero più principali, e con maggior destrezza si sapeva alla commedia accomodatole, onde, fatto quasi dell'una e dell'altra favola un artifizio componimento, apparisse che, quel nella favola degl'intermedi operavano gli Dii, operassero (quasi di superior potenza costretti) nella favola della commedia gli uomini ancora" ("the first intermedio [was] taken, like all the others, from the romantic tale of Psiche and Amor, so finely told by Apuleius in his *Golden Ass*; the principal scenes were taken from it and accommodated to the comedy with such skill that the two narratives seemed to be combined together in a work of artifice, so that what the gods performed in the narrative of the *intermedi*, was perfromed also by humans in the comedy, as though constrained by a higher power") *Descrizione dell'apparato fatto in Firenze per le nozze dell illustrissimo ed eccellentissimo Don Francesco de'Medici Principe di Firenze e di Siena e della serenissima Regina Giovanna d'Austria*, Giovan Battista Cini, 1565, in Vasari, ed. Milanesi, Florence 1882, Vol.VIII, p.572.

[31] Il Lasca wrote a *madrigal burlesco* entitled "La commedia che si duol degli intermedi": "Misera, da costor che già trovati/ fur per servirmi e per mio ornamento/ lacerar tutta e consumarmi sento/ Questi empi e scelerati a poco a poco/ preso han lena e vigore/ e tanto hanno or favore/ ch'ognun di me si prende scherno e gioco,/ e sol dalla brigata/ s'aspetta e brama e guata/ la meravigli ohimé! degli intermedi" (" Wretched, I feel myself torn and consumed by those despised things that once were found to serve and adorn me. Little by little these wicked things have gathered force and now find such favour that everyone scorns and mocks me, and longs only for the wonder, alas! of the *intermedi*") Il Lasca was not alone in his view; Giovan Battista Strozzi il Giovane, in his "Prescrizioni per Intermedi" remarked that "invece di servire alle Commedie più tosto le Commedie servono a loro [...] facendosene non solo fra atto a atto, ma ancora nel principio e nel fine della Commedia, segno evidente della maggioranza loro sopra di lei" ("rather than being subordinate to the plays, the plays are subordinated to the *intermedi*, which appear not only between the acts but also at the start and end of the drama, sure sign that they dominate it") printed in Palisca, *op cit*, p.220.

underlies each action on the same plane, or scene, as the action itself, can serve to flatten the sense of layering in the structure of mediation that stretched between the universal background and the individual act. In this section, we shall look at this structure, its articulation and its poetic representation. At the same time, we shall argue that the *intermedi* are working with notions of sympathetic magic, deeply associated with music and from music entering into the other arts, in which the living cosmos is "channelled" through a structure of mediation so that the higher, universal order animates the lower sphere of particular acts, or the latter is arranged so as to "activate" the energies of the former. What makes the *intermedi* so rich is the interweaving of two tendencies – the synthesis of cosmic framework and dramatic pathos so that they are brought together on a single plane, with the potential loss of depth in the structure of mediation, and the presentation of the cosmic order as lively and affective as it is "magically" invoked.[32]

Like the *intermedi* devised by Castiglione for *La calandaria*, the *intermedi* of 1589 develop their material into a coherent meditation whose significance points beyond the meaning of the iconography to speculations on the relationship between the allegories and kind of artistic and intellectual project which they figure forth. The 1589 *intermedi* formed the *entr'actes* of a conventional comedy, *La Pellegrina*, by Giacomo Bargagli, appearing not only between the acts of the play but before and after it.[33] Our sources for the material are the published *descrizione* by Bastiano de' Rossi, the published music and choreography of Emilio de'Cavalieri and the extensive series of sketches for the costumes, stage designs and stage machinery by Bernardo Buontalenti, engineer and architect for the Medici Dukes Francesco (1574-87) and Ferdinando (1587-1609), most noted as an impresario and technician of spectacles and *bizzarie*.[34] The *intermedi* were six in all, and their themes were as follows: the first *intermedio*, which opened against a view of Rome, began with the appearance of Harmonia Doria, the most virtuous musical mode according to Plato and Aristotle, who sings and descends to earth, entering a Doric tempietto, so that the harmonic mode and the proportion heard as music in heaven is concretised as architectural order on earth.[35] The heavens then reveal a depiction of the

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[32] We might draw a comparison between the display the dramatisation of a universal structure of analogies in the *intermedi*, which seems to pave the way for a weakened sense of the universal character of the structure, and the poetic theory propounded by Tasso, who on one hand creates a theory on which one can found a grand style, and on the other retains throughout his thought a very acute sense of the tensions entailed in figuration which spring from its nature as *discorde concordia*, body and soul. We shall enlarge on this tension in Tasso's thinking at a later point in the argument.

[33] As noted above, the performances of *La zingara* and *La pazzia* were also performed with the *intermedi*.

[34] *Descrizione dell'apparato e degli'intermedi fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle nozze de'Serenissimo Don Ferdinando de'Medici, e Madama Cristina di Lorena, Grand Duchi di Toscana*, Florence, 1589. The costume designs, preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, formed the subject of a famous essay by Aby Warburg, "I costumi teatrali per gli intermedi di 1589" (1895), in *La rinascimento del paganesimo antico*, ed. Gertrud Bing (Florence, 1980). Buontalenti's other works in Florence included the Palazzo Non Finito, the Casa di Bianca Capello and the Casino Mediceo di San Marco, in all of which the fantasy of the architect for grotesque and metamorphic forms is evident; the funereal and lapidary Capella dei Principi in San Lorenzo, and his masterwork, Pratolino, considered the most fantastic and elaborate of Mannerist gardens by a distinguished visitor such as Montaigne.

[35] Buontalenti developed the theme of ephemeral Doric archiecture further in his designs for the *Rapimento di Cefalo*, performed in 1600 in the Teatro Mediceo. The description by Michelangelo il Giovane recounts that at the end of spectacle, after a series of natural, or supernatural, or celestial or maritime scenes, there

myth of Er, from *Republic* X, with Necessity, her spindle, the Fates and the celestial Sirens each sitting on each of the heavenly spheres. (Figures 1 and 2) The sign of her planet, and the colours of her costume distinguish each Siren, and Buontalenti adds the planetary deities on their thrones. (Figures 3 and 4) After this dramatisation of *musica mundana*, the following *intermedi* depict musical contests or *agones* which concern the virtuous powers of music - the second *intermedio* enacts the singing contest between the Muses and the Pierides, and the third Apollo's slaying of the Pythian dragon, which featured a recreation of ancient pantomime as described in the *Onomasticon* of Jullius Pollux. (Figures 5 and 6) The fourth and fifth *intermedi* concerned the invocatory powers of music; in the first a *maga* sang incantations and prophecies to daemons or spirits of fire, before the scene transformed to reveal a Dantesque inferno, where Lucifer and a consort of devils present an evocation of hellish discord in a species of antimasque. The fifth *intermedio* brought the theme of invocation down to earth with the legend of Arion, preceded by an aquatic triumph of Amphitrite and her nymphs. (Figure 7) Finally the last *intermedio* returned to the opening Platonic theme, in a celebration of rhythm and harmony bestowed on humankind by Apollo, Dionysus and the Muses as described in Book Two of Plato's *Laws*, culminating in ballet which depicted the concord of human and divine *moti*.

Even from this bald description it is evident that the technical *meraviglie* of Buontalenti's stagecraft are being put to complex symbolic use in which the capacity to create and transform worlds of illusion through ingenious machines that discover the laws of nature has its parallel, or prototype in the power of music to move and harmonise the human passions, as well as the *moti* of the larger cosmos.[36] Studies of the iconography of

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was disclosed finally "un magnifico e gran teatro di mezzo ovato d'ordine dorico, che divisato per dorate colonne, e nicchie con loro statue d'oro, e corniciamenti faceva eguale corrispondenza al teatro stesso" ("a great and magnificent theatre in semi-oval form using the Doric order articulated by gilded columns and niches containing golden statues, and cornices which corresponded perfectly to the theatre itself"), *Buontalenti* A.Fara, Milan, 1995, p.160. Buontalenti plays here with the reciprocity between the *apparato* for the stage and that for the audience – his *cavea* as scene is no more than an explicit confirmation of the conditions of representation that have pertained throughout the spectacle within the "scene of court".

[36] One should recall here that at Pratolino, created for Francesco de'Medici who was much interested in the hermetic aspects of natural philosophy, Buontalenti made a number of hydraulic automata and mechanical wonders. In terms of a philosophical perspective that saw the capacity for movement as the sign of the presence of the soul (as discussed by Plato in *Phaedrus* and by Aristotle in *De anima*) Buontalenti's *meraviglie* suggested the capacity to move and thus ensoul matter through artifice - an aim closely linked to the Hermetic tradition, and originating in the famous passage in the *Asclepius* 23-4 and 37 about the Egyptian priests whose statues were animated by the gods they represented ("The images of the gods made by men are formed of both natures, the divine, which is purer and holier and that accessible to man, in other words the substance,with which they are made; thay are not made in the form of a head only, but with the body and all its parts. Thus humankind, mindful of Nature and its own origin, arrives at such a point in the imitation of the divinity that like the eternal father and lord who created the gods so that they resembled him, so humankind forms its own gods in its own image [...] There are statues which possess a soul, a conscience, which are full of vital breath, which do great and astonishing things, statues that see the future and foretell it through divination, through prophetic inspiration, dreams and in many other ways. There are statues that send men sickness and cures, which send us, according to our merits, pain and happiness." "Our ancestors, after they had committed many errors reguarding the ture doctrine of the gods, as they were incredulous and careless of cult and religion, invented the art of fashioning the divinity. To this art they added a supernatural virtue, which they drew from material nature and mixed with the substance of the

the *intermedi* have spoken of the relationship of celestial and earthly music, or have pointed to a possible figuration of the elements in the *intermedi* two to five, in keeping with the representations of the elements and seasons in the *intermedi* of 1586, for example.[37] I would suggest that the musical and scenic complexity of the project as a whole points to a richer reading of its subject matter, as is signalled by the opening use of the myth of Er as a figure for *harmonia mundi* which announces both the cosmic themes embodied by music and its paradigmatic or structuring role for the other arts. Such a reading, which must precede wider discussion of the relation of the *intermedi* to the decoration of the Mannerist room as theoretised by Lomazzo, for example, should start with the dramatisation of *musica mundana* in the first *intermedio* as the clearest setting forth of the universal order disclosed by music.

## FROM PLATO TO PLATONIC ICONOGRAPHY

The myth of Er dramatised in the first *intermedio* arises out of discussion of the immortality of the soul and culminates in the image of the spindle of Necessity running through the centre of the universe, with the three Fates turning the circuits of the planets with their respective Sirens and weaving the lots and patterns of lives from the spindle of Necessity (*Republic* X, 616b-617d). The eschatological myth of Er, with its Pythagorean representation of the music of the spheres sung by the Sirens and the Fates who "sing the things that have become, the things that are and the things that are to be" is the final use of myth or parable in the dialogue, following on the celebrated analogies of the sun, the divided line and the cave in *Republic* VI and VII. It is superfluous to remark that these parables of the progressive levels of understanding, which exploit the analogy (in the sense both of comparison and proportion) of the visual and the intelligible, describe the ascent from the confused or distorted knowledge of things to the contemplation of the ideas or of the good itself which is complemented by the poetic figuration of Necessity and the heavens in the myth of Er. What we are looking at here is not so much Plato's own deployment of his analogies as the less profound question of the accumulated meanings which they have accrued by the time they end up on the stage of the *intermedi*, by which point the parables of the ascent to the intelligible have become the core structure of a continuum of vertical articulation represented through an increasingly elaborate framework of correspondences. As this framework is essential to much that we will consider, it is well to establish its fundamentals, however crudely, at this point.

The parables and culminating myth of the *Republic*, and the appearance of similar material in *Timaeus* stand at the beginning of a long tradition of thought which sees the

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statues. As they could not create souls, they called upon the souls of daemons or spirits which they introduced into their statues by means of sacred and divine rites, so that these idols had the power to do good and evil" (my translation from Italian translation, Bianca Maria Tordin Portogalli, Milan, 1997).

[37] See for example Annamaria Testaverde, "L'officina delle nuvole", *Musica e teatro*, Florence 1987. For a description of the 1586 *intermedi*, see Alois Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici*, *op.cit.* Nagler reports that the 1586 *intermedi* to *l'amico fido* of Bardi featured tableaux of the elements, with triumphs of Neptune and Juno and the coming of spring with Primavera

ordering of human faculties and understanding reflected in the cosmic hierarchy unfolded in creation. One might roughly trace in this tradition from Plato in antiquity to Francesco Patrizi or Robert Fludd in the late Renaissance; it develops through Plotinus to Proclus, Porphyry and Iamblichus, it exercises profound influence on the *Corpus Hermeticum*, passes into Christian theology through Augustine and Dionysius the Areopagite, translated in the Middle Ages by Duns Scotus, and is diffused through literary commentaries or philosophical romances amongst which one might count the commentary of Macrobius on the *Somnium Scipionis*, or the *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* of Capella in late antiquity and products of the twelfth century Platonism of the Chartres School such as the *Cosmographia* of Bernardus Silvestris or the works of Alain of Lille. With Ficino's translations of the Platonic, Neoplatonic and Hermetic corpus in the fifteenth century, we find attempts to bring the specifically Platonic and Hermetic elements together into explicit synthesis with Christianity and the penetration of such attempted syntheses right through the representational spectrum of the arts. Here we are not attempting a theological or philosophical account of this vast tradition, but concentrating on the poetic and artistic embodiments and their representation of the order of being in which the beautiful is disclosed in the ethical and epistemological ascent to the Highest Good and thus the universe in its order, perfection and fitting ornament is perceived as a *kosmos*. The extension of *kosmos* to world order, credited to Pythagoras, conceives the universe set forth in its order as living, ensouled animal, the most beautiful and complete of all beings, " the fairest of all that has become" in *Timaeus* 28b, the god and father of all things in the positive gnosis celebrated in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, or the exornation described by Hugh of St. Victor and Chartres school in which primary matter is differentiated, circumscribed and imprinted with form.[38] Two things are fundamental in dealing with this understanding of *kosmos* as *exornatio mundi*; first is the notion of a vertical scheme of ordering which has God or the One as its source with Logos or Mind or the Idea at its upper limit and descends through progressive degrees of embodiment and particularity to matter at the bottom. Second, and again Pythagorean in origin, there is the centrality of music to this model of the cosmos, which not only emphasises the harmonious nature of the ordering of the all, but provides a framework for the human imitation of the *harmonia mundi* and *harmonia mundi* as imitation of eternity from which it was fashioned forth. The very superficial overview of the material below is based on the argument that the preoccupations with measure and analogy as proportion so fundamental to Plato are by the Renaissance overshadowed by the conviction that the cosmic order can not only be depicted as a poetic figuration, but can be called up and recapitulated in a given context of representation - as noted above, this argument will attempt to argue that the paradigmatic context of such a representation is conceived as a theatre.

To return to Plato at the start of this tradition, in *Timaeus* the harmony of the spheres is created from the intervals into which the world soul is divided, in which divisibility and indivisibility are blended, in order to make the circles of the same and the other, and to weave the world soul through the body of the all (*Timaeus*, 34b-36e). The numbers

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[38] *Corpus Hermeticum*, Libellus IV, VI, IX, X. On Hugh of St. Victor, see Angus Fletcher in *Allegory the theory of a symbolic mode* Cornell, 1965.

which form the basis of harmony are described at 35b-36b, and constitute a system so established that all the intervals can be filled by arithmetical and harmonic means. If *Timaeus* is preoccupied with structuring the mediating elements which hold together the relationships between being and becoming, and indivisibility and divisibility, from which the world is created, number is a way of setting up relationships in terms of proportion, and number in turn becomes manifest through time, "the moving likeness of eternity" (*Timaeus* 37d), which "circles round according to number". If time is the world soul's imitation of eternity, Plato distinguishes between the eternity of the paradigm of the universe, time in the world soul as mimesis of eternity where its various aspects continuously co-exist, and the "generated forms of Time" as manifest through the objects of becoming in the world of sense. It is by contemplating the circling dance of the heavenly bodies (which Plato at 47b calls the greatest good of sight), that we can perceive the analogy - that is, the structure of proportion articulated principally by number - between the world and the paradigm of which it is a copy.[39] Towards the end of *Timaeus* comes the injunction to maintain proportion between the different motions of the appetitive, spirited and rational souls and to follow with the rational soul the harmonies and revolutions (*periodoi*) of the universe (*Timaeus* 90 and 90c-d). Thus the doctrine of the macrocosm and microcosm, cemented by the physiological discussions in *Timaeus*, culminates in the rational soul's participation in (or imitation of) the celestial motions that reveal harmony as the reconciliation of difference and sameness through a structure of proportion. The different souls (or different strata of the soul) may correspond to different strata of time, but the proportion between them provides continuity and, again, articulates the relationship of likeness and unlikeness, as does the creating of proportions and filling of intervals which structures the cosmos. This account of the macrocosm and microcosm might be compared with the divided line of *Republic* 509d-511e which similarly represents the understanding as a continuum structured by analogy – alongside the progressive clarification of the understanding and the ascent from the world of generation to the world-soul in its mimesis of eternity is the experience of time which "rises" through becoming to the circling movement of the heavenly bodies which represent all time. Aside from the ensouled, living character of microcosm and macrocosm revealed by motion, the fundamental importance of music to the schemes of

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[39] Alongside number as a structure which relates being and becoming, and paradigm to the copy in the account of the creation of the world through reason, there is the second description of the creation of the world through necessity at 48ff., in which the intermediary between being and becoming is the mysterious place of becoming, or *chōra*, whose dim and baffling nature is repeatedly emphasised. We shall not enter here into discussion of the *chōra* which requires discussion of Plato's mathematics – were one to take up discussion of *kosmos* in its fuller meaning in Greek thought, one would need to examine Plato's words on the *chōra* as the place in which generated things *i.e.* copies of things which exist paradigmatically, become manifest. We shall very brief remarks on the distinction between *chōra* and *choros* below, in relation to the speculations on the *choros* as both chorus and place where they dance and sing. Plato refuses to assign a clear identity to the *chora*, at times speaking of it as a material substrate, at times emphasising that it is a place, underlining that it partakes in being, and yet claiming that in its "phantom flight" from thing to thing it is almost nothing at all. The *chōra* occasions the discussion of the elements which pass from one to another "in an unbroken circle the gift of birth" (49c), and provides a middle link between reason (which contemplates invisible and ungenerated forms) and opinion (which apprehends generated objects perceptible by sense): while its existence points to the relating of opposing terms, its dimly described nature, rendered through metaphor, points to something different from the continuum of numeric interval or time's mimesis of eternity.

thought and figuration which link the ascent through the levels of understanding with that through the universe must be seen as grounded in harmony as the paradox of indivisibility and divisibility in the soul.[40]

In the Renaissance figurations considered below we shall see speculation on harmony as the reconciliation of sameness and unlikeness in the ordering of all things rendered not so much through Platonic meditations on proportion and number as envisaged as a hieroglyph which holds and unfolds the paradox of *concors discordia*. The sixteenth century theatres of figuration of which the *intermedi* constitute but one example seem to have a two-fold tendency: first the exhaustive allegorical explication of arguments in terms of figuration, as codified in the iconographic manuals, and secondly, the hieroglyphic density of these figurations (despite their proliferation and the often hackneyed character of their symbolism) which incorporate a complex temporal layering in the unfolding of their meaning as intuitive, metaphoric or analogical.[41] To return specifically to the 1589 *intermedi*, we find that music is depicted at the same time that it is performed, so that alongside the human harmonies which imitate cosmic harmony and measure is the mimesis of the performance and the "hieroglyphic" figurations of the symbolic correspondences which have accumulated around the myth of Er between the fourth century B.C. and the late sixteenth century.

Plato's speculations on the divisibility of the soul and time in *Timaeus* have been adduced here in order show the relation of *kosmos* and ornament, which should be seen as rooted in very ancient thought concerning the rendering of sameness, difference and measure in relation to the all. The importance of *Timaeus* for our argument lies in the fact that harmony and time arise from the "blending" of indivisibility and divisibility in the creation of the soul, so that harmony does not just point back to the circling dance of the planets (time and measure as the mimesis of eternity) but to the soul as simultaneously the one and the manifold as it unfolds itself through the whole world. Through harmony, we can understand multiplicity not as quantitative division but as the filling of all intervals in the world that creates the consonance which brings indivisibility and divisibility to unity, an idea which has its richest elaboration in the *Harmonia Mundi* of the Venetian Franciscan Francesco Giorgi (1525), in which the harmony which explicates the cosmic order is simultaneously musical number and the concord of all philosophies, theologies and mysteries, Jewish, Christian and Platonic.[42] As one moves from Plato to the Neoplatonists and the dissemination of Neoplatonic thought from late antiquity on, one finds, crudely speaking, that the tensional relationships which result from the

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[40] We shall not here go into discussions of Aristotle's meditations on time as movement, culminating with the argument that the prime mover is cause of all change and motion (*Physics* VIII). Such discussion is essential to the philosophical substructure of the argument but at this stage of the work space precludes further discussion.

[41] In artists who are most deeply engaged with the relation of music and "hieroglyphs", such as Ligorio, we find an interest not only in the iconography of time, but in the temporality unfolded through a figure; as we shall see later, Ligorio explores this through figures such as the Hours.

[42] For a short account of Giorgi, see Jocelyn Godwin in *The Harmony of the Spheres - A Sourcebook of the Pythagorean Tradition in Music*, Vermont, 1993.

mediation of unlikeness and sameness through measure and analogy are rendered in terms of the articulation of a hierarchical ontological order, in which unity unfolds itself in multiplicity without itself being divided. The doctrine of a continuous hierarchy of being that stretches from the One to the individual soul, which plots out the progress of the soul as it descends into or reverts from embodiment has its most authoritative exposition in the *Enneads* of Plotinus (204-70), elaborated in the work of later Platonists such as Iamblichus (d.326) and Proclus (412-485). In this complex vertical order all processes of ordering proceed from above, not by participation in a structure of mediation, but as the result of emanation, the overflow of being which creates its object of contemplation through its act of contemplation.[43] The complexities of the doctrine of emanation in Neoplatonic philosophy are such as to merit a lifetime of study - as we are considering the bastardised forms in which this thought is embodied in the arts we shall limit ourselves to a few remarks, which have for the most part been made with greater wisdom by Edgar Wind. Firstly, the hierarchical continuum of all things leads to a conception of the cosmic "chain of being" in which vertical relationships are privileged over the ratios of analogical thought. Second, in place of Plato's ambivalence towards *enthusiasmos* and myth, we find in Plotinus a metaphysics which turns dialectic from its dialogic context to a professedly mystical end, and thus Plato's contempt for the symbolic interpretation of myths (as in *Phaedrus*) or the claims for the divine origin of poetry in *Ion* gradually undergo deformation into a validation of allegorical exegesis of the "inspired" works of the poets (namely Homer and Hesiod) in the writings of Plotinus's followers. These themes appear in Plato - *Phaedrus* is an obvious example - but the Neoplatonic treatments are divested of the Socratic irony, so that in the work of Iamblichus, for example, theurgy has become commensurable with Platonic dialectic. Noting again that we are offering only a simplification of a vastly complex subject, the later Neoplatonists and their still later compilers such as Macrobius and Martianus Capella at the end of antiquity are important for our purposes because their allegorical reading of poetic myth both affirms the "sacred" character of the poet's image and situates this image within a framework of symbolic correspondences - strategies of interpretation of enormous import for the Renaissance. We will present merely two such instances of antique Neoplatonic allegorical reading here, emphasising that a rich understanding of the fascination that accounts of the "theological" and ritualistic significance of ancient poetry exerted on the Renaissance entails a larger and deeper study than is possible here.

A fine example of the later Neoplatonists' exegetical use of literary sources, and one close to our preoccupations is Porphyry's *De antro nympharum*, which reads Homer's mysterious lines on the Cave of the Naiads at the opening of *Odyssey* 13 as an allegory for the soul's descent into embodiment in the world and reversion to heaven: the cave, both lovely and dark, with its flowing waters is taken for a symbol of the world, beautiful through its participation in form (punning on *kosmos*) and dark through its materiality, while the two entrances of the cave are aligned with the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, the two "gates" through which souls and descend and arise in the cycle of generation. Porphyry takes the Homeric cave as a symbol whose plenitude of meaning is not

[43] See Plotinus, *Enneads* III.viii.4.

exhausted by allegorical exegesis, but replenished or re-enacted by it, and in his interpretation the senses of *kosmos* as the exornation of the world through form and the wrought embellishment of poetic figuration come together through their order, their beauty and the cyclical rhythms which they share: the flowing waters and double gates of the poetic image are in concord with the circular process of embodiment and reversion in the Neoplatonic cosmology, and the self-renewing fullness of the image through its interpretation. Porphyry's meditations on the levels through which souls descend into embodiment and re-ascend to heaven are repeated in the commentary of Macrobius on the *Somnium Scipionis* in Cicero's *De re publica* VI, a work which represents a fifth century résumé of the Neoplatonic tradition.[44] His commentary on the soul's passage from *nous* to generation also provides an account that is quasi-philosophical, quasi-poetic; if the terminology of Plotinus is appropriate to the account of the creation of the soul from *nous* as it looks away from God, and the degeneration of the incorporeal soul into the creation of bodies as it turns its gaze from its father ("regrediente respectu in fabricam corporum ipsa incorpora degenerat"), everything from the fixed stars down seems to be subject to poetic allegory. Thus the soul's descent through the constellations and the zodiac to the planetary spheres becomes a journey through poetic cosmology; the Crater of Bacchus, between Cancer and Leo, represents the falling soul drunk through the influx of matter, just as Bacchus, sundered by the Titans, symbolises the *nous hylikos* or material intellect of the descent into embodiment and divisibility. This mythicising approach which figures the descent and reversion of the soul in terms of the sundering and resurrection of Bacchus, or conflates Plotinus's simile in *Enneads* I.i.8 of a face reflected in many mirrors for the presence of soul in individual bodies with the golden chain of being in *Iliad* VIII.19,[45] is most notable in the treatment of the planets at I.xii, where the planets confer on the soul "ethereal bodies" appropriate to the faculties of the soul which each governs. These "ethereal bodies", defined by Porphyry, mediate between the immortal soul and the corporeal body as it descends from mind (*nous*) to the earth - Saturn contemplation or ratiocination (*theorekiton* or *logistikon*), Jupiter the *prakiton* (the practical intelligence and *vis agendi*), Mars the *thumikon* (like the spirited soul in the *Republic*), Sol the *aisthetikon* and *phantastikon*, the beginnings of sense perception, Venus the *epithumikon*, the *motum desiderii*, Mercury the *hermeneutikon* concerning interpretation and Luna the *phytikon*, the natural or vegetal power of growth (*natura plantandi et augendi*).[46] At II.iii, after discussion of the numerical divisions that produce harmony and interweave the world soul in *Timaeus*, Macrobius, following Plutarch, substitutes the celestial Sirens of the myth of Er with the Muses.[47] Not only have the concentric celestial orbits of the myth of Er have changed to the hierarchical ordering of the planets, but each of the planets has become a configuration of various meanings - faculties of the soul, the Muses, the numbers from which the world soul is woven and

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[44] Alongside Chalcidius's commentary on *Timaeus* and Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, the commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* was one of the chief sources of Platonic cosmology in the Middle Ages.

[45] The metaphors serve to explicate the difficulty of the simultaneously indivisible and divisible nature of soul, described by Plato in the construction of the world soul in *Timaeus* 35a; Plotinus speaks of the soul not as present *in* bodies, but as shining on them and giving forth likenesses of itself.

[46] *In Somnium Scipionis*, I.12.

[47] Plutarch, *De animae procreatione in Timaeo* 1029d. The work contains a lengthy discussion of Plato's use of musical number and its relationship to the ratios between the planets.

their harmonic ratios. The ontological hierarchy of Neoplatonism is developing into a scheme of correspondences, in which the structure of measure fundamental to the development of the understanding in the analogy of the divided line and human mimesis of the rhythm and harmony of the world soul has become a sequence of faculties aligned with the planetary gods and poetic imitation as symbolised by the Muses. In another fifth century work which preserved remains of Neoplatonic thought for the Middle Ages, when it exerted great influence, *De nuptis Philologiae et Mercurii* of Martianus Capella, these accrued meanings are linked with the curriculum of the seven liberal arts which is simultaneously encyclopaedic *i.e.* a complete circle of learning and the means of progression through the faculties of the soul and the related spheres up to the *theoretikos* associated with Saturnine contemplation, the Muse Urania and harmony at the summit of the liberal arts curriculum. [48]

In the correspondences in Macrobius and Martianus Capella of Muses, musical tones, planets, and the structure of human understanding as reflected in the liberal arts we see the structure of progressive representation, which reflects the ontological structure, is made available to (or appropriated by) poetic mimesis as represented by the Muses. This cosmological setting of the seven liberal arts appears also in Augustine's *De musica* where they are interpreted as corresponding to the levels of knowledge through which the Christian rises on the way to true *sapientia*.[49] The alignment of the planets with the arts occurs again in the *Convivio* II.xiii-xiv - Dante places music as second art of the quadrivium, in the sphere of Mars, with geometry and astrology above, while beyond the planets the fixed stars are aligned with physics and metaphysics, the ninth sphere with moral philosophy and the empyrean with theology. What we are concerned with here is not so much this structure in itself as how it was embodied through the arts with which the Muses were associated - namely music and poetry, and thus we shall turn to the discussions which claimed that it was the special prerogative of these arts to disclose the universal harmony reflected in the configuration of the arts, Muses and musical tones, or modes.

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[48] In the *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* of Martianus Capella, the Liberal Arts appear personifed as bridesmaid at the wedding of eloquence and learning (trivium and quadrivium), and discourse on the material contained in their subject. The setting of the work, with its heavenly nuptials, (influenced by such devices as the symposium as a form for the presentation of encyclopaedic learning) indicates that the *Marriage* is not just as rehearsal of the curriculum but a mythic account of the apotheosis of learning as Philology is united with her divine bridegroom, and the Liberal Arts assist at this union as representatives of the reasons of all things created by divine and human artifice. It should be noted that the work did not disappear in the Renaissance, when the materials which it collaged had been recovered, but remained popular - close to our material here, it provided the inventions for *intermedi* performed in Mantua in 1584 and 1598.

[49] For a brief account of *De musica* and the theme of ascension through lower to higher number to God, see *Art and Christian Intelligence in Saint Augustine*, Robert O'Connell, Oxford 1978.

*Gafurius on the planets, muses and the modes*

We find one of the most vivid illustrations of the structure of correspondences we have been discussing in the diagram by Guillaume de Signerre of the music of the spheres, the modes, the notes and the Muses, from Franchinus Gafurius's *Practica Musica*, 1496.[50] (Figure 8) The diagram depicts the Muses ranged alongside the planetary gods, the tones and the musical modes, with Urania corresponding to the stars above the planets and Thalia squashed beneath the earth at the base. Above the Muses are Apollo *musagetes* and the Graces joined in dance, while a serpent links the whole diagram, its tail coiled beneath Apollo's foot and its Cerberus like head resting on the globe of the earth, above Thalia. Edgar Wind noted that the coiled tail and the tricipite head of this serpent both carried a reference to time - the looped tail as a version of the ouruboros, symbol of eternity and the three heads of wolf, lion and dog (attribute of Apollo Serapis) representing past, present and future.[51] If we compare this diagram with the iconography of the myth of Er, we can see the degree to which the mimetic structure is emphasised; in place of Necessity, as the cause of providential ordering in the world, we find Apollo as both centre amongst the planets, and symbol of the intelligible sun, God, while the Fates, identified with the three aspects of time as becoming, have been replaced by the Graces as figures which explicate the unity of Apollo through their dance.[52] Thus the three Graces unfold the unity of Apollo as leader and mover of all the heavens, celebrated by Macrobius as origin of all gods and universal cause of generation[53], and the Graces in their turn are unfolded threefold in the nine Muses.[54] Alongside the proportions of

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[50] Gafurius used the diagram again in his *De Harmonia Instrumentum Opus* (1500, published 1518). It is from this second work that the quotations cited here are drawn. Gafurius drew his correspondence between the planets, tones, modes and Muses from the fifteenth century musicologist, Ramos de Pareja who set them forth, alongside the humours and elements, in his *Musica Practica* (1482); in an earlier work (*Theoricum Opus* 1480) Gafurius had described the correspondences between the planets and the angelic orders.

[51] *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, Harmondsworth, 1967, p.265-269. The discussion of Apollo Serapis goes back to the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius. The tricipite head was also used as a hieroglyph for prudence, with its links with memory and foresight, as in Titian's famous painting. On the scholastic relationship between prudence and memory that seems to underlie Titian's painting, see Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*, London, 1966.

[52] The relationship between them is better understood if we recall that the Graces and the Fates are related through the Hours, who as companions of Apollo and sisters of the Fates symbolise time as cyclical and as the accomplishment of justice, and as handmaidens of Venus, who adorn the newly born goddess for the symposium of the gods in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, represent time as fitting season. In discussion of Ligorio, we shall look much more closely at the significance of the Hours.

[53] *Saturnalia* I.xvii. See also the source for Macrobius's commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis*, *De re publica* VI.17 with its celebration of the sun "dux est et princeps et moderator luminum reliquorum, mens mundi et temperatio" ("leader and lord and governor of the other stars, mind and controlling power of the world").

[54] See Pirro Ligorio, *Libro dell'antichità*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat., Ottoboni 3371, f.183 "Musica" "[gli antichi] stimavano grandemente il numero tre ternario per le tre Gratie et le tre Muse prime, che Symphonia simplice dicevano: et la formarono per due toni e per uno Hemitonio" ("the ancients esteemed the number three greatly as a ternary for the three Graces and the first three Muses, which they called simple *symphonia*, formed of two tones and a semitone"). The idea that there were originally only three muses appears in other sixteenth century mythographers, eg. Gyraldi, Cartari, but Ligorio develops

harmonic numbers, we find in the procession from Apollo to the Graces to the Muses the kind of ternary thinking so dear to Ficino, who uses the Graces as a favoured symbol for the triad of procession, conversion and reversion through which indivisible unity explicates itself as harmony, as we shall see below.

In his discussion of the Muses, constellations, modes, and strings, Gafurius attributes various meanings to the Muses, as listed by Fulgentius in *Mythologiae*; the Muses signify the various parts of the vocal organs, they are the inventors of the arts, and they represent different stages in the process of human learning "ad doctrine perfectionem", as Salutati puts it in his discussion of the Muses in *De laboribus Herculis*.[55] Fulgentius's correspondences between the Muses and the stages of learning are listed by Gafurius: Clio signifies the desire for fame that spurs us to study, Euterpe represents the pleasure of study, and Melpomene perseverance. After these preconditions, the second group of Muses in Fulgentius's interpretation encompasses Thalia, as the "germinal" capacity to receive ideas as plants are germinated, Polyhymnia as memory and Erato as the finding of similitudes. Following on this inventive capacity which depends on the memory, come discernment and judgement, linked with Terpsichore, while the heavenly Urania symbolises the just discernment that chooses the good, which leads us to the celestial, and divine. Finally comes Calliope "fine voiced", the Muse of Poetry invoked by Homer. Gafurius alters this order whilst retaining some of its significations: he places Urania alongside the fixed stars above the planets, with Polyhymnia as the culmination of all song beneath her, the tragic Muse Melpomene in the middle linked with Apollo, the Doric mode and the *diapente* or fifth, while Thalia's germinal capacity identifies her with the earth, shown as the lowest of the elements. The structure as a whole, and at all of its levels, is mimetic, in the sense that they figure time as the *harmonia universalis* that is mimesis of eternity and through the more particular association of the Muses with the arts of mimesis. If harmony at the upper end of the scale points to a transcendent unity, the lowest point is Thalia, the Muse left on the earth by Martianus Capella,[56] and so identified by Gafurius. Thalia is neither inert matter nor a receptacle into which higher things descend, but is called the "capacita" or germina ponens" in which all things must lie in order to be germinated, a latent potentiality in which the life of all things must be grounded. Gafurius writes of her

> Germinat in primo nocturna silentia cantu
> Quae terrae in gremio surda Thalia iacet.[57]

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their relationship with the Graces and the Hours in the most suggestive way, as we shall see in discussion of Ligorio in Section Three.

[55] On *De laboribus Herculis*, see below.

[56] *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, I.28 - the other Muses fly up to heaven on a white swan which deposits Thalia in a meadow "derelictam in ipso florentis campi ubere residere" ("left to sit back in the bosom of a flowery meadow").

[57] "Thalia lies silent in the bosom of the earth / In the beginning nocturnal silence generates with song".

If Thalia is the lowermost point of the order figured by the Muses, beneath the divisions of time represented by tricipite Serapis, her rendering of the concord of unity and multiplicity in terms of germination, the primary movement of the soul from potency to actualisation, represents the counterpart and deepest reflection of celestial harmony in terms of multiplicity and becoming. If Thalia (also one of the Graces) for Gafurius represents latent song at the origins of becoming and Urania the harmony of all creation, these two Muses who frame the planets and so depict the two poles of the dyadic movement of the descent and reversion are not in static opposition but each contains within itself the other, so that Thalia's silent song within the earth has its counter-image in the unity-in-multiplicity of Urania.[58] The discussion of the meanings of the Muses which explicates the diagram in Gafurius should alert us to the intricate layers of meaning here: the Muses symbolise *musica humana* as represented by the modes and tones, as when Lelio Gyraldi states that their name comes from *mese*, middle or middle note, and refers to the proportion held between the planets,[59] they are an allegory for the process of learning, they discovered the arts to humankind, they are representatives of the harmony of the spheres which has its higher unity in Apollo, and Apollo himself finally stands for a higher, transcendent One. The continuity of mimesis, in the senses suggested above, throughout this structure is signalled by the Muses and the continuous presence of music, which reveals time as mimesis of eternity, figured through Thalia beneath the embodiment of division in Serapis and above the symbol of eternity in the serpent's looped tail, where Apollo is enthroned, cithara in hand. If the serpent in short signifies time, it is enclosed by music at each extremity, and one starts to get a sense of the complexities of the diagram as one recognises that not only are the two ends mutually mirroring depictions of the dyadic relationship of procession and reversion, but the central parts also contain reflections of the whole, whether in the mimetic continuity represented by the Muses, or in the double appearance of Apollo at the summit and in the middle of the diagram, as the central planet Sol. His dual role as lord and centre of all things is affirmed in lines ascribed to Virgil, the first line of which appears as the epigraph to Gafurius's diagram:

> Mentis Apollineae vis has movet undique Musas
> In medio residens complectitur omnia Phoebus [60]

Apollo unfolds his unity as source and mover of the whole structure which imitates eternity, while he is simultaneously embedded in that structure as its central point: alongside the mutual reflections beneath and above the planetary order there are reflections between the centre point in the scheme and the all-embracing source from which the whole proceeded. To add yet another dimension, we should note that the different strings, which Gafurius assigns to each Muse, are linked not only with tones but

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[58] In comparable vein, Francesco Giorgi Veneto speaks of the duality of the Apollonian solar unification and Dionysian, nocturnal rending which must be understood together in the nature of the Sun (*Harmonia Mundi* Chapter 9) in Godwin, *op. cit.*, p.188.

[59] *De diis gentilium*, Basle 1560, Syntagma VII.

[60] "The power of Apollo's mind moves these Muses on all sides/ Seated in the centre Apollo embraces all things". Cited in Gyraldi, *op. cit.*, p.256. The lines come from a poem *Nomina musarum* believed in the Renaissance to be by Virgil – Lelio Gyraldi refers to it as "inter Virgilij poematia".

also with modes.[61] The Muses in other words do not just represent single notes which comprise the scale but each also embodies a different mode of harmony, and contains within herself the unfolding of multiplicity and the filling of intervals from unity which relate to her own structure of correspondences across the diagram horizontally. To sum up, this simultaneous horizontal and vertical unfolding of the diagram keeps swelling the correspondences into an ever richer harmony as all possible levels are filled out through an architecture of number whose intervals can contain all things without losing the simple proportions that lead back to the monad from which they proceeded. In this structure the iconography which is inseparable from the harmonic content functions in the same way - the vertical Platonic articulation represented by the hierarchy of the planets, Muses and the liberal arts is not only a structure of correspondences, but every figure can be explicated potentially as a nexus of meanings which open out analogical configurations at each point in the vertical structure. Alongside the dominant vertical orientation of reading, in short, the framework of correspondences is such that each thing can reflect other things at different levels, and one should further observe that at every point the structure is in movement, from the large cycle of descent and reversion to the motions of the intermediary planets and the Muses, depictions of a continuum of mimesis.

Gafurius presents his diagram, of which we have given a crude and partial reading, in the context of a work on musicology that contains the particular applications of wider theoretical speculation as they concern the practice of a single art. Since musicological questions are not the object here, but rather a structure of representation in which music had paradigmatic status, we will note that Gafurius's diagram is useful, roughly speaking, in bringing together three areas of interest. Firstly, it shows the encyclopaedic accounts of the liberal arts as a hierarchy of learning which corresponds to the ascent of the soul through knowledge, as they descended from Plato down to the compilers and mythographers of late antiquity, in a particularly synthetic and schematic presentation. Secondly, in its concentration on the Muses, it is close to the "poetic theology" expounded in defence of poetry from Petrarch until the rediscovery of Aristotle's *Poetics*, with its developed theory of poetic art as mimesis – Gafurius's account of the Muses is close to that of Salutati in *De laboribus Herculis*, which proclaims poetry as encyclopaedic art.[62] This poetic theology, whose elements are all essentially Platonic (poetry as *harmonia mundi*, *mythos* as allegory of sacred wisdom and as *furor*) re-enters explicitly into Platonic discourse with Ficino's use of pagan mythology in his commentary on *Symposium*, *De amore*, and in the work of his follower, Cristoforo Landino, who united Ficino's Platonism with poetic commentary in his works on Dante and Virgil. Thirdly, one can see in Gafurius's diagram the presence of a degree of dialectical sophistication in the presentation of Thalia, germinating the seeds of things in

[61] On the modes, see note above. Gafurius gives eight modes, probably following the four authentic and four plagal modes set out by Gregory the Great – in considering the terminology of the modes in Gafurius' diagram, one should remember that it predates Glareanus.

[62] We shall look at more detail at Salutati below. Since *De laboribus Herculis* was not published, the similarity between Salutati and Gafurius comes partly from shared sources (Capella, Fulgentius) and perhaps from Gafurius's familiarity with the Humanist defences for poetry.

the earth with her silent song, or in the dual presentation of Apollo as divine mind moving heaven and as Sol at the midpoint of the planetary hierarchy.

This concern with the relationship between the centre and the highest point, and between the embodiment of form and the penetration of form into matter signals the presence of a speculation distinct from Capella, or the early defences of poetry in Boccaccio or Salutati, and one might point here to the influence of the Neoplatonic meditations which passes into circulation through Ficino's translations and commentaries on the Platonic corpus. The treatment of Ficino that follows considers his work in terms of its relevance for artistic embodiments of speculative thought – the particular object in this section of the work is the musico-poetic enactment of Neoplatonic ordering represented by the *intermedi* of 1589. We shall therefore concentrate on those aspects of his work where Ficino is closest to poetics and musical theory, and shall see how his thinking on music indeed develops the hierarchical structure of correspondences that appears in Gafurius into an animistic and operative conception of the cosmic energies that can be drawn down by the musician as magus. We shall spend some time running through the theories of poetry that derive from Ficino, in which the poet's artifice, his capacity to create from nothing using the ornaments of speech, is seen in the light of Ficino's remarks on the procession of the world as *kosmos* and of discussions of *harmonia mundi* as *concors discordia*. This discussion will culminate with Francesco Patrizi, the eminent late sixteenth century Platonic philosopher and author of an important Neoplatonic poetics, who attempts in this work almost to merge the theories of music and poetry. With Patrizi, on close terms with Giovanni Bardi, we return to the *intermedi*, where the union of music and poetry entails also an appeal to visual apprehension, and thus to the spectacular character of theatre.[63] Our discussions in this first part of the argument will conclude as we pass from the appeals to the visual rendering of measure, or of "magical" signs (*i.e.* hieroglyphic representation) in the *intermedi* to their theoretical discussion by Lomazzo. With Lomazzo, we seem to see the application of Neoplatonic thought to the arts taken to its limits, and from this point we shall turn to examine the rhetorical tradition, which has in any case been working alongside much of the material in this section. The Neoplatonic discussions which we shall consider so crudely here form a basis for much of the material later in the thesis, and might be seen as a bedrock on which these later arguments grow, even if they are not always mentioned explicitly; some of the arguments here on the centrality of music and the relations between the arts will be seen to have a kind of fulfilment at the end of the work. The starting point is Ficino, and it is to him that we shall now turn.

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[63] Patrizi's friendship with Bardi and the authoritative nature of his treatment of the performance of Greek theatre are mentioned also by Palisca, *op.cit.*, pp. 11, 109, 136-137, by Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli in "Humanism and Poetics" in *Renaissance Humanism* III, ed. Albert Rabil, Philadelphia, 1988, p.135 and in "Francesco Patrizi e l'umanesimo musicale del cinquecento" in *L'umanesimo e l'Istria*, Florence, 1983.

*General and contextual discussion*

Any treatment of Ficino, no matter how superficial, must necessarily refer to the philosopher-translator's attempt to synthesise the Christian theology of salvation with Platonic ontology and the divulgation of the divinity of man and the cosmos in the Hermetic corpus.[64] Ficino's syncretic project seems an attempt to interweave an account of salvation into a full exploration of knowledge and of conditions of being in the world in such a way that all possible movements up and down the chain of being or "across" between the various accounts of creation and salvation are knit together like the Platonic *anima mundi* or reflect back on one other like Plotinus's line of mirrors lit up by the radiance of soul.[65] If one compares Ficino's cosmology with that of the *Enneads*, for example, we see that the refinement of Plotinus's metaphysics has given way to a greater emphasis on the nature of the intermediary beings which swell out every *gradus* of the universe, whether conceived as gods, heavenly bodies, or daemons. This peculiarly densely populated cosmos reflects not only the three traditions which Ficino attempted to synthesise - Platonic, Christian and Hermetic, but also shows the correspondences that had already accrued in the Christian Neoplatonism of Dionysius the Areopagite, or in the antique Neoplatonists' interest in the "mysteries" veiled in allegory (Orphic texts or Hesiodic or Homeric poetry) and acted out in theurgy and magic. To all this one must add physical cosmology with its astrological depiction of the planetary gods, and the fact that Ficino was by training a doctor, concerned throughout his work to align and harmonise the microcosmos with the universe, conceived as a practice in relation to philosophical contemplation. It must be observed that Ficino, like Pico, is a philosopher, who uses dialectic and not poetry as a means of progression towards the ideas, and whose approach is not to be confused with contemporary Humanist preoccupations on non-metaphysical meaning that arises through social custom and *usus*.[66] Ficino is at once an explicator and,

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[64] See the 1484 preface to *Theologia Platonica* (reprinted Paris, 1964) dedicated to Lorenzo de'Medici "Divine providence, which has the strength to achieve all things and the power to arrange all delightfully, magnanimous Lorenzo, has ordained that holy religion should not only be defended by prophets, sibyls and sacred doctors but also singularly be adorned by a pious and elegant philosophy [...] Therefore God Almighty sent down from on high the divine soul of Plato at the appointed time so that by his life, genius and marvellous eloquence he might cast the light of holy religion among all peoples".

[65] Cf. the attempt to accommodate all the accounts of the creation of the world in the hexemeral commentary of Pico della Mirandola, the *Heptaplus*, with its "interlocking worlds", its synthesis of Neoplatonism, Cabala and the Christian mysticism of Pseudo-Dionysius. Again one should be careful not to forget the medieval precedents, whether in the form of the Neoplatonic influences which enter into Christian theology through Pseudo-Dionysius and Augustine, through astrology, or the encyclopaedic-moral tradition represented by such works as the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, which was so influenced by writers such as Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Fulgentius, and Servius. The grossly rudimentary character of the present work does not allow for a full treatment of the Medieval material; one might suggest here that in distinction to the absorption of the pagan gods, the planets, or the Muses, into correspondence with the liberal arts, the virtues, the gifts of God or the angelic orders in the creation of a universal *summa*, Ficino declares his intention of restoring the Platonic (and Hermetic) corpus in its integrity, and in so doing reveal that the analogies between the pagan and the Christian mysteries. Obviously this is a gross simplification of the matter.

[66] For two varying assessments of the relation of Florentine Neoplatonism to Florentine Humanism, see Charles Trinkaus, *In our image and likeness*, London 1970 and Ernesto Grassi, *Renaissance Humanism*,

in a sense, a mystifier: while he insists in the commentary to *Symposium* that the universal order can be unfolded and even apprehended by vision, he simultaneously complicates each *gradus mundi* with correspondences and paradoxes. The universal order promulgated by Ficino, which aspires to accommodate and synthesise all discourses on the ascent from being in the world to being in God often calls for a subtle dialectician to resolve its complexities or, alternatively, demands that these be accepted as mysteries explored by dialectic but ultimately "beyond" it.[67]

In keeping with the Platonic reflection of the universal hierarchy in the faculties of the soul, Ficino postulates a tripartite soul, expounded in *Theologia Platonica* XIII.ii whose highest faculty - mind - is linked to providence, while its lowest - *idolum* - is linked to fate, while between is reason, free to move where it chooses.[68] When the reason is entirely emptied, the soul can aspire to prophecy through the mind's connection with providence or that of the *idolum* with fate, and nature ruled by fate. From this it follows that the soul is both microcosmic, and that it has freedom of will and movement - points that will come out in Ficino's commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, to which we shall turn later. If the soul is said by Ficino to be capable of leading the life of all things, so it strives to become one with God, in whom all things are - Ficino's sensitivity leads him to perceive that the images which men create of themselves and their demiurgic accomplishments as a way of worshipping God, lead only to a sense of sadness or futility if the soul itself is not conceived as a mirror of the divine countenance. To put it very simply, from the freedom of the reason to move through all levels of the human faculties stem the human powers of creation in which man seems to be like a god - but true divinity comes with the immortality of the soul and its salvation in which it is united with the divine.

The boldest statement of this freedom, tied to the syncretic project of Florentine Neoplatonism, comes in the so-called *Oratio de hominis dignitate* of Ficino's protégé

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Binghampton, 1988. Throughout the work Grassi maintains an opposition between such Humanist meditations, which he sees as culminating in Vico, and a traditional philosophic (whether Neoplatonic or Scholastic) idea of meaning as predicated on essence, in which figurative language or myth can function only as an allegorical *integumentum* to the truth which "belong" to philosophy and theology. Grassi's discussion of Humanism is rich, but the treatment of Platonism seems wilfully to obscure the subtlety of Plato's thinking on the relationship of analogy, dialectic and myth.

[67] The Platonic exposition of the providential order is defended by Ficino as a means of reuniting philosophy and theology after the crises of late Scholasticism "[Plato] was called divine by all without controversy and his learning was called "Theology" among all peoples. Divine providence has decreed alone that the perverse wits of many men, who succumb none too easily to the authority of divine law alone, might yield at last to the Platonic arguments that are fully supportive of religion. Providence has also decreed that those who have impiously and totally separated the study of philosophy from holy religion at some point might come to recognise that they have erred" (*Theologica Platonica*, I, 35-37). Francesco Patrizi was to use similar arguments, with less success, a century later in defence of his new translation of the *Hermetica* in the *Nova de philosophia universalis*.

[68] The *idolum* is Ficino's term for the image making faculty at the root of the soul – the faculty more commonly designated the *phantasia*. If the *idolum* is linked with fate, the body is linked with nature. Our treatment of Ficino at this point follows Trinkaus.

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, composed as a prologue to the nine hundred theses in which he planned to demonstrate the concord of all discourses of revelation (Biblical scripture, Platonic philosophy, the *Corpus Hermeticum*, natural magic and Cabala, the unifying discourse) to the assembled churchmen of Rome.[69] Pico's *Oratio*, frequently read out of the context of the *Conclusiones nongentae* and so heralded as a Humanist declaration of free will, is addressed specifically to philosophy, and insists on the purgative, purificatory practice of dialectic as the preliminary to initiation into the sacred mysteries represented chiefly by Orphism, natural magic and Cabala.[70] If Pico's oration looks to its end in the mystical ascent that culminates in ecstasy, it also avows the "marrying of heaven and earth" in natural magic.[71] The close links between the disclosure of the universal order as object of contemplation and the imitation of this order for magical purposes are found also in Ficino, and elaborated by him in the third book of *De vita triplice* entitled *De vita coelestus comparanda.* We shall look at *De vita* III later, since it turns ideas of *harmonia universalis* to interesting ends, and has particular relevance to the *intermedi* of 1589. Our object here is the significance of this Neoplatonic thought for the arts, which seems to lie on one hand in the assertion of the transformative, god-like nature of human capacities, derived in part from the assertion in the *Corpus Hermeticum* X and XII.i that men are mortal gods on earth, and gods, immortal men in heaven, and on the other in the allegorical mode essential to an all-encompassing structure of analogical revelations. The meaning of mythological figures (sanctioned by

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[69] Pico's project for initiating universal peace through his demonstration that all religions are one backfired, as is well known, and following the condemnation of the theses and his imprisonment in France, Pico could return to Italy only through the protection of Lorenzo de'Medici. In 1492 Alexander VI, a pontiff free of the odour of sanctity, absolved Pico and his works of heresy.

[70] The title, so close to that of Manetti's celebration of human achievement, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* (1452-3), in itself directs a certain approach to the reading of the work. This title was appended to the work in the Baler editions of 1557, 1572 and 1601, and thus derives neither from Pico, who seems to have left the work untitled, as the *exordium* to the *Conclusiones nongentae*, nor from his nephew, Gianfrancesco Pico, who first edited the work in 1496 (two years after Pico's death) and called it simply *Oratio quaedam elegantissima.* Pico in the *Oratio* gives a clear sense of the relationship between dialectic and "poetic theology" - throughout his career Pico maintained esoteric studies and spiritual fervour alongside a solid commitment to the rigour and subtlety of Parisian scholastic method.

[71] "Haec [magia] altissimis plena mysteriis, profundissimam rerum secretissimarum contemplationem, et demum totius naturae cognitionem complectitur. Haec, inter sparsas Dei beneficio et inter seminatas mundo virtutes, quasi de latebris evocans in lucem, non tam facit miranda quam facienti naturae sedula famulatur. Haec universi consensum, quem significantius Graeci συμπαθειαν dicunt, introrsus perscrutatius rimata [...] in mundi recessibus, in naturae gremio, in promptuariis arcanisque Dei latitantia miracula, quasi ipsa sit artifex, promit in publicum, et sicut agricola ulmos vitibus, ita Magus terram caelo, idest inferiora superiorum dotibus virtutibusque maritat" ("This magic is full of highest mysteries, it embraces the profoundest contemplation of most secret things, and indeed the knowledge of all nature. As though calling forth from hiding places into the light the virtues scattered and disseminated through the world by the goodness of God, magic does not so much perform miracles as to serve diligently creating nature. Once magic has probed most thoroughly into the universal concord which the Greeks more graphically call *sympathia*, it brings to light the miracles concealed in the hidden places of the world, in the womb of nature, laid ready in the storing places and mysteries of God, as though it were itself the author of these things; as the farmer weds elms to the vines, so the Magus weds earth to heaven, in other words the lower things to the gifts and virtues of the things above") *Oratio*, ed. Garin 1942, reprinted 1994 Pordenone, p.66. This passage repeats, in more ecstatic language, the twenty six propositions on magic in the *Conclusiones nongentae*, in which Pico further states that magic and Cabala are the arts which most convince us of the divinity of Christ (one of the condemned propositions) and that magic is the culmination of the rational part of human nature.

their appearance in Platonic myth or the divulgations of the *prisci theologi*) can thus be stratified out like the four levels of biblical exegesis, and such stratification is all the more necessary if the scheme of correspondences obtained is not merely to be contemplated but invoked in the benign rituals which form a part of Florentine Neoplatonism. This second mode is especially pertinent to Pico, with his ambitious schemes of concord between Christianity, Platonism, Scholasticism, Hermeticism and Cabala; as Trinkaus has noted, the effort to reconcile these discourses by demonstrating the analogous nature of their hidden meaning may lead to the proclamation not of a tradition which is not universal, but esoteric.[72]

We have noted the origins of the notion of the reciprocity of man and gods in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and a word should be said about the Hermetic texts that he translated under the title of *Pimander* before embarking on the *Plato Latinus*. In company with everybody else from Lactantius until Isaac Casubon in the seventeenth century, Ficino believed the Hermetic works, consisting of the seventeen *libelli* which form his *Pimander* (all report the discourses of "Thoth" or Hermes Trismegistus), the Latin *Asclepius* on "Egyptian religion", fragments compiled by Stobaeus, and astrological, magical and alchemical literature to be testaments of the most sacred and antique wisdom, which formed the basis of Platonic religiosity and metaphysics. As is well known, he considered their "author", the legendary Hermes Trismegistus, to have been an Egyptian magus who lived a little after Moses, and through Hermes comes the descent of pagan magi - through Zoroaster and Orpheus - who carried the line of sacred wisdom from Egypt to Greece, culminating in Pythagoras and Plato.[73] For Ficino, this genealogy of sages is fundamental to the demonstration that Christianity and Platonism are not only compatible but reciprocal accounts of salvation, whose soteriological figures are Socrates as mediated by *Plato Latinus* and Christ. The erroneous identification of the decadent sub philosophical products of the Platonic tradition as its most "archaic" or originating revelations obviously led to a distorted view in which Hellenistic works (the *Isis and Osiris* of Plutarch, for example, and the *Asclepius*, which claimed to be an account of Egyptian religion) were placed at opposite ends of antiquity as "proof" of the continuity of a tradition of "Egyptian mysteries". To put the matter crudely, the Platonic tradition as promulgated by Ficino is given a species of historic linearity which can be made to approximate in time and in place to Biblical chronology (given the prominence of the Egyptian and the Babylonian magi) and asserts the continuous involvement of Platonism with ritual, influenced also by the Pythagorean mysteries used by Plato in such passages as the Myth of Er in *Republic* X. Ficino could also draw support from Biblical references to the magical powers of the sages of the Egypt, with whom Moses had studied, and to this he added, or followed, the references in Platonic texts themselves to the mysterious and sacred *prisca philosophia* of the Egyptians, such as the remarks in *Phaedrus*,

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[72] See Trinkaus, *op.cit.*, pp.753-768.

[73] Ficino gives his genealogy of the pagan magi - with slight variations - in the preface to his translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (the *Pimander*), the preface to the commentaries on Plotinus, and the *Theologia Platonica*. As Frances Yates notes, the genealogy was derived from Gemistus Pletho and the Church Fathers Lactanius, Augustine and Clement of Alexandria (*Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, Chicago, 1964, p.15).

*Enneads* and the *Corpus Hermeticum* on the sacred wisdom of the Egyptians. The central characters in this genealogy (Moses, Orpheus) were both biblical figures and inspired pagan magi and thus served to display the continuity between the biblical and pagan worlds. Claims for the sacred nature of the earliest poetry had been made in defences of poetry like that of Boccaccio in the *Genealogia deorum gentilium* (commenced for the King of Cyprus, Hugues IV around the mid fourteenth century and composed over a period of twenty five years), designed to protect pagan literature from the attacks of the friars by asserting the analogies between prophetic and poetic scriptural texts and the "inspired" or "frenzied" nature of pagan poetry. We shall look at this tradition of poetic theology below: here we should note that if the Hermetic texts and the *prisci theologi* could be adduced in defence of ancient poetry, they also pointed to the notion of poetic discourse as the "mysterious" and originary representation of revelation, before its belated explication in philosophical argument. Such thinking was exemplified by Renaissance discussions of hieroglyphs; before we turn to these, we should say a little more about the relation between creator, cosmos and man in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, on which Pico draws in the *Oratio*.

In the positive gnosis of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the cosmos is the beautiful work of God which man contemplates, an image of the greater god, and man the son of the cosmos, although free to move through it - a mortal god on earth, as the gods are immortal men in heaven. The continuity between divinity, cosmos and man is repeatedly stressed, and the cosmos always conceived as a living, beautiful and eternal creature which has never come into being, but comes continuously into being, in which there no death, merely dissolution and the constant transformation which is the counterpart to eternal sameness on heaven. The reciprocity between the divine and the created, distinct from the Christian view of the fallen world or the Greek disparagement of matter - in Plotinus pushed at times towards non-being[74] - also insists on the dyadic movement between the lower and higher; in the *Corpus Hermeticum* XVI we find the account of the demiurge, linked with the sun, sending down things from above and raising them up from below - an account which we might recall with reference to Gafurius's account of the Muse Thalia who "germinates" the seeds of all things in the "silent music" of the earth.[75] This positive gnosis obviously fits in with the ideas of *exornatio mundi* and *kosmos* discussed above - the Neoplatonic cosmology which sees the presence of ornament in the unfolding of the world as it descends from the hypostasis of beauty. The Hermetic texts contain a celebration of human making, poesis as the divinely inspired making in which man imitates divine creation. Human creativity can lie in the capacity to embrace multitudes in an act of thought, as celebrated in a passage in Libellus XI.ii of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, which provides one of the richest sources for arguments on the demiurgic powers of the human as poet. In this passage, Thoth exhorts a "great exercise of the

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[74] See however *Enneads* IV.viii.6 for an unusually positive view of the existence of matter: "its participation in the being, which, according to each receptivity, communicates the supreme Good universally" (trans. McKenna, Harmondsworth, 1991, p.341).

[75] Gafurius certainly knew the *Corpus Hermeticum* - he makes reference in *De harmonia instrumentorum opus* to the *Pimander*, the name of the first book of the *Corpus Hermeticum* which Ficino gave to his whole translation of the Hermetic texts.

imagination" in which one must imagine oneself every living creature, bring together in oneself all opposites, be everywhere at once and at every point of generation "grasp in your thought all this at once, all times and places, all substances and qualities and magnitudes together; then you can apprehend God".[76] This passage shows the *concors discordia* of the universal structure as it is grasped as an idea in the mind and we shall see how it is used by Renaissance writers on poetry – such capacity leads in the *Hermetica* to a magical conception of poesis, in which gnosis has operative efficacy, disclosing the cosmic order so that it works for the magus, as for example the passage in *Asclepius* xxxvii about the statues made by Egyptian priests whose proportions were so perfect that they were animated by the spirit of the gods which they depicted. Amongst such operative arts we might include music and medicine, which are brought together by Ficino in the spiritual magic that he sets out in *De vita coelitus comparanda*, which shall occupy us below.[77] The non-magical, or operative arguments for poesis as the representation of universal order by human artifice occur in discussions of poetry, where they come into confluence with Humanist meditations on historical meaning and variety. We shall glance at such discussions below: here we should turn to some preliminary observations about the hieroglyph and its role in the Neoplatonic revival.

If in short the *Hermetica* were central to the promulgation of the *prisca theologia* they also favoured the propagation of "theological mysteries" at odds with the insistence of Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy on dialectic as the instrument of metaphysical ascent.[78] Central to the diffusion of a non-dialectical "Hermetic wisdom" was the notion that the *prisci theologi* were identifiable with the *poeti theologi*, the poet-prophets of the pagan world who had foretold the coming of Christ in the enigmatic form of their verses, or divulged their sacred wisdom in hieroglyphic form. This estimation of the hieroglyph as a sacred, supra-dialectical paradox of the *prisci theologi*, offered to the eyes for intuitive understanding was "substantiated" by the convenient appearance in Florence of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*, which thus marked the "return" of Egyptian mysteries to the Platonic revival. Horapollo's pedantic little manual could not have arrived at a more fortuitous moment, nor could its author have possessed a more promising name, and Ficino's remarks, alongside the comments in Plotinus, Iamblichus and the *Corpus*

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[76] *Corpus Hermeticum*, XI.ii.20b, using edition of W. Scott, Oxford 1924.

[77] One might recall a poetic evocation of the power of spiritual magic to move and animate proportionate things in the final scene of *A Winter's Tale*, where the "statue" of Hermione is brought to life as music sounds, the conceit being that so flawless a simulacrum must live with the life that it depicts.

[78] Not to mention Ficino and Pico, whose writings are emphatically philosophical and to be read as such. However original Pico's claims for Cabala, or the scope of his projected synthesis of all philosophical and theological traditions, his emphasis on dialectic as requisite to the disclosure of analogies is orthodox Platonic methodology, and it seems to me important not to over-emphasise the poetic character of Pico's thought. Over a century after Ficino, in the Platonist Francesco Patrizi, author of a new translation of the *Hermetica* in his *Nova de universis philosophia* (1591), with works not included in Ficino's *Pimander*, such as the fragments of Stobaeus, we find the most extensive Neoplatonic poetics of the later sixteenth century, in which the idea of poetry as divine *furor* is given full philological development. We shall look more closely at Patrizi in later parts of this section.

*Hermeticum* which he translated were to launch the speculations on the invention of a sacred, symbolic language which preoccupied Renaissance emblematics.[79]

The remarks on the language of the Egyptians appear in *Corpus Hermeticum* XVI, in *Enneads* V.viii.6, in Plutarch in *Isis and Osiris*, in Apuleius Bk XI and in Iamblichus *De mysteriis* VII.4-5. Plotinus in *Enneads* V.viii.6 praises the "wise men of Egypt [...] when they wished to signify something wisely, did not use the forms of letters which follow the order of words and propositions [...] but by drawing images and inscribing in their temples one particular image of each particular thing, they manifested the non-discursiveness of the intelligible world, that is, that every image is a kind of knowledge and is a subject of statements, all together in one, and not a discourse or deliberation."[80] This tractate of the *Enneads* discusses Intelligible Beauty, which manifests itself through the Forms, and can be dimly discerned by the soul in the mundane world but which exists fully in the Intellectual realm as wisdom and substance. Plotinus contrasts the substantial reality of transcendent wisdom with mundane epistemology, which considers knowledge in terms of theorems, propositions and proportions - with logical demonstration, in a word, and this is the background for his discussion of the images used by the sages of Egypt. Ficino in his commentary on Plotinus remarked that the Egyptian priests attempted to create a sacred writing that corresponded to divine mysteries ("significanda divina mysteria") since God does not know things in terms of multiplicity but in their simple form ("Deus scientiam habet non tamquam excogitationem de re multiplicem, sed tamquam simplicem firmamque rei formam").[81] The immanence of meaning in the hieroglyphs, which remains for Plotinus a means for discussing the apprehension of the substantiality of the Intelligible becomes avowedly talismanic in the hands of other writers more involved with theurgy, such as Iamblichus or Apuleius (long believed to be the author of the *Asclepius*) or the author of the Libellus XVI of the *Corpus Hermeticum*.[82] In *De mysteriis* VII.4-5, Iamblichus spoke of the magical, creative force of

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[79] The Renaissance "rediscovery" of hieroglyphics was initiated by the arrival in Florence of the manuscript of the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo in 1422 (Latin translation Ficino 1463, printed 1471, Greek text published by Aldus 1505), a fifth century Greek work by an unknown author. The work confirmed the erroneous Renaissance belief that the hieroglyphs were essentially ideograms, without phonetic elements. Lelio Gyraldi sums up the kind of speculation generated by the name of Horapollo when he confounds the author of the *Hieroglyphica* with Horus son of Isis who corresponded, according to Plutarch, to the Greek Apollo - such confusion strengthened the belief that Horapollo's work contained sacred meaning "ad occultam rerum interpretationem et naturae pertinere credebat" ("believed to pertain to the occult interpretation of things and nature"), Gyraldi, *op.cit.*, p.229. It was agreed that this language of images governed by a structure of meaning different to that of verbal language, although the potential interpretation could vary widely, from the notion of a pictorial language more universal than verbal signs, as Alberti speculated in *De re aedificatoria* VIII.iv to the Hermetic-Neoplatonic idea of the intuitive or esoteric expression of divine mysteries. We shall treat more thoroughly of the subject below.

[80] Translation A. H. Armstrong, Loeb, 1984.

[81] Cited in Horapollo, *I Geroglifici*, translated Mario Rigoni and Elena Zanco, Milan, 1996, p.24.

[82] This view of hieroglyphics as hieratic symbols which expressed sacred wisdom in a form both intuitive and mysterious persisted for centuries with Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), the Jesuit antiquarian with whom Renaissance Egyptology reaches its culmination, still reiterating Plotinus's remarks in the mid seventeenth century. Similarly, the conception of "Egyptian mysteries" as a kind of syncretic revelation which may disclose to the initiate an understanding of the occult architecture of the world was extremely influential in secret societies such as the Masonic Order, which adopted "Egyptian" motifs in their

hieroglyphics, which contain in themselves the knowledge and essence of the gods, being closely linked with the nature of beings, while the *Corpus Hermeticum* XVI.ii states that Greek is a feeble language, full of "empty tricks of style", and Greek philosophy an empty noise without power to convince, while the force of Egyptian words lies in the fact that they have the energy of the things of which they speak ("η των Αιγυπτων ονοματων δυναμις εν εχει την ενεργειαν των λεγομενων").[83] These claims for the operative power of Egyptian words (conceived as hieroglyphs, or images) should be considered alongside the remarks in the *Corpus Hermeticum* XVII and the *Asclepius* on statues as containing within themselves the forms of the Intelligible cosmos, which the *Asclepius*, condemned by Augustine, described as animated by magic. The magical qualities of the statues and the talismanic powers of the hieroglyphs together suggest the animistic, operative nature of visual figuration in distinction to the semantic structure of language - in particular Greek as the exemplification of logocentricity, derided by "Thoth" as bound by its own artificial logic of signification and unable to reflect or contain the substantial essence of things.

In Ficino we see both the expositor who dedicates himself to the accommodation of Platonic *logos* with the divine, creating Word, invoked also in the "Pimander" (*Corpus Hermeticum* I) and Christ as *Logos*, and the nostalgia for this talismanic language of intuition whose symbols apprehended the essence of what they signified, rather than passing through a process of abstract or belated reasoning, and which could be activated in magical operations. The hieroglyphs thus become of fundamental importance to the assertion of the compatibility of the pagan *prisca theologia* with scripture, since they seem to reveal a language which "contains" truth in itself as a "mystery" - a word at once creating and figurative. This irreducible figurative embodiment of a thing, inseparable from the act of its figuration, may be partially explicated, but fully grasped through intuition; such mysterious understanding has its profound and sacred form in the enigmas of divine literature. In terms of specifically Platonic themes and their enactments, the

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architecture with particular enthusiasm, as attested in playful form by Schinkel's stage designs for the *Magic Flute*. Another word should be said about Kircher - one of the most celebrated polymaths of his day, who made extensive studies of Coptic and whose personal collection became one of the earliest public museums, the *Museo Kircheriano*, Kircher's *oeuvre* included the *Lingua Aegyptica Restituta* (1643), the *Oedipus Aegypticus* (1652), the *Obeliscus Aegypticus* (1666) and the *Sphinx Mystogoga* (1676).

It is worth noting that the actual figurative style of Egyptian hieroglyphics, although not unknown to the Renaissance, was not emulated. The Egyptian form of the hieroglyphs was known in the sixteenth century through two principle sources - the Roman obelisks, four of which were re-erected in 1580s by Domenico Fontana as part of the urban programme of Sixtus V, and the Tabula Bembi, so called because it was acquired by Bembo probably after the Sack of Rome in 1527 - a bronze tablet inlayed with silver and gold which dates from the reign of Claudius and depicts Isis, Thoth and Anubis amongst other Egyptian deities and decorative pseudo-hieroglyphs. The tablet, recognised as Roman or Alexandrian only in the nineteenth century, when hieroglyphs were deciphered, was first published in 1559 by the antiquarian Enea Vico. The "hieroglyphic" images diffused in Renaissance emblems and devices either imitate classical figurations, like the "hieroglyphic" pictograms in the *Hypnerotomachia*, derived from Roman friezes, or use objects of contemporary life, including the ransacking of natural history, accomplished by Valeriano in the *Hieroglyphica* (1556).

[83] The term *energeia* was also seen by Aristotle as the distinguishing quality of metaphor. We shall discuss *energeia* in more detail below.

totalising, syncretic universal order can thus be understood dialectically and hieroglyphically; the latter, poetic in figuration and magical in operation, shares these qualities with music as conceived by Ficino.

As Neoplatonic commentary passes into poetic diffusion, the dialectical structure on which the "mysteries" rest, consistently affirmed from *Phaedrus* to Proclus to Pico's *Oratio*,[84] becomes less prominent and for *letterati* such as Landino or Lorenzo de'Medici, Ficino's Neoplatonism could serve to articulate the structure of cosmic ascent through *furor*, or provide philosophical explication for the spiritual *iter* which leads from the profane to the divine, so that the *enthusiasmos* of the poet-lover can be easily assimilated to the central term of the *emanatio-raptio-remeatio* triad. If Ficino's thought is to be regarded as distinct from Humanist approaches to literature, as exemplified by, say, Poliziano, his works nevertheless passed instantly into the Humanist audience gathered around Lorenzo de'Medici, and remain a point of reference for poets in the following century such as Tasso, who gives considerable attention in his theoretical writings to the relation of dialectic and poetry, the poem as *kosmos* and the hieroglyphs.[85]

The spiritual journey of the poet-lover to the beloved, prompted by desire and will, has the same goal and similar stages to that of the Platonic (or Plotinian) dialectician, as in the palinode in *Phaedrus* or *Enneads* 6.7.34-6. The two ways of ascent - philosophical and poetical - can be united in the kind of mystical philosophy which has one of its few real expositions in the extraordinarily dense and complex *Gli Eroici Furori* of Giordano Bruno, where the rich variety of poetic devices - sonnet, device, song are at once the productions of the *furioso* and the guidelines for ascent through a "heroic" philosophy. It is obvious enough that the dialectic learnt from *Parmenides*, with its discussion of the relationship of indivisibility and divisibility, Plotinus and Proclus, as well as from scholastic training, and used by Ficino, Pico and Cusanus to demonstrate the concord of opposites, the relationship of *complicatio* and *explicatio*, or of the mean and the highest term, loses acuity as it passes into artistic figuration in the form of paradoxes or "hieroglyhs".[86] As mystical belief, or mystical experience, is the *telos* to which the

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[84] When Pico della Mirandola talks in the *Oratio* of his plan to write a "poetic theology" in which he demonstrates that Homer in the *Odyssey* refers allegorically to natural magic (as well as to all the other arts), he seems in my opinion to be attempting a fusion of poetic theology as conceived by, say, Salutati with the exegetical practices of the antique Neoplatonists, rather than to reflect the literary fashions of Lorenzo's circle.

[85] In the *Discorsi del poema eroico* and *Il Conte ovvero delle imprese*. We shall discuss Tasso below at greater length.

[86] The most elevated examples, such as the processions of emblems in Bruno's *Gli Eroici Furori*, or Shakespeare's *Phoenix and the Turtle* (possibly inspired by one of Bruno's emblems), require considerable dialectical skill for their interpretation. One should also remember that Aristotelian dialectic *i.e.* that part of logic which deals with arguments concerning the probable, continues to be a very important part of intellectual culture; the closeness of dialectic to rhetoric saving it from the contempt directed to the "scholastic" disciple of logic in Humanist education. On the relationship of dialectic and rhetoric in Humanist education, and the diffusion of topical logic by Humanist educators, with its close links to rhetoric, see below. The extent to which Aristotelian dialectic remains central to intellectual culture in

structure of thought tends in these philosophers, the aim of their dialectic is to provide a structure which can articulate the ascent from human being and cognition in the world to union with the divine, even at the cost of showing the limitations and self-referentiality of human thought. In contrast with this profound spiritual motivation in Ficino, Pico, Cusanus or Francesco Giorgio, artistic representation of a paradox as "hieroglyphic" can validate itself as figuration of a mystery which can be apprehended only by intuition beyond reason, and thus inseparable from the meaning that it holds, simultaneously explicated by dialectic and beyond it. A sub-philosophical discourse, a popularisation of the more precise and technical terminology of philosophy, presents itself as supra-philosophical, with every love sonnet touted as a "Platonic mystery" creating a situation in which the two discourses which Socrates carefully distinguishes in *Phaedrus*, the *mythos* of the palinode on love and the dialectical method of the philosopher, can become confused to the point that the latter is taken for a "demonstration" of the validity of the former.

In a spectacle such the 1589 *intermedi*, the dialectical element seems to have disappeared, with the cosmic order, represented emphatically in terms of ornament, replete with emblematic detail and "invoked" through a poetical and quasi-magical conception of music.[87] As suggested, the more serious result of this artistic absorption of the philosophical culture is that it becomes subject to criticism at the level of artistic artifice – this appears in the *intermedi* with their spectacular synthesis of the highest and most universal discourses and the *affetti*. As we argue in this section, the *intermedi* both exemplify the beginnings of the synthesis that will replace gradually the transcendent idea with which the artist seeks to in-form artifice with the idealisation of grand style, and represent the embodiment of the analogical order on which spiritual magic and astrological medicine are founded, theorised in artistic terms by Lomazzo. If we do not point back to the philosophical culture in which thinking on music and "hieroglyphics" were grounded, we lose sense of the speculative background of the *intermedi*, and thus of the richness of thought embodied in these very rich representations, and so fall back into the notion that they are "merely" ornamental. The following remarks on Ficino's commentary on *Symposium* and *De vita* III in no way pretend to be adequate from a philosophical viewpoint, since our object is the way in which these works can enrich our thinking on the arts, and on certain questions such as the role of ornament, the significance of Ficino's *magia naturalis* for the staging of *musica mundana* and the presentation of the universal order to the eyes as spectacle. Secondly, the relevance of Ficino to these matters shows the presence as we said of a more theoretical discourse, or a the higher level of articulation with which artistic embodiments are in constant dialogue; the fact that this argument may be incapable of representing justly this thought does not mean that its presence is to be overlooked.

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general is attested by Tasso, for example, in the *Discorsi del poema eroico*, who discusses the relationship of poetry and logic at considerable length.

[87] Aby Warburg's essay "I costumi teatrali per gli Intermezzi del 1589" (1895), cited above, demonstrates that the studies for the costumes, documented in a series of sketches by Buontalenti, reveal the detail of Bardi's iconographic invention for the spectacle. Despite (or because of) Bardi's care in amassing attributes and hieroglyphs, the identity of the figures remained opaque to some of the spectators, although the magnificence of the spectacle and the affective power of the music were universally praised.

El libro dell'amore and De vita coelitus comparanda

If we are looking at Ficino for the structuring of a continuum of iconography which we will consider in terms of its artistic deployment, it is interesting that in the commentary on *Symposium* he develops Plato's analogy of the sun as intelligible ("quale rispecto ha el sole agli occhi tale alle menti ha Iddio" VI.xiii)[88] into the claim that the whole world order may be apprehended by the vision "tutto questo ordine del mondo che si vede, si piglia dagli occhi [...] in quel modo che gli è nella luce la quale è negli occhi infusa" (V.iv).[89] The pre-eminence of sight is based on a metaphysics of light which Ficino takes not only from Plato but from all the intermediary sources - Neoplatonism, pseudo Dionysius, the mystical tradition, Dante in *Paradiso* to name but a few. While light may be beauty in its highest and simplest form, free from variety, local space and temporal change, it is also the means by which we see the world, "questa pictura del mondo, la quale noi veggiamo tutti" (V.iv). Thus the universal order which we have been considering so far in terms of music, is described by Ficino in emphatically visual terms, and by contrast with Plato's myth of the cave, for example, one should note that Ficino does not describe an ascent from darkness to light but offers the world order up to the eyes as ornament "tutto l'ornamento di questo mondo, che è el terzo volto di Dio, per la luce del sole incorporale offerisce sé incorporale agli occhi"(V.iv).[90] Ficino's insistence that what we see is light "painted" or adorned with the forms of things, not material bodies "il lume è ornato di varie forme di corpi" (VI.xiii), means that the act of vision itself is the first part of the progression towards the ideal, which moves up through the brighter, more beautiful and more incorporeal worlds of the world soul and angelic mind, denoted by Macrobius's (ultimately Plotinus's) metaphor of light shining in a series of mirrors.[91]

In the first oration of *El libro dell'amore*, the origins of love are set forth in a discourse which conflates *Timaeus* with Hesiod, Orpheus, Parmenides and Hermes Trimegistus. As we have noted, the ascribed teachings of the latter are especially important in their emphasis that the divine manifests itself through all things, and on the cosmos as a second god which stands between humankind and the divine - the beautiful work of God which lives, think and creates, in which nothing ever perishes but is rather dissolved and transformed.[92] It this cosmos of optimistic gnosis which is evoked in I.ii, where the unfolding of the created world from the world soul, the world soul from the

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[88] "as the sun is to the eyes so God is to the mind", *Sopra la amore ovvero convito di Platone* (*El libro dell'amore*), rep. Milan 1998, p.120.

[89] "all this order of the world that one sees is apprehended by vision [...] as it is in the light that the eyes receive" *op.cit.*p.75. The Latin text reads "Summum illum Deum, non mundum dicimus: quia mundus ornamentum significant ex multis compositum ille vero penitus simplex esse debet" *Opera*, Basel 1576, p.1321.

[90] "all the ornament of thos world, which is the third face of God, by the light of the incorporeal sun offers itself incorporeal to the eyes" *op.cit.*p.76.

[91] At VI.xvii Ficino compares the vision of the light of the sun reflected in water, dispersed through the air, in fire and in the sun itself, to beauty as it appears in the body, soul, angel and divine - the reference to *Republic* VII seems clear.

[92] See in particular *Corpus Hermeticum* VIII and IX. *Corpus Hermeticum*, ed. Walter Scott, Oxford 1924.

*mente angelica* and the *mente angelica* from God is described in language redolent of *Ennead* III.v.2-3, but with an emphasis on the loveliness of creation far from Plotinus's withdrawal from the world of generation. Each of these three worlds originated in chaos, and Ficino claims that the Platonists called world (*mondo*) "caos di forme dipinto", chaos painted with forms. Two lines later a different definition of *mondo* is given, where Ficino explains that God cannot be considered in terms of cosmos, "perché el mondo significa ornamento di molte cose composto"("since world signifies ornament composed of many things") and these two definitions are harmonised in the account that Ficino gives of the passage of the world from chaos to order. As the angelic intelligence, initially dark and unformed in its state of chaos, turns to God, love is born and grows through its illumination as it contemplates the divine. As love grows to perfection through this act of contemplation, it conceives together the Ideas which form the gods of the mundane world, and the gathering of all these Ideas is the cosmos, on whose meaning as ornament Ficino insists "lo adunamento di tutte le forme e idee i Latini chiamano Mondo e i Greci cosmon, che ornamento significa".[93] This grace of the world, or ornament, Ficino pursues, is the beauty which at the moment of the birth of love, drew up and led the angelic intelligence, which had been ugly (because it was chaos), and by this means it became beautiful ("La gratia di questo mondo e di questo ornamento, è la bellezza, alla quale, subitamente che quello Amore fu nato, tirò e condussevi la mente angelica, la quale essendo brutta, per suo mezzo bella divenne"). This process is repeated between the Mente Angelica and the world soul, and between the world soul and the corporeal world, each in turn passing from chaos to cosmos as they are enflamed with love in the contemplation of the higher being. From the point of view of Neoplatonic philosophy, Ficino's account may be profoundly objectionable since it presupposes the existence of chaos as a prior state at the level of intellectual being and thus suggests a deformation of the doctrine of emanation, in which things proceed from a higher source as they are created by its act of contemplation. One should recall here the source of the commentary, the somewhat callow discourse of Phaedrus in *Symposium*, which talks of Hesiod's statement that Eros was born first of the gods, from chaos. The accommodation of the Hesiodic myth with the thought of Plato and Plotinus entails the accommodation of an account of creation as arising from chaos with the descent of being through progressive levels of embodiment, and in the account of divine creation which moves from chaos to perfection, Ficino also provides something consonant with Genesis. We might also note a certain circularity in Ficino's account: each world starts in a state of chaos, is rendered beautiful through its love for the divine, and in the perfection of its love brings forth the totality of all forms together called *kosmos*, which it generates in the next world down the scale. This movement from chaos to perfection to generation in the informing of matter complements the Neoplatonic sequence of the soul's descent into matter (*i.e.*descent-conversion-reversion) which appears at V.xi, for example: the highest and most perfect order of created things is in Ficino's account always already a creation and as such implies notions of chaos or embodiment as something already present, as Ficino explicitly says.

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[93] "the gathering of all the forms and ideas is called in Latin "world" and in Greek "cosmos", which means ornament", *Sopra lo amore*, *op.cit.*p.22. The Latin *Opera* (Basel, 1576) reads simply "Mundum Latinè, Graece κόσμον, id est ornamentum vocamus" *op.cit.*, p.1322.

Ficino places ornament at the point where beauty as emanation of the one passes into the totality of all things which is the world, because it reveals things in their aspect of order. Thus ornament is not the simple emanation of beauty from the divine, but always presupposes some idea of ordering. This ordering, related on one hand to rhythm and measure, is also characterised as an illumination or brightening as beauty as light passes into perfect order, or the manifestation of the harmonious order of things as they exist in their totality takes is revealed in the light of beauty - once we move into ideas of infinitude, the notion itself of ornament ceases to exist. We saw in Gafurius's diagram that each Muse is part of an order of harmony and encapsulates in herself a harmonic order: Ficino describes the all constituted by the three stages of unfolding from the divine, and insists that each of these stages is itself a world - it is especially interesting that chaos is not just the lowest point off the bottom of the scale of being, but appears at every level, even in angelic intelligence so that each part thus mirrors the larger whole: "Tre adunqu' e mondi, tre e caos si considerano". If Ficino's depicts of this order through "cosmon, che ornamento significa", Venus, the beauty through which the world is generated, is central to his poetic speculations.

This continuity in Ficino's account between the various levels of the universe leads him to posit the earthly Venus who presides over generation and the heavenly Venus rapt in contemplation of the divine as complementary figures, rather than opposing the two as sacred and profane like Pausanias in his speech in *Symposium*. Celestial Venus is the angelic mind in its aspect of intelligence, just as Saturn is its substance and Jupiter its life, and from her contemplation comes forth Earthly Venus, whose contemplation generates beauty in the lower world. The two-fold Venus becomes a way of illustrating the unity in the seemingly contradictory process whereby generation proceeds from contemplation of the divine; if we suggested above that Ficino holds out the two meanings of *kosmos* so explicitly as a means of negotiating this difficulty, Venus as contemplation and generation, beauty and world born of nature, may offer a "theology" with which to resolve it. Ficino describes their relationship thus "la prima [Venere] per amore naturale a considerare la bellezza di Dio è rapita, la seconda è rapita ancora pe 'l suo amore a creare la divina bellezza ne' corpi mondani. La prima abbraccia in sé lo splendore divino, poi diffunde questo alla seconda Venere; questa seconda transfonde nella materia del mondo le scintille dello splendore già ricevuto" (II.vii).[94] Generation thus becomes the lower form of contemplation (an idea which Ficino may have taken from *Enneads* III.viii, "On Nature and Contemplation and the One", which also suggests generation as a form of praxis), concerned to manifest the beauty which celestial Venus "embraces" in her contemplation of the divine. Ficino speaks of generation as the desire of the *somma perfectione* to multiply itself (III.ii), as the process of perpetuation by which becoming reflects the eternal, and a condition of reversion back to God, so that the "circle" of procession, conversion and reversion is fulfilled ("le cose prima per necessità procedono,

[94] "The first Venus is rapt by love in the contemplation of God, the second is rapt by her love to create divine beauty in worldly bodies. The first enfolds divine splendour in herself, which she passes to the second Venus; she in turn transfuses the brilliant spark of the splendour she has received into the matter of the world". Ficino, *op.cit.*p.39.

e procendendo degenerano, ch'elle si volghino con inverso Iddio" V.xi). It is important to recognise that the descent into matter is not, as for Plotinus, a fall occasioned by the arrogance or daring (*tolma*) of the soul, but the perfection of the divine which is the beginning and end of all things has its reflection in the world as the wish of all things to "amplify" or "multiply" themselves in their perfect state (III.ii) "dalla unica [...] verità nasca la multiplicite verità degli uomini" ("from the one truth the manifold truth of men is born") (VI.xviii). Each stage in the procession of beauty through mind, soul, nature and matter is described by Ficino as a circle at II.iii, and thus every stage in the movement from contemplation to generation to the reversion of created things is given a cyclical dimension. Thus alongside the "quattro cerchi che si che intorno a Dio continuamente si rivolgono" (II.iii) through which beauty adorns ideas in the angelic intelligence, fills the world soul with reasons and nature with seeds, and finally clothes matter with forms, we have the three created worlds of the first oration, which rise out of one another as each moves from chaos to cosmos and the cyclical patterns of the whole which are reflected at every level. As noted above, there is an element of embodiment right up to the angelic sphere and beauty penetrates throughout the lower world as a condition of concord and of reversion, and these cycles are graduated against the larger movement symbolised by the duality of Venus as contemplation and generation: "la celeste (Venere) abbi l'amore a cogitare la divina bellezza, la vulgare abbi l'amore a generare la bellezza medesima nella materia del mondo, perché quale ornamento quella vede tale questa vuole, secondo el suo potere, dare alla macchine del mondo" (VI.vii).[95]

The stratification of the universe as it fills out with intermediary levels, must therefore be reconciled with the reflection of the whole by each part, and the cyclical movement through which the unfolding of parts enacts the unity of the whole. To grasp better these complexities, in which Edgar Wind saw Ficino's confidence as a dialectician and his veneration of the principle announced in Proclus's *Elements of Theology* "the whole is in the part"[96], we need to bring in two further elements - firstly the Graces as figures in whom the unity of Venus is unfolded, according to Pico,[97] and second Love as daemon, on whom the whole intermediary structure depends for its concord and conservation. As our discussions here are motivated by the artistic embodiments which these philosophical meditations take on, our interest here in the Graces is prompted by their importance for the understanding of ornament, as well as their role in Ficino's meditations.

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[95] "Let the celestial Venus have the love to meditate upon divine beauty, and the vulgar Venus have the love to generate the same beauty in the matter of the world, because the ornament that she sees is that which she wants to bestow upon the structure of the world, according to her powers". Ficino, *op.cit.*p.101.

[96] *Pagan Mysteries*, "The Medal of Pico della Mirandola", citing Proclus *Elements of Theology*, Proposition 67 *op.cit.*, p.40.

[97] "Qui profunde et intellectualiter divisionem unitatis Veneris in trinitatem Gratiarum, et unitatis fatalis, in trinitatem Parcarum, et unitatis Saturni in trinitatem Iovis, Neptuni et Plutonis intellexerit, videbit modum procedendi in Orphica theologia" ("Whoever can understand profoundly and intellectually the division of the unity of Venus in the trinity of the Graces and the unity of fate in the unity of the Fates and the unity of Saturn in the trinity of Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto, will see the way of proceding in Orphic theology"), *Conclusiones numero xxxi* [...] *de modos intellegendi hymnos Orphei secundam Magiam*, 8, in *Conclusiones nongentae*, Florence, 1995.

The speculations on the Graces within Ficino's work vary throughout his work: they can constitute a pagan trinity, they are identified with the benevolent planets Jupiter, Sol and Venus in *De vita* III.v, but their fundamental significance is that of a figure which embraces beauty, measure, and the triad of *emanatio*, *raptio* and *remeatio* by which being proceeds from the divine, is enraptured by it, and reverts to it. In II.i, Ficino announces this ternary process "col numero tre Iddio governa le cose, e le cose ancora con esso numero tre sono terminate" ("with the number three God governs all things and with the same number things find their perfection"), and aligns this with the *emanatio-raptio-remeatio* triad in which things are born from the "sempiterno fonte", proceed into the world and return to their source. This triad is first linked with goodness (creation), beauty (the *raptio* of created things as they turn to God) and justice (the perfection achieved when things revert), where the central position of beauty, which attracts goodness and culminates in justice, is emphasised. In II.ii the triadic cycle is modulated to give beauty (*pulchritudo*), the creation of the world in God, love (*amor*), for the rapturous turning to God and *dilectatione* (*voluptas*) as it returns to God. At V.ii the Graces appear under their Latin names *Splendor*, *Viriditas* and *Laetitia* associated with the mind and the "spiritual" senses of sight and hearing, and the philosophical relevance of these correspondences is spelt out in a letter to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, in which beauty is defined as a grace composed of the three graces, symbolised by Apollo (*i.e.* music), Venus and Mercury, who represent beauty to the ears, the eyes and the intellect and "attract", "enrapture" and turn contemplation to itself, "(kindled) with the love of divine contemplation and Beauty" - we see again the whole reflected in every level of a scheme, with sensorial apprehension mirroring the universal cycle of procession, conversion and reversion.[98] One could go on adducing material here, such as a medal of Pico della Mirandola analysed by Wind, and the grouping *pulchritudo-amor-voluptas* also summarises the definition of love in *Symposium* as desire to beget upon the beautiful, or Pico's *Comento sopra una canzona de amore composta da Girolamo Benivieni* (II.xvi), where he rewrites Ficino's triad of Pulchritudo-emanation, Amor-conversion and Voluptas-return as Viriditas-emanation-beauty, Splendour-intellect-conversion and Voluptas-will-reversion. The point however is not to accumulate these allegories which keep pushing around meanings from one Grace to another, but to consider how they fit in with the Graces as embodiments of measure and of ornament or grace as qualities that "unfold" beauty - grace pointing to the divine origin of beauty. In Gafurius's diagram the Graces appear at the right hand of Apollo, above the Muses, as though to suggest the unfolding from the monad to the triad to its threefold multiplication in the nine Muses, aligned with the planets and the fixed stars. As the simple form of the Muses, the Graces may be associated with the measure embodied in their dance; as the explication of the unity of a god, such as Jupiter or Venus, they symbolise the Neoplatonic cycle of generation and re-ascent. In short, the Graces symbolise the descent of beauty as hypostasis into multiplicity in the world, they embody measure, and in the plenitude of their cycle of giving, receiving and returning (associated with the Graces by Seneca in *De beneficiis* and glossed by Servius) they depict the overflowing nature of emanation.[99] The

[98] Pico, *Comento*, II.xvi, Ficino, *Epistolae* VII, cited in Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, London 1972, p.59.
[99] See Wind, *Pagan Mysteries* for the relevant sources.

Graces thus become crucial to the union of measure with the seeming incommensurability between the transcendent hypostases and the generated world which is overcome through grace; it is through this coincidence of a structure of mediation based on measure and mediation based on the superabundance of the emanation of transcendent beauty that one can understand the universal order as "cosmon che ornamento significa" - both harmonious whole and that which is more, which points back to the overflowing of the transcendent.[100] Once again, the dialectical complexities proliferate in a situation where the structure of mediation not only reflects the larger whole but keeps unfolding new centres within centres, and the difficulties in resolving these complexities is perhaps one reason why the sub-philosophical poetic and artistic figuration which represents (or deforms) dialectical complications into "mysteries" takes on such importance. The appearance of the Graces as a device on the medal of Pico also shows that the doctrine of the reflection of the whole in the parts can lead to a concept of figuration in which an image holds a meaning expounded through patterns of correspondences, as the exemplary Graces were conceived to explicate their significance through their dance.[101]

This takes us to deviate for a moment from Ficino to the most eloquent image of the richness of analogical speculation concerning the Graces in Botticelli's *Primavera*, where the explication of the unity of Venus in the measured dance of the Graces has its analogies in the decent and re-ascent of the soul, guided back up to the heavens by Mercury as psychopomp, and in the cycle of the seasons exemplified by Flora strewing the earth with flowers.[102] Here the explication of beauty as a unified form into a composite embodiment is characterised as mimesis in the circular dance of the Graces. Secondly, the unity of Venus as Idea is not just explicated in these ternary cycles of emanation and return, but also in the abundance of the world itself, in the earthly Venus or Venus Genetrix for whom the "daedal earth" scatters its flowers.[103] Like the Homeric cave of the nymphs, in the *Primavera* the grove of Venus is both gloomy and illuminated by the "lights" of flowers with which it is adorned - if the flowers are attributes or even

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[100] In contrast to such an understanding, one might cite Varchi's *Libro della Beltà e della Grazia* in which the definitions of beauty as proportion (identified with Aristotle by Varchi) and as *grazia* (a "Platonic" conception) are treated mutually opposing. Varchi's work appears to misread not only the meditations on the Graces in Quattrocento Florentine Neoplatonism, but also Castiglione in *Il libro del cortegiano* who attempts to articulate the relationship between *grazia* and measure.

[101] One of the ends of the present work is to argue that poetic and artistic figuration in the late Renaissance expresses meaning in terms of this kind of analogical pattern, rather than through the model of signified-signifier which is taken as an *a priori* in much textual criticism.

[102] On the much discussed matter of Botticelli's mythological sources, see *inter alia* Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, Dempsey *The Portrayal of Love*, Princeton 1992, Meltzoff *Botticelli, Signorelli and Savanarola Poetic Theology from Boccaccio to Poliziano*, Florence 1986. In this short account we are neglecting the meaning of the work as a *figura* of the *renovatio medicea*, with the returning golden age depicted in the golden fruit, or *mala aurea* associated with Venus and the Medici *palle*. In this sense the grove of Venus might be interpreted also as the Hesperides, as classical paradise – on the association of the Hesperides and its golden apples with the Garden of Venus, and the deployment of the image in celebrations of *renavatio*, see Section Three below.

[103] Cf. *De rerum natura*, I.7 "tibi suavis daedala tellus submittit flores" ("for you the sweet artificer earth puts forth flowers").

"signatures" of Venus, the grove is the scene of the penetration of form into *hyle* which stands at the mid-point of the cycle of procession, conversion and reversion. The painting, so redolent in its atmosphere of the poetry of Lorenzo de'Medici, depicts these Neoplatonic themes (if they can indeed be ascribed to it) in two ways that focus awareness on its nature as artwork, through explicit references to mimesis and to the veil. Just as in Ficino's thought the part may reflect the whole, so the mimetic character that we noted in the dance of the Graces can be read at several levels through the painting - not only does the masque like aspect of the work, which is such as to have led scholars to try to pin down its relation to contemporary Florentine spectacle,[104] underline the character of the painting as a representation, but within the structure of Neoplatonic

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[104] One could cite a whole genealogy of interpretation here, from Warburg's fascination with the *ninfa* in Florentine Quattrocento culture to Dempsey's attempt to read the painting through the poetic culture of Lorenzo de' Medici. The central model in these attempts is the commemoration of Giuliano de'Medici's joust in the *Stanze* of Poliziano, with which Botticelli is related at a number of points - first in the depiction of Venus's garden as a place of eternal spring, with spring personified as a *ninfa*, the Hours gathering flowers and a tree with the golden apples that Hippomemes threw at Atalanta (said to have been the apples of the Hesperides), the *Birth of Venus* as the illustration of *Stanze* I.c, then in the fact that he painted a banner for the joust depicting Pallas triumphant, with which *Pallas and the Centaur* was at one time erroneously identified. Attempts of this nature to clarify the work's relation to Laurentian spectacle focus on the costumes, and in particular on the gown of Flora, which is argued to be the accurate representation of a costume made for the "masque" on which the painted was based - but to my knowledge no firm evidence has ever been established. In its flowing "classical" form, it conforms to the type of the *ninfa* as recorded in contemporary paintings and in particular in the illustrations of the *Trionfi* of Petrarch, while the motif of flowers also appears not infrequently in paintings of masquers' costumes, as far afield as Elizabethan England. (See the famous portrait of the *Lady in Fancy Dress*, in Hampton Court, whose headress corresponds to the "Persian" conical head-dress depicted in manuals of costume, and whose flower embroidered gown appears like a late, Northern transformation of the earlier Florentine *ninfa*, with the changes in meaning implied by the "Persian" form and details. In the absence of concrete information about the painting, all suggestion is mere speculation, but it may be that this masquer represents something like a late, provincial confluence of the more solemn associations of the *ninfa* with the Sibyl or wise virgin - a suggestion which seems consonant with the iconography of spectacle in the Elizabethan and Jacobean court, as discussed by Frances Yates in *Astraea*, London 1975).

In Buontalenti's designs for the *intermedi*, the Quattrocentro *ninfa* costume has passed into something similar to the *teste divine* of Michelangelo, or the masque designs of Rosso Fiorentino, with the fantastic head-dresses and the elaborate bodices suggestive of armour in their ornamentation. If one prototype for the *ninfa*, which has its development in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, is erotic, another is Laura as Pallas-like *Puditicia triumphans* in the *Trionfi* of Petrarch, or Pallas herself as celebrated in the lost banner for Giuliano's joust. The unfinished second part of the *Stanze* (broken off at the murder of Giuliano in 1478 in the Pazzi conspiracy), which ends with the "fallace sonno" of the *ninfa* Simonetta bearing the arms of Pallas, her transformation into Fortune, often identified with Venus, and with Giuliano's prayer to Pallas and Amor for victory in his joust, depends upon an awareness of the relationship between the Venereal and Minervan aspects of the *ninfa* - or better as an mythologising of the beloved who is erotic as she provokes desire and severely chaste as her virginity is an armour against lust. The type is obviously developed in the female knight of Italian romance, developed by Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*, where the martial disguise shows an aggressive virility that shields and protects the female body intact within – the book of Britomart, the female knight of the *Faerie Queene* is dedicated to chastity and Spenser makes much of the softness and interiority of the female body encased in armour. (The *topos* is inverted playfully by Sidney in *Arcadia*, where the warrior prince Pyrocles disguises himself as an Amazon to get close access to his beloved Philoclea.) The most pervasive significance of the *ninfa* as virago in her Venereal and Minervan aspects is probably in the association with rhetoric; in *De nuptiis Mercurii* Capella describes Rhetoric as a beautiful woman in shining armour, who persuades with her beauty and with her arms – the force of these latter is not just in their efficacy but in their dazzling aspect, a theme which we shall see developed by Quintilian in his account of the ornaments of speech in Section Two.

thought itself the cyclical unfolding of the whole order could be seen as playing out that which is inherent (and always has been inherent) in the unity of the originating centre, and at each level there is a circular explication of what is implicit at the higher level which it reflects. Such explication has however the character of a veil, in which the painting also points to its own figurative character, represented literally in the sequence from the flowers painted on the translucent veil of the flower breathing Chloris, to Flora's gown as a more material repetition of Chloris's veil to the continuation from the flowers on her gown to the flowers she scatters, and which spring out of the dark earth, suggestive of a force like Gafurius's Thalia, generating in the earth with silent song. Amongst the sources for this image of the veil of nature - or rather, nature as veil - painted with all her works, are *De planctu naturae* and Proclus's commentary on *Timaeus*, which allegorises the *peplon* of Athena as the tissue formed by the order of things, and speaks of "Athena, who presides over Nature comprehended by the goddess who weaves the beautiful order of intelligible forms".[105] This veil appears in the pendant to the *Primavera*, the *Birth of Venus*, where a flower-strewn cloth is held out to the celestial goddess - beauty as transcendent Idea manifests itself on earth as variety and ornament.[106] The veil obviously takes us back again to the Neoplatonic view of poetry as an *integumentum*, a covering over philosophic discourse or sacred "mysteries". If the veils in the *Primavera* can be read in terms of the variety and beauty of nature's works, they hover over a gloom that represents ineffable mystery in the aspect of the darkness of matter.

It is this prominence given to the darkness suggestive of the *hyle* that is one of the remarkable features of the painting; it also displays that certain ideas may be given form and speculative richness in a figure which elude discursive, or dialectical formulation. The *Primavera* centres on the very point that proved almost distasteful for the philosophers, the descent of forms into matter, and rather than depicting this as a fall into drunkenness, it renders it as a scene of measure and grace – the gesture made by Venus with her upraised hand suggests both salutation and keeping time to music. One can admire Botticelli's intellectual and poetic clarity in depicting a *concors discordia* of darkness and the lights of form, emphasised by the music which denotes the *harmonia mundi* as well as the cycles of chaos and *kosmos* as the forms proceed and turn to beauty, and the soul's cycle which begins and ends in love. The exploration of grace and measure in the painting leads into a meditation on analogy, which is both proportion and metaphor, and thus the image is a perfect figure for the explication of analogical meanings –if proportion and metaphor, each respond to the relationship of likeness and unlikeness, so that the structure of explication in the painting is itself balanced with the presentation of poetic figuration as a veil which gives form to the things that it covers. In this extremely subtle and intelligent play with the implications of *concors discordia*, analogical structure, measure and metaphor in figuration, the painting presents itself as the quintessential hieroglyphic representation, which offers everything to apprehension

[105] Cited in Nohrnberg, *The Analogy of the Faerie Queene*, Princeton, 1976, p.743.

[106] In the probable source for the painting, Poliziano's imitation of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* in *Stanze* I.99-100, sky-born Venus is clothed and adorned as she comes ashore by the Hours, who take her to the *choros* of the gods.

and yet intimates that everything is mysterious. The emphasis given to darkness and veils should not be identified exclusively with the *hyle* which is brought into light through the ornaments of form; it also suggests the gap that always exists between the abundance of representation or the subtlety of the dialectical structure, and the ineffable unity, or evanescent formlessness, of what is represented.[107] This gap will exist wherever a structure of representation aims to be totalising, and we shall see that the topos of the world as poem is often rendered in terms of *concors discordia*, as though to stress the complete character of representation by insisting on the necessary presence of unlikeness; it is also worth remarking that for a later writer such as Tasso, who develops the topos of the poet's universal artifice with great skill, contemplation on this "totalising" artifice can only lead to reflection on the gulf between it and the reality (mundane or divine) beyond it.[108] It is all the more singular and remarkable that Botticelli can hold balance with such graceful assurance in the *Primavera*, and we might return here to our starting point, the "knot" of the Graces, as a figure for the perspicacity and *ingenium* of the artist which can grasp and depict the labyrinthine complexities of speculation as poised ornament.

This has taken us far from the matter at hand however, which is Ficino's commentary on *Symposium*, and if we are to arrive at a richer reading of the dense artistic productions of the late Renaissance, we need to return to it. At VI.iv Ficino announces "dal sommo grado allo infimo della natura tutte le cose per debiti mezzi passano", and part of the difficulty - the "mystery" some might say - of the work is to understand this coincidence of a hierarchical order with a cycle. A passage from Proclus's *Elements of Theology* cited by Wind can go some way to clarify the issue "The mean term reaching out to both extremes, links the whole together with itself as a mediator; it [...] implants in all a common character and mutual nexus - for in this sense also givers and receivers constitute a single complete order, in that they converge upon the mean term as on a centre".[109] Proclus's words might suggest the duality of the sun as we saw it in Gafurius's diagram, as both Apollo musagetes, the mind that moves all the spheres and Sol at the mid point of the heavenly hierarchy; in reference to Ficino's commentary on *Symposium* it highlights the importance given to the figure at the very centre of the intermediary order, the daemon Amor, neither god nor mortal, who binds together the whole structure of mediation through concord and sympathies. The theme is announced first at III.i, where the *Divine Names* of Dionysius the Areopagite is adduced to assert the love that unites all superior and inferior things is "una certa virtù di congiungere e unire", which leads on to the identification of love with medicine and music, designated by the heavenly harmony of Urania and the worldly music of Polyhymnia. The excursus on the concord that preserves the physical world culminates at III.iii with the claim that "tutte le parti del mondo [...] intra sé in essere e vivere simili, per una scambiavole carità insieme

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[107] As we shall note later, in the cultivation of monstrous or chaotic forms in later sixteenth century art, one sees an attention given to these points where the mediation of the continuum of figuration is put under strain - the *grottesche*, at once depictions of chaos teeming with potentialities and "hieroglyphs" are an especially rich terrain for exploring these reflections or conjunctions in which one attempts to overcome the underlying strains in the iconographic continuum, by locating and figuring them.

[108] As in his final work, the dialogue on hieroglyphs and *imprese*, *Il conte*, where he denies the possibility of proportion between the "body" and "soul" in the device, as in human life.

[109] *Pagan Mysteries*, 1967, p.47.

si legano" ("all the parts of the world, similar in being and in life, are bound together by a mutual love") and this vision of the living body of the world, redolent of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, is developed in the sixth, Socratic oration, where Ficino sets out a theory of magic in which the universal structure of mediation is conceived as a living nexus which binds itself together through correspondences and sympathies. At VI.iii the daemons, governors of the lower world, are explained as the souls of the higher elements which constitute the body of the world - ethereal fire, air and the cloudy air associated with water (rational humans beings take the place of the daemons on earth), and in the subsequent part of the oration they are said to convey the planetary affects to humans.[110] It is at VI.x that Ficino links Amor as daemon with concord as the work of magic "tutta la forza della magica consiste nello amore: l'opera della magia è uno certo tiramento dell'una cosa dall'altra per similitudine di natura [...] Questa arte magica attribuirono gli antichi a' demoni, perché e demoni intendono qual sia la parentela delle cose naturali intra lloro, e qual cosa con qual cosa consuoni, e come la concordia delle cose, dove manca, si possa ristorare [...] E tutta la natura per lo scambiavole amore maga si chiama".[111] Such views were repeated as we have seen by Pico in the *Conclusiones nongentae* and in the *Oratio*, with the celebration of magic as the marrying of earth and heaven. In discussion of the passage in *De amore* VI.x, Frances Yates has pointed to the *Pimander*, the first part of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, in which man, in a state of semi-divinity, descends to nature as he sees his form reflected in her, and they are united in a passionate embrace.[112] We might see this account reflected still more clearly in the *Libro dell'amore* of Leone Ebreo, where all things are generated from the copulative energies of the *coincidentia oppositorum* for which the union of female and male is the prototype.[113] Ficino however stresses sympathy rather than copulation in his account of erotic magic: what is accomplished by Amor, daemons and Nature as magi in the world body is accomplished by *musica mundana* in the heavens and by medicine in the microcosm of the human body - the relationship between these levels forming the subject of *De vita coelitus comparanda.*

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[110] At VI.v, Ficino discusses the daemons who accompany Venus, grouped in three divisions corresponding to fire, pure air and thick, cloudy air. To these daemons he gives the names of "heroes", which he derives from eros; here we have the precedent for Bruno's discussion of the heroic lover, dedicated to the arduous ascent to divine love, in the *Eroici Furori.*

[111] *Sopra lo amore*, *op.cit.*p.112. "All the force of magic consists in love; the working of magic is a drawing of one thing by another thing similar in nature [...] The ancients attributed this magical art to daemons, since the daemons understand the relatioship between natural things and the concord between things, and where concord may be restored where it is lacking [...] and all nature for mutual love [within her] is called *maga*". For a negative account of the daemonic character of erotic magic, see the masque of Amor in the House of Busirane, *Faerie Queene*, III.xii - some of the difficulties of the passage may be resolved if it is read in these terms. We shall discuss the passage below, which represents a kind of daemonic version of the fulfilment of the decorated room through spectacle.

[112] *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, *op.cit.*, p.126.

[113] One might note that Ebreo is working with the notion of unmediated opposition in contrast to the mediated opposition constituted by the emphasis on the daemonic order with Amor at its centre in Ficino; again it should be emphasised that the arguments here are much weakened by the lack of dialectical competence.

The work reiterates the cosmology of the commentary on *Symposium*, with attention focused very much on the *spiritus*, between soul and body in the cosmos and microcosmos, through which the body breathes, lives, and receives the gifts of the soul. Ficino's discussion is founded on the capacity of the human spirit to draw the world spirit (in particular, the influences of the stars, gods of the world soul), and the belief that what is higher draws what is lower and converts it to itself (xv) - the intermediary order is now not only revealed as reflection of the unity of the whole, but full of operative spiritual and daemonic forces which govern the connections between higher and lower.[114] The concord disclosed between two things, or the "virtue" that is drawn forth from objects is an act, which is affirmed also by the principle set forth by Ficino in *El libro dell'amore* at V.i, which proclaims that beauty is the outward perfection of inner good, the "flower" of which good is the seed; in *De vita* III we find elaborate arrangements and hierarchies which lead from the outer form of colours, scents, precious stones, and so forth to the inner forces that give them efficacy, which derive from the gods and are channelled and activated through the intermediary force of *spiritus*. Thus contemplation of the revealed world order has its complement in the act which discovers the concord that underlies nature; in this marrying of heaven and earth the intermediary order seems almost to underlie the lowest level of the mundane world - I say almost because there always remains a substratum of chaos necessary to creation. This duality of contemplation of order and discovery of latent sympathies which as we shall see characterises later theoretical works on the arts such as the memory of theatre of Giulio Camillo, or the *Idea del tempio della pittura* of Lomazzo, has its enactment in the 1589 *intermedi*.

If magic discloses or imitates the love that knits the order of being with the cosmos in its physical aspects, as Pico and Ficino claim, the alignments of earthly and heavenly things are described and activated in magic using images, figures, poetic language, ritual movement and music - in a word, the arts; thus Frances Yates suggests the talismanic character of the *Primavera* as "an image of the world arranged so as to attract the favourable planets".[115] The mimetic character of sympathetic magic Ficino's thought emerges clearly in *De vita* III.xxi, where he speaks not of adoring the stars, but imitating them, and by imitation seizing their gifts. While Ficino considers music the most important kind of imitation, at *De vita* III.xix we find him providing instructions for the making of a figure of the whole world, which he seems initially to conceive as something like a celestial globe, suggesting that it be fashioned by a sculptor of silver on gold plate, and comparing it to the astronomical clock of Lorenzo della Volpaia, which depicted all

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[114] It is important to recall that Ficino regards *spiritus* as a mediating force, and thus to note a distinction between Love as daemon that effects the concord between created things and the demonic, in the sense of the necromantic, with which the astrological decans were often associated: in the first case *spiritus* is the channel of higher influences which are arranged according to the planets, and lead back ultimately to the one, while in the second the conjurer is preoccupied with guiding the influx of *spiritus* downwards, into material objects which then take on operative powers. On the subject, see Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, which discusses Ficino's unacknowledged use of *Picatrix*, the Arab manual of practical magic which circulated in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

[115] Yates, *op. cit.* 1991 reprint, p.77. See also *De vita* III.xxii on the influences obtained through "gestures of the body, dancing and ritual movement, through concepts of the imagination, agreeable discourses of reason, and tranquil contemplations of the mind"

the movements of the stars and planets, likened by Ficino to the spheres of Archimedes.[116] Ficino, who seems to have been generally uninterested in visual art,[117] then recommends depicting a room with a vault - preferably where one spends most time or sleeps - with the figures of the universe and its colours, so that on leaving the room, one will look not at individual things, but perceive the figures and colours of the universe. The room described by Ficino develops the claim in *De amore* V.iv that the universal order can be apprehended by the eyes with mnemonic overtones, but more interesting is the assertion that the contemplation of the universe figured in the room can transform the vision of mundane world when we return into it, and disclose the paradigm beyond the particulars of becoming. Thus the figure of the universe does not just reveal the order of things in the moment of contemplation, but aids the beholder to internalise and memorise them, and to discover their presence in the variety of the lower world.[118] While the room which depicts the world seems of minor interest to Ficino, its transformational and mnemonic qualities make it enormously suggestive for the reading of reiterated cosmological iconography of the *sotto in su* decorations of the perspectival room. One should also note the wealth of material which could be related to Ficino's room, from its direct translation into an esoteric, operative model in the memory theatre of Giulio Camillo and the translation into art theory in the writings of Lomazzo, to the personalised decorative cycle which depicts the heavenly configurations of the owner's horoscope, as at the Loggia di Galatea at the Farnesina.[119]

Ficino passes quickly over the vaulted room with its figuration of the universe, and onto other modes by which to harmonise or invoke benevolent influences, which include medical recipes, talismanic images and music. The making of images, from which he distances himself in a demonstration of orthodoxy, concerns less the glyph itself than the material, the time of its fabrication and of its use - it is this alignment which renders the image efficacious, more than the depiction. At *De vita* III.xx Ficino discusses this alignment in terms which echo *De amore*, and identifies its concord with love, which has

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[116] In the thirteenth book of the *Theologica Platonica* Ficino praises these spheres as showing a god like invention "quis neget eum esse ingenio, ut qua loquar, pene eodem quo et auctor ille caelorum, ac posse quodammodo caelos facere, si instrumenta nactus fuerit materiamque caelestum, postquam facit eos nunc, licet ex alia materia, tamen persimiles ordine?" ("how can one deny that he possesses a genius almost like the maker of heaven and that he could in a certain measure create the heavens, if he could find the instruments and celestial material, since he now makes them, in a different material of course yet in similar order") *Theologica Platonica*, Paris 1964, Vol.2, p.226.

[117] If the making of images in *De vita* is a counterpart to the making of medicines, it is also a more concentrated form of the kind of advice proposed throughout *De vita* III, in which musings on the nature of Dionysus or the astrological influence of Venus on Saturn can lead to rather trite recommendations to have a drink at the end of a hard day, or take a walk in a flower garden to relieve the dreariness of solitary study. The very banality of some of Ficino's suggestions does show however the totalising quality of his conception, in which no movement, no matter how inconsequential, is without resonance and correspondence throughout the living animal of the world.

[118] It is worth citing Frances Yates on this point: "The man who stares at the figure of the world on his bedroom ceiling, imprinting it and its dominating colours of the planets on the memory, when he comes out of his house and sees innumerable individual things is able to unify these through the images of a higher reality which he has within." *Giordano Bruno... op. cit.* p.76.

[119] In his edition of Lomazzo's *Idea del tempio della pittura* (Florence, 1974), Robert Klein notes attempts to translate Camillo's theatre into permanent painted decoration.

the power to transform. Amor as transformative force concerns again the operative nature of mediation, harmonising the individual soul or body with the celestial forces drawn down onto it. If love as *spiritus* serves to channel the influences of the world soul, it also works by moving the things which it influences, and so motion, which originates in the soul, becomes of fundamental importance. The most important instance of this process, for our purposes, is in Ficino's discussion of music, where he develops a conception of *spiritus* that mediates between the Pythagorean-Platonic idea of celestial harmony and medical theories of the affects of music.

In his correspondences of the various orders of things which pertain to each of the gods, at III.xxi Ficino links Luna with stones and metals, Mercury with the vegetal and bestial orders (and medical preparations deriving from them), Venus with a greater degree of subtlety represented by vapours, Apollo with words, songs and music, Mars with powerful concepts of the imagination, affects and movements, while the last two planets represent active life and contemplative life, Jupiter the deliberations of human reason, and Saturn the contemplation of divine things, a simple intelligence almost without movement. As in Gafurius, Apollo is both centre and paradigm, since Ficino insists that harmony is the cause of the congruity that makes medicines efficacious, on one hand, and of the movements of all things in heavens (*De vita* III.xxii). Thus song, based in harmony, is the most powerful imitator of everything, invoking the affections of the soul and the gestures of the body (*i.e.* emotion and motion), and provoking the human spirit to the influx of heavenly influences as it provokes the influences to the human spirit. In his commentary to *Timaeus*, Ficino sets out his claims for music fully

> musical sound by the movement of the air moves the body: by purified air excites the aerial spirit which is the bond of body and soul: by emotion it affects the senses and at the same time the soul: by meaning it works on the mind: finally, by the very movement of the subtle air it penetrates strongly: by its contemperation it flows smoothly: by the conformity of its quality it floods us with a wonderful pleasure: by its nature both spiritual and material it at once seizes, and claims as its own, man in his entirety.[120]

If this capacity of music to "seize man in his entirety" is placed alongside the capacity of sight to reveal the full order of things, we have the kind of configuration represented by the first of the 1589 *intermedi*. While Ficino seems to regard the disclosures of sight as static (hence his enthusiasm for the mechanical clock of della Volpaia in contrast to the somewhat summary character of the description of the room that figures all the heavens), musical *spiritus* is and causes movement. In *De vita* III.xxi the matter of harmony is described in terms that recall the daemons in the commentary on *Symposium* "it is an air,

[120] Cited in D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Music from Ficino to Campanella*, Warburg Institute, 1958.

warm or tepid, breathing, and to certain extent living, made with its own limbs and joints, like an animal, not only bearing movement, and presenting an effect, but even bearing, as it were, a meaningful mind, just as an animal can be called, to a certain extent, airy and rational". Again, Ficino seems concerned to explicate the structure of mediation as the unfolding of a centre, as well as percolating down from on high, so that life and movement are linked in particular with the daemonic forces such as love and *spiritus* which bring together body and soul, drawing things to themselves in order to draw them upwards to unity. The "debiti mezzi" by which all things pass "dal sommo grado allo infimo della natura" can thus be understood in a whole variety of ways, each of which should be considered as harmonising with one another - as the generation of multiplicity which replenishes all possible levels of being, and reflects in its harmony the paradox of divisibility in indivisibility, as the centre represented iconographically by Apollo as creator of harmony amongst all things, or in operative, "daemonic" terms by Amor, as the life giving force of *spiritus* which unites and transforms things by moving them. The *coincidentia oppositorum* which one might associate with the highest point of the continuum of being, beyond the reach of human reasoning, is posited also at the core of the continuum of mediation in terms of *spiritus*, which binds together body and soul, like the mean term which "links the whole together with itself as mediator" in the passage from Proclus cited above.[121]

We have looked at precedents for this relationship, in the analogy of the sun as intelligible and physical, so that the centre mirrors God or transcendent logos off the top of the vertical continuum of being, from which the whole structure emanates. These two suns are figured in the double Apollo of Gafurius's diagram, but what we find in Ficino is somewhat different - we are not just dealing with the capacity of the mediating levels to depict the larger structure through the process of multiplication which fills all the intervals as in Francesco Giorgi's discussion of *musica mundana* but with the human capacity to discover the whole as an structure of correspondences or sympathies through the invocation of the intermediary order. Music remains paradigmatic, but while Ficino's discussion of music as *spiritus* is rooted in the accounts going back to *Timaeus* in which *musica mundana* concerns the mediation of likeness to unlikeness through number, it also introduces a different order of mediation, which concerns the alignment of natural objects or talismans into the channels through which higher influences pass, or can be drawn. If the first, Platonic account of mediation through music links it to mathematics and dialectic, Ficino's *spiritus* leads to an emphasis on the daemonic energies of movement and transformation, and on the possibility of invoking and focusing these energies through music or images. While Ficino distances himself from the use of images in *De vita*, his account of sympathetic magic, centred on music, opens up a "hieroglyphic" understanding of the world, in which all things bear a "signature" of their celestial origin

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[121] See Ficino in *De vita* III.iii and iv on the joining of world soul and world body through *spiritus*, and throughout the sixth oration of *El libro dell'amore*, as at VI.vi "[lo spirito] essendo sparso per tutti i membri piglia la virtù dell'Anima, e quella communica al corpo" (the spirit, being dispersed throughout the parts of the body, takes the virtue of the soul and communicates it to the body") VI.ix "la casa della Anima è lo spirito: la casa dello spirito è il corpo" ("the seat of the Soul is the spirit: the seat of the spirit is the body"), *op.cit.*, pp.97 and 107.

and "imitation" of the stars is based upon the ritualistic deployment of those objects and performance of the actions which serve to channel and concentrate celestial influences.[122] At the end of the sixteenth century, in the writings of Lomazzo, we find iconographic schemes based on magical ideas of correspondence (derived from Agrippa in *De occulta philosophia*) alongside a rendering of human proportion in musical terms - between iconographic alignments and musical proportion lies the idea of *moto* as an expressive energy like Ficino's *spiritus* which animates and moves (in a transitive and intransitive sense - motion and emotion). Likewise, if the opening *intermedio* of 1589 depicts a traditional Pythagorean image of *musica mundana*, it was also conceived as a species of hieroglyph, as evinced by the costume designs, which accumulated iconographic references through details that would have been difficult for the audience to decipher.[123] If one considers the first *intermedio* in the light of Ficino, where the cosmic order is represented as, and through ornament, this order is at once replete, and intermediary - its end is to discover the universe of correspondences to the audience, and in so doing to move or "wed" them to the higher order and its transcendent source.

*Concors discordia in Pico*

In all this we need to take a closer look at the question of how *concordia discors* can be rendered poetically. From the first pages of the argument, we have seen its importance in the account of the blending of likeness and unlikeness in the creation of the world soul in *Timaeus* 34b-36e, and suggested that this difficult passage, which forms the basis for accounts of *harmonia universalis* passes with the diffusion and vulgarisation of Platonic thought in the Renaissance from dialectical explication to poetic figuration, frequently in the form of a "hieroglyph" or "poetic theology". In Pico della Mirandola's essay in "poetic theology", the *Comento sopra una canzone de amore composta da Girolamo Benivieni*, we find an exposition of *concordia discors* in the context of philosophical-poetic interpretation of a poetic text. The work, which is Pico's riposte to Ficino's commentary on *Symposium*, and contains open criticisms of Pico's old master, has survived in an incomplete state, which conglomerates three original projects - a commentary on *Symposium*, a treatise on love and on mythography.[124] Much of the discussion in the work concerning the Platonic interpretation of the gods and commentary on Socrates's account of love has appeared above and our object here is not to follow through the intricacies of Pico's disagreements with Ficino, but to glance only at two details. Firstly, Pico links Ficino's circles of emanation and reversion in the angelic mind and the rational soul with the empyrean and the motions of the created universe, thus seeing in the corporeal movements of the cosmic spheres, which generate time, a

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[122] See in particular *De vita* III.xxi and xxii.

[123] On the costumes, see the essay by Warburg cited above.

