

PERFORMANCE, POLITICS, AND RELIGION:
RECONSTRUCTING SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MASQUE

by
Eliza Fisher Laskowski

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Approved by

Advisor: Reid Barbour

Reader: Mary Floyd-Wilson

Reader: Ritchie Kendall

Reader: Megan Matchinske

Reader: Jessica Wolfe

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ABSTRACT

Eliza Fisher Laskowski: Performance, Politics, and Religion: Reconstructing
Seventeenth-Century Masque
(Under the direction of Reid Barbour)

This dissertation revises the critical understanding of masque in the early modern period. While past scholarship has evaluated individual texts against the limiting formula of the “Jonsonian masque,” I situate Jonson as but one of many writers working successfully in the genre. Moreover, although Stephen Orgel and others have provided invaluable insight into the political contexts of masque, I expand and supplement these arguments by considering the extensive social and artistic complexity of the form for its diverse range of writers, patrons, and audiences. As I demonstrate, the concept of variety is the constituent factor in the flexibility and diversity of masque during the seventeenth century. Finally, my dissertation introduces to masque studies several manuscripts—including Add. 10311, *Enchiridion Christiados*, and Royal 18 A LXXX, *The Theater of Apollo*—that I discovered in the British Library.

By introducing the concept of aesthetic variety articulated by a majority of seventeenth-century masque writers, chapter one lays the foundation for re-evaluating the inherent complexity of masque. The second chapter explores the history and etymology of “masque” to postulate that, in the sixteenth century, masquing was inseparable from other forms of military display; it then traces the intersections of masque’s martial iconography and English foreign policy in both early Stuart courts. Chapter three examines the increasing emphasis

on pseudo-liturgical display in masque during the early seventeenth century, culminating in the masque's establishment as the secularized liturgy of state by the Caroline period. The final chapter further demonstrates the multifariousness of the genre by probing the multiple, often contradictory, reactions of country masque writers to the secularized, "popish" liturgy of the Caroline court masque — for instance, the strict adherence to *The Book of Common Prayer* lectionary calendar that grounds *Enchiridion Christiados*.

In short, this dissertation foregrounds variety as the central element of both the masque's formal diversity and its socio-political potential to advise, critique, and defend as well as simply entertain. The masque is transposed from the domain of Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones, and the court to a genre of broad influence and importance to early modern culture as a whole.

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Introduction

Performance, Politics, and Religion: Reconstructing Seventeenth-Century Masque

“These things are but toys,” Francis Bacon famously opines in his essay “Of Masques and Triumphs,” “but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy than daubed with cost.”¹ Bacon’s rhetorical juxtaposition of infantilized trifle to divinely ordained power is intentionally jarring, demanding that a reader pause and contemplate the relationship of monarch and masque. More often than not, masque suffers through such comparison. For the modern reader of Bacon, the implications of his opening rhetorical gambit seem especially damning: why bother with such a difficult and obscure genre if one of the great thinkers of the age deems it a “toy”?

The body of Bacon’s essay offers little help, brimming as it is with advice on musical styles, staging effects, costume choices, and antimasque characters: “Let the scenes abound with light, specially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down.” Equally problematic, the closest Bacon comes to discussing poetry is his observation that “Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; [...] and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly.” *Recitative*, if indeed this is Bacon’s reference, and voice parts, rather than meter and poetic form in comfortable Aristotelian style — the entirety of Bacon’s criticism centers on the performance of masque, not its texts. Bacon, therefore, moves his reader from triviality to the ephemerality of performance practice and back again, with no attempt to resolve the initial paradox of his essay.

Delving further into the genre results in further paradoxes and conundrums, and the texts themselves offer little assistance. In practical terms, *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion*, *Tempe Restored*, and *A Mask at Ludlow Castle*, all written within ten years of each other (1624, 1632, and 1634 respectively), share little but music, dancing, and the generic title of “masque” in common. A text like British Manuscript Add. 10311, *Enchiridion Christiados* or “a twelve dayes taske, or twelve verdicts and visions upon Christ, his Incarnation, Nativity, Circumcision, etc., presented for a Christmas Maske to Wm. Paston, Esq., High Sheriff of Norfolke, and the lady Katharine his wife,” written around 1636, further complicates a coherent understanding of the form. This quartet is marked more by difference than similarity: written for four different patrons by four different men, two of the masques—*Neptune's Triumph* and *Tempe Restored*—adhere to the “garden variety” pattern with considerable use of music, dance, and spectacle though a completely different style of antimasque; while one—the Ludlow masque—varies considerably from the standard structure yet retains limited performative elements; and one—the manuscript text—discards both the conventional structure and the music, dance, and spectacle altogether.

The obvious explanation for the sweeping formal differences in these four texts centers on their production either at or away from London and the court. Yet, parceling off non-court masque from those performed at Whitehall creates the needless problem of defining two different types of masque existing simultaneously during a handful of decades in the seventeenth century. A significant amount of criticism highlights the generic quandaries related to *A Mask at Ludlow Castle*,² the best known and most thoroughly studied masque performed away from court, but no one has seriously proposed the genre should be further sub-divided into categories related to the location of performance. To do so would create

further taxonomic difficulties with texts like *A Masque of the Gypsies Metamorphosed* (1621), presented to the king three times in three separate locations (only one a royal palace) and atypical of masque form, or *The Coleorton Masque* (1618), presented to a nobleman away from court but perfectly in keeping with the “garden variety” form.³ Generally, critics who struggle with generic questions dismiss problematic texts as “entertainments” or “pageants,” as Martin Butler does with two Caroline examples: “Neither the Middle Temple *Triumphs of the Prince d’Amour* nor the *Entertainment at Richmond* took place at Whitehall, and neither fulfils the customary requirements of the form: one was part of the Inns of Court revels in honour of a Christmas prince, and the other is more in the nature of a pageant or a show than a court masque.”⁴

If attempting to define the masque in terms of structure creates difficulties, considering the form chronologically yields no better results. Such an examination results in a narrative of fluctuation, the outline of a genre that mutates or is mutated approximately every five years. In this account, the vestigial Tudor masque was given structure and poetic value by Jonson; his antimasque transformed the genre again, as did his later concentration on burlesque and debate during the antimasque. Then the Caroline period saw further modifications to the form, especially in the expansion of the antimasque and increase of spectacle, while the introduction of the genre away from court created still more formal variations. Royal biographer Charles Carlton was apparently so frustrated with the genre, he concluded a summary of Jonson’s *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* with the contemptuous observation “It all sounds a confused and tedious mish-mash.”⁵ Taken together, the generic conundrums, slippery formal qualities, and inter-disciplinarity⁶ of court masque are

challenging enough, but when the genre is perceived as silly, trivial, a “toy,” the would-be-reader is forced to wonder: “why bother?”

Stephen Orgel answered this question in two vital ways. First, he defined the masque as developed by Ben Jonson as a literary genre;⁷ then, together with art historian Roy Strong, he enunciated it as a central tool of Stuart monarchical policy: “The masque is for the monarch and about the monarch, the more directly in the reign of Charles I because the King himself played the leading part in his spectacles. At the center of the form was not only neo-Platonic doctrine but also political philosophy: every Stuart masque is an assertion of the Divine Right of Kings.”⁸ After Orgel’s groundbreaking work in the sixties and early seventies, there was a veritable explosion of critical interest in the genre. Between 1975 and 2005, the *MLA International Bibliography* lists approximately two hundred English-language books or articles examining some aspect of Renaissance masque.⁹ The profound influence of Orgel’s approach to masque is revealed in the centrality that political considerations play in many critics’ assessments; for instance, in a 1981 article on the structure of the genre, Leah Marcus postulated: “That is not to say, of course, that these works are only about the current political and economic scene, but that the key to their unity and structural eccentricities is to be found at that level of meaning,” while twelve years later Graham Parry noted “Masques could serve as a prism for refracting the white light of authority, making it visible at times of state celebrations in colourful displays that drew attention to the components of power, imaginatively understood.”¹⁰

More recently, however, critics have sought to complicate Orgel’s monolithic understanding of the genre by highlighting various masque writers’ attempts to offer gentle critique of crown policy or to represent alternative political ideologies through the form. In

the introduction to their collection *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, David Bevington and Peter Holbrook observe: “Orgel’s findings remain importantly true even while they need, and deserve, to be enriched by consideration of other, discordant voices in the competitions for power that sought out the masque as a medium of political self-definition.”¹¹ In a similar way, Martin Butler also advocates careful attention to the potential multiplicity of influences when attempting to reconcile the structural conundrums of the masque: “What has to be worked towards at the present is a general view of politics and form which is responsive both to the way that masques make meaning and to the circumstances within which that meaning is made.”¹²

Still fundamental to these reformed studies of masque, however, is the role of politics, with its attendant rhetoric of power and authority.¹³ Yet an exclusively political reading of masque does not explain why hundreds of people poured time, creativity, physical resources, intellectual capital, and reputation into the genre in the seventeenth-century. Politics does not explain why Milton tried his hand at the form as a young man, nor does it explain why Bacon, Samuel Daniel—in the dedicatory epistle of *A Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*—and George Chapman—in the published text of *The Memorable Masque*—undertook to expostulate on, define, and defend their idea of what a masque should be. In short, an understanding of masque grounded predominantly upon political considerations limits the genre, and limits it unnecessarily.

In the first place, as Martin Butler’s call for “a general view of politics and form which is responsive [...] to the way that masques make meaning” implies, a formalistic definition of masque and its central ideological impetus have yet to be adequately reconciled. In the past, the simple antithesis of antimasque to masque was regarded as the locus of political meaning

in the genre; the overturning of the chaotic, disordered, evil, or ignoble antimasque world underscored the monarch's ability to bring order, balance, stability, and magnanimity to the kingdom.¹⁴ To enact this allegory of monarchical power, the masque unfolded in a neat and predictable pattern. Yet, as Kevin Sharpe has observed, "such a form was not common to all masques of the Jacobean and Caroline period, and even in those entertainments that follow this basic structure, the balance of parts, of antimasque to masque for example, could vary greatly."¹⁵ As the consideration of genre and form that opened this discussion highlighted, the structure of masque is a complex and contradictory thing, something that even the nuanced and astute political arguments forwarded by contemporary critics of masque have yet to adequately account for.

Secondly, political readings of masque tend to overshadow considerations of other cultural contexts that may influence the genre. For instance, in his article for the Bevington and Holbrook collection, Leeds Barroll proposes that early Stuart masques "deflected attention from the King and his own circle to focus on the new court of the Queen."¹⁶ Reading the masques to 1609 as publicly defining the circle of women closest to the queen, Barroll nonetheless concludes "This was a woman who thoroughly understood the political power of ceremonial display, and who self-consciously exploited it for her own ends as long as it proved useful."¹⁷ Barroll's long-overdue assessment of masque from the female perspective revises the long-held belief in Anne's frivolity and posits her political acumen by overlooking the "female issues" that may influence Anne's masques and instead reading them as a usurpation of "male" traditions of political self-display.

Additionally, with the notable exception of considerations of spectacle in the Caroline period, political readings of masque tend to center almost exclusively on the poetry or lyric

of an individual masque, rather than its constituent performative elements. Certainly, literary critics are more adept at interpreting the language of a text, and there are inherent limitations to the accuracy of the performative descriptions provided by masque poets.¹⁸ Despite these caveats, critics still appear reluctant to engage with the movements, scenery and visual information, and sounds of masque performances. Hugh Craig is emblematic while considering the later Jacobean antimasques: “Jonson’s increasing preference for the conventionally comic in his antimasques rather than for the barbaric and culturally exotic is especially significant because it offered him a way to test the limits and enrich the nuances of deference when speaking with his royal auditor.”¹⁹ Yet, rather than assisting his reader with detailed imaginative recreations of flailing limbs, tumbles and spills, the movement of bodies in space and time, the sounds of pratfalls and laughter, Craig’s descriptions of these “conventionally comic” moments stop with “buffoonery,” violence of “the Punch-and-Judy sort,” and “the release of anarchic energies.”²⁰ With such clinical assessments, it is all-too-easy to forget that the non-poetic elements of masque actually required proportionally more time during the performance than the dialogue did.

If the predominance of political considerations works to limit the genre, the long shadow of Ben Jonson creates as many unnecessary restrictions. As the studies by Barroll and Craig mentioned above suggest, masque criticism is still dominated by assessments of his texts, often to the detriment of other writers working in the genre. Forty years ago, in an introduction to a collection of masque texts, Gerald Eades Bentley facetiously dismissed these “lesser masque writers,” essentially damning their masques to third-rate obscurity:

The scope and vigour of imagination, the extensive and gracefully manipulated learning, the implied control over architect, composer, choreographer, actors, and dancers displayed in *Hymenaei* are characteristic of Ben Jonson, but they can scarcely be expected of lesser masque writers. Not only did their performance fall short of his, but

we have little evidence that they shared much of his high conception of the possibilities of the form or his insistence that the characters and their significances be grounded upon antiquity, and solid learnings.²¹

While no contemporary critic would render such a biased and subjective opinion, there still seems to be an unspoken assumption that, because Jonson penned so many texts in comparison to other men working in the genre, he understood masque deeply and more intimately than other poets. Writers like Campion, Beaumont, and Browne are dabblers, their texts anomalies in comparison with Jonson; even Carew, whose *Coelum Britannicum* is frequently heralded as the finest Caroline example of the genre,²² is often measured against the yardstick of the older poet. This unspoken assumption appears most frequently in considerations of form and genre, and it is precisely this assumption that so problematizes the relationship between *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion*, *Tempe Restored*, *A Mask at Ludlow Castle*, and *Enchiridion Christiados* outlined at the opening of this study.

Reconsidering, “reconstructing” the masque begins with moving beyond these traditional patterns of thought. I do not mean to say, however, that the various political ideologies expressed through masque should be supplanted by alternative considerations; because masque originated as an aesthetic expression of early modern courts, the political character of the genre will always be relevant and important to a well-rounded conception of the form. I do mean to say, on the other hand, that masque was not wholly about politics, nor was it wholly the domain of Ben Jonson, even during the reign of James I. This study presents seventeenth-century masque as an inherently complex, multi-faceted genre, about which different writers and patrons had a range of expectations, assumptions, and desires. The life

and richness of masque come when the limitations of “politics” and “Ben Jonson” are stripped away and the texts themselves are placed into wide-ranging conversation with each other.

Therefore this study will examine an extensive collection of masques. Those seventeenth-century masques for which editions or manuscripts exist, listed in Appendix A, comprise the vast majority of texts upon which I focus, though I also make use of sixteenth-century events detailed in *Hall's Chronicles*, *The Progresses*, *Public Processions, &C of Queen Elizabeth*, *The Elizabethan Stage*, and other secondary sources. In addition to Jonson and the Caroline poets Townshend, Shirley, Carew, and Davenant, I give serious consideration to Beaumont, Browne, Campion, Chapman, Daniel, various anonymous authors, and the writers of several heretofore-unconsidered masques preserved in manuscript at the British Library. In so doing, I assert that the concept of the “Jonsonian masque” is essentially anachronistic, that seventeenth-century writers of masque did not necessarily believe a production should conform perfectly to the Jonsonian pattern to be considered a masque.²³

The flexibility, in terms of both form and content, I find in masques written by this diverse assemblage of seventeenth-century writers coincides neatly with Rosalie L. Colie's genre theory articulated in the posthumous volume of her lectures, *The Resources of Kind*: “I am not now talking about a rigid system of genres—which, really, never existed in practice and barely even in theory—by which each subject defined separately commands its and only its assigned form. We have been looking at far too many examples of works that invoke mixed kind rather than a specific single kind to accept any such rule.”²⁴ In short, early modern writers “refus[ed] to allow generic categories to dictate or predestine the size, scope,

content, and manner [of] any particular literary work.”²⁵ Colie’s ideas summarize beautifully the structural variations, interlaced cultural contexts, and overall multifariousness in masques of the seventeenth century. While I continue to employ the term “genre,” in addition to “form,” during examinations of masque, I do so with few preconceived notions. With no “Jonsonian masque” and no checklist of characteristics to evaluate an individual text, I most often rely on whether that text’s writer considered his creation a masque. Jumping through rhetorical and critical hoops to justify why *Enchiridion Christiados* is not a masque, when John Cayworth clearly stated that it was “Presented for a Christmas Maske” on folio r1 seems an exercise in both futility and folly. Lacking an author’s assertion that a given text is to be considered a masque, a concurrence of several “masque-like” features—poetry, vocal music, dancing, an allegorical mode, an occasion of either political importance or holiday revelry, an indoor performance—demarcates a masque in terms of this study.²⁶

In addition to considering a broad range of texts and authors, this study also ascribes considerable attention to the constituent performative elements of masques. I treat these elements in three separate, but interrelated ways. First, I highlight the descriptions of the performance provided by the authors, paying special attention to the movements and sounds hinted at by the texts. Next, I provide extensive background on the music, dancing, and stage mechanics elaborated by musicologists, dance historians, and theatrical historians who have also studied masques. Works like Peter Walls’ *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, Andrew Sabol’s *400 Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, John Ward’s “Newly Devis’d Measures for Jacobean Masques,” and Richard Hudson’s *The Allemande, the Balletto, and the Tanz: Volume I, the History* contribute rich factual detail to help elaborate the non-textual elements of masque. Drawing the threads of known performance practice

together with the authors' description of individual moments in the texts, I sometimes provide imaginative recreations of particular scenes or events, emphasizing the sounds, tactile qualities, and movements to which the masque texts can only dimly point. Of course, these fleeting moments died the moment they lived; nevertheless, by periodically foregrounding the multiple sensory stimuli to which masques appealed, the full integration of their artistic elements, as well as the extensive effect of their "variety," becomes shades more clear.

The extensive attention I give to details of the performance reveals a diverse range of cultural contexts with which the writers and patrons of masques were concerned. In the first place, the many artists responsible for creating masque were participating in an elaborate, three-dimensional conversation about the use, dangers, and limitations of a particular early modern aesthetic theory. Moreover, the repeated use of certain props, costumes, and scenic elements—the shield and the temple, for instance—suggests masque writers and patrons were contemplating very particular historical, international, theological, and social controversies within the contexts of their masques. Certainly, many of these issues juxtapose with royal politics; however, these controversial antecedents frequently reveal masque writers attempting to reconcile crown policy to an array of personal or local values or concerns. In short, detailed consideration of the multiple cultural contexts effecting the structure and content of seventeenth-century masque demonstrates the genre as one capable of expressing broad national concerns, rather than just the important, but narrow political wranglings at Whitehall.

In the final assessment, it was the capability of masque to express the concerns of the many, rather than the few, that suggest why anonymous authors, otherwise lost to history—

the creators of *The Masque of Flowers*, *The Coleorton Masque* and *Corona Minerva*, for example—tried their hand at the genre in the first place. It is the complexity and multifariousness of masque that explains what these anonymous and frequently overlooked texts have in common with the more familiar ones of Ben Jonson, William Davenant, Thomas Carew, and James Shirley. It is this “variety” of masque that modern readers have consistently overlooked, but that masque’s seventeenth-century writers, patrons, and audiences took for granted. In short, by examining a diverse group of authors and texts, by considering more than just the poetry of masques, and by exploring the range of cultural contexts and concerns expressed in the genre, this study indeed reveals why we should “bother,” suggesting precisely how and why masques were so much more than mere toys.

The three correctives to limited readings of masques I undertake in this study span the course of four chapters. In Chapter 1, “‘Let them oft and sweetly vary’: Masque and Variety,” I begin by addressing the problems of defining a genre through the lens of a poet—Ben Jonson—who was essentially unconcerned with memorializing the performative aspects of masques in production. Careful attention to the “stage directions” provided by other writers, however, reveals the multi-sensory extravaganza that was masque in the seventeenth century. The chapter then formulates the concept of aesthetic “variety,” a quality consistently remarked upon by most masque writers (including Jonson, early in his career), as the constituent feature of the genre to its seventeenth-century writers and audiences. The manifestations of “variety” in masques’ costuming and scenery, formal and mixed sex dances, and vocal and dance music are considered in depth and detail. The chapter then

addresses the formulation of “variety” by sixteenth-century rhetorical and aesthetic theorists, the relationship of “variety” to pleasure in masque, and, finally, the need for balance and decorum to circumscribe the potential excesses of “variety.” At the conclusion of Chapter 1, therefore, the restrictive generic understanding of masque has been replaced with a supple, aesthetically derived concept with which politics—or any other cultural concept—can easily be incorporated.

Chapter 2, “‘Arms Defensive a Safe Peace Maintain’: The Martial Masque” builds on the extensive performative considerations of the first chapter with special focus on the patterns of chivalric and martial costuming, scenery, and props employed in many seventeenth-century examples of the form. To explain the consistency of the martial iconography in the seventeenth century, however, the chapter begins in the sixteenth century, with the earliest connotations of the term “masque” and the earliest performances of the genre at the Henrician court. In short, the potential danger of a masked intruder was circumvented and controlled by Henry VIII; the “mask” became an allegorical lesson about the king’s ability to protect and defend his court. Masque dancing and soldiering, therefore, were implicitly linked throughout the sixteenth century, and the alteration of monarchical dynasty initially did little to break that connection. In addition to the iconography used during the performances themselves, the chapter also traces military processions and the continuous presence of diplomats and foreign visitors as indicative of the pan-European foreign-policy implications of English masques. As I articulate through the middle of the chapter, the martial traditions of the genre posed serious difficulties for James I, the *Rex Pacificus*, difficulties that only increased with the outbreak of the Thirty-Years War and the exile of his daughter and son-in-law from their German homeland. For Charles I, a king well known for his martial self-

fashioning, the traditional chivalric associations of court ceremonial were an ideal vehicle, even as they were overlain with depictions of ideal Platonic Love, the forwarding of domestic agendas, and the images of ideal kingship. Certainly, this is a “political” chapter, but it is one that views politics through the lens of domestic security, foreign policy programs, and the ever-present potential for violence that was the early modern period, rather than from the narrow vantage point of the Banqueting House’s royal dais. As such, the chapter contributes in important ways to the broader cultural contexts within and through which masque operated that are an important component of this study.

Just as Charles I conflated images of the pious Christian king with the bold, martial king, Chapter three, “‘We now shall hear, and see the forms of their devotion’: The Liturgical Masque” segues from martial to religious contexts grounding masque in the seventeenth century. Specifically the chapter interrogates the relationship between the ritual of the court and the official rituals of the Anglican Church. In the Jacobean period, the type and degree of quasi-liturgical inclusion in a given masque varied dramatically from writer to writer and from occasion to occasion. Close reading of both religious metaphors within poetry and the ceremonial presentations enacted on stage reveal that individual writers experimented with the genre, attempting to find the appropriate balance of religious inclusion within this ceremony of divine kingship. The inclusion of quasi-liturgical elements within masque increased dramatically, however, during the Caroline period. The heavy-handed use of temples, priests, sacrificial language, and other, predominately performative, elements borrowed from the Anglican Church essentially transform masque at court to the secular twin of the Laudian church; under Charles, masque becomes a secular liturgical ceremony.

The final chapter of this study, “‘It were a Sinne to make them stoope more lowe, or streyne more high’: The Country Masque,” moves from the court to the counties, examining four country masques, examples of the genre produced at a private house away from court for an audience that did not include a member of the royal family. As a group, these four demonstrate the extensive “variety” of structure and content possible for the seventeenth-century genre; individually, they reveal a range of responses to and critiques of the politico-religious policies of the crown. While the anonymous *The Coleorton Masque* of 1618 and Sir Aston Cockayne’s 1639 *A Masque Presented at Bretbie in Darbyshire* address traditional hospitality, an issue of importance to both early Stuart monarchs, John Milton’s 1634 *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle* is read as a critique of the instantaneous, external transformation of mortal masquers to “divinity” enacted on the Whitehall stage. Finally, a manuscript masque from Norfolk, John Cayworth’s c. 1636 *Enchiridion Christiados*, also challenges the theologically “suspect” inclusions of (what could be called popish) ceremony during the Caroline masque and replaces them with a masque that derives both its structure and meaning from the text of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Importantly, Cayworth abandons music, dancing, and spectacle in favor of poetry and religious “visions” for his masque, a choice that underscores precisely how malleable, how influenced by a diverse range of contexts and cultural influences, how very full of “variety” seventeenth-century masques could be.

¹ Francis Bacon, “Of Masques and Triumphs,” *The Essayes of Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kirnan (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) 416.

² For instance, see the claim “*Comus* is frequently adduced as the death blow of the masque,” by John G. Demaray, *Milton and the Masque Tradition: The Early Poems, ‘Arcades,’ and Comus* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968) 74. Other studies considering the formal classification of *A Mask* include Heather Dubrow, “The Masquing of Genre in *Comus*,” *Milton Studies* 44 (2005); Cedric C. Brown, *John Milton’s Aristocratic Entertainment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Maryann Cale McGuire, *Milton’s Puritan Masque* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983) 75–76 and 167–70; and C. L. Barber, “A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle: The Masque as a Masque; Selected Papers from the Eng. Inst. With a Foreword,” *The Lyric and Dramatic Milton*, ed. Joseph H. Summers (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

³ These texts can be found in Stephen Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969) and David Lindley, ed., *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

⁴ Martin Butler, “Reform or Reverence? The Politics of the Caroline Masque,” *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, eds. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 122. Butler even quibbles with classifying James Shirley’s *The Triumphs of Peace* as a “true” masque: “it was presented to the king and queen rather than by them, and it too breaches the normal decorums of the occasion by introducing into the main revels a surprising and belated anti-masque involving people of the sort that were usually excluded from the rarified masquing air” (122).

⁵ Charles Carlton, *Charles I: The Personal Monarch*, 2nd edition ed. (New York: Routledge, 1995) 149.

⁶ Of course, the constituent elements of masque — its consort music, formal dancing, spectacular scenery, moving set pieces, extravagant costumes, and elaborate poetry — hamper those who would understand masque because understanding those elements requires moderate expertise across numerous disciplines, a challenge in today’s world of academic compartmentalism.

⁷ “And more than any other masque writer, Jonson was able to treat those external requirements as poetic ones, to make the demands of the occasion a vital element of a complex work of art” argues Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965) 62.

⁸ Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 50.

⁹ This number is based on the keyword search string “masque NOT Shakespeare NOT Milton,” limited to English and to the years 1975 and 2005; see *MLA International Bibliography*, 2004–2006, ProQuest Information and Learning Company, February 2 2006. Importantly, this figure excludes articles related to Milton’s *A Mask*, for which there are about fifty books and articles with the same limitations on date and language, and any article on Shakespeare, of which there are about fifty-five, most related to the romances. By contrast, in the preceding thirty-year period, between 1945 and 1975, the *MLA* bibliography only lists about sixty sources on masque, a number that includes studies of Shakespeare and Milton.

¹⁰ Leah Sinanoglou Marcus, “Masquing Occasions and Masque Structure,” *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* (1981): 8; and Graham Parry, “The Politics of the Jacobean Masque,” *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, eds. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 110.

¹¹ David Bevington and Peter Holbrook, “Introduction,” *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 5. The editors also note Orgel’s own modification of his original ideas: “In his own contribution to this present collection, Orgel sees division in the court as astutely as does anyone else” (5).

¹² Butler, “Reform or Reverence? The Politics of the Caroline Masque,” 124.

¹³ This rhetoric is shared not only by New Historicists but also by revisionist scholars, as is made clear by Bevington and Holbrook, “Introduction,” 5–10.

¹⁴ “The glories of the transformation scene express the power of princes, bringing order to human and elemental nature, partaking thereby in the divine” observe Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 13.

¹⁵ Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 181.

¹⁶ J. Leeds Barroll, “Inventing the Stuart Masque,” *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington, Peter Holbrook and Leah Sinanoglou Marcus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 121.

¹⁷ Barroll, “Inventing the Stuart Masque,” 136.

¹⁸ Most critics regard the “stage directions” as descriptions of an “ideal” performance, rather than an accurate record of the events on the evening in question; see Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990) ch. 1.

¹⁹ Hugh Craig, “Jonson, the Antimasque, and the ‘Rules of Flattery’,” *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington, Peter Holbrook and Leah Sinanoglou Marcus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 186.

²⁰ Craig, “Jonson, the Antimasque, and the ‘Rules of Flattery’,” 186, 184, and 189 respectively.

²¹ Gerald Eades Bentley, “Introduction,” *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicol*, ed. Philip Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 3.

²² “The beauty and force of the poetry make this for the modern reader the most powerful of the early Stuart masques. [...] but it is the tone, as well as the force, that makes this masque distinctive,” states Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* 233.

²³ The “Jonsonian” pattern, as understood by modern critics, requires four events: one or more antimasques, the overturning of the antimasque world and establishment of the masquers representing the forces of order, terminal dances alternated with songs, and finally measures and revels dances initiated by the descent of the masquers from the stage into the audience. For an overview of this pattern, see Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 2–3.

²⁴ Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 114–15.

²⁵ Colie, *The Resources of Kind* 103.

²⁶ The least masque-like masque listed in Appendix A is Thomas Middleton’s *Civitas Amor*, which will be briefly considered in Chapter 2; it was performed outside and did not include formal dancing.

Chapter 1
“Let them oft and sweetly vary”: Masque and Variety

Modern explanations of court masque frequently catalogue the elements of dancing, music, and staging to differentiate the genre from plays of the same period. Such explanations are seen as necessary because the texts of masques, the most complete record of performance to which modern scholars have access, can appear so similar to contemporary plays in their printed form. Yet, as anyone knows who has seen a production of Shakespeare bring imagination, color, and passion to the static black and white of the page, the printed text is a limiting vehicle when considering the flesh and blood of performance. Not only are “masques not plays,” but the performative elements of masque—comprising a larger proportion of the performance than music, dance, and spectacle employed in early modern plays—are more circumscribed by the printed text than they are in plays. More often than not, however, the obligatory litany of performative elements ends any consideration of the true artistic integration of masque as a genre in contemporary consideration. A scholar dutifully points out the various disciplines, then quickly proceeds to his or her discipline of specialty, be it music, literature, or theatrical history.¹ The very interdisciplinarity of court masque abrogates a fully formed conception of the genre in today’s academy of disciplinary compartmentalism.

To truly understand masque, however, we must understand all elements of its performance in full integration, as they were originally conceived. This challenging project is not without its potential downfalls. Disciplinary expertise necessarily creates a bias toward

one element of performance or another. Musical historians can learn the analytical skills of literature specialists, but they will always be better at analyzing and hearing the music. Conversely, literary scholars frequently possess some skills of the musician—singing, playing an instrument, understanding musical and compositional theory—but their professional training focuses on words, not musical sounds. Moreover, the genre itself, ephemeral in both production and history, leaves only scattered and uncertain traces. The music, if it was saved at all, was published for the limited instrumental resources of private or chamber use;² the texts are accurate records of performance only to the degree that the masque-writer or poet was interested in making them complete.

As this chapter initially asserts, by the second decade of the seventeenth century, Ben Jonson was not, in fact, interested in recording a detailed description of all elements of the performance. In fact, in his late texts, Jonson elided details of the performance almost to the point of nonexistence. Yet, because he is considered the single most important writer of masque as a genre, his choice contributes substantially to the tendency of a modern reader to concentrate on the poetry, rather than the integrated performance, of masque. Almost all other masque writers, however, continued to provide extensive prose passages detailing the scenery, costumes, dancing, and music of the masque in the published editions of their texts. Although it is convenient to refer to these italicized passages as “stage directions,” the term is inaccurately applied to masque; instead, the passages should be considered what their original authors meant them to be, memorials of the performances themselves.³

Careful attention to these “stage directions” tantalize, for the visual and aural glories of the masque are lavishly and generously described by the other seventeenth-century poets working in the genre. Importantly, one word appears again and again in these descriptions:

“variety.” Simply put, “variety” is the most important factor in defining masque as a genre to its original writers and audiences. The majority of this chapter is therefore spent detailing the specific context and implications of “variety” as an aesthetic ideal: its appropriateness to describe all other performative elements of masque, the aesthetic theorists who initially defined the concept, its relationship to the concept of sensual pleasure, and the circumscription of its own tendencies to excess through balance, order, and decorum. The abilities of other artists, the choreographers, composers, designers, carpenters, painters, musicians, actors, and dancers who brought masque to life, to create aesthetic *variety*—and I emphasize the specialized aesthetic usage of the term through italicization throughout the chapter—is highlighted in detailed discussion of early modern performance practice as the discussion of *variety* unfolds. To begin to redefine a genre, one must begin to understand it from the perspective of its original writers, patrons, and audiences. In the seventeenth century, therefore, masque was *variety*.

Almost without exception, masque writers attempt to remind their readers of the richness of masques in performance through commentary and extensive descriptions within the “stage directions.” The anonymous author of *The Masque of Flowers*, from 1613, almost paints with his words:⁴

Every quarter of the garden was finely hedged about with a low hedge of cypress and juniper; the knots within set with artificial green herbs, embellished with all sorts of artificial flowers. In the two first quarters were two pyramids garnished with gold and silver, and glistering with transparent lights, resembling carbuncles, sapphires and rubies. In every corner of each quarter were great pots of gilly-flowers, which shadowed certain lights placed behind them and made a resplendent and admirable lustre.

The two farther quarters were beautified with tulippas of diverse colours, and in the middle and in the corners of the said quarters were set great tufts of several kinds of flowers, receiving lustre from secret lights placed behind them. (280–291)

Other portions of the description of the main masque provide specific measurements for architectural pieces, exact placement of statuary, and further indication of the faux flora adorning the set. On the whole, the poet exhibits great care in reproducing, through words, the specific and unique details of the main masque setting. Neither is he alone. Samuel Daniel renders his 1610 *Tethys' Festival*:⁵

The scene itself was a port or haven, with bulwarks at the entrance and the figure of a castle commanding a fortified town; within this port were many ships, small and great, seeming to lie at anchor, some nearer and some further off according to perspective; beyond all appeared the horizon or termination of the sea, which seemed to move with a gentle gale, and many sails lying, some to come into port, and others passing out. (42–49)

From this generous description, a reader would have no trouble conjuring up a memory—or for the curious non-spectator, a detailed mental picture—of the masquing hall and its sets.

William Browne, for his 1615 *The Masque of the Inner Temple (Ulysses and Circe)*,⁶

likewise provides exacting detail of the scene:

A traverse was drawn at the lower end of the hall, and gave way for the discovery of an artificial wood so near imitating nature that I think had there been a grove like it in the open plain birds would have been faster drawn to that than to Zeuxis' grapes. The trees stood at the climbing of the hill and left at their feet a little plain which they circled like a crescent; (132–138).

While the language of all three writers is exuberant and detailed, no one attempts to portray the scenery as anything other than what, in fact, it was. Both *The Masque of Flowers* poet and Browne favor “artificial,” while Daniel employs “according to perspective” and verbs of illusion—“appeared” and “seemed”; such language serves as a delicate reminder to the reader that nothing about the masque world was real, no matter how beautifully it was

painted. Even Thomas Carew, in his 1634 *Coelum Britannicum*, subtly acknowledges the illusion of the scenery “*representing*” a ruined civilization:

The curtain was watchet and a pale yellow in panes, which flying up on the sudden discovered the scene, representing old arches, old palaces, decayed walls, parts of temples, theatres, basilicas and thermae, with confused heaps of broken columns, bases, cornices and statues, lying as underground, and altogether resembling the ruins of some great city of the ancient Romans or civilised Britons.
(32–37)

The “stage directions” to almost every non-Jonsonian masque resemble those of Daniel, Browne, and Carew: lush, substantive, mindful of the efforts of other artists.

Ben Jonson, like other masque writers, provides lavish, charming descriptions in his early masques, attempting to vivify with his language the static set pieces and fleeting performances. The poet’s recreation of the background scenery of *The Masque of Beauty* is an excellent example: “*On the sides of the throne were curious and elegant arbours appointed; and behind, in the back part of the isle, a grove of grown trees laden with golden fruit, which other little Cupids plucked and threw each at other, whilst on the ground, leverets picked up the bruised apples, and left them half eaten*” (208–212). In this description, the putti and rabbits come alive through Jonson’s prose, defying the two-dimensional stasis of paint and canvas. Unlike Daniel’s ships, which only seem to move in the harbor, Jonson gives his sparring cupids and hungry rabbits chronology and volition; an unsophisticated reader may well be lead to believe that actors and wildlife fleshed out the backdrop of *Beauty*, rather than expertly painted tromp l’oeil.

Jonson did not limit these rich descriptions to the visual elements, either; in *Hymenaei* he attempts to enunciate the richness of the music and the dance:

Here they danced forth a most neat and curious measure, full of subtlety and device, which was so excellently performed as it seemed to take away that spirit from the invention which the invention gave to it, and left it doubtful whether the forms

flowed more perfectly from the author's brain or their feet. The strains were all notably different, some of them formed into letters very signifying to the name of the bridegroom, and ended in manner of a chain, linking hands. (288–294)

In contrast to the description of the scenery, this passage epitomizes the inexpressibility topos. While doing rhetorical backbends to complement the skills of the dancers, Jonson nonetheless lacks the language to describe the formal details of the music and accompanying dance. In fact, the poet neglects the music altogether, omitting even those adjectives commonly applied to music by writers lacking musical training, words like *soft* or *sweet*. Jonson even uses the word “strain,” technically employed to discuss a discreet phrase of music, to describe brief segments of the dancing that are organized by the musical phrasing. Lacking a technical vocabulary for these fleeting performative elements, his escape, in this passage as well as other masque texts, is to resort to impressive-sounding, but utterly non-specific descriptors like “*neat and curious, full of subtlety and device*” and “*notably different*.” A reader, especially one who actually missed the performance, is left only with the impression of an effect and the capacity of his or her imagination to fill in the gaps.

In the supplemental commentary to *Hymenaei*, his second masque, Jonson discusses the unique challenges of capturing the performance of masque in written form:

Nor was there wanting whatsoever might give to the furniture or complement, either in riches, or strangeness of the habits, delicacy of dances, magnificence of the scene, or divine rapture of the music. Only the envy was that it lasted not still, or, now it is past, cannot by imagination, much less description, be recovered to a part of that spirit it had in the gliding by.

Yet that I may not utterly defraud the reader of his hope, I am drawn to give it those brief touches which may leave behind some shadow of what it was. (540–550)

The published version of *Hymenaei* opens with the oft-considered discussion of the souls and bodies—the “outward celebration” and “more removed mysteries” (13, 18)—of masques.⁷

Taken together, these passages illustrate the poet’s perplexity, not just with the spectacle that

later became the crux of the Jonson-Jones quarrel, but with all “sensually preferred” (8) elements of the form.⁸ The admission, however obsequiously phrased, that words were inherently inadequate to memorialize the performance in all its complex detail undoubtedly must have been a difficult one for the poet. Yet Jonson is clearly also appreciative of those sensual elements, which complement and elucidate the “high and hearty inventions” of the “inward parts” (14–15). Therefore, beginning his “brief touches” with the costumes, Jonson describes, in precise, vivid terms, the attire of the gentlemen, followed by the ladies; he then addresses the scene and stage machine in similar fashion (551–640). It should be noted that the poet in no way undertakes to treat the musical instruments or technical features of the dance with the extensive detail he employs for the design elements, though he does acknowledge the aural elements at appropriate instances during the text itself.

Jonson’s written efforts to memorialize the full details of masque performances, both verbal and non-verbal, continue into the next decade, although the lavishness of the descriptions and attempts to verbalize the musical elements decrease notably by the early sixteen-teens. The stage directions for 1611’s *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* suggest the poet’s altered priorities:

So soon as the King’s majesty was set and in expectation, there was heard a strange music of wild instruments. To which a sphinx came forth dancing, leading Love bound. By this sphinx was understood Ignorance, who is always the enemy of love and beauty, and lies still in wait to entrap them. For which antiquity hath given her the upper parts and face of a woman, the nether parts of a lion, the wings of an eagle, to show her fierceness and swiftness to evil where she hath power. (1–8)

Jonson still references the music, even providing a bit of helpful detail, but his central motivation in these stage directions is to educate the reader with a brief lesson on the symbolism of the masque. Nor is this an isolated passage; most new characters in the text are introduced with similar commentary. The powerful moment of the transformation scene is

thoroughly obscured, hinted at in the speech and buried in the momentarily brusque prose: “*The muses’ priests; their number twelve; their song, to a measure. Here is understood the power of wisdom in the muses’ ministers, by which name all that have the spirit of prophecy are styled, and such they are needed to encounter Ignorance and Folly [...]*” (251–255). The author’s early and self-professedly difficult essays to integrate all aspects of the performance into his written accounts are essentially over as he shifts his focus to memorializing only the texts, not the performances through the medium of the texts. Jonson and Jones’ notorious quarrel centered on the precedence of either poetry or spectacle in the masque; yet from 1611 on, the stage directions of Jonson’s masques inscribe his reluctance to acknowledge, in a significant way, any of the performative elements of the genre.⁹

Notably, most masque writers exhibit a lack of specificity, similar to Jonson’s, when dealing with the music and dance. Their temerity is understandable; to undertake an accurate record of the music and dancing of masque they must either possess detailed knowledge of compositional theory or choreography or devote page after page to the description of events completed in the blink of an eye. Francis Beaumont’s 1613 *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray’s Inn* is emblematic:¹⁰ “*The second anti-masque rush in, dance their measure, and as rudely depart: [...] the music was extremely well fitted, having such a spirit of country jollity as can hardly be imagined, but the perpetual laughter and applause was above the music*” (229–242). As with Jonson’s treatments of the performative elements, a reader is left only with impressions and imagination, few firm details. Here the dancers were country clowns, their antics highly amusing, the music—some jig or country dance played on suitable instruments—exactly appropriate. But which dance, what instruments? These fleeting

details, so difficult to express without a technical knowledge of performance practice, are lost to history.

The exception to writerly discomfort with musical descriptions is, without surprise, the poet, composer, and masque writer Thomas Campion. In his earliest masque, the 1607 *Lord Hay's Masque*, Campion pairs his lavish scenic description with equally specific and lavish treatment of the music. A seemingly simple two line chorus, “Again this song revive and sound it high: / Long live Apollo, Britain’s glorious eye” (373–374), clearly becomes a significant moment in the performance after Campion’s exacting discussion of the orchestration:

This chorus was, in manner of an echo, seconded by the cornetts, then by the consort of ten, then by the consort of twelve, and by a double chorus of voices standing on either side, the one against the other, bearing five voices apiece. And sometime every chorus was heard severally, sometime mixed, but in the end all together [...]. (375–379)

Ten feet of poetry become perhaps ten minutes of music. The suggestion in the lyric, to “again this song revive,” is realized in the performance, though the lyric can only barely hint at what must have been flourishes and peals of sound, the melody caught and echoed over and over by the groups of musicians scattered throughout the hall. It is Campion the composer, as much as Campion the poet, who penned this description with its precise use of musical terminology. Unfortunately, only his *Caversham Entertainment* of six years later retains this detailed musical treatment, leaving other texts to merely whisper of the musical possibilities embedded in their poetry.

Though most masque writers exhibit some degree of timidity with musical and dance elements, only Jonson shuns implicit references to painterly artifice in his stage directions from early masques and only Jonson eventually abandons descriptions all together. Yet, Ben

Jonson is the author modern critics commonly regard as defining “the masque” in the first place. Jonson’s bias toward the poetic and literary elements of the genre continues to have a significant impact on modern reception of masque,¹¹ creating an inaccurate conception of the genre for those who regard his texts as normative. As Appendix B hints, the prose and poetry is given substantially more weight in twenty of the poet’s twenty-six masque texts, while the descriptions of costuming, music, dancing, and scenery convey only the barest amount of information, if such descriptions exist at all.

Despite the significant differences between Jonson’s descriptions of the performative elements and the treatments by other writers of masque, the concept of the “garden variety” or “Jonsonian” masque was formulated from the sketchy outline provided by Jonson’s stage directions:

1. Antimasque dances and songs
2. Loud music and discovery of the masquing scene
3. First song
4. Masquers entry dance
5. Second Song
6. Masquers main dance
7. Third Song
8. Measures and Revels
9. Fourth Song
10. Masquers exit dance¹²

Though easily comprehensible, this list rarely reflects the actual chronology of events in many masques; even Jonson’s texts fail to conform perfectly in many cases. Moreover, the list substantially misrepresents the relationship of each of the ten elements of the masque by allotting them equal status. In actuality, the measures and revels, the social dances between the masquers and audience members—which began with the slow, stately measures and concluded with the faster, livelier revels¹³—took up a majority of the four or more hours of an evening’s performance.¹⁴ To make the chronology more concrete, Peter Walls, in *Music*

in the English Courtly Masque, suggests a timetable for a typical evening.¹⁵ Given that most masques began between 8:00 and 10:00 p.m., Walls picks a 9:00 starting time and allows 3 minutes for the trumpet fanfares and other loud music announcing the king's entrance.¹⁶ The antimasque is performed from 9:03 to 9:15, at which time the transformation to the masquing scene occurs; the masque proper lasts for half an hour, until 9:45, and then the measures and revels begin. These social dances last until 1:00 a.m., or later, when the final song and the masquers' exit dance is performed and the evening's activities are concluded. Several contemporary accounts verify the prominence of the social dances in the evening's program, including one observer's report that *Tethys' Festival* lasted until "it was high time to go to Bed, for it was within a half an hour of the sun's not setting, but rising."¹⁷

Through brief consideration of the masque writers' attempts—or in the case of Jonson, reluctance—to memorialize the performances as a coherent whole, it becomes clear that the seventeenth-century conception of masque differs in critical ways from the impression of the genre created by the anachronistic "Jonsonian masque" as it is understood today. The non-literary elements of performance occupied a great deal more time, and demanded a great deal of authorial attention—from almost all writers but Ben Jonson—than is allowed by this overly simplistic pattern. Essentially the stage directions from texts like *The Masque of Flowers*, *Tethys' Festival*, and *Coelum Britannicum* highlight that, above all else, masques were ever-changing, multi-sensory affairs, with the poetry carefully integrated with the other performative elements of the genre. Descriptions of sets and costumes repeatedly insist on the copiousness of visual stimuli, from the elaborate proscenium arches—encrusted with

gods, urns, greenery, putti, scrolls, and drapery—to the carefully arranged perspective sets—studies in asymmetrical balance both from side to side and from front to rear—to the rich costumes—often of a kind, though not identical. Aurally, things were no different; for moments when the spoken word was not prominent, a bevy of instruments, voice parts, and musical styles provided a constant program of interesting things to listen to. During performance, the visual and auditory elements worked in seamless partnership, with one taking the leading role, the other supporting, as needed to direct the audience’s focus at key moments. There are hints that, as the elaborate speeches were being recited, the masquers were arranged in picture-perfect stasis, living exempla of the noble verses describing them. These moments alternated with periods of near constant motion during the songs and dances, allowing the audience to “read” the dancing with the music as a complement. Essentially, during a masque performance, something was always changing, something was always new.

The ephemerality of the genre has long been recognized, although this quality is almost exclusively associated with the one-time-only performance run of each show.¹⁸ But ephemerality is also produced by a constantly shifting scene or constantly changing sound; in spite of the use of TiVo, the DVD player, and other gadgets to “record” performances, modern audio-visual entertainment is nothing if not a rapturous embrace of ephemerality — especially following the revolution, in the last ten years, of dizzyingly fast splices and split-second sound bites created through digital technology. This type of sensory ephemerality, the intentional inclusion of copious and ever-changing sensory stimuli by the artists and creators of masques, can and must be recognized as an important quality in the genre itself. Instead of lamenting about how fast everything was over, how ephemeral it all was, seventeenth-century masque writers consistently and unfailingly remark on how extensive

and varied a particular performance was to begin with. In short, masques were intentional studies in sensory variety, with the resulting ephemerality a byproduct of the attempt to create constant sensory stimulation.

Each artistic contributor played a key role in creating aesthetic or sensory variety during masque performance. For instance, descriptions of costumes frequently note the diversity of design, decoration, or even color: “*The colours of the masquers were varied*” (218) from Jonson’s 1608 *Masque of Beauty* and “*These habits had in them the excellency of all device and riches, and were worthily varied by [Jones’s] invention to the nations whereof they were queens*” (663–665) from his 1609 *Masque of Queens*. In his 1613 *The Memorable Masque*,¹⁹ George Chapman explains that:

The torch-bearers’ habits were likewise of the Indian garb, but more stragant than those of the masquers, all showfully garnished with several-hued feathers. The humble variety whereof struck off the more amply the masquers’ high beauties, shining in the habits of themselves, and reflected in their kind a new and delightfully varied radiance on the beholders. (75–80)

William Davenant similarly describes the chorus of poets in his 1635 *The Temple of Love*: “*out of those venerable shades came forth a company of ancient Greek poets, as Demodocus, Phaemius, Homer, Hesiod, Terpander, and Sappho (a poetess), in habits varied and of several colours, with laurel wreaths on their heads*” (81–85). Though the use of the term “variety” in these examples appears entirely conventional and unremarkable, the word is not absolutely required for descriptive purposes in the passages. At first glance it seems that the poets could have easily selected synonyms without extensively altering the impact of the description. Again and again, however, the term appears in masque texts. Davenant actually amplifies the emphasis on variety by doubling the form with its synonym “several”; Chapman uses the term twice in less than thirty words during his description. Evaluated

from the standpoint of such consistent and emphatic usage by multiple, independent writers, the concept of *variety* can no longer be overlooked as conventional in the context of court masque. Instead, the term should be understood as an abstract aesthetic quality,²⁰ similar to the quality of beauty or gracefulness. Like those other qualities, *variety* contributes, in a substantial and beneficial degree, to the overall pleasure of the aesthetic experience as a whole.

It should come as no surprise, then, when the term *variety* is employed for all manner of description in masque texts. Many writers seem to be quite proud of the “variety” achieved in the scenic design of their masques. Jonson observes, for his 1605 *The Masque of Blackness*, “*On sides of the shell did swim six huge sea-monsters, varied in their shape and dispositions [...]*” (57–58), while Aurelian Townshend provides a related example from his 1632 *Tempe Restored*: “*in a valley environed with hills afar off, was seated a prospect of curious arbours of various forms*” (52–53). Chapman uses the concept again in *The Memorable Masque*, this time to describe the embellishments on the musicians’ pageant cars: “*After them were sorted two cars triumphal, adorned with great mask-heads, festoons, scrolls, and antique leaves, every part enriched with silver and gold. These were through-varied with different invention, and in them advanced the choice musicians of our kingdom*” (38–41). The 1634 *Triumph of Peace* by James Shirley is rife with assertions of the masque’s visual *variety*: when the curtain is first drawn, “*The spectators [entertain] their eyes awhile with the beauty and variety of this scene*” (203–204); as the masque proper begins, “*a third cloud of various colour from the other two, begins to descend*” (566–567); and when they are finally revealed “*The Masquers were sixteen in number, the sons of Peace, Law, and Justice, who sitting in a gracious but not set form, every part of the seats made a*

various composition, but all together tending to a pyramidal figure” (631–634). As with the examples from costume descriptions, Jonson and Townshend use the word in a seemingly conventional way; yet, the examples from Chapman and Shirley reveal a more complicated use of the term, like the amplification and doubling employed by Davenant and Chapman while describing the costumes. In this passage, Chapman hyphenates the word into an unique adjective, “through-varied,” that seems to imply an increased or all-encompassing state of *variety*. Shirley, in the last example, uses the term to describe the non-symmetrical positioning of the masquers in the visual tableau as a unified whole; each member provides a slightly different individual picture—a “variation on the theme”—while contributing to the overall aesthetic effect of the group. In fact, Shirley’s adjectival use of “various” is jarring when read in a very modern context as “assorted” or “different”; considering the word as an aesthetic quality and substituting “beautiful,” however, reduces substantially the possible confusion Shirley’s original produced. The passage makes best sense when the form is understood in the seventeenth-century context of aesthetics or artistic production.

The Caroline masques have long been recognized for their spectacular, ever-changing effects, like the staggered descent of clouds in *Tempe Restored* or the mountain of the three kingdoms rising from beneath the stage in *Coelum Britannicum*; therefore, the tour-de-force of *variety* that Jones produced twenty-five years earlier for Jonson’s 1608 *Masque of Beauty* is all the more remarkable:

This throne, as the whole island moved forward on the water, had a circular motion of it [sic] own, imitating that which we call motum mundi, from the east to the west, or the right to the left side. The steps whereon the Cupids sat had a motion contrary, with analogy ad motum planetarum, from the west to the east; both which turned with their several lights. And with these three varied motions at once, the whole scene shot itself to the land. (224–230)

From these handful of examples, drawn from seven different poets and spanning the course of more than thirty years, the refrain-like use of the term *variety* attests to its desirability as an aesthetic effect. The accompanying terms “diverse,” “different,” and “several” are frequently used to round out the descriptions, indicating a conscientious choice of language on the part of the writers; the use of this term was not happenstance as writers searched for synonyms during long passages of description.

As the “stage directions” cited above suggest, Inigo Jones and the other scenic designers employed a wide range of devices and stage tricks to create the aesthetic *variety* in which the poets revel. The first visual change of the evening occurred when the curtain hiding the stage fell to the floor after the king was in place,²¹ but the all-important stage machines offered, by far, the most potential for *variety*. There were two basic types of these machines, the *machina versatilis* and the *scena ductilis*.²² Because it had been widely used during Tudor court entertainments, the *machina versatilis* was a familiar device to the English audiences at seventeenth-century Whitehall; this machine worked on a similar principal to the ancient Greek *periaktoi*, rotating triangular columns with scenes painted on each face, to which it was related.²³ At the precise moment, the machine was turned on its axis, and a new scene appeared. The witches’ hell-mouth and the House of Fame, Figure 1.1, from Jonson’s *The Masque of Queens*, are excellent examples of the room-sized sets a *machina versatilis* was capable of representing. Unlike the *periaktoi*, however, the *machina versatilis* consisted of only two scenes, and Jones eventually favored the flexibility of the *scena ductilis* for the majority of his scenic effects. The *scena ductilis* consisted of painted flats—giant pieces of canvas stretched over lightweight wooden frames—set in grooves or tracks in the stage floor.²⁴ Using realistic tromp l’oeil painting techniques, the flats became the sea-port

backdrop of Daniel's *Tethys' Festival*, the beautiful garden of *The Masque of Flowers*, the ruined city of Carew's *Coelum Britannicum*, the last of which is seen in Figure 1.2. To change scenes, the front-most flat was slid off-stage, quickly and almost silently, a vast improvement over the creaking and noise produced by the older machine.²⁵ Because of its ease and unlimited potential—Jones was limited only by the number of tracks that could be

Figure 1.1: Inigo Jones's House of Fame for *The Masque of Queens*²⁶

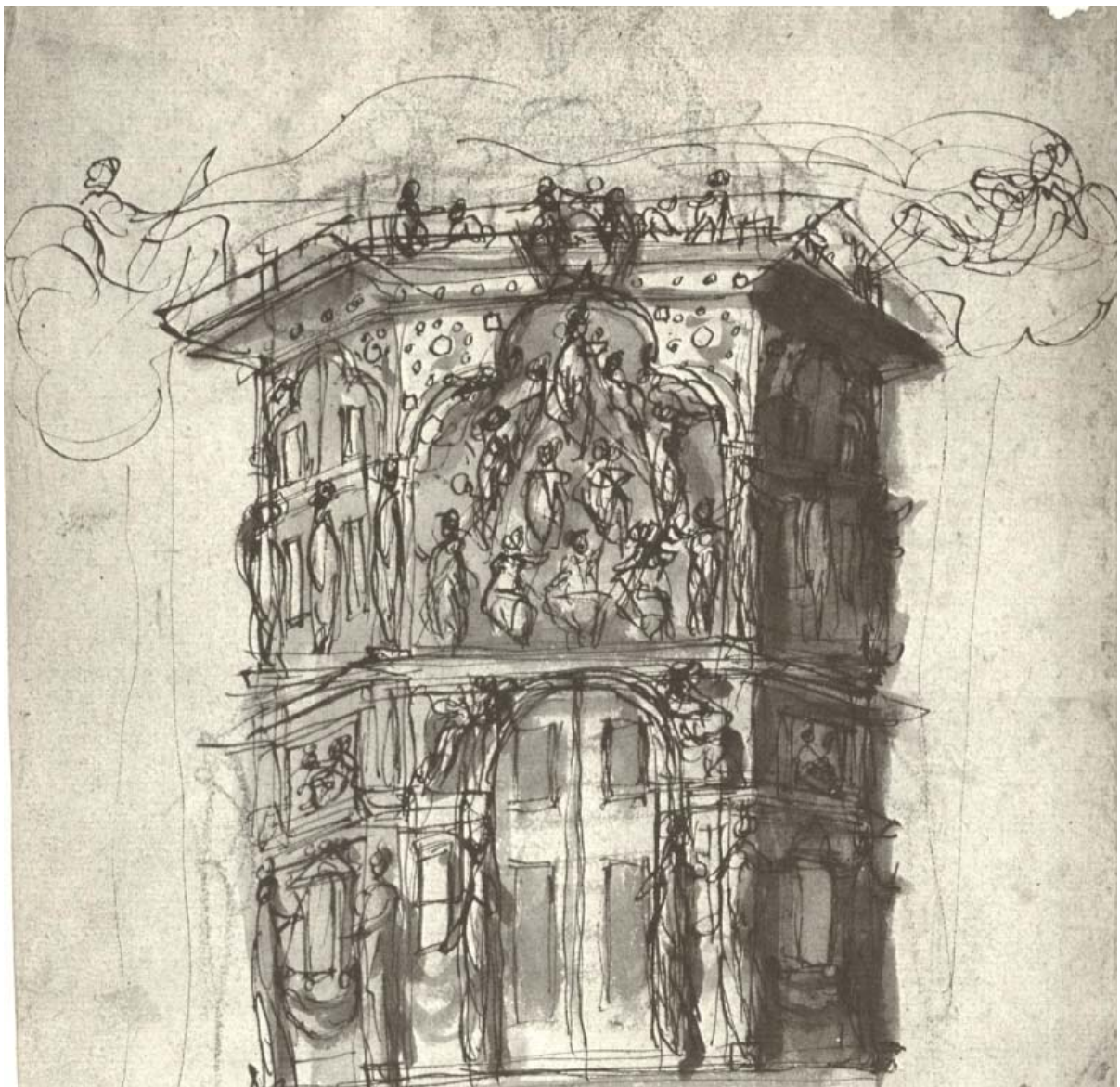
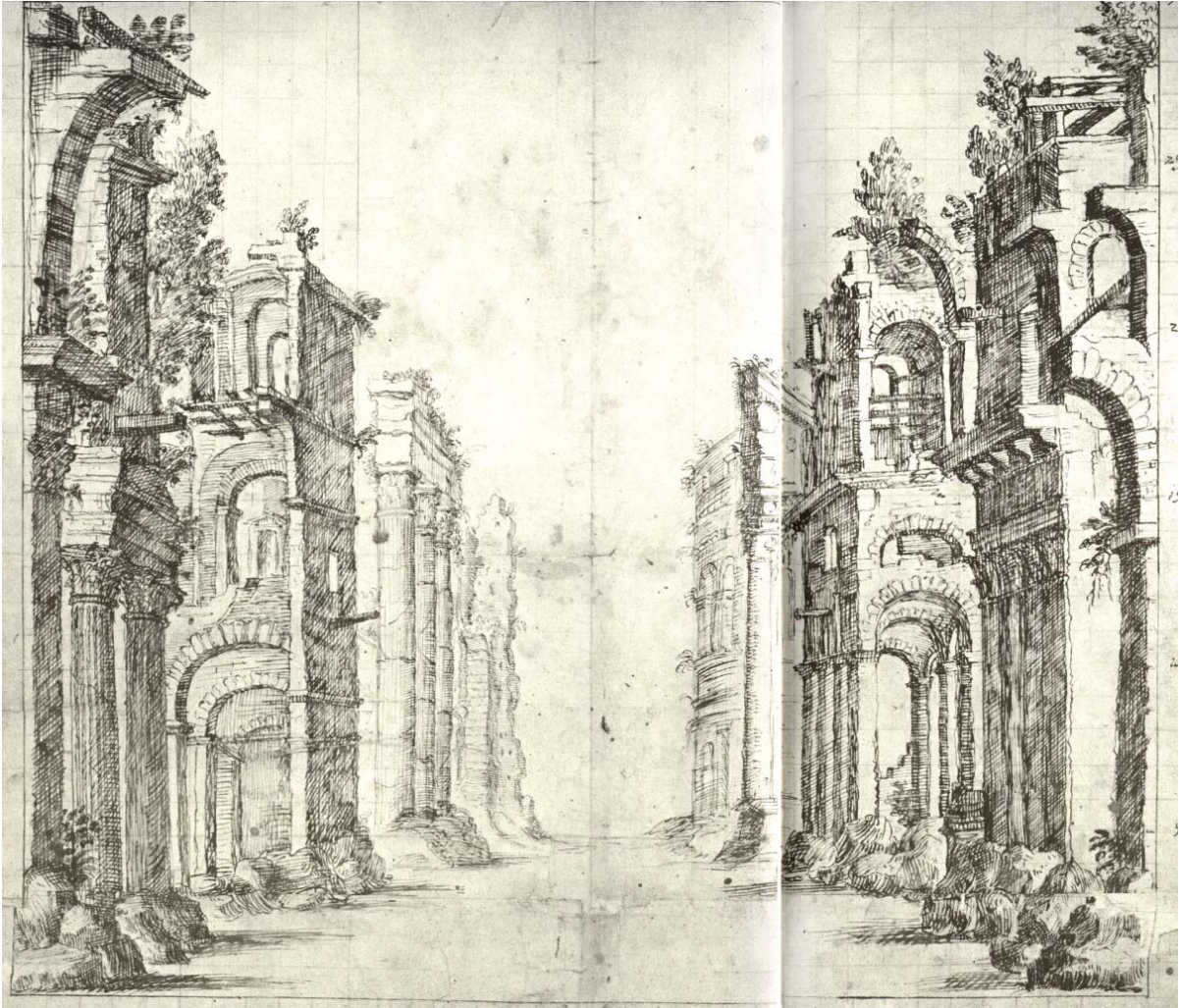


Figure 1.2: Inigo Jones's Ruined City for *Coelum Britannicum*²⁷



placed in the floor—the *scena ductilis* quickly became the primary machine of the designer's stagecraft. After his return from Italy in 1615, Jones gradually added the proscenium arch, moveable flats in the wings, raked stage, and "scene of relieve"—cut-out or three-dimensional flats layered in front of the back scrim—to the basic perspective set of the *scena ductilis*.²⁸ Of course, the king, seated at the ideal vantage point on his dais at the center of the room, would be in the best position to appreciate the realism and beauty of these perspective sets.²⁹ Painted drops, diaphanous scrims, and the ubiquitous—but nonetheless

mystifying—cloud machines rounded out Jones’s arsenal of scenic devices, helping create still more magic effects.³⁰

A primary effect of Jones’s technical innovations in stage design and machinery was to substantially increase the potential scenic *variety* of a given performance. With seconds-long scene changes, cloud machines capable of both vertical and limited horizontal movement, and scrims and curtains hiding and revealing as needed, there was always something new in the set for the audience to appreciate. Importantly, the control of light was also vital to Jones’ scenic wizardry. The sets were lit with countless candles and torches—3 dozen torches and 200 candles alone were employed for *The Temple of Jove*—the ambient light of which was magnified by reflectors; shiny fabrics, tinsel, and sequins on costumes; and gold and silver paint highlighting most decorated surfaces.³¹ Additionally, colored glass or liquid-filled bottles, through which light was directed, produced flickering, saturated, gem-like colors,³² the precious rubies, emeralds, and carbuncles frequently described by poets in their “stage directions.” In addition to making the gorgeous sets visible in the first place, the shimmering colors, bright metallics, and flickering torchlight completed the feeling of near-constant motion created by Jones’s scenic innovations. Compared to the enormous, but static, castles and mountains of Tudor entertainments, the Stuart sets must have been exhilarating in and of themselves.

As an aesthetic quality appealing to the sight, though, *variety* could apply to more than just the setting. The “variety” of movement or motion certain masques could attain, especially through the dancing, was often noted by the writers. Samuel Daniel praised one of the terminal dances in the dedication to the Countess of Bedford from his 1604 *The Vision of the 12 Goddesses*³³: “Which dance being performed with great maiesty & Art, consisting of

diuers strains, fram'd vnto motions circular, square, triangular, with other proportions exceeding rare & full of variety;" (172–175), as did Jonson in his 1606 *Hymenaei*: "*The song ended, they danced forth in pairs, and each pair with a varied and noble grace, to a rare and full music of twelve lutes*" (251–252). For Campion, in his 1613 *The Caversham Entertainment*,³⁴ the measures and revels dancing required comment: "*Much of the night being spent with variety of dances, the masquers made a conclusion with a second new dance*" (310–311). Shirley describes the comic antics of the antimasquers with the same term in his *Triumph of Peace*: "*enter four Bowlers, who show much variety of sport in their game and postures*" (484–485).

The work of musicologists and dance historians provides important detail about the multitude of dancing seventeenth-century audiences might have witnessed—and, in the end, participated in—during masque performances. With the development of a formal antimasque in 1609,³⁵ a stark distinction was drawn between the two halves of the performance through both the music and the physical motions, especially the dancing, of the antimasque actors. Professional dancers or actors always performed the antimasque dances, which usually required a high degree of technical skill; in his *Music of the English Courtly Masque*, Peter Walls describes these performers as "superb mime artists who were also first-rate gymnasts."³⁶ These dances were built on the same basic steps as the terminal dances,³⁷ but became antic or coarse through exaggerated, awkward, or eccentric gestures and steps.³⁸ For example, in the published version of *Queens*, Jonson emphasizes the unnatural and sinister nature of the witches through the backwardness of their dance: "*they fell into a dance of preposterous change and gesticulation [...] dancing back to back and hip to hip, their hands joined, and making their circles backward, to the left hand, with strange fantastic motions of*

their heads and bodies” (341–346). In the other performances, when the antimasque focused on rustic and uneducated characters—*Oberon* is a good example—the antimasque dances were appropriately rustic as well: jigs, morris dances, sword dances, or clumsy country dances to ballads.³⁹

Antithetical to the antimasque dances in every way were the terminal dances, which were performed on a green carpet in the middle of the masquing hall.⁴⁰ Each terminal dance was choreographed specifically for the performance; therefore, no two were alike. The dance was usually built on the four-beat rhythms of the “brisk but rather heavy” *almain*.⁴¹ The dancing, which was both technically challenging and intricately choreographed, had to be elegant and interesting to watch, not rigid and staid; therefore, rehearsals for the masque dances usually began several weeks before the production.⁴² For Andrew Sabol, editor of *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, “these [rehearsals] must often have been strenuous and demanding.”⁴³ The terminal dances featured subtly changing patterns, geometric shapes, and letters as a focus of the choreography; Jonson attempted to describe these intricate patterns in the “stage directions” for *Hymenaei*: “*Here they danced forth a most neat and curious measure, full of subtlety and device [...]. The strains were all notably different, some of them formed into letters very signifying to the name of the bridegroom, and ended in the manner of a chain, linking hands*” (286–292). The notebook of an anonymous French dancing master working in Brussels in the early seventeenth century records the *figures géométriques*, Figures 1.3 and 1.4, upon which the terminal dance choreography was most likely based.⁴⁴ The antic movements of the antimasque characters and the elegant dancing of the main masque complemented the variety of movement produced by the set

Figure 1.3: Figures Géométriques—Geometric Shapes⁴⁵

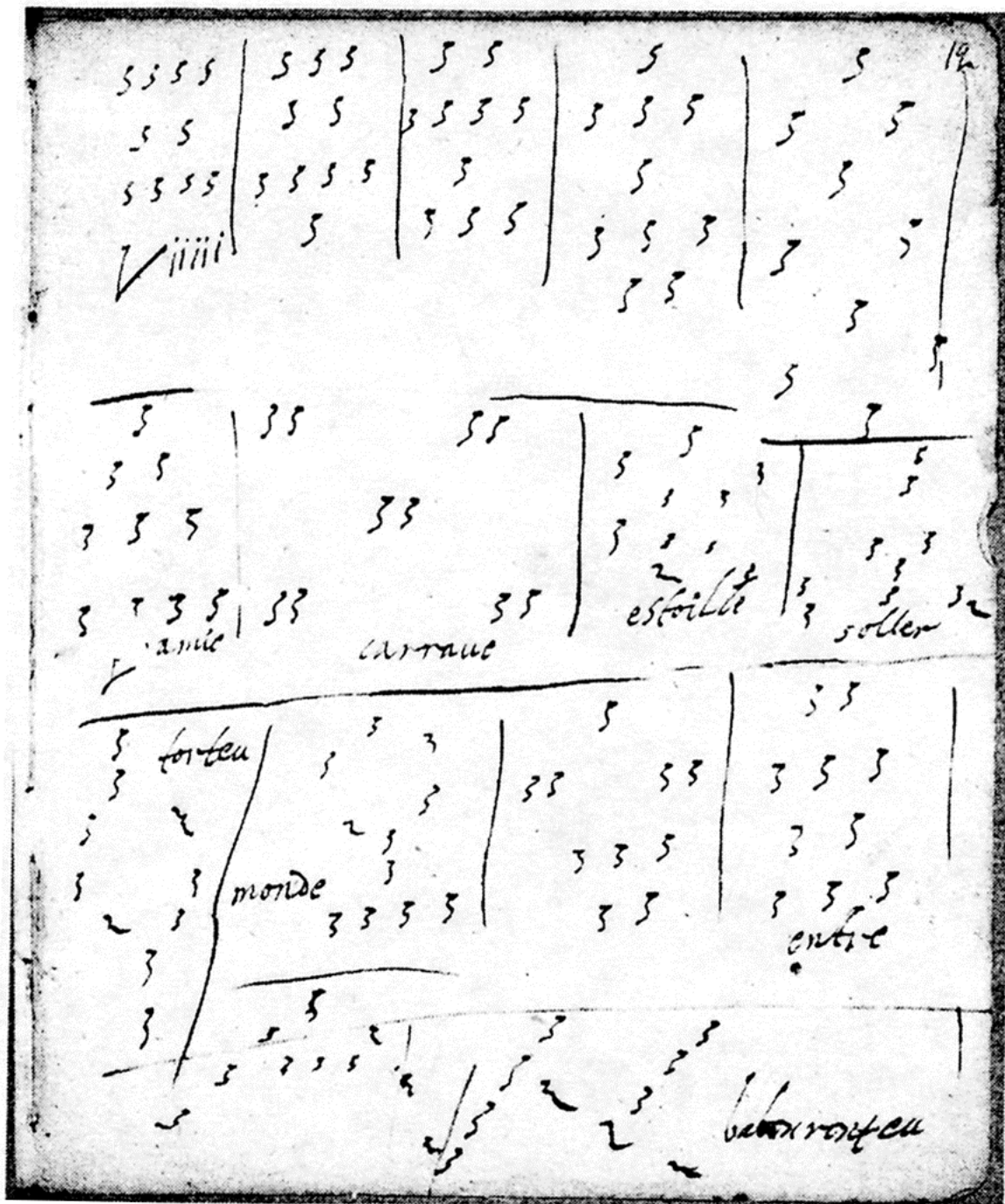
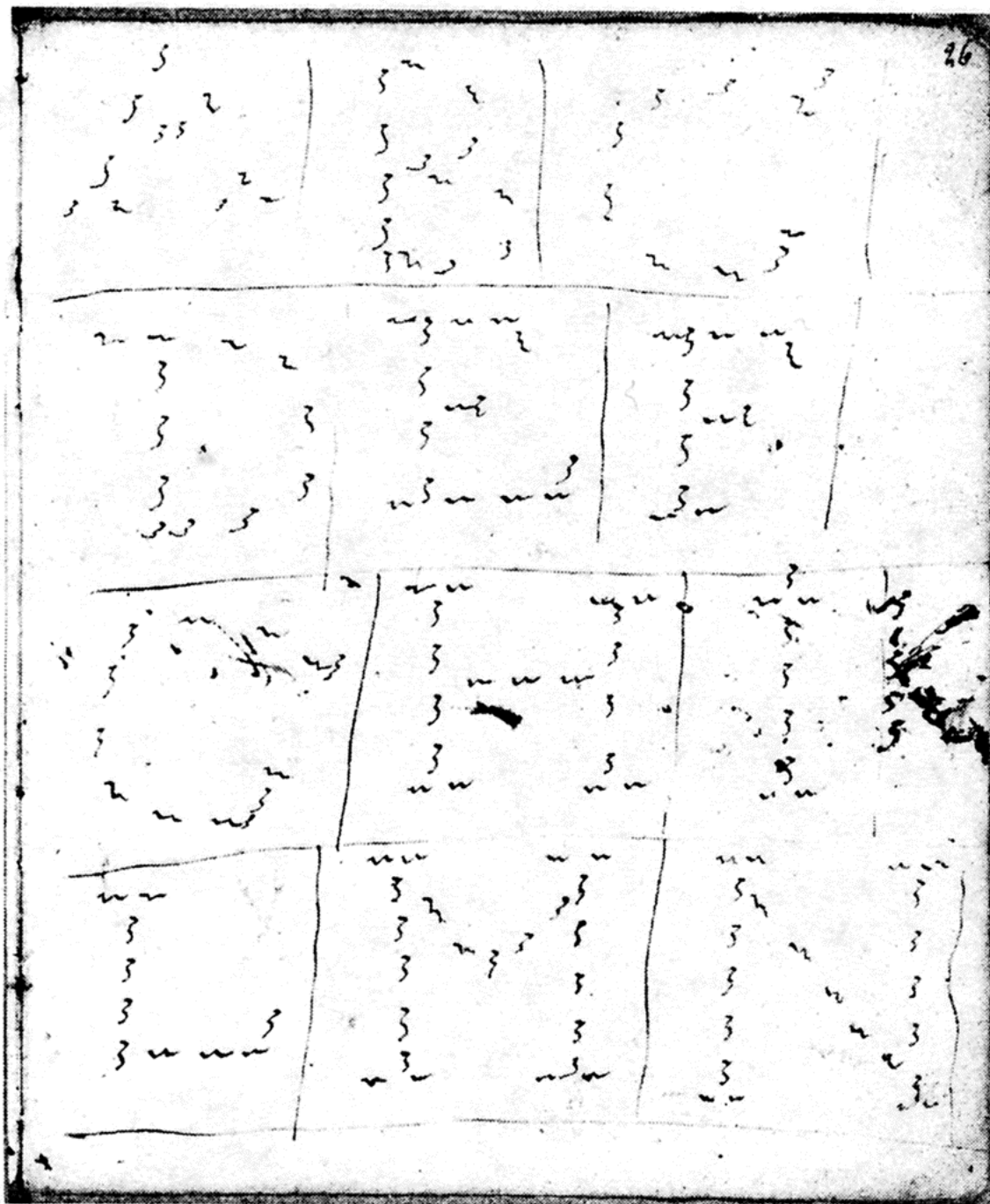


Figure 1.4: Figures Géométriques—Letters⁴⁶



designers. Both types of movement worked in seamless partnership to create an almost continuous moving picture to entertain masque audiences.

Yet, as Campion observed for his 1613 *The Caversham Entertainment*, sometimes even the social dances, the measures and revels, warranted specific notice. For approximately twenty years, Ben Jonson seemed loath to acknowledge this aspect of masque performances, despite his critical innovation of making them an integral part of the masque.⁴⁷ Yet because of the involvement of audience members, their length, and their intricacy, the measures and revels contribute substantially to the multi-sensory, multi-media aspect of masques for anyone who witnessed—and took part in during the social dancing—the performance of masque. There were two general categories of early modern dances: processional and round. The measures were always processional, the more aristocratic of the two; the faster and lighter revels could be either type. The measures began with the stately *pavane*, a dance often paired with the *galliard* in books of instrumental music. Developing from the very popular medieval *basse dance*, the *pavane* originated in Spain, and derived its name from the term *pavoneggiare*, “to strut, to blow up like a peacock.”⁴⁸ In his description of the dance, Thoinot Arbeau, author of the popular dancing manual *Orchesographie*, indicates why the *pavane* was favored for commencing the measures:

For kings, princes, and great dignitaries the pavane serves that they may show themselves in their great cloaks and ceremonial robes. They are accompanied by queens, princesses, and great ladies, the long trains of their dresses loosened and sweeping behind them.⁴⁹

The *pavane* was often followed by the *almain*, a faster dance that featured slight hopping steps.⁵⁰ The measures as a whole consisted of a prescribed series of these two types of dances; six manuscripts associated with the Inns of Court list a series of dances of which the measures were comprised. Though occasionally a dance may be interspersed between them,

the six dances occur in an identical order and represent the accepted format of the measures: The Quadrain Pavin, Turkey Lony, The Earl of Essex, Tinternell, The Old Almain, and The Queens Almain.⁵¹

The faster, and frequently more intricate, revels dances followed the measures, though their order was not dictated by custom. These dances usually consisted of *galliards*, *corantos*, *canaries*, *voltas*, *branles* or brawls, and country dances. As an example of the potential arrangement of the revels, in his *400 Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* Andrew Sabol lists after eight measures dances The Canaries, followed by Duret, Trenchmore, The Cushion Dance, and then a related series of six brawls.⁵² Of these different types of dances, the *galliard* was the showpiece. Alan Brissenden, in *Shakespeare and the Dance*, notes that it “gave men particularly the chance to show their grace and skill.”⁵³ It was a high dance, meaning the foot had to be lifted markedly for steps and leaps, with wide steps built on five paces—hence the term *cinque pas* for which it is also known—that originated from folk dancing.⁵⁴ A great deal of skill would be needed to perform this dance with the grace and bearing that noble dancing required, especially since men were expected to perform complicated leaps, turns, and tricks, in addition to the simple five steps of the dance.⁵⁵ The athleticism of the *galliard* was repeated in the *coranto*, the dance that would eventually replace the *cinque pas* in popularity at court. Paul Nettle describes the dance as “one of a large group of courting dances” in *The Story of Dance Music*; three gentlemen escort their partners to one end of the hall and leave them:

As soon as all three gentlemen are together, the first one, preening himself like a bird, returns again to his partner, with all kinds of leaps and loving gestures, adjusting his garments. She gently rebukes him and turns her back to him. Whereupon he retreats and with gestures indicates his disappointment. The other two do likewise. Following this, all three of them advance dancing toward the ladies, bend their knees, and with folded hands, beg for mercy.⁵⁶

The couples then dance, zigzag fashion, down the hall.

The mimetic gesturing of the *coranto* may seem quaint, even humorous, to a modern audience, but other early modern dances were downright exotic. The *volta*, or *la volta*, originally from Provence, required the dancers to spin about rapidly and embrace; the gentlemen also lifted the ladies up in the air by the wooden stays on the front of their bodices.⁵⁷ Toinot Arbeau opines that the *canary* was “gay but nevertheless strange and fantastic with a strong barbaric flavor;” the intricate steps of this dance were accented by “flamenco-like *tappements du pied*.”⁵⁸ In addition to its intricate and athletic steps, the *spagnoletta* remarkably required the lady to lift the man.⁵⁹ In addition to these elaborate—often foreign—dances, simple country dances were performed during the revels as well.⁶⁰

For a seventeenth-century audience member, there would always have something intriguing to watch in a court masque; the ideal of *variety* pursued by the masque artists insures the engagement of the audience. Sets change almost magically as clouds float gently from the ceiling; clowns and antic dancers frolic in exaggerated, sometimes grotesque, costumes; then dancers, their apparel glittering in the candlelight, appear and trace geometric patterns collapsing one into the next across the green carpet. Audience members are invited to join the dancers in a stately interaction; gradually the men step higher, twist and leap; the women pop and whirl in the air; bodies flit by in a sea of satin and embroidery. But this masque is like watching television with the sound turned off. The motion is constant, the picture ever changing; but something important is missing.

A few examples focusing on masque music will suffice to demonstrate that, in the seventeenth century, the principal of aesthetic *variety* applied to both visual and non-visual elements of the performance. Thomas Campion, with his extensive musical descriptions,

used the term several times in the *Caversham Entertainment*⁶¹ of 1613: “*when presently cornetts begin again to sound in several places, and so continue with variety while the Queen passeth through a long, smooth, green way, set on each side with trees in equal distance*” (141–144) and “*this song was sung by an excellent counter-tenor voice, with rare variety of division, unto two unusual instruments, all being concealed within the arbor*” (196–198). Shirley, who was so liberal with the word while discussing the sets of *The Triumph of Peace*, used it twice in nine sentences, while excluding a host of appropriate synonyms, when enumerating the mounted procession to court that proceeded the masque: “*Then followed variety of antic music, after which rode six projectors [...] Here variety of other antic music, counterfeiting the voices of birds; and after these rode a magpie, a crow, a jay, and a kite [...]*” (55–77). The boundless aural potential of music is also explored by Aston Cockayne in his 1639 *A Masque Presented at Bretbie*. The Lar Familiaris, the household deity, debates with an interloper “Satyre” about the merits of civilization and a life at court compared to the peace and unconstraint of the woodlands:

Canst thou compare the Rags of nakedness
 Before the studied dressings of these times?
 And canst thou like a cold and stony Cave
 Before the perfum’d Beds of Palaces?
 Admire the Melancholie falls of waters,
 Or whistling Musick of th’ inconstant windes,
 The chirping discords of the wanton Birds,
 Above the Angel-voices of our Ladies,
 And the exquisite variety of Musick
 Order’d to thousand several Instruments?”⁶²

Though the Lar’s arguments are remarkable for the negative characterizations of nature he repeatedly invokes—the spirit essentially denigrates nature while idealizing man-made life at court—it is important to note the music of men is superior explicitly because of its potential for *variety* in both type and performance by a “thousand several instruments.” Just as visual

variety could denote diversity of design, placement of objects, use of color or tone, or the effects of movement through time, in these passages aural *variety* applies to both a diversity of instruments or performers and also the spectrum and combination of sounds these musicians were capable of producing.

The composers of masque music were, indeed, capable of producing a remarkable variety of sound. For the antimasque, loud or piercing instruments that signaled low social class, disorder, and chaos—like sackbutts, bagpipes, flutes, hautboys, the tabor and pipe, cymbals, and percussive instruments—were favored;⁶³ broken consorts⁶⁴ were especially popular for this portion of the performance. Trumpets and cornets, though they were always needed for royal flourishes to mark the king's entrance, could also be added to broken consorts for color and effect.⁶⁵ By contrast, the noble dancers of the main masque performed to appropriately noble instruments: violins and lutes; other string instruments—the harp, mandora, theorbo, cittern, gittern, and viol—supplemented their soft and gentle sound.⁶⁶ The human voice, which in solo music was usually accompanied by lute, and soft woodwinds, like the recorder and flute, rounded out the orchestra.⁶⁷

Several contemporary documents, including Campion's stage directions and documents related to individual performances, reveal the true size of these orchestras. For instance, an itemized bill from *Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly*⁶⁸ indicates that, in addition to Jonson, Jones, and the dance instructor and his assistant, three men were paid for their musical contributions before the performance: Alfonso Ferrabosco II for composing the songs, Robert Jonson for setting the songs to lute, and Thomas Lupo for setting the dances to violins.⁶⁹ For the actual performance, five boys were employed as the three graces, the Sphinx, and Cupid; twelve musicians were priests who sang and accompanied themselves;

fifteen other lute/flute performers rounded out the sound; ten violinists were needed for practice, with an additional four for the actual performance; and fifteen musicians accompanied the pages and antimasque fools along with thirteen hautboys and sackbutt performers. Of the seventy-four anonymous musicians of *Love Freed*, only seventeen—the five boys and the twelve singing priests—took part in the action on stage. The remaining fifty-seven acted as an orchestra, though their placement in the hall bears absolutely no resemblance to the arrangement of a modern orchestra either in a broad bow on stage at a concert hall or dropped below the level of the stage in an orchestra pit. Thomas Campion's 1607 *The Lord Hay's Masque* provides hints about the disbursement of the musicians throughout the hall:

The great hall wherein the masque was presented received this division and order: the upper part, where the cloth and chair of state were placed, had scaffolds and seats on either side continued to the screen; right before it was made a partition for the dancing place; on the right hand whereof were consorted then musicians with bass and mean lutes, a bandora, double sackbut, and a harpsichord, with two treble violins; on the other side somewhat nearer the screen were placed nine violins and three lutes; and to answer both the consorts (as 'twere in a triangle), six cornets and six chapel voices were seated almost right against them, in a place raised higher in respect of the piercing sound of those instruments. (4–14)

The effect of this polychoral arrangement would be the early modern equivalent of “surround sound.”⁷⁰ Although the voices and instruments were arranged by “job,” with the noble dancing instruments grouped together and the broken consort that fills out the orchestra balancing them across the hall, consideration was also obviously paid to sound quality as well, with the shrill boy trebles from the Chapel Royal grouped with the equally high and bright cornets. Later masques indicate the musicians were fully integrated into the “scenery” of the masque, probably limiting the possible polychoral effects. In *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* from 1618 “the whole grove vanished, and the whole music was discovered, sitting at

the foot of the mountain, with Pleasure and Virtue seated above them” (111–113).

Frequently, some of the musicians were placed above the level of the stage either on or at the level of the cloud machine, as in 1624’s *Neptune’s Triumph for the Return of Albion*: “*The island discovered, the masquers sitting in their several sieges. The heavens opening; and Apollo, with Mercury, some muses and the goddess Harmony, make the music*” (262–285).

Two sketches of the placement of musicians a decade later for *The Triumph of Peace*, transcribed in Murray Lefkowitz’s *Trois Masques a la Cour de Charles I^{er} D’Angleterre*,⁷¹ indicate an almost orchestra-like arrangement. The high light “voices”—the trebles, counter-tenors (i.e. adult male altos), lutes, and solo trumpet—form a mixed grouping of musicians at the front of the hall, closest to the royal dais, and the lower voices—the tenors and bases, bass lute, and trio of violas—are at the back, an arrangement not unlike the modern custom that also places higher, lighter instruments and voices closer to the audience. The fragmentary records detailing numbers of musicians indicate consistently large orchestras, capable of filling the banqueting hall with a layered, rich sound.

Whether they were arranged in consorts scattered about the hall or in a tighter grouping nearer the stage, these musicians performed two types of music for the performances: traditional and familiar arrangements for the measures and revels (and perhaps sometimes for the country dances or folk song featured in antimasques) and original music for the songs and dances of the main masque. Though they were used to structure the performance and explicate the theme of the masque,⁷² the songs also had a practical purpose: to allow the dancers to rest between the terminal dances.⁷³ In his 1613 *The Lords’ Masque*, Campion reports: “*The masquers, having every one entertained his lady, begin their first new entering dance; after it, while they breathe, the time is entertained with a dialogue song*” (305–307).

Campion describes a particular genre of vocal music, the dialogue song, a form like *recitative* where each voice was given an individual line of music.⁷⁴ This form shows the influence of innovative compositional techniques imported from the continent, like the antiphonal chorus⁷⁵ and the declamatory air,⁷⁶ which were also used in masques at court. Indeed, true to its operatic origins, the declamatory air required extensive training and skill to perform the “fastidious decoration” of runs, trills, and other ornaments required of the singer.⁷⁷ Of course, the older polyphonic style—quite well known to anyone familiar with the English madrigal or the sacred music of William Byrd—could also be used by either soloists or groups, as well as the simple melody accompanied by homophonic, block chords in the orchestra. The terminal dance music, because it was probably composed by the dance instructors rather than the trained musicians, is not as easy to classify in known seventeenth-century musical genres.⁷⁸ Both John Ward and Peter Walls infer that the dance masters plucked out three or four bars of music to accompany their choreography, lending a stop-and-go quality and blurring the development of a melodic line in the dance tunes;⁷⁹ moreover, because dance rehearsals started before the text of the masque was complete, the terminal dance music was not necessarily composed with the plot or the theme of the masque in mind.⁸⁰ In general, there was only a vague conception of linking the different parts of the music, either tonally with a key or thematically with a melody, in the way that musicals and operas are now commonly unified, though the Caroline composers were much more successful in this regard.⁸¹

With the sound turned back on, the spectrum of aural elements used in masque is as diverse as the visual: more than a dozen types of instruments were used in countless combinations for color and effect, surround-sound techniques filled the room or tossed sound

from left to right or front to back, multiple compositional styles lent texture, depth, and still greater color. Understanding court masque as a seventeenth-century poet, performer, or audience member requires an unimpeded openness to and appreciation for the multi-sensory feast effected by the performance. Music supported dance and scenery, elements designed to be read and seen; costumes and staging supported poetry and song, where the ears took precedence. Each artistic element worked in partnership with all others to create a constant, complex cavalcade of sensory stimuli. That the masque poets, with one notable exception, valued this quality of the performances is demonstrated over and over through their repeated assertions of aesthetic *variety* for their masques. In the endless and frustrating discussion of which artist provided the most important element of the masque, the answer is staggeringly simple: they all did. They all were guided by the same aesthetic principle, an aesthetic principle that provided the essence of the genre. The artistic heart of the masque is *variety*.

Notably, even when masque writers do not explicitly use the term, they nevertheless describe the variety of effects achieved in their masques. In his 1606 *Hymenaei*, Jonson observes: “*Here they danced their last dances, full of excellent delight and change*” (370–371), while he provides this description for his 1611 *Oberon, The Fairy Prince*: “*There the whole palace opened, and the nation of fays were discovered, some with instruments, some bearing lights, others singing*” (226–227). In his 1613 *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray’s Inn*,⁸² Francis Beaumont succinctly expresses the diversity of musical and visual *variety* during the antimasquers’ entrance:

[A]t their coming, the music changed from violins to hoboyes, cornets, etc. And the air of the music was utterly turned into a soft time, with drawing notes, excellently expressing their natures, and the measures likewise was fitted unto the same, and the Statues placed in such several postures, sometimes all together in the centre of the dance, and sometimes in the four utmost angles, as was very graceful besides the novelty. (208–214)

Interestingly, these Statue antimasquers “supposed to be before descended from Jove’s altar” (202) are associated with music and dance styles usually relegated to the main masque but perfectly in keeping with their allegorical divinity. In other words, Beaumont has provided an antimasque grounded more on the concept of aesthetic *variety* than on that of thematic foil advocated by Jonson. Moreover, Beaumont’s use of a second antimasque, described in lines 229 to 246, anticipates the multiple entries that so characterize the later Caroline masques. Despite the absence of the word in many passages of description, the goal of the artists producing the masques to provide a continuous, rich visual and aural experience is easily discerned.

Understanding the concept of *variety* in this specific, seventeenth-century application sheds new light on a tag frequently found at the beginning or end of Caroline masques. In this “bragging” section, poets inevitably claim “variety” as one of the most memorable portions of the performance, for example: “*And thus concluded this masque, which was, for the variety of the shows, and richness of the habits, the most magnificent that hath been brought to court in our time*” (805–807) from James Shirley’s 1634 *The Triumph of Peace*; “and for the invention and various composition was the newest and most gracious that hath been done in this place” (29–31) from Thomas Carew’s *Coelum Britannicum* of the same year; and “*Thus ended this masque, which for the newness of the invention, variety of scenes, apparitions, and richness of habits was generally approved to be one of the most magnificent that hath been done in England*” (522–525) from William Davenant’s 1635 *The Temple of Love*. Carew’s is the most telling of the group, because he praises different aspects of the masque yet retains the same term to formulate his praise. These men seem to employ the tag to create cachet for their work through a retrospective assertion of its aesthetic perfections.

Finally, appreciation for the principal of aesthetic *variety* operating in masques as a genre reveals a more complex understanding of the form by one of its major poets than has previously been acknowledged. In his authorial note that precedes the text of *The Masque of Queens*, Ben Jonson recalls: “And because her majesty (best knowing that a principal part of life in these spectacles lay in their variety) had commanded me to think on some dance or show that might precede hers and have the place of a foil or false masque [...]” (10–14). Masque critics seeking to define the genre have repeatedly addressed this important passage to discuss the development of the antimasque, an important structural innovation used to highlight the major theme or invention of each masque. Enid Welsford cites the passage in full when discussing the “turning-point in the history of the masque” in her early study, *The Court Masque*, and Stephen Orgel essentially opens the chapter considering the transformation scene and its role in shaping the theme and opposing halves of the form with the same passage in his ground-breaking 1965 *The Jonsonian Masque*.⁸³ While Orgel fails to address the term in his discussion, Welsford reads it in its most ordinary sense: “The origin of the antimasque is uncertain, but obviously Ben Jonson did not regard it as wholly an innovation. The principle of contrast and variety was latent from the first in mummings and disguisings, and many of the Tudor and a few of the Stuart masques were wholly grotesque in character.”⁸⁴ Here, Welsford is not talking about an aesthetic principal related to the constant shifting of visual and aural stimuli, but rather the demarcation of large-scale difference between the main masque and the new antimasque; she uses “variety” in its most familiar, modern sense. However, especially given Jonson’s previous employment of the term in treatments of his masques preceding *Queens* and his willingness to memorialize the diversity of musical and scenic effects early in his masque career, his parenthetical aside

cannot be so easily dismissed. Queen Anne understands and Jonson enunciates “that a principal part of life in these spectacles lay in their variety,” that is in their capacity to produce an endless succession of diverse sensory effects. To fully understand the masque as a genre, Jonson’s use of the word “variety” must be read in its aesthetic sense in this important definition.

Careful consideration of aesthetic *variety* reveals that it was the constituent feature of seventeenth-century masque. However, Jonson and the other masque poets, musicians, set designers, and choreographers did not stumble upon the concept of aesthetic *variety* by accident. By the seventeenth-century, this quality had long been associated with many arts, including poetry and music, but it was first given careful articulation by early humanists theorizing specifically upon the written word. In the fourteenth and fifteenth books of Boccaccio’s *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*,⁸⁵ c. 1360, the author undertakes an important defense of poetry based in large degree on classical and patristic authors. When addressing “The Definition of Poetry, its Origin, and Function” Boccaccio insists upon the divine nature of the poet and his art:

It proceeds from the bosom of God, and few, I find, are the souls in whom this gift is born; indeed so wonderful a gift it is that true poets have always been the rarest of men. This fervor of poesy is sublime in its effects: it impels the soul to a longing for utterance; it brings forth strange and unheard-of creations of the mind; it arranges these meditations in a fixed order, adorns the whole composition with unusual interweaving of words and thoughts; and thus it veils truth in a fair and fitting garment of fiction.⁸⁶

Of particular concern for this consideration is Boccaccio’s insistence on the centrality of elaborate, interwoven ornamentation, both intellectual and aesthetic, to the composition of

poetry. To put Boccaccio's ideas into the terms of Jonson's famous discussion of the soul of the masque, "the riches and magnificence in the outward" is co-equal to the "most high and hearty inventions to furnish the inward parts." Moreover, the adornment or ornamentation of the words should specifically be "unusual" and interwoven, a tapestry of beautiful words partnered with beautiful ideas over which the mind may constantly travel and always find something new or fresh. Boccaccio's ideas bear a clear relationship to the fantastic, interwoven plots of medieval romances, but this passage also articulates the concept of aesthetic *variety* in more general terms, though without the obvious nomenclature.

One hundred and fifty years later, the *De Utraque Verborum ac Rerum Copia*⁸⁷ of Desiderius Erasmus would provide the specific word: "*varia*."⁸⁸ In this handbook for the would-be orator or rhetorician, Erasmus outlines the principal of achieving and maintaining audience interest through copiousness of "thought and words," a profoundly simple, yet far-ranging concept shared by Boccaccio.⁸⁹ While the mind is stimulated by "the piling up, expanding and amplifying of arguments, *exempla*, *collationes*, similes, *dissimilia*, *contraria*, and the other methods of this sort"—in other words, copiousness of thoughts—both the mind and the ear can take interest "in *Synonymia*, in *Heterosis* or *Enallage* of words, in metaphor, in change of word form, in *Isodynamia* and the remaining ways of this sort for gaining variety."⁹⁰ Importantly, Erasmus specifically equates "variety" with principles of changing the sounds of words, applying the concept of intellectual *copia* to sensory stimulation. As an example of his ideas at work, in the famous Chapter XXXIII, Erasmus provides a tour de force of variation—copiousness of both words and thoughts—with one hundred and fifty versions of the simple Latin sentence "*Tuae literae me magnopere delectarunt*" and two hundred of "*Semper dum vivam tui meminero*."⁹¹

While Erasmus's ideas were originally intended for written or rhetorical arts, in his discussion of the pleasurable effects of *variety*, the wider artistic application of the concept becomes evident. In Chapter VIII, the author describes the broader sensory appeal of *variety*:

First of all then, this training in varying speech will be useful in every way for attaining good style, which is a matter of no little moment. In particular, however, it will be useful in avoiding tautology, that is, repetition of the same word or expression, a vice not only unseemly but also offensive. [...] Worse than tautology is *homologia*, as Quintilian says, which does not lighten tedium with any charm of variety, and is wholly monotonous. Moreover, who is so patient a listener that he would even for a short time put up with a speech unvarying throughout? Variety everywhere has such force that nothing at all is so polished as not to seem rough when lacking its excellence. Nature herself especially rejoices in variety; in such a great throng of things she has left nothing anywhere not painted with some wonderful artifice or variety. And just as an eye is held more by a varying scene, in the same way the mind always eagerly examines whatever it sees new. And if all things continually present themselves to the mind without variation, it will at once turn away in disgust. This great fault will he shun easily who is prepared to turn the same thought into many forms, as the famous Proteus is said to have changed his form.⁹²

In this passage, the dual concerns of *variety* in “word and thought” are temporarily laid aside for a consideration of *variety* grounded fully upon a pleasurable appeal to the senses.

Sounds, whether they be individual words, vocal inflections, or even music, become “wholly monotonous” when unvaried. Scenery, like those perfect studies in balanced asymmetry produced by Jones and the lavish, allegorical prosceniums that framed a masque production, is vastly more attractive and interesting when the viewer is always presented with something new to examine. The “paint” and “artifice” of nature, that is the ornamentation, color, and texture of surfaces—of “bodies”—is glorified in Erasmus' prose; his language of creation and praise all but exclaim that *variety* is divine. Conversely, the lack of *variety* is framed not merely as an aesthetic fault, producing “tedium” and “disgust,” but also a moral one, a “vice not only unseemly but also offensive.” Pleasure, in this context, is not the dangerous, uncontrollable appetite usually explored by Renaissance poets; the hedonism of Spenser's

Bower of Bliss or raw sensuality of Bottom's night in fairyland have no place in the intellectual appeal to pleasure Erasmus explores in this passage. Instead, sensory *variety* exploits an initial pleasurable response to draw the mind into fuller engagement or understanding. The pleasure of *variety* is stimulating, not stupefying.

Hoby's translation of Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* indicates that Erasmus's ideas were already in comfortable circulation by mid-century. The Count's discussion of excellent writing and rhetoric in the first book is rendered by Hoby:

Do you not knowe that figures of speach which give suche grace and brightnesse to an Oration, are all the abuse of Grammer rules, but yet are receaved and confirmed by use, because men are able to make no other reason but that they delite, and to the very sence of our eares it appeareth they bringe a lief and a sweetenesse? And this beleave I is good custome, which the Romanes, the Napolitans, the Lombardes, and the rest are as apt to receave, as the Tuscanes. Truth it is, in everye tounge some thinges are alwayes good, as easinesse to be understoode, a good ordre, varietie, piked sentences, clawses wel framed: and on the other side Affectation, and the other contrary to these are to be shonned.⁹³

Yet, in the original Italian, after naming his countrymen the Count observes: “È ben vero che in ogni lingua alcune cose sono sempre bone, come la facilità, il bell'ordine, l'abundanzia, le belle sentenzie, le clausule numerose; e, per contrario, l'affettazione e l'altre cose opposte a queste son male.”⁹⁴ In the list of desirable features, most cognates remain consistent between the Castiglione and the Hoby versions of the passage. The one notable difference comes when Hoby modifies the concept of copiousness or abundance suggested by the Italian and selects instead “varietie.” In this seemingly insignificant alteration of language, the growing specialized use of *variety* for specifically artistic contexts in the mid-sixteenth century becomes apparent.

By 1589, when George Puttenham penned his *The Art of English Poesy*, the importance of intellectual and sensory stimulation when discussing the art of writing—here the measured

lines of poetry, rather than the prose of rhetoric or conversation—has become so commonplace as to warrant little explanation. The first chapter of his third book, “Of Ornament,” commences:

so is there yet requisite to the perfection of this arte, another maner of exornation, which resteth in the fashioning of our makers language and stile, to such purpose as it may delight and allure as well the mynde as the eare of the hearers with a certaine noueltie and strange maner of conueyance, disguising it no litle from the ordinary and accustomed: neuerthelesse making it nothing the more vnseemely or misbecomming, but rather decenter and more agreeable to any ciuill eare and vnderstanding.⁹⁵

This passage opens and frames the extensive consideration of ornamentation in the manual, taking for granted that readers will agree on the importance of the sensory appeal of *variety*. Without using the term, Puttenham nonetheless casually links “the mind [and] the ear,” finding the same relationship between interesting sensory and mental stimuli discussed by Erasmus. In the same casual way and without elaborate explanation, he employs the term “variety” at the conclusion of the chapter: “whfore the chief prayse and cunning of our Poet is in the discreet vsing of his figures, as the skilfull painters is in the good conueyance of his coulours and shadowing traits of his pensill, with a delectable varietie, by all measure and iust proportion, and in places most aptly to be bestowed.”⁹⁶ Indeed, the term is included descriptively and parenthetically, indicating a firmly established usage by Puttenham’s 1589 publication.⁹⁷ Moreover, exactly as Erasmus did when explaining and justifying *variety*, Puttenham turns to a painterly metaphor when explicating “the chief praise and cunning of our Poet,” highlighting the broad aesthetic appeal of this idea.

The comparison of poetry to art while defining aesthetic principals should come as no surprise by 1650, when William Davenant does so in his *Preface to Gondibert*: “And surely Poets, whose business should represent the Worlds true image often to our view, are not less prudent than Painters, who when they draw Landschaps entertain not the Eye wholly with

even Prospect and a continued Flat, but for variety terminate the sight with lofty Hills, whose obscure heads are sometimes in the clouds.”⁹⁸ Critically, Davenant’s lesson about poetry is not the same lesson Puttenham and Erasmus were trying to teach; the earlier writers were interested in both the aural and intellectual application of rhetoric figures, but Davenant is discussing content alone. Yet, the metaphor of the eyes wandering over a canvas, pausing to appreciate its contours and contrasts, taking in both the details and the sum of the effect, remains apropos for the discussion of interesting and diverse subject matter the seventeenth-century writer undertakes. The term “variety” is used by Davenant here as the other masque writers used it, without explanation and with the anticipation of perfect clarity on the part of the reader. In short, in the early modern period, aesthetic *variety* was a well-established artistic principal, with acknowledged applications in both aural and visual contexts and a clear, theoretical purpose.

Because of the previous authors’ repeated references to the importance of *variety* in the sounds of rhetoric and poetry, it should come as no surprise that musicians, too, employed the term with some frequency when discussing the practical issues of composing and performing music.⁹⁹ In his 1607 *Lord Hay’s Masque*, Thomas Campion theorizes on the role of *variety* in music when explaining his choice to have nine masquers, rather than the standard twelve or fourteen:

Their number nine, the best and amplest of numbers; for as in music seven notes contain all variety, the eighth being in nature the same with the first, so in numbering after the ninth we begin in again, [...]. The number nine is famed by the muses, and worthies, and it is of all the most apt for change and diversity of proportion. (55–60)

As Campion explains, a key component of his masque is derived from the consideration of compositional practice and the potential for pleasurable change, not the constraints of choreography; indeed, Campion’s nine masquers undoubtedly presented unique challenges

for the choreographers of *Lord Hay's Masque* as they strove to create symmetry across the green carpet. In this simplified discussion of music theory—seven tones are the building blocks of simple major or minor chords with no possibility for the “color” that other sharps or flats might lend—is framed exclusively in terms of *variety*.

Campion's ideas are certainly derived from standard musical treatises of the day. In his watershed *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, first published in 1596, Thomas Morley makes liberal use of the idea of *variety* in multiple contexts. For instance, in part III, the Master, Polymathes, and Philomathes discuss the composition and setting of three part songs, and the master observes: “And when you come to practise, let the third, fifth, and sixth (sometimes also an octave) be your usual chords because they be the sweetest, and bring most variety.”¹⁰⁰ Because the lesson focuses on compositional technique, the information about building chords is unfamiliar and the Master assumes his pupils understand the concept “variety” with perfect clarity. Yet, when the Master resorts to metaphor, Morley's understanding of “variety” becomes most clear to a modern reader:

As for the musick [the madrigal] is, next unto the Motet, the most artificial and, to men of understanding, most delightful. If therefore you will compose in this kind you must possess yourself with an amorous humor (for in no composition shall you prove admirable except you put on and possess yourself wholly with that vein wherein you compose), so that you must in your music be wavering like the wind, sometime wanton, sometime drooping, sometime grave and staid, otherwhile effeminate; you may maintain points and revert them, use Triplas and show the very uttermost or your variety, and the more variety you show the better shall you please.¹⁰¹

In the midst of the lengthy invocation of text painting and mood and the technical discussions— of points, lines of counterpoint melody in each voice part, and triplas, performing three notes in the span of time usually needed for one—the critical importance of maintaining aural interest becomes quite clear. Simply put, Morley posits *variety* as the central characteristic that marks aesthetic excellence in a given piece of music. Moreover, in

an earlier portion of the manual, the master quotes a passage of Gioseffe Zarlino's *Institutioni Armoniche*, first in full in Italian then in translation, verifying the principal of aesthetic *variety* was widely embraced in artistic communities on the continent as well as England by the mid sixteenth century. Zarlino's seminal treatise on counterpoint, published in 1558, advises: "[...] and this I say because that even as a picture painted with divers colours doth more delight the eye to behold it than if it were done but with one colour alone, so the ear is more delighted and taketh more pleasure of the consonants by the diligent musician placed in his compositions with variety then of the simple concords put together without any variety at all."¹⁰²

While advice books and manuals theorize on the importance of *variety*, nowhere is the prevalence of the concept more obvious than in the title pages of musical and poetical collections appearing in the later half of the sixteenth century and continuing into the seventeenth. In its associations with art, especially poetry and music, the word seems so critical that its inclusion on title pages becomes ubiquitous. For instance, in 1581, W. Averell published *An excellent historie bothe pithy and pleasant, discoursing on the life and death of Charles and Iulia, two Brittish, or rather Welshe louers No lesse delightfull for VARIETIE, then tragicall in their miserie, not hurtfull to youthe, nor vnprofitable to age, but commodious to bothe* (in this and the following examples, emphasis mine); six years later Thomas Churchyard, better known for his miscellany *Churchyard's Chips*, offered *The vworthines of VVales vwherein are more then a thousand seuerall things rehearsed: some set out in prose to the pleasure of the reader, and with such VARIETIE of verse for the beautifying of the book, as no doubt shal delight thousands to vnderstand;* and "R. S., of the Inner Temple" compiled *The phoenix nest Built vp with the most rare and refined workes of noble*

men, woorthy knights, gallant gentlemen, masters of arts, and braue schollers. Full of VARIETIE, excellent inuention, and singular delight in 1593.¹⁰³ Not only do all three writers include the term, frequently as the first quality in a list of the volume's attractions, but all three also directly link *variety* to its capacity to produce delight and pleasure, a capacity carefully treated on by the theoreticians. The trend continues into the seventeenth century, with works such as *A poetical rapsodie* by Francis Davison in 1608, *Cato in English Verse* by John Penkethman in 1624, and *The two Lancashire lovers* by Richard Brathwaite in 1640 advertising the term prominently on their title pages.¹⁰⁴ Authors even began including the word in the main titles of their works, as in *Varietie of lute-lessons* by Robert Dowland in 1610, *Poeticall varieties: or, Varietie of fancies* by Thomas Jordan in 1637, and the encyclopedic collection *Varieties* by David Person in 1635.¹⁰⁵ Without exception these sixteenth and seventeenth-century poetic, musical, and intellectual miscellanies are grounded upon the same aesthetic principal that was the central and defining feature of masque: ever-changing beauty of both surface and content, keeping the work fresh, pleasurable, and always engaging.

In fact, the capacity of *variety* to produce pleasure—a capacity enunciated by numerous early modern poets and musicians who theorize upon the term or advertise it prominently in the titles of their books—is frequently expressed in the texts of masques themselves. Thomas Campion, in a passage discussing the intricate orchestration for his 1607 *Lord Hay's Masque*, assumes a pleasurable reaction from the audience:

This chorus was, in manner of an echo, seconded by the cornetts, then by the consort of ten, then by the consort of twelve, and by a double chorus of voices

standing on either side, the one against the other, bearing five voices apiece. And sometime every chorus was heard severally, sometime mixed, but in the end altogether; which kind of harmony, so distinguished by the place, and by the several nature of instruments and changeable conveyance of the song, and performed by so many excellent masters as were actors in that music (their number in all amounting to forty-two voices and instruments) could not but yield great satisfaction to the hearers.
(375–384)

Campion labels the complexity of the composition and its execution by skilled performers—that is the talent of both composer and performer—as two of the three crucial elements creating “satisfaction” for the auditors; in most modern concert halls, rapt audience members evaluate these two elements along with a level of emotional engagement a piece invokes. Yet, Campion lists not a discernable emotional reaction as his third mark of excellence, but rather “the several nature of instruments and changeable conveyance of the song,” the *variety* achieved by the piece. In other words, this poet and composer intimates *variety* is a critical element in insuring a pleasurable response to his art. Seven years later, Campion similarly juxtaposes the relationship between visual complexity and pleasure while describing the opening scene of his *Somerset Masque*.¹⁰⁶

On the vpper part there was formed a Skye with Clowdes very arteficially shadowed. On either side of the Sceane belowe was set a high Promontory, and on either of them stood three large pillars of golde: the one Promontory was bounded with a Rocke standing in the Sea, the other with a Wood; In the midst between them apeared a Sea in perspectiue with ships, some cunningly painted, some arteficially sayling. On the front of the Sceane, on either side was a beautifull garden, with sixe seates a peece to receaue the Maskers: behind them the mayne Land, and in the middest a paire of stayres made exceeding curiously in the forme of a Schalop shell. And in this manner was the eye first of all entertayned.

Campion lavishes the same generous description on the elaborate visual composition of this performance that he did with the musical composition of his first masque. He concludes both passages in a similar way as well, asserting the contented response of the audience to these demonstrations of aesthetic *variety*. Moreover, his concluding remark, specifically

highlighting the effect of the commencing vision upon the “eye,” becomes almost obligatory by the 1630s. For example, Aurelian Townshend opens *Albion’s Triumph*, 1632, with “*The first thing that presented itself to the eye was the ornament that went about the scene*” (23–24); James Shirley notes “*The spectators [entertain] their eyes awhile with the beauty and variety of this scene*” (203–204) in his 1634 *The Triumph of Peace*; and for his 1638 *Luminalia*, William Davenant observes “*This strange scene having awhile entertained the sight of the spectators, [...]*” (64–65). In fact, in his opening commentary for the text of *Luminalia*, Davenant summarizes the genesis of this masque in a passage of remarkable parallel to Ben Jonson’s account of the origin of *Queens* from thirty years earlier:

The King’s majesty’s masque being performed, the Queen commanded Inigo Jones, surveyor of her majesty’s works, to make a new subject of a masque for herself, that with high and hearty invention might give occasion for variety of scenes, strange apparitions, songs, music, and dancing of several kinds, from whence doth result the true pleasure peculiar to our English masques, which by strangers and travelers of judgement are held to be as noble and ingenious as those of any other nations. (1–9)

Both accounts begin with the command of a queen, and both acknowledge—the one implicitly, the other explicitly—the crucial importance of *variety* in the masque. Davenant, however, extends his passage with a philosophical turn, placing *variety* into a direct causal relationship with pleasure. Davenant states, in black and white, what Erasmus, Campion, and the other writers only hint at, that aesthetic *variety* creates pleasure. Moreover, from the poet’s perception, the unique *variety* the masque is able to achieve is precisely what differentiates it from related dramatic forms in other parts of Europe. Setting aside his momentary lapse into national pride, it is important to note that Davenant emphasizes the taste and intellectual capacity of visitors who also commend English masque. The pleasure

produced by *variety* is not unruly, licentious, or immoderate; it is not of the body. It appeals to those with taste; it is decorous, limited, and thoroughly of the mind.

Decorous, intellectual pleasure, resulting from the relationship between ephemerality and *variety*, is well rehearsed in the songs of both Jacobean and Caroline masques. Essentially, because of its proclivity to constant changeableness, *variety* both creates and limits pleasure. One's mind is constantly stimulated, so one can never become bored. One's senses are constantly engaged, so one can never over-indulge in any single sensation. With the mind and senses always operating at the highest capacity, one can never totally yield to a sensual or purely emotional reaction. This idea is first enunciated by Thomas Campion in the concluding song of his 1607 *Lord Hay's Masque*:

Sylvan: Life is fullest of content
Where delight is innocent.
Hour: Pleasure must vary, not be long,
Come then, let's close, and end our song. (519–522)

As the Sylvan notes, the pleasure of the song, and by extension of the masque, is “innocent,” not overly sensual or inducing the abandonment of reason or self. This type of pleasure creates the ideal life. But to engender innocent delight and contentment, “pleasure must vary” and disappear quickly. In other words, *variety* circumscribes pleasure by ensuring it can never last. On the one hand, the transience of *variety* infuses pleasure with a bittersweet quality, controlling it by necessarily limiting its potential. On the other hand, foreknowledge of the fleetingness of pleasure by an audience member forces either a conscience abandonment of the mental faculties and brief indulgence in sensation or an intellectual attempt to remember the experience. With either reaction, the sensual danger of pleasure is again carefully controlled, either by the brevity or the performance or by the mind of the

audience member. The later reaction is more ideal, and it is the one Samuel Daniel investigates in the song following the second dance of his 1610 *Tethys' Festival*:

Pleasures are not, if they last,
In their passing is their best.
Glory is most bright and gay
In a flash, and so away.
Feed apace then, greedy eyes,
On the wonder you behold.
Take it sudden as it flies,
Though you take it not to hold.
When your eyes have done their part,
Thought must length it in the heart. (298–307)

The opening lines repeat Campion's assertion that true pleasure, "innocent" pleasure, is fleeting; the emotional and aesthetic delight of glory is the most intensified when it does not linger. This intensity renders fleeting glory the most bittersweet, and, consequently, the most pleasurable. The singer then charges the eager audience, the synecdochical "greedy eyes," to "feed apace," directly acknowledging the consumptive, sensual impulse that is the initial response to pleasure. As a result of pleasure's fleetingness, however, the attempt to consume or capture it is ultimately futile. The ephemeral sensation, consumed by the eyes, must ultimately be remembered by "thought" and recreated "in the heart." In this way, the normally sensual sensation of pleasure is, paradoxically, transformed into an intellectual exercise, all through a careful manipulation of aesthetic *variety*.

Daniel and Campion, both writers who highlighted the *variety* produced by their masques through numerous invocations of the word, also acknowledge its effects in creating and controlling the pleasurable response to those performances. They are not alone in assuming this relationship in the poetry or commentary to their masques. Davenant concluded his 1636 *The Triumphs of the Prince D'Amour* with a brief acknowledgement: "*Thus, as all pleasures and triumphs are full of haste, and aptest to decay, this had an end.*"¹⁰⁷ The poet's

comments rely on an understanding that, to be “true” or “innocent” pleasures, the sensation must be such that the senses quickly tire. Two years later he repeats the idea in the eighth song of *Luminalia*:

Was there no other way
Our wonder to allay,
But thus to falsify relief?
For seeing quickly tired
What moving we admired;
You turn our wonder into grief.

Renew your measures now,
Though but awhile, to show
This respite was not weariness;
But you by that did please
To give our pleasures ease,
Which if continued had grown less. (372–383)

The song, located between the first and second dances of the main masque, performs the two primary jobs of masque songs: allowing the dancers a moment to rest between the terminal dance sets and calling for a renewal of these dances. Couched in the standard encomium of masque rhetoric, the lyric is nonetheless explicit about the need for the dancers to rest: “For seeing quickly tired / What moving we admired.” However, in the second stanza, the dancers’ need for rest is characterized not as weariness, but instead as an understanding that pleasures must change to remain pleasurable: “But you by that did please / To give our pleasures ease, / Which if continued had grown less.” The visual delight of watching the dance is temporarily replaced by the aural delight of the music; the call for the dances to resume demands the audience shift back from aural to visual sensation. In other words, the very structure of the masque actively functions to control the sensory pleasure produced by the form.

main masque, the multiple entries of the antimasque become appetizers, perhaps even a series of *amuse bouche*, whetting the appetites of the audience for the entrée to come. The antimasque's function to spark and intensify the pleasure of the masque performance is embodied in Shirley's appetitive metaphor, and Fancy seems to be fully aware of Opinion's eager consumption of the visual feast. In spite of Opinion's sensual, rather than intellectual, reaction to the entries, Fancy insists that invention, and the *variety* resulting from it, is "immortal," divine. The genesis of the antimasque is not, Shirley reminds his audience, unchecked sensory indulgence. In fact, *variety*, denominated by both figures, is clearly aligned with the circumscribing potential of ephemerality in Fancy's brief speech. Essentially, a nuanced understanding of *variety* as it was conceived of in early modern court masque not only unifies the disparate artistic elements of the genre, but it also resolves the conundrum of the structure of the Caroline masque in general. These performances were not mindless pandering to the whims of either the designer or the audience. Instead, the Caroline antimasque is a natural outgrowth, anticipated as early as 1613 by Francis Beaumont, of *variety* as a key aesthetic feature of the genre itself.

The central importance of the *variety*/pleasure nexus for the form is even articulated on the popular stage. John Ford and Thomas Decker's five-act 1617 *The Sun's-Darling: A Moral Masque* presents an allegory of man, embodied as "*Raybright* the suns Darling," as he journeys through the four seasons, beginning with "the Twy-light of his age" in spring and concluding with "the *Winter*, or his nonage."¹⁰⁹ Of his father, the *Sun*, *Raybright* asks to "Enjoy the several pleasures here / With every season in his kinde," and the Sun immediately orders "All the varieties the Spring can shew, / Be subject to his will."¹¹⁰ During the second act, after a dance and "*Eccho of Cornets*," Spring and *Raybright* exchange quick dialogue on

the appropriate use of aesthetic pleasure: “*Spr.* Enough? I will not weary thee, pleasures change” and then, following a morris dance, “*Ray.* Let these then, I may surfet else on sweets.”¹¹¹ As with the earlier examples, there is an appetitive metaphor, an awareness of the need for pleasure to vary, and the use of changing aural and visual elements to limit the response to pleasure and prevent sensory glut. Though written by noted seventeenth-century playwrights, structured in five acts, and performed at the Cockpit, *The Sun’s-Darling* advertises itself as both an allegory and a masque; its genre is difficult to pigeonhole. As does a masque, it prominently features choreographed dancing and songs. Moreover, it operates upon and explicitly articulates the twined concepts of *variety* and pleasure in a similar way to masques performed at court, using these principles, as masques do, to organize the musical and choreographic structure of the piece in the first place.

Importantly, the frequency with which writers, both those who composed masques and those who, like this author, ponder them, resort to metaphors of eating and surfeiting when discussing sensual pleasure and aesthetic *variety* in the genre indicate the inherent danger of this concept. Even innocent, intellectual pleasure, pleasure that is gone in an instant, pleasure that seems to be controlled, inches alarmingly near the precipice of gluttony, hedonism, loss of reason, self-abandonment. The line between “good” pleasure and “bad” pleasure is fine and difficult to navigate.

It should come as little surprise that, after modifying his printed masque texts to focus almost exclusively on the poetry with 1611’s *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly*, effectively shrouding both the performative elements of the masque and the concepts of *variety* and pleasure regulating them behind the verse, Ben Jonson pens a carefully

articulated criticism of aesthetic *variety* with 1617's *The Vision of Delight*. The masque opens with a concise summation of the principal of *variety* voiced by Delight:

The scene: a street in perspective of fair buildings discovered. Delight is seen to come as afar off, accompanied with Grace, Love, Harmony, Revel, Sport, Laughter; Wonder following.

Delight (Spake in song, stilo recitativo.)

Let us play and dance and sing,
Let us now turn every sort,
O' the pleasures of the spring
To the graces of a court.
From air, from cloud, from dreams, from toys,
To sounds, to sense, to love, to joys;
Let your shows be new, as strange,
Let them oft and sweetly vary;
Let them haste so to their change
As the seers may not tarry;
Too long t'expect the pleasing'st sight
Doth take away from the delight. (1-16)

Delight's lyric seems to epitomize the relationship between court masque, *variety*, and pleasure; the innocent pastimes of music and dancing partner with a parade of visual novelties to create harmless pleasure for the audience. The command, "let them oft and sweetly vary," hints at the language of appetites other writers explore while at the same time expressing the role of delight and pleasure in a more general way. Yet the song ends with an overt jab at the impatient, unthinking audience members who feed their eyes greedily on the spectacle before them. This gluttonous, sensual reaction, always circumscribed by the fleetingness of *variety*, is nonetheless the very dangerous twin of the intellectual engagement Daniel, and other masque writers, focus upon exclusively. The danger of *variety*, and therefore of masque as a whole, Jonson implies, is that it can easily inspire a sensual, brutish reaction instead of simple, harmless pleasure. To emphasize his point, Jonson uses this song to introduce the first antimasque, "*A she-monster delivered of six burratines that dance with*

six pantaloons” (17–18).¹¹² In other words, the “oft and [sweet]” *variety* called forth by Delight is not beautiful, but monstrous, while the effect it creates is puerile and foolish rather than intellectually fulfilling.

As the antimasque continues, so does the criticism of aesthetic *variety*. Delight invokes Night, asking her “But all awake with phantoms keep, / And those to make delight more deep” (34–35); and Night in turn calls Fant’sy, charging her to “Create of airy forms a stream; / It must have blood and nought of phlegm” (42–43). The language of these invocations is infused with loss of balance, disproportion, and dangerous loss of self. Moreover, the choir emphasizes the stultifying effects of Fant’sy’s “stream” of phantasms:

Yet let it like an odour rise
To all the senses here,
And fall like sleep upon their eyes,
Or music in their ear. (45–48)

Together Delight, Night, and Fant’sy project an audience of over-indulgent, immobile dullards, helplessly entranced by *variety* rather than stimulated by it. Here, there is no attempt to memorialize the fleeting pleasures of the masque through intellectual engagement, only supine relinquishing of the self to the senses. Because audience reaction cannot be controlled, Jonson is warning, *variety* as a stimulator of pleasure can never be a good thing. In fact, before commencing a sixty-line soliloquy on the infinite variety of visions he is capable of producing, a veritable catalogue of the types and creatures populating Stuart antimasques, Fant’sy remarks: “But it is no one dream that can please them all” (51). Over-indulgence in aesthetic *variety* can only create an insatiable appetite for more *variety*; because of the infinite potential of man’s imagination, his fantasy, this particular sensual pleasure can never be glutted.

After such an introduction, the masquers entrance, heralded by Fant'sy as another pleasant vision, is essentially damned by association, despite Fant'sy's hopeful words:

Why, this you will say was fantastical now,
As the cock and the bull, the whale and the cow;
But vanish away; I have change to present you,
And such as I hope will more truly content you. (112–115)

Fant'sy's claim that the appetite for *variety* can never be truly quenched in the benumbed audience and his ensuing litany of monstrosity empties this gesture toward harmless pleasure, expressed at the opening of the masque proper, of any real meaning. If the talking "French farthingales," hogshead munching "whales," and "a belly and no face" with its "tail of a Kentishman" (62, 78, 102–105) of Fant'sy's soliloquy fail to satisfy the audience's appetite for *variety*, logic holds that the masquers, "*the glories of the spring*" (164), are doomed from the outset. Jonson is trying to have it both ways, critiquing the sensual danger of pleasure created through aesthetic *variety* in the antimasque, but relying on it to ground the main masque as the audience has learned to expect. His assertion that the audience will be content with the decorous delights of the main masque seems at best forced, at worst willful blindness after the pointed critique served up in the antimasque.

By 1634, with his career as a masque writer long over and his health failing, Ben Jonson can only protest from a distance at the direction court masques have gone as the multiple entries of the Caroline antimasque seemed to have irrevocably altered the structure of the form. The thinly veiled satire of Iniquo Vitruvius's "*oration to his dance of mechanics*" from *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*¹¹³ has long been considered the poet's final, feeble word in the rivalry with Jones over the role of poetry and spectacle. That the oration conflates the visual/architectural arts with the musical arts highlights Jonson's frustration with every aspect of the form at this point. "Well done, my musical, arithmetical, geometrical

gamesters! It is carried in number, weight, and measure, as if the airs were all harmony and the figures a well-timed proportion!” (55–59), Vitruvius commends the band of clumsy artisans as if they were the noblest masque dancers. The opening lyrics, however, verbalize Jonson’s primary concern:

CHORUS	If Love be called a lifting of the sense To knowledge of that pure intelligence Wherein the soul hath rest and residence,
1 TENOR	When were the senses in such order placed?
2 TENOR	The sight, the hearing, smelling, touching, taste, All at one banquet? (1–6)

While unequivocally grounding court masque in the notion of Platonic love and simultaneously complimenting the royal couple as emblems of that love, Jonson through a careful play on words, rejects the sense’s place in that process entirely. He can no longer tolerate any role for the senses, even in the limited context of the masque proper uncomfortably expressed by *The Vision of Delight*. The aural and visual feast of court masque, regulated by aesthetic *variety*, is, in this entertainment, metamorphosed into the clumsy musical, mathematical mishmash of Vitruvius’ oration. By 1634, one sensory stimulus was no different than any other for the embittered Jonson. All were equally unregulated and dangerous; *variety*, once praised by the poet as “the principal part of life in these spectacles,” had, for him, become their total undoing.

While no other poet goes quite so far as Jonson, other masque writers do express concern with the implications of sensory pleasure in the genre. Several months before Jonson’s summer production at the Earl of Newcastle’s Bolsover estate, Thomas Carew presented “*the seventh anti-masque of the five senses*” (813), introduced by Pleasure in his *Coelum Britannicum*. Although Carew uses forms of “variety” occasionally in the masque text, he does so without explicit reference to the pleasure that is its effect: “for the invention and

various composition was the newest and most gracious that hath been done in this place” (29–31). Indeed, while “gracious” implies a type of pleasantness, that sensation is inextricably linked with decorousness and propriety.¹¹⁴ In this masque, on the other hand, pleasure is personified as “*Hedone, Pleasure, a young woman with smiling face, in a light lascivious habit adorned with silver and gold*” (761–762). She calls forth the antimasque with language emphasizing the seductive qualities of sensory stimulation: “Come forth, my subtle organs of delight, / With changing figures please the curious eye, / And charm the ear with moving harmony” (810–813). Carew laces her speech with precarious diction: “subtle” often connoting deceit and trickery, “charm” the process by which one is seduced away from reason and self. Even the language of aesthetic *variety* is compromised in Pleasure’s mouth; the “figures” of the dance shift as they must in any formal dance, but here the aesthetic context of that movement has been replaced with the suggestion of randomness or directionlessness. Pleasure even characterizes the eyes watching the dance as “curious,” minutely attentive to the point of being obtrusive or improper.¹¹⁵ After the dance, Mercury upbraids her:

Bewitching siren, gilded rottenness,
 Thou hast with cunning artifice displayed
 Th’ enameled outside and the honeyed verge
 Of the fair cup where deadly poison lurks.
 [...] Thou thyself art pain,
 Greedy, intense desire, and the keen edge
 Of thy fierce appetite oft strangles thee
 And cuts thy slender thread; but still the terror
 And apprehension of thy hasty end
 Mingles with gall thy most refined sweets; (814–828).

The sensual allurements, intoxicating potential, and rapacious response of the addicted—through Mercury, Carew summarizes three significant criticisms of pleasure, criticisms that other masque writers ignore or skirt when expressing its role in masque. Daniel’s gentle

insistence on the intellectual response to pleasure formulated in *Tethys' Festival* has been replaced by the brutal depiction of the inherent weakness of men's flesh. Hunger for pleasure cannot be glutted; the consumption of sensual pleasure only whets the frail appetite for further pleasures. Worse, though the unfortunate victim is tormented by both desire and pain—greed for further delights—apprehension of the end of pleasure begets further acts of gluttony, a cycle of hedonism that can only end in misery. To redeem the main masque, Carew turns, as Jonson did in *The Vision of Delight*, to a theme in keeping with the monarch's political agenda: Jonson articulated King James' pacifist agenda, an issue explored in the following chapter, while Carew turned to the popular philosophy of Platonic love espoused by the Charles and Henrietta Maria.¹¹⁶ By doing so, Carew essentially leaves the tension between aesthetic *variety*, pleasure, and their role in court masque unresolved; there are no answers to be found in his other masques, either, as *Coelum Britannicum* was his only essay into the genre.

Four years later, in 1638, William Davenant, who seemed to be on the way to an established career as the premiere masque writer at court had the Civil War not intervened, offered a rebuttal to the dangerous implications of pleasure in his *Britannia Triumphans*. The masque opens with a lengthy debate between Action and Imposture; Imposture believes most men are fools and “delight still to be cozened” (121) by pleasant, beautiful surfaces. Action, on the other hand, contends “there are some few ’mongst men / That as our making is erect, look up / To face the stars” (143–145); moreover:

Nor are these such, that by their reasons strict
And rigid discipline, must fright nice court
Philosophers from their belief, such as impute
A tyrannous intent to heavenly powers,
And that their tyranny alone did point
At men, as if the fawn and kid were made

To frisk and caper out their time, and it
Were sin to dance, the Nightingale
To sing her tragic tales of love and we
To recreate our selves with groans, as if
All perfumes for the tiger were ordained
'Cause he excels in scent, colours and gaudy tinctures for
The eastern birds, whilst all our ornament
Are russet robes, like melancholy monks.
[...] There are some sullen clerks that love
To injure and to scant themselves, yet you
May find a few whose wisdoms merit greater sway,
That will allow us pleasures 'bove our cares;
Yet these we must not compass with our guilt,
But every act be squared by virtue's rule. (157–183)

Action relies on the natural order of creation, and by extension the will of the Creator, to frame his defense of sensual pleasures. His philosophical move parallels Erasmus' defense of "variety" in Chapter VIII of the *De Copia*: "Nature herself especially rejoices in variety; in such a great throng of things she has left nothing anywhere not painted with some wonderful artifice of variety." Each major artistic component of court masque is defended with an example drawn from the natural world, the "dancing" of yearling goats and deer, the "singing" of native birds, the color and ornamentation—the spectacle—of exotic ones. When such simple pleasures are regulated by "virtue's rule," not only are they harmless, but they are also in perfect concord with creation. Essentially, Action, claims, wise men understand that the trials of life, for all creatures, can be softened by occasional harmless, sensual indulgence.

That this defense of pleasure is voiced by Action is critical to Davenant's response to critics like Jonson and Carew. As does the concept of *variety*, action implies a process, a constant movement forward. With movement and action, there is no real opportunity for overindulgence or loss of control while experiencing pleasure. It is a concept the poet had

expressed previously in his 1636 *The Triumphs of the Prince D'Amour*.¹¹⁷ When the Temple of Apollo is revealed towards the end of the performance, his priests sing:

(3.)

Then still, as if not made of earth,
Express your thankfulness in active pleasure.

(4.)