[124] The *Comento*, suppressed by Benivieni, appeared in 1557 as a commentary on *Symposium*, and was read as a treatise on love by Diacceto, Bembo, Equicola, Betusssi, Speroni, and Varchi. The work also had some influence in England, where More based a poem on a Latin epitome of the work concerning the properties of a lover, and it was used by Spenser in his *Fowre Hymnes*, and by Jonson in the *Masque of Blacknesse* and the *Masque of Beautie*. On the history and influence of the *Comento*, see the introduction by Sears Jayne in his translation of the work (Peter Lang, New York, 1984) and the remarks of Garin in his edition of *De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente et uno*, Florence, 1942.

correspondence to the incorporeal cycle of the mind and soul which proceed from the divine and return to it through love so that time corresponds to the cycle of the soul as returning movement – what we see enacted in the *Primavera*.[125] Second is Pico's definition of beauty as harmony: since beauty comes below God, it contains contrariety, but this contrariety is resolved and harmonious

> Dopo [Dio] comincia la bellezza, perché comincia la contrarietà, sanza la quale non può essere cosa alcuna creata, ma sarebbe solo Dio; nè basta questa contrarietà e discordia di diverse nature a constituire la creatura, se per debito temperamento non diventa la contrarietà unita e la discordia concorde, il che si può per vera diffinizione assignare di essa bellezza, ciò che non sia altro che una amica inimicizia e una concorde discordia.[126]

Pico insists that love arises only from one cognitive power, sight, be this corporeal or intelligible, yet the term *concorde discordia*, his acknowledgement at II.ix that this definition of beauty conceives it as harmony and the analogy between the motions of the created universe and the procession of the soul lead to a convergence between theories of harmony and the Neoplatonic conception of beauty as procession from the Intellectual Principle which reverts to it for full perfection.[127] At one level, this is perhaps to say no more than to repeat that the world, most beautiful of all created things, which is apprehended in its totality by vision, is structured by harmony, but in identifying "discordia concorde" with beauty in each manifestation, Pico offers each beautiful thing or creature as microcosm, so that the "contrarietà unita" exemplified by the cosmos is reiterated again and again, leading back to the originating blending of sameness and difference. Pico's cosmology places emphasis on Empedocles's doctrine of the creation of the whole through contraries, typified by love and strife, Venus and Mars, and this insistence on Venus, and beauty as concord, and so diversity, means that Venus is preceded in the hierarchy of being by the Ideas which descend in Pico's mythology from God to the Angelic Mind. Pico stresses the gulf between the unity which exists in God alone and the cosmic order which descends in diversity as it descends into matter, and his

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[125] *Comento*, II.xiv c. One might note again that the Graces, as a figure for the procession, rapture and reversion of the soul, were associated or identified with the Hours, who adorn Venus in the Homeric Hymn and are seen as symbols of the returning times of nature (hours, day and night, seasons, year) which unfold the plenitude of being in the world, and as figures who prepare the chariot of Apollo at dawn and greet the return of the sun to heaven. In Ligorio's Vatican Casino, we shall see these meanings brought together in a rich speculation on the relation of the times of the heavenly bodies to the rhythms of nature and the ascent of the soul through the hierarchy of muses, all drawn together through music.

[126] "Beauty begins after God, because contrariety begins there, without which there can be nothing created, but there would be only God; nor is contrariety and discord of different natures enough to constitute a creature, if contrariety is not united and discord made harmonious in due measure. This can be taken for a true definition of beauty, so that it is nothing other than a friendly strife and a concordant discord". *Comento*, II.viii, in *De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente et uno* and selected works, edited Garin, Florence, 1942, p.495.

[127] For the Neoplatonic exposition, see *Enneads* III, Tractate 5, on love.

location of Venus beneath the Ideas means that there is long climb up the ontological hierarchy from "concorde discordia" to the Ideas which exist causally in God, formally in the angelic order and through participation in the rational soul.[128] It should again be emphasised that Pico envisages this ascent in terms of dialectic, just as dialectic is the means of elucidating the relationship of the monad and the triad in the mysteries of Orphic theology in the *Conclusiones nongentae*, and the analysis and synthesis of dialectical method which prepares us for spiritual ascent is rendered in the *Oration* in terms of the sundering of Dionysus and the unification of Apollo.

Our object here, as we have said, is not the subtle dialectical exploration of opposition and paradox exemplified through *contrarietà unità*, but the fact that Pico gives a rendering of beauty which intimates that the explication of all things in their proper order shows the paradoxical character of the whole order, and of each of its levels as *contrarietà unità*. Pico's claims for beauty in the commentary on Benivieni have interesting implications for the characterisation of the poet's artifice as God-like creation *ex nihilo* – in such claims one can see how the blending of likeness and unlikeness, which starts out in *Timaeus* with its speculative basis in number, can be brought into configuration with the poetic or "hieroglyphic" representation of the world. The harmonising of being and becoming and the hieroglyph are brought together quite explicitly in the characterisation of the emblem as comprised of "body" and "soul"; even without recourse to emblematic (which shall concern us later) we find an attempt to characterise poetry in terms of the *contrarietà unità* that is woven into each of its parts and levels in the *Poetica* (1586) of Francesco Patrizi, the late sixteenth century Neoplatonic philosopher who attempted to revive the role of Ficinian "priest of Plato" for himself in the very different climate of Counter Reformation Italy.

We shall come to Patrizi, who also argued for the union of poetry and music, at the culmination of a discussion of the poetic theory that draws on the Platonic material above. Before we open this discussion, it is worth noting that amongst the most direct artistic translations of the meditations of Ficino and Pico we find music theory, namely the *Institution armoniche* (1562) of Gioseffo Zarlino, one of the principal works on musical harmony of the sixteenth century, which demonstrates in the clearest terms the influence of Ficino on musical theory.

*Zarlino on universal and human music*

Zarlino was one of the most influential musical theorists of the sixteenth century, and in the *Institutioni armoniche* we find the arguments of Ficino brought together with ancient authorities (Empedocles, Ptolemy, Boethius, Macrobius) in the prolegomena to an account of harmony by an important apologist of polyphony and opponent of Galileo. Again, it is not the technicalities of musicological arguments that preoccupy us here, but the cosmic framework in which an expressive art is situated which concerns us here.

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[128] *Comento* II.xiii

Zarlino opens his work with a praise of music, founded on number (*numero sonoro*), which echoes Ficino in the commentary on *Symposium* and emphasises the macrocosm-microcosm relationship on which *musica mundana* and *musica humana* are based:

> Ma se tanta harmonia si trouva nelle cose celesti
> e terrestri: ovvero per dir meglio, se'l mondo dal
> Creatore fu composto pieno di tanta harmonia, perche
> dovemo credere l'Huomo esserne privo? Et se l'Anima
> del Mondo [...] non è altro che Harmonia, potrà esser che
> l'Anima nostra non sia in noi cagione di ogni harmonia,
> e che col corpo non sia harmonicamente congiunta?
> massimamente havendo Iddio creato l'huomo alla similitudine
> del Mondo maggiore, detto da Greci κοσμος, cioè ornamento,
> overo ornato; e essendo fatto a quella similitudine di minor
> quantità, a differenza di quello vien chiamato μικροκοσμος cioè
> piccolo mondo [...] la Musica [...] oltra che rallegra l'animo,
> riduce anche l'huomo alla contemplatione delle cose celesti[129]

Still following Ficino, Zarlino links the therapeutic, tempering effects of music with *spiritus* as the mediating term between body and soul

> bene ha ordinato la natura, che havendo in noi, mediante
> lo spirito, congiunto insieme il corpo e l'Anima [...] il Corpo
> languido e infermo si viene a risanare co remedij, che li porge
> la Medicina; e lo Spirito afflito e debole da gli spiriti aerei, et
> dalli suoni & canti, che gli sono proportioniati rimedij: l'Anima
> poi, rinchuisa in questo corpo carcere, si consola per via de gli
> alti & divini ministeri della sacra Theologia[130]

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[129] *Istitutioni Armoniche*, Venice 1562, p.6 ("If such harmony is found in heavenly and earthly things, or to put it better, if the world was composed by the Creator full of such harmony, why should we believe man to be without it? If the World Soul is nothing else than Harmony, how can our Soul not be cause of all harmony in us, and not be joined harmonically with the body? Moreover God has created man in the image of the greater World, called by the Greeks *kosmos*, that is, ornament, or adorned, and [man] being made in the same image, in smaller quantity, is called in distinction *mikrokosmos* or little world [...] Music, as well as cheering the mind, also leads man to the contemplation of heavenly things").

[130] *op. cit.* p.9. ("Nature has ordered us well, so that the body and Soul are conjoined through the spirit [...] the Body, languid and infirm, is healed with the remedies offered by medicine; the Spirit, afflicted and weak, has its remedies in aerial spirits and sounds and songs, proportioned to it: the Soul, finally, closed in this earthly prison, consoles itself with the high and divine mysteries of sacred Theology"). The theme is restated with reference to the ancients "l'uomo [...] debbe accompagnare (lo studio della Musica) con la studio della speculativa [...] gli antichi volsero, che lo studio della Musica alla Ginnastica fusse congiunto [...] questi due esercitij insieme si rendessero humani, modesti, & temperati" (*ibid*). ("a man [...] should accompany the study of music with speculative considerations [...] the ancients wished the study of music to be joined with gymnastics [...] these two disciplines together rendered men humane, modest and measured").

Zarlino does not pursue the daemonic or magical implications of Ficino's discussion of *spiritus*, which had to wait until Campanella for their development,[131] but sees it as linking body to soul, irrational to rational as well as the various elements within the body, from the which the world body also is constituted.[132] We shall not follow Zarlino in his elaboration of the correspondence of the harmony of the virtues and faculties of the soul with musical intervals, but look instead at his treatment of harmony which identifies the mediating force of *spiritus* in *musica humana* with the *concorde discordia* of Empedocles: "in universale parlando dico, che Musica non è altro che Harmonia; e potremo dire, che ella sia quella lite e amicitia, che poneva Empedocle, dalla quale voleva, che si generassero tutte le cose, cioè una discordante concordia".[133] *Musica mundana* and *musica humana* are the two varieties of what Zarlino calls *musica animistica* in contrast to instrumental music, and *musica animistica* is defined as "harmonia, che nasce dalla compositione di varie cose congiunte insieme in un corpo; avenga che tra loro siano discrepanti; come è la mistura de i quattro Elementi, overo di altre qualità in un corpo animato".[134] *Musica mundana*, in Zarlino's work, is "not only that harmony known between things seen in heaven, but understood in the bond of the elements and the variety of times".[135] The elements in turn are said to comprehend the four physical qualities (hot, cold, moist, dry) and the mathematical qualities of number, weight and measure, so that from the elements derives the whole architecture of the world, in which all relationships may be interpreted in terms of number and serve to fill the whole body of the world so that no void is left "il quale la natura grandemente aborisce".[136] In correspondence with the elements and qualities, Zarlino describes the times of the year - the months, night and day, above all the seasons (*i.e.* what is found at the bottom of Gafurius's diagram) - in which the *discordante concordia* of *harmonia*

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[131] It is this development which is traced in the work of D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, as cited above.

[132] *Musica humana* is described as that which "tiene unita la parte rationale con la irrationale e [...] che mescola gli elementi, over le qualità loro nel corpo humano con ragionevole proportione" Venice, 1573 ed. p.21 ("[which] holds the rational and irrational parts united and [...] mixes the elements, or their qualities in the human body in measured proportion"). The proposition is repeated in more detail "Si conosce [...] tale harmonia dal congiungimento dell'Anima col corpo per la naturale amicitia, mediate la quale il corpo con l'Anima è legato: non già con legami corporei: ma (come vogliono i Platonici) con lo Spirito, il quale è incorporeo, come di sopra vedemmo. Questo è quel legame, da qual risulta ogni humana harmonica, ed è quello, che congiunge le diverse qualità de gli Elementi in un composto: cioè nel corpo umano" 1573 ed., p.22. ("This harmony is recognised by the conjunction of the Soul with the body in natural friendship, by which the body is linked with the Soul: not with corporeal bonds: but (as the Platonists say) with the Spirit, which is incorporeal, as we saw above. This is the bond from which all human harmony arises, and is that which joins the diverse qualities of the Elements in a composite [whole]: that is, in a human body").

[133] *Istitutioni armoniche*, Venice 1562, p.10. ("speaking generally, I shall say that Music is nothing else than Harmony; and we could say that it is that conflict and friendship set forth by Empedocles, from which he declared that all things were generated, that is a discordant concord").

[134] 1562 ed., p.10 ("harmony, which is born from the compsoition of various things joined together in a body; which may be unequal amongst each other; like the mixture of the four Elements, or other qualities in an animate body").

[135] *op.cit.*p.12 "La Mondana è quell'harmonia, che non solo si conosce essere tra quelle cose, che si veggono & conoscono nel cielo: ma nel legamento de gli Elementi, e nella varietà de i tempi ancora si comprende".

[136] 1573 ed., p.19 ("as Nature greatly hates").

*mundana* is envisaged both as temporal unfolding and as a single body constituted from the harmony of its four parts "di quattro tempi harmonicamente disposti farsi un corpo solo".[137] In short, Zarlino sees in *musica mundana* the *discordante concordia* that reconciles diversity with unity, and in *musica humana* as *spiritus*, *i.e.* unmediated and mediated opposition. While much of Zarlino's thought on *harmonia animistica* points back to Empedocles and *Timaeus*,[138] it is in relation to Ficino and Pico that the emphasis on harmony as the establishment of concord between different, discordant elements through the mediating force of *spiritus* in *musica humana*, has most interesting implications. If Ficino in *De vita* identified the moving force of *spiritus* with natural magic, of which music was one, albeit potent, manifestation, for Zarlino, as musicologist and musician, the structure of correspondences underpinning universal harmonic order is disclosed by means of musical expression - as noted, Zarlino attempts to link the faculties of the soul with musical intervals. In this progression from the expressive qualities of an art - its embodiment of the spiritual movements which arise in the soul, and the way it moves its audience - to its harmonisation of diversity and its ascending structure of mediation, we see again the status of music as paradigm for the other arts. For later sixteenth century theorists in literature, such as Giulio Camillo in his memory theatre, or in art, such as Lomazzo in the *Idea della pittura* (inspired by Camillo), the attempt to codify the expressive or stylistic qualities of an art – in visual art, one might say its *maniera* - becomes quite explicitly an attempt to designate the means by which *spiritus* is brought down from a higher ineffable realm to a sensible manifestation which moves the audience to enter into the *discordante concordia* of the intermediary order of the whole. The project of Lomazzo, who attempts to found a theory of human proportion on musical proportion, looks to its efficacy in a fundamentally musical ideal of expression as ensouled motion and transitive moving – an ideal which we might recognise easily from Zarlino.

If we contrast the *musica mundana* of Gafurius with that of Zarlino, in the first we see a continuum of progressive articulation, in the second an emphasis on *spiritus* as a mediating force that can be drawn in order to discover conjunctions that disclose the analogy between universal and human harmony. This structure is crucial to the understanding of the *intermedi* where the cosmic order of the first and last *intermedi* is mediated by the various manifestations of *musica humana* – the Muses, the origins of music and poetry in Apollo's victory over the Pythian serpent, the *maga* who performs spiritual magic, and Arion's power to affect nature with rhapsodic song. As we insist throughout this section, the mediations on body, soul and spirit in musical theory between may be considered in terms of the meditations on the relations between the arts – the union of music and poetry propounded by Bardi and Patrizi, or the pairing of body and soul in emblematic, "hieroglyphic" figuration. As argued, these relations are founded in the blending of likeness and unlikeness, and unfold through the dyad of being and becoming, sameness the difference, soul and body, divine and human; we should also view them alongside Pauline meditations on the relation of body and soul. This

[137] 1573 ed., p. 21 ("to make a single body from the four times harmonically disposed").
[138] Not just for the creation of harmony from the world soul, but in the Empedoclean account of the *philia* between the elements at discussed also by Plato in *Timaeus*.

conjoining of being and becoming or body and soul should be seen as underlying the speculations on proportion and metaphor – on the various conceptions of analogy, in short. In practice, this means that if we speak of the union of the arts in the *intermedi*, we should explore the analogies between the theories of the arts which they dramatise.

*Towards poetic theory: the topos of the divine artificer*

In turning to the other arts we shall commence with poetry and then move via discussion of the *intermedi* to the artistic theory of Lomazzo who attempts to work together a hieroglyphic conception of figuration with a theory of expression based on *moto* and musical proportion. Poetry figures in discussions here as the exemplary art of human making, the art in which human likeness to the divine is celebrated by the capacity to create *ex nihilo*, an ability invoked as a topos in Renaissance arts of poetry, as when Tasso says in *Il Ficino o vero dell'arte*, "non è maraviglia che la poesia sia naturale negli animi umani, se Dio medesimo, da cui furono create, è poeta, e l'arte divina con la qual fece il mondo fu quasi arte di poetare; e poema è 'l cielo e 'l mondo tutto".[139] Such claims also fit in with the insistence of Ficino and Pico on the human capacity to range through the universe, and to effect transformations, claims that we associated above with the celebration of the "great wonder man" in the Hermetic texts, and translate into claims for language, as in Vives's *Fabula* or into poetry, like that of Giraldi Cinthio "[...] non è cosa ne sovra il Cielo ne sotto, ne nell'istesso profondo dell'Abisso, che non sia tutta in mano, et in arbitrio del giudicioso Poeta".[140] We have so far concentrated on the way that music provided a paradigm for the imitation of the universal order by human art, in which a structure of mediation is created by measure; as we turn to look at poetry we find a shift to an emphasis on the bringing forth of things from nothing and the creating anew, or the working of conjunctions and transformations – if the poet's artifice is to resemble divine creation, it must be perceived to be complete, harmonious and made whole by ornament.[141]

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[139] *Il Ficino overo de l'arte, Dialoghi*, ed. Raimondi, Florence 1957, p.909 ("it is no wonder that poetry is natural to human kinds, if God himself, who created them, is a poet ; and the heaven and the whole world is a poem"). Tasso continues the analogy with a melancholy twist, comparing human ears, deaf to the harmony of the spheres and the heavenly sirens, to Ulysses and the earthly Sirens; deaf to the Heavenly Sirens, our life on earth is as wandering as that of Ulysses. Compare Puttenham (*Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Wilcock and Walker., Cambridge, 1970, p.3): "Such by way of resemblance and reverently) we may say of God: who without any travell to his divine imagination, made all the world [...] so the Poet makes and construes out of his owne braine, both the verse and matter of his poem".

[140] *Discorsi di Giraldi Cinthio intorno al comporre de i Romanzi, delle Comedie, delle Tragedie e di altre maniere di Poesie*, Venice, 1554, p.26 ("the nothing above or below heaven, nor the very depths of the abyss, which is not in the hand and the power of the judicious poet").

[141] Giraldi Cinthio says that the poet should "con varij ornamenti abbellire tutto il corpo del suo componimento, et ridurlo non pure a bella, ma ad amabile figura, dando con esse a tutte le parti la debita misura, et il dicevole ornamento, con tale proportione, che se ne veda riuscire un regolato et ben composto corpo". Giraldi Cinthio, *Discorsi di Giraldi Cinthio intorno al comporre de i Romanzi, delle Comedie, delle Tragedie e di altre maniere di Poesie*, *op.cit.* p.26. In contrast to the Aristotelian insistence on the *mythos* as soul of poetry, Giraldi Cinthio compares it to the "vegetal" soul of the poem, and calls the *energeia* and *enargeia* of the diction which gives the "body" of the poem its lively quality.

It is Tasso in the *Discorsi del poema eroico* (published1594, composed probably about thirty years earlier), who presents us with one of the most eloquent renditions of the topos of world poem:

> Sì come in questo mirabile magistero di Dio che mondo
> si chiama, e 'l cielo si vede sparso e distinto di tanta varietà
> di stelle e, discendo poi giù di regione in regione, l'aria e 'l
> mare pieni di uccelli e di pesci, e la terra albergatrice di tanti
> animali [...] ne la quale e ruscelli e fonti e laghi e prati
> e campagne e selve e monti sogliamo rimirare, e qui frutti e fiori,
> là ghiacci e nevi, qui abitatzioni e culture, là solitudine ed orrori,
> con tutto ciò uno è il mondo che tante e sì diverse cose nel suo
> grembo rinchiude, una la forma e l'essenza sua, uno il nodo dal
> quale sono le sue parti con discorde concordia insieme congiunte
> e collegate, e, non, ancando nulla in lui, nulla però vi è che non
> serva a la necessità o a l'ornamento: così pariamente giudico che da
> eccelente poeta il quale non per altro è detto divino, se non perchè,
> al supremo artefice ne le sue operazioni assomgliandosi, de la sua
> divinità viene a partecipare, un poema formar si possa [...] che tanta
> varietà di materie contegna, una la forma e l'anima sua, e che tutte
> queste cose sieno di maniera composte che l'una l'altra riguardi,
> l'una a l'altra corrisponda, sì che una sola parte o tolta via, o mutata
> di sito, il tutto si distrugga. E se ciò fosse vero, l'arte del comporre
> il poema sarebbe simile a la ragion de l'universo la quale è composta
> de'contrari, come la ragion musica: perché se ella non fosse molteplice,
> non sarebbe tutta, né sarebbe ragione, come dice Plotino.[142]

Aside from the reference to Plotinus, frequently cited by Tasso in his writings, these remarks echo Macrobius's praise of Virgil, the celebration of the living cosmos in the wholeness of its beauty and variety, or the exercise of the imagination which can hold together all contraries in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and Pico's statement of beauty as *discorde concordia* in the *Comento*. Tasso's figure of the knot, which looks like an image

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[142] Tasso, *Prose*, ed. Ettore Mazzali, Milan, 1959, pp.588-89 ("In this wondrous work of God called the world, we see the great expanse of heaven lovely with varied stars, then descending levels by level, the air and the sea, full of birds and fishes, the earth which gives sustenance to so many animals [...] in which we admire streams, springs, lakes, plains and woods and mountains, here fruit and flowers, there ice and snow, here habitation and culture, there solitude and horrors. And yet, the world which embraces in its bosom such varied things is one, and the knot which holds its parts together in the conjunction of *discors concordia* is one; nothing lacks in it and there is nothing which does not serve necessity and ornament. So it is, I think, with the excellent poet, who is called divine for no other reason than his resemblance in his work to the supreme artificer, and he participates in his divinity, for he can form a poem [...] that contains such variety of material and one form and soul, in which all things are composed that one part sustains or corresponds to the other so that if a single part is removed or changes place, the whole is destroyed. If this be true, the art of composing a poem would be similar to the structure to the world, composed of contraries, as is music: for if it were not manifold, it would not be a whole, nor would it have a structure, as Plotinus says").

for a logical *insolubilium*, and his attentiveness to the relation of logic and poetry in the *Discorsi*, conveys a subtle suggestion that this paradox may be explicated through dialectic; the depiction of the world is however poetical, an epitomised account of the world's variety in which the terms drawn from the *argumentum de loco* are balanced antithetically. Thus the *concorde discordia* of beauty and the world as a whole, and in the Empedoclean constitution of its elements, which was for Pico reflected in the human understanding as a paradox, is for Tasso reiterated by a species of rhetorical amplification through each of its parts. Alongside the single knot which contains multiplicity as figure of paradox, and is used to decribe the conjunction of body and soul reflected in the device we find again that music provides the expression for the deeper unity that underlies the variety of the world, disclosed in Tasso's account as both visual and harmonic.[143]

Tasso's remarks should be seen in the light of discussions by contemporary *letterati*, such as Sperone Speroni in his discourse on Virgil, where ornament is actually identified with variety and *amplificatio*, or Giraldi Cinthio, who takes up as we saw the Hermetic claim that man can range through the whole world in defence of romance as a form that cultivates variety.[144] For Tasso, the variety which forms the ornament of poetry must possess the ordered wholeness which is the essence of properly conceived ornament, and this means that it must present itself as the balanced unfolding of variety which stands in relation to a higher unity. In this sense Tasso's rendering of *concors discordia* celebrates the abundance of creation while insisting on the structure that orders it, which must be grasped if we are to conceive of its relation to the transcendent unity beyond. In terms of stylistic procedure, the exemplar for this harmonious explication of variety in relation to a higher idea is furnished by the myth of Zeuxis, to which we shall return below – this ascent could also be seen as reflecting the soul's ascent from the diversity of the world to the realm of the transcendent, and we shall argue that the analogy of the myth of Zeuxis and the soul's ascent is established by Castiglione.[145]

Tasso, whose philosophical engagement with the Platonic tradition was very serious, considers that the poet's imitations of each thing are not only ideas, but poetic representation as a whole should reflect the ascent to the ideas, which happens as one passes from particulars to the perception of the world in the totality of its variety to the ideas beyond this variety; this entails the revelation of the relation of the forms to one another, and to the order in which they participate. We shall deal with Tasso's mediations

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[143] We shall come to these treatises in the later part of the second section. The description of the knot comes in the discussion of Scipione Ammirato, as a metaphor for the conjunction which Tasso denied in his own dialogue on the *imprese*, *Il Conte*, in refutation of the proportion of body and soul, in human being or in poetic artifice. This refutation might be seen as a negation of art but can also be seen as a liberation of the soul as the *nodo*, the knot of body and soul is released.

[144] We shall remark very briefly at the end of the second section on Speroni's treatment of variety as the essence of poetry, and ornament in poetry, in his *Discorso sopra Virgilio*; Speroni's arguments do not so much concern the topos of the poet as divine artificer as the insistence that the variety lies in invention, and not in the stylistic clothing of invention.

[145] We shall see below that Tasso elaborates the poetic structure of this ascent through the fusion of Fracastoro's idea with the ideas of style of Hermogenes.

on poetic ideas and their relation to one another below – for the present we should note that if this ascent could be seen as containing the material contained in the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, it was described in a form particularly congenial for theorists of poetry in *Symposium* 210-212, in a passage which reappears in Bembo's oration in *Il libro del cortegiano*. The passage describes the ascent of the lover, whose desires find their privileged representation in poetry, and insists on the passage from particular to universal and ideal beauty. It is typical of Tasso's critical intelligence that he can see in the question about variety, multiplicity and unity at the core of debates on the nature and merits of romance and epic poetry (as theorised by Giraldi Cinthio and Tasso respectively) an argument at the heart of poetic imitation itself - if *concors discordia* is a figure for universal harmony, for beauty in Pico's *Comento* and for the unity in multiplicity of the epic, it is also fundamental to the blending of likeness and unlikeness in the figurative language, the *integumentum* of metaphor or fable in the discussions of poetic theology. If Tasso intimates that the poet's world poem is part of the process by which imitation can reflect the soul's ascent from the perception of manifold things to the vision of the divine, we should remember that he, like Pico, is acutely aware of the gap that lies between the perception of all things and their contraries together, and the unity from which this totality emanates – as we suggested, Tasso's image of universal *concors discordia* as a knot may contain a reference to a paradox or logical *insolubilium*, which is however rendered as a poetic figure.

We have used Tasso here to cite his analogy of the poet's world of artifice which reflects in its structure, ornament and order the divine making of the cosmos; we shall look at the *Discorsi* more closely in the second section, where relations between ascent to the ideas, and the universalising character of the poetic language will be viewed in relation to thinking on decorum. Tasso's *Discorsi* is a synthetic work, which seeks to harmonise Aristotelian, Horatian and "Platonic" conceptions of poetry at a time when the polemics over the highest *i.e.* most universal poetic genre are worked together with the old claims for the demiurgic artifice or poetry as the art that contains the encyclopaedic structure of the liberal arts curriculum associated with the Muses and the celestial spheres, or in the *copia* of verbal inventions as the human making that replenishes and completes creation. In this section, our interest lies with the encyclopaedic claims for poetry founded on notions of the poet as chameleon, magus or theologian whose artificial conjunctions are rooted in the originary conjunction at the foundation of *concors discordia* or the relation body and soul.

In the discussions of poetry covered we shall see a movement which parallels in a sense that from Gafurius to Zarlino, in that we start with Humanist claims for poetry as an art that encompasses encyclopaedic learning, exemplified by the Muses, and conclude with the interpretation of "discorde concordia" in the *Della poetica*, the major work of sixteenth century Platonic poetic theory, of Francesco Patrizi who attempts to demonstrate that poetry in each of its parts and at each of its levels is fabricated from the conjunction of opposites in *concors discordia*, a claim clearly derived from theories of *harmonia universalis* and the poetic commentary of Pico noted above. The chronological

beginning of this section on poetics lies with the "poetic theology" of early Humanists, such as Salutati, or "pre Humanists" like Boccaccio with his insistence on the analogy between the "mysterious" understanding of scripture and pagan literature. This poetic theology, whose elements can be viewed as Platonic in origin (poetry as *harmonia mundi*, as allegory of sacred wisdom and as *furor*) re-enters explicitly into Platonic discourse with Ficino's use of pagan mythology in his commentary on *Symposium*, *De amore*, and in the work of his follower, Cristoforo Landino, who united Ficino's Platonism with poetic commentary in his works on Dante and Virgil.

If the idea of the poet as theologian (e.g. Homer, Hesiod) or prophet (e.g. Virgil for the Middle Ages) was known from Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, the work also carries the negative assessment of the rational validity of poetry enforced by Aquinas in the *Summa theologiae*. While Isidore of Seville had spoken of the ritual origins of poetry in worship of the gods in the section on poets of the *Etymologiae* 8.7, the first pre-Humanist defences of poetry come with Petararch and Boccaccio, the former in *Rerum familiaris* x.4 to his brother, where he asserts the origin of poetry in rituals of divine worship, or in the *Invectives against a certain doctor*, where Orpheus is cited amongst the divinely inspired poets. Boccaccio's treatment is much fuller, and comprises the final two books of the *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, the work on the iconography of the pagan gods which lays the foundation for the mythological manuals of the Renaissance.[146] In Boccaccio's work, we find that the basic elements of many later, Renaissance defences are already established alongside the notion of poetry as a *summa* of the other arts: Book XIV opens with a description of the whole universe inhabited by the pagan gods (*i.e.* described by poetry) while he speaks of theology as the poetry of God, of Orpheus, Linus and Museaus as the "primi theologi", of the origins of poetry in prophecy, of poetry as divinely inspired speech and as a veil or *integumentum*.[147] It is in this work that we find the assertion that theology is God's poetry and the claim that Moses was the first poet alongside an encyclopaedic discussion of poetry which foreshadows the Renaissance manuals - the idea of the inspired speech which contains divine mysteries in a veil goes alongside the notion of the exhaustive figuration of all things in creation, from highest heaven to the depths of the underworld "Orci domos opacas".[148]

*Salutati and Landino on the encyclopaedic character of poetry*

A work, which follows closely Boccaccio in the Genealogia XIV and XV, is the exploration of poetic meaning by Salutati in the incomplete *De laboribus Herculis*, which remained in manuscript until the 1951 edition of B.Ullman. Like Gafurius, this work too contains a discussion of the Muses, drawing on similar late antique iconographic sources such as Fulgentius and Capella, who repeats Fulgentius's allegory of the Muses as the learning capacities grounded in the "germinal" capacity of Thalia "quasi plantes germinent", rising through qualities such as *inventio* ("similia inveniens", linked with the Muse Erato), which are drawn to unity in the culminating Muse Calliope whom Salutati describes both as *melos* and "optime pronuntiare" - rhetorical ideals of expression are integral to the performance of the ungenerated time of *harmonia mundi* through the historicity of poetic language.[149] Salutati also gives a revised reading of Fulgentius's

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[146] On pagan mythology and cosmology in the medieval encyclopaedic tradition prior to Boccaccio, see Jean Seznec, *The survival of the Pagan Gods*, Bollingen, 1953.

[147] See *Genealogia*, XIV.vii and viii.

[148] *op. cit.*, XIV.i.

[149] Danilo Aguzzi-Barbagli speaks of Salutati's attempt in *De laboribus Herculis* to show "the power of poetic language to seal the truth in images that find precise concordance in worldly music and in the music of the spheres" ("Humanism and Poetics" in *Renaissance Humanism*, Philadelphia 1988, vol.III, p.89).

sequence, and in this second sequence he aligns the Muses with the liberal arts, in the normal sequence from trivium to quadrivium, punctuated in the middle by Terpsichore and her planet Apollo as philosophy (as distinct from dialectic which Salutati treats as verbal trickery and places in the sphere of Mercury, god of thieves and salesmen), and grounded, like Gafurius's diagram, in Thalia as earth, body and germinating force. Salutati does not link music, at the top of the quadrivium, with Urania, but retains Calliope in her place of pre-eminence as "Musarum maxima" and "pulchra sonoritas".[150] This scheme is obviously based on Martianus Capella, who provides both the iconography of the Muses and a mythic account of the apotheosis of learning as Philology is united with her divine bridegroom by means of the ascent through the understanding of the world order embodied by the progression through the curriculum. If for Salutati the outcome of this lies in the harmony which binds all planets, linked with Muse of poetry, it is because poetry itself is composed of all the liberal arts, or rather is the outcome of their union. In *De laboribus* I.iii, Salutati describes this composite nature of poetry

> congruitatem grammatice, logice proprietatem,
> ornatumque rhetorice coniungentes, ab arithmetica
> numeros, a geometria mensuras, a musica melodias,
> ab astrologia vero similitudines mutuarunt, ex his
> omnibus narrationem sive artem poeticam componendo,
> que sola digna foret sublimitate et pulcritudine sua
> excellentiam creaturam et presertim hominum prosequi
> et commendationi divinarum rerum ac inenarrabilis
> deitatis laudibus adhiberi[151]

This art generated from all arts is linked in Salutati's thought, to two ends; first to Salutati's claims for the allegorical reading of scripture and second to the *studia humanitatis* to which he gave name - moral philosophy, history, rhetoric, poetry and grammar as propounded in the defence of poetry from the attacks on pagan literature by the Dominican Giovanni Domenici in *Lucula Noctis*.[152]

It is in regard to the second, the *studia humanitatis*, that the theme of Hercules has especial relevance, developed from a lengthy epistle to the Florentine notary Vivianus on

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[150] *De laboribus Herculis*, ed. B.Ullman, Zurich, 1951, I.x.

[151] "uniting the consistency of grammar, the strict sense of logic and the ornament of rhetoric, they borrowed numbers from arithmetic, measures from geometry, melodies from music, likenesses indeed from astrology, and by composing from all these elements [created] the narrative or poetic art, which might alone be worthy in its sublimity and beauty to honour and adorn the excellence of creation and especially man, and to be used in the acclamation of divine things and in the praises of the indescribable deity". Salutati, *op. cit.*, I.iii.

[152] Salutati was by no means the first writer to enter into controversy with a Mendicant friar over the worth of poetry - compare the exchange of the Paduan poet Albertino Mussato with Fra Giovannino of Mantua, noted by Grassi in *Renaissance Humanism.*

Seneca's *Hercules furens* composed probably between 1378-1383. Between the years 1383-1391 Salutati began work on a longer treatment of the Hercules myth, left unfinished at his death in 1406. This second edition comprises four books, the first a defence of poetry, the second on Jupiter and the birth of Hercules, the third on the labours of Hercules and their allegorical explanation, and the fourth on the underworld and Hercules's infernal descent; the unfinished state of the work precludes treatment of the apotheosis and deification of Hercules. Hercules represents for Salutati the paradigm of *virtù*, who through his will to choose the good, overcomes not only vice but even astral determinism (Hercules holds up the sky), and is rewarded by deification. The identification of the Muses with the conditions and structure of *scientia* as at I.x and of poetry as the culmination of this structure at I.iii is thus linked with Hercules as embodiment of the heroic action that discloses the horizons of the human world. In his letter to Dominici, Salutati claimed that the *studia humanitatis* and the *studia divinitatis* were so interconnected that it was impossible to have knowledge of one without the other: in its use of etymology (grammar and history) as a key to poetic, allegorical meaning and the selection of Hercules as exemplar of ethical action, *De laboribus Herculis* seems like a working model of *studia humanitatis*, central to the project of knowing and influencing the moral action of human beings dominated by will[153] - while on the other hand Salutati in Book One repeatedly defends poetry through the assertion of the poetic character of scripture, recalling Boccaccio's claim in *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* for the theological nature of poetry.[154]

The work shows the point at which the medieval defence of poetry as the "theological" utterance of a number of divinely inspired pagan writers (or "prophets" such as Virgil in *Eclogues* IV) encounters the crisis opened by conflict between Realism and Nominalism in late Scholasticism; we see the sensitivity to Nominalist arguments in Salutati's insistence on the inadequacy of human language to represent the ineffability of the divine, which can only be figured by "commutantes verba" (I.ii), alongside his attempt to delineate a moral universe in which virtuous action, arising from will, has meaning and value. Trinkaus, whom we are following here, cites an important passage from Salutati's final letter to Giovanni da Sanminiato, in which he defines the word as the expression of a concept; since we can have no concept of the indescribable majesty of God, we must use borrowed or transferred language which gives some outer shell or shape to things:

> This mode of speaking is poetic carrying a falsity of appearance on the outside, but containing within the hidden truth. [...] From this you will see easily that all transfers of meaning or metaphors, figures, tropes, metaplasms, and allegories, as well as tropology and parables, peculiarly pertain to this faculty [...] Necessity invents this mode, custom receives and extends it,

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[153] Following the discussion of Salutati in Trinkaus, *op.cit.*

[154] See Boccaccio, *Genealogia*, XV.viii and Salutati *De laboribus Herculis*, I.ii "sublimius et perfectius poema non sit quam divina scriptura" "there is no more sublime and perfect poem than divine scripture".

> not only when necessity compels but also when beauty inspires
> [...] Do you not see that divine literature and the Holy Scripture
> consist entirely of this kind of speaking and are nothing else?
> For when we speak of God or other incorporeal creatures nothing
> is true according to the letter, and there is nothing under that falsity
> of skin but truth.[155]

Salutati leaves us with a number of interesting threads - the medieval defence of poetry as "poetic theology", rehearsed from Isidore of Seville on, is conceived as the culmination of the liberal arts and as the analogy to sacred writing, which Salutati views in terms of allegorical interpretation that discloses a "mystical" meaning. However, as Trinkaus argues, this elevation of figurative language has its background in the nominalist discovery of the inadequacies of language and Salutati's own claims for allegory lead to the infinite accumulation of analogies ("infinite sunt rerum similitudines" [156]). For Salutati all allegorical meaning in classical poetry, like that in Scripture, leads back to God, and the interpretation of a Christian exegete is thus superior to the intentions of the pagan author, since the former has awareness of the divine providence that will guide the interpretation to the right meaning *i.e.* that wished by God.[157] At the centre of this multiplication of allegorical and "etymological" meanings which point to providential order, stands Hercules, who chooses the path of virtue, as paradigm for the judgement and voluntaristic moral action that creates human society.[158] Even from this superficial glance at Salutati's work it is clear that the validation of *theologia poetica* through the allegorical understanding of scripture - Salutati's endorsement of the Bible as poetic - opens a whole series of issues on providential ordering, foreknowledge and fate, as well as the need for what Trinkaus termed a "universal history of mankind" which could accommodate human ethical and creative action with providential history. Etymology, Salutati's favoured exegetical tool, would seem potentially oriented to both, as a procedure which considers words and meanings as products of human, historical making and which - for Salutati - discloses the structures of analogy which reveal providential order. We have here two central elements in the Renaissance understanding of poetry as civic art, which makes or discloses the human world through the *usus* and transpositions of verbal meaning, and as *furor*, which reveals the world figuratively through allegorical correspondences that form the *integumenta* of inspired speech. What still has to be fitted in here is some mode of mediation between the two; the Florentine Neoplatonists' celebration of the microcosmic soul free to move throughout creation allowed for the accommodation of ideas of *enthusiasmos* and the *poesis*, the making or artifice in which the human revealed its likeness to the divine.

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[155] Cited in Trinkaus, *op.cit.* p.62.

[156] In *De lab. Herc.* II.ii.16.

[157] For Salutati, pagan literature hides inner truths under a false outer shell or *cortex*. His statements about scripture vary from the allegation that since scripture is divine, it is all true, without and within, to assertions of the metaphoric character of the language of the Canticle of Canticles or figurations entailed in attributing hands, voice etc. to the ineffability of God.

[158] Trinkaus notes that Salutati considered human salvation and damnation to lie with divine grace, so that good works could serve to mitigate the degree of reward or punishment rather than secure them. See Trinkaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

To this discussion of "poetic theology" as used by Humanists prior to Ficino, we might add mention of a Ciceronian precedent for the meditations on the "universal poem" of creation in relation to claims for the dignity of man founded in his capacity as maker, the *homo faber* whose most elevated or paradigmatic activity can be then argued to be the "inspired" making of poesis. This comes in Book II of *De natura deorum*, where the providential ordering the world is used as an argument for the refutation of atheism. The book uses Plato's account of physical creation in *Timaeus* and turns it to anthropocentric ends - the providential order of the world, the most complete and beautiful of all things, has been created for humankind, which alone of all creation can contemplate this order and use it for its own ends. The order of the world is celebrated from II.xxxix-liii, in an account that combines natural history with an emphasis on the capacity of the mind's eye (*i.e.* the imagination) to grasp the diversity of creation in its totality. In Cicero, however, this capacity is not directed to the contemplation of contraries as a spiritual exercise, but to the demonstration that gods and men dwell together in the world, and a praise of the human faculties, both rational and mechanical, which concentrates on the capacities of the practical intelligence, from judgement to industry. As we shall see that Cicero in *De officiis* and *De oratore* translates Platonic meditations on the Ideas, or on the relation of virtue and order into his treatments of decorum and rhetorical metre, which both concern his claims for the supremacy of active life, so in *De natura deorum* II he exploits *Timaeus* in order to celebrate the practical and operative intelligence. The human faculty extolled above the practical intelligence at II.lxv is prophecy, or divination, given by the gods to humankind alone, and cited as greatest proof of providential care for humankind. The elevation of prophect and divination above philosophy leant itself to those Humanists who wished to assert the superiority of the *litterae* over philosophy; it also placed great emphasis on human making, whose exemplary form could be argued to be *poesis*.

Cicero's emphasis on the mechanical and practical intelligence finds Humanist development in works such as the *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* (c.1452-53) of Giannozo Manetti, translator of Aristotle's ethical works and student of Hebrew. Manetti reiterates the encyclopaedic praises of the created world in *De natura deorum* II.xxxix-liii, while arguing that the "marvellous spectacle" of the "most beautiful and ornate world" is made "much more beautiful, much more ornate and far more refined" through human artifice.[159] Manetti goes so far as to refer to the first creation of the world as "rude", while the discovery, construction and perfection of things was the result of human creation, founded on human acuity ("post primam illam novam ac rudem creationem ex singulari quodam et precipuo humano mentis acumine a nobis adinventata ac confecta et absoluta fuisse videantur").[160] These inventive and refining capacities by which man becomes "a second creator of the human historical world that was superimposed on the original divine creation of the natural world"[161] are distinctly

[159] Following Trinkhaus, *op.cit.*, pp.246-7 "multo pulchiora multoque ornata ac longe politiora".
[160] *ibid.*
[161] Citing Trinkhaus, *ibid.*

rhetorical, and thus it is hardly surprising to find close similarities to Manetti's language in the apologies of poetry which sought to argue its status as the highest work of human making.

Before we go on to look at later poetic invocations of the poet's reflection of the univeral order that seem to work together Humanist discussiosn of the *litterae* with the claims of poetic theology and the divulgations of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, supposedly at the source of pagan wisdom, we should reflect for a moment on the models of making which arise in *De natura deorum* and the Hermetic texts. While both Cicero in *De natura deorum* and the Hermetic texts lend themselves to the celebration of poesis as the human making that recreates the world, one should note a profound difference, which corresponds to what might be crudely be called Humanist and magical interpretations of poesis. This lies in the fact that the activity of the *homo faber* in Cicero encompasses the practical intelligence, from its intellectual virtues such as prudence, to the mechanical arts; human making is industrious, using judgement and mechanical skill (based in the dexterity of the hand) to create or construct things in imitation of nature "by means of our hands we try to effect as it were another nature".[162] In passages like that on the Egyptian statues of the gods in the Hermetic texts, the "other nature" is not just shaped in imitation of nature but drawn down so that its forces may be harnessed by the magus who works changes and harmonies, marrying earth to heaven, as Pico said. One should recall that mechanisms and devices whose operations were founded on the disclosure of a natural law, *i.e.* engines could be seen in the Renaissance in quasi-magical terms and one should be attentive to the influence of magical thinking on technology in this period – so that poesis can therefore move into making in a variety of senses – the making of concrete actions which constitute history – and the making of structures which operate in a mechanical way which is also "divulgatory", from artistic artefacts to engines.[163] We might put the 1589 *intermedi* into this category, in which stage machines, "hieroglyphic" costumes and the moving force of music all come together to affect the audience. We shall discuss this in more detail below – here we should return to the central model for human poesis, namely the imitation of creation by the poet's artifice.

By Ficino's time, the etymology which Salutati used to demonstrate the divine, allegorical significance of pagan poetry had developed into the philology of Valla and Poliziano, and the Neoplatonic or "subplatonic" claims for the hieroglyph, for example,

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[162] *De natura deorum*, II.lx.150-153. For discussion of the passage, see David Summers on the mechanical arts, in *The Judgment of Sense*, Cambridge, 1987, p.235ff.

[163] From the Latin *ingenium* is derived genius, which until the Romantic era retains its kinship with wit *i.e. ingenium*. The full range of meanings from *ingegno* to *genio* to *ingegnere* has its most celebrated exemplification in Leonardo as genius, seeker of similitudes, man of insight and maker of engines, but we might note Lomazzo's praise of Arcimboldo at the conclusion of the *Idea del Tempio della pittura*, where remarks on the painter's *ingegno* concerns both the *capricci* of his paintings and his engineering activities: "in ogni cosa fu d'acutissimo ingegno, onde ritrovò artificii di passar fiumi espeditamente, ove non fossero ponti [...] e fu inventor di cifre che non si potevano intendere senza il suo stromento" ("in everything he was of most acute *ingegno*, so that he found means of crossing rivers unimpeded where there were no bridges and invented codes that could not be understood without his key"), *Idea*, ed. Robert Klein, Florence 1974, p.381).

were already in confluence with a Humanistic, rhetorical interest in epigraphic literature, epitomised already by Alberti's brief remarks on hieroglyphs as pictographic inscriptions which ornament a monument in *De re aedificatoria* VIII.ii-iv (completed 1452, printed 1485). Poetic theology had a formidable contemporary apologist in the poet and philologist Poliziano, who discussed in the *Sylvae* (the introductory lectures to his university courses in the Florence *studium* which summarised and interpreted all literature from Homer on) the status of poetry as first and (excepting theology) most divine of the arts, and the science that studied literature, philology, as the means of arriving at a total tree of knowledge, containing all that the ancients knew and the moderns had to recover.[164]

Thus, if Ficino had the role in Laurentian Florence as principal translator and exponent of the works of the Platonic tradition, the study of non-Platonic classical literature was in the hands of Poliziano, eager to assert the predominance of literary over philosophical studies, and to centre literary study on philology as a *panepistemon* which would reveal the meanings and relations between things through their historic and communicative contexts. Standing as it were between the intellectual culture represented by Ficino and that of Poliziano was Cristoforo Landino, a disciple of Ficino who lectured on Virgil and Dante at the Florence *studium*, and thus embraced Neoplatonism with the literary preoccupations of Florentine Humanism in the later fifteenth century.[165] Landino was commentator on the two exemplary philosophical poems which treated of man's acceptance of his destiny and his journey to God, and his principal work, aside from the famous commentary on Dante, the *Disputationes camuldenses*, treated of the relationship of active to contemplative life. The *Disputationes* ended with a commentary on the *Aeneid* which showed Aeneas as journeying towards the *summum bonum*, while the first two books featured as dialogue between Lorenzo de'Medici and Alberti as representatives of active and contemplative life.[166] In this pairing of a ruler given to philosophical and poetical pursuits and a theorist concerned with civic engagement, one might detect that the possibilities of active and contemplative life are emerging in a distinct and new form; the question is not so much one of monastic retreat versus political activity as a reshaping of the old classical distinction of *negotium* and *otium*, in which *otium* has drawn to itself both poetic and philosophical possibilities. These were of course present in classical literature - in Plato and Cicero's academic works in particular, but intervening there are the important factors of Petrarch's delineation of the non-monastic contemplative life of the poet and the movement of philosophic discussion away from the schools into private academies, of which Ficino's "field of the Muses" at Careggi was the most celebrated example.[167]

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[164] On Poliziano's position in the Humanist discussions of metaphoric language, exemplified by poetry and studied by philology, as a manifestation of *ingenium*, where meaning is enunciated through its historic or communicative situation and the disclosure of similitudes, see again Grassi, *Renaissance Humanism.*

[165] Ficino, Landino and Poliziano are depicted together in Ghirlandaio's fresco of *Zaccariah in the Temple* in the Tornabuoni Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence.

[166] Landino throughout his writings shows great admiration for Alberti.

[167] Cf. *Genealogia deorum gentilium* XI.xvii, where Boccaccio noted that philosophers hold their disputations in schools, while poets, in Petrarchan fashion, roam fountains, groves and woods in solitude.

In his writings on literature the attempt at synthesis between poetic theology and "theologia platonica" manifests itself as we find Landino repeatedly asserting the idea, used by Salutati, of poetry as culminating or encyclopaedic art, and as *furor*, now linked specifically with Plato and the "Platonic" Cicero. An example is the *Praefactio in Virgilio*:

> poetica disciplina non dicam unam ex iis artibus quas nostri maiores liberales appellarunt, sed quae illas universas complectens, certis quibusquam numeris astricta variisque luminibus ac floribus quaecumque homines egerint, quaecumque norint miris figmentis exornet atque in alias quasdam speties traducat. Quam quidem rem, ut et divinus ille Plato in Phaedrus et Platonicus Cicero in Tusculanis disputationibus ostendit, nemo unquam mortalium sine divino furore attingere possit.[168]

Landino makes the identical claim in the *Proemio al Comento Dantesco* of 1481 and the *Prolusione Dantesca*, in which Dante becomes the exemplar of the poet whose divine inspiration (*vero amore divino*) leads him from the earthly object as "effigie e imagine", image and likeness, of the heavenly "perché per queste bellezze terrene c'inalziamo alle divine".[169] As we shall see when we look at *De amore*, Dante is presented as the prototype of Ficino's Platonic lover, but Landino still adheres to the kind of poetic theology represented by Salutati in insisting that the *Divina Commedia* can be interpreted according to the four levels of scriptural exegesis. What Landino attempts to effect is the conflation of this fourfold interpretation with an optimistic version of Platonic metaphysics, which insists on the continuity of the transcendent Idea with its earthly image (for which music supplies the prototype), and with the notion of poetry as encyclopaedic, comprehending all the liberal arts in itself. We saw the elements of poetic theology and encyclopaedism in Salutati, but Landino has at his disposition the Platonic texts which can set forth the relationship between progressive understanding and progressive disclosure of the Ideas and the *Hermetica* with their celebration of the human capacity to range through the divinely wrought cosmos like a god. If in short poetic enthusiasm, which Landino identifies with the *astrazione* of philosophic meditation, reveals the Platonic analogy between the divine wisdom, music and beauty (proportion and light), and their earthly manifestations, this disclosure also illuminates the relationship between the various arts, and the knowledge of the world which they contain.

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[168] "I shall not call the art of poetry one of those arts which the ancients named liberal, but as embracing all the others together, which, bound with the numbers of metre and with the varied lights and colours of figures, adorns whatever men have done and known with wondrous devises and transmutes [traduco] them into other forms. The divine Plato in *Phaedrus* and Cicero platonically in the *Tuscan Disputations* show that this is a thing which no mortal man can achieve without divine inspiration". *Praefactio in Virgilio* in *Scritti Critici e Teorici*, ed. R. Cardini, Rome, 1974, p.30.

[169] "Because by these earthly beauties we rise to divine beauties". *Proemio al Comento Dantesco*, in *ed. cit.*, p.132.

Thus we find that Landino's claims for Dante, whose mind could range through all things like the divine man of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, or contain all sciences as Homer was likened to the ocean,[170] are echoed in the proemium of his translation of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, which states "Come di grado in grado da l'infima parte d'ogni grande edificio alla più eccelsa s'arriva, così la mente nostra [...] dalle visibili cose alle invisibili perviene".[171] Landino opens the *proemio* with a celebration which echoes Ficino in the commentary on *Symposium*, invoking the "universale macchina la quale per l'ammirabile ornamento suo da' Greci cosmos da' Latini mondo è nominata".[172] This world, revealed and figured through the inspired discourse of the poet or philosopher which contains encyclopaedically all kinds of knowledge, and "all that men have done, have known and have contemplated"[173] is said to be the poem of God "è Idio sommo poeta, ed è el mondo suo poema".[174] We saw above that Cicero's account of the divine poesis of creation in *De natura deorum* provided the occasion for an account of natural history – Landino does something very similar in presenting Pliny with an invocation of Ficino's words on the loveliness, order and totality of the cosmos. The topos of the world as God's poem reflected in the ornament of the poet's inspired language is taken up in sixteenth century poetic theories, such as those of Tasso – what Landino does is to show that underpinning this topos is the argument which sees in the *copia* of exemplars and meanings disclosed by the philological study of literature an encyclopaedic reflection of creation as divine poem. The way that encyclopaedic structure could provide universal ordering, or reflect the universal order shall preoccupy us at a later stage of the argument: our preoccupation here is with the way that, contemporary to the production of Ficino's writings, the Platonic philosopher is transformed into a Phaedran poet-lover whose knowledge of heaven and earth derives from inspiration - from love, based on will.[175]

We have an instance of this in the *De Summo Bono* of Lorenzo de'Medici who withdraws in the poem from the *civil fastidio* to a pastoral setting where he encounters "Marsilio" in Orphean guise, musical instrument in hand, who gives a versified *lezione* in Neoplatonic philosophy that discusses the supremacy of will over intellect, culminating in rhapsodic song. The recreation of the pastoral in *volgare*, accomplished in the same years with such refinement by Sannazaro in *Arcadia*, entails in *De Summo Bono* the figuration of the philosopher as pastoral poet - or rather the setting and enthusiasm of a dialogue such as *Phaedrus* is turned into a poetic form as yet another representation of

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[170] "Imperochè come tutti e'fiumi dall'oceano nascono e nell'oceano ritornano, così tutte le scienzie da costui [Dante] s'attingono e in lui redundano" "As all rivers arise from the sea and return to it, so all knowledge derive from him and gather in him". *Prolusione Dantesca*, *ed. cit.*, p.54.

[171] "Just as one rises step by step from the lowest depths to the highest point of any great building, so from visible things one reaches those invisible". *Proemio al volgarizzamento della Naturalis Historia*, *ed. cit.*, p.83.

[172] *op. cit.*, p.81.

[173] "quantunque mai gl'uomini hanno fatto, quantunque hanno conosciuto, quantunque hanno contemplato", Landino, *Proemio al Comento Dantesco*, *ed. cit.*, p.141.

[174] *op. cit.*, p.141.

[175] We shall look at *Phaedrus* in detail at the beginning of the second section of the argument, where we are dealing with rhetoric.

*theologia poetica*.[176] If Laurentian sponsorship of a "contemplative" Humanism, in place of the politically dynamic civic Humanism of the *trecento* and early *quattrocento* signalled the undermining of Republican institutions, as Savonarola protested, this *otium studiosum* was not just a distraction from political engagement or proper Christian piety, but in itself the designing of a culture in which the Ficinian *Plato Latinus* stands as the culmination of a recasting of the relation of active and contemplative life. *Plato Latinus*, or better *Platone Fiorentino* - alongside the theoretical arguments noted above which allow Landino to identify poetic theology (disclosed through philological study) with *prisca theologia*, there is a specifically Florentine literary tradition of poetry and commentaries on the theme of love, written in the *volgare*, in which poetic themes and language develop into philosophical speculation on spiritual ascent. If this tradition begins with *La vita nuova* and Cavalcanti in *Donna mi prega*, Ficino's promulgation of Platonic eros consolidates its philosophical foundation, and provides the basis for works such as the unfinished *Comento sopra i miei sonetti*, in which Lorenzo de'Medici explored the Petrarchan themes of his own poetry in the light of Neoplatonic speculations. The tradition continues in Pico's *Comento sopra una canzona de amore composta da Girolamo Benivieni*, which uses the speculative poetic *comento* as a vehicle for criticisms of Ficino, undergoes a vulgarisation into a stylistic exercise at the hands of Bembo in *Gli Asolani*, has a type of philosophical recuperation in the form of academic *lezione* in Varchi's Aristotelian expositions of the sonnets of Michelangelo and has its most difficult elaboration at the end of the sixteenth century in the *Gli Eroici Furori* of Giordano Bruno, where emblematics, Petrarchan sonnets and philosophy of every school come together in a hieroglyphic exposition of the *filosofia nolana* of immense complexity.

Ficino situates his own commentary overtly in this tradition of speculative poetic commentary by two strategies. Firstly, through his double translation of *Symposium* from Greek to Latin with commentary, and then from Latin to vernacular. This was the only rendering of his Platonic translations into *volgare*, and in the deciation to *El libro dell'amore*, Ficino explains that the work is a commentary on Diotima's speech in *Symposium* 201d-212b, which he translated, with the support of Lorenzo de'Medici, first into Latin and then into the vernacular so that it would be accessible to a wider audience ("acciò che quella salutifera manna a Diotima dal cielo mandata a più persone sia comune et facile, ho tradocto di lingua latina in toscana e decti platonici mysterii insieme al comento mio").[177] Should we have any doubt that the dissemination of the "platonici mysterii" of eros are linked with the tradition of speculative love poetry in *toscano*, the seventh and last oration of Ficino's commentary opens with comparison of the philosophy of love set out by the speakers in *Symposium* to the poem *Donna mi prega* of the *stilnovista* Guido Cavalcanti "tutte queste cose artificiosamente chiuse ne' suoi versi"

[176] A particularly obvious example is the *Naugerius* of Fracastoro (1540) which sets discussions on the capacity of poetry to represent the Ideas in a numinous pastoral landscape.

[177] "In order that this nourishing manna sent by heaven to Diotima should be more widely accessible, I have translated these Platonic mysteries and my commentary from Latin into vernacular speech". *Sopra lo amore*, *op.cit.*, p.15.

(VII.i).[178] The emphasis on Cavalcanti as philosopher and Socratic lover, alongside the contrast between the lengthy discourses of the Platonic speakers and the brevity with which Cavalcanti covered the same arguments in his poem (of which we are given an epitome), almost suggests the possibility of re-reading *El libro dell'amore* from its end, as a species of double commentary, in which a *lezione* on *Donna mi prega* combines with that on *Symposium*. This is also to say that *El libro dell'amore* has specific reference to Florentine culture in the age of Lorenzo, in which, as in earlier Humanism, but with differing emphasis, stylistic and political ends were profoundly linked, and that the translation fits particularly well into the Magnifico's linguistic project for the promotion of *toscano* as the vernacular language of Italy, as well as cultural projects for his own artistic and Humanist circle, as reflected in his own writings.

This brings us to a second point, which we touched on above when we noted the idea of a recasting of the relation of active and contemplative life in Laurentian Florence, which has a strange illustration in Machiavelli's famous description of Lorenzo in the *Istorie fiorentine* Book 8, xxxvi "a considerare in quello e la vita voluttuosa e la grave, si vedeva in lui essere due persone diverse, quasi con impossibile conguizione congiunte".[179] The cultivation of a "poetic theology" based on Platonic eros by a ruler such Lorenzo, who appears to have put immense emphasis on personal dealings and charisma, signals its propagation in the representational centre of a culture, and we move from the vulgarisation of philosophical discourse at the hands of *letterati* to the much traced relationships that lead circuitously from Lorenzo's intellectual "courtiers" to his writings to the visual arts and spectacle which provide the means for "staging" this culture.[180] If the arts, crucial to the operations of synthesis and mediation in which idealised actuality can touch the mythologised transcendent, take on particular importance in this staging, *otium*, the time of leisure in which the ruling classes cultivate the arts, becomes a privileged locus for the designing of one's culture.[181] We have seen this to a degree in the way that poetic *otium* in *De summo bono* is presented as a substitute for contemplative life, subjected to poetic structuring - something not dissimilar takes place in *El Libro dell'amore*, cast as a series of speeches given at

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[178] "all these things he put into his poem with artifice". Ficino, *op.cit.*p.135.

[179] "If one considered the life of pleasure in Lorenzo and his gravity, one saw two different people in him, as though joined together in an impossible conjunction". Cited in Zorzi, *op. cit.*, p.82.

[180] It should be emphasised that a debate on Lorenzo and the culture promoted by his circle is not the issue at hand here. Amongst the vast bibliography here, one could mention G.Pieraccini *La stripe dei Medici*, 1947, J.R.Hale *Florence and the Medici*, 1977, C.M. Ady *Lorenzo dei Medici and Renaissance Italy*, 1960, A.Chastel *Art et humanime au temps de Laurent de'Medici*, 1959, *Lettere* ed. N.Rubenstein, commenced 1977, Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, New York 1980, and the volumes published in 1992 by the *Comitato nazionale per le celebrazioni del quinto centenario del morte di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, including a volume on architecture (focusing on Giuliano da Sangallo), on music and spectacle.

[181] We shall look below at the discussion and presentation of this theme in *Il libro del cortegiano* of Baldassare Castiglione, where the Urbino setting should not distract us from the Florentine origins of the poetic and philosophic themes and their presentation. This is notable in the treatment of Bembo, exponent of adherence to Florentine literary culture – if Bembo is sidelined in debates on linguistic imitation by Castiglione (whose views on the *questione della lingua* differed considerably), he is character who delivers the rhapsodic discourse on Platonic love at the culmination of the work. In thus deploying Bembo, Castiglone seems to suggest that the core of Florentine poetic tradition lies in the "theology of love".

Ficino's Platonic Academy at Careggi in honour of the birthday of Plato with Landino and Lorenzo de'Medici amongst the academicians who "numbered nine like the Muses". Not only is the work presented as a rhetorical occasion,[182] but it presents itself quite explicitly as the revival of a ceremony - the celebration of the legendary date of Plato's birth and death (Plato supposedly died at a banquet on his birthday), observed by antique Neoplatonists. The work in other words celebrates the revival of the ancient "platonici mysterii" that commemorated this anniversary and imitates the festive setting of *Symposium* (reiterated in the legend of Plato's death), which in itself is a device of mimesis. If in short the avowed aim to make the "platonici mysterii" "a più persone [...] comune et facile" is part of the attempt to clarify the role and relation of various discourses of love (poetic, philosophical, mystical) and the various discourses of salvation (Christian, Platonic, Hermetic) in the act of synthesising them, this project is also presented as a staging - a rhetorical occasion which claims to be the revival of a ritual. The loss or gain, depending on one's perspective, which occurs in the translation of a philosophical formulation of human situation in the order of things into a poetic, or artistic figuration, is thus only half the question: the other half lies in the kind of setting which it becomes requisite for the arts to establish as a pre-condition for their depiction of these revelations. Thus if one asks "what is figured in the arts in the Renaissance?" one must also ask "what is the framework of representation within which figuration takes place?" We might see rhetoric as furnishing the occasions which respond to certain arguments, and presuppose certain kinds of development; this rhetorical occasion in turn presupposes a concrete situation, and thus architectural and visual structuring which in the Renaissance uses perspective as a means of achieving coherence and sequence (and thus a scene for narrative ordering). Where the visual structuring and the rhetorical situation come together is, as argued, in theatre, and in this light we can understand why it is so overtly used as framework and theme for the *intermedi* of 1589, where the relations between the arts as they form a composite embodiment of Platonic myth has one of its most lavish enactments.

*Poetics and encyclopaedism in sixteenth century academies – a brief glance*

We have noted that even a work so central to the Ficinian Platonic revival as the commentary on *Symposium* overtly seeks to accommodate notions of poetic *furor*, which in turn leads to the question of the accommodation of the poet's demiurgic artifice and the meaning which arises through the philological study of language, as a poetico-philosophical work written in the Laurentian ambit cannot be divorced from issues of the literary projects of Lorenzo and Poliziano. Quite apart from the content of the orations on love (dramatised commentaries that have a formality closer to the speeches of the bridesmaids in the *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* than to the convivial banter of

[182] *I.e.* epideictic or demonstrative rhetoric concerning praise or blame. In *Symposium*, Socrates exposes the philosophical limitations of this occasion in his remark that those who have proposed to discuss Eros at Agathon's banquet are instead merely flattering him. One of the reasons for the success of *Phaedrus* in the Renaisance lies in its admired deployment of the landscape as *topos* from which arguments appear to rise almost "naturally" – a goal of rhetorical artifice.

*Symposium*), the presence of philosophical, poetic and linguistic issues in a dialogue staged as a *cenacolo* in honour of Plato points to the preoccupations of later Renaissance academies, in which dramatic and linguistic activities take place alongside "philosophical" speculations presented in poetic or emblematic form. Ficino's ceremonies at the Platonic Academy at Careggi are contemporary with Pomponio Leto's festivities in the Accademia Romana in which the ritual culture of ancient Rome was revived, and we see in more popular festival, as depicted in the so-called *Florentine Picture Chronicle* attributed to Maso Finiguerra, the extent to which the Ficinian *prisci theologi* could be assimilated to the pageantry of the "universal history" of Medieval encyclopaedists; in the work of the artist whose innovations are reflected in Finiguerra's drawings, Donatello, we see likewise the strongest awareness that the successful revival of antique forms depends upon their integration into the ritual life of a culture, both formal and emotional.[183] We noted above that we would eschew the polemics over Aristotle and the claims of the various genres that characterise much sixteenth century poetic theory, especially in the second part of the century,[184] and it might also be observed that the line of continuity from the "poetic theology" of Ficino's period to Patrizi and Bardi lies through works that situate "poetic theology" in a dialogic context, such as *Il libro del cortegiano* or *Gli Asolani* - if these works consciously evoke a Socratic or Ciceronian model, this model surely also informs the academies which took their name from the grove where Plato talked. To this one might add that the discussions of *imprese*, which we shall argue become the locus of speculation on metaphor in late Renaissance culture, arise frequently from academies, such as the Accademia degli Intronati in Siena, of which the author of *La pellegrina*, Girolamo Bargagli, was a member.[185] Again, if we noted above a patchy genealogy of "poetic theology" which culminates with the *Eroici Furori* of Giordano Bruno, this work, with its dramatic *mise en scène* and alternation between sonnets and *imprese* seems to reflect the kind of culture which the academies appear to have promoted.

All this is said with some hestitancy as a study of the culture of Italian Renaissance academies, and the range and setting of their debates, remains beyond the scope of this argument. It might be said that one should not over-emphasise the distinction between the academies as centres for speculative debate, and the dramatic, poetic and emblematic enactment of speculation and the notion of an academy as an institution devoted to the formulation of canonical standards in the arts. The assumption of a neat shift or divide is undone by glancing at the career of Varchi, for example, whose capacity to lecture upon the canonical texts of Tuscan literature or interest in launching a *paragone* debate to determine the relative merits of sculpture and painting, is rooted in his engagement with the speculations of "poetic theology" – in particular, one should recognise in the

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[183] We shall return to the *Florentine Picture Chronicle* in discussion of spectacle in quattrocento Florence later in the section.

[184] For an account of these debates, see Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, Chicago 1961 and Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli, "Humanism and Poetry" in *Renaissance Humanism*, *op.cit.* Amongst the most renowned editions and commentaries on the *Poetics* we might name those of Robertello (1548), Maggi (1550) and Castelvestro (1575).

[185] One of the most interesting treatises on the *imprese* was the work of Scipione Bargagli of the Accademia degli Intronati, brother of Girolamo.

*paragone* debate between painting and sculpture the larger debate on the relation of body and soul in the figurative arts.[186] In her discussion of Varchi, Leatrice Mendelsohn notes that academies often had the names which referred to physical allegories (*gli infiammati, gli umidi*), expressed a "mysterious" *concetto*, such as the *Noctes vaticanae*, or referred to an exalted or enlightened state (*gli intronati, gli olimpici*); one should recall that the academicians also took on symbolic names and *imprese*, such as Carlo Borromeo, whose academic name at the *Noctes vaticanae* was "Caos".[187] The fruits of academic activity could be the invention of *imprese* specific to certain circumstances, or monuments such as the Teatro Olimpico designed by Palladio and Scamozzi for the Vicenza Accademia degli Olimpici, an edifice which holds in itself the juxtaposition of monumentality, ephemerality, theatricality and emblematic density that characterises much sixteenth century academic culture. Again, this is far too loose, and I can do no more here than signal that the preoccupation with cosmic or physical allegory (related to *harmonia universalis*), the metaphoric or emblematic conjunctions as artificial figures for the discussion of discoveries of human *ingenium*, the encyclopaedic learning represented or rendered emblematically, or the relations between emblematics, theatre and encyclopaedism, are closer to our work here than many of the exclusively literary debates within poetic theory. This spectrum of preoccupations appears in works that precede the academicism of the later cinquecento, such as Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, where a *ragionamento* linked with the invention of *imprese* could encompass the *questione della lingua* and discussions of the relation of body to soul which become a full exposition of poetic theology at the culmination of the work. We shall discuss the importance of Castiglione for the thinking on artifice in terms of body and soul codified subsequently in emblematics later in the chapter; here we should adduce the work of Frances Yates on the academy of Baïf in illuminating the role of academic speculation in mediations on the poetic theology and poetic encyclopaedism in later sixteenth century France. If this may seem like crude patching to cover the lack of research into Italian academies in this thesis, it should be remembered that the academy of Baïf brings us back to concerns with the relation of music and poetry which lead us into Patrizi and the *intermedi*, as well as showing the degree to which such concerns could be rooted in earlier "poetic theology". Secondly, it should be emphasied that the emphasis on theatre, or performance, and on emblematics in the academies was in keeping with the insistence on the poet's ability to create a world of artifice – this cosmos should be seen as structured according to the principle of *discorde concordia* that is embodied in universal harmony.

We have said that claims that the poet improves Nature should be seen in relation to the notion of human making as a completing and perfecting of the world – this throws up the question of when one arrives at the completion of meaning. One way of responding to

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[186] Varchi (1503-65) was a member of the *Accademia Fiorentina*; on his career and preoccupations as academician, see Leatrice Mendelsohn, *Paragoni Benedetto Varchi's* Due Lezzioni *and Cinquecento Art Theory*, UMI 1982.

[187] On the *Noctes Vaticanae*, see comments in the discusion below on the Casino of Pius IV. Carlo Borromeo, nephew of Pius IV and institutor of the academy, took the academic name of "Chaos", based on the *concetto* that the seeds of virtue rise up from chaos, derived from Ficino's commentary on *Symposium*. The significance of the name is discussed by Frances Yates, in *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1947.

this question that arises from the attention to the historical character of human meaning is to attempt to discover the encyclopaedic structure that can contain all human knowledge that exists, or may come to exist, and order it so that it forms a coherent whole that can imitate in its structure the ascent to God. If this sounds like Salutati, or better Landino, who studied the poetic *furor* that exalts the soul to heaven and the encyclopaedia of Pliny, which sought to gather and recount the knowledge of all things in the world, one should recall that by the sixteenth century encyclopaedism is linked with the philological work of scholars such as Erasmus and Poliziano, and associated with topical logic which invents the "places" *i.e.* headings or categories in which knowledge, or arguments, can be stored and discovered. Again, poetics works together with this encyclopaedic framework in that *furor* inspires the ascent through the orders of knowledge, while the fundamental character of poetic artifice as making from nothing and conjoining form and matter, noted by Scaliger and Patrizi and discussed below, reflects human likeness to the divine. Add to this the harmony of *concors discordia* and the cosmic chains of influence in Ficino's *De vita* and one can see that the union of poetry and music, which has its concrete result in opera, can become suggestive in a theoretical project which has bearing on encyclopaedic conceptions of knowledge. One such project, subject of a study by Frances Yates, was constituted by the Académie de Poésie et de Musique of Baïf (est.1570), combined musical reform (*musique mésurée*) with encyclopaedism, as propounded in the *Solitaire premier* and *Solitaire second* in the *Discours philosophiques* of Pontus de Tyard (1587). The encyclopaedism which was part of the content of *harmonia mundi* from the configurations of Muses, faculties, arts and planets from late antiquity on became with the Académie a specific academic project, as related by Mersenne in the *Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim*, in which music provided the structure and paradigm, as *harmonia universalis* and union of poetry and music.[188] The musical reform of the Académie, less severe than Galilei's rejection of polyphony, also consisted in the effort to "relate the tune to the sense and measure of the words"[189] as in the time when "Musiciens et Poetes et Sages/Furent mesmes auteurs", this reform consisting of the researches into rhythm which produced the *vers et musique mesurés*, the efforts of Baïf to unite poetic and musical rhythm by imposing a classical, quantitative metre on French, and measured dance.[190] Turning to the *Discours philosophiques* in which Yates saw the theoretical thought of the Académie set forth, we find in the *Solitaire premier* that the path from ignorance to understanding entails first the study of sciences which train and discipline the mind, and then the recognition of their coherence and the unity that underlies them, figured by the union of music and poetry.[191] The dialogue reiterates Ficino's commentaries on *Symposium* and *Ion* in linking the ascent of the soul with the four varieties of *theia mania* in *Phaedrus* 244-5 and 265 - associated with the Muses, Bacchus, Apollo and Venus. Pontus repeats almost verbatim Ficino's discourse in *De amore* VII.xiv in which the progression through the stages of *enthusiasmos* represents the ascent from the dissonance of the embodied soul to the one via concord (the Muses), the

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[188] Cited in Frances Yates, *French Academies*, *ed. cit.*, p.24.

[189] Jacques Amyot, translation of *Moralia*, cited in Yates, *op. cit.*, p.38. As in the Camerata (where the position was more extreme), a tendency to the dominance of words over music existed, as in the insistence on the audibility of each word in sung poetry.

[190] Yates, *op. cit.*, pps.43, 56, 61.

[191] Yates, *op. cit.* pp.77-94.

transformation from multiplicity to a complex unity (Dionysus), from complex to simple unity (Apollo) and through contemplation of the One (Venus) it is united with it. Thus *furor* itself becomes a kind of progressive ordering, which can be associated at all of its stages with poetry, as when Ficino says in the fourth chapter of his commentary on *Phaedrus* that all the *furores* may be called *poetices*. We have seen the claim that poetry is both inspired speech and that it contains all the other arts in Salutati; the encyclopaedic programme of learning described by Mersenne in Baïf's Académie de Poésie et de Musique for which musical reform was both core and emblem did not present the union of music and poetry as a *summa* of the arts but the means of revealing, and effecting the harmony between all branches of human knowledge - emblematised by the poetic continuum of the Muses.[192] If poetic theology supplies precedents for the conflations of *furor* with the Muses, their cosmological-educational symbolism and encyclopaedic projects in which the relationship between the theory and branches of learning reflects the illumination of the harmony and complex unity of the universe,[193] as in the *intermedi* it is the moving and invocatory role given to music, or musical enactment, which is notable. If Baïf attempted to create the union of music and poetry through measure i.e. rhythm, this unified form was conceived, according to Frances Yates, as something like a vessel for Ficinian spiritual music, although persuasive or rhapsodic in character, rather than operative. We have referred to this material by way of digression, to demonstrate the continuity of the enthusiastic-encyclopaedic claims of poetic theology, and the way in which they were central to a project for musical reform so close to that of Bardi and the Florentine Camerata. In looking at the discussions of the Camerata and the Académie together, one can see that the relationship between *harmonia mundana* and *harmonia humana* has taken the form of speculation on rhythm, conceived as movement and animating force, and we shall see that this preoccupation with rhythm emerges also in Patrizi.

### *Towards the intermedi: the* Poetica *of Francesco Patrizi*

In Patrizi's *Poetica*, a lengthy philological examination of the forms of antique poetry results in the insistence on the union of music and poetry founded in *enthusiasmos* and the postulation of a comprehensive structure that can accommodate all possible arguments, founded on the metaphoric conjunctions of opposites that reveal the endless marrying of form and matter that constitutes the continuous generation of the created world.[194] Patrizi in short attempts to discover a structure that can both codify and generate the metaphoric conjunctions that Pico saw disclosed through magic and since

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[192] Frances Yates discusses the academic project for the harmonisation of the arts as a descendent of the spiritual syncretism of Ficino and Pico (propounded by the latter in the *Oratio* as explicit ecumenism), updated in the conciliatory "politique" Catholicism of the Valois party in late sixteenth century France.

[193] Here one should recall the interests of Landino in Platonism, poetic theology and encyclopaedism, as translator of Pliny.

[194] The *Poetica* was divided into seven books, each consisting of ten chapters and thus called *deche*. The first and second, *La deca istoriale* and *La deca disputata* were published in 1586, the other five books, *La deca ammirabile*, *La deca plastica*, *La deca dogmatica universale*, *La deca sacra* and *La deca semisacra*, dated 1587 and 1588 (*La deca semisacra*), remained in manuscript. The *Poetica* in is totality was published, in Florence 1969-71, edited by Danilo Aguzzi Barbagli.

the definition of this structure is founded on what aspires to be an exhaustive account of ancient poetry, it also contains this material – and indeed (according to Patrizi) any poem that has been or will be written or imagined. We might see in Patrizi's *Poetica* an attempt to bring together meditations on the two varieties of poesis that we crudely distinguished above – the accumulation of historical meaning through acts of human making and the continuous conjunctions of higher and lower, form and matter, revealed by magic. If the second looks at the constant remaking of the cosmos which comes ceaselessly into being, as the *Corpus Hermeticum* says, this brings us to the question of when one arrives at a perfection of human making. For Patrizi, philology serves to demonstrate the enthusiastic character of poetry with its reiterated transformations of the world which is itself in constant transformation – historical reality in short recovers our relation to that which is always transformed, and yet always the same in its constant making.

Patrizi's lengthy *Poetica* reads at many points like an attempt to revive the speculations of poetic theology, consolidated with a detailed scholarly examination of all references in Greek literature to the sacred significance and performance of poetry, and brought together with Giulio Camillo's fusion of topical logic with an operative Hermetic cosmological structure. Patrizi's poetics is also a polemic against the predominance of Aristotelian commentary in poetic theory in the later cinquecento, in particular against Castelvestro's view of poetry as a vulgar form of entertainment, subservient to history.[195] Patrizi seeks in particular to refute the theory of poetry as art of mimesis, and spends one book of the *Poetica* (*La Deca Disputata*, 1587 ) in demonstrating the fallacies in Aristotle's definition of poetry as an art of imitation. In place of the concept of poetry as mimetic and thus didactic in its social role, Patrizi does not base his arguments so much on the poet's representation of the Ideas, (which was difficult to disentangle from notions of imitation) as on an encyclopaedic restatement of poetic theology, traced through its philological development in the first part of the *Poetica*, the *Deca Istoriale* and a distinctively late Reanissance conception of poetry as *meraviglia* - the marvellous.[196] In returning to ideas of *prisca theologia* and the analogies between poetry and magic, Patrizi produces a theory of poetry that is peculiarly close to music and we shall argue that he may been an important source for the prominence given to spiritual magic in the dramatisation of the *affetti* in the 1589 *intermedi*.[197] We shall look at Patrizi's relevance

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[195] On Castelvestro, see Weinberg and Aguzzi-Barbagli, *op.cit.* The subservience of poetry to history is, obviously, contrary to Aristotle's own pronouncement in the *Poetica* 1451b that the poet is more serious and more philosophical than the historian since he considers things with regard to the universal (*kath'olou*) rather than the particular (*kath'hekaston*).

[196] On the subject of *meraviglia*, it should be stated that we are not dealing here with Marino or the Marinisti - such very brief remarks as we make come in connection with a few observations on *concettismo* and the seventeenth treatments of *ingegno*, below. As we shall note, the writers of works on *concettismo* and *ingegno* seem to base their thought more on the third book of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* than on the Platonic material in this section. In discussion, we shall use the modern Italian spelling of *meraviglia*, while leaving the spelling unchanged in citations from sixteenth century works.

[197] Patrizi's relations with Giovanni Bardi are further confirmed by the Diary of the Accademia degli Alterati, of which Bardi was a member, which speaks of Bardi giving chapters from a work on poetics that Patrizi is publishing, as the material for discussion (entry, 12 June, 1584). The argument or *Parere* in favour of Ariosto over Tasso written by Patrizi was composed at the request of Bardi for the same academy. For details, see Lina Bolzani, *L'universo dei poemi possibili*, Rome 1980.

for the *intermedi* below, and argue that in the light of Patrizi's thought one can see the activities of Camerata – certainly of Bardi – as an attempt to wed music and poetry in the creation of a rhapsodic art whose capacity to affect was not only founded in rhetorical efficacy, but in the ideas of music as *spiritus* developed by Ficino in *De vita* III.xxi and xxii. In the *intermedi* harmony does not disappear, but is disclosed at the beginning and end of the spectacle as the order which is invoked and "drawn down" in the intervening *intermedi* by figures such as a *maga* or the rhapsode Arion. We see something similar in the art theory of Lomazzo, who so orders the cosmic correspondences that each act of *disegno* is capable of activating the larger structure. The relevance of Patrizi lies in the fact that he shows how the union of music and poetry can be so conceived that each part of poetry encapsulates in itself the *concors discordia* of the universal order, and has the character of the inspired discourse of the mysteries. This insistence on the "mysterious" or magical character of poetry leads Patrizi to posit wonder – *meraviglia* or *stupore* – as the characteristic quality of poetry, as opposed to mimesis, and this emphasis should be viewed in the light of Patrizi's larger philosophical project, set forth in the *Nova de philosophia universalis* (1591). As noted above, this work included a new translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, including material not translated by Ficino, such as the fragments compiled by Stobaeus, and Patrizi dedicated it to Gregory XIV with the assertion, made a century earlier by Pico (with a similar degree of success), that the hermetic texts could be used in the propagation of catholic, hermetic Platonism, to replace Aristotelianism in the universities, which would effect a return of the reformed churches to Rome, and re-establish the unity of the church by peaceful means.[198] Patrizi's poetics is in short part of an attempt to promote a larger Platonic Hermeticism, capable of healing religious schism, whose "mysteries" were enacted through the unity of music and poetry.

We shall see later how Patrizi conceives this unity; here it is the weaving of *concors discordia* into every level of poetry as a development of Pico's definition of beauty in terms of artifice that concerns us. In the third book of the *Poetica*, the *Deca mirabile*

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[198] Patrizi also made a translation of the *Chaldean Oracles*, of the *Elements of Theology* and *Physical Elements* of Proclus, plus an unpublished treatise on Pythagorean numbers. Patrizi was appointed to a chair in Platonic Philosophy by Clement VIII in 1592, but his hopes to promote Hermetic Platonism as a means of reuniting the Church were dashed when the Inquisition condemned first parts of the *Nova de universalis philosophia* and then the work in its entirety. Patrizi kept his position but his philosophic project was cancelled and his final works were written in a claustrophobic atmosphere of ecclesiastical censorship, dealing with subjects far from taint of heretical suspicion such as ballistics. On Patrizi's career in Rome, see Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, and Luigi Firpo "The Flowering and Withering of Philosophy - Italian Philosophy and the Counter Reformation -The Condemnation of Francesco Patrizi" in *The Late Renaissance*, ed. Eric Cochrane, 1970.

As a philosopher with a profound interest in Platonic-Hermetic ideas in their relation to poetry (and many other things besides), Bruno is not infrequently compared with Patrizi since both men envisaged a Hermetic revival as a means of re-uniting the Christian world and suffered the consequences of the misplaced belief that the late sixteenth century papacy was to be thus renewed. Bruno however did not regard Patrizi highly, reviling him as a "dungheap of pedantry" - a phrase not uncommon in the Nolan's abuse of his fellow philosophers.

Patrizi states that the *mirabile*, which is the true end and nature of poetry,[199] results from the coincidence of opposite qualities such as credible and incredible, or possible and impossible "il sommo grado di poetica perfezione sta riposto nella composizione[...] del mirabile, nascente da incredibile credibile, e sparso per tutte le membra del poema; e questo essere la compiutissima forma sua, universale, e commune a tutta la poesia".[200] Since the origin of *meraviglia* lies in a "movimento nell'anima, quasi contrario in sè medesimo, di credere e non credere",[201] it follows that "il mirabile essere un mescolamento o congiungamento di lontani, credibili ed incredibili"[202] and Patrizi provides a model for this "congiungamento di lontani". This model takes the form of a topical schema derived from Giulio Camillo, whose *Topica*, an attempt to provide a totalising system for the classification of rhetorical figures through place logic, will concern us in the following section, when we look at rhetoric. Patrizi makes his influence and innovation clear - "Giulio Camillo [...] accomodò alle locuzioni figurate oratorie e poetiche, e noi ora, quanto alla congiunzione de'lontani, che in ciascun di loro, così essenziale come accidentale, si può fare, gli facciam fonti del mirabile poetico e della maraviglia, e poi gli faremo a proprio luogo fonti d'ogni poetica materia e d'ogni poetica invenzione".[203] Camillo's esoteric interests (he was a renowned alchemist) were shared by Patrizi, who was doubtless inspired by the former's attempt to invent an all-inclusive rhetorical topics which was simultaneously a model of memory, of logical process and of the universe in its full Christian-Platonic-Hermetic-Cabalistic permutations, at which we shall look in more detail below. Like Camillo, Patrizi sees in the conflation of logical topics and figures a way of disclosing the correspondences that underlie and animate the universe, but where Camillo emphasises the structure of correspondences, Patrizi's model for generating world-poems sees in the fictive nature of poetic figuration itself the *concordia discors* which is the source of the *mirabile*.

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[199] The rejection of mimesis as the essential characteristic of poetry leads Patrizi into a long examination for the "certa qualità, che a tutte sia commune e tutte del suo color le [...] avvivi. Alla quale ed esse tutte ad un capo si riducano, e tutta la poesia indi penda, e forma prenda e vita. E questa qualità noi chiamiamo col nome di mirabile. E mirabile intendiamo che sia tutto quello che in altrui o muove, od è a muovere maraviglia" ("that quality which is common to all and animates them all with its colour; to which all forms of poetry can be reduced, so that all poetry depends upon it, and takes form and life from it. This quality we shall call the marvellous, and by marvellous we mean all that which moves other things, or caused to be moved to wonder") *La Deca ammirabile*, *La Poetica op. cit.* p.257.

[200] *Deca ammirabile*, p.330 ("The highest excellence of poetry lies in the composition of the marvellous, born from the increbile credible, and spread through all the parts of the poem, and this is its most perfect form, univesal and common to all poetry"). See also p.310 "il mirabile non sarà altro che un cotale congiungimento, di che di incredibili divengono credibili, o di credibili divengono incredibili" ("the marvellous is nothing other than a conjunction of such a kind that incredibile things become credible and the credible, incredibile"). Patrizi distinguishes five pairs of opposites under the heading of *credible-incredible - avvenuto-non avvenuto - vero-falso - verisimile-falsisimile - possibile-impossibile* and *necessario-non necessario*.

[201] "a movement of the soul, almost a self-contradiction, of credulity and incredulity", *op. cit.*, p.365.

[202] *op. cit.*, p.318.

[203] "Giulio Camillo [...] accommodated figurative speech in rhetoric and poetical works [to his topics], and we shall now make sources of the marvellous and poetic wonder from the conjunctions of distant terms, of essence and accident, as they can be found, and we shall then, in the fitting place, make them sources of all poetic matter and all poetic invention" *op. cit.*, p.316.

Thus we see the doctrine of *concors discordia* moving down from a mystical paradox discovered through dialectic, of the kind that Nicholas Cusanus used in his demonstration that the procedure of thought designed to advance our knowledge has its most profound revelation in the illumination of the limits of human understanding, to a poetic figure generated by the combination of contrary qualities as classified by the logical categories of the topics. The paradoxes of *coincidentia oppositorum* revealed by *Parmenides*, considered by Cusanus and Ficino as the culmination of Plato's "theology",[204] are for Patrizi reproduced mechanically at the level of each poetic figure - Patrizi goes to considerable lengths to calculate the possible combinations which can be generated from the *fonti topici* in combination with the three genres of poetry and the eight causes, arriving at a figure of thirty three thousand six hundred possible sources of the *mirabile* – within a given poem, each of these sources would enter into play with the others.[205] It must be remembered that Patrizi, following Camillo, is convinced of the capacity of the topical structure to contain and generate all possible inventions, so that the topics are used to create a model of poetic language founded on the capacity to produce paradox *ad infinitum* with each figure reflecting the structure ascribed to the cosmos as a whole. Proclus's doctrine that the whole is in the part here seems to slide into potentially infinitesimal elaboration, especially given that Patrizi insists that each illumination of *concors discordia* in poetic language is a transformation or a making anew, so that we might almost seem to be slipping into a universe of unending poetic artifice, each poem at each of its levels a new making or disclosure and each rehearsing the same conditions of *concors discordia* – in short Patrizi depicts a universe of poetic artifice in which all things at all levels are endlessly transformed and their transformations simultaneously disclose endless sameness.

For Patrizi, the poet's creation of the *mirabile* from the coincidence of contraries that appears at each level of the poem is not an imitation but a transformation that makes the world anew as it translates it into fictive speech which brings together the contraries of truth and falsehood, credibility and incredibility which are analysed by the logical topics. Unlike other poetic theorists, eager to defend poetry from Plato's accusation of the falsehood of phantastic imitation, Patrizi emphasises the fictive "plastic" nature of poetry which does not seek to reflect its objects but to transform them. Patrizi thus defines *finzione* as

> dare ad una cosa forma diversa da quella che havea prima
> ed apparenza: ciò una forma nova o rinnovata. E non disdirà
> che il poeta, che facitore si dice essere, quando finga ne'suoi poemi,
> o formi, o trasformi la materia dalla sua prima forma in una nuova.
> Ed [...] poema [...] sarà cosa finta e formata e trasformata, e in forma

[204] On the influence and reading of *Parmenides*, known through Proclus's commentary on the first part, see R.Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*, London, 1939. Klibansky remarks on Patrizi's study and esteem of the *Parmenides*.
[205] *Deca ammirabile* VII.

> di apparenza nuova; e la poetica sarà l'arte di ciò fare.[206]

For Patrizi this "poetico favellare" is a "parlare trasformato e finto" founded on the "transformative" nature of the tropes of which the principal is metaphor.[207] As such it corresponds to a miraculous recreation of the world, made plastic by language

> il fingere favole fu corrispondente al vanto delle Muse, e alla possanza loro [...] quasi a rifabricarsi il mondo con crearsi di nulla cose nuove favoleggiando, e di poco seme generandone e diminuendo, e in mille modi alterandole a trasportando, e componendone di contrarie, e qua e là trasponendole e trasportando [...] E fu ciò per l'appunto un nuovo far miracoli [...] quasi come i maghi.[208]

If Scaliger had spoken of the Muses as disclosing to men what had previously been hidden,[209] Patrizi goes further in the insistence on the utterly transformative nature of the poet's representations which seems to play on the Latin *translatum* (metaphor) as a transposition into new forms and meanings, and which is likened to the miracles performed by the magi. The theoretician of poetry, also, who uses combinatory logic to work out the possibilities of poetic *concors discordia* is like a magus working out the universal correspondences that can give power over nature. This vision of the poet may derive from the philosopher-magus of Pico's *Oratio*, whose the ability to range through the whole world is furthermore linked to transformative energies, as in the famous similes of the chameleon and Proteus in the mysteries - metaphors developed by Vives in his *Fabula de homine*, which takes mimesis to be the true essence of human nature and thus casts all human activity in terms of theatre.[210] Aside from this transformative capacity,

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[206] "to give a thing a form and appearance different from that which it had formerly: that is, a new or renwed form. And one cannot deny that the poet, who is said to be a maker, when he feigns in his poems forms or transforms in the matter from its first form into one that is new. And [...] the poem [...] will be a thing feigned, formed and transformed, of a new appearance in its form; and poetics will be the art that does this ". *La Deca Disputata*, *op.cit.*, p.19.

[207] "[...] tropi non propri significati [ma] figurati e finti vengono ad essere [...] I quali acconciamente esprimere si possono col nome solo di metafora e di traslato" "tropes are not proper names but are figured and feigned [...] which may be called with propriety by the name alone of metaphor, or *translatum*" *La Deca Plastica*, *op.cit.* p.27.

[208] "the feigning of fables corresponded to the boast and power of the Muses, almost to recreate the world, creating new things from nothing by telling fables; from a small seed generating and diminishing and altering and translating and composing from contraries in a thousand ways, and transposing and translating here and there [...] and this indeed was a new working of miracles [...] like those of the Magi" *La Deca Disputata*, *op.cit.* p.239.

[209] *De arte poetica*, rep. Yale Studies in English 26, 1905, p.9.

[210] The relationship between Pico's philosopher-magus and Patrizi's poet-magus would be interesting to pursue - note that in the passage above on the transformations of poetic language Patrizi likens poets to "Maghi" and in the following lines he remarks "Il far miracoli, adunque, simboleggiando in poesia e con fatti fuori di essa, pongansi per due altre proprietà della possanza de'poeti" "The working of miracles through symbols in poetry and in deeds beyond poetry may be taken for two other properties of poetic

poetry is likened to magic both in its sacred origins, and in the affinities between the classification of the "fonti topici" of *concors discordia* and Camillo's theatre, with its combination of topical logic, classification of rhetorical figures, artificial memory system and operative hermetic model based on Ficino's recommendations in *De vita* III. For Pico, as we saw, the paradox of *concorde discordia* which constitutes the defintion of beauty is to be explored dialectically, in the created world and in the human mind with its capacity to reconcile contradictory arguments; when the coincidence of opposites in the human understanding is perceived in relationship to that in divine creation, one can recognise that "everything in human experience is metaphysical", as Rosalie Colie puts it.[211] For Patrizi, the quasi-mechanical conjunctions and multiplications of combinatory logic generate wonder as they disclose the coincidence of contraries at every level of poetry, and with the coincidence of contraries we see an illumination as the world is made anew by metaphor.

Patrizi, as remarked, wishes to advance a notion of poetry not based on mimesis and is working with the idea of the poet as magus, who shows likeness to divinity through creation. He therefore uses Plato's discussion of *poietike* in *Sophist* 265b and *Symposium* 205b-c as the cause of the becoming of things that previously were not, and then come into being, which leads him onto the demiurge of *Timaeus* and the assertion that "poeta mondano chiamò [Plotino] la providenza".[212] If poetic *finzione* can "rifabricarsi il mondo" through the transformations of poetic language which are an embodiment of the *concors discordia*, the world remade by metaphor is constantly transformed and constantly the same in its coincidence of opposites. In short, the disclosure of things new or made anew is presented as a discovery of their "true" state, while the identity of structure that this disclosure shares with the universal order concerns unlikeness in likeness – one sees the degree to which Patrizi is playing with *concors discordia* as he works it in with the quasi magical conception of the "miracles" wrought by the "translations" of poetic language. The relevatory, transmutative and combinatory character of poetic language in Patrizi's discussion is founded on a world view influenced by hermetic ideas on the capacity of magus to transform nature, and such transformations can be effected when the magus discovers the structure of mutable and immutable qualities that holds creation together – hence the emphasis on the elements of verbal discourse which Patrizi translates from logic to poetics, with its distinctive, transformative quality of metaphor; as we have suggested, it is in music, or the union of music and poetry that Patrizi's speculations could find their embodiment. Patrizi gives a theory in which all things seem to slip into a welter of analogy – the vision of the world disclosed by this poetics is the world of the magus, discovered through the correct arrangement of the categories and elements from which conjunctions and transformations arise, with the same structure played out at each level and part. The disclosure of the

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force". In relation to this passage it is worth recalling that Pico in his *Conclusiones* on magic discusses the relations between miracle working, natural philosophy and natural magic, and that in the discussion of natural magic in the *Oratio*, Pico emphasises that the end of magic is to disclose or recreate the *concors discordia* that characterises the world as a whole - the marrying of earth to heaven, as he says.

[211] *Paradoxia Epidemica*, Princeton 1966, p.32.

[212] *Deca ammirabile*, *op.cit.* p.272 ("Plotinus called providence the world poet").

"true nature" of the conjunction and transformation of poesis can be seen as an important part of the Hermetic revival that Patrizi wished to launch and we shall see that Giulio Camillo Delminio, one of Patrizi's models in the *Poetica*, had spoken of the transformations of the word through rhetoric as an analogy for the soul's ascent to God and the transmutation of matter which will be restored to its pristine, pre-lapsarian purity after the Last Judgement. Thus when Patrizi asks "chi altro che il poeta creò dopo Dio questo mondo?",[213] he obviously does not point to Nature (*i.e. natura naturata*) as an object of poetic imitation, but signals the analogical structures of Nature as process and poetry.

The magical tincture of Ficino's Neoplatonism and the Orphean conception of the union of music and poetry which we shall see developed in Patrizi's *Poetica*, are not restricted to the themes of the *intermedi* in their agonistic, nomic, prophetic, rhapsodic and choric depiction of the divine origins of poetry.[214] The *meraviglia* of the *intermedi* was in particular linked with their staging, from the hieroglyphic details of the "Greek" costumes (another link with the Hellenic world of Patrizi's *Poetica*) to the magus like effects of Buontalenti's *scenotecnica*, with its worlds of artifice which disappear and metamorphose before the eyes of the spectators.[215] We should not regard Buontalenti's *maraviglie* as mere showpieces; the stage machines of the *intermedi* are to be viewed in the context of his interest in automata and hydraulic and mechanical devices which discovered laws of movement hidden in nature. To create a self-moving mechanism is to impart artificially a soul to a lifeless object, and thus can be seen as a kind of magical operation, as described in the famous passage in the *Asclepius* concerning the Egyptian priests who animated their statues with the souls of the gods they represented; Buontalenti's most famous and complex work was the villa and garden of Pratolino, created for Francesco de'Medici, which took the form of a dense wood punctuated by grottoes which contained elaborate automata.[216] These grottoes with their hydraulic devices were linked by chains of fountains which traversed the garden, in a rich speculation on the symbolic and philosophic significance of water as vital generative and transformative force. In contrast with the iconography and metamorphic energies of water displayed in the comparably ambitious gardens designed by Ligorio at the Villa D'Este, in Pratolino, to judge by the evidence, the "maraviglie" which discovered the laws of the nature appeared in the concealing setting of chthonic grottoes and labyrinthine wood, thus emphasising the chaotic and mysterious character of nature, in whose darkest

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[213] *Deca ammirabile*, p.287 ("who else created the world after God but the poet?").

[214] The terms here correspond to *intermedi* two to five: the *agon* of the Muses and Pierades, the *nomos* of Apollo, the prophetic song of the *maga*, the rhapsodic music of Arion and the culminating choros that celebrates gods and men joined by music.

[215] For the one of the Florentine *intermedi* of 1586 Buontalenti devised a springtime scene, where the dance of the mythological figures apparently "caused" the bare trees of the landscape to blossom and turn green, leaving the spectators "maravigliati".

[216] On Pratolino, one should mention the numerous studies by Detlef Heikamp and the relevant essays in *Natura e artificio* Rome 1979, eds. Maria Luisa Madonna and Marcello Fagiolo, as well as contemporary accounts – Montaigne, Francesco de'Vieri and Raffaello Gaulterotti are amongst those that write accounts of the wonders of the garden and early seventeenth century drawings by Giovanni Guerra show some of the grottos and automata, as does the lunette of Utens.

recesses the *ingegnere* discovers his inventions. Such an interpretation seems in character with Francesco de'Medici whose melancholic disposition, fascination with the occult aspects of natural philosophy (in particular, alchemy) were widely noted; it is also important to emphasise the derivation of *ingegnere* from *ingegno*, which has different connotations from the mechanical and instrumental implications of the English "engine", signifying rather talent or insight (ingenuity), the ability to spot similitudes or correspondences, as noted above. We shall look later at *ingegno*, since it plays an important part in the late Renaissance discussions of metaphor - here it is merely to be noted that when speaking of Buontalenti as the *ingegnere* of the stage machines for the *intermedi*, one should remember that the word carries this meaning of "insight" or "discovery of similitude" which characterises the inventions of the *ingegno* as "marvellous".

Thus the notion of the *ingegno* that discloses hidden correspondences or similitudes can apply in the sixteenth century equally to the divulgation of the latent ordering of nature or the invention of a metaphor, as exemplified by Buontalenti who works as a military engineer and a costume designer. As the universal artifice of *poesis* is founded both in arguments on beauty and love which emphasis the predominance of the sense of sight (*eros* from *orasis*, as Plotinus says in his discussion of love in *Enneads* III.v.3), and in speculations on *harmonia mundi*, so *meraviglia* can be conceived in terms of spiritual music and in terms of spectacular impact, not to mention Patrizi's logical, linguistic model. We might note here that Patrizi's definition of *meraviglia* as produced by the coincidence of contraries lends itself to a hieroglyphic conception of visual images, in which the *stupore* generated by a spectacular image discloses on analysis the paradoxical character of the depiction – the hieroglyph, as we recall, calls for a logical reading that may reveal it as a paradox or *insolubilium*, and simultaneously presents itself as an image to be apprehended at an intuitive level above the processes of reasoning. If we cannot explore here the full philosophical implications of Patrizi's account of *meraviglia*, we can see the relevance of his thinking in the extension of "hieroglyphic" figuration throughout the field of poetic representation.[217] "Hieroglyphic" figuration may be considered as a discrete kind of symbolism but it may also become a way of understanding the representational field itself. To reiterate, what the *intermedi* display in the most lavish manner is the convergence of speculation derived from music, with its emphasis on number, order and measure, and the thinking, often linked with magic, which considers figuration as a way of preparing a given vessel to receive a higher influx, grace or mystery, or a representation of this process. At the very end of this section, we shall show how the two threads are brought together in the art theory of Lomazzo with a meditation on hieroglyphic figuration, representing something like a theoretical, and artistic equivalent of the *intermedi*. It should be recalled that Patrizi was a friend and correspondent of Giovanni Bardi, the inventor of the *intermedi*, and thus Patrizi's emphasis on the marvellous as the end of the transformations of poetic language indicates that *meraviglia*, the wonder provoked by the spectacle, does not just refer to the special

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[217] In keeping with the Neoplatonic tradition of reverance for the "Egyptian mysteries", Patrizi at one point cites directly the remark made by Proclus in the *Commentary to Timaeus* 22b that the Egyptians sculpted paradoxes and things worthy of wonder on the obelisks. *Deca ammirabile*, *op. cit.*, p.262.

effects which catered to public taste for extravagance to the detriment of more serious forms of theatre, as the Florentine playwright Il Lasca complained.[218] *Meraviglia* rather provided a means of understanding the unity of the arts in the spectacle, both through the propounded union of music and poetry and the visual aspects of the *intermedi*, which answer perfectly to Patrizi's topical analysis of the *mirabile* as created from the conjunction of two opposing qualities, the possible and impossible, credible and incredible, verisimilitude and non-verisimilitude, true and false. For Patrizi, a Hermetic Platonist, the *mirabile* of poetry, its transformation, or metaphoric translation of the perceived world into *finzione* does not lead to the condemnation of poetry as falsehood but points to its "mysterious" or symbolic nature, and to its sacred, oracular origin. The unification of poetry, music and gesture in the *intermedi* through *meraviglia* could thus be considered to correspond to the union of the arts in the ancient rituals in which poetry had its beginnings, charted by Patrizi in the *Poetica* and thus one can see something of the intent of Bardi's invention as a recreation of the situations of ancient music, most explicit because most philological in the reconstruction of Pythian dance in *intermedi* three. As noted, the effects of music as depicted in the spectacle are essentially operations which channel the celestial harmony of the first *intermedio* through the human world, so that the latter can enter into concord with the former; such operations have their origins in the deities (Apollo, the Muses) and in inspired figures (Arion) and their counterparts in magical incantations like that performed by the Maga of *intermedio* four.[219]

[218] On Lasca's protestations against the *intermedi*, see the burlesque madrigal cited above.

[219] If such magical elements have an important part in the spectacle, it would in my opinion be mistaken to read the *intermedi* as a species of extended talisman (as Frances Yates interpreted the *Ballet Comique* of Catherine de'Medici), even if it could be argued that they attempt to "draw down" blessings on the wedding which they celebrate - this magical character is rather deeply absorbed into the thought on the "marvellous" power of music to move.

By this point we can get some impression of the richness which underlies the "meraviglia" of the 1589 *intermedi* in which depiction of the whole intermediary order is enacted simultaneously as perspectival "discovery", as "hieroglyphic" figuration, and as *musica mundana* imitated by *musica humana*. At the outset of this section, we looked at the opening *intermedio*, but as we run through the others, the continuity and richness of the speculation which they embody will become clear. One may start by recalling that *intermedi* two to six represented the contest of the Muses and the Pierides, the combat of Apollo and the Pythian serpent, a *maga* or prophetess followed by an infernal scene, Arion with an aquatic prelude, and finally the giving of rhythm and harmony to humankind by the gods, culminating in a ballet. (The contents of the *intermedi* are shown in a table in Appendix Three.) The parallels between the first and last *intermedi*, which appear similar in surviving documentation, with tiers of gods seated on clouds,[220] are immediately obvious, but the significance of the other *intermedi* is less transparent, and I know of no convincing reading of their relationship, other than the generalised claim that they depict *musica mundana* and *musica humana* (Warburg) or the conjecture that the four intermediary *intermedi* between the cosmic "descent" and "reascent" of one and six can be aligned with the elements (Anna Maria Testaverde). The *intermedi* that will concern us least are two and five, and we shall therefore deal with these two first. In *intermedio* two we pass from the celestial Sirens to the Muses, their counterparts, and to the idea of music as *agon* or contest, in which the Muses, the representatives of "true" music defeat their rivals, the Pierides, emblems of lascivious music and presumption.[221] The musical *agon* thus has the features of a psychomachia, with virtue triumphant over vice, where "true" music may be identified with all that the Muses symbolise, as we saw in discussion of Gafurius's diagram - with various arrangements of the arts, with the mental faculties and so on - the point being that all the Muses represent in terms of human art and learning can be regarded as a mundane explication of the heavenly Sirens of the opening *intermedio*. If the second *intermedio* presents the Sirens brought down to earth in the form of the Muses, and the celestial harmony transmuted to the victory of virtue over vice, the third *intermedio* concerns their leader, Apollo, in another species of contest in which Patrizi saw the origins of poetry.[222] This *intermedio* was philologically dense, and also brings us to the importance of Patrizi for the reading of the *intermedi*, so we shall give full attention to it further on. Following on Apollo's victory over the Pythian serpent, comes an *intermedio* which demonstrates the influence of Ficino's thought, and can be fitted into the scheme of the performance only if read as a depiction of music as *spiritus* - again we will return to this in a moment. The fifth *intermedio*, the myth of Arion, is most concerned with *musica humana* of all the *intermedi*, and yet it shows a certain continuity with the preceding *intermedi* in that rhapsodic music, like the daemonic music of the *maga*, possesses affective and operational force over nature. This

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[220] The source is probably Raphael's *Disputà*.

[221] The opposisition of the Pierides with the Muses might also correspond to the opposition of vulgar an celestial sirens.

[222] The *intermedi* seems deliberately to conflate Delos and Delphi, given that the pantomimic dance performed by Apollo is associated with the slaying of the Pythian serpent at Delphi. Both Delos and Delphi were centres of veneration of Apollo; Delos, which appears in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, was the earlier centre, up to the fifth century B.C. when Delphi became more eminent.

demonstration of human exercise of music leads onto the celebration of the final *intermedio* in which gods and humans are united through rhythm and harmony, which belong to poetry, music and dance, as we shall see in Patrizi's formulations. Immediately striking is the presence of Apollo in the centre of the scheme, with two *intermedi* dealing with music as harmonic structure before (the Sirens and the spheres, the Muses), and two dealing with music as prophetic or rhapsodic after. In each case we are presented with a heavenly and earthly version of each form, with the two united in the culmination of the spectacle. Lest this scheme appear overly tidy, one should note that the themes dramatised in each *intermedio* are present as part of the implicit significance of the others, so that the various Apollonian themes in the intermediary spectacles (the Muses, the Pythian serpent, music as *agon*, as prophetic, as rhapsodic) might be read as explications of what is contained within the first *intermedio* and as part of the structure of mediation which must be established prior to the union of earthly and heavenly music.

We seem to see an example of this in the first part of *intermedio* four, with a Maga who drives a chariot in the sphere of ethereal fire attended by daemons and prophesies in song an era of coming peace in the new Medici reign. The significance of this *intermedio* seems clear only if we consider the relationship in Ficino's thought between the cosmic and daemonic character of music. At the most superficial level, the *intermedio* is a simple encomium, and the ethereal scene with fiery spirits is followed by an inferno, an antimasque in which the denizens of hell lament that the coming golden age will deprive them of sinful souls. In terms of the erudite invention of Bardi, and the beauty of opening invocation sung by the *maga*, the *intermedio* looks very much like a dramatisation of the spiritual music of Ficino - as we saw above, music in *De vita* is not only a peculiarly effective means of natural magic but a disclosure of the living character of the cosmos. Not only is the celestial hierarchy composed of beings which, although created, live exalted above change and decay, but the means of mediation between heaven and earth are the animating spirits discussed by Ficino and Zarlino. This is a point which emerges most clearly from the penetration of esoteric speculation into artistic culture in the period - the structure of mediation is not a static ladder from earth to heaven, but each movement of ascent or participation in the higher levels is, or is accomplished by a higher animation or ensoulment, and thus the heavenly order of the first *intermedio* is disclosed through the spiritual movements of the daemons in *intermedio* four with whom Ficino, as we have seen, conflates the essence of music itself. In this sense, one might venture that what the fourth *intermedio* thematises is demonic music, in both the senses of spirit and *diabolus*, as in the vision of inferno. It is thus proper that it stands between the legend of Arion, with its dramatisation of the *affetti* which can move even the animal soul, and the depiction of Apollo, god of prophecy and of music as spiritual magic, in *intermedio* three.

The third *intermedio*, which depicts Apollo's *agon* in his contest with and slaying of the Pythian serpent, features a recreation of the ancient pantomimic dance which celebrated this event, as recorded in the *Onomasticon* of Jullius Pollux, and is the most philological of the spectacle and that which has closest links to contemporary poetic theory. It is at this point that we bring Patrizi directly into our reading, not merely for his

friendship with Bardi and sympathy with the project of the Camerata but because in the *Deca Istoriale*, the first part of the *Poetica*, we find a conception of poetry which accords perfectly with the speculations that underlie the *intermedi*.[223] We shall start with the remarks which address directly the subject matter of the third *intermedio* since Patrizi saw in the Pythic combat the origins of verse itself:

> il primo verso che fatto fosse, quando Apollo combattendo col serpente, era dalla madre esortato e fattogli animo co queste parole: Ιη παι, ιη παι, ιη παι che in nostra lingua suonano lancia figlio [...] i Delfi, che stavano a veder questa battaglia, ad ogni saetta avventata da Apollo gridavano Ιη παιαν, ιη παιαν, ιη παιαν [...] E quando egli hebbe morto il serpente i medesimi Delfici per letizia cantararono Ιω παιαν, ιω παιαν, ιω παιαν [224]

The combat provides not only the origins of poetry, but of the temple to Apollo at Delphos, built on the spot where Apollo had slain the dragon, and thus of the oracle, where Phemonoe responds to Delphic oracle in hexameter verses, and Olen starts to compose and sing hymns, thus giving the first chorus. In addition, the Pythic *nomos* (melody, as well as law) with its five parts commemorates Apollo's combat and Pausanias speaks of the Pythic agon as celebrating the purgation of Apollo after slaying the Pythian dragon.[225]

This is only the very start of Patrizi's potential relevance to the *intermedi*, however. If the *Deca Istoriale* charted the origins of poetry from the exhortations of Latona to Apollo in the Pythic combat, and then from the utterances of the Pythian priestess at the

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[223] Patrizi refers explicitly to Galilei and Bardi in his treatment of his ancient poetic metre in the sixth book of the *Deca Istoriale*, *op.cit.* pp.329-330 and 354.

[224] Patrizi, *op. cit.*, p.196-197 ("the first verse was made when Apollo battled with the serpent, and his mother encouraged him with the words ιη παι, which are in our language mean "shoot, boy" [...] the Delphians, who stood watching this combat, cried at every arrow shot by Apollo ιη παιαν [shoot, deliverer] and when he had killed the serpent the same Delphians for joy sang ιω παιαν [Io! Deliverer]").

[225] *op. cit.*, p. 402-403 and 265. Patrizi talks of the five parts of the pythic *nomos* as listed by both Strabo *Geography* IX.iii.10 and Jullius Pollux, *Onomasticon* I.v.84 "nel giambico combatte [...] e lo spondeo dichiara la vittoria del dio" ("in the iambic he fights [...] and the spondee declares the victory of the god") Patrizi p.371. The Pythic contest was also recounted by Carlo Valgiulio in the Proem to his translation of Plutarch's *Musica* (Brescia, 1507), which lists the five parts of the piece, which he calls a *deloma* or illustration: exploration as Apollo investigates the place, his challenge to the dragon, battle fought over the dragon, in iambics, his victory in spondaics, and his dance of victory. Also noteworthy is the Ficino style syncretic chronology which Patrizi constructs around the origins of the chorus at Delphi - the chorus begins in Egypt with Osiris and the Muses, according to Diodorus Siculus, is used by Moses after crossing the Red Sea, a hundred and forty five years after death of Moses, Cadmus brings writing to Greece from Egypt or Phoenicia and builds Thebes, and twenty three years later Phemonoe responds to Delphic oracle in hexameter verses, as Olen starts to compose and sing hymns first chorus at the temple to Apollo at Delphi. On the confusion – or deliberate conflation – of Delos and Delphos, see note 222 above.

Delphic oracle, Patrizi as noted insists throughout his voluminous work on a Platonic conception of poetry as inspired art, rather than imitation. Patrizi not only reiterates the topoi of poetic theology and the Pythagorean and Platonic notion of music as *harmonia mundi*, but goes further than Ficino on the inspired speech of the *prisci theologi* such as Orpheus or Musaeus, and identifies the most ancient philosophy with music and poetry; after a fairly typical statement of the harmonious nature of the *anima mondana* and duty of the human soul to reflect it in "una meravigliosa consonanza, così nel contemplare come nel favellare, e nell'operare azioni a buona vita pertinenti", he claims "l'antichissima filosofia non altro fu che poesia e musica giunte in una".[226] The task of Patrizi in the *Deca Istoriale* is to chart the forms that this inspired utterance took and their ritualistic uses, and in so doing he provides something like a philology of *enthusiasmos*, in which the study of poetic *furor* does not lead so much back to the disclosure of *harmonia universalis* as to a reconstruction of the links between poetry, music and movement.[227]

Patrizi's vision of the original unity of poetry, music and dance (at which we will look at in a moment) elevates the learned, but technical discussions of the Camerata into an inspired "Platonic" art, and this inspired art is not only the immutable reflection of an eternal heavenly order, but capable of philological reconstruction i.e. possessing a historical dimension. In this way, the heavenly order of the Pythagorean *harmonia mundi* can be accommodated with experiments to recreate the union of poetry and music that produce new syntheses between the arts which will culminate in Florence with opera. For Patrizi, it is of fundamental importance that these unions point back to a sacred art which originates in *enthusiasmos* or mysteries and then is consolidated in the ritual observances of a community, a point which he is at pains to make in contrast with Castelvestro's poetics

> mostrò l'istoria nostra che la poesia non fu trovata dalla facolta civile, ma da spirito divino discese in donna e in huomini privati, ed esercitata e ampliata da huomini particolari, poetanti a loro piacimento: come tra questi coloro, che nelle feste di loro dii cantassero a concorrenza in agoni [228]

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[226] *op. cit.*, p.278 ("a wonderful consonance in contemplation and in narration, and in the doing of deeds proper to a good life [...] the most ancient philosophy was none other than poetry and music united").
[227] See *inter alia* p. 341 "il melos che qui è canto, e il ritmo, che è il movimento corporale ordinato, e la sinfonia, che è l'armonia [...] piacciono per l'ordine che è loro e per la proporzione, che a nostra natura sono amiche" ("the *melos* which here is the song and the rhythm which is the ordered bodily movement and the symphonym which is the harmony, please because of their order and proportion which are in with our nature").
[228] *Deca ammirabile* in *Poetica, ed. cit.*, vol. II, p.277 ("our history showed that poetry was not invented by the civic sense, but by the divine spirit descending in woman and individual men, elaborated by individuals, who made poetry at their pleasure: amongst these were those who sang and competed in the *agones* on sacred days"). Compare also his discussion of Orpheus at the opening of the *Deca Istoriale* "addottrinato ne' i segreti misteri e ne' gli orgii, o cerimonie di Bacco [Orfeo] ordinò pariamente per molte città molte altri sacrifici [...] ed in Eleusina quegli di Cerere, ed in Egina quegli di Ecate" *op. cit.*, p.24 ("after he was

As one reads through the *Deca Istoriale*, with its chapters on the varieties of the agon or the *nomos*, or the dithyramb, one sees the Greek world described by Strabo and Pausanias delineated as a theatre of ritual, its artistic forms presented as sacred ceremonies.[229] While Patrizi divides poetry into the genres of divine, natural and human, it is the first which predominates with its characteristic forms - the Apollonian *nomos*, the *cresmi* uttered in verse by the Pythian priestess, the dithyrambs and orgies sacred to Dionysus and Demeter, the sacrificial *teletè*, and Patrizi includes drama as his final species of divine poetry "la rappresentazione di poesie di soggetto divino passò fino in iscena, e fu trattata in palco in tragedie, in comedie, e in satiri".[230] We saw above that Patrizi (by profession a teacher of Platonic philosophy in Ferrara) repeated the claim that the most ancient poetry was philosophy - it is also important to underline that he dwells insistently on the links between religious festival, theatre and contemplation, as when he cites Strabo "I Greci usarono [musica] in sacrifici, lodi de'dei, conviti, scene, per filosofare e per buoni costumi" or remarks of the festival of Cybele - "tutta questa considerazione pertiene a teologia, e da contemplazione filosofica non è lontana".[231] After quoting Plutarch in *De musica* 1140e on the first, religious setting of music in temples before passing to theatres, he claims "il teatro da poi dal theorin e da theo prendesse il suo nome" - a wild etymology but one whose conception of theatre as the sacred and contemplative setting for the arts is fundamental to Patrizi's thought.[232] In Patrizi's

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initiated in the sacred mysteries and orgies, or ceremonies of Bacchus, [Orpheus] ordered in the same way in many cities many other sacrifices [...] in Eleusis those of Ceres and in Aegina those of Hecate").

[229] "Non fu al mondo [...] nazion veruna [nessuna] che più dii havesse, e che più tempii loro ergesse, e che con più feste e cerimonie gli celebrasse della Grecia", *Deca Istoriale*, *ed. cit.*, p.254 ("there was no other nation in the world that had more gods, or built more temples to them, or cleebrated them with more feativals and ceremonies than Greece").

[230] *op. cit.*, p.212 ("the representation of poetry with a divine subject passed into theatre and was performed on the stage in tragedies, comedies and satires [or satyr plays]"). At p.206 Patrizi cites the *Crestomazia* of Proclus on the enthusiasm of dithyramb (associated with the Phrygian and Hyperphrygian modes) in contrast to the "ordianato e stabile sistema" ("ordered and stable system") of the *nomos*, linked with Apollo. If Patrizi cites the festival of Dionysus as the origin of tragedy, he also links pastoral with the rites of Apollo Nomio (*op. cit.*, p.285). It is worth noting that Patrizi associates the Muses as leaders of the chorus, equally with Apollo and with the orgiastic mysteries of Demeter and Bacchus. See *inter alia* p.389 of the *Deca Istoriale* "Apollo è loro Musageta e duce, e la poetica tutta, che è lodativa, è loro stata data. Similmente alle Muse e a Cerere è stato assegnato tutto ciò che è orgiastico, e bacchico, chorico, e nelle telete il mistico, e anche Dionigi chiamano Iacco" ("Apollo was the leader of the Muses, and poetry of praise is given to them. Similarly, all that is orgiastic, choric, and mystical in the *telete* is given to the Muses, Ceres and Dionysus called Iacco"). We find similar statements on the two choruses of the Muses - Apollonian and orgiastic - at p.253, but this emphasis on the relationship between the Muses, Apollo and the Dionysian rites of the earth goddess points in my view to the writings of Ligorio, who pays considerable attention to these two aspects of music and theatre.

[231] *op. cit.*, p. 255 and p.262 ("The Greeks used music in sacrifices, praise of the gods, banquets, theatre, to philosophise on good conduct" "this whole consideration pertains to theology and is not far from philosophical contemplation"). At p.283, in a book dedicated to the *agones*, he speaks of the varieties of agonic *spetaculi* - "panegiri", "giochi", "agoni" and "teatri" as pleasurable to the gods "far cosa piacente a' dei".

[232] *op. cit.*, p.353 ("theatre from *theorein*, and from *theo*, god, took its name"). We saw above that theatre (*theatron*), a place for seeing, derives from *theaomai*, rather than *theorein*, from which we have *theoria*, although both verbs carry the meanings of seeing and contemplation. Nor was Patrizi alone in playing on

account, the varieties of Greek poetry are inseparable from their setting,[233] and the *Deca Istoriale* is suggestive in its account of the setting of theatre in spaces keyed to the occasions of poetic performance and their original religious meanings - he speaks for example of the three "luoghi assegnati al teatro" - the scene (*scena*), odeon (*odeo*) where odes are performed, and the *logio* (loggia).[234] Patrizi's emphasis on theatric settings as fundamental to the ritualistic ordering of communities, as well as the encyclopaedic style of the work have similarities with thirty volume *Libro dell'antichità* of the architect, archaeologist and mythographer Pirro Ligorio, composed during Ligorio's time as antiquarian to Ercole II D'Este (1569-1583) which overlapped with Patrizi's period in Ferrara (1577-1592). Given the present state of research, any idea of contact between the two must remain hypothetical, but the iconographic speculations of Ligorio and Patrizi's reconstruction of a ritualistic poetic culture both look to theatre as the setting for the complex articulation and synthesis of the arts which they attempt to discover (or recover), and Patrizi speaks for both their projects when he says "Così mirarono gli antichi e sacerdoti e poeti non solo ne' misteri e nelle favole, ma anche nelle figure, e ne gli ornamenti delle ceremonie, e ne' movimenti, e balli di sottotendere alcuno simbolico movimenti".[235] The potential analogies between Ligorio's account of the settings of ancient culture, so rich in its reflections on the fulfilment of spaces through music and mimetic activity, and Patrizi's vision of a culture articulated through its poetic rituals can be treated better when we look at Ligorio's treatment of theatre with all the meanings that arise from his conflations of situation or *locus* and sacred symbol. At this point we still have to look at the third element in Patrizi's model of ancient poetry - bodily movement - and see how this relates to the final, choric spectacle of the 1589 *intermedi*.

Plato's definition of music in *Republic* III.398 as consisting in speech, harmony and rhythm, and of rhythm in *Laws* 672e-673a as occurring in harmony, corporeal movement

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*theatron-theorein*: as noted at the beginning of the section, Iamblichus in the *Vita Pythagorae* likened the walks of human life to those who come to the games - some to compete, some to sell, and some to watch or contemplate - *i.e.* those who give themselves to theoretic life.

[233] For example, he talks of the *prosodio* (*prosodos*) as sung as one approaches the temple or altar, the hymn sung while one stands still in temple or around an altar (*op. cit.*, p.195).

[234] *op. cit.*, p.337, where Patrizi refers to Pindar who had a throne in the odeon of the "tempio delfico dove cantava le sue odi". The *logio* might refer to the colonnades of the agora, which, we noted above, Palladio discussed as theatrical settings (*Quattro libri*, III.xvii). Two noted examples of odeons constructed as part of a theatre complex survive from the Cinquecento, both in the Veneto and both linked with learned Humanist circles - the Odeon in the Teatro Olimpico of Palladio, built in Vicenza contemporary to the writing of the *Deca Istoriale*, and, as remarked, the Odeo Cornaro in Padua (Palladio's city of origin), built by Falconetto for the humanist Alviso Cornaro in 1524, where we find an "odeon" alongside a loggia used for theatrical performances - amongst them the burlesque comedies of Ruzante, thematically and stylistically remote from the classical loggia and the refined decoration of the *odeo*. On the Loggia del Falconetto, see Ludovico Zorzi, *Il teatro e la città*, and the catalogue *Alvise Cornaro e il suo tempo*, Padua, 1980.

[235] *op. cit.*, p.258 ("Not only in their mysteries and narratives, but in figures, in ornaments, in ceremonies, in movements and in dance, the ancient priests and poets aimed at implying some symbolic movement"). One explanation of the similarities between the two lies in their use of the same material - for example classical encyclopaedists such as Pausanias and Strabo, but still more interesting is the fact they tend to select similar material, or reflect in similar ways on what they select, as when Patrizi cites the assertion of Pausanias (*Description of Greece* IX.31.3) that the *agoni* on Helicon were called *musei* (*op. cit.*, 290).

and words are fundamental to Patrizi's view of poetry as inseparable from music and movement, which leads him to claim that poets were the inventors (*trovatori*) of musical instruments, musical genre and melody, or to the most emphatic statement of the union of music and poetry "altro non si può si dire che il canto sia sì essenziale all poesia, e così nella sostanza sua innestato, che la poesia non sia, nè essere possa, quella che o non è cantata, o non è a cantarsi".[236] Such claims, which consider music in terms of verbal and rhythmic expression - of *nomos* or *melos* rather than polyphony or counterpoint - accord with the arguments of Bardi, Mei and Galilei on the expressive affect of monody and its status as the true and ancient form of music; when Patrizi discusses *melos*, his remark that "convenia che l'armonia e il ritmo seguitassero il parlare, cioè a quello ambedue si concordassero e conformassero antiche armonie" should be read in the context of Bardi's contention that ancient *harmoniai* were not medieval modes but proportionate mixtures of high, low and median pitch, and rhythmic divisions of words.[237] This consonance of Patrizi's remarks with the arguments of the Camerata emerges fully if we compare Mei's consideration in his letter to Galilei of the affective force of monodic music he attributes to the ancients, with its faithfulness to the expression of words, rhythm and *concetto*,[238] with Patrizi's statement that poetry was born, lived and is reborn in the form of "parlare misurato e verseggiato"[239] and in his discussion of the singing of ancient poetry in book six of the *Deca Istoriale*

> tutte [...] le poesie meliche, o liriche, [...] si cantassero,
> co' segni propri de'tuoni di ciascun sillaba de'versi [...]
> E se ciò è vero nelle meliche poesie, perchè vero non sarà
> anche stato nelle epiche tutte non solo e l'epica e la melica,
> ma anche l'elegiaca [...] E più dico che e le comedie, e le

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[236] *op. cit.*, p.325 ("song is essential to poetry and is so grafted to its substance that there may not, and could not be poetry which is not sung or capable of being sung - one cannot say otherwise"). See also the remarks at p.373 on rhythm in poetic metre, in instrumental harmony, and in corporeal movement (*orchesi*) which he translates from directly from Plato Laws 672e-673a.

[237] Patrizi, *op. cit.*, p.360 ("harmony and rhythm should follow the words, so that each are in concord with ancient harmonies") and Bardi, "Discorso mandato a Giulio Caccini detto romano sopra la antica musica e'l cantar bene" (circa 1578) in Palisca, *op. cit.* p.78-131. We find a similar co-ordination of rhythm and harmony in the *Arte Poetica* (1563) of Minturno, Libro IV. This co-ordination lies in the fact that both concern the relation of proportion in a body to movement; as one cannot have sound without movement, or movement without fast (high) or slow (low), Minturno sees harmony as concerning the proportion of a body, rhythm (or *numero*) its movements: "sì come nel ballo questa misura Numero si chiama; così nella Musica Harmonia [...] percioche l'Harmonia è consonanza delle voci [...] et il Tempo et il Numero è misura del movimento" ("as in dance this measure is called Number, so it is in Musical Harmony [...] since Harmony is the consonance of voices and Time and Number is the measure of movements") *op.cit.* p.355.