Whilst you design your hearts to mirth,
Yours [sic] ears to numbers, and your feet to measure.¹¹⁸

In the lyric of this chorus, dancing is characterized as “active pleasure,” unifying the senses, body, and emotions through its motions. More importantly, the pleasure of dancing, as conceptualized here by Davenant, is not selfish or hedonistic, as other pleasures tend to be. Rather, because dancing is a result of gratitude, a response to gifts from the god Apollo, it is selfless and sacrificial. Active pleasure turns one away from one’s self, and the self’s unruly desires or appetites, by forcing recognition of the musical and visual clues that guide the community of dancers together. To be a functional, perfected whole, the dancers must abandon the self.¹¹⁹ Davenant is not the only writer to adopt this concept as a recuperative move in the masque; James Shirley also expresses the idea in his “*private Recreation*,” *The Triumph of Beauty* (first published in 1646);¹²⁰ the performance draws to a close with Venus’ charge: “Now let us dance; these pleasures are not / active.”

While aesthetic *variety* is the defining characteristic of masque to its seventeenth-century writers, the role of pleasure, widely acknowledged as a by-product of *variety*, proves substantially more controversial. Some writers, like the Caroline poets mentioned above, attempt to circumscribe a supine and brutish sensual reaction by asserting the activeness of

pleasure, while others, like Daniel, instead insist on a stimulating, intellectual reaction.

However, as the critique of pleasure formulated in the antimasque of Jonson's *The Vision of Delight* suggests, the potential loss of self enacted by pleasure is directly related to the potential over-stimulation of excess *variety* in the first place. In that antimasque, Fant'sy promises a sensory riot of Rabelaisian monstrosities and noise: "But it is no one dream that can please these all; / Wherefore I would know what dreams would delight 'em" (51–52).

When allied with the infinite power of man's imagination, *variety* itself can easily run to excess. For this reason, the antimasque must always give way to the masque, the idealized world of perfect order and decorousness that straightjackets the potential sensory overload of *variety* taken too far. Of course, critics have long acknowledged the centrality of balance and decorum to seventeenth-century masque, especially Caroline masque; however, this fact has generally been theorized as a by-product of royal taste.¹²¹ Instead, symmetry, balance, proportion, and decorousness—characteristics that, like *variety*, can be applied to all the visual and aural arts contributing to the main masque—should be seen as an attempt to circumscribe and civilize *variety* in the first place.

Perhaps the best example of the quest for balance and decorum during the course of the performance are the *figures géométriques*, illustrated in Figures 1.3 and 1.4 earlier in the chapter. Their names—*pyramid*, *estaille*, *tortue*, *monde*—describe their shape, which was always governed by strict observance of symmetry and proportion. Indeed Figure 1.3, demonstrating fifteen different figures into which a group of ten dancers might be arranged and still maintain precise symmetry, is an impressive testament to the potentials of decorous *variety*, as well as the imagination of the choreographer. After long rehearsals in the run-up to the performance, the dancers must have achieved near-military precision as they traced

their figures across the green carpet of the dancing space. Excellent and stately dancing, considered to be a mark of good breeding and refinement among the noble class, further emphasized the decorousness of the masque as a whole.¹²² Indeed, as Peter Walls points out, Inigo Jones reinforced the grace and elegance that was demanded of the masque dancers through his sketches of their costumes.¹²³ Noble figures were drawn in restrained and stately poses, while the ostentatious skill, coarse movements, and broad steps of lower class dances were similarly demonstrated in the broad stances and antic postures of the anti-masque characters.

The masquing hall itself certainly contributed to the overall impression of balance and order. Glynne Wickham's re-creation, in *Early English Stages*, of the floor plan of the first Stuart Banqueting House—built in 1606 and destroyed by fire in January of 1619—is useful to flesh out the picture for a modern reader.¹²⁴ Using an extant manuscript drawing, Figure 1.5, Wickham was able to reconstruct the dimensions of the space, Figure 1.6. Running the length of the hall, 120 feet, were stone pillars set 8 feet from the outside wall, supporting tiered scaffolding divided into boxes with narrow aisles running behind; a stage was built at the top end of the hall, directly across from the king's dais, or state.¹²⁵ Roughly 37 feet of the original 53-foot width remained open in the center of the room, over which the green carpet was spread to demarcate the dancing space.¹²⁶ In an important and lengthy letter, Orazio Busino, chaplain to the ambassador from Venice, describes the performance of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* and augments Wickham's floorplan with additional clues about the finishing details:

we others of his retinue, all perfumed, escorted by the master of ceremonies, entered the usual box of the Venetian embassy [...]. While waiting for the King we took pleasure in admiring the decorations, in observing the beauty of the hall, with two orders of columns one on top of the other, their distance from the wall the full width

of the passage, the upper gallery supported by Doric columns, and above these Ionic, which hold up the roof of the hall.¹²⁷

While the columns serve a practical purpose, supporting the scaffolding and boxes for the audience members, their classic orders and symmetrical spacing reinforce the sense of balance and order in the structure as a whole. Of course, these architectural principals define Inigo Jones's Banqueting House, where graceful Palladian windows, classical dentil molding, and spiral corbels complement the upper and lower columns with restrained elegance. The circular forms of the arched windows and spirals, in addition to the central oval panel that dominates the ceiling, create visual balance against the predominance of rectangles and straight lines that provide the primary ornament. All is balanced, geometrical, restrained. An intricate 1573 woodcut, Figure 1.7, illustrates the combined effect of masque dancers and masquing hall: the ornate, symmetrical decoration of the space itself, the dais

Figure 1.5: Detail of the ground plan of the first Jacobean Banquet House, Whitehall, 1606–1618¹²⁸

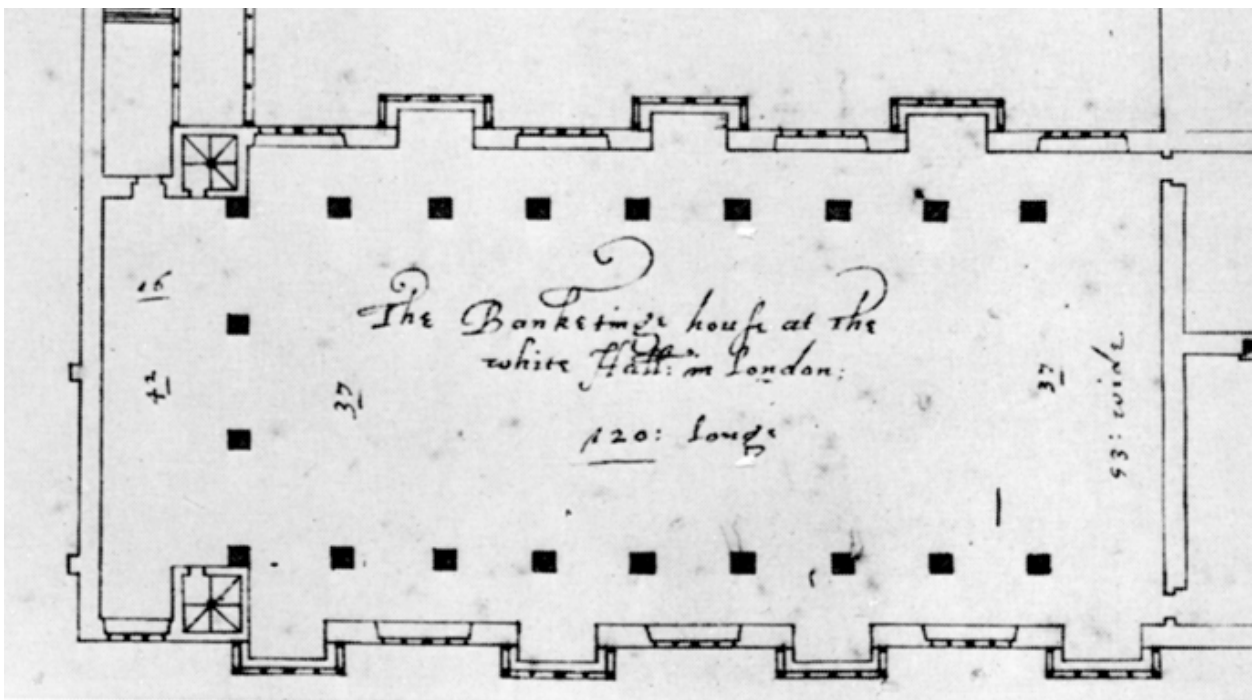
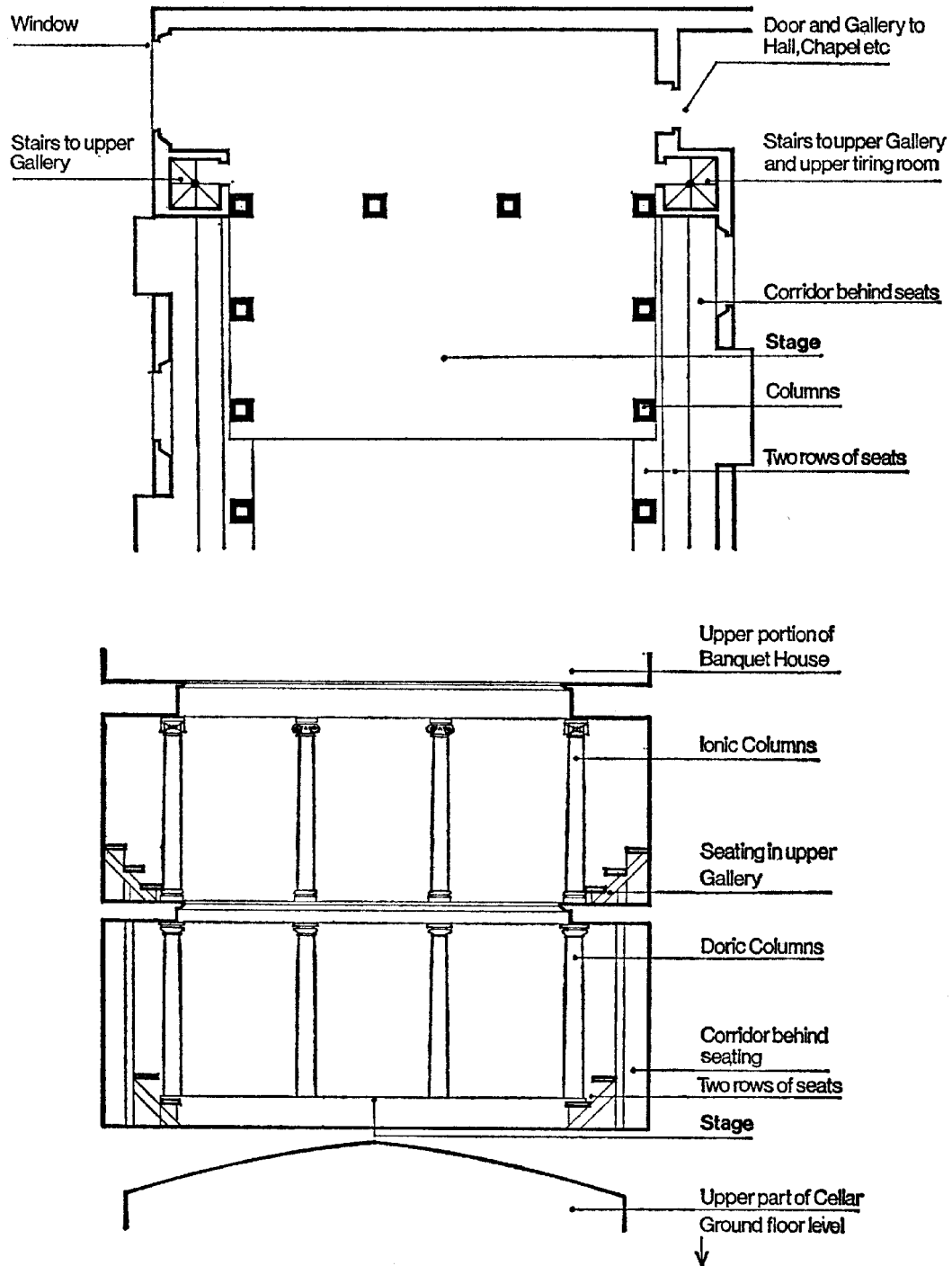


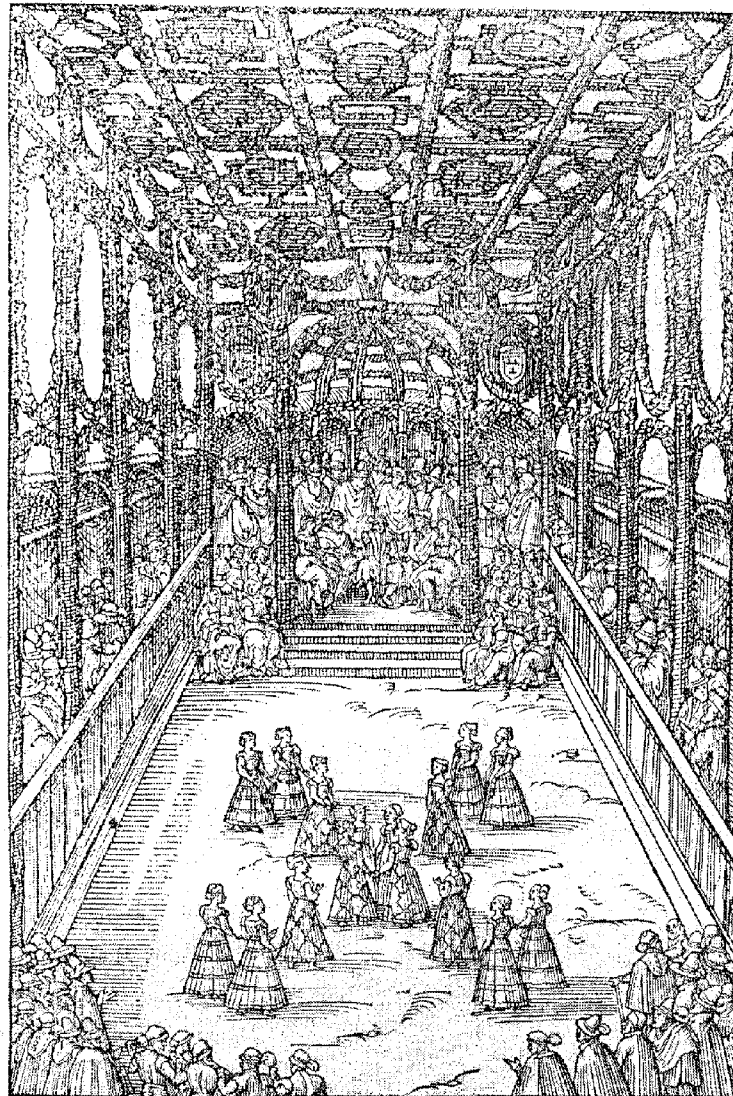
Figure 1.6: Ground Plan and Elevation of the Northern End of the First Jacobean Banquet House, Whitehall, 1606–1618¹²⁹

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and eminent guests precisely centered in the background, the divided boxes running the length of the space, and the sixteen carefully arranged and perfectly spaced dancers in the foreground. Indeed, in this elegant and perfectly balanced space, the rowdy antimasquers must have seemed intrusive and foreign from the first moments of their entrance.

Figure 1.7: Final Dance of “Le Balet des Polonais,” from Jean Dorant’s *Magnificentissimi spectaculi*, Paris 1573¹³⁰



Inigo Jones extended the balance and order of the masquing hall even to the design of the sets themselves. As Figure 1.2 suggests, Jones's sets were studies of perfectly balanced asymmetry. The constraints of perspective sets require major components, here the ruined buildings constituting the side flats, to match in visual weight and size and in the saturation of color as the sight-lines retreat to the back wall; yet, perfect symmetry on each side of the stage would quickly dull the eye and bore the audience, violating the principal of aesthetic *variety* so central to masque in the first place. Instead, in the example of Figure 1.2, the foremost, largest, and darkest group of buildings features columns, though of different orders and different proportions. The second group of buildings is marked by keystone ornamented arches, though again of slightly different scales. Porches, broken arches, and architectural molding guide the eye along each building's façade, while tufts of grass and shrubbery sprout from the cracks in approximate numbers, but these details are never in the exact same position from side to side. Jones's proscenium arches are similarly designed, with the major sections of space organized in identical groupings from left to right and the details, such as body position, drapery, and ornamentation, providing the rhythm and visual interest to the whole. While they do not manifest the perfect symmetry of the architecture, Jones's masquing sets are nevertheless characterized by careful balance and proportion, bringing all the details into a carefully orchestrated visual whole.

Just as the principals of *variety* applied to both the visual and aural components of masques, the decorousness and order emphasized by the architecture of the banqueting hall, the roughly symmetrical landscapes of the perspective sets, and the precisely arranged choreography was echoed in the music for the terminal dances.¹³¹ Musicologists point to masters of contrapuntal style—including William Byrd, Thomas Tallis, Thomas Morley, and

Orlando Gibbons—when detailing the flowering of remarkable music that occurred during the English Renaissance, yet in the masquing hall, this style was thick, obfuscating, and old-fashioned. Instead, the dance music consisted of pairs of balanced strains—two melodic lines equal in length and balanced in movement—perhaps ending with a strain in triple meter.¹³² Given a strain of four or five bars with four beats per bar, this arrangement produced an ideal number of beats to trace the measured steps of a *pavane* while simultaneously maneuvering into position for the next choreographic figure. The strains could be repeated or taken up by different groups of instruments until the choreography was complete. Compositionally, the aurally straightforward style of chordal harmony supported the clear, simple melodies of the strains, rather than the counterpoint of polyphony where each voice or instrument took its own lengthy melodic line.¹³³ Like the elaborate, figured dances, the dance music required its performers to work in perfect union to create the over-all effect; like the other artistic elements of the masque, even the architectural details of the hall, understated ornamentation—graceful turns and falls—highlighted the elegant simplicity of the melodic lines.

Unbridled *variety* would allow the artistic equivalences of Fant'sy's "haunches of a drum with the feet of a pot" or dueling crab and rope maker (104, 107): a solo dancer spinning and cutting capers through a *pavane*, a giant Persian minaret in the midst of a Roman piazza, a bagpiper interrupting a goddess's solo air with a folk melody. Instead, balance and symmetry worked to circumscribe the infinite potential of *variety* in two important ways. First, the emphasis on formal, almost mathematical, organization applied to each artistic element essentially prevented any single element of *variety* from dominating, either aurally or visually. The artistic components of the masque changed constantly, but they did not

change haphazardly; elements that could not be precisely measured out—by bars of music, by feet and yards, by organized choreography—had no place in the always decorous main masque. Second, as elements of the preceding discussion have hinted, balance, proportion, and decorousness further restrained *variety* by mandating a communal or corporal effort. The performative elements—whether dancers, musicians, or portions of the set—worked in concert to create an overall effect; any single element that drew excessive attention to itself would mar the whole.¹³⁴ Therefore the potential of *variety* in any single element or performer is strictly limited by the integration and totality of effect guiding the performance as a whole.

Like the seventeenth-century garden, with its meticulous geometry, intricate topiary, and horticultural wonders, the masque becomes an allegory for the taming of an unruly, potentially dangerous force of nature.¹³⁵ Like the symmetry of the pleasure garden, the precisely structured modes of music, dancing, design—and even poetry—in masque reinforce the larger political lessons of the genre: that the king, the dancers, and the court as a whole have the power to master nature and draw mankind one step closer to perfection. In both the garden and the masque, the eye can sweep the intricate scene or concentrate on the perfection of a single flower, a single dancer; in both the garden and the masque, the ear is soothed with music, with moving water, with birdsong. In both, colors, textures, scents, and sounds feast the senses with harmless, gentle pleasures; in both, marvels abound: the cloud machine, the fountain, the jewel-encrusted, waterworks bird. In the garden, as in the masque, one can glimpse a terrestrial paradise, though mortality comes to one with autumn's shortening days and to the other with the dawn.

With the sunrise, however, a masque lived only in the memories of its audience and the texts attempting to memorialize it; spring could bring no rebirth. As this chapter has demonstrated, those texts still have much to tell us about the masque and the complex understanding of that form held by its multitude of writers, patrons, and audiences. The constituent feature of masque in the seventeenth century was *variety*, and for this very reason, the form cannot be straightjacketed by a one-size-fits-all approach. Just as those who proudly announced: “for the invention and various composition [this masque] was the newest and most gracious that hath been done in this place,” we should embrace the widespread intricacies, perplexities, and contradictions of seventeenth-century masque with delight.

¹ One example of this rhetorical move, from musicologist Andrew Sabol, will more than suffice: “The ultimate source of the famous quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones was the question whether poetry or staging constituted the ‘soul,’ or essence, of the masque. But perhaps each overestimated the importance of his contribution, ... for the chief element of this form of entertainment, even in the earliest accounts, was dancing”; see Andrew J. Sabol, *Songs and Dances for the Stuart Masque: An Edition of Sixty-Three Items of Music for the English Court Masque from 1604 to 1641* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1959) 1. Perhaps repeated encounters with such inherently subjective assertions led to Stephen Orgel’s wise observation “the soul of the masque has always lain in large measure in the eye of the beholder, whether poet, architect, spectator, or critic”; see Stephen Orgel, “To Make Boards to Speak: Inigo Jones’s Stage and the Jonsonian Masque,” *Renaissance Drama* 1 (1968): 121.

² Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 23–33.

³ Although this chapter, indeed this dissertation, will make extensive use of the “stage directions” as indicative of performance history, it is important to remember the inherent divide between events in performance and the ideal recorded by the author for textual publication; for extensive consideration of this critical difference, see Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990) ch. 1.

⁴ All references to this masque are from “The Masque of Flowers,” *A Book of Masques: In Honour of Allardyce Nicoll*, ed. E. A. Honigmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967). Here, and throughout the chapter, line numbers will be referenced in the text following the quoted passage.

⁵ Unless otherwise stated all masque citations are taken from Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

⁶ William Browne, “The Masque of the Inner Temple (Ulysses and Circe),” *A Book of Masques: In Honour of Allardyce Nicoll*, ed. R. F. Hill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

⁷ Major considerations of this crucial passage are found in D. J. Gordon, *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) 79–82; and Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965) 103–04.

⁸ This infamous quarrel is treated by D. J. Gordon, “Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courland Institutes* 12 (1949), reprinted in *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and*

Lectures by D. J. Gordon, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 1–2; and Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 185–86.

⁹ Jonson's introductions of the masque dances and revels, Appendix B, parallels his treatment of the performative elements in general; after 1611, his gracious, descriptive sentences gradually dwindle to the briefest statements of fact—"the main dance," "the revels followed," if the dances are even mentioned at all.

¹⁰ Francis Beaumont, "The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn," *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicol*, ed. Philip Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

¹¹ A "fundamental, or deeply internalized, anti-theatricality" as a motive for Jonson's preference for print is discussed by Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 194. Related to the poet's innate "anti-theatricality," Loewenstein asserts that preparing quartos for print was crucial not only in developing Jonson's awareness of the power and longevity of the printed text as an artistic and cultural medium, but also in helping him "think of himself as the inventor, the author, or Works" (187), enforcing his vision and control over his intellectual property; Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* ch. 4–5. The same tendencies in Jonson—his remarkable savvy about the medium of printing and his tendencies to self-promote his status as a "maker"—are analyzed from a slightly different angle by Richard Dutton, *Ben Jonson: Authority: Criticism* (New York: St. Martin's, 1996). Dutton's assertion that Jonson used critical modes, like prefaces, to categorize his individual poetic tastes as normative and canonical should perhaps also be carefully considered when evaluating the reception history of his masques.

¹² For a discussion of this pattern, the "typical masque," see Andrew J. Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1978) 7; David Fuller, "The Jonsonian Masque and Its Music," *Music and Letters* 54 (1973): 441; Richard Hudson, *The Allemande, the Balletto, and the Tanz: Volume I, the History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 113; and Thomas Campion, *The Masque at Lord Hay's Marriage* (Menston, Eng.: Scholar Press, 1973) 3–4.

¹³ Although the division of the social dances into measures and revels sections conforms with both proper nomenclature and performance practice, the authors of masque frequently employ metonymical substitution of either term for the entirety of the social dances. For a detailed discussion of the measures and revels, see Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 15–19.

¹⁴ Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 2–3 and 329; Sabol, *Songs and Dances* 4; and James Cunningham, *Dancing in the Inns of Court* (London: Jordan, 1965) 11.

¹⁵ Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 2–3.

¹⁶ As with the king's trumpets, musical cues directed the entire evening, essentially marking the changes from antimasque to masque, song to dance, and main masque to revels; see Fuller, "The Jonsonian Masque and Its Music," 441.

¹⁷ Quotation cited in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 192. Similar language is employed by the French ambassador, Mareschal de Bassompierre, in describing a 1626 entertainment held at York House: "there was a magnificent ballet, in which the duke danced; and afterwards we set to and danced country-dances till four in the morning." For Bassompierre's account, see Cunningham, *Dancing in the Inns of Court* 15.

¹⁸ Most scholars seem to define the genre by its fleetingness, despite the fact that some masques—Jonson's *The Vision of Delight* or *News From the New World Discovered in the Moon* or Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace* for example—had two performances, and Jonson's *The Masque of the Metamorphosed Gypsies* even had three. For instance, Stephen Orgel commences his important study: "The theatre of Inigo Jones was created for that most ephemeral of Renaissance genres, the court masque" in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 1.

¹⁹ David Lindley, ed., *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995) 74–91.

²⁰ The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides a definition for "variety," entry 3.c., consistent with this non-conventional, aesthetic usage found in court masque texts: "As a literary, musical, or artistic quality." See *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2005, Oxford University Press, January 29 2006.

²¹ For the use of a curtain, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 19–20; and J. L. Styan, *The English Stage: A History of Drama and Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 190.

²² For a general overview of the scenic components of Tudor entertainments and early Stuart masque, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 6 and 18–21; Styan, *The English Stage* 190–91; Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages*, 3 vols. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959) 225–26; and Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927) 169–88.

²³ The *machina versatilis* is specifically discussed in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 5 and 17–18; and Styan, *The English Stage* 193.

²⁴ For a specific discussion of the *scena ductilis* machines, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 18 and 21–23; Styan, *The English Stage* 193–94; and Orgel, "'Boards,'" 132.

²⁵ In fact, the "loud music" that frequently announces the transformation of antimasque to masque world served a practical as well as dramatic purpose; it was needed to cover the noise

of the giant *machina versitalis* as it rotated to change the scene; see Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 152–53.

²⁶ Jones's House of Fame is reproduced in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 130.

²⁷ The side wings for the ruined city are reproduced in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 584–85.

²⁸ Considerations of these innovations are found in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 18; Styan, *The English Stage* 193; Orgel, "'Boards'," 138; and Edward J. Dent, *Foundations of English Opera: A Study of Musical Drama in England During the Seventeenth Century* (New York: DeCapo, 1965) 20.

²⁹ For a discussion of the implications of perspective sets upon the ideology of the masque, as well as the early modern audience's sometimes perplexed reaction to this new way of seeing, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 6–13; and Orgel, "'Boards'."

³⁰ Cloud machines are discussed in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 18; and Styan, *The English Stage* 190 and 93–94.

³¹ The use of reflective surfaces to amplify light is discussed in Styan, *The English Stage* 196; Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 17; and Orgel, "'Boards'," 130.

³² For the construction of colored lights, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 17; and Styan, *The English Stage* 190.

³³ Samuel Daniel, "The Vision of the 12 Goddesses," *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll*, ed. Joan Rees (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 25–37.

³⁴ Lindley, ed., *Court Masques* 92–101.

³⁵ In the commentary introducing *The Masque of Queens*, Jonson describes Queen Anne's request that he "think on some dance or show that might precede hers and have the place of a foil or false masque." This request and the elaborate antimasque of witches Jonson created to honor it are universally regarded as the first antimasque of the genre. However, Jonson continues his commentary with a reference to the *Masque of Beauty* from the previous year: "I was careful not to decline not only from others', but mine own steps in that kind, since the last year I had an antimasque of boys." Since *Beauty's* antimasque of Cupids (204–208 and 270–272) is only described in the stage directions to this masque, with no formal speeches or songs requiring poetic text, and since it is not described as an antimasque in explicit terms in the stage directions, its presence can easily be overlooked. Furthermore, Jonson's comments indicate that neither *Beauty* nor *Queens* was precedent setting as an antimasque. The novelty of the *Queens'* antimasque, therefore, is in the extent of the action, the addition of speeches and songs to accompany the dances, and, of course, the adaptation of the antimasque into a true foil to the main masque.

³⁶ Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 117. See also Sabol, *Songs and Dances* 2.

³⁷ The phrase “terminal dances” signifies the intricate, single-sex dances of the main masque, differentiating them from the mixed-sex revels dances included during the masque proper. For a technical discussion of the cluster of names associated with terminal dances, see John M. Ward, “Newly Devis’d Measures for Jacobean Masques,” *Acta Musicologica* LX (1988): 113.

³⁸ The exaggerated and antic nature of antimasque dances is considered in detail in Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 115–21.

³⁹ Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 116–18 and Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 113.

⁴⁰ The green carpet is described by the Venetian embassy’s chaplain, Orazio Busino, in an extensive letter describing the performance of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* of 1618; for mention of the green carpet, translated from the Italian, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 283.

⁴¹ Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 10.

⁴² Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 116; Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 12; and Ward, “Newly Devis’d Measures,” 113.

⁴³ Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 12.

⁴⁴ For this assertion, see Ward, “Newly Devis’d Measures,” 114–17. For further discussion of figured dancing see Skiles Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998) 19–20.

⁴⁵ Ward, “Newly Devis’d Measures,” 115.

⁴⁶ Ward, “Newly Devis’d Measures,” 116.

⁴⁷ Stephen Orgel was first to recognize Jonson’s efforts to make the celebratory impulse of dancing contingent upon the successful denouement of the masque’s theme: “When the primary function of the form was to provide an excuse for the revels, the masque in a sense became subservient to its conventions. [...] But Jonson is clearly moving in a new direction, making a living art of a set of conventions by using them organically in his work. And by 1618 he had found a way to make even the conventional dances functional. At the culmination of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, they are not only dramatically possible, but structurally necessary”; see Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* 188–89.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the origins of the *pavane*, including its expression of “Spanish *grandezza*, a mixture of proud bearing and unapproachableness,” see Paul Nettle, *The Story of Dance Music* (New York: Greenwood, 1969) 99–100. The *pavane* is also addressed by

Howard, *Politics of Courtly Dancing* 17–19. For a technical discussion of the variations of the dance, see Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 16.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Nettle, *The Story of Dance Music* 100.

⁵⁰ Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 16.

⁵¹ The Inns of Court measures are discussed by Hudson, *The Allemande, the Balletto, and the Tanz: Volume I, the History* 112; Cunningham, *Dancing in the Inns of Court* 14; and Alan Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1981) 6. Other possible dances include the Sicillia Almain, the Lorayne Allmayne, The Newe Allmayne, The Black Almain, and Brounswycke, listed by Hudson, *The Allemande, the Balletto, and the Tanz: Volume I, the History* 112.

⁵² Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 422–48.

⁵³ Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance* 6. For the gender implications of male dancing in general and the virtuosic displays of the *galliard* in particular, see Howard, *Politics of Courtly Dancing* 19 and 52–68.

⁵⁴ Nettle, *The Story of Dance Music* 101.

⁵⁵ In 1581, Barnaby Rich complains: “our galliardes are so curious, that thei are not for my daunsyng, for thei are so full of trickes and tournes, that he whiche hath no more but the plaine Sinqepace, is no better accompted of then a verie bongler”; quotation cited in Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance* 9.

⁵⁶ Nettle, *The Story of Dance Music* 103–04. For the topographical implications of this dance, see Howard, *Politics of Courtly Dancing* 114–15.

⁵⁷ The *volta* is discussed by Howard, *Politics of Courtly Dancing* 66–67; Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 17; and Nettle, *The Story of Dance Music* 111–12.

⁵⁸ Howard, *Politics of Courtly Dancing* 113–14. See also Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 17.

⁵⁹ Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 17.

⁶⁰ Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 18.

⁶¹ Lindley, ed., *Court Masques* 92–101.

⁶² Aston Cockayne, *A Masque Presented at Brethie in Darbyshire* (London: 1639) 121–122.

⁶³ For an extended discussion of the instruments used in the antimasque and the types of effects they could produce, see Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 148–54.

⁶⁴ Instead of a consort, a group of four or five instruments—treble, mean, tenor, and bass—of the same type—usually lute, viol, or hautboy (oboe)—a broken consorts consisted of any group of instruments, not of the same type—for instance two violins, a flute, an oboe, and a sackbutt. The quality of the sound, strange, rustic, or evil, would dictate the selection of instruments for the broken consorts of antimasques.

⁶⁵ For the specific association of these instruments with royalty, see J. S. Manifold, *The Music in English Drama: From Shakespeare to Purcell* (London: Rockcliff, 1956) 89.

⁶⁶ For main masque instruments, see Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 150–51; Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 19; and Fuller, “The Jonsonian Masque and Its Music,” 444.

⁶⁷ See Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 151–52.

⁶⁸ The bill is transcribed in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 229–30. For an extended discussion of this bill and other financial accounts associated with masque, see Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 36–40.

⁶⁹ Ferrabosco, Robert Jonson, and Nicolas Lanier—who is not mentioned for the performance of *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly*—are most frequently credited with either the composition or the arranging of masque music. But Lupo, Giovanni Coperario (née John Cooper), Thomas Campion, John and Robert Dowland, Thomas Davies, Thomas Ford, and William and Henry Lawes are also known to be performers or composers of masque music. All of these men were members of the King’s Music or Prince Henry’s musicians; their membership indicates that the other, anonymous musicians for masque performances—the adult singers and the instrumentalists—tended to be drawn from the secular musical institutions of the crown, like the King’s Music, the Private Musick, and the Royal Wind Music, rather than the elite, sacred Chapel Royal. For a discussion of the composers of masque music, see Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 21–23; Sabol, *Songs and Dances* 2 and 7–9; Mary Chan, *Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980) 39; and Campion, *The Masque at Lord Hay’s Marriage* 6–7. For a discussion of the history and cosmopolitan make-up of the King’s Music and its relationship to the Chapel Royal, see Craig Monson, “Elizabethan London,” *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the 16th Century*, ed. Ian Fenlon (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1989) 304–23.

⁷⁰ For a discussion of Campion’s musical arrangements as a problematic indication of the use of musical resources, see Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 154–58.

⁷¹ Murray Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques a La Cour De Charles Ier D’angleterre* (Paris: Du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1970) Plates XIII and IX.

⁷² For the function of songs in the masque, see Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 22; and Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 46.

⁷³ For a general discussion of the types of songs in court masque, see Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 51–53.

⁷⁴ Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 24.

⁷⁵ For an antiphonal chorus, small groups of singers were placed throughout the hall echoing or responding to each other, a style brought to fullest effect by the *cori spezzati* of Andrea Gabrieli in Venice in the late sixteenth century; see Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 24; and Stanley Sadie and Alison Latham, *Stanley Sadie's Music Guide, an Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1986) 125–26.

⁷⁶ This solo song derived primarily from the new Florentine Camerata style, which is itself characterized by *stylo recitativo*. The Camerata style, debuting in 1607, in Mantua, with Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, was novel because it insisted on a un-obscured expression of words, supported by clear chords and harmonies, as opposed to a flurry of words in polyphonic style. It was written to mimic the inflections of speech and performed with bass continuo underneath. Along with masque poet and composer Thomas Campion, Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Nicolas Lanier, and Robert Jonson, the main composers of Jacobean masques, were all influenced by Continental theories of setting words to music. For the probable use of this musical style in *Golden Age Restored*, *Vision of Delight*, and *Lovers Made Men*, see Dent, *Foundations of English Opera* 26. For further consideration of declamatory airs, see Chan, *Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson* 39–44; Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 71; and Fuller, "The Jonsonian Masque and Its Music," 445.

⁷⁷ Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 71.

⁷⁸ In his "Newly Devis'd Measures for the Jacobean Masques," John Ward observes of the terminal dances "how little they resemble other dance music of the period" and that "few of the tunes are memorable; most of them are more cobbled than composed"; see Ward, "Newly Devis'd Measures," 121. For an in-depth analysis of the unique character of the terminal dance music, see the entirety of Ward's article and Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 123–48.

⁷⁹ Ward, "Newly Devis'd Measures," 128–33; and Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 127.

⁸⁰ Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 105.

⁸¹ Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 10–11.

⁸² Beaumont, "The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn."

⁸³ Welsford, *The Court Masque* 183, Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* 131.

⁸⁴ Welsford, *The Court Masque* 184.

⁸⁵ Charles G. Osgood, ed., *Boccaccio on Poetry: Being the Preface and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Books of Boccaccio's Genealogia Deorum Gentilium in an English Version with Introductory Essay and Commentary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1930). See the introduction for the history, scope, and implications of this compendium, especially xvliii to xvli for its sixteenth-century popularity and relationship to Sidney's more famous *Defense*.

⁸⁶ Osgood, ed., *Boccaccio on Poetry* 39. Sidney also makes an extensive case for the divinity of the poet, using the term *vates* and providing an extensive history of the status of poets in ancient and classical cultures.

⁸⁷ Desiderius Erasmus, *On Copia of Words and Ideas*, Mediaeval Philosophical Texts in Translation, vol. 12 (Milwaukee, Wis.: Marquette University Press, 1963).

⁸⁸ For the Latin, see Desiderius Erasmus, *De Utraq[ue] Verborum Ac Rerum Copia* (London: 1668) ch. V.

⁸⁹ Erasmus states, in Chapter VII, "that copia is twofold, as Quintillian himself declares, especially admiring among the other excellences of Pindar that most happy copia of thought and words"; see Erasmus, *On Copia* 15.

⁹⁰ Erasmus, *On Copia* 15–16.

⁹¹ The King and Rix translation, in the interest of brevity, only prints the one hundred and fifty variations of "Your letter has delighted me very much"; see Erasmus, *On Copia* 39–42.

⁹² Erasmus, *On Copia* 16–17.

⁹³ Thomas Hoby, *The Book of the Courtier from the Italian of Count Baldassare Castiglione*, The Tudor Translations, ed. W. E. Henley (London: David Nutt, 1900) 73.

⁹⁴ Baldassar Castiglione, *Il Libro Del Cortegiano*. Introduction by Amedeo Quondam (Milan: Garzanti, 1981) 78. In translation, the passage reads: "It is good truth that in every language some things are always good, like ease, beautiful order, abundance, fine statements, numerous clauses; and, on the contrary, affectation and other things opposite to this are ill."

⁹⁵ George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London: 1589) 114.

⁹⁶ Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* 115.

⁹⁷ Similar assumptions about audience reception can be attributed to John Hoskins, who composed an advice manual to young Temple gentlemen on appropriate forms of speech and writing around 1599; for the dating and purpose of the manual, see John Hoskins, *Directions for Speech and Style*, ed. Hoyt H. Hudson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935) xiii–xv. When discussing style, Hoskins explains: "And though with some men you are not to just or practise tricks, yet the delivery of most weighty and important things may be carried

with such grace as that it may yield a pleasure to the conceit of the reader. There must be store, not excess, of terms; as, if you are to name *store*, sometimes *copiousness*, or *variety*"; Hoskins, *Directions for Speech and Style* 7. In less than a page, Hoskins proceeds to organize an extensive discussion of figures of speech under the general heading of "For Varying" (8–17), again with no explanation of the term. In this, he follows Erasmus almost without question.

The Art of Rhetoric by Thomas Wilson, first published in 1553, provides a notable contrast. As Wilson's editor's note, in matters of style, the author "follow[ed] ancient Roman rather than modern authorities" and therefore, *variety* is not a central consideration in his manual; see Thomas Wilson, *The Art of Rhetoric (1560)*, ed. Peter E. Medine (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994) 21. When addressing figures used in whole sentences, though, Wilson does employ the term in passing: "Thus these figures [of a word] are shortly set out, and as for the other schemes, which are uttered in whole sentences and expressed by variety of speech, I will set them forth at large among the colors and ornaments of elocution that follow" (202–203). Importantly, as with Erasmus and Puttenham, the sense of aesthetic pleasure created by *variety* is suggested by both Hoskins and Wilson.

⁹⁸ William Davenant, "Preface to Gondibert, an Heroick Poem," *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Joel Elias Spingarn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957) 3.

⁹⁹ Practical, that is, in comparison to the theoretical or abstract discussion of the music of the spheres, a matter which few working musicians actually addressed.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. R. Alec Harman (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1952) 223. The master's terminology here is different from the discussion of chords used in modern music theory, in which (when dealing with a major key) the iii and vi chord are minor chords, and thus, not "sweet." Instead, the master intends the highest note sounding above the bass line, in which the third, fifth, and octave are prominent in the I chord, the fifth in the V chord, and the sixth and octave in the IV chord (all major chords, represented by capital Roman numerals, and therefore all "sweet").

¹⁰¹ Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction* 294. Interestingly, as did Daniel, Browne, and Carew in their discussions of set painting, Morley also celebrates the artifice capable of being produced by the madrigal form as a hallmark of its perfection.

¹⁰² Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction* 254–55.

¹⁰³ W Averell, *An Excellent Historie Bothe Pithy and Pleasant* (London: 1581), Thomas Churchyard, *The Vvorthines of Vvales* (London: 1587), R. S., of the Inner Temple, *The Phoenix Nest* (London: 1593).

¹⁰⁴ Francis Davison, *The First, Contayning Poems and Deuises. The Second, Sonets and Canzonets. The Third, Pastoralls and Elegies. The Fourth, Madrigalls and Odes. The Fift,*

Epigrams and Epitaphs. The Sixt, Epistles, and Epithalamions. For Variety and Pleasure, the Like Neuer Published. (London: 1608); Marcus Porcius Cato, *Cato in English Verse with a Three-Fold Table Directing to Varietie. By Iohn Penkethman Louer of Learning* (London: 1624); and Richard Brathwaite, *The Two Lancashire Lovers, or, the Excellent History of Philocles and Doriclea Expressing the Faithfull Constancy and Mutuall Fidelity of Two Loyall Lovers : Stored with No Lesse Variety of Discourse to Delight the Generous, Then of Serious Advice to Instruct the Amorous* (London: 1640).

¹⁰⁵ Robert Dowland, *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (London: 1610); Thomas Jordan, *Poeticall Varieties: Or, Varietie of Fancies* (London: 1637); and David Person, *Varieties: Or, a Surveigh of Rare and Excellent Matters Necessary and Delectable for All Sorts of Persons.* (London: 1635).

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Campion, *The Description of a Maske: Presented in the Banqueting Roome at Whitehall, on Saint Stephens Night Last, at the Mariage of the Right Honourable the Earle of Somerset: And the Right Noble the Lady Francis Howard* (London: 1614) A2v–A3.

¹⁰⁷ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 136.

¹⁰⁸ Criticism of the Caroline anti-masque centered on its perceived disruption of the “Jonsonian” theme and form is exemplified by Gerald Eades Bentley: “In this most popular production [James Shirley’s *The Triumph of Peace*] the number and extent of the antimasques are not only excessive, but most of them are barely relevant to the main idea,” from Gerald Eades Bentley, “Introduction,” *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicol*, ed. Philip Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 3.

¹⁰⁹ John Ford and Thomas Decker, *The Sun’s-Darling: A Moral Masque* (London: 1617) A3v–A4v.

¹¹⁰ Ford and Decker, *The Sun’s-Darling* B3v–B4.

¹¹¹ Ford and Decker, *The Sun’s-Darling* C–Cv.

¹¹² In the *OED*, the only textual reference to “burratine”—“A puppet; ‘a sillie gull in a Comedie’ (Florio)” —is from this passage; usage 1.b for “pantaloon” expands upon the theatrical origins of the word—“In extended use. A feeble old man; an old fool.” See *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

¹¹³ Lindley, ed., *Court Masques* 194–99. For the quarrel between Jonson and Jones, see note 8 above.

¹¹⁴ See *OED* definitions 2.a. “Of a character likely to find favour; having pleasing qualities. Now somewhat arch. or poet” and 2.b. “Endowed with grace or charm of appearance, attractive; also in more limited sense, graceful, elegant. *Obs.*” in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

¹¹⁵ See *OED* definitions 3.a. “Careful or nice in observation or investigation, accurate. *Obs.*”; 3.b. “Said of the eye, ear, etc.”; and 5.a. “Desirous of seeing or knowing; eager to learn; inquisitive. Often with condemnatory connotation: Desirous of knowing what one has no right to know, or what does not concern one, prying” in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

¹¹⁶ For consideration of Platonism as it was deployed in Caroline court masques and dramas, see Roy Strong, *Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973) ch. 6; Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* ch. 6; Vaughan Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts* (London: Routledge, 1994) ch. II; and Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis 1632–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 28–30.

¹¹⁷ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 125–37.

¹¹⁸ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 134.

¹¹⁹ This concept is addressed by Howard, *Politics of Courtly Dancing* 38–40. During the Henrican masque, she observes, “unison of movement and a suggestibility to direction was honored; and a tendency toward unsanctified personal forays was eliminated” (39).

¹²⁰ James Shirley, “The Triumph of Beauty,” *The Dramatic Works and Poems of James Shirley*, ed. William Gifford, vol. VI (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1833).

¹²¹ Critics frequently note the reflection of Charles I’s personality and aesthetic tastes in his masques: “Obsessed with order and uniformity, he was drawn most to those courts, such as Spain, which were most regulated and to those cultural modes that most expressed the order he sought—in art and in life,” Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* 189. See also Strong, *Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power* 240.

¹²² The philosophical, moral, and social function of dancing is treated extensively by both early modern thinkers and contemporary scholars. Renaissance writers addressing this subject include Thomas Elyot in *The Book Named the Governor*, Baldesar Castiglione in *The Book of the Courtier*, Thoinot Arbeau in *Orchésographie*, and Sir John Davies in “Orchestra.” For contemporary assessment of dancing in general and masque dancing in particular, see Howard, *Politics of Courtly Dancing* 26–35 and 46–68; Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance* 2–12; Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 104–08; and Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 7–9.

¹²³ Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 115.

¹²⁴ This structure, which was often alternated with the Great Hall for masque performances, was built of stone, to be more sturdy and stately than the old Tudor banqueting house that James razed. For a discussion of the first Stuart banqueting house, see Wickham, *Early*

English Stages Vol. 2, 153–55. For a brief history of the three Stuart banqueting houses, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 79–80.

¹²⁵ Wickham, *Early English Stages* Vol. 2, 163.

¹²⁶ Wickham, *Early English Stages* Vol. 2, 163.

¹²⁷ Quotation cited in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 282.

¹²⁸ Wickham, *Early English Stages* Vol. 2, plate XXVIII.

¹²⁹ Wickham, *Early English Stages* Vol. 2, 164.

¹³⁰ This illustration is reproduced in both Howard, *Politics of Courtly Dancing* 21; and Ward, “Newly Devis’d Measures,” 118.

¹³¹ Just as dance was endorsed for its moral and social benefits, the performance and experience of music were likewise conceived of as beneficial. Specifically, through the concept of “the music of the spheres,” the orderly patterns and forms of music were seen as representative of heavenly order. Renaissance discussions of music include “*Sylva Sylvarum*” by Sir Francis Bacon and *The English Gentleman* by Richard Brathwait, who observes “*Plato and Aristotle would have a man well brought up in Musicke.*” Modern critics on the music of the spheres include Jamie James, *The Music of the Spheres: Music, Science, and the Natural Order of the Universe* (New York: Grove Press, 1993); and Joscelyn Godwin, ed., *Harmony of the Spheres: A Sourcebook of the Pythagorean Tradition in Music* (Rochester, Vt.: Inner Traditions International, 1993).

¹³² Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 132–48; and Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 10.

¹³³ Walls, *Music in the English Masque* 135–36; and Sabol, *400 Songs and Dances* 10–11. Chordal harmony, in which each instrument is assigned one note to build a single chord that complements the melodic line, was also the style advocated by the composers of the Florentine Camerata school, which is discussed in note 75 above.

¹³⁴ The aesthetic importance of the entirety, all elements working in carefully arranged harmony but individually emphasized by important contrasts, is also addressed by James Turner, *The Politics of Landscape: Rural Scenery and Society in English Poetry 1630–1660* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979) 10–17. The oft-considered episode from the revels of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, described by Orazio Busino, stands out so starkly because Buckingham abandoned the communal spirit of the social dances to mollify his cranky sovereign: “Finally they danced the Spanish dance once more with their ladies, and because they were tired began to lag; and the King, who is by nature choleric, grew impatient and shouted loudly, ‘Why don’t they dance? What did you make me come here for? Devil take all of you, dance!’ At once the Marquis of Buckingham, his majesty’s favourite minion, sprang forward, and danced a number of high and very tiny capers with such grace and

lightness that he made everyone admire and love him, and also managed to calm the rage of his angry lord.” Busino’s letter is reproduced in the Italian and translated in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*.

¹³⁵ In his discussion of formal court gardens, Vaughan Hart makes constant comparisons to masques; see Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts* ch. IV. His descriptions of automata in the garden equates these marvelous creations with Inigo Jones’s spectacular marvels, also products of mechanics and engineering (93–95 and 101–104). Not surprisingly, Roy Strong also finds parallels between gardens, the seventeenth-century “mannerist gardens,” and masques. His discussion of the widely influential mannerist garden at the Villa d’ Este in Tivoli, however, underscores the control over nature that gardens asserted: “The initial impact looking down on it must have been one of staggering size, a *coup d’oeil* aimed at establishing immediately in the mind man’s total control over the forces of nature; Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998) 20. Seventeenth-century garden theory is also considered by John Dixon Hunt, *Greater Perfections : The Practice of Garden Theory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000) ch. 3. For contemporary sources, including passages from Marvell, Milton, Bacon, and Wotton, discussing gardens, see John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, eds., *The Genius of the Place : The English Landscape Garden, 1620-1820* (London: Elek, 1975).

Chapter 2

“Arms Defensive a Safe Peace Maintain”: The Martial Masque

If, as this study contends, seventeenth-century audiences understood aesthetic *variety* as the defining feature of masque, then certainly the genre was significantly more complex than has previously been articulated. An awareness of this complexity, embraced and endorsed by the masque’s early modern writers, patrons, and audiences, opens a space for a more comprehensive re-examination of the genre as a whole. What other characteristics of masque did the seventeenth-century understand that the twenty-first century understands imperfectly? As the introduction to this study illustrated, Stephen Orgel’s foundational interpretation of masque—that “every Stuart masque is an assertion of the Divine Right of Kings,”¹—has been complicated by nuanced critical inquiry into the genre; at the same time, recent scholarship has also explored the conflicting understandings of divine right theory in early Stuart culture.² Despite this work, which essentially complicates the fundamental political context of masque, no one questions that this odd mixture of art, called masque, nevertheless represented the unalloyed power of a monarch during the seventeenth century.

But why? After all, masque as an expression of royal power did not materialize into the Stuart court fully formed, as an artistic Athena from the brain of her kingly father. To begin to address the question of alternative political contexts underpinning the genre, this chapter will examine the earliest connotations of “masque,” analyze the watershed of court entertainment initiated by Henry VIII, and trace the implications of that change into the Stuart court, positing that the power of the masque was, initially, the power of the mask. The

danger of an unknown, unidentifiable man was transformed by Henry VIII into an allegorical lesson about his ability to ensure the physical safety of his court.

In the early modern period, therefore, masquing was inextricable from more overt demonstrations of martial power, even during the adamant pacifism of the first Stuart reign. Consequently, this chapter will explore, in detail, the relationship of masquing to military processions, demonstrations of soldierly skills like barriers, and conceptions of martial self-fashioning.³ In addition, masque as a statement of foreign policy and the vital presence of diplomats as key audience members will also be taken up. Because it explores ideas of politics, power, and the relationship of England to the wider European community, the chapter is in much closer conversation with existing masque scholarship than chapter one; however, its narratives of the origins of masque as a form, the continuities between the Tudor and Stuart periods, the continuing prominence of military themes throughout the seventeenth century, and the complex reactions of masque writers and audiences to Stuart assertions of kingship contribute to the reformed generic understanding developed by the project as a whole.

To begin to appreciate the potential threat of a seemingly harmless Christmas celebration and how that danger was tempered and controlled, the earliest definitions and connotations of the word itself must first be investigated. Importantly, “mask” or “masque” appears in its oldest forms as Middle English manifestations of Old English or early Scandinavian morphemes⁴; although use of these forms as nouns and verbs is documented into the seventeenth century and beyond, these Germanic-Scandinavian words are unrelated to the

Latin-Romantic introduction of “mask/que” that is the subject of this study. As the *OED* entries indicate, the older, German words were still common when a new noun usage⁵ developed in the early sixteenth century. The appearance of this noun form seems⁶ to coincide with a 1512 court entertainment presented by Henry VIII. *Hall’s Chronicle* provides a description of this important event: “On the daie of Epiphanie at night, the kyng with a. xi. other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande.”⁷ After 1512, the record is littered with appearances of the new noun “mask/que,” including both literal and figurative or extended uses; for example, in 1533 Sir Thomas More employs the word while describing a certain type of shameless gentleman at court. Considering usages related to both a symbolic dramatic performance and a mere masked ball, which even the Oxford editors are forced to admit is a challenging distinction to make during the early sixteenth century, there are examples from independent sources for each decade of that century. Moreover, a second noun form, augmenting “viser” as the descriptor for a face covering made of cloth worn by the men who danced in masques, first appears in 1534,⁸ while a verb form related to the new noun usages appears five years later. The functional shift and the speed with which the original word adapts into extended usage indicate the rapidity with which “mask/que” permeated the early sixteenth-century culture.

By comparing a related early modern term, “mumming,” to “mask/que” or “masquing,” the earliest origins of this court entertainment grows more clear. In *The English Folk-Play*, E. K. Chambers explains, “Mumming, from the fourteenth century onwards, seems to mean little more than ‘disguising’. The folk Mummers, indeed, are also Guisers. [...] Some early court mummings, which introduced, not drama, but dice-playing for seasonal luck, took place in silence.”⁹ The documentary evidence describing these early mummings is scattered at

best, but scholars agree they are distinct from the later English mummers play, sword dance, and related forms, Christmas-time customs from provincial England prevailing into the 20th century whose central feature is a combat, mock-death, and revival.¹⁰ Not long after the Reformation, however, mumming, the common term for Christmas reveling, was linked to the Catholic Church through its central elements of costuming and show. In *Obedience of a Christian Man*, Tyndale berates his Catholic detractors, saying “They thinke they have done abundantly ynough for God [...] yif they be present once in a daye at soch a mummynge,”¹¹ while an unpublished 1547 poem memorializing, in part, the trial of John Porter before the Reformation, proclaims “I promyse you he hade a greater audience / to here hym redde a story of the scrypture / than we hadde to here our mymmynge masse and / matyns.”¹² Unique uses of the word “mumming” disappear by the mid-seventeenth century, and the traditional medieval holiday custom seems to fall victim to its Catholic associations.

London city officials, however, were actively attempting to suppress mumming, holiday disguising, a hundred years before the Reformation. In 1417 traditional holiday revelry was prohibited in the city: “It was ordered that proclamation shall be made on the morrow that no one shall go at night with a visor or false face. Also, that there shall be no *mummyng* during this Feast of Our Lord’s Nativity.”¹³ The emphasis of the proclamation centers on public safety and the recognition of people within the city walls.¹⁴ The use of masks and visors is banned before the mummers are, and official concern seems to be with a custom that gives men an excuse to hide their identity. The following year the injunction was repeated and its scope enlarged, indicating the degree of control London’s leaders actually exerted over the bands of masked and disguised individuals haunting the streets at Christmas-time:

The Mair and Aldermen chargen on [th]e Kynges byhalf, and [th]is Cite, [th]at no manere persone, of what astate, degre, or condicioun [th]at euere he be, duryng [th]is

holy tyme of Cristemes be so hardy in eny wyse to walk by nyght in eny manere mommyng, pleyes, enterludes, or eny o[th]er disgisynges with eny feynyd berdis, peyntid visers, diffourmyd or colourid visages in eny wyse, up peyne of enprisonement of her bodyes, and macyng fine aftir [th]e discreciuous of [th]e Mair and Aldremen; outake [th]at hit be leful to eche persone for to be honestly mery as he can, with in his owne hous dwelling.¹⁵

“Honest” citizens stay at home, foregoing the traditional masks, costumes, and other disguises associated with Christmas revelry. Though mumming was an established holiday custom, the mummers embodied and enacted a very real threat to society: the possibility of strange men secretly entering the city for unknown, perhaps nefarious, purposes. In essence, the proclamations imply that any man who would willingly cover his face and disguise his body must be inherently untrustworthy. Sir Thomas More emphasizes this very concern in Book 2 of his *The Answere to the Fyrst Parte of the Poysened Booke*: “Like as if a ryght great man woulde wantonly walke a mumming, and disguise himself.”¹⁶

An episode from the reign of Henry IV, chronicled in *The Brut*, illustrates the very real danger holiday disguisings could represent:

And yn [th]e first yere of king Henrye³ regne he hilde his Cristismasse yn [th]e Castell of Wyndesore; and on [th]e twelfthe evyn come [th]e Duke of Awmarle vnto [th]e King, and tolde hym [th]at he & [th]e Duk of Surrey, [th]e Duk of Excestre, [th]e Erle of Salusbury, [th]e Erle of Gloucestre, & o[th]ir moo of her afinite, were accorded to make a mummyng vnto [th]e King on xith day at nyght; and [th]ere [th]ay cast to sle [th]e King yn hir revelyng; and [th]us [th]at Duke warned [th]e King.¹⁷

Although this event seems like the direct inspiration for the masques-turned-bloodbaths found in Beaumont and Fletcher’s *The Maid’s Tragedy* and other plays, it epitomizes the inherent danger of masked men. No one, not even the king, can truly be safe when men willingly disguise their identity, no matter how harmless the situation appears. Furthermore, both *The Brut* account and More’s observations indicate that the unspoken threat of masks and disguises could taint even the greatest man’s character.

Given the negative associations—the Catholicism with which mumming quickly became associated and the unspoken threat of disguised identity in general—it should come as no surprise that “mask/que” too easily took on negative connotations in extended and figurative contexts despite its meteoric rise in use during the sixteenth century. In 1560, the term is paired with its medieval cousin in a Protestant critique of priests: “These be the dueties of good shepeheardes [...] and not maskynge masses, and mumming mattyns.”¹⁸ The word’s capacity to represent hidden dangers or threats is employed in 1577 for an English translation of Francis de L’isle’s *Legende de Charles, cardinal de Lorraine*: “That their nephue Francis serued but as a maske and cloke to their fellonie.”¹⁹ By the end of the century, the word’s negative connotations—either to represent the Catholics or the danger of one who would willingly self-efface—had firmly established its extended or figurative use in the English lexicon. Sir Roger Williams lambastes “the pretended Pope, by name called Gregorie the 14” in 1591, for “send[ing] and publish[ing] certaine infamous libelles, scandalous, and full of impietie, sedition, and heresie, vnder a masque of Religion.”²⁰ The following year, one L. T. A. employs the word both in his title, *The masque of the League and the Spanyard*, and in several places within the text, allowing it its full range of nasty implications: “Thy masque cannot hide thee from being noted for a most disloyall and infernall Furie; thou hast brauely extolled thy selfe like a God, thou hast smoothly beguiled the people wyth outward shewe of Religion and holiness.”²¹ In a 1593 translation of Charles Estienne’s *The defence of contraries Paradoxes against common opinion*, the word is removed from the context of religious/political propaganda, but nevertheless remains dangerous and unsettling: in the “For Pouertie” section, the author describes “a maruellous faire yong Gentlewoman” who “so soon as her husband was risen early in the morning to goe on hunting: receiued the iniurious

companie of hir secret friend, with whom she had greater pastime, not forsaking her bedde, then the hunter could haue in midst of the fields, where he pursuing some horned beast, himselfe (without thinking thereon) was at home turned into a masque of the same fashion.”²² In the seventeenth century, there are literally scores of quite negative figurative uses of the word, implying a continued, almost pervasive, cultural distrust of the power of the “mask/que,” despite its literal associations with the Stuart court.

Although seventeenth-century hostility to and distrust of the masque as genre are widely recognized, a brief survey of the history and connotations of the word in its late medieval and sixteenth century contexts indicates that such hostility and distrust in fact pre-date the flowering of the genre under James I and Ben Jonson. This distrust seems to center on the innate power of “mask/que” to manipulate and bewilder men, especially for those who would willingly deceive others. To lose one’s identity is to lose the power to be controlled, and those visored, unknown holiday revelers are as much out of control as the English Protestants, in their anti-Catholic propaganda, perceived the Pope to be. In short, during the Early Modern period, a “mask/que” can be a powerful thing, imbued with unspoken, untamable threat.

The early sixteenth century, however, brought an important change in the meaning and status of “mask/que,” a change originating at court. Although the word continued to resonate with negative connotations throughout the Renaissance, it became primarily associated with elaborate court celebrations, especially during Christmastime, early in the century. Though related to the medieval tradition of mumming, this new form of masquing was perceived as

slightly different. As was previously mentioned, the first recorded instance of masquing in England occurred at the court of Henry VIII in 1512:

On the daie of Epiphanie at night, the kyng with a. xi. other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande, [...] & after the banket doen, these Maskers came in, with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke bearyng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the Maske is, thei tooke their leaue and departed.²³

Two important changes are highlighted in the chronicle account: the king's inclusion in the disguised troupe and the specific participation of the ladies. In fact, the intermingling of the sexes was so novel that some of the more fastidious ladies refused to join. These ladies' refusal to dance with the anonymous men indicates that they perceived a threat, specifically to their honor and, by extension, to their chastity, the locus of female honor in sixteenth-century England. To these women, masked men were inherently dangerous.

When Henry VIII and his eleven noblemen disguised themselves in the fashion of the Italian masque, however, they did not merely introduce a change in nomenclature. By donning the vizard and disguise and heading the troop of intruders himself, the king legitimized the masque and brought it under the aegis of official court policy. Moreover, he emptied the event of any real threat, while simultaneously elevating the level of excitement and perceived danger by requiring the women in the audience to dance. As mummers, twelve anonymous gatecrashers could make an entrance, perform a dance or dice-game, and be gone again relatively quickly, perhaps without even the approval or knowledge of the host of the event; Shakespeare emphasizes the possibility and dangers of such an occurrence in the party scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, when the party's host effectively loses his daughter to a gatecrasher. But as masquers, the men remain longer and publicly interact with the audience,

especially the women with whom they dance. In reality, such an intrusion is the stuff of myth and nightmares: the rape of Helen, the centaurs at the wedding of Pirithoüs and Hippodamia.²⁴ Yet when the anonymous dancers and spectators “commoned together” in the first recorded “masque” in England, the carefully orchestrated interaction reinforced the power and authority of the king by neutralizing the threat of warfare and/or rape while re-enacting the very circumstances of their genesis. In Henry’s masque, dancing replaces swordplay, and the king’s ability to ensure the peace and safety of his subjects is encoded and reinforced through the festivities.²⁵

When Henry VIII transformed the implicit threat of masquing into a demonstration of his own ability to neutralize and transcend that threat, royal entertainment became the gentler twin of warfare as an expression of royal power. In fact, one of the primary themes of the Tudor masques—frequently referred to as ‘entertainments’ to differentiate them from the Stuart masques—was chivalry and mock warfare.²⁶ A 1527 entertainment, *Riches and Love*, presented two elaborately costumed figures, the titular abstractions, accompanied by a small choir of children of the Chapel. After a brief debate, the figures were championed by three knights apiece who sparred to settle the dispute; costumed courtiers and formalized dancing and revels rapidly followed.²⁷ The entertainment-cum-barriers-cum-revels, similar to *Riches and Love* in form, seems to have been fairly common under both Edward VI and his father; similar events occurred in 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518 (on October 8, to solemnize a French treaty at Greenwich), and 1522.²⁸ The settings for these performances include a “tente of cloth of golde,” “a goodly castle,” “the Garden of Esperâce” populated by “vi knights,” and a castle hung with allegorical banners. A proclamation from the late years of Henry VIII’s reign, describing “Iustes, tourneis [...] or other marcial feates and discuisings,” emphasizes

the martial potential of the costumed courtier, but also indicates how nebulous the distinction between dramatic forms was in the early sixteenth century.²⁹

Hall's records indicate that Henry VIII frequently included foreign ambassadors in these winter court festivities. In the first year of his reign, 1510, "On Shrove Sunday thesame [sic.] yere, the kyng prepared a goodly banket, in the Parliament Chambre at Westminster, for all the Ambassadors, whiche, then wer here, out of diuerse realmes and countreis"; after the banquet several noblemen appeared dressed in elaborate international costumes, and "The torchbearers were appareyled in Crymosyn satyne and grene, lyke Moreskoes, their faces blacke: And the kyng brought in a mommerye."³⁰ Although ambassadors are not specifically mentioned in 1512, the year of the first masque, they are present in November of 1510 at a tilt with mumming; in 1522 on Shrove Tuesday; and 1527 for the performance of *Riches and Love*.³¹ These events are in addition to the expected presence of ambassadors at diplomatic occasions; in fact, Hall records that King Henry threw banquets and entertainments in honor of four French hostages in 1518–1519, at the Beaulieu entertainment in 1519, during the negotiations of the Anglo-French alliance in 1518, and, of course, for the 1520 summer celebrations of its completion.³²

These festivities commemorating the Anglo-French alliance, which lasted nearly a month in Ardres, France, are especially interesting. Amidst the almost daily jousts and demonstrations of military prowess, two masques or mummings were also held. In the first, while the French king was feted with a banquet at the English camp at Guisnes, Henry VIII and twenty-nine lords rode to the French stronghold at Arde to entertain the French Queen.³³ In the second, both kings donned masquing clothes to visit the ally queens who remained at each camp; Henry rode with twenty-nine lords, his sister Mary, the dowager of France, and

twenty-nine ladies, while the French contingent traveled by chariot with thirty-eight.³⁴ Hall points out that people came from as far away as Flanders to watch the events, so the identity of such a large band of richly dressed riders would have been no mystery. Nevertheless the Tudor king is fastidious about only riding while fully vizered: on the first night, “y^e king toke leaue of the French quene & ladies, & in secrete places euery one visered himselfe, so that they were vnknownen, and so passed through the French court, to whom were brought. xxx. horses trapped in Damaske, white and yelow, and so in maskerler passed the toune of Adre, into the felde or campe.” A week later, when they cross paths at the beginning of the evening, both kings specifically retain the illusion of anonymity: “and in the way on the banke of Anderne these Maskers met with the Frenche kyng, beyng in a chariot with. xxxviii. persones richely apparellled in Maskyng apparell, and eche compaigny passed by other without any countenance makyng or disuiseryng.” Though no less a part of state policy, most of Henry VIII’s court entertainments occurred at palaces and manors in England, where the king was currently residing; as a masquer, the king had no need to travel to his audience. During the state events in France, however, diplomacy mandated that the dancers travel to the location of the performance. By insisting on riding in full masquing attire, from the sumptuously furnished horse to the carefully hidden faces, the king signaled that the large procession to and from the masque itself was properly an extension of the actual performance. That this conception was in fact tradition is verified by the French king’s identical behavior on the second night. In any other situation, it would have been a terrible affront not to acknowledge the presence of a fellow monarch; while in masquing attire, in the midst of a performance, such an acknowledgement would have itself been a violation of protocol.³⁵

Rare accounts of such processions indicate the tradition continued through the Tudor dynasty. Henry Machyn recorded an elaborate procession through the streets of London in March of 1553. E. K. Chambers specifically links many of the characters Machyn describes with formalized English mumming plays of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—the priest giving penance to Jack-of-Lent, Jack-of-Lent’s wife, the doctor;³⁶ the “mores dansse,” “gyants,” and “hobe-horsses” also align this procession to folk tradition. However, “master Maynard, the shreyff of London, wyth a standard and dromes” takes the lead, and “grett horsses and men in cotes of velvet [with chains] of gold a-bowt ther nekes” follow the giants and hobbyhorses. The remainder of the procession continues to intersperse figures of power and authority, wearing expensive velvets and gold chains of office, with the dancers and other performers:

[and then] the mores dansse, and then mony mynsterels; and af[ter came] the sergantes and yomen on horss-bake with ribbyns [of green] and whytt abowtt ther nekes, and then my lo. [...] late behyng lord of myssrulle, rod gorgyusly [in cloth?] of gold, and with cheynes of gold abowt ys neke, with hand fulle of rynges of grett waluw; the w[orshipfull?] serjants rod in cotes of velvet with sheynes of [gold.]

Bringing up the rear, some of the musicians are even riding in a chariot: “and then cam the carte with the wyrth hangyd with cloth of gold, and fulle of ban[ners] and mynsterels plahyng and syngyng.” The elements of this procession—men in positions of power, military figures, performers, and musicians—reinforce and extend the implications of Henry VIII’s 1520 procession. In both cases, the procession and subsequent (unrecorded) performance are intrinsically linked, and, in both cases, the event is implicitly underscored with a military show of force. In the first instance, the performance coincides with tournaments, demonstrations of military prowess, celebrating a diplomatic treaty, while the processions themselves involve large numbers of men riding the countryside at night; in the second,

sergeants and horsemen have been incorporated into the procession and interspersed between the performers themselves.

Essentially, the Italian-turned-English genre quickly became one of the two primary dramatic expressions of courtly power, masque and barriers. Often, the dancing and tilting were combined into a single event that also included elaborate banquets, the presence of foreign ambassadors, gifts presented to the monarch, and occasionally, public processions preceding the entertainment like the one described by Machyn.³⁷ One such procession occurred on Twelfth Night, 1559, for the first masque of Elizabeth's reign; while at Shrovetide a few weeks later, the potential danger enacted and suppressed by the form was dramatized with the mock-rape of Elizabeth's ladies: "On the Sunday was a double mask, with an assault in it. The Queen's maids were rifled and rescued again" by a group of men wielding wooden swords and shields.³⁸ An Italian ambassador described this entertainment, continuing his report: "Then at the dance the Queen performed her part, the Duke of Norfolk being her partner, in superb array."³⁹ In July of that same year:

the Queen, being still at Greenwich, well knew how pomps and shews, especially military, with her own presence thereat, delighted her subjects, and perhaps herself too; now therefore was set up in Greenwich Park a goodly banqueting-house for her Grace, made with fir poles, and decked with birch branches, and all manner of flowers [...].

About five in the afternoon came the Queen, with the Ambassadors and divers Lords and Ladies, and stood at the Park gate to see the exercise; and after, the combatants ran, chasing one the other. After this, the Queen came down into the Park, and took her horse, and rode up to the banqueting-house, and the three Ambassadors, and so to supper. After was a mask; and then a great banquet; and then followed great casting of fire and shooting of guns, till twelve at night.⁴⁰

At Christmas of 1561/1562, Robert Dudley, as Pallaphilos, the "high Constable marshall of the Knights Templars," led a tournament and series of pageants, which concluded with the masque of "Bewties Dames."⁴¹ This combination of dancing and mock-battle continued

throughout Elizabeth's reign. An entertainment prepared for the anticipated 1562 meeting between the Scots queen and her English cousin included: "an assault between Valiant Courage and Disdain and Prepensd Malice"; this assault was preceded by the presentation of a girdle and sword "laid at the feet of the queens" by Prudentia and Temperantia.⁴² A double masque, with both men and women dancing, entertained the French ambassador negotiating for Elizabeth's hand on New Year's of 1579: "The Amazons and Knights danced together and afterwards fought at barriers,"⁴³ and two years later, the large French party accompanying the Duke D'Alençon in the final stage of those negotiations were frequently treated to tournaments and pageants. Notably, these included Sir Philip Sidney's *Four Foster Children of Desire*, in which the gallery where the queen sat was besieged by a wooden "rowing trench" before the mock combat, and a thrilling nighttime joust following the banquet honoring Duke Montmorency's induction to the Order of the Garter.⁴⁴

As late as 1595, in Davison's *The Mask of Proteus and the Adamantine Rock*, chivalric themes still played an integral role in masque. After a grand arrival by barge, the Prince of Purpoole was welcomed by the lieutenant of the Tower of London and a retinue of one hundred horsemen, "all very bravely furnished."⁴⁵ From Tower Hill, the procession passed through Tower street, Cornhill and Cheapeside to St. Paul's, where a schoolboy made an elegant speech in Latin, and then up Fleet Street to Gray's Inn.⁴⁶ The masque brims with language of the Prince's chivalric valor and virtue and concludes when:

[...] the Prince and the seven Knights issued forth of the Rock, in a very stately Mask, very richly attired [...]. They come forth of the Rock in Couples, and before every Couple come two Pigmies with Torches. At their first coming on the Stage, they danced a new devised Measure &c. After which, they took unto them Ladies; and with them they danced their Galliards, Courants, &c. And they danced another new Measure; after the end whereof, the Pigmies brought eight Escutcheons, with the Maskers Devices thereupon, and delivered them to the Esquire, who offered them to Her Majesty.⁴⁷

Here, the masque itself is imagined as an important diplomatic occasion, complete with all the pomp and circumstance such a visit would require. Importantly, the military prowess of the foreign guest is the central facet of his honorable persona; though the Prince of Purpoole and his knights do not fight at barriers during the course of the performance, in the pattern of so many earlier Tudor masques, the speeches, costumes, and gifts of the knights-masquers highlight their chivalric character. Throughout the Tudor period, the military themes, costumes, and props, the ubiquitous presence of foreign ambassadors, and the quasi-military processions preceding masques belie the perceived insularity of their intended audience, the English court. Indeed, from its inception during the reign of Elizabeth's father, masque allegorized the martial prowess of its dancers, and therefore, the ability of the crown to protect and defend itself. While Richard McCoy considers the Tudor tournament as "a symbolic substitute for war,"⁴⁸ the Tudor masque, too, should read as a subtle expression of monarchical power to both the court and to the foreign diplomats who were guests of its queen.⁴⁹

Given the predominance of martial themes and images, court masques should perhaps be regarded as subtle tools of international diplomacy, not merely the (commonly-perceived) peculiar holiday custom of the English crown.⁵⁰ Yet, existing scholarship has focused on the squabbles of various ambassadors to emphasize the prestige of the masques, stopping short of considering these men's traditional role at court.⁵¹ In the seventeenth century, ambassadors were more than mere diplomats and foreign policy advisors. They were surrogates for the monarchs whom they represented, and protocol dictated that these men be treated as peers by

the kings and queens they visited.⁵² Contemporary letters illustrate that King James understood both the English customs of Christmastime entertainment and the status of his guests as he hosted various European ambassadors early in his reign. In a 1608[09] letter to Dudley Carleton, George Carew proclaims: “The [French] king is here very much contented, wth the great care that was had in England, to honour his Ambas^r. at the Queenes Maske.”⁵³ In a letter from the preceding year, Carleton himself describes the misfortunes of a Danish visitor attempting to see a masque:

many of our gallants to the number of 200 and upward amongst w^{ch} were Sr. Horacio Vere, Sr. John Hollis Sr Will Slingsby, Sr Will Cunstable, S^r wigmo[?] and more of that ranke pressing through the kings bedchamber for passage were there lockt vp by my L^d Chamberlain betwixt two dores. and amongst the rest a Danish Lord who had bin stayed here a long time purposely to see the Quenes maske and to carrie the report of it into his country was there in safe custody, and saw no more then yf he had bin in – Denmarke.⁵⁴

Though the Danish man is not specifically described as an ambassador, his intention to report on the glories of James’s court and the successes of James’s Danish-born queen appears to have been widely known. Indeed the entire court seems to have been unmistakably aware of the special status of the ambassadors from the very first Christmas season of James’s reign. In a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated December 18, 1603, Lady Arabella Stuart describes the preparations for the upcoming Christmas celebrations:

The Queene intendeth to make a mask this Christmas, to which end my La: of Suffolk and my Lady Walsingham have warrants to take of the late Queenes best apparel out of the Tower at theyr discretion. Certein Noblemen (whom I may not yet name to you because som~ of them have made me of theyr Cou~sell) intend another; certain Gentlemen of good sort, another. It is said theare shall be 30 playes. The King will feast all the Imbassadors this Christmas Sir John Hollis yesterday convoyed som~ new com~ Inbassador to Richmond; and it was said (but uncertainly) to be a Muscovian.⁵⁵

Though gossipy in nature, Lady Arabella’s letter reveals several critical facts: King James’s first court entertainment was considered important enough to appropriate Elizabeth’s most

valuable gowns from the Tower, the king took seriously his duty as Christmas host to the foreign ambassadors,⁵⁶ and, following their monarch's example, the courtiers also laid plans for impressive entertainments. The omnipresence of foreign ambassadors at both Tudor and Stuart royal entertainments indicates these shows were intended for non-English eyes, a fact of which anyone even remotely connected with the court was perfectly aware.

Even the poets who penned them seem to have recognized the international implications of court masque. Samuel Daniel's dedication of *The Vision of the 12 Goddesses*, the first Stuart masque and the masque to which Lady Arabella refers in her letter, cites as his second motivation for publishing⁵⁷ "that these ornaments and delights of peace are in their season, as fit to entertaine the worlde, and deserve to be made memorable as well as grauer actions, both of them co~ncurring to the decking & furnishing of glorie, and Maiestie, as the necessary complements requisit for State and Greatness" (12–16). The poet foregrounds both the historical and international context of the performance and asserts the propriety of enrolling his creation alongside all the accounts of battles, treatises, and court celebrations that comprise England's history books.⁵⁸ Daniel implicitly compares masques to wars, what he calls "graver actions"; both "deserve to be made memorable" and "[concur] to the decking and furnishing of glorie, and Maiestie." Daniel's observations, especially his claim that masques are only suitable in times of peace, are especially interesting given the prominent place of military iconography in Tudor entertainments.

The shift Daniel signals in his dedicatory epistle relates directly to the "invention" or theme of his masque. Although the military-inspired props of the Tudor entertainments are retained in *The Vision of the 12 Goddesses*—the queen and her ladies carry fans with *imprese*, "particular figures of their power," items related to the shields of earlier

entertainments⁵⁹—the masque nonetheless addresses the changed state of English foreign policy under the new king.⁶⁰ It presents classical goddesses, who abandon “the seats of barbarism and spoil” to “visit this fair Temple of Peace” of James’s “mighty Brittany, the land of civil music and of rest” (257–260). For James, a peaceful reign was the pre-eminent factor in defining a good king.⁶¹ In *Basilikon Doron*, his manual on kingship written to his elder son and heir-apparent, Henry, between 1598 and 1599, James contends that a good monarch “employeth all his study and pains to procure and maintain, by the making and execution of good laws, the welfare and peace of his people”; moreover “a good king, after a happy and famous reign, dieth in peace, lamented by his subjects and admired by his neighbours.”⁶² Though the king does acknowledge the importance of military preparedness,⁶³ James’s constant refrain is the importance of the law to maintain quiet and stability in a kingdom: before making war “let the justness of your cause be your greatest strength, and then omit not to use all lawful means for backing the same.”⁶⁴ Though predominantly overlooked in the modern conception of narcissistic absolute monarchies, early modern nation states were interconnected by a complex web of political and familial alliances;⁶⁵ James I was keenly aware of the crucial role of these alliances in ensuring stability within individual countries. Lacking an accepted non-Catholic, secular authority to resolve conflicts between nations, James turned to God and the Golden Rule—“to do as ye would be done to”—in advising his son.⁶⁶ War should be a last resort, not the immediate impulse of any monarch who, rightly or wrongly, feels threatened or slighted. Though explicitly acknowledging the need for countries to defend themselves, James nevertheless believed unequivocally that law, reason, and Christian charity could offer better resolution to conflicts between princes than any act of martial daring-do.

Despite the new king's inclinations to pacifism, early Stuart masque continued to employ the military images and displays of martial prowess so prevalent in Tudor entertainment.⁶⁷ Masque and barriers were, however, gradually diverging as two distinct forms. Ben Jonson's first masque, 1605's *The Masque of Blackness*,⁶⁸ retains obvious connections with military iconography, as Queen Anne and her eleven ladies again present fans⁶⁹ to commence their initial terminal dance:

Here the tritons sounded, and they danced on shore, every couple as they advanced severally presenting their fans, in one of which were inscribed their mixed names, in the other a mute hieroglyphic expressing their mixed qualities. (Which manner of symbol I rather chose than impute, as well for strangeness as relishing of antiquity, and more applying to that original doctrine of sculpture which the Egyptians are said first to have brought from the Ethiopians.) (244–250)

However, Jonson's *Hymenaei, or the Solemnities of Masque and Barriers at a Marriage*, of the following year, draws a firm distinction between the two types of courtly spectacle—masque and barriers—through the title, but, more importantly, by dividing the performances into two distinct events on two consecutive evenings. Masque and barriers are, however, inextricably linked, in subject and subtitle, and taken as a whole, the order of events—masque, debate, tournament—is startlingly close to that of *Riches and Love* from almost eighty years earlier. Over the course of that eighty years, the monarch has ceased to be the primary performer in either masque or barriers, but the implications of either spectacle remain consistent: England's monarch and nobility have the power and prowess to meet any challenge to her stability and security. Indeed, dancing and fighting—which to modern minds still seem absolutely incongruous despite the intricate choreography required for fight scenes from major Hollywood movies or dance numbers on Broadway—go comfortably hand-in-hand in *Hymenaei*, especially for the three men who took dual roles as masquers and champions during the performances.⁷⁰

Though the *impresa* shields disappear and masques and barriers become discreet events,⁷¹ the martial themes and images persevere in the early Stuart masques for several more years. Thomas Campion's *Lord Hay's Masque* from 1607 features nine Knights of Apollo, and the twelve warrior queens in Jonson's 1609 *The Masque of Queens* make their entrance driving in three "*triumphant chariots [...] their four torchbearers attending on the chariot sides, and four hags bound before them*" (673–676) in an image borrowed directly from the Roman histories. Jonson's 1611 *Oberon, the Fairy Prince*, written for Prince Henry's masque début, pulls out all the stops: thirteen masquer-knights, a triumphal chariot, and a martial setting—here an architectural hybrid, part high baroque church and part medieval fortress complete with battlements and turrets;⁷² even Henry's character, Oberon, who has come to pay homage to Arthur, James's alter-ego, are based on the warrior heroes, both fairy and human, of Britain's greatest mythologies. In the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn's *The Memorable Masque* of 1613, *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*⁷³ of the same year, and *The Somerset Masque* of 1614,⁷⁴ knights are given the central masquing roles; in *The Memorable Masque* and *The Somerset Masque*, the knights are introduced by a herald and four squires respectively, while the Olympian Knights of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn production are seated in "*two pavilions, open in the front of them; the pavilions were to sight as of cloth of gold, and they were trimmed on the inside with rich armour and military furniture hanged up as upon the walls, and behind the tents there were represented in perspective the tops of dicers other tents, as if it had been a camp*" (282–286). The Olympian Knights costumes, lavishly described, are a familiar combination of antique and modern vesture, with "*Arming doublets of carnation satin [...] gorgets of silver mail; long hose of the same with the doublets [...] garters and roses suitable [...] hats of the same stuff*

and embroidery, cut like a helmet before [...] silver swords” (301–311). The Indian Knights of *The Memorable Masque* wear feathers and embroidery “*imitating Indian work*” (21), but they also wear baldrics and carry cane darts (24, 38). With their chariots, battlefield settings, heralds, and prop weaponry, this series of early Jacobean masques reveals the traditional integration of the entertaining with the bellicose consisted well into James’s reign, despite both the divergence of masque and barriers and the king’s dovish tendencies.

Moreover, the Tudor tradition of integrating a significant show of force into what should have been a procession of actors, dancers, and musicians was retained in the Jacobean period as well. George Chapman’s *The Memorable Masque*—the second of three important masques commemorating the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine—required its Inns of Court masquers to travel to Whitehall for the performance. In a letter to Dudley Carleton three days after the event, John Chamberlain describes the torch-lit spectacle of February 15, 1613:

On Monday night was the Middle Temple and Lincolns Ynne maske presented in the hall at court, wheras the Lords was in the bancketting roome. Yt went from the Rolles all up Fleet-street and the Strand, and made such a gallant and glorious shew that yt is highly commended. They had forty gentlemen of best choise out of both houses rode before them in theyre best array, upon the Kinges horses: and the twelve maskers with theyre torch-bearers and pages rode likewise upon horses exceedingly well trapped and furnished: besides a dousen litle boyes, dresst like babones that served for an antimask, (and they say performed yt exceedingly well when they came to yt), and three open chariots drawne with foure horses a peece that caried theyre musicians, and other personages that had parts to speake: all which together with theyre trumpetters and other attendants were so well set out, that yt is generally held for the best shew that hath ben seen many a day.⁷⁵

Chapman’s description, included with the text of the masque, varies slightly from Chamberlain’s: “Fifty gentlemen, richly attired and as gallantly mounted, with footmen particularly attending, made the noble vanguard of these nuptial forces” (1–3). Chapman notes that the antimasque baboons rode “asses and dwarf palfreys” (5–6) and were each

accompanied with two torchbearers; twelve musicians followed in two cars, joined by “two ranks of torches” (18). Following the musicians

rode the chief masquers in Indian habits all of a resemblance: the ground-cloth of silver richly embroidered with golden suns, and about every sun ran a trail of gold imitating Indian work [...].

Their horse, for rich show, equaled the masquers themselves, all their caparisons being enchased with suns of gold and ornaments of jewels; [...].

Every one of these horse had two Moors, attired like Indian slaves, that for state sided them. (19–49)

Finally the chariot carrying Capriccio, Honour, and Plutus was “strongly attended with a full guard of two hundred halberdiers; two marshals (being choice gentlemen of either House) commander-like attired, to and fro coursing to keep all in their orders” (90–93).

Many elements of the procession for *The Memorable Masque* remain consistent with the one from sixty years before: the mounted riders, the dancers, the antic-characters, the musicians carried in chariots allowing them to perform during the journey, and the soldiers. Likewise, both writers highlight the cost of the event by emphasizing the choice of the king’s best horses, the quality of their furniture, and the richness and elaborateness of the performers’ costumes. Unlike Machyn, however, both Chamberlain and Chapman are fairly specific about the number of men, horses, and chariots involved in the spectacle; favoring the probable accuracy of Chapman’s fifty horsemen, but combining the figures for performers, torchbearers, and attendants from both accounts yields close to four hundred men and eighty-eight horses and palfries involved in this procession. The mounted gallants who led off, almost certainly riding in an organized formation through Fleet Street and The Strand, would have been an impressive spectacle in and of themselves, a stately, living testament to the potency of England’s youth and horseflesh, even if they had not been trailed by trumpeters,

chariots, and two hundred soldiers bearing ceremonial axes. To the uninitiated, this “entertainment” would no doubt be difficult to distinguish from a military triumph.⁷⁶

From this brief review, it becomes clear that for more than ten years after James’s succession, court masques retain the iconography, characters, martial themes, even quasi-military processions of the Tudor entertainments that preceded them.⁷⁷ Indeed the knights and warrior queens of these early masques are essentially no different from the knights of the Gray’s Inn entertainment of the 1590s. They are literary cousins to Ariosto’s Orlando, Sidney’s Pyrocles, and Spenser’s Britomart, though without the obvious moral complexities explored by the epics’ authors.⁷⁸ Moreover the continued presence of knights as the central figures in these early Stuart masques implies a continued acknowledgement that dancing and martial skills are interconnected; both dancing and swordplay become accepted vehicles for demonstrating the prowess of the England’s youth to the king, to the court, and to any international visitors that might also witness the performance.

However, by 1610, the year of two important entertainments in honor of Prince Henry, the chivalric ideals represented by court entertainments, which until this point had been dominated by the wishes of his wife, were no longer concordant with James’s nascent pacifism. Worse, his son and heir-apparent was patterning himself more and more on the chivalric ideal of Elizabethan soldier-heroes like Sir Philip Sidney.⁷⁹ *Prince Henry’s Barriers*, written by Ben Jonson for the Twelfth Night celebration that year, opens, like so many previous barriers, with speeches, here from Merlin, Arthur, and the Lady of the Lake. Arthur hopes the “magic of his arm” will “restore / these ruined seats of virtue, and build more” (85–86), bringing Britain back to the pinnacle of glory that was Camelot. The Lady of the Lake effuses:

Does he not sit like Mars, or one that had
The better of him, in his armour clad?
And those his six assistants, as the pride
Of the old Grecian heroes had not died?
Or like Apollo, raised to the world's view
The minute after he the python slew. (139–144)

The mythological characters' dialogue seems, therefore, to coincide neatly with the images and political agenda of the other early masques. National pride and military prowess are emblemized in the characters and asserted and reinforced through their speeches. Through direct comparison with British, Greek, and Roman figures, Prince Henry and his retinue are constructed as the epitome of the warrior ideal. However, Ben Jonson's *Merlin* also issues a warning to the young prince:

[...] let his actions speak him, and this shield
Let down from heaven, that to his youth will yield
Such copy of incitement: not the deeds
Of antique knights, to catch their fellows' steeds,
Or ladies' palfries rescue from the force
Of a fell giant, or some score to unhorse.
These were bold stories of our Arthur's age;
But here are other acts; another stage
And scene appears; it is not since then:
No giants, dwarfs or monsters here, but men.
His arts must be to govern and give laws
To peace no less than arms. (159–170)

The poet systematically rejects the usual chivalric subject matter—errant knights, damsels in distress, giants, even King Arthur himself—while at the same time retaining the primary symbols of that chivalric code—the shield and arms of knighthood.⁸⁰ Henry is advised to put away the make-believe of books and focus instead on real men and the real concerns of governing; and the first and foremost concern of government, according to *Merlin*, is peace. While indulging his son's preferences for chivalric self-fashioning, the king, through the character of *Merlin*, is clearly re-asserting the lessons of the *Basilikon Doron*. Soldierly arts

are critical for self-defense, yet these skills must be kept in careful proportion to the other priorities of governance, not over-emphasized or idealized. The monarch's first priority should be to insure stability, and the most stable and happy kingdoms are those at peace, not war. Essentially, in the course of the speech, the greatest monarchs of British history are used to instruct the prince that "arms defensive a safe peace maintain" (208).

Critically, a contemporary description of the barriers verifies that Merlin's message was clearly enunciated to the foreign ambassadors, who were second only to the king and queen in status at the event:

The sixt of January at the pallace of white-hall in the presence of the Kinge and Queene, and the Ambassadors of Spayne, and Venice, and of al the peeres and great Ladies of the land with a multitude of others: in the great banqueting-house all these were assembled, at the upper end wherof was the kings Chaire of State, and on the right hand thereof, was a sumptuous pavilion, for the prince and his associats, from whence with great bravery and ingenious devices, they descended into the middell of the Roome, and there the Prince performed his first feat of armes ... being assisted onlie with six others ... Against these Gallant Challengers came six and fiftie brave defendants, consisting of Earles, Barons, Knights, and Esquires [...]. Every Challenger fought with eight several defendants two several other combats at two several weapons, viz. at push of pike, and with single sword, the Prince performed this challenge with wonderous skill, and courage, to the great joy and admiration of all the beholders.⁸¹

Merlin's opening speech brilliantly excuses the show of arms that is about to occur as an exercise of defensive arts, while at the same time enunciates, for the first time in the context of court entertainment, a major theme of James's foreign policy. The evening, while both instructing and honoring the Prince of Wales, also conveys a nuanced message to his father's political adversaries, the King of Spain and the Catholic factions of Italy: though England chooses peace, do not mistake that peace for weakness.

Tethys' Festival, performed in June of the same year for Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales, offers a subtly different message. The last masque danced by Queen Anne, it was

penned by the same man who so delicately balanced the relationship of peace and war in her first masque, Samuel Daniel. As in those early Jacobean performances, the monarch is presented with gifts from the performers. Here, Triton gives “*a trident to the King and a rich sword and scarf to the Prince of Wales*” (90–91) on behalf of Tethys. While the trident symbolizes England’s power and “right” (135) at sea, the Prince’s gift comes with a tacit acknowledgement of the purpose of weaponry: the sword is “not to be unsheathed but on just ground” (140). Gone from Triton’s speech is the overt reference to peace so prominent six months earlier; yet the reminder of the appropriate use of the sword remains. Read back to back, the two major court entertainments of 1610 hint at the ideological struggles between father and son, husband and wife concerning England’s relationship to the broader, political-religious conflicts flaring up across Europe in the early seventeenth century. That court masque could be seen an appropriate venue for considerations of foreign policy is linked with its traditional association with displays of military prowess, coding and reinforcing the king’s power for the court as well as the ambassadors, surrogate-kings from the lands of both enemies and allies. Moreover, that dancing and swordplay continued to be intrinsically and un-problematically linked in the minds of many in the early modern period is revealed through the comments of one observer to this particular masque. As “*the antemasque or first show*” (51),⁸² John Finet recorded that the “little Duke of Yorke” danced with “*twelve little Ladies*, all of them the Daughters of Earls or Barons;” “These light Skirmishers having done their *devoir*, in came the princesses.”⁸³ Finet’s word choice is telling; instead of describing the youngsters as “dancers” or “performers,” he selected a word with inherent connotations of battle and warfare.⁸⁴ In the conception of early seventeenth-century audiences, masque remained inextricable from its earlier martial context.

The prevalence of military images in court masque reaches a zenith in the entertainments associated with the soldierly Prince Henry, but these images are quickly discarded after the heir-apparent's premature death in November of 1612.⁸⁵ The martial-inspired wedding masques for the nuptials of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine—a wedding that tightened Protestant alliances in Europe and put increased pressure on England to defend the German nation-states from Catholic-Hapsburg domination—occurred mere months after the Prince's death; following those events, the extant masques staged at court demonstrate the increasingly assertive pacifist ideology embraced by King James. As early as 1607, the king's pacificism was so widely known at court as to be commonplace; in a letter to in a report to his government about England, Nicolo Molin, the Venetian ambassador observed that the king “has no inclination for war, nay is opposed to it.”⁸⁶ Therefore, the masques prepared especially for King James begin to discard the knights and military settings so prevalent in the first decade of Stuart masque. In *The Golden Age Restored* from 1615, the masquers are “semigods” sent away to protect them from the corruptions of the Iron Age;⁸⁷ the following year, in *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court*, they are Nature's sons.⁸⁸ For *The Vision of Delight* from 1617, the masquers represent “*the glories of spring*” (164), in 1618's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue/ For the Honour of Wales*, they are princes (195), and in 1620's *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*, they are a race of men dwelling in Platonic rapture in the moon (293–306).

This pattern essentially begins a year after Henry's death. In *The Irish Masque at Court*,⁸⁹ performed on December 29 of 1613 and then again six days later, a quartet of barely

intelligible, rustic Irishmen insist “Tou hasht very good shubshechts in Ireland [...] Tat love ty mayesty heartily” (91–93). Following their dance “*to the bagpipe and other rude music*,” the “*gentlemen*” masquers are invited in to honor (121–125):

[...] that James of which long since thou sung'st
Should end our country's most unnatural broils;
And if her ear, then deafened with the drum,
Would stoop but to the music of his peace,
She need not with the spheres change harmony. (140–144)

Despite differences in speech patterns—the king, too, does not speak with an English tongue—the conflict in Ireland is “unnatural,” essentially a civil war in which countryman slaughters countryman. Yet, the idealized vision of this masque imagines stability throughout the British Isles, effected not by knights and warfare, but instead by music and dancing and a willing submission to those gentler arts. Though it has been several years since they were practiced on the same night as they were throughout the previous century, seventeenth-century writers continue to associate martial skills with dancing; however, *The Irish Masque* subtly re-aligns their relationship. Instead of complementing the martial skills of the soldier or knight, here music and dancing substitute for them. In other word, dancing can replace soldiering as a way to insure peace. Although the scope of this masque's vision of peace is no broader than the Irish Sea—it imagines nothing grander than stability within territorial Britain—it anticipates a recurring theme of Jacobean masque in response to broader European conflicts about to erupt.

Civitatis Amor, the November 1616 “*Entertainment by Water at Chelsey and White-hall*” for the creation of Charles as Prince of Wales, similarly posits the concept of peace on a limited, local scale.⁹⁰ The “entertainment” opens with a personified London, “*sitting upon a Sea-Vnicorne*” and surrounded by Neptune, six tritons, “*and the two Riuers Thames and*

Dee” (5–8). London asks Neptune to quiet his tritons, who have come along with the god to witness and honor the ceremonies about to commence and are expressing their joy with fanfares. She then addresses the young prince, the “*Treasure of hope, and Iewell of mankind, / Richer, no Kingdomes peace did euer see*” (39–40), commending the promise of his intellect, virtue, and “*goodness*” (47). London predicts the country will be blessed by her future king, especially because his father has already procured the countless benefits of stability and security:

*But chiefly I, the Citie, that has known
More of this good then any, and more choise:
What a Faire Glorious Peace for many yeares,
Has sung her sweete calmes to the hearts of men?
Enricht our homes, extinguish’t forraine feares,
And at this hour beginnes her Hymnes agen. (57–62)*

The Tritons are urged to resume their triumphal fanfares, and the procession/entertainment proceeds to Whitehall. There “the Figures of two sacred Deities, *Hope* and *Peace* thus speaks” (74–75). In her song, Hope abandons “*disconsolate Feare*” and “*fasten[s] all my ioyes agen*” in “*This, Honours Hauen*” (86, 94–95), while Peace, whose spirit is already present in the kingdom, merely welcomes the prince: “*Welcome, oh welcome Spring of Ioy & Peace, / Borne to be honour’d, and to giue encrease / To those that waite upon thy Graces*” (102–104). Though the piece is remarkably brief and no dancing is possible on the banks of the Thames, its use of allegory, music, and direct-address is consistent with the more formal affairs in the Banqueting House. The contracted form, with no antimasque and no dancing to distract from the central theme, allows that theme to dominate the speeches. As opposed to the gentle warning imbedded in Merlin’s long speech during *Prince Henry’s Barriers*, London now highlights the success of James’s policies in ensuring the wellbeing of the kingdom. Advice has been transformed to example. London’s speech is almost an iambic

incarnation of the king's definition of a good king from *Basilikon Doron*; because of peace, domestic and foreign anxiety have dissolved, and there is bounty in the land.

The theme of the bounty of peace is repeated in 1617's *The Vision of Delight*.⁹¹ In the transformation scene, an antimasque dance of phantasms is dispelled by the arrival of Peace in the bower of Zephyrus. Peace promises "The many pleasures that I bring / Are all of youth, of heat, of life and spring" (126–127), and the masquers are revealed dressed as the "*glories of the spring*" (165). Fant'sy, who had previously presided over the Rabelaisian monsters of the antimasque, but now marvels at the vernal Eden before him, is forced to exclaim:

Behold a king
Whose presence maketh this perpetual spring,
The glories of which spring grow in that bower,
And are the marks and beauties of his power. (193–196)

Peace, acting through the power of the king, brings mildness, vitality, and beauty to the realm. "All things in a moment turn so mild," the "seas are now more even than the land," and "the shining meads / Do boast the paunce, the lily, and the rose" (168–178). Although Peace has a very small speaking (or singing) role, but eight lines, the effects of peace resonate for the remainder of the masque.

The domestic, insular focus of Jacobean masques following the death of Prince Henry and marriage of Princess Elizabeth was thrown into crisis in 1618 with the onset of the Thirty Years' War, a conflict that intertwined religious ideology, political controversy, and national pride in England. The king's reluctance to assist his daughter and son-in-law against the Catholic Hapsburgs, especially following the couple's exile from Bohemia in 1620, was deeply controversial and shameful for most of his countrymen.⁹² Yet James's masques adamantly insist on the course of peace, effectively epitomizing the sublimation of violence

and promise of national security first imagined in the court entertainments of Henry VIII. Peace creates beauty, both artistic and spiritual; peace undergirds a just society and makes her disciples the envy of neighboring peoples, beset as they are with war and hatred. In practical terms, because the masques represent a significant commitment of both crown finances and manpower, such lavish entertainments are not possible when both men and money are expended for war. While Samuel Daniel posited the relationship of war and court entertainment in an idealized, historical context, these masques present war and masquing as complete antitheses in reality. Simply put, the late Jacobean masques assert that the “golden world” established in the masque proper is merely an aesthetic representation of the bounty created by the *Rex Pacificus*. Such an understanding is a significant departure from the philosophical impetus traditionally ascribed to court masque. As masque is generally understood, a perfect world is first established by the idealized masquers within the walls of the Whitehall Banqueting House and is then transferred to the court through the revels and from them, symbolically, to the kingdom as a whole. In these late Jacobean masques, however, the pacifist policies of the king have already established an earthly paradise, and the masque simply becomes a celebration of the wisdom of the king and the fortune of the kingdom.

Therefore in both masques from 1620, *News from New World Discovered in the Moon* and *Pan's Anniversary, or the Shepherds' Holiday*, James is imagined as the bringer of a peaceful, idealized civilization, admired at home and abroad. In *News from the New World*, the Christmas masque, Prince Charles and the masquers become a race of moon-dwelling contemplatives, “rapt above the moon far in speculation of your virtues” (299). The masquers “have now conceived the more haste and hope in this their return home to approach

your goodness” (304–306), but, frozen by their space travel, are only able to cast off their icicles and dance because “all their motions be formed to the music of your peace and have their ends in your favour” (308–309). The masque is a ritualized tribute—meant to please the king—and a celebration—only possible in the first place because “peace” brings forth “music.” In other words, without peace, there is no space for music and dancing, for masquing. Moreover, although the masque operates firmly within a loose Neo-Platonic framework, with James providing the center of heat and light to which Charles, the “Truth” (307), leads the others, it also locates James’s power, unequivocally, in the “peace” that allows for music and dancing, the peace that builds perfect kingdoms. In the (science)-fiction of this masque, the realm of the *Rex Pacificus* is so renowned as to attract even the admiration of extra-terrestrials.

In *Pan’s Anniversary*, performed in celebration of James’s birthday the summer of the same year, the dual concepts of the power of peace to build idealized nations and the admiration those lands attract from abroad are both revived. The masque pits a braggart fencer against a shepherd attempting to honor Pan with “anniversary rites fitted to the music of his peace” (61). In contrast to “great Pan the father of our peace and pleasure” (233), the fencer describes himself as “a son of the sword, a servant of Mars” (46–47). The fencer provides an antimasque, of “mad merry Greeks” (76), “boys of Boeotia” (52)—a company of mechanicals fit to rival Shakespeare’s unfortunate thespians—“who are come to challenge the Arcadians at their own sports” (52–53). Again, the masque imagines a pre-existing golden world, aptly named Arcadia, attracting the notice of more martial nations abroad. Not surprisingly, the Boeotian crew utterly fails in their attempt to out-sing-and-dance the Arcadians and is contemptuously dismissed by the old shepherd before the masque proper

begins. In the masque, Pan's capacity to teach music, lead dances, and, more importantly, "[keep] our flocks and us, and both lead forth / To better pastures than great Pales can" (168–170) are celebrated. In the second "Hymn" of the masque, after the masquers entry dance, Pan's Arcadian paradise is described in detail:

Pan is our all, by him we breathe, we live,
We move, we are; 'tis he our lambs doth rear,
Our flocks doth bless, and from the store doth give
The warm and finer fleeces that we wear.
He keeps away all heats and colds,
Drives all diseases from our folds,
Makes everywhere the spring to dwell. (175–181)

As the laudatory ending of the masque makes clear, the pleasures Pan brings through peace surpass the mere aesthetic joys of masquing or even the physical comforts possible through domestic stability and fruitfulness. Instead, the effects of peace in the realm are so all-encompassing that the very air responds; Arcadia is a land of constant mildness, free of pestilence and blessed by eternal springtime. Though the language is impossibly idealized, the masque describes a pre-existing golden world and celebrates the benevolent leader who brought it to perfection. Finally, the extremely unusual return of the antimasquers after the revels dances reinforces the contrast between the "peace and pleasure" (233) of Arcadia and the "stupidity" (228) of the Boeotians who follow Mars and, consequently, will never participate in the glories of Arcadia.

In *The Masque of Augurs* of 1622, the contrast between a tranquil England and her tumultuous neighbors is again presented, in this case stripped of the doppelganger identities of allegory.⁹³ At the beginning of the masque proper, James is "King of the ocean and the happy isles / That whilst the world about him is at odds, / Sits crownèd lord here of himself, and smiles" (306–308). This allusion to the Thirty Years War is transparent; in contrast to

the rest of Europe, England enjoys physical peace, her king emotional peace. James is dubbed, blasphemously if not for divine right theory, “Prince of thy peace” (312), implying that he, like the first Prince of Peace, is in fact an instrument of God’s will on the earth. By insisting that the king’s policies are divinely ordained, the masque justifies his refusal to become involved in the war, despite the role his own daughter and son-in-law occupy in the conflict; divine allegiances trump familial allegiances, after all. In an amalgamation of classical and Christian symbols, the Delphic prophets foretell a continuation of peace and prosperity for Britain:

Linus The bird that brings
Her augury alone to kings,
The dove, hath flown.
Orpheus And to thy peace
Adds fortunes, and the fates increase.
Branchus Minerva’s hernshaw and her owl
Do both proclaim thou shalt control
the course of things —
Idmon As now they be
With tumult carried —
Apollo And live free
From hatred, faction, or the fear
To blast the olive thou dost wear. (355–367)

The augurs, moved by divine inspiration, not only assert that James’s pacifist policies are blessed from above, but they also prophesy that these policies will actually replace the current “tumult” in the rest of the world. In this masque, the establishment of an English “golden world,” accessible to foreigners only by reputation, is not enough; instead, the earthly paradise of James’s reign offers hope to those who still live with the pain, fear, and death of war:

Thy neighbors at thy fortune long have gazed,
But at thy wisdom all do stand amazed,
And wish to be
O’ercome, or governèd by thee! (381–384)

In contrast to the actual war, and the bloody power struggle it represents, raging through the rest of Europe, the masque projects the spread of James's reign through willing subjugation and peaceable coup. The imagined self-subjugation of the Irish from eight years earlier is now extended throughout Europe; the English king's policies accomplish the same ends as war—a change of leadership within a nation—but through entirely peaceful means. The implications of this masque are the boldest statement yet of the king's foreign policy, and by extension military, aspirations for his country.

By the next year's *Time Vindicated to Himself and His Honours*, the masquers are presented as the perfect warriors to spread James's policy of pan-European peace.⁹⁴ In marked contrast to the overtly martial figures of the early Stuart masques, these young men are lovers first and always, lead by Prince Charles in a fledgling exploration of the "Cult of Love" that would so mark his reign as king.⁹⁵ The "wars" the masquers undertake are ones to increase love—*caritas*, not merely *amour*—in the world. The call to select dance partners for the revels is a call to battle, essentially a "war between the sexes":

Cupid: Arm, arm then all.

Sport: Young bloods, come on
And charge: let every man take one.

Cupid: And try his fate.

Sport: These are fair wars,
And will be carried without scars. (407–412)

During the dancing the "soldiers" are chastely warned to "temper your desires / For kisses, that ye suck not fires" (417–418), but the real lesson of the masque is about to come from Diana, the virgin huntress. The goddess "called these youths forth [...] / To make them fitter so to serve the Time / By labour, riding, and those arts / That first enabled men unto the wars," (453–457). Like "Perseus, Castor, Pollux and the rest; / Who were hunters first, of the

man the best” (459–460), these young men will be the leaders and greatest warriors of their age. However, the closing lines of the masque specify precisely how these hunter/warriors should use their manly skills of war:

Turn hunters then
Again,
But not of men.
Follow his ample
And just example
That hates all chase of malice and of blood,
And studies only ways of good
To keep soft Peace in breath.
Man should not hunt mankind to death,
But strike the enemies of man;
Kill vices if you can. (478–488)

The masque converts the manly arts of riding, expertise in weaponry, and perseverance in hostile weather conditions, skills needed by both the hunter and the soldier, into the instruments of peace, the tools to instill virtue and raise men in dignity. With the return of martial figures to the crucial role of masquers, 1623’s *Time Vindicated* successfully completes the transformation of the genre from one traditionally coupled with martial themes and images as signifiers of the monarch’s power to one so intrinsically grounded on the assumption of regal power that alternative themes may easily be incorporated without compromising the initial implications of the genre. This and other late Jacobean masques’ seemingly paradoxical assertions that peace is accomplished by the same physical means as war, without the morally repugnant bloodshed, furthers the exploration of the relationship between masquing and violence that marks the inception of the genre a century before. Moreover, the continued and critical presence of the international ambassadors and the increasing splendor of the pre-masque “triumphs” for performances sponsored outside of the

court highlight that court masques remain an important tool of foreign policy for the first Stuart king.

An anonymous manuscript from the British Library, Royal 18 A LXX,⁹⁶ demonstrates that James's precedent of using court entertainment to announce and enforce English foreign policy was understood and emulated by those outside the court. The manuscript, entitled *The Theater of Apollo*, is addressed to the newly crowned King Charles, but explains that it was "before prepared to be offered to the sacred Maiesty of our deceased Souereigne King IAMES" (1r). References to the betrothal of Charles and Henrietta Maria date its original conception to the winter of 1624–25.⁹⁷ Both the nature of the text as a presentation copy and the unusual structure of the masque itself indicate that its unknown author was not an intimate of the court and understood only vaguely the working details of traditional courtly masques.⁹⁸ However, the text is an unmistakable piece of political propaganda, its writer deeply concerned with the religious turmoil on the continent. Prince Charles is addressed as "famous Protector of the Nation Laureat" (4r), yet the writer seems enthusiastic about the "Nimphe, that coms from farre" and "that guide / That shall. make her Charles his Bride" (5r). A contemporary marginal note identifies the guide as the Duke of Buckingham, but the French princess' Catholic faith is held against neither her nor the duke. The seemingly ready acceptance of Henrietta Maria is all the more interesting when compared to the uncompromising support of the exiled Queen of Bohemia and her children. The poet imagines Elizabeth will ride in a chariot drawn by Peace, while the rainbow, also a Biblical symbol of peace, "conspires w'h Fate, / To build thy Fortune a triumphant Gate" (6r). The choir prophesies that Elizabeth's children, "the most Roiall Progenye, [...] the / glorious expectations of Europe, and / shyning hopes of the Vniuersall Worlde" (6r–7r), "Must be

framed into Kings; [...] their births soe blest by starres, / Doe fore-tell triumphant warrs”
(7r).

On the surface, the endorsements of the French princess and the Bohemian queen seem irreconcilable; usually those who advocated English assistance for Frederick and Elizabeth against the Hapsburgs were incredibly distrustful of the prince’s alliance with a Catholic.⁹⁹ But the implications of the text—one royal heir aligns with a Protestant and the other with a Catholic—are precisely in keeping with the king’s own long-term foreign policy goals to ensure English neutrality and prevent a disastrous war with Spain.¹⁰⁰ However, the line of text advocating war on behalf of the Bohemian exiles—the children’s births “fore-tell triumphant warrs”—not only (wrongly) imagines a successful Protestant campaign during the Thirty Years War, but also ventures into territory anathema to the king.¹⁰¹ In short, the complex foreign policy implications of *The Theater of Apollo* compliment, without fully embracing, the royal position.¹⁰² The text appears to be in conversation with the Jonsonian productions at court; both imagine a settled and peaceful Europe, though by way of varying means. Additionally, the author has taken a controversial position, referencing elements uncomfortable to both the king and the general public, without the veil of allegory so common to masque of the period, yet he sacrifices neither spectacular effect—the lights and falling water of Aganippe over the colored rocks concluding the masque—nor the focalized royal complement expected of masque. Clearly the unknown writer of *The Theater of Apollo* understood court entertainment to be a reasonable and acceptable place to broach matters of national and international import. He could only do so if masque was widely understood, by not only the king and court, but also by a wider public who was not privileged to attend the

annual festivities, to be a serious form capable of containing and expressing multiple significances.

Given late Jacobean masques' tendencies to depict England as a paradise, with a perfect climate, a happy populace, and as a refuge for the arts, the final vision of *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion/ The Fortunate Isles, and Their Union*'s shared main masque¹⁰³ is hardly surprising:

And may thy subjects' hearts be all one flame,
Whilst thou dost keep the earth in firm estate,
And 'mongst the winds dost suffer no debate
But both at sea and land our powers increase,
With health and all the golden gifts of peace. (421–425 / 503–507)

The Fortunate Isles had originally been scheduled for a Twelfth Night performance, but was delayed for three nights because of the king's poor health.¹⁰⁴ In less than three months, the king would be dead, and Charles, who had performed in eight masques¹⁰⁵ while still a prince, would wait five years to reintroduce the genre to the Christmas season at court. When masques did return, they seemed to be quite different structurally,¹⁰⁶ but they also negotiated a complex balance of masquing elements borrowed from the past. On the one hand, Caroline masques revived the martial themes and images of sixteenth and very early seventeenth century masques. A simple survey of the titles of masques at court highlights the change; of the eleven extant masques from this period, five contain the word "triumph" in the title.¹⁰⁷ Of the remaining six, five were danced by Henrietta Maria—including the double masque of *Salmacida Spolia* also danced by the king. Only *Coelum Britannicum* was danced by the king and did not make titular reference to "triumph." By the exclusion of women as central

figures from “triumphs,” these Caroline masques hint at the resurgence of a (specifically male) martial ideal embraced by Charles’ court.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the masques retain the concept of the main masque as an Arcadia, a golden world brought about by the king. Interestingly, the Caroline masques do so without the explicit pacifist ideology on which the Jacobean masques hinged their claims of paradise; instead, the golden world arises purely through the influence and virtues of the king.¹⁰⁹

In Charles’ “triumph” masques, the martial iconography featured in Tudor and early Stuart masques reappears so consistently it almost seems as if the intervening twenty years never existed. Ben Jonson’s characteristically thin “stage directions” reveal nothing of the set or costuming for the fifteen “*lovers*” who dance the main masque of his 1631 *Love’s Triumph through Callipolis*, but amongst “*the witty*,” “*the elegant*,” and “*the judicious*,” King Charles took the role of “*the heroical*” lover for himself (101–111). The following year, in Aurelian Townshend’s *Albion’s Triumph*, the king becomes “Albanactus Caesar” (175), “*his habit, like a Roman emperor, in a cuirass of yellow satin embroidered with silver [...] with an artificial wreath of laurel, out of which sprang rays like a piked crown*” (264–270). Charles’ lords are “*fourteen consuls*” similarly appareled in Roman costume “*excepting the rays of gold issuing from his laurel wreath*” (262, 270–272). *Coelum Britannicum*, written by Thomas Carew for Shrovetide in 1643, is particularly focused on British history and mythology and, therefore, centers on the “mighty British Hercules, / With thy choice band” (947–948). The masquers are “*richly attired like ancient heroes; [...] their antique helms curiously wrought, and great plumes on the top*” (951–953). William Davenant is explicit in describing the eclectic historical influences for masquing costumes for his 1636 *The Triumphs of the Prince D’Amour*:

[S]trait the masquers appear as coming out of several tents, their habits being martial and richly embroider'd, inclining near the old Roman shape; their helmets triumphantly plum'd, whiles the beaver falling o'er the face serv'd for a disguise, and supply'd to each the office of a vizard. These by their appearance and demeanour were devised to intimate those heroique Knights Templars, to which the Palace of the Prince d'Amour was anciently dedicated.¹¹⁰

This odd juxtaposition of the Roman with the native medieval ideal even appears in the anonymous private masque, *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond*. In it, the Prince of Wales is transformed into “*Prince BRITOMART*,” who is accompanied by “*five Knights Adventurers [...] sitting on an arch Triumphant [...] They were all attired alike in Warlike habit, after the Roman fashion.*”¹¹¹ Curiously, this masque resurrects the use of allegorical impresa shields, which were ceremonially presented to the Queen near the end of the performance.

While the knightly characters and costumes of the Jacobean period borrowed from a diverse range of influences, British mythology, classical mythology, even contemporary accounts of Indian warriors, the Caroline masquers are primarily represented as Roman; even the British heroes of *Coelum Britannicum* and the pseudo-medieval “*Knights Adventurers*” of *The King and Queenes Entertainment* are described with Roman equipage.¹¹² The Roman influence is also echoed in the prevalent use of “triumph” in the titles of the Caroline lords’ masques as well. James I, the *Rex Pacificus*, admired Rome’s greatest military leader in his advice to his son in the *Basilikon Doron*: “I must not omit most specially to recommend unto you the *Commentaries* of Cæsar, both for the sweet flowing of the style as also for the worthinesse of the matter itself. For I have ever been of that opinion that of all the ethnic emperors, or great captains that ever were, he hath farthest excelled both in his practice and in his precepts in martial affaires.”¹¹³ Charles seems to have taken this observation to heart, representing himself to the court and to the wider diplomatic community as a second Caesar.

Ironically, although both Albanactus Caesar and Britomartis are momentarily shown triumphing in the background of the masque sets, the most memorable of the Caroline triumphs was not one depicted on stage. Instead, it was the largest quasi-military procession of the period, when members of all four Inns of Court combined talent and resources for James Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace*, given by on February 3, 1634.¹¹⁴ In addition to the valuable and extensive description penned by Bulstrode Whitelocke in his memoirs, five other contemporary references or descriptions of the procession exist.¹¹⁵ Sir Henry Herbert observed that "their shew through the streets was glorious, and in the nature of a triumph," while the Venetian Ambassador described it as "a numerous, stately and glittering cavalcade" that "by their dresses, liveries and devices, attracted a great crowd, exciting the curiosity and applause of all the people." While both of these men draw explicit connections between the masque procession and a military display—it is a "triumph" and a "cavalcade"—Whitelocke's account indicates precisely why. Making their way "down *Chancery-Lane* to *Whitehall*" were "twenty Footmen, in Scarlet Liveries with Silver-lace, each one having his Sword by his side, a Baton in his hand, and a Torch lighted in the other hand" who "cleared the Streets, made way, and were all about the Marshal, waiting his Commands." Mr. Darrel, the Marshall and a man of Lincoln's Inn, "was mounted upon one of the *King's* best Horses, and richest Saddles, and his own Habit was exceeding rich and glorious; his Horsemanship very gallant; and besides his Marshals-men, he had two Lacquies, who carried Torches by him, and a Page in Livery that went by him, carrying his Cloak." Following these men were "about a dozen of the best Trumpeters" who introduced:

[...] one hundred Gentlemen on the *Inns of Court*, five and twenty chosen out of each house; of the most proper and handsom young Gentlemen of the Societies, every one of them was gallantly mounted on the best Horses, and with the best Furniture

that the *King's* Stable, and the Stables of all the Noblemen in the Town would afford, and they were forward on this occasion to lend them to the *Inns of Court*.

Every one of these hundred Gentlemen were in very rich Clothes, scarce anything but Gold and Silver-lace to be seen of them; and each Gentleman had a Page and two Lacquies waiting on him in his Livery by his Horse-side: The Lacquies carried Torches, and the Page his Master's Cloak. The richness of their Apparel and Furniture glittering by the light of a multitude of torches attending on them, with the motion and stirring of their mettled Horses, and the many and various gay Liveries of their Servants; but especially the personal beauty and gallantry of the handsom young Gentlemen, made the most glorious and splendid shew that ever was beheld in *England*.¹¹⁶

The first performer has not yet been seen, but already 436 men, 101 horses, and 222 torches have awed and dazzled the crowds lining the streets to Whitehall. In the procession, the sixteen Inns of Court masquers rode in four grand chariots, each attended by a coachman, four footmen, and several torchbearers. Two other chariots, containing musicians and actors, similarly attended by drivers, footmen, and torches, were augmented by several groups of mounted musicians. The antimasquers, riding appropriate nags and introduced by suitably humble or rustic musicians, composed the middle of the procession. Whitelocke does not indicate the precise numbers of musicians, torchbearers, or mounts for the antimasquers or musicians, so a rough headcount is all that is possible. Nevertheless, somewhere between 550 and 600 men—including masquers, musicians, riders, pages, torchbearers, and other attendants—175 horses, and six chariots were needed for this grand procession. Shirley's prefatory material, printed with the masque text, contributes still further to the impressiveness of the display; the horsemen rode "two and two abreast" (100), while the masquers' cars "were drawn with four horses a-front, after the magnificent Roman triumphs" (136–137).

More so than any previous event, this procession signifies the explicit union of courtly entertainment with military prowess represented in court masques of both the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries. The gloriously mounted riders become both prologue and cavalry escort to the masquer-cæsars in the Roman chariots, while the inclusion of musicians, actors, and antimasquers binds the military procession to the actual performance itself. The simple label “procession,” or even “parade,” does not properly connote the scope of this event, however. How many minutes must it have taken for one hundred horses, traveling two abreast at an easy walking pace, to wind through the narrow city streets? How tall would those riders loom over the heads of the on-lookers? How fearsome a din would the sound of chariot wheels and harnesses and sixteen powerful hooves have made in the torch-lit gloom of that winter night? This is courtly entertainment in the public and in the streets, stripped of the delicacy of *trompe l’oeil* sets and intricately choreographed dancing; this is a military revue in velvet and gold braid, complete with swords and spurs, and emulating the greatest military power in known history. Though open chariots had appeared in earlier masques and processions, the military images were predominantly chivalric, not classical. With this procession, however, the Roman influence was so prevalent as to provoke repeated, independent references to Roman “triumphs” from contemporary witnesses. Rome was the archetypal military power for Western Europe, and this very public entertainment borrowed directly from her legacy to create an image of uncompromising military strength, not merely for the court and its guests, but for all of England.

The seemingly minor differences between Caroline militant iconography and earlier examples from the Tudor and Jacobean performances are critical, though, for Charles was not interested in resurrecting an un-considered pattern of knighthood, one based on old-fashioned, degraded concepts of chivalry.¹¹⁷ This ideal of transformed knighthood is first

explored in *Albion's Triumph*,¹¹⁸ when the “*patrician*” Platonius (134) explicates

Albanactus Caesar's character:

I have seen this brave Albanactus Caesar, seen him with the eyes of
understanding, viewed all his actions, looked into his mind, which I find armed with
so many moral virtues that he daily conquers a world of vices, which are wild beasts
indeed. [...] no vice is so small to scape him, nor so great but he overcomes it, and in
that fashion he triumphs over all the kings and queens that went before him.

(202–211)

In the rhetoric of Platonius' exuberant praise, success in the actual world of martial conflict, which results in the fame of comparison with other successful monarchs, necessarily depends on victory over the internal enemies of vice and moral failings. Instead of being guides or principals, moral virtues become weapons for the conflict. Victory in this internal, metaphorical battle manifests as victory in actual battle, allowing Albanactus to parade “captive kings with their hands bound, and ladies with their arms a-cross” before him (190–192). The victorious king is literally superior to “all the kings and queens that went before him” as a conqueror, but he is also metaphorically superior to all kings and queens who preceded him historically because of his virtuous, victorious character. Yet, despite his martial prowess—both literal and metaphorical—Albanactus is still flawed because he lacks love. As Townshend explains in the summary of the masque, “Albanactus [is] subdued to love and chastity by Cupid and Diana, who descend, and having conquered the conquerer, they show him the Queen” (16–19).

For the masquers' main entrance, the chorus speaks to the men in familiar language:

It is no shame yield
Where 'tis in vain to strive:
The gods would quit the field
Should they these wars revive,
Or, conquered by her eyes,
Come down Love's sacrifice. (306–310)

Here the dancing-as-warfare trope, which consistently yet softly reverberated through earlier masque commentary and lyric, has been transformed into a central allegory of Townshend's masque. Such a transformation had been hinted at in Jonson's *Time Vindicated to Himself and His Honors* of 1623, yet almost a decade would pass before the concept was given full expression. Though heralded in the masque as the conqueror of all potentially unruly emotions—"All his passions are his true subjects" (211–212)—the king is incomplete without the chaste and tempered love of Alba. Even the gods are powerless against the D/divine forces of L/love.¹¹⁹ Thus, the ideal knight imagined by *Albion's Triumph* is not one that pays mere lip service to whichever fetching damsel in distress happens to drift across his path. Despite all other moral and chivalric perfections, the Caroline knight will only achieve true individual completeness through the selflessness, the "sacrifice" of love, *amour* and *caritas* inextricable.

Later Caroline masques continue to explore the paradox of the power of the feminine to subdue—even civilize—martial masculinity. In *Coelum Britannicum*, the British theme requires a British, rather than a Roman, mythology. Therefore, in the third song, the chorus addresses the queen:

We bring Prince Arthur, or the brave
 St. George himself (great Queen) to you,
 You'll soon discern him; and we have
 A Guy, a Bevis, or some true
 Round-Table knight as ever fought
 For lady, to each beauty brought. (1030–1035)

Appropriately, the king is identified with the most famous English heroes, both secular and sacred, in the lyric. Both Arthur—the "prince" hinting at the halcyon, early days of his reign—and St. George represent perfected British knighthood, the ideal union of military prowess guided by moral certitude. Other noble, "true" knights will partner with the queen's

ladies; in the mythology of this masque there is no room for a Lancelot or a Gawain, men of compromised characters in various versions of the Arthurian tales.¹²⁰ Once again, the call to revels dancing is laced with the language of war. The ladies should:

Plant in their martial hands, war's seat,
Your peaceful pledges of warm snow,
[...] For though you seem like captives, led
In triumph by the foe away,
Yet on the conqu'rors neck you tread,
And the fierce victor proves your prey.
What heart is then secure from you,
That can, though vanquished, yet subdue? (1036–1047)

In *Albion's Triumph*, the king's unbending masculinity, his uncompromising character and military prowess, is tempered and softened by Alba's chaste love; in *Coelum Britannicum*, all the lords are in need of such tempering and softening. The song explicitly acknowledges the acts of male domination—the rape and enslavement of women employed too frequently during times of war—implied when the male dancers “take the ladies out” for the revels.¹²¹ This threat of violence by unknown intruders against the court was precisely the violence King Henry VIII sought to allegorically transform in the original Tudor masques. Yet in *Coelum Britannicum*, the captured women, through their feminine graces, become the conquerors, implying that traditional knighthood is imperfect and in need of the feminine to perfect it.¹²² Perfection arises through the self-sacrifice and vulnerability of love, the conquering of the heart—epitomized in the blissful union of the king and queen.

The inadequacies of traditional knighthood are again depicted in Davenant's *The Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour*, prepared for a visit of Karl Ludwig, the Elector of Palatine and Elizabeth of Bohemia's eldest surviving son in 1636.¹²³ The Master of Ceremonies' prologue, addressed directly to the important guest, carefully juxtaposes diplomacy with familial affection: “His subjects fear he will do homage now, / Which he esteems no

less'ning to his State, / Since 'tis his Love decrees it, not his fate.”¹²⁴ In a notable departure from his father's policies, Charles uses the prologue—commenced through a staged command from “*his Master*” to the speaker—to declare publicly his political allegiance to his embattled nephew:¹²⁵

...I must impart
For ceremony now, what is his heart
Though, with content of Truth, I may report
You have a num'rous faction in his Court.
This palace where, by sword, then law maintain'd,
His few, but mighty ancestors have reign'd,
Is consecrated yours;

Introduced in the context of international diplomacy, the masque takes on an added layer of significance, becoming not merely a simple allegory of the process of transforming martial men through love, but instead imagining the role these idealized soldiers could play in the broader community of Europe.

The first antimasque, staged in “a village consisting of alehouses and tobacco shops” depicts seven degraded martial figures, including “*Two, whose habits presented them for swaggering soldiers, and of the cheaper quality, such as are said to roar, not fight: their beards mishapen, with long whiskers of the stiletto cut*” and “*an old, over-grown debauch'd Cavalier*.”¹²⁶ After these characters dance their entry, the scene changes to “*a camp of tents, [...] and in the midst was discover'd the Temple of Mars*,” populated by a chorus of priests wearing “*mitres of a helmet form, with a poniard advanc'd on the top*.”¹²⁷ The priests' song describes the fear, tumult, and bloodshed of a recent battle, concluding with an account of the masquer-knights who refused to slay the retreating enemy: “Stand! Stand! Was now the word our knights did give, / For, weary of pursuit, they had no will / To grace with death, who basely sought to live.”¹²⁸ The masquers, appearing from the tents in Roman style costumes,

dance their first entry and retire again. The structure of this masque differs notably from the traditional, Jonsonian pattern, following the masquers through a process of transformation from victorious soldiers to perfected lovers and preceding each step in the process with an antimasque of foils. As the lyric of the priests' song demonstrates, though, the moral superiority of the masquers is never compromised even as they are presented in the martial world; they behave with perfect honor in refusing to pursue the defeated, retreating enemy. When Cupid appears, advising the masquers "And now you must resign to love / Your warlike hearts," his song is laced with battlefield metaphors as he describes his "arms" and the "plates of brass" that will be ineffective to protect the knights from them.¹²⁹ Not surprisingly, the martial metaphors reappear when the priests of Venus introduce the masquers again, "*their vests altered to a more soft and Courtly change*":

Such difference as when doves do bill,
 Must now be all your strife:
 For all the blood that you shall spill,
 Will usher in a life

And when your ladies falsely coy
 Shall timorous appear,
 Believe, they then would fain enjoy
 What they pretend to fear.¹³⁰

In contrast to *Coelum Britannicum*, where martial metaphors conceived only the gentle strife of the courtly dancing, here the implicit sexual tension of dancing has been transformed into a fully-realized epithalamium, imagining a honeymoon night.¹³¹ Instead of signaling death and destruction, bloodshed—in the form of expended reproductive fluids—creates new life and renewal. Virginal modesty once again locates the woman in a position of submission to the experienced male partner, though the lyric forecloses the implications of rape by explicitly underscoring—three times in four lines—the pretense of her behavior, and hence,

her willing participation in nuptial pleasures.¹³² In the final section of the masque, the masquer-knights, noble soldiers and attentive lovers, are celebrated and perfected by the priests of Apollo: “Apollo is from Delphos come, T’ inspire, and breathe himself in every knight.”¹³³ Instead of revels dancing, the masque is concluded in the old Tudor style, with a gift presented to the guest of honor, here a banquet of rich fruits symbolizing a bountiful harvest season. Strangely, it is Apollo’s influence, rather than Ceres’, that produces the banquet; allegorically, the Caroline knights, “Those promis’d hopes” that have ripened through the course of the masque, are the gifts presented by the English king to the German prince.¹³⁴ These are not James’s knights of peace, who will resolve European conflict through moral exemplar and brotherly love; these knights, the epitome of fighters, lovers, artists and leaders, can and will use their martial skills in the appropriate time and place.

As does *The Triumphs of the Prince D’Amour*, the other “triumphs” assert the importance of (reformed) martial skills in securing the tranquility and bounty of an idealized England. In this way, the Caroline masques essentially reactivate the central theme—“arms defensive a safe peace maintain”—of *Prince Henry’s Barriers* from two decades earlier, though with one critical alteration. The opening prologue and closing banquet bookend the unspoken promise of *The Triumphs of The Prince D’Amour*: that Charles is willing to support his sister and her family through men and arms; “arms defensive” are of less concern to Charles I than simple “arms” are. Therefore, the central role warfare continues to occupy in the wellbeing of early modern nation-states is repeated again and again, often in the complex visual matrix of these Caroline masques. In *Albion’s Triumph*, for instance, the king’s arms occupy the keystone position of the proscenium arch (24–25), dominating and contextualizing the entire performance as a military display.¹³⁵ At the end of the masque, five deities, including

Justice, Religion, and Concord, appear before “*a prospect of the King’s palace of Whitehall*” (338–339); the other characters are attired in the traditional draping robes and mantles of masque deities, but, notably, Affection to the Country wears martial garb, a “*coat armour of yellow, with a purple mantle, his buskins adorned, [and] his plumed helm of silver*” (357–359). In a similar moment at the conclusion of *Coelum Britannicum*, “*Government [is] figured in a coat of armour, bearing a shield, and on it a Medusa’s head; upon her head a plumed helm, and in her right hand a lance*” (1066–1068). Beyond Government, Religion, and the other figures, Windsor Castle “*the famous seat of the most honourable Order of the Garter*” is depicted in the distance (1079–1080). Importantly, these martial characters and settings are aligned exclusively with the main masque, providing a backdrop for the dancing while making explicit, through visual representation, the military prowess of Charles’ court. Masquers are once again simultaneously knights and dancers, as they were during the first hundred years of the genre, and the green carpet is once again a multifarious space, where the dancing field and the battlefield become indistinguishable.