[238] Girolamo Mei, letter of 1572 to Vincenzo Galilei, translated by Claude Palisca, *op. cit.*, p.45-77. Patrizi, *op.cit.*, p.330. In the same letter, Mei discusses the idea that the modes or *tonoi* were essentially keys for the transposition of octave species from the central, "natural" octave represented by Dorian harmony. Such musicological considerations of Dorian harmony are part of the content of the figure of *Armonia Doria* with whom the *intermedi* open, as well as the ethical qualities of temperance and virility attributed to the Dorian mode by Plato and Aristotle.

[239] Patrizi, *op. cit.*, p.240 ("measured and versified speaking").

tragedie, e i satiri in iscena furono anche cantate [240]

While Patrizi, like Galilei and Mei, insists that words are the noblest part of song, since they express the *concetti dell'animo*, the crucial binding force here is rhythm, based on number.[241] As noted above, Patrizi refers repeatedly to Plato's discussions and cites *Laws* 672e-673a on the presence of rhythm in poetic metre, in instrumental harmony, and in corporeal movement (*orchesi*).[242] This rhythmic element which links poetry, music and dance would appear also to point back to *Timaeus*, where proportion, number and movement are the means by which created things imitate the eternal, and so in Patrizi's claim that poetry is "born" in the form of "parlare misurato e verseggiato" and in the reiterated claims for the union of music, poetry and dance, linked through measure and concord, we might see the Pythagorean-Platonic idea of *harmonia mundi* as the background or continuity to the various poetic forms, which enact divine inspiration or rituals, and are codified according to situation (Apollonian or Dionysiac rites, going to war, epithalamium, civic festival, and so on). If the mimetic arts are united through rhythm or *moto misurato*, this union is however subject to articulation, with words at the top and physical movement at the bottom. Thus Patrizi's claim that "la musica e l'intero melos fatti erano di canto, di armonia, di suoni, e di orchesi, e tutti questi con moti si facceano, e ogni moto è da tempo misurato",[243] does not imply a union of equal parts as they participate in *moto*. If rhythm is most easily discerned by the eyes "questo ritmo per havere arithmo, e numero noto, e più a gli occhi manifesto che quello dell'armonia e delle parole" it is however nobler in words "[i] concetti dell'animo con le parole espresse più nobili [sono dei] suoni [e dei] movimenti corporali".[244] The fusion of physical movement, harmony and words thus signals a movement upwards from the motion of the body manifest to the eye to the "inner" *concetti dell'animo* - mimetic expression, founded

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[240] ("all lyric poetry [...] was sung, with proper signs of the tones of each syllable of the verses [...] If this is true of lyric (melic) poetry, will it not be true of all epic, and not epic and lyric alone but elegiac also [...] I say furthermore that comedies, tragedies and satires on the stage were also sung"). The reference to the singing of every syllable in Patrizi also recalls the experiments in *musique mésurée* by the academy of Baif, similarly interested in the relationship between the union of music and poetry and their inspirational, "Platonic" nature, discussed by Frances Yates in *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*. One should remember that the audibility of words had been an issue in liturgical music for some time – as early as 1555 Marcellus II, whose reign lasted only three weeks, had attempted to introduce a graver and more word-centred music into the services of Holy Week, as reflected in Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* (composed possibly in the 1560's), and these efforts were increased following the Council of Trent.

[241] Galilei in aprticular seems to have been hostile to the notion of music as auditory pleasure, without verbal signification, whether instrumental music or the rich harmonic texture of polyphony which submerges the clarity of the words. On his attitudes, see D.P. Walker and Palisca, *op. cit.* We have glanced below at the comparable, and contemporary attempts by French Humanists to marry poetic metre to musical rhythm. Zarlino, the object of Galilei's polemics, conceived of rhythm possessing a power to animate, move and draw beyond that of harmony.

[242] *Op. cit.* p.373. Cf. Minturno's identification of harmony in music and rhythm in movement above.

[243] *op. cit.*, p.310 ("the music and whole *melos* were made of song, harmony, sounds and dance and these were made with movement, and every movement is measured time"). Patrizi concludes his discussion of rhythm and *orchesi* by noting that the feet of the *agone pitico* (iambic, spondaic and dactyl) refer both to poetry and dance (*op. cit.*, p.396).

[244] *op. cit.*, p.375 ("the *concetti* of the mind expressed with words are more noble than sounds and bodily movements").

on *moto*, points to the same vertical continuum stretching from matter up to the mind that structures the universal order. Patrizi's discussion of poetry as the unity of the mimetic arts has obvious affinities with contemporary emblematic literature, preoccupied with the relation of word and image, or *concetto* and depiction, as body and soul or mind (*anima* and *animo*), which we shall discuss below. Poetic metre itself constitutes a kind of union between the two highest discourses of number and *enthusiasmos* – here we see the tension characteristic of Platonic theories of poetry between the "inspired" nature of mantic speech and number as the rational quality that enabled the blending of likeness and unlikeness in the creation of the world soul, and the source of *harmonia mundi*. The continuum of measured movement which has its highest form when wed with inspired speech[245] moves down through sound (harmony) and gesture, and penetrates even into inanimate objects, such as pictures and statues.[246] Thus in Patrizi's repeated claims that "gli antichi queste tre cose accompagnarono poesia, armonia e orchesi", the two second arts tend to be assimilated to poetic rhythm, as at the conclusion of his book on harmony in the *Deca Istoriale* "con le quali tante testimonianze è da tenersi per constante che l'armonie ancora erano a piedi poetici misurato".[247] Another obvious case of this is the Pythic combat, enacted in the third *intermedio*, in which Patrizi saw the origins of verse, where the dance of Apollo possessed rhythmic feet - iambic and spondaic - which corresponded to poetic metre.[248]

Patrizi therefore gives a description of poetry in which *enthusiasmos* is linked to expressive efficacy through *moto* as a quality which unifies the arts through rhythm and number, so leading back ultimately to Platonic discussions of number and harmony in *Timaeus*. As noted above, the union of the arts in poetry is conceived as an enactment of the *concetti* of poetry, originally divine in origin, through the progressive embodiment of speech, harmony and bodily gesture. Patrizi thus discusses poetry in terms redolent of contemporary treatises on the *impresa*, which set forth the relationship of image and word, or *concetto*, in terms of body and soul - the presence of a third element, music, in Patrizi's oral conception of poetry, might remind us of the characterisation of music as intermediary spirit in Ficino and Zarlino. Patrizi states his view of dance as an embodiment which figures the *concetti* of the words - "figure per segni delle cose cantante"[249] in his simile between the movements of dance and painted forms ("la forma quasi a penello si figurino"), and in his definition of *orchesi*:

La orchesi è una certa scienza imitativa e ostentativa,

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[245] See *op. cit.* p.309. In relation to measured poetry as the highest manifestation of rhythm, one might recall that when Plato describes the four communal choirs in *Laws* II.664, that for the oldest members of the community (over sixty) is not devoted to singing but to oracular speech.

[246] We shall note below that emblems books speak of the "animation" of such objects when they are adorned with the emblematic decoration that depicts the *nodo* of "body" and "soul".

[247] *op. cit.*, p.372 ("with this evidence it is to be believed that harmony was always measured with poetic feet").

[248] Recounted in the *Descrizione* of the *intermedi* of De'Rossi "col verso iambico, combatteva col verso spondeo, con la morte di quel serpente, si rappresentava la vittoria di quello iddio" (*ed. cit.*, p.42).

[249] *op. cit.*, p.396 ("figures for signs of things sung").

> e annonciate i concetti dell'animo, e de gli occulti
> dichiaratrice [e] questa dichiarazione si facea con
> la chiarezza delle figure e de gli schemi [...] l'orchista
> facea professione di mostrare co'movimenti le cose cantate,
> e che si trasforma in ciascuna di quelle cose, che nelle parole
> erano espresse dal poeta, isprimendo tutti i costumi e tutti
> gli affetti.[250]

We are not going to enter here into Patrizi's distinctions between imitative and nonimitative (*dichiarativo*) rhythm in dance, interesting though they are, nor into the various ritualistic settings of warlike, pacific and bacchic dance. In the penultimate book of the *Deca Istoriale*, after his lengthy survey of the forms and rituals of ancient poetry, and the relation of song, harmony, rhythm and dance, Patrizi considers the chorus as the place where all the elements that make up the composite art of poetry come to their richest fusion. The discussion of the chorus begins with a reiteration of the two parts of "la nostra disciplina [...] la metà di cui stava ne'moti corporali, e l'altra metà nella voce ambedue regolati [...] e l'arte maestra commune di questi e quelli fu dalle Muse detta musica e contenne in sè figura e orchesi, quanto all'ordine de'moti della persona, e melos e canto, quanto all'ordine dell'acuto e del grave della voce [...] Concorsero dunque [...] nella intera chorea: canto, suono armonioso, ballo".[251] If the chorus represents the full concord of the arts, which includes also the place of performance (the Greek *choros* meaning both dance, chorus and the place for dance and chorus),[252] its symbolism refers

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[250] *op. cit.*, p.396 ("dance is an imitative and demonstrative art which displays the *concetti* of the mind and declares the hidden thoughts; this is done with clear, schematic postures [...] the dancer by profession shows with movements things sung, and transforms himself into each of these things, which are expressed with words by the poet, expressing all manners and all affects"). Much of Patrizi's treatment of dance has its origins in Plato's *Laws* and Lucian's *Saltatio*. See also Guglielmo Ebreo's definition of dance as "una azione dimostrativa di fuori di movimenti spirituali: li quali hanno a concordare colle misurate et perfette consonanze d'essa harmonia: che per lo nostro audito alle parti intellective e ai sensi cordiali con diletto descende, dove poi si genera certi dolci commovimenti: i quali chome contra sua natura ri[n]chiusi, si sforzano quanto possano di uscire fuori: e fuori in atto manifesti" ("a demonstrative outward action of the spiritual movements: it must be in concord with the measured and perfect consonance of the harmony, which moves from our hearing to intellective parts and descends with delight to the vital senses where it generates certain sweet perturbations, which are contained against their nature and so attempt to force themselves out as they can, and manifest themselves externally in an act") *De practica e arte tripudi*, Oxford, 1993, p.88.

[251] *op. cit.*, p.400 ("our study [...] which lay half in corporeal movements, and half in the voice, both ordered together [...] the master art common to both was called by the Muses music and contains itself both figure and dance, as much in touching the order of the movements of the person, and lyric and song, as in the ordering of the clarity and gravity of the voice [...] In the choric dance, then, song, harmonious sound and dance came together").

[252] It is important not to confuse *choros* (χορος) with *chora* (χώρα), which we have noted above in Plato's account of becoming according to necessity at *Timaeus* 48ff. The first means dance, and by extension the place of dancing – it also imports the circular movement of dancers in a ring, and Plato in *Timaeus* uses it of the movement of the heavenly bodies, with a pun on *kosmos*. *Choros* is associated by Aeschylus with the circle (*kyklos*) or garland (*stephanos*) – from the derivative *choronos* comes the Latin *chorona* for *corona*, so that it is related to *korōnos*, referring to anything bent or curved (source of Latin *curvus*, *cornu* and *corvus*) – Cicero in *Orator* xlviii.160 remarks on the fact the correct aspirate pronunciation (*chorona*) had shifted to *corona* due to the "judgement of the ear". *Chora* has a very different range of meanings – rather than a place "disclosed" through circular movement or mimesis, it points to the idea of space as receptacle

back to the Pythagorean theories of *harmonia mundi* which underlie the central place of rhythm in Patrizi's poetics. Patrizi refers twice in the course of the *Deca Istoriale* to the passage in Macrobius's *Commentary* on the dream of Scipio II.iii, in which the strophe of the chorus is identified with the movement of the *primum mobile* and the antistrophe with the contrary motion of the planets "ex quibus duobus motibus primus in natura hymnus dicendus deo sumpsit exordium".[253] This celestial symbolism of the strophe and antistrophe is cited by Zarlino, and by Mei and Galilei in their correspondence, but more unusual is Patrizi's emphasis on the element of movement and dance in the analogy, since the strophe and antistrophe were sung as the choir turned (*strophein*) and moved in imitation of the planets:

> Poscia che il choreute, ciò è il coro danzante, o i ballatoi del coro movendosi alla destra, al strofa si cantava [...] e dalla destra alla sinistra l'antistrofa, o rivolta. Ma l'epodo stando firma si cantava, ad immagine del movimento del cielo da oriente ad occidente, e del moto dei pianeti da occidente in oriente e della immobilità della terra.[254]

Patrizi also mentions this dance to which the strophe and antistrophe were sung as movement around an altar in which the chorus always returned to their starting point: "per la medesima via e col medesimo ritmo ritornasse al primo luogo. E perciò e la volta e la rivolta era sempre fatta dalla stessa quantità e forma dei versi e giunto con la rivolta all'altare, nel luogo di prima si fermasse e cantasse l'epodo".[255] The chorus is in short a

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or place made vacant. The related verb (χωρέω) means to have room, contain, receive, to make room or leave space vacant - it is used for example of the earth in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter ll.429-430, where the earth yawns open as Pluto rises up to seize Persephone.) The substantive *chōrēma* (χώρημα) is a space capable of of admitting or receiving anything, *i.e.* a capacity or receptacle, while *chōrēsis* (χώρησις) the containing or capacity of a thing. This is not intended as a reading of the passage in *Timaeus*, where *chora* is described as the "nurse of becoming" in which generated things, *i.e.* copies of things, come to exist, and is described as possessing motion or shaking by which the elements arrive in their proper places – Plato's description refutes a neat distinction between matter as the substance in which things become and the place in which embodied things manifest themselves. The meanings of *chora* that we have reviewed above stress capacity, and potential or expectation – they seem to allude to the disclosure of a space as it contains, or is emptied without the mimetic significance present in *choros*, or, if one wishes, is more of a precondition of mimetic significance, as space is revealed as the things which space holds are revealed; more important still, the distinction we have tried to note between *choros* and *chora* is rooted in temporality – disclosure through mimetic reiteration and through coming into being and passing away (appearance and disappearance or removal), to put it very crudely.

[253] *op. cit.*, p.194 ("from these two movements the first hymn in nature to be said to god takes its beginning").

[254] *La Deca Sacra, Poetica ed. cit.*, vol.III, p.324. Patrizi gives the scholiast on Pindar as his source ("The *choreutēs*, that is the dancing chorus or the dancers of the chorus sang the strophe as they moved to the right [...] and moving from the right to the left they sang the antistrophe, or answering stanza. The epode was sung standing still, in the image of the movement of heaven from orient to occident, of the planets from occident to orient and the earth, immobile").

[255] *ibid* ("by the same path and with the same rhythm it returned to the first place. Thus the movement and return were made with the same quantity and form of verses and went together with the return to the altar, the starting place where the chorus stood still and sang the epode").

mimesis through dance and song of the celestial bodies which themselves constitute a "movable likeness of eternity" (*Timaeus* 37d) that moves according to number (κατ'αριθμον ιουσαν αιωνιον εικονα), reflected in the *moto misurato* of rhythm, the source of the unity of the arts. If the chorus is the exemplary manifestation of the unity of the arts (and their setting) through poetry, it also depicts the cosmic source of harmony and rhythm which is the origin and background of every individual manifestation of music. The way that chorus may enter into the understanding of place, will appear also in our treatment of Ligorio in the last section of the thesis, but for the moment it is its mimesis of an eternally present background that concerns us, as something which preserves the conditions for meaning and representation in any individual inspired utterance of poetry. We might also consider the relationship of the chorus to the *intermedi* of 1589, and it is this question which seems to exercise Bardi in the *Discorso come si debba recitar Tragedia.*[256] Bardi's brief discourse does not compare with the extensive discussions of the *Deca Istoriale* or with the contemporary attempt to recreate ancient tragedy in the *Edipo Re* staged as the inaugural production of Palladio's Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza - a work which one might consider as a tragic counterpart to the comedy and *intermedi* of the 1589 Florentine spectacle. For Bardi, the relationship of the chorus to the tragedy represents something like an equivalent to that of the *intermedi* in their relation to the comedy - the members of the chorus come on stage between the acts of the tragedy and sing and dance, except between acts four and five when dance is substituted by gestures expressive of passion and sorrow at the horror of events in the drama[257] - we know furthermore that Bardi was deeply interested in the analogy between the chorus and the *intermedi* from the fact that he originally wanted fifteen Sirens in the first *intermedio* of 1589 in correspondence with the players in the chorus, at the cost of undermining the planetary symbolism.[258] In Bardi we find - almost word for word - the same stellar symbolism of the dance of the chorus as in Patrizi's *Deca sacra*, composed in 1587. It would seem as though Bardi were thinking of the *intermedi* as analogous to the chorus in tragedy, providing a cosmic framework for the drama through their themes and union of the arts, without following the plot of the drama like the chorus. This framing quality of the *intermedi* is emphasised by the fact that they enclose the five act

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[256] Published by Palisca in *The Florentine Camerata*, *ed. cit.* The authorship is attributed to Bardi by Palisca.

[257] "[...] veniva il coro dopo il primo atto della tragedia nomato da'Greci parodos, il quale talvolta in venendo cominciava a cantare e ballare [...] Finito il secondo atto della tragedia, nomato episodio, ritornava il coro col ballo e col canto [...] tra 'l quarto e quinto atto rappresentandosi i fatti orribili disdicevole saria ogni ballo che allegro fosse ben qualche movimento della persona faceva il coro con batter di mano, o altri gesti dicevoli a' tragici avventimenti " *Discorso*, *ed. cit.*, p.142-148 ("the chorus after the first act was called in Greek *parodos*, which at times began to sing and dance when it entered [...] at the end of the second act of the tragedy, named the *epeisodion*, the chorus returned with dance and song [...] between the fourth and fifth act, representing terrible acts, any lively dance would have been improper although the chorus could make some movement, such as beating the hands or other gestures suitable o the tragic events"). Angelo Ingegneri, who staged the production of *Oedipus* at the Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza, also wrote of the chorus as a kind of *intermedi* in *Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche*, Ferrara, 1587, calling it "un mero, ma grave, nobile e bene accommodato intermedio della Tragedia" ("a mere, but grave, noble and well placed *intermedio* in the tragedy"), cited Leo Scrade *La Répresentation D'Edipo Tiranno au Teatro Olimpico* Paris 1960.

[258] See Palisca, *op. cit.*, p.138.

comedy at each end, deplored by some commentators as a sign of their encroachment on the dramatic spectacle.[259]

It is thus important to note that *intermedio* six ended with a dance choreographed by Emilio de'Cavalieri which was published with the music for the *intermedi*, in which mortals dance to the harmony and rhythm sent down by the gods to solace humankind. This closing spectacle dramatised Plato's discussion of rhythm and harmony in *Laws* II 653d-673a which deals with the twin relationship of song and bodily movement, and with the fellowship of gods and mortals in music and dance. Plato's account of music in the *Laws*, with the organisation of the community into choirs sacred to the Muses (children), Apollo as healer (youth), Dionysus (middle age) and oracular speech (old age) with its religious and didactic qualities, is quoted repeatedly by Patrizi and provides a model for his account of the social function of music. The last *intermedio* is perhaps closer than any to Patrizi in the *Deca Istoriale* - it depicts the cosmological setting with which the spectacle had opened, but this time shows it in its relationship to *musica humana*, with the celebration of harmony and rhythm which link poetry, music and dance to their source in *harmonia mundi*. Like Patrizi's inspired poets in the *Deca Istoriale*, whose sacred song becomes the base of social order, the harmony recreated in *intermedio* six does not just represent music but in law, government, and virtue, all reflected in the rituals by which the divine nature of these things are celebrated and imitated through poetry, song and dance. If the gods of the last *intermedio* who dramatise the passage from the *Laws* personify the union of rhythm and harmony central to the theories of the Camerata and Patrizi, they also preside over the *furor* that inspires poetic utterance - as music is sent down from above, it inspires mortals below to rise up through *enthusiasmos*, and, through the products of their inspiration, to create (*i.e.* "discover") the conditions for human mediation or participation in the divine.

Thus we might see a number of elements interwoven in the last *intermedio* as a species of *summa* of the powers of music - elements which are faithful to Plato's various (positive) pronouncements on the subject, and developed in Renaissance Platonism to generate richer correspondences. Music as *harmonia mundi* has its earthly imitation in the concord of good government as well as the institutionalised choirs of *Laws* II, and the solace of rhythm and harmony is founded in their imitation of the revolutions of the universe, so that we can bring the soul back into the concord which it shares with the world soul (*Timaeus* 47d-e). The insistence of Bardi and his circle that the ancient *harmoniai* referred to the length, as well as the pitch, of notes should be considered as grounded in the Platonic discourse of rhythm and harmony as the mode of human participation in the cosmic order, so that the fusion of these musical elements with poetry gives the kind of "Orphic" song which could move things not only to persuasion but to transformation. Transformation here could have both rhetorical and magical connotations - the first corresponding to the interest in the expressive force of musical representation (the *affetti*), influenced by the *perturbationes* enacted or aroused by the orator, and the movement of music from its traditional place in the *quadrivium* towards the arts of the

[259] Strozzi, in the *Prescrizioni per Intermedi* noted above.

*trivium*. Secondly, the magical, invocational conception of music had the power to transform but implied a basis in the ideas of measure and number in *harmonia universalis* in order to derive the analogy between the higher influence and the vessel into which it is drawn down - this link between rhetorical and magical transformation being explored by Giulio Camillo in his memory theatre. (In Camillo's theatre higher spirit is mediated, and drawn down into a lower vessel by means of a conflation of topical logic, mnemonics and magical signatures or hieroglyphs – the role of number and proportion is displaced onto the physical structure of Camillo's theatre, which was conceived as a Vitruvian theatre - we enlarge on this in section two.) What distinguishes the speculative background to the union of poetry and music promulgated by Bardi and Patrizi is that the attempted fusion of the Platonic account of music, including its ethical and medical affects,[260] with the idea of poetry as inspired speech points to actualisation, rather than theoretical defence. All that music can "contain", symbolise or express is not mapped out in a *summa* like that of Gafurius, but is realised, through the figurations of all the arts together, in the enactment of a spectacle. In this context, it is important to remember that the *Descrizione* of De'Rossi speaks of the arts in dialogue with one another, whether epitomised by the "conversations" of statues or the musicians who respond to the "harmony" of the perspective.[261] These overt representations of the concord of the arts refer both to the synthetic character of the spectacle and, at the theoretical level, to the synthesis of the speculation embodied by each art - thus the presence of a statue signifying architecture framing the proscenium arch may signal both the use of architectural representation in the *commedia* e.g. the scenographic nature of the stage and the presence of theoretical concerns with proportion, measure and number which form part of the speculative meaning. It seems most important to emphasise that the concord of the arts at the level of performance is in analogy with the concord of this speculative meaning, and that the latter "comes alive" as much as the former in the spectacle - it perhaps through this awareness that we can best grasp the continuity of mimesis and magic in a spectacle such as the 1589 *intermedi*.

In the works with which we shall conclude this section on enactments and theories of Platonism, the artistic theories of Lomazzo, the interaction of the Pythagorean cosmos constructed from number and measure and the animation of this cosmos by daemonic and spiritual forces which may be "drawn down" fundamentally by magical means is concentrated in the relationship between rhythm - *moto* - and hieroglyphs. As with Patrizi's predication of *concors discordia* in every poetic figure, so Lomazzo's theories move us from the *musica mundana* of the world soul which by extension illuminates the concord between all things and all branches of knowledge in the world, into a paradigm

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[260] The ethical or medical effect of music, geared generally towards tempering, can be assimilated either to measure and harmony in the Pythagorean account of *musica mondana*, or to the persuasive powers of the inspired musician, as recorded in the taming and moving exploits of Orpheus, Linus or Arion.

[261] See *Descrizione*, *ed. cit.*, p.7, cited above. The emphasis on the concord represented by the "dialogue" between statues representing the arts, the virtues, countries or historical personages, is a staple in the descriptions of triumphal arches erected for entries.

in which each detail contains in itself the analogical chains and combinations that lead back up to the higher worlds.

We opened consideration of the *intermedi* with the idea that music provided a paradigm for the iconographic structuring of Mannerist decoration as we find it theorised by Lomazzo, for example. The concerns with *musica mundana* and *musica humana* in the *intermedi*, dramatised in terms of the celestial spheres and the *trovatori*, as Patrizi says, the mythical poet-musicians, appear in terms of the relationship between the paradigmatic order of the Pythagorean-Platonic hierarchy as a kind of ever present background and the ways in which this order is actualised or manifest in human terms as a sequence of exemplary situations. The moving force of music, which should not be detached from the *meraviglia* of the stage set, both constitutes a "foreground" and a force of mediation, which descends from *harmonia mundi* or rises up to it. The hierarchical order of the planets, tones and Sirens, with its structure of correspondences which becomes encyclopaedic by way of the Muses and the liberal arts, remains distant and schematic until music becomes expressive and moving in a way that is quasi-rhetorical and quasi-magical. Here we come again to the importance of the synthesis of music and poetry, and the fundamentally poetic understanding of the union of the arts manifest in the *intermedi*. What poetry shares with music is rhythm, and what it shares with visual art is *meraviglia*, which can manifest itself in spectacle as scenic illusion and as hieroglyph; the magical elements which we have noted running through the *intermedi* help us to recognise that this unification of musical and visual elements implies the disclosure of sympathies which can be activated, rather than a reflective model of imitation. It could be said that what this lively, poetic synthesis accomplishes is thus a moving depiction (in all senses) of the transformation at the core of poetic imitation, in which the human capacity to imitate the divine, entails a "translation" as Patrizi would say, into the *mirabile*, with its fusion of contraries, as a deeper mimesis. At the deepest level this concerns the profound transmutation at the heart of human likeness to the divine, and thus we find Giulio Camillo setting forth analogies between the "translations" of the rhetorical figures and the alchemical work of spiritual and hylic transformation. At the level of poetic theory, the presence of a structure of contraries, fundamental to Patrizi's theory of the *mirabile*, appears as the sign of the "divinity" in the poet's imitation of the world in Tasso's meditation in the *Discorsi del poema eroico*. As we saw, in Tasso's formulation all that which characterised the world and poet's *finzione* as *kosmos* – the ordered arrangement of variety in its fullness so that it is revealed as beauty and concord - was held together in the paradoxical unity in multiplicity, expressed by Tasso in visual and harmonic terms: if the poet as divine imitator accomplishes the illumination of *kosmos* as ornament, this unfolding of the whole *exornatio mundi* is rooted in a paradox which reveals the hieroglyphic character of the figure of the world. Finally, to take the matter a stage further, in Patrizi the structure of this paradox is revealed so that the infinite *maraviglie* of poetic transformations point back to the divine mystery from which they came, figuring through endless variety the *concors discordia* of the all that emanates from God.

We have looked at the relationship between *kosmos* as universal order and as poetic ornament, at the "hieroglyph" which enters into this ornament, the magical sympathies which it shares with music, and the origins of music, with its qualities of measure, rhythm and harmony, in the world soul. In considering the rich relationships which underpin the synthesis of the arts, epitomised in the understanding of poetry as simultaneously measure, ornament and "mysterious" or quasi-magical, we have still left out a fundamental element - namely the visual and theatric character of the *intermedi*. Since this takes us into large questions about the theatric nature of decorated architecture, about what this theatric setting implies, and about theatre, rather than text, as a paradigm for approaching the speculative and stylistic complexity of artistic culture in the later Renaissance, we shall try to move in by degrees. If Patrizi provided a theoretical basis for the understanding of the poetic and musical speculation behind the *intermedi*, Lomazzo may help us to see the corresponding artistic theory, and its view of the relationship between the arts. Lomazzo not only attempts to key musical ideas of proportion and *moto* into his theory of painting as a means of mediation between divine inspiration and the minutiae of gesture, but in the *Idea del tempio della pittura* presents this theory itself as a theatre. Lomazzo's presentation of the art of painting as a temple with seven "governors" who represent seven varieties or "temperaments" of style was inspired by Camillo's memory theatre and, in keeping with Camillo's use of Hermogenes, sets forth seven "ideas" of style personified by the seven artists who are the "governors" of the temple; in keeping with Camillo's occult interests, the governors are aligned with the planets, and related to various qualities through a system of stellar correspondences derived from Cornelius Agrippa in *De occulta philsophia* (behind whom are Ficino, in places plagiarised by Lomazzo, and the less reputable *Picatrix*). The implications of Lomazzo's translation of Camillo's universal theatre of rhetoric into artistic theory will become apparent when we have looked at Camillo, but we can start to bring him into the argument insofar as his artistic theory combines many of the Neoplatonic speculations we have sketched above. Our discussions here are gravely limited by the fact that we have yet to bring rhetoric and decorum into play, which provides the situation in response to which the unified expression of the arts takes place; all the material cited above on the metaphor of the poem or spectacle as a cosmic representation must simultaneously be considered in terms of the unity of expression and argument promulgated in theories of decorum. The speculative and iconographic ordering and the generic, expressive structure should ideally work together, and we shall see that Hermogenes's *Ideas*, used extensively by Camillo (who translated the work) and Tasso, seemed to provide a key capable of configuring them. Thus at this point we can work with Lomazzo only in a very partial way, to show that there is a parallel body of theory concerning visual representation to that on poetics, and that it also points to the idea of theatre for its fulfilment, both at the expressive and the speculative level.

Lomazzo produced two major theoretical works, the *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architectura* (1584) and the *Idea del Tempio della pittura* (1590), both produced after his artistic career was ended by the onset of blindness. In their

preoccupation with unified artistic expression discussed in terms of *moto*, the foundation of *moto* in *harmonia universalis* and the Platonic-Hermetic cosmology adduced to discuss the planetary influences which penetrate and order all things on one hand, and a hieroglyphic conception of artistic figuration on the other, the work shows that speculations which we have so far treated in terms of musical and poetic discussions also exerted great influence on visual representation. Lomazzo also allows us to pick up a thread left loose from the earlier part of the argument, in which Ficino in the commentary on *Symposium* insisted that the cosmic order which emanates from beauty's contemplation of the divine can be apprehended by sight.

At *Idea* Chapter xxvi, on proportion, which contains the theoretical core of both the *Trattato* and the *Idea*, Lomazzo repeats Ficino's discussion of beauty from *De amore* V.[262] Beauty is divine in origin, it passes through the "three mirrors" of angelic intelligence, the soul and the body; it is incorporeal, light "painted" with the colours and forms which it represents to the eyes; and thus through the eyes it represents the ornament of the whole order of the world as immaterial ("tutto questo ordine del mondo che si vede pigliasi dagli occhi [...] in quel modo ch'egli è nella luce che negli occhi infusa. E perché egli è nella luce, separato già dalla materia necessaria, e senza corpo, tutto l'ornamento di questo mondo per la luce s'offricse").[263] For Lomazzo the claim that the whole world order presents itself to the eyes is central to a theory of art which insists repeatedly on its capacity to represent all things that can be imagined and seen. This claim is announced at the opening of the *Idea* (written, Lomazzo says, as the introductory part of the *Trattato*) which celebrates the creation of cosmos and microcosmos as a divine painting, in analogy with the topos of the creation as the poem of God, and reiterated in statements such as that at Chapter xxv which elaborates all that painting can represent - the contemplative or angelic order, the *significante* or celestial, the *visibile*, the *imaginabile*, the *fabbricativa*, so that "tutte queste spezie di forme vengono a generare nella pittura la rappresentazione universale delle cose divine, celesti, mondane, imaginate, pensate, fatte, infernali e meravigliose".[264] Thus Lomazzo can declare that "nella pittura è proprio la esplicazione di tutte le cose che possono cadere sotto l'imaginazione e rappresentazione" or that, like another nature, it represents all forms of things in the world to our eyes "rappresentando a gli occhi nostri tutte le forme delle cose, di che è ripieno et adorno questo mondo a guisa d'un altra natura".[265] This art which is the principal ornament of all things lifts our minds to contemplation, showing the beauty of things and containing in itself, as a compendium, all the proportion and

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[262] On Lomazzo's use of Ficino, see Panofsky, *Idea a concept in art history*, 1924.

[263] *Idea*, ed. Klein, p.227. We might also recall that Patrizi in the *Nova de universale philosophia* (1591 and 1593) had devoted the first book of the work, entitled "Panaugia", to a discussion of the physical and metaphysical properties of light.

[264] *op. cit.* p.209 ("all these species of forms generate in painting the universal representation of things divine, heavenly, worldy, imagined, thought, done, infernal and wonderful"). As Lomazzo acknowledges, the metaphor of creation as a divine painting comes from Castiglione, I.52.

[265] *op. cit.* p.209 and p.77 ("the explication of all things that can fall under the imagination and representation is proper to painting" "like another nature representing to our eyes all the forms of the things with which the world is filled and adorned" ).

harmony of the world ("contiene in sé, come compendio, tutta la proporzione e l'armonia del mondo").[266] Lomazzo's emphasis here on harmony and proportion - the "prima e principal parte della pittura"[267] is crucial to the capacity of painting to "explicate" all things that exist or can be thought, since the *harmonia mundana* that unites all things through its union of likeness and unlikeness is mirrored in the human being as microcosm - "il quale, avendo in sé tutte le convenienze e proporzioni del mondo, più bello e ben fatto appare e di maggior meraviglia agli occhi nostri, che l'istesso mondo".[268] The remark on man as marvel descends from the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and we shall see that Lomazzo's meditations of beauty as proportion, or *euritmia* as he calls it, use Vitruvian terminology to distinctly magical ends, which concern the finding of the correspondences and influences which order all things, and which it is the privileged task of art to figure. Central to this order is musical harmony, as we find Lomazzo, who insists that the artist is musically and architecturally literate, reiterating Zarlino's analogies between the musical intervals (diapason, diapente and diatesseron) and the virtues "la consonanza dell'anima è fatta del debito temperamento e proporzione delle virtù et operazioni".[269] These musical intervals are applied also to the body at Book One of the *Trattato*, where the whole body is worked out in terms of musical proportions. For Lomazzo, proportion as manifest in the human body leads to two fundamental elements in his artistic theory, that of beauty as *euritmia* and that of *moto*, movement as shaped by proportion. *Eurythmia*, defined by Vitruvius at *De architectura* I.ii as "venusta species commodusque in compositionibus membrorum aspectus" which results in the symmetry of parts, is celebrated by Lomazzo as the "somma bellezza e venustà che procede in qualunque corpo" (*Idea* xix) and "il fondamento di tutto [...] sopra il quale ogni cosa come sopra saldissima base si riposa, et onde deriva tutta la bellezza,è quello che i Greci chiamano euritmia, e noi nominiamo disegno".[270] Lomazzo's disconcerting translation of *eurythmia* as *disegno* seems to suggest that each exists in both an immaterial and an embodied form - *eurythmia* as celestial harmony and *disegno* as the idea which the artist forms completely in mind before putting pen to paper.[271] We can know *euritmia*, however, only through the proportions of the body - "questa soprana armonia quella bellezza quale in molto spezie vien dimostrata in questo nostro corpo, da cui tutte le altre proporzioni e ragion di comporre si traggono".[272] From this harmony, whose presence in the soul was disclosed by Hermes Trismegistus, derives the norm and model for making ("la norma e modello di formar") all temples, theatres, buildings, marvellous macchines

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[266] *op. cit.* p.81 ("it contains in itself, like a compendium, all the proportion and harmony of the world").
[267] *op. cit.* p.169 ("the first and principal part of painting").
[268] *op. cit.* p.23 ("which, having in itself all the harmony and proportions of the world, more beautiful and well made, may appear to our eyes of greater wonder than the world itself").
[269] *op. cit.* p.321 ("the consonance of the soul is made from the proper temperament and the proportion of virtues and operations").
[270] *op, cit.* p.109 ("supreme beauty and loveliness which proceeds in any body" "the foundation of all [...] on which every thing rests as on a most sure base, and from which all beauty derives, is what the Greeks call *eurhythmia*, and we call *disegno*").
[271] Lomazzo's discussion of the *idea* comes at *Trattato* VI.lxv. The fullest development of *disegno* comes in Federico Zuccari's *Idea dei Pittori, scultori ed architetti* (1607), which argues that *disegno* stretches from thought - even in the mind of God - through all conceptual activity into all spheres of practical and manual activity.
[272] *op. cit.* p.319 ("this supreme harmony, that beauty hich in many species is displayed in this our body, from which all the other proportions and modes of composing are drawn").

("maraviglii macchine") and other kinds of artifice; while Lomazzo uses musical terminology to express the measure which pertains amongst the parts of the soul and the body, his treatment of harmony and his transformation of *eurythmia* into *disegno* leave no doubt as to his artistic priorities - "la pittura sola è atta a rappresentarci questa armonia".[273] As microcosm, the human body does not just share a scheme of musical proportion with the larger world, but encompasses in itself all numbers, measures, weights, motions and elements ("Il corpo umano [...] contiene in sé, con più perfetta composizione e con più sicura armonia, tutti i numeri, le misure, i pesi, i moti et elementi").[274] Of these qualities, the most important is *moto*, as it is this which takes us from beauty as the harmony of parts derived from the microcosm to the expressive character of painting.

In the *Idea* xix, Lomazzo identifies *moto* as the second part of painting, after proportion. If proportion is harmony, *moto* is both movement and a force that moves - Lomazzo likens its *affetti* to those of ancient music ("i quali [affetti] non sono di minor meraviglia e stupore al mondo che si siano quelle meraviglie della musica antica").[275] The analogy is redolent of the statements we have seen by the figures connected with the Camerata Fiorentina, and their rhythmic conception of harmony which furnishes the feet for the sung poetic text may help us to consider the derivation of *moto* from proportion on which Lomazzo insists. Here we must remember constantly that proportion is not simply numerical for Lomazzo, but refers to the harmony between the elements which constitute the world, the body and the temperament, as well as the humours, the relationships between the varieties of soul, the virtues and so on. The proportions between these elements, which lie at the source of beauty, are activated and expressed by *moto*, which is characterised by Lomazzo as a kind of expressive emanation "una certa espressione e dimostrazione estrinseca nel corpo di quelle cose che patisce internamente l'animo".[276] While *eurythmia* can appear in inanimate objects, such as buildings, *moto*, called by Lomazzo "lo spirito e la vita dell'arte" pertains only to ensouled beings; amongst the finest artists are those who can apprehend it even in the latent energies of nature, and so figure the animating forces which run through all living things:

> i pittori, che queste cose intendono, benché rari,
> fanno che nelle sue pitture si veggono quelle
> maravigliose opere della natura secrete, mosse

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[273] *ibid* ("painting alone is capable of representing this harmony to us").

[274] *op. cit.* p.331 ("the human body [...] contains in itself with more perfect composition and more certain harmony, all the numbers, measures, weights, movements and elements").

[275] *Trattato* II.i, *op. cit.* p.96 ("such affects are of no less wonder and awe to the world than the marvels of ancient music").

[276] *op. cit.* p.96 ("a certain expression and external display in the body of those things which the mind experiences internally"). Cf. *Trattato* p.25 where *moto* is identified with the power of painting to "visibilmente dimostra a gl'occhi nostri molti affetti e passioni de l'animo" ("display visibly to our eyes many affects and passions of the mind"). The definition recalls the rhetorical *energeia*, as well as Patrizi's discussion of *orchesi* as externalisation of the *concetto* of poetry, and also Guglielmo Ebreo's definition of dance as outwards display of spiritual movements, cited above.

> da qualle virtù motiva che di continuo, stando nel
> cuore nascosta, si dimostra esteriormente nel corpo
> e manda fuori i suoi ramoscelli per li membri esteriori
> che perciò secondo quelli si muovono.[277]

It is in *moto*, Lomazzo argues, that painting most resembles poetry ("in questa parte la pittura si paragona alla poesia"), both in its power to move and in its association with *furor* - Lomazzo says that it is called by painters "ora furia, ora grazia, ora eccellenza dell'arte" and likens it to "furor d'Apollo et delle muse".[278] Like poetic inspiration the capacity to represent *moto* is a *dono divino*, a grace, and thus Lomazzo's discussion draws on two traditions - the musical-poetic arguments about the "divine" power of ancient music and Cinquecento arguments in authors such as Castiglione and Varchi on the spiritual valence of *grazia*. In this way Lomazzo can attempt to link the visual qualities of beauty as grace with the musical-magical connotations of *spiritus* in Ficino. The result of this conflation is a theory of grace as *moto* ("la maggior grazia e leggiadria che possa avere una pittura è che mostri di moversi"[279]), characterised as a *furia de la figura*, which shares all the legendary powers of the *furor* of poetry and "allettando e traendo a sé con dolce forza gli animi nostri, non altrimenti di quello che si faccia con una soave armonia et un dolce concento di musico o suonator eccellente, in tirare in sé gli animi di chi gl'ascolta".[280] In other words, we might see Lomazzo working contemporary ideas of the union of music and poetry which we have noted above into artistic theories of *grazia* as the emantion of the "divine light" of beauty. If Lomazzo characterises the greatest grace and charm of painting as consisting in the figure that appears to move, the highest form of movement is the famous *linea serpentinata*, with its pyramidal or flamelike form expressive of an ardent movement upwards.[281] If the *linea serpentinata* is

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[277] *op. cit.* p.98 ("the rare painters who understand these things make their paintings so that in them one sees the wonderful works of Nature, secret, moved by that moving force hidden in the heart of things, that constantly displays itself externally in the body and branches forth throughout the outer limbs which move through it").

[278] *op.cit.* p.97-8 ("now *furor*, now grace, now excellence of art"). Apart from its association with *furor*, we might note another link with poetry in that *moto*, as lively movement which renders states or passions visible could be seen as possessing both *energeia* and *enargeia*. We will return to Lomazzo's conception of *ut pictura poesis*, which he formulates forcefully at the end of Book VI of the *Trattato*, in discussion of sixteenth century poetics further on.

[279] *op. cit.* p.29 ("the greatest grace and charm a painting can have is to show movement").

[280] *ibid* ("attracting and drawing our minds to itself with sweet force, like the gentle harmony and concert of an excellent musician or player, who pulls to himself the minds of those listening").

[281] Lomazzo at *Trattato* I.i and VI.iv presents *linea serpentinata* as a coinage and precept of Michelangelo, which has led to a great deal of discussion of the poetic and spiritual implications of *linea serpentinata* in Buonarotti's work. One should be careful not to identify *linea serpentinata* exclusively with Michelangelo and his followers, however; one of the finest exponents is Parmigianino, in whose work *linea serpentinata* becomes a display of a *grazia* whose *furor* consists in its almost excessive refinement which seems to aim at transcending all mundane conceptions of beauty. The spiritual seriousness of both artists is proverbial, but where Michelangelo's figures have been interpreted (often encouraged by the artist's poetry as well as the Aristotelian discussions of the artist's idea promoted by Varchi) as struggling to rise up from the dross or density of the body, in Parmigianino's painting we seem to see at times a strange erosion of the distinction between the human and the organic world, which results in the revealing of a strange light or energy in material things and a complementary transformation of figures into beings, which, if not

persistently associated with grace,[282] we should consider this in terms of the *affetti* of the *moti*, given Lomazzo's claim that *moto* can "altera e transmuta il corpo con transmutatione sensibile".[283] In keeping with the musical influences that shape the conception of *moto*, this transformative effect should operate not only on the "inspired" artist or the painted figure which manifests *furia* and *grazia*, but also on the beholder moved by the vision of these qualities. This brings us to two points - first, the character of *moto* (and so *linea serpentinata*) as a revelatory movement, which leads to the apprehension of beauty as it is defined by Lomazzo (or rather Ficino) at *Idea* xxvi as "un certo atto, vivacità e grazia". The emphasis on movement, act, or liveliness, the mediating character of *grazia* and *spiritus*, and ascending energies of *furor* and its pictorial embodiment in *linea serpentinata* all point to the idea that *moto* is an intermediary force; if it is linked with the passions at the level of the individual soul, these passions are created by the proportion between the temperamental qualities which have their source in the world soul. Thus we can start to move from a human to a universal understanding of *moto*, and it is at this point that the esoteric character of Lomazzo's speculations comes into play. We can start to broach this by noting that unlike Varchi, who opposed theories of beauty based on proportion to those based on grace in the *Libro della Beltade et la Grazia*, for Lomazzo grace is a mediating, animating force between an inherent structure of *euritmia* and the moving energy of a representation.[284] If we turn back to Lomazzo's definition of beauty again, copied verbatim from *Il libro dell'amore* V.vi, we find it termed "un certo atto, vivacità e grazia che in lui risplende per lo influsso della sua Idea". This *influsso* can only enter matter if it is "attissimente preparata" - so that there is a "temperata complessione di questo elementi, in modo che il corpo nostro è molto simile al cielo [...] quando non si ribella dalla formazione dell'anima per qualche esorbitanza di umore, facilmete i celesti splendori appareranno nel corpo simile al cielo et quella perfeta forma dell'uomo".[285] This raises the question of how the individual body and soul can be properly tempered to receive the "celesti splendori", and here we come to Lomazzo's

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conventionally angelic, can no longer with certainty be called human. These remarks on Parmigianino are made with reference to the *Madonna and Saints* now in the Uffizi and the frescoes in Santa Maria della Steccata in Parma, as well as the myth (which may be only that) of Parmigianino's absorbing interest in alchemy. It should be emphasised that Lomazzo's remarks on *linea serpentinata* at *Trattato* VI.iv are essentially a definition of *contrapposto*, which was a form of antithesis and source of *varietà* in the depiction of bodily movement. *Varietas*, as defined by Alberti in *De pictura* II.xl, was not just abundance, but abundance structured in terms of contrast, especially in posture; thus the remarks on *varietas* are followed by the discussion of motion and expressivity (emotion). This idea of balanced contrast was given its famous rhetorical-sculptural formulation in Quintilian's comments on Myron's *Discobolos* in *Institutio oratoria* II.xiii.9-11, where the curve (*flexus*) of the sculpture, its movement (*motus*) which gives an impression of action and animation ("actum quendam et adfectum"), is used as an analogy for ornate diction which departs from the "straight lines" of ordinary use – such ornate diction aims not only to portray emotion in the artist or performer but to excite it in an audience.

[282] For Lomazzo's other remarks on the *grazia* of *linea serpentinata*, see *Trattato* VI.iv and lxv, and *Idea* xii.

[283] *op. cit.* p.102-103 ("alters and transmutes the body with sensible transmutation").

[284] Thus, like proportion, *moto* in the sense of passion also pertains to the three parts of the soul, the sensitive, rational and intellectual, which Lomazzo, following Macrobius in the *Somnium Scipionis* I.6 and Zarlino, sees as related through the musical intervals of the octave, the fifth and the fourth.

[285] *Idea*, *ed.cit.* pp.215-217 ("tempered complexion of these elements, so that our body is very similar to the heavens [...] when the body does not rebel against the formation of the soul through some imbalance of humour, the celestial splendours appear easily in it, as they do in heaven, and the perfect form of man").

astrological understanding of proportion, which does not focus so much at the harmony between the planets as on the structure of correspondences proper to each planet. The planets (the "sette governatori") determine the proportion, temperament and thus *moto* of "tutto quello che la mente può capire per li tre mondi", and thus the capacity to know the nature of anything, its properties and its "signs" ("la natura della cosa che si vuol fare, e tutto ciò che a lei conviene, con li segni e le proprietà") depends on knowing the nature of the planets.[286] Lomazzo sets this principle forth explicitly when he says "le loro significazioni [*i.e.* all the forms that can be seen or imagined] [sono] tolte non solo dagli affetti e dalle proprietà loro, ma ancora dai corpi a cui elle sono sottoposte, che universalmente tutte le cose cingono".[287] The planets (*i.e.* the celestial world) are thus the mediating force between the angelic world and the human world, "dal sommo grado all'infinito della natura tutte le cose per debiti mezzi passano".[288] A few lines on Lomazzo goes on to declare the particular relevance of the stars for painting "in loro si dimostrano tutte le sostanze, base e fondamenti di esprimere in pittura tutti li moti, affetti e passioni che possono essere secondo le diverse nature loro".[289] It on this theory that Lomazzo builds his "tempio della pittura" with its seven painter-governors (Michelangelo, Gaudenzio, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Leonardo, Raphael, Mantegna, Titian) representing simultaneously the seven planets, their influences, their *moti* as expressed by the seven artists, and variety in artistic style.[290] The *tempio* thus becomes a way of accommodating notions of variety and temperament within a totalising structure in which art not only reflects the universe at every point but as *moto* presents itself as a mediating structure whose *grazia* and *furia* show the ascent, or descent of soul through spirit. Lomazzo attributes this discovery that all forms belong to the planets (the "sette governatori") to Hermes Trismegistus in particular, and his repeated claims for "ancient", Hermetic wisdom allows one to understand that the speculative framework of the theory points to the "animistic" and "magical" cosmology of the "Egyptians" supposedly reduced to an abstract model by the rational thought of the Greeks. This contrast between the intuitive nature of Egyptian wisdom as opposed to the belated or schematic character of Greek thought recurs, as we have noted, in discussions of hieroglyphics by Iamblichus, Plotinus and in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and it should not surprise us to find Lomazzo's employment of "Egyptian" wisdom includes repeated meditations on the hieroglyphic conception of figuration.

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[286] *op. cit.*p.293 ("the nature of thing that one wishes to do and all that is proper to it, its sign and its properties") .

[287] *ibid* ("their meaning are taken not only from their affects and properties but from the body to which they are subject, which bind all things universally").

[288] *op. cit.* p.295. Lomazzo is quoting or rather plagiarising Ficino in *Il libro dell'amore*.

[289] *ibid* ("in them are displayed all substances, the base and foundation of all the movements, affects and passions that are expressed in painting, and that can be according to their various natures").

[290] See *Idea* ix, "In quella guisa che il mondo è retto e governato da sette pianeti, come da sette colonne, le quali pigliando ciascuna la luce de la prima luce, che è Iddio, la vanno poi qua giù apparatamente infondendo, a beneficio di tutte le create cose, sarà parimenti questo mio tempio di pittura sostenuto e retto da sette governatori , come da sette colonne et imitarò in ciò Guilio Camillo nella Idea del suo Teatro" (*op. cit.*, p.101 ("In the same way that the world is ruled and governed by seven planets, like seven pillars, each one drawing light from the first light, which is God, which they convey and infuse with splendour into this lower world, to the benefit of all things, so my temple of painting will be supported and ruled by seven governors, like seven pillars and in this I shall imitate Giulio Camillo in his Idea of a theatre"). On Lomazzo and Camillo, see below.

Lomazzo seems to regard hieroglyphs in two ways, first as "signatures", signs which both represent and are the channels for the influx of spirit into matter, and secondly as metaphors, which turn a thing to another meaning. Given Lomazzo's insistence that everything that is depicted can be "read" in terms of its planetary alignment, and that the parts of art (proportion, *moto*, colour) are to be considered in this way, all visual representation becomes hieroglyphic in the sense that it becomes the "language" of the heavenly bodies who govern all things below.[291] Just as the stars govern the providential ordering of all things, this hieroglyphic language provides the artist with the images to express all *concetti*: "Solevano i popoli antichi esprimere con figure naturali tutti i suoi concetti, e queste erano da loro tenute per sacre pitture e perciò chiamate ieroglifice da gl'Egizi [...] appresso i quali popoli era questo uso più frequente di significare con certe pitture tutto che volevano. Si che di qui si può cavar che l'arte del disegno fu le migliora d'anni avanti che si trovassero i caratteri per scrivere".[292] The hieroglyphs, to resume, are simultaneously signs or signatures of the planetary influences which form all things, associated with the capacity of the artist to "formare ciò che vorrà [...] pigliando gl'influssi che sono dominante da li corpi superiori",[293] and symbolic images that represent things "non con le proprie, ma con altre figure".[294] Lomazzo's words here reflect those used in rhetorical descriptions of the figures of speech, but we must beware of hastily concluding that there is "naturalistic" depiction of things in their "proper" form

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[291] The notion of hieroglyphics as the paradigmatic pictorial language had been current since the early Renaissance; in *De re aedificatoria* VIII.4 Alberti links them with "sculpted histories" which decorate buildings or the epigraphic use of relief images in place of (or alongside) inscriptions. Lomazzo obviously moves far beyond this epigraphic conception to the point of giving the astrological -"hieroglyphic" meaning of gestures - the kissing of hands is honourable because it signifies Venus touching the sun, while the kissing of the mouth is carnal because solely venereal.

[292] *Trattato*, *op.cit.* p.382 ("Ancient peoples used to express all their *concetti* with natural figures, and these they held for sacred pictures and so called hieroglyphs by the Egyptians [...] such people had the custom of signifying with certains pictures all that they wanted. From this one can conclude that the art of *disegno* existed thousands of years before the invention of characters for writing"). A similar claim is made at *Idea* xxxii.

[293] *Idea*, *ed. cit.* p.313 ("form that which he will [...] drawing down the influences which are dominant from higher bodies").

[294] *Trattato*, *op. cit.* p.367 ("not with their own, but with other figures"). It is noteworthy that Lomazzo introduces discussion of hieroglyphs into the *Trattato* by way of a discussion of the *grottesche*. We will look later at the relationship of the "hieroglyphs" and the *grottesche* - Lomazzo praises the latter because, like the hieroglyphs, they alone in all of art are "conceded" the depiction of all that can be found and imagined "a lei sola nell'arte sono concessi sacrifici, trofei, stromenti [...] tutti gli animali, fogliami, arbori, figure [...] chimere, mostri et, in somma, tutto quello che si può trovare et imaginare" *op. cit.* p.369 ("to it alone in art are given sacrifices, trophies, instruments [...] all animals, vegetation, trees, figures [...] chimeras, monsters and, in short, everything that can be invented and imagined" ). It is this capacity to represent all things that forms the link between the *grottesche* and the hieroglyphs, yet Lomazzo makes the same claim for painting in general, as when he says "fra tutte le altre [arti] è molto più atta ad esprimere in figura tutte le cose imaginate, per mirabili che siano, nell'idea" ("amongst all the ther arts it is much better suitd to express figuratively things imagined, marvellous that they may be, in the idea") *op. cit.* p.139. The point would seem to be that the hieroglyphs provide a paradigm for artistic figuration in general, whether in the central *istoria* or the framing *grottesche*, an issue to which we shall return when we consider the *grottesche* below.

and a metaphoric depiction which is "hieroglyphic". Lomazzo's own model of planetary influence works against this kind of distinction; since the "sette governatori" determine the properties of all things, all things may be said to stand in a metonymic relation to their stars, as parts, instruments or effects of which the *governatori* are wholes or causes.[295] This is also notable in Lomazzo's conception of *convenienza* which turns decorum into a series of correspondences appropriate to situations "governed" by each of the planets.[296] The "vertical" ordering of Neoplatonic emanation and the celestial influences of astrological medicine which we saw first mapped out in Ficino's spiritual medicine is conflated with the codification of decorum and the rhetorical figures according to logical categories. The architect of this connection is none other than Giulio Camillo, who influence is acknowledged by Lomazzo at various points in his writings[297] - as noted, Camillo's theatre conflated "hierogylphs" (universal and hermetic signs) placed in alignment according to a Neoplatonic-Hermetic-Cabbalistic model of ascent with the various rhetorical figures of comparison. The theatre has in its basis in the "place memory" of artificial memory techniques and in topical logic (also concerned with places) translated by Camillo into rhetorical *elocutio*, thus transforming a logical model of relationships into a scheme of poetic correspondences, each of which are indicated by a hieroglyphic figure that is in turn envisaged as a sort of talisman or signature for the influx of the planet and sepiroth with which it is aligned.

This is not the point at which to discuss the topical structure of Camillo's theatre, but it can help to throw light on the background of Lomazzo's interest in the hieroglyphic nature of pictorial representation. Camillo's topical figures, denoted by their "hieroglyphs", act simultaneously as magical signatures for the influx of celestial influence, and as rhetorical ornaments which denote various species of analogy, distinguished through the logical predication of properties. In a similar way, when Lomazzo speaks of hieroglyphs as the "language" of painting, he seem to envisage a comparable range of meanings, from the magical (as attested by his constant use of Agrippa) to the kind of topical-figurative structure which underlies sixteenth century compendia of "hieroglyphs", such as Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*. This is to suggest that the symbolic meaning of the hieroglyph as enigma or metaphor is the most explicit instance of a larger structure of figurative signification which encompasses any image, in the sense that Lomazzo regards it as an embodiment of certain properties, inherent in its higher source. We might include *moto* within this figurative structure, given that Lomazzo considers it the effect of higher cause, whether at the level of bodily movement

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[295] Lomazzo devotes a chapter (*Trattato* VI.lxi) to "veri istromenti" as part of the discussion of hieroglyphic figuration in the latter part of Book VI. He describes the "hieroglyphic" nature of *istromenti* which form part of "la scienza che ebbero gl'Egizij nelle loro sacre imagini" in metonymic terms "tutti gl'istromenti, si come fanno e conseguiscono tutti gl'effetti, così significano tutte le cose" ("all instruments, as they make and follow all affects, thus signify the things") *op. cit.* p.405.

[296] This is most explicit in Book VI of the *Trattato,* where Lomazzo describes the kinds of figuration suitable to various buildings or rooms.

[297] As stated by Lomazzo at the beginning of *Idea* ix, cited above. Lomazzo also refers to Camillo at *Trattato op. cit.* p.462, in his description of the Sepiroth who "influiscono in tutte le cose create per ciascuno superiore, fino all'infime e basse" ("flow into all things created through each higher thing, down to the lowest and basest things").

as the manifestation of the passions of the soul, as the expression of inspired *furor* or as the heavenly influx of the idea into its tempered vessel. *Moto*, like its musical equivalent, *spiritus*, is a mediating force within a larger framework of mediation, namely the "three worlds" reflected in artistic representation. The capacity of art to depict all things that can be seen or thought signifies its possibility to reveal the correspondences which structure this framework of mediation; "tutte le cose naturali, per una cotal ragione, forma, proportione, natura e moto fra di loro [hanno] certe corrispondenze, le quali tutta volta che bene s'intendono, e penetrano con la sicura scorta filosofica, non c'è dubbio alcuno, che tutti i gesti, e moti che si possano imaginare ne' corpi non s'abbiano insieme d'intendere e giudicosamente mettere in opera".[298] A single figure may be read as the thing that it naturalistically represents, as an embodiment of *moto*, in its relationship to its source (which may have a topical-figurative character *e.g.* metonymy, and a "magical" element as a signature), and in an allegorical sense which again presupposes a tropological relationship to a higher source. This hieroglyphic world of representation has a paradoxical element, in the sense that everything has a certain meaning in terms of its place in the planetary scheme and as a figure simultaneously also means something else; this paradoxical element is fundamental to the analogical structure of meaning which can hold these meanings together. As various elements come together in the composition of a painting or a decorative scheme, so the analogical range of meanings within each element enters into configuration with the others, and it is notable that elements that might be considered "purely" decorative, such as floral swags, are incorporated into iconographic (or "hieroglyphic") significance as the trophies *i.e.* attributes of certain gods.[299] This structure of pictorial meaning can result in a scheme in which literally every element in a scheme (proportions, *moti*, colours, *istoria*, landscape, decoration, architectural articulation and setting) is aligned through its depiction of the same planetary influence; a scheme which looks overdetermind to the point of madness in terms of decorum, but seen from the standpoint of magical theories of correspondence, like those of Agrippa, is perfectly ordered. Alternatively, if we conceive of a composition in which the various elements bear the imprint of different "governatori", we arrive at an staggeringly complex interpretative situation in all the elements enter into relation one another at all of their levels of meaning, and the question is no longer that of an analogical structure, but of a configuration of multiple analogies. The almost unthinkable density of such a scheme may be one reason that Lomazzo concentrates separately on each of the seven *governatori* and the varieties of style that they generate, and gives little indication of the outcome of the accommodation of style, except to say that "chi nascesse al mondo ornato del dono di tai concetti [*i.e.* tutte le armonie dei pianeti] sarebbe il primo pittore che in lui fosse stato o fosse o fosse per esser mai".[300]

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[298] *Trattato*, *op. cit.* p.105 ("all natural things, for a certain quality, form, proportion, nature and movement have between themselves certain correspondences; once these are understood well, and penetrated with sure aid of philosophy, there is no doubt that all gestures and movements which can be imagined in bodies may be understood together and, with judgement, put into operation").

[299] In Book Six of the *Trattato* Lomazzo discusses such readings – garlands of fruits are conceived as trophies of Ceres, weapons of Mars, hunting gear of Diana, *etc.*

[300] *Idea op. cit.* p.325 ("whoever was born adorned with the gift of such *concetti* would be the first painter that had ever been, or might be, or will be so gifted").

Lomazzo takes the room with a figure of the universe described by Ficino in *De vita* III.xix as the basic situation for pictorial representation. In so doing he turns all the elements of painting, except perspective, into subjects of "hieroglyphic" meaning, which requires the semantic elaboration of the hieroglyph into a whole series of potential meanings, from signature to metonym to metaphor. I have described these meanings as analogical, rather than hierarchical in their relationship to one another, in the sense that within a scheme of totalising celestial influences, the articulation of any particular thing is determind by its place in the vertical order and its various meanings seem to fan out at this level. Thus the notion of the higher, anagogic significance of the "misteri" or "sensi occulti" must be held in balance with Lomazzo's own procedure and his recourse to Valeriano, whose *Hieroglyphica* accumulate lists of figurative meanings which could be easily reduced to a topical ordering.[301] In discussion of the figurative structure of Lomazzo's work, one must not however forget the musical elements of his artistic theory, since the promulgation of a totalising artistic representation is grounded in the conjunction of "hieroglyphics" with *moto* and proportion. If the first provides the iconographic structure and the range of figurative meanings sketched above, the second gives the elements discussed earlier - rhythm, measure, the blending of likeness and unlikeness through harmony and number. Thus if *moto* is on one hand an embodiment of musical proportion, on the other it is associated with hieroglyphs, as channels or "signatures" for the influx of *spiritus*, and therefore with the analogical meanings generated by figuration. Lomazzo gives such dominance to planetary influence that proportion is almost absorbed into the analogical schema - I say almost because it remains the definition of beauty as *euritmia*, reiterated at the end of the *Idea*. One might rather say that proportion provides a way of affirming the measure which must exist as the basis of analogy, and see proportion and figuration as working together on that basis. What we see in Lomazzo's artistic theory is a speculation which puts into play various ideas of mediation, from proportion founded in number as the reconciliation of identity and difference (rhythm, harmony) to the magical ideas of mediation underlying *spiritus* or *moto* as an animating "influx" which can be "channelled" into things if the correspondences between the higher and lower world are aligned, to the hieroglyph which accommodates the whole range of figurative possibilities, from talisman to topical predication. We saw something very similar in the *intermedi*, with its thematisation of the *affetti* played out against *musica mundana*, in which the reconciliation of the same and the disimilar through proportion is both highest discourse and background for the representation of *concors dicordia* in terms of *meraviglia*, *i.e.* poetic ornament.

[301] Wind unkindly comments that Valeriano "excelled in the pettifoging art of making commonplaces look abstruse" and that in reading the *Hieroglyphica* one can "marvel at the ingenious piety of [Valeriano] in evading the divine splendour he professes to worship" *Pagan Mysteries*, pp.261 and 13.

We have been concentrating on the almost talismanic character of Lomazzo's account of painting, which invokes spirit through the lively expression of *moto* or the hieroglyphic character of figuration as "signature" which can symbolise or draw down higher powers. Our emphasis derives in part from the fact that we are approaching Lomazzo from the *intermedi*, and the musical enactment of *moto*, but we have said little about how Lomazzo conceives invention of decorations. In the sixth book of the *Trattato*, Lomazzo discusses the astrological invention of ornament such as *trophei* or *trionfi*, where the range of objects are attributes and instruments appropriate to the planet which governs a room according to its function or place – hunting gear to Diana, military trophies to Mars and so on. This conception spreads to gods who fall outside the astrological scheme, such as Ceres, to whom "trophies" of fruits are sacred – thus even those forms of ornament, like festoons, that seem to be general motifs are drawn into the structure of symbolic inventions.[302] The composition of *trofei* from instruments recalls Aristotle's remarks on metaphor in the *Poetics* as depicting an instrument in place of subject: the shield is to Ares as the cup is to Dionysus. The trophy as constituted through instruments thus forms part of the range of metaphoric figurations considered by Lomazzo, including hieroglyphs, and the *grottesche*, which as we saw he associates with hieroglyphs, and associates with the capacity for an encyclopaedic representation. If the ornaments proper to each god are conceived by Lomazzo as "trophies", the ornament proper to the depiction of a god may be conceived in decorative terms as a triumph in which all that "is ruled" by a certain deity is displayed.[303] The triumph as conceived by Lomazzo in Book Six in short provides a depiction of copious invention identified with a single person or argument, and their dominance over a certain sphere figured through the showing of objects whose meaning consists in part in being shown. As a display of objects which become visual signs, whose invention is based in the predication of instruments, the triumph has an affinity with "hieroglyphic" figuration, documented as early as Mantegna who depicts a whole range of visual signs in the *Triumphs of Caesar*; the copious or exhaustive invention of trophies might remind us of the "universality" of the *grottesche*, an interpretation strengthened by some of the discussions of Raphael's grotesquework in the Vatican – the act of showing in the triumph is furthermore conceived in sixtennth century poetic theory to be proper to emblems and metaphors.[304]

For Lomazzo, the triumph signals the comprehensive display of things influenced by a god, and here one should recall the tradition of depiction of children of the months or planetary gods on which Lomazzo may be drawing, as well as astrological medicine of

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[302] Such ornament is particularly obvious on the borders of tapestries.

[303] In truth, as we have seen, Lomazzo's extension of planetary influence to all colour, proportion, movement and depiction means that any image will always enact a complex interplay of influences.

[304] Francesco Carburicci spoke of showing as the means of expression where the *concetto* is manifested indirectly by another concept *e.g.* metaphor and spoke of this figurative expression as proper to poetry, since it is essentially a *figura*. Cited in Robert Klein, "La Théorie de l'expression dans les traités italiens sur les imprese, 1556-1512", *La forme et l'intelligible*, Paris 1970. We shall return to the discussion of *concetto* and *figura* below, and to the encyclopaedic character of the grotesquework in the Vatican Logge noted by Armenini and Vasari.

the kind propounded in Ficino and Agrippa. We have noted that triumph is associated with the display of "hieroglyphic" images in the sense that things, or images are used as words. The triumph is a locus for looking at verbal-visual relations as find the interplay of visual associations – *e.g.* figures in chariots may be gods or classical heroes, generals or kings – and discursive (ultimately logical) associations, *i.e.* the significance of things displayed in triumph may be founded in the predicative relation with the triumphator, as an instrument. The triumph thus concerns the iconography of time (planetary gods, historic figurations) and especially time as return, and the display of invention based on the knowledge of logical predication, recalling that visuality is the greatest praise of oratory and invention from logical categories proclaimed as the source of *copia* in speech. This second point on the display of invention from the categories is linked in the Renaissance with meditations on the loci or places of invention – at the end of part two we shall attempt to bring it together with the conception of decorative cycles fixed in certain places as triumphs. Here the concern is more with the visualisation of temporality in the triumph, its blending of the universal ordering which preoccupied us in this section with historic meaning, and its relation with the univerality and display ascribed to poetry. We shall consider the triumph as it becomes in the Renaissance a vessel for celebratory mimesis as historical return, becoming in a sense a mode of conceiving representation, as much as a genre of spectacle; the triumph also moves us towards meditations on historical meaning and conceptions of the "origins" of historical meaning, which lead into the second section of the argument, on rhetoric. We shall commence our account with a reflection on the literary sources and depiction of the triumph; in the latter the speculation of temporality in the triumph is particularly evident.

These remarks should be prefaced with the remark that we are not attempting to give a history of triumph here, partly since the definition of a genre can distort the flexibility essential to perceive the relationship between a literary topos, a spectacle and a permanent decorative scheme; irrespective of the art in which one is working, or the permanent or ephemeral condition of a representation, it seems fundamental to clarify the character of significance in which things participate if they are represented in a triumph. If this can be established, one can then proceed to consider how this meaning affects the situation of the triumph – literary text, theatre, decorative cycle, civic *apparato* for a triumphal entry. Thus we shall not discuss the triumphs which are staged for the visits of princes to foreign cities from the mid-fifteenth century on, commencing with the entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples in 1443, commemorated in the triumphal arch of Castel Nuovo of Francesco Laurana (1453) – documents for the entry indicate that it combined allegorical and classical elements, with triumphal chariot accompanied by the seven virtues and the decoration of the triumphal arch, with virtues in niches above the relief depicting the triumphal chariot with baldachin, recalls the structure of Tuscan quattrocento wall tombs. Such entries should be approached by way of careful historical study, and their political meaning should be considered, broadly speaking, in the context of the complex relations between the Italian states, the Papacy and the Empire. Such spectacles frequently turn around the question of the character of Rome (and cities which claim to be Rome revived, conspicuously Florence) as sacred and imperial, ancient and revived city; this political aspect has to be plotted against the projects for each city by its

rulers, and may entail tensions between the local city and Rome, as in the triumph of Leo X in Florence in 1515, in which the "re-unification" of Florence and Rome is also the return to the Medici to the rebel city.[305]

To take the cases of Rome and Florence, one can trace direct thematic lines in the literature of civic encomium, from Bruni to the sixteenth century Medici triumphs, which concern the notion that Florence is the true heir of Rome – this topos starts with the celebration of the good republic and modifies following the papacy of Leo X to celebrations of the re-union of Rome and Etruria. This emphasis on Rome re-born or re-united should be considered in the Florentine context alongside the Feast of the Magi, the civic pageant sponsored by Cosimo and Piero de'Medici to the detriment of traditional civic festivals and commemorated in the frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli decorating the chapel of the Medici Palace, Florence, known as the Capella dei Magi.[306] Gozzoli's frescoes (1459-60) show the Magi in procession on their journey to adore Jesus, combining references to the Feast of the Magi, and to Magi as embodiments of the *prisca theologia*, which, thanks also to Medici patronage, had returned to the west with the "return" of Plato and the promulgation of the Plato Latinus. This return was also fostered by Medici patronage of the Council of the Two Churches (1439), where representatives of Byzantine Platonism such as Pletho and Bessarion supposedly inspired Cosimo de'Medici with the project of a Platonic revival in Florence.[307] All this is depicted in a triumph which celebrates the Medici as the sponsors of ecumenical conciliation, the synthesis of pagan wisdom and Christian revelation, and the co-existence of worldly wealth and spiritual treasure, of prime significance in the Feast of the Magi, with its display of luxurious, exotic objects "transformed" by epiphany into spiritual riches - the three Magi correspond to the three ages of man, the three Medici leaders, Cosimo, Piero and Lorenzo, the three colours (white green and red) associated with the theological virtues which were also the colours of the Medici feathers, while the Magi coming from

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[305] The entry included seven triumphal arches (one an ephemeral façade applied to the Duomo) each dedicated to one of the virtues and an eighth, in which they appear together, and various monuments of Roman character - an obelisk (like the obelisk of Romulus, says Vasari) at the northen end of Ponte Santa Trinita, a column like Trajan's column at the Mercato Nuovo, a colossal equestrian statue at Santa Maria Novella and a colossus of Hercules as a pendant for the David in the Loggia dei Lanzi. The *apparati* and the artists responsible are described by Vasari in the Life of Andrea del Sarto, who, with Sansovino, was responsible for the decoration of the Duomo – other artists included Rosso, Pontormo, Antonio and Aristotile da Sangallo and Bandinelli. For an account of documentation, see John Shearman, "L'entrata fiorentina di Leo X" in *Il teatro italiano nel rinscimento*, eds. F. Cruciani and D. Seragnoli, Bologna 1987.

[306] On Medici manipulation of traditional Florentine festivals, see Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, who asserts that the feast was promoted even to the extent of eclipsing celebrations for St. John the Baptist, the patron and protector of the city. On Medici participation in the *confraternità* which organised the feasts of the Magi, see see Patrizia Ceccarelli, "Le feste fiorentine orientali e neoplatonici" in *Il lume del sole Marsilio Ficino Medico dell'anima*, Florence 1984. Gozzoli's frescoes draw on the lavish Gothic pageantry that we find in Gentile Fabbiano's paintings of the *Adoration* – the subject was one which obviously leant itself to the sumptuous display of luxurious goods manufactured and collected by the affluent mercantile classes.

[307] The Byzantine emperor John Paleologus is portrayed as one of the Magi, while the youngest of the Magi was traditionally identified with Lorenzo de'Medici and the costume corresponds to that worn on his first appearance in a civic spectacle, in honour of the visit of Pius II and Galeazzo Maria Sforza in 1459. On the spectacle organised for the visit of Pius II and Galeazzo Maria Sforza, and Lorenzo's role in it, see Ceccarelli, *op. cit.*

the east as the representatives of the Council of the Two Churches point to the theme of the return of Plato to the Christian world, with the adoration of the Magi as a decisive image for the meeting of Christianity and *prisca theologia* whose prophets foresaw the coming of Christ.[308] Following the logic of dynastic propaganda, the Medici have caused the Magi and their ancient wisdom to return to the Christian world, whose centre is Florence as New Rome or image of Jerusalem in the Feast of the Magi – aside from Gozzoli's frescoes, the altarpieces which show the Medici with the Magi in adoration of Jesus before the ruined *Templum Pacis* imply such conflations, all the more when Rome and Jerusalem are shown in the background of the scene, as in Ghirlandaio's altarpiece in the Sassetti Chapel in Sta Trinita, Florence (1485).[309] In these paintings of the Laurentian period, after the Feast had been discontinued, the *Templum pacis*, prophesied to fall when a virgin gave birth, is often depicted as a arcade with three bays; it bears close resemble to contemporary drawings and reconstructions of ancient buildings in the notebooks of Giuliano da Sangallo and his projects for vast arcaded courts in the plans for palaces for the King of Naples and for the Medici in Via Laura. If Florence supposedly transformed into Jerusalem during the Feast of the Magi,[310] the symbolic identity with Jerusalem is belied in these works by the Laurentian painters by the classical buildings which function as perspectival scenes in a period which also saw the revival of the performance of classical drama under the tutelage of Poliziano, often enacted in palace courts of classical form.[311] The return of antiquity in the Laurentian period seems on the whole less associated with the festival pageantry of the triumph and more focused on the recovery of the texts and settings through which Florence asserts itself as ideal city, which replenishes and perfects antiquity through the accomplishment of *renovatio* augured by Lorenzo's motto, *le tems revient*.

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[308] The whole decorative cycle is pervaded with Medici devices, in the costumes of the retinue of the Magi and the family procession on the east wall, in the decorative borders and in the intarsia of the stalls; the device of the diamond ring and motto *semper* is serialised into an ornamental motif which transforms it from personal *impresa* to dynastic symbol. This transformation does not simply make the device more monumental, but turns it into a frame; whatever appears within this frame is to be read in the context of Medici mythology, which has appropriated the legend of the three Magi as a vehicle for a triumph of worldly magnificence.

[309] Such adoration paintings, with the Medici beside the Magi, were executed by Botticelli, Lippi, Ghirlandaio, and Cosimo Rosselli – Rosselli's painting indeed belonged to the Compagnia de'Magi. Ghirlandaio's altarpiece in the Sassetti Chapel shows Jesus cradled in an imposing sarcophagus with the inscription "Ense cadens Solymo Pompei Fulvius augur numen ait quae contegit urna dabit", the augur Fulvius falling by the sword of Pompey in Jerusalem says that the tomb which hides him will give [shelter] to a god. On the Sassetti Chapel, see E. Borsook and Johannes Offerhaus, *Francesco Sassetti and Ghiralandaio at Santa Trinita, Florence*, Doornspijk, 1981.

[310] "Firenze si trasformò in Gerusalemme" wrote fra'Giovanni di Carlo of the Feast of the Magi in its final year, 1468, when Piero de'Medici organised an extraordinarily lavish spectacle which occupied the whole city, entailing the exhibition of precious goods, exotic animals and huge numbers of retainers. Cited in *Il tems reveint Feste e Spettacoli nella Firenze di Lorenzo de' Medici*, pp.139-140; the festival was described by Machiavelli.

[311] As for example Palazzo Scala, Florence , or the courts designed for Poggio Reale, Naples, the planned palaces of the King of Naples and for the Medici in Via Laura (probably for Leo X, rather than Lorenzo) – the last three had sunken courts surrounded by steps which could act as seats.

To recapitulate, in the development of representations of the Festa dei Magi, we see a movement from the epiphanic display of luxurious merchandise to the identification of the Magi with the *prisci theologi* whose return has occurred thanks to Medici patronage to a shift from public pageantry to more private scenes with family and an emphasis on classical buildings, which are being revived for non-religious spectacle settings. This movement should be seen in correspondence with a shift in the conception of temporality; we might observe this in one of the most precious records for the understanding of spectacle in *quattrocento* Florence is the so-called Florentine Picture Chronicle (circa 1460), ascribed to Maso Finiguerra, a folio of drawings that comprise a compendium of the *dramatis personae* of mid fifteenth century festival in which staple figures from the bible and the legend of Troy appear alongside the more exotic *prisci theologi* of Ficino's Neoplatonism - Zoroaster, Hermes Trismegistus, Ahura Mazda and Apollo *medicus* conjuring in a magic circle.[312] The folio displays the way in which the new syncretism of *prisca theologia*, with its genealogy constructed to prove the three fold character of Christian, Platonic and Hermetic revelation, could merge with the universal history of medieval compilers (Vincent of Beauvais, Peter Comestor) first epitomised in chronological tables by Eusebius in the fourth century and divided into six world ages by Isidore of Seville. On one hand, Finiguerra's drawings display the unfolding of universal history as a sequence of protagonists, depicted as they might have passed in the procession of a civic pageant;[313] the undifferentiated character of this sequence is such that the most shadowy and necromantic figures discovered by the new philosophy can effortlessly take their place alongside the most traditional of Biblical and mythological figures. In contrast to this medley of figures grouped according to the universal age in which they appear, there is a notable emphasis on historicism in the Laurentian Magi depictions; rather than the re-presentation of "universal history" on the occasion of a religious festival, we see the "recovery" of historical period, celebrated by Laurentian Humanists through poetic topoi (the laurel which grows again) and through the idea of the providential character of historical regeneration in the notions of the return of epochs, specifically the Virgilian Golden Age of *Aeneid* VI ll.793-5 and the Fourth Eclogue.[314]

The Virgilian evocation of the golden age, in which history is endowed with the cyclical temporality embodied by Nature should be considered alongside the prophecy of the triumph of Rome in which the imperial greatness of the city is likened to the triumph of Cybele, or Berecyntia, which comes in *Aeneid* VI.756-853.[315] As we shall argue, this

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[312] Published by S.Colvin, 1898.

[313] The chronicle of Matteo Palmieri for the 1454 Festa of St John Baptist speaks of Prophets, Sibyls and Hermes Trismegistus and others who prophesied the incarnation of Christ, with particular attention to the Tiburtine Sibyl, Augustus, the *Templum Pacis*, a temple for the Magi, and the Magi themselves, with a cavalcade of over two hundred horses. In Ceccarelli, *op.cit.*

[314] The propaganda of the *pax aurea* brought by the Medici and their protection of the arts as a second age of Saturn seems to have originated with encomiastic literature praising Cosimo de'Medici, becomes conflated with love themes in the poetry of Lorenzo (*Selve* II, 122), is propounded nostalgically in early sixteenth century circles, such as the Orti Oricellai and further codifed by Vasari in references to Medici patronage in the *Vite* and in the Palazzo Vecchio decorations. For a synopsis of this and later material, see Gombrich, "Renaissance and Golden Age" (1961) in *Form and the Arts*, Oxford, 1966.

[315] VI.781-787: "[...] illa inclita Roma/ Imperium terries, animos aequabit Olympo,/ Septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,/ Felix prole virum: qualis Berecyntia mater/ Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per

analogy took on great resonance in the context of Rome, where the triumph, whether for a prince (the entry of Borso D'Este to Rome in 1471, the triumph of Charles V following his victories in Tunisia in 1536) or pope (the papal *possesso*) concerns in a very direct way the renovation of the city, and the structures erected or images displayed could anticipate or synthesise the urbanistic "theatres" projected by rulers; in Rome we also find antique spaces used for spectacles in way that "returns" them to their ancient meaning or fulfils them, as they become the locus for a Christian *rappresentazione*, such as happens in Piazza Navona (termed the "Agone" in Renaissance descriptions), or the Colosseum, where a passion play was staged from the late fifteenth century, the origin of the Via Crucis.[316] We shall come back to the relation of Nature and the display and "recovery" of the abundance of historical meaning in more detail below; at present we should return to the question of literary sources and representations of the triumph.

The triumph seems to have originated in the Middle East and then spread to Greece around the fifth century B.C., where triumphs were linked with military figures, semi-divine figures such as Agon, genius of combat in the palaestra and gods, such as Dionysus, but it is in Rome that the ceremony takes on greatest importance as a spectacle in which the city becomes the theatre for the ritual celebration of its supremacy.[317] Descriptions of military Roman triumphs were to be found in Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* xxx), Josephus (*Jewish History*, vol.III), Appian (*Romica*, Book VII), Cicero (*In Pisonem*), Pliny the Elder, Suetonius (*De vita Caesarum*, vol.I) and Plutarch (*Lives of Paulus Aemilius*, *Marcellus*, *Pompey* and *Romulus*). It is Plutarch who relates the early history of the triumph, from Romulus, who vows to dedicate the armour of his adversary to Jupiter, and carries it mounted on an oak branch into Rome to its place of consecration in Rome, to Marcellus, who first displays statues and artistic objects in Rome as offering and ornament on his return from Syracuse, amidst accusations of corrupting the Romans with this show of luxury and of bringing gods like captives to the city. In same the *Life*, Plutarch distinguishes between major and minor triumphs, the second *apolemos* and *hydus* – pacific and gentle, where the general proceeded on foot, wreathed with myrtle, not laurel, to the sound of the *aulos*, the instrument of peace. The myrtle was associated with Venus, who abhors war more than any god, and this minor triumph was thus dedicated to generals who employed dialogue and persuasion in their victories – the association of the triumph with love, which often emphasises the overmastering cruelty of Amor, is also linked to the mythology of Venus's victory over Mars as peace returns after war.[318] A victorious general granted a triumph had to wait outside the city until

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urbes,/ Laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes, / Omnes caelicolas, omnes super alta tenentes" ("glorious Rome shall have her empire on earth, will equal the souls on Olympus, and one with herself will encircle the seven hills with her battlements, blest with a race of men: thus the Berecyntian mother, with her towered crown, rides in her chariot through the Phrygian cities, rejoices in the gods her offspring, and clasps a hundred of her children's children, all heavenly, all dwellers in the upper sky").

[316] On theatre in Rome, see Fabrizio Cruciani, *Teatro nel rinascimaneto Roma 1450-1550*, Rome 1983.

[317] On the origins of the triumph, see Giovanni Carandente, *I Trionfi nel primo rinascimento*, RAI, 1963. A related spectacle was the *adventus*, which could mean a return or homecoming, but is used of the official visit or entry of a ruler to a city.

[318] Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus* xxii. Plutarch also derives the name of the minor triumph, *eua*, from Dionysos, also called *Euios* – Dionysos was the mythical inventor of the triumph, as he returned from his

granted *imperium* within the city for one day by the senate, and would then enter on a four horse chariot, wreathed in bay, preceded by his lictors, and accompanied on his chariot by a slave who reminded him of the transitory nature of worldly success and human life. The procession comprised an army, which shouted *io triumphe* and chanted scurrilous verses (*versus fescennini*), and was joined by magistrates, senators, captives, spoils and sacrificial animals. The triumph entered the city from the Campus Martius through the Triumphal Gate, proceeded to the Circus Flaminius the Circus Maximus, the Palatine and along the Via Sacra to the Capitol, culminating at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus where the general sacrificed and surrendered his bays to the god. Amongst the most splendid of the triumphs is that of Aemilius Paullus in 167B.C., father of Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (Africanus Minor), which Plutarch describes as lasting for three days, with statues, paintings and colossoi exhibited on the first day, weapons and drinking vessels on the second, while the third, preceded by trumpeters, featured objects linked with the consecration of the triumph (animals for sacrifice, a consecrated bowl), coinage, gilded wreaths and people - the captive king and his household, the triumphator and soldiers carrying gilded branches.[319]

The history of the triumph as related by Plutarch in a sense reflects the spectrum of meaning of the term *ornatus*, or the progression from *ornatus* to *ornamentum* - the triumph starts out as the display of the weapons and battle gear (*ornatus*), exhibited alongside precious objects expropriated from the conquered in an elaborate spectacle, and these spoils are finally hung up and consecrated in a temple where they form part of its ornament, and, ultimately, its decorum. If the triumph is the most spectacular form of epideictic rhetoric, whose ornaments literally do pass from being the praise of the triumphator to become the decorations of a temple eternalised in the wreaths, trophies and panoplies of architectural ornament, one should also note the coalescence of people and things in the triumph. The figures in the train of the triumphator - both celebrants and prisoners - become figurations of his glory, and thus we see a kind of progression from the followers of the triumph as evidence of the victory celebrated to the precious objects carried as embodiments of *evidentia* in its rhetorical sense (figure of speech which make us seem to see the thing described). Thus we find a play in the triumph on the progression from figures as exemplars of the triumph celebrated to personifications, to figurations and so to devices, to emblems, to metaphors and the "bright" or "lively" words of rhetorical ornament.

The triumph could celebrate a victorious general or emperor, or a god, a competitor, or allegorical figure - in his history of the triumph in the early Renaissance, cited below, Giovanni Carandente notes the importance of the car of Beatrice in Canto xxix of

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conquest of India; except for some very brief observations on Donatello, we shall not the explore Dionsysian themes in the triumph, referring the reader to the compilation of lore in the *Dionysiaca* of the fifth century Hellenistic poet Nonnus.

[319] The triumph of Paullus Aemilius was depicted on Florentine *quattrocento cassoni*, like that now in the Rijksmuseum, illustrated in *Le tems revient -' l tempo si rinuova Feste e spettacoli nella Firenze di Lorenzo de'Medici*, ed. P. Ventrone, Florence, 1992.

*Purgatorio* which is described like the chariot of Ezekiel and compared to a Roman triumphal car. These two precedents allow for a fusion of the crowd of figures and symbols surrounding the Roman triumphator with a spiritual reading of the chariot as both throne, or seat (of wisdom, of mercy) and the moving energies of the soul,which may be depicted also in the aureole of light surrounding the spiritual body.[320] Carandente seems correct in asserting the influence of *Purgatorio* xxix on Petrarch, and in claiming that Petrarch uses it to dynamise the hierarchical diagrammatic stasis of the representation of a virtues or god with species, properties and attributes ranked beneath – the structure which finds visual embodiment in the such decorations as the triumph of Aquinas in the Capella degli Spagnoli in Santa Maria Novella, or the depiction of the civic virtues in Lorenzetti's depiction of Buongoverno in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. Petrarch attempted a reconstruction of the triumph of Scipio in *Africa*, as well as using the triumph as an allegorical dream device in the *Triumphi* or *Trionfi*, employed also by Boccaccio in the *Amorosa Visione*, which depicts the triumphs of the poets and philosophers, of worldly glory, wealth, of love and of fortune as frescoes or decorations in a sequence of two room that lead into a *locus amoenus*. In contrast with the decorations described by Bocaccio in the *Amorosa Visione*, the chariots described by Petrarch in the *Trionfi* are propelled by the force of their meaning, and the more allegorical the triumph, the more dynamic its movement, just as the car of Beatrice in Dante undergoes a violent transformation into the beast on whose back the whore of Babylon rides. Having said this, we have still have not approached the central and distinctive importance of the triumph for the Renaissance, namely the fact that its epideictic display celebrates *return* and history, or history as return, making it the perfect vehicle for commemorations of *renovatio*. The same triumphal form can serve to depict the planets, their celestial cycles, and their influence on the world, the return of antiquity and the attendant elevation of historical meaning, and, as spectacle, the representation of these in a festive enactment with its own mimetic temporality. From this perspective, one can see why the triumph is congenial to reflections on the relationship of history, change and eternity, such as we find in Petrarch's *Trionfi* or Spenser's various deployments of triumph in the *Faerie Queene*, works which represent an important speculation on the meditation provoked by or "contained" in the triumph.

The *Trionfi* develop the archaeological and the allegorical aspects of the triumph, in which a Christian eschatological vision is advanced alongside a historical understanding of culture through its detailed portraits and narratives of the illustrious ancients. In the *Trionfi* Petrarch unfolds history and cosmological order in order to destroy them in the apocalypse that precedes the Second Coming – the sequence opens with the triumph of Love, followed by Chastity's triumph over Love, led by Laura, followed by the triumph

[320] See the heavenly chariot in Ezekiel I and the chariot which carries Elijah up to heaven (II Kings 2). In this respect one should note that the Virgin enthroned, celebrated as *sedes sapientiae* - both throne and enthroned - may form part of the meaning of the allegorical female figures of virtues, liberal arts or Muses enthroned, like those of Botticelli, Pollaiolo, Cosme Tura for the studiolo of Lionello D'Este at Belfiore or Pintoricchio in the Borgia Apartments, where depictions of the Madonna and female saints have their counterparts in the Liberal Arts enthroned; such figures obviously draw on the personifications of the liberal arts discussed in Section One, in particular the characterisation of rhetoric as a type of Venus armata who dazzles both with her beauty and the effulgence of her arms.

of Death who slays Laura, Fame's triumph over Death, Time's triumph over Fame, culminating in the destruction of time by eternity. The work thus passes from historical *renovatio* to apocalyptic renewal, where the latter entails the cancellation of mundane experience of time, which implies both time as loss and as history, history in turn containing both the idea of the recovery of the past and future accomplishment. In the *Trionfi*, the sequential pageantry of the triumph, victorious pageant and ephemeral *larva*, illusory mask or dream image, is particularly suited to a Christian Humanist reflection on the theme of the world's glory as passing or fantastic dream, while celebrating the figures it presents in considerable philological detail. (Similarly, the triumphs of the *Hypnerotomachia*, which take place in a dream within a dream, are part of a fantastic narrative which intertwines the recovery of antiquity and erotic, cultivates mystery and enigma to emphasise the ambiguity entailed by its quest and culminates in a dissolving shadow as the phantasm of Polia slips from Poliphilo at the end of the work.[321]) This is clear in the tension in the *Trionfi* between the philological spirit which searches to recover the historical form and meaning of the triumph and the eschatological theme that drives the allegory and its progression from love to chastity to death to fame to time to eternity. In short, the triumph that celebrates history as a succession of achievements, exemplified by the innumerable noble Romans cited in Petrarch's poem, strains against the ravaging and irresistible force that snatches things from life and memory, culminating in the *Triumphus temporis* in the image of the sun as lord of all created things as an exulting and cruel pagan god whose triumphal car has become a chariot raced around the heavens like a circus, which symbolised the revolutions of the planets.[322] We have spoken of the allegorical *vanitas* theme of the work which sees all worldy things subject to death and time and time overthrown in apocalyptic destruction as framing a detailed humanist *laus* of the figures of antiquity - the triumph which proclaims the philological recuperation of antiquity is also a way of understanding classical culture in which the temporal succession of achievements and names is figured by the linear procession of the triumph itself, whose spectacular and festive character saves the succession of names from the monotony of the mere list.[323]

We should also note that the *Trionfi*, presented as the dream of the narrator who falls asleep on the Capitol, also demand to be read in relation to the *Somnium scipionis* in Cicero's *De re publica* VI, which similarly move from preoccupations with worldly glory to the universal order and heavenly reward revealed to Scipio Aemilianus (Africanus Minor - son of Paullus Aemilius, whose sumptuous triumph was described by Plutarch) by his grandfather, Scipio Africanus Maior. The Scipioni play an important role in the

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[321] In the Second Part of the *Stanze* of Poliziano we find a similar exploration of the *larva*, the mask or deceiving dream, once again linked to the triumphant spectacle of cultural *renovatio*.

[322] On the cosmic symbolism of the chariot race in the circus, see remarks on Alberti below.

[323] In truth, this monotony is often present in works written as triumphs, from Petrarch's exhausting enumeration of ancient worthies in the *Trionfi* to the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, which plays with a kind of hyperbole of the list in the endless catalogues of building materials, symbolic stones, aphrodisiac plants and so on, often giving an erotic twist to the abstruse terms which are used or invented. Translations of such passages in the *Hypnerotomachia* can turn into something like Joycean taxonomies, but although they are unusual in their length and voyeuristic fervour, the energies of multiplication which they represent are not so far from the amplification exercises of Erasmus in *De copia*, on which see below.

*Trionfi*, in the *Trimphus Cupidinis* where Sophonisba and Masinissa relate the tale of their love,[324] and in the *Triumphus Famae*, where Scipio Africanus Maior and Caesar stand on the right hand of *Fama*.[325] Julius Caesar, the Scipioni and Paullus Aemilius are three figures who reappear constantly in Renaissance triumphs – it seems here important to recall that the *Trionfi* represent a Christian *Somnium Scipionis*, which recounts the passing of all things for the Second Coming and yet constitutes a celebration, or a Christian *imitatio* of Cicero. While Petrarch stresses the imperfect nature of this human attempt to present totality as the accumulation of historical exemplars, and insists on the great gap between historical glory, *fama*, at the mercy of time, and time subject to eschatology, there is an important point to be made about the inspiration of the *Trionfi* in the *Somnium Scipionis*, namely that the rhetoric of accumulation which will become so important in Renaissance accounts of *copia* is presented as a human, historical counterpart or imitation of the disclosure of the universal order in the *Somnium Scipionis*. The triumph can in short give a vehicle for the representation of the human historical meaning founded in the ordering of providence, and yet this celebration must be based on the understanding that the annihilation of human works is a condition for the realisation of Christian redemption. In taking the human experience of history as a way of conceiving time, *i.e.* time as linear succession experienced through a narrative of accomplishment, Petrarch comes to the representation of time as escalating destruction, author of "alcun mal", which can only be redeemed by the Second Coming and the passage beyond time into eternity, signalled by the destruction of the gods and planets, and of grammatical tense, the linguistic basis of narrative time.[326]

In this sense the unfolding of all things in historic succession, dramatised in the triumph is the unfolding of the world, or human experience of it, and Petrarch's delineation of human-centred, narrative time, which looks to its redemption in the Second Coming could suspect Humanist claims for the piety of historic studies which do not constitute an idolisation of human fame, but lead to a deeper awareness of salvation in God. We should look at the parading of all those figures who make up history as the

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[324] *Trimphus Cupidinis*, II, l.1-87. Masinissa, a Numidian prince in alliance with Rome in the Second Punic War, falls in love with Sophonisba, daughter of the Carthagianian general Hasdrubal, and widow of the Numidian king Syphax whom she had drawn from alliance with Rome to the Carthaginian side. Livy relates that Masinissa sends Sophonisba poison as the means of saving herself from the disgrace of being sent as a captive to Rome by Scipio; the tale was used by Trissino in the tragedy *Sophonisba* (1515), the first tragedy on Aristotelian lines in Italian.

[325] One might also note that Mantegna's very late (perhaps last) work, *The introduction of the Cult of Cybele to Rome* was painted for Francesco Cornaro whose family claimed to be descended from the *gens Cornelia* to which the Scipioni belonged.

[326] See *Triumphus Eternitatis* (l.40) on the overthrow of the planetary gods "Non avrà albergo il Sol Tauro né Pesce", and the gathering of time into a single point which expands into the infinity of eternity "*dinanzi, adesso, ier, matino* e *sera*,/ tutti in un punto passeran com'ombra;/ non avrà loco *fu*, *sarà*, ned *era*,/ ma *è* solo, *in presente*, et *ora*, et *oggi*,/ e sola *eternità* raccolta e 'ntera" ("*before*, *now*, *yesterday*, *morning* and *evening*, all gathered in a point will pass like a shadow; *was* and *will be* will have no place, but only *is*, *in the present*, and *now*, and *today*, and only *eternity* collected and whole") ll.65-69. The *Trionfi* are to be more deeply considered in relation to Augustine's meditations on the passing from the earthly to the heavenly city in the *City of God*, and movement from pagan triumph to Christian pilgrimage; while important for the argument, the theme is too large to be unfolded here, and awaits elaboration in subsequent development of the work.

necessary pre-requisite of the eschatology of the triumph of eternity – noting that we do not see the movement from time to eternity but from the narration of time to eternity. With this much in hand, we might turn to a second celebrated poetic depiction of the triumph of time, in the *Mutabilitie Cantos*, *Faerie Queene* VII.vii.

The Mutabilitie Cantos are amongst the most solemn explorations of the full rhetorical and allegorical significance of the triumph and concern the claim of the "titaness" Mutabilitie to dominate all things, her case presented in the form of a masque, thus realising the oratorical praise of *enargeia* as unfolding a spectacle before the eyes of the audience – we might also note that Mutabilitie stages a case in forensic rhetoric as a triumph or praise which shows all things "conquered" by her.[327] The conflation of masque, judicial oratory, *agon* and triumph in the episode serves as a depiction of the theme of *concors discordia* at the heart of Spenser's poem, and fundamental to poetic representations of *concors discordia* that were discussed above. This masque of the times, in which the gods appear, is used by Mutabilitie as a triumph to display the diversity of all things and their movement into progressive unlikeness, which shows them to be under her sway.[328] Nature's sentence upon the masque is thus both a deliberative judgement and something like an emblematic sentence, which unites with the image of the triumph to reveal a deeper meaning in the correspondence between the spectacle and the judgement it provokes. As supreme arbiter of universal order, Nature here is close to the cosmic Venus Physizoa of the *Hypnerotomachia*, and her veiled, hermaphrodite form is identical to that of the statue in the Temple of Venus (IV.x), celebrated as a Lucretian *genetrix alma Venus*, maker of the winds, waters and all things in the "daedale earth" (IV.x.xlv).[329] What is unfolded in the masque is the earthly manifestation of temporality, personified through the months and their astrological signs, day and night, and life and death. Nature's sentence on this display is that all things "by their change their being do dilate,/ And turning to themselves at length againe,/ Do worke their owne perfection so by fate" (Mutabilitie Cantos, VII.lviii). Nature's judgement is immediately striking as a pronouncement on the structure of romance itself, with its multiple interlaced narratives and digressions - the pageant which provokes Nature's sentence is in itself an exemplification of the romance delight in spectacle, considered by Giraldi Cinthio to be the characteristic form of digression.[330] As well as forming a reflection on the procedure

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[327] We shall look at *enargeia*, praised by Quintilian as the greatest skill in oratory, in section two. One might also note that the passage confounds the three situations of rhetoric – the claim of Mutabilitie, which is judged by Nature as though in tribunal, corresponds to forensic rhetoric, the debate on the relation of order, sameness and change might be considered as a speculative *quaestio* is the province of deliberative speech and the praise of a figure, displayed in the triumph, is the fundamental situatuon of epideictic or demonstrative oratory.

[328] Spenser's masque of the months is related to the representation of the "children of the planets" that shows the planets (or the months) in triumph above the activities and attributes that they govern, as depicted in the Florentine fifteenth century engravings of Bacio Baldini, or the astrological images in the Sala dei Mesi, Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, at which we shall look below.

[329] The lines are in fact a straight translation of the opening hymn to Venus in *De rerum natura*.

[330] In the *Discorsi intorno al comporre de i Romanzi*, Venice 1554, Giraldi describes the following forms of digressions "che contengono giostre, tornei, amori, bellezze, pasioni dell'animo, campi, edificij et simile altre cose" ("containing jousts, tourneys, loves, beauties, passions of the soul, fields, buildings and other, similar things") p.60.

of romance, there is a "hieroglyphic" or emblematic quality to the masque, where the temporal order of things depicted visually has its corollary in the ontological order asserted in the verbal sentence, with its statement of amplification as a cosmic principle in which the universe is repleted by the dilation of being through time, postulating unity in variety in terms of constancy through change. The word "dilate" here does not merely mean expand, but is used by Patristic writers "as a figure for the Church "opening" to gather in its fulness before the final end or *parousia*" and by Ficino in *De vita coelitus comparanda*, in *De immortalitate animorum* I.iii.5 and 10, and in translations of *Enneads* V and VI.vii.2-3 to signify the procession of being from and return to the one.[331] At the deepest level, Nature's judgement discloses a profound analogy between the eschatological theme of the final end of wandering or spiritual exile, the Neoplatonic procession of the soul into the manifold and its return to the one and the cosmic theme of harmony manifested through variety and change. At the level of the spectacular representation of the text and its lively figurations of its meaning, the display of *copia* in the triumph and its underlying structure of similitude becomes a fitting depiction of the procession of being in its *dilatio*, its variety the sign of a deeper concord.

If the triumph is the display of things linked through their rhetorical or allegorical relationship to the triumphator, the argument presented as a triumph by Mutabilitie seems to contain a logical flaw, since it implies that all things would be related through their movement into progressive unlikeness, founded on change itself. Given this fundamental issue of likeness and unlikeness, the "doome" of Nature, who judges Mutabilitie's case, does not concern the particular case in hand but stands for the fundamental situation of decision itself, between likeness and unlikeness. As we have seen from *Timaeus* on, this relation between likeness and unlikeness concerns the perception of time, and Nature's sentence not only reiterates the Neoplatonic cycle of emanation, conversion and reversion, but is also a *concors discordia*, a union of opposites. Nature's judgement also concerns the perception of the masque which Mutabiltie has used to argue her case - rather than seeing in the times as attributes of Mutabilitie a triumph or passing procession, they are interpreted in a way that emphasises their mimetic character, as cyclical re-enactment of a being through becoming.[332] The degree to which the dilation of being in the Mutabilitie Cantos refers to eschatology, as well as the Neoplatonic cycle of emanation, is confirmed by the next, and final "imperfect" canto viii, in which we pass from the dilation of seven as perfect number of creation (Mutabilitie's contest is VII.vii) to the eighth day, which speak of the poet's longing for the last day, when change shall be no more, and he shall look on God "[...] that same time when no more *Change* shall be,/ But stedfast rest of all things firmely stayd/ Vpon the pillours of Eternity,/That is contrayr to *Mutabilitie:*/ For, all that moueth, doth in *Change* delight:/ But thence-forth all shall rest eternally/ with Him that is the God of Sabbaoth hight:/ O that great Sabbaoth

[331] On the eschatological and Neoplatonic meanings of *dilatio*, see Patricia Parker, *Inescapable Romance*, Princeton, 1979 p. 57-64.

[332] In the first book of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the passing procession is used as a metaphor for the futility and transience of human life.

God, grant me that Sabaoth's sight" (VII.viii.2).[333] We might also note that the manifestation of all things subject to time in the Mutabilitie Cantos has its counterparts in the Garden of Adonis as seminary of all forms, which is likened to the ocean, and a related triumph, the pagaent of the rivers at the marriage of Thames and Medway, which "flow" into the Hall of Proteus, symbol of the metamorphic energies of variation (IV.xi). If the hexemeral character of the pagaent of the rivers and the Garden, noted by Nohrnberg, presents a pendant to the eschatological implications of the Mutabilitie Cantos, rivers and ocean are also standard metaphors for abundant and varied speech, from the famous comparison of Homer to the ocean that gave birth to all waters to the language of Renaissance discussions of eloquent language.[334]

In the Mutabilitie Cantos, we see an unfolding and display of a whole range of levels of temporality – the eschatological theme that becomes explicit in the eighth canto as Spenser looks to the eighth day, the Neoplatonic cycle of the soul, the cycle of Nature, the *copia* of history the temporality of return depicted in the triumph. The Cantos thus entail a staging of the disclosed harmony of these levels as rich as that attempted in the *intermedi* we considered above – especially notable in the way in which the human experience of time as history, as narration, is worked together with the representation of the temporality of the created world. If Spenser deals in the Mutabilitie Cantos with the harmonisation of a Christian, Neoplatonic and physical understanding of the procession and return of the created to the creator, the Cantos also meditate on the relation between human and cosmic time, with Mutabilitie attempting to impose the human experience of time upon the cosmos – for this reason her judge is Nature. The triumph Mutabilitie stages thus concerns the relationship of human and cosmic time, and Nature's "doome" basically serves to reconcile the two, in such a way that we feel the full harmonising force of the intermediary levels between time as progressive difference and return to sameness, namely the natural cycle portrayed in the masque and the Neoplatonic cycle of the soul. If the Mutabilitie Cantos are teleological, they concern the understanding of origins, and the realisation that each created thing participates in the *concors discordia* manifest by the universal harmony of the world soul. We might see a counterpart to this teleological orientation in the originary conjunction of being and becoming, the time of origins in which Nature's cyclical regeneration and human historicity are founded. We have seen the character of the triumph as festival, which points to a mimetic temporality of re-enactment, can serve to "discover" the harmony between the return of the past in the culture of *imitatio* and the cyclical time of Nature – for this reason the movement between historical triumphs and triumphs of the planetary gods is so fluid, and the *Hyperotomachia* can interweave convincingly the recovery of antiquity and the search for Venus Physizoa, united in the quest for possession of Polia. If the mimetic character of

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[333] Cf. Camillo's memory theatre, which was constructed with seven "measures" and seven levels to give a model of the whole world, seven times seven. In the theatre, the "measures are signalled by columns that correspond to the planets and the Sephiroth which govern all inferior things: Camillo notes that we cannot imagine anything beyond this number ("fuori di queso numero cosa alcuna non possiamo imaginare") and speaks of forty nine as the number of remission (*Idea del theatro*, ed. L.Bolzani, Palermo, 1991, pp.51and 57.

[334] Camillo uses the analogy as the basis for the first level of his memory theatre, where Ocean as source of the gods should be seen also in terms of the poetic analogy, associated in particular with copious speech.

the triumph serves to harmonise history and the universal regeneration of Nature, this harmonising should be seen in the larger framework indicated by Spenser, which has its *telos* in the *dilatio* that precedes Christian eschatology and its origins in the first conjunction of likeness and unlikeness; if the final fulfilment of meaning comes with the former, its first form leads to the exploration of the latter. For Spenser even the stylistic debates over *imitatio* must be shown as grounded in the universal conjunction of like and unlike, with the originary *concors discordia* played out through the disclosure of sameness in difference over time, through *imitatio* as return over history, and in style as the patterning of "rude" and "bright" words, expressive of age as obscurity, and as fame and splendour.[335] This is to say that the unfolding and display of history in the triumph, which represents history as returning festival and has its end in *dilatio*, also throws up the issue of the disclosure of beginnings; the Mutabilite Cantos rehearse the orientation to the same over the difference of becoming in time.

The procession of time, in all sense, in the triumph portrayed by Spenser in the Mutabilitie Cantos can be seen as founded in the originary conjunction of contraries which is exemplified by the conjunction of form and matter, body and soul in Nature and imitated in poesis. We should therefore be attentive to the movement from the narrative of human achievement back to the originary human and creational making, so that if we have spoken above of history in its variety as a counterpart to the plenitude of creation, this analogy should be considered in terms of the "origins" of history in poetry and its representation of the conjunction of form and matter. The relationship is present also if we conceive of history in negative terms, as progressive difference over time, and point to a continuity between the notion of the triumph as return which re-enacts the narrative of history in terms of the cyclical temporality of festival and poetry as the mimesis of the conjunction of likeness and unlikeness, linked in particular with Nature and its regeneration. In this regard we should recall that the masque of the months and the contest of Mutabilitie in Spenser takes place in a *locus amoenus* (Arlo Hill) described in a pastoral myth in the preceeding canto, in which the wildness of the Irish landscape becomes the setting for a classical myth of Diana.[336] We can also see the interest in discovering iconography for historic and cosmic origins in the later Renaissance, as evidenced in the depiction of the progression from gods of chaos (*e.g.* Demogorgon) to gods of human time (Janus, Saturn, Apollo) in the mythographic manuals, or in the fascination with the artifical representation of the union of form and matter, depicted as, and in process in the grotto which is presented in relation to light (cosmic origins) and to history (human origins).[337] Thus, if the notion of recovery over the difference and loss of

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[335] See section two below.

[336] VII.vi recounts the tale of the nymph-river Molanna and Faunus, who persuades her to let him view Diana as she bathed; Diana discovers Faunus who is covered in deer skin and hunted by her nymphs and dogs, while Molanna is buried with stones and Arlo Hill abandoned to become a wilderness. The desolation of the place is redeemed as Nature returns to it to judge Mutabilitie's case in VII.vii.

[337] Here one should mention the three-chambered *Grotta Grande* in the Boboli Gardens, Florence, begun by Vasari in the 1560s and elaborated by Buontalenti twenty years later. The first chamber of the grotto shows the classical flood, with figures in imitation tufa emerging from the walls of the cave, the middle chamber, with a statue of Helen and Paris, or Theseus, is decorated with scenes of the Trojan War and the final chamber is decorated as a pergola with a fountain of Venus Anadyomene in the centre. The procession

time should be seen as working together with the notion of the conjunction of contraries, and notions of *imitatio* may be played out overtly in terms of darkness and light, form and matter or body and soul.

The deepening of the coincidence of contraries from stylistic procedure to profound reflection on the nature of the reality disclosed by the veils and figures of poetry is played with great subtlety in the work of Spenser, and we shall discuss his pronouncements on imitation below. For the present, we should recall that the Platonic tradition as promulgated by Ficino is given a species of historic linearity which can be made to approximate in time and in place to Biblical chronology (given the prominence of the Egyptian and the Babylonian magi) and asserts the continuous involvement of Platonism with ritual. As a historicised object, Platonism can be revived, and the understanding of its wisdom entails an ordering of its teachings in their proper genealogy, whilst as "mystery" the instauration of its rituals promises the recovery of the "sacred" and symbolic. Here we have an interesting moment in which the sacred symbol *i.e.* that which illuminates the transcendent in its eternal "sameness" becomes the object of historical discovery, so that its "rebirth" or "return" is simultaneously a re-orientation to the same through the symbol, and a historical revival. The "return" of Plato in Florentine Neoplatonism is, very crudely speaking, a re-orientation to the transcendent (the One) takes place through a re-orientation to archaic origins (*prisca theologia*) which are brought to light as historical objects in order to be claimed as mysteries. In properly philosophic terms, the ascent to the One that takes place through dialectic, but the fact that we find even such a committed philosopher as Pico in the *Oratio* placing dialectic at the service of the "ancient mysteries", signals their importance in Renaissance Platonism, quite apart from specific iconographical or "poetic" discussions.

This appeal to the sacred symbol which reveals the eternal may entail an appeal to origins whose archaic character is conceived both in terms of a kind of deep tradition and, at the very roots of this tradition, as a species of primordial darkness or chaos - the kind of invocation we find in Patrizi's description of the spirit rising up from the crevice in the ground at Delphi, into the mouth of the Pythian priestess who was the first to utter words of *enthusiasmos*.[338] The divine spirit that rises from the depths into the mouth and poetic

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of time could take the form of such crude literalisations as the pageant of the *Genealogia degli Dei* performed in Florence in 1566 for the marriage festivities of Francesco de'Medici and Joanna of Austria which followed the sequence of the mythological manuals based on Boccaccio, which began (according to some descriptions, finished) with Demogorgon on a chariot in the form of a grotto, one of twenty one triumphal chariots attended by allegorical figures which stretched the kind "hieroglyphic" figuration propounded by Valeriano to a *reductio ad absurdum*. Another much used source for the figuration of the Nature and time emerging from eternity is Claudian's panegyric on the Consulship of Stilicho, which describes the cave that is cradle and tomb of time, called mother of the years ("annorum squalida mater,/ immensi spelunca aevi, quae tempora vasto/ suppeditat revocatque sinu"), this cavern surrounded by the *ourubouros* with Nature at the threshold, immensely aged yet lovely in face "vultu longaeva decoro". The cave and its inhabitants figure time as return, with the cave as an obvious image for chaos, from which time is "born"; the influence of the image on Spenser in the Garden of Adonis and Du Bellay in the *Ruines de Rome* seems too obvious for comment.

[338] *Deca istoriale*, Libro secondo, "Partimento dell'antiche poesie".

utterance of the Pythia is an obvious figure for the union of form and matter in art and the way that poesis re-enacts the union of form and matter in creation. To re-enact this moment is to move back from the imitation of history to the most ancient origins which play out the first disclosure of form in chaos - while the world as *kosmos* may be the manifestation of all beauty, harmony and order, to go beyond the world order as *exornatio* to its origins unavoidably brings one to the matter from which the world was created, just as Ficino places chaos before cosmos in each of his cycles of procession in *De amore*, or the Neoplatonic discussions of eros as emanation of the first mind must be reconciled with Hesiod's assertion that love was born of chaos. Thus on one hand we have the transcendent as that which is eternal and eternally the same, and on the other the affermation of the "sacredness" of origins as the originating disclosure of the transcendent embodied in the world. For a writer like Spenser, following Pico's dictum that all things except God contain contrariety, [339] this originating disclosure reveals the transcendent through its opposite, or rather it presents a kind of reflection of the eternal sameness of the transcendent in the sense that it is always already there. Thus the claims we have seen above for poesis as a human remaking of the world, and Pico's definition of beauty (and the beauty of the world) as *concorde discordia* must be placed alongside this emphasis on the first appearance of the transcendent in its opposite, exemplified by the concealment and darkness of the earth, in order to give statements like that of Scaliger that the Muses revealed things to men in poetry that were previously hidden, or the Renaissance fascination with Orpheus as the divulgator of divine mysteries who descends into the chthonic night and is rent, like Dionysus, by the Maenads. Poetic disclosure brings to light the things which were hidden is, and yet it is by nature always a re-enactment, its temporality depicted already in the "sacred poet" Hesiod, at the opening of the *Theogony*, where the circling dance of the Muses is invoked by the poet as the context of his account of the birth of the gods from chaos.

To summarise the discussions above, the triumph becomes a depiction of the rendering of the narrative of history as celebratory return, in which the relation of sameness and difference in the notion of return over historical difference is portrayed alongside the display of the unfolding of the manifold from a single figure in the variety of things invented or attributed to the triumphator. If the triumph blends historic, sacred and mimetic significance, it also as we suggested raises some important points about figuration and metaphor; in it we see logical, metonymic conceptions of the figure (instrument, attribute, *etc.*) alongside the notion of the hieroglyph as image or object used as sign and meditations on the degree to which display itself is an inherent part of the

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[339] On Pico's influence on Spenser, see the Sears Jayne translation of Pico's *Comento* cited above and Nohrnberg, *The Analogy of the Faerie Queene* (Princeton, 1976). For Spenser's extension of *concors discordia* from philosophical and iconographic principle into stylistic arguments, see the letter to Gabriel Harvey in preface to the *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579), where he speaks of the "great pleasure" which we take "in that disorderly order [of "rude" *i.e.* old English and "polished" language]. Even so do those rough and harsh terms illumine, and make more clearly to appear, the brightness of brave and glorious words" (*Shepherd's Calendar*, Dent, 1932). We shall look more carefully at this passage in the context of Renaissance debates on imitation.

figure's meaning.[340] We have glanced above at its relationship with the unfolding and display of the world in its plenitude, as the dramatised narrative of history leads back to its origins in the poetic conjunction of unlike things, or the explication of all human action and meaning looks to the Last Day when all things shall appear in the *dilatio* before the Second Coming. We have stated that the figure in the triumphal chariot may be planetary god or historical hero and seen the notion of return in historic, narrative time staged as a festival whose reiterative temporality reflects (and thus supposedly "participates" in) the cyclical temporality of the created world. We should return to the fact that the triumph concerns display, often being conceived as a form of visual epideictic; if it shows temporal ordering, it shows it represented in terms of visual ordering, so that temporal succession is rendered through the simultaneity of images disposed so as to constitute a sequence or visual narrative. Here we come back to theatre and the fact that it provides a place for seeing where things are apprehended through vision (the etymological punning on *theatron-theorein*) and is associated with the visual ordering bestowed by perspective. In this regard one should recall that some of the most notable triumphal cycles of the Renaissance were used in theatricals, or depict relationships between the planetary gods in triumph, civic festival and the conditions of seeing which pertain in theatre. From the material that one could adduce here, we shall glance at two cases only, the *Triumph of Caesar* of Mantegna and the Sala dei Mesi in Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara.

The Sala dei Mesi at Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara was executed probably after 1464 by a group of Ferrarese artists probably including Lorenzo Costa and Cosme Tura, and portrays the good government of Borso D'Este is figured alongside the festive life of the city, and beneath the triumphs of the months and their children, as depicted in the *Astronomica* of Manilius.[341] (Figures 9-11) The frescoes belong to the tradition of the representation of the months, and their labours, the planets and their children, and such representations seem to have been widespread in civic spectacle; Lorenzo wrote a *Canzona de'sette paneti* for a triumph of the planets in the carnival of 1490, described in the encomiastic verses of Naldo Naldi, and this type of representation, given graphic form by Baccio Baldini in a famous series of prints of c.1465, also corresponded to the *Canti carnavaleschi*, in which each social group or profession has their song. (Figure 12) If the triumph of the planets and their children constituted a popular form of spectacle, it did not exclude sophisticated erudition, and thus astrological depictions of the triumph of the gods could encompass images of the labours of the months, of the various social groups which constituted society, and the most recondite studies of the court Humanists. This is what we find at the Sala dei Mesi, where the wall is divided horizontally into three

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[340] On display and the *figura*, see reference to Carburicci in note above. We shall come to the discussions on the object used as a sign in the second part, in consideration of Alciati amongst others.

[341] It was for Borso D'Este that one of the most lavish triumphal entries in fifteenth century was staged, when he arrived in Rome to receive the title of Duke of Ferrara from Pope Pius II in 1471. Borso entered the city from the Ponte Milvio, and his own retinue of hundreds was enlarged along the route as delegations from other Roman families joined the procession, for which triumphal arches were erected. The entry was described by Francesco Ariosto, uncle of Lodovico, who remarked that Borso's usually serene demeanour had changed to that of an emperor in triumph: "Mostravi piu tosto el principe un altro triumphante cesare che la [...] serenità Borsiana". Cited in Fabrizio Cruciani, *op.cit.*, p.135.

tiers, showing the gods of the months, the life and festivals of Estense Ferrara, and, between the two, an intermediary band with highly unusual iconography representing the signs of the zodiac and the decans (three divisions of ten degrees in each of the signs), thus emphasising the role of fate which separates the human from the divine, or (since the decans, represented as daemons, were associated with magic) with the means of drawing down or wedding the higher influences to the lower world.[342] Although the specific programme of the fresco cycle (of which only months March-September remain) remains unclear, it is agreed that the Humanist responsible was probably the librarian and historian Pellegrino Prisciano, who has already appeared as the author of a short treatise on theatre buildings based on Alberti, entitled *Spectacula*. Our object here is not the complexity of the astrological programme, in particular the unique representation of the decans which has fascinated scholars from Warburg on,[343] but the way in which a scheme which is so attentive to the meanings of the stars and thus to the relationship between divine forces and human life, employs depictions of spectacle as a way of reaffirming the bonds between gods and humans.

As decorations, the frescoes in the Sala dei Mesi have the rigid schematisation of the astrological chart on which they were probably based. In contrast with the flatness of the hierarchal bands of decoration, the civic world of the Estense court can imitate the heavenly world of the gods of the months through its spectacles or festivals. The hunts and races in the lower tier of the frescoes are thus a kind of triumph of the good government of Borso D'Este, which manifests itself in ways appropriate to the god above - justice under Minerva (amongst whose "children" we see jurists), liberality under Venus – as well as a way of celebrating the cyclical, recurring temporality of the calendar depicted by the gods of the months. One of the striking features of the Schifanoia cycle is the layering of mimetic representation - the gods in their triumphal chariots above exert their influence over the court below, which imitates them through the court festivities depicted alongside the traditional labours of the months. The depiction of enactment touches everything, from court life as a continuum of ceremony to the gods atop their festival cars, so that the gods, surrounded by their "children" in contemporary costume, become part of the festival life of the city – at the wedding procession of Eleonora of Aragon in 1473, triumphal cars representing the seven planets, similar to those in the Schifanoia frescoes were placed at the seven crossroads traversed by the *cortège* on the route from the Porta di Sotto to the Duomo.[344] The astrological content, which refers to the role of influences, is in play here with the triumphal form, with its depiction of things "belonging" to various planets and its character as spectacle, imitated in the ceremonial calendar of Estense Ferrara. In a sense this looks back to the point in the first section about the relation of magic and mimesis, but with the triumph structure that unfolds everything "found" in a tutelary deity serving as a vehicle (literally) for the potential

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[342] On the association of the decans and magic, see Frances Yates, *G.B.H.T.*

[343] Aby Warburg, *Italian Art and International Astrology in Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara* (1912). Warburg suggested the Humanist Prisciano Pellegrino as the source of the programme of the frescoes; we shall come back to Pellegrino later for his treatise on theatre, *Spectacula*.

[344] See Elena Povoledo, "La sala teatrale in Ferrara da Pellegrino Prisciano a Ludovico Ariosto", in *Bollettino del centro internazionale d'architettura Andrea Palladio*, 16, Vicenza, 1974, p.107.

channelling and drawing of these qualities by means of the demonic magic linked with the decans.

If this suggestion has any plausibility, it would also show why the frescoes in Schifanoia are much more sophisticated in the relation of structure and content than the triumphs of the months in the contemporary engravings of Baldini, which depict only the planetary gods flying above the heads of their "children" - what is illustrated in the upper section at Schifanoia. In addition, one must remember here the framework of the room itself, and how this works in relation to the decoration as a projected astrological chart, and thus model of the universe. Within such a circular astrological model, such as Warburg claimed formed the basis for Prisciano's programme, the earth formed the centre, encircled by the stars (decans and planets) and then, as in Manilius, the Olympic deities. The centre point is thus not just lower tier of the frecoes but the room itself, whose size and decoration indicate that that it would have housed court ceremonies like those pictured in the frescoes. The importance of the Ferrara setting is underlined by the fact that on the two long walls of the rectangular room there are the remains of civic scenes with figures engaged in equestrian games, again pointing to the importance of festival in the identity of the city. If we consider further that the frescoes for each month are separated and framed by pilasters whose sides recede in space, and so determine a viewing point, and we can see the remains of richly painted base to these pilasters with putti and wreathes, somewhat in the style of Jacopo della Quercia or Donatello, we can conceive of the border of the frescoes as an architectural frame, like those of the ornate loggias or cut-away buildings in which Borso D'Este appears. When we look out of this frame, over which a courtier dangles his legs in the April fresco, we see the universe beyond us - first the court and city as a continuation of the Sala itself, then the band of the zodiac and the decans against a dark sky, and above the divinities, surrounded by apposite mythological figures and the "children" which we might now consider as forms of the activities which they depict. As we look through the fictive loggia which houses a ceremony like those depicted in the lower section of the frescoes, we see the whole world, to the furthest reaches of heaven; what asserts the continuity of this figuration is the astrological cosmology, governing all worldly things through its influences and marrying earth to heaven, as Pico said, through the mediating, combinatory force of the daemons of the decans. The universal order which has become visible here must be grasped in its relation to the space of the Sala itself, as it existed as a setting for the ceremonies of the Estense court; indeed these ceremonies are depicted in such a way as to allow for a smooth progression from the city and court to the higher order represented by the gods in triumph. In saying that the triumph is the means by which we can ascend from the city to the heavens, we are really saying that it makes their relationship *visible* and here we should remember the original meaning of theatre as a place for seeing, as noted by Prisciano himself in *Spectacula* "sí como quelli primi agricoli in li giorni feriali celebravano soi sacrificii a diversi soi dèi per boschi, campagne et ville, cusí li atenesi prima, tal aggreste principio revolgendo in spectaculo urbano, lo chiamano theatro: cioè visorio, nel quale, stando grandissima turba, dala longa ancora senza impedimento alcuno vedesse et potesse esser visto".[345] In Prisiciano's genealogy of theatre, the ancient forms

[345] Prisciano, *Spectacula*, cited above.

of ritual are related to the labours of the months which develop into the *spectacolo urbano* with its perspectival character as "visorio" and a note in the margin to the passage glosses the etymology of theatre from θεωμαι (to behold, or gaze). This is reflected in the frescoes where we do indeed see the "agricoli" at their labours with the gods above as patrons of their seasonal activities, depicted by means of the "spectacolo urbano" of the Estense court, whose forms provide the means by which the whole order of things may be depicted - as spectacle within the Sala as "visorio".

The erudition of the astrological scheme which mediates the gods of the months to the calendar of civic festivities, linked through the allegorical and civic character of the triumph, makes the Schifanoia cycle peculiarly rich and challenging. There is no claim here to offer an iconographic reading, but rather to underline the fact that the iconography can be said to enter into the space of the Sala through, and as theatre; and in this way the Sala as a room for court ceremonial would have been fulfilled by the ritual activities of government depicted in the decorations. In this sense the cycle becomes something very different from the diagram to which an exclusively iconographic reading might reduce it, in that it represents as a background (seen through the "loggia" of the pilasters) the whole context of meaning which locates a particular ceremony that takes place within the Sala. Again, we might see the theatric form in concert with the astrological content - just as the whole structure of the heavens, which governs all lower things, underlies each individual thing into which its influence flows through the decans, so each ceremony is underpinned by the whole structure of representation, depicted, as we said, as a theatre.