Interestingly, in masques produced outside of Whitehall, but nonetheless for performance before the royal family, the martial prowess that underprops successful government is repeatedly depicted as in need of balance. Although Charles’ masques like *Albion’s Triumph* and *Coelum Britannicum* insist upon a reformed masculine martial ideal, especially through the tempering of love, anxiety about the unchecked martial iconography displayed in the king’s masques is subtly manifested. In *Corona Minervae*, presented before the Prince of Wales and his siblings at “the Colledge of Museum Minervae” in February of 1636, the character Minerva rests between statues of Mars and Mercury in the opening scene.¹³⁶ This tableaux is explicated by Time, who observes:

This happy Monarchy, whose supream head
(In highest Heaven his name is registered)
By Pow'r and Wisdome, will the use advance
Of Armes and Arts, above dispight and chance.¹³⁷

The compliment of these lines is carefully framed; the “supream head” of the “happy Monarchy” of England is aligned with Minerva and her virtues of power and wisdom. The lines imply that her astute guidance will influence the king to “advance” not just the skills of Mars, but also the learning and “arts” of Mercury in equal measure. The thrust of the *Corona Minervae* tableaux and poetry is clearly a modification of the mythology of masques in which Charles danced the lead role, masques representing the king as the apex of martial prowess, yet obligated to no power save his own virtuous temperament and the softening effects of love. In this masque, however, the martial aspect of royal power plays handmaid to the central virtue of wisdom.¹³⁸

Performed after the royal family left Oxford in September of 1636, *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond*, the private masque in which the Prince of Wales danced the lead role before both his parents, similarly embraces “Arts” to balance and temper the potential of “Arms.” The change of scene following the first antimasque seems to present an unqualified vision of military iconography not unlike the kingly masques at Whitehall; a “*Compartiment*” emblazoned with “EXPEDITIO BRITOMARTIS” frames the background of a generic military camp, complete with “*seuerall tents, carriages, all kind of warlike amunition, and a trench cast round about it.*”¹³⁹ In this scene, a captain, “*attired in a Souldiers habit, after the old Brittish fashion, taken from the Romans,*” debates with a Druid/priest about who can better aid in maintaining a well-ordered kingdom.¹⁴⁰ The soldier urges: “O thou God of warre, / Great father *Mars*, the first Progenitor / of BRITOMART, inspire him with a courage / That may extend his Armes, as farre as is / Or earth, or sea”,

while the druid prays “Great Apollo, / That know’st to heale wth thy sweet harmony / The fierce rude minds of me~, as well as bodies.”¹⁴¹ In the end, however, both impulses are reconciled in the young prince, who is proclaimed “*The springing hopes of Armes and Arts*” in the lyric introducing him.¹⁴² Because the prince has not yet ascended the throne, there is no need to ground his leadership with an abstraction as was done in the masque seven months previously; however, the need for “arms” to be balanced with something—the softening effects of love are clearly inappropriate for the young, unmarried prince—remains. Once again, the general “arts,” here symbolized by Apollo instead of Mercury, is the solution.

Despite the apparent concerns of his subjects, the ideology of Charles’ masques insists on the central role of the military in English royal policy—through the titles of the individual pieces, the predominantly Roman iconography associated with the king, and the native English knighthood the masques seek to perfect. As was seen in *The Triumphs of the Prince D’Amour*, through the bountiful feast that concluded the masque, the Caroline masques continue to depict England as an Arcadia, a terrestrial paradise of tranquility and plenty. These two ideologies essentially uncouple the insistent pacifism of James’s reign from the domestic peace that was its result. Therefore, English peace and domestic tranquility must be engendered elsewhere, and, beginning with Charles’ first masque, *Love’s Triumph through Callipolis* of 1631, the location of the genesis of peace is explored in various iterations. In *Love’s Triumph*, King Charles presents the “heroical” lover and is one of fifteen masquers in the train of Amphitrite’s triumph. The association of the king with martial prowess is understated, as is the discussion of British peace at the end. The chorus observes:

[...] But to Britain’s genius
The snaky rod and serpents of Cyllenius
Bring not more peace than these, who so united be
By Love, as with it earth and heaven delighted be. (200–203)

Superior government, represented by Mercury—or Hermes/Cyllene—is not as effective as the love between the rose and lily—botanical personification of not only the royal couple but also their respective kingdoms—to create peace. Although extensive discussion of Britain’s domestic perfections is absent from the main masque, which focuses instead on explicating the royal union as the concrete exemplar of Neo-Platonic theories on love,¹⁴³ the promise of diplomatic peace between England and her continental neighbors is clearly intimated in the final song. Because this peace results from the love of Charles and Henrietta Maria, it essentially originates, not in the king’s policies, but instead in his person.

Albion’s Triumph of the following year details more carefully the mutually beneficial relationship between Charles and Peace. The final scene introduces “*five persons representing Innocency, Justice, Religion, Affection to the Country, and Concord, being all companions of Peace*” (341–343), with Whitehall and parts of London depicted in the background. Again, following the older, Tudor pattern, these five characters present symbolic gifts to the royal couple, though these gifts are objects rather than impresa shields; the hand, heart, sword, and other gifts essentially ensure the continuation of Concord, Affection to the Country, and Justice in England, benefits available only because Peace was welcome there in the first place. Peace enters, “*proclaiming her large benefits and the world’s ingratitude*” (387–388), followed by “*four gods, Neptune, Plutus, Bellona, and Cybele, complaining of ease and plenty*” (408–410). The eighth song, sung by the quartet of gods, finally links the presence of Peace in England with her effects:

Arms are laid by, early and late
The traveler goes safe to bed;
Men eat and drink in massy plate,
And are with dainties daily fed.
Why should this isle above the rest

Be made (great gods) the halcyon's nest? (412–417)

Rather than the idealized paradise depicted in the Jacobean masques, with frolicking shepherds and perfect seasons, here the results of peace are imagined in terms of the everyday lives of English subjects: highways free of crime, plentiful victuals, and, consequently, happy people. In the end, to both reward and insure the bounty of England, the land where she was cherished, Peace orders:

Neptune to sea, and let no sail
Meet Albion's fleet, but make it vail.
Bellona arm, that foes may see
Their lilies kept by lions be.
Their fruitful fields, Cybele, make
Pay centuple for all they take.
And let both Indies, Pluto, meet
And lay their wealth at Alba's feet. (429–436)

Again, the agricultural and material bounty of England is emphasized in realistic, rather than idealized terms; however, in this lyric, English bounty is necessarily preceded by military strength, both at land and sea. This symbiotic, and paradoxical, relationship between the king and Peace suggests that while the king embraces and welcomes her, she provides the force, or means, to ensure his strength. Such an equation is, indeed, perfectly appropriate for a masque in which the greatest and most virtuous military leader of history, Albanactus Caesar, is further perfected by the love of Alba. Importantly, the final vision of the bounty of England, made possible only through the effects of Peace and her companions, is presented after the union of Albanactus and Alba is celebrated through the main masque dance. Implicitly, the masque again locates the origins of English peace and bounty in the union of the royal couple, and therefore not, as James's masques hinted, as the result of kingly policy. In short, peace arises spontaneously from the virtues, wisdom, and love of the king; moreover, his military prowess is central to the presence of peace in the first place.

The paradoxical relationship between military strength and domestic peace is again explored in the eponymous *The Triumph of Peace*. This masque is, of course, the performance prepared by James Shirley for the four houses of the Inns of Court that necessitated the magnificent Roman “triumph,” with its grand chariots and hundreds of armed horsemen, through the streets of London in February of 1634. After this impressive preamble, the audience is first presented with the symbols of Peace, Law, and Justice—the *caduceus* and olive branch of Peace prominent at the center—dominating the stage from the top of the proscenium (189–195). Underneath, “*the scene was discovered, representing a large street with sumptuous palaces, lodges, porticos, and other noble pieces of architecture, with pleasant trees and grounds. This, going far from the eye, opens itself into a spacious place [...] representing the Forum or Piazza of Peace*” (196–201). As with *Albion’s Triumph*, no lyric or poetry explicitly connects the military triumph with the presentation of peace immediately following it; however, the entrance of the main masquer(s) “in triumph” heralds, in both cases, an idyllic world—one demonstrating the lavish and prosperous structures possible only through extended periods of tranquility and the other graced by the anthropomorphized companions of peace. After an antimasque of several entries, in which Fancy proclaims: “’tis a time of peace, I’ll fit you, / And instantly make you a representation / Of the effects” (327–329), Irene (Peace) appears in a chariot in the clouds (505–510). She summons her “sisters” (525) Eunomia (Law) and Dice (Justice) in a series of songs that also explicate the relationship between them:

<i>Eunomia</i>	[...]; yet shouldst thou silent be, The rose and lily which thou strowest All the cheerful way thou goest Would direct to follow thee.
<i>Irene</i>	Thou dost beautify increase, And chain security with peace.

Eunomia Irene fair, and first divine,
 All my blessings spring from thine. [...]
Both The world shall give prerogative to neither.
 We cannot flourish but together. (546–561)

While appearing to reiterate unchanged the king's ideology on the domestic tranquility of 1630s England,¹⁴⁴ *The Triumph of Peace* nonetheless realigns the relationship between the monarch, peace, and her attendant virtues. First, by creating personified characters, Shirley gives Peace and Law a greater degree of volition and agency than if they were represented as abstract allegories. As such, they are entirely distinct from the king or his persona; as Eunomia notes, Peace comes before the English rose and French lily. More important, Peace and her attendant virtues—presented here as Law and Justice—are essentially inseparable, a notable change from the mythology of a masque like *Albion's Triumph* where Peace is the supreme deity and Justice, Concord, and Affection to Country are mere companions. Although the masquers arrived at Whitehall in elaborate chariots “drawn with four horses a-front, after the magnificent Roman triumphs” (136–137) and accompanied by one hundred horsemen, the insistent military iconography of Charles' masques is also modified here; the masquers, “*the sons of Peace, Law, and Justice*” (631–632) are dressed, not after the “Roman fashion” with plumed helmets and mock armor, but only in white and carnation with rich braiding and embroidery (635–646). The call to the revels also avoids the dancing as warfare metaphor so frequent in other entertainments of the decade. In short, Shirley and the Inns of Court committee are not rejecting the importance of military display, and therefore military strength, in English public life, but they are not glorifying it either. The central theme of the masque, for those poor souls unable to derive it from the title, is a peace that transcends any one king but that benefits an entire kingdom.

By 1640, the year of *Salmacida Spolia*, Charles had already taken up arms against his countrymen to the north in the first Bishop's War. The insistent militarism of the Caroline masques had become all too real, while the parallel assertions of domestic peace—not the idealized, pastoral England of Jacobean masques, but a wealthy, well-fed, real one—had evaporated. In the end, these paradoxical and competing claims were unsustainable beyond the fictional confines of the masquing hall. Nevertheless, the iconography of *Salmacida Spolia* hammers relentlessly—desperately—on the dual themes. Instead of appearing near the end of the performance, aligned with but also potentially upstaged by the gorgeously costumed masquers, the allegorical representations of a stable and prosperous England are emblazoned on the proscenium arch:

Joining to the compartment in various postures lay two figures in their natural colours as big as the life, one holding an anchor representing Safety, the other expressing Riches, with a cornucopia, and about her stood antique vases of gold. The rest of this frieze was composed of children, with significant signs to express their several qualities: Forgetfulness of Injuries, extinguishing a flaming torch on an armour; Commerce, with ears of corn; Felicity, with a basket of lilies; Affection to the Country, holding a grasshopper; Prosperous Success, with the rudder of a ship; Innocence, with a branch of fern; all these expressing the several goods, followers of peace and concord, and forerunners of human felicity. (53–66)

While Forgetfulness of Injuries is an olive branch from the king to his disgruntled subjects, Safety, Commerce, Felicity, and Prosperous Success are clearly reminders of the good life that has been.¹⁴⁵ Affection to Country and Innocence make a re-appearance, though without their controversial companion Religion and dying leader Peace; Affection to Country even leaves his armor and helmet at home, preferring instead the innocuous grasshopper as a symbol. In their inescapable, immovable position above the masquing stage, these figures dominate and contextualize the entire performance. From the threatening tempest that is *Salmacida Spolia*'s opening vision to the twenty elaborate entries of the antimasque—

characters derived from all walks of British society, young and old, rich and poor, English, Irish, and Scottish—to the New Jerusalem that concludes the evening, every scene of the performance is literally overshadowed by a constant reminder of the happiness and prosperity of Charles' England. In short, both in form and content, the proscenium proclaims stability.

Yet, the masque's depiction of the royal couple is insistently militant. Throughout the preceding decade, Queen Henrietta Maria and her ladies had taken expressly feminized roles: pastoral goddesses in 1631's *Chloridia*, Divine Beauty and her train in *Tempe Restored* of the following year, and the Queen of Brightness and her ladies in *Luminalia* of 1638. But in *Salmacida Spolia*, the lady masquers are presented as warriors: "*the Queen's majesty and her ladies were in Amazonian habits [...] with plumed helms, baldrics with antique swords hanging by their sides*" (392–394). The martial costuming for the queen echoes the characterization of Queen Anne and her ladies in *The Masque of Queens*, but is utterly unprecedented for the younger woman; Henrietta Maria even carries arms as part of her costume. The queen "with her martial ladies is sent down from heaven by Pallas as a reward" for the king (18–20) and celebrate him as he sits on the "*Throne of Honour*" (345) which was ornamented with "*statues of ancient heroes*" and "*on each side lay captives bound in several postures, lying on trophies of armours, shields, and antique weapons*" (347–349). Notably, the king is, for once, not in chivalric or Roman costume. His throne reiterates the role of king as head of the armed forces and defender of the nation; the bound captives project the triumph, and consequent abject humiliation of the enemy, that each monarch desires as the result of battle. Yet the lyric of Song III present Charles, the epitome of kingly wisdom, as ultimately reluctant to use force against his enemies: "Since strength of virtues gained you Honour's throne, / Accept our wonder and enjoy your praise! / He's fit to govern

there and rule alone / Whom inward helps, not outward force, doth raise” (376–379). In essence, King Charles is, once again, the reformed knight, potent and powerful upon the triumphal Throne of Honor, but ultimately guided by inner virtue rather than the outmoded codes of chivalry. The many levels on which this self-created image of Charles is fiction bleeding to fantasy need not be rehearsed here. More important is the continued pattern of militant display upon which this masque, like so many others, is grounded. In the seventeenth-century military strength is, in the end, power, and if the masque is the symbolic presentation of the absolute monarch’s power, it must also be a presentation of that monarch’s military prowess. In *Salmacida Spolia*, along with the military iconography comes, like so many other masques of the Stuart period, the reminder of what bounties strong kingship provides for the nation, adamantly and permanently encoded over the king’s head upon the proscenium arch. A strong king provides for the peace, plenty, and happiness of his subjects, an understanding inextricably bound with masque since its earliest inception at the court of Henry VIII.

If aesthetic *variety* is the *sine qua non* of seventeenth-century masque, then martial display is its three-dimensional reality at the Stuart courts. That writers and audience members accepted, even expected, the juxtaposition of court pageantry with militancy is inscribed repeatedly in the letters, observations, and non-court masques and entertainments produced during both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As scholars on chivalry and the honor culture have delineated, the dynastic break in 1603 did not disrupt the chivalric and militant display so central to courtly self-fashioning; even Ben Jonson, the great innovator of masque as a genre, began his masque writing career with unquestioned assumptions about the

types of characters noble dancers should adopt during performances. Nor did his generic innovations change the basic assumptions that princes and courtiers should appear in martial garb accompanied by the chariots and fortresses of Tudor pageants. Instead the change originated, appropriately enough, as a result of the king's foreign policy and disinclination to become embroiled in the religious conflicts sweeping Europe during the early seventeenth century. Although the common understanding of court masque as a genre—as extravagant entertainment, as peculiar and English, as dominated entirely by narratives of kingship—seems to render masque an odd vehicle for expressions of foreign policy, its historic cultural association with military displays and with ambassadorial audiences instead exemplifies the performance of statecraft embraced by early modern monarchs. Because the most ancient and vital job of a king was to protect and defend the country, the masque, the king's aesthetic expression of statecraft, must no longer be seen as tangential to or, worse yet, isolated from this primary responsibility.

Recognizing the martial and diplomatic as essential components of masque as a genre is not to controvert either the contemporary allusions that comprise the themes of many individual masques or the king's central role in the mythology of masques as a form. It is, however, to complicate the current conception of the function of the genre, highlighting the diverse cultural influences that contribute to the theme and imagery of each individual masque while at the same time positing a value in the genre that extends well beyond the walls of Whitehall's banqueting house and its royal audience. Moreover, attending to the martial elements in seventeenth-century masques—impresa shields, knightly garb, and other medieval, chivalric holdovers—not only explains unique features that seem to be anomalies when viewed exclusively in a post-1603 context, but also reinforces the sense of *variety*

pervading the genre as a whole. Chivalric and diplomatic, reflecting the past and satirizing the present, comic and decorous, sensory and intellectual—masque is a richly layered, complex, and challenging early modern phenomena about which there is much we still do not understand.

¹ Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 50. An important reconsideration of Orgel's reading of masque is found in Martin Butler, "Courtly Negotiations," *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998).

² For instance, that the seventeenth century held a simplistic understanding of divine right kingship is called to question by Glenn Burgess, *Absolute Monarchy and the Stuart Constitution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996) ch. 4.

³ In marked contrast to the ideas explored by this chapter, Roy Strong finds implicit chivalric influences only in late Jacobean masques; see Roy Strong, *Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973) 48.

⁴ Middle English forms of "mask" had two distinct definitions: the first a noun—the mesh or cords of a net—and its related verb—to become trapped or meshed—from Old English or Scandinavian origins; and the second a verb—to become lost or bewildered—of Germanic origins. See noun 1 and verbs 1 and 2 for "mask" in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2005, Oxford University Press, January 29 2006. See the noun "mask(e)" and verb "masken" in *The Middle English Compendium: The Middle English Dictionary Online*, 2001, University of Michigan Press, January 29 2006.

⁵ The new noun form is derived from the Italian forms *maschera* and *mascara*, and perhaps ultimately from Latin *masca*, defined by the Oxford editors as "evil spirit, spectre"; see noun 3 for "mask" in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

⁶ The Oxford editors are reluctant to make any claims about this noun usage because of evidentiary concerns: "Quot. 1533 uses the word as if it were a familiar one, but the two pieces of direct evidence for its earlier use should both be regarded with caution: quot. 1548 refers to an event of 1512 and may suggest that the word *maske* was used at the time of the event, and the [1514] quotation has not been verified in its original source," *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

⁷ Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* (London: 1809) 526.

⁸ If the *OED* has indeed listed the earliest usage of the noun "mask" in its most common modern context, a covering for the face, this neologism seems to imply that the word developed from its association with the court entertainment, not—as this writer has always supposed—the other way around.

⁹ E. K. Chambers, *The English Folk-Play* (New York: Haskell House, 1966) 266. See also Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965) 19–25.

¹⁰ See R J E Tiddy, *The Mummers' Play* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923) 70–73; Chambers, *The English Folk-Play* 4–5, 23, and 192; and Alan Brody, *The English Mummers and Their Plays: Trace of Ancient Mystery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970) 5 and 11.

¹¹ William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, trans. David Daniell (London: Penguin, 2000) 184.

¹² Pierre Janelle, “An Unpublished Poem on Bishop Stephen Gardiner,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* VI (1928–1929): 168.

¹³ Henry Thomas Riley, ed., *Memorials of London and London Life, in the Xiiiith, Xivth, and Xvth Centuries Being a Series of Extracts, Local, Social, and Political from the Early Archives of the City of London A.D. 1276–1419* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1868) 658. The proclamation continues: “Also, it was ordered that every Alderman shall have sufficient guard in his Ward during the same feast. Also, that all the Gates of the City shall be closed every night at 9 of the clock, and be opened at 5 of the clock in the morning.”

¹⁴ This dangerous potential is also addressed by Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 11–12.

¹⁵ Riley, ed., *Memorials of London and London Life* 669. This proclamation also continues, further emphasizing the need for public safety: “And more ouere [th]ei charge on [th]e Kynges byhalf, and [th]e Cite, [th]at eche honest persone, dwelling in eny hye street or lane of [th]is Citee, hang out of her hous eche night, during [th]is solm[th]ne Feste, a lanterne with a candell [th]er in, to brenne as long as hit may endure, vp payne to pay ivd. To [th]e Chaumbre at eech tyme [th]at hit faillith.”

¹⁶ Thomas More, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 11 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963) 99. In the continuation of the passage, More expands further on the folly of disguise: “and with nyce appareyle dysemble hys personage, and with a fonde visour hydde and cover his visage, he must be content to be taunted of every good felow that he meteth, as merely as hym selfe lyst to ieste with them.”

¹⁷ Friedrich W D Brie, ed., *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*, vol. 136 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., Ltd., 1908) 360–61.

¹⁸ James Pilkington, *Aggeus the Prophete Declared by a Large Commentarye* (London: 1560).

¹⁹ Louis Régnier de La Planche, *A Legendarie, Conteining an Ample Discourse of the Life and Behauour of Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, and of His Brethren, of the House of Guise*. (London: 1577).

²⁰ Roger Williams, *Nevves from Sir Roger Williams VVith a discourse printed at Rheines [sic] containing the most happie victorie, lately obtained by the Prince de Conty, lieutenant generall ouer the kinges forces, in Aniou, touraine, Maine, Poictu, Berry, Blaysois, Vendomois, Dunois, high and lower Limosin, and Perche, against the rebellious leaguers, enemies to his Maiestie.* (London: 1591).

²¹ L. T. A., *The masque of the League and the Spanyard discovered wherein, 1. The League is painted forth in all her collours. 2. Is shown, that it is not lawfull for a subiect to arme himselfe against his king, for what pretence so euer it be. 3. That but few noblemen take part with the enemy: an aduertisement to them co[n]cerning their dutie.* (Toures: 1592).

²² Charles Estienne, *The Defence of Contraries Paradoxes against Common Opinion...* (London: 1593).

²³ Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* 526.

²⁴ The myth of Pirithoüs and Hippodamia is described in Book 12 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

²⁵ For a discussion of the gender and power implications of Tudor dancing, see "Ascending the Rich Mount: Performing Rank and Gender in the Henrician Masque" in Skiles Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998) 26–45. On page 30, she articulates the changing relationship between martial practices and dance in the early sixteenth century: "In the absense of martial rigor, the aestheticized physical disciplines of dancing and civility, less overtly aggressive but equally competitive, were prized."

²⁶ For a discussion of public masquing as an exclusively male custom prior to 1603, see J. Leeds Barroll, "Inventing the Stuart Masque," *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington, Peter Holbrook and Leah Sinanoglou Marcus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 122–23. Contrary to the evidence in *Hall's Chronicle*, Barroll argues that Queen Anne initiated the custom of honoring foreign ambassadors with masques during the holiday season.

²⁷ Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* 723. The dramatic events of these Tudor entertainments is startlingly similar to the later provincial mummers plays, which also feature a debate followed by a combat; any relationship between the two forms has not been satisfactorily explored.

²⁸ Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* 580, 583, 585–86, 595, and 631 respectively. For consideration of the frequency this type of entertainment appeared at the Tudor court, see also Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* 33.

²⁹ For this quotation, see "disguising, vbl. n.," definition "3. A mask, or masquerade; an acting by 'disguisers' or guisers," citation "1532-3 Act 24 Hen. VIII, c. 13" in the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

³⁰ Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* 513.

³¹ Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* 516, 631, and 723 respectively.

³² Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* 597, 599, and 594–95.

³³ Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* 615.

³⁴ Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* 619.

³⁵ Hall describes the kings' return meeting at the end of the evening, where "the kyng of England put of his viser and preased vnto the French king: then the two kynges embrased and amiaibly together communed, after which comunicacion either of other by kyngly salutynge tooke leaue, and for remembraunce either to other gaue giftes" in Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* 620.

³⁶ Chambers, *The English Folk-Play* 155. Chambers discusses this procession on pages 153–160.

³⁷ In his review of the Elizabethan "mask," E. K. Chambers mentions all of these features in various combinations from the period 1559 to 1602; see E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923) Vol. 1, 155–70.

³⁸ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* Vol. 1, 155–56.

³⁹ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* Vol. 1, 156.

⁴⁰ John Nicols, *The Progresses, Public Processions, &C. Of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. (London: John Nicols and Sons for the Society of Antiquaries, 1823) Vol. 1, 73.

⁴¹ Richard C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) 41. McCoy describes this event to chronicle Dudley's chivalric self-fashioning while wooing Queen Elizabeth).

⁴² Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* Vol. 1, 159–60.

⁴³ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* Vol. 1, 166. Notably, the queen was presented with a tablet embellished with speeches preceding the show.),

⁴⁴ These events are described by Nicols, *The Progresses, Public Processions, &C. Of Queen Elizabeth* 312–36. *The Four Foster Children of Desire* is discussed in detail by McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood* 58–64.

⁴⁵ Walter W Greg, ed., *Gesta Grayorum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914) 54–55.

⁴⁶ Greg, ed., *Gesta Grayorum* 55–57.

⁴⁷ Greg, ed., *Gesta Grayorum* 66.

⁴⁸ McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood* 24.

⁴⁹ Indeed, even the earliest Tudor “festivals were political either through the desire to enhance great diplomatic occasions or because they actually included specific comment on an international situation” to Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 2.

⁵⁰ The foreign policy implications of late Jacobean and Caroline masques are mentioned, but not elaborated on, by Martin Butler, “Reform or Reverence? The Politics of the Caroline Masque,” *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, eds. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 128–30.

⁵¹ The tendencies of contemporary Anglo-centric scholarship to underestimate the cosmopolitanism of Stuart Britain is taken up in Malcolm Smuts, “Introduction,” *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁵² The rules of court protocol and treatment of foreign ambassadors are provided in great detail by the guided audio tour at *The Banqueting House, London*, Audiocassette, Historic Royal Palaces, London.

⁵³ George Carew, Letter to Dudley Carleton, 17 February 1608[09], Stowe ms. 170, British Library, London, 330v.

⁵⁴ Dudley Carleton, Letter, 13 January 1607[08], Stowe ms. 169, British Library, London, 247v–48r.

⁵⁵ Arabella Stuart, Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 18, December 1603, Add. ms. 22563, British Library, London., 47v.

⁵⁶ Joan Rees points out that the French and Spanish ambassadors “were rather more spirited” in “their wrangles over invitations” (22) than normal in her introduction to Samuel Daniel, “The Vision of the 12 Goddesses,” *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll*, ed. Joan Rees (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967). Barrol also describes the prestige accorded to Queen Anne’s first masque in Barroll, “Inventing the Stuart Masque,” 124.

⁵⁷ In an age before copyright laws, Daniel invokes the standard justification as his first motivation for going to print: to amend the account of “the vnmannerly presumption of an indiscreet Printer” (5–6) who published an unauthorized edition. All references to this

masque are from Daniel, "The Vision of the 12 Goddesses." Here, and throughout the chapter, line numbers will be referenced in the text following the quoted passage.

⁵⁸ For an alternative reading of the emphasis of this passage, see Peter Holbrook, "Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace," *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington, Peter Holbrook and Leah Sinanoglou Marcus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 75.

⁵⁹ Orgel and Strong note that the original designs for this masque required the goddesses to carry shields, not fans, in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 19. For a brief consideration of the ties between the Elizabethan accession day tilts and the Stuart masque, see Mervyn James, *English Politics and the Concept of Honour, 1485–1642*, Past and Present, ed. T. H. Aston, vol. 3 (Oxford: The Past and Present Society, 1978) 73–74.

⁶⁰ The tension in the masque between the militant ideals represented by followers of Elizabeth and the pacifist ambitions of the new king is explored by Holbrook, "Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace," 67–87.

⁶¹ The relationship of the king's early life to his pacifist ideology is also addressed by Holbrook, "Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace," 68.

⁶² James Stuart, *The True Law of Free Monarchies and Basilikon Doron*, Tudor and Stuart Texts (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1996) 114.

⁶³ James gives extensive advice on conducting a war in the passages on foreign policy, concluding the section: "But it is not enough to a good king, by the scepter and good laws well-executed to govern, and by force of arms to protect his people, if he join not therewith his virtuous life in his own person [...]"(131). In discussing the importance of the liberal arts for a good ruler, the king again turns to military preparedness: "I grant it meet ye have some entrance, specially in the mathematics, for the knowledge of the art military: in situation of camps, ordering of battles, making of fortifications, placing of batteries, or suchlike" (151); see Stuart, *The True Law of Free Monarchies and Basilikon Doron*.

⁶⁴ Stuart, *The True Law of Free Monarchies and Basilikon Doron* 129. The humanist interpretation of the cult of honor, which stressed wisdom, virtue, and obedience to civic laws, is discussed by James, *English Politics and the Concept of Honour* 58–65. For an overview of the contrasts between Elizabeth's and James's deployment of chivalric traditions, see Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987) part 1.

⁶⁵ Roy Strong succinctly illustrates these connections in "Princely Policy" from his Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: 1986) 71–85. See also Smuts, "Introduction," and Brennan C. Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003) 23–31.

⁶⁶ James' slight paraphrase of this familiar adage can be found in Stuart, *The True Law of Free Monarchies and Basilikon Doron* 129.

⁶⁷ In "The Changing Emphasis of Honour" in his eighth chapter, Mervyn James briefly discusses the continuity between the "Elizabethan cult of chivalry" and Stuart manifestations of chivalry, including masques; see Mervyn James, *Society, Politics, and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 392–294. The idea is addressed in greater detail by McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood* 1–27. Instead of finding continuity, however, Alan Young observes that tournaments and barriers were actually absorbed by the Jacobean masque in Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Sheridan House, 1987) 117–19.

⁶⁸ Unless otherwise stated all masque citations are taken from Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*.

⁶⁹ Perhaps because *Blackness* is the only Jonsonian masque to employ the Elizabethan impresa shield, or its equivalent, during performance, Graham Perry seems unaware of the relationship between the tilting shield and the *Blackness* fans and interprets them as "a display of secret wisdom and ancient knowledge, mysteries in fact" in Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603–44*. (New York: St. Martin's, 1981) 46–47.

⁷⁰ These three are Lord Willoughby, Lord Walden, and Sir Thomas Somerset, listed in Stephen Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1969) 475–77.

⁷¹ The early divergence of masques and barriers seems to relate most specifically to masques in which members of the royal family participated. The anonymous *Masque of Flowers*, danced by members of Gray's Inn at Whitehall to commemorate the Carr-Howard alliance, retains the older, Tudor masque-as-debate/barriers structure as late as 1614; as part of the marriage celebration, *Silenus* and *Kawasha* will settle a challenge "*That Wine was more woorthy then Tobacco, and cheereth mans spirit more, The same to be tried at two weapons, at Song, and Dance*"; see "The Masque of Flowers," *A Book of Masques: In Honour of Allardyce Nicoll*, ed. E. A. Honigmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 163.

⁷² The design for Oberon's Palace is reproduced in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 216–17.

⁷³ Francis Beaumont, "The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn," *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicol*, ed. Philip Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 127.

⁷⁴ Thomas Campion, *The Description of a Maske: Presented in the Banqueting Roome at Whitehall, on Saint Stephens Night Last, at the Mariage of the Right Honourable the Earle of Somerset: And the Right Noble the Lady Francis Howard* (London: 1614) A2v–A3.

⁷⁵ Quotation cited in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 255.

⁷⁶ The military processions as a demonstration of “authorities’ ability to maintain social order” is discussed by Kathleen Ashley, “Introduction: The Moving Subjects of Processional Performance,” *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001) 9. Certainly, a masque procession, in which military elements were usually present, provides a similar message to England’s citizens, while reinforcing the military prowess of the country to foreigners as well.

⁷⁷ For further consideration of the gradual adaptation of firmly entrenched Tudor cultural materials to the reign of the new king see Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁷⁸ That many in the early modern period recognized explicit connections between fictionalized literary heroes and fictionalized masquing “heroes” is demonstrated by a passage from *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* where the anonymous author criticizes noblemen for “assum[ing] that they were created and ordained merely to appear at coronations and dress up in splendid uniforms of olden times, as though they were actors in an ancient masque playing the parts of a Roland, Oliver, Renaldo, or any other great hero for a day”; quoted in McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood* 26.

⁷⁹ For a discussion of Henry’s military and political aspirations see Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales*; Smuts, *Court Culture* 29–30; and Tom Bishop, “The Gingerbread Host: Tradition and Novelty in the Jacobean Masque,” *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington, Peter Holbrook and Leah Sinanoglou Marcus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 101–04.

⁸⁰ For a brief discussion of the earlier use of Merlin’s prophecy of a unified, peaceful Britain as it was applied to king James, see Roberta Florence Brinkley, *Arthurian Legend in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Octagon Books, 1967) 8–12.

⁸¹ From Howe’s account published in Stow’s *Annales* of 1615, reprinted in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 159.

⁸² The traditional spelling of the word “antimasque” signals its status as foil to the main masque; here Daniel selects the spelling “antemasque” to acknowledge the status of the dancers, indicating *Tethys’ Festival* was, in fact, a double masque with the Prince Charles and his companions functioning as a preamble to the central event. See Samuel Daniel, *The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the High and Mightie Prince Henrie, [...] Whereunto Is Annexed the Royall Maske, Presented by the Queene and Her Ladies, on Wednesday at Night Following* (London: 1610) E3.

⁸³ John Finet's observations quoted in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 192.

⁸⁴ Cupid hints at this same idea in *Love Restored*, the Twelfth Night masque of 1612, when he says of the king "To those bright beams I owe my life / And I will pay it in the strife / of duty back," to introduce the masque dances (236–238); Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*.

⁸⁵ However, the tradition of barriers and tilts, especially to commemorate James's March 24 accession, does continue at court until 1622. For a list of these events, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 179–80.

⁸⁶ Quotation cited in Holbrook, "Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace," 71. For Molin's full report, see Horatio F Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Venetian Series, 1603–1607*, vol. X (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1900) 501–24. For a brief discussion of the formative nature of Scottish violence on the king, see Smuts, *Court Culture* 24.

⁸⁷ In fact, the "tumult and clashing of arms" (23) and the "two drums, trumpets, and a confusion of martial music" (69–70) of the Iron Age are specifically condemned by their prominence in the antimasque. Pallas, with her "chariot" (1) and "shield" (70) banishes the overtly martial antimasque figures, reinforcing the concept of the wisdom with which military strength must be tempered.

⁸⁸ Both these masques are found in Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*.

⁸⁹ Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*. The significance of this masque in debates about British union is taken up by Martin Butler, "The Invention of Britain and the Early Stuart Masque," *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Nor is this the first Jacobean masque to address unity in the British Isles; see D. J. Gordon, *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

⁹⁰ Thomas Middleton, *Civitas Amor: The Cities Love* (London: 1616).

⁹¹ Rather than the specific context of monarchical pacifism I find here, Orgel reads the pastoral elements of this masque as the transformation of the king "to the god of power, the center of the universe," in Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) 51–53.

⁹² The long-term impact of the Thirty Years' War in England is explored by Jonathan Scott, "England's Troubles 1603–1702," *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). How the king's controversial decisions were addressed in the context of the popular stage is

considered by Hans Werner, “*The Hector of Germanie, or the Palsgrave, Prime Elector* and Anglo-German Relations of Early Stuart England: The View from the Popular Stage,” *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Frederick V’s central role in the war is considered in depth in Pursell, *The Winter King*.

⁹³ Graham Parry also reads *Augurs* in relationship to James’s pacificism, though not in conjunction with other masques highlighting the same policies; see Graham Parry, “The Politics of the Jacobean Masque,” *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, eds. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 111–12.

⁹⁴ Because he focuses exclusively on reforms in chivalry undertaken at Charles’ court, Adamson’s claim “Among the most effective accomplishments of the Caroline court was a redefining of the ideal of the knight, during the 1630s, no longer principally as a prosecutor of war, but now as the guardian of the Caroline peace” contradicts my assertions of the father’s attempts to reform knighthood to the same ends articulated in this section; see J. S. A. Adamson, “Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England,” *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993) 170.

⁹⁵ For a discussion of the Caroline “Cult of Love” see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 52–63; and Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 197–264.

⁹⁶ *The Theater of Apollo*, Royal ms. 18 A LXX, British Library, London.

⁹⁷ Buckingham finalized the marriage negotiations in Nov. of 1624, and King James died March 27, 1625.

⁹⁸ The masque demands either a trompe l’oeil depiction of the monarch, flanked by chariots occupied by Charles on one side and Elizabeth of Bohemia and her children on the other, or imagines those real-life personages to stand in tableaux in the background as a single, unnamed speaker addresses them. There is a choir, a spectacular light show, and the obligatory royal encomium, but no dancing; the piece d’ resistance of the masque, though, is its “fountaine of Aganippe, mother of Poetts, w^{ch} falling by degress vppon seuerall pretious, & trans-parent Rocks, setteth forth the variety of Witts-jmployment” (2r).

⁹⁹ Usually those who advocated English assistance for Frederick and Elizabeth against the Hapsburgs were incredibly distrustful of the prince’s alliance with a Catholic; see Smuts, *Court Culture* 31–36. Clamoring pamphleteers fueled the people’s concerns that a Spanish marriage would open the country to slow infiltration or outright attack, as Thomas Scott imagines in the voice of a Spanish agent in his *Vox Populi*: “Thus stands the state of that poore miserable country, which had never more people and fewer men. So that if my master should resolve upon an invasion, the time never fits as at this present, securitie of this

mariage and the disuse of armes having cast them into a dead sleepe,” in Thomas Scott, *Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne Translated According to the Spanish Coppie ; Which May Serve to Forwarn Both England and the Vnited Provinces How Farre to Trust to Spanish Pretences* (London: 1620).

¹⁰⁰ For detail of the king’s desires for his children’s marriages, and the years-long negotiations involved, see Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales* 75–85.

¹⁰¹ Prince Charles, the Duke of Buckingham, and Parliament eventually persuaded King James into offering some assistance to his daughter and her family; Buckingham was charged with organizing 10,000 troops for an expedition led by Ernst, Count of Mansfeld, to the Palatinate in early 1625. However, the king imposed conditions that fatally hamstrung the attempt, and the public readily held the unpopular royal favorite wholly responsible, see Pursell, *The Winter King* 217–32.

¹⁰² Given the marginal notation (one of only two in the manuscript), a second textual reference to “greatest Villiers” on folio r8, and its approximate date and possible anticipation of the forthcoming expedition, *The Theater of Apollo* may tentatively be associated with an individual seeking Buckingham’s patronage, rather than the king’s. Importantly, this masque is not alone in advocating a political position at odds with royal policy. For instance, Jonson’s *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* is often read as a corrective to the libidinous Jacobean court, while Shirley’s *The Triumph of Peace*, staged by the Inns of Court, seems to critique Charles’ claims to absolute monarchy. For *Pleasure Reconciled* see David Lindley, ed., *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995) xiv. For *The Triumph of Peace*, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 64–66; and Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* 215–23. A more general discussion of this principal is taken by David Lindley, “Courtly Play: The Politics of Chapman’s the Memorable Masque,” *The Stuart Courts*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2000) 43–46.

¹⁰³ *Neptune’s Triumph* was prepared for Twelfth Night, 1624, but was never performed, due to “a dispute over precedence between the French and Spanish ambassadors,” Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques* 504. Jonson recycled the main masque for the following year’s performance.

¹⁰⁴ Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques* 506.

¹⁰⁵ These masques include: *Tethys’ Festival* (1610), *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618), *For the Honor of Wales* (1618), *News from the New World Discovered on the Moon* (1620), *Pan’s Anniversary* (1620), *The Masque of Augurs* (1622), *Time Vindicated to Himself and his Honors* (1623), and *The Fortunate Isles, and Their Union* (1625).

¹⁰⁶ Though, as chapter one asserts, changes in the structure of the genre were anticipated in the Jacobean period and warranted by the principle of aesthetic *variety* by which the masque was organized.

¹⁰⁷ These masques include: *Love's Triumph Through Callipolis* (1631), *Albion's Triumph* (1632), *The Triumph of Peace* (1634), *The Triumph of the Prince D'Amour* (1636), and *Britannia Triumphans* (1638). During the Jacobean period, only one masque contained "triumph in the title," the canceled *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion*, a masque written to celebrate Prince Charles. An overview of the early modern "royal triumph" is discussed by Strong, *Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power* 25–37. Strong, however, does not address the Caroline masques specifically in this review. The religious overtones that Strong finds connected to these triumphs, connected to Divine Right theory, will be addressed in relation specifically to masques in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁸ The culture of honor extant at the Caroline court is summarized by James, *Society, Politics, and Culture* 392–95; and Caroline Hibbard, "The Theatre of Dynasty," *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). The king's attempts to reform the idea of chivalry into a "precise political or moral code" in contrast to Jacobean conceptions of knighthood is explored by Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England." See also James, *English Politics and the Concept of Honour*; Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* 174–264; Smuts, *Court Culture* 249–52; and Kevin Sharpe, "The Personal Rule of Charles I," *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government*, ed. Howard Tomlinson (London: MacMillan, 1983) 53.

¹⁰⁹ For a discussion of the "personality" expressed in Charles's masques compared to those of his father, see ch. IV "Platonic Politics," in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, especially 55. Charles's personal involvement in planning and preparing for his masques, also a marked contrast to his father, is discussed by Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* 187–88.

¹¹⁰ Murray Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques a La Cour De Charles Ier D'angleterre* (Paris: Du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1970) 130.

¹¹¹ *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond* (London: 1636) 26.

¹¹² The conflation of British myth with Roman history as a formulation for seventeenth-century Britain as the New Jerusalem, the second Rome, is addressed by Vaughan Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts* (London: Routledge, 1994) ch. II.

¹¹³ Stuart, *The True Law of Free Monarchies and Basilikon Doron* 150.

¹¹⁴ The genesis of this masque was a direct response to a the scathing *Histrion-Mastix* penned by William Prynne, a Lincoln's Inn member, and the infuriated king's demands of a show of loyalty from the Inns of Courts; see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 63–64.

¹¹⁵ For Whitelocke's description, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 539. The accounts of Sir Henry Herbert, Justinian Pagett, the Venetian Ambassador, Mr. Gerrard, and "The manner of the progression of the Masque" are reproduced on the previous page.

¹¹⁶ Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 541.

¹¹⁷ For consideration of chivalric reform at the Caroline court, see note 94 above.

¹¹⁸ Though we both stress the transformational impulse of this masque, Orgel offers a reading of *Albion's Triumph* as "a Platonic fable about the creation of a sacred monarch" in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 59–61.

¹¹⁹ The following chapter will consider the theological and religious implications of this and other Caroline masques in more detail.

¹²⁰ Carew is not specific about which masculine virtues explicitly define the "true" knight; he relies on the audience's understanding of the Arthurian myths to fill in the details.

¹²¹ Gender privilegedging, including mock rape, associated with "taking out the ladies" is addressed by Howard, *Politics of Courtly Dancing* ch. 2, esp. 37 and 40.

¹²² The "*coincidentia oppositorum*" of feminine and masculine traits I find expressed in this masque is considered in detail, particularly in relation to the "androgyny" of Sidney's *Arcadia*, by Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism : Literary Texts and Political Models* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990) 220–40. By contrast, Orgel's lengthy explication of this masque, out-lining the theme as both a "consolidation of royal power" and a justification of the new social and moral codes mandated at court, differs markedly from the reading offered here, though both stress the impulse to reformation of the masque; see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 66–70.

¹²³ Pursell, *The Winter King* 261 and 85.

¹²⁴ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 126.

¹²⁵ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 125. As early as 1624 Prince Charles, along with Buckingham, was working actively to raise men and funds for military action on behalf of his sister and brother-in-law to reclaim the Palatine, so this public proclamation of support is neither new nor surprising; see Pursell, *The Winter King* 217–29.

¹²⁶ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 127. Old-fashioned knights, also in need of reform, are again presented in the antimasque of Davenant's *Britania Triumphans* of 1638. This "MOCK ROMANSA" (372), replete with giants, damsels in distress, old fashioned knight-adventurers, and exaggerated, antiquated language. By contrast, Heroic Virtue will "Refine the ways of wooing, and prescribe / To valour nobler exercise than what / The ancient

knights-adventurers taught” (319–321), celebrating the reconciliation of “old with modern virtues” exemplified by Britanocles and his lords (485).

¹²⁷ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 127–28.

¹²⁸ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 128–30.

¹²⁹ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 130–31.

¹³⁰ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 133.

¹³¹ That the conjunction of metaphors of warfare, masquing, and marriage presented in this masque were—despite the obvious contradictions between them—apparently unproblematic to Caroline audiences is exemplified by their continued use in the period. In 1648, the implications of this odd juxtaposition become the primary plot of a play by Jasper Mayne, *The Armourous Warre* (London: 1648). In Act 2, scene 7, King Archidamus and his advisor Meleager discuss encampment of their enemy (who has eloped with the king’s sister) before a battle:

Arch. You describe
The preparations for a Wedding; This
Trim show can’t be intended for a fight.
Have they secur’d all this with Trenches too?
Have they Wals to their painted City? [...]
Surely *Euimedon* hath rais’d these forces
To make an Entertainment for my sister,
And make his Conquest of the Ladies show
More sweet, and Courtly.

¹³² The implications for female coyness in seventeenth-century poetry is addressed by Joshua Scodel, “The Pleasures of Restraint: The Mean of Coyness in Cavalier Poetry,” *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts* 38.2 (1996). As he observes, “Epithalamia also conventionally depict the bride’s virtuous resistance as the (unintended) spur to the husband’s increased pleasure, which makes the consummation of marriage sound uncomfortably close to rape” (264).

¹³³ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 134.

¹³⁴ Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques* 134–35. For a discussion of Charles’ on-going support of the Palatinate cause, see ch. 8 and 9 of Pursell, *The Winter King*.

¹³⁵ A long discussion of this arch can be found in D. J. Gordon, “Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones,” *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

¹³⁶ anon., *Corona Minervae. Or a Masque Presented before Prince Charles His Highnesse, the Duke of Yorke His Brother, and the Lady Mary, His Sister* (London: 1635) A2.

¹³⁷ anon., *Corona Minervae* A3v.

¹³⁸ *Britannia Triumphans*, produced by the Inns of Court for performance at Whitehall in 1634, seems to operate on a similar concept, but a careful reading of the iconography reveals a slightly different implication. Bellerophon, or Herioc Virtue, introduces the masquers and the setting of the main masque, the Palace of Fame; the figures of Arms and Mercury, or Science, balance each other in the midst of the palace façade, while Fame, in a high tower, triumphs above them (489–505). Although the images pair “Arms” and learning, again symbolized by Mercury, these twinned figures support Fame, rather than being controlled by her. Thus, in this masque, the martial potential is balanced, not dominated, an ideology perfectly in keeping with the elaborate Roman triumph that commenced the performance.

¹³⁹ *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond* 16–17.

¹⁴⁰ *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond* 17.

¹⁴¹ *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond* 21.

¹⁴² *The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond* 26.

¹⁴³ Orgel offers an extensive reading of this aspect of the masque in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 52–56.

¹⁴⁴ Indeed, as Orgel points out, Charles, the Inns of Court authors, and the audience could all understand this masque in divergent, contradictory ways. He emphasizes the lesson that Peace (the king’s prerogative) and Law (Parliament’s prerogative) explicitly contradicted Charles’ assertions of personal rule; see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 65–66.

¹⁴⁵ The probably opacity of these symbols, along with the recurrent tone of resignation and martyrdom implicit in the masque is discussed by Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court* 72–75.

Chapter 3

“We now shall hear, and see the forms of their devotion”: The Liturgical Masque

Masque as studied juxtaposition of *variety*, pleasure, and balance, masque as military display and dramatized foreign policy: thus far close attention to seventeenth-century expectations of the genre has yielded a richer and multi-layered understanding of the form. Yet, these two seemingly divergent characteristics hint at further layers. Balance and proportion, used to tame the infinity of *variety*, ritualize the form through careful attention to aesthetics and studied movements. Military displays, from the ceremonial presentation of impresa devices during the performance to formal triumphal entries, are likewise forms of ritual. Indeed, scholars frequently note the Caroline marriage of ceremony to chivalry cutting across diverse aspects of court culture, especially the Order of the Garter investitures.¹ The ritualized aspect of masques, especially at the Caroline court, has often been tangentially alluded to; in describing the middle portion of *Albion's Triumph*, Orgel states “the masque takes on the character of a religious mystery.”² However, a systematic inquiry into the exact nature of ceremony and ritual of the seventeenth-century masque has yet to be undertaken.³

Therefore, this chapter will examine the changing manifestations of ceremony in seventeenth-century masque.⁴ Previously considered aspects of the masque, including the strict use of aesthetic symmetry and balance and the knightly rituals associated with both the early Jacobean masques and the Caroline masques in general, establish two broadly accepted—and therefore widely expected—components of masque ritual. A third

component, ritual and ceremony that derives from liturgy,⁵ will now be taken up. For a great part of the Jacobean period, masque writers struggled to discover the degree and type of liturgical borrowings appropriate for the secular political ceremony of masque. Therefore, some masques evince only the faintest glance to “rites,” while others borrow from extant court ceremonies, rather than religious ones, to create the ritualized action of the performance. The relationship of the antimasque to the carnival impulse of traditional holiday customs also succeeded in linking masque to the church in less tangible ways. On the other hand, special events, especially the celebration of a wedding at court, warranted a greater degree of liturgical inclusion. In short, the quasi-liturgical nature of any given Jacobean masque depended to a large degree on the circumstances of the performance and the individual masque writer’s—or patron’s—sense that sacred inclusions were fit and proper during secular ceremony.⁶ As a result of the nebulous and complex nature of quasi-liturgy in the Jacobean period, this chapter will spend a good deal of time examining the range of solutions masque writers employed as they attempted to balance the demands of ritual action, occasion, royal prerogative, and propriety.

As Charles began to come to power, during his father’s decline in the early 1620s, royal prerogative insisted on the amplification of ceremony, in both the secular and sacred institutions of England. Consequently, the overt use of liturgical elements increased dramatically in masques toward the end of the Jacobean period and especially during the Caroline years. Because it parallels so closely the Laudian reforms occurring in the Anglican Church⁷ during the 1630s, this trend is hardly surprising. The increasing importance of quasi-liturgy in the Caroline masque is heavy-handed, less complicated, and also widely acknowledged by early modern scholars;⁸ as a result, this chapter will instead focus on the

larger implications of the trend, rather than detailing its traits through each individual masque. Read against the vestigial and complicated liturgical inclusions of the early Jacobean period, the ritual aspects of the Caroline period essentially transformed the masque into a secularized liturgical ceremony.

The impact of ceremonies, both sacred and secular, upon daily life during the early modern period, especially life at court, is difficult to conceive of today.⁹ The daily offices of the English service, matins (or morning prayer) and evensong, provided a simple, yet reliable structure to guide daily devotion. In secular life, both engrained and legislated customs relating to social rank dictated public appearance and behavior; the formal use of honorifics and reverences, observing precedence of station, and strict adherence to sumptuary laws regulated social interaction with the same rigidity that *The Book of Common Prayer* regulated spiritual life.¹⁰ At court, ceremonies of all kinds were ubiquitous; knightly investitures, the execution of state business, even meals all partook, in some degree, of ritualized or ceremonial behavior.¹¹ Indeed the 1622 Whitehall Banqueting House,¹² where so many masques took place, functioned at other times like a reception hall for state ceremonies. The arrival of a new ambassador required a meticulously choreographed ceremony of welcome in which courtiers, ambassador, and king all played a role.¹³ Sir John Finet, Master of Ceremonies for both Stuarts, records countless diplomatic receptions that graced the new space.¹⁴ The first audience of a new-come Russian ambassador in December of 1628 illustrates the carefully choreographed behavior of the English and Russians alike:

At the Court Gate he was receyved, as his other predecessors had bene, by a baron, my lord of Castle Island, and at the top of the stayres by the earl of Monmouth,

with eache of them three of four gentlemen, the Kyngs servants, for company thence [...]. He went towards his, his [sic.] Majestye, the earles and lordes guyding him and most of his servants (not above 10 or 12), preceeding him and only 3 (whereof two were his interpreters) and a secretary carrying his two letters following him. At this fyrst reverence, after that countrys maner with his knees and head bowed to the ground, he uncovered, then putt on agayne, then agayne uncovered, performing his reverence as before and so the thyrd tyme, when the Kyng only rose up put off his hatt and, immediately covering, sat down agayne.

The ambassador proceeding to his speech, which containd little else than the titles of his master and a message of congratulation for health [...]. He after presented other letters from the emperours father patriarche of Russia, which done he ascended the steps of the State kyssed the Kynges hand and retyred with reverences as he entered.¹⁵

Of course these ceremonies of state, complete with ordered processions, set speeches, and the measured approach to the throne, echo the ordered processions, speeches, and similar obeisance for the royal dais so prevalent in court masques.¹⁶ It is important to remember that, for both occasions, the location of the dais and throne remained constant, at the “top” of the room; when the masquing stage was erected, it was at the “bottom,” concealing the grand doors through which guests normally entered the space.

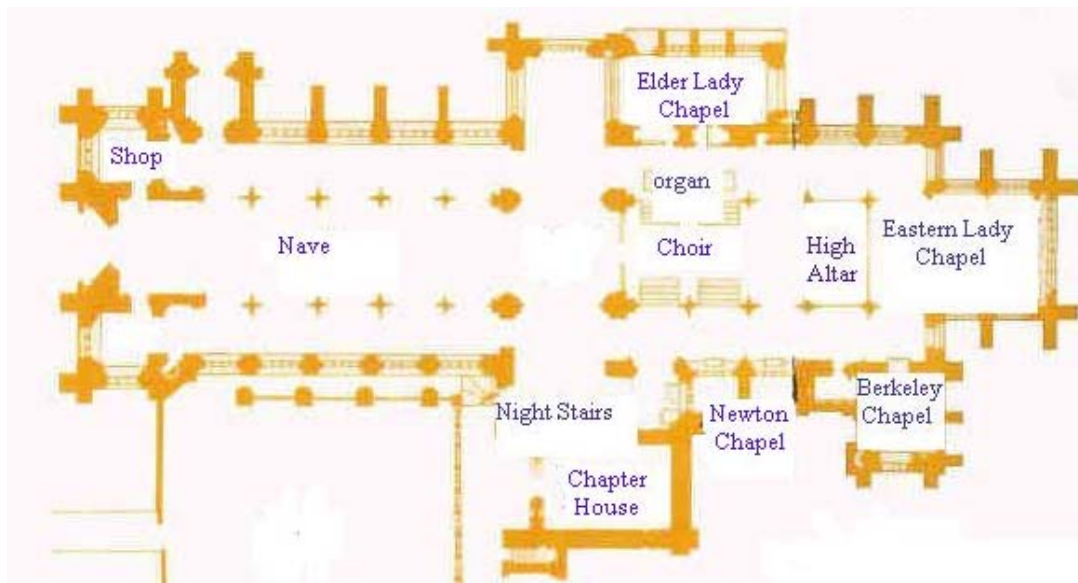
With its fixed dais, ordered columns, and bright clerestory, the 1622 Banqueting House can easily be regarded as the secular equivalent to the Palace’s Chapel Royal, old St. Paul’s, or Westminster Abbey.¹⁷ Although graceful Ionic and Corinthian columns replace the elaborately ornamented stone arches of the medieval High Gothic chapels, the effect of soaring vertical space remains the same. In the Banqueting House, Figure 3.1, the paired columns of the front and back walls and narrow panels of the ceiling architecturally delineate the nave and side aisles in the space, as opposed to the massive columns and flying buttresses that function in the same way in gothic cathedrals, Figure 3.2; the dais lacks a rood screen or choir, but nonetheless substitutes for the altar at the front.¹⁸ The three major horizontal sections of the Banqueting House, again delineated by the ceiling, approximate the narthex,

nave, and chancel both in their relative proportions and in their increasing intimacy with the altar/dais. In this space, it was only appropriate that secular ceremonies of state, including masques, were carried out.

Figure 3.1: Banqueting House Interior, facing the bottom of the room¹⁹



Figure 3.2: Bristol Cathedral Floor plan Detail²⁰



The adaptation of ecclesiastical architecture to civic ceremonial space suggested above was a practical, commonsense solution that both ignored and complicated a strict ideological division between sacred and secular attached to the Banqueting House. Yet, in an age when ordinary people were routinely persecuted, and even executed, for religious conviction of many stripes, this type of intermixing of pagan or secular and Christian impulses was, paradoxically, more or less tolerated by the educated and artistic elite. While the poetry of Robert Herrick, an ordained clergyman, provides some of the best known examples—“Some bless the cart,... Some cross the fill-horse” (“The Hock-Cart,” 19–21)²¹—even important ecclesiastics like Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, were forthright in admitting the relationship of the English Christian church to its pagan past. In his *A Learned Discourse of Ceremonies Retained and Used in Christian Churches*, Andrewes observes:

as many Learned men have reason to conjecture, S. Pauls Church in London to have been the Heathen Temple of Diana: For that the adjacent and skirtbuildings unto the Church are called the chambers of Diana; As also that in Edw. 1. time (as our

Chroniclers report) in Pauls Church-yard, were digged up an innumerable number of Oxeheads, which the Learned know were anciently the Sacrifices unto Diana: So certain I am that S. Peters Church now called Westminster Abby, was anciently the Temple of Apollo; For so it appeareth by one of the Charters of King Edgar made to Westminster Abby.²²

Similarly, in the first part of his treatise, Andrewes dismisses the idea that existing liturgical ceremony should be abolished simply because it derived from traditional Jewish or pagan rites.²³ Nor was he alone in admitting the interconnectedness of human religious ceremonies throughout the ages; in his “To the Reader,” Andrewes editor, Edward Leigh, cites books by a Frenchman and a Scotsman addressing the same topic; Polydor Vergil wrote one as early as 1502; and Andrewes himself references numerous Biblical, patristic and historic texts widely available to the reading public while making the same point.²⁴ The fluidity of the line between the Christian and sanctified and the secular or pagan addressed by these authors, not surprisingly, extends to masques at court as well, helping to explain the degree of comfort that some masque writers found with liturgically-inspired inclusions in a nominally secular form.

A cluster of synonyms hints that, from the outset of the Jacobean period, masque writers were, indeed, comfortable with the genre’s tendencies to the ceremonial or liturgical. In his 1604 *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, Samuel Daniel employs the term “rites” three times in the first forty lines of speech.²⁵ Night calls upon her son, Sleep, to present the audience with:

[...] strange sights,
Strange visions and unusual properties,
Unseen of latter ages, ancient rites
Of gifts divine, wrapp’d up in mysteries. (222–225)

The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides two connotations for the word “rite” in use during the early modern period, the first as an act performed during a specifically religious, though

not necessarily Christian, occasion, the second a more generalized formal custom.²⁶ The other two terms in the cluster are roughly synonymous with “rite”; “ceremony” connotes a similar range of sacred and secular meanings, while “mystery” takes both Christian and more general, usually pagan, overtones.²⁷ Like Daniel in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, Ben Jonson employs both “rites” and “mysteries” in the wedding masque *Hymenaei*, 1606: “Save, save the virgins; keep your hallowed lights / Untouched, and with their flame defend our rites,” (109–110) charges Hymen when the “humours and affections” threaten in the opening of the masque, while Reason chastises “What ignorance / Could yield you so profane as to advance / One thought in act against these mysteries?” (125–127).²⁸ In *Tethys’ Festival*, 1610, Daniel selects “ceremony” (270) to describe a section of the masque in his stage directions. Later masques by Jonson, including 1609’s *The Masque of Queens* (453) and 1611’s *Oberon* (41 and 314), and George Chapman, *The Memorable Masque* (471) of 1613,²⁹ repeat “rites,” while Francis Beaumont favors “ceremony” in the dedicatory epistle of his 1613 *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray’s Inn* (38).³⁰ All three terms signify choreographed, ritualized actions undertaken, in every connotation of the synonyms, in a formal context. On the whole, though, the possible shades of meanings for this cluster of terms incline toward religious contexts. These masque ceremonies are neither overtly Christian nor overtly pagan; either extreme could be regarded as blasphemy, idolatry, or both, though the ceremony itself did not occur in church.³¹ However, with the king, God’s divinely chosen representative on earth, occupying the dais at the front of the room, and his consort the most prominent “divine” honored during the early performances, the pattern of language establishes that, from the outset, Stuart masque occupied a nebulous, complicated position in relation to “proper” English liturgy. In fact, those audience members paying close

attention might be reminded of the full title of a very common text: “*The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, And other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England.*” The frequency with which this cluster of synonyms appears in early masques, especially their insistent use by Daniel, illustrates the degree to which both masque writers and audiences understood and accepted masque as quasi-religious ritual even in the first years of James’ reign.

Moreover, careful attention to the tableaux and subsequent action on stage often highlights impressive, formal moments of secular ceremony. Jonson’s *The Masque of Blackness*, 1605, commences with such a moment. The curtain, painted with a wooded landscape, drops to the stage floor, revealing a moving seascape populated by sea monsters, blue-haired tritons, mermaids, the blue sea-god Oceanus and the “*Ethiop*” deity Niger (44) riding giant sea-horses, and Niger’s twelve daughters, seated “*in an extravagant order*” (56) in a giant scallop shell. As the sea-horses surge and the shell dances on the artificial water, the sea-maids and a triton sing “Sound, sound aloud / The welcome of the orient flood / Into the west” (83–85), while the others play “*loud music*” (81). Static save the artificial movement of the sea, the sea horses, and the shell, this tableau transforms an exciting, but frequent court ceremony—the arrival of a foreign ambassador—into a hyper-oriental fantasy. The hosts have blue hair, wear garlands of seaweed, and bedeck themselves with coral; the guests’ pearls gleam against their dark skin and tight, black curls. However, the music accompanying the grand entrance and the speeches of welcome essentially mimics the ambassadorial pattern. The familiar court ritual is rehabilitated through the masque’s exoticism,³² reminding jaded courtiers of the awe and reverence they should not only exhibit externally, but also feel internally when witnessing important occasions of statehood. The

resulting synergy of emotional reaction within the audience, always the desired result of the onslaught of the senses grounding ceremonial display, further amplifies the perception of ceremony within the masque itself. In turn, the newly-energized ceremony of statehood itself augments the extant ritualistic effects of the terminal dances and impresa fans. This consideration does not yet include the “rites” of purification (217), meant to wash the dark-skinned nymphs to pristine whiteness, Aethiopia describes at the end of the masque. Ritual layered on ritual layered on ritual—as early as 1605, even seemingly straightforward masques are so fat with ceremony their quasi-liturgical potential is easy to anticipate.

As Jonson’s craft matures, he further exploits these nascent liturgical impulses in the form. For instance, in *Oberon*, Prince Henry’s masque of 1611, the rambunctious satyrs who first populate the masque world are scolded “Chaster language! These are nights / Solemn to the shining rites / Of the Fairy Prince and knights,” (41–43) by Silenus, their leader. Silenus’ warning not only establishes the fact of the coming ritual and contrasts the satyrs’ antimasque antics with the decorousness of the masquer-knights, but it also situates the satyrs as neophytes, unfamiliar with the protocol of the knightly ritual. Rather than echoing actual court events as he did in *The Masque of Blackness*, Jonson implies a history to the ceremony of the main masque through his novice satyrs; with history, the fictional ceremony gains the weight of tradition and authority and the support of a group of people dedicated to its purposes and continuance.³³ As the sylvan guard explains what the novice satyrs are about to see, the fictional ceremony described in the masque intertwines with the reality of the court’s Christmas celebrations into a meta-ritual:

Give place and silence; you were rude too late.
This is a night of greatness and of state,
Not to be mixed with light and skipping sport;
A night of homage to the British court,

And ceremony due to Arthur's chair,
 From our bright master, Oberon the fair;
 Who with these knights, attendants, here preserved
 In fairyland, for good they have deserved
 Of yond' high throne, are come of right to pay
 Their annual vows; and all their glories lay
 At feet, and tender to this only great
 True majesty, restored in this seat;
 To whose sole power and magic they do give
 The honour of their being, (251–264).

As the real and ideal worlds housed in the Banqueting House are united through the sylvan's speech, so too are the purposes of the intertwined ceremonies. The masque is given in real "homage to the British court," especially the actual king who presides over it, a decidedly secular purpose. Yet, in the fiction of the masque, the ceremony of the knight-masquers assumes a sacred character, becoming a pilgrimage "to Arthur's chair" "to pay their annual vows."³⁴ Like pilgrims to Delphi, Mecca, Canterbury, or Jerusalem, the knight-masquers travel to give thanks and praise to the deity "to whose sole power and magic they do give the honour of their being." Unlike pilgrims to Delphi and Mecca, however, the knight-masquers are anything but pagan, as they practice the absolute faith demanded of all Christians, the complete giving over of self to the power and protection of God—translated through divine right theory to his kingly representative on earth.³⁵ In the sylvan guard's speech, Jonson engenders a quasi-liturgy, a ceremony with history and tradition, a body of devotees enacting the ceremony and inducting new members, an impulse of thanksgiving and self-sacrifice mirroring the theological grounding of Christian ceremony. Seen in this light, the ritual actions that follow this speech—the intricate terminal dances and elaborate music of the masque proper—become a kind of liturgy of state,³⁶ a tentative facsimile of the daily offices and sacraments of the established church.³⁷

Even an obscure masque, like Jonson's *Love Restored*, performed on Twelfth Night, 1612,³⁸ manifests traces of liturgical influence. Its frothy antimasque is brimming with the current events tidbits and antic concern with masquing that so characterize Jonson's middle-period pieces; "How! No masque, no masque? I pray you say, are you sure on't?" (35–36) demands Robin Goodfellow immediately after his entrance. Moreover—as Plutus grumbles, "Let 'em embrace more frugal pastimes!" (140–141)—finances have been scaled back, and Inigo Jones has not been employed for the setting and designs. The plot is simple; drawn by the heat and light emanated by the king, Cupid has escaped from Plutus' captivity and demands the return of his bow and arrows from his captor. Jonson's vague nod to Platonism is completely conventional, as is his casting of the masquers as "the ten ornaments / That do each courtly presence grace" (241–242). Extensive cultural references—obscure even with detailed notes—light prose, conventional Platonic platitudes, and a stripped-down text free of virtually all stage directions: in the midst of so much that makes *Love Restored* seem exactly like every other lesser-known Jonsonian masque, its liturgical underpinnings can easily be overlooked. Yet, Cupid declares, "To those bright beams I owe my life, / And I will pay it in the strife / of duty back" (236–238). As with *Oberon*, the real and fictional ceremonies of the masque become inseparable, united through the altar/dais upon which each is grounded. To Cupid, a subject's duty to the king requires the same humbleness and gratitude as does the Christian's duty to God; life, the debt owed, is the same to each. The faithful subject can offer only himself and his thanksgiving, either through the ritual of communion or through the ritual of dance. Masque is the ceremony of that grateful thanksgiving.

In contrast to Jonson's subtlety, Samuel Daniel is more forthright in echoing the rituals of the church on stage. In his *Tethys' Festival* of 1610, before the lady masquers begin to dance, they:

[...] *marched up with winding meanders like a river, till they came to the Tree of Victory, which was a bay erected at the right side of the state, upon a little mound there raised, where they offer their several flowers in golden urns which they bare in their hands, whilst a soft music of twelve lutes and twelve voices, [...] entertained the time, [...].* (251–255)

This procession, bringing them from the bottom to the top of the hall, transfigures the masquers into penitents; the direct proximity of the king and “Apollo's tree / The Tree of Victory” (264–265) in the “chancel” of the Banqueting House allows no confusion about who the ladies are petitioning. Not only do they carry offerings, “flowers / From out their wat'ry bowers” (262–263), but they also “sacrifice their vows, / And wish an everlasting spring / Of glory to the ocean's King” (267–269). The “soft music” further enhances the solemnity and import of the “*ceremony*” (270). Indeed, rather than the mixed-sexes revels dances, which are traditionally regarded as the “climax” of court masques,³⁹ the musical cues, technical wizardry, and motions of the performers all underscore the ladies' procession to the dais as the central action of this performance. In fact, as the song that allows the dancers to pause following the first terminal dance states:

If joy had other figure
Than sounds and words and motion
To imitate the measure
And height of our devotion,
This day it had been showed; (273–277).

The dancing and music of the masque proper relate the “devotion” that Tethys and her ladies feel for Apollo, but their “joy” is more aptly expressed by “other figure,” the procession preceding the dancing. In short, Daniel emphasizes the act of worship, not the dancing, as

the heart of *Tethys' Festival*. The masque flirts with idolatry, locating the king as the focus of quasi-religious devotion, and it leans heavily on the choreographed processions of the established church to do so.⁴⁰ Such potential blasphemy is justified by divine-right theory, but the distinction between church and state in this moment of the masque is basically nonexistent. While Jonson's masques suggest that the intermingling of James' official titles—King of England and Supreme Head of the Church of England—is permissible during court celebrations, Daniel's masque asserts that it is, in fact, desired.

Contributing to the vaguely ecclesiastical feel of these early masques, and indeed, most of Jonson's mature court pieces, is the relationship of the antimasque to the traditional folk customs of the liturgical year.⁴¹ Although they do not borrow from ecclesiastical elements or suggest in small ways the rituals of the church (as elements of the main masques do), the rowdy cupids, caricatured British yokels, and allegorical phantasms of Jonson's antimasques relate directly to the Lords of Misrule, boy bishops, and general festive merriment associated with the season of Christmas, Epiphany, Candlemas (or the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin), and Shrovetide.⁴² Of course, this same period of time—December 25 to roughly early March, depending on the date of Easter—is the season that masques, plays, balls, and other festivities graced the winter court, marking the apex of the social and cultural calendar each year. A calendar of masques addressed by this study is found in Appendix A; of the 58 masques listed, 50 of them were performed during the winter liturgical/winter court season. Perhaps no masque better exemplifies the intrinsic connections between the genre and the carnival impulse of winter festivities better than Jonson's *Christmas His Masque*, performed in 1616.⁴³ "Old Gregory Christmas" introduces himself—"though I come out of Pope's Head Alley, as good a Protestant as any i' my parish" (15–16)—and leads his ten children:

Misrule, Carol, Minced Pie, Gambol, Post and Pair, New Year's Gift, Mumming, Wassail, Offering, and Baby Cake. These characters span the range of association typical of carnival-inspired custom: the nod to the church with Offering, the merry union of gospel lesson with folk song of Carol, the practical charity of Minced Pie, Wassail, and Baby Cake, and the secular customs of Misrule, gaming, and gifting. If this hodge-podge of secular and liturgical traditions seems odd, one must only remember the modern practice of baking a plastic baby into a Mardi Gras king cake—a tradition where the infant Jesus, Lentan strictures against leavened foods, charity, hospitality, and excess are all wrapped into a sugar-dusted dessert. In a notable deviation from the standard masquing form, these ten festive characters provide all the music and dancing of the masque; no nobles participate and there is no formal antimasque/masque division. As Christmas sings, simply:

Now their intent is about to present,
With all the appurtenances,
A right Christmas, as of old it was,
To be gathered out of the dances;
Which they do bring, and afore the king,
The queen and prince, as it were now
Drawn here by Love, who, over and above,
Doth draw himself i' the gear too. (152–159)

Keeping an “old-fashioned” Christmas, a policy supported by James but explicitly legislated by his son,⁴⁴ meant welcoming the pranksters of Misrule, the carolers, the gamers, and the tendencies to excess of both food and drink anthropomorphized by Christmas's bevy of children; each year, the court did just that as rowdy antimasquers presented dances before the royal family to commence the masques at court.

In the first decade of James' reign, even as masque manifested as a nebulous form of secularized liturgy, performed in an important ceremonial space analogous to the major sees of London and Westminster, the inclusion of conspicuous ecclesiastical elements occurred

infrequently. Jonson's *The Masque of Beauty*, 1608, provides a rare example: "*In the arbours were placed the musicians, who represented the shades of the old poets, and were attired in a priestlike habit of crimson and purple, with laurel garlands*" (215–217).

Musicians as priests appear again in 1611's *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly*, but only become commonplace in the 1620s. The priest-musician character is a practical solution to a logistical problem of staging masques, the same problem Broadway directors face when the music calls for a chorus to burst spontaneously into song around the lead performers. The complex solo-chorus responsive singing, commonly used in the cathedral tradition, is prevalent in masque music, creating an affinity between clerics and masque musicians.

Additionally, the elite singers of the Chapel Royal, certainly the trebles, but perhaps also some adult singers, were employed to perform in masques, further connecting the vocalists with sacred tradition. Despite the presence of priest-like figures in both masques, neither masque designates the setting as sacred ground. In *Beauty*, the priests occupy arbors or delicate gardens surrounding the Throne of Beauty; in the text to *Love Freed*, Jonson explains that they are "*the power of wisdom in the muses' ministers, by which name all that have the spirit of prophecy are styled, and such they are that need to encounter Ignorance and Folly*" (252–254). Other masques of the same period also favor secular locations.

Queens presents the House of Fame, *Tethys' Festival* first a busy harbor and then Tethys' caverns near the Tree of Victory, and *Oberon Arthur's Palace*; only Saint George's Portico (134) of *Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610) could approximate a sacred space during performance.

In short, the affinity between the Banqueting House and houses of worship, the pervasive use of the term "rites" and its synonyms by various masque writers, the traditional

associations between holiday festival and the antimasque, and the tableaux and dramatic action of the masques themselves all hint at the slippery, mutable boundary between the secular ceremonies of court and sacred ceremonies, both Christian and otherwise. Elements, like Daniel's offertory urns or Jonson's priest-like costumes, that cross between the secular and sacred not only recede easily into the complex tapestries of the masques in their entirety, but also remain fairly theologically slippery, lacking definitive Christian references and insulating the writers and audiences alike from charges of idolatry or blasphemy. Yet, in their ambiguous forms, the elements of court masque reminiscent of sacred ceremony demonstrate writers' attempts to formulate the proper relationship between the liturgy of the state and the liturgy of the church. That the boundary was tenuous and slippery and a matter of dispute among various masque writers is hardly surprising, given the widely acknowledged relationship of Christian cathedrals to earlier, pagan religious sites and also the early modern comfort with mixing secular and sacred influences within single poetic and artistic works in general. Nonetheless, through their unequivocal impulse toward liturgical ceremony, these early Jacobean masques foreshadow the transformations that Charles would bring to the genre.

The dramatic increase in the prominence of ecclesiastical borrowings apparent in the Caroline masque has one important Jacobean precedent. Special circumstances, frequently an important wedding at court,⁴⁵ often permitted greater liturgical borrowings in masques than otherwise seemed appropriate. Between the years 1606 and 1614 there were at least five of these important weddings. In 1606, the Earl of Essex married Frances Howard, daughter

of the Earl of Suffolk, and Jonson produced the paired performances of *Hymenaei* and *Barriers at a Marriage*.⁴⁶ The following year, James, Lord Hay, a favorite Scots lord, was matched with Honora Denny, daughter of Lord Denny, in an effort to promote stronger ties between the countries; Thomas Campion created his first masque, *Lord Hay's Masque* for this event. In 1608, another court marriage united Elizabeth Radcliffe, daughter of the Earl of Sussex, with Viscount Haddington, and Jonson was again called upon, penning *The Haddington Masque*. Three masques were performed for the royal wedding of February 1613, *The Lord's Masque* by Campion, *The Memorable Masque* by George Chapman for Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn, and *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* by Francis Beaumont. In December of the same year, after considerable scandal and a nasty, public annulment of her first marriage, Frances Howard married her lover, the future Earl of Somerset, another favorite of the king; two masques⁴⁷ were also produced for this event, Campion's *The Somerset Masque* and *The Masque of Flowers* by an unknown poet.

In addition to the expected cluster of language asserting the ritualistic character of these wedding masques—and all them make copious use of “rites” and its synonyms—the tableaux and on-stage actions contribute significantly to the effect of liturgy in these masques.

Hymenaei commences with a mock-nuptial; from one side enter the groom and five attendants carrying candles, from the other appear Hymen, several ceremonial attendants, the bride, and musicians. The five ceremonial candles are borrowed from Plutarch; the torches, nuptial wreaths, and details of the bride's costume are likewise derived from classical sources; and the altar is dedicated to Juno,⁴⁸ grounding the ceremony in Roman traditions Jonson gleaned from his extensive reading. However, only those erudite audience members knowledgeable about the details of Roman custom would appreciate the accuracy of this

reenactment,⁴⁹ for Hymen's speech appropriates the Roman elements into Jonson's larger theme, which focuses on submission of self to Reason to create the ideal married union:

Herself a snowy fleece doth wear,
And these her rock and spindle bear,
To show that nothing which is good
Gives check unto the highest blood. (162–165)

Reason's speech occurs well into the action of the masque, after the entrance and first dance of the "humours and affections" who attempt to disturb the nuptials. Therefore, most audience members would react instinctually to the ceremony on stage—a bridal procession to an altar lead by a figure in priest-like garments, for Hymen wears "*a saffron coloured robe, his under vestures white [...] a yellow veil of silk on his left arm*" (44–46). Hymen's yellow silk sash seems to be a maniple, an ecclesiastical garment conventionally worn by priests on their left forearm during Eucharist. The colors of his robes, white with rich yellow, are the liturgically appropriate colors both for high feast days, like Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Trinity Sunday, and for weddings.⁵⁰ Moreover, the procession is accompanied by a pair of singers, who immediately establish—for those who remain in doubt—the sacredness of the proceedings:

Bid all profane away;
None here may stay
To view our mysteries
But who themselves have been,
OR will in time be seen
The self same sacrifice. (61–66)

Despite their Roman heritage, the opening moments of *Hymenaei* would be clearly evocative of the Christian marriage rites performed earlier that same day, the actors on stage twins for the bridal couple in the audience.

The implicit baptism of pagan elements appears again and again throughout the early Jacobean wedding masques. Temples are used in Chapman's *Memorable Masque*⁵¹ and in *The Masque of Flowers*,⁵² the former "erected to [Fortune's] daughter Honour, and figuring this kingdom" (146–147) and the later, flanking a large gate in the center of the stage, dedicated to Silenus (wine) and Kawasha (tobacco) respectively (67–69). Above the military encampment of Beaumont's *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* "was placed Jupiter's altar, gilt, with three great tapers upon golden candle-sticks burning upon it" (294–295); the knight-masquers first appear "as consecrated persons, all in veils, like to copes, [...] and over their heads high mitres with long pedants behind falling from them" (288–291). Moreover, as they did in a few non-nuptial masques, musicians frequently appear in clerical garb: Hymen's priests in Jonson's *Haddington Masque*⁵³ (275); Chapman's Pheobades who attend the masquers (485) and Eunomia who presides at the temple (249); Beaumont's priests of Jupiter (296); and the "Garden-gods" or "Priests" (307, 350) of *The Masque of Flowers*. The priests sometimes even sing hymns during the course of the ceremonies;⁵⁴ Hymen's priests are charged "To chant their hymns" (388) in *The Haddington Masque*, while Honour describes the first song of the Phoebades as "This superstitious hymn, sung to the Sun" (520). With their rigid structure of stanzaic divisions, only certain musical pieces in masques could appropriately be called hymns. The Phoebades's song, in the simple *abab* tetrameter of long meter qualifies perfectly, while the irregular couplets and concluding tag of Jonson's epithalamion are significantly less traditional in form. Campion, who composed music in addition to poetry for his masques, borrows another sacred musical form for his *Lord Hay's Masque*, the motet, defined by the *OED* as "A short vocal composition, *esp.* a polyphonic piece for liturgical use or for setting a religious text."⁵⁵ That Campion

intended to echo the elaborate style of cathedral music is attested to not only by his repeated use of the term in his stage directions, but also in his description of the music itself: “*All this time of procession the six cornets and six chapel voices sung a solemn motet of six parts made upon these words*” (425–427). Of course, the highly skilled boys of the Chapel Royal would be well prepared for the intricate contrapuntal lines and delicate text painting implied by Campion’s term. Jonson and Chapman’s hymns would be quite straightforward by comparison.

As careful consideration of *Hymenaei* demonstrated, animation on stage further intensifies the liturgical potential of these masques. Consequently, Campion’s *Lord Hay’s Masque* opens with a ritual sanctification by Flora, Zephyrus, and several attendants; they scatter flowers across the stage as Flora announces:

[...] though we careless fling
About this sacred place, let none profane
Think that these fruits from common hills are ta’en,
Or vulgar vallies which do subject lie
To winter’s wrath and cold mortality.
But these are hallowed and immortal flowers
With Flora’s hands gathered from Flora’s bowers. (137–143)

Without employing the visual clues of altar or temple, Campion nonetheless establishes the stage space as consecrated in the first moments of the performance. In the same way that the threat of violence brought by the “humours and affections” interrupted Hymen’s nuptial ceremony in *Hymenaei*, the tranquility of Flora’s ritual is soon disturbed by conflict. Night angrily informs Flora and Zephyrus that Cynthia, in revenge for the loss of one of her maids (a flattering reference to the bride), has metamorphosed nine knights into golden trees. The transformation of the trees back into the masquer-knights, a two-step process, comprises the

body of the masque. First, Night returns them to their mortal shape, three at a time, in a pseudo-laying on of hands:

By virtue of this wand and touch divine,
These sylvan shadows back to earth resign;
Your native forms resume, with habit fair,
While solemn music shall enchant the air. (327–330)

Unlike Milton in a similar moment in *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle*, Campion is utterly vague cuing the action on stage, leaving a modern reader with no sense of where on the masquer-knights' persons Night touched her wand or how many times she used it on each man. Nevertheless, the baptismal quality of the scene remains the same. The enslaved form—of Milton's Lady or Campion's tree-bound knights—is materially changed through the purification of divine hands,⁵⁶ just as the Christian "slave to sin and death" is reborn through the ritual cleansing of baptism.

However, the masquer-knights' transformation is still incomplete: "*They appeared then in false habits, yet very fair, and in form not much unlike their principal and true robe. It was made of green taffeta cut into leaves and laid upon cloth of silver, and their hats were suitable to the same*" (338–342). These sylvan garments, "wherein disguised you made / Stealths to her nymphs through the thick forest's shade" (405–406), must become a sacrificial offering to Cynthia by the knights themselves in order for their metamorphosis to be complete. The set is dominated by the "*tree of Diana*," which rises far above Flora's bower, the House of Night, and the now-empty grove where the golden trees stood, almost to the window at the top of the room (18–28).

And so in order one by one, a torch-bearer and a masquer, they march on towards Diana's tree. When the masquers came by the house of Night, every one by his Hour [the torch-bearer] received his helmet, and had his false robe plucked off, and bearing it in his hand, with a low honour offered it at the tree of Chastity; and so

in his glorious habit, with his Hour before him, marched to the bower of Flora.
(411–418)

During this procession and offering, Campion's polyphonic motet is performed by the six Chapel boys and the six cornets. Its fourteen lines of poetry belie the length, complexity, or effect of the composition, though it signals—together with the arc of the plot, the visual organization of the space, and the motions of the masquers themselves—a grand climax in the action. Thus the masquers' ritualized offering, made "thankfully" (407) and "With spotless minds" (428), not only finalizes their transformation, but also invokes through both music and language, the second sacrament of the English Church. The liturgical potential of the moment is created, not through the visual signposts of temple and altar, but instead through the performed elements of the masque. Nonetheless Campion is apparently comfortable with sacred theology in certain secular contexts; Night accentuates trinitarian inviolability during the ceremony of transformation—"The best of numbers is contained in three" (361) she proclaims.

Where Jonson and Campion glanced at sacramental liturgy in their masques, Chapman finds inspiration in evensong. At the temple of Honour, a virgin priest, Eunomia (or Law) presides; to this temple an embassy from the new world arrives after "hearing of the most royal solemnity of these sacred nuptials" (308–309). Honour invites the evening rites of the Phoebades, who in turn reveal "a troop of the noblest Virginians" (306) sitting in a mine of gold as the sun sets above them:

Behold the sun's fair priests, the Phoebades,
Their evening service in an hymn address
To Phoebus setting; which we now shall hear,
And see the forms of their devotion there. (502–505)

While the masquers remain seated, the Phoebades alternate long-meter stanzas between solo voices and full chorus, creating an effect of cantor and choral response similar to cathedral choir tradition. The music, however, is a far cry from the quiet contemplation and thanksgiving that is the English “evening service.” Where *The Book of Common Prayer* directs that every night the service conclude with the “Collect for ayde against all perils,”⁵⁷ the Phoebades sing an evening aubade for Phoebus and Tethys, celebrating their lovemaking. Through Honour’s encouragement, though, the Pheobades paeon gradually changes focus from the literal sun to the figurative one occupying the dais at the head of the room:

Virginian princes, ye must now renounce
Your superstitious worship of these Suns,
Subject to cloudy darkenings and descents,
And of your fit devotions turn the events
To this our Briton Phoebus, whose bright sky,
Enlightened with Christian piety,
Is never subject to black Error’s night,
And hath already offered heaven’s true light
To your dark region; which acknowledge now.
Descend, and to him all your homage vow. (568–577)

Chapman can hardly pretend that the feather-bedecked Virginians are Christian, no matter how noble they are; in a re-enactment of forced conversions forming one motivation for the British colonial project,⁵⁸ the Virginians’ sensual, “superstitious” rites are redirected to a humble and appropriate reverence for the divine power guiding them out of the darkness of error. Essentially, Chapman exploits divine-right theory to substitute the mortal king for the divine King as an appropriate subject of “homage.” While all early Jacobean masques lean heavily on divine-right theory to justify the secular liturgy of masque, few are so bold in positioning the king as a stand-in for the Christian God. The chorus of sylvans, in Campion’s *Lord Hay’s Masque*, charge “Give gracious Phoebus honour then, And so fall down, and rest behind the train” (350–351) during the “Song of Transformation.” In Campion’s masque,

James is represented as Phoebus, who along with Jove and Neptune, constitute the typical trinity of monarchical deifications when the king is allegorized and not referred to directly. Instead, in *The Memorable Masque*, Chapman has transformed the dais into a literal Christian altar, the instrument of the Virginians' conversion and ultimate focus of their evening service. The masquers then perform their terminal dances, effectively celebrating the king alone, not the bridal couple for whom the masque was ostensibly written.

In short, the occasion of a marriage, an unofficial sacrament in the English Church, necessitated a "high church" masque in celebration. Rough statistics paint the picture most vividly; Table 3.1 compares all Jacobean masques to Jacobean wedding masques, isolating the number of masques including priest-like characters, temples or altars, and sacred musical forms during the performance. The eight wedding masques occur over the span of only seven years, but approximately double the frequency of ritual borrowings for the twenty-one years of Jacobean masques. Half of the wedding masques depict elements, like altars with candles

Table 3.1. Comparison of Liturgical Borrowings in Jacobean Masques and Jacobean Wedding Masques

Liturgical Borrowing	44 Jacobean Masques⁵⁹ (1604–1625)	8 Wedding Masques⁶⁰ (1606–1613)
Priest-Like Characters	11 total (25%)	5 total (63%)
Temples or Altars	8 total (18%)	4 total (50%)
Hymns or Sacred Forms	6 total (14%)	4 total (50 %)

and priestly vestments, borrowed directly from the sacred institution; in contrast, only a quarter of the other masques employ the most common borrowing—the musician in priest-like garb. In addition to the most obvious elements—the temples, hymns, and even a mock nuptial ceremony—the texts are littered with references to the “rites,” “ceremonies,” and “mysteries” being witnessed by the various audiences. The claim by Beaumont’s Priests of Jupiter—“Each dance is taken for a prayer, / Each song a sacrifice” (335–336)—could easily describe the Jacobean wedding masque in general. The fact that both Campion and Jonson produce masques decidedly thin on liturgical or ceremonial borrowings for Frances Howard’s second marriage⁶¹—Campion briefly depicts a transformation of charmed knights with no references to rites or ceremonies, but Jonson refuses to cede even that much ground, selecting instead the vague term “solemnities” (22, 106, 175) and the old barrier form for his offering—reinforces the perceived sanctity not only of the wedding, but also of the wedding masque, the secular half of the twinned marriage ceremonies of the Jacobean court.

Though it is not a wedding masque, Daniel’s 1604 *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* also exemplifies a masque in which unique circumstances necessitate extensive liturgical borrowings; the only set depicts the Temple of Peace “Whose main support, holy Religion frame: / And 1 Wisdom, 2 Courage, 3 Temperance, and 4 Right, / Make seem the pillars that sustain the same” (227–229). Although the temple is attended by a “Sybilla” and will be visited by twelve Roman goddesses—including Juno, Pallas, Venus, and Diana—its architecture is hardly pagan. Left unqualified except for the epithet “holy,” the “Religion” that undergirds peace can be nothing but Christianity with its gospel charge to “love thy neighbor” and upon which the king grounded his own foreign policy. Moreover, the temple is supported by the four cardinal virtues of medieval theology—*prudentia*, *fortitudo*,

temperantia, iustitia—the secular counterparts to the faith, hope, and charity meant to guide men’s spiritual lives.⁶²

To this temple come the twelve goddesses, the queen and her eleven lady masquers, who enter “three and three, as in a number dedicated unto sanctity and an incorporeal nature” (158–159). Although Daniel’s commentary on Trinitarian perfection is available only to those who read the dedicatory epistle of his published text, the arrangement of the women in triplets would have been an obvious and notable deviation from customary partnered processions. As the goddesses descend into the room, following “Desert, Reward, and Gratitude / the Graces of Society” (353–354) from the top of a mountain above the temple, they are described in a long speech by the Sibylla; then “*The three Graces, coming to the upper part of the hall, sang this song while the Goddesses delivered their presents*” (350–351). With its music and ordered movement into the space, the masquers’ entrance is obviously of a kind with many secular and sacred processions, yet the offering of gifts creates an effect similar to the formal processions of alms-bearers up the main aisle of the nave during the offertory, processions normally accompanied by choral music in the cathedral tradition.⁶³ After the masquers present their gifts, the Sibylla places them on the altar in the midst of the temple (371–373) with this petition:

O Power of Powers, grant to our vows we pray,
That these fair blessings which we now erect
In figures left us here, in substance may
Be those great props of glory and respect. (374–377)

With its bifurcated invocation and petition structure, the language of the Sybilla’s quatrain is modeled very closely on the prescribed collects of *The Book of Common Prayer*.⁶⁴

However, in place of the familiar tag closing the collect, the Sybilla instead describes the gifts offered to “Make glorious both the sovereign and his state” (383). As a whole—the

temple and altar, the “priest” leading the ceremony, the procession of worshippers, “offerings,” and “prayer”—both the action and iconography of this masque resemble, to a striking degree, the ordered “rites” of Anglican worship. Daniel’s masque does not accidentally or incidentally evoke religious ceremony; the temple both literally and metaphorically sets the stage while the language and actions on that stage purposely enact a liturgy of state.

In his dedicatory epistle, Daniel is direct about the theological implications of the quasi-liturgy he has created:

[...T]he intent and scope of the project [...] was only to present the figures of those blessings, with the wish of their increase and continuance, which this mighty kingdom now enjoys by the benefit of his most gracious Majesty, by whom we have this glory of peace, with the accession of so great state and power. And to express the same, there were devised twelve Goddesses, under whose images former times have represented the several gifts of heaven, and erected temples, altars, and figures unto them, as unto divine powers [...]. (17–24)

Daniel renders pagan polytheism as an imperfect understanding of God and his blessings.⁶⁵

As such, the pagan goddesses are apt allegories for divine grace,⁶⁶ functioning in the same manner as the old morality characters to address spiritual matters without bringing God on stage. But the masquers are both goddesses and mortals in the complex fusion of real and ideal that is the masque world.⁶⁷ When the women descend from the mountain in a stately procession of threes carrying their gifts to the altar, they are goddesses, symbols of the grace, as the chorus of social Graces is quick to acknowledge: “We yield the splendent rays of light, / Unto these blessings that descend.” (359–360). The gifts they carry, “particular figures of their power” (56), are essentially extensions of the goddesses themselves; by placing “themselves” on the altar, the goddesses recreate the Passion, Christ’s self-sacrifice, as memorialized in the sacrament of communion. As Jesus supplicated for all mankind, the

goddesses supplicate for the continual blessing of England and her king. After passing through the temple, the women descend to the green carpet, now fully mortal, to dance in celebration of the blessings already shown to England. Their act of thanksgiving again parallels the structure of communion, where the parish prays together, after everyone has received the bread and wine, “mercifully [accept] thys our Sacrifice of prayse and thanks geuyng” and then recites or sings the *Gloria in excelsis*.⁶⁸ In short, the ceremony depicted in Daniel’s masque loosely parallels the structure of divine sacrifice and dutiful praise at the heart of the Anglican communion service.

The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses was performed January 8, 1604, at Hampton Court, not at Whitehall. Less than one week later, in the very same location, four “Puritan” reformers met with King James and seventeen members of the Anglican establishment to discuss The Millenary Petition, a summary of requested reforms for the further abolition of popish elements from the English practice and prayer book—including the sign of the cross in baptism, the use of the surplice, and the elaborate music in some churches and cathedrals.⁶⁹ The most famous result of the Hampton Court Conference was the Authorized Version, or the King James Bible, of 1611, but, in many ways, Daniel’s masque is an indirect product of that meeting as well. The masque is unapologetically liturgical, a rousing defense of the established church. By highlighting grace, the blessings freely given to England and her monarch, as the justification for celebration, Daniel provides a solid, appropriately Protestant rationale for the ceremony. Therefore the rites are not empty, meaningless show, but are, like their high church liturgical counterparts, carefully choreographed acts of devotion that fully engage the senses of the worshippers to bring the mind to a higher spiritual plane.⁷⁰ The Sibylla does not dominate the ritual, inserting herself as the only

means of access to the object of worship as Catholic priests were seen to do.⁷¹ Rather, she is almost overwhelmed with the responsibility bestowed on her as host and guide to divinity: “will the divine Goddesses vouchsafe to visit this poor temple? Shall I be blest, to entertain so great Powers?” (282–283). She is a humble leader, and when she prays to the “Power of Powers” (374) after the goddesses’ offertory, she is merely one of the collected whole, her authority obscured in the collective pronouns of her petition: “grant to our vows we pray” (374). Finally, Daniel never allows his audience to forget the purpose of the evening’s festivities, to celebrate the “grac[ing of] this glorious monarchy with the real effects of these blessings represented” (417–418), blessings including the “wealth,” “felicity,” “concord,” and peace (380–381) made possible through James’ royal leadership, the same leadership that the signers of the Millenary Petition have called into question. Six days before the Hampton Court Conference, Samuel Daniel presented the court with an exuberant vision of the Anglican liturgy of state, employing the very form under attack to defend and celebrate it.

Like Daniel’s *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, the early Jacobean wedding masques, as a general rule, align closely with the politics and practice of the established church. Some “hot-button” political-theological elements, though, seem inherent in the genre. For instance, the skills and training of the palace musicians, and the chapel boys supplementing them, favored the elaborate musical traditions of the cathedral, rather than the widely accessible parish metrical psalmody favored by reformers.⁷² The dramatic requirement that a major character explicates and guides the performance makes priests—or figures like Sibylla and Hymen garbed in priest-like robes—logical inclusions to lead the action. On the other hand, the masques essentially sanctify matrimony, while the “Puritan” reformers objected even to the use of a wedding ring during the ceremony.⁷³ The masques also depict “popish” elements

on stage, the altar, altar candles, and vestments that were anathema to reformers. Some, like Chapman's, freely evince divine-right politics, reinforcing the interconnectedness of the liturgies of church and state and further mudding the already nebulous distinction between dais and altar in the form.

Together, the early Jacobean masques demonstrate that the quasi-liturgical potential of the genre was entirely contingent upon the circumstances of an individual performance and the preferences of individual writers. In the context of the "sacrament" of marriage, altars and hymns were acceptable, even natural, inclusions; on evenings intended only as "homage" to the court and its king, masques glanced to liturgy through ritualized action, but generally avoided the obvious ecclesiastical iconography of the wedding masques. Such was the rule of thumb through the first two decades of the seventeenth century. However, the slow-motion unraveling of the Elizabethan compromise surfaces periodically in masques of the Jacobean period.⁷⁴ In almost every case, masques dramatizing anti-"Puritan" politics were staged away from Whitehall, either at a private estate or at the Inns of Court, but in front of at least one member of the royal family. On the other hand, masques performed in a private context without a royal in the audience—Milton's *Mask* is the best-known Caroline example—were still very rare and will be taken up in the following chapter.⁷⁵

Presbyterian or zealous Protestants, derided under the umbrella term "Puritan,"⁷⁶ were the occasional objects of ridicule in private masques. In *A Masque of the Metamorphosed Gypsies*, which was performed three times in the fall of 1621,⁷⁷ Jonson has a rustic character imagine Satan feasting on a Puritan during a sing-songy, anapest-heavy ditty:

Cock Lorel would needs have the devil his guest
And bade him once into the Peak to dinner,
Where never the fiend had such a feast
Provided him yet at the charge of a sinner.

His stomach was queasy for coming there coached;
The jogging had caused some crudities rise;
To help it he called for a Puritan poached,
That use to turn up the eggs of his eyes. (977–982)

Although the poached Puritan is merely a gentle digestive before the real feast of informants, usurers, and lawyers begins, the song spotlights non-conformists as the first among many arch-sinners in English society. The Puritan's sin can be interpreted either as hypocrisy or anarchy, the self-important prayers or spurning of authority signaled by his rolling eyes; either stereotype was commonly leveled against those Protestants of Calvinist or reformist tendencies.⁷⁸ Three years later, Jonson critiqued the reforms enacted by "Puritans" around Coventry in his *The Masque of Owls at Kenilworth*.⁷⁹ Where the *Gypsies* reference indulged in disparaging stereotypes, *The Masque of Owls* employs circumlocution tinged with sarcasm to describe one of the fallen characters of the masque:

Yet is he undone
By the thread he has spun;
For since the wise town
Has let the sports down
Of May games and morris,
For which he right sorry is, (119–124).

As the critical apparatus in Orgel's edition explains, "Local Puritans had abolished the Coventry play and other traditional festivities," essentially condemning themselves to business failure when a prime source of revenue for their embroidery thread, the women visiting town for the fairs and plays, no longer had reason to visit.⁸⁰ The *Owls* allusion still mocks Puritans, though not by name and with the apparent justification of local historical events; the effect is essentially gossip, the joke shared by the "in-crowd" of the audience at

the Earl of Leicester's estate. Nonetheless, like the *Gypsies* reference, it demonstrates that open critique of non-conformists was acceptable enough in court circles to permit masque writers considerable freedom in lampooning them.

As the later Jacobean masques grew increasingly bold in satirizing non-conformists, they also drew more frequently from the ecclesiastical elements previously reserved for nuptial masques. Priests-like characters are seen three times from 1620 until King James' death in 1625, hymns are used in two different masques during this time, and the masquers even enter from a temple (referred to in Apollo's speech at line 326) in *The Masque of Augurs*.⁸¹ The simplest explanation for this alteration, that Prince Charles' role as lead masquer produced the change, cannot be the only answer, for Charles had been dancing in his father's masques since 1618.⁸² Additionally, as chapter two argued, the late Jacobean productions were entirely consistent with James' foreign policy agenda, indicating the king still exercised some control in the invention of his masques. Taken together, however, the frequent liturgical borrowings and the anti-"puritan" satire hint at the increasing religious tensions in early Stuart society, though not at their complexity. Despite the passing digs at non-conformists, the religious controversies between various Protestant agendas are largely elided from masques of this period; for the most part, Protestants outside of the court worried about the king becoming too cozy with Catholics rather than non-conformists. For this reason, the liturgical iconography of the late Jacobean masques smacked of something worse than high-church Anglicanism to the king's critics, even as these same liturgical elements were cementing the connections between the secular and sacred institutions of the great Protestant nation.

Of these liturgically-inclined late Jacobean masques, *Pan's Anniversary*, written by Jonson to celebrate the king's birthday in the summer of 1620, is the most overt in its borrowings. The king, of course, is symbolically represented by the titular deity. The text is littered with references to "rites" (3, 61, 144, et. al.) and "holidays" (8, 134); moreover, the old shepherd repeatedly asserts that singing and dancing appropriately comprise the rites: "Surely the better / part of the solemnity here will be dancing" (70–71). The musicians are dressed as "priests of Pan" (43), and they sing three hymns in honor of him (154, 174, 190). The first of these hymns is especially interesting. Its formal, iambic pentameter lines are shared between soloists and the chorus, with the chorus repeating a single line: either "Hear, O you groves, and hills resound his praise" or "... resound his worth." For the last stanza, though, the chorus expands: "Hear, O you groves, and hills resound his worth. / And while his powers and praises thus we sing, / The valleys let rebound, and all the rivers ring" (170–172). The effect of this hymn, as the singer catalogs the pastoral world Pan orders and oversees and the chorus responds with a tag, evokes the *Benedicite*, one of two canticle options to follow the Old Testament lesson during matins:

O let the yearth *blesse* the Lorde: yea, lett it prayse hym and *magnifye* hym for euer.
 O ye Mountaynes and hylles, *blesse ye* the Lorde: prayse hym and *magnifye* hym for euer.
 O all ye grene thinges vpon the earth, *blesse ye* the Lorde: prayse hym and *magnifye* hym for euer.
 O ye welles, *blesse ye* the Lorde: prayse hym and *magnifye* hym for euer.⁸³

Even the rhetoric of these lines shares the same gentle vocative, "O you groves, ...the valleys let rebound." With hymns to Pan, priests of Pan, and all Arcadia—from the hills to the floods to the inhabitants themselves—singing praise to Pan, the dividing line between secular and sacred liturgy here is rather difficult to categorize.

The ease with which masques like *Pan's Anniversary* begin to dovetail with formal liturgy hinges not only on divine-right theory, an ideology unquestionably operating in James' birthday masque, but also on the encomium inherent in masque in the first place. At their most basic, masques are meant to praise and honor the monarch. For example, in *The Masque of Queens*, Heroic Virtue addresses the king: "To you, most royal and most happy King, / Of whom Fame's house in every part doth ring / For every virtue, but can give no increase" (424–426). By contrast, the exaltory impulse of *Pan's Anniversary* parallels the duty of thanksgiving grounding Christian rituals, as the conclusion of Hymn 2 neatly summarizes—"Strive, strive to please him then by still increasing thus / The rites are due to him, who doth all right for us" (186–187). Here, a small nudge takes the language from the praise of a loving subject to the subject's obligation in recognition of greater blessings bestowed. The impulse of the first is entirely "spontaneous"; the second, however, reciprocates action taken initially by the king himself. By subtly altering the impetus to celebration, Jonson quietly but fundamentally transforms the genre. The poet had previously explored the juxtaposition of masquing encomium with the Christian duty to praise and thanksgiving in *Oberon* and *Love Restored*; however, neither masque was concurrently dressed so thoroughly with the visual and aural elements of Anglican worship. Lacking a sacramental or political justification, as the special occasions masques of the first decade of James' reign had, *Pan's Anniversary* can be seen as the first truly secularized liturgy of state.⁸⁴

With the formulation of masque as secularized liturgy comes several unspoken assertions on the part of the Stuart monarchs. First the dividing line between the king's secular and sacred roles has been erased. The transformation of masque to the secularized liturgy of state

unequivocally yokes of the English crown to the English church, with the king as the proper, “Supreme Head” of both.⁸⁵ While important for James, this critical claim becomes vital for his son. Second, the prominent use of iconography such as priest characters, altars, and the other trappings of Christian ritual is not simply the window-dressing of divine-right theory taken to extremes; instead, this iconography is a symbolic assertion of kingly supremacy in all aspects of English life, supremacy entirely appropriate for God’s representative on earth. Neither were the vestments, altars, and other ritual elements intended to be “popish” or Catholic. *The Book of Common Prayer* permits a range of ceremonial practice,⁸⁶ practice endorsed by both James and Charles in other contexts as well. By ritualizing these controversial elements, both Stuart kings are attempting to gain control over their symbolic power. However, this iconography could also seem, to anyone who did not agree with the assertions of monarchical power at its core, the very embodiment of Stuart religious hegemony, pseudo-popery, or monarchical delusions of divinity. In this way, the transformation of masque to the liturgy of state is truly a double-edged sword, for it attempts to circumscribe but simultaneously stimulates debates on the relationship between English kingship and English Christianity during the seventeenth century.

Taking a cue from Elizabeth, Charles I actively shaped his public persona, fusing chivalric and pious representations to create himself the ideal Christian king.⁸⁷ As chapter two illustrates, the traditional chivalric costumes, settings, and properties of masque coincided perfectly with the king’s program of self-fashioning; the transformed use of liturgical elements, firmly established during the ascendancy of his and Buckingham’s power

during his father's declining years, obviously also aligned with Charles's self-created public image. Table 3.2 compares the number of Jacobean masques with liturgical borrowings to Caroline masques. During Charles's reign, the frequency of masques including priests or priest-like characters almost doubled, while masques including temples or altars actually exceeded the number of Jacobean uses of temples and altars, more than tripling in frequency. The use of clearly demarked hymns declined in number, but not in frequency, perhaps because an audience could only attend to a song's form during performance and would be unaware of its status as a "hymn" until reading the published text.

Table 3.2. Comparison of Liturgical Borrowings in Jacobean Masques and Caroline Masques

Liturgical Borrowing	44 Jacobean Masques (1604–1625)	17 Caroline Masques⁸⁸ (1631–1640)
Priest-Like Characters	11 total (25%)	8 total (47 %)
Temples or Altars	8 total (18%)	10 total (59 %)
Hymns or Sacred Forms	6 total (14%)	2 total (12 %)

The trends to visual, rather than aural or verbal, representation of liturgy suggested by this chart exactly parallel the spectacle-driven modifications to masque enacted by Inigo Jones and the Caroline masque poets. Where the Jacobean masques included some visual clues—the occasional priest or temple, the organized procession of masquers—many liturgical borrowings were verbal, and therefore much more subtle, in nature. As aural

performance, they were gone in an instant and receded into the elaborate texture of the masque in general; only an especially observant or focused audience member would be certain of understanding the full implications of these verbal borrowings. Not so in the Caroline masques, where visual and spectacular elements borrowed from liturgy were prominently featured in many court performances and coincide with the increasing emphasis on visual and spectacular elements in Caroline masques in general.⁸⁹ This heavy-handed approach to, for the purposes of this chapter, specifically liturgical spectacle would have been far more obvious to all audience members; as a result, this chapter will not address each and every well-described scenic device or stage machine that contributed to the quasi-liturgical nature of all Caroline masques. Rather it will focus on the multiplying effects of the obvious liturgical iconography to assert the Caroline masque as fully-fledged secular liturgy.

Finally, the short amount of time, nine years of the Caroline period versus twenty-one years of the Jacobean one, critically amplifies the perception of ritual operating within this group of masques as a whole. Even considering the increase of liturgical borrowings in the early 1620s, the Caroline masques must have seemed—to anyone knowledgeable about the court performances—heavy with liturgy compared with most of Jonson’s Jacobean creations. In light of the king’s other theological “innovations” of the 1630s,⁹⁰ though, perhaps the sympathies between Charles’s masques and Charles’s church should come as no surprise.

Charles’s first extant masque, Jonson’s *Love Triumph through Callipolis* of 1631, has a similar number of liturgical elements to his *Pan’s Anniversary* from eleven years before. The earlier masque has three hymns and a chorus of priests; the later has one hymn (142)—called a “*paeon*” (138) in the stage directions—and a chorus whose members carry censers

around the stage (82).⁹¹ *Love's Triumph* also has a temple and an altar, albeit metaphorical ones:

Here stay a while; this
The temple of all beauty is!
Here, perfect lovers, you must pay
First fruits, and on these altars lay
(The ladies' breast) your ample vows
Such as Love brings, and beauty best allows. (112–117)

Though dressed in the language of ritual offering—the “first fruits” and “vows” brought to altars of love—this passage is not concurrently grounded in divine right theory, which erased the division between throne and altar in *Pan's Anniversary*. Instead, the queen, “Pure object of heroic love alone” (122), is only created semi-divine through the perfect love she shares with the king; a nebulous concept of neo-Platonism, not divine-right theory, undergirds her dais/altar in this masque.⁹²

Despite its differing philosophical impetus, *Love's Triumph* is nonetheless a ceremony of state. Euphemus observes Love will not appear until the false lovers of the antimasque have been cleared out:

Then will he flow forth like a rich perfume
Into your nostrils, or some sweeter sound
Of melting music, that shall not consume
Within the ear, but run the mazes round. (78–81)

At this urging, the chorus cense the stage, singing “Meantime, we make lustration of the place, / And with our solemn fires and waters prove / T' have frighted hence the weak diseased race” (83–85). Obviously, these actions are taken directly from religious ceremony; yet their implications also bind the masque firmly to the theological notions of love grounding Christian practice. The antimasque of diseased lovers and vows to ladies of the masque proper seem to characterize the love of *Love's Triumph* as *amour*. Yet, Euphemus

and the chorus complicate the secular notion of *amour* with constructions of love as a shared sensory experience, the fellowship of *caritas*. Euphemus's "rich perfume" and "melting music" explicitly join the "congregation" of court together as one body in the same way the light weight of bread and sweet sharpness of wine join the faithful around the communion table.⁹³ Just as God's love is metaphorically tangible in the sacramental elements and then extends and unites the community of the church as those elements are taken in by the communicants, the love invoked in the masque becomes a simile of incense and music, likewise taken in, extended, and effecting unity in the masquing hall. For those audience members too dull to apprehend the implications of this ceremony and the sacrament it invokes, Euclia furthers the connection during her hymn:

So Love, emergent out of chaos, brought
The world to light!
And gently moving on the waters, wrought
All form to sight! (143–146)

The thumbnail versification of Genesis—line 145 follows 1.2 of the King James text even in the "to move" verb and the pluralization of "waters"⁹⁴—reinforces the celebration of *caritas* at the heart of *Love's Triumph*. In the end, the masque presents and compares secular, romantic love; romantic, married love; brotherly love; and divine love as variations and amplifications of each other. Its liturgical elements, both iconographic and dramatic, blur the distinction between secular and sacred (not merely metaphysical) love and confirm the masque as a secular liturgy of state, reinforcing and expressing the interconnectedness of church and state advocated by the king.

Increasingly, that interconnectedness was manifested on stage by the use of temples and altars, oftentimes more than one, during a masque performance. *Albion's Triumph*, written by Aurelian Townshend for Twelfth Night the following year, is a perfect example of this

tendency. As she was in *Love's Triumph*, Queen Henrietta Maria, sitting on the dais while her husband danced as lead masquer, is transformed to a sacred space through the poetry's metaphor:

Great Alba, though each grandee here
At this high court of thine,
Like a true liegeman doth appear
And offers at thy shrine,
It is no conquest for thine eyes
When petty-princes fall,
That are some single beauty's prize,
Or a lone virtue's thrall; (322–329).

This song is sung while “*the high priests and sacrificers, treading a grave measure, walk up toward the Queen*” (318–319). Again, as in some of the Jacobean masques, a procession—this one unquestionably liturgical—moves up the “nave” of the Banqueting Hall to the dais/altar/“shrine” at the top of the space. But *Albion's Triumph* also utilizes a literal temple as well. The procession to the dais/altar occurs before “*a pleasant grove of straight trees, which rising by degrees to a high place, openeth itself to discover the aspect of a stately temple; all which was sacred to Jove*” (259–261), but after the terminal dances, the scene changes to “*a landscipt in which was the prospect of the King's palace of Whitehall and the city of London seen a far off*” (338–339). The temple is replaced by Whitehall as the dominant scenic element by this change; as the eye would be drawn to the whiteness of stone and the rigidity of line amidst the organic greens and browns of the forest in the first scene, the eye would likewise be drawn to the large, detailed and familiar building dominating the foreground of the cityscape. Not only is the scene change a graphic and tangible reminder of the implications of the secular liturgy enacted within Whitehall that very night, but it also locates temples as the primary symbols of that message in Caroline masque. Table 3.2, which demonstrates that ten Caroline masques, almost sixty-percent, featured temples or

altars, verifies the importance of sacred architectural spaces to the Caroline liturgy of state. A temple erected within the Banqueting House is a literal metaphor for the relationship of church and state in the crown's ideology.

British Library Add. 72439, in the Trumble Papers, proposes a masque invention to Queen Henrietta Maria; the unknown poet, writing in French, drafted and then copied out his invention fair.⁹⁵ He suggests two alternative settings: "The setting or the spectacle will be either a village and a seaside, or a pagan temple and a sea nearby. And above either a cloud, or a night sky" (150r).⁹⁶ At the transformation, "the temple will change, or indeed the city; if a temple it will be changed into a glorious temple dedicated to Honor and Renown. And if it is a city it will be changed into a garden of delights and totally like an earthly paradise" (151v).⁹⁷ Though he spends much more time describing the entries of the antimasque, basically three of the four draft pages, the individual who proposed this masque understands clearly that Caroline masques conclude in sacred spaces. The temple is his first choice.

Many extant masques convey the same impression. William Davenant's first masque, from 1635, is appropriately *The Temple of Love*. As the poet explains in "the Argument," "the Temple of Chaste Love should be re-established in this island" (6-7). Davenant's choice of preposition—"in" and not "on"—hints that the temple is both tangible and abstract, applying not only to the bricks and mortar of the physical space itself but also to the devotees and followers who occupy many geographical places in England.⁹⁸ From the center of the proscenium arch, the legend "Templum Amoris" dominates the stage (67), literally and figuratively framing the masque during the performance. From its fixed place, this legend serves as a constant reminder of the interconnectedness of masque and quasi-religious ritual, Banqueting Hall and sacred space. The masque itself is littered with references to this temple

and the votaries who worship there—for instance, the Brachmani's call themselves “priests that burn Love's sacrifice” (397) in their first song—but the temple itself does not appear until after the terminal dances:

And the Queen being seated under the state by the King, the scene was changed into the true Temple of Chaste Love; this temple instead of columns had terms of young satyrs bearing up the returns of the architrave, frieze and cornice, all enriched with goldsmith's work [...]. (457–461)

To reinforce the primary characteristic of the devotees, their chastity, traditionally lecherous satyrs have been frozen, gilded, and put to work supporting the temple in the place of columns. However, the temple's appearance at the conclusion of the performance is especially important in this masque. In “The Argument,” Davenant explains that certain Persian youths abandon “false magicians and their allurements” (23–24) and desire “by their faithful observance and legitimate affections to enter and enjoy the privileges of that sacred temple” (27–29). The Queen, as Indamora, and the lady masquers arrive and “[pay] their ceremonies by moving in harmonical and numerous figures” (35–36), preparing the appearance of the temple itself. In short, the carefully choreographed terminal dances have become the liturgy of *The Temple of Love*, a ritual preparation of the banqueting hall and its audience for the sacred, in both its literal and abstract manifestations. Importantly, the sacred can only arrive “in this island” with the union of beauty and kingship on the altar/dais at the top of the room—not before.

The focus on sacred space and its relationship to kingly authority advocated in this masque is, unequivocally, part and parcel with the “Laudian” reforms of the 1630s.⁹⁹ Charles found a theologically kindred-spirit in William Laud, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Together they embraced “the Beauty of Holiness,” instituting a series of reforms concentrated on the physical aspects of religious worship: the church building and

the liturgical ceremonies.¹⁰⁰ Laudians believed “Our Lord God most holy most doth inhabit his proper mansion or dwelling house,”¹⁰¹ but one-hundred-years of Calvinist theological focus on the word rather than the sacraments had left English churches in poor physical repair.¹⁰² Charles was committed to the project of the material improvement of his English churches and personally financed a new, baroque-style porch at the west doors of St. Paul’s, in addition to pressuring parish officials for funds for local repairs.¹⁰³ In addition to restoring the physical integrity of church buildings, Laudians embraced art and music to beautify the sanctuaries further. Moreover, if God’s presence infused the physical space of a church, the faithful should acknowledge that presence with decorum and reverence, with the ceremonies prescribed by Anglican practice rather than the extemporaneous, and often indecorous, prayers of Calvinist and radical evangelical traditions. Conformity of worship, Laud and his followers believed, reinstituted a unified English practice, absent since the Reformation, and solidified the faithful as one community.¹⁰⁴ To verify the material condition of the churches, as well as police conformity of worship, Laud required yearly episcopal visitations followed by extensive reports.¹⁰⁵ As many scholars have pointed out, Laudian “Beauty of Holiness” and religious conformity also emphasized the hierarchy of bishops and centered on the authority of the king who led them.¹⁰⁶

Obvious parallels between the Laudian church and the Caroline masque are many. First is the centrality of physically defined sacred space. As Table 3.2 indicates, more than half of the Caroline masques include literal or metaphorical temples or altars, usually in the main masque section. In this way, the masque’s representation of sacred space is aligned with kingly authority in two ways: through the allegory of the masque and literally by inclusion within the king’s Whitehall palace. Similarly, English churches were repaired, and their

exclusively ecclesiastical integrity restored, only through the direct involvement of the king. In an interlocking expression of kingly authority, the appearance of sacred space within the secular context of masque reinforces the king's power—and right—to shape the physical condition of churches and cathedrals, while the material improvement of the churches justifies the inclusion of “sacred” spaces within the masque. In the context of kingly authority, many Caroline masques assert, there is no boundary between the sacred and the secular. Both masque and the “Beauty of Holiness” share a commitment to decorousness and reverence as central to ceremony, while embracing art and music as part of the sensual experience of worship. Finally, just as the Laudian reforms attempted to re-create a unified community of practice, absent from England for one hundred years, the masque succeeded in creating a more-or-less homogenous communal experience for the audience/congregants in the Banqueting Hall.¹⁰⁷ Of course, as with the religious reforms, neither kingly authority nor absolute control over the physical environment could insure uniform emotional or intellectual reactions to either the sacred or secular liturgy of the Caroline state.

Though they are less heavy-handed, other Davenant masques demonstrate a similar commitment to the importance of physical sacred space. Written, like *The Temple of Love*, in 1635, the privately performed *Corona Minerva* employs only one scene change: “Here is discovered the Temple of *Minerva* supported upon Doricke columns standing in a grove.”¹⁰⁸ This temple is fronted by an altar upon which a royal crown rests. *The Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour*, performed the following year at the Middle Temple to commemorate a visit from the king's German nephews, includes many scene changes, with temples dedicated to Mars, Venus, and Apollo;¹⁰⁹ the ubiquitous priest-singers populate these temples. Of note, both *Corona Minerva* and *Prince d'Amour* conclude with banquets presented to their royal

audience, the first volumes of books presented to the teen-age Prince of Wales and his siblings, the later “*charger[s] full of precious fruits, and covered with blossomed twigs and flowers.*”¹¹⁰ The centrality of representations of sacred space continues in these two masques, but the change of venue and primary audience, young people in both cases, diminish the politico-religious implications of the performances. Specifically, the masques are as concerned with didactic projects, encouraging the union of arms and arts in the Prince of Wales and the balance of martial, amorous, and scholarly tendencies in the German princes; these masques are gentle lessons, not statements of royal policy. Though they partake of the representation of sacred space prevalent in the king and queen’s masques, these two examples demonstrate that, even during the Caroline period, the constraints of occasion and audience could still modify the expression of liturgy royal masque.

The same generalization is certainly true of both masques of 1634, book-ended though they are with *Albion’s Triumph*, *The Temple of Love*, and the other royal productions so invested in literal representations of sacred space. Effectively, neither Thomas Carew, in his *Coelum Britannicum*, nor James Shirley, in his *The Triumph of Peace*, seem willing to yoke the church and state so openly in the context of secular performance. Though it does feature druid-priests (906–909), *Coelum Britannicum* concludes in “*a delicious garden with several walks and parterras set round with low trees [...] and in the furthest part a palace from whence went high walks upon arches, and above them open terraces planted with cypress trees, and all this together was composed of such ornament as might express a princely villa*” (1016–1021). The chorus processes to the queen, naming her “the shrine / of Beauty” (1025–1026) and refers vaguely to “Honour’s temple” (1025) from whence the masquers departed; Eternity concludes the masque by stellifying the masquers “Forever in my temple” (1119).

Not even extended metaphors, like those describing Henrietta Maria in *Love's Triumph* and *Albion's Triumph*, these figurative allusions to sacred space are the decorative embroidery of poetic lines, nothing grander. Moreover, there is no use of “rites” or its synonyms in the course of the performance; the transformation of the masquers occurs *in absentia*, after the revels, as fifteen stars appear behind the cloud machine during the final spectacular effect (1050–1080), foreclosing the possibility of any ritual concluding the masque. With its dearth of literal sacred spaces and its refusal to characterize the performance as ritual, Carew’s production essentially rejects the conception of court masque as secular liturgical ceremony. The holy spaces of this masque are only metaphors, and even the love between the king and queen remains firmly grounded in the war between the sexes that is *amour* (1024–1047) rather than flying to the stratosphere of Platonic *caritas*.¹¹¹ Because the theme of *Coelum Britannicum* is wholly British, with the kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland introducing the masquer-knights in their ancient British costumes, Carew’s reluctance to embrace the liturgical potential of the form is all the more notable. By rejecting masque’s traditional diction of rites and ceremonies and its emphasis on sacred space, this masque rejects royal claims to spiritual or sacred authority and uncouples the Caroline church from the state. Essentially, *Coelum Britannicum* endorses only the king’s secular authority to enact ethical or moral reform and to unify the three British kingdoms.

Even more interesting, James Shirley’s *The Triumph of Peace*, the masque produced by the four houses of the Inns of Court, not only does not include temples or altars, either tangibly or metaphorically, but it also omits musician-priests and favors the word “revels” (771), not “rites,” to describe the evening’s festivities. The musicians “*move in a comely figure toward the King and Queen*” to sing an “*ode*” (605–606); essentially, they walk in

formation, but not in procession. In keeping with this rejection of anything that smacks of the spiritual, the ode remains grounded, literally:

To you great King and Queen, whose smile
Doth scatter blessings through this isle,
To make it best
And wonder of the rest,
We pay the duty of our birth
Proud to wait upon that earth
Whereon you move,
Which shall be named,
And by your chaste embraces famed,
The paradise of love. (608–617)

In contrast to previous language concerning debts of duty in masque, language that took on distinctly theological overtones, the chorus here sings of the duty of “birth,” emphasizing the social ties between king and subject. The subject’s duty is formed by his birth to a noble family, his citizenship in a particular country, nothing more. The next lyric—“Proud to wait upon that earth / Whereon you move”—gently reminds the royal couple that they are not, after all, divine, but walk on the ground like everyone else. The Carlo-Maria cult of love transforms England, but only figuratively; the “earth” of England is “famed” a “paradise” by those who witness the chaste love of the royal couple. Because England is a paradise only in the minds of other nations who observe it, social connections, rather than sacred ones, are again highlighted. By its repeated emphasis on the social and terrestrial, even while nodding to the couple’s favorite modes of self-expression, the masque insists on its own secular character. To begin their first terminal dance, the masquers are implored to “Descend, move nimbly, and advance / your joyful tribute in a dance” (677–678); Shirley’s “tribute” contrasts sharply with the implications of “ceremony” or “sacrifice” from other masques. Essentially, with its rollicking antimasques and traditional masquer-knights, *The Triumph of Peace* emulates the earlier, less-overtly liturgical masques of James’s reign. The concluding

quatrain of the masque establishes unquestionable relationships between king, subject, and Creator, though these relationships differ significantly from those presented by the other Caroline masques; the king and God are distinct and separate entities, and the people rightfully pray to only one of them:

And as you move from that blessed pair,
Let each heart kneel, and think a prayer,
That all that can make up the glory
Of good and great may fill their story. (799–802)

Taken together Carew's *Coelum Britannicum* and Shirley's *The Triumph of Peace* indicate the Caroline formulation of masque as secular liturgy, like the Caroline church itself, was not without controversy. Both masques were performed in February of 1634; six months before Laud had been named Archbishop of Canterbury and two months after that King Charles reissued the Book of Sports.¹¹² In December of 1633, the king sent directives to the county Justices of the Peace requesting funds for the restoration of St. Paul's.¹¹³ In other words, these masques were performed in midst of a multi-prong assertion of royal authority over the English ecclesiastical establishment.¹¹⁴ Earlier masques, like Jonson's *Pan's Anniversary* and *Love's Triumph* and Townshend's *Albion's Triumph*, that are conceived as secular liturgical ceremony reinforce the king's authority over both church and state. Yet, when the king began an active program to assert that authority, both Shirley and Carew reject, for the most part, the trappings of secular liturgy in their court productions. Their adamant return, with Davenant's *The Temple of Love* in February of 1635, demonstrates the true lack of consensus among seventeenth-century writers of masque concerning the role of the sacred in this all-too-secular context.

The degree to which masque conformed or did not conform with the politics of Charles's personal rule was not the only theologically-tinged controversy concerning the genre during the 1630s. Caroline masques occasionally highlight—undoubtedly to humorous effect—Catholic dogma during the antimasques: a wafer man dances in *Luminalia* (162) while the anonymous inventor of a masque for Henrietta Maria proposes entries by representatives of pride, greed, anger, envy, and gluttony, among others (150v–151r). Nonetheless, with all their collective temples and altars, censers and candles, priests and priestly vestments, masques of the 1630s smelled distinctly of Rome. Scandalized Protestants frequently hurled the same accusation against Charles's ceremonies and “Beauty of Holiness.”¹¹⁵ As Inigo Jones's technical wizardry improved, he—whether intentionally or not—contributed to the problem. *Luminalia: The Queen's Festival of Light*, written by Davenant in 1638, features two groups of priests organized hierarchically into “arch-flamens” and “flamens” (20, 257).¹¹⁶ As dawn breaks during the masque, Aurora calls them “*to celebrate with divine hymns this goddess of brightness and those fair nymphs, dependents on her splendor*” (257–259). After their entrance, the flamens and arch-flamens, led by Hesperus, process to the dais/altar singing “*The Sixth Song*” of the masque (301–305). Of course, there is also a temple—“the Temple of the Cock, seated by the haven of the City of Sleep” (223–224)—from which a duke, an earl, and two lords appear to dance the fifth entry of the “anti-masque.”¹¹⁷ Save the clerical hierarchy, none of these features varies in any significant way from earlier Jacobean and Caroline precedents. However, Jones's final technical effect must have been remarkable, not merely for the dazzling display of lights he masterminded:

Here the further part of the garden opened and the masquers are seen, the Queen's majesty being seated high, and the ladies somewhat lower, on two degrees. The figure of the seat was half an oval, about which were terms, the upper part like Cupids, and the under part enriched with leaves. [...] behind all was a bright sky, and

in the midst, about the Queen's majesty's seat, was a glory with rays, expressing her to be the queen of brightness.

The habit of the masquers was close bodies, open before the breasts, of Aurora color, richly embroidered with silver; [...] and on their hair stood a small band or diadem of jewels and stars between, which in the hinder part had a scroll, large at the bottom and narrow toward the top, to which their falls of white feathers were fastened. (349–366)

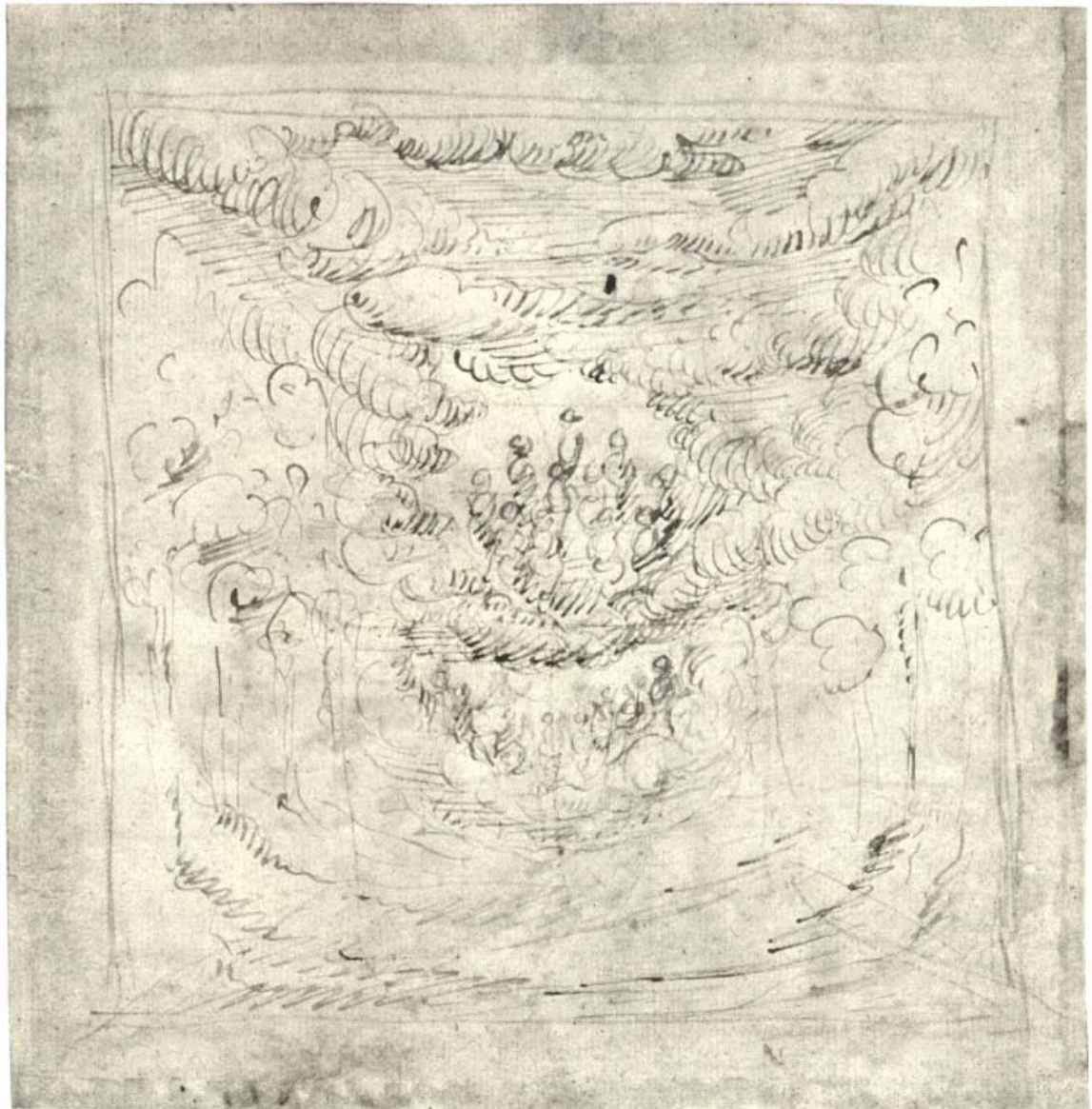
Davenant's lyric carefully maintains stellar similes to describe this scene: "Now judge [...] / Whether compared to stars she so much gain / As stars have gotten when compared to her" (345–3348). However, Henrietta Maria's appearance in the heavens, surrounded by "a glory with rays," could potentially have had quite a different effect on members of the audience. All visual clues equate her with traditional Renaissance representations of the Virgin Mary.¹¹⁸ Figure 3.3, an oil on canvas painted by Lorenzo Lotto in 1521 for the Church of Santo Spirito in Bergamo, Italy, illustrates the startling similarities. Under her traditional blue mantle, Mary's gown is a vibrant orange-red, "aurora" colored;¹¹⁹ beneath her halo, white cloth gracefully falls over her neatly dressed hair. The clouds above her part to cast vivid rays, while putti dance through the sky and hold a jeweled crown over her head. A number of saints are around her throne, their heads a torso-length beneath hers, their postures the careful study of *variety* so emulated by masques in general. Henrietta Maria would undoubtedly have resembled Mary with her rich flame colored gown, her hair parted fashionably down the center, with white feathers falling gracefully to her neck, and with her crown sparkling in the brilliant light radiating from the spreading clouds. As Figure 3.4 suggests, like Mary, Henrietta Maria sits on a throne, elevated above the lesser deities who

Figure 3.3: Lorenzo Lotto. *Madonna in trono col Bambino e i Santi Caterina d'Alessandria, Agostino, Sebastiano, Antonio Abate e Giovannino.*¹²⁰



surround her; the stage directions describe cupids hovering on columns around her throne. Davenant indicates that the arch-flamens and flamens “*return back in a measure, and mount the degrees and stand on each side of the scene*” (330–331) singing while the queen and the masquers are revealed above them in the cloud machine. The total effect, with a fully-

Figure 3.4: Inigo Jones's sketch for *Luminalia*'s cloud machine¹²¹



387 ?Scene 4: Cloud Scene

orchestrated, full-chorus “hymn,” Jones’s cloud machine and “glory with rays,” and the rank on rank of attendants surrounding the queen must surely have seemed like heaven literally come to earth to a few members of the audience. Of course, to others, it must have seemed blasphemy, idolatry, all the sins of the Catholic Church that Protestantism allegedly had corrected. However, Jones’s glorious effect for *Luminalia* was so much worse than the static

images of visual art he had emulated, for the Virgin Mary and the saints of heaven had been transformed to the moving, high-fidelity glory of court masque with England's own Catholic queen the object of royally mandated devotion.