At Schifanoia, in conclusion, we see the attempt to make the whole cosmic background to court life perceptible through the *visorio* of *spectaculo urbano*, or conversely to show court life as a centre point – the central theatre - on which all these influences converge, and around which they turn. The depiction of the Sala as a "loggia" through we which look onto the frescoed scenes is crucial to the creation of this *visorio* and one should note that the Sala can be read as implicit circle (zodiac and projected astrological chart), it resembles contemporary fifteenth century images of antique theatres or arenas as circular spaces enclosed by a colonnade, like the joust of Orlando in the Colosseum or Arena at Verona depicted by J. Marcanova, a friend of Mantegna, in the *Antiquitatum fragmenta*.[346] In the frescoes at Schifanoia we see a totalising cycle that shows the heavenly bodies in their entirety and the things below on earth which they determine – in this light one might recall the "figure of the universe" of which Ficino speaks in *De vita* III.xix, although with a fundamental difference – the small vaulted

[346] We find representation of circular theatres, taking the Colosseum as their prototype, in the frontispice of a Venetian edition of Terence (1497), which shows a theatre viewed from the *scaena*, with the title "Coliseus sive Theatrum", in the drawings of Francesco di Giorgio Martini of a "teatro antico" which has the form of an amphitheatre, and Cesariano's 1521edition of Vitruvius, which depicts the theatre as Colosseum without and semicircular within. Cesariano seems to have been in Ferrara at the same time as Prisciano, and the development of theatre design from the era of Prisciano to that of Ariosto requires more careful attention than we can give here; for a reading of the Sala dei Mesi in relation to contemporary theatre and spectacle in Ferrara, see Zorzi, "Ferrara: il sipario ducale" in *Il teatro e la città* and Povoledo, "La sala teatrale a Ferrara..." in *op.cit.*

room "deep within your house" which can serve as a map of the universe has a mnemonic and contemplative function – Ficino recommends that it is depicted in the bedroom and that it will aid one to see the shape and colours of the world, rather than the individual aspect of things. The end of the Sala dei Mesi is of course very different, and should be considered in relation with the series of Estensi projects for Ferrara in which urbanism and theatre seem to be closely intertwined, from the 1498 city map of Prisciani and his *Spectacula*, the urban expansion or *addizione* of Biagio Rossetti, seen as the first application of modern townplan in which Zorzi perceives suggestions of influence upon Ariosto, to the dramatic work of Ariosto himself in Ferrara, the central position of Ferrarese intellectuals, such as Giraldi Cinthio and Patrizi, in mid-late sixteenth century debates on the *Poetics* and the understanding of dramatic genre, and culminating with the troubled career of Tasso at Ferrara, where the pastoral *Aminta* is composed in 1573 for a court festival. If Zorzi saw in the regulated alternation of urban streets and restful gardens of Rossetti's *addizione* an analogy to the topography of *Orlando Furioso*, it is in the 1508 production of Arisoto's *Cassaria* in Ferrara that we first find the term "perspettiva" used of a stage set, applied to the scenography of Pellegrino da Udine[347], while *Aminta* rests on the mirroring of city-court and garden scene – the court watches a *rappresentazione pastorale* in which the nymphs and shepherds refer to the court as a horizon of their world, and as a place of refined festival, a kind of living *intermedio*, so that the pastoral which celebrates the sophistication of the court through its refined artifice of "rusticity" contains an embedded mirror image of the spectacle of court life.[348] If the Sala gives an explicit representation of the accommodation of the civic triumph and the allegorical triumph, it appears in a room, which, we have suggested, presents itself as a theatre; if the totalising character of the representation derives from the iconography, we also start to see the beginnings at Schifanoia of the perspectival room, or perspectival theatre within the room, and the kind of totality to which its structure of representation aspires. The totality that is asserted iconographically in the Sala becomes in perspectival representation a structural given, but the very continuity asserted between the space of the beholder and what is shown throws up an issue which we have noted already in the Sala dei Mesi, namely the requirement of a structure of mediation which marks out the relationship between viewer and seen. The loggia depicted in the Sala develops in later fifteenth century decorations into a triumphal arch or pavilion, on which we find the historical, mythological and allegorical allusions that we are to bring to the interpretation

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[347] See again Zorzi, *op.cit.*, p.7 ff. and p.92, and remarks on the theatrical use of Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* below, as well as Bruno Zevi's work on Rossetti, *Biagio Rossetti architetto ferrarese, il primo urbanistica moderno europeo*, Turin, 1960 and *Saper vedere l'urbanistica, Ferrara di Biagio Rossetti, la prima città moderna europea*, Turin 1971. The 1508 scene thus predates by some five years the first fully documented perspectival scene, designed by Girolamo Genga for Bibbiena's *La calandaria*, directed by Castiglione and performed in Urbino in 1513, with a second performance in Rome for Leo X, where Peruzzi designed the scene, praised by Vasari.

[348] See Scene II, lines 565-652, where Tirsi describes the court: "I' vidi/ celesti dee, ninfe leggiadre e belle,/ novi Lini e Orfei; ed oltre ancora,/ senza vel, senza nube, e quale e quanta/ a gl'immortali appar, vergine Aurora/ sparger d'argento e d'or rugiade e raggi;/ e fecondando illuminar d'intorno/ vidi Febo e le Muse; e fra le Muse/ Elpin seder accolto" ll.625-633 ("I saw heavenly goddesses, lovely graceful nymphs, new Linuses and Orpheuses; furthermore, I saw Aurora without veil or cloud, as she appears to the immortals, sprinkle silver and gold dew and rays; and illuminating all around them, I saw Phoebus and the Muses, and welcomed amongst the Muses, Il Pigna"). "Elpin" is Il Pigna, the literary theorist famous for the polemic concerning romance which he conducted with Giraldi Cinthio.

of the scene before us, and which may often be depicted as an arch covered in *all'antica* ornament, such as mosaic.

We shall look at the dissolution of the room into framing arch later in the argument, and see how the semantic relationship between perspective and framing ornament leads to an alteration in their visual relationship, leading in the mid sixteenth century to a progressive confusion as the ornament expands over larger areas, incorporating perspectives reduced to vignettes embedded in great zones of decoration. The material to which we are moving here, namely the civic entries which accompanied the *intermedi*, uses the relationship of framing arch and scene in order to stress the theatric character of the street vista; if one is to see the presentation of city as theatre as something more than theatrical, one has to consider the ordering asserted through this deployment of theatre. The frescoes in Schifanoia already contribute much to this understanding, with the alignment of the heavens, Nature's cycle and the good ordering of civic life, articulated by festival with the labours of the months in the background – by the time we arrive at the mid sixteenth century, the descriptions of triumphal entries show the gods in the city itself, as protagonists of the masques that accompanied triumphal entries, or as the ornament of the triumphal arches.

The Sala dei Mesi shows triumph and theatre as essential for the representation of continuity of court life and the cosmic order, so that the first participates in the second through the mediation of the decans, *i.e.* through the drawing of propitious astral influences in the magical astrological thought which underlies Lomazzo and the conceptions of music in the *intermedi* over a century later. The explicit reference to the operative potency of the decans in Schifanoia is unusual – more commonplace in representations of triumph is the accommodation of historical depiction within a festival or iconographic structure that celebrates the returning time of the created universe. We have a fine illustration of how this accommodation took place in the description of the mounting in a *sala di teatro* of Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar*, the most monumental of fifteenth century works to reconstruct a Roman triumph, with their depiction of all the regalia and ornaments that Mantegna's archaeological studies and imagination could conceive.[349] (Figure 13) A letter of 1501 from Sigismondo Cantelmo tells Ercole D'Este that six of these large works on canvas are being mounted as a set for a theatrical production for Carnival alongside a series, also by Mantegna, depicting the *Trionfi* of

[349] Mantegna appears to worked on the nine canvases from before 1486 until after1492. The paintings, which following the indications in classical sources such as Livy, Plutarch and Suetonius as well as recent literature such as Flavio Biondo's *Roma triumphans* and Roberto Valturio's *De re militari* – the paintings depict (1) *Ensign Bearers* (2) *The triumphal chariot with a statue and bearers of war machines, idols, shield and trophies* (3) *Bearers of trophies and precious silverware* (4) *Bearers of goldsmith work and precious vases; sacrificial bulls and trumpeters* (5) *Trumpeters bulls and elephants* (6) *Bearers of goldsmith work, trophies and coronets* (7) *Captives buffoons and an ensign bearer* (8) *Musicians and ensign bearers* (9) *Julius Caesar on his triumphal chariot*. Regarding the material, one should recall that in the late fifteenth century canvas was most frequently used for decorated *stendardi* or banners.

Petrarch.[350] Cantelmo describes the *Triumph* canvases as mounted along one of the walls of a rectangular room, with eight arches along each side with columns which "rappresentavano alla mente un edifico eterno et antiquo pieno de delectatione"; at one end of this room is the scene, the "prospecto" where the actors perform, and before and below this scene the description speaks of the *Triumphs of Petrarch*.[351] The description also notes that at one of the corners of the room were four tall columns, each supporting a wind, and between them a "grocta benché facta ad arte tamen naturalissima", with the sky above shining with the heavenly bodies, stars, zodiac and sun and moon, which moved in their proper houses.[352] Within this celestial *macchina* was the wheel of fortune, inscribed with "its times", as Cantelmo says, "regno regarj [regnavi], regnabo", and the goddess herself at its centre, described as a "dea aurea con un sceptro con un delphin".[353] This "temporaneo teatro" thus incorporates the structure of the cosmos, with its stars, planets

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[350] Cited in Martindale, *op. cit.*, p.183, and quoted by Giovanno Romano, "Verso la maniera moderna: da Mantegna a Raffaello" in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, II.i, Einaudi, 1980, p.18. All citations of Cantelmo's description are from this page. Of the *Triumphs of Petrarch* no other records remain, and it has been questioned whether these were not in fact connected with Alexander the Great; this set of triumphs seems to have been produced for the Gonzaga residence at Marmirolo, since demolished.

[351] ("represented to the mind an eternal and ancient building, full of delight"). We noted above that the first designation of a theatre scene as a "perspettiva" comes with the Ferrara production of Ariosto's *La cassaria* in 1508; the "prospecto" of which Cantelmo speaks is not a scene, but seems to be a recess decorated with "alcune verdure" and hung with golden cloth, like the Camera picta, where the drapery is pulled back on the north and west walls to "discover" the scenes and covers the remaining walls. The designation of this space where the actors perform as a "prospecto" suggests the emphasis placed on legible visual character of scene, like Prisciano's *visorio*, even before the employment of a perspective on stage.

[352] ("a grotto made by art, yet most antural"). By the mid sixteenth century, the depiction of the planets in the decorations of the *sala di teatro* signal the universal conditions that underlie the *storia* enacted in the drama, as well as the way that these cosmic conditions relate to the unity of time in drama, resulting in such ingenious devices as the moving planets in the *scenotecnica* of an architect such as Bastiano ("Aristotile") da Sangallo and imitated by Vasari. Nicknamed "Aristotile" for his scenographic ability, Bastiano da Sangallo worked first in Rome, where Vasari declares he that studied with Bramante, returning to Florence in 1518, where he designed the scene for the *commedia* performed in the courtyard of Palazzo Medici at the marriage of Cosimo de'Medici and Eleanor of Toledo in 1539 (see Vasari, Milanesi ed., VI, pp.441-440) and devised the sets for plays each year at Carnival, until he was finally superseded by younger artists, such as Bronzino and Salviati. Drawing attention to the designs for comic and tragic scenes with which he annotated his edition of Vitruvius (that of Sulpicio da Veroli, 1486), Zorzi discusses him as the link between the experiments of Peruzzi and their codification in the scenes of Serlio, published 1545. Amongst Sangallo's most famous sets was that created in Florence for *Commodo* in 1539, where an illuminated glass sphere filled with water, representing the sun, rose and fell in the course of the comedy to signify the *svolgimento* of the action in the course of a single day, in accordance with Aristotelian prescriptions: Vasari notes that it illuminated the whole scene and perspective like the real sun, concluding "a principio della commedia pareva che si levasse il sole, che salito infino al mezzo dell'arco scendesse in guisa, che al fine della commedia entrasse sotto e tramontasse" (Milanesi, VI, p.442). The device was imitated by Vasari when he went to Venice at the invitation of Aretino to design the scene for *Talanta* in 1542, performed by a *compagnia della Calza*, where he created a *prospettiva* figuring Rome, with the Hours, Day, Night, Dawn and Dusk painted on the ceiling and a glass sphere for the sun, which moved across the sky in pace with the movement of the play (see Milanesi, VIII, p.284 and Zorzi, *op. cit.*, pp.98-99). In relation to this concrete embodiment of the unity of time, it is worth noting that Castelvestro insisted that unity of time implies unity of place, and that the play time is not independent of the spectator's time, since the spectator assists at events that he or she sees as immediate experience. Castelvestro's remark would seem to strengthen the link between unity of time and the perspectival scene, which appears to be an extension of the spectator's space; see the remarks on the scene of Bibbiena's *La calandria* below.

[353] ("a golden godess with sceptre and dolphin").

and winds, nature in the "grocta" (possibly a memory of the 1490 "Festa del Paradiso" staged by Leonardo at Castello Sforzesco[354]) and Fortune, whose "times" structure human history. The *teatro* is characterised as both "antique" and "eternal" - as in the triumphs of Petrarch, the philological aspiration to create a culture of imitation, celebrated in the imperial and archaeological *renovatio* of the *Triumph of Caesar*, is placed within a depiction of cosmic time, Fortune and human history. We see in short the range of material that it was deemed necessary to bring together in the complete articulation of the room as theatre – the explicit figuration of universal conditions of human being as context of the philological celebration of historical significance and search for *varietas* which will make each situation an occasion for the full exploration and display of meaning proper to that occasion.

The *Triumph of Caesar* was re-used as ephemeral decorations until 1512, when they were moved to the Palazzo San Sebastiano, in the outskirts of Mantua. Mario Equicola described them in this location in 1521, saying that "parea dicto triumpho trunco et mutilato per non essere quella pompa che sequir solea il triumphante".[355] Equicola refers here to the lack of spectators "[m]ancanovi li spectatori", suggesting that the paintings required to be seen, and to comprise part of a spectacle (*pompa*) in order to be realised. This indication is important, as it signals that the meaning of the paintings lay not just in their iconography but in the fact of being seen, and being seen as a spectacle or pomp – study of the perspectival construction of the paintings, which changes in each painting

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[354] For a description of Leonardo's *apparato* for the wedding of Gian Galeazzo Sforza and Isabella d'Aragona, which depicted the heavens with the stars and planets shining within a grotto shaped structure, "a la similitudine do uno mezzo ovo", see the bibliography cited by Zorzi, *op.cit.*, p.167. Here one could also mention the *Parnassus* (c.1497) painted by Mantegna for the *studiolo* of Isabella D'Este, which shows the Muses in dance before a grotto above which Venus and Mars embrace – the painting suggests not only suggests a *rappresentazione* but the way that Humanist theatricals, such as eclogues may have used elements of the *mise en scène* of the *sacra rappresentazione*, such as the chorus of angels and the grotto as Hell mouth (the *intermedi* generally feature an infernal scene, like the anti-masque in the masque).

[355] Cited in Andrew Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar*, London 1979, document 26 ("this triumph seemed maimed without the pomp that usually follows the triumphator"). Concerning the earlier uses of the *Triumphs*, two letters of 1494 from Teofilio Collenuzio to Marchese Francesco Gonzaga (for whom the *Triumphs* were probably painted), speak of the carpeting of a stage and of gilded rafters (*cantinelle*) used as a stage construction or frame for the paintings; Teofilio says that the Marchese will be able to "proceed *passo passo*", suggesting that the *apparato* in which the *Triumphs* were inserted served for a reception staged as a triumphal entry. Francesco Gonzaga, husband of Isabella D'Este, led the armies of the Italian League against Charles VIII at Fornovo, was commander of Venice 1489-98 of Julius II's forces in the 1509 expedition against Bologna. Francesco was celebrated by the Ferrarese poet Ercole Strozzi as "novo Cesare", and by Jacopo d'Atri in his chronicle of Francesco's campaigns against the French as a prince destined "by his virtue and his fatal predisposition [...] to triumphs and the acquisition of most ample kingdoms". In "The Triumphs of Andrea Mantegna and Renaissance *Rappresentazioni*" in *Form and the Arts*, *op.cit.*, Lasse Hodne suggests that work on the *Triumphs* may have begun in connection with the strategic marriage between Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella D'Este, celebrated in 1490; as such the works would have formed also a species of tribute to the rival Estensi, and in this regard one might note that Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, who appears in the Camera picta, was one of two papal deputies who received Borso D'Este in Piazza del Popolo on his 1471 triumphal entry into Rome. Cantelmo's description of the *Triumphs of Caesar* was written to Ercole D'Este, brother of Borso and father of Isabella, suggesting a continuing degree of Estense interest and involvement in Mantuan spectacle, which culminates with the patronage of Isabella D'Este as Marchesa of Mantua.

and thus requires the audience to move about, rather than presenting a sequence of images aligned at a single point of vision. The *Triumph* is "mutilated" when dislocated from the occasion of a spectacle, and we might add that the loss is due also to the loss of the frame which located the occasion of the spectacle within the greater world figured in the winds, the stars and Fortune, who determines the fame or oblivion of men.

The *Triumphs* should be considered in the light of the praise which the rhetorical tradition accords to visualisation (*enargeia*), especially in the context of epideictic, and they exploit varied forms of visual language, thus heralding the exploration of the *emblema* in the sixteenth century. It is also worth noting that the second set of triumphs, displayed along side the *Triumph of Caesar* and called "li triumphi del Petrarcha" in contemporary accounts, may have come from the Gonzaga residence at Marmirolo, where Mantegna worked from 1481 onwards, in 1491-94 supervising decorations by various artists in series of chambers, which were each dedicated to a certain theme – there was a "Room of Horses", a "Room of the Map of the World", a "Room of Cities" and a "Greek Room", with images of Constantinople, showing Turkish buildings and interiors.[356] The representative character of these decorations is interesting in the light of the reported presence alongside the second set of triumphs described as "li triumphi del Petrarcha" by Sigismondo Cantelmo; one might venture that the epideictic character of the triumph, with its copious figuration of all things that belong to a given argument, is starting to show itself a congenial vehicle of representation for the emerging interest in encyclopaedism that one sees in this period with Poliziano. In the coming section we shall look at the *emblema* – the mosaic or insert – which may create a configuration of contextual meanings as it is placed in the (triumphal) arch, the mediating framework of the perspectival theatre; Mantegna's *Triumphs*, where *emblemata* in the strict sense appear alongside trophies, ensigns, hieroglyphic images and epigraphs, all of them ornaments which figure forth the praise of Caesar, give a sense of the way that figurative language starts to have wider exploration on the eve of the philological researches of Erasmus. In this development theatre remains a constant presence, as *energeia*, as *prospettiva*, as paradigm of full and complete representation where the *spectatori* form part of the *pompa*, and as embodiment of a mimetic temporality that portrays the theme of the return of antiquity as the triumphal accomplishment of a cycle. This presence of theatre extended even to Mantegna's own house, which is built around a large circular courtyard with the boastful inscription *ab olympo*, frescoed with classical buildings.[357] In this court Mantegna kept his prized collection of antiques – the treasures of antiquity were thus brought together and "renewed" with life and meaning in a space whose form suggests both amphitheatre and pantheon, in keeping with Mantegna's exaggerated

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[356] I owe this description to Ettore Camesasca, *Mantegna*, Milan, 1992, p.59.

[357] The radical alterations to Mantegna's house, and the destruction of the relevant archival material in the Second World War, make it impossible to reconstruct the original scheme with any certainty. The circular courtyard predates that at Villa Madama by many years; Alberti remarks on circular courtyards as suitable for spectacle in *De re aedificatoria*, but that as Casa Mantegna is too small for the uses suggested, although the presence and activity of Alberti in Mantua and the fact that San Sebastiano stands almost opposite Casa Mantegna raise speculations about Alberti's influence on Mantegna. It may be too pedantic to search for literal meanings – as suggested above, the strength of the court would probably have lain its capacity to suggest various readings and their inter-relationships.

preoccupation with personal fame. The court would thus in short appear to have been a conscious *theatrum antiquitatis* that encouraged a whole series of associations concerning notions of perfection, eternity, fame, historical cycle or return, and theatre, which would underlie the visitor's interpretation of the objects displayed within the space.[358] We know that Mantegna, like the members of Pomponio Leto's contemporary Roman academy, on occasion delighted in play acting the role of an ancient Roman,[359] and what we see thought through in his work is not only the centrality of theatre to the triumphant return of antiquity, but the continuity between various settings – if Mantegna gives us the first really complete exploration of the perspectival room as theatre framed by triumphal arch in the Camera picta in Mantua, he also depicts the modulation of this arch into pergola in the *Madonna della Vittoria* and his own funerary chapel in Sant'Andrea in Mantua.[360]

In Mantegna, famed for his erudition in studies that concerned the investigation of the forms of things, from antiquarianism to geology, the preoccupation with theatre as the means of presenting the things of antiquity, and the fascination with the phantastic element in the artist's imitation of Nature's conjunction of form and matter, are both exhibited.[361] The antiquarian and geological studies are brought together in one of Mantegna's last works, the *Introduction of the Cult of Cybele to Rome* (circa 1505), which shows a scene of triumph rendered in grisaille simulating marble relief, against a background imitating coloured semi-precious stone inlays – study of antiquity and study of nature produce a work which depicts the procession of the Dea Natura, whose triumph was an analogy for the greatness of classical Rome, "inclyta Roma".[362] The Sala dei Mesi, the *Triumph of Caesar* or the Camera picta we see the role of theatre in the ceremonies and show the government of a ruling family validated by the heavenly bodies or as return of imperial greatness – once the role of theatre and its conditions of representation have been grasped, it can be geared to the depiction of solemnity and

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[358] Given that Lorenzo de'Medici and Isabella D'Este were amongst those who came to visit Mantegna's collection – in fact to purchase items from it – one can understand that the court was very much a place of *rappresentanza*.

[359] Despite accounts of his severe and cantankerous character, Mantegna made a famous outing to study classical remains on an island in Lake Garda in a spirit of *serio ludens*; the artist and his two friends dressed up in classical costume and dubbed each other "emperor" and "consul". As in the festivities of Leto's academy, the learned, epigraphic study of antiquity and the playful mode in which it is conducted cannot be separated. On Leto's Roman academy, see Section Three below.

[360] The perspectival room as pergola is obviously developed by Correggio, who knew and perhaps assisted in the decoration of Mantegna's chapel, in the Camera di San Paolo in Parma – we shall discuss the Camera picta in more detail below.

[361] The latter appears in the faces which Mantegna repeatedly draws in the clouds, in the Vienna *St Sebastian*, in the *Triumph of Caesar* and in *Minerva expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue*, a painting concerned with grotesque metamorphosis, created like the *Parnassus* for the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este. The finding or drawing of forms in the clouds is discussed by Leonardo and becomes something of a topos for the artist's *phantasia* – it recurs in certain accounts of the *grottesche*, such as that of Doni in *Il Disegno*, which we cite below. For Mantegna this display of the artist's imagination goes alongside Nature's own capacity to create bizarre forms in matter, and thus the faces in the clouds frequently appear alongside depictions of strange rock formations which Mantegna loved to study.

[362] See *Aeneid* VI.781-787, as above. The analogy of Rome and the Magna Mater is made also in the *Triumph of Caesar*, where the bust of Cybele appears repeatedly – in the second triumph, showing war machines and idols, and the eighth triumph, with musicians and ensign bearers.

intimacy with the same degree of artifice, to the degree that the two may work together as we see in the portrayal of the Estensi court in the Sala dei Mesi; the theatric conditions of the artifice of intimacy are worked out in the Camera picta, and form as we shall suggest its theme.[363]

In Palazzo Schifanoia we see an essentially diagrammatic representation which uses the verticality of the walls to portray the hierarchy of beings, mediated through a painted loggia. In Mantegna's *Triumph* as used in the 1501 theatrical decorations, we find the planets have become a framework of cosmic iconography for the narrative depicted in the paintings, *i.e.* a depiction of the universal conditions in which historic acts of fame are situated. Here we see a figurative arrangement that shall appear later in the argument – a perspectival image is mediated by a framework of ornament and one should consider the way that triumph enters into this decorative ordering. I would suggest that awareness of the role of triumph within the "theatre of representation" may help to refine thinking on ornament as the frame of the perspectival image – here one could recall that this frame is frequently depicted illusionistically as an arch loaded with ornament in the manner (if not, typologically speaking, the form) of a triumphal arch. As we have seen the triumph can depict both allegories, especially physical allegories and historic glory, so we shall see the framing ornament of the perspectival room may figure cosmic conditions of situation which underlie any human act and historic depictions (discovered by philological scholarship) which furnish exemplars or act as the visual equivalent of rhetorical ornament, providing *sententiae*, amplification and so forth. Like theatre, the triumph is both narrative and display; it may be staged within a room or place, whether as depiction of a figure with all that can be attributed to it, or as a triumphal arch constructed the ornament on a framework that mediates a persepctival *storia* understood as a certain kind of (rhetorical) occasion.

The triumph may also move through a topography – we shall argue below that the *Hypnerotomachia Polphili* which casts narrative movement through a topography in terms of a triumph, was very suggestive for attempts to conceive a topography of triumphal *renovatio*, especially in Rome, where the city is both setting and subject of triumph, and the analogy of "inclyta Roma" and Dea natura is realised as Nature is the ground of antiquity. We shall come to this in more detail later, since the relationship between display likened to the plenitude of Nature and the process of conjunction in *natura naturans* noted above is especially pertinent to Rome. In the civic triumph, the continuity of narrative progression and continuity of a progression through a space work together so that the triumph does not only imply a sequence of figures in procession but a topography endowed with narrative consistency, so that movement through it is structured and meaningful. The way in which perspective and triumph are used together to structure a topography in this way becomes obvious in descriptions of triumphal entries, such as exist for the *ingresso* into Florence for the Medici wedding festivities of

[363] Viewed in this light, the Camera picta might be seen as a precursor of Castiglione's examination of the performance of ease which is a product of vigilant self-consciousness. We give more detailed examination to both the *Libro del cortegiano* and the Camera picta below.

1589 that culminated with the *intermedi* of Bardi and Buontalenti – in the description of Raffaello Gualterotti the ephemeral arches are called "teatri" and "tempij".

We noted in the introduction the problems in dealing with such descriptions of triumphal entries, despite their obvious richness for the reading of the invention of Mannerist decorations. One difficulty has been mentioned, namely the impossibility of reconstructing the significance of a city street; another lies in the fact that in these entries triumph and theatre are working together in a very dense way. To take the example of Florence and the festivities for the wedding of Francesco de'Medici and Joanna of Austria in 1565, which is particularly well-documented the triumphal arches decorated by Vasari following inventions of Vicenzo Borghini are called "teatri" and reveal the street as theatre scenes, while the rooms decorated by Vasari within Palazzo Vecchio are similarly triumphs with similar inventions through which one must progress in order to discover the *concetto* of the cycle, with the stage set up in the Salone dei Cinquecento with a scene depicting Florence – the court of the palace, which conserves the 1565 decorations, is mentioned in the description of the entry was both palace room and an *apparato* for the entry. In these entries, the city is presented as a scene on which one looks, disclosed as a series of vistas through the triumphal arches, while the "teatri" enclosed by the arches are the scenes of the ceremonies of the entry, such as the coronation of Joanna of Austria, which took place at the Porta al Prato – the arches in short both frame a ceremonial action and frame the vista of the city as a consciously idealised arena for virtuous action, a point made clear in the 1565 entry, where the penultimate arch in Piazza della Signoria, prior to the *apparato* at the threshold of Palazzo Vecchio, is dedicated to civic prudence. In the descriptions of the 1565 entry, at which we shall look in more detail below, the temporal iconography discussed above is less prominent and is displaced, in a sense, to a secondary spectacle, a pageant entitled the "Genealogia degli Dei", with costumes designed by Vasari, where the evolution of the gods described by Boccaccio is depicted in a triumph, alongside a masque entitled the "Trionfo dei sogni" a pageant portraying delusive dream images or *larvae*.[364] By this point, the decoration of the triumph concerns the encyclopaedic or epitomised rehearsal of all that can be found – invented – on a given theme; emphasis lies on the display of these elements in an arrangement that is comprehensive, and the play between the elements within a figuration. The emblematic character of these decorations is influenced, as we shall argue, by the inventive and mnemonic understandings of place - the chariots of the gods, surrounded by their attributes and instruments are both triumphal

[364] The two pageants took place during Carnival in February following the entry and nupitals, in December of 1565. The *Trionfo dei sogni*, probably invented by Francesco, was a triumph in which love, fame, riches, war appear in triumph, surrounded by their followers and the pageant ends with a triumph of Dream, an embodiment of the description of the cave of Morpheus in *Metamorphoses*. The larger pageant, which could be viewed from stands erected in Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella, again constituted a pedantic translation of literary sources into visual form – this time the descriptions of the gods in the manuals and the *Hieroglyphica* of Valeriano. If the pageant with twenty one cars and hundreds of masquers in the roles of allegories and personifications of qualities, instruments and attributes showed the mindlessness which "hieroglyphic" figuration could reach, we might remark that each of the chariots of the gods was a sort of *aedicula* which corresponded to their "situation" in the hierarchy of settings – Demogorgon in a grotto, Pan in a grove, Neptune as a fountain, gods of higher elements or mind in elaborate cars.

cars and mnemonic "seats", while the "disclosure" of the city as a theatre is a city whose spheres of activity have been reduced to conventional scenes, as we see in the Baldassare Lanci drawing mentioned in the note above. As we said, we shall come to these issues later – here we should conclude these preliminary remarks with the observation that in focusing on the inclusive representation of the triumph as a historical and philological counterpart to the universality and regeneration of Nature, and we have so far excluded the rhetorical character of its ornament in the sense of the figuration of excellence or "praise". It is this rhetorical tradition and its conception of ornament which shall occupy us in the coming section, and moving to this material by way of the triumph, we emphasise certain preoccupations – the relation of ornament as praise proper to a fitting occasion to ornament as completion or perfection in which things show their relationship with the universal order, the relation of the verbal and visual and their conjunctions, conceived as happening within a certain place "discovered" by what happens within it. In following these preoccupations through the rhetorical tradition we move from the mutually defining relationship between place and occasion in ancient rhetoric to the interest in the nature of praise in Florentine Humanist accounts of the city, then through the interest in codifying the ornaments of thought and speech and the elaboration of word-image figures such as emblems. This interest in the figurative character of ornament goes alongside the interest in spatial conceptions of ordering which results in speculation on locus as place, image and argument. We shall come finally to the question of the deployment of emblematic images in designated loci and through this consideration will return to later sixteenth accounts of triumphs, where we see movement through a place conceived as a topography of civic virtue, articulated by theatres of icongraphy. Leaving the remarks above as no more than preliminary observations, we shall now turn to the large and complex question of the understanding of ornament in the rhetorical tradition and then in the Renaissance.

## PART TWO

### DISCUSSIONS OF ORNAMENT IN THE RHETORICAL TRADITION

*Introduction*

In the previous section, we moved from an account of theatre festivities of the later sixteenth century to consider some of the theoretical speculation, chiefly derived from Platonism, that lay behind the union of the arts as embodied in the 1589 *intermedi*. For the sake of clarity, we made an artificial separation of this material from rhetorical considerations to which we shall now turn. The first part of the section examines the development of ideas of decorum in Cicero from Greek philosophical meditation on measure, rendered in terms of balance and the mean in the *Nicomachean Ethics* and as a vertical structure of analogy stretching from unlikeness to intelligibility in the divided line of *Republic* VII. With Cicero, the theoretical concerns of Greek thought are shifted towards decorum, which in turn implies a setting and the development of *kairos*, the fitting opportunity for action in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, into rhetorical occasion, and the classification of occasions that underlies discussions of style. From Roman oratory, we move to fifteenth century Florence and the recovery of classical ethical and rhetorical thought by figures such as Bruni who attempts to promulgate a "Humanist" Aristotle and adds to the claims for active life and rhetorical claims for the exploration of historical meaning, as investigated by philology. Bruni's interest in the concretisation of a situation in the realisation of rhetorical, political and historical meaning emerges with particular clarity in his *Laudatio Florentine Urbis* (c.1403-4). In Bruni's *Laudatio*, the civic virtue that is the praise of Florence has its outer form and manifestation in the buildings of the city - ornaments of the city, which are in turn represented through the *ornatus* proper to epideictic speech. The *Laudatio* thus sets forth the conception of the city as the fitting vessel, the representation, and the praise of civic life, founded on understanding of rhetorical *ornatus*, the fitting out of arguments in proper style (*elocutio*) and performance (*actio* or *gestus*), which concerns the representation of *res* in *verba*, arguments in a fitting and eloquent medium of representation. In short, the attempt to conceive and fashion architecture as the representational vessel of the city - the proper and eloquent *verba* in relation to the *res* of civic life necessitates recourse to rhetorical *ornatus*.

Bruni's conception of the relationship of architecture, ornament, rhetoric and virtuous civic life has its development in Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (c.1450, printed 1486), where we find the expansion of the rhetorical influences indicated rather than developed in Vitruvius so that architecture may have the theoretical scope fitting to a civic art, which includes the creation of a philology of architecture. It is in this work that we find the richest point of convergence of ideas on civic virtue, rhetoric, architecture, harmony and ornament, a convergence that provokes the attempt to define the relationship of ornament to harmony and beauty. The *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by Bruni, with its movement from active to contemplative virtue, is present as a constant, implicit, philosophical background to these discussions, as is *De officiis*, with its discussion of

decorum and the ordering of active life in terms of visual harmony, will be useful in understanding how the building as concretisation of civic decorum relates to the building as concretisation of mathematical laws. The depth of Alberti's engagement with the ethical and rhetorical reflections on measure becomes fully clear in his meditation on *concinnitas*, at the core of his discussions of beauty, which is also at the core of thinking on decorum, in the sense that Alberti's treatment of *concinnitas* is profoundly indebted to Cicero's arguments on decorum in *De officiis*. The discussion of *concinnitas* marks the culmination of the theoretical speculation in *De re aedificatoria*, but it is still founded in the concrete; the universality of nature and reason manifest themselves in terms of decorum, in the singularity of each situation. If Alberti's account attempts to be exhaustive, it does so by means of induction, seeking to arrive at rules through accumulation of examples, rather than stating a system of classification that merely sorts new situations into genre. Later in this section, we shall see how classification becomes more important in rhetoric in the sixteenth century, and the concerns with praxis and political action so prominent in Bruni give way to preoccupations with encyclopaedism, or an encyclopaedic conception of philology which has an early exponent in Poliziano. We shall come to consider this development in relation to the encyclopaedic character of certain of Erasmus's works on rhetoric, and the way in which Humanist interest in topical logic enters into thinking about rhetoric in terms of a categorisation of arguments and words which can be "stored" in or "invented" from loci. The encyclopaedism and the discovery of a topics capable of holding all arguments, and all style, simultaneously mnemonics, combinatory logic and model for ascent to the divine, in the memory theatre of Giulio Camillo Delminio; however bizarre Camillo's project, it is of considerable importance to our argument for the material conflated in its analogical levels, and its use of hieroglyphic figurations which corresponded to rhetorical figures, logical topics and magical, divulgatory signs. The later parts of the argument will look at the interpretations of decoration that arise from notions of rhetoric grounded in decorum, context and historical significance on one hand, and on the other conceptions of the emblematic or "hieroglyphic" character of visual signs discovered in loci whose mnemonic or encyclopaedic nature may be part of an analogical structure of disclosures. This leads us at the end of the section, to look at the way that emblematic figurations are deployed in decorative schemes of various kinds, from permanent palaces to the ephemeral decorations for triumphal entries, and so to prepare the movement in the last section into the question of the relationship between the perspectival scene, with its background in Nature and the framing role of ornament. The richest interpretations arise from contaminations between these models, but our route to this material takes us through Castiglione, who represents an earlier attempt to synthesise rhetoric and Platonism through the postulation of a continuum of artifice whose very universality creates the need to present itself as artlessness.

To come back to the ethical, rhetorical and architectural material with which we start, it should be observed that we are looking at the art of building as the setting of human life; the ideal city is the place where human activity is "housed" or situated. The ordering of civic life and civic virtues, is therefore fundamental to the disposition and propriety of the buildings of the city, its architectural variety shaped not just by a

typology of tectonic forms but by the relationships such as private-public or sacred-secular, which reflect in turn the relationships of ethical to intellectual virtues, or active to contemplative life. If we further recall that for Plato in the *Republic* the ideal society is founded on the virtues of the soul and that Aristotle gives in the *Nicomachean Ethics* an account of political science and civic virtue which has its foundation in the *energeia*, the activity of the soul, the persistent analogy between architecture and the perfectly proportioned human body in Vitruvius, Filarete and Alberti takes on a very rich potential significance. The analogy of the body and building has led to a preoccupation with an anthropomorphic vision of architecture (the caryatids, the physiognomy of the orders and so forth), but my treatment is more based in the discussions of Cicero in *De officiis* where decorum, the index of moral rectitude in civic life, is described by analogy with harmony in music and the visual beauty of the well-proportioned body. In this rhetorical ideal, the order and ornament of the building are the outer manifestation of inner virtue and harmony. According to a mathematically based reading of architecture, such inner virtue and harmony refer to the laws of mathematics and proportion of which the building is an embodiment; according to the recuperation of rhetorical significance which we attempting here, the inner virtues and harmony refer also to the activities housed within a building (and by extension, a city) - the harmonious edifice as a decorous body in relation to the concord of the civil virtues which originate in the actions of the soul. The philosophical texts (in particular Aristotle) provide the relationship between virtues (in particular the relation of active life to contemplation) which will be mirrored in the creation of buildings in the good republic envisaged by Alberti, can be embodied in the relations between sectors of the city and building types.

The self-consciousness of the delineation of the various spheres of activity brings us back to theatre at the end of discussion of Alberti, with the proviso that talk of the "theatre of representation" must be attentive to the way that praxis works within various settings and the layering of setting on any given occasion. It is one argument of this section that such layering and "fitting out" of the setting becomes increasingly codified in the course of the sixteenth century, with the interest in the relationship between encyclopaedic arrangement and emblematic figuration generating "comprehensive" decorative ordering that can be produced in response to situations conceived in terms of genre or convention. This will lead to discussion of Mannerist decorative cycles, culminating with the structures erected for the triumphal entry of 1565, material noted at the end of section one, which shows a very different conception of the virtuous city from that which we find in Alberti. The first step towards these arguments comes, as noted, with Castiglione, in whom praxis and poesis come together with the attendant *rapprochement* of arguments on the structuring of character and of artifice, which will soon take on the metaphor of body and soul. Apart from the overt discussion of the *imprese* in terms of body and soul, we see the presence of this thinking in the poetic and artistic theory, which uses the language of Aristotelian psychology to describe the structure of image making, from the *phantasia* to the thought image, or thought metaphor of the *concetto*. To sum up, one thread running through the section is the construction of place – initially through decorum, as we find in Cicero and Alberti, and finally in terms of the locus as a place for holding knowledge in many senses – inventive, mnemonic,

stylistic. The development of this understanding of the locus is related to thinking on *imitatio* and thus the route to the later sixteenth century understanding of locus lies through the debates on imitation which we find in Castiglione, Bembo, Erasmus and Camillo, and, as imitated the conception of locus should be held alongside the development of the analogy of body and soul, or cognitive process for the structure of artifice. With this much outlined, we should turn now to the antique arguments concerning rhetoric which ground this section.

For its upholders, rhetoric, or its product, eloquence, is the force that founded human societies, the instrument and ornament of practical, civic wisdom which consolidates communities, inspires citizens to virtue, and can exercise its techniques over all the other arts. The scope of the arguments is however already clear in Cicero, who uses the ideal of the union of wisdom and eloquence as an aegis for a whole range of theoretical writings, which discuss moral philosophy, ethics, public duty, the nature of the state, religion, fate, friendship and old age - every subject in short that pertains to civic life. Such arguments, providing a model for a culture in which literary activity is tightly linked to its ethical and civic character, were of course taken up by the Humanists, and might be said to culminate with the *Scienza Nuova* of Giambattista Vico (1725) with its synthesis of philology and philosophy, and its insistence that the study of human being be based in the primary recognition of its social and historical character. For those of a more neutral position, such as Aristotle, rhetoric is an art of argument, which stands in kinship to dialectic, concerned with proofs and the existing modes of persuasion in each case, which he divides into the demonstrative, derived from reasoning, the ethical, based on moral character, and the pathetic, which concern emotion. For its detractors, from Plato at the beginning of moral philosophy, rhetoric is a pseudo-art, sub-species of flattery that manipulates opinion through the emotions and verbal trickery, abused by demagogues, pleaders in the law courts and other interested persons.[1] Its stylistic embellishments and appeals to the emotions are designed to beguile an audience and to make the weaker argument appear the stronger. Like the sophists, whose teaching is a distortion of reasoning, the rhetoricians are accused of perverting justice through their techniques of persuasion - in each case the corrective is supplied by philosophy, which removes itself from the commerce of active life to meditate on the nature and structure of knowledge, reason and so justice, social and ethical order.

## *Plato on rhetoric:* Gorgias *and* Phaedrus

The views above are essentially derived from Plato's *Gorgias*, with its unsympathetic formulation of the rhetorician as a man who by a knack of persuasion, based on mere opinion, may appear to the ignorant crowd to know more than the man who is truly skilled and learned.[2] Rhetoric is linked with sophistry, cookery and personal adornment as the false habitudes (*emperia*) of flattery which aim at pleasure and attempt to usurp the true arts (*techne*) which aim at the good - the political arts of justice and legislation for

[1] Prior to Plato, there is a fragment by Heraclitus, quoted by Plutarch in *De pyth. or.*6, which talks of the Sybil who speaks "without perfume and ornament".

[2] *Gorgias* 295E. At 521D Socrates says that were he to be put on trial, it would be like the trial of a doctor by a bench of children in charge of a cook. The question of whether the orator needs to know the things he speaks of or merely deals in opinion remains central to discussions of oratory and is fundamental to *De oratore*, where the two principal speakers, Crassus and Antonius, represent respectively the wider, pro-philosophical vision which claims that oratory cannot be practised without an understanding of moral philosophy and law and the more pragmatic, technical view of a career whose end persuasion in the senate, assembly or law courts, and whose basis is opinion, not knowledge.

the soul and medicine and gymnastic for the body. In answer to the charge that philosophy is an adolescent pastime, and that a citizen's duty lies in a political (therefore oratorical) career, Socrates delineates his version of political duty (one that he claims to be almost alone in practising), which consists in exhorting his fellow citizens to justice and goodness. The sustained analogy between the varieties of skilled work leads Socrates to the assertion that art - *techne* - is what gives order, regularity and form to the thing worked on, be it a ship, a body or the soul (503C -508B). This important discussion insists that the virtue in a thing consists in its regularity (*taxis*) and orderly arrangement (*kosmos*), and that the presence of these qualities in the soul makes a person law abiding and temperate. At 506E Socrates sets forth the view that "it is a certain order (*kosmos tis*) proper to each existent thing that by its advent in each makes it good", and in the soul such "orderly order" is temperance, in which other virtues such as piety, bravery and justice have their basis.[3] At 507E - 508 this order is extended to the universe itself, since heaven and earth, the gods and men are held together through communion, friendship (*philia*), orderliness (*kosmiotes*), temperance and justice, and whoever overlooks this fails to perceive the "great power of geometric equality", in the human as in the divine realm. It is just this association of temperance with the harmonious order which forms the virtue within particular things, as well as the quality which determines universal relationships, which is taken up by Cicero in the discussion of decorum in *De officiis* which gives rhetoric its ethical foundation; the structures of order which for Plato may be revealed only through a process of intellectual argument are for Cicero disclosed as they arise in concrete situations, and thus Cicero can follow the structure of Plato's thought while endorsing the rhetorical criticism of philosophical retirement from public life.

The corollary of flattery and rhetoric as the perversion of justice in *Gorgias* is political despotism, and as the dialogue progresses, the theme moves from persuasion to the acquisition of power and the advocacy of the supremacy of force by Callicles (481 ff). The theme of the persuasion of the mass is thus related to power as the end of persuasion - the shared, social character of language, in which Cicero recognises the fundamental principle of human communities, is in negative assessments of rhetoric an instrument of manipulation, which exploits the ignorance of the populace through flattery or displays of pathos.[4] Plato's other dialogue on the theme of rhetoric, *Phaedrus*, instead takes place at an unusual distance from civic life, in a pastoral setting which had immense influence on later poetic literature, and it treats of a different aspect of persuasion to the demagogic techniques deplored in *Gorgias* - on one hand, it gives a virtuoso depiction of poetic eloquence as inspired speech, on the other, it postulates a true art of rhetoric based on dialectical method, and founded on the knowledge of the soul. The depiction of *enthusiasmos* in Socrates's palinode on the soul and its ascent to the divine is of such lyrical force that *Phaedrus* became in the Renaissance a central point of reference for discussions of poetic inspiration and its distinguishing features - the pastoral setting, the theme of divine inspiration, the recourse to myth and the interweaving of rational and

[3] The tortuous translation, which follows the syntax of the Greek, is that of W.R.M.Lamb, Loeb, 1975.
[4] Poetry fares still worse in *Gorgias*, representing a form of demagogic flattery still lower than rhetoric, since it caters to a more ignorant audience whose members included social groups classed as imbeciles, such as women and children.

poetic discourse appear in defences of poetry such as the *Naugerius* of Fracastoro.[5] Thus the outline for a reformed rhetoric subordinate to reason in *Phaedrus* is transformed in the later works it inspired (amongst them *De oratore*) into an argument for the primacy of ornate speech, in which Socrates's dialectical vision of the union of argument and form becomes inverted into an apology for the inspired nature of eloquence as the *vis divina* of human discourse.

One of the distinguishing features of *Phaedrus* is its variety, with the progression of the arguments about persuasion and love represented in a sequence of literary displays which starts with Lysias's letter, not unlike a *thesis* such as a teacher of rhetoric might set as a student exercise,[6] followed by Socrates's initial rebuttal of the letter, then by his palinode on the four varieties of *theia mania*, divine madness, culminating with the rational arguments at the end of the work, which set forward a philosophical programme for an art of speaking which produces conviction in the soul, and meditate on the relation of speaking to writing. Each of these three arguments concern speech and persuasion in a different aspect; the manipulative rhetorical persuasion of Lysias's letter, with its false argument which "proves" the superiority of sexual cynicism over love - the persuasion of the palinode, which bases its "truth" not in reason but in supra-rational *enthusiasmos* (whose claims Plato treats with more circumspection in *Ion*) and whose efficacy lies in its figurative language and affective power, its *pathos* - and finally the dialectical procedure, founded on reason and concerned with knowledge (*episteme*) rather than opinion or pathos. At the centre of the dialogue is the question of the relation of the poetic content of the palinode to the dialectical method expounded in the third part of the work; Socrates presents his own speech as a playful composition, embellished for the ears of the credulous Phaedrus, while stressing that it does exhibit the characteristics of a reasoned speech - that is, it both gathers together particulars to express one idea, and divides up arguments according to their classes (265D-266B). As Socrates's argument for a true art of speech progresses, we see that what the palinode has taken for its subject - the nature and parts of the soul, its capacity to be moved and its illumination through ensouled knowledge, corresponds to the method expounded for philosophical rhetoric based in dialectic, based not only on knowledge of the matter of which one speaks, but of the nature of the soul and the kind of speech suitable to it. Understanding of the soul, in short, is both the subject of the palinode and the theoretical basis of the art of speaking,

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[5] Amongst the Renaissance defences of poetry which reiterate the pastoral setting of *Phaedrus* (which is composed long before the beginnings of pastoral poetry with Theocritus) we might include *Gli Asolani*, the *Naugerius* of Fracastoro and the *Discors Philosophiques* of the Pontus de Tyard, discussed briefly above. The topos of the pastoral setting as a place for discussion of love and poetry, the "inspired speech" that treats of love is too vast to signal here, since the pleasant landscape is in a sense the paradigmatic place of poetry, and has so become by the Augustan age - in post-classical literature, Petrarch makes the relation between topos as place, argument and image the object of subtle elaboration. On the garden as topos and the play between these various senses, see E.R.Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 1953 and Terry Comito, *The Idea of the Garden in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Binghampton, 1978. In development of this pastoral language, Cicero at various points uses the terms *umbraculum* (a shady place, hence a bower or arbour) and *umbratilis* (remaining in the shade, retired, private) to refer to philosophical schools and philosophical discursive style – a point to which we shall return when we look at his transformation of philosophical retirement into patrician *otium*.

[6] On the *thesis* as rhetorical exercise, see Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, II.iv.24.

while love, the other subject of the palinode, is the most powerful conceivable form of persuasion or pathos. The palinode may be playful, as Socrates says all writing should be, but its relationship with the theoretical discussion of speech is serious - a discourse on *enthusiasmos*, which presents itself as a creation of radical unreason - of *theia mania* - is also an exemplar of the reasoned art of speaking, as human reason itself is a manifestation of participation in (or descent from) the transcendent realm of the intellect. If the proper procedures of definition and division of arguments are observed, the nature of the soul of the listener is understood, and the speech accordingly adorned, the discourse will possess such order and unity that it may seem like the inspired, "mantic" speech in which form and content are one. Thus Socrates's "true" rhetoric is not a kind of bald dialectic, but a discourse of reason in the soul and directed to the soul, whose aspirations to knowledge are such that it can take on the inspired form of vatic speech, and thus turn the persuasive potential of figurative language away from the abusers of speech, the rhetors and rhapsodes, to the rational discourse of the philosopher, which "lives" in constant dialogue with other arguments. It is on this note of the relation of inner to outer that the dialogue concludes, with Socrates praying for the last time to the gods of the place that they grant him beauty of soul, and that his external possessions may be in harmony with his inner self; the themes of sacred invocation, the nature of the soul and the relationship of external and internal fundamental to the arts of speech are thus drawn to a close.

From this very brief examination of the two Platonic works that deal explicitly with rhetoric, we might extract a very simple point that is pertinent to Cicero's apology for rhetoric. The orderliness and arrangement that denotes the virtue of all things from the products of *techne* to the heavens in *Gorgias* underlies Cicero's discussions of both decorum in *De officiis* and those of rhythm in *De oratore*. The superficial overview which we made of theories of music as *harmonia universalis* in Part One should prepare us for the claim that rhythm is an embodiment of universal order - what is important in Cicero's ethical discussions is the place of decorum between Plato's *kosmos* and *taxis* in individual things founded on the *philia*, concord and great power of "geometric equality" in the human and divine realm on one hand and the ornaments and *concinnitas* of the orator's particular speech on the other. Between Plato's emphasis on the innate nature of order and proportion (*analogia*) and Cicero's insistence on decorum as not merely action but enactment (*actio*), one must point to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, with its examination of the moral virtues of the practical intelligence which lead to the ethical action of praxis, on which the state is founded. While praxis, which concerns human affairs, ultimately has its highest form in *theoria*, the activity (*energeia*) of contemplation, in which man is most god-like and so most perfect, it forms the basis of human community; if it is governed by the intellectual virtue of prudence (*phronesis*), it has its fullest manifestation in justice, in which all the other moral virtues are contained.

*Measure and kairos in the* Nicomachean Ethics *as the basis for decorum: preliminary remarks*

Two points in Aristotle's treatment of ethical virtue are especially relevant for our interest in Cicero's discussion of decorum - the treatment of virtue in terms of measure and the insistence on praxis which leads to the stipulation that each of the moral virtues must be exercised in the right place at the right time, in the right way – opportunity in the sense of the opportune, *kairos*, which appears in the critique of Plato's doctrine of the Ideas at I.vi. Aristotle's rejection of the virtues as Ideas means that the praxis of virtue in the right time, place and manner is based on the categorical analysis of the circumstances and on *kairos*, the sense of acting to the purpose. The exercise (*energeia*) of virtue which constitutes the good of the human soul, suited to the occasion, results in the attainment of that which from which one could neither add nor take away, thus leading to the ethical discussion of proportion and the mean (II.vi), leading to distinctions between the numerical mean relative to everyone and the mean appropriate to a particular circumstance. If virtue as action in the fitting moment and manner is characterised as a mean between two vices, justice, chief of the moral virtues, is considered as proportion - distributive justice as geometric proportion and corrective justice as the restoration of arithmetical proportion. To illustrate the latter, Aristotle has recourse at V.iv to the figure of the divided line as the measure which restores the mean or brings the unequal into equality is fundamental to the conception of decorum as fitting harmony of circumstances in a given occasion, which is however rooted in the larger ordering of the soul and the universe.

If we can see in decorum both elements of Aristotle's arguments on praxis as *energeia* that observes *kairos* and Plato's meditation on the arrangement of a thing which shows its virtue and continuity with the larger order, it is obvious that decorum is identical with neither, not so much praxis as the conscious enactment of praxis, which need not just concern actions but the articulation of the elements which constitute the circumstances of actions. In *Rhetoric* III.vii, Aristotle speaks of the *prepon* - what becomes in Latin decorum - in terms of *analogia* and *eukairos* - if *analogia* has the connotations of measure and proportion revealed or restored which we noted above, *kairos* seems more rooted in what is given in a certain situation and thus decorum entails an explicit articulation of the setting which is present in Aristotle's account of praxis without becoming a specific object of delineation. If decorum on one hand can apply to inanimate things such as the architectural background or the proper equipment (*ornatus*) for a given occasion, its shift of emphasis from action (praxis) to performance or acting out (as in the rhetorical sense of *actio*) means that it can become a representational criterion for objects made by human art.[7] This seems to go against Aristotle's distinction between *poiesis* (artifice) and praxis (ethical activity) at VI.ii - if decorum in Roman formulations asserts the continuity of representation between praxis and poesis, this also throws up the way in which the setting itself becomes an object of poesis, thus changing

[7] One might note here a shift of emphasis between *ornatus*, which as a participle or adjective denotes or attributes a state to a thing – essentially, the way that it is equipped for a certain context, and *ornamentum*, which seems to move in significance towards ornamentation.

from implicit background (fitting place with fitting characteristics – *oikeios* - corresponding to the fitting time of *kairos*) to object of artifice. This question may not be openly addressed as such until we reach Alberti's effort to establish a Humanist discourse of architecture, in which it is both setting and body inseparable from the virtuous activities it houses, and object of artistic production - the poesis that characterises *techne*. It should be emphasised that the remarks above are in no way intended as a summary of the *Ethics* – they are said partly by way of preface to Cicero's own pronouncements on decorum, mostly by way of preparation for our discussion of Alberti later in this section, who is working very seriously with the *Nicomachean Ethics* and Cicero in his account of the setting of decorum as articulated through architecture. As we turn now to Cicero's formulation of decorum in *De officiis*, we see that the emphasis on praxis and the arguments against philosophical retirement from political life, presented by Aristotle as the final prize of praxis in Book Ten of the *Ethics*, are very much centred on speech as the essence of civic life - it is thus that oratory is so closely linked to discussions of decorum.

*Cicero's discussion of decorum* – De officiis

Cicero's writings on rhetoric defend oratory for the reasons that Plato condemns it, arguing that its engagement with the situations of active life - *negotium* - and its appeal to a wide audience constitute an affirmation of the particularity of human situations on one hand and of the shared nature of the bonds, the *communitas*, which underlie human society on the other, whose central manifestation is the shared, social character of language. While Cicero acknowledges the fundamental importance of the philosopher's search for wisdom and tranquillity of soul, and states that oratory is impossible without philosophic competence, which furnishes both material and method, he criticises those philosophers who claim to reveal the nature of justice and virtue, while withdrawing from the political activities in which justice and virtue are embodied.[8] Contempt for public life has lead philosophers to a two-fold error; a life passed in retirement or *otium* distorts the sense of relationship between the various spheres of life, in which virtues are actualised in activity or *usus*, and thus philosophy loses sight of the situation of each action in the wider network of relationships that constitute a community. The continuity between these spheres is manifested by language as the fundamental principle of human cohesion, and thus the division between eloquence and wisdom attributed to Socrates at *De oratore* III.xvi.60 is not just a blow at rhetoric but a deeper cut into the organisation of human communities through shared language and meanings. If Cicero presents himself as the channel of Greek philosophy into the Roman world, part of his task is the transformation of *otium* from a contemptuous refusal to participate in political life into a virtuous form of recreation from public duty, which enables one to re-enter it with deepened theoretical

[8] In *Brutus* ix.37-38, speaking of Demertrius of Phaleron, this sheltered life of the philosophical schools is said to be reflected in the style in speech, which tends to soft and pliable, rather than vehement; at *Orator* xix. 62-64, the speech of philosophers, removed from the need to arouse or captivate an audience, is likened to a chaste maiden ("casta verecunda virgo incorrupta"). Such a style cannot even be called oratory, but conversation (*locutio*), carried out amongst scholars which aims to soothe rather than arouse the mind ("Locuntur cum doctis quorum sedare animos malunt quam incitare").

reflection as well as renewed energy. Thus *otium* as portrayed in the academic writings of Cicero does not constitute a rejection of political duties but provides something like a mimetic distance from the original philosophic form of the discussions which now have their place away from the forum, hence the theatrical quality of the setting of dialogues such as *De oratore*. Alongside this insistence that philosophy should not be disengaged from practical activity, decorum takes its place in Cicero's thought as a quality that concerns the passage from the harmony and measure of the virtues of the soul, to the expression of these virtues in response to the particular demands of each situation in active life. In the discussion of decorum in *De officiis*, with its condemnation of philosophic *otium* as against moral duty ("contra officium", I.vi.19), Cicero uses the image of Hercules at the crossroads to illustrate the idea that a life of ethical action is a life of decorum - that is, a life lived in conformity with one's better nature ("Qui igitur ad naturae suae non vitiosae genus consilium vivendi omne contulerit, is constantiam teneat (id quod maxime decet)".[9] Decorum, called *ornatus vitae* at *De officiis* I.xxvii.93 is not a thing so much as an order - not an abstract order, but one which arises in terms of each particular situation, and cannot be defined apart from that situation although certain kinds of situations may be codified as typical or exemplary, giving rise to the three categories of rhetoric (forensic, judicial and epideictic) which might in turn be considered in relation to other codifications of decorum such as literary genre or the typology of architectural representation.[10] As Plato had spoken in *Gorgias* of virtue as an orderly arrangement in each thing, so decorum manifests itself in the details of every speech and gesture, as well as the proportion and consistency with which we present ourselves in life, and is fundamental to the cohesion of society based on *communitas*. Thus Cicero opens *De officiis* with a discussion of the relation between the order and harmony that is aesthetically perceived as beautiful, and order in the sense of the virtue which creates and maintains human society. At I.iv.14 he writes that humans are the only animals who possess a sense of order, fittingness and due measure ("unum hoc animal sentit, quod sit ordo, quid sit, quod deceat, in factis dictisque qui modus"). In the following sentence this sense of order is revealed as the sense of beauty and harmony, which translates into the realm of mind as thought and deed "nullum aliud animal pulchritudinem, venustatem, convenientiam partium sentit; quam similitudinem natura ratioque ab oculis ad animum transferens multo etiam magis pulchritudinem, constantiam, ordinem in consiliis factisque conservandam putat cavetque".[11] This harmonious ordering which is the embodiment of measure and of rectitude is a sign of the presence of decorum, which Cicero attempts to define in I.xxvii-xxviii. Decorum is not a virtue, in the sense that justice or fortitude or temperance are virtues, but all virtues contain it, and the distinction

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[9] "If therefore anyone has conformed his whole plan of life to this kind of nature that is his (that is, his better nature), let him go with it consisitently – for that is the essence of Propriety" (I.xxxiii.120).

[10] The three types of rhetoric correspond to three situations (law suit or court room, deliberation in a political assembly and oration in praise or blame of a person or thing). On poetic propriety in the delineation of character, see *De officiis* I.xxviii.97, and on architecture, Vitruvius's discussions of *decor* – the *genera* (later the orders), which Vitruvius discusses in relation to his account of *decor* exhibit an ordering according to decorum which both serves to clarify various situations according to function, tradition and nature, and shows measure that underlies everything down to smallest details.

[11] "No other animal has a sense of beauty, loveliness, harmony in the visible world; and Nature and Reason, extending the analogy from the world of sense to the mind, find that beauty, consistency, order and far more to be maintained in thought and deed" (ed. Loeb, tr. W.Miller).

between a virtue and decorum is, in practice, subtle. Cicero illustrates this subtlety with the metaphor of corporeal beauty, thus emphasising the link between aesthetic and ethical harmony which we saw at I.iv "Ut venustas et pulchritudo corporis secerni non potest a valetudine, sic hoc, de quo loquimur, decorum totum illud quidem est cum virtute confusum, sed mente et cogitatione distinguitur".[12] If decorum is "cum virtute confusum", it is found both in moral virtue as a whole "quod in omni honestate versatur" and in the parts of moral goodness. In the practice of temperance or self-control, it harmonises with nature, and the first, general definition of propriety is "that which harmonises with man's superiority in those respects in which his nature differs from that of the rest of animal creation" ("quod consentaneum sit hominis excellentiae in eo, in quo natura eius a reliquis animantibus differat", I.xxvii.96). A definition of this nature is too elliptical to be helpful, and Cicero reverts to concrete examples, such as citations from the poets, who observe decorum in the delineation of character, or to analogy, once again of the harmonious beauty of the human body: "Ut enim pulchritudo corporis apta compositione membrorum movet oculos et delectat hoc ipso, quod inter se omnes partes cum quodam lepore consentiunt, sic hoc decorum, quod elucet in vita, movet approbationem eorum, quibuscum vivitur".[13] Repeatedly expressed through these metaphors of aesthetic harmony, decorum manifests itself in every virtue and every area, from its *officium*, which "leads to harmony with nature and the faithful observance of her laws" ("deducit ad convenientiam conservationemque naturae") to the minutiae of bodily movement and attitude. While the discussion of decorum arises in the context of temperance in which Cicero sees the "maxima vis decori", decorum nevertheless extends from that harmony from which the virtues arise (I.xxviii.100) to every deed, word and gesture, where it manifests itself in beauty, order and ornament: "Sed quoniam decorum illud in omnibus factis, dictis, in corporis denique motu et statu cernitur idque positum est in tribus rebus, formositate, ordine, ornatu ad actionem apto".[14] Thus decorum is something that pertains to every part of life, and at I.xxxi.111 Cicero says that if decorum is anything, it is the "uniform consistency in the course of our life as a whole and all its individual actions ("aequabilitas cum universae vitae, tum singularum actionum"). We see here a restatement of the claim at I.xxvii that decorum is *confusum* both with moral goodness - *honestas* - as a whole and in its parts, so that Cicero's argument moves from virtue discussed in relatively abstract terms to the fashioning of civil life which encompasses both the enactment of virtue in action, and its representation in deportment. Decorum, moreover, must be considered when we ponder the most difficult questions of all - "quos nos et quales esse velimus et in quo genere vitae" - who we are and what we wish to be and what kind of life we follow (I.xxxi.117), a remark which is followed by a reference to Hercules, heroic exemplar of active life, at the crossroads.

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[12] "As comeliness and beauty of person are inseparable from the notion of health, so this propriety of which we are speaking, while in fact completely blended with virtue, is mentally and theoretically indistinguishable from it" (I.xxvii.95, trans. Miller).

[13] "For, as physical beauty with harmonious symmetry of the limbs engages the attention and delights the eye, for the very reason that all the parts combine in harmony and grace, so this propriety, which shines out in our conduct, engages the approbation of our fellow-men". I.xxviii.98, trans. Miller.

[14] I.xxxv.126 "Since decorum is discerned in all deeds, words, even in the movement and attitude of the body, it lies in three things – beauty, order and ornament suitable to the activity".

The representation of goodness and order in terms of beauty and harmony, consistent with Cicero's Hellenistic tastes, is thus developed into an analogy of the well-proportioned body as a figure for consistency, and constancy in the fashioning of public life. Decorum in rhetoric is the outer expression of decorum in character, and alongside the observation of propriety on each particular occasion in its singular circumstances; there is the consistency that arises through the moral constancy unfolded over the course of a lifetime, and manifest in every detail. Thus we see two dimensions to the *constantia* of decorum; in terms of the circumstances which are unique to every situation, it is the ability to present each individual situation as a harmonious whole, and this aspect of decorum is most familiar in rhetorical discussions, where every context makes different appeals to the skill of the orator – in *Orator* xxii.74 decorum is said to be "quasi aptum esse consentaneumque tempori et personae".[15] Cicero emphasises this aspect of decorum; the other dimension is the *aequabilitas* that pertains to the course of life pursued, which has its source in conformity with nature, and this more general ethical consideration of decorum might be regarded as the source for the predominantly rhetorical variety that responds to individual situations. The harmony of ethical life, figured through the well-measured body, finds expression in individual contexts by means of "formositate, ordine, ornatu ad actionem apto" - the *convenientia* represented by a harmonious body at the level of ethical life in conformity with nature is depicted by ornament and measure in the particular configurations of speech. It is this emphasis on concretisation which leads on one hand to Cicero's strikingly tangible sense of speech as a thing to be moulded, and on the other to the preoccupation with the context in which actions take place, so that social ordering entails both the establishment of a code of law (the primary act of organised religion and politics) and the consolidation of the background of action as something like a civic topography, as Marc Fumaroli recognises when he remarks "L'*Orator* renaît en meme temps que l'*Urbs*; il se détache sur un paysage urbain et politique".[16] This consolidation of order in terms of a concrete situation means that order manifests itself, as we have said, in sensible terms as the right thing at the right time, what Cicero calls *eutaxia* or *modestia*, and our interest here is in the relationship between the sensible manifestation of orderly arrangement and ornament - not to be confined to notions of ornate style. Before we look more closely at Cicero's claims for ornament, we should recall what he conceives the art of oratory to be, remembering that if for Plato the basis of human community lies in the intellectual virtues of the soul, for Cicero such virtues remain a potential until realised through language - human society is not founded or regulated through the transcendent idea of justice, but through the establishment and enactment of law, and thus it is fitting that the concern of the orator is not so much the metaphysical meaning of things as their significance in terms of a concrete, political situation. To paraphrase Ernesto Grassi, the orator, who speaks only in the context of different and particular situations, is concerned with the essence of things (*res*) as they show their usefulness to society, in the context of the *res publica*.[17] Cicero's argument throughout his works is based on the ideal of the reconciliation of wisdom and eloquence,

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[15] "Propriety is what is fitting or agreeable to an occasion or a person" – Cicero is making a distinction here with what is right – *oportere* – as the "perfect line of duty which every one must follow everywhere". Loeb ed., trans. G.L.Hendrikson and H.M.Hubble.

[16] *L'age de l'eloquence*, Geneva 1980, p.44.

[17] *Rhetoric as Philosophy*, Pennsylvania 1980, pp.9-10.

in which the rigorous method and the tranquillity of the soul that philosophy aims to impart are wed to the sense of *communitas* as the foundation of human society, linguistic meaning and virtuous action which comes from the orator's participation in *res publica* - that is, in finding the cohesion, harmony and measure in the variety and particularity of human circumstances. Thus Cicero concludes Book One of *De officiis* with an unequivocal statement of the primacy of active life over studious retirement, which flatly contradicts Aristotle with the statement that it is more important to act well than to think wisely ("agere considerate pluris sit quam cogitare prudenter" I.xlv.158). Solitary retreat is not just politically irresponsible, but fundamentally opposed to *humanitas* - even supposing all the necessities of life which force us into daily commerce were dissolved, who could bear a life of solitary study and would not flee it for human company? What is lost in the subordination of *sapientia* to justice and *communitas* or social instinct is gained in terms of a deeper sense of the principles of fellowship concern the shared nature of speech and reason (*oratio* and *ratio*), through which the bonds of shared humanity are asserted (I.xvi.50). If the primary significance of speech is the expression of social instinct, the most important kind of speech is not so much that which is scientifically wisest but which best serves the demands of *communitas*, such as law-giving, which constitutes and maintains a community, or eloquent speech, which enables it to understand and profit from the studies of the wise. These kinds of speech pertain to the orator - not the courtroom pleader but the statesman in whom the union of wisdom and eloquence becomes the embodiment of an encyclopaedic culture whose ordering reflects the relationships that pertain between the various fields of knowledge.[18]

### *Oratory as cultural ideal and* ars dicendi – De oratore *and discussion of the ornaments of speech*

Such an ideal orator is delineated in Crassus, mouthpiece of Cicero's own ideal of a culture founded on eloquence in *De oratore*. The dramatic tension in *De oratore*, Cicero's most extensive pronouncement on oratory, comes from the contrast between the two principal speakers, Crassus and Antonius, who represent respectively a vision of an all-encompassing eloquence which Quintilian will later formulate as an *encyclios paedeia* and a more pragmatic view of oratory as a "near art" (*quasi artem*) founded on opinion, not wisdom, with a defined and relatively technical character. It is Antonius who expounds the parts of rhetoric which are shared with dialectic (*inventio*, or the finding of arguments, *dispositio* or the arrangement of material) plus memory in the course of one

[18] This kind of encyclopaedic culture is manifested by Cicero's writings themselves – as well as his speeches, the crowning achievement of his public career, his quasi-theoretical meditations on oratory lead into a whole corpus of speculative works in which the cultural ideal of eloquent wisdom (most extensively expounded in *De oratore*) cannot be divorced from reflections on the ethical character of public life (*De officiis*), inquiries into religious practices on which society is founded (*De natura deorum*, *De divinatione*) and into the nature of the soul and the ends of human life or happiness itself (*De finibus bonorum et malorum*, *De amicitia*, *Tusculan Disputations*, *Academica*). The thread which unites these philosophical, ethical, political and rhetorical speculations, of which we have named only a few, is the constant emphasis on the communal nature of humane existence, and the social character of meaning. For Quintilian, writing in an age when the political aspirations of oratory were over, the notion of oratory in itself as an all-encompassing subject forms the starting point for a reflection on oratorical education as an *encyclios paedeia* (*Inst. orat.*), a complete formation which comprehends all other relevant areas of knowledge.

book which further contains a debate on the conflict between pragmatic and ideal conceptions of oratory, and a lengthy excursus on humour. Cicero's treatment of the arts of argument - invention and disposition - which rhetoric shares, or derives from dialectic, is effectively a repetition or simplification of Aristotle's remarks on enthymeme and example as the proofs which correspond to syllogism and induction, on the arguments (*topica*) which can be made about any given theme, and the categories of analysis.[19] In contrast to Aristotle, who designates rhetoric the *antistrophe* to the "more intelligent and exact" art of dialectic, Antonius at II.27.120 states that while the invention of arguments requires average intelligence, the *vis divina* of rhetoric lies in its "ornate copiose varie dicere", its representation of argument through linguistic artifice. It is this area of rhetoric that Crassus expounds, comprising *elocutio* and *actio*, *gestio* or *pronuntiatio*, the physical performance of oratory, so the claims for the cultural centrality of rhetoric are not based in its method, but in its enactment of argument. Cicero's ideal of style as the flowing conveyance and reflection of thought demands that these five parts remain together, so that the finding, ordering, memorising, expression and performance of arguments are part of single process which culminated in the delivery of a speech and the moving, teaching and persuasion of an audience. This insistence on the inseparable nature of argument and style is again an expression of the ideal union of eloquence and wisdom - when the two are detached oratory without wisdom degenerates into cunning or demagogy, and philosophy divorced from civic responsibility falls into abstraction or idle speculation conducted in idleness (*otium*). Ornament is fundamental to this union, integral to a process of argument that culminates in the performance of speech; once ornament has been consigned to the role of the ornamentation of arguments, or to "ornate style", its significance is set to dwindle.[20]

We have an instance of this in the discussion of ornament in *De oratore* III, which opens with a criticism of the division of the exposition of oratory into arguments and ornamentation which has divided two things that cannot be separated "ea divisit, quae seiuncta esse non possunt" (III.v.19). This union of matter and words is then considered in the light of the universe itself, a single whole held together by the force and harmony of nature ("omnia haec, quae supra et subter, unum esse et una vi atque consensione naturae constricta esse").[21] This same harmony, Crassus pursues, is revealed in the thought of Plato, who considered "the whole of the content of the liberal and humane sciences is comprised within a single bond of union; since, as we grasp the meaning of the theory that explains the causes and issues of things, we discover a marvellous

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[19] Cicero treats specifically with invention in *De inventione* and the *Topica*.

[20] A case in point is the sixteenth century French Humanist Petrus Ramus, who split off the dialectical parts of rhetoric (*inventio*, *dispositio*) from it stylistic parts: the dialectical elements formed the basis of a reformed, anti-Aristotelian topical logic, which incorporated also memory (also a traditional part of rhetoric), while rhetoric became exclusively an art of ornamentation. The Ramist reform stirred such controversy that one would hesitate to associate interest in Ramism with particular literary tastes – although Walter Ong in his magisterial study *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue* (Harvard, 1958) does link Ramism with plain style – not the Attic style of ancient oratory, but the "styleless style" suited to scientific demonstration, which he links with certain later Protestant sects, such as the Methodists.

[21] ("All this universe above and below us, is one single whole and is held together by a single force and harmony of Nature") Translation ed. Loeb, H.Rackham, 1942.

agreement and harmony underlies all branches of knowledge" ("omnem doctrinam harum ingenuarum et humanarum artium uno quodam societatis vinculo contineri: ubi enim perspecta vis est rationis eius qua causae rerum atque excitus cognoscuntur, mirus quidam omnium quasi consensus doctrinarum concentusque reperitur").[22] Crassus insists that this bond should not be restricted to the theoretical sphere, but underlies the relationship between things, or arguments, and their representation, and it is Socrates, the most discursive of philosophers, who is charged with this division of theoretical argument and eloquence, both in his philosophy and his refusal to participate in political life, thus instigating the retreat of philosophy into the "charming gardens" (*hortulis*) of speculation divorced from public duty. The separation of thought from words is an annihilation, like the severing of the soul from the body "qui tanquam ab animo corpus, sic a sententiis verba seiungunt, quorum sine interitu fieri neutrum potest" (III.6.24).[23] The *verba* here are immediately identified with ornament as the inseparable accompaniment of the thought which it illuminates; "neque verborum ornamentum inveniri posse non partis expressisque sententiis neque esse ullam sententiam inlustrem sine luce verborum".[24] Thus the union of words and matter as body and soul is not just an isolated similitude but is grounded in the harmonious unity of the world itself, reflected in the concord between all the branches of theoretical knowledge, and in the "societatis vinculum" at the foundation of civic order, of laws, virtues and friendship, and at each level harmony also seems to imply the inseparable nature of form and content, as manifest in decorum.

Cicero characterises rhythm, one of the two ornaments of speech, as the embodiment of this harmony, and the statement of an indissoluble link between all things in creation and all branches of human knowledge which underlies the union of arguments and words is illustrated at *De oratore* III.xlv in the descent from the order of the universe to the human body to animals, tress, ships, temples and finally to the divisions of speech - from the cosmic order to the embellishment of speech, the arrangement of each thing embodies the same harmonious arrangement, the same fusion of *utilitas* and *suavitas*.[25] This treatment of rhythm, as manifestation of universal harmony, has its origin in the revolutions of the soul in *Timaeus* 47D, where the human capacity for rhythm and harmony which help the soul "in restoring it to order and concord with itself" imitates the harmony of the world soul whose movements are a mimesis of eternity.[26] Even closer to Cicero's discussion of rhythm as mimesis of cosmic order, however, is the discussion we have already noted in *Gorgias* 503C-508B on regularity and orderly arrangement as the virtue of all things from the products of human *techne* to the soul and finally the universe itself. Rhythm, linked by Cicero elsewhere with a circle which brings the phrase to

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[22] Translation ed. Loeb.

[23] ("as the body cannot be separated from the soul, so words cannot be separated from the *sententiae* without disaster").

[24] ("it is impossible to achieve an ornate style without first procuring ideas and putting them into shape, and at the same time [...] no idea can possess distinction without lucidity and style") Translation ed. Loeb.

[25] Fumaroli *op.cit.*p.50 remarks of this passage "Le luxe n'est pas le superflu, mais le nécessaire, la plénitude du nécessaire".

[26] We might recall that in *Laws* II.664 rhythm is called an order (*taxis*) peculiar to humankind, of movement of body and voice, given to humans by the gods who lead us in our choirs and feasts.

completion and perfection, discovers universal structures of order in the unique and specific order of a speech, and thus the meditations on rhythm as the oratorical expression of the continuum of ordering which underlies all artifice and creation in the world should be linked with his discussion of decorum in *De officiis* I.xxvii-xxxix.

Thus Cicero translates Plato's remarks in *Gorgias* on orderly arrangement into the discussion of rhythm in *De oratore* and of decorum in *De officiis*, which almost paraphrases Plato; where Plato calls temperance the "orderly order" of the soul, Cicero sees it as the origin of decorum, the *ornatus vitae*. If Plato, with his exaltation of mathematics, sees the world soul and the human soul as generated by number, Cicero transfers number into the tangible form of *numerose dicendus*; the discussions of rhetorical *numerus* are not just meditations on prosody but point to rhythm as the figuring forth of measure and proportion, the theoretical and ethical basis of decorum. Thus the *periodos* of speech which runs as if in a circle until the phrase comes to completion and perfection "in orbe inclusa currat oratio",[27] and the ordering of *vis numerose dicendi* which reflects the harmony manifest throughout creation is a reflection of the measure and harmony of human knowledge as it mirrors the true reality of things. A further development of these relationships between *numerus*, decorum and universal order comes in Alberti's discussion of *concinnitas* as the highest level of architectural theory, at which we shall look later; our object here is to argue that Cicero uses *kosmos* in the sense of the orderly arrangement which denotes the virtue of a thing as the basis of decorum, the embodiment of harmonious order in a particular situation.

If accounts of rhythm stress the continuity between the *concinnitas* of the rhetorical period and universal schemes of order, discussions of the other part of ornament, figures of thought (*schemata*) and speech (tropes), are more linked with the variety which speech must cultivate in order to respond to the particularity of circumstances, and to disclose the links between them. Thus figures are linked with the expression of variety and of analogy, linked in particular with metaphor, which Cicero asserts was created to overcome the *inopia* of language, an assertion frequently repeated through Renaissance rhetorics.[28] The antithesis of *inopia* is *copia*, and the plural form, *copiae*, means military forces, just as *ornatus* means equipment or military accoutrements; ornaments are the tools which the orator uses to "equip" speech so that it is both decorous and effective, so that the idea of the harmonious body of speech can lead to that of the well armed soldier and, in turn, to that of the splendour of triumph. In this we should remember that not only

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[27] *Orator* ccvii. Cf *Orator* lix.199 "Quare aures extremum sempre exspectent in eoque acquiescant, id vacare numero non oportet, sed ad hunc exitum a principio ferri debet verborum illa comprehensio et tota a capite ita fluire, ut ad extremum veniens ipsa consistat". "Therefore, since the ear is always awaiting the end and takes pleasure in it, this should not be without rhythm, but the period ought even from the very beginning to move forward such a conclusion, and to flow form the start in such a way that at the end it will come naturally to rest". For sixteenth century rendering of this passage see Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, eds. Willcock and Walker, Cambridge, 1978, p.78. Puttenham also sets up a distinction between *rithmos* and *arithmos* in his work , the second a "bare number as that of the arithmeticall computation", the first as "musicale or audible number" (*op.cit.*p.69).

[28] In Cicero, see *De oratore* III.155 and *Orator* xlii.211.

is the great distinction or "praise" of figures conceived in terms of visual representation, whether conceived as a brightening or a depiction (*evidentia*, *enargeia*) but the figures themselves are frequently called lights (*lumina*) or colours, so that the adorning of speech is typically characterised as a visualisation and an illumination.[29] This appeal to the sight, noted by Cicero,[30] and implicit in the other references to ornament as flowers, garlands, jewels, gleams, graces, honours, trophies, precious objects, paintings, shining weapons, regalia and so forth, points to the predominance of sight over the other senses, an idea which also underlies the art of memory, of which we shall speak later. The importance of vision takes us back to the presence of beauty and harmony in decorum and *decor*, to Cicero's analogy of decorum to the proportions of the body and his assertion of the continuity between the search for beauty ( *pulchritudo*, *venustas* and *convenientia partium*) of body and of mind ("ab oculis ad animum").[31] If decorum is compared to a harmonious body, this body is not only an object of contemplation but an active, energetic force whose measure and grace is revealed in its movements, as in Cicero's comparison of eloquent style to the movements of pugilists, to which we will come in moment. This criterion of sight is also linked to the capacity to depict, rather than describe a scene - what Quintilian calls *enargeia* and praises as the highest of oratorical gifts.[32] Alongside the gift for word-painting, what ornament as light or depiction would seem to illuminate is the harmonious body of decorum, which has its stylistic enactment and articulation through rhythm, and thus we can understand the references to light or brilliance reflected in a surface, such as Quintilian's definition: "ornatum est, quod perspicuo ac probabili plus est. Eius primi gradus sunt in eo quod velis concipiendo et exprimendo, tertius, qui haec nitidiora faciat".[33]

If the figures can illuminate the body of speech, this brightening is essentially an activity, whose aim is to serve the oratorical end of persuasion, which requires that one supplement the conviction founded on argument with the vehemence provoked by the passions or the enticement aroused by appeals to the sense of beauty. Thus we might note in Quintilian's definition of ornament that it goes beyond the realm of probability *i.e.* of dialectical proof to *enargeia* or *evidentia* which constitutes a kind of compelling evidence

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[29] Cicero in *Brutus* xxxvii.141 notes that figures are not so important in colouring words as in illuminating *sententiae* "non tam in verbis pingendis habent pondus quam in illuminandis sententiis".

[30] At *De oratore* III.xl.161 Cicero notes that metaphor, with its appeal to the sight, can place within our mental vision ("in conspectus animi") objects which we cannot apprehend with physical sight.

[31] Here again we come to a divergence between Cicero and his Platonic sources; if Cicero's discussion of decorum is an attempt to translate the Greek *prepon*, Plato in *Hippias Major* refutes the *prepon* as the beautiful. (The debates in *Hippias Major* are imitated by Tasso in his dialogue *Il Minturno overo della bellezza*).

[32] *Inst. orat.* VIII.iii.71. At VI.ii.32 Quintilian associates *enargeia* with *illustratio* and *evidentia*, "which makes us seem not so much to narrate (*dicere*) as to exhibit (*ostendere*) the actual scene". In the same passage, *enargeia* is seen by Quintilian as arising from the *phantasia*, "whereby things absent are presented to our imagination with such extreme vividness that they seem to be before our very eyes", adding "It is the man really sensitive to such impressions who will have the greatest power over our emotions" (translation ed.Loeb).

[33] *Inst.orat.* VIII.iii.62 ("ornament is something which goes beyond whatis merely lucid and acceptable. It consists firstly in forming a clear conception of what we wish to say, secondly in giving it this adequate expression and thirdly in lending it additional brilliance [*nitidiora*] a process which may correctly be termed embellishment") trans. H.E.Butler, Loeb, 1986.

for his listeners. Rhetorical accounts of visuality, such as Aristotle's characterisation of *energeia*, vividness, as the chief quality of metaphor, are linked primarily to efficacy, not to contemplation;[34] in rhetorical theory the lights of ornament are not metaphysical analogies for the sun as logos, even if the order which they illuminate may ultimately (in Cicero) carry us back to the contemplation of universal structures. The brightness of these oratorical lights is rather generated by movement and aimed at arousing an emotional response - *perturbationes* - in the audience. We see this particularly clearly in Quintilian, whose term for the brightening effect of ornament - *nitidiora* - is not just an exterior gilding but an kind of brilliance within language itself, in which outer splendour is intimately linked with the incandescence or grace of energetic enactment. Thus Quintilian draws on the old analogy of rhetoric as battle and *ornatus* as accoutrements to characterise eloquence as a speech fought with shining swords ("nec fortibus modo, sed etiam fulgentibus armis"),[35] and pursues the metaphor with the image of the flashing sword whose motion and effulgence, as much as its destruction, strikes us with terror. Alongside these images of a thing flashing with the light of its own movement, which Erasmus joins to the pervasive characterisation of flowing speech in his celebration of abundant style as a surging golden river, we find the praise of ornament as graceful movement, which has its fullest exploration in Castiglione. In classical discussions, the references to grace often take the form of comparisons to athletes or pugilists whose movements show simultaneous artifice and energy, the most famous being Quintilian's use of the *Discobolos* as an analogy for the figures of speech, where the flexed body of the athlete shows grace and movement (*motus*) - its very departure from normal erect posture gives it animation.[36] This comparison of the "liveliness" of the figures of speech to the graceful twist (*flexus*) of the athlete's body, paradoxically frozen in a statue, inspired discussions of *grazia* in Renaissance art theory, centred on Michelangelo and culminating with Lomazzo's promulgation of *linea serpentinata* in which the movement of the flexed line becomes an image for the flame ascending to its sphere, with connotations of spiritual ascent.[37]

As we shall see, in Renaissance meditations, *gratia*, used by Quintilian in his account of *actio* and *gestio*, becomes a crucial term in the accommodation of a rhetorical tradition which regards ornament in terms of movement with arguments derived from Platonism that promulgate the divine origin of beauty and its emanation in cosmic order as ornament. The beauty and splendour invoked by Quintilian is thus consistently linked

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[34] One should remember that *energeia*, used throughout the *Ethics* to denote the activity or exercise with which Aristotle identifies life itself, also appears in poetry – in *Rhetoric* III.xi Aristotle distinguishes *energeia* as a special quality of metaphor, which places things before the eyes and gives them life.

[35] *Inst.orat.* VIII.iii.2 ("Not merely wih effective, but with gleaming weapons")trans. *op.cit.*

[36] See the discussion in *Orator* lxvii, where Cicero also likens the effectiveness of rhythmic speech to the movements of trained pugilists and gladiators, which have both vigour and grace, so that what is useful in their combat is also pleasing to look on ("ad aspectam etiam sit venustum"). In keeping with these athletic metaphors are the warnings that he beauty of grace or ornament does not fall into effeminacy or languor and the exhortation to cultivate "virile" ornament "hic ornatus [...] virilis et fortis et sanus sit" (Quintilian VIII.iii.6). This conception of virile, robust ornament should not however fall into an exaggerated notion of Doric sturdiness – Cicero in *Brutus* xxxvi.137 notes the affectation of the rude or severe archaic style.

[37] On the development of Quintilian's analogy into the *linea serpentinata* of Mannerist art theory, see David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art.*

with movement, and here it is important to remember that *enargeia*, the rhetorical term used to denote brightness and splendour as the greatest virtue of rhetorical ornament, comes from the root *αργ* and is related to the adjective *argos* used to describe the shining light, and the rapid motion that causes flickering light (in Homer it is the epithet of swift-footed dogs – *podas argoi*). Throughout the rhetorical tradition this term was confused or conflated with *energeia*, the activity through which a thing accomplishes its purpose, celebrated by Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* as the chief virtue of metaphor, which "ensouls" objects and places them before the eyes.

I stress this coupling of activity and visuality in order to dispel the supposition that visuality necessarily implies static contemplation; despite Cicero's repeated appeals to the predominance of contemplation in the Platonic tradition (as in his invocation of the Platonic idea at the opening of *Orator*), the end of rhetoric is movement - both the representations of the orator which aim at liveliness and the *perturbationes* of the audience. Aristotle remarked on the pathetic nature of oratory (*i.e.* relating to *pathos*) and many of the tropes, such as figures of repetition, were meant to portray a certain emotional state which the consummate orator should feels as he acts it out (vehemence, distress, hesitation *etc*) - when speaking of action in relation to rhetorical figures, one should not divorce it from *actio*, which Demosthenes called the most important element in oratory.[38] Where the discussion of *elocutio* used the simile of body and soul to describe the relationship of words and thought, in *actio* thought is enacted as a kind of bodily language, *sermo corporis*. The relationship of body and words is strengthened through this reciprocal mirroring, whose external show of the concord of the body and the word reflects the deeper concord of *sententiae* and *verba*, which has at its heart the discussion of decorum, expressed through the metaphor of the harmonious body. *Actio* in short incarnates the metaphorical body of the union of wisdom and eloquence in the real body of the orator in the performance of decorum - thus Cicero says that the posture and movement of Antonius seemed to agree with the course of his thought even more than his words.[39]

If decorum manifests itself in terms of a harmonious body that is imitated in the measure of rhythm and illuminated by the "lights" of figures, this emphasis on *actio*, enactment as the concrete realisation of decorum in certain circumstances leads us back to Cicero's emphasis on *eutaxia*, propriety in fitting time and place. We have looked above at the shift from the ethical action of praxis to the enactment of decorum, where

[38] Recalled by Cicero in *Brutus* xxxvii.142, where he also recalls its persuasive force "Nothing else so penetrates the mind, shapes, moulds, turns it, and causes the orator to seem such a man as he will" "Nulla res magis penetrat in animos eosque fingit format flectit talisque oratoes videri facit, qualis se videri volunt" (ed. Loeb). This emphasis on the enactment of inward through outward movement (emotion through motion), constitutes part of the importance of rhetoric for the arts.

[39] *Brutus* xxxvii.141 "gestus erat non verba exprimens, sed cum sententiis congruens". I have given the translation of the Loeb edition above – one should of course note that *sententiae*, rhetorically speaking, are not only houghts, wishes, and so on, but the ornaments of thought, as in "sententious" forms -maxims, aphorisms.

*actio* becomes performance and *energeia* a quality ascribed to the liveliness of figurative language. The characterisation of decorum in terms of *constantia* and *convenientia*, it was claimed, not only implies artifice in the performance of praxis but in its setting, and applies the harmony and continuity amongst all things in a particular setting, to the relationships which pertain between settings. If the setting is unspoken prerequisite for anything to happen, the art that deals with the articulation of the setting, architecture, confers upon this implicit condition an explicit form, in response to the recognition and codification of certain occasion as typical.[40] If we turn to the *mise en scene* of Cicero's own works, we find a very conscious elaboration of the background from the setting in anything must take place to a carefully constructed commemorative scene serves to monumentalise the action which takes place within it by relating this action to the memories of noble and famous events with which the setting is associated, and identified. Such enrichment of an activity through the associations of the setting always goes alongside the distinction of activities according to decorum and rhetoric in terms of occasion - if the circumstances of each case are individual, occasion (codified in the three genres of rhetoric) reveals the typicality of each case, and confers an explicit form upon it. Thus the continuity between setting and action, in which we see the beginning of what will become a continuum of self-conscious artifice in the Renaissance, shows how each forms the other, with occasion and circumstances shaping the setting and the associative, commemorative qualities of the setting as *locus* influencing the action. Before we look at Cicero's works, one should recall that the description of place (*topographia* or *topothesia*) is part of the creation of vivid visual depiction of *enargeia*, *illustratio*, or *evidentia* which makes the listener seem to see events unfold in a theatre (Quintilian, VIII.iii). Topically speaking, such descriptions form part the *argumenta ab re*, concerning the motive, place, time, means, and instrument of an action – all part of the conditions of praxis, which the orator seeks to constitute in his speech. As Ann Vasaly remarks, praise and blame can be derived from the place itself, and the types of individual one finds in certain places – *ethos* thus seems derived from, or defined by topos.[41] Similarly, the sacred character of objects may be lie in their association with place – Vasaly discusses the Verrine orations, in which Cicero as prosecuting lawyer charged Verres with the plunder of artworks, most importantly sacred objects, during his office as *praetor* of Sicily, as a work where we find *topographia* and *enargeia* combined.[42]

When Cicero undertakes the artificial recreation of a setting of his own works, the observation of *eutaxia* fundamental to decorum often contains an associative, even commemorative character – the background to the dialogue becomes explicit as it is identified with a background of tradition, highlighted in a deictic manner by the protagonists. This tradition is Greece, and the favoured setting is the *umbratilis*, the leafy setting as image of philosophical retreat from public life for which Cicero criticises the

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[40] See the remarks of Vitruvius on *decor*, *De arch.*, I.ii.5.

[41] Ann Vasaly, *Representations Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory*, California 1993.

[42] The dislocation of objects from their sacred setting was most widely practised in the triumph, with its shift from symbolic understanding of objects to the display of them as celebration of fame, and historical glory.

philosophers in *De officiis*. Cicero's use of the landscape of *otium* shows the programmed imitation of Greek philosophical culture, and the overtly scenic mode of its representation in the Roman world, but this imitation is, like all true imitation, a vessel of the transformation of philosophical contempt for political life into a scene for speculative discussion which is meaningful in its mimetic distance from the other activities which serve to define the situations of civic life (*negotium*). The point here is not just the positive evaluation of political life or the notion of *otium* and *negotium* as reciprocally fulfilling, rather than opposed, but the fact that all the settings for social activity of any kind are equally subject to articulation in response to decorum – we might contrast this with the exaltation of *theoria* in *Nicomachean Ethics* X, where Aristotle notes that contemplation takes place in leisure liberated from social responsibility and so beyond the considerations of fitting time and place which are inseparable from praxis. If the settings of *negotium* (both civic and rural) may be defined through the characters and activities that one finds in them, often drawn from theatre[43] (*ethos* and topos), this leaves the question of the delineation of *otium*, which is by definition without occupation and therefore the character types which arise from occupation. There is one work in particular to which Cicero returns repeatedly as a source for his depiction of *otium* – *Phaedrus*. The landscape of *Phaedrus* is a topos in the fullest sense, a place where the delights of nature are inhabited or played over by divine presences - the *entopioi theoi* - which both "inspire" certain kinds of discourse and form their proper background or expression. In *Phaedrus* we thus find a degree of alignment between the arguments of inspiration, their poetic style and the numinous overtones of the pastoral setting, and so the dialogue becomes an early depiction of what becomes a topography of *otium* - the careful representation of the setting of philosophical or poetic speculations in which the reposeful qualities of a place soothe the body while its sacred nature inspires the mind to *enthusiasmos*.[44] In contrast to the civic setting, whose character is derived from activity in the sense of occupation, the landscape in *Phaedrus* is recognised as a topos because it has already become a verbal object – a site of myth, which concerns the activities of legendary and divine figures, and is revered through association. It is this literary character on which Cicero draws, and develops in various ways, from direct citation to reflection on the ancestral, or historical character of the mythicised place.

One finds small, but significant references, almost with the character of studied markers or stage directions, throughout the dialogues and academic works – the second part of the *Academica* takes place in the xystus of Hortensius's villa, *De amicitia* takes place in a garden, *De natura deorum* in the exedra of Cotta's house, and in *Brutus* the

[43] Vasaly, *op.cit.*, notes that Cicero in *Pro Roscio* uses the dramatic type of the *bonus rusticus* to defend the farmer Roscius.

[44] As in other aspects of the dialogue, the presentation of the setting combines solemnity with irony – the *entopioi theoi* are first invoked mockingly, in Socrates's initial, "impious" reply to Lysias's speech, and then at crucial point where the argument changes tone and argument, such as Socrates's divine sign" at 242b, pr the myth of the cicadas at 259b-d, which come respectively at the beginning and end of the palinode. Socrates insists that he remains within the city walls because civic life, not trees, provides the material for philosophy, and the *genius loci* of the banks of the Ilissus should not, he warns, becomes objects for the kind of pedantic literary exegesis that distracts us from the true philosophical task to know oneself.

speakers sit down on the grass beside a statue of Plato to discuss the history of oratory, as though the *entopioi theoi* of *Phaedrus* had been concretised into the form of monuments to historic exemplars. Given Plato's views on rhetoric his appearance as a *genius loci* seems an ironic choice, but this and the fact that Cicero named the two gymnasia of his Tusculan villa the Lyceum and the Academia, after the places where Aristotle and Plato taught shows the kind of cultural project that underlies the promulgation of oratory as master art – the demonstration that Roman rhetoric can equal Greek speculative culture also entails the presentation of an acceptable and desirable form of hellenisation. Cicero's depiction of the setting goes deeper than this, however, as three cases, from *De oratore*, *De finibus* and *De legibus* make clear. In *De oratore*, where Cicero takes on Plato's arguments on the side of rhetoric, with Crassus portrayed like a Roman, oratorical counterpart to Socrates, caught up in contemplation before he gives his discourse on *elocutio* in Book Three, the dramatic discussion of oratory starts as Scaevola spots a plane tree in the gardens of Crassus's villa which reminds him of *Phaedrus*, and suggests that everyone sit and talk beneath it, since the setting in Plato's dialogue could inspire divine eloquence even in the rough footed Socrates.[45] The setting by the banks of the Illisus in *Phaedrus* is a literary artifice in a dialogue concerned with literary artifice, but in Cicero's development of the topos the qualities of recollection which the place inspires, already very important in *Phaedrus*, become the basis for explicit projects of imitation. In this conception, the setting does not merely signal continuity with the central action, but can itself represent things which shape the action within it through their associated, memorial qualities. If the garden setting of *De oratore* is partly the stage for a Roman, oratorical imitation of *Phaedrus*, argued from the side of oratory, its imitative qualities have a decidedly commemorative character which extends to the notably elegiac presentation of Crassus himself - the account of his death as a prologue to the meditations on the *vis divina* of rhetoric, *elocutio*, in Book Three, casts a quality of *et in Arcadia ego* over the final book.

This memorial quality appears in *De finibus*, where there is a discussion of how place inspires memory - to be in a place where famous men lived or worked moves us more than reading of them or their deeds and for this reason place is the basis of the art of memory. The recollection inspired by the *locus amoenus* in *Phaedrus* is mythological and it leads to the theme of inspiration by the *theoi entopioi* who move those who visit the place to sacred meditations. The loci which move us through the recollection which they hold in *De finibus* v.2 are essentially linked to historical reflection and so to active life - a place moves us, not in itself, but because we recall the events that happened within it, and thus its moving or suggestive character as *locus* has an essentially commemorative quality, which can be identified with or encapsulated in certain objects, and so re-evoked or reproduced by them. The topos as a place in which certain ideas or feelings are held is then linked with the capacity to recollect things in terms of place which formed the basis of the art of memory, "tanta vis admonitionis in locis, ut non sine causa ex iis memoriae

[45] I.vii.28. The charms of the plane tree in Crassus's patrician estate, spoilt by Scaevola's arrogant assurance that could he could become at least as inspired as Socrates, are further damaged by the fact that Crassus and friends sit on chairs on cushions brought by slaves.

ducta sit disciplina".[46] Such recollection easily lends itself to imitation - the connotations associated with a certain *locus* can be evoked if the *locus* in its distinguishing features can be represented or reproduced. As noted, for Cicero, such representation has an emphatically commemorative quality, since the physical *locus* (as opposed to the logical topic or the instrumental places of artificial memory) is fundamentally a place in which something has happened. The real *locus* itself - the Academy in Athens, to take the example in *De finibus*, will always have a deeper impact than its imitations - what concerns us more here is the capacity to imitate the *locus*, which takes it out of its rooted-ness in *kairos*, making it an element of the conspicuous configuration of decorum and an an object of rhetorical evocation. The theme is developed in from historical to ancestral association in *De legibus*, which opens with a description of the ancient oak at Arpinum which is declared to live for ever, since it has been planted by a poet's verses (actually Cicero's) – again we find *Phaedrus* invoked in discussion of the mythological topos. This poetic invocation of Arpinum, which mythicises the landscape in order to immortalise it, is balanced in the opening chapters of Book II, where Arpinum is invoked again - this time not as literary topos but as the birthplace of Cicero, which provokes reflection of the sanctity of the place where one is born and where ancestral rites took place. Arpinum is the *sacra privata*, the first fatherland of Cicero and his brother Marius, their parent by nature, while Rome is a *sacra publica*, which becomes a fatherland through citizenship, a second father by law or adoption, although it is this greater fatherland and common citizenship which demands duty, service and obedience.[47]

*De legibus* brings together the themes of the sacred character of a place and historical association in the evocation of the ancestral place, seat of family history and family religion, from which one draw up one's identity and feel to the full the sense of *communitas*. The idealised ancestral *locus* is thus the place in which decorum appears to the full, in which the setting is literally the ground for the sense of virtue and continuity that provides the *constantia* for the whole of life, so the character and its dispositions are in the deepest harmony with the setting. In so drawing together historical and sacred associations, Cicero can envisage a continuum that embraces various settings and unites them in asserting their shared commemorative character. The tension between scenes of political activity and scenes of contemplative retirement, so strong in Cicero's philosophical sources, seems to shift in his work into a continuity between sites of action and sites of imitation, united by the universality of decorum. While action – primarily legal or political action – may concern the demands of particular cases, which may however be situated ultimately in universal issues, *otium* provides the occasion for re-creation and reflection, in all senses, on the other spheres of activity and the relation between them. The reflective, mimetic distance from the particularities of *negotium* which Cicero is so careful to orchestrate means that *otium* gives the possibility to reflect on culture seen as a totality, and thus it is particularly suited to the delineation of the all-embracing, all-enacting character of oratory asserted in *De oratore*. In *De Legibus* we see how rooted in appeals to association is this ideal of a seamless continuity between occasion, its action and its background; if the ancestral home offers the most perfect

[46] V.i ("No wonder the scientific training of memory is based upon locality") Loeb ed., H.Rackham 1983.
[47] *De legibus* II.i.1 – iii.6.

exemplar, references to the recollection of illustrious figures or scenes can serve to guarantee decorum and the degree to which it is rooted both in ethics, founded in universal concerns of measure and justice, and historical evaluation and commemoration. In short, the commemorative qualities of the physical setting of decorum where the associations of the celebrated events of another time or place, concretised through the references of the architecture, statues and so on, provides the scene for an enactment which attempts to evoke or vie with past events in virtue and distinction, whilst insisting on its own particularity, and its situation in universal order of measure, harmony and justice.[48]

We have brought this up as a prelude to the Renaissance works on which we are focussed here, such as Alberti's "philology" of classical architecture, his concern with the building as setting, the spheres of activity and the family home as social microcosm. Again, the space we have given to *otium* looks forward to the last section of the work, which considers the seemingly universalising programmes of representation that occur in certain mid sixteenth century villas, notably those designed by Pirro Ligorio. By this period, the "universal" nature of the representations which can be made in the theatre of figuration at a mimetic distance from civic life run the risk of swallowing up mimetic distance into the continuity and *constantia* (in Cicero's language) of this all-embracing depiction. An effect of this in the later Renaissance, as we shall try to argue, is that decorum seems by the mid sixteenth century to be conceived frequently in terms of the totality of all things (arguments and image) that "arise from" a given theme and place (topos) in response to a given occasion or genre. One result of this is that appeals to decorum in mannerist decorative schemes can have the apparently paradoxical effect of calling forth "theatres" of figuration which are both encyclopaedic and monotonous. Our task here is to start on the path that leads from ancient discussions of decorum to the decorative cycles of the Zuccari, Salviati and especially Ligorio in the mid sixteenth century. The first step on this path is to see how Cicero's pronouncements on decorum and oratory are used in elaborating the idea of a continuous and total field of representation, in which everything seems to participate. From the wealth of material which could be adduced here, we shall limit ourselves to just three cases - Bruni, Alberti and Castiglione, in which we can see the consistency of decorum turning to the explicit end of the articulation of a totality transparent to representation.

To conclude, in Cicero, we see the idea of society - *communitas* - founded on the shared meanings from which the *res publica* is constituted. If these meanings arise from speech and custom as the basis of the *communitas*, they are re-enacted in speech as

[48] One could point here to other ways in which this imitative, associative consciousness of the setting seems to be asserted in Rome, such as the theatric character of Roman architecture, with the centrality of the *frons scaenae*–triumphal arch, and in Roman painting, where it takes appears not just in the elaboration of scenographic frames into an ornamental repertoire but in the frequent placing of theatre masks - *personae* - in images of small gardens, beside bowls of fruit or heaps of game. Again, one could see in the triumph, which mixes the religious procession with the display of objects taken in war from a sacred or symbolic context to become trophies of historical glory, the mingling of sacred and historical associations that characterises Cicero's depiction of the context of his works.

oratory and *actio*. We have seen that Cicero frames the reflections on oratory as the *sine qua non* of social construction and representation at a deliberate mimetic distance, but we do not find in his writings an explicit conception of culture as a totality transparent to representation.[49] As we move now from the elements laid down by Cicero to their development in the Renaissance, we should note firstly that the consciousness of mimetic distance and theatrality attendant on the avowed transparency of things to representation has its visual counterpart and frame in perspective, which Alberti was the first to expound in writing. Secondly, as we progress from Bruni to Alberti to Castiglione, one might distinguish a progressive emphasis on artifice which culminates in the cultivation of artificial naturalness, in evidence that artifice has permeated the whole continuum of representation. In Bruni we see the antecedent of this process, in the effort to represent a city in its totality, its aspect constituted by the rhetorical occasion - panegyric - which presents the city in terms of praise (*laus*). Such praise should not be considered as attributive, but as the illumination of an essential quality of excellence.[50] For Bruni this illumination has its embodiment in the architectural fabric of the city and thus we shall pass from his *Laudatio Florentinae Urbis* to Alberti in *De re aedificatoria*, with the caveat that we are looking here at architecture from a rhetorical point of view, as the concretisation of the body and setting of decorum, in which civic topography houses or reflects the various spheres of activity delineated in their ideal and harmonious relationship in oratorical writings and their ethical sources.

[49] These remarks should be developed at a later stage with reference to the significance given to perspectivity in Hellenistic culture.

[50] See the intelligent remarks on rhetorical praise in Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue*, *ed.cit.*.

The subordination of civic building to civic praxis is for Bruni beyond question; in *De militia* he says somewhat tartly "a city is not a collection of walls and roofs, as the uneducated believe, but a multitude of people joined together by law".[51] For Bruni, who translated the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the *Politics* and the *Economics* of Aristotle, the organisation of the city is ideally a reflection of the concord between the virtues, which in the *Nicomachean Ethics* are activated in praxis and governed by the practical intelligence, whose chief intellectual virtue is prudence. In the *Laudatio*, the civic virtues of Florence correspond to Aristotle's account of praxis in the *Ethics*, but these virtues have become objects of oratorical display, and the buildings of the city can serve as embodiments of the measure and harmony of virtue, as well as exhibiting the splendour and excellence of the city. Bruni expresses this in language that refers back directly to Cicero's discussion of decorum as *convenientia* and harmony: "Quemadmodum enim in cordis convenientia est ex diversis tonis fit harmonia, qua nihil iocundius est neque suavius, eodem modo hec prudentissima civitas ita omnes sui partes moderata est ut inde summa quedam rei publice sibi ipsi consentanea resultet, que mentes atque oculus homines convenientia delectet".[52] The very emphasis on the civic character of human beings, on the vision of the city as a whole whose perfection derives from the harmonious relation of its parts means that the physical aspect of the city is united with its activities; his derision for the notion that a city is an aggregation of buildings is not an indictment of architecture, but an insistence that it should be conceived as a manifestation of civic *communitas*.

Bruni's *Laudatio* is not the first attempt at the depiction of a city as both specific actuality and exemplar of Aristotelian moral virtue. To take one example, in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, the famous Lorenzetti frescoes of good government and its effects (and the opposite), painted 1337-39, show the city on one side of the room and an allegorical representation of the Aristotelian moral (*i.e.* civic) virtues on the adjoining wall, filtered through Aquinas and Remigio de' Girolami. (Figure 1) On this wall, where the virtues of good government appear enthroned, Concordia sits beneath Justice and Wisdom and braids the rope that binds citizens together, which is looped around the wrist of the Common Good, their lord (the inscription states "Un ben comun perlor signor sifanno"). (Figure 2) In the depiction of the city which displays the effects of good government, concord is figured by a circle of garlanded dancers who stand in the centre of the scene and dwarf the surrounding figures representative of civic life in the good republic. Just as Concordia appears at the feet of Justice in the depiction of the virtues of good government, so dancing figures appear beneath Giotto's figuration of Justice in the Capella degli Scrovegni; dance, as an embodiment of harmony, may be measure or concord, defined by Aristotle as *philia politike*, friendship in its civic, social guise

[51] *De militia*, in *The humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, Binghampton, 1987, p.129.

[52] *Laudatio Florentiae Urbis* in *Lettere e Opere Politiche*, Turin 1996, p.632. "In the same way that in stringed instruments from different tones comes harmony, the most pleasant and sweet thing, so in this most prudent city every part is regulated so that the city itself resounds with the greatest concord, which delights the minds and eyes of men".

between citizens. The dancers in the Lorenzetti fresco are neither depictions of the realities of contemporary civic life (dancing in the streets was in fact forbidden for fear of public disturbance), nor are they an interpolated allegorical abstraction, but they represent something between the two. If the city is creation and the setting of civic virtue, virtuous activity is itself the enactment in human, political life of those virtues which we see as triumphant allegorical personifications in the adjoining fresco. It is this character of enactment - of *energeia* - which the circling dance seems to emphasise, whilst the mimetic character of the performance of harmony suggests the nature of participation in the virtues depicted as forms in the allegorical representation. In other words, the dancers seem to suggest a mimetic dimension in the praxis of civic virtue, so that we do not look at a polarised vision which shows on one wall a static allegorical diagram and on the other the everyday particulars of city life, but rather may perceive the mimetic quality present in the enactment of the first by the second. If the embodiment of measure and harmony in dance celebrates the continuity between the chief civic virtue, justice, and the concord of the good city, we must also consider how this mimetic dimension affects the character of the city as place or setting of virtuous life. If we compare Lorenzetti with Alberti in *De re aedificatoria*, we find that the concord of the good republic figured by the circle of dancers is exemplified by the buildings themselves, considered as miniature cities, whose embodiment of harmony is repeatedly compared to that of music - Alberti even speaks of a building as "garlanded" (*redimitia*) by its manifestation of measure.[53] The topography of Lorenzetti's good republic - the duomo in the highest corner, furthest from the gate, the dancers in a clearing in the midst of an aggregation of shops and workshops, the bridal procession which moves to an unseen destination, the fruitful interdependence of city and *contado*, is in Renaissance conceptions of the city synthesised into a perspectival continuum which provides an explicitly theatrical scene for the enactment of civic virtue. As this theatrical character is elaborated, so the allegorical gods and virtues, which Lorenzetti places on an adjoining wall, move into the city and become seemingly integral with the setting, conceived as an embodiment of measure and harmony in itself. If on one hand the synthesis of the topographies of Lorenzetti's good republic into a theatrical *scenographia* in the ideal city of Renaissance is achieved through perspective, on the other the city as a fitting vessel and representation of political-ethical life and its activities demands a consciousness of its own representational possibilities. The rhetorical tradition, whose myths of origin concern the founding of civic societies, provides a lexicon and a mode of reflection with which to supply this consciousness, so it is thus no accident that Alberti, author of the first exposition of *costruzione legittima* of perspective, writes also the first account of architecture in which it is treated as a political art, equivalent to rhetoric, from which it derives much of its terminology.

With Bruni, we are at a half way point between the late medieval republic depicted by Lorenzetti and the synthesis of rhetoric, philology, architecture and perspective which Alberti seems to attempt through the spectrum of his interests - the city is asserted as a totality, but it is totality asserted (almost imposed) by rhetoric, which insists on the

[53] *De re aedificatoria* I.ii.

architectural fabric as an *ornamentum* in relation to its virtues.[54] One might suggest that the expression of civic concord in the circle of dancing figures in Lorenzetti's fresco of good government has been moved onto the city as a whole, conceived in the *Laudatio* as an ornate and harmonious body, a manifestation of *concinnitas*; while Bruni is not concerned directly with architectural representation, his work shows quite clearly the rhetorical background to Alberti's efforts to articulate the union of the harmonious body of the building or the city, and the harmonious body of decorum. To return for a second to the Aristotelian terminology known to Bruni as promulgator of the "Humanist Aristotle", the *Laudatio* is an excellent illustration of the way in which decorum tends to collapse Aristotle's distinction between praxis and poiesis - the city exists both in continuity with its virtues, at once their setting and outer manifestation, and is the product of industry and skill, or *techne*. Most conspicuous however, is the commemorative representation of the city, appropriate to the epideictic genre of Bruni's speech.

If Bruni speaks of architecture as a manifestation of the *communitas* established through law and custom (i.e. through oratory, politics and history), it is thus conceived in terms of display. There is a clear case of this in the funeral oration of Nanno Strozzi, where the epideictic oratory which the occasion demands is paralleled by Bruni with the visible representation of praise - a "splendid display of words as well as outward things". These "outward things" refer both to the funeral pomps and the city, which itself demands a "particularly sublime tone [...] and a grand, distinguished style of address".[55] Bruni elaborates on the relation of "praise of appropriate words" to "magnificent display of outward things" saying "When verbal embellishment is added to visual display the gratitude of the living becomes visible and the virtues and deeds of the deceased are disclosed and illuminated in a kind of splendour".[56] Bruni seems here to imply a thoroughly rhetorical understanding of the "outward things" (amongst which architecture has a prominent position) as *ornatus* or triumph, and this begs the question of Bruni's larger conception of *ornatus*, as it arises from his emphasis on historical meaning - an emphasis that he brings to bear on Aristotle himself. Bruni's exaltation of the moral philosophy of the "humanist" Aristotle over the logic of the *Organon*, and the *litterae* over moral philosophy, implied a conception of language as the instrument of active life, whose meaning was inseparable from the context of *usus*; in contrast to the Aristotelian view of spatial and temporal relations as accidentals to the substantial essence (*ousia*) of a thing, the fundamental meaning of words lie in *ingenium*, which addresses the thing in its particular, historical situation ("momento temporis ad rem se applicet").[57] Words, in short, are philological entities rather than philosophical instruments, deployed and interpreted in concrete and historical situations, and to depict the unique historical reality

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[54] Were we to imagine how Lorenzetti's image for concord in the dancers with their graceful movement, festive garlands and rich clothing would translate into a rhetorical encomium, the figure of civic harmony as circling dance would most probably be expressed in a phrase such as "harmony is the chief, resplendent and crowning ornament of the well-governed city" or "concord is the praise which crowns and adorns the city" - the sort of language which we indeed find in Bruni.

[55] *Oration for the funeral of Nanno Strozzi* in *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, *ed.cit.*pp.122-23.

[56] *ibid.*

[57] Cited in E. Grassi, *Renaissance Humanism*, Binghampton, 1988, p.23. The discussion here is indebted to Grassi's observations.

represented through the *ingenium* of language, it is necessary to cultivate *copia verborum* - richness of expression, variety and metaphor. *Ingenium* also entails the discovery of similitudes, and we can start to view language as a complex whole, realised in a unique situation, yet related by means of similitudes to other situations and meanings; thus ornament, which encompasses variety and metaphor of the *dicendi figura*, is crucial to the realisation of complex wholes in this dynamic philological view of meaning in language. In this philological view of meaning created through the analogies between the unique configuration of meaning in a particular situation, and the similarities it bears to other meanings in other situations, Bruni speaks of the ornaments which light up the surface of speech like stars as the true instruments of oratory ("Iam vero illa verborum sententiarumque ornamenta, quae tanquam stellae quaedam et faces orationem illuminant et admirabilem reddunt, instrumenta oratorum propria sunt").[58]

In the *Laudatio*, this view of ornament as intrinsic to the illumination of things in terms of historicity and variety joins with the epideictic sense of ornament as a way of illustrating the excellence or distinction of the thing praised. The praise of "hec prestantissima et ornatissima urbs",[59] illuminates the excellence of the city, conceived as a historical entity - buildings seem to feature in the *Laudatio* as both fitting settings and displays of a unique and distinctive splendour, an assertion of the rich and harmonious wholeness of the city as it is revealed by language in history. This historical perspective, which is further developed in his *History of the Florentine People*, forerunner of the great histories of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, also relates to the *Laudatio* itself as a work of *imitatio*, which takes for its models Aristides's panegyric on Athens, the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates and the oration of Thycidides at the funeral of Pericles.

The *maxima ornamenta* of the Florentines are their moral virtues - just as the Florentines excell in their "naturali quodam ingenio, prudentia, lautitia et magnificentia" ("natural ability, prudence, elegance and magnificence"), so their city outshines others in its splendour, ornament, and elegance "splendore et ornatu et munditia superat".[60] Decorum requires that virtue has an outer form of corresponding splendour, and thus the visual aspect of the city places its virtues before the eyes, much like the admired rhetorical devices of *illustratio* and *enargeia*, as in the funeral oration for Nanno Strozzi, which celebrates the city through eloquence and "the magnificent display of outward things". The splendour of the city is not therefore a mere outer dress for the virtues of its inhabitants, but an excellence which penetrates through every part of the fabric of the city. Bruni contrasts other cities, where a few lavish monuments or elegant streets stand in contrast to the undistinguished character of the rest of the city, with Florence, saying, "In our city there is no street or district which is filled with the most eminent and ornate

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[58] "For truly those ornament of speech and discourse which shine in our speech like stars and flames and make it worthy of admiration are the special stock of the orators". *De studiis et litteris*, cited in J.Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in the Renaissance*, Ann Arbor 1963 p.203. Seigel cites Cassirer on Bruni "The style in which a doctrine is set forth is no longer considered an accessory and exterior element but becomes the decisive criteria for evaluating its objective content" (*op.cit.*p.209).

[59] *Laudatio*, *op.cit.*, p.586.

[60] *op.cit.*p.570.

buildings".[61] This sounds like hyperbolic *campanilismo*, but the theme is essentially that of the *convenientia* and *constantia* of decorum, developed in a way that links rhetorical arguments for the unity of form and content with the analogy of the building as body so important in Renaissance architectural writings. The *ornamenti* of other cities are instantly visible to the traveller, as an outer covering or shell (*in primo cortice*), but anyone who goes beyond the "celibriora loca" to the core or marrow (*non domorum cortices sed medullas*) will find that outer appearances belie inner realities "proque externo decore interne sordes".[62] In contrast with the superficial enticement of the *cortex*, the outer rind or skin which disguises inner poverty, in Florence the buildings which form the setting and image of virtuous civic life are ornate throughout, and their outer splendour is the proper counterpart to their inner elegance. The harmony between the external and internal parts of each building, and between the districts which comprise the parts of the city creates a continuum of representation compared not to eloquent oratory but to a living creature "Non enim inter parietes minus ornamenti aut magnificentie habet quam extra; nec una aut altera via decora aut nitida est, sed universe totius urbis partes. Nam velut sanguis per universam corpus, sic ornamenta delitieque per universam urbem diffuse sunt".[63] The striking metaphor overturns derisory conceptions of ornament as appliqué and we find it again in *De studiis et litteris*, where Bruni says "all the riches, power and polish in our expression, its lifeblood, as it were, we derive from the orators".[64] The notion of blood diffused through a body also harks back to Cicero's remark in *De officiis* I.iv that decorum is inseparable (*confusum*) from virtue in the way that beauty is inseparable from health in the body. What is distinctive however in Bruni's metaphor is the comparison of ornament to lifeblood - that is, to the vital spirits which in Renaissance physiology formed the link between body and soul. If ornament displays the relationship between the decorum (the "praise") of the city and its material fabric, the simile of lifeblood suggests a relation between the two of soul and body; in conceiving of the city as ornament, Bruni can bring the physical setting into oratorical representation, and can thus join the material body of the city to the ethical harmony of decorum.[65] Once the visual form of order and splendour of the city is established as a body, an epideictic representation of virtue, it then becomes a question of articulating this body. This Bruni does in a way which Baron sees as prefiguring perspective, except that the continuum of representation is founded on the *convenientia* and *constantia* of self-fashioning of decorum.[66]

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[61] "In hac nostra nulla est via, nulla regio urbis, que non amplissimis atque onrnatissimis edificiis sit referta" *op.cit.*, p.576.

[62] "Propriety without, squalor and meanness within", *op.cit.*, p.578.

[63] The outer walls have not more ornament and magnificence than those within, nor is one street or another handsome or beautifully kept and refined, but the parts of the whole city in general are thus. As blood is spread through the whole body, so ornament and charm are spread throughout the city". *Laudatio*, *op.cit.* p.578.

[64] *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, *op.cit.*p.244.

[65] One should recall again here Cicero's observations on decorum as embodied by apt ornament and on the metaphor of decorum as harmonious body.

[66] See Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renasissance*, Princeton, 1955 "In the *Laudatio*, we may say, the first attempt is made to discover the secret laws of optics and perspective that made the Florentine landscape appear as one great scenic perspective" (p.167).

If Bruni has already affirmed the continuity between civic virtue and the distinction of civic architecture, and between the outer aspect of buildings and their "marrow", he then turns these ideas of *convenientia* to the topography of the city, perceived as a hierarchy of settings. Thus the modulation of decorum goes alongside the notion of a continuum of representation, since once we appeal to decorum, all things become related insofar as they observe it. Bruni therefore pays some attention to the relationship between the centre of the city, its suburbs and its location, leading the reader out of the city to its surroundings. This panorama is constituted, as one might expect, as a series of literary *topoi* - the hills of Florence seem to laugh with delight, the setting of the city is a paradise, without equal in its loveliness, where the attributes of the *locus amoenus* are the fitting counterpart to the pleasures of suburban villas; "Nam quid ego de cubiculis aut triclinis loquar, quibus nihil est magnificentius aut ornatius? Inter hec vero frondosi luci, florida prata, letissimi rivi, nitidissimi fontes et, quod omnia superat, natura ipsa locorum ad letitiam nata".[67] The agricultural labours of the *contado* in Lorenzetti's fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena are not to be seen in the outskirts of Florence, where delightful groves fecund with poetic quotation appear as a topographical continuum of garden and city which has its architectural expression first in the monumental villas of the sixteenth century, and later in urbanistic projects. Thus the city and its setting are depicted in a complementary relationship, each "framing" the other; once we have reached the hills which "set" the city in its location like a jewel, or the boss of a clipaeus, the perspective is reversed and we look down into the city as a panorama "tantam molem urbis, tantam amplitudinem, tantum ornatum, tantam frequentiam villarum conspiciantur".[68] Bruni gives a subtle rendering of decorum here, with the outskirts of the city exhibiting the charm proper to *otium*, while the core of civic splendour resides in the centre: "et ville lonquinos aspectus, et suburbia ville, et urbs ipsa suburbia pulchritudine vincit".[69] The mutual dependence of supply and defence between city and *contado* is thus replaced by a scenic topography suggested in part by the actual panoramic situation of Florence, whose vistas are perspectives created by decorum, which allows for a whole which is both graduated and harmonious.

This extension of decorum out from the city is also a framing of the city, essential to the representation of its totality. The frame brings completion to depiction; it also provides a setting, and we see this in Bruni as the movement out from the civic centre to its natural setting becomes an elaboration of the background into artifice, so that even nature, the outer limit of the setting, is rendered in terms of literary *topoi*. In one sense the framing devices of the work, in which we should include the descriptions of architecture, show the constant preoccupation with the mediation between action, occasion and setting, hence Bruni's interest in asserting the reciprocity between rhetorical and visual ornament

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[67] "What shall I say of private rooms and dining rooms, more magnificent and ornate than anything? And between are leafy groves, flowery meadows, most sparking streams, and, above all, nature herself, born for delight in these places" *op.cit.*p.580. Amongst the *topoi* used by Bruni we find the Homeric description of snow on the hills as the moon surrounded by stars to describe the villas which to have fallen from heaven rather than been built by human hand.

[68] "What a massive city, what immensity, what ornament, what great numbers of villas are seen" *ibid.*

[69] As the villas surpass the distant view, so the suburbs surpass the villas, and the city itself surpasses the suburbs in beauty *op.cit.*p.582.

as creating a full representation in the oration for Nanni Strozzi, for example. On the other hand, there is the potential that the mediation performed by ornament may obscure the rooted-ness in the background in its preoccupation with the praise of the central object, and we can perceive this in the *Laudatio* in the way that the city starts to transform into artwork, rendered through literary *topoi* and described as a clipaeus made up of four concentric rings, presented in a kind of proto-perspective and characterised by the qualities of rhetorical *elocutio* - *elegantia*, *concinnitas* - which run through its every aspect and detail.[70] We can see in Bruni a question to which we shall return again, regarding the dual nature of framing which on one hand serves to mediate the background, on the other seems to attempt to absorb it. It was remarked above that the project of conceiving of one's culture in terms of a totality transparent to representation entails a consciousness of mimetic distance and theatrality in representation itself. It also needs to be noted that such mimetic distance can be difficult to maintain in the face of totality - one can see the beginning of this problem in Bruni, where the effort to represent Florence in all its aspects as an artwork, with each attempt to articulate the background resulting in an extension of artifice, finally poses the question of whether praxis, the essence and praise of civic life, may not also lose its quality of engagement in the idealisation of the city state as *convenientia*.

*De re aedificatoria*

The foregoing discussion of decorum in terms of consistency pointed to the idea of an integrated whole described in terms of visual harmony. In this ideal of decorum, there is no divide between outer and inner; rather than the mutual reflection of form and content, we might think of *constantia* or *convenientia*, as Cicero says, and it is this ideal of harmonious continuity which seems to inform Bruni's depiction of the city in terms of *ornatus* and Alberti's employment of *concinnitas* as a term which embraces ornamentation (in rhetorical usage) and the use of harmonic ratios to establish dimensions.[71] In Bruni's *Laudatio*, we seemed to see the outward aspect (the display or

[70] Baron *op.cit.* notes that Bruni speaks of civic institutions in these terms, not so much concerned with civic offices as with the harmonious relationship, described through the language of music and rhetoric and concludes that the *Laudatio* was the first presentation of a civic constitution as a work of art. The question of how the historic character of the city as asserted by Bruni (daughter of the Roman republic and upholder of civic liberty against the Milanese) fits in with the portrait of this city in its harmonious totality must be examined in order to arrive at a fuller reading of the *Laudatio*.

[71] It is well at the outset of the discussion to recall Alberti's fame as a man of letters: in the letter of dedication to Lorenzo de'Medici in the 1485 printed edition, Poliziano writes "Dubitare possis utrum ad orationem magis an ad poeticam factus. Utrum gravior illi sermo fuerit an urbanior. Ita perscrutatus antiquitatis vestigia est ut omnem veterum architectandi rationem et deprehenderit et in exemplum revocaverit" ("You might have asked yourself whether he was more an orator or a poet, whether his style was more majestic or graceful. So thorough was his examination of the remains of antiquity that he was able to graps every principle of ancient architecture and renew it b example") Translation J.Rykwert, N.Leach and R.Tavernor, MIT 1988, p.1. Poliziano's words emphasis the philological character of Alberti's studies of ancient architecture – a point to which we shall return later. In the *Proemio al Comento Dantesco*, Landino praises Alberti for his eloquence "in orazione e in prosa ha avanzato e vinto tutti e' superiori" (*ed. cit.*p.117). Landino also makes Alberti the apologist of contemplative life in his *Camuldensean Disputations*, which seems a curious choice given Alberti's emphasis on the exercise of

"praise") of harmonious ordering, *ornatus*, as both consistent throughout the city and subject to graduation, as the city is perceived as a hierarchy of settings. It should be repeated that Cicero's discussion in *De officiis* is crucial to an understanding of Bruni and Alberti on the city, since it moves from Aristotle's discussion of the virtues of civic life (the city as the place of virtuous action) to an emphasis on the consistent and harmonious enactment of these virtues by means of decorum, and on the analogy between moral and aesthetic beauty. Where Bruni wishes to demonstrate the proper consistency between superiority in civic virtue and in the physical city which is its setting and its product, Alberti is concerned with the articulation of decorum in a city whose buildings are expressions of the variety of human needs and actions, and of the ordering of the human soul, which is in turn reflected in the political order.[72] As we pass to consideration of *De re aedificatoria*, let us also remember that the attempt to make the whole art of building an expression of the harmony which is both source and outward aspect of decorum implies a further development in the conception of the city as a self-conscious space of representation – one which is capable of forming the body for all the creative faculties, dispositions and activities of which human society and human virtue are capable, reiterated back and forth between the city and the private house.

In our reading of Alberti, we shall see that Cicero's formulation of decorum through the analogy of the measured body is concretised, so that architecture provides both an embodiment of decorum and a formal description of it in terms of the consistency achieved through systems of proportion and dimension, which are ultimately shown to be based on harmonic ratios.[73] The harmonious body of Cicero's simile becomes realised and susceptible to mathematical analysis, while this body, as the setting for human life, may be viewed as the fitting ornament of the life carried on within it, the theme of architecture as "dignitatem decusque rei publicae" in which we see the continuity between Bruni and Alberti.[74] Like Bruni, whose translations of Aristotle serve to consolidate the political character of the ethical-rhetorical relationships discussed by

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*virtù*. We shall not deal here with Alberti's literary works, which constitue a considerable output and are so varied in tone that the project of considering the works as a unified corpus has so far eluded most scholars. The recent study of Anthony Grafton (*Alberti Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance*, Harmondsworth 2000) is an intellectual biography which starts with the early works (*Philodoxus*, *De commodis litterarum atque incommodis*) and culminates with the writings on architecture and urbanism. Mark Jarzomberk in *On Leon Baptista Alberti* in response to the concentration on Alberti's rationalism in artistic theory and social affairs, underlines the elements of satire and discontinuity in literary works such as the *Intercoenales*. This is merely to say that one should be careful not to homogenise Alberti's "project", or insist on ideals of harmony and unity while ignoring the shifting and violently disruptive satire of such works as *Momus*, written virtually alongside the promulgation of political and architectonic order in *De re aedificatoria*.

[72] Resumed in the *Praefactio* "To conclude, then let it be said that the security, dignity and honour (*decus*) of the republic depend greatly on the architect: it is he who is responsible for delight (*amoenitas*), entertainment (*festivitas*) and health (*salus*) while at leisure (*otium*), and our profit (*emolumentem*) and advantage (*incrementem rerum*) while at work (*negotium*), and in short, that we live in a dignified manner, free from any danger" (English translation, *op.cit.*, p.5) The editions used are a Paris edition of circa 1512, the Latin-Italian text of P.Portoghesi and G.Orlandi and the English translation cited above. It is superfluous to observe that the *incrementem rerum* and *emolumentem* are the activities of the early capitalist state.

[73] At IX.v, following the discussion of character of beauty and the definition of *concinnitas*.

[74] *Praefactio*, Portoghesi p.13, Rykwert p.5.

Cicero, Alberti's work is profoundly influenced by the *Nicomachean Ethics* and by Plato whose *Laws* and *Republic* are repeatedly cited. This is clear from the first lines of *De re aedificatoria* which echo the opening of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, with its discussion of the master art (*architektonikē*) to whose end all other arts are subordinate. Alberti's exordium entails an inversion of the opening lines of the *Ethics* - Alberti remarks that although all the important arts seem to compete to be of the greatest possible use of humanity, yet they all consider their particular ends, to the exclusion of anything else, and he advances architecture as most architectonic of the arts. This postulation of architecture as architectonic art immediately suggests to the reader that Alberti's work concerns a meditation on the relationship between the art of building and political science, the original Aristotelian *architektonikē* so that from the first lines of *De re aedificatoria* we understand that the security, dignity and honour which building provides ("stabilitatem dignitatem decusque rei publicae [...] sine periculo et cum dignitate") is grounded in the ethical ordering of the city.[75] It seems that Alberti attempts to develop a discourse of architecture capable of embracing all the potential meanings at which we have glanced, as setting for "opportune" action as in Aristotle's discussion of *kairos*, as decorum, as *locus* whose commemorative associations enrich the significations of what it houses and as body for the virtuous city, conceived as a totality structured by the various spheres of praxis. All these meanings from the ethical-rhetorical tradition must be accommodated with Vitruvius, who in a treatise structured like a work on rhetoric, founds the coherence of the building on anthropic proportions on one hand and on the other conceives of architecture as an art like medicine, music, geography and astronomy, concerned with the proper alignment of the human and the cosmos, or, more precisely, the framing of human life so as to harmonise with the cosmos.[76] The metaphor of body as building obviously has its precedent in Vitruvious's famous discussion of anthropic proportion in *De architectura* III.i, with the modular analysis of the body and its division into the "perfect number", ten. This anthropic metaphor, developed in the analogy of the "male" and "female" orders must be read alongside Vitruvius's repeated references to universal harmony, in the discussion of acoustics in the theatre at V.iv and also in the analogy of the world as harp, with its short strings at the equator and ideal pitch in Greece and Rome. If the body, inscribed in circle and square, provides the modular which forms the cornerstone of architectural proportion, such proportion (termed *analogia* in Greek, as Vitruvius notes), which creates *symmetria* and *eurhythmia*, should be considered alongside musical proportion as embodiment of *harmonia mundi*. A Humanist architectural theory will not only be concerned with the embodiment of universal harmony, but with the actualisation of these proportions in terms of human measure in

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[75] Alberti enlarges further: "Boni viri, quod parietam aut porticum duxeris, quod ornamenta postium columnarum tectique imposueris, et tuam et suam vicem comprobant et congratulantur vel ea re maxime, quod intelligunt quidam te fructu hoc divitiarum tibi familiae posteris urbisque plurimumdecoris ac dignitatis adauxisse". "When you erect a wall or portico of great elegance or adorn it with a door, column or roof, good citizens approve and express joy for their own sake, as well as theirs, because they realise that you have used your wealth to increase greatly not only your own honour and glory, but that of your family, your descendants, and the whole city". Portoghesi p.13, Rykwert p.4.

[76] On Vitruvius's stipulation that a knowledge of medicine is necessary to the architect, see the remarks of T.N.Howe "architecture and even astronomy, which "shaped" the climates [were] essentially an extension of medicine because architecture assisted the adjustment between body and environment" (*Ten Books on Architecture*, translated and edited I.Rowland and T.N.Howe, Cambridge, 1999, p.138).

each given setting. Human measure should therefore be understood not merely as a spatial unit evolved from the body of a man but in ethical terms, and so we come back to the meditations in *Gorgias*, the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *De officiis* on proper ordering, virtue as the mean and decorum as harmonious body. In terms of Vitruvius's terminology at I.ii 1-7, we can observe the continuity between *ordinatio* or *taxis* (which concern modules), *symmetria* or *eurhythmia* (which concern harmonious proportion), and decorum - Vitruvius's *decor* - with its attention to the varieties of occasion, and thus of setting.[77]

Thus the architecture of the ideal city, at once the background of its activities and the symbol of its aspirations should correspond to the structure of praxis in the ideal republic based on the ordering of the virtues as they stand within a structure of knowledge which is founded ultimately upon the nature of the soul; this is recalled by Alberti in his discussion of the derivation of building types from various human needs, where he cites Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*.[78] At IV.i Alberti proposes a consideration of human variety, and so of human nature, in terms of the social ordering of historical states and hypothetical philosophical republics, on the basis that "if we wish to give an accurate account of the various types of building [...] our whole method of investigation must open here, by considering human variety in greater detail".[79] This

[77] By way of parenthesis, in discussion of the continuity between settings as scenes for enactment which finds it theoretical exposition in a Humanist such as Alberti, we might note that he rewrites Vitruvius in a way that moves the insistence on architectural alignment with the cosmos in the direction of concerns with history and history as source of decorum. Decorum, or *decor* in *De architectura* concerns, crudely speaking, the appropriate representation of the function of an edifice in its form, according to accepted usage (*usus*) or custom but this function cannot be detatched from the universal structure with which architecture must harmonise, hence Vitruvius's repeated discussions of astronomy and music, as at V.iv-v in the treatment of musical theory which determines theatre design, at V.vi on the derivation of the theatre plan from astrological chart, at VI.i in discussion of latitudes, where latitudes are discussed in terms of musical intervals, with Italy, perfectly tempered, at the mid-point and Book IX on the construction of sundials and clocks. Architecture mediates between human needs and universal structures and its role in so doing is especially conspicuous in the description of the theatre, whose plan is derived from an astrological chart (*i.e.* an image of the heavens) and whose structure entails the understanding and application of music theory – this artificial cosmos is the setting for the representation of drama, where narratives of the gods and men are depicted in a way that shows the necessity and meaning that unfolds through the sequence of beginning, middle and end, and presents this narrative as a play, which works within a temporal framework of recurrence, festival or ritual that celebrates human situation in the cosmos. Decorum derives its force from the universal order and necessity, as Cicero emphasises in *De officiis*, and represents the coherence and rightness derived from the universal order as it manifests itself in the particularity of human situations; decorum is thus fundamental to the classification of such situations, as depicted through the aspect of their ordering, hence the codifying force of decorum in architecture.

[78] The total (and totalitarian) identification of the fabric of the ideal city, its social and ethical ordering paradigm or reflection of the soul and character of its inhabitants, occurs obviously in utopian literature with its tension between practical and speculative concerns; Campanella, for example, instrumentalises every detail of the the architectural setting of the *città del sole*, so that even the concentric walls are painted with depictions of the virtues and sciences practised by the inhabitants.

[79] "quod si aedificiorum genera et generum ipsorum partes satis, uti instituimus, anotasse voluerimus, omnis investigandi ratio nobis hinc captanda sit atque inchoanda, ut homines, quorum causa constent aedificia, et quorum ex usu varientur, accuratius considerumus quid inter se differant, quo inde singula clarius recognita distintius pertractentur". Portoghesi p.265, Rykwert p.92.

brief consideration, which opens with Plutarch on Theseus's division of the citizens into those who devised or interpreted human and divine law and those who practised trade, concludes with Plato's *Republic* and the correspondence between the three orders of society and the three parts of the soul. Alberti restates the Platonic model in his own statement of a social structure in which the three social groups (the legislators, those who enact the law, and the material providers) become three tiers of the ruling class. As in the *Republic*, the counsellors and clerics who form the humanist version of philosopher kings are permitted to retire to contemplative life, leaving their policies to be executed by "those of practical experience" who include soldiers, and financed by those "famous for their wealth and prosperity" *i.e.* merchants and bankers like the Alberti themselves who form the third part of the ruling group - not, as in Plato, despised providers in a society without private property.

If Alberti follows Plato in the idea that political science is the science of the soul, architecture provides the body for this soul. We see this clearly in Alberti's definition of the end and true art of architecture which lies in the creation of "whatever can be most beautifully fitted out for the noble needs of man" (quaecunque [...] dignissimis hominum usibus bellissime commendentur").[80] The unified organization of the building as body is not the object of exclusively aesthetic and mathematical analysis, but a harmonious social organism whose composition of parts responds to the variety and ends of human life.[81] We might trace again a crude genealogy here from the analogy of soul and state in Plato's

[80] The definition of *aedificatio* describes it as the art "that by reason and method", by "the movement of weights and and the massing of bodies" "devises and realises by construction" "whatever can be most beautifully fitted out for the noble needs of man". In Vitruvius *aedificatio* was only one part of architecture, whose other elements were the construction of dials (*gnomice*) and mechanics. The abandonment of these technical elements, as well as the transformation of the unrefined (*non culta*) and muddled speech of Vitruvius into intelligible Humanist Latin are two elements in Alberti's presentation of architecture as humanist art.

[81] As we shall see, Alberti uses music as a metaphor for harmony in the variety of parts – if the metaphor is obvious, one should recognise that it responds to Bruni's remarks on the *convenientia* and *harmonia* of the perfect social organisation of the Florentine republic as ideal state. The analogy of building and body is developed in the treatise of Filarete, which concerns the orgainsation and construction of an ideal tyranny; Filrate opens his treatise with the assertion that the first measure was taken fron Adam's head, and thus develops anthropic proportion from man's likeness to God, as well as homely comparisons between the varieties of stone and the ranks of society (diamond like the pope, stones ground up for lime like the country folk), or astrological concerns which will influence the stability of an edifice. For Filarete, the analogy of building and body thus opens up concerns with Fate, and the rituals entailed in the foundation of Sforzinda, his ideal city, in which symbolic objects (vases with liquids that symbolise the body, such as milk and wine, and virtues, human effigies) are intended to placate the Fates and also signal a historical consciousness of the city's existence; Filarete says that when the city has perished, the box of symbolic objects at its foundation may be excavated and studied. (*Treatise*, Book IV, 24r, reprinted and translated by John Spencer, New Haven, 1965). In contrast to Alberti's emphasis on the role of *usus* in decorum, Sforzinda is an embodiment of a hierarchical social organisation, and the dominance of symbolic structures of ordering means that the difference between the decoration of the principal church, described in Book IX, 64v to 67r, and the layout of the city is a difference only of scale. It is this lack of a sense of the variation in levels and modes of engagement with different settings that leaves Filarete's treatise at the level of architectural fantasy, without the exploration of the role of architecture in articulating civic participation in virtue that exercises Alberti. On Alberti and Filarete, see W. Caroll Westfall, *Two Ideal Cities of the Early Reniassance*, Ann Arbor 1967.

*Republic* to the emphasis on measure and praxis in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, to the meditation on situation and decorum in Cicero, in which the harmony of virtue is concretised in response to particular contexts, and to the Vitruvian discussion of anthropic proportion. As for Cicero decorum concerns the enactment of virtue in its outer appearance in public life, so architecture confers "stabilitatem dignitatem decusque rei publicae" - qualities that stress emphatically the notion of civic dignity by contrast with the Vitruvian triad of *utilitas*, *firmitas*, *venustas*. This language would place architecture within the sphere of decorum, ornament and "praise", as we see it in Bruni, although the setting as body is not for Alberti only part of the continuity of decorum but the focus of attention in the ethical discourse of the work. This core discourse is developed in the meditation on proportion and measure as qualities which pertain in the civic sphere first and foremost to ethics, and then to matters of *techne* concerning the art of building. To appraoch the question from the other end, so to speak, remarks on "rational" or "mathematical" aesthetics in Alberti should see in reason or mathematics the larger theoretic structures of order that underlie the practical ordering of civic society, *e.g.* universal harmony as the cosmic paradigm for social concord – civic society is both shaped by these theoretic structures (as in Aristotle's discussion of the mean) and by the particular events which comprise history.[82] To consider this in a little more detail, we have seen that in Plato and Aristotle, proportion - *analogia* - is the way that unequal terms are brought into proportion. For Plato, as noted above, proportion seems to be conceived in predominantly vertical terms, which provide the means of ascent from unlikeness to likeness in the epistemology of the divided line, or the relation of rational, spirited and appetitive parts of the soul. We observed that Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* renders this "vertical" proportion in terms of balance or the mean and that the discusssion of justice in Book V describes distributive and corrective justice in terms of geometric and arithmetical proportion, the latter illustrated through the divided line. The argument here is that those elements in Alberti's treatise derived from mathematics and number, such as the *lineamenta* and the distribution of parts in a building - *partitio* - which provide the cohesion and beauty of a building and underlie the analogy of the building as body,[83] are not only mathematical in meaning but also ethical – we may see ethical and political meaning as assured by mathematical forms, founded in reason and universals or see the mathematical significance is the form and assurance of an ethical content, which is turn founded in theoretical speculations on the soul.[84] We can thus begin to see the breadth in the work, in which Vitruvius's anthropic proportion is brought

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[82] One might also recall that geometry is both practical and philosophical.

[83] *Praefactio*, "nam edificium [...] corpus quoddam esse animadvertis: quod lineamentis veluti alia corpora constaret et materia" "for we understand the building to be a body, which like other bodies consists of lineaments and matter" (Paris ed., f.a2v), "cohesionum modumque linearum inter se, ex quo praecipua pulchritudinis effectio emanarti" "the connection of [...] lines and their relationship to one another [is] the principal source of beauty" Portoghesi p.15, Rykwert p.5. At IX.ii Alberti calls "partitio et lineamentorum conventio", the distribution and agreement of the lineaments the principal kind of ornament "ornandi genus praecipuum" Paris ed., f.136 v. One should remember that *numerus* is not only arithmetical number, as Puttenham would say, but rhythmic measure or metre. We shall return to Alberti's remarks on the harmony of parts in discussion of the definition of beauty and *concinnitas* below.

[84] Alberti's definition of beauty as the perfection achieved when nothing can be added or taken away comes evidently from Aristotle's discussion of the mean in *Nicomachean Ethics* II.ii and vi., and his exemplars of bad architecture are frequently attached to the illustration of the vices of the builder (luxury, extravagance, self glorification) which exhibit excess, and thus ethical deformation.

into relation with Plato's foundation of society on the measure between the parts of the soul, and the exploration of measure as both number and ethics serves to structure the building as concretisation of decorum and "praise" or ornament of the good republic.

The edifice as"body" accommodates human life is seen in its fullest possibilities and complexity so that the articulation of architectural discourse thus reflects the varieties of verbal discourse on which education and social ordering are founded. The question is not one of architecture as a tectonic manifestation of rhetoric, but, as we have emphasised, of the relationship between the setting and the activities which unfold within it. The end of this vision of architecture regards the integration of the space and the activity which takes place within it; an integration which would allow us to read the activities (and so the virtues) within the city and its microcosm, the family house, through the buildings which house them. The differentiation of buildings from one another, and the similitudes asserted between them, thus mirror the relationship between various activities, so that within a space everything should be done to draw attention to the nature of the edifice, so that the building and its purpose are indissolubly linked in the mind of the spectator.[85]

One notable effect of this emphatically ethical consideration of architecture is that insistence on the analogy of the building as body is related to the reciprocity of house and city, derived from the idea that the organisation of the republic is founded on that of the soul. It is on this structure of analogies - body-house-city - that Alberti builds the foundation of his treatise in the first book of *De re aedificatoria*, on lineaments (*lineamenta*), as propounded in an important passage at I.ix:

> ac veluti in animante membra membris ita in aedificio partes partibus respondeant decet [...] Integri enim aedificii partes et partium singularum, ut ita loquar, habitutines omniumque denique linearum et

[85] The representation of the nature of a building through its architectural form is in particular associated with the columnar types called by Vitruvius *genera* and not orders, which in *De architectura* I.ii he discusses as respect to function (Greek *thematismos*), or tradition, or nature. The relationship of *decor* to the topographical orientation of a building is a discussed at I.ii.7 and is for Vitruvius as important as tradition. In the codification of the orders that takes place in the course of the sixteenth century, at the hands of writers who are descendents of the circle of Bramante and Raphael (*e.g.* Serlio, Vignola), this attention to "natural" *decor* seems to be replaced by the kind of social and representational stratification that allocates the orders to different ranks, ages, professions and sexes (Ionic for men of letters and nuns, the "rugged" Tuscan versus the "manly" Doric, the "delicate" Corinthian versus the "licentious" Composite, and so forth) or ranges them in hierarchical sequence up a façade – a practice which can claim precedent from the Colosseum but also suggests the articulation of the various quarters of the household. (Amongst the most extreme, or naïve cases of the anthropic depiction of the orders is John Shute's *Chief Grounds of Architecture* where each of the orders are envisaged as caryatids.) Given the vast study that has already been dedicated to the orders, we shall not focus on them here, especially as some of the speculation on ornament which we shall discuss later in the argument concerns conceptions of arrangement that tend to move away from the notion of a single system of ordering into the encyclopaedic or syncretic – Ligorio, for example, a centre of attention in the later part of the argument, seems to give the orders little part in the theatres of reprsentations which he creates.

> angolorum in unum opus consensum et cohesionum una haec partitio utilitatis dignitatis amoenitatisque habita ratione commetitur. Quod si civitas philosophorum sententia maxima quaedam est domus et contra domus ipsa minima quaedam est civitas, quidni harum ipsarum membra minima quaedam esse domicilia icentur?[86]

This body-house-city analogy centralises the family as social unit, and implies that the city also can participate in the harmonious unity possessed by individual buildings in their likeness to living bodies. The theme of the centrality of the family is pursued by Alberti in other works, most notably *I libri della famiglia* (composed circa 1434-44), which discusses the organisation and the structure of family life, and which combines the tradition of Greek writings (Plato *Laws* VI, Xenophon, pseudo-Aristotle) on *oeconomia* (household management) with the form and ethical speculation of Ciceronian dialogues - the work indeed culminates with a discourse on friendship. This interest in the family as central political unit or political microcosm shows again Alberti's interest in Aristotle's ethical and political writings (*i.e.* Bruni's "humanist" Aristotle) in which the relationship of family and state is repeatedly considered (the *Oeconomia*, and the *Politics*). In the *Nicomachean Ethics* the family is discussed on the books on friendship and then again at the end of the work, at X.ix, where the relation of father and children is held out as the best example of the relation of ruler and subject, in bonds of authority, obedience and mutual love.[87] The body-house-city analogy permits a formal and ethical unity of conception, without turning the city into an abstract utopia, while the building which has the structure of the harmonious body is the proper home to the good ordering of family life as social microcosm, with the articulation of the house presented as an urban microcosm with its public and private spaces, male and female quarters, areas for *negotium* and *otium*, sacred spaces and *spectacula*.[88] In short, the ideal order and

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[86] "Just as with animals members relate to members, so too in buildings part ought to relate to part [...] All the power of invention, all the skill and experience in the art of building, are called upon in compartition; compartition alone divides up the whole building into the parts by which it is articulated, and integrates its every part by composing the lines and angles into a single, harmonious work that respects utility, dignity and delight. If as the philosophers maintain the city is like a large house, and the house in turn like a small city, cannot the various parts of the house [...] be considered miniature buildings?" Portoghesi p.65, Rykwert p.23.

[87] Here one should be careful not to conflate the ordering of a community in the organisation of the household (*oeconomia*) with the political life (*bios politikos*) founded on *logos* which concerns the distinctive character of human action. For a discussion of this distinction, and what is implied in the shift from the Greek definition of man as political creature to social creature in Roman thought (*societas* – partnership or association, *i.e.* a fellowship created for the purpose of attaining specific ends), see Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, Chicago, 1958. My awareness of Arendt's discussion came unfortunately too late to work it into the body of the argument above, and thus it has been necessary to consign it for the present to a footnote, however unsatisfactory this may be.

[88] Alberti details the features which denote the private house as social microcosm principally in Books V and IX, which deal with the works of individuals and their ornamentation. Book V reinforces the social hierarchy of the city state and develops the city-house analogy, so that the relationship of civic order to architectural representation is constantly before us. The individual works considered by Alberti pertain to various sectors of the ruling class – princes, legislators or governors, religious communities (whose buildings, compared to the antique *castrum*, suggest both austerity and their spiritual vigilance within the community, perpetually at war with vice) and private citizens whose capacity to build on an ample scale marks them as members of the banker or merchant class. (Alberti does not consider the humbler classes and recommends the use of internal walls in a tyranny to segregate the plebeians and protect the ruling orders

harmony or "philia" of family life serves to enforce the composite unity and concord of the building as body itself; when the spheres of the household are properly articulated and harmonised together, they compose the settings for the whole of life, and display the continuity between the life of the citizen, the family, and the city, so that the "stabilitatem dignitatem decusque rei publicae" which the architect will help to secure for the city state are reflected in the secure, dignified and decorous life which the private citizen hopes to achieve by erecting a noble dwelling for his family.

In Alberi's glowing description of social organisation within well-ordered and dignified house at I.vi, we seem to see the Vitruvian triad of *firmitas*, *stabilitas* and *venustas* reflected in the *posteritas*, *salus* and *voluptas* or *dignitas* of *oeconomia* as though to underline that the architectural terms are inseparable from the rhetorical discourse of civic life.[89] Here again, one must always look at how these qualities are transposed to the state itself, from the *philia* of family life to the concord of Aristotle's

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from threat of insurrection). The palace of the prince or leading citizen is at the core of city-house relations (we might recall here Lorenzo de'Medici's fondness for the treatise), and we see it described as a progression of public, semi-private and private spaces, the latter identified in particular with the women's quarters, dedicated to chastity and religion (Alberti speaks of making the apartments of young women comfortable "to relieve their minds from the tedium of confinement" while young men are accommodated next to the guests' quarters to encourage their social skills). If the women's quarters represent one extreme of seclusion, the other extreme is represented by the atrium or court which he calls the "bosom" of the house "where all the other members converge", comparing it to the forum or public square. The atrium takes precedence even over the household chapel, where guests may pledge friendship and the paterfamilias may pray for the peace of the family – a conception of religion as household ritual. If the house has its enclosed quarters, its forum and its temple, it also has its palestra, ambulatoria and circus in the form of the porticos and loggias where "old men may meet for discussion and the family may find shade in the summer", and the large open area for horse or chariot races before the villa. (The palestra is described by Alberti as a place for philosophical disputation surrounded by colonnades with a court "cloaked with flowers", thus emphasising the academic grove as *hortus conclusus*. Alberti's description of the circular space for chariot races and the system of gardens and loggias suggests Villa Madama – the great circular of the latter also a reference to the Pantheon.) The public life of the house also emerges in the sequence of spaces devoted to the reception of clients, arbitration and council. This sequence bears some resemblance to the basilica, originally an assembly room where princes meet to dispense justice, and distinguished from the curia or senate house by porticos where clients can meet patrons. Similarly, within the house of the prince or eminent citizen, we find a meeting room, a hall where the prince may sit in tribunal and give judgment, where clients await him and finally a portico where the children of clients (presumably brought to arouse pathos in pleading– a technique applauded by Cicero in *Brutus* xxiii.90) may amuse themselves while their fathers are waiting. Alberti asserts that the basilica has close affinities with the temple and shares it ornamentation; if the household chapel concerns religion as family cult, the hierarchically ordered sequence of the spaces where the prince or eminent citizen receives clients shows the ceremonial character of the enactment of his *negotium*.

[89] "An est non maximum tibi tuisque aggredi, quod ad salutem faciat, quod ad vitam cum digitate et voluptate agendam conveniat, quod ad nominis posteritatem et celebritatem conferat? Istic tibi rerum studia optimarum, istic tibi liberi et dulcis familia, istic ocii et negocii dies habebuntur, istic totius vitae rationes consumentur; ut tota in vita nihil apud genus hominum inveniri opiner praeter sit, quam ut sospite cum familia bene habites" "Is an undertaking that to your own well-being, that favours a life of dignity and and pleasure, that entrusts the fame of your name to posterity not one of great benefit to yourself and your family? For here you may enjoy your children and your dear family; here you may pass your days in business and in leisure; here you may pass every period of your life. I am of the opinion that there is nothing [...] to which a man should devote more care [...] than to the acquisition of a good home to shelter himself and his family" (Portoghesi p.51, Rykwert p.18).

*philia politike* in the republic. The city-house reciprocity emphasises the preoccupation with the representation of the city as a whole, which we saw in Bruni, where Florence is unified in terms of decorum (in the virtuous city everything manifests its excellence). Alberti is however concerned with the various spheres of activity which are composed into a whole through measure and proportion, which pertain both to number and virtue. In *De re aedificatoria* I.x, the chapter where we find the analogy of the city and house, and that of architecture as living body cited above, Alberti also likens variety to the body and to music, saying that "as in music, where deep voices answer high ones, and intermediate are pitched between them, so that they ring out in harmony, a wonderfully sonorous balance of proportion results".[90] As noted above, variety appears in the résumé of political science at the start of Book IV, where it is said that human variety was the source of that in building - if variety can be drawn into harmony or understood in terms of harmony, harmony like proportion is a means of asserting the continuity between the concord amongst the various parts of the soul, the spheres of social action (*philia politike*) and the *lineamenta* within a building. We should of course recall here that Bruni used the metaphor of the lyre in describing the concord of Florence, mirrored in the beauty and order of the city, which delights both the eyes and mind with its *convenientia*. For Bruni the concord of the city is based on the moderation of each of its parts - not only is the city a "prudentissima civitas" but the language of tempering and *convenientia* brings us back to the discussion of decorum in *De officiis*.

Harmony however goes beyond proportion, denoting the beauty manifest by a thing in its totality and perfection. The progression from proportion takes us to another important matter - namely how the ethical-numerical discussion of measure which seems to make the building (house-city) a direct embodiment of virtue relates to the emphasis on the mediating strata of representation in decorum. Throughout the treatise the aesthetic nobility and praise of the work is derived from the skilful disposition of line and measure, which results in the harmonious and "organic" inter-relationship of the parts within a building: "cohesionem modumque linearum inter se, ex quo praecipua pulchritudini effectio emanarit", "Et cedant ea quidem inter se membra mutuo oportet ad communem totius operis laudem et gratiam constituendam vel componendam".[91] The relationship of part to whole within a building is treated extensively in the first book of the work, *lineamenta*, (on lineaments, or on lines) and the most significant element of the *lineamenta* is called by Alberti *compartitio*, or *partitio* (compartition) and is consistently described by the metaphor of the body noted already above "ac veluti in animante membra membris ita in aedificio partes partibus respondeant decet". At I.ix the division and integration of parts of a building into a "single, harmonious whole that respects dignity and delight" ("in unum opus consensum et cohesionum una haec partitio utilitatis dignitatis amoenitatisque habita ratione commetitur") is called the whole skill, art and expertise of architecture "tota vis ingenii et omnis rerum aedificandarum ars et peritia".

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[90] "Nam, veluti in lyra, cum graves voces respondeant acutis et mediae inter utrasque ad concentum intentae resonant, fit ex vocum varietate sonora et mirifica quaedam proportionum aequabilitas" Portoghesi p.65, Rykwert p.24. Variety in short is variety harmonised.

[91] I.ix "The parts ought to be composed so that their overall harmony contributes to the honour and grace of the whole work"Portoghesi p.67, Rykwert p.23.

The discussion of the harmonious body which arises from lines and the relation of parts is developed at VI.ii in the discussion of beauty and ornament, where the "single, integral and well-composed body" ("unum integrum recteque constitutum corpos"), created from the proper deployment of *compartitio*, reappears in the definition of beauty as "that reasoned harmony of all the parts within a body" ("sit pulchritudo quidem certa cum ratione concinnitas universarum partium in eo, cuius sint").[92] It is this definition which distinguishes beauty from ornament "ornamentum quasi subsidiaria quaedam lux pulchritudinis atque veluti complementum [...] pulchritudinem quasi suum atque innatum toto esse perfusem corpore, quod pulchrum sit; ornamentum autem afficti et compacti naturam sapere magis quam innati".[93] In this important definition ornament remains external to the integrity of the beautiful, which arises from the harmonious *compartitio* of a building, and the function of ornament is subordinated to correction, or improvement. Alberti's declaration, often invoked as "proof" of the supererogatory nature of ornament, throws up considerable problems in a work so profoundly rooted in the rhetorical tradition and its Humanist recovery in figures such as Bruni. Quite apart from Alberti's constant use of the lexicon of ornament that we noted in Cicero, how are we to reconcile such a distinction with Alberti's own designation of almost half of his treatise as concerning ornament, or accommodate the insistence that beauty is inherent in the body of the building with the remark at VI.ii that "if all these [legal, military and religious] institutions, without which man could scarce exist, were to be stripped of their pomp and finery, ("ornamentorum apparatu et pompa sublata") their business would appear insipid and shabby"?[94] More important, how can it be accommodated with the role of ornament in mediating order and harmony as they appear in a particular instance with the universal structures of harmony and order?

If we look carefully at the language of Alberti's statements on the beauty that comes from *partitio*, we see that the language of decorum and rhetoric is present - he uses the verb "decet" in the analogy of building and animal and identifies beauty with *concinnitas*. *Concinnitas* is defined at IX.iv as the outcome of the correct deployment of *numerus*, *finitio* (measured outline)[95] and *collocatio* (distribution), and is stated as an absolute and fundamental rule of nature ("absoluta primariaque ratio naturae") which moderates things and illuminates their harmonious structure. It is most important to note that *concinnitas* is not *numerus*, *finitio* and *collocatio*, but "a further quality [arising from the the composition and connection of these three] in which beauty shines full face" ("est amplius quippiam ex his omnibus compactis atque nexis, quo tota pulchritudinis facies mirifice collucescat").[96] If *concinnitas* is the perfection or completion of beauty, it is also something by means of which we perceive a thing to be beautiful. Alberti's discussion of this final quality of beauty, conceived in terms of effulgence, suggests comparison with

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[92] VI.ii Portoghesi p.447, Rykwert p.156.

[93] "Ornament is a form of auxiliary light and complement to beauty [...] beauty is some inherent property, to be found suffused all through the body of that which may be called beautiful; whereas ornament, rather than being inherent, has the character of something attached or additional" Portoghesi, Rykwert *ibid.*

[94] Portoghesi p.445, Rykwert p.155.

[95] For the various understandings of the term, see R.Tavernor, *On Alberti and the Art of Building*, New York, 1998, p.45.

[96] IX.v Portoghesi p.815, Rykwert p.302.

the Thomist *claritas* which forms the third term of the definition of beauty as *integritas* or *perfectio*, *consonantia* and *claritas*.[97] It is by means of this further light of *concinnitas* that we move from the perception of beauty in an individual object to the order which runs through all of nature, joining all things through their harmony and measure - Alberti calls it "the spouse and soul of reason" ("quidem esse animi rationisque consortem interpreter"), which "runs through man's entire life and government, it moulds the whole of Nature. Everything that Nature produces is regulated by the law of *concinnitas*, and her chief concern is that whatever she produces should be absolutely perfect" ("Totam complectitur hominis vitam et rationes, totamque pertractet naturam rerum. Quicquid enim in medium proferat natura, id omne ex concinnitatis lege moderatur. Neque studium est maius ullum naturae, quam ut quae produxerit absolute perfecta sint".[98] We can see here quite clearly that Alberti is drawing on two discussions in Cicero, whose relation we have already noted - one is that of decorum in *De officiis*, compared to the harmony of the body, which leads to the "harmony with nature and the faithful observance of all her laws" and the other that of rhythm, described in terms of the whole order of nature and and artifice which recalls *Gorgias* 507-508 and *De oratore* III.xlv.

One should remember here that *concinnitas* in its original and predominant meaning is a term of rhetorical ornament, which may in fact imply Asiatic, or excessive ornamentation.[99] Cicero's most extensive discusssions of *concinnitas* occur in *Brutus* and in *Orator*, where it is related with *venustas* - it is *arguta*, bright and melodius, rather than *grava* and *severa*, and is linked with a juvenile style indecorous for mature orators, or

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[97] *Summa Theologiae*, 1.a.39.8 "Nam ad pulchritudinem tria requirentur. Primo, integritas, sive perfectio quae enim diminuta sunt, hoc ipso turpia sunt; et debita proportio sive consonantia et iterum claritas, unde quae habent colorem nitidum pulchra esse dicuntur". "Three things are required for beauty. Firstly, soundness and perfection without which things become foul; and due proportion and harmony, and then again *claritas* which gives a shining grace and colour to things said to be beautiful". One hesitates to translate *claritas* simply as colour which follows on perfection or finitude and harmony of parts; Aquinas uses *nitudum*, gleaming or shining, which Quintilian had employed. The whole business of the shining surface in accounts of ornament is highly problematic – it may refer to an exterior gilding, to an effulgence or a reflective surface which mirrors light (we might note again here Plotinus's metaphor of a face flashing in mirrors for the presence of soul in individual bodies, shining on them and giving forth likenesses of itself, *Enneads* I.i.8). A very crude definition of *claritas* might see in it the convergence of definitions derived from Neoplatonic metaphysics of beauty as emanating light and the rhetorical tradition of the discussion of ornament in terms of colour and the shining or gleams which may point to the charm of enhancement or (in Cicero at least) may suggest the higher source of this illumination of the particular object. (As a digression, one might recall that Joyce, in *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, makes Stephen Dedalus discuss the possible understanding of *claritas* in terms that mix together Thomism and Shelley's *Defence of Poetry* – Stephen refutes the notion of a "divine purpose in anything or a force of generalization which would make the esthetic image a universal one, make it outshine its proper conditions" for a rhapsodic apprehension of *quidditas*: "The instant wherein the supreme image of beauty, the clear radiance of the esthetic image, is apprehended luminously by the mind which has been arrested by its wholeness and fascinated by its harmony is the luminous silent stasis of esthetic pleasure, a spiritual state", Harmondsworth, 1968, pp.212-213.) There is a great deal more to done with the question of how ornament participates in *claritas* – we restrict the discussion here since there are so many matters with which to deal.

[98] Portoghesi p.815 Rykwert p.302.

[99] The negative connotations of *concinnitas* as florid over-adornment persists from antiquity to the exchange between Gianfrancesco Pico and Ermalao Barbaro regarding rhetoric in the sixteenth century.

with Asiaticism, the most lavishly ornate of the styles of speech.[100] In its association with *venustas*, *concinnitas* is described through the customary metaphors of visual enhancement; we read at 83.2 of "illam concinnitatem, quae verborum collocationem illuminat eis luminibus quae Graeci quasi aliquos gestus orationis σχήματα appellant".[101] In *Orator*, *concinnitas* is discussed as an ornament of *verba collocata*, groups or arrangements of words, closely connected with metrics; "Collocata autem verba habent ornatum si aliquid concinnitas efficiunt", "collocationis autem eae quas diximus: compositio, concinnitas, numerus".[102] If *concinnitas* is closely linked with rhythm and metre, and so with the subtle judgements of the ear, it is not identical with *numerus* - Cicero says at lxv.219 "non numero solum numerosa oratio sed et compostione fit et genere [...] concinnitatis".[103] *Concinnitas* thus partakes of *numerus* and of structures of measure and harmony, while linked with the "brightening" qualities of the figures of rhetoric. In this we see the rhetorical richness of *concinnitas*, as a term which both intimates the presence of larger structures of harmony, and discloses them as they are manifest and illuminated in particular and concrete examples. (It is also worth noting that Cicero uses the metaphor of architectural decoration in the theatre or forum in speaking of the ornament that arise from the arrangement of words - "ex collocatione verborum quae sumuntur quasi lumina magnum afferunt ornatum orationi. sunt enim similia illis quae in amplo ornatu scaenae aut fori appellantur insignia, non quia sola ornent sed quod excellent".[104]) One must recall here Cicero's discussion of *numerus* in terms of the harmonious arrangement that characterises all things in the universe, so that the perfection of a period of speech illuminated by *concinnitas* can lead back to the larger schemes of order, which includes not only nature but also the soul, and thus the virtues.

All this reappears in Alberti's meditation on *concinnitas*, which in fact goes further than Cicero in identifying the speculation on number as rhythm with one figure; one should also recall that the discussion of *concinnitas* introduces music, which has previously appeared as a metaphor, in the form of harmonic ratios from which architectural proportion may be derived. Once we have perceived *concinnitas*, we may move beyond the specific particulars to which rhetoric responds, to higher, more abstract and more universal realms of reflection, but the whole process is founded on the harmonious accommodation of variety revealed in the concrete and particular. The urge to arrive at abstract definitions of beauty and harmony, in short, cannot be divorced from the concrete and individual manifestation of such qualities, and if Alberti releases *concinnitas* from the pejorative associations with florid or juvenile Asiaticism, the term

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[100] *Brutus* 287.3, 325.16, 327.5.

[101] "The symmetry that enlivens a group of words with the embellishments that the Greeks call σχήματα, figures as it were of speech".

[102] xxiv.81 "Words when connected together embellish a style if they produce a certain symmetry", lix.201 "[The three parts of] the arrangement of words are, as we have said, euphony, symmetry, rhythm", following translation of ed.Loeb, which reduces *concinnitas* to "symmetry".

[103] "Prose becomes rhythmical, not only by the use of rhythms, but also because of the arrangement of words and a kind of symmetry [*concinnitas*]".

[104] "[The ornaments] derived from combinations of words lend great brilliance to an oration. They are like those objects which in the embellishment of a stage or a forum are called ornaments [*insignia*] because they stand out from the others" (xxxix.134).

retains its rhetorical character, with its apprehension of the unity in the manifold in terms of individual manifestations or configurations. Looking at the citations of *Orator* above, we can indeed see just how close Alberti's terminology is to Cicero, with the ornaments of *collocatio verborum* given as *compositio*, *numerus* and *concinnitas* (*Orator* lxii.210), where Alberti correspondingly defines the elements of beauty as *numerus*, *finitio*, *collocatio*, and *concinnitas*. This is not to cancel the difference between the meaning of these of terms in a manual on oratorical style and a treatise on architecture, but one does need to address the marked influence of Cicero at the most elevated point in Alberti's work. If *concinnitas* represents the culmination of Alberti's meditations on beauty as embodied in architecture the term also seems carefully chosen to accommodate the various understandings which Alberti advances of architecture, in terms of number, ethics, decorum, to show or illuminate the proportion between them. In this sense we return to decorum, since a building which exhibits *concinnitas* will be a visible, concrete embodiment of universal laws of harmony; still more specific, *concinnitas* gives a clear vision of the continuity between *eurhythmia*, *symmetria*, and *decor* in Vitruvian terminology which leads from *numerus* to decorum - it thus provides a means of relating the different discourses on architecture. We have seen that if *concinnitas* comes as the culmination of the discussion of *partitio* and beauty, it is also presented as something more, a further light that reveals the particular case in its relation to larger structures of order, the universal *kosmiotes* and *philia* of *Gorgias* 507-508, and so fits in with the understanding of ornament which we have seen in Cicero above, the light which discloses things in their praise (*excellent*). Such excellence lies in the perception of its place in the larger order, or the illumination of the greater order through the harmony of a single object – the work of *concinnitas*. It also however refers to its response to the specific demands of an occasion, and thus one can accommodate the illumination of the larger order with ornament in the sense that Books VI to IX of *De re aedificatoria* concern *ornamentum* - the "fitting out" of building in response to civic needs which make architecture the visible "praise" of the city. If the needs for which each building provides a solution are always specific to a certain situation, the "fitting out" of the city and its microcosm, the family home, is conceived in terms of a totality, as in the *Laudatio*; *ornatus*, in the sense we have discussed it in Bruni, as a composite whole structured through variety and similitude, exists in relation with the architectural *ornamentum* specific to each case which represents not only the accommodation of each building to its purpose, but the relations between buildings. This all seems in keeping with Cicero's observation in *De officiis* that what appears in terms of the ordering of ornament in outer appearances has its source in the harmony which decorum asserts in the stable relationship of the virtues, and the role of *ornamentum* in exhibiting both distinguishing features and the similarities between buildings can serve to illuminate the special configuration of typicality and particularity in each case.

Clearing up the apparent contradictions in Alberti's treatment of ornament as "subsidiaria quaedam lux" on one hand and essential to the oratorical understanding of architecture as species of civic *laus* on the other, still leaves a further issue. We saw in discussion of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (as at I.vii and II.vi) that praxis as the exercise - *energeia* - of the moral virtues has its proper time, manner and place and we argued that

Cicero in his shift from the action of praxis to the enactment of decorum tends to transform place as the background of praxis and *kairos* into an elaborately and artificially wrought topos which both exists in continuity with central action and can influence it through the historical associations which it embodies. Thus alongside the discussion of the building as body, so rich in its implications for ethics and decorum, there is the question of how Alberti reconciles the idea of the setting as a place "in which", always present as a condition for action to take place, with the historical understanding of the meaning of architectural representation. As well as the obvious geometric reasons and the ethical consideration of number and measure, the fact that place is always there as a setting for any action may constitute a reason for Alberti's extension of *concinnitas* into nature - in which he is of course following Cicero on decorum and rhythm. Framing, "fitting out", artifice, in response to the needs of each particular case must always be founded in universals - not only in the certainties of number and mathematics which deal with things known through reason, but also in the constancy and universality of nature itself, in which mathematics has its living embodiment. It is in relation to this constancy of nature as both universal background and embodiment of those laws discovered by human reason that one can start to understand Alberti's emphasis on totality: if the totality of architectural solutions responds to the variety of human needs, which, conceived as a harmonious whole, constitute the virtuous city state, architecture must also have the character of a constant background, always there and always fitting in relation to the continuity of praxis in the city. This continuous presence of architecture in relation to ethical activity and *virtù* may explain why Alberti not only underlines the relationship between the virtues and the buildings which house them (the most obvious example that of piety and justice, temple and basilica[105]) but also emphasises the way that the spheres which articulate civic life in its totality respond to one another - *otium-negotium*, public-private and so on.[106] Before we move to consider how the constancy and continuity of each architectural setting comes together with the historical, memorial and imitative presentation of place which we saw in Cicero's depiction of the relation of activity and its setting, it is well to recall the centrality of music in Alberti's treatment of *concinnitas*. Not only does the discussion of *concinnitas* lead to the discussion of proportion based on musical number (*concinnitas* pleasing to the eyes is based on that which delights the ears) but harmony, as the concord of opposites, can help to show the synthesis of nature as universal background and reason as highest theoretic speculation. (As discussed, the originating *harmonia mundi* of *Timaeus* is based on the blending of the two fundamental

[105] The links between religion and law are close throughout the work, as we might expect – the monumentality given to depictions of justice as chief moral virtue that consolidates civic life is clear in the Lorenzetti frescoes in Siena, where justice towers even over the theological virtues. There is the basilica, originally an assembly room where princes met to dispense justice, which is "an Italian temple" and "a place where justice is dispensed and also given to religion", and Alberti calls piety the most important part of justice at the opening of Book Seven, on the ornament of sacred buildings. If religion is a part of justice - Alberti cites the goddess Isis as lawgiver - the ritualistic aspect of religion is also prominent, so that religion is identified as much with the fundamental forms of law and spectacle as with private contemplation. As the most exalted sphere of human life, the sacred shapes and structures everything beneath it, the basilica as temple of justice in second rank beneath the temple, and we saw that the areas of a prince's palace where arbitration, counsel and business are carried out share the characteristics of the basilica.

[106] Alberti extends such distinctions into his treatment of the settings for spectacle, which he divides into entertainments corresponding to active and contemplative life; we shall look at this more closely below.

polarities with which nature and reason are associated, namely becoming and being.) These two are present in architecture as both setting (*i.e.* linked with nature and background) and as embodiment of mathematics, but one must always note the rhetorical aspect of Alberti's thought in his translation of *concinnitas* from auditory to visual harmony, in which *concinnitas* has an illuminating, mediating force as it moves us from the perception of the concrete to the realisation of a larger order. This leaves the task of considering the discussion of what Alberti calls *ornamentum* and Vitruvius *decor* - namely the appropriate "fitting out" of a building in relation to its function, and it is here, as noted, that we must come to the more historical and philological aspects of Alberti's understanding of decorum.

As we have seen, for Alberti *ornamentum* is fundamental not only to architectural representation, but to the larger relationships between buildings and what they house, considered here in terms of the idea that the harmony and measure revealed by *concinnitas* comes to fulfilment when it is united with the harmony and measure of virtue. In responding to these ethical needs by creating a fitting situation for the practice of *virtù*, architecture shows not only decorum but *dignitas*, and thus we pass into the language of excellence and *laus* deployed by Bruni. One should now try and consider the historical dimension of this praise which enables buildings to stand out (*excellent*) as ornaments to the family and city. This brings us back to Alberti's analogy of house and city, and the way in which the family house as setting and evidence of *virtù* takes on commemorative significance. We saw above that Alberti, noted as a notoriously misogynistic bachelor, gives a fervent description of the joys of family life, but did not remark on the marked historical dimension in his conception of the family house. Firstly, the house provides a setting for the activity in which one's days are spent, a theme which also features in *I libri della famiglia*, with its exhortations to use one's time for the exercise of *virtù* - that natural talent or predisposition for certain activities which each person possesses, and which enables them to make their contribution to the community. If the house is a setting for *virtù*, the act of building a house is also virtuous, since it dignifies one's family and city and confers fame on one's descendants. Here we also begin to return to those ideas of the memorial character of buildings which we noted in Cicero, in which the decorum of a building lies partly in the associations which it brings to the activity that it houses. We have stated that for Cicero, this memorial character is discussed in terms of literary or cultural recollections that can be recreated as part of the deliberate evocation of a certain milieu, like the "Phaedran" plane tree in the gardens of Crassus's villa or the ancient oak at Cicero's birthplace and ancestral home at Arpinum, evoked at the beginning of a work on law. The ancestral home thus commemorates the virtue of its builders and brings fame to their descendants, whose own *virtù* shows the continuity of familial distinction and the moral force of history. As Cicero remarks on *De legibus* II.i, the attachment to the birthplace and family home will be especially strong, and similarly we find that in Alberti the family house has a central place in the ethical consideration of the historical nature of building. If history is conceived as the record or commemoration of virtuous acts which can then become models for imitation, then the house as memorial to ancestral virtue can serve as a key to the reflection on the historical meaning of buildings in the city state, conceived as a macrocosm of the house.

The reading of architecture in terms of history thus implies an awareness of one's own historical situation; it is from this basis that we proceed to the philological recovery and understanding of architecture on which the reading and reconstruction of the antique is based. Here one can of course observe that building as a concrete setting in time and place, deriving its significance both from its unique response to certain needs and its similitude with other buildings, which in turn respond to specific needs and circumstances, is a particularly apt object for philological scholarship, and this may indeed go some way to explaining Bruni's notable interest in the relationship of civic oratory and civic setting. Keeping in mind Bruni's concern with meaning as contextual configuration, which reveals a certain meaning in a situation that is both concrete and historically particular, and recognises that the finding of similitudes is crucial in relating one contextual meaning to another, it must be acknowledged that many of the discussions in *De re aedificatoria* do follow a characteristic Humanist procedure, in the form of quotations amassed from the ancients by means of which the meaning of antique fragments may be reconstructed. Considered in this light, the literary citations which abound in *De re aedificatoria* should not merely be considered an exhibition of erudition, but as an integral part of the work's meaning, since the recovered understanding of a certain type of form or building encapsulated all the references, allusions and commentaries on that form which Humanist scholarship could discover, as well as the meanings accumulated and sanctioned through *usus*. The effort in short to establish architecture as a Humanist art entails, as one might expect, the effort to establish a philology of architecture. In a treatise such as Alberti's, the historical origins of buildings are not a mere explanation to their form, but vessels of profound cultural memory that serve to map out their relation to other buildings within the city; the inter-relationships that emerge do not merely constitute a typology of forms but render visible the nexus of ethical activities that consolidate the *civitas*.

This philological examination and the sense of family fame so important to the ancestral home (whether built by one's ancestors or for one's descendants) together focus reflections on the historical and commemorative significance of architecture. Here one moves from the ancestral family to the ancestral people and republic, namely Rome, as evinced by Bruni in the *Laudatio* who defends the glory and excellence of Florence with the assertion that the city is the "true" daughter of republican Rome. The historicity of the city entails both the description of the city grasped as a unity at a given historical moment (here we might recall also Bruni's "perspectival" description of Florence, which becomes a practicable representational technique after Alberti's exposition in *De pictura*), and the distinction that derives from its inheritance and imitation of antiquity. In terms of Bruni's historic conception of the city, it should be recalled that prudence, the practical intelligence, is learnt from history, so that the virtue of the city ("hec prudentissima civitas") is inseparable from its historical existence. Although the theme is too large to develop here without swamping the argument, Bruni's emphasis on speech as disclosing historical significance, rather than metaphysical substance, merits discussion in relation to his delineation of the city as founded in historical ideal (Rome) rather than deriving its

meaning from a symbolic relationship with the transcendent city (Jerusalem, the heavenly city).[107] It is not the movement from the symbolic to the historical ideal of the city which concerns us here so much as the idea that the emphasis on history carries not only notions of virtue or prudence, but of distinction which merits praise and commemoration. This is to suggest again that when Alberti designates Books Six to Nine of *De re aedificatoria* as dealing with *ornamentum*, we should look beyond the idea of the "fitting out" of buildings in the forms judged proper to their function by antiquity and *usus*, to see the notions of fame and dignity that appeals to antiquity or *usus* carry. It is this associative quality as part of the content of the historical meaning of buildings that helps to constitute their praise and their ornament, and it is in this way that one can start to work together the idea of buildings as "fitting out" human needs (linked to the rhetorical *ornatus*) and as distinctive embodiments of *virtù*, so that the measure that corresponds to ethical virtue, founded on universal laws, and the particularity which marks out an object of singular praise can exist together without contradiction. Between the universal rule of harmony which forms the culmination of all speculation on number and measure in mathematics, music and ethics, and the historical conception of meaning which insists on context, custom, exemplarity and praise, we find *concinnitas*, rooted in rhetoric but pointing from concrete examples to universal harmony; amongst the many reasons for Alberti's adherence to the rhetorical tradition in *De re aedificatoria* is the fact that it shows how one may accommodate historical, philological meaning with theoretical speculation.

This leaves us with the question of how buildings created according to such a notion of imitation are fulfilled by the activities they house. Despite Alberti's constant attention to practical detail and his emphasis on active life, the city which emerges from *De re aedificatoria*, with its carefully balanced spheres of activity reflected in the corresponding typology of the buildings, has a peculiarly reflective and memorial character; its characteristic monuments are perhaps not so much its chastening temples[108] or places of *negotium* as its commemorative sepulchres, columns and triumphal arches with their epigraphic celebration of the people or events which bring praise and fame to

[107] However unsatisfactory it is to leave claim like this I hesitate to develop without knowledge of contemporary religious oratory, and images which it advanced of civic life, and also question of Humanists' relationship with the friars – for example Salutati's writings on *poetica theologica* arise out of context of debate with Dominicans over pagan literature, mentioned by Trinkaus. In *Two Ideal Cities of the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor, 1967), W. Caroll Westfall notes medieval symbolic conceptions of Florence, divided into four districts by the *cardo* and *decumanus* as Jerusalem, Paradise or Rome (pp.169-70). Westfall also cites St Bernardino who compared the gates and districts of Siena to Jerusalem, and the words of Fra Giordano da Rivolto on charity as the bond between earthly community and heavenly city: "Questo nome e questi nomi di quaggiù sono pur da quelle di sopra. Città [*civitas*] tanto suona come amore [*caritas*] e per amore si edificano le cittade".

[108] On the subject of temples, Alberti declares that while the gods are moved solely by purity of mind, and the worshippers should not be distracted by sensual attractions, the temple should nevertheless be adorned so that "nothing more decorous could ever be devised", the wall painted with uplifting inscriptions and the floors patterned with "geometric and musical shapes and lines" so that "the mind may receive stimuli from every side". It is this fascination with the embodiment of ordering which rises on every side, at every level, that leads Alberti to place mosaic labyrinths in the floors of the suburban *hortus* for the edification of children at play – one is brought back constantly to the disclosure of the harmonious patterns in which *concinnitas* shines out.

the city.[109] The discussion of commemorative monuments and their inscriptions at VIII.ii-iv shows how for Alberti epigraphy is a part of architecture - even a way (obviously only one way) of thinking about architecture, and crucial to a recovery of its historical and monumental significance. All this studious, literary meaning, this attentiveness to the memorial character of ancient architecture, and the historic character of the ceremonial meaning encapsulated in its forms, colours the emphasis on the city as a place of praxis and raises the question of how one inhabits buildings which are such conscious products of the imitation of antiquity, with all that it implies. In response it might be suggested that the virtuous acts performed within settings that form the praise of the antique may themselves also have the character of imitation, and thus we start to see that there is a commemorative, ceremonial quality to the action housed by buildings, which is further suggested by a number of remarks in Alberti's work.

As suggested above, for Alberti decorum carries the implication of historical authority, and the character of a place as a setting for an activity that is either overtly ritualised or located within the ritualised observances of a society may also take on a consciously historic dimension of meaning; in these terms it shows a historical object recreated or "recovered" so that history possesses both the force of authority and participates in the theatric character of *imitatio*, recurrence or return. This awareness of the link between history and mimetic self- consciousness is obvious in structures such as the triumph arch, erected in celebration of a single occasion, but thereafter theatrical, as we see in the similar form of the *frons scaenae* with its three doors, but this link might also be developed it in connection with the *imitatio* of antique style, in which the assertion of the historicity of classical architecture gives the attempt to recover it a celebratory and mimetic character. In this sense, the whole art of building takes on a potentially theatric character which would have its logical conclusion in the assertion of the city as triumph in the ephemera erected for solemn entries.[110] Thus the act of building

[109] At VIII.ii-iv Alberti's treatment of inscriptions includes a noted early discussion of hieroglyphics, which he conceives as a universal visual language as opposed to the historicity of verbal languages, which may fall into incomprehension with time. The subject of pictorial and coded languages also appealed to Alberti - apart from his works as a grammarian (including the first grammar of Italian), he composed a work on writing in code (*Dello scrivere in cifra*) and a dialogue entitled *Anuli* in the *Intercoenales* concerning twelve gold rings, each engraved with a hieroglyphic image, which symbolise the virtues and qualities necessary to implement divine will on earth and lead the mortal to the divine. The first of the rings, symbolising divine intelligence and omnipotence, shows a winged eye - Alberti's own *impresa* in his famous medal.

[110] In this light, we should note Alberti's discussion at Book VII.xvi of the origins of the commemorative column as territorial marker and then a stand where trophies, spoils or statues were consecrated to the gods. If originally columns were raised to commemorate military triumphs, then altars, chapels, temples and finally cities followed. The ultimate step in this progression was that of Caesar, who planted a wood from the berries he wore in his triumphal garland and dedicated it to triumphs, thus completing the whole cycle from nature to monument to edifice to city to empire back to wood. Although Alberti is talking here about the commemorative column, not its structural function, the evolution from boundary post into a triumphal stand to building and city is interesting by contrast with the more usual genesis of the column from the tree trunks under which humans first lived, in woods and then in huts, which appears in Filarete (*Treatise* VIII f.55v), for example, and shows the extent to which historical forms are conceived in terms of triumph. Alberti's account of the evolution of the triumph stand into buildings and entire cities also throws light on the fascination which the triumph asserted for contemporary artists such as Mantegna, engrossed in

to bring fame to one's family or city - that is as an act of commemoration - or to provide a fitting setting for civic activities takes place in terms of a culture of *imitatio* which comprises in itself a historical and mimetic dimension. Later in the argument, especially when considering the *renovatio* in Rome, we shall that the triumph of the recovery of the antique is played out against the configuration of variety in rhetorical *ornatus* and in the embodiment of laws of measure and harmony – in Alberti's terms, the whole content of *concinnitas*.[111]

In short, the emphasis on the city in triumph may bring us a little further into the theatric and ceremonial character of the enactment of virtue rooted in the imitation in the ancients or ancestors, carried out in settings which commemorate in their form the praise or triumph of these forebears. This theatric character shows itself not only in the self-consciousness that arises in the careful pre-determination of every detail, particularly obvious in the studied playfulness of *otium*, but also in the continuity which stretches between certain kinds of settings from sacred and public ceremony to theatre and private recreation. Alberti indeed opens his discussion of theatre buildings with a discussion of the feasts at which Moses gathered together the Israelites in one temple - thus citing a biblical ceremony in defence of show buildings and affirming the sacred origins of spectacle as civic activity.[112] The civic ends of theatre and of religious ritual, whilst they might differ in solemnity, are fundamentally similar - both promote concord amongst citizens, the first through fraternal love and the love of virtue that is the highest form of justice, the second through stimulation in hours of recreation. In both the religious rite and the moment of judgement in justice, a higher order discloses itself in a concrete situation in time and place. In religious ritual, and in theatre which is derived from it, the reiterative, mimetic aspect of this disclosure is evident - in the context of justice the presence of the higher order is revealed and enacted through the individual judgement itself. The enactment of a higher order in the particularity of concrete place and historical time, opens a reiterative or mimetic dimension in that place and time, and one task for the understanding of ornament is to consider how that mimetic time relates to the metaphorical character which we have ascribed to ornament. In spectacle, where contests and drama imitate religious rituals, a theatrical character is conferred on commemorative

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archaeological study and profoundly interested in the delineation of architectural settings as "theatres" for the figures within them, created through a process of *imitatio* which shows its philological and epigraphic erudition. Noted already by Burckhardt as fundamental to the understanding of Renaissance historicism, the epideictic display of the triumph, so close to Bruni's encomiastic oratory, seems to be the prototype for the celebration of the recovery of the city in its historic significance, and the philological understanding of ornament. One must be careful here - Alberti does not hold out the triumph as a way of inhabiting the city, but it is useful to keep the triumph in mind when dealing with his conception of imitation and historic meaning, since it celebrates the *virtù* and praise of an individual, it commemorates this celebration through buildings and monuments with epigraphic decorations, and it contains an idea of return to (and renovation of) the city.

[111] There is unfortunately no space here to discuss Alberti's urbanistic Roman plans, such as the projected *Descriptio*, concerning the measuring of Roman ruins.

[112] *De re aed.*, VIII.vii. As noted above, Alberti asserts that Moses brought the Israelites together to soften their souls with the fruits of friendship – the passage brings together religious rite, spectacle and banqueting. In a similar vein, in Filarete's treatise on architecture, the ceremonies for the foundation the ideal city Sforzinda include a banquet "to signify the charity and love amongst men of the city" (26v).

moments such as the arch, column or statue, and finally, the private recreation and play pursued in the suburban villa, thus signalling the presence of mimetic temporality which may imitate that of the exalted spheres of relgion and justice. The architectural continuum discussed in the books on ornament thus begins and ends with contemplation; firstly with the temple which houses the highest ordering, and highest rites of the city and lastly with the disclosure of *concinnitas* as the harmony which rules and measures all things. Between these two disclosures of order we span the basilica as place of judgement, related to the curia and senate house, the theatre which encompasses the poetic mimesis of drama and the cosmic symbolism of the circus, [113] the concrete epideictic of ornaments such as the statue, the column and the triumphal arch, monuments which proclaim their own historicity while preserving a certain theatricality of character, and lastly the recreation of the *hortus* as more private embodiment of the relation of play to historicity - the historicity in this case is that of the owner, who as we have seen commemorates and monumentalises himself through his home. We should also note here that we move from the sacred sphere, where all things have their fitting order through the human realm of mimesis, historicity and variability to a final meditation which shifts from the variability of the human word to the universality of number; from the highest ordering of sacred ritual to the recreation of the suburban villa which leads onto the key discussion on *concinnitas*, the aesthetic harmony which culminates in the disclosure of beauty and measure in all of nature, we find a mimetic continuum that seems to work as a species of civic self-consolidation, entailing the representation of the city to itself.

So if the theatric spaces of the city and the house serve ceremonial and recreational needs, they can also open in the historical particularity of a building a dimension which is commemorative and mimetic. The continuity of theatric settings in *De re aedificatoria* formed the object of short work entitled *Spectacula* based on a translation of Alberti's discussion of theatre buildings, by Pellegrino Prisciani, historian, antiquarian, cartographer and astrologer to the Estensi court (where Alberti sojourned) and credited with the invention of the recondite astrological symbolism of the Sala dei Mesi in Palazzo Schifanoia.[114] Prisciano, included in his treatise not only show buildings such as the

[113] The symbolism aroused more interest in sixteenth cnetury commentators. Barbaro writes "Vero è che il circo di sua natura non ha portiche, e dicono che il circo sia fatto ad imitatione delle cose celesti, però haveva dodici entrate per li dodici segni; sette mete, e termini per li sette pianeti, e erano le mete distribuite nel mezo della lunghezza del piano da Levante a Ponente, distanti una dall'altra, dove le carette da due, e da quattro ruote correndo andavano per mezo gli spazij del Circo, come discorre il Sole, e la Luna, sotto il Zodiaco, e non usavano piu di ventiquattro dardi, per le ventquattro hore, che è una rivoluzione del Cielo. Erano quelli che correvano divisi in quattro livree, una era di color verde, che rappresentava la primavera, l'altra di rosato, che significava la state, la terza, di bianco, posta per l'autumno. l'ultima fosca, che dinotava il verno" (Barbaro *De architectura*, Venice, 1567, p.223).

[114] See the famous study by Aby Warburg, "Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara" (1912). Prisiciano produced in 1498 a map of Ferrara, contemporary with the urban expansion or *addizione* of Biagio Rossetti. In the first essay in *Il teatro e la città*, "Ferrara: il sipario ducale", Ludovico Zorzi speculates on the relationship of Rossetti and Prisciano and the degree to which the urbanistic-theatrical projects for Ferrara are derived from the influence of Alberti, as well as meditating on the influence which the urban landscape created by Rossetti exerts on the poetic landscape created by Ariosto. Prisiciano was also associated with Cesariano – for a bibliography on this key Ferrarese figure, whose full influence still remains to a certain degree obscure, see the indications of Zorzi, notably the works of Bruno Zevi as noted above.

theatre, amphitheatre and circus, but the historic memorials such as triumphal arch and column, and the xystus, which provides for the recreation of mind and body.[115] The philosophical disputation and athletic exercise that take place in the xystus are mirrored in spectacle, which Alberti and Pellegrino divide into two areas corresponding to *negotium* (circus) and *otium* (theatre, odeon), so that we see the continuity between the theatre and recreation as reflections of physical and intellectual exertion.[116] What Pellegrino sees in Alberti, in short, is that theatre, which has its origins in sacred ceremony through which a community defines itself and concretises in its form the universal laws of harmony which determine the musical ratios in which *concinnitas* manifests itself,[117] extends from recreation on one hand to commemorative memorials on the other. These continuities are underpinned by the constant city-house analogy, resulting in the penetration of theatre into the house, so that the "private" recreation of *otium* takes on an overtly monumental character, with its garden loggia as xystus, courtyard for chariot racing and facade which is imitated in the *frons scaenae* of the theatre. The internalisation of the range of settings identified by Prisciano as *spectacula* within a private building were realised in the great villa projects which start with Poggio Reale and have their most ambitious and influential realisations in the Belvedere Courtyard and Villa Madama.[118] We might here start to put together the recreative character of spectacle with the delineation of *otium* as a place in which to reflect upon one's culture as a totality, and an object of designing that we saw in Cicero, and with Alberti's attentive delineation of the private setting of *otium*, the suburban *hortus* discussed in Book Nine as the place of license that shows profound understanding of the rule, and hence of reason and nature; it is significant that the discussion of *concinnitas* follows on the description of *hortus* and suggests that the kind of meditations for which it may provide the setting. The *hortus* is fundamentally a place of play, and this play is accommodated at all levels, from the mosaic labyrinths Alberti provides for children on the floors or the fantastic capitals which have their home here to the constant attention to the spectator's response at every step. As in the grandiose patrician villas of Cicero's dialogues, such play concerns contemplation, carried out at mimetic distance from the pressures of civic life.

To recapitulate on the discussion of Alberti, we have seen in his treatise on the art of building a reflection on imitation that sees in history (including familial, ancestral history) the record of accomplishment, and in *imitatio* the celebration of such accomplishment, hence the centrality of the triumph (and its architectural forms) as a way of conceiving representation, rather than a genre of representation. In this concept of imitation architectural structures exist as settings to be fulfilled by certain kinds of

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[115] Prisciano speaks of the xystus and ambulatoria as "una altra facta de spectaculo"

[116] See Alberti, VIII.vii. Alberti also speaks of the "shaded delights of the mind" provided by theatre and the performance of poetry, using the term *umbratilis* employed by Cicero to characterise the *otium* of philosophic retirement.

[117] "in duodecim signorum caelestium descriptione astrologi ex musica convenientia astrorum ratiocinantur", *De architectura*, V.vi.

[118] One should not overlook here the immense importance of Ferrara in the development of Italian court theatre, often anticipating other centres – in 1486 the *Menaechmi* of Plautus was performed in Italian in the court of the Palazzo Ducale.

activity, and the ornament and dignity of the setting should be considered in correspondence with the dignity of the activity performed within it, at the same time that they can influence or help to shape this activity through the associations they embody. Underpinning all this there is the ethical structure at the heart of meditations on measure and proportion with the capacity to regulate both action and its architectural setting, overlaid with historical and philological meditations on imitation. We have seen that *concinnitas* serves to accommodate the universal rule of reason and nature with the models selected or synthesised from the particulars of history, drawing on the rhetorical understanding of "light" and "praise" as ornament which discloses the larger order through the excellence of the particular exemplar. If Alberti's concern with imitation can be seen as advancing the element of artifice in decorum, already conspicuous in ancient discussions, it still must be said that in *De re aedificatoria*, the balance between *virtù* as act and as "praise" is at the core of the relationship between civic activity and civic architecture, and from this equilibrium unfolds the harmonious relationship between action and setting. This harmony obviously becomes more studied as the exercise of *virtù* becomes overlaid with commemorative associations and passes into conscious imitation. As we move away from the demands of *negotium*, so the role of artifice and imitation in promulgating ideas of action becomes all the more apparent, and this is signalled by the theatric and speculative character that distinguishes the settings of *otium*, as Prisciani perceived.

It is precisely this theatric character of character of *otium* that shall now concern us as we move from Alberti to Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*, in which the whole sphere of action, which includes all the settings of action, is explicitly set forth in terms of imitation and artifice. While Castiglione, like Alberti, is still working very closely with Aristotle's *Ethics*, we shall see that this continuum of artifice is not only the means of ascending from praxis to theoria but praxis and theoria cannot be conceived without it. What this continuum of artifice really concerns, however, is the question we have already raised, concerning the accommodation of the exemplar as both particular and model with the universal, founded on the idea which is ultimately transcendent in nature. We saw that Alberti appealed to *concinnitas*, and carefully developed its mediating character as an ornament of speech in order to express the way in which the "light" of perfection in a particular object can illuminate larger structures of order. In Castiglione, this mediating function is taken on by *grazia*, and the continuum of artifice sustained by the constant idea that the "light" which shines out from the perfection of measure leads us beyond measure. It is the particular achievement of Castiglione to have portrayed the development of this "further light" from the *nitidiora* of the rhetorical tradition into the effulgence of the mystic's theophany. The ecstatic *terminus ad quem* of the work's finale is however part of its performance as a whole and if Bembo's oration on the ascent from human to divine love is founded on the *itinerarium mentis in Deum*, its structure suggests not only the love treatises of Florentine Neoplatonism but the myth of Zeuxis and the maidens of Croton, given vertical orientation, so to speak. It is notable that a famous instance of the conflation of the myth of Zeuxis with the inner idea derives from Raphael's letter to Castiglione, where he states that he uses "una certa idea che mi viene in mente" to design an image of female beauty (the *Galatea* in the Farnesina) in the

absence of a range of beautiful women and the judgement to select the loveliest as models. The relationship between the idea, and the selective, synthesising procedures of imitation, left open in Raphael's letter, is fundamental to Catiglione's work. One concern in the treatment of *Il libro del cortegiano* here will be to see how the idea is brought down into the realm of imitation, so that the interweaving of philological and ethical concerns of Humanist culture are joined to the burgeoning speculations of poetic theology. The reference to poetry is not fortuitous here: in the *Nicomachean Ethics* we saw that Aristotle insists on the distinction between praxis, doing in the sense of (ethical) action and poesis, the making which results in the products of *techne*, or art. In *De re aedificatoria*, Alberti writes a treatise on the art which the very prototype of *techne*, and turns it into a privileged object of ethical speculation. Castiglione seems to show a further step, in that he takes for his object praxis, and represents it in such a way that it becomes poetics, artifice as regulator of social action.

## SECTION 2.2

IL LIBRO DEL CORTEGIANO

Amongst the most striking features of the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino is the exquisite *intarsia* or marquetry which adorns the doors of the palace and the studiolo of Federico da Montefeltro (completed 1476). (Figure 3) The art of *intarsia*, which entailed the creation of decorative inlay and trompe-l'oeil images through the cutting and sizing of pieces of wood, had special links with perspective, since intarsia cutters, also called *maestri di prospettiva*, were used to working with geometric instruments, and thus it is fitting that we should find outstanding examples of their work in the palace of Federico da Montefeltro, an keen mathematician and patron of Piero della Francesca, whose *Flagellation* hangs in Urbino. The perspectival representations which we see in the palace are not however abstract scientific exercises; in many of the inlaid doors and in the famous painting conserved there, the so-called *Città ideale* of unidentified authorship, we see civic scenes of the kind which would later become codified in theatre sets, where a street with monumental palaces in classical style or bourgeois dwellings of more vernacular character, often culminating in an arch, a gate, or harbour walls, is shown in perspective. Such civic scenes may display the territory (or territorial ambitions) of a military leader; they also show the ideal city created not only by linear perspective but by good government, the harmonious and proportionate body which houses the virtues and measure of just rule. Thus we can see the thematic continuity between the *intarsia* of the door panels with their civic perspectives and the trompe-l'oeil cupboards of the studiolo, piled up with the instruments of self-cultivation in active and contemplative life. The studiolo is the place which affords a monumental and intimate expression of the ideals of its owner - ideals which are cultivated through study and have their realisation in the conquest of territory, the building of cities, or the establishment and legislation of government. Proper use of the arms, the books, the scientific and musical intruments of the studiolo may result in the creation of the cities we see in the *intarsia* doors beyond it, in the *Città ideale*, or looking out of the windows of the ducal palace; the studiolo thus exists as an enclosed totality in itself, and as a place of what we might call contemplative exercise - that is, a kind of contemplation whose ideas find achievement in active life.

As noted, the *intarsia* of the palace vary representations of trompe-l'oeil cupboards and civic perspectives with the personal emblems of Federico, allegorical figures depicting the theological virtues, mythological deities and the liberal arts (some following designs by Botticelli) and ornamental motifs.[119] Many of the latter, such as candelabra, are in fact composed of Federico's *imprese*, some of which refer to the honours with

[119] In the Studiolo of Federico at Urbino, the scheme executed in intarsia represents the instruments of active and contemplative life, books and scientific and musical instruments, referring to the *trivium*, *quadrivium*, *harmonia universalis* and the Muses, the *imprese* of Federico and the theological virtues. Above the intarsia panels are portraits of the *homines illustri* of history, exemplars of virtue above the instruments of virtue. Federinco created a second intarsia studiolo at Gubbio, today reconstructed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York – in this studiolo we see again books, scientific and musical instruments, arms and references to Federico's heraldic and honorific decorations. In place of the portraits of famous men, the Gubbio studiolo contained portraits of the Liberal arts enthroned, mentioned in the inscription, of which only two survive, now in the National Gallery, London.

which he was awarded; the images of garter and ermine reiterated throughout the palace, for example, refer to the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Ermine, invested by Edward IV of England and Ferdinand I of Naples, so that a heraldic decoration is turned into an ornamental motif, and the framing ornamental motifs refer the instruments of active and contemplative life insistently back to their owner, Federico.[120] The *intarsia* ornament in the studiolo is focused on the representation of *ornatus*, the instruments with which we arm or cultivate ourself, and as a place specially devoted to such cultivation, the Studiolo has a decorative scheme whose totality lies not only in complex perspectival depictions, but in the ideal of Federico as perfectly cultivated man, in whom all arts have their expression and fitting measure. In other words, the unified perspectival scheme of the setting responds to the ethical aspiration that the virtues may be united in just proportion as the character is cultivated and adorned.

The decoration of a studiolo depicts the activities pursued within it and the aspirations of the owner, keeping in mind that the activities serve to form the owner. As a private room, *i.e.* private in terms of the ceremonial life of a court, it displays the aspirations of the owner, often in the form of decorations alluding to the arts, muses and the virtues, as at Urbino or the studiolo of Lionello D'Este at Belfiore.[121] Since the cultivation of the arts and the virtues leads one towards the perfection of human state, the moral or educational programme of the studiolo decorations may disclose the universal order which is disclosed through study and virtue, or affirm the relationship of cosmos and microcosmos. As the sixteenth century progresses, the studiolo, long used for storing precious objects, becomes progressively more encyclopaedic in its decorations, to the point in that the *wunderkammer* of the late sixteenth century the organisation of the space, the display of objects, the programme of learning embodied in them have come

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[120] One might refer here to serialization of Medici *imprese* in the Capella dei Magi of Palazzo Medici, Florence (1459), where the diamond ring with the motto *semper*, the three feathers and the *palle* are reiterated into ornamental motifs that surround the depictions of the Magi, with the Medici shown in portrait and in symbolic identification with the Magi. The studiolo as repositary of personal symbolism and aspirations has a notable example in the studiolo and *grotta* of Isabella D'Este in Mantua, decorated over a period of about twenty years from the beginning of the sixteenth century; the studiolo contained the cycle of paintings celebrating the triumph of virtue, including the *Parnassus* and *Minerva expelling the Vices* of Mantegna and the *Allegories of Vice and Virtue* of Correggio, dictated laboriously by Isabella to the artists. In the *Grotta*, which housed the collections of the voracious marchioness, we find fine intarsia panels, which shows urban perspectives, and the notes of the song *Prenez sur moi* by Jean de Ockeghem; the ceiling is decorated with emblems and *imprese*, including the letters AΩ and YS, the candelabrum with one candle, the lottery tickets, the motto "Nec spe nec metu", the musical pause and the Roman number xxvii. The *imprese* of the *Grotta* refer to contemplation (silence in the midst of music), the ancient origins of knowledge (alpha and omega), equanimity in the face of fortune ("Nec spe nec metu") and victory over adversaries (xxvii interpreted by Giovio as "vinte sette"). By contrast with the Urbino studiolo, the apartments of Isabella D'Este represent something like a programme of self-glorification, whose vessels are the art objects amassed there – the difference lies not just in the attitude to collecting (Federico was also avid in the acquisition of art, as Castiglione tells us) but in the fact that the Urbino studiolo sets itself between contemplation, identified with Christian love, on one hand and the effective action of *praxis* on the other.

[121] The studiolo of the Estensi residence at Belfiore, decorated in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, contained paintings of the Muses by Cosme Tura, one of which is now in the National Gallery, London. On the studiolo see R.Liebenswein, *Studiolo*, Modena 1988.

together. This convergence of encyclopaedic decoration for the contemplation of the owner with encyclopaedic collecting and learning appears in the studiolo of Franceso I de'Medici in Palazzo Vecchio, which must be understood in terms of the importance of place logic in encyclopaedism and mnemonics in the later sixteenth century. We shall come later to look at the intellectual developments behind the creation of a work such as this studiolo, where the relations of cosmos and microcosmos are asserted through an astrological and alchemical symbolism that plays on the transformations between nature and artifice, and where the contents are simultaneously the artworks or "marvels" of nature collected there and the character or soul of the owner.

The development of the studiolo in the Renaissance, especially in its evolution into *wunderkammer*, cannot be studied apart from the development of theories of learning and the history of the intellectual constitution of the subject in the period. In the early Urbino studiolo, we should also be alert to the rhetorical coherence of the room, with its exemplars of virtuous men, and the instruments of virtue (*ornamenta*) which literally discover excellence in the sense that they are depicted in opened cupboards. In the studiolo the decoration thus alludes in a playful and learned way to the programme of activities pursued within the room, and to the adornment of character through such activities; one might thus look on the room as a theatre of learning, where all things fall into measure around the central figure, and it also corresponds to what one might find in a discourse upon the formation of an ideal prince. Thus above the *intarsia* panels we find portraits of famous men (philosophers, theologians, writers) who serve as historical models of virtue, while below the panels show Urbino itself, represented as though seen in the distance from a *finta loggia*, the instruments of study and faith (the liturgical vessels in the *intarsia* of the west wall) with which one cultivates virtue, allegorical personifications of the theological virtues alongside Federico robed like a philosopher, and devices which illustrate the chivalric decorations bestowed on Federico. If we but translate the studiolo into words, we have the components of a discourse on the ideal prince, and we see these elements - the authority of example, the claims of arms and study, proficiency in the arts as a means to virtue and the relationship between active and contemplative life - reiterated in the celebration of the court of Urbino in *Il libro del cortegiano*.

Federico's studiolo was completed circa 1476, and Castiglione's work entered circulation in 1528, although set more than twenty years previous, in 1506. The two are thus separated by more than a quarter of a century, and the *ragionamenti* of *Il cortegiano* take place in a court whose prince (Guidobaldo II, Federico's son) has been assailed by military misfortune and illness. Nevertheless, what we see in the decoration of the studiolo has a species of pendant in the dramatised discussions of *cortegiania*, and if we argue that the decoration of the studiolo represents the fulfilment of the room through the activity it houses, then the discourses of *Il cortegiano*, with their themes of measure, harmony and adornment also imply the theme of situation; situation in terms of the Christian Neoplatonic cosmos revealed at the end of the work, but also in terms of concrete, historical particulars. In the studiolo, the scheme of symbolic and allegorical

depictions of the virtues (the theological virtues personified, the *trivium* and *quadrivium* symbolised through their instruments), and historical exemplars is bound together by one person, Federico, who appears in *intarsia* portrait alongside the theological virtues and whose devices are reiterated into the ornamental motifs which frame the room. This single figure on whom all things impinge is likewise implied through the use of perspective in the *intarsia* panels, and the idea of a focal point from which all things fall into measure and reasoned order. If the perspectival scheme centres the user of the study as the focus of measure and harmony, the iconography of the room suggests that the construction of virtuous character in the ideal man (the programme of the studiolo) has its correlative in the construction of the ideal city (the programme of the palace and the city).

The kind of cultural ideal, or pretension, which we see in the studiolo in terms of the articulation of the setting has a species of pendant in Castiglione in its depiction of the richness of thought which underlies the fulfilment of the setting as the scene of carefully choreographed activities. The search to establish measure and order in, or through, the person of the courtier takes place against a complex scheme of historical references; the courtiers who strive to represent an ideal figure with recourse to antique models are themselves depicted nostalgically as exemplary embodiments of the virtues they attempt to define. Through the proliferation of examples, and the harmonising of opposing arguments an ideal may be revealed, but the work explicitly refutes a philosophical procedure in which virtue is defined in abstract terms and then predicated of the courtier.[122] The book insists on the relationship between the ideal, and its embodiment; it culminates at the point when Bembo's oration becomes ecstatic, and he is gently reproved by Emilia Pia with the words "Guardate, messer Pietro, che con questi pensieri a voi ancora non si separi l'anima del corpo" (IV. lxxi).[123] Ecstasy - the disjunction from the body that accompanies mystical fervour - is defined as the *terminus ad quem* of the work, but from this moment of enthusiam the courtiers turn to look at landscape - the setting - now revealed in the light of the idealism which has come to triumphant culmination in the final discourse of the work. This idealism discloses the landscape (initially described at I.ii as "non ameno" and "aspero") as a perspective unified with the protagonists, something like a dramatic (and spiritualised) equivalent of the *finta loggia* in *intarsia* in the studiolo, so that we are presented with a continuum that stretches from nature to the heavenly vision of Bembo's speech, united by its participation in *grazia*. The passage from courtly convention to spiritual ecstasy at the culmination of the discourse on love in Book Four is the most decisive statement of the primacy of the transcendental and the ideal, in which the ascent to the divine through the Neoplatonic doctrine of the ideas is represented in a poetic language which owes much to Ficino in *De amore*. As the oration reaches the point of enthusiasm, it is diverted away from the rejection of mundane life implied by ecstasy, and turned back to the world; the landscape

[122] As at IIIxvii, in the debate on the *donna di palazzo*, where Emilia Pia begs the Magnifico to break off a philosophical discussion of women that is tedious to them even though this wish may appear to give support to the misogynist view of the inferiority of female understanding, as Gasparo Pallavicino would have it. At her request, the discussion moves back to the conversational *ragionamento*, founded on rhetorical (and philological) strategies, in which meaning is disclosed through the accommodation of arguments and examples.

[123] ("Take care, messer Pietro, that with these thoughts your soul does not separate itself from your body").

disclosed as an idealised vista illustrates of the idea of a continuum that stretches from the here and now to the ideal or transcendental. In Federico's studiolo, this ideal is represented by perspective, with its claim to provide a depiction of the ideal based on the certainties of mathematical demonstration, or to be an epistemological instrument capable of depicting the ideal as real. The continuum that stretches from minute particulars to transcendent realities in the *Cortegiano* is rhetorical in inspiration and presents itself as an imitation of Cicero's dialogues, with the setting of patrician *honestum otium* providing a frame for the discussion of law, friendship, philosophy and - closer still to Castiglione - the delineation of the ideal orator. If Castiglione's delineation of *cortegiania* is obviously very close to the conception of eloquence as educational and cultural ideal which we find in *Orator* and *De oratore*, it is founded once again on the civic virtues of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which include not only justice and prudence, but also the social graces which denote urbanity and ease. For Castiglione, such graces display the outer manifestation of inner virtue, as in the claim that "le cose estrinseche spesso fanno testimonio delle cose intrinseche" (II.xxvii) – a claim that unites rhetorical claims for oratory with Ficino's remarks in *De amore* V.i on beauty as exterior and goodness as interior perfection, or beauty as the flower of which goodness is the good.[124] The basis for Castiglione's artifice of the fashioning of character is of course the "artificiosa eloquentia", in particular the accounts of *elocutio* and *actio* which correspond to the meaning enacted on every oratorical occasion. In Cicero, we see the apparent seamlessness of inner and outer is promulgated through the ideal union of eloquence and wisdom, in which *oratio fluens* can provide the continuity in a discourse which can extend from present circumstances to universals. In Book IV of the *Institutio oratoria*, Quintilian refers to the decorum of *actio* as *gratia*, and decorum itself, founded on respect for circumstances, time and place, must seek artificially to appear natural and artless – Quintilian has particular praise for Cicero's *ars occulta*.[125] This translation of the ethical idea of opportune action into rhetorical *actio*, where decorum is the means to securing conviction, is linked in the *Institutio oratoria* with the dictum that one must "temper" oratory so as to seem to speak "with care but without deliberate design" ("videamur accurate non callide dicere") and the warning that "desinat ars esse, si apparet".[126] One can see here quite clearly a source for Castiglione's famous *disinvoltura* and *sprezzatura*, achieved through artifice and the careful imitation of models (*studio* and *fatica*); as in Ciceronian accounts of decorum, the end of this ideal is not just the perfection of each act of speech or chivalry or counsel, but the notion that acts may be drawn into harmonious measure with one another, so that *grazia* in eloquent speech may be reflected by that in movement, the fundamental concord of the virtues expressed through consummate artifice and refracted through the circumstances of each unique act or situation.[127]

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[124] ("external things often give evidence of internal things") "Alcuna perfezione è interiore, alcuna esteriore. La interiore, noi chiamiamo Bontà: l'esteriore Bellezza [...] tanta differenza essere tra la Bontà e la Bellezza, quanta è tra il seme e li fiori", *Sopra lo amore ovvero convito di Platone*, *op.cit.*, pp.67-68 ("One perfecion is interior, one is exterior. The interior perfection we call Goodness, the exterior, Beauty [...] the difference between them is that between the seed and the flower").

[125] *Inst.orat.* IV.i.58 and 116. Cf. *Inst. orat.* IX.iii.102 "ubique ars ostendatur, veritas abesse videatur" ("wherever the orator displays his art unveiled, the hearer says: "The truth is not in him"), *ed. cit.*

[126] IV.i.57 and ii.126.

[127] The famous definition of *sprezzatura* comes at I.xxvi, with the classical topos that "si po dir quella esser arte che non pare eser arte", and is immediately linked with bearing, or performance "parlar o ridere o

*The shift from praxis to* imitatio

The *Nicomachean Ethics* again provides the ethical matrix for a work which transports the preoccupations with virtuous action and virtue as measure from the ancient *polis* to the early sixteenth century court. Castiglione says at I.ii of Laurana's palace "non un palazzo, ma una città in forma di palazzo esser pareva" with the implication that the court is a city of virtue, a courtly pendant of Alberti's good republic, and its microcosm, the aristocratic or wealthy household.[128] Prudence, judgement and discretion are held up repeatedly as essential for the observation of the circumstances of every act and the regulation of comportment, and Castiglione declares this virtue is operative "nell'operar consiste la virtù".[129] This assertion comes in the course of discussion in the last book, which cements the links with the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and concerns the courtier as a man of active or contemplative life; in keeping with Aristotle's exaltation of *theoria* as the highest form of praxis, his virtuous activity is revealed to be contemplative. This first part of the final book culminates with the vision of the courtier as counsellor to his prince, his models Plato and Aristotle in their pedagogic roles to Dionysius of Syracuse and Alexander the Great, and his contemplative government of virtue in the soul the source of the prince's good government in politics and active life.[130] In this discussion, we see the culmination of the rhetorical-ethical line of thought in the work, with the courtier developing from model of deportment to humanist governor ("institutor del principe"), subservient to the hierarchy of state but exercising his wisdom and guidance like a philosopher king.[131] This development of the courtier is also a maturing of the faculties, in which virtuous activity is both associated with the exercise of power (and thus with the prince) and with youth, age with more restricted possibilities of physical activity and the corresponding development of the contemplative faculties. If this ethical argument rises to conclusion with the naming of Plato and Aristotle as the most illustrious examples of *cortegiania*, and the affirmation of the courtier as moral philosopher, the work however refuses to rest on this conclusion - the new discussion on love and the spiritual ascent of the lover in the second half of Book Four points to the need for another account of contemplative life, based not on the sagacity of the practical intellect but on will as the force which drives us to seek union with the earthly and then heavenly beloved. Beyond the contemplative movement from intellect to will, characteristic of both Florentine Humanism and Ficino,[132] one could suggest another reason for the movement away from the Aristotelian model. This lies in the fact that if contemplation is described in the *Ethics* as the highest form of activity, the courtier's life of action remains in abeyance, and this postponement, as it were, of practical action points to the lack of occasion, or *kairos*.

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adattarsi" (*Cortegiano*, Milan 1992, pp.60-61).

[128] "It did not appear a palace, but a city in the form of a palace").

[129] IV.xlvi, *op.cit.*, p.418.

[130] IV.xlvii.

[131] p.420.

[132] See the remarks of Trinkaus in Part One, and the voluntaristic spirit that affects literary works such as the *De summo bono* of Lorenzo de'Medici.

We have seen that the reiterated formulation of virtue as a measured act in the right place, at the right time and in the right manner in the *Ethics* leads to that emphasis on the specificity of circumstances which is crucial to decorum, *i.e.* to the performance of propriety which brings conviction and praise.[133] The fact that the opportunity to exercise virtue is at once awaited and deferred, or frustrated, in the *Cortegiano* leads to the movement away from the political and juridical concerns of ethical and oratorical literature towards a whole sequence of themes which concern the cultivation and attainment of virtue by means other than the effective exercise of active life. This deferral or frustration of active life manifests itself in various ways in the work - amongst the speakers in the *ragionamenti* where we find figures such as the Magnifico Giuliano, son of Lorenzo de'Medici and future Duke of Nemours - a figure who is no courtier but son of a ruling family in exile and biding his time until fortune permits him to resume his place in the governing hierarchy. Still more conspicuous is the absence of the ruler in person, Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, dogged by illness and military misfortune, which debar him from the vigorous activity of his father Federico.[134] This absence of the prince from the *ragionamenti* leads to a certain hiatus in the discussions of the courtier as a man engaged in active life, and discussions about the work of the courtier tend to splinter before they are satisfactorily clarified, as when the debate over the primacy of *lettere* as opposed to arms[135] leads into a discussion of the relative merits of Italian dialects and his role as counsellor breaks own on the question of his age relative to that of his prince. Castiglione proudly tells us at III.i that from the high tone of debate in the playful *ragionamenti* about *cortegiania*, we may deduce the exceptional virtue of the court of Urbino in serious matters, but we do not see the courtiers at work, and it is thus the diversions or "imprese" of *otium* which provide the measure by which to gauge the virtues.

The very prominence of artifice, and insistence that virtue can only be manifest through an enactment whose studied art proclaims itself as artlessness may be read as a means of disguising misfortune or lack of occasion, like the courtier's displays of soldiery which are as frequently part of court pageantry as of warfare, and designed to catch the prince's eye through the displays that seems to promise talent.[136] Unlike the bearing of the orator, which is determined by the occasion and content of his speech, the courtier's possibilities for engagement may depend on his capacity to give the cultivated display of an attitude of readiness or preparedness (*prontezza*) for enactment (*i.e.* to do the right thing in the right way at the right time) which necessarily precedes the opportunity for practical action.[137] In the dialogues, the movement of virtue and decorum

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[133] Quintilian (XI.i.46) remarks in this regard on the importance of the orator's delineation of *tempus* and *locus*.

[134] The theme of fortune, and the relationship of fortune and government obviously merits more attention – it also marks the need to read Castiglione alongside Machiavelli.

[135] The debate appears in visual form on the east wall of the studiolo of Federico, where the *intarsia* cupboards show a cupboard full of arms to the left and a reading stand to the right.

[136] As at II.viii.

[137] Castiglione gives us a curious example in the account of Felice della Rovere whose exemplary virtue consisted in the fact that she was prepared to throw herself in the sea rather than be dishonoured by pirates

from a military or political understanding of practical activity to an atmosphere of *serio ludens* is exemplified by the fact that the *ragionamenti* are set within the apartments of the Duchess, a figure at once placed in prominence by the infirmity of her husband and withdrawn from her proper sphere of activity by her "widowhood" in marriage, which debars her from the bearing and raising of children. If the Duchess provides the only visible model for a virtuous prince, her centrality, and with it that of the court ladies, whose virtues are cultivated in a life of relative seclusion, creates a distinct kind of occasion with its proper occasions and decorum, which permit a degree of playfulness without any relaxation of propriety. The occasion of the *ragionamenti* in short privileges a certain style and certain arguments; amongst the latter is the theme of love, treated by Bembo in *Gli Asolani* as a sequence of *ragionamenti* delivered before the ladies of a court ruled by a woman, Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus. Bembo of course appears in the *Cortegiano* as a "Platonic" lover, inspired by *enthusiasmos* – as we consider *Gli Asolani* below, we shall see that it represents a very different conception of imitation and treats the occasion of the dialogues in terms of the organisation of a literary topos. *Gli Asolani* takes place in a garden, which suggests both the Phaedran grove and the *locus voluptatis* – the *Cortegiano* by contrast, situated within the quarters of the Duchess (and so in a place devoted to chastity and devotion, Alberti would say) takes the modesty and temperance associated with female virtue as an ethical core for the moderation and avoidance of affectation that are essential to *sprezzatura*. If the book consists in a series of dialogues conducted mainly between men, women are repeatedly put before our eyes as exemplars of virtue or objects of beauty; for example, *disinvoltura*, *ingegno* and urbanity have their strongest characterisation in the female courtier who acts as arbiter of the courtiers' *ragionamenti*, Emilia Pia. If Emilia Pia comes close to actualising the *donna di palazzo* discussed in Book Three, and the Duchess is idealised in an interesting passage which we shall consider below, the fundamental importance of women lies in their embodiment of *grazia*, the light or ornament that leads from courtly manner to divine love. In the course of the discussion of the *donna di palazzo* it is said that "corte alcuna [...] non può aver ornamento o splendore in sé né allegria senza donne, né cortegiano alcun essere aggraziato, piacevole o ardito [...] così ancor il ragionar del cortegiano è sempre imperfettisimo, se le donne [...] non danno lor parte di quella grazia, con quale fanno perfetta ed adornano la cortegiania".[138] This embodiment of *grazia* has an illustration at the end of Book I, when the court ladies, forbidden by the Duchess to enter into the *ragionamenti*, perform a dance which translates the lengthy verbal arguments on *grazia* and *sprezzatura* into physical enactment.[139] The embodiment of *grazia* as light and as movement culminates in the turning to beauty and love at the end

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(III.xlix, *op.cit.*p.324).

[138] III.iii, *op.cit.*p.263 ("no court can have ornament or splendour or liveliness without women, and no courtier can be gracious, pleasing or daring [...] thus the discussion of courtiership is always left utterly imperfect if women do not give their part to that grace with which they make courtiership perfect and adorned"). See also IV.lxii, where the terminology of beauty is set forth in the description of the graces of the *donna di palazzo* who is formed in Book Three: "quel splendore, quella grazia, quelle faville amorose [...] e tutti gli altri piacevoli ornamenti della bellezza [...] la suavità della voce, il concento delle parole, l'armonia dell musica" *op.cit.*p.440 ("that splendour, that grace, those gleams of love [...] and all the other pleasing ornaments of beauty [...] the softness of the voice, the concord of the words, the harmony of the music").

[139] Two of the court ladies perform dances "con estrema grazia e singular piacer di chi le vide", I.lvi, *op.cit.*p.113 ("with great grace and singular pleasure to everyon who saw them").

of the work – between the divine grace to which the oration on love rises up and the first discussions of *sprezzatura* lies the *studio e fatica* which with the continuum of artifice is created. As we turn to look now at the sources and models for *sprezzatura* and *grazia*, two points are immediately obvious; the influence of oratorical accounts of *actio* and the centrality of the meditation on *imitatio*.

The *sprezzatura* which appears as naturalness, or the means to naturalness, has its end in the continuity of artifice which can touch all things in the world and reach up towards the transcendent so that a meditation on comportment, rooted in rhetorical meditations on *gestio* as *sermo corporis* (Cicero, *De oratore* III.lix.222) claims for itself the Platonic identification of the beautiful and the good, which insists on the nature of this identification as an embodiment: "dir si po che 'l bono e 'l bello a qualche modo siano una medesima cosa, e massimamente nei corpi umani" (IV.lix).[140] At every point, artifice as the "artless ease", the *disinvoltura* without which *grazia* cannot appear is founded on imitation - the celebrated discussion at I.xix-xxviii of *disinvoltura* and *sprezzatura*, for example, is founded on Cicero's description of Attic style in *Orator* xxiii.75ff.[141] The dual emphasis on the continuous and effortless grace of outer expression and the identification of this stylistic ideal with the ascent towards the Idea, in a Platonic sense, explains why the *Cortegiano* exerted considerable influence over the ideals and terminology of Renaissance art theory, as we find it expressed in Vasari, for example. In the course of our reading here we shall see that not only is Castiglione fundamental for the conception of artistic style in which the end of imitation lies in *facilità* and *grazia*, but his use of the *topoi* of imitation, such as the legend of Zeuxis and the maidens of Croton, has interesting implications for later attempts to resolve the relationship of imitation and the Idea.

The courtier is essentially a man of letters rather than a man of arms, and skill in speech and writing is the most prominent of the arts with which the courtier should adorn his character. Literary discussions of imitation, founded on the philological awareness of the historical character of meaning are thus translated into the setting out of character, conceived as a composite unity, wrought from variety. The art that conceals art thus

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[140] *op.cit.*p.437 ("it can be said that the good and the beautiful are one and the same, especially in the human body"). Cf the emphasis on embodied character of *bellezza estrinseca* as "vero segno della bontà intrinseca" (IV.lvii, *op.cit.*p.434).

[141] Cicero's remarks on the "non ingratam neglientiam"described through metaphors of female dress, reappear throughout Renaissance discussions of rhetorical style, such as the *Rhetoricae libri due* of Ramus's associate Talon, Basel 1569 Aa 2v. An English rendition comes in John Hoskins's *Directions for Speech and Style*, 1599-1600, where he exhorts his readers "both in method and word to use, as ladies use in their attire, a kind of diligent negligence". For rhetorical tradition, and of course for Castiglione clothes are not just a metaphor for style but in themselves an important element of *actio* – Quintilian (XI.iii.144) devotes considerable attention to the ways in which the folds of the toga should slip in the course of an oration in keeping with the effects (vehemence, pathos *etc*) which the orator wishes to create. Castiglione's famous stricture that the courtier should wear black, in Spanish style, is in keeping with the gravity and lack of *ostentazione* that the courtier should appear to possess; the dark clothes also suggest the capacity to blend in with the background and thus appear as a foil for the prince, and give particular relief to the face and hands – a perfect case of distinguishing oneself through apparent lack of *ostenazione*.

follows the same process as accounts of literary *imitatio* in which the writer's style is distilled from the study of examples so that it seems to flow naturally from the virtues and shapes itself to each situation. As the humanist discipline of philology considers the significance of words in their historical situation, so historical or mythological examples of virtuous action exist in a specific context, and as the full meaning of a word is revealed through the significance it takes on in various contexts, so examples of noble conduct from antiquity or contemporary life accumulate as though to show a virtue embodied in the circumstances of its enactment. The effort to elucidate (*scoprire*) the nature of *cortegiania* thus becomes analogous to the search for eloquent style, or the philologist's studies to discover the meaning of a text; the attempt to establish an ideal entails the accumulation of examples in the awareness that each example has its own specificity and particular horizons of meaning. The eclectic nature of such gathering of examples, in the fashioning of character or verbal style, is signalled in the conventional simile of the bee amongst flowers used by Castiglione to describe the imitation on which the cultivation of character is based, and the description of the *volgare* as "italiana commune, copiosa e varia, e quasi come un delicioso giardino pien di fiori e frutti"(I.xxxv).[142] This conception of imitation is basically the eclectic approach favoured by Poliziano, Gianfrancesco Pico and Erasmus, validated by Quintilian and opposed, in Castiglione's day, to the rigid Ciceronianism which had its counterpart in the claims for *toscano*, and Petrarch as the dialect and author on which the *volgare* should be formed.[143] The most illustrious exponent of such Petrarchism was of course Bembo, and Castiglione's divergent opinions on the *questione della lingua* do not just affect the discussion of verbal style but underlie larger issues, such as the treatment of love; to state it crudely, the *Cortegiano* is a work overtly concerned with questions of style which takes love as its deepest theme while *Gli Asolani*, overtly dedicated to the theme of love, addresses its real interest to matters of style and *imitatio*. If the continuum of artifice attempts to cover all things that are and can be thought or imagined, the strategy of artifice (and thus *imitatio*) selected will determine the structure of reality "disclosed". In this sense Castiglione's divergence from Bembo reveals the eclectic conception of *imitatio* as the stylistic counterpart to the apprehension of the world in the totality of its variety as precondition for the ascent from the manifold to the one in the "Neoplatonic" *itinerarium mentis in Deo* at the conclusion of the book.

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[142] *op.cit.* p.76 ("common italian, copious and varied , almost like a delicious garden full of flowers and fruit"). "E come la pecchia ne'verdi prati sempre tra 'l verde va carpendo i fiori così il nostro cortegiano averà da rubare questa grazia da que' che a lui parerà che la teghino e da ciascun quella parte che sarà più lodevole" I.xxvi, p.59 ("Like the bee in the verdant meadows which draws nectar from the flowers so our courtier will draw grace from whoever seems to him to have it and from each praiseworthy point" ). The fecund garden where bees draw nectar from various flowers to distil honey (flowing eloquence) is a *topos* of discussions of imitation, deployed by antique authors (Horace, Isocrates, Lucretius), Castiglione's contemporary Erasmus in his anti-Ciceronian dialogue *Ciceronianus* and Joachim du Bellay in the *Défence et Illustration de la lange français*.

[143] On the Ciceronian movement and the debates that it occasioned, see Izora Scott, *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero in the Renaissance*, 1901, reprinted California 1991, and the introduction to the *Ciceronianus* in *Collected Works* 28. Castiglione's divergence from Bembo on the *questione della lingua* appears in the second part of the dedication to Michel de Silva, Portuguese ambassador to the Holy See, where he rejects Boccaccio as a model for Italian prose, and in the fact that Bembo is given a minor role during the discussions on language and style in the Book I, despite his fame as an editor and grammarian at the time when the discussions are set.

If the simile of the bee producing honey from the nectar of many flowers emphasises the centrality of embodiment in imitation (this is especially clear in Erasmus's treatment of the topos in the *Ciceronianus*), the other parable for imitation - the myth of Zeuxis and the maidens of Croton - concerns the synthesis of variety to create a composite form that is the basis of the idea. It is noteworthy that the legend of Zeuxis is cited at I.liii, at the end of the long discussion of painting, as the conversation moves from the beauty of artefacts to that of the person, and so to a short exchange on beauty as the inpiration of love, which will be resumed in Bembo's oration. If the myth of Zeuxis concerns the variety of nature as the basis of imitation, it also looks to the ascent described in Bembo's speech, in that we see the gathering or elaboration of all variety as a precondition of the synthesis into the *concetto universale* or idea. The world, seen as the artifice of God, and the model of human imitation, is the prototype for the "gathering" of all variety into a harmonious whole, and we find Castiglione at I.xlix using a topos later employed by Vasari or Tasso, in which the cosmos is celebrated as perfect *poesis*, qualified with the epithets "variata", "ornata", "composta" and "laude" which might be used of a literary composition, or of the fashioning of the courtier: "la machina del mondo, che noi veggiamo coll'amplo cielo di chiare stelle tanto splendido e nel mezzo la terra dai mari cinta, di monti, valli e fiumi variata e di sì diversi alberi e vaghi fiori e d'erbe ornata, dir si po che una nobile e gran pittura sia, per man della natura e di Dio composta; la qual chi po imitare parmi esser di gran laude degno".[144] If the world is considered here from the viewpoint of human art, at IV.lxvii the ascent from the world to the transcendent is described in terms which echo Diotima's counsel in *Symposium* but retain continuity with the myth of Zeuxis and its progression from imitation to idea: "per uscire di questo così angusto termine [il contemplar la bellezza d'un corpo solo], aggiungerà nel pensier suo a poco a poco tanti ornamenti, che cumulando insieme tutte le bellezze farà un concetto universale e ridurrà la moltitudine d'esse alla unità di quella sola che generalmente sopra la umana natura si spande; e così non più la bellezza particular d'una donna, ma quella universale, che tutti i corpi adorna, contemplarà".[145] This passage comes at the culmination of the first section of the oration on the place of beauty in the ontological order; after this point the theme of the flight of the soul takes over. The movement from the single object to the greatest possible gathering, varying and adorning of all things seems again to draw on the theme of the world as harmonious order of all things whose perfection denotes its ornament (or denotes it as ornament) as in *De amore* I.ii ("il Mondo significa ornamento di molte cose composte [...] lo adunamento di tutte le forme e Idee i Latini chiamano Mondo, e i Greci Cosmo che ornamento significa").[146] Bembo invokes this description of *gran machina del mondo* at IV.lviii-ix, the second cosmic description, which celebrates the order that stretches through all things made by nature and artifice

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[144] *op.cit.*p.103 ("the structure of the world, which we see with the great expanse of heaven shining with stars and in the centre the earth bounded by the seas, with mountains, valleys and rivers in their variety, and so adorned with all kinds of trees and lovely flowers, can be called a great and noble picture, composed by God and the hand of Nature; and whoever imitates it seems to me wirthy of great praise").

[145] *op.cit.*p.446 ("to pass beyond this restrictive condition, he will add gradually in his mind so many ornaments that gathering together all beauties he will make a universal *concetto* and will reduce this multitude to the unity which extends generally over all human nature; and so he will no longer regard the particualr beauty of a single woman, but will contemplate the universal beauty that adorns all bodies").

[146] *Sopra lo amore*, *op.cit.*, p.22.

that we have seen in *Gorgias* and *De oratore* III.xlv.178-xlvi.180, with the same sequence of objects - the heavens, the human body, natural objects such as trees, and products of human *techne* such as ships and buildings.[147] One should however note that the *ornamenti* which aid us to progress from a single embodiment of beauty to a *concetto universale* are formed in the thought - *pensiero* - by means of the *imaginazione* or *phantasia*. The vision of "bellezza universale astratta e in se sola" (IV.lxvii) requires purgation of the *fantasmi* which retain "convenienza [...] col corpo" in order to rise to contemplation of the substantial intellect, and thus the *concetto universale* of lxvii represents the highest point that can be reached by human art, before the intellect ascends to the vision of the angelic. It is thus important to note that Castiglione's rendition of the mind's journey to divine love is harmonious with the discussion over the role of the idea and of observation and judgement in certain contemporary accounts of imitation. Amongst such accounts we might recall Gianfrancesco Pico in the famous epistles *De imitatione* (1512) to Bembo, which opposes the formalism of the latter's Ciceronianism to an eclectic notion of imitation discussed in Quintilian, endorsed by Castiglione and Erasmus (exemplified in the Quattrocento by Poliziano, Pico and Ermolao Barbaro), and substitutes Cicero as model with the idea.[148] Gianfrancesco's account of the idea is based on Plotinus's tractate "On beauty" (*Enneads* I.vi) which considers judgement of beautiful things as derived from the immanence of the form of beauty in the soul. There is a precedent for this translation of the immanence of the Idea to rhetorical discussions of judgement in Cicero, in *Orator* iii.7-10, where Cicero illustrates the Platonic idea with reference to the beauty of Phidias' sculpture in relation to the beauty of the artist's inner concept, and this passage is cited by Gianfrancesco as evidence that Bembo's stylistic Ciceronianism is a misunderstanding of the Roman orator's conception of eloquence. In Gianfrancesco's epistles, the presence of this idea provides the justification of eclecticism in imitation, since the idea, as cause of the manifold beauty of sensible things, has the capacity to unify their diversity. If the immanent idea, invoked by Cicero, has never been perfectly reached, the attempt to approach it leads us to study the manifold so that it can lead us towards the simplicity of the idea, and in this connection Zeuxis is lauded for his prudence in refusing to identify beauty with a single female body. The idea may thus be approached, if not grasped in its essence, through time and the study of many authors.[149]

This "platonising" of the process of imitation figured in the myth of Zeuxis, advanced in different ways by Castiglione and Gianfrancesco Pico, is echoed playfully by Raphael in his famous letter to Castiglione, describing his painting of Galatea in triumph in the Farnesina (circa 1514) – a painting which is itself a supremely artful meditation on

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[147] As we remember, Cicero invokes this order in the course of a meditation on *vis numerose dicendi, i.e. eloquentia artificiosa.*

[148] On Gianfranesco Pico and Bembo, see Luca D'Ascia, *Erasmo e l'Umanesimo romano*, Olschki, Florence 1992, Izora Scott, *op.cit.* and *SAC* II.ix, pp.1529-1531.

[149] Bembo in his part of the correspondence raised doubts over the innate nature of style, which he claimed only developed after long reading; he also however claimed that since the since the divine ideas and images exist in God, a perfect image of correct writing must also exist, but this perfect image must be sought through the selection of the best and most illustrious model. Bembo asserts in this regard that even Proteus only showed one form at a time. (Scott, *op.cit.*pp.9-17).

*imitatio*.[150] In a fine display of *sprezzatura*, Raphael invokes the myth of Zeuxis, adding that lack of beautiful women and the judgement to select their best features have led him to paint beauty as he conceives it according to his inner idea ("certa idea che mi viene nella mente").[151] The relationship between experience, selection and the inner image, which Raphael leaves unspoken, is elaborated in his work at the Farnesina, especially in the Loggia di Psiche, where each figure appears as an ideal born from the synthesis of observed models in a decorative scheme which displays the grace and perfect completeness founded in harmonious variety.[152] All this is relevant to Castiglione, not solely because of his close friendship with the artist, but because each helps to illuminate the ideal delineated by the other. If we can perceive in Raphael's art a testimony to the ideals propounded in the *Cortegiano*, such ideals are not confined to *grazia* and *sprezzatura-facilità* but show the inherent relationship between these qualities and the harmonious variety which comes from the synthesis of the objects of imitation into a *concetto universale*. The concord between manifold things points to the perfection of achieved order, and to the movement beyond this order into the idea and the identity of the transcendent. Ornament is fundamental here, as the variety "gathered" from imitation, and as the light which illuminates the wholeness of ordering and points to a movement to its higher source - *kosmos* and *grazia*. If Raphael, portrayed by Vasari as the perfectly urbane courtier-artist, seems to present a "realisation" of Castiglione's discussion of artifice, one should view this relationship as founded in the understanding of the structure of imitation recounted in the myth of Zeuxis as a vehicle for depicting the structure of mediation by means of which we ascend to the transcendent, so that the artistic process, apart from its iconography, can be viewed in relation to the movement from the particular to the various to the manifold to the unity of the idea. The ultimate end of imitation can thus be revealed as spiritual ascent, as Gianfrancesco Pico seems to intimate, and in these terms we can consider the identification of the artist's inner image, developed through imitation and judgement and produced by artifice, with the idea which signals the presence or flash of the divine in the human soul.

By the time that Vasari is writing, reflection on the nature of artifice itself was profoundly engaged with the Aristotelian formulations of the relationship between the pre-conceived idea and the process, and structure of embodiment. We see this in the *lezioni* of an academician such as Varchi, in the theoretical literature on *imprese* and emblems, which pays such attention to the figuration of the *concetto*, and in Vasari's own account of *disegno*, which blends the myth of Zeuxis with references to the *giudicio universale*, which is founded on observation, without which it seems that the artist cannot depict the "concetto che si ha nell'anima, e di quello che altri si [altresì] è nella mente

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[150] We will look more closely at the *Galatea* in consideration of the Farnesina below.

[151] Cited in *SAC* II, pp.1529-31. Raphael is also playing with the notion that he is a second Zeuxis or Phidias – an idea very much in keeping with the *Galatea* as "antique" painting, which imitates motifs from sarcophagi, depicts the sea as though it were of marble and uses colours which seem chosen to give the effect of antique encaustic

[152] Vasari spoke of the Farnesina as "condotto con quella bella grazia che si vede, non murato, ma veramente nato" (Life of Peruzzi, *Vite ed.cit.*, Vol.4, p.593) – a building which achieves the *grazia* of "artless" art.

imaginato e fabricato nell'idea".[153] The *giudicio universale* provides the artist with something like "una forma overo idea di tutte le cose della natura" (*ibid.*), which makes it sound very much like Castiglione's *concetto universale* – Vasari's reference to the "concetto [...] fabricato nell'idea" makes one wonder whether he conceives the *idea* in intellectual terms, whose *concetti* are embodied through the "forma overo idea di tutte le cose di natura".[154] One sees in Vasari an effort to account for the structure of artifice and style which sees the process of cognition reflected in that of artistic creation; there are similar references in Bembo's oration, in the progression from the act of vision to the inner vision, founded on mental images, of the "concetto universal", to the purgation of these "fantasmi" as the lover ascends to intellectual contemplation. That is to say that the alongside the conception of *imitatio* in the myth of Zeuxis as potential depiction for the soul's ascent to contemplation, there is also the theme of the process of cognition within the soul, rising from sensual reception to intellectual apprehension; if the analogies between these structures become obvious in the later cinquecento, with the exaggerated cultivation of *varietà* and the development of systems of correspondence that culminate with Lomazzo, one can see the seed in Castiglione, who supplies later artistic theory with its vocabulary.

### *The discussion of* grazia

This progression from imitation to spiritual ascent is associated in Castiglione with the term *grazia*, a term which denotes a continuity from visual form and movement to spiritual meaning. The "philosophical" content of the term is derived principally from Ficino's *De amore*, where *grazia* is identified with the effulgence and splendour of beauty from the divine as source of illumination, the "scintilla dell'ornamento divino".[155] *Grazia* is also held out as the end of artifice and imitation, which entails the ideal expression of inner virtues by outer appearances, and is emphatically linked with embodiment and movement, from Quintilian's descriptions of *actio* to Vasari's account of the artists of the third, modern age, starting with Leonardo, who have overcome the problems of imitation, who show freedom and facility in their depiction of movement and thus emotion, and so attain in their maniera a "sweet and graceful facility", a "beauty continuously carried into every detail, which [shows] all order with more ornament", and "a grace that exceeds measurement".[156] In art theory (post Castiglione) of a consciously

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[153] *Vite* vol.I, *ed. cit.*, p.111. The passage in full reads : "procedendo dall'intelletto cava di molte cose un giudizio universale simile a una forma overo idea di tutte le cose della natura [...] e perché da questa cognizione nasce un certo concetto e giudizio, che si forma nella mente quella tal cosa che poi espressa con le mani si chiama disegno, si puo conchiudere che esso disegno altro non sia che una apparente espressione e dichiarazione del concetto che si ha nell'anima, e di quello che altri si [altresì] è nella mente imaginato e fabricato nell'idea" ("proceding from the intellect he draws out a universal judgement like a form or idea of all things of Nature [...] and because from this cognition a certain *concetto* and judgement is born in the mind of the thing which is to be expressed with the hands, which is called *disegno*; one can conclude that *disegno* is nothing other than an apparent expression and declaration of the *concetto* that one has in the soul and likewise in imagined in the mind and made in the idea") *ibid.*

[154] See the discussion of Vasari in Panofsky's *Idea a concept in art history*.

[155] *De amore*V.v, *op.cit.*p.76.

[156] In his résumé of the skills of the orator at *Inst.orat.*XII.v, Quintilian distinguishes *gratia* as the quality proper to *actio* - "gratia actionis". Vasari speaks in the Proemio to the third part of the *Lives* of a "rule in

speculative stamp, *grazia* is designated as the divine light or splendour which illuminates the human soul, Ficino's "influsso della bontà divina", at times set in contrast with ideas of beauty based on proportion, as in Varchi's *Libro della Belta e Grazia* (probably between 1540 and 1550).[157] Varchi's antithesis between the "corporeality" of beauty and the "spirituality" of *grazia* is hardly applicable to Castiglione, who bases *grazia* in the ethical mean – the mediocrità which results from the avoidance of excess and *affettazione*. I have cited later artistic theories here in order to emphasise that the use of *grazia* to illuminate the continuity from maniera to the splendour of divine beauty entails a privileging of the visual as effulgence and it is from the visual aspect, conceived as outer ornament of the virtues of the soul, that we ascend to higher contemplation. In contrast to the interiority of the immanent Plotinian idea propounded by Gianfrancesco Pico, Castiglione has Bembo claim with confidence: "la bellezza estrinseca è vero segno della bontà intrinseca e nei corpi è impressa quella grazia più e meno quasi un carattere dell'anima, per lo quale essa estrinsecamente è conosciuta (IV.lvii).[158] This remark, which reiterates the theme that "le cose estrinseche spesso fanno testimonio delle cose intrinseche", of course derives from Ficino's meditations in De amore on the concord of inner goodness and outer beauty, which stand in the relationship of centre and circumference, seed and flower or virtue and act: "la virtù dello animo mostra di fuori un certo ornamento nelle parole, ne' gesti, e nelle opere onestissime" (V.i).[159] It is this "certo ornamento" which appears in the first definition of *grazia* at (I.xiv) "al primo aspetto a chiunque lo vede grato e amabile; e sia questo un ornamento che componga e compagni tutte le operazioni sue e prometta nella fronte quel tale esser degno del commerzio e grazia d'ogni gran signore".[160] The expression of this "testimonio delle cose intrinseche" as an outward light or movement is precisely what the studio e fatica that underlie sprezzatura labour to achieve. If *grazia* in short signals beauty as the outer aspect of inner virtue, one must never lose sight of the artifice which lies between the two and enables the second to appear as the outer form of the first.

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license" ("una regola nella licenza"), "una bellezza continuata in ogni minima cosa, che mostrasse tutto quell'ordine con più ornamento", figures made with "una grazia che eccedesse le misura" and a "facilità graziosa e dolce" Milanesi ed., 1906, rep. Florence 1973, Vol.IV, p.9.

[157] We have already encountered Varchi in part one, and noted that the *paragone* debate he launched on the relative merits of painting and sculpture which had such vogue in mid-century Florence (cf. Doni, *Disegno*, 1549), should be seen in the light of the arguments on the status of the various embodying elements *e.g.* the discussions of body and soul in the *imprese*. It seems pertinent to add here that Varchi, an admirer of Michelangelo, compared painting and sculpture to the earthly and heavenly Venus using arguments from on *Symposium* and Ficino's commentary.

[158] *op.cit.*p.434 ("outer beauty is a true sign of inner goodness and in the body grace is impressed more or less like a character of the soul, by which it is known externally").

[159] *De amore*, *op.cit.*V.i, p.67 ("the virtue of the mind shows without an ornament in words, in gestures and most honourable acts"). Bembo's presentation of the metaphor of goodness as centre and beauty as circle at IV.lvii is a considerable simplification of Ficino's exposition in *De amore* II.iii (*op.cit.*pp.32-34), which talks of God as the centre, and beauty in four circles corresponding to mind, soul, nature and matter; the hierarchy of circles serves to reconcile the vertical structure from God to matter with the notion of a cyclical movement of the cosmos.

[160] *op.cit.*p.41 ("at first glance, he appears pleasing and likeable to whoever sees him; this is an ornament which composes and accompanies all his acts and his face promises him to be a man worthy of dealing with and the receiving the grace of a geat man").

We said above that *grazia* was essentially a moving force, in artistic terms the motion which expresses emotions (and so the states of the soul), and in theological terms finally disclosed as divine grace operating on the will. The movement of *grazia* from the (artificial) expression of the stirrings of the soul (imitated in the *perturbationes* depicted by rhetorical *ornatus*), to the universal order and above leads us again to music, generated from heavenly concord, which its capacity to express and move the human passions. We are given a particularly direct illustration of the relation of music and *grazia* at already noted at the end of Book I, where the physical manifestation of eloquence in comportment, denoted in the discusssion of *sprezzatura* at I.xxiv, is displayed through dance as embodiment of measure and harmony whose source is in the heavenly spheres. Dance appears as the closing image of the book at I.lvi when two of the court ladies (forbidden by the Duchess has to enter into conversation), perform dances "con estrema grazia e singular piacer di chi le vide" as though to show in the form of gesture and movement what has been described in the form of speech.[161] Dance is presented as an artificial display of the movement which music provokes in our souls as it raises the passions or arouses us to acts of virtue, as discussed at I.xlvii "sia stato opinione di sapientissimi filosofi il mondo esser composto di musica e i cieli nel moversi far armonia, e l'anima nostra pur con la medesima ragione esser formulata, e però destarsi e quasi vivificar le sue virtù per la musica".[162] It seems apposite to cite the definition of dance in the *De practica seu arte tripudi* of Guglielmo Ebreo (circa 1470): "la qual virtue del danzare non e altro che una actione demostrativa di fuori di movimenti spirituali: li quali si hanno a concordare colle misurate et perfette consonanze d'essa harmonia: che per lo nostro audito alle parti intellettive e ai sensi cordiali con diletto descende, dove poi si genera certi dolci movimenti: i quali chome contra sua natura ri(n)chiusi, si sforzano quanto possano di uscire fuori: e farsi in atto manifesti. Il qual atto da essa dolcezza et melodia tirato alle parti exteriori colla propria persona danzando si dimostra quello quasi con la voce et col harmonia congiunto et concordamente che (escie) dal accordato et dolce canto, overo dall' ascoltante et misurato suono".[163]

In the discussions of music as *spiritus* in the previous section we saw the origin of the *movimenti spirituali* that produce the *dolci movimenti* of dance; for Zarlino, for

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[161] Castiglione may have taken his idea for this vignette from the extraordinary description of the beloved dancing in *Gli Asolani* II.xxiii "danzando muovere agli ascoltanti tempi degli strumenti la schietta e dritta e raccolta persona, ora con lenti varchi degna di molta riverenza mostrandosi, ora con cari rivolgimenti o inchinevoli dimore leggiadrissima empiendo di vaghezza tutto il cerchio, e quasi con più veloci trapassamenti, quasi un trascorrevole sole, negli occhi de'rigaurdanti percotendo" ("in dance she moves the body, erect and gathered, listening to the tempo of the instruments, now with slow steps showing herself worthy of great dignity, now with loving turns and bows appears most graceful, filling the whole circle of her steps with loveliness, and with more rapid steps she strikes the eyes of the beholders like the sun passing through the heavens") *Prose della volgar lingua, Gli Asolani, Rime*, ed. C.Dionisotti, Milan, 1989, pp.428-9. I know of no other such vivid description of the espressivity and *affetti* of dance.

[162] *op.cit.*p.99 ("it is the opinion of the wisest philosophers that the world is composed of music and the heavens in their movement create harmony, and that our soul in the same mode is created - thus its virtues awaken and almost come to life through music"). Ludovico di Canossa, who is speaking here, remarks that music penetrates especially deeply into the souls of women, who are particularly soft and tender ("teneri e molli"), and fills them with delight.

[163] *De practica seu arte tripudii*, *op.cit.* See translation above.

example, music as *spiritus* is the force which mediates body to soul, so that the two can come together in the *concors discordia* on which is world is founded. As we start to look at grace as rising not just from measure, but from harmony, we move from notions of the mean to ideas of *concordia*; in this regard we might remember that the further development of *grazia* in artistic theory is linked closely with *contrapposto* and *linea serpentinata* linked to the rhetorical figures as discussed by Quintilian, in which the balance of opposing forces creates a tense beauty and sense of movement in taut equilibrium.[164] The conclusion of these developments comes with Lomazzo, whose theory of movement and grace attempts to account for the spiritual force of various movements by aligning them with planetary forces which imply certain structures of musical proportion. If for Lomazzo *grazia* arises from movement in bodies whose proportions are derived from harmonic ratios, the highest form of such movement is delineated in the *linea serpentinata*, whose critical fortune starts with Quintillina's comparisons of figures of speech to statues that exhibit movement through torsion, and whose flame-like curve is linked with ascent to the upper, *i.e.* spiritual sphere. Taking all this into account, we might start to see *grazia* as something that not only goes beyond measure, but that arises as a further light from the concord of contraries, which should also include the display of *facilità* in the overcoming of *difficoltà*.[165] With all this in mind, we should turn to one of Castiglione's most important descriptions of the artful arrangement of character, at II.vii:

> il tenor della vita sua ordini con tal disposizion, che 'l tutto corrisponda a queste parti, e si vegga il medesimo esser sempre ed in ogni cosa tal che non discordi da se stesso, ma faccia un corpo solo di tutte queste bone condizioni; di sorte che ogni suo atto risulti e sia composto di tutte le virtù [...] talmente tra sé concatenate, che vanno ad un fine ed ad ogni effetto tutte possono concorrere e servire. Però bisogna che sappia valersene, e per lo paragone e quasi contrarietà dell'una talor far che l'altra sia più chiaramente conosciuta, come i boni pittori, i quali con l'ombra fanno apparere e mostrano i lumi de' rilievi, e così col lume profundano l'ombra dei piani e compagnano i colori diversi insieme di modo, che per la diversità l'uno e l'altro meglio si dimostra, e 'l posar delle figure contrario l'una all'altra le aiuta a far quell'officio che è intenzion del pittore.[166]

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[164] See Quintilian's famous discussion of the grace and motion brought by a flexion or curve that departs from normal usage as a metaphor for rhetorical figures, exemplified by the *Discobolos of Myron* (II.xiii.9-11). It is also worth recalling that Quintilian spoke of the figures of speech as the *gestus* – gesture of speech (IX.i.13).

[165] Compare Varchi, 1550 lectures at Padua "All four elements when combined produce an even more perfect mixture: a perfect body in which all opposition and contradictions are harmonized, which is active and capable of receiving the most noble form existing beneath heaven". Cited in L.Mendelsohn *Paragoni Benedetto Varchi's* Due Lezzioni *and Cinquecento Art Theory*, *op.cit.* p.21. Varchi names the "most noble form existing beneath heaven" as man, whose unique capacities to create and transform have their highest artistic form in the artwork which shows *grazia*.

[166] *op.cit.*p.128 ("let him so order the tenor of his life, that the whole corresponds to these parts, the same is always the same and he is in nothing in discord with himself, but makes a single body of these good conditions; so that every act is composed of all the virtues [...] so interlinked that they lead to one end and

The passage obviously draws on the discussion of decorum in *De officiis* as a harmonious body whose proportion points to the concord of the virtues within the soul, and which plays out this measure and concord through order and ornament in oratory, bearing and social conduct through the whole of life. The identification of the metaphorical body of decorum with the actual body of the orator could be seen as the aim of rhetorical *actio*, which we have discussed as a translation of ethical action into oratorical performance. Castiglione's discussion adds however another level of artifice in emphasising the elaboration of *mediocrità* in the harmonious disposition of *contrarietà*, so that the "artless art" of the setting forth of character becomes a species of artistic *varietas* or *chiaroscuro*. The use of *varietas* is notable here, because it points to an understanding of the harmony of contraries which contains *both* the idea of completion and of the artifice which extends further, creating order with more ornament, as Vasari said, or exceeding measure with *grazia*. We see this at I.xxviii in the early discussions of *grazia* and *affettazione*, in the Magnifico Giuliano's discourse on musical harmony as *concors discordia*, where "due consonanzie perfette" result in "sazietà" whereas the resolution of a dissonant second or seventh produces delight.[167] This delight comes from the resolution of discord in time "le orecchie nostre stanno suspese e più avidamente attendono e gustano le perfette, e dilettansi talor di quella dissonanzia della seconda o settima".[168]

In this emphasis on the concord of contraries, we might see the presence of one of Castiglione's sources for the *Cortegiano*, Pico's commentary on Benivieni, where we saw that *concors discordia* is postulated first as harmony and then as beauty itself, exemplified by the cosmos. The moving force of the harmony of the *musica universalis* lies in its beauty, which not only tempers the elements of cosmos and microcosmos but draws us upwards to its simple and transcendent source - the great universal chain passes from the binding of contraries to the ladder that leads to the divine. In the discussions up to this point, we have concentrated on the notion of a fluent expression, or performance of inner states by outer bearing. The importance of music and the harmonisation of contraries in the work shows however that the language of *concors discordia* is adopted by Castiglione as a way of underlining the reflection of the universal order in the artifice of *cortegiania*, in which the fundamental contrariety contained in the doctrine of *l'arte cela l'arte* becomes first a fitting expression for the ethical tempering of opposing qualities, and then an image for *harmonia mundi*. We have already noted that at IV.lviii-ix Bembo invokes the *gran machina del mondo* in terms which echo the earlier description at I.xlix, where the topos of divine creation as artwork was employed. As remarked, the description of the universal order at IV.lviii-ix repeats the consists in the exaltation of the same sequence of things, from the heavens to products of human craft,

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all can come together and serve each effect. He must however know how to make use of this, so that one virtue may be known better by comparison and almost opposition with another, like good painters, who make lights stand out through the contrast of shadow, and so with light make shadows on surfaces seem more profound, or put colours together so that one shows the other better through variety, or place figures against one another which helps to express the painter's intention").