Kevin Sharpe argues extensively that King Charles suppressed Catholic recusancy more aggressively than his father, despite his wife's faith.¹²² Still anti-Catholicism in England had reached "hysteria over an alleged popish plot" by the close of the 1630s.¹²³ As this chapter has illustrated, the secularized liturgy of Caroline court masque, which rested both on divine right theory and on Charles's assertions of his role as Supreme Head of the Church, did little to distance the king from accusations of crypto-Catholicism. If anything, the apparent dissolution of distinction between secular and sacred liturgy at Whitehall further aggravated an already incendiary situation. To anyone who did not agree with the king's religious "innovations," his political methods, or his self-asserted semi-divine status the annual festivities of the Banqueting House—rife with priests and altars, bowings and scrapings, cathedral-style music, and sometimes the queen decked out as the mother of God—must have been deeply disturbing politically, theologically, even morally. By the 1630s, masque was the secularized liturgy of the state, but many in the audience must have wondered what sort of liturgy they were actually practicing.

¹ For example, see Reid Barbour, *Literature and Religious Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) ch. 1; and Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) 217–22. For an overview of the ceremonies and religious services associated with the annual Garter feast, see Peter J Begent and Hubert Chershyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter, 650 Years* (London: Spink, 1999) Chap. 11.

Even the Elizabethan Accession Day Tilts are read as quasi-religious rituals by Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975) 88–111. See also the description of Henry Lee’s last appearance as Queen Elizabeth’s champion, including the “Temple seem[ing] to consist upon pillars of Pourferry, arched like unto a Church, within it were many Lampes burning. Also, on the one side there stood an Altar covered with cloth of gold, and thereupon two waxe candles burning in rich candlesticks,” printed in E. K. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee: An Elizabethan Portrait* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936) 137–38.

² Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 60.

³ Even during his brief discussion of ritual in the genre, Tom Bishop dismisses the impulse of masque toward the ecclesiastical as “blasphemy” and argues masques are only set “implicity alongside church ritual as a secular counterpart”; see Tom Bishop, “The Gingerbread Host: Tradition and Novelty in the Jacobean Masque,” *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington, Peter Holbrook and Leah Sinanoglou Marcus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). On the other hand, taking a cue of Samuel Daniel’s preface to *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*—that he had “given mortal shapes to the gifts and effects of an eternal power”—Graham Parry refers to the general ritual qualities of early Jacobean masques: “[Jonson] saw the chance to make these state spectacles occasions of wonder and magnificence, secular acts of monarchic worship in an aura of learned mystery”; see Graham Parry, “The Politics of the Jacobean Masque,” *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, eds. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 91–92.

⁴ The justification of ceremony in *The Book of Common Prayer* observes: “Other there be which although they have been devised by man, yet it is thought good to reserve them still, as well for decent order in the church, for the which they were first devised, as because they pertain to edification, whereunto all things done in church, as the apostle teacheth, ought to be referred”; see “Of ceremonies” in David Cressy and Ferrell Lori Anne, eds., *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996) 43. This foundational document expresses the complexness of an understanding of ceremony in the early modern period, especially its attendant concepts of order, decorum, and reverence. In addition to this conjunction of ideas, D. J. Gordon also addresses ceremony’s reliance on both sensual and intellectual stimulation and the law in the Goddess Ceremony section of “The Renaissance Poet as Classicist: Champan’s *Hero and Leander*” by D. J. Gordon, *The*

Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) 110–16. “Performance of such ritual acts is acknowledgement of the divine principle of order and enactment and working s of it; and to enact the workings of the principle brings it into operation,” Gordon explains (115).

Queen Elizabeth’s use the authority and order created by ceremony, especially “to create a military and ceremonial defense of her kingdom” on progress is reviewed by Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen : Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999). On the other hand, the problems created when the sacred character of ceremonies is diminished by its transferal to civic or dramatic pageantry is explored by Richard C. McCoy, “‘Thou Idol Ceremony’: Elizabeth I, the Henriad, and the Rites of English Monarchy,” *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, eds. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F.E. Weissman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989).

⁵ It is not the place of this chapter to argue about the nature of Stuart liturgical ceremony, which, by all accounts, was of diverse practice and scope. Rather, this chapter assumes, as Kevin Sharpe succinctly states, “a broad spectrum of beliefs and preferences in matters theological and liturgical was accommodated” (277) by the early Stuart church; see Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* ch. 6. As Peter Lake wisely points out, all sides had a vested interest in ambiguity, to preserve the illusion of a national church unified through Elizabethan modified subscription; Peter Lake, “Moving the Goal Posts? Modified Subscription and the Construction of Conformity in the Early Stuart Church,” *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, C. 1560–1660*, eds. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2000). In his exhaustive treatment of “the shape of the liturgy,” Dom Gregory Dix describes the specific modifications to Catholic practice and range of individual variation in the early modern Anglican service; Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (New York: Continuum, 2005) ch. XVI. See also Achsah Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton: Literature, Religion, and Cultural Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) ch. 2; Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, “The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I,” *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England from Andrews to Baxter and Fox, 1603–1690* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975) ch. V; and Peter Lake, “The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s,” *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993) 181–82.

Throughout Book Four of his *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Richard Hooker derides those who reject any ceremony simply because it was employed by the Catholic Church, indicating that some degree of ceremony should be acceptable to all moderate English Protestants. For instance, in Chapter 12, he observes: “Now where as in the Church of *Rome* certaine Ceremonies are sayd to have bene shamefully abused unto evill, as the Ceremonie of Crossing at Baptisme, of kneeling at the Eucharist, of using Wafer-Cakes, and such like [...]”; Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker, ed. W. Speed Hill, vol. 1 (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1977). Many of these specific ceremonies are defended in Book Five, including: Chapter 28 “The forme of our Liturgie too neere the Papists, too farre different from that of other reformed Churches as they pretend”; Chapter 37 “Our manner of reading the Psalmes otherwise then the rest of the

Scripture”; Chapter 42 “Of Athanasius Creede and Gloria patri”; and Chapter 65 “Of the Crosse in Baptisme”; see Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker, ed. W. Speed Hill, vol. 2 (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1977).

Politically, James embraced episcopal hierarchy as a parallel to the secular hierarchy over which he also presided as king, but followed Hooker’s ambiguity and definition of “things indifferent” in specific matters of practice: “I mean it [the “Puritan” label] not generally of all preachers or others that like better of the single form of policy in our church than the many ceremonies in the Church of England; that are persuaded that their bishops smell of a papal supremacy; that the surplice, the cornered cap, and suchlike are the outward badges of popish errors. No, I am far from being contentious in these things (which for my own part I ever esteemed as indifferent)” James Stuart, *The True Law of Free Monarchies and Basilikon Doron*, Tudor and Stuart Texts (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1996) 96.

Because true uniformity was absent and the *via media* succeeded in part by being poorly defined, both orthodox Anglicans and Calvinists could wrangle over the same territory, as Nicholas Tyacke finds they did over Lancelot Andrewes, in Nicholas Tyacke, “Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism,” *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, C. 1560–1660*, eds. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2000). The Laudian reforms, of course changed this situation; for further discussion about the relationship between the Jacobean and Caroline churches, see Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, C. 1590–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Catholics, Anglicans, and Puritans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Peter O. G. White, *Predestination, Policy, and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).

⁶ The discussion of appropriateness or propriety here relates directly to the early modern concept of decorousness. The consequences for those who breeched decorum by inappropriately mixing discourses of theology/divine-right theory and politics during the Civil War period is addressed by Glenn Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution: An Introduction to English Political Thought, 1603–1642* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993) 179–211.

⁷ As Kenneth Fincham points out “‘Anglican’ is an anachronistic tag: bar a few separatists, all English protestants were ‘Anglican’ before 1642, members of an inclusive national church” in Kenneth Fincham, “Introduction,” *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993) 3–4. However, lacking an appropriate term to contrast pre-Laudian, “high church” practices with the more austere Calvinist service, I am nonetheless employing “Anglican.”

⁸ For instance, see the discussion of the major Caroline masques in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 51–75.

⁹ The *OED* provides both a sacred and secular meaning for “ceremony,” indicating that modern slippage around the term also existed during the early modern period. “Ritual” is a

newer word and had not yet adopted secular connotations in the seventeenth-century; see *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2005, Oxford University Press, January 29 2006.

¹⁰ The representation of social status by one's placement in a procession, either secular or sacred, is discussed by Kathleen Ashley, "Introduction: The Moving Subjects of Processional Performance," *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001) 16–17.

¹¹ For an overview of the importance of ceremonial behavior at the early modern court, see Malcolm Smuts, "Art and the Material Culture of Majesty in Early Stuart England," *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 88–89; and Neil Cuddy, "Reinventing a Monarchy: The Changing Structure and Political Function of the Stuart Court," *The Stuart Courts*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2000). For a discussion of Charles I's restoration of the lapsed Elizabethan rituals of court, see Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 209–17.

¹² The Stuart Banqueting Houses are discussed in Chapter 1, note 122.

¹³ These events are described in both *The Banqueting House*, Audiocassette tour, Historic Royal Palaces, London, and a guidebook by Simon Thurley, Susanne Groom and Susan Jenkins, *The Banqueting House, Whitehall Palace* (London: Historic Royal Palaces, 2000).

¹⁴ Albert J. Loomie, ed., *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet, 1628–1641* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1987).

¹⁵ Loomie, ed., *Ceremonies of Charles I* 49–50.

¹⁶ The parallel rituals of this dual-purpose architectural space are also addressed by Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 179–80.

¹⁷ That the Caroline court was indeed aware of the intrinsic parallels of the secular and sacred "temples" in London is addressed by Barbour, *Literature and Religious Culture* 111–12.

¹⁸ Indeed the self-guided audio tour provided at the Banqueting House in 2004 described the space in just this way. For the variations in placement of the "table," so called when it occupied space in the midst of the nave or chancel, or "altar," when it was placed at the east wall at the back of the chancel, throughout the Stuart period, see Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 333–39. See also Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England from Cranmer to Hooker, 1534–1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970) 363–65; and Davies, *Worship and Theology, 1603–1690* 8.

¹⁹ Image from Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 78.

²⁰ The architectural plan of Bristol Cathedral is available from *Bristol Cathedral*, website, Diocese of Bristol, Available: www.bristol-cathedral.co.uk/map.htm, January 20 2006.

²¹ Robert Herrick's "The Hock-Cart" is taken from Robert Herrick, *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick*, ed. J. Max Patrick (New York: Norton, 1968).

²² Lancelot Andrewes, *A Learned Discourse of Ceremonies Retained and Used in Christian Churches*. (London: 1653) 37. A few pages before, the bishop recalled the political decision that lead to this state of affairs: "So in our Country of England it is notorious by the Epistles of Pope Gregory himself (who sent our Austin the Monk) That although Pope Gregory in his Epistle to the King of England writ, that ancient Pagan Temples in England might wholly be destroyed, yet afterwards the same Pope better advising, that somewhat was to be yeilded unto them that were weak in faith, as the Apostles did; he writeth a peculiar Epistle to Miletus, one of the first Apostles or Bishops of the English-men, and expresly willeth that the Temples of the Idols in England be not destroyed, but that they be hallowed and sanctified, and turned into Oratories for Christians" (33–34).

²³ Andrewes, *A Learned Discourse of Ceremonies* 4–11.

²⁴ Vergil's *De Rerum Inventoribus* is described by Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) 144–45. Of course, not all authors are as comfortable with the pagan heritage of Christian ceremony as Andrewes seems to be; as Hutton points out, Vergil's "purpose was not simply to instruct or entertain but to criticize and reform" (145).

²⁵ All references to this masque are from Samuel Daniel, "The Vision of the 12 Goddesses," *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll*, ed. Joan Rees (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967). Here, and throughout the chapter, line numbers will be referenced in the text following the quoted passage.

²⁶ See definitions 1.a. and 2.a. in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

²⁷ See *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

²⁸ Unless otherwise stated all masque citations are taken from Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*.

²⁹ David Lindley, ed., *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

³⁰ Francis Beaumont, "The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn," *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicol*, ed. Philip Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

³¹ To the loquacious and vituperative William Prynne, however, even the chronological association of masques and Christian holidays was too much: "To the second clause of this Objection, That Stage-playes are necessary for the true solemnizing of our Saviours Nativitie,

and other such solemn Christian Festivalls; it is so diametrically opposite unto truth, [...] that I cannot so much as name it but with highest indignation. Alas into what atheisticall heathenish times are we now relapsed, into what a stupendious height of more than Pagan impiety are we now degenerated, when as Stage-playes (the very chieftest pompes and ornaments of the most execrable pagan Idols festivities) are thought the necessary appendants of our most holy Christian solemnities? when as we cannot sanctifie a Lords-day, observe a fift of November, or any other day of publike thanksgiving to our gracious God, nor yet celebrate an Easter, a Pentecost, or such like solemn Feasts, (much lesse a Christmasse, as we phrase it) in a plausible pious sort, (as too many paganizing Christians now conceit) without drinking, roaring, healthing, dicing, carding, dancing, Masques and Stage-playes? which better become the sacrifices of Bacchus, than the resurrection, the incarnation of our most blessed Saviour, which are most execrably prophaned, most unchristianly dishonoured with these Bacchanalian pastimes. What pious Christian heart bleedes not with teares of blood, when he beholds the sacred Nativitie of his spotlesse Saviour, transformed into a festivitie of the foulest Divels?"; William Prynne, *Histrion-Mastix the Players Scourge, or, Actors Tragaedie, Divided into Two Parts*. (London: 1633) Actus 8, scena tertia.

³² Many scholars have focused on issues of race and colonization in Jonson's Blackness; recent considerations include: William Over, "Familiarizing the Colonized in Ben Jonson's Masques," *Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 2.2 (2004); Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Richmond Barbour, "Britain and the Great Beyond: The Masque of Blackness at Whitehall," *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*, eds. John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998); Joyce Green MacDonald, "'the Force of Imagination': The Subject of Blackness in Shakespeare, Jonson, and Ravenscroft," *Renaissance Papers* (1991); and Kim F. Hall, "Sexual Politics and Cultural Identity in the Masque of Blackness," *The Performance of Power: Theatrical Discourse and Politics*, eds. Sue-Ellen Case and Janelle Reinelt (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991).

³³ Jonson's notes on Silenus explain "a pair of silenues is often mentioned who are in charge of a like number of groups of several satyrs. They were their overseers, superintendents and chiefs, on account of their great age"; see the Appendix of Stephen Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

³⁴ While the romance of this statement accords nicely with modern stereotypes of medieval knights and their relationships with their sovereigns, in reality, knightly societies were originally organized by Rome to liberate Jerusalem; medieval kings patterned similar societies, like the Order of the Garter, to insure loyalty through patronage and to counteract the growing power of the church. Therefore the relationship between knight and king was essentially political, perhaps requiring oaths, but never vows. For a discussion of the tensions between kings and knightly societies, see Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry, Revised Edition* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1995) ch. 16; Richard C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The*

Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) ch. 1.

³⁵ As King James once famously proclaimed “The State of Monarchie is the supremest thing upon earth: For Kings are not onely GODS Lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon GODS throne, but even by GOD himselfe they are called GODS”; quotation cited in Glenn Burgess, *Absolute Monarchy and the Stuart Constitution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996) 91. For an extended discussion of the synergy between Stuart court masques and divine right theory, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 49–57. For an important evaluation of the differences in early modern conceptions of absolute monarchy and a divinely-ordained king, see Burgess, *Absolute Monarchy and the Stuart Constitution* ch. 4. Burgess concludes that “the divine right of kings was a theory that most properly formed one branch of controversial theology” (123), reinforcing the connections between the liturgy of the church and the liturgy of the state this chapter explores. For the prominence of divine-right theory in period sermons, see Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution* 130–36.

³⁶ Although it is used in a slightly different context, Kevin Sharpe also employs the phrase “liturgy of state” to describe the impressive Caroline Order of the Garter investiture ceremonies in Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 222.

³⁷ In its infrequency, communal character, theological focus on the dual sacrifices of Christ and the recipient, and appeals to multiple senses, the Eucharistic sacrament perhaps offers the best correspondence to court masque as liturgy. For example, *The Book of Common Prayer* directs that, following communion and the Lord’s Prayer, the congregation prays together: “O Lorde and heauenly Father, we thy humble seruauntes entierly desire thy fatherly goodnes, mercifully to accepte thys our Sacrifice of prayse and thankes geuyng: moste humbly besechyng thee to graunte, that by the merites & death of thy sonne Iesus Christ, and through faith in his bloud, we and all thy whole church, may obtein remission of our sinnes, and al other benefyts of hys passion. [...]” See F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, 2 vols. (London: Rivingtons, 1921) 707.

³⁸ All references to this masque from Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*.

³⁹ For instance, the revels are “the conclusion and raison d’être of the masque” to Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* 179.

⁴⁰ In the Elizabethan church, communicants moved into the chancel for at the beginning of communion, necessitating a procession of some sort; see Davies, *Worship and Theology, 1534–1603* 364–65. Peter Lake also mentions, though does not categorize, Caroline theological processions to the altar, in Lake, “The Laudian Style,” 176. The interrelationship of secular and sacred processions—both reinforce the community’s power structure—is addressed by Ashley, “Introduction: The Moving Subjects of Processional Performance.”

⁴¹ A similar argument, associating the literature to festival custom, is made about Shakespeare's sixteenth-century comedies by C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of the Dramatic Form and Its Relation to Social Custom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959). "We can see here, with more clarity of outline and detail than is usually possible, how art develops underlying configurations in the social life of a culture," he explains in the introduction (4–5).

⁴² The retention of certain high feasts after the Reformation—including Christmas, the Circumcision (on New Year's), Epiphany, St. John the Evangelist, St. Stephen, and Holy Innocents, thus maintaining the winter festival season through Shrovetide—is discussed by Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 25. For a discussion of many of the late medieval traditions associated with this winter festival season, see Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* ch. 1; Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* ch. 2; and Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927) ch. II. Hutton traces the waning of many of these customs during the Reformation, despite Elizabeth's fondness for them and despite official tolerance of those that were not overtly disruptive (123–131); then Chapter 5 "The Battle for Merry England," documents both James's interest in preserving many of the traditional customs and also the pressures of sabbatarians and reformers to purge the religious establishment of any secular or customary associations.

⁴³ The text for this masque is found in Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*. The classic introduction of the carnival impulse is found in Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984) 5–11.

⁴⁴ For James's advocacy of nobles keeping Christmas in the country, see Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* 167; and Cuddy, "Reinventing a Monarchy: The Changing Structure and Political Function of the Stuart Court," 63–66. Hospitality will be addressed in greater detail in the following chapter.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of Stuart wedding masques functioning together as part of larger "masque cycles," see Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990) ch. 4.

⁴⁶ For the purposes of this chapter, the *Barriers* will not be considered as a masque; see Chapter 1 for the relationship between the masque and barriers forms in the early seventeenth century.

⁴⁷ Jonson also produced an entertainment for this wedding, *A Challenge at Tilt*, but it follows the older, Tudor style of debate and tilting very closely, it lacks both singing and dancing, and it will not be considered a marriage masque in this discussion.

⁴⁸ For the origins of these details, see the Appendix, Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*.

⁴⁹ For the pervasiveness of this problem with masques and spectacles in general, see “Roles and Mysteries” in Gordon, *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D. J. Gordon* 10–11. For an outline of the Greek and Roman wedding customs, see “marriage ceremonies” in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Third Edition, 1996, Oxford University Press, January 29 2006.

⁵⁰ Through documentary evidence, medieval and early modern traditions regarding liturgical colors are meticulously examined by E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, “On English Liturgical Colours,” *Essays on Ceremonial*, vol. 4 (London: The De La More Press, 1904). The information for matrimonial usage is scattered, but Cuthbert F. Atchley determines that white and green were the most frequently used (170). At the beginning of the article, the author indicates that the shades yellow, saffron, and tawny interchange with green, while gold and silver interchange with white in both the nomenclature of the article and the practice it explores.

⁵¹ All text for Chapman’s masque is from Lindley, ed., *Court Masques*.

⁵² All text is from “The Masque of Flowers,” *A Book of Masques: In Honour of Allardyce Nicoll*, ed. E. A. Honigmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

⁵³ All text for Jonson’s masque is from Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*.

⁵⁴ The *OED* provides two contemporary definitions for “hymn”: 1. “A song of praise to God; any composition in praise of God which is adapted to be chanted or sung; spec. a metrical composition adapted to be sung in a religious service; sometimes distinguished from psalm or anthem, as not being part of the text of the Bible” and 2.a. “An ode or song of praise in honour of a deity, a country, etc.”; see *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

⁵⁵ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. For a detailed discussion, including historical changes in the form between the medieval and Renaissance periods, see *Grove Music Online*, 2005, Oxford University Press, January 29 2006.

⁵⁶ See Chapter 4 for a reading of the implications of the laying on of hands in this passage from *A Mask*.

⁵⁷ The collect reads: “Lighten our darkness we beseech thee, O Lord, and by thy great mercie defend us from all perils and dangers of this night”; Brightman, *The English Rite* 165.

⁵⁸ Though there is considerable scholarly treatment of colonialism related to texts like Jonson’s *Masque of Blackness* and Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*, little attention has been paid to this masque; for a notable exception, see David Lindley, “Courtly Play: The Politics of Chapman’s the Memorable Masque,” *The Stuart Courts*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2000).

⁵⁹ The authors of these masques are, in order of frequency: Jonson (27), Campion (4), Daniel (2), Beaumont (1), Chapman (1), Browne (1), Marston (1), Middleton (1), and several anonymous authors. Of these Campion (3), Jonson (2), Beaumont (1), Chapman (1), and one anonymous author produced wedding masques.

⁶⁰ This number excludes the second half of Jonson's festivities for the Essex/Howard marriage, *The Barriers at a Marriage* and his *A Challenge at Tilt*; see notes 46 and 47 above.

⁶¹ Jonson's shame regarding *Hymenaei*, which celebrated the countess' first disastrous marriage, is widely known; "The match ended in divorce and scandal, and Jonson expunged from the folio text all mention of the occasion and the performers" observes Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques* 474, note to the title. See also David Lindley, "Embarrassing Ben: The Masques for Frances Howard," *English Literary Renaissance* 16.2 (1986).

⁶² The four secular, or cardinal, virtues were given the most full treatment by Aquinas in his *Summa Theologiae*; for a review of the historical treatment of the virtues along with excerpts from Aquinas, Albert the Great, and Philip the Chancellor, see *The Cardinal Virtues: Aquinas, Albert and Philip the Chancellor*, trans. R.E. Houser (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004).

⁶³ The development of this ceremony in the early church and during the Anglican reformation is discussed in great detail by Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* 110–23 and 660–64. Although Dix catalogs the modifications Crammer made to the offertory—he essentially discarded it—for the 1552 prayerbook in the later section, the next thirty pages of text, considering the church through the end of the sixteenth century, trace the rejection of the theology that mandated the change for Cranmer in the first place. The 1662 prayerbook restored the offertory to its pre-Reformation form unchallenged, and Hooker gives no indication of the state of the offertory in his discussions. In short, with no direct evidence describing the late sixteenth-century offertory and an acknowledged range of practice known to be tolerated, it is reasonable to believe that "high" churches made some use of offertory processions for alms-giving, despite their specific omission from the prayerbook.

⁶⁴ For instance, the "Collect for Epiphany," used as the first collect for both morning and evening prayer on that day, reads: "O God, whych by the leadinge of a starre dyddest manyfeste thy onely begotten sonne to the Gentyles: Mercyfully graunt, that we which know thee now by fayth, may after this lyfe haue the furicion of thy glorious Godhead, through Christ our Lorde," from Brightman, *The English Rite* 249. See page 149 for the order of collects used during morning prayer and 165 for evening prayer collects.

⁶⁵ For an alternative reading of this passage as an allusion to his long labor on The Civil Wars, see Joan Rees, *Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964) 92–93.

⁶⁶ As with liturgical questions in the Jacobean church in general, a certain degree of seemingly disagreement was tolerated on the question of grace in Protestant theology; see Fincham and Lake, “The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I,” 31–32. Calvinists favored the concept of double-predestination, believing that grace was only available to the elect, while Arminians embraced the role of grace working in partnership with the will to create faith, and therefore salvation, in all believers; see Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987) 221; and Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 292–301.

⁶⁷ This traditional understanding of court masque—its missing fourth wall and constructions of an ideal world—was presented by Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

⁶⁸ Brightman, *The English Rite* 707–09.

⁶⁹ For an overview of the reformists’ concerns and the outcome of the conference, see Patrick Collinson, “The Jacobean Religious Settlement: The Hampton Court Conference,” *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government*, ed. Howard Tomlinson (London: MacMillan, 1983); Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI and I* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003) 186–201; Fincham and Lake, “The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I”; and Davies, *Worship and Theology, 1603–1690* 333–35.

⁷⁰ This concept, “the Beauty of Holiness,” is most frequently discussed in the context of the Laudian church; see Lake, “The Laudian Style”; Davies, *Worship and Theology, 1534–1603* Vol. 2, 204–08; and Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?: Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988) ch. 4.

⁷¹ The reformed emphasis on the partnership of priest and congregation, rather than a liturgy with the priest acting independently from the laity, is described by Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 40–45.

⁷² For an extended discussion of this tension, see Davies, *Worship and Theology, 1603–1690* ch. VII.

⁷³ The wedding ring, non-Conformists believed, was not Scripturally ordained and, therefore, became a sacramental symbol in the context of the marriage ceremony; see Davies, *Worship and Theology, 1603–1690* 210.

⁷⁴ For a summary of the competing ascendancy of Anglicans and Calvinists during James’ reign, including the king’s own preferences for high church ceremony, see Fincham and Lake, “The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I”; and Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 277–79.

⁷⁵ Extant Jacobean masques performed at a private home without a member of the royal family present number only four, *Lovers Made Men* by Jonson, John Marston's *The Entertainment at Ashby*, *The Entertainment at Brougham Castle* of disputed authorship, and the anonymous *Coleorton Masque*.

⁷⁶ For a discussion on the various seventeenth-century connotations of this word, see Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community* 4–6; Patrick Collinson, *Godly People : Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983) 1–18; and Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? : Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* 7.

⁷⁷ The first performance, August 3, occurred at Burley-on-the-Hill, the estate of the then Marquis of Buckingham; the second, two days later, was at Belvoir, the seat of the Earl of Rutland, Buckingham's father-in-law. The last performance, sometime in September, was given at Windsor. For notes on of performance history and the full text for all three versions, see Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*.

⁷⁸ For instance, Malvolio in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Zeal-of-the-Land Busy from Jonson's own *Bartholomew Fair* are two famous, hypocritical Puritans, while an earlier masque performed at court, Jonson's *Love Restored*, also makes a passing joke of perceived Puritan hypocrisy (90–97). For King James, the non-conformists' tendency to anarchy was more worrisome: "And what in other parts I speak of Puritans, it is only of their moral faults, in that part where I speak of policy: declaring, when they condemn the law and sovereign authority, what exemplar punishment they deserve for the same." He even requests "That where the law is otherwise they may content themselves soberly and quietly with their own opinions, not resisting to the authority nor breaking the law of the country, neither, above all, stirring any rebellion or schism"; Stuart, *The True Law of Free Monarchies and Basilikon Doron* 96.

⁷⁹ Text from Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*.

⁸⁰ Orgel, ed., *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques* 429.

⁸¹ Along with Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* and the wedding masques, these late Jacobean masques account for all but two instances of priest-like characters and two uses of temples or altars in the Jacobean period.

⁸² For a list of known masquers, see the commencing page for each masque in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*.

⁸³ Brightman, *The English Rite* 139–43.

⁸⁴ By 1620, the political pressures of the Thirty Years War had also brought changes to the Jacobean church's policies of modified subscription and ambiguous uniformity, allowing a

more orthodox Anglican group of men, including William Laud, to rise to power; see Fincham and Lake, "The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I."

⁸⁵ For the pervasiveness of this idea, see Davies, *Worship and Theology, 1603–1690* 4–7.

⁸⁶ See note 4.

⁸⁷ Charles's fusion of militancy and piety is addressed by Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 179–90; and Barbour, *Literature and Religious Culture* 21–34. For the important role of divine right in this construction, see Roy Strong, *Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973) 222–23.

⁸⁸ This number includes two manuscript masque proposals from the British Library, Royal 18 A LXX, *The Theater of Apollo*, and Add. 72439, a proposal to Henrietta Maria in French. However, this number does not include masques like Milton's *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle* and Cockayne's *A Masque presented at Breteuil in Derbyshire* performed at a private house before a non-royal audience. The authors of these Caroline masques are Davenant (6), Jonson (3), Townshend (2), Carew (1), Nabbes (1), Shirley (1), and three anonymous poets.

⁸⁹ For a overview of the increased prominence of spectacle and a consideration of the relationship between spectacle and poetry in Caroline masques, see Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* 182–86. Introducing the section, Sharpe observes: "The emphasis is upon spectacle rather than poetry" (183).

⁹⁰ As many critics have noted, the concept that King Charles's innovations created needless turmoil in the English Church depends entirely on perspective, because taken individually, many of Charles's policies were not true deviations from his father's; see Fincham and Lake, "The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I"; Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* ch. VI, esp. 360–63; Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution* 200–02; and Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* 203. Perspective on Charles's innovations, too, can underlie the entire premise of a critical work, as it seems to do with Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church*.

⁹¹ The *Theater of Apollo* priests to Apollo also carry censers (8r–9r). Church inventories mentioning censors from 1550 to 1761 are listed in Vernon Stanley, ed., *Hierurgia Anglicana*, vol. 3, Part I (London: The De La More Press, 1902) 122–27. Stanley reprints Prynne's objection, during the trial of Archbishop Laud in 1643, to a censor being used at Bishop Andrew's chapel during the first lesson (125). Also interesting are the four elaborate silver and gilt censors listed in an inventory of St. Paul's, printed by both Stanley and John Orlebar Payne, ed., *St. Pauls Cathedral in the Time of Edward VI Being a Short Account of Its Treasures from a Document in the Public Record Office* (London: Burns & Oates, Limited, 1893). The Reverend Malcolm MacColl argues for the continual use of incense, along with other traditional Catholic ceremonial practices, during the Elizabethan period in his Malcolm MacColl, *The Royal Commission and Ornaments Rubric* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906).

⁹² Stephen Orgel discusses this section of the masque as generally Platonic in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 53–55. One certain source, for lines 78–81, is Ficino’s *Symposium*, but Euclia’s hymn at lines 143–150, is a Platonized rendition of the Genesis creation story. Of course, Platonism was baptized by St. Augustine of Hippo, and was again made an important theological topic by Renaissance philosophers like Marsilio Ficino and his protégé Pico de la Mirandola. For a brief overview of St. Augustine and Platonism, see Paul Strathern, *St. Augustine in 90 Minutes* (Chicago: I. R. Dee, 1997) 24–28. See also, Dominic J. O’Meara, ed., *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought* (Norfolk, Va.: International Society for Neoplatonic Studies, 1982).

⁹³ The sense of sight, which organizes the stage space for the benefit of those seated on the dais, is notably absent from Euphemus’s ceremony; like communion, this rite favors those sensory experiences in which all may share equally. For the importance of the senses in Anglican worship, see Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community* 17; and Davies, *Worship and Theology, 1603–1690* 200.

⁹⁴ The King James translation of Genesis 1.2 reads: “And the earth was without form, and void: and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.”

⁹⁵ *Le Subiect d’un Ballet*, Add. ms. 72439, British Library, London. I would like to thank David Frauenfelder for assisting me with the translations. His help with this manuscript was invaluable.

⁹⁶ “La scene ou le Theatre sera Ou une ville & une Mer, Ou un Temple payen & une mer aupres. Et au dessus un nuage, ou Ciel de nuis”

⁹⁷ “Mais il est a noter que cependans que Le Ciel S’ouvrira & que Les Vertus y paroistront, Le temple se changera, ou bien la ville, si c’est un Temple il fera changé en un Temple tous glorieux confaesi a l’honneur & a la Renommée. Et si c’est une ville Elle fera changee en un jardin delicieux & du tous pareil a un paradis Terrestre.”

⁹⁸ Peter Lake argues this abstract sense of “church” is a Calvinist theological conception in Lake, “The Laudian Style,” 179. However, Richard Hooker states: “Men are assembled for performance of publike actions, which actions being ended, the assembly dissolveth it selfe and is no longer in being, wheras the Church which was assembled, doth no lesse continue afterwards than before” in 1.14 of Book Three of his *Lawes*; Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* 205–06.

⁹⁹ I have selected the term “Laudian” rather than “Arminian” because my argument concerns issues of hierarchy and authority, the physical manifestations of sacred space, and the beautification of the sacred through art and music, rather than a theological consideration of the relationship of grace to faith.

¹⁰⁰ For discussion of the “Beauty of Holiness” and the Caroline emphasis on ceremony, see Lake, “The Laudian Style”; Fincham and Lake, “The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I,” 41–49; and Smuts, *Court Culture* 225–27. It is important to remember, as Peter Lake emphasizes: “It would be an error to claim either that this vision of the Church, true religion and order was novel in the 1630s or that it represented conventional wisdom” in Lake, “The Laudian Style,” 181.

¹⁰¹ Robert Skinner quoted by Lake, “The Laudian Style,” 164.

¹⁰² For a discussion of Anglican conceptions of the unity of bodies and souls, which justified physical ceremony and material beauty as an expression of inner faith and contrasted with Calvinist dualism, see Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community* 20–28; and Lake, “The Laudian Style,” 165–67.

¹⁰³ The restoration of the churches is discussed by Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 317–28; and Fincham and Lake, “The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I,” 43. Sharpe’s discussion, however, focuses to a large degree on the economic, rather than the theological, factors contributing to church repair.

¹⁰⁴ Caroline concerns with a unified church are taken up by Lake, “The Laudian Style,” 176–78; Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community* 21–22; and Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 288–99.

¹⁰⁵ For Laud’s episcopal visitations and the Constitutions and Canons reports they produced, see Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 363–69; and Kenneth Fincham, “Episcopal Government 1603–1640,” *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1642*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993). For examples of the articles of visitation, see Cressy and Anne, eds., *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Sourcebook*.

¹⁰⁶ For a discussion of Caroline reforms and Charles’s authority, see Lake, “The Laudian Style,” 176–78; Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 289–90; Fincham and Lake, “The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I,” 47–48; and Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community* 20–21.

¹⁰⁷ “More-or-less homogenous,” of course, because not everyone had the same visual experience of the masque, whose perspective sets were designed for the vantage point of the royal dais. For a summary of the experience of a typical masque-goer, including the heat and excessively crowded conditions, see Parry, “The Politics of the Jacobean Masque,” 113–14. For the ideal vantage point of the perspective set, see Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 7–8.

¹⁰⁸ William Davenant, *Corona Minervae. Or a Masque Presented before Prince Charles His Highnesse, the Duke of Yorke His Brother, and the Lady Mary, His Sister* (London: 1635) Cr.

¹⁰⁹ Murray Lefkowitz, ed., *Trois Masques a La Cour De Charles Ier D’angleterre* (Paris: Du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1970) 127, 132, and 133.

¹¹⁰ The descriptions of these banquets are found on pages C4v–D2r and 135 respectively. The importance of communal meals of all kinds to define and reinforce community boundaries and power structures is so well understood as to almost go without saying. However, this connection is underscored in the discussion of Herrick’s *Hesperides* by Cedric C. Brown, “Sons of Beer and Sons of Ben: Drink as a Social Marker in Seventeenth-Century England,” *A Pleasing Sinne : Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Adam Smyth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) especially 5–6. See also the “Christmas Feast and Fancies” section, describing the anti-Christmas “Puritans” “Mr. Eat-alone” and “Mr. Cold-Kitchen” and the pro-Christmas “Mr. Neighbor-Hood” and “Mr Open House” in Mary Anne Caton, ed., *Fooles and Fricassees : Food in Shakespear’s England, with an Essay by Joan Thirsk* (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1999).

¹¹¹ It is *caritas*, of course, that is easily layered with sacred overtones, as masques like *Love’s Triumph* demonstrate.

¹¹² Laud was elected on August 19, 1633, while *The Book of Sports* was reissued on October 18; *The Triumph of Peace* was first performed on February 3 and *Coelum Britannicum* on February 18. For the Book of Sports, see Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 355. For Laud’s biography, see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, 2004–6, Oxford University Press, January 29 2006.

¹¹³ Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 322–23.

¹¹⁴ It is not my intention to formulate an argument about the relative novelty of these assertions of kingly authority over sacred matters; as many critics have pointed out, taken independently, there was nothing new about many of Charles’s “innovations,” but taken together there was much for Calvinists and other evangelicals to protest; see note 90 above.

¹¹⁵ For example, “VVhy is not Popery coming in fast enough; but you must make a preparation thereunto: yea become a purveyer, & harbenger to make Roome, & lay in provision for it? Is it not sufficient, that the vvicket is sett open, that the Popish pack may be dravvne in; but you must sett open the great gate, that a Sumpter horse may amble in vvith a load of reliques & Cerem? For if the patent of the Church be so enlarged, to appoynt Cerem: at their pleasure, to admonish and teach, and it is in their povver to appoynt vvhat, & hovv many, as seemes good to them; vvhy then let images be erected, let crosses & Crucifixes be sett up in every corner” from the “Preface” of William Ames, *A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in God’s Vvorship. Or a Triplication Unto. D. Burgesse His Rejoinder for D. Morton the First Part* (Amsterdam: 1633) I3r.

¹¹⁶ Obviously, ecclesiastical hierarchy is a distinctly Anglican, and Catholic, structure.

¹¹⁷ In the printed text, Davenant specifically indicates that “Most of these anti-masques were presented by gentlemen of quality” (168–169) rather than hired actors. Some entries list only the characters, like the two thieves, two watchmen, and one bell-man of Night’s first

antimasque entry. The concluding entries, at the City of Sleep, are all described with the names of the noble performers included at the end.

¹¹⁸ A similar observation about the visual effects of *Salmacida Spolia* is forwarded by Barbour, *Literature and Religious Culture* 112.

¹¹⁹ The *OED* defines “aurora” in usage 6 as: “The colour of the sky at the point of sun-rise; a rich orange hue”; see *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

¹²⁰ Image available from the “Il Cinquecento Lombardo: Da Leonardo a Caravaggio” section of the [Sapere.it](http://www.sapere.it), website, Available: www.sapere.it/tca/minisite/arte/nonsolomostre/500lomb04.html, January 20 2006.

¹²¹ Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones* 716.

¹²² Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 301–08.

¹²³ Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 304.

Chapter 4

“It were a Sinne to make them stoope more lowe, or streyne more high”: The Country Masque

As the 1634 masques by James Shirley and Thomas Carew suggest, even masque writers working at court did not universally endorse the inclusion of overtly liturgical iconography and ritual action in the court masques of King Charles. Yet, in comparison with England as a whole, the world of the court was insular and fairly homogenous, populated by individuals whose political and religious ideology was compatible with the king's, if not exactly consonant; those who disagreed with him sharply would find no place at Charles's Whitehall.¹ On the other hand, for others who might otherwise wish to remain there, diplomatic, political, or personal responsibilities might necessitate removal from London.² Their absence from the court, however, does not mean that men and women living outside of London abandoned the favored cultural mediums of the capital when they left.³ As John Milton's widely known *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle* indicates, gentry audiences at private houses routinely enjoyed versions of court entertainment.⁴ Like their court counterparts, these “country masques” crystallize the religious and political attitudes of their writers, patrons, and audiences and, therefore, reveal not only the multifariousness of the genre itself, but also a range of responses to the assertions of the Caroline court masque.

Debating whether these country entertainments were, indeed, masques is senseless, because, as Chapter One argued, the salient feature of masque as a genre in the seventeenth century is its potential for *variety*. As a result, questions of form, especially the technical

comparison of any single country masque to the “Jonsonian” pattern,⁵ has little place in the considerations of this chapter. In fact, little about the actual performance practice of these country masques is actually known because, unlike their analogues at the Caroline court, the country masque writers were, on the whole, rather reticent with memorializing the details of performance in their texts. Their “stage directions” are remarkably thin. As a result of the paucity of details and in notable contrast to the previous chapters, most of the discussion of the following chapter will be focused on the texts, rather than the whole of the performance; however, a brief consideration of the technical requirements—the numbers of actors, dancers, and musicians to animate each text—will also be included. Significantly, the last masque addressed in this study omits the traditional acting, dancing, and singing altogether, an omission that reinforces the specifically Calvinist-inclined theology underpinning the text itself. Yet, despite the remarkable omission of the performative features with which masque critics have typically and traditionally defined the genre, the masque’s poet still labels his creation a masque. This fact, perhaps as much as the litany of invocations of “variety” examined by Chapter One, testifies to the inherent flexibility of the genre as it was understood by its seventeenth-century writers.

Moreover, the retreat from spectacle, from ceremonial, suggested collectively by these four country masques underscores the subtle revisions to the court form I locate in the politico-religious assertions of their poetry. In other words, rather than how a given writer navigates the constraints of generic precedent, the heart of this chapter is instead how that writer responds to the ideologies of the crown through his unique version of the genre. The discussion will begin, therefore, with two country masques that conform, more or less, to the “court” pattern. Both *The Coleorton Masque*, an anonymous masque of 1618, and Sir Aston

Cockayne's *A Masque Presented at Brethie in Darbyshire* explore a central theme consonant with crown policy—the importance of traditional hospitality—and both react to the secularization of liturgy in court masques. *The Coleorton Masque* can be read as a rehabilitation of liturgical inclusions, while *A Masque* refrains outright from dramatizing anything that hints at the liturgical.

The chapter will then turn to that most famous country masque, Milton's *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle*, a piece that varies from the typical court form in several obvious ways. Although the songs of *A Mask* and its tidy resolution appear to impose a Platonic, “Jonsonian” structure that would otherwise be absent from the production, the implications of human divinity created by this structure, a mixture of sacred and secular embraced wholeheartedly at court, were essentially anathema to the poet. Therefore in *A Mask*, Milton undertakes a subtle revision to the genre, one that emphasizes the potential for inner spiritual transformation, rather than instantaneous external metamorphosis, consonant with his later non-conformist theological ideas.

As the first three masques considered in this chapter intimate, more than any other seventeenth-century adaptation to the genre, the inclusion of controversial theological and liturgical material in Whitehall masques was apt to provoke notable responses from provincial masque poets; and these poets had no qualms about tinkering with the genre in order to remove the spiritually offensive material espoused at court. A manuscript masque from Norfolk, *Enchiridion Christiados*, written by John Cayworth for the newly-elected sheriff of the county, demonstrates the extent to which country masque writers went to distance themselves from the theologically and politically questionable assertions of the royal masques. This masque is not so much a gentle critique or subtle reform, as *The Coleorton*

Masque or *A Mask* are; instead, it is a whole-cloth transformation, ridding the masque of all ceremony, all secular implications, even all performative elements, replacing them with a Calvinist-inspired text that acknowledges Christ, not the king, as the only mortal divine.

Even as these four country masques respond to, critique, and revise the liturgical aspects of the genre as it manifested at the Stuart court, they are no less conformist and Anglican than the Caroline masques at Whitehall.⁶ In short, the writers of these masques are attempting to negotiate or reclaim a type of orthodoxy for the genre, an orthodoxy they believed was called into question by productions at court. For example, despite its radical treatment of the genre, *Enchiridion Christiados* hardly strays at all from the central structure the poet derived from *The Book of Common Prayer*. Instead, in their rejection of certain (or all) types of ceremony and carefully considered boundaries between secular and sacred, these four masques taken together imply that, in the Banqueting House, the king had gone too far toward liturgy, divine-right theory, and “popishness” for the tastes of his people. In their unique productions, the four country masque writers considered by this chapter re-establish to a degree consonant with their individual beliefs and sense of propriety, the tricky relationship between liturgy and secular ceremony, divine lord and earthly king entangled by the crown.

Produced on Candlemas Night, or the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin celebrated on February 2, the anonymous *The Coleorton Masque* of 1618 is a rare example of the Jacobean country masque.⁷ Coleorton was the Leicestershire estate of Sir Thomas Beaumont, whose family owned the largest coal mine operations in the county.⁸ Because Leicestershire was at

some distance from the capital, it retained a remarkable degree of independence from the crown; indeed, apart from an exorbitant annual foodstuffs bill of £983 17s. 4d., a holdover from Elizabeth's reign, the county paid low national taxes and skimmed on other crown attempts to collect revenue.⁹ In his recent history of the county during the first half of the seventeenth century—where the central importance of the Lord Lieutenants, operating with an almost feudal or baronial authority over local politics until the outbreak of war in 1642—is emphasized, Thomas Cogswell observes “the state largely left [the residents of Leicester] alone” for a majority of James's reign.¹⁰ Unknown to those gathered at Coleorton that early February night, in late April, under growing international pressure as a result of his son-in-law's troubles, the king would begin a series of financial demands on the county that created twenty years of local turmoil and headaches for the county's Lord Lieutenant, Henry Hastings, the Fifth Earl of Huntingdon.¹¹ Huntingdon was an influential and widely respected moderate Calvinist, but he permitted a certain degree of evangelical latitude within his county.¹² Notably, the rector at his Ashby estate was Thomas Pestell, who also held the benefice at Coleorton; Pestell was significantly less tolerant of nonconformists, though he used both legal and pastoral means to urge submission.¹³

Both the distance from Whitehall and the moderate Protestantism of the region suited the guests of Sir Thomas perfectly. Along with their host, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Willoughby, other members of the Devereux and Beaumont families, and local Leicestershire gentry¹⁴ honored the recently married Sir William Seymour¹⁵ and Lady Frances, née Devereux, with the Candlemas production featuring a mixed-sex masque of twelve dancers.¹⁶ Four or five actors/singers and eight antimasque dancers rounded out the cast. Its structure, and even its notable allusion to a Ben Jonson text—lines 17 to 18 repeat dialog from either

Oberon or *The Alchemist*—indicate the author must have been familiar with either Jacobean court masques or their published texts.¹⁷ The six male masquers, representing the male virtues of Nobleness, Valour, Wisdom, Justice, Temperance, and Courtesy, are equated with the anagrammatic Sir Vere Dux (Devereux) and Spenser's knights Arthur, Sapient, Artegall, Guyon, and Calidore, although the masquers' costuming is never described. On the whole, *The Coleorton Masque*, though entirely private, is of a kind with Jonson's masques at Whitehall; indeed, several of the participants could be considered courtiers, or former courtiers, and had first-hand knowledge of masques produced at James's court.¹⁸

Although the masque highlights the months-old marriage of Seymour and Lady Frances (127–132), and includes an altar with smoking incense (101–102), it is not truly a wedding masque.¹⁹ The primary theme of the production is the decline in English hospitality, as represented by the rich larders, abundant drink, and merry fellowship of country estates during the winter festival season. Puck and Bob, the buttery spirit, blame evangelical Protestants for the situation:

True, Puck, housekeeping is a rag of Rome—'tis abolished. All good fellowship, called feasting, is turned to a dish of Bibles. The country mirth and pastime, that's Pauncius Pilate, dead and buried; entertainment, that's now a fooling pleasure for every swabber. In a whole country ye shall have some three great houses smoking, an one of them o' th'old way, Puck. This new sect, in sincerity 'tis a dry one, and a plaguy soaker of the buttery. (29–36)

Bob's colorful turns of phrase—allusions to ecclesiastical vestments (or "rags of Rome") and to the Apostle's Creed used during the daily offices—parody the vitriol of "Puritan" anti-Catholic rhetoric while specifically linking religious extremism with the current dilapidation of traditional hospitality. The two country spirits then lampoon the wastrel nouveau riche and praise the "old money" host families for their magnanimity and adherence to the old traditions. Although it is appropriately light-hearted and amusing, this antimasque is also

unequivocally political. On the one hand, it demonstrates the moderate Anglicanism of the Seymour, Devereux, Beaumont, and other county families; on the other, it aligns the families with the crown's social policies, even despite both Seymour and Essex's personal grievances with King James.

In 1616, in a speech to the Star Chamber, James "call[ed] for landowners to spend Christmas in the countryside dispensing hospitality and charity in the old fashion instead of remaining in London."²⁰ Hospitality, especially keeping an open house at Christmastime, was understood not only as a duty of landownership, but also as a duty of a good Christian.²¹ In hospitality, the abstract theological virtue of charity was put to practical, tangible use, as Thomas Adams asserts in a collection of sermons published in the same year as the king's speech:

Mee thinkes these three Theologall Vertues may not vnfitly bee compared to three great Feastes, which wee celebrate in the yeare; Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. Faith, like Easter, beleeueth Christ dead for our sinnes, and risen againe for our Iustification. Hope, like Pentecost, waites for the comming of the holy Ghost, Gods free Spirit of grace to come into vs, and to bring vs to Heauen. And Charitie looks like Christmas, full of loue to our neighbours, full of hospitality, and mercy to the poore.²²

In both the king and Adams's formulation, though, hospitality is practiced beyond the door of the church, in the day-to-day interactions between men and women commanded "to love your neighbor as yourself." In other words, although hospitality juxtaposes communal meal-taking with Christian duty, it does so in the non-liturgical context of the hearth and board of the manor house. Therefore, hospitality, while Christian, is not sacramental—a distinction lost upon the non-conformists who essentially threw the baby out with the bathwater when challenging "popish" customs still practiced almost one hundred years after the Reformation. Earlier even than 1616, in his *Basilikon Doron*, King James had struck a balance between

harmless, secular pleasures and ecclesiastical matters, his language emphasizing both their compatibility, but also the need to respect the sacramental nature of the Sabbath:

In respect whereof, and therewith also the more to allure them to a common amity among themselves, certain days in the year would be appointed for delighting the people with public spectacles of all honest games and exercise of arms, as also for convening of neighbors, for entertaining friendship and heartliness by honest feasting and merriness. For I cannot see what greater superstition can be in making plays and lawful games in May and good cheer at Christmas than in eating fish in Lent and upon Fridays, the Papists as well using the one as the other, so that always the Sabbaths be kept holy and no unlawful pastime be used.²³

Here, the Christian duty of charity is omitted, though the conjunction between hospitality (in addition to sports) and proper religious observance remains. Communal festivities, so long as they do not profane the Sabbath, are embraced and encouraged. Although his increasingly liturgical masques move away from this middle ground by 1618, through the hospitality the king advocated to his son almost twenty years before, the poet, patron, and audience at Coleorton can embrace and celebrate their Christianity without drawing uncomfortably, and potentially blasphemously, near official church ceremony. In the celebration of hospitality lies the *Coleorton* solution to reform of a genre heretofore monopolized by the crown. The *Coleorton* solution is all the more graceful because, in turning away from secularized ceremony, it offers subtle criticism of the politico-religious implications of the Whitehall masques, yet proffers the compromise of hospitality, an issue of growing importance to the king, as an appropriate alternative.

Because of the affinities between *Coleorton* and both court masques and court policies, its digressions from the nascent secular liturgy of James's masques are all the more interesting. The altar—apart from the cloud machine, the only setting mentioned in the text—is inscribed “Jovi Hospitali Sacrum” (102); this inscription locates the altar as explicitly secular and mythological, curtailing the possibility of an intimated Anglicanism to

the main masque setting.²⁴ Before the altar, the blessings Favonius invokes are equally specific:

First I come to bless this tower,
Every bed and every bower;
Sprightly mirth and sparkling wine
Every brain and cheek refine;
Safe content and golden slumber,
Peace and joy sans end or number, (118–123).

Favonius's speech petitions for a kind of grace, blessings freely given to the faithful from a loving deity, though in this case, it is the grace of merry revelings free of hangovers. By contrast, the responses repeated daily in matins and evensong petition for the blessings of salvation, mercy, and freedom from earthly trouble.²⁵ Favonius specifically describes the main masque as a "solemnity"—rather than a rite or ceremony—at line 134, and when he invokes blessings for the newly-weds, he does so within the secular context of hospitality:

Yet a pair above the rest,
Of a differing sex, are blessed,
For whose happy wished repair
Here these altars loaden are
With new gums, and fresh does rise
Th'hospitable sacrifice. (127–132)

In other words, the masque is indeed a "sacrifice," one utilizing the generosity of its hosts to wish life-long happiness for its honorees. To insure there is no misunderstanding, in the midst of lines of accent-heavy trochees, the writer highlights the word "sacrifice" with its meter-breaking qualifier, "th'hospitable." Gone is the language of duty and devotion as sacrificial so common in the masques at court; gone too is the ambiguous use of liturgical iconography and ritual action.²⁶ The writer of *The Coleorton Masque* deftly employs the altar and "religious" language seen in other masques, but at the same time preserves a distinct line between the secular world of the masque and the sacred world of the established church.

Instead, the masque occupies a nebulous middle ground; in this context, the masque's terminal dances become the hospitable hosts' gift of entertainment, rather than an extension or embodiment of the more overt secular liturgy of the main masque as they were at court.

The reason for the anonymous writer's care in associating "liturgical" elements with the theme of hospitality becomes startlingly clear in the closing moments of the masque. After the main masque concludes with a reconciliation of the male and female virtues and the masque dancers exit the stage, an unidentified antimasque type character enters "At the Going Away" (294); he carries "*a flagon and a glass*" (294) and drinks while he urges a toast to the couple:

Room, lads and lasses then, make a fair ring.
Come, my bonny boy,
Lady, be not coy,
'Tis a scurvy thing. (303–306)

This stanza, along with the two preceding it, returns to the theme of innocent holiday indulgences and hospitality first established in the antimasque and further qualified by Favonius's speech before the masquers' entrances. The colloquial address to the gathered company, and repeated references to drinking in the earlier stanzas, evokes a tavern or banquet hall; the character's flagon and song cast him as the amusing, boisterous carouser. However, in the remarkable closing of his song, the "fair ring" of revelers metamorphoses into the faithful gathered around the communion table:²⁷

Run, holy liquor, run, 'tis a precious sight.
Go and cool your thirst
While I taste this first
To the Lady bright.

He kneels down and crosses the glass, saying this charm over it:

May this prove to every foe
Shame on earth and worse below;

But to all that wish you wealth,
Grace and honour, 'tis a health. (307–315)

While the tippler's parody of communion could be read simply as the misguided devotion of an addict to his drug of choice, the precise stage directions—which insist on kneeling, crossing, and a “charm”—align this moment with the re-purposed altar and benediction from earlier in the masque. In other words, the “liturgical” elements of *The Coleorton Masque* establish not the concordances between church and state, but instead an appropriately secular “religion of Hospitality.” *Coleorton*, especially in this humorous parody of communion, asserts that hospitality, traditionally associated with charity during the Christmas season but nevertheless practiced beyond the sacred ground of official religious institutions, is as close to the church door as masques should come.

By the year 1618, *The Coleorton Masque* seems to be one of only two non-royal masques performed at private houses;²⁸ in other words, even in the late Jacobean period, every masque was influenced, to a substantial degree, by the shadow of court precedent and policy. In this light, one possible reading of *Coleorton* is as a veiled critique of the increasing tendencies in court masques to amalgamate the secular and sacred in a confusing hodge-podge of royal devotion. Each element—sacred space, masque dancing, ritualized dramatic action—that one or more Jacobean court masques had overlain with potential liturgical significance, *Coleorton* returns to the business of secular entertainment. If one way to read this masque is as a subtle critique, then its final pair of couplets, a gracious compliment to the honorees, hosts, and audience, takes on added significance:

But more sound or more devout
Are not in the world throughout.
Deign, then, oft to bless this coast,
God dwells where he's honoured most. (358–361)

Here is the explicitly theological language missing from the rest of the masque, but it comes as a benediction, the request for a blessing from devout and penitent subjects to a loving and gracious God. Importantly, the king—toward whom Whitehall masques consistently directed similar petitions for grace—is completely absent from this moment; when the unequivocal language of liturgy finally comes in this masque, it is “appropriately” directed to God. Nevertheless, the masque aligns neatly with what will soon be official royal policy. In short, the anonymous writer of *Coleorton* has subtly realigned the genre, employing quasi-religious props and dramatic action, similar to that seen on stage at Whitehall, but nudging them back into the context of secular entertainment through the compromise of hospitality.

Because it both employs them and also systematically converts them to secular contexts, *The Coleorton Masque* rehabilitates the ecclesiastical elements that were growing more prominent in masques at Whitehall. Yet, through its general form and its politics, it is analogous to those masques as well. Twenty-one years after the Leicestershire masque, a similar performance was mounted in Derbyshire, at the Earl of Chesterfield’s Bretby Hall. Derbyshire, as remote from the capital as Leicestershire, which bounds it to the southeast, is most known for the coal mining fields of the Peak District. Cogswell believes the county had a similar political apparatus, dominated by a powerful local baron, to Leicestershire;²⁹ the theological character of the Derbyshire, however, is much more complex. Although traditional historiography claims that “A disruptive and liberating Puritanism is often associated with industrial or wood pastures areas (in Derbyshire, Durham or Warwickshire for example),” specifically Derbyshire’s Peak,³⁰ Bretby Hall is in the flatlands in the far south of the county, on the Trent, very near the Staffordshire border. Yet, just across the Leicestershire border, five miles to the east, was the estate of Sir Henry Hastings, a known

recusant who seems to have supported other recusant families in both Derbyshire and Leicestershire.³¹ Sir Aston Cockayne, the author of *A Masque Presented at Brethie in Darbyshire*, was a distant cousin to this baronet, as part of the “extended network of interrelated midlands gentry and aristocracy [including] Cokaynes, Stanhopes, Hastings, Knyvetons, Reppingtons, Trenthams,” and was, in fact, great friends with his recusant Kneyveton cousins.³²

More directly, Cockayne was a nephew to the earl and wrote *A Masque* for Twelfth Night, 1639. The text follows the general form of masques at court and also celebrates hospitality; certainly some members of its audience—presumably drawn from the gentry and kinship network of south Derbyshire—perhaps were able to witness royal productions while fulfilling political duties in the capital. Certainly the poet, who joined the Inns of Court in 1628 and seemed to frequent the theatres before departing on a continental tour in the summer of 1632, would also have been familiar with the genre as it was initially staged during the Caroline period.³³

Like *Coleorton*, Cockayne’s *A Masque* presents hospitality as a historic virtue. After an introduction where the Lar Familiaris³⁴ debates with a Satyr on the respective pleasures of civilized life and a life of nature,³⁵ the earl’s young son and stepson enter, breaking up an enthusiastic antimasque by the satyrs. The earl’s son informs the Lar that his father is:

A great maintainer
Of our great Grand-Fathers vertue, Hospitality:
The Feeder of the poor; whose Gate’s so open,
It doth not need the Office of a Porter.³⁶

Both *Coleorton* and Cockayne’s masque celebrate traditional hospitality for its primarily communal function of drawing together and reinforcing the bonds between groups of people in the same geographic region. In *A Masque*, however, there is less emphasis on revelry;

hospitality is explicitly a form of charity; and the lord's hall becomes a refuge. During the 1630s, taking a cue from his father, King Charles issued repeated proclamations mandating that country gentry and noble families remain at their estates, forgoing the pleasures of the winter season in London; an important impetus to these demands was the king's concern for the decline in hospitality.³⁷ As Richard Brathwaite observed in 1630:

Hospitalitie, which was once a relique of Gentrie, and a knowne cognizance to all ancient houses, hath lost her title, meerely through discontinuance: and great houses, which were at first founded to releeeve the poore, and such needfull passengers as travelled by them, are now of no use but only as Way-marks to direct them.³⁸

During Christmas of 1639, the Stanhope/Cockayne clan adhered to royal policy by remaining at home and celebrating with a facsimile of court entertainment.

The poor, however, are not the only ones taking refuge at Bretby House; the Lar's opening speech, on 119, explicitly contrasts the political turmoil at court to the safety and security of the country retreat he has found in Derbyshire:

The proudest *Lares* of the greatest Princes
May boast of state, and languish in a noise,
Whil'st here I live secure, and do enjoy
As much of everything, but fears and dangers.

As the earl's biography indicates, Chesterfield preferred to remain distant from the duties of politics, both at the local and national level; not a month after this performance, he cited health problems in begging off a trip to York commanded by the king.³⁹ With growing tension in London—and perhaps also in the county⁴⁰—Bretby offered good company, abundant larders, refined entertainment, and refuge. Sadly, history would prove the wisdom of the earl's retreat; in late 1642, after Chesterfield agitated against a local man attempting to raise troops for the Parliamentary cause, his Bretby manor was sacked in retribution.⁴¹

Essentially, the earl's potential retreat qualifies the family's perceived support of Charles's policies on hospitality. At first glance, their actions align perfectly with this policy, but their motives were perhaps more personal and complex. It should come as no surprise, then, that the inclusion of liturgical elements in *A Masque* is also complex and unpredictable. The poet and other members of the audience were potential recusants⁴² and the text aligns hospitality with the theological virtue of charity, yet *A Masque* fastidiously avoids not merely liturgical elements, but excessive ceremonial action in general. If the perceived crypto-Catholicism of a masque's patron were any guide, the Derbyshire masque should embrace the heavy liturgical style of the masques at Whitehall. However, such ceremonial is notably absent in this masque. The two boys praise their parents when the Lar questions them and then move to greet them: "*Here the Lord of the House gives his hand to his Son, and the Countess kisses her Son.*"⁴³ Compared to the formal processions to the dais at court, this moment is sweet and informal, with the earl and countess initiating interaction with their children, rather than passively accepting their dutiful reverences. The terminal and revels dances "*Solemnize this Night,*"⁴⁴ rather than ritualize them. Perhaps most tellingly, when the Lar converts the Satyr from his adherence to the life of nature, he does so by describing the sophisticated pleasures of civilized living, finally indicating that:

Her's a Butler
Will give thee wine as rich as is thy blood:
And her's a Cook will clothe thy bones with flesh
As rich as was young Jason's Golden Fleece.⁴⁵

Although Cockayne selects the potentially evocative language "flesh" and "wine" for this final temptation of the Satyr, the simultaneous mention of the butler and cook, along with an elaborate pun on the cook's name four lines later—indicated by the poet in a marginal notation for the benefit of his readers—prevent the lines from taking on a Eucharistic or

conversionary significance. Along with his cohort the butler, Hector the cook offers real meat and drink, carefully and elaborately prepared and contrasting markedly with the nuts, berries, and other natural foods the Satyr enjoys in the woods. In short, *A Masque* carefully, deliberately, sidesteps potential theological or liturgical glosses in this moment, just as it had earlier refrained from dramatizing overtly liturgical or ceremonial actions. Chronologically, Cockayne's masque falls between Davenant's *Luminalia* and *Salmacida Spolia*, but it absolutely refrains from partaking in their widespread mingling of the sacred and secular. Even the masque's apparent endorsement of crown policy, the continuation of hospitality traditional to the country, is problematized by the earl's reluctance to involve himself with politics of any sort. Cockayne's *A Masque* draws an even sharper line between the secular and sacred than did Coleorton by omitting the potentially sacred from the performance almost entirely.

Both the anonymous *The Coleorton Masque* and Sir Aston Cockayne's *A Masque Presented at Bretbie in Darbyshire* respond in small, but perceptible ways to the secularized liturgy of masques at the Stuart court, the former by recasting those liturgical moments to secular ones, the later by eliding them altogether. In fact, in 1639, Cockayne essentially turned back the clock thirty years, to the beginning of James's reign, when ecclesiastical iconography was not a standard and accepted part of court masques at all. Because both masques follow court precedent—in the structure and dramatic action, in the presentation of virtue, in dispensing gracious encomium, in most important ways—except in the overt inclusion of the sacred during performance, both can be read as tentative revisions to the genre by their respective poets.⁴⁶ In discernable ways, these two writers recognized and attempted to amend a key feature of masque as it was employed at court; the absence of

secularized liturgy from Cockayne's *A Masque* indicates precisely the degree of discomfort the Derbyshire family felt with King Charles's grand productions in the church-theatre of the Banqueting House.