[167] *op.cit.*pp.62-63.

[168] *ibid* ("our ears listen intently and await and relish the perfects more avidly, delighting in that dissonance of the second or seventh").

which are used to celebrate the universality of order in *Gorgias* and *De oratore* III. Cicero's discussion exalted the order and beauty in the cosmos as the pattern for rhythm, *i.e.* human imitation of *harmonia mundi*. In Castiglione the "gran machina del mondo", reflected in the microcosm, is presented in terms that explicitly recall the "le virtù [...] talmente tra sé concatenate, che vanno ad un fine ed ad ogni effetto tutte possono concorrere e servire" in the courtier's display of character: "Queste cose tra sé han tanta forza per la connession d'un ordine composto così necessariamente, che mutandole per un punto, non poriano star insieme e ruinarebbe il modo; hanno ancora tanta bellezza e grazia, che non posson gl'ingegni umani imaginar cosa più bella".[169]

If the resolution of discords in music is praised for its artifice and the delight it brings, the theme of the music of *harmonia universalis* played out in human, historical time preoccupies Castiglione at the opening of Book Two, where he meditates on the argument that the world grows worse over time, and refutes this accusation of degeneration with the claim that

> essendo il male contrario al bene e 'l bene al male,
> è quasi necessario che per la opposizione e per un
> certo contrapeso l'un sostenga e fortifichi l'altro,
> e mancando o crescendo l'uno, così manchi o
> cresca l'altro perché niuno contrario è senza l'altro
> suo contrario [...] essendo le virtù state al mondo
> concesse per grazia e dono della natura, sùbito i vicii,
> per quella concatenata contrarietà, necessariamente le
> furono compagni di modo che sempre, crescendo o
> mancando l'uno, forza è che così l'altro cresca o manchi. [170]

Here harmony is both *concors discordia* and resolution in time - strife, change and decay are necessary parts in the concept of the world as a "concatenata contrarietà", which holds all things together, ensuring that the energies of destruction serve to fulfil a larger order. If this providential order contains strife and change, virtue must consist in the capacity to remain concordant with one's self in the face of bad fortune – the kind of exhortation to *constantia* that one take from *De officiis*. The setting forth of character as "concatenata contrarietà" thus entails the realisation that *harmonia mundi* may be unfolded over time in terms of misfortune and loss. The doctrine of *concors discordia* unfolded in dyadic cycles of creation and destruction which human perception views

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[169] *op.cit.*p.43 ("these things have such force through the order created of necessity by their connection, that in changing one point they could not remain together and one would ruin the structure; they have such beauty and grace that human wit could not imagaine a thing more beautiful"). The passage may have formed a source for Tasso's famous analogy of the cosmos as *concors discordia* and the epic poem in the *Discorsi*.

[170] II.ii *op.cit.*p.121 ("since evil is the contrary of good and good of evil, it is almost necessary that through opposition and a certain counterweight, one sustains and fortifies the other, so that waning or growing the one, so the other wanes or grows since no contrary is without its contrary object [...] as the virtues are given by grace and gift of Nature, so the vices follow, by that concatenation of contraries which necessitates that they go together so that as one grows or wanes, so the other grows or wanes").

through time has its origins in Empedocles's *Peri physeos* (*On nature*), where all things come into being through the cosmic symbiosis of love and strife, a work cited by Pico in the commentary on Benivieni. At the level of providence, virtue and vice fulfil each other, at the level of human vicissitudes, fortune and misfortune, at the level of creation, eternity is played out through the cycles of generation. At the level of nature, this symbiosis has its embodiment in the *concors discordia* of male and female, and it is again the Magnifico Giuliano who speaks of the totality which is composed of opposites in response to the charge that women are "difetto o error della natura":

> la natura, quasi tornando in circulo, adempie la eternità
> ed in tal modo dona la immortalità ai mortali [...] la natura
> intende sempre produr la cosa più perfetta e però intende
> produr l'omo in specie sua, ma non più maschio che femina
> [...] così della compagnia di maschio e di femina risulta un
> composito conservativo della specie umana [...] E però maschio
> e femina da natura son sempre insieme, né po esser l'un star
> senza l'altro [...] E perché un sesso solo dimostra imperfezione,
> attribuiscono gli antichi teologi l'uno e l'altro a Dio: onde
> Orfeo disse che Iove era maschio e femina.[171]

The union of male and female manifests itself in different ways at different levels: in a god, it signals a mysterious, hermaphroditic unity above the division of man and woman, in human beings, it leads to the cyclical renewal of being as "la natura, quasi tornando in circulo, adempie la eternità", and in the cosmos it is linked to the concord of the elements which holds all things in tempered proportion (III.xviii).[172] Here we come to an important point: if the union between man and woman is the human embodiment of the *musica mundana* of love and strife, through which nature and providence imitate eternity, love is also the force which transcends order, as we have seen *grazia* as the movement which both arises from the tempered concord of measure and moves beyond it. To recapitulate, the concept of world as "concatenata contrarietà" provides a way of reconciling oppositions, and of understanding time as part of a larger pattern of order for which music provides the paradigm; it is this harmonious ordering of contraries which may be imitated in artifice, where the tempering of the elements has its equivalent in the *mediocrità*, the mean without which *grazia* cannot exist. In this light we can understand perfectly the movement from measure to harmony, which has its counterpart in the shift from justice to love; the very idea of *concors discordia* presupposes a higher force of reconciliation in a way that measure, perhaps, does not. It is not enough to assert the continuity between the cosmic and the human realm, or the order of the whole and the responding structure of wholeness in each thing, but to reveal the perfection of all this in

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[171] III.xiv *op.cit.*p.277 ("Nature, almost turning in a cycle, realises eternity and in this way give immortality to mortals [...] Natura knows how to produce the most perfect thing and thus intends to produce man in his species, not masculine and feminine but [...] from the joining of masculine and feminine arises a composite which conserves the human species [...] and thus masculine and feminine are always together, nor can one be without the other [...] because one sex by itself is imperfect, the ancient theologians attributed both sexes to God; thus Orpheus said that in Jupuiter was masculine and feminine").

[172] One should of course note here the *Libro dell'amore* of Leone Ebreo, with its extensive discussion of the universal copulation which sustains replenishes the cosmic order.

the ornament of *grazia* which illuminates the whole as emanation of a higher source "ad ogni cosa dà supremo ornamento questa grazia e sacra bellezza".[173] The insistence on the ornament and grace which arise from the harmony of contraries, and draw us into higher consideration, discloses contemplation as the end of imitation, and of course denotes the movement from the sphere of political goals, linked with prudence and judgement, into the theoretic. As noted, the contemplative ascent described by Castiglione is appetitive, rather than intellective, and in this we might note the distinction between *grazia* and Alberti's *concinnitas*, which in other ways share certain features – both arise from harmony and are characterised as a further light which draws us into higher consideration. However, where the "light" of *concinnitas* discloses the universality of reason and its embodiment in nature, the distinctive quality of *grazia* is not only that it illuminates beauty as moving force, rather than static order, but that it inspires desire, and thus exalts volition above reason in the journey to God.[174] Thus we move from Alberti's rationalist meditation on the nature of beauty to Pico's commentary, where *concors discordia* implies both *harmonia universalis* and the fundamental idea of disequilibrium in the notion of love as the desire to possess beauty.

Before we come to consider the oration on love itself, we should recall the predominance of women in the work, and the degree to which they are presented as embodiments of the ideal in which outer gracefulness "reveals" inner virtue, and virtue itself is conceived in terms of the progression from measure to harmony to *grazia*. This idealisation is exemplified by Castiglione's praise of the two Duchesses of Urbino, Elizabetta Gonzaga, who presides over the *ragionamenti* and her successor, Eleonora Gonzaga, lauded at IV.ii, and his praise to their virtues gives a striking illustration of the arising of *grazia* from *concatenata contrarietà*. At I.iv we read of Elisabetta Gonzaga that "parea che fosse una catena che tutti in amor tenesse uniti, talmente che mai non fu concordia di voluntà o amore cordiale tra fratelli maggior di quello, che quivi tra tutti era [...] la medesima libertà era grandissimo freno [...] parea che tutti alla qualità e forma di lei temperasse".[175] If Elisabetta is portrayed here as both illustration of Aristotelian discussions of benevolent rule and as Gallic Hercules, the power to create concord which is at once a mean and a reconciliation of opposites is linked to her singular virtue, presented as evidence that physical beauty is the outer sign of inner goodness: "nel tenero petto d'una donna in compagnia di singular bellezza possono stare insieme la prudenzia e la fortezza d'animo, e tutte qulle virtù che ancor ne' severi omini sono rarissime".[176] One sees here how Castiglione succeeds in bringing together the idea of beauty as outer sign

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[173] Castiglione's language here seems to echo Ficino in *De amore* I.ii ("il Mondo significa ornamento di molte cose composte [...] lo adunamento di tutte le forme e Idee i Latini chiamano Mondo, e i Greci Cosmo che ornamento significa. La grazia di questo Mondo e di questo ornamento, è la Bellezza"), with *grazia* illuminating the transcendent origin of beauty and ornament the beauty which arises from the perception of order or arrangement as perfected wholeness.

[174] Compare Ficino, *De amore*, V.ii "questa grazia di virtù, figura o voce, che chiama lo animo a sé e rapisce per il mezzo della ragione, viso e audito, rettamente si chiama Bellezza" *op.cit.*pp.70-71.

[175] *op.cit.*p.22 ("she seemed a chain that held everyone united in love, so that there was never voluntary concord or cordial love amongst brothers greater than that which was between all there [...] liberty itself was the greatest rein [...] it seemed that everyone was tempered to her quality and form").

[176] *op.cit.*p.23 ("in the gentle breast of a woman singular beauty can exist together with prudence and strength of soul, and all those virtues which are most rare in the severest of men").

of goodness, and its persuasive force, with the language of *concors discordia*. This language is repeated in the description of the second Duchess in Book Four: "se mai furono in un corpo solo congiunti sapere, grazia, bellezza, ingegno, manere accorte, umanità ed ogni altro gentil costume, in questa tanto sono uniti, che ne risulta una catena, che ogni suo movimento di tutte queste condizioni insieme compone e adorna".[177] The "concatenata contrarietà" of the world, held together by concord and by measure, is translated to the virtue of these women, whose beauty is "vero trofeo della vittoria dell'anima" (IV.lix), and thus to *grazia* in its whole range of meaning. This *catena*, like its mythic prototype, the golden chain of being in the *Iliad*, reaches from the highest virtues to the smallest particulars, the same range that is claimed for *grazia* - this is especially striking the portrait of the second Duchess, "concessa dal cielo", whose chain of virtues is described in language that suggests the tempered measure of virtue, the harmony of concatenation and the flexible *constantia* and ornament of decorum "una catena, che ogni suo movimento di tutte queste condizioni insieme compone e adorna". This composite whole which accommodates itself to each minute adjustment of its parts is represented through verbs such as *comporre* and *adornare*, taking us back to the early description of *grazia* as "un ornamento che componga e compagni tutte le operazioni sue". [178] If the two Duchesses are presented as the most exalted embodiments of virtue, linked through the image of the *catena* to the "concatenata contrarietà" of the world, Castiglione's description of them illustrates the passage from measure to the harmonious *contrarietà* which binds together the world to the vertical order, the golden chain of being, and this vertical ascent is initiated by love, inspired by the beauty of women.

*Bembo's oration*

The starting point of Bembo's oration comes with the definition of beauty at IV.lii, which juxtaposes Platonic theories of love, Thomist definitions of beauty and the solar symbolism of Ficino with an image which demonstrates the work's persistent concern with the relation of contemplation and artifice. The passage is at the core of the ideal propounded in the work and thus is worth quoting in full: "Ma parlando di questa bellezza che noi intendemo, che è quella che solamente appar nei corpi e massimamente nei volti umani e move questo ardente desiderio che noi chiamiamo amore, diremo che è un influsso della bontà divina, il quale, benché si spanda sopra tutte le cose create come il lume del sole, pur quando trova una volta ben misurata e composta con una certa gioconda concordia di colori distinti ed autati dai lumi e dall'ombre e da una ordinata distanzia e termini di linee, vi s'infonde e si dimostra bellissimo, e quel suietto ove riluce adorna e illumina d'una grazia e splendor mirabile, a guisa a ragio di sole che percuota in

[177] *op.cit.*p.365 ("if ever in a single body knowledge, grace, beauty, wit, sagacity, humanity and all other gentle manners were conjoined, they are so united in her that they seems like a chain that with every movement composed and adorned these conditions"). We shall encounter this duchess, Eleonora Gonzaga again as the builder of the sixteenth century addition to Villa Imperiale at Pesaro.

[178] I.xiv, *op.cit.*p.41. Cf. I.xxiv "il cortegiano ha da compagnare l'operazion sue, i gesti, gli abiti, in somma ogni movimento co la grazia", *op.cit.*p.56 ("the courtier must accompany all his actions, gestures, dress, in short every movement with grace").

un bel vaso d'oro terso e variato di preciose gemme".[179] What is initially striking in this definition is the way that the ostentatiously rhetorical or poetic metaphor of the jewelled vase serves as the embodiment of a definition of beauty which appears to be based on the conflation of the Thomist *integritas*, *consonantia*, and *claritas*, Plato's statement in *Symposium* that beauty moves love to possess it and Ficino's repeated discussions in *De amore* of beauty as the splendour like that of the sun, "il lume di sole" received in a prepared *i.e.* proportionate object, to which we shall pass in a moment. In discussion of *concinnitas*, we suggested the presence of the Thomist triad in the movement from harmonious proportion to the light that arises through the perception of harmony. In the definition of beauty here, one might discern two levels of meaning in *claritas* - the "distinct" and bright colours and the illumination of the sensible object by the higher, transcendent beauty. Beauty is thus a radiance which shines on things from above to reveal the measure and concord in them, and this illumination is characterised as an adornment and a giving of grace "quel suietto ove riluce adorna e illumina d'una grazia e splendor mirabile". The passage really brings the influence of Ficino, which runs through all the meditations on *grazia*, to its point of celebration: Ficino's own point of departure for the metaphors of beauty as divinely flowing light in *De amore* is the analogy of the sun and the intelligible in *Republic* 508, which he discusses in II.ii and develops in V.iv. At V.vi Ficino discusses the descent of the splendour of beauty into the body, in a famous definition calling corporeal beauty "un certo atto, vivacità, e grazia, che risplende nel corpo per lo influsso della sua Idea".[180] This definition confirms our reading of *grazia* as movement, as well as light, and the "preparation" of the body to receive this influx, which becomes associated with magic in *De vita* III and Lomazzo, is here the proportion, colour and wholeness that constitute the materialist reading of the Thomist definition. At VII.i, the last oration of *De amore*, the previous discussions are resumed in the light of the poetry of Cavalcanti, and we find an image which bears striking similarity to Bembo's metaphor of the vase struck by the ray of sun. Cavalcanti had likened the *phantasia* and the memory (*i.e.* the parts of the soul which receive and conserve the immaterial images of material things) to a mirror, struck by the sun of beauty, and the image which the soul creates of this radiance awakens the appetite from potential to act, that is, to love.[181] The metaphor of light striking a mirror points back again to the

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[179] *op.cit.* p.428 ("Speaking of this beauty that we know, which only that which appears in bodies and above all in human faces, and moves that ardent desire called love, let us say that it is an influx of divine good. Although it spreads over all created things like the light of the sun, yet when it finds a measured face, composed with a certain pleasant concord of distinct colours enhanced by light and shade and by an ordered structure of lines, it flows into it and shows itself most lovely, adorning and illuminating that in which it shines with wonderful grace and splendour, like a ray of sunlight that strikes a beautiful golden vase shining and decorated with precious jewels").

[180] *Sopra lo amore*, *op.cit.*p.78 ("a certain act, liveliness and grace which shines in the body due to the influx of the idea"). At the end of the same chapter, Ficino refers to beauty as "una certa grazia, vivace e spirituale" *op.cit.*p.80 ("a certain grace, lively and spiritual").

[181] "così vuole Guido, che la patre della Anima chiamata da lui oscura fantasia e memoria, come uno specchio, sia percossa dalla immagine della bellezza, che tiene il luogo del Sole, come da un certo raggio entrato per gli occhi, e sia percossa in modo che ella per la detta immagine una altra seconda immagine da sé si fabbrichi, quasi come splendore della prima immagine, per il quale splendore la potenzia dello appetire [...] si accenda, [...] e accesa ami" *Sopra lo amore*, *op.cit.*pp.135-136 ("Thus Cavalcanti said that the part of the Soul called by him the obscure phantasy and memory, is struck like a mirror by the image of beauty, which takes the place of the Sun. This image enters like a ray of light through the eyes and so strikes the Soul that from the first image it forms a second image, almost the splendour of the first image,

Plotinian simile of the soul shining on individual bodies like a face shining in mirrors, but also emphasises the internalisation of the image of the beautiful, as we find in the movement from the contemplation of the *phantasia* to the contemplation of the mind as act of consuming love in Bembo's oration.

There is however a fundamental difference: Bembo substitutes the mirror as topos for the receptive faculties of the soul with an object that commands our attention as a magnificent object of artifice – the golden vase resplendent with jewels. The adornment and illumination of divine beauty are perceptible because they are reflected in the object in which they manifest themselves - we see the dazzling brilliance of the sun in the gleaming surface of the vase and the glitter of its jewels. The metaphor of the golden vase is in short like a symbol for the ideal advanced in the work: if the vase is brilliant because it reflects the sun, the splendour of *il lume del sole* is revealed because it is reflected in the surface of the vase, whose gleaming golden surface suggests the language of rhetorical ornament. Alongside a structure of thought is the figuration of that thought in an image which exemplifies the preoccupation with artifice and style, so bringing these preoccupations to their highest level of conceptualisation. In a similar way, *grazia* is the effect of the polishing and adorning of the character so that it reflects divine beauty; the consummate artifice which creates the effect of transparency between inner good and outer comeliness displays the character as a smooth and golden surface which mirrors the light of higher virtue, and which moves us to possess that virtue. What appears reflected in the vase leads to meditation on the order of being whose existence is signalled by beauty, but the vase, as an object, remains before us as the basis of our apprehension of measure and of light. In this sense, the ascent into contemplation is impossible without the courtier as object, and cannot be undertaken until the character of the courtier is perceived in terms of measure illuminated by ornament - in other words, in terms of *grazia*.

Bembo's oration can be divided into two parts: the first, which we have cited above, moves from a single object of desire to the beauty of the universe (li-lxvii), the second from the beauty of the whole universe to the union with God (lxviii-lxx). Once we have passed beyond the cosmos into the transcendent, the only term of reference is the infinity of the divine, and the Neoplatonic discourse itself becomes a structure of *ascesis* ("l'anima [...] purgata dai studi della vera filosofia"), a preliminary to fire of love of mystical *unio*.[182] This is explicit in the shift from the evocation of beauty as divine light to the "the felicissima fiamma" of divine love; the radiance which draws the soul towards the transcendent gives way to the flame that consumes the soul in mystical rapture. This second part of the oration, which concentrates on "gli occhi della mente", ends with a prayer that the soul "in tutto separat(a) dal corpo", we may be "alienati da noi stessi" in "ardentissima virtù di contemplazione".[183] If the aspiration to a beauty purged of all

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and by this splendour the potential of the appetite [...] is awakened [...] and awakened, loves" ).

[182] ("the soul [...] purified by the study of true philosophy").

[183] IV.lxx *op.cit.*p.452 ("wholly separated from the body, and alienated from ourselves in the ardent fire of of contemplation").

sensible form culminates with an ecstatic hymn to divine love, it also occasions Emilia Pia's graceful reprimand to return from transcendence to human society. The union with the divine, while it represents the highest goal of contemplative life, requires the immolation of all bodily and worldly desire, and as such appears at odds with the ideal of embodiment which has been elucidated with such care in the work. In the ideal of embodiment, or ideal embodiment of *cortegiania*, the transcendental beauty and idea of virtue revealed in divine contemplation are simultaneously the fundamental core of all other discussions, and a vanishing point where the ideal of embodiment must break down before the ascent to the *raptus* of mysticism. While the work presents this striving towards the transcendent as the force which reveals the unity at the source of the harmony of all things, it nevertheless draws back from the dissolution of the ideal which has been so skilfully crafted, and so the impulse to spiritual sundering is deflected back through a number of manoeuvres - the consciously rhapsodic presentation of the *letterato* Bembo, the reappearance of *urbanitas* as Emilia Pia gracefully reproves Bembo for divorcing the soul from the body, and so from the society of his listeners, and the final re-emergence of the architectural and physical setting, revealed in alignment with the ideal which has been progressively disclosed in the work. The palace-city of Urbino appears for the last time at IV.lxxiii, revealed in the light of dawn; after the vigil of the previous night the idealisation of Urbino has deepened from ethical exemplar to poetic paradise of "aura soave [...] mormoranti selve" and "dolci concenti dei vaghi augelli".[184] Over this landscape shines the morning star, "dolce governatrice del ciel di Venere, che della notte e del giorno tiene i confini", and this star, as manifestation of Venus Urania, seems a heavenly confirmation of the oration on love, and as harbinger of daybreak an image for the equipoise between contraries.[185] It is in this moment between night, time of contemplation, and day, time of action, that we see the fusion of ideal and setting, and this fusion reveals the landscape, described at I.ii as "non ameno" and "aspero", as a perspectival vista (Alberti's image seen through a window) and a *locus amoenus*, proper setting of the *ragionamento* on love which has taken place – the rising of the morning star as the work closes suggests also a reference to Aristotle's stipulations on the temporal unfolding of dramatic action, which takes place in a little more than a day. Thus the last pages of the work bend Bembo's oration from its ecstatic climax back to the body, to the social context, to the architectural situation and finally to the physical setting in the landscape, illumined in the sunrise. The continuum which stretches upwards to the transcendent is thus balanced by the perspective which unfolds outwards into the landscape - situation in nature, in the created world - and the ideal which would seem to accommodate the two is closely linked with the setting in the Duchess's apartments, as a place of temperance and measure which brings all things into concord, from deportment to virtue to the closing image of the landscape transfigured from outlay to perspectival vista and poetic *locus*. This moment of configuration with which the work ends is an ideal, but an ideal subject to time and chance, whose equipoise is as delicate and as momentary as the dawn light in which it is revealed; the insistence on embodiment has its counterpart in change and decay, and history, which provides great models and exemplars, also records the loss and degeneration of the court of Urbino itself.[186] The

[184] *op.cit.* p.455 ("soft breeze [...] whispering woods" "sweet song of the lovely birds").
[185] *ibid* ("gentle ruler of the heaven of Venus, who holds the limits of night and day").
[186] In the first part of the dedication, Castiglione speaks to de Silva of the deaths of many of the courtiers

commemoration of Urbino, so that its memory may be saved from the ravages of time, leads to the creation of a work which aspires to be a monument to posterity, while aware of its historical existence as a philological entity. This historical consciousness which affects the gathering of exemplars, the presentation of Urbino, and the language of the work written to immortalise its memory, brings us, in conclusion, back to the theme of models and imitation.

One notable feature of the work lies in the efforts to balance historical exemplarity with the language of measure, so that a thing unique in its virtue may take on the universal character of a rule without any loss of particular detail. This strategy becomes explicit at III.i when Castiglione illustrates his attempt to resolve the relationship of the exceptional to the model with the story that Pythagoras demonstrated the greatness of Hercules' body by showing his foot to have measured out the stadium of the Olympic games, and deriving the size of the body from its proportion to a single member: "da questa piccol parte di tutto 'l corpo potete chiaramente conoscer quanto la corte d'Urbino fosse a tutte l'altre d'Italia superiore, considerando quanto i giochi, li quali son ritrovati per recrear gli animi affaticati dalle facende più ardue, fossero a quelli che s'usano nell'altre corti della Italia superiori [...] la corte d'Urbino esser stata molto più eccellente ed ornata d'omini singulari, che noi non potemo scrivendo esprimere".[187] Games and spectacles "per recrear gli animi affaticati", the aspects of life that might be considered most ephemeral or ornamental, are the source of measure, but this measure is not abstracted from the form in which it is discovered.

There are a number of themes to be drawn together here, concerning the nature of Castiglione's idealisation of the court of Urbino, which is depicted both as historically unique and as a model for imitation. The discussions of imitation, which we have considered in the terms of the legend of Zeuxis, concern the representation of the court itself, the palace-city as harmonious totality, its ethical balance founded in measure while its ornament - its *laus* and its *grazia* point both to historical exemplarity and its relation to the idea. If Castiglione seems to hold out the court as a model in the simile of Hercules's footstep, the analogy in itself shows that the notion of a model implies a reflection on proportion, and thus variety and the blending of the different and the same, *i.e. concors discordia*. It is also important to recall that Castiglione's simile contains a double reflection - the relation of Urbino to other courts and the analogy between *otium* and *negotium*. In Cicero and Alberti we saw that recreation was conceived at mimetic or reflective distance from active life. In Castiglione imitation is inseparable from the whole continuum of action and contemplation, and virtue therefore is inseparable from

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portrayed in the book – that which in particular grieves him is the death of the Duchess, and regrets that he has not written more of her virtues in the book. Each of the four books of the work opens with a note of nostalgia or a reflection on time – at Book IV the lament for the courtiers who had died since the work was set is taken up again.

[187] *op.cit.*pp.259-260 ("from this small part of the whole body you can understand the superiority of the court of Urbino to every other in Italy, considering that these games, invented to relax minds wearied by more arduous business, were so superior to those used in other parts of Italy [...] the court of Urbino was more excellent by far, and more adorned with singular men, than we can express in writing").

imitation. We have seen above how this manifested by the constant and fundamental presence of artifice, in particular by *grazia*, which rises from social skill to mystical *unio*, without a break in the expressive ideal. In this regard one might note that in the myth of Zeuxis the two "dimensions" of the harmonising of diversity and the vertical ascent from the particular body to the idea (rendered in the *Cortegiano* in the language of Ficino) work together as part of a unified process of imitation.

There are some final remarks to make regarding this continuum of which we have frequently spoken. Firstly, if we make a comparison with Alberti, in *De re aedifcatoria* the idealised quality of the project, as evidenced by the preoccupation with totalities, is in balance with the attempt to work out the perfect relationship of praxis and setting. While Alberti and Castiglione are both attentive to decorum and occasion, in Alberti an idealising vision exists alongside a respect for the differing claims of various social spheres, while for Castiglione it seems that the important point is to work out the structure of artifice. Once this has been done, the object that is represented can be at any point along the continuum of representation, which may be emphasised over the specific nature and claims of occasion and setting; as one finds in the later sixteenth century, an emblem or ephemeral spectacle can become figurations of the universal order as much as the most monumental project, once their ornament is understood in terms of a structure of artifice that imitates the larger cosmos. We see beginning of this in the *Cortegiano* in the way that the description of the continuity of *sprezzatura* and *grazia* takes precedence over an account of how the various areas of activity fit together, and thus not only do outer things express inner things but little things may express great things (as in the analogy of the footstep of Hercules), and frivolous things, serious matters, as in the game to define *cortegiania*, called by Castiglione an *impresa*. In the initial comments about the *intarsia* decorations of the Ducal Palace of Urbino we saw that *imprese* appear there besides the iconography of the arts, the virtues, the ideal state and the reflection on perspectival representation. In the movement from a personal device to the serious game (*serius ludus*) which discloses the structure and end of artifice one might argue that here we see the beginnings of that expansion of meaning which will make the *impresa* so fundamental to the structural, as well as the iconographic understanding of later sixteenth century representation. Castiglione, we remember, introduces the *impresa* to define *cortegiania* amongst the other *giochi* proposed by the courtiers as after dinner entertainments, one of which, suggested by the L'Unico Aretino at I.ix consists in guessing the meaning of the S-shaped jewel worn by the Duchess and depicted in Raphael's portrait of her in the Uffizi, a *gioco* which is literally an emblem, with *quaestio*, *figura* and explanatory sonnet.[188] Such *giochi* are described described by

[188] The sonnet is delivered by L'Unico spontaneously but is so "ingenioso e culto" that it is obviously the product of careful labour. "L'Unico, [...] in ultimo disse un sonetto sopra la materia predetta, dechiarando ciò che significava quella lettera S; che da molti fu estimato fatto all'improviso, ma, per esser ingenioso e culto più che non parve comportasse la brevità del tempo, si pensò pur che fosse pensato" *op.cit.*pp.30-31("L'Unico finally delivered a sonnet on this theme, declaring what the letter S meant; many thought it was made up on the moment, but since it was too ingenious and elaborate to be invented *impromptu* it was thought that it was thought out carefully beforehand"). This performance of studied artifice as extemporaneousness in the sonnet is almost a miniature enactment of *sprezzatura* – I say almost because Castiglione notes that the artifice of the sonnet betrays the *studio e fatica* in its creation, and the *impresa*

Castgilione at I.v:

> [...] tra l'altre piacevoli feste e musiche e danze che continuamente si usavano, talor si proponeano belle questioni, talor si facevano alcuni giochi ingeniosi ad arbitrario or d'uno or d'un altro, ne'quali sotto vari velami spesso scoprivano i circostanti allegoricamente i pensier sui a chi più loro piaceva. Qualche volta nasceano altre disputazioni di divere materie, o vero si mordea con pronti detti; spesso si facevano imprese, come oggidì chiamiamo; dove di tali ragionamenti meraviglioso piacere si pigliava per esser, come ho detto, piena la casa di nobilissimi ingegni.[189]

In these lines one can see that Cicero's transformation of philosophical *otium* into speculative conversation in the setting of patrician repose has been further transformed into structured play which encapsulates references to the various games, symbols and *quaestiones* that are elaborated in later sixteenth century literature on the *imprese*. We saw in Part One the vogue for "hieroglyphic representation" as a figurative rendering of paradox or *concors discordia*; in the "word-image", "body-soul" analogies expounded in treatises on the *imprese* from Giovio on, one should not forget the attempt to work out the relationship between the particular occasion to which the *impresa* responds (which implies a setting, a background) and the "idea" which it "Platonically" or "mysteriously" may disclose or intimate. It is this relationship between the exemplary response to the unique demands of an opportunity and the transcendent idea which is treated in the *impresa* of the *Cortegiano*, where the two are drawn together through the elaboration of a continuum of artifice. The *Cortegiano* seems to represent a halfway point between Humanist concerns with civic praxis and the Mannerist involvement with the tensions between embodiment and ideal, to which the word-image inventions of "hieroglyphic representation", at once analogy and synthesis, give artificial form. Thus the continuum of artifice which Castiglione's work articulates is still close to the ethical delineation of the spheres of action, and has not yet become engrossed by its own strategies of figuration, a fact which is apparent in the peculiarly harmonious quality of the ideal which it depicts. Still, the important step has been taken in that concern with the structure of artifice has started to overtake concern with the relation of artifice to reality, and attendant on this shift comes the focus on the relations between the embodying and conceptual elements within a continuum of artifice which presents itself as naturalness; put very crudely, the conjunction of body and soul becomes a form of poetic structuring as much as a setting forth of the character in response to the demands of praxis. If we

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proposed by L'Unico Aretino is duly abandoned.

[189] *op.cit.*pp.23-24 ("amongst the other pleasing entertainments and music and dance that constantly took place, at times agreeable discussions or debates were proposed, at times games of ingenuity organised or judged by one courtier or another, in which under certain veils one would reveal allegorically one's thoughts to whoever one liked. At times there were other kinds of disputation, or games of ready wit; often *imprese*, as they are now called, were invented. All these discussions were wonderfully entertaining for the court, as I said, was full of most noble minds").

compare Castiglione's ideal court to Alberti's ideal republic one can see how the paradigm of theatre for the way that society is designed has evolved from a consciously rational totalising programme to the evocation of the universality of the supreme art of artful spontaneity, and it is important to note the appearance of the *impresa* in this context.

Between Castiglione and the theorists of the *impresa* in the later cinquecento one finds figures such as Varchi, who synthesise the "poetic theology" of love with Aristotelian accounts of knowledge and art. The obvious product of this synthesis is the identification of the artist's shaping of the *concetto* in matter with the creation of the world from the divine idea, *i.e.* a confusion of the Platonic idea with the Aristotelian cause, and Varchi's *lezioni* on Michelangelo, like the treatises on the *impresa*, seem to wish to demonstrate the analogy between the structure of artifice and the structure of cognition. In her study of Varchi, Leatrice Mendelsohn notes a further point, namely that the artist's task to activate and unite heaven and earth harks back to the emphasis on the transformative capacities of man, or the aspects of man as *magus* in Pico and Ficino; she cites in particular a passage from the *Heptaplus* in which Pico writes that "the ancient fathers could not have represented one image by another, had they not known the occult affinities and harmonies in the universe".[190] We shall look at the treatises on the *imprese* below; in conclusion we should turn back to Castiglione's disagreement with Bembo concerning imitation, and see the thinking on art which arises out of Bembo's promulgation of unique models for imitation. Bembo's conception of imitation also brings us to the topos, as place, image and argument, here in the form of a recognised literary convention.

[190] On Varchi, see Mendelsohn, *op.cit.*pp.22-23.

## 2.3 ARGUMENTS CONCERNING IMITATION

### TOPOS AS PLACE AND ARGUMENT IN THE CULTURE OF *IMITATIO*

In Castiglione the "natural" relation of arguments and setting, like the other displays of implicit through explicit, is the product of careful study - the work which opens with an account of Federico da Montefeltro, whose heroic *virtù* led him to create a court for the true adornment of body and soul in the inhospitable terrain of Urbino (I.ii), closes with the triumph of *sprezzatura* spreading over the landscape revealed as ideal nature. We saw that Bembo's *Petrarchismo* was rejected in the *Cortegiano* as overly rigid in the debate on *lettere* at I.ixxx-xxxix, set at a date after the publication of his famous editions of Petrarch and Dante, and during his work on the *Prose della volgar lingua*, and in making him protagonist of the oration on love Castiglione is signalling his role as author of *Gli Asolani*, the work which popularised poetic theology into a vehicle for a discussion of poetic style. As noted, *Gli Asolani*, also contains an idealisation of court life is related to the presence of women (the court at Asolo, unique in the Veneto, is indeed ruled by a woman, Caterina Cornaro) and the ascendency of the themes virtue-beauty-love over those of virtue-action-prudence-wisdom. *Gli Asolani* are set in the *pratello* of the palace gardens, in a setting which conflates the *mise en scène* of the Decameron (Boccaccio is Bembo's model for vernacular prose) with a manicured Phaedran or Petrarchan grove. The deployment of the topos of the *locus amoenus* has a conspicuously normative quality, and the interest of the work lies in the delineation of an idealised cultural milieu in which theories of literary imitation may be fostered, rather than in its speculative or poetic *élan*. The gardens at Asolo are not in short a place for the invention of arguments, but of imitation, and the composition of place is a necessary part of that process of imitation. The setting is not so much a place in which something happens but an extension of the features of Petrarchan poetry onto the meta-discourse of the dialogues, while the landscape in Petrarch' s poetry itself is constructed from the equivocation on the beloved, and her "place" –Laura-*lauro*. So instead of an argument unfolding in a certain place, the place seems to rise out of the argument, and the argument in Bembo's *Petrarchismo* is itself constructed by the selection and imitation of defined models – topoi. The delineation of *topographia* in accordance with probability and *ethos* to effect persuasion was discussed by Quintilian, and we have seen Cicero's skill and care in constructing a background which could enrich and shape the scene enacted with its associations. What we find in Bembo is different, since it concerns a narrowing and focusing of a canon of such perfection that stylistic mastery will flow the appropriate sentiment, argument and setting. We see this in *Gli Asolani* in the identification of the lover's state with the landscape, the "fiume sempre d'amarissime lagrime",[1] or the invocations of the lady walking in the landscape of brooks, beech trees and shady laurels. Such metaphors which bring the beloved and her setting to near identification have their richest deployment in the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch itself, and to this we should turn as the basis for Bembo's *imitatio*.

In the poetics of Petrarch, we find the circulation of metaphors around the image of Laura so that each metaphor enters into analogy with the others, and the figure for these figures, so to speak, is the garland of laurel which is Muse, ornament and triumph. This circulation of metaphors fulfils in the clearest way the root meaning of the trope, from *tropein*, to turn.

[1] *Asolani* I.xxxi, *op.cit.* p.368.

Laura, the ornament of beauty and virtue on earth is adorned through her celebration in the poetry of Petrarch, which in turn is ornamented in the triumph of his coronation with the laurels which are, metaphorically, Laura. The ring of metaphors which has its topos in the laurel wreath, by means of which Laura and Petrarch may be united, conceives Laura as a species of *coincidentia oppositorum*, and as the charismatic centre of a cycle of transformations whose measure lies in its circularity and thus, despite the agonies of metamorphosis to which the heart and the body of the lover are subjected, in its harmony. If the laurel is Muse and wreath (both pastoral garland and triumphal wreath), it is also a locus - Laura sits in the shade of the *locus amoenus* which is herself and her ornament, "seder la donna nostra sopra l'erba et far de la sua braccia a se stessa ombra", "(il) duro lauro ch' à i rami di diamante et d'or le chiome".[2] Thus the *lauro-Laura* equivocation, which imitates the flow of energy between Laura as the praise of poetry and poetry as the praise of Laura, also illuminates the relationship between figure and locus, so that place becomes an embodiment of the metaphors which evoke the figure, as though it were an extension of that figure. The laurel, then, is not only the metamorphic tree whose leaves are the inspiration and the ornament of poetry, but a place, the grove which grows with the multiplication of metaphors to a forest "Solo d'un lauro tal selva verdeggia" (cvii) "'l gran lauro fu picciola verga" (cdxxxviii), as in cxxvii the white and gold of Laura's beauty can stretch in the course of a single *rima* beyond the pastoral *bosco* to the sunlit and snow-covered mountains that form the horizon of the eye's vision and contract to the delicacy of meadow flowers stirred by the breeze, which is, again, Laura ("l'aura inanzi a cui mia vita fugge" cxxxiii).[3] The "fior de l'altre belle stando in se stessa à la sua luce sparta"[4] (cxxvii) manifests herself in all the transformations of beauty that she governs, and especially in the ultimate metamorphosis of things and feelings into the figurations of poetry, symbolised obviously by laurel. While poetry and the grove as place of poetic meditation (and amorous torment) signal the absence of beloved, this association implies a prior or potential unification - the significance of the laurel grove as a solitary *locus umbratilis* is inseparable from the laurel garland whose metaphors signify the fullness of their source. Again, the inextricability of grove and garland points to the cohesion of locus and figure - the landscape is in no sense a backdrop but the place in which the metaphors for the beloved - the radiant sun (l'auro), the breeze (l'aura), grove (lauro) and the flowers which spring up in her steps (cdxv) are unfolded, so that the beauty of the earth is not merely a point of comparison but, as we said, an embodiment of Laura, the living light in which nature sees herself "vivo lume in cui Natura si specchia" (cdiv).[5] At cdix Laura's beauty, which paragons that of other figures associated with their locus, the "ninfa in fonti" and the "dea in selve", becomes an idea:

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[2] *Rime Sparse* xxxiv and xxx. The edition used is *Rime sparse* Italian-English, translated and edited R. Durling, Harvard, 1976 ("our lady seated on the grass and making with her arms shade for herself" "the hard laurel which has branches of diamond and hair of gold").

[3] ("from a single laurel such a wood grows green" "the great laurel was a little shoot" "the breeze before which my life flees")

[4] ("the flower of other beauties, remaining in herself, has scattered her light").

[5] (" the living light in which Nature mirrors herself"). The verse reads:

> Le stelle, il cielo, et gli elementi a prova
> tutte lor arti et ogni estrema cura
> poser nel vivo lume in cui Natura
> si specchia e 'l sol, ch'altrove par non trova

("The stars and the heavens and the elements vied with all their/ arts and put every ultimate care into tht living light, where/ Nature is mirrored and the sun, which finds its equal nowhere/else") trans. Durling, *op.cit.*

In qual parte del Ciel, in quale Idea
era l'essempio onde Natura tolse
quel bel viso leggiadro in ch'ella volse
mostrar qua già quanto lassù potea?[6]

Laura's beauty has its paradigm in a heavenly idea and its locus and its metaphor in nature, the earthly veil by means of which it manifests itself. The fusion of figure and locus, which grows out of the double identification of nymph and tree, tree and poetry, is at the heart of the metaphorical realisation of the beloved, an embodiment presented in the metamorphosis of Daphne as a literal concretisation. In such a process the locus becomes the expression of the metaphorical realisation and the energies of a figure, rather than a backcloth or an empty container; a conception which gives rise to the idea of locus as a space in which the charisma or energies of a figure rise up. If the laurel is both the grove and the pastoral or triumphant garland, it also figures the cycle of transformation whereby the earthly involucrum, which veils the idea of heavenly beauty in its procession into nature, is converted into the veils of metaphor.[7]

This sense of locus is illustrated in the *Comento sopra alcuni de'miei sonetti* of Lorenzo de'Medici: "il luogo (del sonetto) di necessità era paradiso, perchè dove era tanto splendore, bellezza e pietà, certamente si può dire paradiso. Perchè "paradiso"[...] non vuol dire altro che un giardino amenissimo, abbondante di tutte le cose piacevoli et dilettevoli, d'arbori, di pomi, di fiori, acque vive et correnti, canti d'uccelli, ed in effetto di tutte le amenità che può pensare il cuore dell'uomo; e per questo si verifica che paradiso era ove era sì bella donna, perchè qui era copia d'ogni amenità e dolcezza, che un gentil cuore può desiderare".[8] The *locus amoenus* as the both place of love and the beloved has its prototype in the Canticle of Canticles, which in turn provides much Marian imagery, such as the Virgin as *hortus conclusus*,[9] but our object here is more the *locus amoenus* as a locus in the rhetorical sense of a place where certain arguments are to be "found" (*inventio*), and where place and figure are conjoined through metaphor. We have a slightly laboured example of this in the *Stanze* of Poliziano, in the *ninfa* Simonetta whose beauty is painted in the customary floral metaphors who appears in a flower strewn meadow, wearing a flower painted gown, and weaving a garland - to compound the image still further, flowers spring up from the places where she has stepped, as they do in the wake of Venus later in the poem.[10] This insistent reiteration is not an unimaginative repetition,

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[6] ("In what part of Heaven, in what Idea was the pattern from/ which Nature copied that lovely face, in which she has shown/ down here what she is capable of doing up there") trans. Durling, *op.cit.*

[7] We might recall with this in mind that Petrarch spoke of the task of the poet to adorn the truth of things with beautiful veils "veritatem rerum pulchris velaminibus adornare", *Opera*, Basle, 1554, p.1205.

[8] *Opere* a cura di Attilio Simoni, Bari, 1913, vol.I p.42 ("the locus of the sonnet is of necessity called paradise, because "paradise" mean nothing else than a lovely garden, abundant in all that is pleasant and delightful, trees, apples, flowers, running waters, birdsong, and in short all the amenities that the heart of man can desire; and for this reason we can assert that paradise was where there was such a beautiful woman, because here was an abundance every pleasure and sweetness that a gentle heart could desire").

[9] See for example Canticle IV.12 "A garden enclosed is my sister".

[10] The detail of the flowers which spring up where Simonetta walks, in which the metaphorical character of a figure takes on the guise of both movement and generative potential also occurs in Petrarch at clxv, with explicit reference to the charismatic effects of virtue:

Come 'l candido pie' per l'erba fresca
i dolci passi onestamente move,
vertù che 'ntorno i fiori apra et rinove
de le tenere piante sue par che esca

but the creation of a figure in whom the identification of aspect, adornment, situation and activity depicts the unifying energies of a trope. The costume of Poliziano's *ninfa* (like the dress of Flora in the *Primavera*, it resembles the costumes depicted in triumphs or masques) describes the metaphor of maiden as flower; the garland that she weaves is likewise an enactment of her metaphorical nature - the point being that the metaphor is not a single, external comparison, but rather shapes the locus and the action of a figure, so that the metaphorical character of a figure - what we may think of as the ornament of that figure - is unfolded through a convergence between place and action or movement. Like the nymph in whose steps flowers rise up, the convergence of figure and locus leads to the perception of the figure as a source of generative energy; a process of metaphorical identification which is depicted, stage by stage, in the sequence Zefiro-Chloris-Flora in the *Primavera* as a progression from potentiality to full embodiment in the figure of Flora, in whom locus as place, common place, ornament, and generative energy are identified.

For Petrarch, the poetic locus that it seems to emanate from a figure, rather than a landscape into which a figure is inserted, might be considered in relation to the triumphal throne or chariot which depicts the space around a figure as an aureole of ornament. The energies of generation and movement are depicted through Laura as *l'aura*, the inspiring *pneuma*, and *l'auro*, solar or aureate conqueror, have their equivalent in the dynamic, forward moving energies of the triumphal car - if Laura represents the triumph of poetry (the triumph of the poet crowned as laureate), she also leads the Triumph of Chastity in the *Triumphi*.[11] This metamorphosis from locus to triumph is of course figured in the poet's laurels as pastoral garland and triumphal wreath, as the flow of metaphoric conversions between figure and locus has a counterpart in the triumph, where the triumphal procession becomes a display, or explication, of the virtue of the triumphator. As we saw in Petarch's *Triumphi*, the virtue of the triumphator is expressed as a driving energy which gives many of the *Triumphi* the character of contests, culminating with the sun, personification of time, whipping up his chariot to breakneck speed as the time of time is accelerated until the world has been plunged into the "cieca oblivion" of "abissi scuri" represented, paradoxically, in terms of the triumph of solar effulgence. We considered the *Triumphi* above – here the point is merely to note that the conversion of the laurel wreath from pastoral to triumph in Petrarch signals both poetic locus and triumph as an unfolding of the energies out of a central figure into the creation of the place, attributes and ornament. In this conception, the arguments or examples which demonstrate the nature of a triumphator in the *Triumphi* have their counterpart in the epithets and metaphors which are unfolded from the metamorphoses of the beloved in the *Canzoniere*. The poet's garland which signifies both completion and ornament also figures the movement of the *Triumphi*, which begin and end with love, perfected as the earthly conditions of vice, death and time are overcome.

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("As her white foot steps softly through the fresh grass, the virtue that opens and renews the flowers seems to issue from her gentle soles").

[11] As noted above, the Biblical prototypes are the heavenly chariots in the II Kings 2 which Elijah ascends to heaven and the vision of Ezekiel (Ezekiel I). In Christian art the *mandorla* frames the figure of Christ or Mary in an aura which becomes, in Florentine fifteenth century *sacre rappresentazioni*, a *macchina teatrale* by means of which figures descend from the heavens to the dramatic space of the spectacle – Vasari devotes considerable space to the description of the *machine* of this type made by Brunelleschi.

By the time of Bembo, the circulation of metaphors in the *Canzoniere* and the explication of attributes as praises of the figure who leads a triumph could be codified as *argumenta ab verbo* and *argumenta ab re*, as in Erasmus's *De copia* (1512), with its two-fold sources for *copia verborum* and *copia argumentorum*. By this point there is another meaning of topos in play, namely the logical topics as places where arguments can be "found", which are appropriated by Humanists attempting to produce a logic – in particular, a kind of invention differentiated from scholastic logic. One of the most bizarre products of Humanist topics is the theatre constructed by Camillo, which claimed amongst other things to be an instrument for stylistic imitation, faithful to the principles of Bembo. As Camillo is of some importance in the argument, and also to complete the remarks opened above, we should return here to Bembo's development of Petrarch into the basis of a literary canon.

There are two main objections addressed to the conception of imitation associated with Bembo in the *Cortegiano* – it is anachronistic and lacking in variety. We have seen how the analogies created between the structure of artifice and the ascent from the life of the flesh to intellect and God lay in the gathering and generation of variety in order to form the universal judgement or *concetto* which forms the substratum of the idea. The insistence on the elevation of a single model proscribes response to the demands of an occasion, since it imposes identity of style on variety of circumstances (and so invention) – the exaltation of one model which can produce a perfect standard of eloquence thus becomes the undoing of eloquence, since it undermines the unity of words and matter that is central to Cicero's own ideal. These arguments are rehearsed most famously in the *Ciceronianus* of Erasmus; before we move into it, we should consider a little more the implications of Bembo's project for the understanding of the topos.

We have seen how tropes such as *topographia*, part of the *argumenta ab re*, could result in the delineation of certain scenes associated with certain places. Poetry is recommended reading in the Roman rhetoricians for its delineation of character, and Cicero, as noted, is alert to the fact that the associations of the setting can be manipulated to powerful effect on the scene enacted within it. In Petrarch *topographia* is concentrated in the circular play of names which means that place and figure arise out of one another, and Bembo seeks to enshrine Petrarch's verse as paradigm and convention, so that the mere reference to one attribute will be sufficient to call the others to mind. In this sense we can perceive why Camillo makes the link between the logical topics as a complete system for invention and analysis and the topos as literary convention that can be developed into a codification of style. In contrast to the emphasis on synthesis on accounts of *varietas*, the codification of the topos into convention may imply that any single term may call up the larger, inclusive structure. The two approaches in a sense converge at the point where it is claimed that the *topoi* or topics constitute a comprehensive structure capable of containing all variety – the ambition of encyclopaedic arts, in short.[12] Thus there may be another dimension to Bembo's Petrarchism; in the monotonous

[12] A useful synopsis of the organization of the topos comes in the Einaudi encyclopaedia of Italian literature, Vol.III, *Teoria e Poesia*. The formulation of the topos is discussed as a progression from the selection of a repertoire to the identification of a model to the structuring of a system, which, once recognized, can rely on the reader to supply and integrate the missing elements – especially obvious in descriptions of feminine beauty. This can lead to the metonymic or emblematic character of the topos – for example the elements of a landscape (trees, meadows, fountains) may be recognized to refer to the cosmic structure or the various senses – on the

mirroring of argument and setting in *Gli Asolani*, the insistent repetition of conventions and the infuriating refusal to deepen the level of discourse[13] one does see the emergence of a curious completeness in the sense that all words and reflections refer back to the structure of artifice which insists on its unity and complete internal coherence. If the paradigm for the imitation based on variety is the cosmos, which is and contains the complete order of things, the model of imitation that derives from Bembo regards setting as held by the argument, which in turn is codified in the style. This inversion of the "natural" relationship of a thing within a place (and thus an occasion, an ethical choice, a moral action *etc*) which is developed out of Petrarch's equivocations attracts the criticism of Ciceronianism or Petrarchism from the exponents of *varietas*, from Erasmus to Castiglione, but it also provides the basis for the assimilation of style into comprehensive structures of argument, such as the categories of logic. This has profound implications for decorum, since it means that decorum tends to be conceived in terms of internal stylistic cohesion, rather than the appropriate expressive enactment of arguments invented in response to particular circumstances, and it might be noted that in mid century poetics (Minturno, for example), decorum seems to be envisaged as residing in genre, which provides more or less codified responses for occasions.

In linking Bembo's promulgation of stylistic models with its development into encyclopaedic projects like that of Camillo, for example, one should also be careful to distinguish between different tendencies in encyclopaedism. That which inspires Camillo is derived from the *ars magna* of Ramon Lull, with its analogy between the ascent from material to intelligible realm, combinatory logic and artificial memory;[14] this should not be confused with the philological encyclopaedism of Poliziano in the *Miscellanea* and Erasmus, concerned with the exploration of contextual meaning and the elaboration of *varietas*. Erasmus uses topical logic to arrange his material in *De copia*, a work which invokes Quintilian's discussion of *varietas* and imitates Quintilian's words in its opening lines, and we should regard the logical and philological tendencies in encyclopaedism as distinct threads which may often cross

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other hand the topos of the garden may be constituted by a process of pure accumulation, as in the *Stanze* of Poliziano or the Joycean taxonomies of the *Hypnerotomachia*. In Latin literature and the Canticle all the metaphors for feminine beauty are present, and the passage from description to model seems to have taken place with Medieval rhetoricians such as Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, and becomes more rigid with Petrarch and Boccaccio. On the topos one should further signal E.R.Curtius *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, op.cit.* and T.Comito, *op.cit.* There is another sense in which the topos is linked with encyclopaedism, namely the simple fact that the finding of epithets or attributes entailed the recourse to encyclopaedias (Pliny is the most obvious example) and when these epithets are used together, or recognized so that one evokes other, the topos becomes an apparently comprehensive structure of organization and reference. In terms of the *locus amoenus*, such encylopaedic reference could be based on the tradition derived from Genesis ii 5 ("every plant of the field") taken up in *Purgatorio* xxviii that all plants were found in Eden. Again, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* takes this kind of reference to the point of *reductio ad absurdum.*

[13] In a letter of 1500 to Angelo Gabriele, Bembo wrote "sum enim non minus φιλομουσος ut nosti, quam φιλορήτωρ. Nam philosophum me non audeo dicere" ("I am no less a lover of the Muses, as you know, than a lover of rhetoric – for I dare not call myself a philosopher"). Cited in *Prosa della volgar lingua...*, *op.cit.*, p.21. In this respect one should also contrast the fervour of the ending of the *Cortegiano*, which shows a real degree of ardour in its Christian Platonism, with that of *Gli Asolani*, consisting in a prettified fable of the generation of souls, in which the Queen of the Fortunate Islands who allots men their choice of life (voluptuous, active, contemplative) according to the dreams they have dreamt. The fact that Castiglione casts Bembo in a part superficially appropriate yet on closer inspection so very different from the ideals expressed in *Gli Asolani* points again to Castiglione's considered treatment of Bembo.

[14] On the influence of Lull on combinatory logic and mnemonics from the Renaissance to the beginning of the Enlightenment, see Paolo Rossi, *Clavis universalis*, 1960, third edition 2000, Bologna.

and interweave, rather than mutually exclusive possibilities. In this regard it is also important to remember that Landino, a point of mediation between Ficinian Platonism and philological literary study in Laurentian Florence, was the translator of Pliny's *Naturalis Hstoria*. For Landino, Pliny's encyclopaedia, which one might regard as work most congenial to philologists, with its *copia* of examples, is viewed in analogy with the inspired discourse of the poet or philosopher which contains all kinds of knowledge, "all that men have done, have known and have contemplated"[15] and so reveals the "universale macchina la quale per l'ammirabile ornamento suo da' Greci cosmos da' Latini mondo è nominata"[16] celebrated as the poem of God "è Idio sommo poeta, ed è el mondo suo poema".[17]

Very crudely, one might distinguish three tendencies in Renaissance encyclopaedism: firstly, the antique works such as the *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* and Macrobius's commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* which explicate the seven liberal arts as a complete cycle of learning that corresponds to the universal order and the soul's ascent. This "Platonic" encyclopaedism has its Renaissance exponents in figures such as Landino and the French academicians studied by Frances Yates.[18] Secondly, there is the philological encyclopaedism that interests Poliziano in his later work, concerned with the hierarchy of the arts within a cycle of learning in the *prolusiones* to his academic courses, but also creating in the *Miscellanea* an anthology of reflections or investigations drawn from philological studies which lacks the structure of the encyclopaedia. As noted, the encyclopaedic study of Poliziano provides a precedent for that of Erasmus, who uses the topical logic promulgated by Agricola as a means of arranging his matter in *De copia*. Here we come to the other major encyclopaedic tendency, based not on the idea of progression through the levels of thought reflected in the various sciences which correspond to the ascent of the soul (the structure set forth by Plato in the analogy of the divided line in *Republic* 509ff.), but on the discovery of the system of ordering that allows us to discover things as objects of knowledge, and thus perceive correctly their place within the universal order. It is superfluous to note that logic in Aristotelian thought provides such a system, and that once the procedures that permit us to reason without contradiction and to analyse any given object with accuracy have been discovered, they can be epitomised into categories. Such categories can be seen as constituting a universal discourse or a key to all knowledge; if the topics of Aristotle are taken up by Humanists as a useful instrument for invention and analysis without necessitating a lengthy study of Scholastic logic, this practical approach existed alongside other encyclopaedic tendencies based in Aristotle's topics, which drew on Lull's "tree of knowledge" with its correspondences between the transcendent principles (relating to God) and the relative principles of human art, founded on logic. We remarked above that Camillo's project is one product of renewed interest in Lull in the period; such interest may reflect the urge to discover a new discourse capable of disclosing universal knowledge after the decline of Scholasticism. One important point about the reworking of Lullian art that we will find in Camillo is that in place of the idea of a single discourse that can order, contain and reveal all things, the various discourses which do this all different levels and with different objects are conceived as

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[15] "quantunque mai gl'uomini hanno fatto, quantunque hanno conosciuto, quantunque hanno contemplato" Landino, *Proemio al Comento Dantesco, ed. cit.*, p.141.

[16] *op. cit.*, p.81.

[17] *op. cit.*, p.141.

[18] As Landino writes "Come di grado in grado da l'infima parte d'ogni grande edificio alla più eccelsa s'arriva, così la mente nostra [...] dalle visibili cose alle invisibili perviene" *Proemio al volgarizzamento della Naturalis Hstoria, ed. cit.*, p.83.

standing in analogy to one another. This means that the notion of a comprehensive system of ordering can be retained alongside the progression through the hierarchy of knowledge in Platonism and the Humanist exploration of the claims of historical meaning and human artifice.

We have overshot the object a little at this stage, and our approach to Camillo, simultaneously Ciceronian, promulgator of topical logic and self proclaimed *magus* working with Hermetic Neoplatonism leads through Erasmus and his rhetorical interest in the relations between the topics of invention and *elocutio*. There is another element of Erasmus's thinking on rhetoric which is pertinent to Bembo and Camillo, namely the polemics on imitation, and this will usher in discussion of Erasmus. Before we move onto Erasmus there is more to be said on imitation in poetry and the way that the constitution of a style of *imitatio* relates to the consolidation of poetic *topoi*, both in the sense of recognisable conventions and of the delineation of a "place" where conventions arise. One problem with Bembo's *Petrarchismo* was the superficiality that can arise once imitation becomes the codification of *topoi* whose canonical authority is such that they can be used irrespective of the demands of a specific occasion – identity of *elocutio* in the diversity of *inventio*. In the case of Petrarchan poetry which already as we saw contains a play with topos as image, place and argument, the effects of such conventional *imitatio* can degenerate into a mere circling of commonplaces, leading at the end of the cinquecento to the brilliant play of cliché in the verse of Marino.[19] We shall spend a few pages here on poets who approach *imitatio* in a slightly different way, in the awareness that *imitatio* can only be a limited likeness in unlikeness, and that difference over time implies not only fame and praise but change and loss. In the poets we shall consider briefly here, Sannazaro and Spenser, the nature of the topos as place is of importance, and the "place" from which one draws things imitated – the past – is considered in terms of the landscape or pleasant place; the *locus amoenus* thus becomes an embodiment of time. While these considerations may seem to hold up the progression of the argument for a few pages, they hold some relevance for the "discovery" of Nature in sixteenth century gardens, and it will be difficult to weave them in at a point when the argument has shifted from literary texts to visual settings. The authors cited also are helpful in charting the development of "rude ornament" in the later sixteenth century as the focus of imitation shifts from art of the past to the creation of an artifice that can depict (or even emulate) Nature as process, *natura naturans*.

### *The* Arcadia *of Sannazaro and the* Shepherd's Calendar *of Spenser*

Amongst the most accomplished products of late fifteenth century *imitatio* is the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro (corrected edition 1504), the work that recreated the pastoral romance and for centuries inspired innumerable narrative and dramatic imitations. Like *Gli Asolani*, the *Arcadia* is a work of imitation which concerns the delineation of the *locus amoenus* as the place of poetry, so that the topos is both the definition of a convention and the content of the

[19] One should not forget that the productions of *Petrarchismo* could have a further end and transformation through the fact that they were often used as settings for madrigals. On Monteverdi's treatment of his literary sources in Tasso and Marino, see Ståle Wikshåland, "Musical representation – the Theatre of Text in Claudio Monteverdi's Marinist Madrigals", in *Tradition and Innovation op.cit.* In this sense the conventional character of the words takes on different implications, since the central focus is no longer the relation of style and argument but the pursuit of the unity of poetry and music, and the dramatic efficacy of musical representation. On Marino, see James Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvellous: Marino*, New York, 1963.

work. Unlike *Gli Asolani*, which imitates Boccaccio as prose model in its prose sections, and Petrarch in its verse, the *Arcadia* is an exemplar of *varietas*, which draws on classical, Neolatin and vernacular sources with Virgil as central point of reference.[20] These sources are brought together in the creation of a genre which is, as Francesco Erspamer notes, essentially a synthesis made from fragments of the writers prized in *quattrocento* Humanism, *i.e.* not merely a synthesis of style, but of genre, in a work that is called by Erspamer "insieme lirica, bucolica, satira, apologo, teatro (i canti amebei), racconto, enciclopedia".[21] This diversity is brought together in a conspicuously refined style, in which any tendency to concrete reference or movement is overwhelmed by the epithets drawn from the writers imitated by Sannazaro. One example, from in the prologue of the work suffices, where Sannazaro speaks of the pleasure taken in rudeness of

> le rozze ecloghe da naturale vena uscite, così di
> ornamento ignude exprimendole come sotto le
> dilettevoli ombre, al mormorio de'liquidissimi fonti,
> da'pastori di Arcadia le udii cantare; a le quali non
> una volta ma mille i montani idii da dolcezza vinti
> prestarono intente orecchie, e le tenere ninfe, dimenticate
> di perseguire i vaghi animali, lasciarono le faretre e gli archi
> appiè degli alti pini di Menalo e di Liceo.[22]

Sannazaro's "rozze ecloghe [...] di ornamento ignude" anticipate a highly refined audience who can call to mind a whole series of associations each time they read of "liquidissimi fonti", "tenere ninfe" and "alti pini". In this Sannazaro may seem very similar to Bembo, and the *Gli Asolani* , but the contrast between the two does goes beyond the choice of varied as opposed to selective models of imitation to the fact that Sannazaro sets up a contrast within his own work between rarefied style and repeated allusions to darkness, loss and death. In later art inspired by Sannazaro, this dialogue between recovery of the beautiful (*i.e.* of the classical world) and loss or death in pastoral is absorbed into the idealisation of the genre – this is especially obvious in Poussin, who depicts pastoral scenes as an elegiac variety of the grand style that elevates all things into its "universal" beauty. Sannazaro's *Arcadia* is very different from the "universal" classical landscape of Poussin's shepherds, and its juxtaposition of delicate refinement and journeying to darkness or scenes of death should be considered in relation to the duality of preciousness and chaos in Mannerist gardens, before its inspiration of the idealised nostalgia of Poussin and Guercino.[23] The tombs in the *Arcadia* should be considered alongside the temples of the pastoral gods where magical rites are performed (IX), the sacred wood (X), the cave of Pan (X), the grotto where Hecate and Chaos are invoked, and sacrifice made to the *Madre Terra* (X) – this topography culminates in the poet's oneiric

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[20] Likewise, the great exemplar of formal variety in English literature is the *Arcadia* of Philip Sidney, to which we shall refer below.

[21] *Arcadia*, ed. Francesco Erspamer, Milano, 1990, p.25 ("at once lyric, bucolic, satire, apology, theatre (the two songs), narrative and encyclopaedic"). The encyclopaedic character is seen by Erspamer as residing presumably in Sannazaro's heavy use of Pliny, as well as in the generic and stylistic synthesis.

[22] *op.cit.* pp.54-55 ("the rough eclogues issue in a natural vein, naked of ornament, as the shepherds of Arcadia heard them sung in the cool shade to the murmur of liquid fountains; to which the rustic gods overcome by sweetness, not once but a thousand times, listened with avid ears while the tender nymphs forgetting to hunt the lovely animals, left their arrows and bows at the foot of the tall pines of Maenalus and Lycaeus").

[23] On the subject, see Panofsky, "*Et in Arcadia Ego*: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition" in *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Harmondsworth, 1970.

descent into the subterranean caves from which the world's rivers arise (XII); from here he returns to Naples where the work ends elegiacally with a *threnos*. The nymph lamented at the end of the work is thought to be Pontano's wife Arianna; throughout the work there are references to contemporary Naples which undermine the notion of Arcadia as a purely idyllic or conventional place.[24] It would be interesting to explore the influence of the *Arcadia*, one of the most popular literary works of the cinquecento, on the decoration of Mannerist grottos, or the larger topography of gardens, but such a project should not overlook certain differences in the representation of the forces of change and chaos. I would suggest that for Sannazaro, the insistent orientation to darkness in the midst of the refined idyll should be read in terms of a reflection on *imitatio*, which concerns both recovery and the acknowledgement of loss and death. The shepherd poet's rituals of veneration at the tombs of Arcadia is a *figura* for the Humanist's relation to antiquity, both recovered and dead, and we might recall that *Arcadia* is contemporary with the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, where the poet's pursuit of antiquity takes the form of a prolonged erotic quest through the memories and fragments of the past for the nymph who dissolves like a phantasm as the narrator embraces her. Imitation in short contains the acknowledgement of difference over time, irrecoverable loss, and obscurity, and the more refined the artifice, the more such difference obtrudes. In this sense, one perhaps might see in the *Arcadia* an attempt to deal with the implications of a continuum of artifice, in which Nature, the object of artifice *par excellence*, re-emerges in the form of opacity, change and mystery.[25] Sannazaro is working with two backgrounds – antiquity and nature, which are the object of explicit and rather precious artifice; if one sees in the *Arcadia* an attempt to recover the first and subsume the second into the artifice of *imitatio*, this means that loss, obscurity, and absence must also enter into artifice. It is in this sense that one might view the nostalgic atmosphere of the work and the pull towards deepening levels of loss which it shares with the conclusion of the *Hypernotomachia*. The topography of grottos and sepulchres in Sannazaro is not I think so much preoccupied with the representation of the energies of chaos *per se* – his landscape is essentially Virgilian – but in the act of establishing the repertoire of attributes that constitute the topos we find that the sense of loss and difference over time transforms the *locus amoenus*, and its conventional character starts to deepen into a recognition of the mystery and opacity that have their universal embodiment, and background, in nature.

We might deepen this awareness by reference to Spenser, the writer who seems most engaged in a profound meditation on the *concors discordia* of chaos and order that rises into consideration as the continuum of artifice proclaims its extension over all things and vaunts its artful artlessness. For Spenser the coincidence of opposites embodied by the cosmos is disclosed to the human understanding as paradox and represented in human artifice in terms of an ever expanding web in which "analogy is universal, but patterned very way", and "all dilations are ultimately the dilation of (one) truth and being".[26] We have seen that Spenser sets the contest of being and becoming in the Mutabilitie Cantos as a masque or triumph, enacted in a wild landscape, and we find a garden used as a locus for a similar passage on being and becoming, the Garden of Adonis at the core of the *Faerie Queene* (III.vi) – if the first concerns the *dilatio* which perfects becoming in its preparation for its eschatological fulfilment, the second considers the relationship of being and becoming with regard to

[24] One of the references to Naples is thought to be the reference to a felled orange tree (*arangio*) in the poet's disturbing dream in prose XII, interpreted as a reference to the misfortunes of the Aragonesi.

[25] The mystery arises in the descent to the source of the earth's rivers, a type of seminary of rivers analogous to the seminary of forms in Spenser's *Garden of Adonis* and an encyclopaedic topos.

[26] Rosalie Colie, *Paradoxia Epidemica*, pp.351-352.

generation. It is interesting to note that Spenser's meditation on the death of things in Nature as a condition of their rebirth seems to derive in part from his translations of Petrarch and notably from Joachim Du Bellay, whose *Les Antiquités de Rome* (1558) he translates, since we find in Du Bellay a reflection on time as decay that develops the nostalgic strain in *Arcadia* into a full-blown melancholy reflection on *vanitas mundi*. If this ruins of antiquity inspire meditations on the theme of *sic transit gloria mundi*, they also suggest to the poet a more rapacious conception of *imitatio* than that advanced by any Italian Humanist, in which the fragmentary state of ancient remains leaves them prey for those who wish to build new empires. In the *Défense et Illustration de la langue française* (1549) Du Bellay draws on the topos of the triumph as metaphor for imitation, recognising that the triumph implies despoilation as well as adornment, and his discussion of the eloquence of the vernacular concludes with an aggressive and colonising exhortation which exploits the violent potential of the Gallic Hercules

> Là donc, Français, marchez courageusement vers cette superbe
> cité romaine: et des serves dépouilles d'elle (comme vous avez fait
> plus d'une fois) ornez vos temples et autels[27]

The spoils which Du Bellay envisages carried back to honour the "temples et autels" of the Gallic Hercules are the "honours" and "praises" of a dead culture which may be potentially broken off and appropriated as fragments. For Du Bellay, the recuperation of antique remains is dependant on their decisive separation from their original context, so that the success of a renaissance is conditional on the understanding of history as both accomplishment and decay. The ruin of antiquity, lamented in *Les Antiquités de Rome*, which allows for the separation of the ornament from its context, is balanced by the organic metaphors used to discuss the growth of the vernacular which sends forth its roots to produce the flowers and fruit of eloquence - if the ruinous ornaments of antiquity can only be reassembled in the form of mosaics made up from fragments, the "tree" of living language flourishes in its native soil. The idealisation of the antique leads to reflections on the historicity of language which develops in a particular time and place – unlike Dante's dichotomy in *De volgari eloquio* and the *Convito* between the unchanging nature of Latin, proper to the exposition of metaphysical certainties and the unstable evolution of the vernacular, suited to the expression of the localised and the fleeting,[28] for Du Bellay it is the historical evolution and decline of the antique ideal which provides the paradigm for the condition of language, which expresses in turn the human and universal condition. The death of one culture may be essential to the growth of another but it too will wither, so that the celebratory *renovatio* of history has its constant counterpart in the melancholy contemplation of time as decay. In Petrarch's *Triumphi*, time's destruction of *fama* and thus history is destroyed by eternity itself; in the *Antiquités* Du Bellay's contemplation of the vanity of worldly things, whose remains attest a culture's aspiration to memory, sees in the ruins images of time as decay which typify the human experience of history as loss and rehearse the greater cosmic cycle which will return all things to chaos at the end of *Magnus Annus*

> Ainsi quand du grand Tout la fuite retournée,

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[27] *Poésies*, Paris, 1967, p.264 ("March boldly, Frenchman, to that superb Roman city: and, as you have already done before, adorn your temples and altars with spoils seized from it").

[28] See *Convito*, I.v "il Latino è perpetuo e non corruttibile, e il Volgare è non istabile e corruttibile" *Opere*, ed. Moore, Oxford, 1894, p.242 ("Latin is eternal and incorruptible, the vernacular is unstable and corruptible").

Ou trente-six mille ans ont sa course bornée,
Rompra des éléments le naturel accord,

Les semences qui sont mères de toutes choses
Retourneront encore à leur premier discord,
Au ventre du Chaos éternellement closes.[29]

In a collection entitled *Complaints containing Sundry Small Poems of the World's Vanity* (published 1591, a year after the first three books of the *Faerie Queene*), Spenser united two translations of Du Bellay (the *Ruines* (*Antiquités*) *of Rome* and the *Visions*) with a translation of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* 323 (entitled *Petrarch's Visions*) and two other *vanitas* poems of his own, *The Ruins of Time* and *Visions of the World's Vanity*. These verses consist mainly of emblematic exemplars of fortune and decay, with the attendant exhortation to put one's faith in heavenly things. In his translation of the lines from *Antiquités* xxii quoted above, Spenser makes an interesting modification, rendering the lines "Retourneront encore à leur premier discord,/ Au ventre du Chaos éternellement closes" as "The seeds, of which all things at first were bred,/ Shall in great Chaos' womb again be *hid*".[30] Spenser's version conceives of chaos as a force of renewal, into which the *semences* - the "seminal reasons" or *logoi spermatikoi* of Stoic philosophy discussed by Ficino in *De vita* III.i - die so that they can be reborn.[31]The theme which is given full expression in the Garden of Adonis which seems to take its name from the *locus amoenus* of the *Hypnerotomachia*, the garden to which Poliphilo and Polia repair at the end of Book One, after the consummation of their love through the theophany of Venus in the amphitheatre which contains the sanctum of the goddess. The Garden of Adonis lies at the very heart of the garden-island of Cytherea and contains a pergola with the tomb of Adonis, with inscriptions celebrating carnal love - *impura suavitas* - on the sepulchre, surmounted by a decidedly unchaste Venus suckling Cupid; the garden in short is a place of profane delight which parodies Marian imagery of the *hortus conclusus*. This setting, which is at least partially comic in the *Hypnerotomachia* develops in Spenser into something much more dynamically engaged with the cosmic principle of *concors discordia*, where Adonis as "Father of all formes", "eterne in mutabilitie,/ And by succession made perpetuall" (III.vi.47) seems at first glance a figure for Aristotle's assertion in *De anima* 415a-b that the natural function of living (*i.e.* ensouled) creatures is to reproduce in order to share in the immortal and divine.

Venus and Adonis lie together at the heart of the garden, in a "gloomy grove" (III.vi.43) which suggests a *mons veneris*, the grove of the *Primavera* and the orientation to the darkness that is linked both with chaos and death – beneath the grove is a cave where the boar which gored Adonis is chained. The boar, associated with winter and the dying of Adonis as sun, is held there imprisoned by Venus so that he cannot again wound Adonis – his presence also suggests that he is fixed there as a necessary element in the "eternal mutability" of Adonis as

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[29] "So when the compassed course of the universe/ In six and thirty thousand years is run,/ The bands of th'elements shall back reverse/ To their first discord, and be quite undone;/ The seeds, of which all things at first were bred,/ Shall in great Chaos' womb again be hid" trans. Spenser, *The Shepherd's Calendar and Other Poems*, Dent 1932, p.200.

[30] *ibid.*

[31] On the *logoi spermatikoi* and their presence in the Garden of Adonis, see Nohrnberg, *The Analogy of the Faerie Queene*, which gives detailed sources and interpretations of the iconography of the episode.

giver of form, and principle of the transformation of form. Earlier in the description of the garden, Spenser spoke of it as a "first seminarie" (III.vi.30) of all generated things, which pass into generation from it and return to it through double gates of life and birth, and elaborates on the conditions of the "naked babes" (beings as yet ungenerated) who are raised there – they are subject to "wicked Time" and they take their matter from Chaos, which (like Adonis) is eternal in substance and cannot die, but only take on different forms. In contrast to the fecund darkness of the *mons veneris* where the myrtle trees weave a garland and drip aromatic gum, Chaos as "wide wombe of the world" is a place of "hateful darknes and deepe horrore" (III.vi.36), of "griesly shade" (III.vi.37) which cannot be directly represented and can ony be figured in the "higher" conjunction of Venus and Adonis. This brings us to the crux of the passage – namely the relationship Chaos and Adonis, "father of forms", both of them "eterne in mutabilitie". If matter is eternal, seeking only to "catch" a form, and time ravages the forms so that they draw "to their end" (III.vi.40), this leaves the question of the nature of generated form which is thus subject to decay. Adonis as form transformed embodies the condition of form, and the multiplication of the one into the manifold as it descends into generation. In union with Venus, he is the conjunction of the sameness of divinity and the self-difference of becoming – his metamorphosis figures the undying nature of form, which manifests itself through inexhaustible transformation. It is important to note here that Spenser is working with the idea of generated form, not the transcendent or intellectual form which we might in this context associate with Venus. According to Plotinus (*Enneads* III.v.2-3), Venus is the highest emanation of the soul as it springs from the Intellectual Principle, and Love emanates from her as she looks towards the Intellectual Principle – Spenser here is not so much dealing with the contemplative Venus as with the second Venus that emanates from her, who seeks to generate in the world that which the higher Venus contemplates, as described by Ficino in the commentary on *Symposium*, VII.vii "quale ornamento [la Venere celeste] vede, tale [la Venere vulgare] vuole, secondo il suo potere, dare al mondo".[32] Ficino's words help to clarify the nature of the conjunction of Venus and Adonis – Adonis as form transformed embodies not only the endless transformations through which form asserts its eternity in change, but the ornament which Venus desires to generate in the world, the manifold in its totality that can reflect the simplicity of the transcendent One – in this regard, we might note that the garden is hexemeral in character, nourished without rains like Eden and likened to the ocean in its containment of all formes, and it is also orderly, with every bed "ranckt in comely rew" (III.vi.35).

We can start here to unravel the relation between Venus, Adonis and Chaos, and see that Spenser does not give a perplexing account of the conjunction of form and matter, but resolves the confusion surrounding the role of Venus as Dea natura. The union of Venus and Adonis results in the generated forms which Adonis "fathers", which we might associate with the *logoi spermatikoi* planted in the garden as "seminary"; these forms cannot take a body directly from Venus as goddess but grow in the garden and take their matter, prior to their passage into life, from the matter born from the "wombe" of chaos. This, we should note, is the last in a succession of wombs which start with Venus, her grove, the garden and culminate with Chaos as the eternal, imageless depths of the most profound birth, rendered as the inverse of God, or divine mind, and described in terms of space as that which is disclosed through the potential for becoming, as it "supplies" the substance of nature's progeny and from it all things

[32] *Sopra lo amore*, *op.cit.* p.101 ("that ornament which celestial Venus contemplates, earthly Venus wishes, according to her capacity, to give to the world").

"fetch" matter (III.vi.36-37) – this rendering of material substrate, or its source in terms of a space revealed through potential might suggest comparison with the *chora* of *Timaeus*, which we will not however pursue here.[33] We suggested that Spenser in the Garden of Adonis offers a way of unravelling the confusion surrounding the figure of Venus that had accrued by the late sixteenth century, in her dual association with matter as Dea natura and as intellectual beauty or form – what Spenser does is to work together the conjunction of form and matter with the Platonic hierarchy embodied in the two Venuses, which means that different stages of generation take place at different levels, with the female element, the place in which, or from which, becoming takes place, stratified out through a sequence of poetic figures until one reaches the imageless space of chaos.

The Garden of Adonis thus attempts to figure the originary moment of the *concors discordia* of becoming and in so doing uncovers two imageless polarities – Chaos and the heavenly intelligence which forms its counterpart, and two qualities, matter and form, which alike manifest themselves through transmutation. It is their conjunction, played out at various levels, which is rehearsed by the poet's images, and this conjunction creates the whole world – to turn back to matter in hand, we can look at the poet's creation as a re-enactment of this universal conjunction, or we can see the totality of the universal order reflected in the full recovery of historical narrative as a human counterpart to Nature's fullness - which may be figured in the triumph. For a writer such as Spenser, *concordia discors* in the originating revelation of the same through unlikeness may also enter into the recovery over the distance and difference of history, so that imitation contains an acknowledgement of mimetic distance over time. He plays out the conjunction of opposites at the core of his poetic thought at the level of style, so that the *concors discordia* unfolds as the essence of poesis, iconographic theme and stylistic reflection on imitation, embodied in the revealed harmony of "bright" and "rude" speech. The cultivation of "disorderly order" at the level of style through the cultivation of "crude" English words (or coinages), a "revived" or artificially imitated "archaic" language of "rude origins" discussed by Spenser in the preface to the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and it is to this that we shall now turn.

In the letter to Gabriel Harvey which prefaces *The Shepherd's Calendar* (1579), Spenser inveighs against those who "have made our English tongue a gallimaufry or hodgepodge of all other speeches" by "patch[ing] up the holes with pieces and rags of other languages, borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, everywhere of the Latin".[34] Spenser argues instead for the rehabilitation of dialect and old English words, claiming the ancients as his authority

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[33] Another comparison that suggests itself is the plan of the island of Cytherea in the *Hypnerotomachia*, which is comprised of a series of concentric circles that might offer an analogy to Spenser's series of wombs. Given the probability that the interest in edifices in the romance is, at least in part, mnemonic, the plan of Cytherea has aroused some interest as it shows striking similarities with the concentric memory wheels developed from Lullian mnemonics, such as appear in Bruno's works on artificial memory, such as the *Cantus Circaeus* and *De umbris idearum*. It is worth noting the island is an encyclopaedic locus, which develops the hexemeral garden, stocked with all created plants, into a taxonomy, with different species ordered in progressive enclosures – in this sense one might compare it with the Botanic Gardens of Padua, created in the 1540s under the guidance of Daniele Barbaro, which imitated the world in a four-fold division that represented the continents; not, as in traditional representations of Paradise, the four rivers that watered Eden.

[34] Spenser, *The Shepherd's Calendar and other poems*, Dent, 1932, p.5.

> ....I am of the opinion, and eke the best learned are of the like, that those ancient solemn words are a great ornament, both in (Livy) and in (Sallust); the one labouring to set forth in his work an eternal image of antiquity, and the other carefully discoursing matters of gravity and importance [...] all as in most exquisite pictures they use to blaze and portraict not only the dainty lineaments of beauty, but also round about it to shadow the rude thickets and craggy cliffs, that, by the baseness of the parts, more excellency may accrue to the principal; for oft-times we find ourselves, I know not how, singularly delighted with the show of such natural rudeness, and take great pleasure in that disorderly order. Even so do those rough and harsh terms illumine, and make more clearly to appear, the brightness of brave and glorious words. So oftentimes a discord in music maketh a comely concordance: so great delight took the worthy poet Alcaeus to behold a blemish in the joint of a well-shaped body.[35]

To ornament speech, Spenser argues, is to set up contrasts within it which serve to highlight "brave and glorious words" so that the reader perceives their glory as a process of effulgence or brightening within language. The seeming impropriety of a blemish or harshness becomes valid if the "principal", body or word which it paradoxically adorns becomes correspondingly brighter and more evident. Thus the very rudeness of "rough harsh terms" becomes a praise in its ability to move the reader from obscurity to an apprehension of the brightness of "glorious" words or of the "principal" of an image. These rude ornaments serve to catalyse a process of disclosure in which the reader plays an active hermeneutic role, rather than gilding a surface which can then be detached as a praise in itself. Spenser admits that the origins of this process in which our understanding of a thing is illuminated by juxtaposition with its antithesis remain mysterious ("I know not how") yet claims for it a "great pleasure in that disorderly order". Spenser's remark on the pleasure which we take in musical discord has a source in the discussion of music in the *Cortegiano* I.xxviii, and in Spenser's treatment of the stylistic cultivation of *concors discordia* we can see how it has developed in the course of the sixteenth century. If Castiglione used the metaphor of *chiaroscuro* or saw in the uncertainty of fortune an expression of the universal harmony of love and strife, in Spenser the emphasis on the rude and base is much more pronounced. For Castiglione, *concors discordia* is conceived from the stand point of *grazia* and references like that to music or the arrangement of character as *chiaroscuro* suggest that the harmonising of opposites serves to point artifice whilst also revealing its background in the universal order. For Spenser, "disorderly order" seems more dynamic and more integral to the process of representation; the Mannerist contrast between "rough harsh terms" and "dainty lineaments" is not just a pattern imposed from above but something essential to a process of disclosure, a stylistic figuring of the *coincidentia oppositorum* for which the garden of Adonis is itself a figure. As we have said, the whole range of levels of significance held in the paradox of "disorderly order" is unfolded in the *Faerie Queene*, and culminates in the *Mutabilitie Cantos* in the form of a triumph which takes place against the the wild landscape of Arlo Hill – a setting which has affinities with the the Garden of Adonis, with its dark grove and cave, and thus develops the full iconographic implications of the metaphors of landscape painting for poetic style in the preface to the

[35] *op. cit.*, p.4.

*Shepherds Calendar*, so that the figuration of the cosmological paradox of *concors discordia* is rehearsed at every level of the representation, from the exploration of "disorderly order" in the topography of its setting to the play of figurative language on the surface of speech.

Spenser's "rude thickets and craggy cliffs" of harsh words, like the rusticated orders of Serlio and Dietterlin, and grottoes of Mannerist gardens, express age as both primordial (i.e. as symbol of origin) and as historic (the primitive); the "disorderly order" generated by the *concors discordia* of the primitive and the "dainty" gives rise to complex reflections on the poetic and the historical temporality of origins. In discussion in the first part of the triumph, we spoke briefly of the grotto and so in a manner the garden, in relation to the figuration of the history of origins, as another theatre of figuration which claims to be inclusive and presents a "return" to the re-enactment of the poetic act that disclosed the conjunction of form and matter; Renaissance gardens insist on the garden as the poetic locus *par excellence*, epitomised in Parnassus, recreated in Mannerist gardens as Apollonian *locus deliciae* where the Muses dance and grotto where the Pythia is inspired by the spirit that rises from the chthonic depths – this dual nature of Parnassus is exemplified by Pegasus, born from the blood of the Gorgon, who brings the fountain of the arts to light from the concealing rock.[36] If Patrizi spoke of the utterance of the Pythian priestess as the first poetry, we can see the confusion of historic and cosmic origins in the conflation of Sibyl and Dea natura at a garden such as the Villa D'Este, a garden which explores the conjunction of form and matter in originary poesis and its dissolution in the end-time of eschatology. We shall look later at the Villa D'Este – we might note that reflection on the conjunction of form and matter or body and soul is interlinked with the dual nature of Venus as heavenly and earthly goddess - by the mid sixteenth century, earthly Venus is not so much Pandemos as a Dea natura, conflated with Diana of Ephesus and the origins of *natura naturans* in chaos.

We have argued that the persistent engagement with the figuration of the union of form and matter in *poesis*, which formed the earliest re-enactment of the union of form and matter in creation, emerges as essential to the Humanist involvement with history and revival, and, at a deeper level, with the necessity of considering the background that remains when artifice itself claims to absorb the *concors discordia* into its structures, as in Spenser's introduction to the *Shepherd's Calendar*. The delineation of chaos in Spenser, like that in visual art in the later sixteenth century, leaves the question of whether the delineation of chthonic energies is an attempt to absorb bring everything within the continuum of artifice, an attempt which leaves what is beyond as the blankness that forms the background of grotesquework, or an opening of this continuum in order to ground it, so that the embodiment that characterises the whole representational spectrum may be replenished from both ends, so to speak, from the form-giving light of intellect and the replenishing depths of the *hyle*. It is interesting to note that this grounding of a scene in a topography may concern both the specificities of a particular occasion in a given situation, and Nature as universal setting, like Spenser's Arlo Hill in the Mutabilitie Cantos, with its myth of Diana and Faunus, or Ligorio's gardens at the Villa D'Este, which are both a "discovery" of the Tiburtine topography and a dense reflection on the continuum of artifice in its relationship with Nature.

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[36] A drawing by Giovanni Guerra from the early seventeenth century of the Parnassus in the garden of Villa Medici, Rome, shows it enclosed by a semi-circular bench and entitled "Teatro".

If we have spoken of the garden in terms of the poetic artifice of *natura naturans*, one should also recognise the organisation of the garden as topos; we noted above the encyclopaedic organisation of the topos, and this notion of inclusiveness appears in two other dominant Renaissance topoi – theatre and triumph.[37] We might see the encyclopaedic character of the garden as topos as deriving from the reference of all gardens to Eden and the belief that every plant grew there.[38] Eden epitomises the *exornatio mundi*; it is also the place where Adam names the beasts, so that it contains *prima materia* in its pristine state before the fall, perfect language and perfect order. The taxonomic tendencies of the topos of the garden should be considered in this light, as an attempt to recreate the pristine order and pristine language *i.e.* the language which reflects the true essence of a thing and thus its place in the order of things.[39] Such order may also be conceived emblematically, through hieroglyphic images conceived as mystical signs, or through the attempts to work out the relationship of "body" and "soul" in signs. References to the "book of nature" should not be understood merely in the sense of imposing a textual order on nature, but entail the recognition of the exemplary order embodied in nature; if Eden as divine epitome of that order was the place where language possessed immanent meaning, the order of nature after the fall may be perceived in terms of ciphers. In view of this thinking which is contained in the topos of the garden, one might see the seriousness of the topos of the false or premature paradise, which has such success in the Renaissance – the fabrication of a consummate cosmetic surface refers to the loss of the depth of the setting as Nature, or poesis, is usurped by art, and to the parody of the order of the garden as topos of the world as cosmos into the cosmetic arrangement of appearance.

Thus when the topos of the *locus amoenus* is reproduced as surface *elocutio* without the acknowledgement of difference and loss in *imitatio*, figured in the stylistic, topographic and iconographic elements of rudeness and chaos, and without the ethical deployment of time and place as fitting occasion, we get the false paradise of Renaissance romance whose finest depictions come in *Gerusalemme Liberata* XVI and *Faerie Queene* II.xii.[40] These entrapping places of delight, which have their antecedents in the grotto of Calypso and island of Circe, the *Roman de la Rose*, the *Amorosa Visione* and in the "tenebrosa e stretta gabbia" of the garden of Venus on Cyprus at the conclusion of Petrarch's *Triumphus Cupidinis* (ll.106-166), to

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[37] On the distinction between *natura naturans* and *natura naturata*, see J.Bialostocki in FILL IN and Ernst Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance*, Hamburg 1927 (Italian trans. *Individuo e cosmos nella filosofia del Rinascimento*, Florence 1935, trans. F. Federici).

[38] See reference above. In Spenser's Garden of Adonis, we saw that the ocean is an analogy for the paradise garden as source of the full variety of creation. We noted above that the descent to the source of all rivers in *Arcadia* XII which suggests a seminary of waters, and the passage may have provided a source for Spenser in the hexaemeral pageant of the rivers who come to the hall of Proteus to celebrate the marriage of Thames and Medway (IV.xi-xii. There is not space here to discuss Spenser's treatment of Proteus in the central books of the *Faerie Queene* where he both plays the role of embodiment of the lustful passions and figure for the multiplicity that can be explicated from unity. On the taxonomic character of the garden as topos, see the remarks of Terry Comito, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance*.

[39] In the Mutabilitie Cantos, Spenser personifies Order as Nature's "sargeant". The theme of the restoration of matter to its pristine state accounts perhaps in part for the frequent references to the *hortus conclusus* in alchemical literature – without study of the literature I would not make any further claims for the symbolism.

[40] See also Trissino, *L'Italia Liberata dai Goti* Book V, *Orlando Furioso* XVIII. For more detailed treatment of sources, see Curtius, *op.cit.*, A.Bartlett Giametti *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic*, Princeton 1966, and Nohrnberg, *op.cit.*

name but a few examples, are characteristically places of seduction that thwart and unman heroic action; they express in fairly elaborate form the anxieties about the smothering of decorum in the distorted enhancement of surface. In Spenser and Tasso, the *locus voluptatis*, delineated with consummate art, develops to the full the tension between the luxurious refinement of superficial artifice and the emptiness of its self-repletion. The imprisoning effect of these gardens, which disable the heroes who enter them and frequently metamorphose them to bestial form, has its complement in their changelessness, wrought by enchantment (*i.e.* art), which parodies eternity in its stasis. Apart from the rehearsal of misogynist topoi of female artifice as deception, from the superficial illusion of the cosmetic to full Circean witchcraft, these places are condemned for their opposition to the heroic life of *praxis*, which is to say that they oppose the opportunity for action by presenting themselves as unchanging final points – Spenser's Bower of Blisse is the culminating test for the knight of temperance.[41] At worst such places are corrupting, at best, premature, and as showpieces for the display of the beauty of poetic artifice they offer images of poetic *otium* and its Petrarchan landscape which are both celebratory and admonitory of the debasing effects of artifice and *otium* once dissociated from the *praxis* which enables the enables the hero to rise to contemplation and *voluptas* after a life of arduous action, in the true paradise whose prototype is Eden. Curtius noted that the *locus amoenus* appears as a rhetorical showpiece in antiquity, and it thus becomes a topos for imitation, culminating in such brilliant pieces as Spenser's imitation of the *carpe diem* birdsong in Tasso.

We might therefore see the prominence of the topos of the false paradise of Renaissance as arising from concerns about poesis and *imitatio*. If the created world, for which the paradise garden may be an epitome, forms the paradigm for poetic imitations, we have reiterated that poesis must be conceived in terms of the conjunction of form and matter. This exemplary role of Nature is again pertinent to debates on *imitatio* focused on the establishment of topoi – the topos is rooted in a time and place, so that its conventional qualities must be seen as existing alongside those qualities which cannot be rendered transparent by identity of *elocutio* – change, loss, absence and obscurity. This understanding of opacity as essential to the "recovery" of sameness in *imitatio* distinguishes Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* as masterwork and exemplar of imitation and Spenser's remarks in the preface to the *Shepherd's Calendar* show that such meditations on imitation work alongside the understanding of poesis as a conjunction of contraries which has its paradigm in *natura naturans*. In contrast, if the entrapping earthly paradise parodies the eternal rest of the second paradise after the Second Coming, and contrasts with cyclical rhythms of the garden as seminary of souls, its artificial stasis, absence of action and cosmetic elaboration of surfaces all find a parallel in the complaints which are brought against Ciceronianism.

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[41] One should remember that Cicero discusses *temperentia* in *De officiis* I.xxvii.93 as the basis of decorum. The intemperance of the presiding *maga* of the Bower of Blisse, and her source in Trissino, is signified by her name, Acrasia or Acratia (privative alpha plus *krasis* – mixture, temperature – or *krateo* – to have power or mastery over), indicating lack of tempered mixture and control over the desires. The tempered quality in temperance, the source of the constancy of the temperate person, indicates the proportion that makes temperance a moral basis of the intellectual virtues such as prudence, fundamental to justice. In terms of the organization of the *Faerie Queene*, Book II, of temperance, has its pendant in Book V, of justice, and the violent destruction of the Bower at the end of Book II seems to anticipate the brutal administration of corrective justice in Book V.

> By fygures [the orator] may make his speech as clere as the noone day: or contrarywyse, as it were with cloudes and foggy mistes, he may cover it with darknesse, he may stirre up stormes, and troublesome tempestes, or contrariwyse, cause and procure, quyet and sylent calmnesse.[42]

Henry Peacham's advice in the *Garden of Eloquence* (a work whose very title shows the force of the topos we have considered above) draws on the antique discussions of the orator's capacity to create *perturbations* in an audience. The metaphor of the weather suggests the effect of complete illusion which rhetoric strives to attain; it also conveys the impression of style as a surface which the orator may illuminate or on which he may paint - ornament as *lumines* and *colores*. The conception of ornament as surface, which appears in anti-rhetorical literarure from Plato on as the accusation of cosmetic and meretricious superficiality, is linked in oratorical writings with the notions of speech as a medium or body of representation, and with the discussion of decorum as that which is made manifest in each particular setting. Cicero in *De officiis* is again a touchstone for the arguments on decorum which trace it from the harmony of the moral virtues of the soul to the outer details of comportment, and this ideal of concord that unites all aspects of moral and social bearing seems to underlie the union of argument and style in speech, which serves to consolidate and express the *comunitas* on which human societies are founded. In Renaissance debates over the centrality of Cicero as Humanist model, this "true" understanding of decorum as the expression of moral virtues and moral conduct through the social and stylistic codification of human situations is opposed to restrictive literary conceptions which regard decorum and eloquence in terms of stylistic mastery. Such a model is represented by Ciceronianism, the stylistic movement which set up Cicero as *the* model for Latin imitation, and had its most illustrious proponent in Bembo who instituted Petrarch as the complementary model for imitation in the *volgare*. While debates concerning the imitation of Cicero go back to antiquity, they start to become polemical in the hands of the Humanists, from the virulent exchange between Poggio Bracciolini and Lorenzo Valla over the latter's esteem for Quintilian to the more moderated letters on imitation between Paolo Cortesi and Poliziano and Bembo and Gianfrancseco Pico. Ciceronianism, initially an Italian movement, explodes into international debate after the publication of Erasmus's *Ciceroninanus* (1528), which provoked angry responses from such eminent figures as Budé, Scaliger and Vives, who had received insufficient recognition in Erasmus's conspectus of worthy Humanist scholars. Ciceronianism did not die down fast: Sidney in 1580 complains of it to his brother as "the chief abuse of Oxford", and descries the Ciceronian lexicons, the "Nizolian paper books" in the *Defence of Poetry*.[43] Our task here is not to record the fortunes of the Ciceronian movement, but at look at Erasmus's accusations of a rigid model of *imitatio* whose single-minded elevation of stylistic concerns serves to sever their relation to argument, thus producing a splintered and cosmetic deformation of the surface of

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[42] Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence*, 1577, Scholar Press Facsimile, 1971, Aiii.

[43] Izora Scott, *op.cit.*, cites the post Erasmus material, including the anti-Ciceronian *Ciceronianus* of Ramus (1557). Mario Nizolio was the author of *In M.T. Ciceronis Observationes*, Brescia, 1535, the most influential of Ciceronian lexicons. He was invited by Vespesiano Gonzaga to become president of the academy of Sabbioneta, the ideal city planned and built by Gonzaga and Scamozzi in accordance with Vitruvian theory.

speech.

Thus the *Ciceronianus* criticises the exclusive and uncritical imitation of a single antique author as contrary to the cultivation of good style in its mechanical replication of the mannerisms of one writer and to Christian Humanism in its substition of the imitation of a pagan orator for the imitation of Christ. The work also stands in contrast to Erasmus's own discussions of style in *De copia* (1512), the *Adagia* (1508) and the *Parabolae sive Similia* (1514) which celebrate the virtues of ornate speech, its delightful variety, its seamless expression of arguments and its glittering surface, likened to a shining river. Unlike the situational and analogical significance of the encyclopaedic *Adagia*, or the generation of abundance from similitude in *De copia*, excessive Ciceronianism constitutes the slavish copying of Cicero's every word into an index held up as a proscriptive model for eloquence - the systematization of classical eloquence into a taxonomy of locutions and phrases which are praiseworthy because of their provenance and irrespective of their usage. If costume is a standard analogy for style, the falsity of rigid Ciceronianism is illustrated by the simile of a splendid costume and adornments with a wax model inside them, an inversion of costume as the expression or outward form of character as it is displayed within a particular context. Erasmus's own conception of *imitatio* is expressed by the Horatian topos of the bee which distills the nectar gathered from many flowers within its own body to create a substance that unites the virtues of many things into a new and special sweetness, just as each writer absorbs a unique diet into the "veins of the mind" (in *vaenas animi*).[44] The bee does not just gather and distil as an end in itself; it gives nourishment and pleasure to others who feed upon its honey as it had feasted upon the nectar of many flowers, an organic and nourishing process "born out of a speaker's person" opposed to the mechanical or cosmetic approach of excessive Ciceronianism where quotations are sprinkled like a whiff of perfume over the bystanders in a style born "out of the skin".[45] The simile of the bee does not just illustrate a conception of style as sweet or varied, but as a cycle of ingestion, nourishment and creation - a process of transformation and refashioning at odds with the word lists of the Ciceronians or the museums of antique fragments with which they fill their homes.[46]

Paganism is the central charge levelled by Erasmus at the Roman Ciceronians, who

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[44] *Ciceronianus*, *Collected Works*, Toronto 1986, vol.28, p.402.

[45] *op.cit.* p.401.

[46] Bembo was famous for such a collection. Erasmus describes an alternative, decorous setting for the *honestum otium* of the Christian Humanist in the *Convivium Religiosum* (1522), where Eusebius (named after the father of church history) has a garden ornamented with a statue of St Peter, with biblical texts in Latin, Greek and Hebrew and with a chapel – Christ, not the obscene Priapus is the protector of Eusebius's garden. The garden is a place where luxury is avoided – each ornamental feature serves a practical purpose (the stream that adorns the garden flows on to clean the kitchen) and the trompe d'oeil marble which shows that Eusebius has avoided profligacy in the creation of his garden also warns the visitor not to judge hastily on the truth of appearances. The garden also contains a painted garden, an encyclopaedic depiction of plants and animals, whose significance is enriched by their proverbial meaning (many are found in the *Adagia*). In keeping with the remarks above on the garden topos, Erasmus's garden topos is thus a place of honest pleasure which provides the basis for encyclopaedic learning, depicted at points emblematically and Christian contemplation. Within the villa of Eusebius, the depictions of nature in the garden have their counterpart in religious paintings and painted maps; the villa is thus a place for religious meditation and scientific knowledge, a setting for study and charity. The dialogue ends with a Christian meal where the scriptures and Cicero are discussed, and with the departure of Eusebius to offer spiritual comfort to a dying man and settle a dispute between two people – *honestum otium* as the revitalising of the spirit for acts of Christian virtue.

despise ecclesiastical Latin as non-classical and "have Christ on the lips and Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the heart". From this accusation springs the dislocation of inner and outer and the perversion of decorum, and thus ethics, which attends the dislocation of arguments from their meaningful rehearsal in speech. All the metaphors of smothering encrustation for the mechanical or clumsy overuse of ornament - the banquet comprised solely of condiments, the wearing of jewels in the wrong places, the splendidly dressed waxen effigy point to the belief that the outer surface of style is a source of praise in itself, rather than a seamless means of conveyance;[47] from this *méprise* derives the loss of *energeia* and the consequent stasis of the cosmetic, which culminates in the contrast between speech as mosaic or patch work and as a river which swells up from the heart of the speaker. Here we see the metaphor of eloquent speech as a surging river which underlies *De copia* developed into an assertion of speech which lives, breathes and moves because it is the integral to the speaker, reflecting the features of the mind as a mirror reflects those of the face. Amongst the other absurd affectations of Nosoponus, Erasmus's caricature of extreme Ciceronianism, is the fact that he shuns conversation, and repeats only a few ready made phrases when forced to speak to others; his obsessive listing of Cicero's figures of style ignores the fact that *ornatus* is what speech uses when it has to respond to the novel demands of each situation, and it is for this reason that manuals of rhetoric repeatedly state that figures of speech (especially, metaphor) both render speech more excellent and serve to express those things for which no ready word exists.

If the self-replete surface of undiscriminating Ciceronianism exhibits a lifeless stasis (artificiality in the modern negative sense), its justification and value lies in its imitation of antiquity; this valorisation of the fragment and its codification is apparent also in Erasmus's writings on eloquence, in the word lists of *De copia* designed to teach abundant style to school boys, or inherent in the project of the *Adagia* and the *Similia* to provide a comprehensive catalogue of sayings founded on comparison.[48] Erasmus's insistence on assimilation and transformation as essential to *imitatio* does not just emphasise the difference between *copia* and copies, but signals a reflection on the temporality of the antique fragment in which its valorising historic character (the fragment as *laus antiquitatis*) enters into play with the contextual significations fundamental to decorum. The expanding analogical patterns explored in the *Adagia*, for example, are based not on an *a priori* model of universal correspondence, but unfolded as a configuration of contextual meaning which displays the metaphorical work of *ornatus*. Thus where Ciceronianism flattens the demands of decorum by mere copying, "true" imitation generates a dual sense of historicity in which the talk of precious gems from the *thesaurus* of antiquity exists alongside the organic metaphors for the seamless expression of arguments in their fitting time and place – the *varietas* of abundant style has its model in nature. This living body of eloquent speech, likened to a shining river in its brilliance and fluency ("divite quadam sententiarum verborumque copia aurei fluminis exuberans"[49]) exists in constant relation with the potentialities of other contexts; thus we progress from the techniques of amplification (many of them based on similitude) which generate *copia* in a single speech to the amplification of significance from the fragmentary sayings in the *Adagia*, which again have a predominantly metaphorical character and whose

[47] Compare Sidney, *The Defence of Poetry* where the Ciceronians are side to cast "sugar and spice upon every dish that is served to the table" and compared to "those Indians, not content to wear earrings in the fit and natural place of thears, but they thrust jewels through their nose and lips, because they will be sure to be fine". *Selected Works*, Oxford 1989, pp.246-7.

[48] We shall at these works in more detail below.

[49] *De copia duplici verborum et rerum, Opera omnia*, North Holland, 1988, p.26.

meaning is explicated as a tissue of analogies, each meaning arising from a particular situation or *usus*. In contrast the mechanical practices of replication (not just stylistic movements such as Ciceronianism or Euphuism[50]) weaken the vital link between ornament and situation or *usus*, as Erasmus sees the evacuation of the meaning of decorum in Ciceronianism - a movement which ostensibly claims to recover the full glories of eloquence is founded on the fissure of outer and inner. All this highlights the significant notion that ornament possesses liveliness - *energeia* - when it figures forth or conveys a larger structure founded on decorum, but once dislocated from such structures and taken as a thing, or "praise" in itself, it becomes lifeless. We have seen this point already in discussion of Humanists such as Bruni for whom the philological understanding of *ornatus* as a (metaphorical) structure of relationships which manifests itself in each context, leads to the analogies of ornament as "life blood" in the *Laudatio* and *De studiis*. The "praise" of ornament, considered as an object in itself, is not only a result of the historical scrutiny and imitation of ornament, but of a formalism which reveres the fragment or its most superficial arrangement above the integration of the *ornamenta* with invention, and with the larger nexus of potential relationships which arise from the specificity of situations.

If Erasmus's warning about the paganism of the Ciceronians points to anxieties about the effects of conflating the reverence accorded to the spiritual with that lavished upon the ancients, Ciceronianism is a sort of idolatry, and as such leads to the association of cosmetic ornament and meretriciousness which we find in Sidney's antithesis of the "honey flowing matron Eloquence" and "courtesan like painted affectation".[51] In Sidney's "affectation" we might see not only falsity but Castiglione's *affettazione* - the art which fails to hide its artfulness. The contempt levelled at artifice for its obtrusive character as *affettazione* is linked with the ancient accusation against the deceptive character of rhetoric, ornament and (in Plato) artistic and poetic mimesis, which seek to present a false thing as though it were true. What links artifice condemned for its obviousness and artifice condemned for its deceit is the disjunction of surface and substance - as we saw in Castiglione, it is the appearance of fluent expression of the latter by the former which is the end of study, imitation and artifice. In Erasmus's criticisms in the *Ciceronianus* we find that the disjunction between surface and substance which comes with the cosmetic elaboration of the surface entails the ethical evacuation of style - not just in the sense of the Ciceronians' indifference to Christian precepts but in that of the proper occasion and opportunity to which decorum responds. We saw that in the earlier Florentine Humanists this sense of decorum was closely linked to the historical examination of meaning, in response to the appeal of each concrete occasion, and the variety of contexts of signification thus precludes fixed models of *elocutio*. It should be remembered that Erasmus was deeply influenced by Valla, who turns the relationship between philosophy and the *studia humanitatis* into open conflict, establishes philology as a working textual practice and enters into violent polemic with Poggio Bracciolini over his preference for Quintilian over Cicero. Valla's shift of emphasis from Cicero to Quintilian, which we see reflected in Erasmus's frequent citations of the latter, thus exemplifies a preoccupation with the paedogogic and philological, rather than philosophical ends of rhetoric, which flowers in Erasmus and English Humanists such as Colet. The paedogogical aims of Quintilian are obvious; the philological character of the *Instituto oratoria* lies in its prolonged reflection on

[50] Walter Ong would have added to such mechanical replications printing itself, which he sees as fundamental to the intellectual project of Ramus (*Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue*).
[51] Sidney, *op.cit.* p.246.

oratory as drawing its efficacy from the study of literature as supplying the models of ethical delineation suitable to occasion. We noted above Bruni's emphasis on prudence, the practical intellect, as learnt from history; in Erasmus the study of the historical significance of language is inseparable from the ethical reflection which history inspires, and Quintilian's claim that the orator is a good man skilled in speaking becomes linked firmly to the philological character of rhetoric. For Erasmus, this ethical reflection is of course directed to Christian ends, and the principle task of philology lies in the emendation of editions of sacred texts so that the moral teaching set forth in the preaching or doctrine of a sacred author can be illuminated by the historical scholarship which removes corruptions and contains in its nature meditations on the nature and context of virtuous actions. Erasmus does not reject philosophy with Valla's vehemence, but insists on the centrality of Christian ethical concerns, and the philological study of eloquence as the vehicle of ethics - thus alongside the Neoplatonism of Ficino and his followers, there is an Erasmian Platonism, which is literary, dialogic and paedogogic in character, and concentrates on the figure of Socrates as a model for the Christian Humanist in whom ethics, piety and eloquence in all its forms are deeply united. If Erasmus appeals to Christian Humanism, enriched by the wisdom of ancients, such as the "Christian Socrates", as the guiding light for ethical action, this returns us to question of how one orders the vast array of learning which is brought to the shaping and refining of the intellectual culture that realises itself in such action. *Varietas* is essential not only to stylistic discussions but suggests a parallel with the spirit of tolerance and conciliation in the political and religious spheres, but it must be contained or ordered if it is not to degenerate into a medley of confusion. The remarks on *imitatio* in the *Ciceronianus* use the classical topoi to signal a process of imitation based on assimilation, defined against the fragmentation of the surface of speech, but the real question raised by Erasmus's rhetorical writings is that of how one can arrange the ornaments of antiquity so that they can be found, studied and deployed without betraying the contextual character of their meaning. In the attempt to provide encyclopaedias of contextual significance, Erasmus uses the topics as a means of invention that provide the "places" from which arguments can drawn and amplified, and it is to these that we now turn.

*The rhetorical use of the topics in Erasmus*

We noted above that Erasmus was influenced by Lorenzo Valla, amongst the most trenchantly anti-scholastic of the Humanists, and that Valla's rejection of a union of rhetoric and philosophy was one factor which led him to vaunt the superiority of Quintilian over Cicero. Cicero's ideal of the orator as a fully rounded man who embodies the fusion of theoretical and practical wisdom is systematised in the *Institutio oratoria* of Quintilian into a comprehensive education. Quintilian prefaces his work with the claim that the orator not only knows the arguments claimed by moral philosophy on justice, equality and goodness, but knows them better and with more eloquence ("ea et sciet optime et eloquetur orator" I, Preface, 16-17). The relationship of oratory and philosophy, a matter of constant thought and formulation for the hellenophile Cicero, has become the introduction to the presentation of a curriculum for a complete education, encompassing everything from logic to gymnastics, in which all areas of human art are united in the end of speaking well, and Quintilian's popularity with Humanist educators was assured still further by his insistence on the ethical basis of oratory, since only a good man is truly capable of good speech.[52]

[52] "Oratorem autem instituimus illum perfectum, qui esse nisi vir bonus non potest" I, Preface, 9.

Unlike Bruni, who attempted to appropriate Aristotle for civic Humanism with his translation of Aristotle's moral philosophy and political science, Valla regarded the relationship of philosophy and rhetoric as hostile and championed Quintilian in the name of a philological, rather than a philosophical rhetoric. In order to promulgate the superiority of rhetoric, Valla produced a *Dialectica*, which reduced dialectic to a subdivision of rhetoric; although the work had little immediate influence it shows that a need was felt in Humanist circles to create a dialectic removed from the technicalities of scholastic logic and geared towards activities such as textual analysis and the method for the invention of arguments in an oratorical situation. The search to create a rhetorical dialectic led to a focus on the topics, the "places" or common places (*loci communes*) where arguments were found, and from which they could be drawn, and thus a Humanist rhetoric such as Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*, identifies invention with the topics. Before we go further into the question of the efforts to establish Humanist, non-Scholastic logic, however, we should look more closely at the antique sources on which Renaissance topics were based.

The ancient treatments of the topics could be found in various works – in Aristotle's *Topica*, in Cicero's *Topica*, purportedly a translation of Aristotle's work but actually an exposition of the rhetorical use of the topics, and his *De inventione*. Aristotle's *Topica* is concerned with predication and the four predicables – definition, property, genus and accident, the aim of the work being to establish the method which enables us to reason from generally accepted opinions about any problems set before us and avoid contradiction. The Ciceronian works are more concerned with the oratorical uses to which this method can be put, and sees in the topics a systematic treatment of the invention of arguments, as opposed to the judgement of their validity - the Stoic *dialektikē* (*Topica*, II.vii). It is Cicero who identifies the topic or *locus* as the "seat" of an argument ("Itaque licet definire locum esse argumenti sedem", II.vii), and he divides the topics into two – those inherent to the nature of an argument, drawn from circumstances, and those external to the argument, which depend on testimony and have the force of authority, such as divine oracles. Amongst topics drawn from circumstances, arguments from cause and effect are especially important, and give *copia* of arguments to philosophers and poets (as well as to orators) respectively – Cicero speaks of the Stoics as having "woven" doctrines of fate from infinite series of causes (XIV.58, XVIII.67). At XVIII.71 Cicero gives a full list of the *sedes argumentorum*: definition, partition, etymology, conjugation, genus, species, similarity, difference, contraries, adjuncts, consequents, antecedents, contradictions, causes, effects, comparison. If these are compared to Aristotle's four predicables, we can see that Cicero's *loci* are much closer to grammar, and the *loci communes* discussed in *De inventione* are repeatedly associated with the amplification of arguments – if Cicero declares at *Topica* XXI.79 that there is no discussion in which at least one topic is not involved, it is also clear that *sedes argumentorum* lead fairly smoothly from invention to *elocutio*, especially evident in *De inventione* II.77, where the *loci communes* include the creation of a vivid verbal picture brought before the eyes of the audience – what Quintilian calls *enargeia*. This passage from the *loci* as sources of invention to the basis of stylistic eloquence becomes clear in Quintilian's treatment of the ornaments of speech in *Institutio oratoria* VIII and IX.

The ornaments of speech most closely linked to the topics are amplification, treated by

Quintilian at VIII.iv, the *sententiae* discussed at VIII.v and the *figurae*, which take up the first three chapters of Book IX. The amplification of arguments is based upon four methods taken directly from the topics – argumentation, comparison, reasoning and accumulation. The *sententiae*, which will be gathered by Erasmus in the encyclopaedic *Adagia*, are compared by Quintilian to an incomplete *enthymeme*[53], and he attempts to classify them according to interrogation, comparison, denial, similarity, admiration – headings which seem to look back to Cicero's *sedes argumentorum*. It is the discussion of the *figurae* which is most interesting for the topics, however, as Quintilian seems to see the *figurae* as the form in which the arguments drawn from the topics have their expression. One should note here that the *figura* is not identical with the trope – the latter is a movement which works alteration in language and so "transfers" it from its normal expression (*mutatio*), and thus we can understand the link between metaphor as *translatio* and the discussion of *motus* and *flexus* which develops in turn to accounts of *contrapositum* and so to the *contrapposto* and *linea serpentinata* of Renaissance artistic theory. In contrast to this distinctive movement or translation of the tropes, Quintilian considers *figura* in its most general sense as any form in which thought is expressed, the body which must have some shape, and in a second, narrower sense, as a change in meaning or language from its ordinary, simple form; this change is described, interestingly, by analogy to a change in bodily posture (IX.i.2). In the first, wider sense of *figura*, all language possesses *figura* since all language has form; in the second sense it is called *habitus quidam et quasi gestus* (IX.i.12-13). In rhetorical terms, this means that *figurae* are those forms of speech which are especially striking and effective in stirring the audience, and again vivid visualisation is foremost of these – Quintilian cites several passages from Cicero on *evidentia*, including the comparison in *Orator* 39 of figured speech to the *insignia* which decorate the forum or the stage, and the claim in *De inventione* that verbal picturing is one of *loci communes*. Apart from this association with *enargeia*, and the persuasive force of the *loci communes*, the *figurae* resemble the topics in that they seem at time to be founded on logical analysis (e.g. comparison, consequence), and are also classified according to headings (suggestion, anticipation, qualification, concession, agreement, confession, ambiguity, concentration, refutation, *etc*) from which forms of expression may be drawn.

If we turn back to the influence of these classical discussion of the relation of style and the topics, we find that Erasmus uses Agricola's topical logic in *De copia duplici verborum et rerum* (1512), the famous treatise on stylistic amplification – which, as we have seen, was closely linked with the *loci communes*. The influence of Agricola is particularly conspicuous in the second part of the treatise, on *copia argumentorum*, which lists the wealth of arguments that may be drawn from a subject, based on the analysis of its predicates. (We might note here that Erasmus regards hieroglyphs in a similar way when he remarks in discussion of the *adagium* "Festina lente" that they allow us to consider the qualities of a subject.) If Rudolph Agricola said that the *loci* held the instruments for establishing conviction like a treasure chest, Erasmus developed Agricola's topical logic into a thesaurus of arguments in *De copia* - for Erasmus it seems that the *loci* for discovering the two-fold *copia verborum et rerum* are at once the topics of logical invention and the treasure house, or thesaurus, of philology, from which the sententious *Adagia* are also drawn.[54]

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[53] At VIII.v.9 he refers to the *enthymeme* as *sententia ex contrariis*, perhaps following Cicero at *Topica* V.55 who speaks of *enthymemata* as conclusions from contraries.

[54] We shall see later that the *Adagia* are a fundamental source for Alciati's *Emblemata* and thus provide a sententious and philological basis for Renaissance hieroglyphic figuration. Agricola's remark is cited in Ong , *op. cit.*, p118.

The *Adagia*, whose meaning develops as a configuration from the relationships between individual, contextual meanings woven together into a proverb or *sententia* is a complemetary work to *De copia*, with its instructions for unfolding multiple arguments and words from a single phrase. Both works share a preoccupation with variety as a framework of analogy, and both deal with the relationship encyclopaedic elaboration and sententious brevity, which takes on an emblematic form in the *Adagia* - *copia* is not just the cultivation of abundance but the capacity to express oneself succinctly as well as at length. We shall look at the *Adagia* later, since they lead into arguments about *emblemata* and word-image figurations, while *De copia* is a work in the pedagogic, Quintilian tradition, written as a manual for schoolboys. At the most obvious level, *copia* regards the enactment of the plenitude of matter (whether thoughts or things) in the plenitude of style, and here Nature provides the counterpart and justification for the abundance which language represents: "Gaudet ipsa natura vel in primis varietate, quae in tam immensa rerum turba nihil usquam reliquit, quod non admirabili quodam artificio depinxerit".[55] If Nature is one model for *copia*, the shape-changing marine god Proteus is another - speech is likened to a piece of wax which can be refashioned in a potentially infinite number of ways, an idea can be turned into more shapes than Proteus assumed, of Virgil it is said "Quis fons, quis torrens, quod mare tot fluctibus, quot hic verbis inundavit?" and of Ulysses "Displicet Ulysses instar hybernis aucti nivibus ruens".[56] If abundant speech plays itself out in a multitude of forms, like a surging golden river ("divite quadam sententiarum verborumque copia aurei fluminis exuberans"),[57] this metamorphic potential is founded on a structure of similitudes, as we see in the celebrated variation exercises in Book I, where the abundance of speech - its capacity to reflect variety - is expressed through expanding patterns of analogy. As in the *Adagia,* an encyclopaedic framework contains an exploration of variety as a configuration of related names and meanings which shapes itself like wax in accordance with its context. This copious speech is explicitly linked to *enargeia*, discussed by Erasmus at the beginning of Book II, on *copia rerum*, where it is said that the subject should be unwrapped, opened up and displayed, so that it seems like a painted scene, and the listener or reader to be in the audience of a theatre – a remark which can again can be found repeatedly to Quintilian.[58] In the *Instutitio oratoria* VIII.iii *enargeia* is linked with both brevity and

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[55] *Opera omnia*, I.vi North Holland, 1988, p.32 ("Nature herself rejoices in variety, for in the great mass of things she leaves nothing anywhere which is not painted with an admirable artifice").

[56] *op.cit.* p.30 ("What spring, what torrent, what sea so flowed with waves as he with words?" "Ulysses speaks in anger his words flowing like a river swollen with winter snows"). The metaphor of wax and that of Ulysses's eloquence as the melting of winter snows come from *Institutio oratoria* X.v.9 and XII.x.64. On the subject of Proteus as a symbol of *copia*, one should note that the god is frequently associated with the instability and multiplicity of the evil (especially lustful) passions, and is used in this way by Erasmus in the *Enchiridion* (1503). In response to a letter of 1518 in which Ambrose Leo admiringly compared Erasmus to Proteus, the Humanist replied "Nec unquam alius fui quam sum", ("I am have never been other than I am"). For a fuller examination of the characterisation of Proteus in the Renaissance, see A. Bartlett Giametti, "Proteus Unbound" in *The Discipline of Criticism Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation and History* ed. Greene, Nelson and Demetz, Yale, 1968.

[57] *Opera omnia* I.vi, p.26. Cf. Bacon's parody of the metaphor of speech as flowing river, most closely linked with Ciceronian *oratio fluens* in his attack on "delicate learning" of the sixteenth century *litterati*, when "the whole inclination and bent [...] was rather towards copie [*copia*] than weight". Bacon parodies such comparisons with his sarcastic characterisation of the "flowing and watery vein" of the Portugese Bishop Ossorius in *The Advancement of Learning* (Dent, n.d. p.24.).

[58] The analogies with visual art and the praise of vivid verbal depiction form a constant theme of Quintilian's work. To select but a few references, the capacity to depict a scene as a picture is discussed at IV.ii.123 in the treatment of *narratio*, at VIII.iii.11 where the ornament of epideictic oratory can be "spread out" for the

*copia*, and the amplification of the circumstances of a situation, of which comparison is an important part, is said to place things before the eyes of the audience. It is here that we can start to see more clearly the relationship between the topics, amplification and the ornaments of speech which was sketched out above; what Erasmus gives us in *De copia* is a work which explicitly treats topical logic as the source of *copia rerum* which works in complement with the discussion of *copia verborum* whose principal source is the treatment of tropes and *figurae* in *Institutio oratoria* VIII and IX. The cultivation of *copia* is inseparable from *imitatio* – not only does Erasmus's work owe much to Quintilian, but in the *Institutio oratoria* X.ii it is asserted that imitation is indispensable in the creation of *copia verborum* and *varietas figurarum*. The ultimate model of imitation in the cultivation of *copia* is nature, praised by Erasmus for the "admirable artifice" with which she "paints" all things, but between nature and speech is the philological meditation which sees in imitation the means for achieving *copia*, and *copia* as a means for achieving imitation. This leaves us with the matter of the relationship between a stylistic culture of *imitatio* and topical invention, and it is here that the canonical, systematic tendencies of imitation and place logic really start to work together. We have seen already Bembo's interest in establishing the conventions of the literary topos, and while Erasmus represents a more encyclopaedic approach to imitation (exemplified again by the constant reference to Quintilian as opposed to Ciceronianism – not to Cicero for whom Erasmus expresses proper admiration) this encyclopaedic endeavour does necessitate the exhaustive collection and systematisation of sources. This means that the tropes and figures themselves tend to be arranged under headings, from which examples can be drawn, and thus they start to become analogous to the logical topics, as we have already suggested. While *De copia* presents itself as a playful and open ended work, with its celebrated variation exercises and its intimation of the infinite potential of the strategies of amplification (which include those of concentration), one can discern in it the seed of the taxonomic rhetorics of the later sixteenth century, which their two-fold enumeration of sources of argument and sources of style. It is this very systematisation which leads away from its original aim, in the philological study of usage which insisted on contextual significance according to *usus* as the basis of ethical meaning.[59] Our interest here is not so much in these taxonomies but in two other areas – firstly, the persistence of spatial metaphors which leads to the re-introduction or re-integration of a third rhetorical element, namely artificial memory, with its *loci* and *imagines*. Secondly, what happens as the philological attempt to systematise the analogies between the unique configuration of meaning in a particular situation, and the similarities it bears to other meanings in other situations, enters into contact with the universal structure of correspondences which we saw elaborated in the syncretic Neoplatonism discussed in Part One. It is with these preoccupations that we come to a figure who lies at the core of the argument – the *letterato* and alchemist Giulio Camillo Delminio.

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audience, at VIII.iii.61-64 in praise of *enargeia*, in discussion of *figurae* at IX.i.27-45 and IX.ii.40, and in the analogy between the varieties of artistic style in painting, sculpture and oratory at XII.x.1-9.

[59] We might remember here Bruni's claim that the fundamental meaning of words lies in *ingenium*, which addresses the thing in its particular, historical situation ("momento temporis ad rem se applicet").

Revered by some as a magus and by others despised as a charlatan, Camillo (c.1480-1544) sought to wed the art of eloquence to Neoplatonic, Hermetic, Cabalistic and alchemical studies, in the creation of a three-fold model of transmutation of words (rhetoric), of matter (alchemy) and of the soul (the *deificatio* of Ficino) by which the human becomes divine.[60] The principal and material instrument of this composite transformative art was the memory theatre constructed for François I of France which conflated the *loci* of the *ars memoria* with the dialectical and rhetorical topics and with a model of the cosmos as a structure of correspondences of the kind promulgated by Pico in the *Heptalus* and, closer still to Camillo and his Venetian background, the *De harmonia mundi* of Francesco Giorgio.[61] To this we must add the influence of the *ars magna* of Lull, which Camillo is attested by contemporaries such as Jacques Gohory and Girolamo Ruscelli to have studied with great attention.[62] It is in Lull that we find the attempt to identify logic and metaphysics in the creation of an artificial, perfect language, superior to common speech and the languages of the single sciences. Lull's combinatory logic with its use of letters and symbols to indicate simple notions and the mechanisation of the combination of concepts through the use of mobile figures, was also a mnemonic art, which Lull boasted could be mastered in two months, and would give knowledge of the structure of the world and not merely of discourse – identical to the claims made by Camillo for his theatre. Camillo's influence went beyond Italian literary theory, where he is cited with great frequency, to other notable attempts to wed an all-encompassing theory of art to a Neoplatonic-esoteric model of the world, such as Lomazzo's *Idea del tempio della pittura* (1591); here we are not so much concerned with his situation in the rich esoteric culture of the sixteenth century as in the effort to create an encyclopaedic structure, containing all things and their potential transformations in the form of an architecture of correspondences, which is actually constructed in the material form of a Vitruvian theatre, conceived simultaneously as memory and universe, microcosm and macrocosm.

Despite his advocation of Ciceronian Latin as stylistic model, set forth in *Della imitatione* (c.1530), where he laments the position taken by Erasmus in the *Ciceronianus*,[63] Camillo's rhetorical theory is inspired by the Hellenistic orator Hermogenes, whose treatise on style, the *Ideas*, he translated, and on which he wrote a short treatise, *Discorso sopra l'idee di Ermogene*. Hermogenes's treatise on rhetoric, which dates back to the second century A.D.

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[60] The analogy between the purification of the soul as it rises from matter to the purification of gold from "earthy particles" occurs in *Enneads* I.vi.5.

[61] On Camillo's relation to Francesco Giorgio, see Cesare Vasoli, "Considerazioni su alcuni temi retorici di Giulio Camillo Delminio" in *Retorica e Poetica*, ed. D. Goldin, Padua, 1979 and "Giulio Camillo Delminio et l'art transmutatoire" in *Alchimie et Philosophie à la Rénaissance*, ed. Margolin and Matton, Paris 1993. On the memory theatre, see Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*, London, 1966, in which she discusses Camillo's work as the first Renaissance manifestation of a hermetic art of memory of which Bruno and Fludd were later proponents. Yates's work was in part based on an earlier study by Paolo Rossi, *Clavis Universalis* (1960) which traces the development of mnemonics and combinatory logic from Lull to Leibniz. Rossi covers much of the same ground as Yates, except that he writes a history of a certain area of logic, rather than a history of hermeticism, and goes beyond Bruno to the interest in the creation of universal language in the early enlightenment. Regarding the diffusion of cabbalistic literature in the sixteenth century, Rossi notes that Pico had associated the *ars Raymondi* and the highest part of natural magic with cabbala in the *Apologia tredecim quaestionum,* quaestio V:*De magia naturali et cabala hebreorum.*

[62] See Rossi, *op.cit.*,p.122.

[63] Camillo is featured in a less than flattering light in the *Ciceronianus* as one of the Roman Ciceronians who attract the contempt of Erasmus.

and formed the basis of Byzantine rhetoric, was printed in the sixteenth century (Aldus 1508) and widely read before dropping from use in the following century; aside from Camillo, it was translated by Sturm and Natale Conti, and employed extensively by George of Trebizond in the *Rhetoricum libri*, by Minturno and Scaliger in their poetics, by Tasso in his theoretical writings and by Puttenham.[64] The popularity of the work rested on the fact that its treatment of style, which discussed style in terms of qualities or "ideas", was more extensive and flexible than that of Cicero, which rested on three levels - modest, medium and grand.[65] Cicero's levels of style existed alongside three styles of ornament, discussed extensively in *Orator* - the Attic or restrained (which forms the basis of Castiglione's *sprezzatura*[66]), the medium (sometimes called Rhodian) and the luxurious or Asiatic. These styles of ornament are governed by the decorum of the situation, the speaker, and the case; each kind of rhetoric (forensic, deliberative, epideictic) is inclined towards a different style, in keeping with their different areas of action (dispute, judgement and celebration), while the speaker should observe propriety in his own person - the language of a poet is indecorous in a general, the flowery speech of a youth in an orator of mature years.[67] This very emphasis on the ideally seamless character of decorum means that guidelines for the qualities of style can merge into descriptions of their affects; Cicero's effusions on the neatly bound garlands of the middle style, or on grandiloquence as the roar of a mighty torrent are subtle and poetic responses rather than prescriptions for composition.[68] The problem with this description of style, for practical purposes, was that it did not account for movement or accommodation between various qualities of style, and thus made it difficult to conceive of a composite decorum which could comprehend every localised, unified instance of decorum. Hermogenes's seven "ideas" of style helped to resolve this difficulty by distinguishing qualities which could either govern style or form as part of it, these ideas being clarity (*sapheia*), grandeur (*megethos*), beauty (*kallos*), speed (*gorgotes*), ethos, verity (*aletheia*) and gravity (*deinotes*) - grave or mighty style is both a quality of style and an idea of total eloquence that illuminates the right use of all style. Thus the ideas, which come together to form a conception of decorum as a composite, replete whole, gave a more comprehensive analysis of style than did Cicero's three fold partition; they also correspond to something like a classification in which each idea corresponds to something like an intelligible form in relation to a sensible instance within a given text. Camillo develops Hermogenes's ideas to the fullest in the memory theatre, where they become the seven "ideas" or "measures" which "explicate" divinity, from which all lower things are unfolded; this seemingly extraordinary passage from stylistic qualities to the divulgation of the cosmic order is mediated through a process of reflection that occupies Camillo's other rhetorical writings, and it is to these that we shall turn.

Camillo set forth his thought on eloquence in a sequence of related works, *Della*

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[64] On Hermogenes, see Annabel M. Patterson, *Hermogenes and the Renaissance*, Princeton, 1970. Patterson also notes that Gabriel Harvey called himself "pseudo Hermogenes".

[65] For Sturm, whose five part rhetoric incorporated Agricolan logic, Hermogenes represented an enlarged and sophisticated version of Latin accounts of style. Roman rhetorics sometimes make references to the austere Laconic style, at times mentioned in discussions of metaphor, since its conciseness could be such as to become enigmatic.

[66] Cf. *Cortegiano* I.xxvi "una certa sprezzatura, che nasconda l'arte e *dimostri* ciò che si fa e dice senza fatica e quasi senza pensarvi". As discussed above, "plain style", in its Ciceronian sense, is not "naturalness" but the product of careful study which is consumated in the elegant and artificial display of spontaneity.

[67] These distinctions are elaborated with respect to personal bearing as *ethos* in *De officiis* where Cicero considers the kind of appearance and comportment suitable to age, class, sex, and context.

[68] The descriptions occur in *Orator* vi.21 and xxviii.97.

*imitatione*, *La topica o vero della elocuzione*, *Delle materie*, *Discorso in materia del suo teatro* and the *Idea del theatro* itself.[69] In these works we can note two strategies - firstly the transformation of the stylistic model of Hermogenes's *Ideas* into a rhetorical topics which turns logical distinctions for the "places" for finding arguments into a model for the invention and imitation of figures. Second, this topics from which all arguments and figures can be drawn forth is extended from the level of a treatise to the construction of the theatre, whose places are also the memory *loci* of classical oratory and the esoteric images which can be used magically to move nature, just as eloquence aspires to move human beings. If we might see in *De copia* a basis for Camillo's identification of the topics with arguments, style, and imitation, Erasmus's open-ended model has given way to the tighter scheme of Hermogenes's seven ideas and their transformation into the transcendent ideas of Platonic hermeticism. In a discussion on eloquence the *Discorso in materia del suo teatro*, Camillo speaks of the virtue in the soul to alter things and make them obedient to us, which forms the basis of incantation. In the influential *Topica*, described by Patrizi as "maravigliosa", Camillo presents a classification of rhetorical - primarily figurative - locutions, based on logical distinctions and so identifies dialectical invention with *elocutio*, "sono al creder mio alcuni topici communi agli argomenti et a queste figure".[70] The topics are not merely abstract distinctions, but *luochi*, places, from which arguments and figures are drawn forth: "il luoco non è altro che il fonte onde la essenzia della locuzion può aver orgine, sì come *luoco* chiamano gli oratori quella sede ove posa il virtù dell'argomento et onde trar si può. Né si potrebbono trovar queste locuzioni figuranti, sì come né ancor gli argomenti, se prima non so conoscessero li luoghi [...] La cognizion de'luochi adunque, così per traslazion chiamati da' luochi materiali, porge tutta la invenzione di così fatte bellezze".[71] If the *Topica* runs through the "places" in which one may find various kinds of figures, such as the sources from which epithets may be drawn, or the varieties of metonym, *Della imitatione* gives a fuller account of how the topics work, and how they work in terms of the memory theatre, where the implications of the *loci* are developed to their fullest. *Della imitatione*, which is amongst other things a reply to Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*, talks of the three "orders" of language which can "vestir ciascun nostro concetto: il proprio, il traslato, e quello perfino a qui [...] non è caduto nome e che in tutta l'impresa nostra primi chiamiamo e chiameremo sempre "topico".[72] Camillo then gives an example of how the *locuzioni topici* function as instruments of imitation, which, as a *litterato*

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[69] The bulk of Camillo's writings remained in manuscript form until 1544, with the first edition of the *Opere* published in 1552, with an introduction by Ludovico Dolce; a more ample two volume *Opere* was issued by Gabriel Giolito in 1560, with the second volume edited by Francesco Patrizi.

[70] *Topica*, in *L'Idea del Teatro e altri scritti di retorica*, Milan, 1990, p.235 ("in my belief some topics are common to argument and to figures"). See also *De imitatione*, "da quei medesimi lochi possono esser formato le figure che *topiche* chiamiamo da quali gli argomenti", *op.cit.*, p.172 ("those figures that we call topical can be formed from the same places as arguments"). Camillo divides his figures into "semplici propri", "semplici figurati" (metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy) "locution propria" (*e.g.* epithet, periphrasis) and "locution traslata" where the "topiche" appear. The topical figures are invented from the four causes, from the instruments of the efficient cause, from antecedents, consequents, adjuncts, contraries, acts, qualities and quantities of bodies, appearances, similitude and comparison. They thus correspond to the rhetorical topics of Cicero, for example; Camillo however envisages them as a grid for the finding of figures, and an instrument for imitation.

[71] *La Topica*, *op. cit.*, p.235 ("the locus is nothing other than the source where the essence of the locution has its origin, as orators call the seat where the virtue of an argument is found and from which it can be drawn, a locus. If one does not first know the loci, one cannot find either the figurative locutions nor the arguments [...] the knowledge of the loci then, so called by translation from material places, holds out all the invention of these delights"). The exhortation to know the *loci* is standard in discussion of the topics.

[72] *De imitatione*, *op.cit.*, p.170 ("dress any *concetto*: the proper name, the metaphor and that which until now [...] has been nameless and which in throughout our project we call and shall always call "topical").

in the Venetian circles of Bembo, he identifies principally with the two models of Cicero and Petrarch, although he writes here of Lucretius: "la gran laude ch'io posso meritar, in questo terzo ordine topico è posta, ché scoperto l'artificio di Lucrezio, con quel medesimo posso fabricar un'altra figura, non di minor bellezza, senza rubare. Perché, conosciute l'arte di Lucrezio [...] di levar la figura dal loco de'conseguenti, potrò io dal medesimo loco formar un'altra di eguale e tallor di maggior bellezza, che dal tutto mio sarà, fuori che per le parole le quai la esprimeranno".[73] Thus the topics are an instrument for the analysis of the argument and style of any text, and Camillo envisages this analysis as a breaking down of the text into its *locuzioni topiche*, which are then "stored" in the places elaborated, and finally physically constructed in the memory theatre.[74] The topics are likened to the letters of the alphabet, a limited series of signs from which all things can be written, or the categories (*predicamenti*) of Aristotle, "a dieci principi tutte le cose che sono in cielo, in terra e nell'abisso si potessino ridurre".[75] Camillo can here justify his Ciceronianism by stating that only the very best writers should be "stored" in the *lochi*, since they provide the basis of the imitation, and transformation, for which the theatre is the instrument "poichè noi abbiamo tanti lochi con tante imagini, che possono ministrar non solamente materie di erudizion piene [...] ma ancora le parole e tutte le cose distinte ai loro ordini che possono esser bastanti a tutti gli umani concetti, è stato mio consiglio di far di perfetti auttori sì minutina anatomia, che tutti questi lochi che han potuto esser fatti ricchi della lingua de' nobilissimi scrittori non sono stati contaminati della lingua de' non perfetti. Imperò che [...] dove ho avuto modo di metter in opera l'oro, non ho volto né l'argento, né il ferro, né il piombo".[76] "Metter in opera l'oro" points to the alchemical character of the theatre, and to Camillo's analogy between rhetoric and alchemy as transmutary arts; his Ciceronianism does not aim at a static reiteration of the orator's style, but at a "golden" eloquence whose harmony reflects the cosmic harmony which sustains the universal order, and thus in the *Discorso in materia del suo teatro* he draws an analogy between the Egyptian statues of such perfect proportion that they came to life in the *Asclepius*, and the proportion of eloquent words which is such that they seem almost "animated" by harmony "in Egitto erano già fabricatori di statue tanto eccellenti che, condotta che aveano alcuna statua alla perfetta proporzione, ella si trovava animata da spirito angelico, perché tanta perfezione non poteva star senza anima. Simili a così fatte statue io trovo le parole [...] subito che sono messe nella loro proporzione, si trovano sotto l'altrui prononzia quasi animate d'armonia".[77] This conception of oratory also draws on Ficino's promulgation

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[73] *op.cit.*p.166 ("The praise great that I merit lies in this third, topical order, so that once the peculiar characteristics of the style of Lucretius are discovered, I can create another figure in the same way, of no less beauty, without plagiarism. Once the art of Lucretius is understood [...] in taking the figure from the locus of consequents, with the same locus I can create another figure of equal or even greater beauty, which will be my own, except for the words with which it is expressed").

[74] We might compare Bembo, who kept forty folders through which every epistle was passed in a process of stylistic perfection – Camillo's adherence is thus not only to the models of Bembo but to the notion of a systematic process of *imitatio*, entailing transformation through a a series of stylistic grids.

[75] *op. cit.*, p.180 ("all things in heaven, on earth and in the abyss can be reduced to ten principles").

[76] *ibid* ("since we have so many places with so many images which can order not only material of great erudition [...] but also words and all the separate things in their order sufficient for all human *concetti*, it is my advice to make such a minute examination of perfect writers so that all those loci which have been enriched by the language of the noblest writers are not contaminated by the language of those less perfect. As [...] I have a method to create gold, I have not wished for silver or iron or lead").

[77] *op.cit.*, p.31 "in Egypt there were sculptors so excellent that when a statue was brought to perfect proportion, it was animated by an angelic spirit, for such perfection could not be without a soul. I find that words are like such statues [...] for as soon as they are placed in proportion they are as though animated by harmony in the act of speaking" . Camillo's *Idea del Theatro* was read enthusiastically by Fabio Paolini, member of the Venetian *Academia degli Uranici*, and author of the *Hebdomades* (1589) a Neoplatonic work on magic, which

of the working of spiritual magic through planetary or "Orphic" music in *De vita*, in which the rhetorical meditations on *concinnitas* have been brought together with the Asclepius so that every harmonious period becomes an operative vessel for drawing down the influx of *spiritus*.

Camillo thus identifies rhetoric in its two major parts - argument and style - with topics, and proposes the arrangement of topics themselves as a model of the universe, which (like the letters of the alphabet and the categories of logic) contains all things that exist and can be thought "nella gran fabrica del Teatro mio son per lochi e per imagini disposti tutti quei lochi che posson bastar a tener colocati e a ministrar tutti gli umani concetti, tutte le cose che sono in tutto il mondo".[78] The theatre of course also concerns memory, thus conflating a further meaning of *locus* and emphasising that the universal order contained in the *loci* can also be held within the human memory. Before saying anything more about the theatre, however, we need to recall the character of *ars memoria* in the rhetorical tradition. Memory was traditionally the third part of rhetoric, and techniques of *ars memoria* encouraged the orator to form a sequence of imaginary spaces or *loci* (notably architectural spaces) into which arguments, represented by visual symbols, could be inserted. The justification of this complicated procedure was the superior acuity of visual memory, so that a speech could be more readily memorised if transposed into visual form, but there is considerable variation in the degree of systematisation recommended by various authors. While the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* III.xx gives a whole *tableau vivant* by which to remember a forensic speech, Quintilian, who considers the elaborate *memoria technica* a rather wasteful exercise, shows the detailed elaboration of the *loci*, and Cicero limits himself to brief remarks on the *loci* and the idea that we may "hold [...] as it were by an act of sight things that we can scarcely embrace by an act of thought".[79] Cicero's remarks are relatively laconic - he sketches in memory technique with a sequence of allusions to visual art; we remember a thing through giving it an outline or form, memorising a speech requires a painter's skill with shapes and positions, and the images for words are called theatre masks - *personae* - that the orator arranges, which "impersonate" the thoughts of things.[80] In the *Idea del Theatro*, Camillo contrasts these imperfect techniques with his effort to discover the eternal places which are

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translates Ficino's claims for music to oratory in the aim to produce a kind of "planetary oratory" which would move the hearer in a similar way to planetary music. On Paolini, see Yates, *op .cit.*, and D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, London, 1958.

[78] *De imitatione* in *op. cit.*, p.172 ("in the great fabric of my theatre are disposed in places and images all those loci necessary to hold in order all human *concetti*, all things that there are in the whole world"). The boast echoes the claims of Lullian art.

[79] "ea, quae cogitando complecti vix possimus, intuendo quasi teneremus" *De oratore*, II.lxxxvii.357. The metaphor of the building filled with objects arises at I.xxxv.161 when Cotta compares the preceding discourse of Crassus to a palace filled with half hidden treasures, which can only be half glimpsed in the course of a visit; a commonplace of artificial memory has turned into a descriptive topos which transforms verbal into visual ornament. We see this topos taken up in polemic form in the debates over the relative merits of Ariosto and Tasso in the late sixteenth century, with the romances of the two authors compared to two palaces. On the Tasso-Ariosto polemic, see below.

[80] In treating of these arts of memory we should consider Aristotle's observation that memory belongs to the same part of the soul as imagination (*phantasia*), and that things which are memorable are essentially *phantasma* - for Aristotle the thinking faculty (*noetikon*) thinks in terms of mental images which the *phantasia* generates and thus the *phantasia* is fundamental to the operations of thought (*On memory and recollection*, 450a 24 and 449b30, *De anima* 431b2). So if *memoria technica* consists of inventing images, each in their own space, which can stand for words, on other hand it points back to the visual nature of memory itself and its links with the *phantasia* which supplies the images through which thought thinks itself and performs acts of deliberation and calculation.

topics of both argument and style, and the orders of the universal hierarchy, as divulged through the synthesis of Neoplatonism, Cabala and Hermeticism that Camillo learns principally from Francesco Giorgio "se gli antichi oratori, volendo collocar di giorno in giorno le parti delle orationi che havevano a recitare, le affidavano a' luoghi caduchi, come cose caduche, ragione è che, volendo noi raccomandar eternalmente gli eterni di tutte le cose che possono esser vestiti di oratione, troviamo a loro luoghi eterni".[81]

What distinguishes Camillo from the other proponents of mnemonic systems based on Lullian art discussed by Rossi is the fact that his theatre was conceived for construction and was indeed erected in Venice and in France. The theatre as built, which he described to Erasmus's friend Viglius Zuichemus as a constructed mind and soul containing "certain corporeal signs" that expressed "all things that the human mind can conceive"[82], was a large wooden structure in Vitruvian form, decorated with forty nine sets of images painted on seven tiers of seats (literally *sedes argumentorum*) divided into seven rows.[83] At the front of the theatre were the seven "ideas" which "explicate" divinity, the seven measures of the building of the heavenly and mundane in which are contained the ideas of all the things belonging to them.[84] These ideas had an analogical significance; they represented the Sephiroth of Cabala, the angels, the planets and the pagan gods, corresponding to the mystical, the intellectual, the cosmological and the mythological. In rising tiers above this first order, the subsequent images referred to the *prima materia*, the three fold soul of the Zohar explicated in the first stage of creation, the mixing of elements, human nature in its inner aspect, the conjunction of body and soul, human creation from nature and finally artifice - *ingegno*. These levels Camillo symbolised by the banquet of Oceanus with the gods, the Homeric cave of the nymphs, the Gorgons, Pasiphae, the sandals of Mercury and Prometheus, each level being divided seven fold according to the seven planets. Thus each image which contains a *locus* that "stores" a figure or argument to be remembered is coordinated in terms of its Cabalistic-angelic-planetary-mythical alignment and its position in the unfolding of the world, so that the structure of the topics is recalled in terms of the symbolic order, and thus, Camillo says, gave knowledge of the origins of things, not just their effects. From the remarks in *De imitatione*, we can surmise that what the *loci* held were quotations from Cicero, arranged according to topic, so that the various figures of similitude, for example, which Camillo discusses in the *Topica*, exist in analogy with the universal order of correspondences - we should note in this connection that Camillo insists in the *Topica* that the *locuzioni* are not *sententiae*, but represent a figure as though one could see it. The *liasons rhétoriques*, as Vasoli says, of the *Topica* are presented as equivalent to the lines of correspondence which unite all things in the world amongst themselves, and the figures of rhetoric enter into analogy with the images of the magus; it seems probable that Camillo envisaged the hieroglyphic images of the *loci* (which form a finite series, the same image being repeated in different places with different

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[81] *L'idea del theatro*, ed. Lina Bolzani, Palermo, 1991, pp.52-53 ("if the ancient orators, wishing to put in place from day to day all the parts of the orations that they had to recite, used fallen places, as they used fallen things, it is right that we, wishing to secure eternally the eternal qualities of all things that can be clothed with speech, discover for them eternal places").

[82] Yates, *op.cit.*, p.132.

[83] In her preface to the 1991 reprint of *L'idea del theatro*, Lina Bolzani asserts that this theatre was decorated by Salviati and Titian. I have found no other evidence of Titian's involvement with the project.

[84] Given the Cabalistic symbolism of the theatre, and the numerological significance of seven, on which Camillo dwells at length in *L'idea del theatro*, we understand the need to construct the theatre, thus realising the memory theatre as an embodiment of number.

meanings) as corresponding to each of the forms and topics of speech in the *loci*.[85] This interest in creating a symbolic language from a composite figuration has similarities with the theory of the emblem and *impresa*, which we will consider later - we should not forget however that Camillo's thinking on the theatre is implicated with his conception of rhetoric, like alchemy, as an art of transmutation, a view he expresses most clearly in the treatise *De transmutatione*: "Laude della transmutzione divina, per la quale l'huomo diventa Dio esso [...] Laude della transmutazione dell'eloquenza, la qual nelle parole, che paiono caduche, fa vedere [...] eternità [...] Laude della transmutazione naturale, la qual cosa [...] può sola meter [...] la materia prima nel stato inocentissimo nel quale era avanti il peccato di Adamo, et nel quale si si ritroverà doppo che tutte le impurità saranno consumate nel fuoco del divino giudizio".[86] The "eternità" perceived through the transformations of rhetorical figures is thus in analogy with the "prima materia", or *hyle* as Camillo calls it, disclosed through the transmutations of matter and the ascension of the human to the divine.[87]

Camillo's work is founded on the conviction that all things can be known, or represented if the right system of organisation can be invented, and if the theatre looks like a development of Ficino's references to the making of models of the universe in the discussion of planetary magic in *De vita* III.xix, it is also an instrument with a certain mechanical quality.[88] One could almost discern in Camillo's artificial memory, with its pretensions to contain and transform the macrocosm, something like the archaic ancestor of artificial intelligence, in which however the instrumental tendencies of the representation are still dominated by its symbolic and poetic character. If the trajectory of Camillo's theatre could be regarded as technological representation,[89] the analogical speculation that embraces all the material which it contains is

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[85] It should also be remarked that Camillo opens the *Idea del theatro*, which is an explication of the esoteric structure of the theatre whose rhetorical aspects formed the subject of his other discussions, with an excursus on the symbolic figuration of mysteries, saying "noi nelle cose nostre ci serviamo delle imagini, come di significatrici di quelle cose che non si debbe profanare" *Idea, op. cit.*, p.50 ("in our writings we make use of images, to signify those things which should not be profaned").

[86] Cited in Vasoli, "L'art transmutatoire", *op.cit.*, p.201 ("Praise be to divine transmutation, by which man becomes God himself [...] praise be to the transmutation of eloquence, which shows [...] eternity in words that seem fallen [...] praise be to natural transmutation, which alone [...] can put *materia prima* in the pristine state in which it was before the fall of Adam, and to which it will return after all impurities are consumed in the fire of divine judgement").

[87] Camillo's conception of *hyle* as the alchemical *prima materia*, accords with the rhetorical and dialectical discussions of the period, where we often find wood used as a metaphor for the things or matters to be sorted or ordered by topical arrangement, a usage noted by Ong, which goes back to Varro, Quintilian and is noted by Poliziano who composes a prolusion for his university lectures named *Sylvae*. Camillo makes find frequent references to language as a dense forest (*selva*) to be cleared and put into place by the rhetorical topics, and we find the metaphor used by Tasso in the *Discorsi* I while Scaliger uses the terms *hyle* and *idea*, rather than matter and form in his *Poetics*. Ben Jonson explains he metaphor in his miscellany of *sententiae Timber or discoveries*: "Sylva rerum et sententiarum, quasi ?Υλη dicta a multiplici materia, et varietate, in iis contenta. Quemadmodum enim vulgo solemus infinitam arborum nascentium indiscriminatim multitudinem *Sylvam* dicere: ita etaim libros suos in quibus variae, et diversae materiae opuscula temer congesta erant, *Sylvas* appellabant Antiqui: Timber-trees" "A wood or *hyle* of things and *sententiae* is so-called from the multiplicity of matter and the variety contained in them. For in the same way that we are accustomed in common speech to call a great and indistinguishable mass of growing trees a wood, so the ancients used to call their books in which small works of varied matter were compiled carelessly *Sylvas*: Timber-trees" (*Complete Poems*, Harmondsworth 1988, p.373).

[88] Ficino we remember recommends that this model take the form of a small room depicted with the figures and colours pertaining to the planetary gods.

[89] One might recall here the homunculus of the alchemical work, which, amongst its other meanings, attests

embodied and carried out in terms of a poetic structure of divulgation, and thus an operative esoteric symbol is easily identified with the kind of world of artifice which it is the peculiar perogative of poetry to create out of the "discoveries" of metaphorical similitude, as Tasso himself postulated.[90] The theatre corresponds to Camillo's idea of a multiple, transmutatory art which entails transformation of and through words (rhetoric), of nature (alchemy or magic), and of the soul in its ascent to the divine. Like Tasso in his analogy between the unity of the plot in the epic poem and the *nodo* which holds in itself the diversity of the universe, Camillo sees a single form or essence from which all other things emanate; his aim is to discover the structure that can order the variety of the world so that the right sequence of transformations can take place and his originality lies in his attempt to create a structure in which the mutations – not just the order- of the word exist explicitly in analogy with those of nature and the soul.

It is important not to forget the significance of the Vitruvian theatre as a symbolic structure which embodies in its form speculations on the relation of cosmos and microcosmos (*harmonia universalis*, astrological chart and human proportion). If the theatre is the place which contains Camillo's structure of topical transformations, it is also in itself a symbolic form, so that the "hieroglyphic" figurations, with their reflection on the relation of body and soul, were held within a structure that concretised analogies between human and universal proportion. Thus the theatre embraces speculation for that runs throughout the arts – music, architecture and rhetoric as embodiment of harmonious proportion, the verbal-visual configurations of "hieroglyphic" representation, the insistence on the intensely visual nature of figurative language, linked since antiquity to its persuasive force, and finally the magical thought which attempts to draw down the inspiring, uplifting force that lies in music and eloquence into prepared *i.e.* proportionate vessels. It seems that once the topical relations of argument, image and place have been elucidated, one can arrive at what Camillo gives in the *Trattato dell'imitazione* - a model that is structurally identical for all the arts, based on the universal capacity of the mind to function through images, and the operative character of images.[91] This attempt to promulgate the structural identity, or at least correspondences, between the arts, persists into the next century in the work of theorists in the various arts, and continues to work with Hermogenes's *Ideas*; in *The Rhetoric of the Arts 1550-1650* Gerard Le Coat traces the influence of the work from Tasso and Lomazzo to Poussin and Mersenne, and links the assertion of the analogies between the arts with effort to discover the symbolic language that can describe and define all expression. When Le Coat writes that "the symbolic language of the emblem alone could convey the anagogical meaning of the work of art", he seems to refer both to the density of allegorical meaning and the fact that the emblem is created by the unity in multiplicity of two or more arts, leading to his description of "an intricate network of inter-influences, [in which] theoretical concepts merged to the point of becoming one all-embracing theory".[92] Once the correspondences that order of learning and

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the Promethean ambition to create human life through the artificial manipulation of nature. Camillo's ambiguous reputation was due in part to the fact that he practised alchemy, and an eminent Portugese Jewish doctor claimed indeed to have seen a homunculus created by him. (The episode is recounted by Lina Bolzani, in "Eloquenza e Alchimia in Giuilio Camillo", *Quaderni Utinensi* 5/6, 1986.)

[90] On Tasso's claims for poetic creation in the *Discorsi del poema eroico*, see section one.

[91] For Camillo's sketch for a theatre of disegno, see below.

[92] *The Rhetoric of the Arts 1550-1650*, Frankfurt am Main 1975 p.59. Not only words and images were brought together in the emblem – in the *Atalanta Fugiens* of Michael Maier, music also forms part of the emblem, in the form of a madrigal which presents the verse in sung form. Maier's famous alchemical work is a

the arts are known, they can be shrunk to epitome, signified mnemonically by a series of images, translated from one art to another or rendered in composite fashion through the synthesis of the arts.

With Camillo, we are at a central point in the argument, from which a number of lines ramify. It is basically the argument here that Camillo is fundamental to understanding the change in invention and decorum that underlies Mannerist decoration, and Camillo's influence upon visual arts can be attested in two ways – first through his impact upon literary theory, where his name recurs constantly, and secondly through links with certain artists and architects, such as Serlio, Salviati and Lomazzo, who acknowledges him as a source of inspiration for his theory. We shall look at Salviati, illustrator of Camillo's theatre, further on; Serlio was a close friend of Camillo in Venice and in the organisation of the *Regole generali* we can see the influence of Camillo's thinking on imitation.[93] If we compare Alberti's treatise for a moment with that of Serlio, we can see just how the culture of *imitatio* has shifted – if Alberti seems concerned with the describing the structure of a technical art – indeed *the* prototype of *techne*, as Aristotle remarks (*Ethics* VI.iv) - so that it corresponds to the structure of *praxis* within a city state, Serlio organises his treatise on architecture in terms of a stratification of knowledge, with each book containing all that one needs to know (according to Serlio) at each level of investigation. While both works move from universal principles (*lineamenta*, geometry) to ornamentation regulated by decorum, for Alberti each building is considered in relation to the urban context conceived as a totality, with its ethical constitution embodied through its settings. Serlio gives us instead a taxonomy that allows for selection and recreation irrespective of circumstances; the paradigm which he gives for the combination of elements is, tellingly, theatre codified according to genre. The structure of organisation in the *Regole generali* bears some consideration with the theatre of disegno outlined by Camillo in *Della imitatione*, which almost certainly inspired Lomazzo; this "theatre" for imitation in visual art, like the memory theatre, rises on seven tiers, which contain in their *loci* images of all animals (including humans) which can be drawn, depicted according to sex, age, role or work, movement, with the final seventh *grado* devoted to judgement which teaches us how to combine all the preceding levels in order to depict, for example, a young soldier standing up with his right foot forward. Camillo then outlines a potential analogous rhetorical model (which does not quite match the theatre), with at its first level represents all the matters that can be treated by an orator, then the different treatments of verse and prose, then what he calls the *sensi i.e.* decorum governing the kind of style appropriate to age, followed by style as appropriate according to station in life, then the three varieties of *locuzioni* (*proprie*, *traslate*, *topiche*), the arrangement and measure of words, and again, at the last level, *elezione* or *giudizio*.[94] The Serlian scenes, derived from Vitruvius's brief remarks, could be taken as

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perfect exemplification of Le Coat's statement, since it shows the arts brought together in the symbolic divulgation of a Hermetic philosophy which can be comprehended only if the various levels of meaning are understood in correspondence to one another.

[93] Serlio indeed bequeathed his estate to Camillo in a will made in Venice. On Serlio and his relationship with Camillo, see the monograph of Sabine Frommel, Milan and *Serlio on Architecture*, Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, New Haven, 1996-2001.

[94] Serlio's treatise, which has a complicated publishing history, with books printed out of sequence, is organised with a first book on geometry, followed by perspective, then antiquities, the five styles of building, temples, and two books on habitations (which remained in manuscript) and situation (printed 1575), as well the *Liber straordinario* with designs for various portals and a project which turns into the castramentation of Polybius into a plan for a walled citadel.

corresponding crudely, to high, middle and low style,[95] and within the scenes (in particular the two civic scenes) one finds a species of digest of buildings that correspond (or are read as corresponding to) all that one "finds" in the monumental tragic scene or the vernacular comic scene. (Figures 4 and 5) The scenes are interesting because they show clearly two influences that work upon Serlio – Camillo and Peruzzi. In Peruzzi's famous scenographic studies, which Serlio basically reproduces in his discussion of perspective, and in such works as the *Presentation of the Virgin* in Santa Maria della Pace in Rome or the drawing entitled the "Allegory of Mercury" Peruzzi constructs civic scenes made up of recognisable buildings, antiquities or works of Bramante.[96] (Figure 6) In these scenes the buildings assert their individual identity and associations, rather than forming a tightly governed ensemble like the painted or intarsia quattrocento city scenes in Urbino, Baltimore, Berlin; the civic scene seems to show signs of becoming an epitomised encyclopaedia, which displays those elements that constitute the "praise" of antiquity collected together and ordered through perspective. In Serlio, the imaginative scenography of Peruzzi becomes much more codified, probably through association through Camillo, and one starts to see the very different kinds of encyclopaedism of Peruzzi and Camillo turning into a collection of pre-structured components that can be called up and combined in response to a codified occasion (*e.g.* decorum as genre). In this situation, any given element is validated by its appearance within a canon, and irrespective of particular contexts of use; this loss of contextual significance also entails the historicism that places the works of Bramante without distinction alongside the edifices of antiquity in the *Regole generali*. This codification of representational possibilities, which presents itself as the end of *imitatio*, thus presents a profound movement away from the earlier preoccupations of philological scholarship, and shows the double edged character of encyclopaedic projects; the very attempt to undertake exhaustive explorations of variety results in the creation of structures of knowledge in which any given single element can call up the larger structure.[97]

The foundation of Camillo's theatre, as we saw, was logic, and the identification of mnemonics with logic which Paolo Rossi traces back to Lullian art, has interesting developments in the later sixteenth century, some of which seem derived from Camillo's work. Since the development of logic in the sixteenth century is not our concern here, we shall only note this material and glance at those elements which fall within the scope of the arguments, pertaining to the invention of figurative decoration within spaces which come to be conceived as *loci*. One matter which is decidedly beyond the scope of this study, is another famous attempt at the identification of the "places" of topical logic with the memory *loci*, namely the pedagogic method of Ramus. Ramist logic, demonstrated by means of the epitome, or schematised table of arguments, was thus also conceived as a system for training the memory which substituted the artificial techniques of *memoria technica* reported by Quintilian and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* with the mind's processes of ordering, as encapsulated in the places

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[95] In dramatic terms that is – Cicero's middle and Attic styles regard degrees of restraint with regard to overt ornamentation, and the command of artless art, not the progression from rustic simplicity to urbane or patrician sophistication. As noted above, Cicero indeed comments on the affectation of archaic or rude style in *Brutus*.

[96] The tempietto at San Pietro in Montorio reappears as a model classical temple throughout sixteenth century painting. Serlio discusses the tempietto alongside the buildings of antiquity in the third book of the *Regole generali*.

[97] One has an indication of this shift in the editions of the *Simila* of Erasmus; the emphasis on the authorial sources of material changes in posthumous editions to arrangement of material according to topic.

of logic, and thus transformed the *loci* of artificial memory into the *sedes argumentorum* in a technique designed to re-unite memory with the "real" (*i.e.* logically demonstrated) order of its objects.[98] The title of Walter Ong's famous study of Ramus - *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue* signals the shift away from the dialogic exposition of arguments beloved of Renaissance writers, with its literary pedigree (Socrates and Cicero), its fiction of orality, its ideal of persuasion through the demonstration of right arguments, and its representation of decorum, in which order is disclosed as it is embodied in a speaker and a particular situation. The instauration of a pedagogic method for training the memory was of course only a part of Ramus's reform of logic: his most famous innovation was in the clarification of the relationship of dialectic and rhetoric, in which invention, disposition (often called judgement, *iudicium*) and memory were allocated to dialectic, and rhetoric reduced to the stylistic areas of *elocutio* and *action* – the link between disposition-judgement, which orders arguments in their places and memory is especially strong. The art of speaking was thus split into two discrete fields of activity, the first logical, and governed by method, and the second decorative, which remains "outside" the things it embellishes; Ramus criticises Aristotle for creating a logic which had such close links with rhetoric, and sees in Quintilian a hopeless confusion between dialectic and rhetorical invention.[99] In one sense, Ramus's separation of argument and figure is diametrically opposed to Camillo's hieroglyphic memory theatre and his topical presentation of *elocutio*, which builds on the very passages in Quintilian to which Ramus objected. What the two systems share, however, is the claim for universal efficacy based on the conviction that if the right structure of ordering can be found (invented) all things can be known, and remembered. While they disagree as to both the structure and the nature of things to be known, they have another affinity – namely that despite their preoccupations with *imitatio* (Ramus as we saw wrote a discourse on Ciceronianism), they move away from the emphasis on *usus* so important to earlier Humanist culture with its focus on the relations between ethics, occasion and history.

The importance of memory, and the recourse to hieroglyphic images for mnemonic purposes appears in other new logics, such as Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, which discusses briefly the mnemonic use of emblems and gestures; Bacon, it is noted, decorated the windows of his house at Gorhambury with images of plants and animals were as "topiques for locall memory".[100] Bacon and his contribution to logic and systems of learning is even further beyond the scope of the present argument than the Ramist reform, but his conception of

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[98] For Ramus's reform of memory, see Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*, and Paolo Rossi, *op.cit.*. Ramism enjoyed considerable popularity in England, especially in the Puritan circles around the Earl of Leicester and Philip Sidney; William Temple, secretary to Sidney wrote a Ramist analysis of Sidney's *Defence of Poetry*. Yates noted that Giordano Bruno spoke of Ramus as the "arch pedant of France" (*op.cit.* p.242).

[99] See Rossi, *op.cit.*pp.155-166. Ong remarks that despite Ramus's attested skill as a speaker, the style that later became associated with his seventeenth century followers (in particular, his Puritan followers -Ramus, murdered in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve became a Protestant martyr) was the "plain style" suited to scientific demonstration or the exposition of method and doctrine, although a master of grand style, such as Milton, writes a Ramist logic. Given the drift of Ramus's interests towards mathematics, the separation of rhetoric from invention and ordering is a relegation; even in the Ramist rhetorics (which appear frequently under the name of Ramus's associate, Talon) the numerous figures of speech have been reduced to just four - metaphor, metonymy, irony and synecdoche. In areas where the Jesuits set up schools, Humanist reorganisations of the curriculum were curtailed by the *ratio studiorum*, with its reinstatement of traditional five part rhetoric as the culminating subject of the curriculum.

[100] William Engel, "Mnemonic emblems in the Humanist Discourses of Knowledge", in *Aspects of Renaissance and Baroque Symbol Theory*, ed. P.Daly and John Manning, New York 1999, p.125.

memory "emblems" leads us to another figure much closer to Camillo, to whom we shall only give passing notice, the mid century Neapolitan philosopher and magician Giovan Battista Della Porta. For Della Porta, the study of ciphers, in which he sees the expression of all possible forms of artifice, goes alongside the promulgation of a memory art which consisted in the composition of a painting or series of paintings in the mind, and his work as a dramatist.[101] In an article on Della Porta's memory art, Lina Bolzani remarks on the literary and mythological tradition as providing the network of signs and associations which physiognomy (for which Della Porta was most famous) and iconology reveal, and which could serve as topical sources for invention.[102] Here we come full circle; the images invented from topics become themselves sources of topical invention. Despite his interest in magic, Della Porta's *ars reminiscendi* is not concerned with the hermetic revelation, but for more practical ends attempts the translation of signs into hieroglyphs, ciphers or, as we said, paintings which are used as images for local memory. Della Porta transcribes pages from Alberti's *De Pictura* in his memory art, as an aid in the construction of the *loci* and *imagines* which reduce a *fabula* to a sequence of images, so that a narrative can be visualised as a drama and then reduced to a series of images in which every iconic, gestural, physiognomic and hieroglyphic detail can be read. Della Porta spoke accordingly of his *Fisonomia* as a window opened on a court, which could break down the barrier between external and internal, making the latter visible and recommended the work could be used by poets, painter and practitioners of the art of memory. Physiognomy thus becomes the extension of the inventive arts of memory, and reveals an encyclopaedic approach to images which show certain kinds of influence (*i.e.* in magical-medical terms) and can be organised and combined according to specific needs. Theatre and painting become the means of both holding and displaying the visual information from which all "internal" meanings can be discovered and remembered – unlike Camillo's theatre, which is relatively diagrammatic, Della Porta turns memory images into artistic constructs – the playfulness of Della Porta's comedies has been compared to that of the "figured" *i.e.* rebus sonnets he wrote, and seen in terms of the transformative character of memory art.[103] With Della Porta one sees the diversification of mnemonic images into all varieties of visual figuration, which can be deployed at all levels, from the "figured" sonnets to the sequences of paintings which translate a drama into mnemonic form; the mnemonic theatre can be disposed topically within a room. This of course sounds little different from the ancient recommendations for the creation of rooms and tableaux in the *memoria artificialis* described in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Quintilian and Cicero; the distinction lies in the fact that Della Porta is working with natural magic and theories which regard all images, like all forms of human communication, as ciphers which can be organised in universal systems and combined at will.

Della Porta's attempt to extend a mnemonic understanding of visual signs as ciphers could expand through the visual order is based on the expansion of interpretations of hieroglyphs from Horapollo's small manual to the encyclopaedic *Hieroglyphica* of Pierio Valeriano (1556), like the *Emblemata* a book of enormous popularity in the Renaissance.

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[101] On Della Porta, see *Giovan Battista Della Porta nell'Europa del suo tempo*, Naples, 1990.

[102] "Retorica, teatro, iconologia nell'arte della memoria" in *Giovan Battista Della Porta nell'Europa...*, pp.341-371.

[103] Bolzani, *op.cit.*p.371. In evidence of Della Porta's influence on contemporary art, Bolzani cites the series of tapestries depicting the life of Hippolytus, designed by Ligorio for the Villa D'Este, in which each detail depicted corresponds to mythological or antiquarian significance, and quotes Ligorio as stating "[gli antichi] haveano [...] per costume tenere et riguardare le imagini virtuose che sono memoria locale" *op.cit.*p.354.

Valeriano's fifty eight work turns the philological scholarship of the *Adagia* and the *Simila* to the compilation of symbolic meanings attributed to various animals, plants, parts of the body, stones, gods, instruments, numbers, letters and so on - but without the encyclopaedic structure that could draw this accumulated material into a form that enacted the mind's apprehension of knowledge, or the concern with the insertion of these "hieroglyphs" into a larger framework of representation which is so present in the *Adagia*. If the iconographic significations compiled by Valeriano are extracted through the philological labours of the humanist, the images derive their possibility for symbolic meaning from their status as hieroglyphs, which he calls a mute discourse conceived by the mind by means of the images of things ("mutam quandam orationem per rerum imagines mente concipiendam").[104] These images conceived in the mind are claimed to disclose the true nature of human and divine things ("cum hieroglyphice loqui nihil aliud sit quam divinarum humanarumque rerum natura aperire"), thus evoking the "Neoplatonic" and Hermetic claims for the hieroglyphs. Despite the claims for sacred meaning, many of Valeriano's "symbolic" meanings are banal comparisons based on the predication of the same property of two things – yellow of the sun and lions, for example, while others derive from characteristics or allegorical meanings derived from ancient writers or scripture. As noted above, this type of accumulation of meanings submerges the historical and contextual distinctions in which the philological study exemplified by Erasmus saw significance rooted – where Erasmus charts configurations of philological meaning that can potentially continue to expand with each further instance of *usus*, Valeriano leaves it to the reader to integrate the network of significance of any image into a given context, and thus open out the semantic structure of the hieroglyphs.

As Della Porta uses all visual signs as ciphers, Valeriano intimates that figurations of all kinds, properties and accidents, can take on hieroglyphic significance; again we seem to see a model of meaning like that set forth in Camillo's theatre, in which the flattening of contextual origin leads to the construction of structures of analogy. Lomazzo is the most extreme embodiment of this approach, with every element in artistic figuration, from *disegno* and colour up to mythological attribute participating in the symbolic encoding of visual representation, but at a more modest level we shall see below how the emblems books recommended the decoration of domestic objects with "hieroglyphic" or "sententious" images that would raise objects out of silence to become symbols, tokens and ciphers. If Camillo gives an analogical order in which style, invention, and iconography exist as levels of correspondence, figures such as Valeriano and Della Porta seem to give a rich key to the reading of the late Renaissance decorated room as emblematic embodiment of a *concetto*, as display of arguments invented from a theme, as a mute theatre of figuration where personifications conduct arguments in visual form, or act as mnemonic images, placed topically in the space. A room so ordered may be centred on a single theme, in which case it may be conceived as a triumph, figuring all that can be invented in relation to a god or hero; Vasari's decorations in Palazzo Vecchio are obvious examples, unfolding through a sequence of rooms and "completed" in their analogical relation with the decorations in the rooms beneath.[105] There is also the question of the relation of the cultivation of *varietà* to the unity

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[104] Cited in Horapollo, ed.M.Rigoni and E.Zanco, Milano 1996, p.28 and p.37. Valeriano's insistence on conceiving in the mind things expressed through the images of things is in keeping with the discussion of the *concetto* as the mental notion embodied in the *figura* of the *impresa*.

[105] The invention of the decorations entailed eminent members of the Medici family beneath the gods on the upper storey. This fairly banal scheme, expounded by Vasari in the *Ragionamento*, was devised by Cosimo Bartoli, who translated *De re aedificatoria* into Italian.

from which it proceeds – in Lomazzo's *Tempio della Pittura*, with its seven-fold theory of beauty and imitation, such unity remains transcendent, as Lomazzo remarks that no artist had ever succeeded in combining all the forms of the *tempio*, since this would imply not only universality but the progression from universality to unity and thus the transcendence of figuration itself.[106] This reflection on the relation of *varietà* to a unity which seems to remain transcendent also characterises the work of Salviati, who apparently illustrated Camillo's theatre.

Broadly speaking, we shall attempt to consider the way in which the popularity of Camillo's rendering of the topics as the basis of a scheme of correspondences held within an ordered physical place often conceived as a topos may have affected invention in decorative cycles in the later sixteenth century. After a few comments on the deployment of imagined and concrete places for the holding of encyclopaedic knowledge or ideas in the later sixteenth century, we shall look at the shifts in decorum and the structuring of emblematic figuration, noting the emphasis it gives to metaphor. Since there is a great deal of material to adduce here, I will pursue arguments thematically, rather than chronologically. This will necessitate moving back and forwards to a degree, and I can only ask the reader's patience in following these movements. In moving through this material, one should attempt to keep in mind the relationship of the theatre with a spatial understanding of encyclopaedism, in which the metaphors of verbal picturing which we have noted in artificial memory and rhetorical accounts of *imitatio* come together with the recovery of the "sacred" hieroglyphics. This spatial emphasis should be seen alongside a change in the understanding of decorum which seems to emerge in poetic theory influenced by Camillo. On this second subject, I will attempt to argue that the display of the arguments "found" within a certain question or situation are organised according to occasion, seems to become more both typified and more universalised, as witnessed in the definition of decorum according to genre, and the search for a universal genre which can contain all stylistic "species" that we find in Tasso and Minturno. Here one should recall the *topoi* as offering modes of organisation, each carrying the idea of inclusiveness, as a comprehensive disposition of material, but each implying varied conditions of disclosure – if we take the *topoi* discussed above, triumph, theatre and garden, one might see the celebration of praise and power in the triumph, of artifice and mimesis in the theatre, the reflection on nature as source of variety or divine "book", or on the relation of form and matter in the garden. In terms of the creation of concrete settings, these *topoi* can be brought together, as we find in Ligorio's work – in such cases one must not identify invention with *storia* or iconography, but see the kind of organisational structure from which one invents, and one might even venture that Ligorio's work is the dramatisation of such invention, so that we see a narrative selected from the encyclopaedic structure of ordering, and see how this order is illuminated in relation to this narrative.[107] The question is not one of attempting to identify the epic with triumph, or the satiric scene with the garden as topos, but to see a transition from decorum in which a setting is consolidated in conformity with a certain action or situation to place conceived as the receptacle of arguments which are accommodated through their visual figuration – the universal character claimed for the representation within a place (room, sequence of rooms, building, building and garden) and the "liveliness" ascribed to depiction,

[106] One should recall that while Lomazzo's works were published in the last decades of the century, he had been blind since 1572, and thus his observations are drawn from his reading and from memories of the art of the mid-century.

[107] Such as the theme of Hercules at the Villa D'Este, which is not to be identified solely with the iconography of the garden, but a *mythos* illuminated against the larger background of human art and progress in the world.

being such that it is conceived as a "theatre" (or garden, or triumph) of representation. While the expressive ideal of antique rhetoric continues to be advanced, it seems that invention, iconography and style perhaps exist not so much in continuity as in analogy, so that the processes of stylistic imitation are in correspondence with those of invention, which in turn point back to the mind's apprehension of its objects and the disclosure of the cosmic order. This kind of analogical layering between the levels of figuration becomes most explicit in the emblem and *impresa*, to which we shall turn later; if we have seen that in the elements of *impresa* theory appear already in Castiglione, with the reflection on embodiment and the correspondence between the structure of artifice and the ascent to the divine, Camillo seems to conceive of representation as the disposition of emblematically structured object within a place conceived as an encyclopaedic topos.

We have said that for Camillo, the assertion of a model of imitation identical for all of the arts, which implies the possibility to conceive of the arts in analogy to one another is inseparable from the project to create a structure capable of containing "all things that can be known" organised in terms of analogical layering. It is the possibility to condense these analogies into a single, "hieroglyphic" and mnemonic figure that makes the pictorialisation of topical organisation such an attractive idea, and leads both to the flourishing of a philosophical fictions which adopt the mnemonic device of movement through a building to describe the quest for knowledge and its disposition in palaces or cabinets of wisdom which are disclosed in the course of the narrative progression, and to the creation of encyclopaedic and hieroglyphic decorations in palaces and cabinets themselves.[108] In reference to such material we should mention the famous polemic over the relative merits of Tasso and Ariosto in the 1580s, where the poems are described as buildings, so that the metaphor of the *locus* concerned not with knowledge and memory but with judgement, which we saw Ramus associate with disposition and memory. The metaphor of the two poems as palaces is in short a diverting *paragone and* an indication of the way that mnemonic technique had become involved with thinking on the relations between the arts, founded in issues of invention, judgement and the potentialities of figuration. The poems of Tasso and Arisoto are initially conceived as two palaces,[109] but the most celebrated comparison, that of Galileo, sees them as

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[108] Here again we should invoke the distinction between the encyclopaedism based on the discovery of a universal system of ordering, based in Aristotelian logic, and the "Platonic" encyclopaedism of, for example, Baïf's academy, which promulgated the unity of music and words as both organising principle and culmination of the cycle of learning, denoting the passage from knowledge into *enthusiasmos*. Despite the claim that their encyclopaedic programme is based on Ficino's *furores*, the attempt of Baïf and Tyard to establish the unity of arts in a total course of learning which ascends to "Orphean" music still seems rooted in the progression through the liberal arts curriculum, with music at the top of the quadrivium, transformed through Humanist defences of the *litterae* in order to proclaim the "sacred" unity of poetry and music. The Platonism that informs both Camillo' theatre and the French academicians, and the fact that they both insist on the inspired character of harmonious speech should not disguise the fundamental difference between Camillo's taxonomy where inspired speech helps to disclose the correspondences that order all things, and Baïf's project where the progression through the hierarchy of the sciences culminates in inspiration.

[109] In *Il Caraffa* (1584), Camillo Pellegrino compared the "falsi e non veri ornamenti, e ricchezze" ("false ornaments and riches") of Ariosto, which delight the "semplici, e non intendenti" ("the simple and uninstructed") with the "minor fabbrica" of the "corpo ben'inteso da tutte sue parti" ("smaller fabric ...body understood in all its parts") of *Gerusalemme Liberata* (cited in Weinberg ed., *Trattati di poetica e retorica del cinquecento*, Bari 1972, Vol.3 p.995). The analogy was too entertaining to drop, and Shearman in *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth, 1967 p.146 ) quotes a response to Pellegrino from the Accademia della Crusca, which likened *Orlando Furioso* to a "most magnificent rich and ornate palace" and Tasso's epic as a "miserable little hovel". We noted above a precedent for these comparisons in *De oratore* I.xxxv.161.

two collections within palaces, that of Ariosto favoured for its abundance and splendour of artworks and treasures, while Tasso's epic is reviled for its mean and eccentric selection of objects, likened by Galileo to the bizarre assortment of objects to be found in a cabinet of curiosities.[110] Galileo's comparison between the sumptuous gallery and the oddities of the *wunderkammer*, in which the poems become metaphors for structures of ordering and knowledge through their translation into the visual, signals the degree to which certain spaces were conceived as settings not for activities, but for the ordering of knowledge; it also takes us to the built and fictional cabinets mentioned above.

Camillo's theatre, where the spectator occupies the place of an actor on the stage and faces the *sedes* with their hieroglyphic images, has the quality of a cabinet – or more precisely, the theatre and the cabinet have been brought together. In discussion of Castiglione, we mentioned the *studiolo* of Federico da Montefeltro, as a type of prefiguration of the concerns with ethics, proportion, and active and contemplative life which mark *Il libro del cortegiano* - the *studiolo*, it was suggested, shows a play with the ethical and geometrical implications of measure created by the relation of the iconography of the room to its perspectival decoration. In the celebrated *studiolo* of Francesco de'Medici in Palazzo Vecchio, created almost a century after that of Urbino, the ordering is in a sense similar, consisting of decorations on a series of cabinet doors, but the iconography has shifted from the depiction of complete cultivation of character through arms and letters, the liberal arts and the theological virtues, to the analogical ordering of cosmos, microcosmos and artifice. (Figure 7) If the *studiolo* in Palazzo Vecchio was organised as a place for precious objects arranged in the cabinets whose painted panels corresponded to the treasures they contained, the room as a whole is formed like a *scrigno* or jewel casket whose contents are at once the objects which epitomise the wonders of art and nature, and the microcosm as exemplified by Francesco himself, with his parents portrayed at each end of the room with the elements, humours and qualities between. At the centre of the ceiling is depicted Prometheus receiving the philosopher's stone from Nature – as in Camillo's theatre alchemy is seen as the paradigmatic great work of artifice, with its disclosure of the correspondences latent in Nature and the *deificatio* of the soul through the purification of matter to the pristine state of the *prima materia*. If Camillo talked of the three levels of transformation as matter, rhetoric and the soul, these are reflected in the Studiolo as matter, art and the soul, centred on the celebration of the "great wonder" of the Hermetica, Promethean man, who unveils the secrets of nature through art and discloses the analogical structure of transformation that underlie all things.[111]

We shall not go further here into the comparison of the Palazzo Vecchio Studiolo and Camillo's theatre, fascinating though such a investigation would be: our object was to suggest the continuity between the construction of studioli, which for practical reasons amongst other motives contained cabinets for storing prized objects, and the way that this organisation of a place lent itself to elaboration in mnemonic, encyclopaedic and topical terms, which in turn influenced the invention and iconography in the decoration of subsequent studioli.[112] In

[110] On Galileo's remarks, see Panofsky's essay "Galileo as a critic of the visual arts".

[111] See the study by Marco Dezzi Bardeschi, *Lo stanzino del principe in Palazzo Vecchio*, Florence 1980.

[112] In a case such as Palazzo Vecchio, we know that the inventor was the erudite prior of the Florence Foundling Hospital, Vicenzo Borghini, who also provided the inventions for the *apparati* for the triumphal entry of Giovanna of Austria into Florence in 1565, decorations which we shall consider later and which have a particularly dense iconography and an overtly topical organisation. There is obviously a need here for an

speaking of the cabinet of curiosities, or *Wunderkammer*, the chamber of marvels, one should remember also that wonder is a requirement, or indeed the end of poetry – the organisation of the cabinet thus discloses the world as cipher or hieroglyph of God's providence, discovered through the complete classification provided by the topics.[113] This becomes most explicit in Baroque celebrations of the "wit" of divine creation, such as Tesauro's encyclopaedic *Cannochiale Aristotelico*, which moves between the discovery of the *arguzie* of human wit and the "hieroglyphs" of divine creation which are linked insofar as they are all species of metaphor, for which Tesauro claims to provide a complete topical classification. Tesauro, whom we shall consider in an appendix, praises the *impresa* in the context of a discussion of *concettismo* and the *imprese* which Tesauro praises as a particularly ingenious form of metaphor, and we shall attempt to argue that the *impresa*, whose metaphorical conjunction of elements is discussed in terms of body and soul, provides a key for the understanding of the structure of representational elements which can be scaled up from the private or ephemeral device to the decoration of rooms, buildings and civic spaces for festive *apparati*. Before we move on to this material, however, we need to make a brief comment on the delineation of cabinets or rooms as *loci* where the structure of all learning is depicted in the philosophical romances discussed by Neil Kenny in his study of Renaissance encyclopaedism, *The Palace of Secrets*. The book concentrates on French culture and the writings of the encyclopaedist, satirist and alchemist, Béroalde de Verville, who produced a translation and alchemical commentary on the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, but is rich in its comments on the structure of the cabinet, its relation to the "three chambered" space of the mind[114] and the depiction of the cabinet as the end of narrative of questing.[115] Kenny notes that Béroalde de Verville, shifts in his later works from use of buildings or rooms (palaces, cabinets) as forms for the structure of knowledge which they "contain", to narratives in which the journey, with its partial or fragmentary disclosures takes precedence over the revelation of a total structure (frequently epitomised in a sequence of key symbolic objects). These later works in short give epistemological emphasis to the romance theme of *errance*; if Kenny remarks that the encyclopaedia is threatened with disintegration by digression, it is precisely this quality which romance cultivates as a structural principle. Digression, and dilation – in a late work of Béroalde de Verville, *Le Palais des curieux* (1612) Kenny remarks that in place of the description a palace as a whole, such as characterises the writer's earlier fictions, we find an ekphrasis of the decoration on the smallest of the pillars beside the columns in one of the rooms. This unfolding of *copia* from minute details suggests the metaphors of the romance narrative as tapestry or *entrelace*, seemingly non-teleological in the interweaving of the inessential and the supplemental. The great *oeuvre* of Renaissance allegorical romance, *The Faerie Queene*, exemplifies this narrative technique, with its endless digressions which represent the greater order through human artifice as an ever expanding web in which "analogy is universal, but patterned very way", and "all dilations are ultimately the dilation of

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investigation of Borghini's intellectual culture and circle; his friendship with Vasari, whom he instructed on the *studiolo* and the wedding *apparati* of 1565 is documented, but it might be extremely interesting to look at his relatiosn with Salviati, Valeriano or Varchi.

[113] On the studiolo, see Liebenswein, *op.cit.*

[114] On which see Spenser's Castle of Alma, *Faerie Queene* II. The three chambered schema is repeated, in terms of the "wandering" *phantasia* in the House of Busirane in III.xi, with its connotations of delusion, imprisonment and enchantment elaborated to the full – on this important passage, much influenced by the *Hypnerotomachia*, which constitutes a sinister parody of the decorated room as depiction of cosmos and microcosm, and its fulfilment as theatre, see below.

[115] *The Palace of Secrets*, Oxford, 1991. See in particular Chapters One and Five, on Renaissance encyclopaedism and philosophical fictions.

(one) truth and being".[116] The detail of the decoration on a pillar beside a column may be an artificial manifestation of such dilation, although fraught with the potential of endless *errance* – as such its brings us back to a point that once the symbolic structure of universal artifice has been grasped, one can start from any point. In the theatre Camillo created a structure which supposedly mirrored the universal order through its arrangement of elements understood logically as topics and magically as keys. Not only do these elements indicate symbolically the whole order, but they can enter into new combinations in which the meaning generated will always point back to the same, since the analogy between signifying elements is already pre-determined by the larger structure. The point is to iterate again that once the structure of this analogical order is grasped, all things can be regarded potentially in correspondence with all other things within the analogical order, and thus the same structure of representation can be reiterated at all levels of scale and seriousness. Having said this, one must instantly add that since the promulgation of the analogical order in which the whole can be found in the part is generally linked to the elaboration of Neoplatonic cosmology, the structure of correspondences generally remains contained within a vertical ascent from matter, body and becoming to being and mind. As we saw in part one, this vertical order was also so constituted as to permit the reflection of the higher in the lower, or the whole in the part and without such a possibility the notion of an analogical order would be inconceivable.[117] Also essential to the analogical order is the idea of the meeting of opposites – *concors discordia* fundamental to the idea of the reconciliation of likeness and unlikeness and thus proportion in the creation and preservation of the cosmos. We discussed above the fact that the doctrine of *harmonia universalis* as *concors discordia* led to the paradigmatic status of music amongst the arts. Another interpretation of *concors discordia* saw in it the expression of the union of body and soul, as metaphor for the internal structure of figuration or for the relationship between the arts. Here we come the emblem and *impresa*, the discussions of its "body" and "soul" evolving from the philological examinations of the signification of epigraphs or *sententiae*, such as the *Adagia* of Erasmus, which saw their meaning constituted as a configuration of contextual significations. Discussion of the emblem and *impresa* has some importance for subsequent parts of the argument, and will be prefaced by an account of a shift in thinking on decorum which seems to arise as emblematic figuration and its topical disposition takes on increasing importance. Before we commence on this material, one might give an illustration of the poetic rendering of progression through place as a metaphor for the pursuit of knowledge and the structure of the mind. A fine illustration comes in *Faerie Queene* III.xi, in the House of Busirane episode; the passage has resonance for many parts of the work, since it illustrates with especial vividness the continuity between decoration, emblematics and enactment in the triumph, and – in continuity with our preoccupation in part one - presents something like a daemonic fulfilment of the decorated room.

The passage thus shows many of the themes with which we deal in this argument working together - spectacle as poetic *meraviglia* wrought by erotic magic, in which the distinction between metaphoric liveliness and magical animation is effectively confounded, the passage from *enargeia* to teatric enactment, and the relation between a structure of figuration and the structure of the mind itself. Our consideration of the passage does not claim to be an exploration of the iconographic meaning, but of the relation of its figurative structure to the

[116] Rosalie Colie, *Paradoxia Epidemica*, pp.351-352.

[117] We first came across this idea in part one, in consideration of Ficino's claim to demonstrate dialectically the doctrine that the whole is in the part.

material at which we have glanced above.[118] The episode falls into three sections, articulated as the passage through three rooms, which house, respectively, lavish decoration, a masque and a scene of enchantment. The passage bears many similarities to the triumph of Cupid in the *Trionfi* of Petrarch and to the *Hypnerotomachia*, which shows the pains and bondage of love as part of the *discors concordia* through which the mystery of Venus is expressed. The masque of Cupid in the House of Busirane however forms the antithesis to the joyous passage in the *Hypnerotomachia* and combines a representation of *Eros funèbre* with a negative depiction of spectacle itself as *larva* - deceiving illusion founded in dream or *phantasia*. In the *Hypnerotomachia* the triumph of Cupid, whose significance is unfolded through the identity of the figures in the procession, forms the culmination of an earlier series of triumphs depicting the loves of Jupiter in the ornament of the triumphal cars, and so in the House of Busirane the triumph of Cupid figured through the ornament of one room is enacted in the following room in the form of the masque itself. The ornament of these rooms, the first decorations with tapestries, the second with gold relief, on which Britomart's gaze "wanders"(a verb loaded with significance in a romance), is not a deceptive appearance, like that of wicked characters in the work (Duessa is the most obvious example), but the outward expression of the sinister spectacle which the place houses - the "wilde Antikes, which their follies playd/ In the rich metall as they living were" in a "thousand monstrous formes" (III.xi.li), or the gold thread of the tapestries, which "lurked privily,/ As faining to be hidd from envious eye;/ Yet here, and there, and every where, unawares/ It shewd itselfe and shone unwillingly;/Like a discoloured snake whose hidden snares/ Through the greene gras his long bright burnisht back declares" (III.xi.xxviii).[119] In these two descriptions we see two of the criteria for the successful deployment of ornament have been inverted - liveliness (*energeia*) has become monstrosity and Erasmus's famous metaphor in *De copia* of a flowing river of speech, shining with golden lights (*enargeia*) has become the gleaming coils of a serpent. Ornament has set things before the wandering gaze as though they were alive, but the life that they take on is debased, like the transformations of the gods into beasts in their loves, and the sinister and fantastic quality of this animation intensifies as it moves into fuller embodiment. The next room signals the progression from decoration to theatre, as the scene of the masque of Cupid, which fills the "wastefull emptiness/ And solemne silence" (III.xi.liii) of the chamber with phantasmal life. The masque is heralded by "a stormy whirlwind" which blows open the iron door of the innermost chamber, suggesting both magic and theatrical *meraviglia* - the masque is then announced by a "grave personage" dressed for the tragic stage, denoting the mournful and spectral character of the masque. The masque itself features the pains of love - as in the *Hypnerotomachia* the maskers are arranged in antithetical groups, but here the pairings represent two contrary negative states, such as dissemblance and suspect, or grief and fury. Most startling however is the horrific representation of the abducted maiden Amoret, whose "trembling heart" has been drawn from her body and lies in a silver basin before her; it is in this image that the visualisation of metaphor has its grotesque embodiment.[120] The episode in

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[118] For a discussions of the characters in the episode as personifications of various aspects of Eros, see Nohrnberg, *The Analogy of the Faerie Queene*, Princeton, 1976.

[119] The connotations of "wandering" in romance are both physical and moral, or spiritual, as suggested by the verb *errare*, to err.

[120] One might recall the Florentine *quattrocento* drawings from the workshop of Maso Finiguera, in which a lady draws forth the heart of her lover, bound to a tree; an image which suggests a variant on the image of Marsyas. On the "poetic theology" of Marsyas, see Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*. Given that the *Faerie Queene* is a romance, there is may also an allusion to the pageant of symbols (bleeding lance, dish and chalice, as well as the wounded protagonist) before the eyes of the questing knight in Grail romances – the teasing injunctions inscribed over the doors of the rooms of the House of Busirane ("Be bold", "Be not too bold") might, amongst

the House of Busirane ends as Britomart penetrates the innermost chamber and finds Amoret bound to a brazen pillar while Busirane writes enchantments in her blood; as Britomart forces the enchanter to reverse his charms Amoret is released from captivity and the House vanishes away. The personifications of the pains of love are as numerous as "phantasies/In wavering womans witt"; the episode as a whole explores the *phantasia* as enchantment, generating monstrous and imprisoning images which become confounded with reality; if these phantasmal images are formed through metaphor, they take on spectral life in the triumph.

The three-chambered House suggests the three chambers of the mind, which Spenser explores in the Castle of Alma in Book II.ix of the *Faerie Queene*, and equates with time past (memory), present and future, the last inhabited by the melancholic Phantastes whose room is a kind of poet's world, painted with "infinite shapes of things", including chimeras that neither exist nor can be devised and filled with flies whose buzzing is equated with "idle thoughts and fantasies/ Deuices, dreames, opinions vnsound,/ Shewes, visions, sooth-sayes, and prophecies; And all that fained is, as leasings, tales and lies".[121] The House of Busirane passage as a whole seems to present a *figura* for the *phantasia*, with its decorations reminiscent of memory images and its metaphoric inventions, as well as linking the *phantasia* with romance theme of wandering itself; we might recall that in *Orlando Furioso* the knights are trapped in an enchanted palace where each pursues phantoms of his own desire (*Orlando Furioso* XII). The House of Busirane thus parodies the mnemonic theatre or palace, where images, derived from the *phantasia*, aid the memory, and so learning. In encyclopaedic fictions of the sixteenth century which we shall consider in the next section, the mnemonic progression through architectural spaces is characterised as a quest after wisdom, which is revealed as one moves towards the core of a building, frequently a cabinet which contains in epitomised or symbolic form the order of things sought. The importance of the scene disclosed in the inner chamber of the House of Busirane is not, in my opinion, so much the image of torture revealed as the fact that the central cabinet of knowledge is replaced by the *locus* of the *phantasia*, and the magical writings, which in another context might disclose the order of things, are here charms based on the inventions of the combinatory *phantasia*, which bring the metaphors of the pains of love to seeming realisation. If in short the House of Busirane is a place where *evidentia* and visual figuration come to life as spectacle, it is also an analogy or parody of the three chambered mind, with its faculties of memory and *phantasia*, and of the quest for knowledge which has its figure in the mnemonic movement through a place. In terms of the consideration of emblems and *imprese*, Spenser makes the progression from *enargeia* to literal *emblema* (*i.e.* insert of precious material, as in the decoration of the second room) which recalls the language of Erasmus's descriptions of *copia* and the incorporation of *adagia*, to the full *energeia* of this figuration in the masque where the figures carry attributes to show their allegorical nature. Not only does the decoration of the rooms depict the triumph of love, but the theatric enactment of these figurations takes the form of a triumph; in short, the *emblema* takes on life – *energeia* – as a triumph. In conclusion, if our understanding of the theatric fulfilment of the room is founded on the allegorical reading of the building as figure for memory and the mind's ordering of knowledge, this figurative structure embodies a meditation on the relation of body and soul and is displayed as spectacle by the triumph.

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other readings, be viewed in the light of the ills that are caused by the grail knight's failure to speak when the grail symbols are shown to him.

[121] *Faerie Queene* II.ix.50-51.

We have discussed the House of Busirane almost as an interlude here; if we return to the relationship of emblem and triumph at the end of the section, we should pick up again here with the discussion of the emblems and *imprese*. As intimated above, the discussion is one which will engross subsequent parts of the argument, and before we enter into it, there is a matter which should be discussed, concerning some of the literary theory which follows on Camillo; the reason for looking at this material is to try and clarify the form which discussions of decorum start to take in later sixteenth century treatises. We shall concentrate in the next pages on the preoccupation with the classification of the genres of poetry which accompanies the search for a "universal" genre or form, and the way that such preoccupations may transform the understanding of decorum into the display of exhaustive ordering, emblematically structured, in response to an occasion.

## THEORIES OF STYLE AND DECORUM AFTER CAMILLO

### *Hermogenes and "decoro generale" in Minturno and Tasso*

From what we have said above, it would seem that Camillo substitutes decorum with the comprehensive taxonomy of the topics, understood as a complete system of classification, from which all possible combinations can be drawn, co-ordinated in terms of their correspondence with the cosmological order and activated by magic. Given the considerable influence of Camillo's writings on Italian literary theory of the later Cinquecento, this raises the question as to whether the contextual ordering of decorum, which is grounded in universal structures of measure, but varies according to the specific circumstances of embodiment, is not overtaken, so to speak, by the comprehensive classification of the topics, in correspondence with a total model of style (the *Ideas*), of memory art, of imitation and so on. We shall consider briefly here a number of Italian literary theorists – Minturno, Speroni, Giraldi Cinthio, Tasso. Minturno and Tasso, who shall most preoccupy us, both make considerable use of Hermogenes's *Ideas*, and both showed regard for Camillo – Minturno discusses the topics of argument and elocution at length, while in *La Cavaletta overo della poesia toscana*, Tasso remarked that Camillo was the first person since Dante to realise that rhetoric was a kind of poetry.[122] In our discussion, we shall try to illuminate the way in which the topics as both "sources" of invention and figures of speech lead to a consideration of decorum in terms of genre, and how genre is considered more praiseworthy as it includes more – or all – of the ideas defined by Hermogenes. It should again be noted that these relations of invention and style go back to the Humanist revisions of invention, with the postulation of topical logic as an instrument for textual analysis and imitation, realised through the two-fold cultivation of *copia verborum et argumentorum*. If the ideal of imitation continues to be described as a seamless body, the extension of topics from invention to elocution entails a dual artifice, as we saw in Erasmus, and in the links between the topics and the ornaments of thought discussed by Quintilian. This dual artifice becomes overt in the discussions of the word-image pairings (*impresa*, emblem) with their layering of invention and *figura* – between motto and image, between *concetto* and figure, in invention of the *concetto* itself as thought and inner image.[123] In Camillo, we find two-fold artifice of topical invention

[122] *La Cavaletta*, in *Opere minori*, Florence 1963 p.555.

[123] We should observe again here that such word-image pairings are not limited to the miniature tokens,

and amplification of arguments and amplification and ornament of style in the encyclopaedic frameworks of Erasmus is tightened into grid based on the classifications of Hermogenes, brought to the service of a doctrine of imitation based principally on Bembo. Camillo's concern to conflate this model of imitation with a Neoplatonic paradigm of vertical ascent from variety through successive stages to unity, means that he seems unconcerned with the requirements of occasion and setting, since the structure of his theatre is such that any given situation invokes, by analogy, the whole order of correspondences, and this order is in a constant process of transformation, by which lower things ascend and higher things descend – in this context the tropes (especially metaphor) as transformations and movements of language become fundamental to the ontological structure of signification. If the structure of the theatre permits both vertical and horizontal co-ordination, it is the former which predominates – whether in the ascent through human artifice to the human intellect to the intellect unmixed to *prima materia* and to the ideas themselves,[124] or in the layering of levels of meaning contained within each of the *sedes*.

As remarked, the topics of invention and the *Ideas* of Hermogenes which form the basis of Camillo's *Topica* each form a closed system of classification from which arguments and stylistic qualities can be drawn and combined. For writers such as Minturno and Tasso it is important to establish which arguments and stylistic qualities are contained in various literary genres, and both argue that a poem is more perfect as it employs more qualities – "quel poema esser tenuto ottimo, e perfetto, il cui dire di tutte queste forme di parlare ò pur della più parte è composta".[125] Minturno, whose *Arte Poetica* (1563) synthesises Camillo, Hermogenes (probably via Camillo's edition), Quintilian and Aristotle, reiterates Camillo's claim that the topics of argument and the *figure* are drawn from the same places, and this assertion follows on a discussion of the *figure* which translates Quintilian's remarks on the *figurae*, whose affinity with the topics we have already noted: "le figure del dire [stanno] chiuse in quei medesimi luoghi [...] da' quali già gli argomenti si prendono".[126] Minturno's treatment of the relationship between the topics, the *figure* and the *traslate* strengthens the suspicion that Quintilian's remarks on the *figurae* in *Institutio oratoria* IX may have been an important source for Camillo's attempt to identify a topical order of speech, which contains logical categories, with Hermogenes's *Ideas*. Minturno follows Camillo's three-fold division of words into *proprie*, *traslate* and *topiche*, saying of the last that they are found "quando da certi luoghi posti nelle cose procede il parlare"[127], and he gives a series of citations from Petrarch to demonstrate the logical sources (genus, species, similarity, difference, opposition, conjunction, antecedents, succession, contrast, cause, effect, comparison of greater, lesser and equal) from which figures are drawn. The *figure* are not identical to the *topiche*, but they are drawn from them, and the end of the *figure* is the expression of the *passioni*, *affetti* and *costumi* so that we

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badges or designs in which form they appear in emblems books, but provide the structure for larger spectacles, such as the masque. In this light one might remember that one motive for the famous quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones over the masques for the Jacobean court was the issue of which was responsible for the *invention* of the masque; we shall make further remarks below in the context of discussion of the *impresa*.

[124] Confusingly, the structure of the theatre was such that we rise from the Ideas-Sephiroth through successive stages of embodiment which culminate with human making – although one should recall that the Ideas-Sephiroth occupy the area reserved for the most distinguished spectators and the seats diminish in importance as they become more distant from the stage.

[125] Minturno, *De arte poetica*, Venice, 1563, p.443 ("the poem considered best or perfect is that which is composed of all these forms of speaking or the greatest number of them").

[126] *op.cit.* p.417 ("the figures of speech are held in the same loci from which arguments are drawn").

[127] *op. cit.*, pp.421-422 ("when speech proceeds from certain loci placed in things").

seem to place things before the eyes "illustriamo e dinanzi à gli occhi poniamo; e l'imagini delle cose apertamente rappresentiamo, quando le cose, le voci e gli atti, e l'habito dell'animo, e le sembianze del viso diamo espressamente à vedere".[128] Minturno also speaks of the topics as necessary to imitation, since from them one can draw the arguments necessary to the *artificio del dire* (his example is the eclogue, which requires arguments drawn from agriculture) and thus one can start to see their relationship with genre and decorum, which Minturno considers as the basis of verisimilitude, in person, time and place.[129] This reference to person, time and place sounds very much like the *argumenta ab re* listed by Erasmus in Book Two of *De copia* and thus one might start to see the topics as a substratum to decorum, especially given Minturno's assertion that they are necessary to imitation. If Minturno seems to suggest that decorum is on one hand founded on arguments concerning time, place and person derived from topics, it is also dictated by genre which possesses certain *forme del parlare*, *i.e.* the *Ideas* of Hermogenes, some of which seem to require the topics for their characteristic amplification.[130] Minturno opens the *Arte poetica* with a distinction of three genres – scenic, lyric and epic, in which the first two are closely related as arts of imitation (Minturno associates the lyric or "melica", from *melos*, with both song and dance), while the third entails narration. Epic poetry takes various forms – elegy, hymns, eclogue, bucolic, epigrams and dialogue – but Minturno seems to identify it with heroic poetry, as when he distinguishes it from romance.[131] From the first discussion, where Minturno defines the *maniere della narratione* of the epic as *chiarezza*, *verisimilitudine*, *soavità*, *magnificenza* and *grandezza* (*i.e.* three of Hermogenes's *Ideas* and two of their species), epic is described in terms of its *forme del parlare*, which in turn suppose certain kinds of character and certain situations in which certain forms are appropriate *i.e.* verisimilar or credible. In Minturno's account it seems that the *forme del parlare* imitated from Hermogenes dominate the representation of character and situation (decorum), and thus the elevation of one genre over another is related to the number and hierarchy of the forms which it contains, the "poema [...] tenuto ottimo e perfetto" containing them all.

This identification of the relative merits of the poetic genres with the nature and number of the stylistic "ideas" which they manifest has its most extensive and intelligent exploration in Tasso's *Discorsi del poema eroico* (published 1594 but composed probably about thirty years earlier), a work which gives a *summa* of earlier critical speculation. Tasso opens the work with a statement of the various meanings of the idea in poetic theory, from the end of imitation to the seven qualities of Hermogenes, which taken together, can generate Minturno's perfect poem. The discussion of the idea starts with the invocation of Zeuxis who formed the idea of beauty when he depicted Helen in Croton – unlike the transcendent Ideas in the divine mind, which precede natural things, the ideas formed by human artifice succeed the things which they depict. Thus the idea of a heroic poem which Tasso wishes to depict entails the collection of the beauties of many poems:

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[128] *op. cit.*, p.388 ("we illustrate and place before the eyes; and we represent the images of things openly when things, voices, acts, the habit of the mind and the aspect of the face and presented expressly to be envisaged").
[129] *op. cit.*, p.48.
[130] Minturno describes the "adondevole", a species of *grandezza* and the *volubile* or *presta* (Hermogenes's speed) in these terms.
[131] *op. cit.*, pp. 3-33. This first book of the *Arte Poetica* is conceived as a *ragionamento* between Minturno and Vespesiano Gonzaga, Duke (and builder) of Sabbioneta.

> questa differenza è peraventura fra l'idee de le cose naturali che sono ne la mente divina, e quella de l'artificiali, de le quali si figura e quasi dipinge l'intelletto umano: ché ne l'una l'universale è innanzi le cose stesse, ne l'altro da poi le cose naturali. L'idea dunque de le cose artificiali è formata dopo la considerazione di molte opere fatte artificiosamente, ne le quali tuttavolta non è l'ottimo, ma quella è migliore che più gli s'avvicina [...] raccogliendo le bellezze e le perfezioni di ciascuno, insegnare come egli si possa fare bellissimo e perfettissimo insieme.[132]

After further endorsements of the idea as "vero esemplare e 'l vero esempio" and as test of the correctness of a definition in Aristotle's *Topica*, Tasso returns to the poetic idea, and Fracastoro's claim in *Naugerius* that the end of poetry is to present the idea of the beautiful.[133] In discussing Fracastoro, Tasso uses Hermogenes to widen the understanding of the poetic idea, and to harmonise the meanings of the idea as the poet's representation of transcendent form, as exemplar created from the synthesis of many individual examples and as totalising model of stylistic classification:

> a me non può dispiacere in alcun modo che il poeta rimiri ne l'idea de la bellezza; ma se più sono l'idee ne le quali suol drizzar gli occhi l'oratore, com'è piaciuto ad Ermogene, non so perché il poeta debba considerare solamente quella de la bellezza [...] ma peraventura parve al Navagerio che ne la forma de la bellezza fossero comprese tutte le altre, o che il bello fosse in tutte, perciò che ne la chiarezza, ne la grandezza, ne la velocità, ne l'affetto, ne la gravità, ne la verità è il bello[134]

It is here I think that we have the key to Tasso's treatment of epic poetry in the *Discorsi* and a singularly important moment in which the idea which arises from the synthesis of imitation is developed into the intellectual idea, conceived first as unity and then as universal, structured as multiplicity. It is this universal idea which underlies the famous analogy of the poem and world which we cited in Part One, from the third discourse, the multiplicity of the world held together by the single *nodo* of *concors discordia*. If Tasso defends the epic against the romance, with the unity in the plot of epic opposed by the variety cultivated in romance, the

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[132] *Prose*, ed. Ettore Mazzali, Milan, 1959 ("this difference, perhaps, exists between the ideas of natural things which are in the divine mind and that of the artificer, which the human intellect figures and almost paints to itself: that in one the universal idea comes before things themselves, in the second it comes after. The idea of artificial things is thus formed after the consideration of many works made artificially; in none of these however is there excellence, but the best is that which comes closest to it [...] by gathering together the beauties and perfections of each things, the poet teaches as he can how to make the most beautiful and most perfect").

[133] Fracastoro asserts both that poetry imitates the simple ideas of things, and that it represents them "alive, perfected and adorned", *Naugerius sive de arte poetica*, Venice 1555, facsimile and translation R.Kelso, Urbana, Illinois, 1924, p.71.

[134] *op. cit.*, p.502. Tasso substitutes Heromgenes's *ethos* for *affetto i.e. pathos* ("I in no way disagree with the idea that the poet should strive for the idea of beauty; but if there are numerous ideas to which the orator raises his eyes, as Hermogenes claimed, I do not see why the poet should consider only that of beauty [...] by perhaps is seemed to Naugerius that all forms were contained in the form of beauty, or that the beautiful was in all, so that in clarity, magnitude, speed, affect, gravity and truth is the beautiful").

unity of the epic is such that it contains multiplicity; at the end of the great simile of the poem as world, he remarks "che la istessa varietà in una sola azione si trovi, hoc opus, hic labor est".[135] Tasso's words oppose the defences of romance by writers such as Giraldi Cinthio, and echo the arguments of Speroni in the *Discorsi sopra Virgilio*, which identify with poetry with ornament, ornament with amplification, and insist on the invention of a *favola* from which amplification and ornament grow "naturally" in the poet's *elocutio*.[136] For Speroni, Homer exemplifies the perfect relation of invention and ornament, whose verses (*i.e.* ornament) seem born and grown with his poem, in contrast with Virgil, in whom the disparity between *favola* and *elocuzio* – the first dry, brief, and more suited to historical narration, the second highly figured and gilded – leads to a distortion in the nature of the poem as ornament, in which the poet uses refined language to hide the defects of the narrative.[137] Speroni links ornament firmly with amplification, and characterises poetic language as ornament in its nature; the subject matter which it adorns must therefore lend it self to amplification. While Speroni speaks of the style "born" of its subjects, his discussion may owe something to Antonius's remark in *De oratore* II.xxxiv.146 that if arguments are arranged in general headings ("materiam orationis [...] omnibus locis discriptam") they will seem to give birth to the words, which will be fitting in their ornament ("ea vi verba parient, quae semper satis ornata mihi videri solent, si eius modi sunt, ut ea res ipsa peperisse videatur"). We see again that the "natural" and "fitting" relation of words and matter is founded on the topical arrangement of arguments, which by the time of Speroni and Tasso has its counterpart in the topical arrangement of words. Tasso, who cites Speroni in the second *Discorso*, does not share his negative assessment of Virgil as a poet,[138] but the emphasis on the invention of a *favola* which can accommodate fitting ornament is however relevant for Tasso's remarks on the epic poet's selection of material, in which the finest examples of all things are brought together in the creation of a general decorum which transcends the particularity of each separate thing:

> Elegga fra le cose belle, le bellissime; fra le grandi, le grandissime; fra le maravigliose, le maravigliossime [...] a le mediocri aggiunga altezza, a le oscure, notizie e splendore, a le semplici, artificio, a le vere, ornamento, a le false, autorità; e se per una volta riceve i pastori, i caprari, i porcari e l'altre si fatte persone, deve aver riguardo non solo al decoro de la persona, ma a quello del poema, e mostrargli come si mostrano palazzi reali e ne le solennità e ne le pompe.[139]

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[135] *op. cit.*, pp.589-590. We shall see the analogy between the variety in unity of the plot and *concors discordia* taken up by the certain of the writers on the *impresa*

[136] *Sopra Virgilio* Discorso IV "la meraviglia della favola non si deve accompagnare elocuzion se non meravigliosa", *Opera*, Venice 1740, p.512 ("the marvellous character of the plot should be accompanied by an elocution which is marvellous").

[137] *op.cit.*pp.435-439 and 575-578. Speroni compares Virgil's ornamentation to the gilding of statues to hide their defects with a surface charm.

[138] For Tasso, Virgil is the greatest of epic poets through his capacity to "sostener la grandezza oltre tutte le altre cose" *op.cit.*, p.715 ("maintain grandeur above all things").

[139] *op. cit.*, p.557 ("Amongst beautiful things, choose the most beautiful, amongst the great, the greatest, amongst the wonderful, the most wonderful [...] and elevate the mediocre, add note and splendour to the obscure, artifice to the simple, ornament to the true, authority to the false; and if on occasion shepherds, goatherds or swineherds or other such people appear, consider not only the decorum of the character, but that of the poem, and show them as royal palaces are shown on solemn ceremonies and festivities"). Tasso's reference to royal palaces adorned for spectacles is probably inspired by Cicero's metaphor in *Orator* 39 to the

In Tasso's description of the grand style proper to heroic poetry, its grandeur lies not just in its elevation but in its comprehensive character, which synthesises the elements of all other styles and genres to create the kind of seven-fold idea discussed above, with its delineation of all forms a means to the depiction of the Idea of beauty in its fullness. In a discussion of decorum at the end of the third discourse, Tasso contrasts decorum "in virtù singolari" which he sees exemplified by Homer with the *decoro generale* that he associates with Virgil, which refers to the "decoro [...] del poema" described above. Once again it seems that decorum in poetry is defined not in terms of *ethos i.e.* portrayal of character, of which Cicero and Quintilian speak in their discussions of the poets, but in terms of genre, and we find that Tasso, like Minturno, associates genre with the stylistic qualities which it contains. In the fourth discourse, the three levels of style and their qualities defined by Cicero are invoked and identified with the three genres of poetry – epic, lyric and scenic. If the epic exemplifies the sublime or grand style, and its species ("la grande, la bella, la splendida, la grave forma, che è quella ch'è piena di dignità, e l'aspra, l'affettuosa e la veemente" – qualities we have seen in Hermogenes), it is also described as a mixture of the gravity of tragedy and the ornament of lyric, resepectively aligned with the "purity" and "simplicity" of the *umile* and the middle style, characterised as "graziosa, soave, dolce, piacevole, ornate, fiorita".[140] Thus Tasso declares that "la forma sublime e magnifica è proprio dell'eroico, quantunque possa mescolarsi con l'altre",[141] and in mixing with other forms and other generes, it elevates them: he says of the *stile eroico* that it is "non lontano da la gravità del tragico, né da la vaghezza del lirico; ma avanza l'uno e l'altro ne lo splendore d'una meravigliosa maestà".[142] Tasso can therefore declare in the final discourse that "bellissimo oltre tutti gli altri poemi è l'eroico"[143] unlike later formulations of the grand style, in Tasso the idealising qualities of the *forma sublime* are still in balance with the unity-in-multiplicity of the universal – the unfolding of the single idea of Fracastoro into the seven forms of Hermogenes.[144]

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ornate speech of grand style as the forum and theatre decked with statues and *insignia*. Tasso is close to Speroni in his recommendation to "sceglier materia [...] atta a ricever in sé quella più eccellente forma [...] a darle forma; ed a vestirla [...] con que' vari ornamenti ch'a la natura sua lei siano convenienti" (*op.cit.*p.516).

[140] Tasso's identification of the language of tragedy as "meno sublime e più semplice dell'eroico" is based on the fact that the poet does not speak in person and the material of tragedy is "affettuos[a]" – as well as the fact that he is arguing against Aristotle' claim for the superiority of tragedy over epic at the end of the *Poetics*. Tasso does however make a distinction between the language of the actors and that of the chorus, which can speak "più altamente" (*op. cit.*p.658).

[141] *op.cit.*p.683. ("the sublime and magnificent form is proper to the heroic, however it can mix itself with other forms").

[142] *op. cit.*, p.657 ("not distant from the gravity of the tragic, nor from the beauty of the lyric; but it improves both in the splendour of a marvellous majesty").

[143] *op.cit.* p.693.

[144] On the development of discussions of grand style inspired by Hermogenes, see Gerard Le Coat, *op.cit.* Le Coat's essay is centred on musicology, and the growing importance of rhetoric in music theory from the sixteenth century on, which leads him to consider a painter influenced by music theory, such as Poussin (who attempted to translate Zarlino's account of the musical modes into painting), as well as the theoretical speculation that underlies the musical setting of poetry by musicians such as Monteverdi. The work is valuable in bridging the division which is frequently imposed between a writer such as Lomazzo, taken as a representative of the late Renaissance and Poussin, heralded as exponent of a "classical", post-Mannerist idealism. The book does however fail to acknowledge the role of Camillo as the editor of Hermogenes, and the importance of Camillo's topical treatment of the universality of the "ideas" which structure the "world poem" in the development of the "all embracing theory" which Le Coat discusses with erudition.

In observing Tasso's preoccupation with unity in multiplicity, one should not overlook the synthetic character of his poetry; Tasso discusses poetry in the first *discorso* as closely linked to dialectic on one hand, and to metaphysics on the other, and concludes the work with an injunction to follow Aristotle in logic and ethics, and the Platonists in cosmology.[145] Tasso, like Sidney, harmonises poetic theories that claim adherence to Plato, Aristotle and Horace alongside the influence of Hermogenes, and his claims for the epic as highest genre, in opposition to Aristotle's support of tragedy, seem to advance the epic's incorporation of variety of situation, action and character (*i.e.* what is found in history) in a unified narrative as a counterpart to the unity of composite parts, or arts, in theatre. Tasso's claims for universality lead to preoccupations with the unity of style that can contain all stylistic possibilities within itself and harmonise them into a an elevated coherence. In Tasso we therefore see the tendency towards the synthesis or idealisation which forms the basis of the foundation of grand style, which derives in part from Hermogenes; it also is undoubtedly shaped by Aristotle's remark that poetic mimesis is more concerned with universals and thus more elevated and more philosophical than historical narrative (*Poetics* 1451b).[146] In this passage, Aristotle links this more universal representation (*katholou*) with *ethos* (character) in that the actions and speech of protagonists in poetry are in concord (*symbainei*) with probability (*eikos*) and necessity; the "more universal" character of poetry thus appears to be linked to something like decorum of representation founded on its ethical coherence - what will be said or done according to probability or necessity, as opposed to the particularities related by history (*kath'hekaston*). The drive towards wholeness runs throughout Aristotle's discussion in the *Poetics*, where the "more universal" character of poetic mimesis is echoed in the single completed action of the tragic *mythos* and the unfolding of the tragedy before the gaze of the spectators, described as 'ο της 'οφεως κοσμος - a complete, ornate arrangement for the eyes.[147] If the poet's fictions are to be compelling, they must appear in some way comprehensive, so that a tragic hero, for example, seems to move through a world proportioned so that it is consistent with his qualities and stature and so discloses through his actions and destiny the necessity and beauty of the greater order – thus the Aristotelian *kath'olou* comes together with the claims for the poet's access to the Ideas, postulated sceptically by Plato in *Ion* and more sincerely by Fracastoro in the *Naugerius*, which uses a Phaedran setting to assert both that poetry imitates the simple ideas of things, and that it represents them "alive, perfected and adorned".[148] The ornaments used in poetic language, or

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[145] *op.cit.*pp.528 and 729.

[146] This passage is used by Sidney in his *Defence of Poetry*, a polished epitome of contemporary poetic theory, in order to run together these seemingly opposed claims - one which states the superiority of poetry on account of its philosophical qualities, one because of its non philosophical qualities. For Sidney, who stages a contest or *paragone* between poetry and the rival arts of history and moral philosophy, Aristotle's remark confirms the superiority of poetry as the greatest art, the *architektonike* in fact, of the *studia humanitatis*, which synthesises the virtues of moral philosophy and history, with the additional appeal to the will through persuasive effect of pleasure and beauty, *i.e.* the Horatian *utile dulci miscere*. Sidney was not alone in taking the *architektonike* of the opening discussions of the *Nicomachean Ethics* as the basis for the defence of an art - we shall see below that Alberti also plays with the notion of the *architektonike* in the claims he makes for the civic centrality of the art of building in *De re aedificatoria.* In each case the appropriation of the *architektonike* is linked to the argument that the art in question balances perfectly speculation and an end in ethical activity – Sidney speaks of the end of poetic art as lying in gnosis, not praxis (*Defence*, *op.cit.*, p.226) and uses the *architektonike* to refute Plato's banishment of the poets in *Republic* X.

[147] *Poetics* 1449b. One should be careful to note that Aristotle makes spectacle constantly subservient to *mythos*.

[148] *Naugerius*, *op.cit.* Fracastoro (1478-1553) was famous as a physician and scholar of the natural sciences as well as a *letterato*; he displayed the breadth of his interests in a long poem in Latin hexameters on syphilis

better, the nature of poetic creations as ornament, is at once an enticing stylistic embellishment which renders poetry more compelling and persuasive at the ethical level, the Horatian *utile dulci miscere* rendered in the topos of honeyed medicine and a disclosure of things in their ideal state, as beautiful, harmonious and complete.[149] In terms of Tasso's accommodation of Hermogenes and Fracastoro, and the treatment of the ideas in poetic theory, ornament seems to be intrinsic because the idea is conceived not as a thing in itself, but revealed with regard to the whole of which the world provides the exemplary embodiment; again, the notion of ethical improvement as the goal of poetry means that embellishment finds metaphysical validation and universality; such embellishment is indeed conceived as universalising and it derives its elevated ethical coherence in these terms.

Thus one might see in Tasso's treatment of the topos of the poet's artifice as the creation of a world which has its paradigm in divine creation the analogy that forms the basis of the formulation of the "decoro generale" proper to epic poetry.[150] We have argued that the

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dedicated to Bembo (*Syphilis sive morbus gallicus*) which is a consummate work of *imitatio* of Virgil and Lucretius, and presents an account of the pathology and treatment of the disease in the form of a pastoral relating the punishment of the shepherd Sifilo. He was also the dedicatee of Ramusio's great volumes on descriptive geography, *Delle navagationi et viaggi* (1550-59).

It is Sidney in the *Defence* who argues out the conflation of Aristotelian claims for the more universal and philosophical nature of poetry, the poet's access to the Ideas and Horatian notions of embellishment as a means of moral persuasion, which forms the basis of poetry's superiority to moral philosophy as a more effective inducement to virtue. The degree to which Sidney seems concerned to formulate a synthetic theory of poetry emerges clearly in his handling of the old claims for the demiurgic artifice of the *poeta theologus* which uses the topos of the poet's capacity to represent the whole, all things in the world and the phantasy in an ideal, transformed form. He says: "Only the poet [...] lifted up with the vigour of his own invention, doth grow in effect another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or quite anew [...] so as he goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts but freely moving only within the zodiac of his own wit. Nature never set forth the earth in so rich a tapestry as divers poets have done [...] Her world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden" (*Defence*, in *Selected Works*, Oxford, 1989, p.216). Sidney goes to on to stipulate that the "golden world" of artifice uses adornment for the purposes of ethical effectiveness which are concordant with the elevated ethical coherence of the universality of Aristotle's *kath'olou* since poetry does not depict things as not as they are, but in "the divine consideration of what they may and should be" (*op.cit.* p.218). This capacity is identified with the poet's inner idea, "the skill of the artificer standeth in that Idea or fore-conceit of the work, and not in the work itself" (*op.cit.* p.217). The premise here - of the conception formed in the intellect, which is brought into being (i.e. from potential to act) by the work of the artist is Aristotelian, and expounded at great length in discourses such as Varchi's *Lezione sopra un sonetto di Michelangelo*, delivered to the Academia Fiorentina in 1547. By capitalising "Idea" Sidney however suggests that he refers to the Platonic ideas, and thus to the claim of Platonic literary criticism that the poet participates in the transcendent ideas through *enthusiasmos* (a claim obviously counter to most of Plato's remarks on poetry), while retaining the Aristotelian notion of the poet's idea as a mental concept - "that Idea or fore-conceit". For Sidney, the poet's imitation of the ideas, which entails the "growing of another nature" is not ultimately directed to spiritual ascent but to the political (*i.e.* civic ) role of poetry, and the *Defence*, presented as an exercise in deliberative rhetoric, does not demand philosophical speculation upon its claims.

[149] The topos of honeyed medicine is for pleasant moral instruction is used by Tasso in the *Discorsi* I and by Sidney in the description of poetry as a "medicine of cherries". More apposite still is Sidney's claim that "If the saying of Plato and Tully be true, who could see virtue would be wonderfully ravished with the love of her beauty - this man [the writer of heroic poetry] sets her out to make her more lovely in her holiday apparel" (*Defence, op. cit.*, p.231). Sidney's contrast between virtue naked and attired with all that draws mortals to her suggests the kind of *conversazione* depicted in Titian's so-called *Sacred and profane love* as well as rehearsing the ancien debate between rhetoric and philosophy on ethical effectiveness which Sidney reiterates in his claims for poetry.

[150] The term "decoro generale" in itself implies a deformation of the Ciceronian definition of the contextual

universal artifice of the poet is a pre-requisite for the universal character of grand style, which can depict and elevate all things so that they exhibit the variety proper to poetic representations and the idealisation that points to their embodiment of higher forms; thus the raising of style which is proper to the epic as the highest of poetic forms entails the accommodation of Platonic idealism with a kind of imitation which improves on its objects, which we have noted below in Sidney. The synthesis of Aristotelian, Horatian and Platonic discourses in the poetic arts of Tasso and Sidney leads as we hinted to an emphasis not on Ideas but on idealisation and thus to the necessity of an elevated and universalising style which can portray the beauty, order and necessity of poetic narrative. In each theorist the analogical, conjuctive character is in balance with the movement to synthesis, which leads Sidney to characterise poetry in terms of the fusion of the arts as a "figuring forth" or "a speaking picture" - historical embodiment and philosophical abstraction, "ensouled" speech and image-body, or Tasso to posit a *concorso* "the proper fusion of all the expressive elements",[151] while he insists on the plurality of the Ideas themselves, which can be unified only at a level transcendent to poetry and its *concetto*.[152]

Our argument does not trace the development of theories of grand style from the analogical structure of Lomazzo or Tasso's balancing of analogy and synthesis to the formulation of classicism in seventeenth century artistic theory; as noted above, Le Coat sees the continuity between Lomazzo, Tasso and Poussin as lying in the influence of Hermogenes. We have attempted in dealing with Tasso and Minturno to suggest the influence of Camillo's theatre, as "container" of all arguments, figures, combinations and transformations, on their preoccupation with the classifications from which to invent the universal or "perfect" poem which contains all the "ideas" of style, and whose argument shows a unity in multiplicity which has an analogy in the cosmic order. We cited in Part One a line from Tasso's dialogue *Il Ficino overo de l'arte*, which culminates in the familiar statement of divine making as *poesis* - "non è maraviglia che la poesia sia naturale negli animi umani, se Dio medesimo, da cui furono create, è poeta, e l'arte divina con la qual fece il mondo fu quasi arte di poetare; e poema è 'l cielo e 'l mondo tutto".[153] If this topos contains the assertion that Nature is "l'arte d'Iddio" it also claims that the human intellect, since it contains the forms of all things may be called the whole or the universe ("si può dire che l'intelletto umano sia il tutto o l'universo").[154] For theorists writing after Camillo, this analogy of human and divine creation is profoundly associated with the claims of the art which claims the discovery of the ordering that can reveal the structural identity of logic and metaphysics. In such a model, which may constitute a kind of background to writers such as Tasso and Minturno interested in the structure of classification which can lead to the postulation of the universal poem, one might associate figurative language with the combinations drawn from the order of correspondences and with the transformative character of the structure. This combinatory structure and the presence of transformation, associated with the *mirabile*, find their most extreme assertion in the theorist

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particularity of decorum, as at *Orator*, xxii.74 "decere quasi aptum esse consentaneumque tempori et personae".

[151] Gerard Le Coat, *The Rhetoric of the Arts 1550-1600*, *op.cit.*, p.48.

[152] Sidney, *op.cit.* p.217. The topos of poetry as speaking picture and painting as silent poetry, which emphasises the superior liveliness of poetic depiction, was attributed by Plutarch to Simonides, also credited with the invention of local memory.

[153] *Il Ficino*, in *Dialoghi*, ed. Enzo Raimondi, Florence 1957, p.909.

[154] *op.cit.* pp. 898, 901.

closest to the literary and hermetic interests of Camillo, Francesco Patrizi.[155]

We have noted above that in the third part of the *Poetica*, the *Deca ammirabile*, Patrizi produces a topics based on that of Camillo, which gives the sources for the *mirabile*, for Patrizi the defining quality of poetry. Patrizi then produces a definition of the *mirabile* as the combination of contrary qualities (*i.e. concors discordia*) of which the topical sources are the credible and incredible, true and untrue, verisimilar and non-verisimilar, possible-impossible, necessary-non-necessary, occurrence-non-occurrence. Patrizi multiplies these topics by the various genres and parts of poetry which he established to arrive proudly at a taxonomy of 33600 sources of the *mirabile*, each of which are related to one another. However absurd this mechanical model may appear, it seeks to create an all-encompassing network of analogies in which all poems and parts of poems – which means all *possible* poems and their parts - can be situated, and like Camillo's theatre it is validated by a "vertical" principle, namely Patrizi's constant assertion of the inspired character of poetry, which his topical model weaves throughout every part of poetical speech. Despite Patrizi's attention to the context of ancient forms of poetry in the *Deca Storiale*, his topical model, which represents a further concentration of Camillo's, seems to discard all notions of decorum in the creation of an order in which logical predication becomes the condition for the disclosure of the paradoxical nature of all poetic language – if Patrizi seems to turn all poetry into a system of combinatory logic, poetry at every level and in every part concerns the discovery of likeness in unlikeness which forms the basis of *meraviglia* – and, we might add, metaphor. Thus conceived, all of poetry and each of its parts becomes a multiple disclosure of the same *concors discordia* which marks the metaphoric nature of inspired speech, and has its analogy, as Camillo claimed, in the alchemical transformation of nature and the *deificatio* of the human into the divine.

*From Puttenham to the theory of the* concetto *– poetic structure as reflection of cognitive process*

If Patrizi represents an extreme point, his topics of the *mirabile* shares its analogical structure with other, very different arts of poetry of the period. Amongst these, moving for a moment out of the Italian context, is the Elizabethan theorist George Puttenham, the attributed author of *The Arte of Englishe Poesie* (1589). We have so far considered the analogies set up between invention, style and the universal order as based in Platonic discourses, broadly speaking, starting with the reflection of the soul's ascent to the divine in the structure of artifice in Castiglione. With Puttenham we come into theories of poetic artifice that draw on Aristotelian psychology, and work with the notion of a reflection between processes of cognition and of artifice. Puttenham is also interesting for his understanding of decorum – if the theorists we have considered so far seem to consider decorum in terms of the arguments and style discovered in response to a codified occasion, Puttenham renders it in terms of the structure of analogies unfolded between the process of cognition and the finished poem, which begin and end in the *phantasia*. While Puttenham is isolated here from a larger discussion of Elizabethan poetic theory, we have used him to bridge discussions of analogical structures of Platonic derivation and accounts of art that see the structure of form and matter in art, and its

[155] As noted above, Patrizi edited Camillo's *Topica*.

production in the realisation of an inner idea through an embodying act as reflecting the process of cognition discussed in Aristotelian psychology. We shall look very briefly at Puttenham, who offers a reading of decorum in these terms, to see developments of similar ideas, first in poetics and then in visual arts – what we really approach here is the question of the *concetto*, which will take us into emblems theory.

Puttenham is acutely aware of the disparity between the universalising criteria of imitation, exemplified by the topos of the world as God's poem, and the particularity of human circumstance and human representation – as he says, "the actions of men with their circumstances be infinite, and the world likewise replenished with many iudgements".[156] The multiplicity of human circumstances and the refilling of the world with human judgements may slide into the chaos of infinite, self contained and self regulating frameworks of argument and persuasion or of boundless relativism unless the universalising and regulating structures of reason may be called upon to judge upon the qualities of "decencie".[157] Puttenham's emphasis on the logical basis of decorum is as old as the discussion of rhetoric itself, but his development of the relationship between logic and decorum is interesting. After defining decorum or *prepon* as "*seemlynesse* that is to say, for his good shape and utter appearance well pleasing the eye" and "*comelynesse* for the delight it bringeth comming towardes us, and to that purpose may be called *pleasant approche*", he explains:

> Now because this comelynesse resteth in the good conformitie of many thinges and their sundry circumstances, with respect one to another, so as there be found a iust correspondencie betweene them by this or that relation, the Greekes call it Analogie or a convenient *proportion*. This lovely conformitie, or proportion, or convenience, betweene the sence and the sensible hath nature her selfe first most carefully observed in all her workes, then also by kinde graft it in the appetites of every creature working by intelligence to covert and desire.[158]

Decorum is thus founded on the adequation between sense and sensible objects at the foundation of cognition, and in Puttenham's art of poetry the analogy between sense and sensible is reiterated through the levels of *phantasia*, rhythm, decorum and ornament, with each level in analogy to the others. This postulation of poetry in which the "seemlynesse" and "pleasant approche" of decorum are founded in the "good liking and contentment" of the

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[156] *The Arte of Englishe Poesie*, ed. Willcock and Walker, Cambridge 1970, p.262. Puttenham rehearses the analogy of divine and poetic creation at the opening of the work: "Such as (by way resemblance and reverently) we may say of God: who without any travell to his divine imagination, made all the world of nought. Even so the very Poet makes and construes out of his owne braine, both the verse and matter of his poeme" *op. cit.*, p.3.

[157] Puttenham says that a man in whom "the discerning part of the minde [...] can make the best and most differences of things by reasonable and wittie distinction is to be the fittest iudge or sentencer of decencie", *ibid.*

[158] *op. cit.*, pp.261-262.

mind and the senses with their "proper obiectes"[159], seems to shift the analogy of poem as world to that of poem as reflection of the mind. It is thus fitting that his discussion of poetry commences with a meditation on the *phantasia*, in which mental and poetic image are one:

> that part being well affected [is] very formall, and his much multiformitie uniforme, that is well proportioned, and so passing clere, that is as by a glasse or mirrour, are represented unto the soule all maner of bewtifull visions, whereby the inventive parte of the mynde is so much holpen, as without it as no man could devise any new or rare thing [...] And this phantasie may be resembled to a glasse [...] whereof there be many tempers and manner of makinges, as the perspectives does acknowledge, for some be false glasses and shew thinges otherwise than they be in deede, and others right as they be in deede, neither fairer nor fouler, nor greater nor smaller. There be againe of these glasses that shew thinges exceeding faire and comely, others that shew figures very monstrous and ill favoured. Even so is the phantasicall part of man (if it be not disordered) a representer of the best, most comely and bewtifull images or appearances of thinges to the soule according to their very truth. If otherwise, then it doth breede Chimeres and monsters in mans imagination and ordinarie actions and life which ensues: Wherefore such persons as be illuminated with the brightest irradiations of knowledge and of the veritie and due proportion of things [...] are all good Poets, notable Captaines stratagenique, all cunning artificers and engineers, all Legislators Politiciens and Counsellors of estate, in whose exercise the inventive part is most employed and is to be sound and true judgement of man most needful[160]

The basis of Puttenham's discussion is *De anima* 431b2 where Aristotle states that the activity of thought "thinks" itself in terms of *phantasmata* (*i.e.* things which appear or manifest themselves). Again, there is nothing new about claiming that poetic making arises from the mental images of the *phantasia*, and we may safely assume that Puttenham was aware of the descriptions of the *phantasia* both in Aristotelian psychology and Quintilian, since his poetics is deeply indebted to these two works. What is so interesting in Puttenham's account is not only his assertion that the "infinite variety" of men's actions and their circumstances, which "replenish" the world, start with the variations in the *phantasia*, prior to the operations of judgement, but that the *phantasia* itself is described as a prefiguration of a poem, with its "multiformitie uniforme, that is well proportioned", and its images of "the best, most comely and bewtifull images or appearances of thinges to the soule according to their very truth".[161] The structure of the *phantasia* is repeated in decorum, which employs also logic to differentiate between the circumstances of each thing, and in the ornaments of speech (rhythm, the tropes and figures) which give it vivid life and movement. It seems as though Puttenham's

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[159] "every [thing] which pleaseth the mind or sences and the mind by the sences as by means instrumentall, doth it for some amiable point or qualitie that is in it, which draweth them to a good liking and contentment with their proper obiectes" *op.cit.*, p.261.

[160] *op. cit.*, pp.18-19. When Puttenham refers to "enginers" he is talking about those gifted with *ingenium*.

[161] Although the main influences on the *Arte* are Aristotle and Quintilian, the reference to the "most comely and bewtifull images" suggests the claims of Platonic literary theory that poetry gives "true" images because it imitates the Idea.

definition of decorum conceives it as the *phantasia*, corrected by logical analysis, and so brought into "conformitie" with its paradigm, Nature. Thus poetry, as paradigm of human artifice, in analogy with divine creation, reflects the structure of the mind as a whole and each of its parts, while the mind in turn reflects the works of nature.[162] As exemplification of the "lovely conformitie, or proportion, or convenience, betweene the sence and the sensible", the poem is understood as body and as mental image (sensible and sense), which passes through a cycle that begins and ends with the *phantasia*, as source of poetic invention and as inner sense which presents a sensible object as an image and source of thought for its audience.

This insistence on the "proportion" between poetry as wrought object and its reception by its audience is especially striking in the description of rhythm which forms the second part of the *Arte*, following on the discussion of *phantasia* as source of proportion and similitude – analogy. Ignoring the Pythagorean discussions of the origin of rhythm as *harmonia universalis*, Puttenham is eager to emphasise that meter, the measuring of utterance in verse, is a means of making speech palpably act out its enunciation in time. Puttenham makes a distinction between *arithimus* and *rithmus,* the first being "a bare number as that of the arithmeticall computation" and the second "a certaine musicall numerositie in utterance".[163] *Rithmus* alerts the listener to the enactment or "motion" of speech in time, and to time as *mensura motus,* just as "by the Philosopher definition, stirre is the true measure of time'.[164] The rhythms of meter allow the listener to perceive the flowing of time through human discourse, and they dynamise the speech act and its reception into a dramatic enactment of the reciprocity of speech and hearing, "the lovely conformitie [...] betweene the sence and the sensible":

> this (musicalle or audible number) is called *rithmos* or numerositie,
> that is to say, a certaine flowing utterance by slipper words and sillables,
> such as the toung easily utters, and the eare with pleasure receiveth,
> and which flowing of wordes with much volubilitie smoothly proceeding
> from the mouth in some sort *harmonicall* and breedeth to th'eare a great
> compassion.[165]

Proportion does not apply only to the measure of meter, but to the sympathetic *concordia* of oral utterance and aural response. From here it is but a small step to the discussion of the tropes and figures as a mimesis of the *pathetike* – the states which not only communicate to the listeners the response that a certain state would evoke in them, but have the effect of moving the orator himself to the lively or vehement expression of that which he represents. As Puttenham moves from the *phantasia* at the origins of analogy and poetic invention, to the metrical embodiment of verse to the illuminating and enlivening figures, the reflection or recreation of content in form is reiterated and symphonically extended from the imagination through the external senses in the discussion of rhythm and back to the sense of the understanding. It thus comes as no surprise that in the third part of the *Arte* Putthenham shows particular interest in the relation of the two figures that seemed to display speech to

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[162] On the mirroring of the whole in the parts, see the remarks on ornamentation at p.160 "not onely the whole body of a tale in poeme or historie may be made in such sort pleasent and agreable to the eare, but also every clause and every single word carried in a clause, may have their pleasant sweetnesse apart".

[163] *op. cit.*, p.69.
[164] *op. cit.*, p.67.
[165] *op. cit.*, p.78.

eyes and give it life - *enargeia* and *energeia*. As we recall, the confusion of these two terms begins with the third book of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, where he remarks on the visual force of metaphor and associates this with its *energeia*, its capacity to ensoul inanimate things. In Quintilian, we find a number of remarks on *enargeia*, which is highly praised for its visual qualities; due to its image painting he sees it as a product of the *phantasia*, and remarks on its affective (and thus persuasive) character. We commented earlier on the fact that Quintilian sees ornament as both an illuminating and an enlivening of speech – both *enargeia* and *energeia* - as conveyed in his numerous metaphors of weapons flashing with the speed of their movement.[166] Puttenham gives a singular account of these two qualities of ornament, describing *enargeia* as suited to "satisfie and delight th'eare onely" and *energia* "by certaine intendements or sence of such wordes inwardly working a stirre to the mynde".[167] When Puttenham speaks of *enargeia*, universally associated with visuality, as delighting the ear, he seems to mean that it is a figure of speech, rather than a figure of thought, as he conceives *energeia*. However unorthodox in terms of the rhetorical tradition, Puttenham's conception of the two ornaments as figure of speech and figure of thought suggests that he is attempting to align these two qualities of metaphor with the "the lovely conformitie [...] betweene the sence and the sensible". All the levels of analogy are brought together as the proportion discovered by the *phantasia* is reflected through the measuring of meter and the metaphorical correspondence between the figures of thought and figures of speech, and Puttenham as observed seems to conceive of poetry as beginning and ending with the *phantasia*, in the invention of the poet and the mind of the audience. Not only does Puttenham insist that all circumstances are in analogy to one another, but discovers correspondences between and within all levels of speech, and thus his account of the figures ends with "*Exargasia,* or the Gorgious", the "last and principall figure of our poeticall Ornament" which entails the orchestration of "copious and pleasant amplifications and much varietie of sentences all running upon one point and to one intent".[168] The term is taken from *Institutio oratoria* VIII.iii.88, but its importance and the departure from Quintilian's definition, who merely renders it as *expolitio*, or finish, without further comment, suggests that Puttenham sees in the ornament, besides its similarity to *enargeia* and *exergazomai* (to work out, accomplish or make complete), a figuration of the pattern of analogous disclosures which characterises decorum, Nature and the faculties of the soul alike "all running upon one point and to one intent".

If Puttenham's *Arte* transforms the ancient rhetorical understanding of decorum as proportion, it also shows a peculiar rendering of its Aristotelian sources. In defining the "conformitie" of sense and sensible in terms of analogy (proportion and similitude), Puttenham creates a situation in which the adequation between a thing, and the correct perception and knowledge of that thing, becomes the prototype for the reciprocity of *concetto* and the "body" of the poem – one should note that Puttenham has an acute awareness of the two-fold nature of the argument and "body" of speech which "conveys" its argument to an audience.[169] The

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[166] At X.i.30, in discussion of the weapons – the *ornamenta* – of the orator, he contrasts the shining steel that dazzles the eye and the heart together with the gold and silver which has no warlike efficacy and is useless, or even dangerous to the wearer.

[167] *op. cit.*, p.142.

[168] *op. cit.*, p. 247. Puttenham proceeds to describe the figure as a "terme transferred from those polishers of marble or porphirite, who [...] do set upon it a goodly glasse [gloss]" (*ibid.*), and one might consider the dual meaning of the word "gloss" itself, as polishing and the philological commentary which amplifies a word.

[169] See p.197: "our speech is made musicall or harmonicall [...] by choice of smoothe words: and thus. or thus,

affinity of the *Arte* with the theories of the *impresa* or emblem is also suggested by the prominence given to the *phantasia* and the way that the image making faculty participates in proportion. As the introductory part of the discussion of the *impresa*, we shall look at the adoption of Aristotelian psychological terminology that appears in Puttenham in other treatises concerned to describe the relation of the outer form of artifice (*disegno*) to its inner image (*concetto*). Amongst such works, in which the cognitive processes of Aristotelian psychology are identified with the structure of the artwork, one might mention the *Dialogo del poetico concetto* (circa 1598) of Camillo Pellegrino, which features the young Marino and represents an early literary treatment of *concetto* before the full flowering of *concettismo*. Pellegrino speaks of the *concetto* as born (punning on *concepire*) from the soul and the intelligible species, and producing a true image and cognition of the object; as he develops his argument he talks of the *concetto* as the true picture of an external thing formed ("conceived") when a mental image becomes the basis of an intellectual act, and thus from the *concetti* one can create concepts.[170] This definition refers to the *concetto universale*, as source of icastic imitation; the *concetto poetico*, which gives phantasic imitation, is defined as a thought of the intellect, in the image or resemblance of true things or things similar to the truth, formed in the *phantasia* ("un pensamento dell'Intelletto, imagine e somiglianza di cose vere e simili al vero, formato nella fantasia")[171]. Pellegrino's discussion is conducted in more technical language than that of Puttenham, and his theory is drier; the aim in mentioning his treatise is to show that Puttenham was not alone in deriving the structure of poetic representation from the Aristotelian psychology of cognition.

A more interesting point of comparison arises from artistic discussions which we find in Vasari and Zuccari. As noted in discussion of Castiglione, for Vasari the *concetto* arises from the *giudizio universale* which arises from imitation, and the artist's *disegno* is the "apparente espressione e dichiarazione del concetto che si ha nell'animo". Unlike the transcendent Idea, the *concetto* belongs to the individual intellect, although its image, represented by *disegno*, arises from the universal judgement which Vasari describes as "una forma overo idea di tutte le cose della natura". Vasari's *giudizio universale*, although created by study and imitation, sounds like a version of the intelligible species, and again we seem to see the soul's process of cognition presented as a universal model for artifice. There is nothing surprising in this, as

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marshalling them in their comeliest construction and order, and as well by sometimes sparing, sometimes spending them more or less liberally, and carrying or transporting them with sundry relations, and variable formes, in the ministry and use of words, doe breed no little alteration in man." The point is repeated still more forcefully in the same place, in terms which recall *Hamlet*: "For to say truely. what is a man but his minde? which, whosever have skil to compasse, and make yielding and flexible, what may not he command the body to perfourme? [...] But the minde is not assailable unlesse it be by sensible approaches [...] then also must the whole tale [...] beare his just and reasonable measure".

[170] Pellegrino's discussion reads in full: "una sua somiglianza (i.e. of the real object) invece di seme, dalla quale l'anima diventa gravida partorisce un concetto, che è un pensamento o vero una cognizione dell'obietto, più efficacemente rappresentante la natura di quelle [...] Dico il concetto essere somiglianza o immagine dello obietto reale, perchè Aristotele nei libri *dell'Anima*, afferma l'Intelletto non poter discorrere intorno dell'uomo se non per mezzo della spetie intelligibile, ch'è somiglianza di esso uomo e perchè questa spetie come spirituale per virtù dell'intelletto agente si ritrova dentro di noi per così dire rappresentatrice d'ogni obietto di fuori, quindi è che l'intelletto specchiandosi in tale spetie discorre intorno all'uomo (i.e. the object of perception), producendo il concetto che l'uomo sia animale ragionevole mortale, il qual concetto rappresentando l'uomo efficacemente, vien detto Immagine espressa, o vero somiglianza dell'obietto (*Il concetto poetico*, in *I Dialoghi e le Rime di Camillo Pellegrino*, ed. Giovane Valletta, Florence, 1971, pp.68).

[171] Pellegrino, *op. cit.*, p.69.

Aristotelian psychology provided the most comprehensive account of the progression from sensory perception to the mental images of the *phantasia* which form the basis of acts of judgement and thought. Recourse to this psychology was thus necessary for any non Platonic theorist attempting to go behind the doctrine of mimesis, as it were, in order to investigate and justify the nature of the images used by writer or artist – in particular to answer Plato's charge of the sophistic nature of phantastic imitation. The aim here is not to follow the history of Aristotelian psychology in artistic theory[172] but to consider whether the analogies of the cognitive structure of the soul and the structure of artifice, working in conjunction with the rhetorical praise of language which is not merely visual but "ensouled", and the recovery of the "hieroglyphs", may not have acted together to create the metaphor of body and soul in the *impresa*. In this very brief note on the seemingly non Platonic character of discussions of the *concetto*, one should mention the most ambitious development of the relationship of *concetto* and *disegno* in another theoretical work based on Aristotelian psychology, the *Idea della pittura* of the painter and academician Federico Zuccari (1608). Zuccari's work treats *disegno* as both inner conception (*i.e. concetto*) and artifice, and sets up a corresponding two-fold structure of *disegno interno* and *disegno esterno* which he defines as innate idea, and human or divine artifice. If Zuccari uses arguments similar to those of Pellegrino in arguing that *concetti* are formed in our mind in order to know anything, and give the general image by which we can recognise individuals, he develops *disegno* so that it extends from God (in whom only the Ideas, in their full transcendence, may be said to exist) to the human soul, whose formative power is its innate *concetto* and ray of divine virtue, and into the created world as manifestation of *disegno divino esterno*, which is the object of human mimesis. Thus the *concetto* is both the "divine spark" of human likeness to God and the end of the activity of the corporeal and internal senses; the conflation of conceptual and imitative activity through the *concetto* which we noted in Pellegrino is much more evident in Zuccari, who puts not only Aristotelian psychology but scholastic theology in the service of his account of *disegno* and the *concetto*.

If we have considered arguments that concern the analogy, or continuity between the processes of cognition, artifice and the order of creation, we need to bring these together with the qualities attributed to figured speech, with the "ensouling" and transformative potential associated in particular with metaphor. This brings us to the discussions of the *impresa* and emblems; our discussion takes us back to Erasmus and the influence of the sententious *adagia* upon Alciati, and then through the various discussions of the *impresa* in cinquecento theory, where we shall find meditations noted above on the structure of artifice and psychological apprehension played out through the elaboration of metaphor. The temporal limits of the present argument preclude discussion of the theorists of *concettismo* in the following century; since this material shows the fuller development of arguments which exist in more implicit form in earlier sixteenth century works, and thus illuminates in a sense the end to which they worked, we have placed a brief treatment of Tesauro and Gracián in an appendix. It must also be observed that in using emblems and devices as a means of linking discussions of the *concetto* to meditations on the "ensouling" force of metaphor, we are neglecting to address a very important, and obvious argument, *i.e.* the understanding of *figura* and *concetto* in the sculpture of Michelangelo. Varchi's *lezione* on Michelangelo's sonnet "Non ha l'ottimo artista alcun concetto" is a detailed exemplar of Aristotelian commentary on the arts and sculpture

[172] On this subject see David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense*.

has a distinct role in meditations on *figura* at which we have hinted in the remarks on the rhetorical sources of *linea serpentinata*, as well as embodying in its nature a speculation on the conjunction of form and matter. In Michelangelo's work the reflections on art as metaphor and as *motus* are very much to the fore, the emergence of the form from matter overtly dramatised and the relation of figuration and ornament subjected to a profound reflection that results, in Vasari's words, in the breaking of the common usage following antiquity and Vitruvius.[173] It might be remarked here that this argument could have considered the understanding of ornament through the work of Michelangelo; we have chosen not to pursue a study of Michelangelo, since his art is so strong that it can overwhelm or divert other lines of thought, as his contemporaries objected. Michelangelo also demonstrates the complete absorption of previous works and reflections on art and their transformation into the forceful coherence of his own vision; the understanding of ornament which we are attempting to uncover here requires work with a more open accommodation of the *varietas* of ancient sources. Michelangelo might be seen as an implicit point of reference for many of the discussions here, but our preoccupation is more with the relationship between the grace, *energeia* and good order of ornament and the conjunction of body and soul as its is explicated through the mosaic like composition of the emblem.

## THE CONCEPTION AND DEPLOYMENT OF EMBLEMATIC FIGURATIONS

### *The* Adagia *of Erasmus and the* sententiae *as hieroglyphs*

We have spoken above of *ingenium* as the faculty which discovers the relations or similitudes between things, and the Humanist, philological vision of meaning created through the analogies discovered between each particular meaning that arises out of a concrete situation,so that metaphor, or better the metaphoric character of ornament, becomes essential to meaning in language. For fifteenth century "civic Humanists" such as Bruni, this contextual significance is fundamental to the attempt to establish an awareness of language as a response to and historical record of the demands of ethics and *praxis*. For Erasmus, these ethical considerations are still very much the mainspring of philology, but the effort to recuperate the corpus of antique literature in its entirety gives rise to those preoccupations about organisation and the relationships between the various areas or levels of classical literature (style, imitation, logic, the claims of the different arts of language, "inspired" speech, the sacred writings divulged to or by the pagans) which will ultimately lead away from the practice of virtue to encyclopaedic ordering whose full structure and meaning is revealed in contemplation.

Erasmus made two extensive collections of ornaments of speech gathered from the ancients, the first in the *Adagia* (1508), an encyclopaedia of sayings (*paroemia*) and the second the *Parabolae* or *Similia* (1514), which arose from the revised edition of the *Adagia* and catalogues expressions of comparison from Plutarch's *Moralia*, Seneca, Lucian, Xenophon, Demothenes, Aristotle, Pliny and Theophratus. These collections should be considered alongside *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum* (1512), designed as a manual to

[173] See the discussion of the New Sacristry in San Lorenzo in the *Vite*.

teach abundance and variety of speech to schoolboys, and the *Ciceronianus* (1528). The ornaments discussed by Erasmus are founded principally on metaphor, celebrated in the dedicatory letter of the *Parabolae sive Similia* as chief amongst all figures of speech, which not only brightens speech but is the source of all its dignity ("non nitorem modo, sed universam prope sermonis dignitatem a metaphoris profisci").[174] While other ornaments each make their single contribution to the charm (*gratia*) and flexibility (*commoditas*) of a speech, only metaphor adds everything in fuller measure ("metaphora sola cumulatius praestat universa") - the sort of claims which culminate with Tesauro's assertion that metaphor discovers "un teatro pien di meraviglie". We shall note two tendencies in Erasmus's treatment of the ornaments of speech which he so assiduously gathers and lists: on one hand, there is the exploration of contextual meaning in the *paroemia* so that each emerges as a configuration of significance, and the insistence on the full expressive integration of ornament in eloquent speech, while on the other is the valorisation of the ornament as historical fragment which constitutes a *laus* in itself.

In the prolegomena to the *Adagia* Erasmus speaks of *paroemia* in terms of a shimmering, visual excitement which exhibits itself as a brightening or apparent self-enlightening within the fabric of the speech, in language that exploits the various metaphors for *enargeia*

> si scite et in loco intertextantur adagia, futurum est, ut sermo totus et antiquitatis ceu stellulis quibusdam luceat et figurarum arrideat coloribus et sententiarum niteat gemmulis et festivitatis cupeiis blandiatur, denique novitate excitet, brevitate delectet, autoritate persuadeat.[175]

If the "inherent" value of an *adagium* lies in its antiquity, its meaning is delineated by context, and Erasmus opens the work by stating that the *adagia* are suited to things and times.[176] Thus the citations of the occurrence of each *adagium* form an encyclopaedic exploration of classical literature while similtaneously unfolding the significance of a saying in contextual terms and amplifying it through a commentary that develops the analogies between accumulated contextual meanings. This process of amplification that is attendant upon the codification of each *adagium* demonstrates that the significance "contained" within antique fragments is revealed as a *copia* which displays both the particularity of contextual meaning and the correspondences that exist between these meanings – Erasmus speaks of the "ocean of philosophy or theology" which can be unfolded from a little adage[177], so the emblematic

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[174] *Opera omnia*, *op.cit.* I.v, p.88.

[175] *Opera omnia*, North Holland, 1993, II.i, p.64 ("If the *adagia* are woven into a discourse knowingly and in place, the whole speech will shine with star-like lights of antiquity, please with the colours of figures, gleam with gems of *sententiae*, charm with delightful delicacies, and in short excite with its novelty, delight with its brevity and and persuade with its brevity").

[176] *Adagia*, *Prolegomena*. Erasmus cites Donatus in this definition of the *adagium*.

[177] "Vides quantum philosophiae vel theologicae magis oceanum nobis paroemia tantilla aperuit" (*op. cit.*, p.62). The adage in question is the phrase *ta philon koina* ("things are held in common amongst friends") which he has expanded from Pythagorean fragment to Platonic meditation to Christological teaching upon the community of the faithful and the universal love in divine creation.

brevity of the *adagium* woven into a text serves to open it out (*aperuit*) into an "ocean" of contextual meaning.

To embellish a discourse with *adagia* is to enhance it with expressions that carry recognised cultural authority - Erasmus says that knowledge of *paroemia* serves "ad philosophiam", "ad persuadendum", "ad decus et gratiam orationis" and "ad intelligendos autores"; it is further to fashion a discourse with respect to the configuration of contextual significance. Erasmus is aware of the fascination of the fragmentary state of these ancient sayings, and quotes Quintilian's remarks on *sententiae* to emphasize that if *paroemia* are to be the proper ornaments of a speech, they must be smoothly assimilated into a discourse as a whole, and not implanted as in a mode that is elsewhere compared to patchwork or mosaic work: "oratio et e singulis non membris, sed frustris collata, structura caret" (*Institutio oratoria*, VIII.v.27-28).[178] Assimilation is not just a stylistic criterion, but is fundamental to the semantics of the *adagia*, and their contextual configuration of meaning; to employ them is to discover contextual significance as a field or matrix of correspondences where the relations between inherited, "antique" usage and present deployment may be perceived as a living analogy rather than a static replication. The task is to overcome the fragmentary or lifeless nature of inherited things from the treasure house (*thesaurus*) of antiquity; speaking of its incorporation into a text, Erasmus says

> Siquidem ut non mediocris est artificii gemmulam scite includere anulo et aurum purpurae intertexere, ita non est, mihi crede, cuiusuis paroemiam apte decenterque orationi inserere [179]

The compact, gem-like quality of the adage as it is woven into the surface of the discourse contrasts with the configurations of meaning which it creates and which materialise in the process of interpretation; thus the adage is both a thing, an actuality in the text and an

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[178] ("If speech is not made from single clauses, but patched together from fragments, it lacks structure").

[179] *op. cit.*, p.65 ("Just as it is not the task of a mediocre craftsman to insert gems in a ring skilfully or to weave gold into purple cloth, so it is not, believe me, within the capability of anyone, to insert proverbs aptly and decorously into a speech"). Erasmus's metaphors of interweaving the ornaments of thought into a text reappear throughout Renaissance literary criticism. Amongst the Elizabethan versions of this theme, we might quote Puttenham's *Arte* "This ornament we speake of is given [...] by figures and figurative speaches, which be the flowers as it were and colours that a Poet setteth upon his language by arte,as the emborderer doth upon his stone and perle, or pasements of gold upon the stuffe of a Princely garment, or as th'excellent painter bestoweth upon the rich Orient colours upon his table of pourtraite" (*op. cit.*, p.137). The same language occurs in *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577), by Henry Peacham, writer of the earliest extensive English collection of emblems, *Minerva Brittanica*, 1612: "I was of a sodaine moved to take this little Garden in hande, and to set therein such Figaratyve Flowers [...] as doe yeelde the sweete savour of Eloquence and present to the eyees the godly an bewtiful coulours of Eloqution: such as shyne in our speech like the glorious stars in firmament: such as bewtify it, as flowers of sundry coullors, a gallant Garland: a gorgious Garment: such as delight the eares, as pleasaunt reports, repetitions, and running poyntes in musick, whose utility is so great, tht I cannot sufficiently prayse them, and the knowledge of them so necessarie, that no man can reade profytably, or understand perfectlye, eyther Poets, Oratours, or Holy Scriptures without them [...] By figures [the orator] may set forth any matter with a goodly perspicuitie, and paynt out any person, deede or thing, so cunninglye with these colours, that it shall seeme rather a lyvely Image paynted in tables, then a reporte expressed wyth the tongue" (Scolar Press Facsimiles, 1971, Aii-iii). Similarly, Grácian in *Agudeza* compares emblems to gems in the gold of elegant discourse (cited by R. Clements, *Picta Poesis*, Rome 1960 p.27).

interpretative structure based on analogy. If *adagia* bring their contextual significations into configuration, a certain proportion must be maintained between these meanings, and this field of analogical possibilites must further remain in fitting relation with the circumstances of the speech, with its requirements of coherence and *consentaneus*. If the *adagium*, at once condensed and pregnant with contextual meanings, gives significance to the speech, the speech provides the situation for the *adagium*. This reciprocal enhancement of significance between saying and context serves to unsettle the notion of the adage as an extrinsic and fragmentary quotation; as an ornament of thought the *adagia* embellishes both at the stylistic and semantic level, with its analogical configuration of significance.

Much of Erasmus's discussion of the *Adagia* has a source in Quintilian's remarks on *sententiae* in *Institutio oratoria* VIII.v, and one should note that even in Quintilian's day these were objects of philological study – Quintilian discusses their origins in sentiments or opinion, then striking reflection, of which the most ancient form is the aphorism or gnomic saying. As received saying, the *adagia* were also related to the *loci communes* from which the orator could draw forth copious arguments, as discussed by Cicero in *De inventione*. If *De copia* used place logic to catalogue the *loci* where amplification of arguments could be discovered, the *Adagia* as sources or "sedes" of *copia*, generate amplification not by logic but by a semantic structure unfolded as a configuration of contextual signification. Again we see the importance of the spatial conception of the *loci*, except that here the question is not so much one of the topical categories as the *loci communes* in the sense of received arguments, and their relationship to the aphoristic or proverbial *sententiae*, which Quintilian says are considered by many to be "praecipuum ac paene oratoriae ornatum" (VIII.v.3). If the *Adagia* are complementary to the techniques of amplification described in *De copia*, they also have an affinity with the hieroglyphs; not only does each contain a great wealth in a little space, but demands to be unfolded through the understanding of each of the parts which together compose a meaning structured as a configuration of significance. Erasmus observes this in a digression on hieroglyphs in his discussion of the motto *festina lente* in the *Adagia*, where he comments that their enigmatic significance is explicated once the meaning of each element represented has been understood. Edgar Wind, in quoting these remarks, notes that "contrary to the divine intelligence which the reading of hieroglyphs is supposed to foreshadow, the intuitive grasp of them depends on discursive knowledge", and cautions against confusing the "intuitive" as the implicit and the "intuitive" as the visual.[180] The discursive and logical reading of the hieroglyphs, composed from the interplay of various elements, and the *adagia* as sententious ornaments to be interwoven into speech, linked to the *loci communes*, and described in visual terms (Quintilian describes the *sententiae* as the "eyes" of eloquence at VIII.v.34), results in such works as the *Emblemata* of Alciati (first edition 1531), with which the confluence of topical, philological and allegorical readings of verbal and visual signs begins in earnest. In approaching the emblems and other devices of a "hieroglyphic" nature, one must always that recall that figurations are related to thinking on *copia*, and the abundance of arguments to be discovered in the small space – the brevity – of the sententious figure.

[180] *Pagan Mysteries*, ed. cit., p.207-208.

*From* adagium *to* emblema – *Alciati and the* emblema *as sententious hieroglyph and mosaic*

The *Adagia* were much used by Alciati, a friend of Erasmus, in his *Emblemata* conceived by the author as epigrams without illustrations which could be used, as the preface says, for the fashioning of visual images to pin on clothes or hats, or as a means of writing with "wordless tokens" (*tacitis scribere quisque notis*).[181] Thus while Alciati wrote the *Emblemata* as a sequence of epigrams, many of which entail apostrophe and prosopopoeia (*i.e.* a lifeless object speaks – the trope was thus associated with metaphor and *enargeia*), he conceived them as providing inventions for devices or "hieroglyphs", as he asserted in *De verborum et rerum significatione* (1530), where he writes "words indicate, things are indicated. However things, too, can sometimes indicate, as for example the hieroglyphics in Horus and Chaeremon; and proceeding from this idea we have written a book in verse with the title *Emblemata*".[182] *Emblema* means in Greek an insert of any kind, and in Latin generally signifies an insert of artistic value, like inlay, mosaic, or the detachable mounts on vases, for example, of gold and silver, which were considered more valuable than the vase themselves. Erasmus uses the term on occasion, as in the discussion in *De copia* of the charm of archaic words which can be incorporated like inlaid decorations ("Prisca gratiam addunt, si modice et apte velut emblemata intertextantur") or in praise of Origen ("totus huius sermo sacrorum voluminum sententiis ceu gemmulis emblematis distinctus est").[183] So far the *emblema* looks very much like an *adagium*, and its translation into visual terms could be taken as a natural conclusion of the language in which *sententiae* are persistently described from antiquity. In likening the *Emblemata* to hieroglyphs, however, Alciati seems to wish to unite philological and

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[181] *Emblemata*, Lyons 1550, reprint Scholar Press 1996, translated Betty I. Knott. This dedication was made to Conrad Peutinger: Alciati observes that as the emperor Maximilian gives medals to Peutinger, Alciati gives him the emblems – paper gifts from one poet to another. Thus the *Emblemata* are conceived as a literary complement to the medals, with their image and motto. One should say a word here on the difference between the emblem and the *impresa*. The distinction between the two lies in the fact that the emblem consists of a motto or moral sentence (sometimes called a *lemma*), an image, and a verse, whereas the *impresa* contains only the first two elements, and - according to some theorists - even the sentence or motto is superfluous. Apart from the *Emblemata* of Alciati and the *Symbolicae Quaestiones* of Achille Bocchi (1574), the emblem flourished more in Northern Europe, especially in Holland, as a genre of didactic literature; it was adopted also by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century as a devotional instrument. The *impresa* was more favoured in Italy, and in contrast to the emblem it was regarded as both more serious (partly because it contained less explanatory material) and more ephemeral, since the *impresa* often responded to a particular situation, the disclosure of a lover's sentiments to a beloved, for example, while the moral lesson of the emblem was more widely applicable. In the *Discorso intorno all'invenzioni dell'Imprese* (1556), Ruscelli says that the "impresa non è se non dimostrativa di qualche segnalato pensiero di colui che la fà e che l'usa" while "gli emblemi, al contrario, facendosi quasi sempre in soggetto e documento universale, possono continuarsi di tener da'figliuoli e da tutti i lor discendenti", cited in *La Letteratura delle immagini nel cinquecento*, Rome 1980, p.157 ("the *impresa* is nothing if not demonstrative of a certain signalled thought of the person who has made it and who uses it" "emblems, by contrast, almost always express a universal subject and document, and so can be used by children and descendents of those who first used them" ). Palazzi echoes this in his distinction between the *imprese* as suited to "i nostri pensieri particolari" and the emblems as expressing a "precetto universale, e non per sé medesimo solo, ma per gli altri ancora" *SAC ed. cit.*, p.2802 ("a universal precept, not for the [inventor] alone, but for others also"). For Tesauro the emblem is a "simbolo vulgare", in contrast to his high praise for the *impresa* as "la più sublime e ingegnosa di tutte le maniere simboliche" (Turin 1670, p.734 and 634).

[182] Cited in Hessel Miedema, "The Term *Emblema* in Alciati", *JWCI* 31

[183] *De copia*, *Opera Omnia*, I.vi, p.44 ("archaic words add grace, if they are properly and aptly inserted like *emblemata*"). Edition of Origen cited by Elizabeth See Watson *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, Cambridge, 1993., p. 112, who also mentions Poliziano's discussion of the term in a letter of 1490 to Hieronymus Donatus ("his whole discourse is distinguished by *sententiæ* or jewel-like *emblemata* of sacred works").

epigrammatic significance with the idea of the visual sign (*i.e.* hieroglyph) which metaphorically indicates another thing – he speaks of the *emblema* as an epigram in which something is described so that it indicates something else.[184] Erasmian meditations on the configuration of meaning in sententious, proverbial and enigmatic expressions, explicated by philology and related to invention from the *loci communes*, start to merge here with the *figura* which implies both visualisation and a metaphoric "turning" (Quintilian likens the *figura* to a body which has changed posture), and with the allegorical understanding exemplified by the "mysterious" or "sacred" nature of the hieroglyphics. In the conflation of the terms to describe a collection of allegorical epigrams we see the kind of confluence of meanings that makes Renaissance symbolism so rich; the *emblema* is at once a composite, inlaid decoration similar to an *adagium*, a symbolic figuration which expresses its meaning in a "sacred" or intuitive image and an epigram conceived as a source of invention for images which signified, metaphorically, something besides what they described. At each of these levels there is a play between the verbal and visual, which becomes more explicit once the printer, Steyner, added illustrations. If the emblem as initially conceived had characteristics both of hieroglyph and of *adagium*, as hieroglyph it breaks down the unity of the "intuitive" symbol into the pairing of word and image, while as an inlaid saying or epigram its composite mosaic-like form reflects in a sense the structure of meanings unfolded from the *adagium*.

Subsequent editions of Alciati and other writers on emblem literature are acutely aware of the meaning of *emblema* as mosaic, a meaning which Alciati himself does not explicitly develop. The preface of the 1548 edition, the first to represent the emblems arranged according to *loci communes*, quotes Budé's definition of the *emblema* as mosaic work - a fitting whole made out of small inlaid pieces - alongside a definition of the threefold structure of the emblem, comprised of a *sententia*, which penetrates the soul with its flashing insight (*argutia*), a verse whose metre charms the ears and an image (*eikones*) on which the eyes can feast.[185] In short, the emblem is defined as a ornament composed like a mosaic of three components which can be respectively identified with ornament of thought, and the two ornaments of speech - rhythm and figure - with the visual qualities ascribed to the figure translated into a visual image, so that the emblem appeals simultaneously to the mind, the ears and the eyes. The emblem in other words appears here as an embodiment of the three kinds of ornament of speech, brought together in a figuration which as mosaic expresses the composite unity of the symbol as a token joined together from various pieces and as hieroglyph points to the symbol as intuitive or mystical unity, whose divulgation is inseparable from its veil.

If Alciati spoke of the emblems as indicating something other than they describe – literally allegory in the sense of "saying other", this allegorical character pertains both to the emblem and its meaning, and to the relationship between the parts of the emblem. In the discussions of the emblems and *imprese*, one should note that the meaning of the device is not conceived as something exterior, a referent in the world outside language, but as a component of the emblematic "mosaic", so that the relationship between figure and meaning has an analogy in that between the embodying elements. In his fine essay on the *impresa*, "La théorie de l'expression figurée dans les traités italiens sur les Imprese, 1556-1612", Robert Klein

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[184] See Miedema, *op.cit.*, p.241.

[185] "[...] brevem sententiam argutia, quae animum purgit, numerosam versuum suavitatem quae aures mulcet, των εικονων picturam non inanem, quae oculos pascit". *Emblemata*, 1548, *op.cit.*, Preface.

remarked that while the theory of devices could divide logicians, who insisted on the resemblance between the *concetto* and the apprehension of the intelligible species, as we have seen in Pellegrino, and artists concerned to establish the rules for motto-figure interactions. At the base of each, Klein argued, is metaphor, as thought image and since art consists in going back to the creative act of *ingegno*, all art becomes metaphor – which is Tesauro's conclusion at the end of the age of *concettismo*.[186] If the meaning of the device, described as a *nodo*,[187] seems to lie "within" it, in the sense that is explicated through the interaction of the elements in its representational structure, that meaning is also mysterious, and declares itself a shadow or symbol of another thing – the merging of Aristotelian notions of *techne* and a brand of Neoplatonism receptive to theurgy in discussions of "hieroglyphic" figuration leads to the assertion that the structure of artifice reflects the articulation of thought, while insisting that this reflection, whether in human artifice or divine creation, has the character of a cipher whose meaning is divulgatory rather than immanent. This we have seen this thinking advanced above in writers who advance menmonic arts based on combinatory logic and hieroglyphics – what now concerns us is the figurative structure of the poetic device which can be reiterated at all levels of representation. We might at once observe the conflation of the ornaments of *elocutio* distinguished by Quintilian – we noted the concord of metre, image and *sententia* above, but one might go further and see that the *impresa* is at once *figura* and metaphor (*i.e.* trope), noting that the *figura* has shifted from a form of speech, close to the topics, which makes the meaning of speech appear as if to the eyes, to become a visual design.[188] The various ornaments of speech – *sententia*, *figura*, have been fitted together so as to "all run upon one point and to one intent", and this intent, as Klein says, is the invention of an expressive symbol which is metaphorical in the each of its elements and at every level of its meaning. It should therefore not surprise us that it is in the treatises on the *imprese*, rather than in literary discussions of poetics, that we find some of the richest sixteenth century treatments of metaphor.

### *The treatises on the* impresa

The metaphoric nature of the device concerns fundamentally the relation of *concetto* and *figura* – what Scipione Bargagli calls the *similitudine* or *comparazione* between the two, and it is from the expression of the former by the latter, by means of *similitudine*, that the *impresa* derives its life: "l'espression del concetto per via di similitudine con figure e con parole [...] infonde lo spirito e 'l vero essere dona all'impresa".[189] For Bargagli, "l'impresa non è [...] altro in sostanza che metafora",[190] and it is this metaphoric nature that leads many theorists of

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[186] Klein, *La forme et l'intelligible*, *op.cit.* p.145.

[187] Scipione Ammirato defines the *impresa* as "una significazione della mente nostra sotto un nodo di parole e di cose" *La Rota overo delle imprese*, Naples, 1562, in *SAC* III, p.2772 ("a signification of our mind through a knot of words and things").

[188] On the subtle distinction between *figura* and trope, see Quintilian IX.i.2 ff.

[189] Scipione Bargagli, *La prima parte dell'imprese*, Siena, 1578, in *SAC* III, p.2810 ("the expression of the *concetto* by means of similitude with figures and words [...] infuses spirit and gives true being to the *impresa*"). It should be noted that in discussions of the *impresa* we are following the selection made by Barocchi in *SAC* III, without giving fuller accounts of the individual writers. These men were often academicians (Bargagli, Ruscelli), or historians (Giovio, Ammirato) – some, like Ruscelli, were famous for their wide spectrum of interests while others such as Palazzi, are not otherwise known. A project that lies beyond the present argument is a more extensive study of the theorists of the emblem and *impresa*; their academic connections, their circles and their range of interests.

[190] *op. cit.*, p.2811("nothing else in substance but a metaphor").

the *imprese* to assert that it is a kind of poetry, whose "soul", as Bargagli says, is not imitation but *comparazione*.[191] It is not only the relation of *concetto* and *figura* which is described in metaphoric terms, but that of image and motto – if Giovio had launched the discussion of the *impresa*[192] with the stipulation that elements that constituted the "body" and "soul" of the device should be in proportion, later theorists emphasise the conjunction, or metaphoric fusion between the two; for Girolamo Ruscelli, the words and image of the *figura* should be so joined that they make no sense if separated (this is especially important for the motto), while Scipione Ammirato considers the relation of "parole" and "cose" a *nodo*, from which a third, new element is created:

> la meraviglia consiste nell'accoppiamento di due cose intelligibili, le quali, per cagion che costituiscono un terzo, che non è né l'uno né l'altro delle due cose, ma un misto, quindi è che si generi la meraviglia.[193]

It is notable that the "giusta proporzione" of which Giovio speaks is now rendered as *meraviglia*, which the *impresa*, as a variety of poem, aims to create. If the union of two things which creates *meraviglia* is a species of metaphoric conjunction, it is associated with the qualities ascribed by Aristotle to metaphor – the unusual, the novel, the alien – but more importantly with the union of contraries. For the sixteenth century theorists, this union of opposites forms the definition of poetry itself, supposedly validated by Aristotle's remarks about the union of the plausible and the impossible in the *Poetics* xxv – as we have seen, Patrizi builds his topics of the *mirabile* on this observation. Chiocco (*Discorso della natura*

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[191] On the *impresa* as poem, see the texts of Bargagli, Palazzi, Ammirato, Chiocco and Torquato Tasso in *SAC* III, pp.2771-2852.

[192] Giovio's treatise, the first on the *impresa* was the *Dialogo delle imprese*, 1556, which traces the popularity of devices back to the Italian invasion of the cavalry of Charles VIII in 1494, thus neglecting prominent festivities such as the jousts of Lorenzo and Giuliano de'Medici in 1469 and 1475, as well as the hieroglyphs or emblems, whose decorative application was already explored by this time, as in the Palazzo Ducale at Urbino. Giovio's account, while superficial, was nevertheless influential and formulated the five "rules" fundamental to the invention of *imprese*: proportion between the soul (motto) and the body (image) of the *impresa*, a mean between excessive simplicity and obscurity, pleasing appearance, absence of human forms in the image and foreign language in the motto.

[193] Ammirato, *op. cit.*, p.2780 ("the marvellous consists in the conjunction of two intelligibile things, so that they constitute a third, which is neither one nor the other, but a mixture, which in this way generates wonder"). In relation to discussions of the proportion or conjunction between the elements of the *impresa*, one should also mention here Tasso's dialogue on the *imprese*, *Il Conte*, composed at the very end of his life and pervaded by the intense Counter Reformation piety of Tasso's later years. The dialogue, which takes place overlooking the newly erected obelisk at St John Lateran and thus starts off with a consideration of the relation of the "sacred" hieroglyphs and the "courtly" *imprese*, culminates with the refutation of the "proportion" of body and soul: "se il motto è quasi anima de l'impresa e partecipa de la divinità e de la immortalità del poeta, non può avere alcun proporzione con la figura ma la proporzione si considera fra le parti del corpo", *Il Conte*, ed. B.Basile, Salerno, 1993, p.207 ("if the motto of the *impresa* is like its soul and participates in the divinità and immortalità of the poet, it can have no proportion with the figure, and proportion can only persist between the parts of the body"). For Tasso the *impresa* as set forth by Giovio is unacceptable not only because poetry and painting work at different levels, but because the body and soul in human beings do not co-exist in measure but in tragic disjunction – the dialogue ends with the statement that if the *impresa* is to exist at all, it can be no more than an image, and the only image which bears true similarity to another thing (Tasso is drawing here on Dionysius the Areopagite and the distinction between similitude through similarity and through dissimilarity) is that of the human form created in likeness to God.

*delle imprese e del vero modo di formarle*, 1601) speaks of the poetic nature of the *impresa* as lying both in the metaphoric relation of *figura* and *concetto*, and in the *mirabile* created from the conjunction of the credible and impossible, but the analogy of the metaphoric conjunction of elements in the *impresa* and the generic definition of the *mirabile* in poetry is most developed by Palazzi. In the *Discorsi sopra l'Imprese* (1575), he opens the comparison of *impresa* and poem by likening the single thought of the *concetto* expressed by the elements of the *impresa* to the single complete action represented in tragedy "tutte quelle cose a mostrare una sol cosa et a manifestare un sol pensiero concorrono".[194] Palazzi then develops the poetic character by insisting on *meraviglia* as necessary to the *impresa* and declares:

> E come nel poema quella meraviglia si annuncia che si fa con le cose possibili, mescolando le vere con le false e le false con le vere, di maniera, che tutte abbiano sembianza di vere, e se per avventura alle volte cose si dice, che la credenza degli uomini trapassi, in modo con quelle [...] accoppiandole che l'una faccia l'altra credibile e l'altra faccia lei grande e meravigliosa; così dell'impresa talmente l'oscuro col chiaro, il falso con il vero, l'umile con l'altiero, il duro con il molle, il possibile con l'impossibile, il nobile col magnanimo e col superbo si debbe temperare, che ne resulti un non so che nuovo e gentile.[195]

Palazzi concludes by extolling this "non so che nuovo e gentile" created from the extension of *concors discordia* through plot and style as music whose tempered harmony gives rise to *meraviglia*: "i musici col dolce, e col aspro, col grave e con l'acuto fanno un tal

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[194] Palazzi, *Discorsi*[...] in *SAC* Vol.III, p.2803 ("all these things come together to show a single thing and manifest a single thought"). Palazzi is of course drawing on the idea of the plot (*mythos*) as soul in the *Poetics*. Palazzi also compares the *impresa* to a house, which is one thing comprised of the union of many parts. We find another mode of treating the plot as soul in relation to the ensouling qualities of *energeia* in the treatise on romance of Giraldi Cinthio, who identifies *energeia* with the "soul" of poetry, as the culmination of his analogy of the romance as body. He seems to be drawing here on Aristotle's use of *energeia* in the *Ethics* and *De anima* to describe the activity which is characteristic of the soul, as well as on *Rhetoric* III – in his account *energeia* is the quality which rests "nel porre chiaramente, efficaciamente la cosa sotto gli occhi di chi legge, et nell'orecchie di chi ascolta", *Discorso* [...] *romanzi*, *op.cit.*p.161 ("in placing clearly and effectively the thing before the eyes of the reader and ears of the listener"). Giraldi Cinthio counters the Aristotelian identification of the soul of the poem with the plot by asserting that the plot is the vegetative soul, from which all higher souls have their origin – the highest being that quality which creates a liveliness equivalent to *actio* and *pronuntio* in oratorical performance, which he defines as *energeia*. The metaphor of body and soul appears again, and its end is the insistence on the poem as lively representation, which appears before the eyes of its readers and impresses its *concetti* in their souls (*ibid*). The poem does not merely represent or imitate, but seems to *show* the reader the events it describes, as Quintilian had spoken of *enargeia* as revealing a scene to an audience as though they were in a theatre.

[195] *op. cit.*, p.2804 ("just as in the poem, this wonder is produced with possible things, mixing the true and the false and the false and the true, in such a way that everything may have the semblance of the true, and if at times it is said that this goes beyond the credulity of men, [...] conjoining them so that one makes the other credible and the other makes the first great and marvellous: so in the *impresa* the obscure is mixed with the clear, the false with the true, the humble with the proud, the hard with the soft, the possible with the impossible, the noble must be tempered with the magnanimous and the proud, so that something indescribably novel and pleasing is created").

temperamento, che una soavissim'armonia ne riesce [...] se ne trarrebbe quel diletto e quella meraviglia che insieme una ben proporzionata musica si ponge".[196] Palazzi's comments are similar to Tasso's comparison of the unity in variety in the epic plot to the *concors discordia* – like the poetics of Patrizi and the *intermedi* of Bardi and Buontalenti, we find that every element in the representation seemed to participate in *concors discordia* and the harmonising of contraries produces not only proportion but *meraviglia*. The discussion of metaphor, poetic genre, and the *impresa* as a conjunction of opposites which produces both *temperamento* and *meraviglia* centres of course on the union of body and soul in human beings, the "great wonder" extolled in the Hermetic texts. Thus Ammirato concludes his discussion of *meraviglia* as generated from the conjunction of two things to produce as third with a celebration of the *grande miracolo*, the *nodo umano* as a paradigm for the *imprese*:

> in questo nodo umano vi si vedeva la natura angelica e quella degli animali irrazionali con tanto mirabile artificio [...] Così veramente io giudico dell' impresa, perciocché ella non è più quel motto o proverbio o sentenza che si prende; né più quel corpo che si adopera; ma quel misto, o terzo, che risulta o nasce dalla sentenza e dalla cosa o immagine ricevuta[197]

The *impresa* as reflection of the *nodo umano* appears also in Alessandro Farra in *Settenario dell'umana riduzione* (1571), a digest full of citations from Cusanus, Lull, Hermes Trismegistus and Camillo. With Farra we come back to the system of correspondences – rather than dwell on the hieroglyphs, as we might expect, Farra develops the analogy between the three part structure of the *impresa* and the *nodo umano* in terms of the Neoplatonic syncretism, set forth by Camillo. Thus he says that the *impresa* is "tanto più perfetto di tutti gli altri [simboli] raccontati fin'ora, quanto che egli, per la simiglianza che tiene con l'uomo, autore e opefice suo, può dirsi uomo ideale "e vera e propria operazione dell'intelletto umano" la qual cosa si vederà manifestamente ripigliando per la via simbolica l'origine, ond'ella ottimamente conviene con la formazione umana".[198] In an elaboration of Ammirato's *nodo* of angelic and animal parts, Fara parallels the conjunction of mind, spirit and human nature with that of *concetto*, motto and image. From this he elaborates a five part scheme, which reflects the progression mind-reason-vital spirit-quality (temperament) of body-material body in human beings with the structure of the *impresa* as *concetto*-motto-proportion of words and image-meaning of the image-image. As all parts of human being are directed to the mind, so all parts of the *impresa* are directed to the *concetto*, and reflect the ascent from the multiplicity of the material to intellectual unity.

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[196] *ibid* ("as musicians temper the soft and the harsh, the grave and the acute, so that a sweet harmony results, we would draw that delight and wonder which well proportioned music offers").

[197] Ammirato, *op. cit.*, p.2780 ("in this human knot the angelic and animal nature appeared conjoined with wondrous artifice [...] so, I judge, is the *impresa*, since it is neither the motto or proverb or *sententia*, nor the body, but the mixture or third thing produced by or born from the *sententia* and the thing or image").

[198] *Settenario dell'umana riduzione*, in *La Letteratura delle immagini nel cinquecento*, ed. Gennaro Bavarese and Andrea Gareffi, Rome, 1980, p.175 ("more perfect than all the other symbols discussed, since it can call itself an ideal man, and "true and proper operation of the human intellect" on account of the resemblance it bears to man, its author and maker; this appears manifestly in repeating, symbolically, its origin, in which it concurs with the formation of the human being").

Farra's *Settenario* represents a particularly schematic treatment of the *imprese* as reflection of the union of body, soul and mind. Where Farra presents a graded progression, we saw that for Ammirato this *nodo* was a *concors discordia* likened to metaphoric conjunction, and for Palazzi and Chiocco the meeting of opposing qualities in metaphor was paralleled in the generic character of poetry itself, where *meraviglia* is evoked by the conjunction of the credible and the impossible. As in the 1589 *intermedi* we noted that the tempered proportion of music and the "hieroglyphic" aspect of the representation went together as expressions of the *meraviglia* of *concors discordia* exemplified by conjunction of body and soul. To summarise, the identification of the metaphoric character of the *impresa* leads to the discussion of the *nodo* of body and soul, the *concors discordia* which arouses *meraviglia*, codified in topical terms by Patrizi. In this *coincidentia oppositorum* of "body" and "soul", the metaphor and *impresa* are revealed as the quintessential forms of human artifice, reflections of the "great wonder" that show the transformative and potentially magical character of human *poesis*.[199] In this blending of the creative powers in which the human is shown in likeness to God, and the reflection between structure of artifice and the structure of the *nodo umano* is thus shown by the theorists of the *impresa* to be founded on metaphor. The *imprese*, which initially appear as small or trivial badges,[200] come to occupy a central place in the theory of the arts, which, as we said, permitted a theory of verbal and visual figuration to enter into correspondence with ideas of music as *concors discordia*, and can be translated from the most miniature and ephemeral to monumental embodiment.[201] Thus the *imprese* are compared not only with the sacred hieroglyphics from which they "descend", but with the eternal "ciphers" of the stars, planets and all nature with which God "showed" the artifice of creation as *figura*. In his second discourse on the *imprese* of 1584, Ruscelli has no hesitation in proclaiming the range of hieroglyphic expression from the Egyptians to classical medals to God's directions for the ornamentation of the Temple to the symbols of the evangelists to the constellations themselves, finishing off with the devices adopted by knights errant, claiming the universality of the visual figures as the reason for their use in place of language.[202] As "figured" signs

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[199] Mendelsohn *op.cit.* p.22 enumerates the aspects of man as magus in the *Theologia Platonica* of Ficino: artist, alchemist, doctor, god of animals which he tames, of elements which he cultivates, of materials which he handles or governor of the body.

[200] Poliziano in a letter complained of being asked constantly to invent mottos and epigraphs, saying that traces of his ingenuity appeared on every decorative object in Florence like the trail of a snail. Cited in E.S.Watson, *op.cit.*

[201] We can see how this emblematic conception of representation entered into dramatic spectacles in the Jacobean masques of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, described by Jonson in terms of body and soul in which Jones's work is the design of the "bodily part" while the literary invention lives on after the visual aspect had "perished like a blaze and gone out in the beholder's eyes. So short lived are the bodies of all things in comparison with their souls" (introduction to *Hymenaei* in Jonson, *Complete Masques*, *Collected Works*, New Haven, 1969. One source of the conflict that broke out between the two was the question of who should take credit for the invention of the masques – who had conceived them, and the later masques (*Pan's Anniversary*, *Love's Triumph through Calliopolis*, *Chloridia*) give the names of Jonson and Jones as joint inventors. In reference to the masques of Jonson and Jones, the *Masque of Blacknesse*, which entailed a procession of nymphs bearing hieroglyphs – the kind of spectacle that delights Tesauro in the *Cannochiale*.

[202] "con la stessa intenzione di mandar qualche importante concetto nella mente altrui, Iddio faceva figurar palme, pomi granati, gigli et i cherubini nel tabernacolo et nel tempio, disposti in modo che avesser significato. E pariamente ricordai le quattro imprese pur con figure, che s'attribuiscono a i quattro santissimi Evangelisti. E vi aggiungono alcuni che ancora i cieli nel firmamento e nel zodiaco ci mostrano forma di figure e non di lettere, forse con questa stessa conoscenza, che le figure sono più universalmente conosciute da ciascheduno che le lettere", *Le imprese illustre del signor Ieronimo Ruscelli,* Venice, 1584, in *SAC* III, pp.2814-2815 ("with the same intention to convey an important *concetto* in the minds of others, God ordered the carving of palms, pomegranates, lilies and cherubim in the tabernacle of the temple, arranged in a symbolic way. Again, I thought of the four *imprese* with figures which are attributed to the Evangelists. Some

appear throughout the whole continuum of reperesentation, from the most intimate "pensiero particolare" exchanged between lovers to the figuration of providential order in the heavenly bodies, we see the articulation of the levels of meaning in "hieroglyphic" figures, exemplified by Bocchi's distinction of the emblems in his *Symbolicae quaestiones* (1574) into physical, philological, moral and metaphysical (theological). Bocchi's four varieties of emblems obviously reflect the literal, tropical, allegorical and anagogical levels of scriptural interpretation – if all creation, made by divine artifice, is explored in terms of human making, which has its highest form in the *poesis* of inspired language, then the world as poem is interpreted in a manner analogous to the poetry of human artificers, through philology and through allegory. Argued above, it is most important that metaphors of the world as "God's book" are not adduced in order to exalt simplistic notions of the universality of textuality, for this is precisely *not* what is said by the writers of the treatises on *imprese* and emblems – their point is rather that the plurality and imperfection of human languages creates the need for figurative communication and understanding, which has two distinct advantages over linguistic language. The first of these is the immediacy and universality of the visual, and here we might recall the "rationalistic" interpretation of hieroglyphics which goes back to Alberti. The second emphasises the "figured" nature of the *figura*, which expresses its meaning in a way that is not direct, and is linked by Alciati with the hieroglyphic. As we have noted, this figurative meaning was only a part of the "sacred" significance of the hieroglyphs, which were taken by the antique and Florentine Neoplatonists as expressions of the ideal of a language which contains in itself the force of the things it represents. In this lay the fascination of the hieroglyphs, considered sacred in that they were believed both to show the forms of things without recourse to a conventional sign system, and also to be esoteric signs whose outer form was an enigmatic figure of their meaning. Thus the figure both showed a thing in its true form, and so (in magical thought) contained in itself the immanent force of a thing, or could be conceived as an allegorical *involucrum*, which the rhetorical tradition, in discussion of *figurae* and of mnemonics, described as a visual form. To recapitulate, the range of meanings attributed to the hieroglyph thus runs from the idea of sacred writing, whether conceived as divine sign or operative, theurgic symbol, to a glyph whose form embodies its own act of understanding, to an allegorical image to which a meaning is attributed, rather than incarnating that meaning in itself, to a figuration which enters into new significance when coupled with a *sententia* in the device, a pictogram which can be assembled into phrases like discursive speech, and finally a decorative element, which can adorn the "things of common use" with images which convey any or all of the meanings above.[203] The articulation of levels of meaning which we noted above means that a number of these levels of signification may be in play together; "liveliness" may denote *energeia* at the level of rhetoric, while in terms of Hermetic interpretation, it may suggest the theurgic dream of the statue animated by the divinity of the god it represents.

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add that the skies of the firmament and the zodiac show us the forms of figures and not letters, perhaps with the same understanding that figures are more universally known by everyone than letters" ). The Temple also features in Tasso's dialogue in *Il Minturno overo della Bellezza*, where he overturns each definition of beauty as decorum, delight, proportion, or trophy of the soul's victory over the body, and refusing in conclusion any substantial definition of beauty as a limitation of its transcendent nature, ends the dialogue with the metaphor of the inner sanctum of the Temple, divine within and adorned without - between outer and inner there can be no real analogy, but the outer appearance attempts to honour, as best it can, the divinity within. Tasso's argument here is thus in agreement with his remarks in his dialogue on *imprese*, *Il Conte*, on the disjunction of body and soul.

[203] The reference is to the 1548 edition of the *Emblemata*, which extolled the decorative deployment of emblems, as the 1517 Latin translation of the *Hieroglyphica* had done. We will consider this question of deployment of hieroglyphic figures below.

As we turn to the visual disposition of emblematic figuration, we should recall that the "liveliness" of poetic language and the word-image configuration may be analogies for the union of body and soul in the person of the performing orator or musician-poet, rapt by his own inspired eloquence. We suggested above that the *imprese* represent a development of literary discussions of the visual character which figurative language of various kinds confers on language. We saw that in rhetoric, such qualities are praised because they contribute to the persuasive force of oratory, by suggesting to an audience that they see events unfold before them, and thus intensifying their sense of emotional participation. In his essay on the *imprese*, Robert Klein quotes the definition made by Francesco Carburici between signification, imitation or representation and showing; the last is proper to poetry, as it is to figurative art, since poetry is essentially a *figura*.[204] For Carburici, showing takes place when a *concetto* is manifest indirectly by another object, and becomes a *figura* – the passage into metaphor, and into metaphor as visual embodiment, also entails the notion that the *figura displays*, and thus showing becomes a precondition of the "mysterious", indirect or paradoxical nature of occulted expression. One can see here the continuity between the display of the emblematic figuration, made up of body and soul, and the rhetorical ideal of the union of argument, style and person in the self-moving eloquence of the orator's delivery. To this one should add the musical and Vitruvian theories that propounded the analogy of cosmic and human proportion, which shaped visual and auditory measure, the latter harmony and rhythm in music, and rhythm or meter in language, thus extending the analogical framework into the space in which figurations and enactment are contained. With this much in hand, one might turn to the deployment of emblematic figures, which tends to be divulgatory (in the sense of showing), decorative and mnemonic.

*The deployment of emblematic figures and the emblematic conception of decorative cycles*

The *impresa* as contextual device may be designed for an occasion that is ephemeral, such as the badge adopted for a tournament or worn to impress a beloved with the sentiments of the lover – the structure and display of such devices forms a large part of the narrative of Sidney's *Arcadia*, which plays repeatedly on the continuity of the device with its body and soul, and those of the fictional characters, who adopt dress and disguise throughout the work to become "figures of themselves". Such figures both conceal and reveal – an enamoured prince disguised as an Amazon in order to approach his beloved both hides his identity and declares his state of captivity through his disguise, exemplified in a jewel depicting Hercules and Omphale which he wears.[205] One could cite many other examples in *Arcadia* – the point is that the *impresa* as occasional device should not be considered as a badge merely pinned on but as a sententious or hieroglyphic concentration of the figure (body and soul) made by the wearer to portray their state or intent to others, generally to persuasive intent.[206] The hieroglyphic figure is not

[204] Klein, *op.cit.*, p.132.

[205] The prince (Pyrocles) disguised as an Amazon (Zelmane) described at Book I, Chapter 12 of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* is presented to the reader as a type of the Renaissance virago, splendid in beauty and arms. One might read this as a *figura* for rhetoric itself, in the descriptions of Quintilian or the iconography of the *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* – Sidney takes this *figura* and elaborates it emblematically, so that the rhetorical ideal of fluent enactment is contorted into the enigma or paradox of the *impresa*. Zelmane indeed presents herself to the reader as a living emblem, with figure, motto and the verse which "she" performs to music.

[206] The emblematic presentation of character in the *Arcadia* demands a thesis in itself. One should note that

of course restricted to the kind of emblematic dress elaborated in *Arcadia* and devised for spectacles (Buontalenti's costumes for the 1589 *intermedi* are again a celebrated example), but could extend itself to every conceivable object. Long before the meanings of *emblema* as insert and as hieroglyph were brought together in the editions of Alciati, his pupil Filippo Fasanini prefaced his 1517 translation of Horapollo with a description of the hieroglyphs as

> short sayings or marks, which [people] may apply to swords, rings, headboards, belts, lutes, beds, coaches, ceilings, tablecloths, doors, in the museum, to tables and mirrors, in the bedroom, to curtains, to earthenware or silver vessels, [...] and by means of which in combination with painted or sculpted figures, they can wrap the secrets of their minds in coverings and paint the walls of their homes (*secreta animi sui involucris quibusdam occludere, parietesque domesticos oblinere possint*).[207]

One can instantly note the double movement here by which the secrets of the mind are veiled with symbols which are then displayed throughout the whole range of household and personal objects; the divulgatory nature of this ornament can never be divorced from the *involucrum* in which it is "contained". It is notable that Fasanini sees the *Hieroglyphica* as providing mottos, rather than images, although the two come together in the creation of the *involucrum* which he conceives more as a personal device than a "sacred" symbol. Fasanini's remarks reappear in the 1548 edition of Alciati:

> anyone [who] wishes in imagination to fill out what is empty, adorn what is bare, give speech in imagination to what is mute, assign thought to what is irrational, may take from this emblem book, as from a well stocked cupboard, something to inscribe on

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the sequence of spectacles in the work, which reflect Sidney's role as an inventor of entertainments at the Elizabethan court, and the highly figured style, form the outer form of a grave political fable concerning the evils of withdrawal from political duty, personified in a king who retreats to pastoral repose in star shaped lodge, possibly inspired by the Hvězda or Jagdschlosses Stern in the outskirts of Prague. One of the stylistic ornaments used conspicuously by Sidney is a figure of repetition in which the qualifying adjective negates the substantive, *e.g.* "artless art", "careless care". The preoccupation with such figuring seems to go beyond the ideal of aristocratic artifice set forth in the romance and touch on the seriousness of the political narrative, in that the paradox which gives ornament at the stylistic level may carry different implications of self-defeating action or deadlock at the level of political fable. On a different note, we might further add that the characters in *Arcadia* are introduced in the third chapter in an episode at the House of Kalendar, where portraits of the Arcadians are shown by a nobleman of the country to a foreign prince – the episode can be read not only as an ekphrastic device (in imitation of Philostratus) but as the delineation of a memory place, in which the key elements of the whole structure of the work are set forth for the prince (and the readers). This is noted by William Engel, "Mnemonic emblems in the Humanist Discourses of Knowledge", in *Aspects of Renaissance and Baroque Symbol Theory*, ed. P.Daly and John Manning, New York 1999. It might also be added that the first, shorter version of the romance (the "Old Arcadia") was divided into acts and eclogues like a courtly theatrical.

[207] Cited in Miedema, *op. cit.*, p.249. Cf. the remarks of Erasmus in discussion of *Festina lente* in the 1508 edition of the *Adagia* who claims that the force and significance contained within the *adagium* are such as to merit that it is engraved on every pillar, written over every temple, inscribed on gold on the double doors of princely doors, over every temple porch, chased on Episcopal rings and engraved on sceptres.

> the walls of a house, glass in windows, on curtains, on hangings, pictures, vases, statues, signet rings, garments, a table, the back of a couch, armour, a sword, in short every piece of equipment, anywhere at all. Then the things of common use will present on every side a form endowed with common speech, delightful to contemplate.[208]

To "endow things with speech" means that things become embodiments of arguments, and thus are raised out of the background situation of everyday objects, described as "empty", "bare", "mute" and "irrational". If Aristotle and Quintilian said that metaphor bestows life upon on inanimate things and places them before the eyes, it seems here that every item which is selected and taken up from its situation into use and attention takes on the character of distinguished rhetorical ornament. Through their decoration, these objects enter into the *concetto - figura* pairing which has its paradigm in the *nodo umano* of body and soul, and thus into a continuum which stretches from the background, as universal but implicit requirement, through progressive layers of articulation which culminates in the central figures or actors. Alongside the various levels of embodiment displayed by such figuration as speaking picture or metaphoric representation of body and soul, there the question of their mnemonic function, implied by the 1548 Alciati edition, which refers to the emblem book as a "well stocked cupboard" – thesaurus or topics. The mnemonic use of emblems is not restricted to the hermetic encyclopaedia that is Camillo's theatre; William Engel in an article cited above discusses the emphasis given to emblems as memory aids by humanists such as Théodore de Bèze, who spoke of the emblem as a lapidary construction (*tessellatus*) which brings together splendid elements quarried from diverse places, suitable for the construction of a memory theatre within the mind or the decoration of an architectural fabric.[209] The educator Richard Mulcaster and Thomas Wilson in *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) recommended the use of mythological figures as memory images, while John Willis in the *Mnemonica* speaks of the *emblema* as an ornamental panel used in architectural fabrics, rather than vases or silverware, and speaks of "faire squared stones or Timber work, wherein were set curiously graven Images or devices, signifying some profitable instruction".[210] The room filled with objects raised from muteness and irrationality into speech in the 1548 edition of Alciati is described as a "delightful to contemplate", and we should keep in mind the density of each emblematic figuration as mosaic, hieroglyph and *sententia*. As we have said, the emblematic structure of artifice can be used to respond to any occasion, or at any level, from centre to background, from the ephemeral game or private token, from the general "legibility" of pictograms to the esoteric nature of a sacred, hieratic language – it is not simply that all things participate in the programme of iconography, but that the structure can be reiterated, figured throughout details and all registers.

If Camillo's project can be seen as providing a model for the encyclopaedic character of a cycle of decorations, deriving from the disposition and amplification of images or things

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[208] *Emblemata, ibid.* Cf. the introductory verses of the *Hécatomographie* (1540), a French collection of a hundred illustrated emblems which compare them to hieroglyphs and suggests their use by decorative artists.
[209] Engels, *op.cit.*p.128-9. We cited above the images used as "topiques for locall memory" in the windows of the gallery of Bacon's house at Gorshambury.
[210] *op.cit.*pp.126-128, Rossi *op.cit.* p.109. I do not have a reference for the date of Willis's treatise – Rossi groups him with the seventeenth century practitioners of artificial memory.

according to a "universal" topical order, this universal character concretised within a place should be seen as working together with the emblematic figuration with its metaphoric structure of body and soul. The fullest realisation of the performance of meaning through the *nodo* of body and soul lies in the *energeia* of *actio*, and from this human *actio* we move to the various levels of *figura*, entailing showing, as as Carburici said, not just signifying or imitating. The continuum of emblematic figuration moves down through each layer and detail of the context, from costume to accoutrements to furniture with all these elements encapsulating word-image relationships. At the level of the architectural setting is the Vitruvian discourse that denotes the setting as body, founded on the proportion of cosmos and microcosmos, with the implied harmonic relationships. If we introduced the idea of the architectural context as furnishing a body for the activities which take place within it (again linked with *energeia*) in discussion of Alberti, one can see the degree to which the intervening levels, *i.e.* the levels where ornament appears, have swelled out with the reiterated and progressive figuration of body and soul. It is this reiteration of the figuration of body and soul at every level of the continuum of representation that lies behind the fascination with the grotto and the artifice of chaos reiterated in Mannerist palaces and villas, which shows the conjunction of body and soul in the depths of chthonic matter.[211] The grotto in itself can encapsulate the larger sequence of ordering, as in the three chambered Grotta Grande of Buontalenti in the Boboli Gardens, which progresses from the universal deluge of the *Metamorphoses*, to *mythos* (the legend of Troy) to Venus Anadyomene in the final chamber. Again, the emphasis on *meraviglia* which we have seen can lead to the garden, where human artifice discovers the soul in nature, as an especially privileged locus for the representation of body and soul, resulting in the later sixteenth century gardens of "marvels", such as Pratolino, where engineering was quite literally the fruit of the *ingegno mirabile* that shows *energeia* infused in matter. The garden so conceived should not however be regarded as an object in itself, but in relation to the figuration of body and soul which may be extended to all things within a room in the 1548 edition of Alciati, and we need to consider the nature of a place constituted so that the *actio* of the living protagonists is mediated to the "emptiness" "muteness" or "irrationality" of the background by a continuum of "lively" figuration. One may still refer to theatre in this context, in the sense of the accommodation of "totalising" invention in the "theatre of" represented and in reference to the rhetorical ideals of enactment, which are displayed in the reiterated figuration of body and soul, but the nature of the relationship of invention and action within a room moves in the direction of contemplation, knowledge and memory.

To recapitulate, we have spoken of the way that the emblematic structuring of body and soul seems to become a key to other discussions of figuration, as when the meditations on the *concetto* underlie the efforts of Zuccaro to extend *disegno* as conception and artifice through the universal order, or when Della Porta shows the range of figurations that could be used for mnemonic purposes, from cipher to rebus to physiognomic sketch to painting or dramatic

[211] Here one should mention Aristotle's doctrine in *De anima* of the soul which rises through vegetative, animal and intellectual life, with the attributes of growth (plants), feeling (animals) and reason (humans). This idea of the progressive development of the soul through the various parts of creation, easily assimilated to Neoplatonic hierarchies of the ascent from matter to the soul, lies behind the movement from the "rude" or chaotic to the disembodied intellect, but one should note an important distinction in the body-soul conjunctions with which we are dealing here. This lies in the fact that such conjunctions insist on the presence, and interaction, of both elements at any point in the continuum of iconography – thus there is not so much a movement from matter to intellect, but a progression from the soul stirring in the depths of chaos to the highest embodiment of intellect, with body and soul present throughout.

tableau fixed in the mind; in his writings the mnemonic image extends from emblem to *storia*, so that the whole spectrum of visual representation can be instrumentalised. With thinking on the correspondences between the universal order, and the cognitive and figurative structure of the *concetto* in hand, we might turn again to Bèze's remark on the emblem as suitable for use in a memory theatre within the mind or in an architectural fabric. Bèze denotes the continuity, or almost the interchangeable relationship between the two, and one is struck by his confidence in this continuity that allows for the movement from mental ordering (topics) to the disposition of arguments signified through images within a concrete place (topos). This identification of the concrete place as the locus of mnemonic and topical ordering appears, as noted, in the *studiolo* or the philosophical fictions of Béroalde de Verville; in the fictions of Béroalde, as in the theatre of Camillo the physical place is a concretisation of a mental order, and the *studiolo* is a thesaurus in the literal sense of a treasure house ordered topically. The room as encyclopaedia in this sense may entail the arrangement of *loci* in which objects are housed or displayed or it may entail the analogical layering of Camillo's theatre, which does not use objects but images that may claim hieroglyphic status, which claim to conflate the *enargeia* of rhetorical figures, the correspondence with the "universal" topical sources of invention, and the underlying universal order, with a mnemonic function and a display of the conjunction of body and soul. The writings of Camillo, Béroalde, and Ficino in his account of the diagrammatic "heavenly room" in *De vita* also point to an instrumentalisation and one should be sensitive here to the varying degree to which such instrumentalisation of space is conceived as mechanical, especially given the genesis of emblem theory from the rich elaboration of contextual meaning in the *Adagia* and suggested in the accumulation of figured objects in the 1548 edition of Alciati. It is important here to remember that in Italy emblematic figurations are frequently conceived in relation to a perspectival scene, with devices or "hieroglyphic" images disposed around the frame of the *storia*, as when Ruscelli insists that they should occupy a subordinate place in a room, should be in painted in chiaroscuro rather than colour, *etc.*

In the next section, we shall look at the development of these framing ornaments of the perspectival *storia* as they serve to mediate the perspective to the viewer, providing the contextualising iconography that "locates" a scene in terms of the arts or virtues, historical or mythological exemplars, or the cosmic hierarchy. At that point we shall attempt to trace the undermining of the centrality of the perspectival scene that one sees by the mid-sixteenth century, and suggest that it is in part due to the impact of Camillo, and the thinking on the mnemonic use of images, as well as the elaboration of the body-soul relations in discussion of the *concetto*. We shall pay some attention to an artist such as Salviati, who did work closely with Camillo, and attempt to clarify the relation between the changing and expansion of framing figurations and the *grottesche*, in which the mind's apprehension of nature, or the reflection of nature's energies in the *phantasia* enter into the figurative field. Part of the reason for this undermining of the centrality of the *storia* in perspective lies in the reflection on the perspective as opening a scene onto nature and so opening reflections about situation in nature in relation to the continuum of artifice or *poesis*, as we have seen it in subsequent theorising on the *concetto*. Raphael is particularly sensitive to the question of what is entailed in the "dissolution" of the room into attenuated frame in perspectival decoration, and his development of ornament – in particular, the *grottesche* – presents an opening and refinement of the relation with the topography.

We shall explore this in more detail later – here we should start with the room enlivened by the prosopopoeia of emblematic objects in the 1548 edition of Alciati, which is not centred on the disclosure of a perspectival scene, but on the interpretative activity of the person surrounded by things which have become hieroglyphic ornaments. The passage spoke of a background raised into speech and thought through the emblematic ornament of objects; rather than the continuous, harmonious pattern of vegetal ornament these devices give figurative form to arguments, so that the significance of an object as it forms part of a background of potentiality, or as it is selected for attention in the (more or less ritualised) use of the room is enriched by the argument that it bears. The room filled with objects so conceived would seem to resemble the "emblematic" portraiture that flourished particularly in Northern Italy, of which Parmigianino and Lorenzo Lotto were talented exponents, where a sitter holds out, wears and is surrounded by objects that disclose, "hieroglyphically", an insight concerning the sitter's identity, intentions or situation.[212] The objects depicted in such portraits at once form background and a context of emblematic meanings – as the 1548 Alciati edition recommends, they are lifted up from the background as the sitters hold out objects for us with solemn attention, so that we can reflect on their significance, as emblems in that context. The spectator is asked to penetrate the meaning the emblematic configuration that may be presented in the form of an enigma or *quaestio*, and to disclose the metaphoric insight (the *concetto*) played out in the figuration. This metaphoric insight can then enter into meaning with other such figurations, as they appear together in a certain context – interpretation in this situation will arise as a network of conjunctive, figurative meanings, something advanced above in discussion of the *Adagia*, but concretised visually, as a *réseau conjonctif*. One can understand why framing becomes an essential visual means of asserting this conjunctive nexus, as depicted in the *grottesche* and in the work of artists like Salviati who were prized for their skill in providing designs for ornate objects such as silverware, caskets or tapestries – such designs often took the form of a cartouche to contain a jewel.[213] The ornate frame becomes in brief a means of linking objects already constituted as ornament, and thus we can start to lose the sense of distinction between background and central object as one figuration of metaphoric conjunction gives way to another.[214]

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[212] In such a painting by Girolamo Mazzola, which Edgar Wind wished to identify as a portrait of the Paduan philospher Marcantonio Passeri, we find a man of scholarly appearance holding an emptying hour glass, while behind him is a labyrinth inscribed with the word "exi", seek a way out, and a vase with figures looking over their shoulders, a medallion of Janus and the inscription "ecce", behold. The portrait is illustrated and discussed by Wind in *Pagan Mysteries*. Mazzola is also called Mazzola Bedoli to distinguish him from his cousin, Girolamo Francesco Mazzola, better known as Parmigianino. Parmigianino produces similar portraits, with figures displaying antiquities or medals inscribed with hieroglyphs – he also brings this emblematic display to the type of *ritratto muliebre* perfected by Raphael, developing the expressive depiction of dress into a figure that retains an expressive fusion with the sitter and yet suggests a movement into a metaphoric understanding of the portrait as a whole.

[213] Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, grandson of Paul III and most wealthy patron in mid sixteenth century Rome, was especially lavish in commissioning what is now called decorative art – the most famous example being the Farnese Casket now in Naples, possibly made to contain a precious book, which consists of a lavish silver-gilt framework, with six inserted images of ancient machia or revels engraved on crystal, and Hercules seated on top. The design of the casket seems inspired by the decorations of Rosso in the Gallery at Fontainebleau, which were disseminated in the form of engravings and launched the cartouche. On the patronage of Alessandro Farnese, see Clare Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale" Alessandro Farnese Patron of the Arts*, Yale 1992.

[214] One notes this lack of distinction in sixteenth century drawings of *ornati*, where it can be difficult to see whether a design depicts a project for the decoration of a vault, the façade of a building, a casket, a tapestry or some part of an ephemeral *apparato*. One should also remember that the cartouche is used as border for the *impresa*.

Here we see why it was essential to have some kind of orientation, lest all things lose distinction in a metaphoric nexus in which all things can be claimed to participate in the same conjunction of body and soul that was linked, as we saw above, with metaphor. We might conceive of such orientation in various ways – as the thematising of a hierarchy of frames, or the progression depicted in perspective, which leads up to the heavens or out into nature, or the movement to the core of a sequence of rooms which articulate a *concetto*; Serlio coments on Raphael's skill in such orientation, in discussion of the projected decoration of the Sala di Psiche in the Farnesina, which was to accommodate images to the spatial register (gods in the ceiling, earthly scenes on the walls, to put it crudely).[215] This kind of invention, which consists in keying the iconography at each point in the room or building to its location (ceiling, walls, garden room, *etc.*) has its codification at the end of the sixteenth century in Armenini's *De' veri precetti della pittura* (Ravenna, 1586). In the third book of the manual, Armenini moves down from dome to ceiling and vault to walls to loggia to garden, façade and outer walls, discussing iconography appropriate to each level. While rooms are distinguished according to activity (situation within convent or palace, library, sala, religious cell) the iconography reflects the point occupied in the vertical continuum by a given space. In response to a schema like Armenini's, one must remember the two sides of invention – invention of an iconographic scheme (aided by the manuals) and invention of a structure of argument, aided by works of rhetorical invention based on topical logic, which give the "places" for finding copious arguments. Armenini graduates the iconography appropriate to place (the registers within a room and the progression through a whole building may become complementary), but the same structure of invention in argument can be scaled up and down through a self conscious continuum of representation, resulting in such phenomena the elaborate articulation of the grotto as a display of the *nodo* of body and soul in the depths of nature.

One should see the emblematic structure of figuration, with its *nodo* of "body" and "soul" working together with the progressive articulation as one rises from matter to idea, or from the architectural fabric to the images of *storie*, *e.g.* depictions of mythological or historical exemplars to images of the virtues, the elements, and so on – the depiction in short of the ascent from the particularity of human situations to the universal conditions of being. This presence of the continuum of mediation alongside the disclosure of the metaphoric conjunctions solicits the interpretative activity of the spectator, and early schemes that play with the relationship of a continuum of articulation and the clarification of an emblematic scheme, such as Correggio's decorations in the Camera di San Paolo, emphasise the ludic element in this activity. (Figure 8) The Camera di San Paolo (Parma, 1518-19) shows the influence of Mantegna, with whom Correggio supposedly studied, in the erudite, archaeological imagery and ornament and the trellised arbour which takes the place of a

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[215] Serlio, *Regole generali ... sopra le cinque maniere degli edificii, cioè Dorico, Ionico, Corintio, e Composito*, Venice 1537 and 1619, in *SAC* III, pp.2621-2628.
One might note also Palazzo Tè, where the instrumentalisation of the space of the room is depicted playfully - the descent of Psyche with to the underworld is portrayed on the ceiling in the Sala di Psiche, the giants who are embodiments of chaos who pull the rude fabric of the room about them in the pendant Sala dei Giganti. The decorations of the palace appear alongside the praise of Federico Gonzaga whose *impresa* appears throughout; the treatment of visual arguments includes abundant invention (what can be said on a theme, what is its "praise") and the depiction of the iconographic theme as a *concetto*, as in the Sala dei Venti, which Gombrich discussed as an illustration of the Gonzaga *impresa Distat enim quae sydera te excipiant* ("The Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo Tè", *Symbolic Images*, *op.cit.*).

cupola, like Mantegna's transformation of the apse-triumphal arch into a pergola in such works as the Madonna della Vittoria. In the Camera, mottoes, inscriptions and figurations together form a configuration which seems to have formed a statement of the cultural and ecclesiastical ambitions of the Prioress of the convent where the Camera is situated, Giovanna da Piacenza.[216] The decorations consist of admonishing inscriptions, including a Pythagorean adage, the image of Diana in her chariot, while her attributes as huntress are carried by the putti in spaces of the pergola above, images in *grisaille* of the pagan gods in the painted lunettes, sacrificial vessels and rams' heads in the painted architecture. The *grisaille* images, painted in imitation of antique coins or medals, present themselves as more scholarly and classical versions of the images in the lunettes of the adjoining chamber, decorated some years earlier, which depict the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo – thus they assert themselves as more "correct" forms of hieroglyphic decoration, which require attentive philological reading for their iconography to be understood and a degree of *ingegno* on the part of the spectator in order to grasp their relationship with the other elements – iconographic, epigraphic and architectural – of the decoration, and the figure which they together create. If the *grisaille* figures of the lunettes correspond to the stipulations of certain later theorists of the *imprese*, such as Ruscelli, who state that the *imprese* should not take centre place in a decorative scheme, and that they should be in monochrome,[217] this subsidiary visual role should not distract us from the fact that the decorated room as conjunction of various elements, which express a *concetto* through their interplay, has a key concentration in the *impresa*. The *grisaille* figures recall the antique medals which Correggio or his advisors may have studied, and they have something of the character of the painted metal inserts – literally *emblema* – that appear in *basamenti* and around *storie* in so many later sixteenth century decorations. What is particularly attractive in the Camera di San Paolo is the way that it both plays on the emblematic invention of the room, and the epigraphic and archaeological culture that had "rediscovered" the emblem, and displays its figurations in an ascent through progressive degrees of articulation, from architecture to painted architecture to the emblematic "antiquities" to nature in the pergola and naturalistic representation in the putti - thus considered, the trellis corresponds to the perspectival window, framed by antique ornament, opening onto nature.[218] This progressive articulation, which works alongside the emblematic character of the room, exemplified by the *grisaille* images, in short provides the visual structure for iconographic interpretation, and so the emblematic character of the room commences with the architectural elements, the doors and fireplace which are adorned with epigraphs; above the real corbels, which take the form of Ionic capitals, the painted frieze shows sacrificial vessels and rams' heads, elements associated with the ornament of the Doric order which Correggio transforms by placing two rams' heads together to make a fantastic Ionic capital in the painted corbels. In rendering the ornament of the frieze in a manner that suggests the ritual origins of an architectural order, Correggio also alerts us to the fact that the enclosure and decoration of a space implies a consciousness of the ceremonial or mimetic

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[216] The most substantial study of the iconography of the Camera is that of Panofsky *The Iconography of Correggio's Camera di San Paolo*, London 1961. Giovanna da Piacenza, who fought to resist the enclosure of the convent, seems to have commissioned the decorations as the celebration of the convent as a centre of Humanist learning, evident in the learned character of the iconography of the gods in the lunettes. Despite the efforts of Giovanna da Piacenza, the convent was enclosed in 1524 and thus this rich and complex decorative scheme remained inaccessible thereafter – the description quoted by Panofsky in his study dates from the eighteenth century.

[217] Ruscelli, *Discorso all'intorno delle imprese*, 1556, in *SAC* III, p.2765.

[218] This progression from architecture to painted architecture to painted sculpture to single figures to a great mass of figures is used on a much grander scale in the Duomo in Parma.

nature of the activities that unfold within it; such activities may be contemplative, as intimated by the studied character of the decoration and the location within a convent. The rendition of the Ionic order, associated with Diana and contemplative life, in terms of sacrificial symbols is appropriate to the iconography of the Abbess as classical goddess of chastity; it also shows thinking on lively representation and theatre penetrates into the architectural articulation of the room.

In the Camera di San Paolo the configuration of decorative elements forms a composite, emblematic figure of the aspirations of the owner; if the room becomes something akin to an *impresa*, it also shows the progressive degrees of liveliness in the decoration of the room which disclose the architectural level in terms of ritual, thus taking us back to theatre. The references to ephemeral decorations (the pergola structure) in both decorations, which is developed by Raphael in the Farnesina in the same years as the Camera di San Paolo, is also important, since it reminds us that the ephemeral triumphal arch, with its ornaments shown as *emblema* and its epigraphs, was a particularly important framework for emblematic decoration. We shall look more carefully in the following section at the development of the painted arch and its ornament triumphal motif in Mantegna, Correggio's master, and in Raphael, who really starts to explore accommodation of the *grottesche* in the configuration of perspectival *storia*- framing arch-*emblema*. To digress for a moment further on the Camera di San Paolo, we might note that it is closely related to another emblematic Parmesan scheme, in the *stufa* of Paola Gonzaga at Rocca Sanvitale at Fontanellato, near Parma, thought to be amongst the early works of Parmigianino. (Figures 9 and 10) In contrast to the almost aggressive declaration of intent in the Camera di San Paolo, in Fontanellato the scheme that takes its point of departure from its designated activity calls to be understood in contemplation. The frescoes show an enigmatic *storia* depicting Actaeon and Diana appears above an inscription and below a mirror, in place of an oculus at the centre of the ceiling, which bears the solemn motto "Respice finem" (look to the end).[219] The room in its entirety shows the narrative sequence of frescoes which depict a mythological scene (Diana bathing) appropriate to the *stufa* of an aristocratic woman in its transformation into a figuration of poetic theology structured like an emblem, with the mirror and motto striking the note of moral admonishment so characteristic of emblematic literature. Not only do the verbal and visual elements of the scheme require one another, but their configuration creates a *figura* which is enigmatic, and seems to be derived from a *concetto* which simultaneously remains

[219] The inscription that encircles the room reads *AD DIANAM/ DIC DEA SI MISERUM SORS HUC ACTEONA DUXIT A TE CUR CANIBUS/ TRADITUR ESCA SUIS NON NISI MORTALES ALIQUO/ PRO CRIMINE PENAS FERRE LICET: TALIS NEC DECET IRA/ DEA* ("To Diana. Say, goddess, if sad fate led Actaeon from you, why was he delivered to his dogs as bait unless mortals may bear the punishment for any offence: such wrath is not fitting O goddess"). The principal puzzle posed by the frescoes lies in the fact that Actaeon is depicted as female huntress; the female Actaeon appears above the Greek third declension accusative *Actaeona* in the inscription, whose ending suggests a feminine name. It has been proposed that the scene, with the female transformation of Actaeon, refers to the death in infancy of the child of Paola Gonzaga, hence the role of Diana as Lucina and the image of Paola with child above the image of the stag whose throat is torn by a hound wearing a collar with the Gonzaga device. On the last wall, the images of Actaeon culminate with an image of Ceres holding an ear of corn facing the scene of the rending of Actaeon, perhaps in allusion to maternal grief, death and regeneration). In the spandrels above, putti stand in a pergola (a motif inspired by the Camera di San Paolo in Parma), possibly denoting the theme of love, or a poetic theology of love, in the decorations. The graceful and poignant scheme merits much study in its own right; even in this early and provincial work Parmigianino shows a mastery of the *linea serpentinata* and its affective and spiritual force that will take on more disquieting forms in his later painting.

beyond its embodiment and requires the composite figuration of these same embodying parts. If the room takes as its point of departure a theme which concerns a female bathing scene, it is not so much fulfilled by its destined activity as disclosed through gradual contemplation which encourages us to reflect in ourselves for its meaning (motto and the mirror); if the destined activity provides a starting point for the iconography (Diana bathing in privacy), the iconography develops this theme in an unexpected and enigmatic way, overturning the assumption that Diana will be a mythological figure for Paola Gonzaga.[220] It is characteristic of Parmigianino that the iconographic complexity has its expressive correlation in the striking *grazia* of the forms, which one can be tempted to read (chiefly in the light of later Cinquecento art theory drawing on Quintilian) as embodying a movement to contemplation through a departure from conventional, direct forms of signification. The Rocca Sanvitale thus exemplifies the kind of figured tension between the form of a representation and the idea which it figures, which exercised Robert Klein in his writings on Mannerism, and this tension portrayed in terms of the conjunction of body and soul should not so much be considered as the visual illustration of a literary invention but the emblematic figuration of a *concetto* which invites us to discover its meaning through poetic contemplation.

If these two Parmesan decorative schemes, one inaccessible after 1524, the other located in an obscure provincial *rocca*, appear marginal to the central Italian works with which we deal principally here, we have noted them because they do illuminate certain fundamental points about emblematic figuration, alerting us to the fact that we should see the word-image structure as extending beyond devices. To return back to the Roman-Florentine milieu with which we are more preoccupied here, we might recall that Paulo Giovio, who wrote the first treatise on the *impresa*, was involved in the invention of the decorations commissioned by Alessandro Farnese in the Sala dei Cento Giorni in Palazzo della Cancelleria, in which *storie* alternate with allegorical images and epigraphs, which ask to be read together.[221] Giovio also created the "Musaeo Ioviani" at Como, where a sequence of rooms acted as settings for the *imprese* Giovio had invented and the portraits of famous men and women, with each room devoted to a theme or *concetto* corresponding to the *imprese* and images. Both the *imprese* and the portraits allude to fame, and Vasari credits Giovio with the project of writing lives of the artists, as a complement to the collecting of portraits and depicting *imprese* in the museum.[222] For Giovio, in short, the notion of artistic biography was part of a meditation on the relation of words and images that is clear also in the Sala dei Cento Giorni and the Museum; once the structure of word-image relationships is clarified, aided by the study of epigraphs and antiquities, it can be deployed in devices, in triumphal or contemplative

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[220] Following the interpretation cited above, which links the torment of Actaeon with the mother's loss of a child, Paola Gonzaga appears not as the huntress but as the hunted, who in turn has been transformed from hunter to hunted.

[221] Giovio was one of a number of Humanists associated with Alessandro Farnese, including Annibale Caro, Onofrio Panvinio and Fulvio Orsini. On the Farnese Humanist circle and their artistic activities, see Robertson, *op.cit.* In study of the decorations in *Gesta dipinte* (Rome, 1991), Julian Kliemann noted that the painted inscriptions referring to one emperor are placed under the image of another, so that the room as a whole demands to be read as a nexus of allusions which go to celebrate the *gesta* of Paul III as peacemaker and new Alexander (Paul III was Alessandro Farnese). We shall come back to the Sala dei Cento Giorni later, in discussion of the way that the emblematic figuration of the room works together with its perspectival frame.

[222] The Museum is described by Giovio in the *Elogia veris clarorum viriorum imaginibus apposite quae in Musaeo Ioviani Comi spectantur*, Venice 1546 and by Doni in two letters, published in the *Lettere* of 1544, one to Tintoretto and one to Agostino Landi, the first ribald and the second erudite; all three descriptions are published in *SAC* III, pp.2892-2918.

decorative cycles and unfolded in the *concetto* of a textual *storia* of visual art.

In placing his *imprese* within a museum, Giovio turns them into a meditation on history and the ethical exemplars that history provides, which are presented in visual and sententious form to impress themselves upon the viewer. The decoration of the rooms of the museum corresponds to their use – Mercury in the library, the Graces in the dining room, Charles V in the armoury, but the Museum as a whole is designed as a scholar's gallery, a place of contemplative repose in a scenic topography close by the ruins of Pliny's villa; Giovio playfully names the elements of the scenery, the inlets and harbours of Lake Como, after classical sites, so that the museum stands like Hadrian's Villa in a miniaturised topography of the antique world. The Museum in short shows the instrumentalisation of space into something like a constructed memory place, whose loci contain depictions appropriate to certain kinds of activity and images and *sententiae* of historical exemplars – the word-image relationship undergoes a degree of flattening as the Museum is close to becoming the embodiment of a book, but a book in which one can pass one's days and conduct one's activities. In placing the *imprese* alongside portraits in a place dedicated to meditations on fame, Giovio in a sense simplifies the semantics of the *impresa* as he had devised it, since the device has a meaning particular to a person or occasion, and even a more universal emblem or hieroglyph will take on meaning as it appears within a particular context.

Here it is worth reflecting on the relation between this structuring of meaning as a particular configuration rendered emblematically and the ancient formulations of decorum which responds to the unique circumstances of each situation. The very appearance of devices on costume and in emblematic portraits, which reaches the point of excess in such works as Sidney's *New Arcadia*, should alert us to the importance of this relationship of decorum and emblematics; not only does the figure respond to a given situation, but the device implies a question, and thus a rhetorical occasion. The *quaestiones* which one finds in emblematic literature are generally deliberative, such as Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicae Quaestiones*, divided into metaphysical or theological, moral, philological and natural, or epideictic; in the context of a decorated room such *quaestiones* will be displayed against the context of the purpose that the room serves, at a functional and rhetorical level. This "rhetorical purpose" is basically an occasion for judgement, deliberation or praise; by the time we have reached the mid sixteenth century, the last almost ubiquitous in the sense that each space will depict the praise of the individual, family or institution to which it belongs as well as representing the virtues "contained" in the activity that takes place in the room, from government to sleep – often the two appear together, as at Caprarola, which we shall discuss below. In this situation the distinction between rhetorical occasions seems to be muddled, with the praise of arguments of persons presented in a way that requires deliberation on the part of viewer who is asked to speculate on the significance of the appearance of certain figurations within a certain context – the harmonious arrangement of decorum becomes in the emblem a mosaic of elements whose relationship is enigmatic, and the ornament associated with the display or enactment of praise in epideictic becomes inseparable from deliberation.[223] This interweaving of epideictic and

[223] The rendering situations of deliberation in terms of ornament has a clear exemplification in the garden, where the viewer is constantly asked to deliberate upon the path followed and what it discloses, and where the context of the situation includes nature as literally ground of representation – in the most speculative of sixteenth century gardens, at the Villa D'Este, we find Hercules thematised as figure for the virtue that consists in choosing the right path that assures our *consistentia* through life, as Cicero said in *De officiis* I.xxxi.117. As

symbolic image as figurative expression of a deliberative *quaestio* is one reason for the density of Mannerist decorations, which simultaneously display the *copia* of visual encomium and the density of the emblematic *figura* – our discussion of Erasmus above enables us see how copious *amplificatio* and emblematic concentration can work together, or be seen as reciprocally fulfilling. The emblem which brings together various elements into a single *figura* and the amplification which unfolds variety from one thing are also associated, as discussed, with the topos, or topics; the emblem collages elements in a single place, *copia* is created through invention from words and arguments held in the topics.

As intimated above, this conflation of a figurative structure of praise and a figurative structure of speculation in a given space works together with the instrumentalisation of space of the perspectival room itself, with the depiction of a progressive ascent from the material body to the painted word. One should also bring together the emblematic *nodo*, the movement from body to soul, and from particularity to universality with the attempt at an encyclopaedic figuration of all that can be invented from an argument, using as the basis of invention logical structures whose universality is vaunted. In doing so it is useful to refer to the decoration of palaces so that they become embodiments of cycles of thought, with each room an "exhaustive" depiction of arguments that form in turn part of a larger *concetto* – such decorations signal the degree to which the emblematic structuring can be expanded or contracted and the encyclopaedic character of epideictic elaborated.[224] Two famous cycles of decoration of the mid sixteenth century exemplify such invention, at Palazzo Vecchio and at the Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola – in each case the decorations were conceived as a visual encomium, so that the inventions in each single room were to be read alongside the larger theme of praise that constituted as kind of *decoro generale* for the building.[225] The best

noted above, Cicero here uses Hercules as an exemplar of decorum.

[224] As noted above, an early instance of the kind of encyclopaedic decoration which used the triumph as its vehicle of representation, in the Gonzaga Palace of Marmirolo near Mantua (now destroyed), which was decorated under the direction of Mantegna from 1491-94 with a "Room of the Horses", a "Room of the Map of the World", a "Room of Cities" and a "Greek Room" with views of Constantinople. For the palace Mantegna painted also a set of triumphs, of Petrarch or Alexander the Great, which were used alongside the extant *Triumphs of Caesar* in an *apparato teatrale*. Mantegna's interest in archaeology, which appears in his work as a kind of pictorial encyclopaedism, and his exploitation of the triumph as a means of bringing together antiquity, *imitatio* and theatre shall concern us below; his decorations work with the visual (in particular theatric and perspectival) conditions of "discovery" of arguments in a place long before the developments of topical invention at which we have glanced above, and the influence we have suggested upon invention of decorative schemes.

[225] The scheme at Palazzo Vecchio was devised by Cosimo Bartoli, translator of *De re aedificatoria* and executed by Vasari (completed 1558) and consisted in a pedestrian encomium with chambers dedicated to the *gesta* of the Medici below rooms dedicated to the gods. The Medici are not conceived as children of the gods but as analogies that present a comparable historical praise or virtue to that symbolised by the divinity above. If the iconography of individual chambers appears thin, one must remember that they were to be understood both in relation to other rooms within the same *quartiere* and to the sala above or below, and its position within the iconographic scheme of that floor – the divinities represented are also associated with various schemes of ordering, Saturn and the ages of man, Uranus and the elements, Jupiter and the Virtues, Ops and the months and seasons, so that the rooms are understood together as a pantheon and an illustration of the structures of order that together make up the world. However distant in purpose, Vasari's encomiastic decorations, in which the figuration of each room derives its meaning from a network of horizontal and vertical analogies, shows a certain affinity with the stratification of Camillo's theatre. Vasari recounts the invention of the Palazzo Vecchio decorations in his *Ragionamenti del sig. cav. Giorgio Vasari sopra le invenzioni da lui dipinte in Firenze...*, published after his death and discussed by Seznec as a document that typified the influence of the mythological manuals upon the invention of decorative schemes.

illustration of how the emblematic figuration of the *concetto*, the copious invention in response to epideictic, and an encyclopaedic conception of invention work together is in the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola (remodelled from 1559, palace completed 1575 and gardens in 1586), where the arguments "discovered" in each room also constitute "a cycle, an unbroken system of thought", as Jean Seznec remarked.[226]

The palace as a whole is conceived as an encyclopaedic treatment of a theme, articulated through the relationships between sequences of rooms and again within each room itself, which on occasion derive their invention from the activity for which they were designed; the final reflection comes in the garden palazzina, which recasts the approach to the palace in an overtly theatric form, with the rustic character that has signalled the origins of the palace in a fortress here proper to the garden. One sees quite clearly at Caprarola that the orientation of the iconography from active to contemplative, rustic fortress to progressive refinement, works alongside the continuum of emblematic figuration which reiterates the structure of figuration from each part of a decorative scheme to the palace conceived in its totality.[227] The theme of

[226] *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, London 1940 and Princeton 1972, p.286. Seznec's remarks on Caprarola, like those on Palazzo Vecchio, concern the use of mythological manuals, in particular Cartari, in the invention of the decorations. Robertson, in her work on Alessandro Farnese, underlines the fact that the iconographic programme was at times concocted just before the decoration of individual rooms, and thus undermines the notion of a "complete" programme. Even if a complete programme was not set out prior to the decoration of the palace as a whole, the decorations as they are followed through do constitute a coherent sequence in which the viewer's progression through the rooms corresponds to a thematic progression – the question is so not much whether the decorations constitute a coherent cycle, as the reiterated conditions of disclosure attendant upon so conceiving the decorations throughout a building. On Caprarola, see Gérard Labrot *Caparola Essai de Lecture* Paris 1970, Fritz Baumgarten, *Studi Romani* 25, 1935, Italo Faldi 1981, Clare Robertson *op. cit.* 1992.

[227] As we shall see, this exploitation of the plan or topography of a site, principally through perspective, so that it becomes a vessel of the iconography of the building occurs in other villas and gardens on which Vignola works, or associated with him – Villa Giulia, Horti Farnesiani, Villa Lante at Bagnaia. The influence of the Belvedere Court in Caprarola is instantly obvious, and the double stairs which enclose a great oval are similar to those in the Nymphaeum at Villa Giulia and at the Dragon Fountain at Villa D'Este; the highest flight of steps leading to the front door are planned like those in the exedra of the Belvedere, reproduced in Serlio, which pass from concave to convex. At each of these levels is an arch in rustication, with that at the second, middle level, flanked by ramps, especially reminiscent of the Nymphaeum of the second level of the Belvedere Court; these arches become progressively smaller and less rugged as they rise and culminate in the loggia of the piano nobile above the front door, which may have echoes of the five arch loggia at the Farnesina, rising up from a *rocca*. The great stairs may have been constructed by Antonio da Sangallo and Peruzzi who worked at Caprarola in its first phase of building under Paul III in the time of his cardinalate, as a fortress which offered a privileged vantage point over the Farnese territories in Lazio; the treatment of the sequence of levels points not only to the Belvedere Court but its antique inspiration, the Temple of Fortuna at Palestrina and bears considerable affinities with contemporary Roman villas, such as the Villa D'Este. The palace raised on bastions overlooking the countryside also suggests the north elevation of the Belevedere Palace as it appears in a sketch by Marten van Heemskerck, with an arcaded loggia on the piano nobile above an escarpment with arches. The Farnese Palace would thus have combined references to both the city elevation and the internal court of the Belvedere complex, so that the palace both extends into the village, which seems to have been replanned to constitute a scenic approach to the palace, and towers above it as a distant fortress-palace whose defensive walls guard the land enclosed behind it. The palace in short at once incorporates the village aligned in front of it as a scenic approach, or a territory to be surveyed, and stands aloof above it; the embodiment of seigniorial control in a grand vista has its counterpart in wary self-enclosure, just as we pass from the commanding approach that turns the village into a scenic device into the circular court. It was for Vignola's capacity to give a sequence of forms, all selected by careful imitation, this embodying character that Labrot called him "le premier architecte qui resolve en termes satisfaisants les problèmes poses par le nouvel espace démesuré, du pouvoir absolu" – Labrot illustrated this by the fact that when building the church of the

the relationship of ascent to the cycle of thought of which Seznec spoke is signalled by Vignola in the approach to the palace, in the progression from the sequence of levels at the front of the palace joined by ramps, and a double curved staircase, to the sequence of circular spaces as one entered; first the great spiral staircase and then the circular two storey court.[228] (Figures 11-13) From this court the sequences of summer and winter apartments lead off which depict the movement from active to contemplative life (Figure 14); this scheme, developed on the piano nobile, is underpinned by the iconography of the mezzanine which deals with nature (four rooms of the seasons) and place (the Jupiter room, which depicts Jupiter and Amalthea, contains a toponymic pun on *capra*-Caprarola, while the entrance hall contains topographical scenes of the palace). On the piano nobile itself, the pentagonal form of the palace, derived from its foundation as a fortress, increases the complexity of the sequential and oppositional relationships between the rooms; if the summer apartments correspond to active, and the winter to contemplative life, the progression which each incorporates (creation to celestial apparitions and dreams, meditations on divine judgement and penitence in the winter rooms, dynastic triumph to solitude and philosophy in the summer rooms) must be considered alongside the correspondence asserted between facing rooms on each wing, asserted through their similar decorative disposition.[229] Thus the Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani (above the Jupiter Room on the mezzanine) complements divine creation in the Sala del Mappamundi, the celebration of the *gesta* of Paul III is balanced by the Sala degli Angeli, the room of dreams, with biblical images, has its pendant in the Sala di Aurora, with mythological images relating to sleep and night, and the Sala della Solitudine, with images of concord of pagan philosophy and Christ, has its "pair" in the Sala della Penitenzia. (Figures 15 and 16) The summer and winter wings converge on the Hermatena room, with its great tondo of the marriage of wisdom and prudence in the tutelary gods of the study, and this enclosed chamber is opposite the Hercules room, originally an open loggia, dedicated to the heroic exemplar of active life and used as a dining room. One can move around the piano nobile elaborating the relations that arise between rooms and sequences of rooms; the Sala di Ercole is placed between the spiral staircase, which culminates in a dome decorated with personifications of the virtues and the circular chapel, where the decoration of the dome follows similar disposition, depicting Old Testament scenes. The chapel in turn lies between two halls (Hercules and Fasti Farnesiani) which celebrate active life, the depiction of the Farnese territories, and the mythic topography of Caprarola (notably the Lago di Vico, supposedly created by Hercules) in the Sala di Ercole leads on one side to Sala dei Fasti Farnesi and on the other to the Sala del Mappamundi.

Within each room, we find the effort to provide a representative depiction of the theme it contains, so that the "encyclopaedic" content of each room is placed within the larger cycle of the decorations as a whole – apart from the visual evidence of the decorations themselves, this is documented in the surviving letters from the Farnese Humanist and *familiare* Annibale

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Escorial, Philip II commissioned drawing from Galeazzo Alessio, Pellegrino Tibaldi, Palladio,and the Accademia Fiorentina di Disegno, and asked Vignola to make a synthesis (Labrot, *op.cit.*, p.13).

[228] The spiral staircase would have constituted a further reference to Bramante's stairs to the Belvedere Statue Court, thus enriching further the sequence of references to the Belvedere.

[229] This mirroring of ornamentation so the first and last, second and penultimate *etc.* partitions within a space reflect one another is used by Raphael in the Vatican Loggie. As we shall see later, Raphael in the Loggie alternates *grottesche* with painted architecture in perspective – Taddeo Zuccari was perhaps following such a scheme in the progress from the *grottesche* in the Camera del Concilio to the perspective in the ceiling of the Sala di Aurora to the *grottesche* in the following chambers.

Caro, which dictated the invention of the rooms to Taddeo Zuccaro – the programmes for the Sala di Aurora and Sala di Solitudine remain. In these letters, one finds that the function of each room is not so much conceived as an activity to which the arrangement of the room responds, but becomes either a starting point for a *concetto* figured in the decoration, or a theme where arguments are invented *i.e.* found, contained and displayed, so that the room is "discovered" as a locus in the rhetorical sense. We have a clear illustration of this in Caro's 1562 letter to Zuccari concerning the decoration of the Sala di Aurora, destined as a bedroom for Alessandro Farnese, which depicts the pagan iconography of sleep and prophecy, and has its "contemplative" pendant in the Sala dei Sogni, with its images of biblical dreams. (Figure 17) In keeping with our comments above on the collage of depictions in response to an occasion of praise or triumph, and the emblematic figuration of a *concetto*, we find in the Sala di Aurora that the figuration of the *concetti* arising from the idea of sleep and dream (the decorations dwell on the theme of prophecy and vision in dream) must be considered alongside the copious invention from (or in) a locus (arguments concerning sleep in a bedroom). This abundant invention, represented in the decorations as a species of triumph with the gods of night and dawn in their chariots, is itself a part of the larger triumph of the Farnesi, which depicts in the Sala di Aurora the locus of most intimate thoughts and dreams of Alessandro Farnese.[230]

In the Sala di Aurora the painted architecture that depicts a great oval loggia open to the sky (an echo of the circular courtyard of the palace), essential to the appearance of the gods who depict the arguments "contained" in the theme of sleep; Caro wanted Zuccari to paint the lunettes beneath the vault to appear concave, rather than flat, so that the room would have appeared oval like the painted loggia which reveals the heavenly dome into the room, and these lunettes were to balance the elemental architecture with representations of sky, sea and earth, seen "beyond the room" through a "window" (*finestrone*).[231] The spatial implications of the language used to discuss dialectic - invention as the "finding" and "discovering" of argument, the topics as "places" where arguments are "contained", are played out to the full here; it is striking that the invention of decoration which seeks to "figure" the purpose of the room by "discovering" the room as locus which contains arguments fitting to this purpose, represents the room as "container" in this sense by filling it with apertures in the form of illusionistic loggia, oculi, balconies and windows through which images are disclosed. This a point to which we shall return later since it concerns the way that the perspectival decoration of the room seems to "dissolve" the solidity of the walls, which are opened to nature or the heavens – Zuccari and Vignola at Caprarola are working with this illusionistic architecture whose implications are explored by Peruzzi and by Raphael and his followers in Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[232]

We spoke above of the repetitive character that sets in once the emblematic structure is reiterated throughout a decoration, and Caprarola is an exemplification of this, where the unity

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[230] On the iconography and character of the Sala di Aurora, see Labrot, *op.cit.*, and the encomiastic verses of Ameto Orti published by Fritz Baumgarten – Orti dedicates no less than eighteen stanzas to his description of the room, which he calls "somni domus".

[231] This letter to Zuccari of 11November 1562 can be consulted in the *Lettere familiari*, or in Vasari's life of Zuccari in the 1568 *Vite*.

[232] Vignola, noted for his skill in painting perspectives, is credited with the scenographic decorations in the Sala di Giove on the piano terreno of Caprarola.

in variety of the decorations threatens to fall into monotony in *copia*, with "completeness" played out through different and pendant themes again and again. The very circularity of the scheme at Caprarola, concretised through the repeated circular spaces, can enforce this impression, turning an attempt to play out a *concetto* through every level, down to the architectural form, into an overbearing sense of reiterated explication. The disclosure of the iconography through the form and sequence of the rooms – the exploitation of the site and origins of the building in the movement from fortress to palace the summer and winter, "active" and "contemplative" apartments at once pendant and convergent, the progression that reveals itself as a cycle, taking the viewer back into a sequence of circular spaces, could be seen as inspired in part by Raphael's iconographic "discovery" of the topography at Villa Madama, to which we shall turn below, designed with a great circular court like that created at Caprarola. Where Raphael gives a sense of great richness in the open, sustained relations between form, decoration and topography, and keeps in play the vertical ascent from darkness to light, the embedded quality of villa half sunk in the hillside and the circular or semi-circular forms, often associated with theatre, at Caprarola such complexities seem over-determined, with the theatric aspect of the palace, noted in contemporary encomia, acting as the embodiment of display of power whose totalising ambitions make it as self-enclosed as the circular court.[233] In response to this accusation of monotony in variety of the decorations, one must reiterate the fundamental point about these decorations, namely that the "occasion" to which they responded should not be sought in the function of individual rooms, but should be conceived in rhetorical terms and was constituted by the triumph of the Farnese, illustrated in its *copia* in the halls of the palace. Considered from this standpoint, one can recover some sense of *ingenium* in the reiterated totalities of the decoration.

The decorations of Caprarola constitute the visual equivalent of an epideictic oration in praise of the Farnese, which asks to impress itself on the memory of the spectator – even to the point that they may appear to resemble a mnemonic scheme, with a sequence of regularly spaced images, both *storie* and emblematic figures, in a sequence of regularly shaped and lit rooms.[234] Following the sequence from summer to winter apartments one moves from dynastic triumph to meditation to contemplation, the revelation of the angelic order and the depiction of the lands of the earth – the scheme suggests both the almost imperial glorification of the Farnese, fit to rule over the earth, and the idea of a cycle that progresses from active life to contemplation, which in turn leads to knowledge. The cycle is thus at once *laus*, depiction of the universal order revealed through active and contemplative life, and encyclopaedic, commencing with topographical references to Caprarola and culminating in the Sala del Mappamundi. In approaching the decorations in terms of the rhetorical occasion of praise, we can start to work together the kind of decorum they exhibit with the figurative, inventive character that we have discussed.

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[233] An encomiastic poem of 1614 by Giovanni Liberati opens with the line "Imita al primo aspetto adorna scena" cited in Labrot, *op.cit.* p.17 ("It imitates at first sight an ornate scene"), while Ameto Orti dedicates a verse to Vignola in which the Palazzo Farnese is said to be the modern equal of the Theatre of Pompey ("Aemula Pompei exclamat Caprarola theatro/ Quid mihi te iactas ? /nos sumus quod eras" "Caprarola in emulation exclaims to the theatre of Pompey "What do you boast of to me? What you once were, now we are"). On the relationship between the ascent to the palace and its circular internal spaces, see note above.

[234] This mnemonic suggestion may be present also in the vertical arrangement of the decorations in Palazzo Vecchio, with Medici below and gods above.

In his instructions to Taddeo Zuccari on the decoration of the Sala di Aurora, Caro advises him to "fare cose convenienti al luogo e fuor dell'ordinario sì quanto all'invenzione, come quanto al'artificio" thus seeking both propriety and the departure from the accustomed which could strike observers with *meraviglia*. Caro's words echo the sixteenth century poetics which repeat Aristotle's remarks on the novel and unfamiliar as qualities of metaphor – the criteria used of poetics and emblematics are applied to a visual scheme. The devices of Alessandro Farnese (Farnese lily and unicorn, thunderbolt of Jupiter, ship of the Argonauts and Pegasus) appear throughout the palace at times (as in the Guard Room) depicted as medals, or as elements in the grotesquework, and serve to underline the presence of emblematic structure in the decorations, and the identity of the owner. It is worth recalling here that devices were essentially for personal use, whether such use was designed for a specific occasion (complaint to a lover, badge worn for an ephemeral spectacle) or seen as appropriate to whole families.[235] If the device shares certain features with the hieroglyph, it also in a sense provides a figuration in response to decorum; it provides an arrangement fitting to an occasion in the form of an enigma or metaphor. We have spoken of Caprarola as a decorative cycle which entails representative, copious invention in response to each argument, and as an extended praise of the Farnese, and asserted that this epideictic character determines the decorum of Caprarola, figured in the Farnese *imprese* that reappear at every point. To tie this up we might return to the point made above on the confluence of rhetorical occasion and emblematic figuration, and say that within this epideictic framework, copious invention is a way of elaborating praises, and so leads to the search for the possibility of exhaustive invention that we have associated with the topics. To bring together the spatial metaphor of topos and topics with the room as physical place, the room becomes the locus where all that can be invented by means of the topics is shown, in a way that may strike the viewer's memory and responds to a situation identified with the praise of a person of family. Once the "occasion" of a decorative cycle is so conceived, the room is a locus where the invention and display of copious arguments takes place – in reiterating occasion by means of devices, and by linking the *copia* of epideictic invention with the character of the decorations as embodiment of a cycle of thought, we arrive at the interpenetration of rhetorical praise, emblematic structuring and encyclopaedism that characterises Caprarola.[236]

*Emblematic figuration and triumphal display*

If the Palazzo Farnese can be regarded as a visual encomium, this raises the question of the kind of activity which it elicits, over and above the particularised activities of sleeping, dressing and study that prompted the invention of a *concetto* in certain chambers. The principal activity that the palace seems to invite is looking, as one progresses through the building, or as one sees the decorations seemingly unfolded in room after room. We spoke above of the visual epideictic at Caprarola as figuring the triumph of the Farnese, and here we need to return to the question of the triumph as topos implies, first in Caprarola, and then in more general terms. That Caprarola was interpreted in these triumphal terms by contemporary spectators is evident from the literature praising the palace, such as the verses written in the

[235] See the notes above on the distinctions between the emblem and the *impresa*.

[236] In all this we are leaving out what is really the central point, namely the conception of power to which the Palace corresponds, and which justifies the decorations that are simultaneously totalising and self-enclosing. As we suggested above, Vignola was capable of giving shape to this conception of power, which the decorations fill in in its details, providing a kind of *illustratio*.

praise of the palace by Ameto Orti (circa 1585-89), where the Caprarola decorations are described in verse that suggests the epigraphs of the ephemeral structures or *teatri* of contemporary spectacle, with their emblematic configuration of figures, inscriptions and celebratory verses, and we noted above the persistent descriptions of the palace as a theatre scene - Orti compares the court to a theatre ("theatrales detegit arcus opes").[237] To these remarks one should add that the impersonality of life within the palace implied by this net separation of the monumental and service zones of the palaces touches also the relationship between palace and village;[238] the frescos by Federico Zuccaro in the Guard Room show the palace rising at the end of the principal street of the village – what we see is not a feudal landscape, with buildings gathered around a castle, but a scene that suggests that the merging of a civic scene with the palace as complete complex that organises the topography around it, exemplified by the Belvedere Court, to which the Palazzo Farnese, as we saw, makes open reference.[239] We will not look further here into Orti's verses here, save to say that the epigraphic, emblematic culture that underlies Caprarola emerges fully in the poem - the iconography of the secret gardens seen from the bedrooms of Alessandro Farnese suggests the Alexandrine epigraphs so popular in emblematic literature (Venus, Venus with roses, Cupid sleeping, children with animals) in a playful garden setting, while the imagery of secret or prophetic quiet in the Sala di Aurora denotes the bedroom as a sanctum of the Cardinal's most intimate thoughts.[240] If the verses insist on the palace as theatre and take every figure in the iconography as the subject of an epigraphic verse, they confirm the "occasion" of the palace as a triumph beheld by the spectator, whose activity consists in deciphering the palace and its decorations – such activity may have its end in the recognition that the "theatre" of the palace entails the imposition of a hierarchical vertical continuum upon the various areas of human life, in the village as within the palace, and their organisation (within the palace) into the embodiment of a "complete" cycle of thought.

The affinities of Caprarola with the triumph are numerous – the similarity between Orti's verses and the descriptions of contemporary triumphal entries, such as the Florence wedding entertainments of 1565 described by Giovan Battista Cini and Domenico Mellini, the dynastic glorification of the Farnese, the depiction of the palace as scene in the topographical vignette in the guard room, confirmed by the other allusions to "scene" and "theatre" in encomiastic literature. The "teatri" of the triumphal entry are constructed in a similar manner to the permanent Farnese decorations which are, on occasion, painted to resemble ephemeral decorations, like the fictive tapestries of the Sala dei Fasti Farnesi; the overall *concetto* of an *apparato* is played out by a variety of figuration, such as statues representing gods or

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[237] See Liberati and Orti cited in note above.

[238] Despite the large retinue of Alessandro Farnese, which numbered three hundred, the practical matters of *oeconomia* that so interested Alberti were screened off from the visitors to the decorated areas of the palace. Labrot remarks on the concealment of servants and the service staircases hidden within the walls "le peuple de comparses [...] est enraciné dans la construction" (*op.cit.* p.11). Labrot p.17 also comments on the suppression of the practical aspect of villa life, such as the garden plots and fish ponds that appeared even at the Villa D'Este. The cluttered appearance of the façade, with the squashed attic storey, arises from the fact that the court of Alessandro Farnese was accommodated mostly on the two upper floors of the building – inside the palace this accommodation is screened off by circular two storey portico.

[239] Vignola, as noted, seems to have dictated planning in the village (Labrot, p.27). A similar relationship between the topography of a villa and the village beneath it is attempted at the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, also associated with Vignola. On the friendship between Alessandro Farnese and Cardinal Gianfrancesco Gambara, the creator of the gardens at the Villa Lante, see Robertson, *op.cit.*

[240] Labrot p.34 notes the "anacreontic" nature of the fountains in the secret garden.

personifications, beneath which are paintings representing the activities which they govern, mingled with epigraphs, *imprese* and heraldic bearings. In noting the similarity between the decorations at Caprarola and the Florentine decorations of 1565, created by Vasari, we should recall Vasari's work for Alessandro Farnese in the Sala dei Centi Giorni which shows the literal conjunction of triumphal *apparato* with its epigraphs and exemplars, and the perspectival room with its framing arch – however mediocre the quality of the execution, the decorations do show overtly the continuity between the decorated perspectival room and the ephemeral *apparato* which converge as the invention of a triumph is depicted in the permanent decorations of a room. (See Figure 32, Section Three) In part one we spoke of the way that triumph and theatre work together, and of the copious nature of display in triumph, often conveyed through the analogy of cosmic ordering and its regenerative temporality. By the later sixteenth century the analogy of historic and universal return, elaborated in the propaganda of the "providential" return of the golden age had become something of a commonplace, as we see in Vasari's decorations in Palazzo Vecchio, completed for the 1565 wedding festivities and carried out for the Medici with whom the golden age topos was in particular associated.[241] We noted in part one that the court of Palazzo Vecchio was the point where the continuity between palace decorations and triumphal *apparato* is most evident, and structure of invention and disposition in the *apparati*, as in the palace decorations, shows how the relation of emblematics and locus shapes the relation of triumph and theatre. In concluding this section with a few remarks on the 1565 entry and its depiction of the relation between emblematic figure and the theatric scene, we should reiterate the fact that both possess a structure which can be called up at any level – intimate, monumental or ephemeral – once it has been grasped, so that a permanent cycle of decorations like those at Caprarola or a sequence of civic *apparati* proclaim similar ordering. We shall glance at this material on the 1565 Florence wedding for two reasons – partly because one should signal its richness for documentation of the way that late Renaissance decorative schemes were read and partly because it takes us into the question of the relationship between "theatres" of emblematic figuration and movement through a topography, which will concern us in the following section.

The 1565 triumphal entry proceeded from the city gates at Porta al Prato where Joannna of Austria was crowned Duchess, then moved along Borgo Ognissanti to the river from Ponte alla Carraia to Ponte Sta Trinita, then turned up Via Tornabuoni to Palazzo Strozzi, towards the Duomo and from the Duomo to Piazza della Signoria and Palazzo Vecchio where Francesco de'Medici receives his bride, who was then met by the Duchess (presumably Camilla Martelli, the morganatic wife of Cosimo I) in the Salone dei Cinquecento and conveyed to her apartments; the *commedia* performed for the festivities, as noted, also featured a "prospettiva [...] terminando nel fine della strada che Via Maggio si chiama, nelle parti più vicine si veniva a rappresentare la bellissima Santa Trinita", this civic scene covered by a canvas by Federico Zuccaro (for which the cartoon still exists) depicting the city seen in panorama from without its walls.[242] The ephemeral arches served various functions – that at

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[241] For the development of the topos, see Gombrich, "Renaissance and Golden Age" in *Norm and Form op.cit.* Mention of the *impresa* of Duke Cosimo I is unavoidable here, which depicts Capricorn ascendant over Florence and draws its significance from the fact that Capricron was the astrological ascendant of Augustus, thus auguring the return of a golden age of Saturn. Cosimo's augustan *impresa* appears emblazoned throughout Florence and is discussed by Giovio.

[242] Cini, *op. cit.* p.572 ("perspective culminating at the end of Via Maggio, with the beautiful church of Santa Trinita in the foreground"). We might also recall Cini's remarks on the "reflection" of human and divine

Porta al Prato formed the setting for a coronation, while others serve to screen unsightly junctions or frame important buildings or places, such as the Duomo and Piazza della Signoria; the forms of the "teatri" also contained certain associations, as when the arch dedicated to the Medici had the octagonal form of the Baptistery, believed the most ancient and holy building of the city or the "teatro" dedicated to Religion had a cruciform shape that not only recalls the centrally planned churches associated with Florentine architects (*e.g.* Giuliano da Sangallo at Sta Maria delle Carceri in Prato) which Cini likens to a temple of Janus.[243] One might also note three dominant threads of iconography which are interwoven in the entry, invented by Vicenzo Borghini – territorial imagery, dynastic glory and virtue, in particular civic virtue. The entry commences with an arch dedicated to the triumph of Florence, and depicting its praises, then moves to territorial themes in the procession alongside the river, dwells on dynastic fame in the movement along Via Tornabuoni, the most monumental of Florentine streets with its sequence of palazzi and then returns to Florence and civic virtue, principally prudence, in the movement from the Duomo to Palazzo Vecchio. It is worth noting that the decorative disposition of the arches, most overt in the arch at Porta al Prato, recalls the Stanza della Segnatura, with a statue personifying an art (poetry, agriculture, commerce, arts of warfare, letters and *disegno*) above a *tela* showing the children of these arts, with emblematic "medals" between the arts and borders with trophies made up from instruments so that personification, emblematic compression, and illustrative amplification based in part on logical categories work together.[244]

The decorations are loaded with references and interplay with existing monuments – the statues erected in Piazza della Signoria (an equestrian statue of "Herculean virtue" crushing fraud, Ammannati's colossus of Neptune taming the waters, Fury and Discord as caryatids crushed beneath the architrave of Palazzo Vecchio) enter into play with those already there – Cini's remark that the caryatids of Fury and Discord showed their suffering "troppo graziosamente mostrando ne'volti, che per la loro brutezza bellissima erano" invites comparison with Cellini's Medusa in the *Perseo*, which was itself the object of lively literary

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actions in the *commedia* and *intermedi*, which featured the myth of Psyche, cited in the introduction to the 1589. This reflection of human and divine actions would obviously have echoed the analogy of gods and Medici in Vasari's decorations in the apartments of the palace.

[243] Cini speaks of the *teatro* as "una perfetta croce ed un perfetto tempio [...] al quadrifronte antico tempio di Iano somigliante" *op.cit.*p.551 ("a perfect cross and perfect temple [...] like the ancient four faced temple of Janus").

[244] A Parnassian scene for poetry appears alongside a "tempio di Minerva" showing the Florentine *letterati* and a "tempio di Marte" (the Baptistery, its foundation depicted by Vasari in the decorated soffitt of the Salone dei Cinquecento), plus similar triumphs of commerce and *disegno*. We shall discuss the Stanza della Segnatura below. Regarding the arches dedicated to territorial power, that at Borgo Ognissanti shows Tuscany and Austria, and the figures symbolising ecclesiastical and military power – the pope at this date, Pius IV shared the name of Medici and had the right to use their arms, while allowing the Florentines to boast a third Medici pope. (The porphyry column, surmounted with a figure of Justice, which still stands in front of the church of Santa Trinita, was given by Pius IV to Cosimo and erected for the 1565 entry.) The next decoration, an ephemeral façade at Palazzo de' Ricasoli at the Ponte della Carraia showed hymen and the concord between the rivers between the territories of Tuscany and Austria – following this is a three-sided decoration at Palazzo Spini dedicated to the sea (Atlantic and the New World for the Hapsburgs, Tyrrhenian Sea and Elba for the Medici) with lavish depiction of marine riches. On the subject of the relationship between the emblem, *tela* and statue in the decorations, they could echo or explicate one another, as in the decoration dedicated to the arts of *disegno* in the Porta al Prato arch, where the statue is a clumsy tricipite figure whose three heads symbolise the three arts, the image in the *tela* shows Michelangelo with his device, the three interlinked circles, and the *impresa* shows the three Graces as figure for the arts, taking each other in hand.

*concetti* while the colossus stands in line with the *David* and the *Hercules and Cacus* of Bandinelli.[245] Again, we find references to the Medici Chapel in the two *apparati* dedicated to Medici *gesta* and religious life in Florence – the former has pendant statues of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino and Giuliano, Duke of Nemours, monumentalised in the Medici Chapel, while the latter has statues of active and contemplative life.[246] The structure dedicated to religious life has a depiction of a circular choir of angels singing and dancing in the vault, possibly a reference to the famous devices created for the *sacre rappresentazioni* in Santo Sprito and San Felice by Brunelleschi, to which Vasari devoted so much praise in the *Vite* – a *sacra rappresentazione* in quattrocento style was indeed performed as part of the 1565 festivities, while the *tondi* depicting the evangelists in the pendantives of the structure recall the decorations of Brunelleschi in the Capella Pazzi and of Pontormo in the Capella Capponi, Santa Felicita. Again, when the cruciform shape of the structure is likened by Cini to a temple of Janus, we should note that Janus was considered by Egidio of Viterbo, the General of the Augustines, who had such influence in early sixteenth century Rome, to be an ancient Etruscan god – hence Janus appears regularly in the iconography of Leo X, promoting the "marriage" of Rome and Etruria, in the 1513 Capitol theatre, and in the frieze of the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano.[247] We should thus see in the octagonal *teatro* reference to the "founding" temple of Florence, the Baptistery supposedly dedicated to Mars and decorated in praise of the Medici who are equated with Julius Caesar's mythical foundation of Florentia in the soffitt of the Salone dei Cinquecento, with its depiction of the temple of Mars. The cruciform arch complements this iconography with its reference to the ancient religion of Etruria which "foresees" Christianity in its cruciform temple and is perfected by Christianity, and the religious life promoted by the Medici.

To such citations of Florentine art, one should add the rhetorical play embodied in the decorations – if the "teatri" use a structure like that which we see in the Stanza della Segnatura, Gombrich identified this structure with the rhetorical *prolusiones* where a science was invoked, perhaps personified and then described through its branches of learning and activity – a mode of presentation which may indeed go back to the depiction of the liberal arts in the *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*. Again, the presence of logical predication in the amplification is made clear by Domenico Mellini in his description of the *apparato* who speaks of the *tele* in the arch as representing the effects proceeding from the virtues, ideas or intelligences in each art, or showing their properties, or excellences.[248] Aside from the organisation, particularly evident in the arch at the Porta al Prato, of a theme depicted through the two-fold procedure of emblematic condensation and amplification (the iconography of water in the *apparati* also lends itself to the display of copious praise), the rhetorical character of these decorations emerges through the emphasis in descriptions of their liveliness, in which the play of levels of word and image (*storia*, framing figures, statues, emblems, "medals",

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[245] ("[their suffering] so graciously shown in their face, that in their ugliness they were most beautiful") Shearman in *Only connect* gives the literature on the "conversations" between the *Perseo* and other statues of the piazza, in particular the play with the notion of statues petrified by the *meraviglia* of the Medusa, who is both monstrous and lovely - in the second sense a conventional poetic symbol for the unrelenting lady.

[246] The monuments to the younger Lorenzo and Giuliano in the triumphal *apparato* appear beneath an image of the theatre erected on the Capitol in 1513 by Leo X for Lorenzo and his father Giuliano, which we shall discuss in more detail below.

[247] We shall return to the Poggio a Caiano frieze below.

[248] Mellini, *Descrizione della entrata della serenissima regina Giovanna d'Austria e dell'apparato fatto in Firenze nella venuta, e per le felicissime nozze di Sua Altezza*, Florence 1566, p.4.

epigraphs, inscriptions) goes alongside the invocation of their *energeia* or prosopopoeia. It is this appeal to liveliness that draws together the various themes in the iconography, uniting topographical figures with dynastic images and allegorical depictions: "era stato intenzione, come avendo condotto a queste splendissme nozze la provincia d'Austria co le sue cittadini e fiumi, e col suo mare Oceano, e fattole dalla Toscana e dale sue cittadini, dall'Arno e dal Tirreno [...] ricevere, di condurre addesso i suoi gloriosi e grandissimi Augusti tutti pomposi e tutti adorni, sì come ordinariamente, quando a nozze s'interviene, usar si vuole; i quali, quasi che con loro la serenissima sposa condotto avessero, fussero innanzi venuti per fare con la casa de'Medici il primo parentevole abboccamento, e mostrare di quale e quanto gloriosa stirpe fusse la nobil vergine che essi lor presentar volevano".[249]

The decorations are brought together in short by the lively enactment of arguments, in which personifications and *storie* work together with word-image play, as in the triumphal façade at Palazzo de'Ricasoli, where the *Epithalamion* of Catullus is "enacted" by Francesco de'Medici and Joanna of Austria in the *storie*, while the putti who sprinkle flowers in the frame are conceived by Cini as "singing" the epithalamion which he prints in his text - one might also note that references to flowers and garlands in the decorations are part of a topynomic pun on Florence-Florentia.[250] If each *apparato* is conceived as unfolding out its arguments in the way described, as a play or fusion of its embodying elements, the triumph as a whole is conceived as a unified narrative progression, figured as a pageant in the quotation from Cini above, which he describes as a "body" at another point of the description:

> Diremo [...] che intenzione in tutti questi ornamenti fu di rappresentare con tante pitture e sculture, quasi che vive fussero, tutte quelle cerimonie ed affetti e pompe, ce per il ricevimento e per le nozze della principessa sì grande pareva che convenevoli esser dovessero; poeticamente ed ingegnosamente formandone un corpo in tal guiso proporzionato, che con giudizio e grazia i disegnati effetti operasse.[251]

The narrative structure of this poetic body is again underlined in another quote which stresses not so much the quality of a pageant but of progression through levels of meaning in the progression through place:

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[249] Cini, *op.cit.* p.550 ("it was the intention, having brought to this splendid wedding the province of Austria with its citizens and rivers, and the Ocean, and made Tuscany, her citizens, the Arno, and Tyrrhenian Sea [...] receive her and then conduct the glorious and great Emporers her relatives, all attired and adorned as is fitting for a wedding; they, as though they had escorted the serene bride with them, came ahead to make the first familial overtures with the Medici, and show the glorious race of the noble virgin whom they presented").

[250] Cini, *op.cit.* p.534. The augustan *impresa* of Cosimo I, showing Capricorn ascendant above Florence also contains the conceit that the benevolent rule of Cosimo has caused Florence to flower in winter, when the sun enters Capricorn.

[251] Cini, Vasari *op. cit.* p.521 ("Let us say that the intention in these ornaments was to represent with all these paintings and sculptures, as though they were living, all the ceremonies, affects and pomps which were proper and for the reception and wedding of so great a princess; poetically and ingeniously forming a body so proportioned that with judgement and grace it might work the designed effects"). The notion of the entry as a single body appears also in Mellini, who aims in his *descrizione* to "legare le parti di questo corpo insieme, e unirle" (*op.cit.*p.2).

> Avendo [...] fatta da Firenze, accompagnata dai seguaci di
> Marte, delle Muse, di Cerere, della Industria, e della Toscana
> Poesia, e del Disegno, la serenissima Principessa ricevere; e dalla
> Toscana poi la trionfale Austria, e dall'Arno la Drava, e dal Tirreno
> l'Oceano, e da Imeneo promettergli felici ed avventurose nozze;
> ed i suoi gloriosi Augusti fare co'chiarissimi Medici il parentevole
> abboccamento; e tutti poi, per l'arco della sacrosanta Religione
> trapassando, alla cattedral chiesa sciogliere gli adempiuti voti;
> e quindi veggono l'eroica Vertù avere il Vizio estinto, e con
> quanta pubblica allegrezza l'entrata sua celebrata fusse dalla
> Vertù civile, e da'magistrati della città nuovamente raccolta;
> promettendogli Nettuno il mar tranquillo; parve giudiziomente
> di collocarla all'ultimo nel porto della quietissima Sicurezza[252]

This poetic and "ingenious" body of lively representation is beheld as though it were a vista which is perceived in full sequence from its end point as the bride reaches the door of the palace and we should recall that the sequence of arches or "teatri" conceived as a unified body of representation disclose idealised urban vistas that approximate to stage scenes, as confirmed by their end point in the set for the *commedia* in the Salone dei Cinquecento for the wedding entertainments. If the lively pictorial argument and emblematic figures form a narrative, this narrative has need of visual structuring and thus the scenographic "disclosure" of the city as a sequence of vistas framed by the arches goes alongside the emblematic display of their meaning. We should also recall here that entries, to a greater degree than decorative cycles such as Caprarola, for example, exist to be fulfilled by the presence of specific people who move through them in specific ways on a unique occasion; their meaning and realisation lies in this moment and it may be for this reason that the authors of descriptions pay such attention to their structure of figurative significance. To the emblematic structuring of the decorations, we might therefore add the relationship between the animation of the figures in the decorations and the actors in the procession that passes below, and remember the use in entries of living statues and choirs which burst into song as a triumphal figure approaches.[253] Alongside the portrayal of a narrative as a sequence of settings, as when the meeting of the Hapsburgs and Medici who accompany the bride in the triumphal procession is figured in the arches, the "pubblica allegrezza" is embodied in a fountain flowing with vine, and the welcome of the "magistrati" is concretised in the arch dedicated to civic virtue, we should be attentive to the fact that the realisation of meaning in the *apparati* calls for the physical and intellectual presence of the actors in the entry, *i.e.* body and soul. We might point here to an emblematic conception of the presence of the actor, a resplendent visual figure whose ingenious activity is required to discover the meaning of the *apparato*, who is mirrored, in a sense, by the

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[252] Cini, Vasari *op.cit.*p.566 ("Once the serene Princess had been received by Florence, accompanied by the followers of Mars, the Muses, Ceres, Industry, Tuscan poetry, and *Disegno*, and by Austria and Tuscany, by the Arno and the Drava, by the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Ocean, and by Hymen promised a happy and lucky marriage; and her glorious Imperial family had made its familial meeting with the celebrated Medici; and passing the arch of sacred Religion had accomplished her vows in the cathedral; and then seen Vice defeated by heroic Virtue, and with such public rejoicing her entry was celebrated by civic Virtue, welcomed by the magistrates of the city; and promised calm seas by Neptune – it seemed good to place her finally at the door of the most tranquil Security").

[253] One finds descriptions of this kinds in descriptions of the papal *possesso* which entailed certain dramatic tableaux, as when the pope rejects the sacred books of the Jews at Castel Sant'Angelo; we shall consider some of this material in the next section.

figurative character of the images, which double or take over the narrative of the entry; if emblematic nature of the decorations and the presence of body and soul in the actor in the entry reflect one another, so do the liveliness of the actors and the *energeia* of the pictorial arguments.

Having noted this layering between emblematic explication, prosopopeia, lively figuration and the living presence of the actors, here we should return to the scenographic character of the triumphal arches, which form the background for the procession and frame an urban vista, and provide a visual vehicle of narrative continuity. The conscious degree of artifice in this framing is clear in the description of the arch by Palazzo Strozzi in Via Tornabuoni, which has a double arch to disguise an awkward street junction, with one arch "discovering" a civic prospect and the other painted with an illusionistic street scene. (This kind of framing continues in later ephemeral *apparati* such as the arches created by Il Cigoli for the 1600 wedding of Henri IV and Maria de'Medici, Figure 18.) Cini speaks of the pleasing deceit, the "piacevolissimo inganno" of the "artifiziosa prospettiva", and in his account one arch frames the view of the following arch, as when he speaks of the delightful vista of the *apparato* at Palazzo de'Ricasoli, as disclosed from Borgo Ognissanti, where the previous arch is erected.[254] The description of the real and illusionistic prospects in the arch near Palazzo Strozzi signals how overt the theatricality of the street perspective is – as argued, it is this perspectival disclosure, drawn out from one *apparato* to the next, that gives the narrative its visual continuity, in correspondence with the discursive continuity emblematised in the ornament of the arches loaded with pictorial arguments, and the co-presence of visual and discursive ordering makes it clear why these structures are known as "teatri", even apart from the ceremonies staged within them. Still keeping in mind that the *apparati* should be conceived as the articulations of a "poetic body", we might come to the question of the conception of the city suggested by an entry like that of 1565, and here we might be able to take stock of how things have changed since Alberti wrote his treatise a century previously.

Towards the end of the discussion of Alberti we noted the presence of theatre in the treatise, whether in terms of the rituals of the most solemn business of public life – religion and the administration of justice, or in the particularly studied portrayal of the recreative activities of *otium*, which reflect upon active life; Pellegrino Prisciano, as we saw, includes the settings of physical and intellectual recreation in his sequence of theatre spaces in *Spectacula*. What we find in the descriptions of the 1565 entry is very different; the discussion of the building as "body" does not refer to modular systems or the building as setting for the praxis of civic life, but to the embodiment of a narrative whose continuity arises, as we said, from the extended perspectives which seem to turn the city into theatre. The city-theatre in question here is not structured by various spheres of activity and their claims, but is much closer to the arrangements made in response to dramatic genre, which receive their famous codification from Serlio. We noted above that Serlio was a close friend of Camillo in Venice, and that the books on architecture (on geometry, perspective, antiquity, the orders and varieties of dwellings plus the "libro straordinario" with designs for framing portals) are ordered in a way which recalls Camillo's outline in *Della imitatione* of a "complete" system for imitation in drawing, a "theatre of *disegno*" with images of all animals arranged according to sex, age, role or work, and movement, ranked in seven levels, the last of which was devoted to judgement

[254] Cini, *op.cit.*, pp.531-532.

and the combination of the previous qualities in the depiction of a figure of a certain sex, age and profession in a certain posture. Camillo's model brings *disegno* very close to the depiction of dramatic character, and Serlio's work on architecture is deeply informed by the scenography of Peruzzi; it was remarked that the famous three scenes at the end of the book on perspective should be considered as a codification of Peruzzi's stage design in the light of Camillo's conception of imitation as a system for the comprehensive classification and combination of model components. For Peruzzi, it seems that theatre offered a way of attempting playful syntheses of the antique and contemporary edifices (*e.g.* the works of Bramante) which form the basis of a typology; while these edifices house varied activities and associations, they must be incorporated together to create a place depicted as a unified setting revealed by perspective. These questions of the harmonising of variety in the creation of a type and the harmonising of recognisable types in a civic setting exist for Peruzzi in tension with the requirements, and unifying order of dramatic narrative, as in his *Presentation of the Virgin* in Santa Maria dell'Anima or draw on the hypothetical character of the theatre scene as both ideal and ephemeral. Peruzzi's fascination with the relationship of architectural types and the ordering of other aspects of civic life emerges in the curious drawing entitled the "Allegory of Mercury" now in the Louvre, which shows the god and his "children" with a variety of monuments in the background, many of them spectacle buildings; the drawing is almost a *capriccio* yet it does throw up the question of the kind of arrangement which could create unity through the variety of settings. Serlio simplifies matters in representing the tragic and comic scenes in terms of high and low style – this stylistic conception of decorum, which aggregates all that can be "invented" on the topic of the lofty or the farcial and systematises them through a perspectival grid, should be distinguished from the articulation of the city through the relationship of various spheres of activity, which has its most diagrammatic representation in utopian literature.[255] Serlio's scenes could thus be viewed as another manifestation of invention from a topic, or rather they bring this kind of invention, to which the rest of his work attests, together with the coherence of drama in terms of genre and the stylistic codification of genre. Again, we see the presence of topical invention in the creation of a topos in the sense of a place where a certain kind of action will take place; theatre serves to emphasise these relationships in the most overt way.

We can see the influence of Serlio's scenes in topographic representations of cities in a work such as Lanci's sketch of Piazza della Signoria as a set for *La vedova*, performed in the Salone dei Cinquento in 1569 – the drawing furthermore blends the "noble" and "vernacular" elements of the piazza to synthesise the two civic scenes into a idealised image that appears, at first glance to be a topographical drawing.[256] That is to say that between the actuality of the piazza and the subtle idealisation of Lanci one should recognise the presence of a body of

[255] See for example the *Civitas veritatis* of Bartolomeo Delbene, an Italian at the French court, which converts the political ordering of the *Nicomachean Ethics* into an illustrated topography, with a city watered by rivers of pain and pleasure, with temples dedicated to intellective pleasures and a temple of *summum bonum* at its core. The city is visited on guided tour, led by Aristotle; Yates who discusses the work in the context of French encyclopaedic movements in the *French Academies*, dates it back to 1585.

[256] This blending might also be related to the political need to display a synthesis between the "popular" and "princely" aspects of the piazza – Cini refers to it in his description as the "pubblica e ducale piazza" and he and Vasari in his *Ragionamento* on the decorations for the Medici apartments in Palazzo Vecchio both emphasise the "rude grandeur" of the monuments of the ancient republic. Cini describes the "semplice ma magnifica rozzezza de'vecchi secoli" of Palazzo Vecchio (*op.cit.*p.566), while Vasari takes the preservation of the bugnato façade of the palace as a figure for the respect shown to the institutions of republican government.

thought which stretches beyond scenographic concerns to questions which could be explored through the meanings of topos and topic. The entry of 1565 seems to create a sequence of prospects like that in Lanci's drawing, mediated through a triumphal arch; while various *apparati* may concern various aspects of the city – *e.g.* religion, government – we see the same conditions of disclosure reiterated, and the decorum of the occasion is such that the "noble" elements prevail on the "popular", although these must be present if the city in its totality is represented. In Lanci's drawing, we see Florence represented so that the Duomo, for example, takes the place of Castel Sant'Angelo, the Colosseum or the Pantheon in a scenographic drawing by Peruzzi, while the Uffizi is shown as a two storey edifice, similar to the palace with portico in the foreground of the Serlian scene or its source in Peruzzi; the point being that once one has found a few identifiable points in the street vista, the viewer can accommodate the other details to the stereotype without the loss of the sense of a particular place. We have concentrated on the role of the emblematic *teatri* with their pictorial arguments which enact the narrative of the triumph and reflect the participation of the actors in the play of body and soul, and one might conclude by observing that if entries like that of 1565 show a different understanding of the city form that which we find in Alberti, they do point back to another fifteenth century source, namely the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, where the progression to initiation through a topography structured by emblematic "theatres" is set out in exhaustive detail. We shall turn shortly to the *Hypnerotomachia*, which we introduce at this late point in the argument since it cannot be approached without familiarity with philological and "hieroglyphic" understanding of the emblem, and of the mnemonic loci – the work is also important for consideration of the way that room and garden work together, which will preoccupy us in the coming section. The *Hypnerotomachia* also returns us to question raised at the end of part one on the relationship between Nature and the "triumph" of antiquity, and between triumph and the poetic imitation of *natura naturans*. These questions should be explored in terms of the discussions in this section on the various meaning of locus and topos, the embodiment of progression to understanding though progression through place and the analogy between the structure of figuration and the structure of understanding. In the coming section we shall see how these considerations enter into reading of the perspectival decoration and its frame of ornament – one reason why such emphasis is placed on the "liveliness" of the ornament in the 1565 entry may be that the vista disclosed by the arch does not show the background for a given scene, but is the route through which the triumph progresses. In other words, if the *apparati* of the 1565 entry partake of the character of a decorated room, the narrative progresses through them, and one might see the further development of the triumphal route as lying in the synthesis or absorption of the iconographic frame into route itself, which, we suggested, occurs in the Rome of Sixtus V. The 1565 entry could be described, by contrast, in terms of Puttenham's invocation of "copious and pleasant amplifications and much varietie of sentences all running upon one point and to one intent" – the drive towards synthesis is there but the variety which points towards further unity in an idea has not yet been resolved in idealisation. The comments on the 1565 are confessedly fragmentary, since the present work is not engaged with urbanism; we have rather touched on this material for what it may contribute to an understanding of ornament, and in order to move from the treatment of theoretical speculations to the treatment of places, and the theatric traversing of a topography in the *Hypnerotomachia.*