John Milton reacted not against the secularized liturgy of Caroline masque, but against the quasi-divinity court masques imposed upon both masquers and royal audience in his *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle*.⁴⁷ In Whitehall masques, stage magic and an acceptance of masquing conventions—specifically the Platonic descent—permitted the instantaneous transformation of mortal courtiers to divine masquers—and then mortal audience members to semi-divine audience members—essentially without question; the increasing secularization of previously sacred ritual action outlined by Chapter Three underscores the deification of otherwise mortal men and women practiced at the Banqueting House on an annual basis. However, even as a young man, Milton appeared uncomfortable with this instantaneous conferral of divinity; through a subtle transformation of the philosophical underpinnings of the masque's structure, signaled through the corporality and divine status of several key characters in *A Mask*, the poet attempted to reform the genre, highlighting the difficult, gradual, and internal transformation that allowed someone to become “divine.”⁴⁸

As Leah Marcus has argued, Milton's patron, the Earl of Bridgewater was no doubt himself uncomfortable with Whitehall liturgical policies and, at the time of the masque, was commencing a political chess game with Laud over ecclesiastical control of Wales and its four border counties, control that had formerly been the province of the Council of Wales and the Marches.⁴⁹ Moreover, despite both Bridgewater and his father's important political

offices—his father, Lord Ellesmere, was James’s Lord Chancellor and the earl, before his promotion to Lord President of Wales and the Marches, had been a Privy Councilor and member of the High Commission for Charles—Bridgewater was himself a moderate Calvinist, who tended to treat religious conformity as a matter of individual conscience.⁵⁰ Milton’s masque, performed on Michaelmas Night in celebration of Bridgewater’s installation as Lord President (and, therefore, the king’s administrative right-hand in the west),⁵¹ reflects the Earl of Bridgewater’s political loyalties as an officer of the crown in its subtle structural accommodation of the proper “form” of a masque. More importantly, however, *A Mask* simultaneously endorses his patron’s religious beliefs by rejecting a concept of divinity conferred by external, “Platonic” forces like that celebrated by the king at the Banqueting House.⁵²

Perhaps because Milton enacts a subtle change to the masque’s “form” to amend the genre, critics have struggled with a generic definition of *A Mask* for many years;⁵³ on the surface, Milton’s piece seems to violate the rigid form developed by Ben Jonson and generally embraced by the Caroline masque writers. It is difficult, however, to compare Milton’s text to the “Jonsonian” or court pattern. The rowdy antimasque characters of Comus’s band open the masque appropriately enough, but there is no establishment of perfect order when the riotous dancers are disbursed.⁵⁴ At the entrance of the Lady, where the transformation scene should occur, there is instead an increase of danger. When the scene does change, to a palace—a common location for Jacobean and Caroline virtuous masque characters to inhabit—it is not a domain of nobility and order, but one of danger and sensual folly. The debate that follows, between the Lady and her would-be-seducer, is pure drama, not the end-stopped encomium of courtly masque. Indeed, Milton’s heavy use of

blank verse, the single incident of song and single dance of the “mask” up to line 860,⁵⁵ the point when the lady is rescued by her young brothers and the attendant Spirit summons Sabrina, are much more like drama than the rhyming couplets of traditional court masques. After 860, however, *A Mask* is all quatrain couplets and song, with dancing announced but not stage directed; at this point it looks much more “masque-like.”

Although Milton forces his ending into the established pattern and restores song and formal dancing at the end, he seems to have violated the philosophical conventions of writers of masque at court. Order is not neatly imposed through a Platonic descent, and only after a series of complications is the “neat” finish of a “Jonsonian” masque allowed to occur. Yet, at the end of the masque, as Demaray observes, “the noble Peer in his seat of state is not elevated...to the position of an angel or a heavenly figure before an earthly or heavenly temple. [...] He remains an archetypal lord and father governing under Jove and a hierarchy of pagan gods at an ideal, earthly castle.”⁵⁶ The abrogation of the perfect order inherent in the court pattern aligns with Milton’s post-lapsarian conceptions of earth; humans, no matter how good and virtuous, can never become wholly divine. Of course, this belief contradicts entirely the quasi-liturgical celebrations of a divine king occurring at the Banqueting House. The perceived genre problems of Milton’s *A Mask* center on the young poet’s attempts to rework the form, allowing for the ordered progression from immortal and divine to human of the “Platonic descent” while at the same time correcting the liturgical and theological excesses of the Stuart court.

The key to Milton’s generic reformation is in the songs. Sabrina, entering at line 890, fulfills the divine savior/orderer role in Milton’s text. Described as a minor deity, Sabrina is prayerfully invoked by the Spirit. He recounts the story of her “quick immortal change/

Made Goddess of the River” (841-42), after she has been revived with “nectar’d lavers
strew’d with Asphodil” and “Ambrosial Oils” (838, 840). She has the power to right many
wrongs “with pretious viold liquors” (847). Though she is intimately linked with water, in
both the Spirit’s song and her own, Sabrina’s divinity takes on another, more airy
characteristic as well. After alighting from her “*sliding Chariot*” (892), she seems to walk on
water:

*Whilst from off the waters fleet
Thus I set my printles feet
O’re the Cowslips Velvet head,
That bends not as I tread, (896-99).*

Sabrina leaves no trace of her weight while she walks across the land. The banks of the river
are unmarred by her footprint, and the nearby vegetation is undisturbed by her passing.
Though she is a river goddess, fully associating herself with both the blues and greens of
water and also the “*fleet*,” ductile quality of the liquid (892-96), her divinity takes on a
floating or weightless quality when she transverses the land. Milton is not taxing his
audience’s credulity by equating a river goddess with weightlessness. Folk tradition
frequently calls for supernatural creatures such as angels and fairies to fly, and many things,
both animate and inanimate, are able to float in water. Sabrina’s weightlessness, however,
seems to be of a different sort from that of either angels and fairies or fish. She has no wings
and no flippers; though description is lavished on her hair, neither wings nor fins or flippers
are alluded to. In line 897, she specifically mentions her feet, curtailing the possibility that
she became mermaid-like upon transformation. Her song also indicates that she uses a
chariot, a terrestrial vehicle, to move through the water; therefore, in the river, her primary
mode of locomotion is neither swimming nor floating. Actually, the Spirit, in his invocative
song, hints that, instead of swimming in the water, Sabrina lives under it:

*Sabrina fair
Listen where thou art sitting
Under the glassie, cool, translucent wave, (859-61).*

Because she is clearly residing beneath the water, she must either have physical weight to keep her down or she must have become part of the river itself, taking on the “*glassie, cool, translucent*” qualities of the liquid in which she exists. However, because she remains weightless upon land, she cannot have the physical weight to hold her under the water while she is in the river. Therefore, when she was rescued by *Nereus* and transformed into a deity, Sabrina must have become a physical part of the river; in becoming immortal, the goddess of the Severn has also become non-corporeal. Her form, her body, can be seen, but it has no mass or substance to it.

In the closing moments of the masque, Sabrina’s non-corporeal weightlessness is overtly extended to the nobility and thematically extended to the Lady. In the Spirit’s final song, which both announces the measures and revels and also “presents them to their father and mother” (965), the frolicking dance of shepherds is contrasted with the noble measures dance that will shortly commence:

*Back Shepherds, back, anough your play,
Till next Sun-shine holiday,
Here be without duck or nod
Other trippings to be trod
Of lighter toes, and such Court guise
As Mercury did first devise
With the mincing Dryades
On the Lawns and on the Leas. (958-65)*

Banishing the shepherds, the Spirit links courtly dance with the classical god Mercury and the Dryades, female members of the minor pantheon. While these minor deities’ dance is “*mincing*”—defined by the *OED* as “[showing] affectation or affected delicacy in manner or gait”—the courtiers will have “*lighter toes*” for their “*trippings*.” Both the Dryades and

courtiers dance primly and decorously, signaled by the words “*mincing*” and “*lighter*,” but the noble dancers seem to have natural lightness, while the Dryades must, surprisingly, work for theirs. Milton, by juxtaposing the image of weightlessness with the nobility, not the deities, inverts the pattern he has previously established with Sabrina, but at the same time equates Sabrina’s non-corporeal weightlessness with the aristocratic audience who has just been called to dance.

The Lady, transformed by Sabrina’s touch, becomes the conduit for divine weightlessness from the goddess to the audience. As Comus’s prisoner, she has already privileged spirituality over corporeality:

Fool do not boast,
Thou canst not touch the freedom of my minde
With all thy charms, although this corporal rinde
Thou haste immanacl’d, while Heav’n sees good. (662-65)

By un-binding the body from the mind, thus isolating the mind from any harmful actions taken upon the body, the Lady begins the process of divine transformation that will be completed by Sabrina. Though she has asserted that her soul or her mind is free, the Lady’s body still remains to imprison her in Comus’s palace. Either she is bound because “Your nervs are all chain’d up in Alablaster, / And you a statue” (660-61) or the “marble venom’d seat / Smear’d with gumms of glutenous heat” (916-17) has caught her as sure as birdlime; it is clear that the physical matter of her body has been used to entrap her.

At Sabrina’s touch, however, “...*the Lady rises out /of her seat*” (921). Several verbal constructions could have comprised an appropriate stage direction - “The Lady stands;” “the Lady is released;” “The Lady is helped to her feet”—yet Milton instead chooses the verb “*rises*,” a verb connoting weightlessness and grace, the same verb he uses to direct Sabrina’s entrance—“*Sabrina rises, attended by water-Nymphs*” (889). Milton’s stage direction at this

point reflects the pattern of non-corporeal weightlessness he has already established through the Spirit's song to Sabrina and the goddess's response. Moreover the laying on of hands that Sabrina performs on the Lady resembles the same process Sabrina herself underwent to become divine. *Nereus* raised the girl's "lank" head, caused her to be bathed in nectar and Asphodel, and finally anointed her with Ambrosial Oils (835-40). The now-immortal Sabrina uses a similarly miraculous liquid to revive and transform the chair-bound Lady:

Thus I sprinkle on thy brest
Drops that from my fountain pure,
I have kept of pretious cure,
Thrice upon thy fingers tip,
Thrice upon thy rubied lip, (911-15).

Both virgins have forsaken physical nature, one by self-destruction and the other by renunciation, and both are consequently transformed by an immortal who touches and anoints them. As a result both Sabrina and the Lady represent noble virtuousness that transcends corporeal nature. Although the substance of her body remains and she continues to move across the stage, the Lady has become, like Sabrina, a non-corporeal female, transformed by the divine.

Through female weightlessness or bodilessness, established primarily in the songs of his masque, Milton is able to enact the philosophic conceptions of the court form that would otherwise have been absent in his version. The Spirit's first song and Sabrina's song unite the qualities of divinity with non-corporeal weightlessness; that weightlessness is bestowed upon the Lady, who in turn conveys it to the aristocratic audience through the measures and revels dancing at the close of *A Mask*. The Spirit's second song signals the divine transformation that is about to occur in the revels; in taking a partner's hand to dance, Lady Alice will have completed the symbolic chain of hands from *Nereus* to the members of the

audience. Although he circumvents the rigid formality of the court pattern, Milton nevertheless succeeds in establishing the philosophic impetus informing a Jonsonian-type structure. Noble perfection, order, and divinity are thematically ascribed to the aristocratic audience through, not a series of Platonic descents, but instead a series of transformations, transformations that foreground the loss of the body or weightlessness as a symbol of divine status.

Through the Spirit's and Sabrina's songs, Milton seems to have activated the "Jonsonian" structure in which a perfect, divine being bestows divinity to the less perfect beings below. This neat connection, however, is complicated, even contradicted, by the initial song of the masque, the Lady's invocation of Echo. The opening of the Lady's song closely parallels the structure of the opening of the Spirit's song to Sabrina:

*Sweet Echo, sweetest Nymph that liv'st unseen
Within thy airy shell
By slow Meander's margent green, (230-32).*

Each song begins by calling upon a bodiless female to grant aid and then proceeds to describe the river with which each spirit is associated. The green banks of "*slow Meander*" are the Grecian equivalent of Sabrina's Severn. The greenness and motion of that river are directly connected to the "*Turkis blew, and Emrauld green*" (894) and the straying "*channell*" (895) that Sabrina will later use to describe her watery home. Unlike Sabrina, though, there is no doubt about the status of Echo's body.⁵⁷ Of all the weightless and bodiless virgins that Milton presents in *A Mask*, Echo is the most weightless, the most without body. Just as the Spirit calls to Sabrina, the Lady prays to Echo to bring relief. "*Canst thou not tell me of a gentle Pair/ That liketh thy Narcissus are?*" (236-37). Where the

Spirit is unhesitating in his faith in Sabrina's ability to bring assistance, the Lady instead seems to bargain with Echo:

*Tell me but where
Sweet Queen of Parly, Daughter of the Sphear,
So maist thou be translated to the skies,
And give resounding grace to all Heav'ns Harmonies. (240-43)*

The Lady knows that Echo is not a deity, though she is immortal. In return for aid, the Lady offers the grace of a higher power to transform Echo again, "*translat[ing]*" her to heaven, completing the process of bodily dissolution and divine fulfillment that, for the forlorn Nymph, has only been partially accomplished. Although Echo is the most disembodied female in the masque, her bodilessness has not been supplanted with a spiritual perfection that enables her to intervene for prayerful supplicants. Consequently, she utterly fails to assist the troubled Lady who calls to her. It is Comus, instead, who responds to the Lady's plaintive voice.

Because the Lady's song comes first in the masque, it complicates, even contradicts, all the ensuing action, from Sabrina's ability to render aid to the "divine" transformation that concludes the performance. The Lady beseeches Echo; a little more than 600 lines later, the Spirit beseeches Sabrina in a song that offers close parallels to the song of the Lady. Echo's earlier failure to assist the Lady is further recalled by the Spirit's hesitating and uncertain attempt to summon Sabrina – "If she be right invok't in warbled Song, / ...this will I try" (854, 857). As the Spirit begins to sing, the appearance of the Maid of the Severn is by no means assured. Perhaps more critical are the similarities between Echo and the Lady. Both maidens find themselves alone in the woods, seemingly rejected or abandoned by trusted and beloved young men; indeed Echo's status as a solitary woodland figure makes her the ideal protectress of the equally solitary Lady. Furthermore, in a crisis, both girls reject physical

nature, the Lady through her words and Echo, like Sabrina, through her actions, by refusing physical comforts and sustenance until her body has literally vanished. The disembodied virtue upon which the Lady resolves is essentially no different from the disembodied virtue of Echo. Yet, Echo's virtue has done little to benefit her, leaving her forever a voice, alone and powerless in the woods. The Lady's virtue is, fortunately, never put to extremes, for her body has been made just as helpless as Echo's, bound fast to Comus's luxurious chair.

Of course, neither the Lady nor Echo has been deified, as Sabrina has been. Sabrina's power to render aid is a direct result of her divinity. That Echo has not been deified, however, further complicates the division between corporeality and spirituality that Milton here interrogates. He depicts powerless, disembodied immortals, weightless goddesses who really cannot have a body but who do have the power of divine intervention, transcendent and spiritual mortals who reject corporeality but remain somehow simultaneously corporeal and weightless. Bodilessness may or may not be linked with divinity; bodies may or may not be joined to spirits. The nobles may or may not be transformed by an unbroken succession of transcendent, weightless women who have themselves been transformed into creatures of pure spirit.

Ironically, the character described as "attendant Spirit" further confuses any attempt to distinguish body from spirit within the masque. At his first entrance the Spirit either "*descends or enters*" (1), but for his second entrance "*The attendant Spirit habited like a Shepherd*" (489) must walk on stage, as any other mortal would do, to meet the brothers. The stage directions for the Spirit's final entrance ask only for a speech,⁵⁸ though the first line hints at aerial capabilities: "To the Ocean now I fly" (976). Lawes's character is indeed a spirit, but one who may or may not be able to rise or float above the earth. Through the end

of the masque, the Spirit continues to be ambiguous about his movement between the spiritual and the mortal worlds: “But now my task is smoothly don, / I can fly, or I can run” (1012-13).⁵⁹ In the closing couplets of the performance,⁶⁰ the Spirit even discusses the manner in which humans with bodies can achieve divine status, a process that has nothing to do with weightlessness or flying:

Mortals that would follow me,
Love vertue, she alone is free,
She can teach ye how to clime
Higher then the Spheary chime;
Or if Vertue feeble were,
Heav’n it self would stoop to her. (1018-23)

Despite the obvious pattern the songs of the attendant Spirit establish between non-corporeality and divinity, his physical motions and his words, undoubtedly sung during the original performance, contradict the connection. Sabrina, the Lady, and the noble dancers may have the ability to float weightless above the earth, but the Spirit seems very physical in his groundedness. His costume change to meet the brothers as Thyrsis further accentuates his corporeality, reminding the audience that the Spirit, like the antimasque villain Comus, has a physical form that can be covered or altered at will. Indeed his claim “I would not soil these pure Ambrosial weeds, / With the rank vapours of this Sin-worn mould” (16-17) establishes the intrinsic connection between his divine status and his tangible, physical form from the opening moments of the masque.

Lawes’s Spirit further problematizes the already tricky relationship between bodies and spirits presented in *A Mask*. He is at once the most corporeal and most divine of all the characters Milton depicts in the entertainment. As such, the Spirit becomes not merely a foil to Sabrina, his fellow guardian spirit, but also a tangible – truly physical – contradiction to the non-corporeal, perhaps divine, process of transformation that the maid of the Severn

represents. In addition, his final lines, the closing lines of the masque, reject a superficial, physical metamorphosis, the hallmark of the court masque pattern, as the key to achieving divinity; instead mortals must “Love virtue” to reach heaven. While Echo merely undermines the pattern of non-corporeal weightlessness that activates a “Jonsonian” structure in *A Mask*, the Spirit, in body and soul her precise antithesis, transforms the genre itself.

In his long monologue defining the nature of his sister’s chastity, the Elder brother foreshadows the transformation, grounded exclusively upon inner “virtue,” with which the masque concludes. Indeed his description of permeable bodies and malleable spirits, ebbing and flowing in a never-ending cycle of mutual action and reaction, anticipates the complicated exploration of corporeality and spirituality presented in the remainder of the text. The Elder brother explains that angels protect and interact with a virtuous soul:

Till oft convers with heav’nly habitants
Begin to cast a beam on th’ outward shape,
The unpolluted temple of the mind,
And turns it by degrees to the souls essence,
Till all be made immortal: (457-63).

On the other hand, sin, both of the body and of the mind, allows “defilement to the inward parts” (466), until the soul “quite loose/ The divine property of her first being” (468-69). In this account of spiritual transformation – and its converse, spiritual corruption – the body, the mind, and the soul remain discrete entities, yet act with and upon each other “by degrees,” slowly bringing an individual closer to or further from the divine. During this gradual change, only the “essence” of the “outward shape” is transformed; its tangible, physical characteristics seem to remain unaltered. Moreover, this process of transformation requires that the quality of divinity be something entirely distinct from the seat of human spirituality, the soul. Throughout *A Mask*, Milton’s metaphysics, precociously given voice here by an

eleven-year-old boy, is exemplified through the complicated, contradictory corporeal and spiritual natures of the Spirit, Sabrina, Echo, and the Lady. Ultimately, the implications of the brother's speech and the masque's conclusion are one and the same: achieving divinity is a gradual, spiritual process, not an instantaneous, external metamorphosis like that depicted at the Stuart court.

Although Milton's transformation of the genre is subtle and requires keen attention to the relationship of bodies, souls, mortality, and divinity woven in various permutations throughout the text, it essentially challenges a central facet of masques at the Caroline court: the quasi-divinity of king—and, by Platonic extension, court—celebrated at Whitehall. The implications of Milton's ideas—that the spirit contains the body as part of itself, the seventeenth-century heresy of monism—would be more fully expressed in the poet's mature works,⁶¹ but function in his youthful masque to suggest an avenue for generic reform. If the king and the masquers are not—and cannot be—semi-divine, then the secular liturgy featured in Caroline court masque is inappropriate, indecorous, or even heretical. Certainly, Milton's patron, the Earl of Bridgewater, a man privately uncomfortable with Charles's assertions to divinely ordained absolutism, would find no place to quibble with the young poet's adaptations, for the masque is a politic statement about the earl's relationship to his monarch. At its conclusion, *A Mask* conforms to the pattern of masques enacted at Whitehall, and the conclusions of both highlight the power and authority of the men whom they were written to honor; superficially, the lesson of the Ludlow masque reinforces the earl's important role as the local embodiment of royal authority in Wales and the Marches. Yet, at the same time, Milton's masque very carefully undermines the Platonic underpinnings of the Whitehall

masque, and it is those philosophic conventions with which the earl (and, indeed, the poet) was most at odds, both politically and theologically.

Essentially, Milton's revisions to the masque genre excise the untenable blurring of the mortal and the divine, of the king and God, enacted at the Banqueting House. These revisions partner with the qualification of the masque's ceremonial action—as was seen *Coleorton* and *Bretbie at Darbyshire*—to offer subtle critique of similar elements in masques at court. For instance, the children dance before their parents in celebration, not in a sacrifice of duty to the crown; Sabrina's ritual laying-on-of-hands is effectually compromised not only by the Spirit's closing speech but also by the problematic nature of divinity operating in the masque in general. Therefore, like the two previous masques discussed by this chapter, Milton's *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle* can be read as a search for compromise with the crown, an example of the genre that remains conformist and Anglican without crossing a problematic line between the sacred and divine and everyday life; Milton was perhaps put into a more difficult position than those northern masque writers comfortably removed from London, for he was required to respect his patron's known Calvinist proclivities, but also his office of Lord President. Finally, perhaps most importantly, like the previous two masques discussed here, Milton's country masque retains a sense of the Christian vocation beyond the doors of the church.⁶² In everyday life, or in those special moments of celebration, a Christian does not cease to be a Christian—an awareness of much greater import to the seventeenth century than to in today's secular society. To reconcile the secular entertainment of masque to this awareness of Christian vocation, Milton turns, not to hospitality, but instead to the virtue that allows any mortal, young child and king alike, to reach heaven.

The final country masque addressed by this chapter is John Cayworth's *Enchiridion Christiados*, Additional manuscript 10311 at the British Library.⁶³ The presentation-copy manuscript seems to have been collected by the eighteenth-century rector and Norfolk antiquarian, Francis Blomefield, whose 1736 bookplate is affixed to the inner cover.⁶⁴ The title page announces:

Enchiridion Christiados
Presented for a Christmas Maske
To W^m Paston Esq.^r High Sheriff of
Norf: and the Lady Katharine his
Wife &c -- by John Cayworth. (1r)

Because the position of High Sheriff of Norfolk was held for only one year, the title page should pinpoint the year that Cayworth penned this masque quite precisely, at either the Christmas season of 1636/37 or the following season, 1637/38.⁶⁵ In any case, the period was one of considerable turbulence for Norfolk and its episcopal see, Norwich. Norfolk had been known, since Elizabeth's reign, as a hotbed of zealous Protestant and non-conformist activity.⁶⁶ In the 1620s Bishop Samuel Harsnet had attempted to suppress the non-conformists by outlawing sermons and lectures at all Norwich parishes and replacing them with official sermons at the cathedral.⁶⁷ But by the early 1630s, the kindly-tempered and moderate Bishop Richard Corbett had allowed a good-deal of backsliding, so that Laud's Vicar General reported, after an official visitation (and inspection) in the spring of 1635, "many ministers appeared without priests' cloaks, some of them are suspected for nonconformity, but they carry themselves so warily that nothing could be proved against them."⁶⁸ Laud sent a trusted ally to fix the problem once and for all, appointing Matthew Wren Bishop of Norwich in November of 1635.⁶⁹ By the summer of 1636, the evangelical-

leaning mayor and members of the town's governing councils were debating composing a petition to the crown for relief from Wren's aggressive policies.⁷⁰

Less than fifteen miles to the north, at his fine Oxnead estate, William Paston "reproduced something of the atmosphere of the Court, the refinement and luxury, the sympathy with every aspect of art," collected art and books, and practiced traditional English hospitality with his wife.⁷¹ The "Apotheosis" of Cayworth's manuscript acknowledges the holiday traditions, perfectly consonant with Caroline royal policy, of the house: "Syr, As tis my Fashion, Every Christmas, to bring forth some Byrth; my Folly, to Christen itt; So, Tis my Presumption, to make you Godfather to this" (5r). Notably, these lines also signal that the poet and his patron did not sympathize with the non-conformists creating trouble in the city; Cayworth's encomium employs the controversial metaphor of infant baptism and the godparent custom with surety and ease, without the first hint of "Puritan" abhorrence of the practice.⁷² In other words, these metaphors give the first clear indication that the Oxnead party were orthodox members of the Anglican Church. The "Apotheosis" continues: "He can saye his Creede, L. Prayer, and ten Com~andments too, for a neede, in the English Tongue: So that you need not feare, He will turne Turk, Pagan, or Heretique, for want of an orthodox Fayth" (5r). The orthodoxy of this "birth," Cayworth's masque, is further verified by "his" ability to recite, in the vernacular, the three major statements of faith as outlined in the rubrics for catechism and confirmation in *The Book of Common Prayer*.⁷³ In contrast to the townsfolk of Norwich a few miles away, those gathered at Oxnead for Christmas were clearly conformist Anglicans, devoted to the practice of faith as outlined in the prayer book.

As hints in Cayworth's texts illustrate, however, the perceived crypto-Catholicism of the king, Laud, and Bishop Wren was probably very uncomfortable for Paston and the other

moderate Anglicans at Oxnead.⁷⁴ In the title to the work and the dedication to Lady Katherine, the poet repeats “Christmas,” rather than Twelfth Night or some other term that would water down the devout tone of the work. Later in the “Apotheosis,” Cayworth juxtaposes the form and the content of his masque: “For Fancies of our owne, we have a Liberty, to expresse them, as we list, and not offend. For matters of Fayth, It were a Sinne, To make them stoope more lowe, or streyne more high, then their quality, and Decorum will well beare” (5r). Essentially, Cayworth claims that, although his creation is a “maske” and therefore a product of fancy and *variety*, it is simultaneously governed by a greater consideration; offense against fancy is a social breach, but offense against faith is a “sinne.” Critically, to avoid sinning, Cayworth advocates the middle way, as guided by both the “quality,” or nature of the thing itself, and “decorum,” widely acknowledged social standards, when dealing with matters of faith. Of course, this advice contrasts starkly with Charles’s aggressive use of secular liturgy at Whitehall masques, where “strain[ing] more high” seemed to be the order of the day. Evaluated by the logic of Cayworth’s “Apotheosis,” where the treatment of “matters of faith” is best judged by both “quality” and “decorum,” Charles and Henrietta Maria are not excused from the sin of their “popery.”

Just as the “Apotheosis” foreshadowed, this masque is very much a “matter of faith” for Cayworth; and just as he advocated, it follows the Elizabethan *via media* quite strictly. A greeting page, where the author urges his readers to “Peruse, Muze,” and then digest the material of the masque (6v), highlights the acts of reading and contemplation—the central place of “the Word,” in accordance with Calvinist theology—at the heart of this masque. Nevertheless, After the greeting page, Cayworth lists the “Dramatis Personæ,” who include: “Spiritus Superveniens, Virgo Pariens, Johannes Baptizans, Christus Ieiunans, Diabolus

tentans, Dolor excrucians, and Mors interficiens” (7r), a present-participle tour-de-force that defines the twelve sections of the masque as the “characters” under consideration. But this masque does not have speaking roles, or even dramatic action, as masques typically do; neither does it have songs, dancing, cloud machines, or allegory. Instead, after several pages of dedicatory material and two intricate diagrams, the poet explains his purpose: “No crafty Vlisses, nor Ænæa’n Pride, / Nor feigned Formes of true Exis~tent things / Shall make mee measure Notes” (9r). Moreover, “regall Rule, or Knightly deedes, / Whose Tropheës ly decay’d, and lack Repayre” (9r) are also inappropriate subjects for this Christmas masque. After condemning “this Earthy skum of grosse Corruption, / That mudds my Witts, intoxicates my Will” (9r), the poet warms to his point:

I invoke none of that Nined Crew
Of feigned Muses, to inspire my Penne:
Tis vaine to call on Nothing. But to Thee,
Thou high’s~t of Hight’s, and truly being Power,
By whom, what is, consis~ts and ha’s their Being,
I show a Hart-bred Ode, and Orizon. (9v)

Although the passage could easily be compared to Milton’s epic invocations, it is more critical to remember the theological preferences of this poet — and his patron, for one cannot imagine that Cayworth would present annual Christmas offerings of such an involved nature without the implicit consent of his dedicatee — bear little in common with radical non-conformity professed by the poet of *Paradise Lost*.

Instead, *The Book of Common Prayer* is, essentially, the Rosetta stone of this masque.⁷⁵

Under the heading “Eccleisia Millitans,” the poet cites verbatim two petitions from the Great Litany:⁷⁶

Ecclisia Militans.
Letan. 11. 12.

By the Mistery of thy holy Incarnation, by thy
holy Nativity, and Circumcision, by thy Bap=
tisme, Fas~ing and Tentation.

Good Lord deliver vs.

By thine Agony, and bloody Sweat, by thy
Crosse, and Passsion [sic], by thy precious Death, and
Buryall, by thy glorious Resurre~ion, and
Ascension

Good Lord deliver vs. (11r)

The episodes referred to in the Litany roughly outline the twelve sections of the masque (only “Act.10. Descent.” is missing from the two petitions above), which follow the span of Christ’s life from incarnation, birth, and circumcision to the events of holy week and his ascension to heaven. Each section of the masque requires four manuscript pages, save the last, “Act. 12. Ascension,” which needs six: two for iambic pentameter couplets expositing the section (i.e. Incarnation, Nativity, Circumcision, etc.), one for a “vision” related to that event, and one for a two line Latin summation, the “Historia,” that concludes each section. Following the twelve sections, Cayworth provides the “Supplementum Mathematican, ceu Mysticum” (38r), five elaborate diagrams organizing the twelve events into a horoscope, geometric patterns, and other systems, with a “mystery” in Latin following each diagram. As a final flourish, the masque concludes with a “Game at Charts,” where the twelve acts have been divided appropriately into the four suits of cards (46r). The manuscript’s ambitious juxtaposition of faith, natural philosophy, mathematics, history, and mysticism never strays from the twelve central acts, acts introduced and placed into context by the petitions from the Great Litany copied out on folio 11r. Whether the text was read privately by Paston and his wife, or aloud to the baron’s guests after a holiday meal at Oxnead, this is not a typical masque by any means; and the Anglican prayer book is central to its conception.

Outlining the shape of the masque is not the only role for *The Book of Common Prayer* in Cayworth's text. On the first page of each exposition, following the act title and the "dramatis persona" in Latin, a verse of scripture is referenced, but not copied out in full. Table 4.1 details the act, scriptural verse, and manuscript page number for each of the twelve sections. Only someone intimately familiar with the lectionary calendar of the *BCP* could appreciate the full significance of these twelve verses. As Table 4.1 indicates, each passage is a reading — whether the epistle or gospel or one of the readings from the daily offices — for the appropriate holy or feast day commemorated by the act in question. In three cases, Cayworth was dissatisfied with the reading provided by the 1552 prayer book and turned back to the 1549 book of Edward VI to find more suitable scripture. In other words, the *BCP* not only provided the general frame or structure for *Enchiridion Christiados* through the Great Litany, but it also dictated the scriptural inspiration for each particular act or event

Table 4.1. The Twelve Acts of *Enchiridion Christiados* Related to the *Book of Common Prayer* Lectionary Calendar

MS page	MS "Act"	MS Verse ⁷⁷	BCP Lectionary (1552 unless otherwise noted)	BCP page ⁷⁸
12r	Incarnation	Luke 1.31	Annunciation day, gospel	577
14r	Nativitye	Luke 2.7	Christmas, 1 st communion gospel (1549)	218
16r	Circumcision	Luke 2.21	Circumcision (Jan. 1), gospel	247
18r	Baptisme	Matthew 3.13	Nativity of John the Baptist (Jun. 24), matins 2 nd lesson	100
20r	Fasting	Matthew 4.2	1 st Sunday of Lent, gospel	297
22r	Tentation	Matthew 4.3	1 st Sunday of Lent, gospel	297
24r	Agonye	Luke 22.44	Wednesday before Easter, gospel	357
26r	Death	Mark 15	Tuesday before Easter, gospel	345–9
28r	Buryall	Matthew 27.57	Holy Saturday, gospel	391
30r	Descent	Act 2.27	Easter Day, evensong 2 nd lesson (1549)	402
32r	Resurrec~tion	Mark 16.6	Easter Day, 2 nd gospel (1549)	400
34r	Ascension	Act 1.9	Ascension Day, epistle	435

Cayworth elected to highlight; the poet did not include, in introducing each section, passages that were not also included in the English lectionary calendar. Of course, as Anglican practice requires, the prayer book is a partner to The Bible, for the passages are only referenced and the audience must either memorize large sections of both books or experience the text with both books near at hand to appreciate the full extent of Cayworth's dedication to the orthodox English church in this Christmas masque.

Cayworth's — and Paston's, too — commitment to the prayer book, and therefore to orthodox Anglicanism, is unquestionable. Yet that commitment is not to the ritualized aspects of the liturgy, especially the "high" ceremony advocated by Laud in the name of religious conformity. The Litany is an organized, extensive form of corporal prayer, and the lectionary guides the faithful through critical passages of scripture. In other words, this Anglicanism is of the Calvinist-inclined, word-centered type, perfectly in keeping with the "Norfolk character" defined by Ketton-Cremer; the incense, vestments, and "Beauty of Holiness" of both St. Paul's and Charles's Banqueting House have no place in this Norfolk masque. Consequently, the "typical" music, dancing, and spectacle of masques are completely absent from this Norfolk example of the genre, just as they would be from the spare, liturgically austere Calvinist service. The pulpit, not the altar, guides the aesthetic of this masque.

Excerpts from the exposition, vision, and historia of "Act. 5. Fasting." will further clarify the nature of Cayworth's faith as manifested in this project:

Verd. 5.

Begin his Labour, travayle, with a Fast?
A work of Wonder t'all that Work but tast.
And such a Fas~t, as Nature cannot reach,
For Time, or kind, without whole Natures breach?

So long, and ne're be Hungry? Who can say
 He fasted, and not hungred one Whole day?
 Is.9.6. Lo! now begins that **Wonderfull** to shoue
 Things worthy Himself, that None but He could doe.
 In Sight of Heaven, and Hell, and not of Men,
 His Fast was kept: He was i'th' wilderness then. (20r)

Vis. 5.
 My mind to th' Wildernesse, once had a mind;
 My body a frayd of wild Beasts, stay'd behind.
 See, what I saw, what I ne're thought, to see,
 In such an vncouth Place, a Man like mee.
 No Bitt he a'te; yet looked nere the worse,
 (A Mon'th and more I noted all his Course.)
 Far'd worse then Hermit's, fed on onely Ayre;
 Long lock't, sweet look't; and all's Proportion fayre. (21r)

His~t. 5.
 Bisq'~ duo supra sex, et trigmta Dierum,
 Ieiunat, Lotus. Sic initurus opus.

Solitudinem petit.⁷⁹ (21v)

First, as the marginal reference to Isaiah illustrates, the expositions are littered with scriptural references, from both the Old and New Testaments; the two pages of exposition for “Act. 5. Fasting” contain sixteen marginal scriptural references altogether, drawn from the gospels of Matthew and John, from all five books of the Pentateuch, and from 1 Kings, in addition to Isaiah.⁸⁰ The use of scripture through the expositions follows exegesis tradition, highlighting the interconnections between Christ’s life and the experiences of Old Testament prophets.⁸¹ The tone of the exposition is fairly objective, informative, and almost sermon-like. Yet to this academically-inclined material, Cayworth adds a poignant awareness of Christ as man, posing rhetorical questions about the hunger pains he must have suffered in the desert and marveling over his sublime physical appearance. The deeply personal perspective of the

visions launches the audience into an ecstasy of religious faith, the joy and suffering of personal identification with Christ. Through its dual appeal to education—both reading and learning about scripture—and a personal relationship with Christ as both man and god, *Enchiridion Christiados* urges an individual, un-mediated faith, one unencumbered by excessive devotion to the sacraments or the liturgy they require. Indeed, following the cue of the Litany, the Last Supper—arguably a central event in Christ’s life—is omitted from the twelve acts memorialized by the text. Paston eventually broke with a large majority of his Norfolk neighbors to support the king in 1643,⁸² but one cannot imagine it was because the baron supported Charles’s ecclesiastical policies or his claims to divinity; in Norfolk, even orthodox Anglicans seem to prefer a much more scripturally-centered and liturgically-pared-down form than the practice endorsed by the Caroline crown.

That *Enchiridion Christiados* is a radically revisionary type of masque is undeniable. Despite its lack of singing, dancing, and dramatic action, it does share both the exuberant celebration of a divine being at the heart of masques at court and the sense of “fancy” and shifting perspectives of *variety* perfectly appropriate for any masque. Moreover, Cayworth’s elaborate diagrams of the “Supplementum Mathematicum” are an exploration of the allegorical potential of Christ’s life and therefore, follow, to some degree, the allegorical traditions of masque. Yet, in sharp contrast to the masques at court, Cayworth’s masque rejects the central honoree, Sir William, as the individual praised and honored by the text. This rejection pairs with the omission not only of secular liturgical ceremony, but ceremony of all kinds—the processions, dancing, and other ceremonial action of typical masques—to laud the divine in a manner deemed appropriate by the Calvinist-leaning poet and audience at

Oxnead. As Cayworth implies in his “Prologue” when he rejects classical myth and chivalric heroes, there is no confused mingling of the sacred and secular in this text. The poet boldly announces that his creation is “a Christmas Maske,” but in removing all secular and ceremonial components of masque, he reveals what are to him the central elements of the form itself: its juxtaposition of didacticism and imagination, its appropriateness to grace communal and celebratory occasions, its function to give honor. In the myriad ways *Enchiridion Christiados* contrasts with the Caroline masques at Whitehall—word-driven not sense-driven, spare not sumptuous, moderate not high church—it also reinforces the latent flexibility of the form to its particular author or audience throughout the seventeenth century.

¹ For instance, several peers who did indeed disagree sharply—including the Earls of Bedford, Clare, Warwick, Essex, and Hertford—are mentioned by Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis 1632–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 25–26.

² The crown's repeated insistence that local gentry practice traditional Christmas hospitality rather than resort to the capital for the duration of the season reveals exactly how popular a London address had become by mid century; see Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) 414–17. On the other hand, many people preferred to avoid the capital: "The mother of Edward Hyde, the great minister of Charles I and Charles II, is said to have spent the whole of her life in the county of Wiltshire and never once to have stepped over its borders into the neighboring shires" reports Alan Everitt, "The Local Community and the Great Rebellion," *The English Civil Wars : Local Aspects*, ed. R.C. Richardson (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1997) 17.

³ For brief consideration of "country families" enjoying the art, theater, and other cultural modes of the court see Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 9–14; and R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War: A Portrait of a Society in Conflict* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969) 42–43.

⁴ Although there are several logical reasons to explain this trend—that more Caroline country masques were preserved or that more country families who could afford the expense remained away from court are but two of them—more country masques are known to exist from the Caroline period than the Jacobean.

⁵ For a discussion of the status of the "Jonsonian masque" in this dissertation, see the Introduction and Chapter 1, 3–11.

⁶ Chapter 3, note 4 offers an extended discussion of the range of orthodox practice in the seventeenth-century Church of England.

⁷ Other known Jacobean masques include *Lovers Made Men* by Jonson, *The Entertainment at Brougham Castle* of disputed authorship, and John Marston's *The Entertainment at Ashby*, a text that includes vizored masquers but also staged welcomes—like those found in the Elizabethan Kennilworth text—as the Dowager Countess approaches and enters the house. Notably, Ashby is mere miles from Coleorton and its master, the Earl of Huntington, was most likely in the audience that night (see note 14, below). The survival of both these texts perhaps indicates a pattern of "country masques" enjoyed by the Leicester gentry throughout the Jacobean period. All references to this masque are from the text published by David Lindley, ed., *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995).

⁸ For a brief biography of Beaumont see Lindley, ed., *Court Masques* 251. For his family, see “Beaumont, Huntingdon” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, 2004–6, Oxford University Press, January 29 2006.

⁹ Thomas Cogswell, *Home Divisions: Aristocracy, the State, and Provincial Conflict* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998) 13–17.

¹⁰ Cogswell, *Home Divisions* 17. The difficulty of historical research into the county, where collections of important historical records were not preserved, is discussed on 2.

¹¹ Cogswell, *Home Divisions* 13–33.

¹² For instance, in 1626, Huntington amended a Privy Council order requiring militia drills on all holidays and “holy days” to specifically excluded Sunday; see Cogswell, *Home Divisions* 28. For a discussion of the earl’s religious character, see 23–29.

¹³ Christopher Haigh, “The Troubles of Thomas Pestell: Parish Squabbles and Ecclesiastical Politics in Caroline England,” *Journal of British Studies* 41.4 (2002): 404. The rector’s history makes him a difficult fellow to pigeon-hole; he referred to himself as a “plain, downright Protestant,” and Haigh suggests “a ‘Prayer Book Protestant’” (428). Indeed, in his article on the authorship of *The Coleorton Masque*, Philip Finkelpearl builds a strong case for Pestell, who was also a minor poet; see Philip J. Finkelpearl, “The Authorship of the Anonymous ‘Coleorton Masque’ of 1618,” *Notes and Queries* 40 (238).2 (1993). The other major candidate is Essex’s personal secretary, Arthur Wilson; see Karen Lee Middaugh, “‘Virtues Sphear’: Court Vs. Country in the 1618 Masque at Coleorton,” *Subjects on the World’s Stage: Essays on British Literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. David C. Allen and Robert A. White (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995) note 3.

¹⁴ Indeed, the reference to “honest Harrie of Ashbie” (68–69) almost certainly indicates that Huntington was also in the audience that night.

¹⁵ For Seymour’s marginalization at court, including imprisonment and exile for his secret marriage to Lady Arabella Stuart in the summer of 1610, see “Seymour, William, first marquess of Hertford and second duke of Somerset (1587–1660)” in *Dictionary of National Biography Online*. Of course, his brother-in-law, the Earl of Essex, had also had a share of scandal and humiliation facilitated by the king. For elaboration on the distaste many of the participants held for the king, see Philip J. Finkelpearl, “The Fairies’ Farewell: The Masque at Coleorton (1618),” *Review of English Studies: A Quarterly Journal of English Literature and the English Language* 46.183 (1995): 333–37.

¹⁶ For a brief consideration of the identities of the masquers, see the notes to Lindley, ed., *Court Masques* 251–52.

¹⁷ The lean style of stage directions, with no description of sets or music and limited description of main masque costuming, leads me to believe the author was working from the

texts of Jonson's masques, rather than personal knowledge of the court productions or other textual models.

¹⁸ For instance, Jonson's *Hymenaei* honored the Earl of Essex's first marriage and was therefore a production he must have witnessed. Seymour's first wife, Lady Arabella Stuart, danced in two of Queen Anne's masques (including one less than three weeks before her elopement), and—given the roughly 500 people in attendance at court masques—it is highly probably he also witnessed performances at court; for the estimated size of various court venues, see John H. Astington, *English Court Theatre 1558–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 162–63.

¹⁹ Here, and throughout the chapter, line numbers will be referenced in the text following the passage under consideration.

²⁰ Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) 167.

²¹ The broad importance of hospitality, including its religious overtone and its extension to all classes of people, even strangers, is explored in great detail by Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

²² Thomas Adams, "The Three Divine Sisiters," *The Sacrifice of Thankefulnesse a Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse, the Third of December, Being the First Aduentuell Sunday, Anno 1615. By Tho. Adams. Whereunto Are Annexed Fiue Other of His Sermons Preached in London, and Else-Where; Neuer before Printed* (London: 1616).

²³ James Stuart, *The True Law of Free Monarchies and Basilikon Doron*, Tudor and Stuart Texts (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1996) 128. Interestingly, the passage—with its nebulous conflation of the religious and communal nature of sports and other holiday pastimes—foreshadows a debate about to erupt with the issuance of a royal proclamation, commonly called the *Book of Sports*, approximately three months after the Coleorton masque. For the positions of both Elizabeth and James on sports and holiday pastimes, and also a consideration of reactions against this royal policy, see Leah Sinanoglou Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, and Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) 3–6. She asserts: "For King James, the traditional sports, although 'indifferent' in themselves, were essential insofar as they 'kept up' his sacred authority and served as a visible link between himself as his people, an affirmation of power and community" (5). For varied consideration of the controversy when Charles reissued the book, including its tendencies to alienate otherwise orthodox Anglicans, see Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth* ch. 6; Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* 196–205; Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 352; Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992) ch. 5. For consideration of the differences between the 1618 declaration and the 1617 "Declaration of Sports for Lancashire" see James Tait, "The Declaration of Sports for Lancashire (1617)," *The English Historical Review* 32.128 (1917).

²⁴ Although *Coleorton* was considered in a separate chapter, its altar was included in the eight total temples and altars found in Jacobean masques discussed in Chapter Three.

²⁵ These petitions fall just after the Lord's Prayer and just before the three appointed collects that conclude the service. To begin, the priest says or sings "O Lord shewe thy mercy vpon us." If spoken the congregation responds, if sung, the choir: "And graunt vs thy saluacion." Five more sets of petitions and responses follow; see F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, 2 vols. (London: Rivingtons, 1921) 147–48.

²⁶ See Chapter Three for a discussion of these elements in Jacobean court masques.

²⁷ During the Elizabethan period "the rubric in the First Prayer Book, which ordered the communicants to move into the chancel at the Offertory and to stay there until the rest of the service was still obeyed, but 'instead of kneeling with their faces toward the Lord's board fixed in the form of an altar against the east wall, they now knelt all around it set in the form of a table in the middle of the chancel'" report G.W.O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, cited by Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England from Cranmer to Hooker, 1534–1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970) 364.

²⁸ For other Jacobean masques, see note 7.

²⁹ Cogswell, *Home Divisions* 6 and 303.

³⁰ Andy Wood, "Beyond Post-Revisionism? The Civil War Allegiances of the Miners of the Derbyshire 'Peak Country'," *The Historical Journal* 40.1 (1997): 25. Wood's article highlights that these claims are deeply problematic and not supportable by the historical record.

³¹ Cogswell, *Home Divisions* 68–69 and 100–04. In fact, Derbyshire narrows quite significantly in the south, so Bretby is approximately six miles north-west of Coleorton as the crow flies. Despite the proximity of these estates, though, their religious politics could not be more removed; both the Earl of Huntington, and his rector Pestell—a contender for the authorship of *Coleorton*—were consistent in the legal persecution of Catholic recusancy.

³² See "Sir Aston Cokayne, baronet (1608–1684)" in *Dictionary of National Biography Online*.

³³ See the *DNB* entry for Aston Cokayne.

³⁴ The Lar was an important household god in Roman mythology; see "Lar" in the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2005, Oxford University Press, January 29 2006. See also "Lares" in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Third Edition, 1996, Oxford University Press, January 29 2006.

³⁵ For interesting parallels to this debate enacted on the public stage, with the presentation of “woodland monarchies,” see Butler, *Theatre and Crisis 1632–1642* 260–62.

³⁶ See 224 of Aston Cockayne, *A Masque Presented at Bretbie in Darbyshire on Twelfth-Night* (London: 1639). All references to this masque are taken from this edition.

³⁷ For a discussion of the king’s difficulty in enforcing the proclamations as well as considerations of the role declining hospitality played in their issue, see Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* 414–17.

³⁸ Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman* (London: 1630) 332.

³⁹ For both the earl’s pre-war history and his continuing inclinations to remain at home, despite lukewarm efforts for the royalist cause, see the entry for “Philip Stanhope, first earl of Chesterfield (1583/4–1656)” in *Dictionary of National Biography Online*.

⁴⁰ That is, if Cogswell’s Leicestershire model is verifiable in Derbyshire.

⁴¹ See the *DNB* entry for Philip Stanhope, first earl of Chesterfield.

⁴² See the *DNB* entry for Aston Cokayne.

⁴³ Cockayne, *A Masque* 225.

⁴⁴ Cockayne, *A Masque* 227.

⁴⁵ Cockayne, *A Masque* 222.

⁴⁶ Indeed, the same pattern, found in both these masques, of idealized country living contrasting court life is explored by Butler, *Theatre and Crisis 1632–1642* ch. 9. Butler summarizes the phenomena: “What seems to be happening is that gentlemanly figures from the pasturelands are being ‘naturalized’ against the more radical background of the forests, and the embodying of this distinctive blend of courtesy and criticism in terms of reforming country commonwealths has suggestive correspondences with the contemporary understanding of the term *country* to characterize a set of interests (usually of Charles’s gentlemanly or middle-ranking critics) other than, and occasionally opposed to, the court” (261).

⁴⁷ Because there are multiple editions and manuscripts of Milton’s masque, the choice of text for use in this chapter must be very carefully addressed. Like Roy Flannagan, many critics agree that the Trinity Manuscript “is only a working draft”; see Roy Flannagan, ed., *The Riverside Milton* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998) 115. It will, therefore, not be of much concern while examining the songs.

Critically, the accepted performance text—the Bridgewater Manuscript—and the printed editions have some variation in the number of songs. There is the potential for eight songs in the Bridgewater Manuscript; these potential songs include: 1) the opening and 2) closing songs performed by Henry Lawes, 3) the Lady's "Echo" song, 4) the Spirit's invocation of Sabrina, 5) his call to the revels dances, 6) the "dialogue" following the call to Sabrina, 7) Sabrina's song at her entrance, 8) and the presentation of the children to their parents. To complicate a precise understanding of the number of songs in the masque, however, the Bridgewater stage directions indicate flexibility at performance in two places; these vague stage directions are: line 787 "*The verse to singe or not,*" introducing the dialogue after the call to Sabrina, number 6 above; and line 896 "*the/ Dæmon singes or sayes,*" found before the closing lines, number 2 above; see John Milton, "The Bridgewater Comus: Text of a Maske," *A Maske at Ludlow: Essays on Milton's Comus*, ed. John S. Diekhoff (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1968) 235 and 239. Moreover, the opening lines of the masque, text for which there is both music and a widely accepted belief in the performance of that text as song, are not stage directed as song at all; immediately under Milton's title, "A Maske" are the directions: "*The first sceane discovers a wild wood, then a guardian spiritt or demon descendes or enters,*" Milton, "The Bridgewater Comus," 210. For a discussion of the possible performance of the opening lines of the masque, see the discussion of Henry Lawes's desire to "open the performance with a song and close it with a song, songs of his own composition, with himself as singer" in John S. Diekhoff, ed., *A Maske at Ludlow: Essays on Milton's Comus* (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1968) 2. See also Lady Alix Egerton, *Milton's Comus Being the Bridgewater Manuscript with Notes and a Short Family Memoir* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1910) 30. Complete settings of the first five songs survive in an autograph manuscript by Henry Lawes, reproduced in "The Airs of the Songs by Henry Lawes with His Version of the Words," *A Maske at Ludlow: Essays on Milton's Comus*, ed. John S. Diekhoff (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1968) 241–50. Twentieth-century publications of the Bridgewater Manuscript are Milton, "The Bridgewater Comus," 207–40; and Egerton, *Milton's Comus Being the Bridgewater Manuscript*.

On the other hand, the published versions of Milton's masque, according to the stage directions, contain only five songs altogether; with reference to the numbers above, these songs are: 3) the Lady's "Echo" song, 4) the Spirit's invocation of Sabrina, 7) Sabrina's song at her entrance, 5) the Spirit's call to revels dances, and 8) his song presenting the children to their parents. Of these five, only numbers 3, 4, and 5 exist in the Lawes's settings of the music. An important omission from the stage directed songs is the twenty lines opening the Bridgewater text, the Spirit's opening song "From the Heav'n's now I fly," song 1 above, appearing as "To the Ocean now I fly" in the published versions. These lines, widely accepted as song during the performance, have been relocated to the end in the published versions, following the presentation of the children but before the closing twelve lines "But now my task is smoothly done." Critically, the lines have been specifically translated to speech: "*The dances ended, the Spirit Epiloguizes.*"

The Bridgewater Manuscript was a collaborative project, and the 1637 edition, according to Roy Flannagan, appeared through the efforts of Henry Lawes, seemingly without the author's contribution; see Flannagan, ed., *The Riverside Milton* 116. But the 1645 edition was published under Milton's supervision and seems to be the clearest indication of

“authorial intent” for the masque; it is, more importantly, the most explicit with stage directing musical moments. Therefore, the 1645 text found in *The Riverside Milton*, edited by Roy Flannagan, is the text from which this chapter primarily proceeds. However, Bridgewater’s opening and closing songs — “From the Heav’n’s now I fly...” and “But now my task is smoothly done...” — un-stage directed but with extant music, will also be considered.

⁴⁸ Essentially, I am arguing that *A Mask* foreshadows the heresy of monism, that the body and soul are inextricably joined, embraced by Milton in his maturity. While passages like the discussion of angelic digestion in *Paradise Lost* rely on the concept of monism, the poet’s philosophy is best explained in Book 1, Chapter VII, “Of the Creation” in his *De Doctrina Christiana*; see John Milton, “Christian Doctrine,” trans. John Carey, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. Maurice Kelley, vol. VI (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973). For consideration of monism and Milton’s works see D. Bentley Hart, “Matter, Monism, and Narrative: An Essay on the Metaphysics of *Paradise Lost*,” *Milton Quarterly* 30.1 (1996); Philip J. Donnelly, “‘Matter’ Versus Body: The Character of Milton’s Monism,” *Milton Quarterly* 33.3 (1999); Maurice Kelley, *This Great Argument: A Study of Milton’s De Doctrina Christiana as a Gloss Upon Paradise Lost* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941); C. A. Patrides, *Milton and the Christian Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); and Stephen M Fallon, *Milton among the Philosophers: Poetry and Materialism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

⁴⁹ Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth* 174–77. Not only had the council previously turned a blind-eye to pervasive non-conformity in Wales and the west counties, but it also had traditionally appointed bishops and controlled the ecclesiastical courts there as well. All this, of course, was anathema to Laud.

⁵⁰ Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth* 170–75. Bridgewater’s private papers indicate his criticism of certain crown policies, including Charles’s assertions of royal absolutism, yet he was a reluctant Parliamentarian and, as Marcus states, “in political matters he tended, like his father before him, to act as an individual and not as a member of a group” (173).

⁵¹ For the relation of *A Mask* to the Anglican Michaelmas service, William B. Hunter, Jr., “The Liturgical Context of *Comus*,” *English Language Notes* 10 (1972).

⁵² Although my reading of Milton’s masque shares with Leah Marcus’s an assertion of both the poet’s manipulation of masquing conventions and the Anglican orthodoxy of the Ludlow performance, the details vary markedly. Essentially, she argues that “the masque turns Anglican ritual against the Anglican establishment, symbolically freeing the church from the powerful influence of Laud” (177) and that *Comus*, remarkably, is “a pro-Laudian spokesman in the manner of Robert Herrick, who advocates survivalism, sports, and the ‘freedom to be merry’ as part of a broader fidelity to a vision of political and ecclesiastical conformity” (187); see Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth* ch. 6.

⁵³ For instance, John G. Demaray asserts that “*Comus* is frequently adduced as the death blow of the masque”; see John G. Demaray, *Milton and the Masque Tradition: The Early Poems, ‘Arcades,’ and Comus* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968) 74. Yet in the same year, C. L. Barber enthusiastically declares “Invited to consider Milton’s masque as a comedy, I report back after six months that Milton’s masque is a masque!” in C. L. Barber, “A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle: The Masque as a Masque; Selected Papers from the Eng. Inst. With a Foreword,” *A Maske at Ludlow: Essays on Milton’s Comus*, ed. John S. Diekhoff (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1968) 188.

⁵⁴ For further comparison between Milton’s masque and other examples of the genre see Cedric C. Brown, *John Milton’s Aristocratic Entertainment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); and Maryann Cale McGuire, *Milton’s Puritan Masque* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983) 75–76, 113–15, and 167–70.

⁵⁵ Unless otherwise indicated, all references to *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle* are found in the “*Comus* (1634)” section of John Milton, “1645 Poems,” *The Riverside Milton*, ed. Roy Flannagan (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998).

⁵⁶ John G. Demaray, “The Temple of the Mind: Cosmic Iconography in Milton’s a Mask,” *Milton Quarterly* 21.4 (1987).

⁵⁷ The “Echo and Narcissus” story appears in book 3 of Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983) 67–73. Echo, her capacity for spontaneous speech previously cursed by Juno for assisting Jove’s infidelities, sees Narcissus in the woods. Burning in love, she follows him after he becomes separated from his hunting companions. The nymph attempts to communicate with him, but is cruelly spurned by the arrogant boy. Deeply hurt and ashamed, Echo retreats to live in caverns and deep forests, until love-sickness eventually destroys her:

She frets and pines, becomes all gaunt and haggard,
Her body dries and shrivels till voice only
And bones remain, and then she is voice only
For the bones are turned to stone. She hides in woods
And no one sees her now along the mountains,
But all may hear her, for her voice is living. (69)

⁵⁸ This is the text relocated, with some changes, from the opening of the masque in the Bridgewater Manuscript, text for which music does exist.

⁵⁹ This is also text for which music exists.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the continuing importance of this couplet to Milton, see Brown, *John Milton’s Aristocratic Entertainment* 3.

⁶¹ For Milton’s monism, see note 48 above.

⁶² Certainly it could be argued that the Whitehall masques, despite all their Platonism, divine right theory, and secular liturgy, are remarkably thin on constructions of Christian vocation in the practical sense embraced by the country masques.

⁶³ John Cayworth, *Enchiridon Christiados*, Add. ms. 10311, British Library, London.

⁶⁴ See the entry for “Francis Blomefield, (1705–1752)” in *Dictionary of National Biography Online*.

⁶⁵ Paston’s election for the 1637 term is mentioned during a discussion of ship money collections in the county by Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War* 90. However, Lady Katherine died, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography* entry for her son Robert, on January 6, 1636, meaning she would have been dead approximately a year before this masque was produced; see the entry for “Robert Paston, first earl of Yarmouth (1631–1683)” in *Dictionary of National Biography Online*. But, in a slender volume of funeral elegies for Lady Katherine, the poet, Ralph Knevet, concludes with an “Inscriptio funebris” where he states “Ex dolore puerperii p[l]entissimè obiit 3. Calend. Ianuar. An. Dom. 1636”; Ralph Knevet, *Funerall Elegies; Consecrated to the Immortall Memory, of the Right Honorable the Lady Katherine Paston, Late Wife to the Truly Noble, and Heroicke, William Paston, of Oxned Esquire* (London: 1637) 13.

Knevet’s text indicates that the *DNB* has mis-identified the date of death by one year, indicating that *Enchiridon Christiados* was written for Christmas 1636/37 because, crucially, Cayworth intends that the physical text be placed in Lady Katherine’s living hands:

To the Noble, and much Honoured Ladye,
the Lady Katherine. &‘c.

These Lines, great Ladye doe, (and think not much)
Salute your Hands. Your Hands are meet for such.
If you ask, why they do, how dare, salute;
They wish, they had sayd better, or bin mute.
Yet ne’re a Lady, in th’ whole Land, but may
Afford them Wellcome, Love they Work, or Play:
Or like a Christmas Eve, or Christmas holy day. (4v)

Interestingly, Ketton-Cremer indicates that Paston, so broken-up by his wife’s death, traveled on the continent for a “long period” afterward, including “many months in Italy” and “as far afield as Egypt and Palestine” (43); however, such an extended period abroad would seem to interfere with the widower’s duties as Sheriff. No mention is made of this contradiction.

⁶⁶ For a discussion of the evangelical Protestant character of the county, see Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War* ch. I–IV; and John T. Evans, *Seventeenth-Century Norwich: Politics, Religion, and Government, 1620–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) ch. III.

⁶⁷ Evans, *Seventeenth-Century Norwich* 86–87, Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War* 54.

⁶⁸ Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War* 59–60.

⁶⁹ Evans, *Seventeenth-Century Norwich* 89. See this page and following for Wren’s “swift and decisive” three-pronged suppression of non-conformity in Norwich.

⁷⁰ Evans, *Seventeenth-Century Norwich* 90.

⁷¹ See the brief biography of Paston in Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War* 42–43.

⁷² The non-conformist objections to god-parents are discussed by Davies, *Worship and Theology, 1534–1603* 265 and 281–82.

⁷³ “[...] It is thought good that none hereafter shalbe confirmed, but such as can say in their mother tongue the articles of the fayth, the Lordes prayer, and the .x. commaundementes”; see Brightman, *The English Rite* 777.

⁷⁴ In introducing the Norfolk personality, historian R. W. Ketton-Cremer paints with broad strokes to emphasize that “especially amongst the laity of every class, there persisted a bias in the Puritan direction. The dread of Catholicism was ineradicable.... Even the Anglican-minded gentry were disposed to regard their Catholic neighbours with suspicion, no matter how loyal they might appear and how acceptable in private intercourse. And they looked with misgiving upon any ceremony or usage that might bear the least suggestion of a return to Popery,” Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War* 25.

⁷⁵ The “Prayer Book Protestants,” the unstudied multitudes of conformist Anglicans devoted to *The Book of Common Prayer* (some even during the Interregnum), especially as a tool to promote conformity and compromise among varying doctrinal positions are considered in great detail by Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Judith Maltby, “‘by This Book’ Parishoners, the Prayer Book, and the Established Church,” *The Early Stuart Church, 1603–1640*, ed. Kenneth Fincham (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993). Of special note: “A different type of evidence for conformist sentiments comes [...] from the petitions produced by counties in support of episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer on the eve of the civil war” (*Prayer Book and People*, 81). The arguments of this chapter, therefore, fall neatly within the scope of Maltby’s larger work.

⁷⁶ For the entire Great Litany, see Brightman, *The English Rite* 175–89. The prayer book indicates it should “be used upon Sundayes, Wednesdayes, and Fridayes, and at other times, when it shal be commaunded by the Ordinarye” (175).

⁷⁷ Unless otherwise indicated, the verses are cited from Brightman, *The English Rite*:

Luke 1.31: Beholde, thou shalt conceyue in thy wombe, and beare a sonne, and shalt cal his name Iesus.

Luke 2.7: And she brought furth her first begotten sōne, and wrapped him in swadling clothes, & layed him in a Maunger, because there was no rouse for them in the Inne.

Luke 2.21: And when the eyghte daye was come that the chyld should be circu~cysed, his name was called Iesus, which was named of the Aungel before he was conceaued in the wombe.

Matthew 3.13: [King James] Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John to be baptized of him.

Matthew 4.2: And whe~ he had fasted fortie dayes & fortie nightes, he was at the last an hungred.

Matthew 4.3: And whe~ the tempter came to hym, he sayde: yf thou be the sonne of God, cōmaund that these stones be made bread.

Luke 22.44: And he was in an agonye and prayed the longer: and his sweat was lyke droppes of bloud, tricklyng down to the ground.

Mark 15: [entire chapter]

Matthew 27.57: When the euen was come, there came a ryche man of Arimathia, named Ioseph, whych also was Iesus Disciple.

Acts 2:27: [King James] Because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither will thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.

Mark 16.6: And he sayed vnto them: be not afrayed, ye seke Iesus of Nazareth whiche was crucified. He is rysen he is not here: Beholde the place where they had put hym.

Acts 1.9: And when he had spoken these thinges, whyle they behelde, he was taken vp on hye, and a cloude receyued him vp oute of theyr syghte.

⁷⁸ Page numbers in this column refer to Brightman, *The English Rite*.

⁷⁹ The Latin reads: “Two and two beyond six, and thirty [triginta] of days, he fasts, having been bathed. Thus a labor will begin. He seeks for solitude.”

⁸⁰ The extensive familiarity with scripture, access to an early Tudor prayer book out of print for nearly one hundred years, and the Greek and Latin used throughout the text — including classical poetic forms like “bis” and “triginta” — hint at the extent of Cayworth’s education, though he is not listed in either the *Dictionary of National Biography* or the *English Short Title Catalogue*.

⁸¹ Importantly, the pattern of exegesis conforms more closely to traditional, medieval emphasis on allegory and typology uniting the Old and New Testaments, rather than the more literal-minded style influenced by Calvin; see Richard A. Muller, *After Calvin : Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) ch. 10.

⁸² See Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War*.

“Mungrell Masque,” “Secular Masque,” or “English Opera”?
Looking Beyond the Early Seventeenth Century

After his opening salvo, “These things are but toys,” Francis Bacon proceeds to describe the elements of masque performance he finds most agreeable:

Dancing to song, is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it, that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music; and the ditty fixed to the device. [...] Several quires, placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches, anthem-wise, give great pleasure. [...] It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye, before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, specially coloured and varied [...].¹

As this brief excerpt demonstrates, careful attention to Bacon’s prose underscores his repeated emphasis on the aural and visual *variety* masques should embody, the same concept of *variety* that was the hallmark of the form to its original creators and audiences. Yet, in the history of masque criticism, the essayist’s message has been almost totally obscured by his opening contention. Importantly, Bacon’s appreciation of masque centers on the aesthetic and performative elements of the form, and indeed, as this study has argued, appreciation of these elements helps to reveal the masque as a multifarious and culturally vital seventeenth-century genre. In a collection of essays pondering “Truth,” “Unity in Religion,” “Nobility,” “Seditious and Troubles,” “the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates,” and “Fortune,” what place is there for “toys” unless Bacon himself recognized the valuable political, religious, and moral work masques were capable of performing? To comprehend masques as they were understood in the seventeenth century means reading Bacon—and all examples of the genre about which he wrote—with new eyes.

Reading with new eyes is precisely what I have tried to do in this study, but doing so has raised as many questions as answers. For instance, the “*coincidentia oppositorum*” operating in *Albion’s Triumph*,² the references to the “battle of the sexes” in the revels portions of several masques, and, also during the revels, the repeated direct address of the women in the audience raise intriguing questions about the constructions of gender in the genre and the manners in which representations of gender changed through time. Along an entirely different avenue of enquiry is the chronological relationship of textual production, rehearsal and preparation for performance, actual performance, and publishing history of individual masques; a more thorough understanding of these activities related to masque creation and commodification could illuminate the interest that early modern culture as a whole took in these “court” productions. Were any masques produced in multiple editions? Did published masques function as gossip rags or provide important insight into contemporary issues affecting the crown, and therefore affecting the nation? Or did they do both? What can editions that have survived tell us about the ways that published masques were used by those who bought them? When masque is understood to be a broad-reaching genre capable of reflecting layers of cultural significance, these “history of the book” questions become vital in reconstructing the complete picture of the genre in early modern society.

This study has also not taken up the question of masques on the public stage during the early Stuart period. Yet, there are a number of self-titled “masques” which anyone—lawyer, apprentice, merchant’s wife, prostitute—could witness by paying the price of admission. In 1617, John Ford and Thomas Decker brought *The Sun’s Darling: A Moral Masque* to the Cockpit; three years later the Prince’s Men performed Thomas Middleton and William Rowley’s *A Courtly Masque: the Device Called the World Tost at Tennis*. Just as

demarcating country masque from masque needlessly limits a holistic conception of the genre, excluding public masques from consideration undoubtedly does so too, as Thomas Heywood's 1636 production for the Phoenix suggests: *Love's Maistress or The Queens Masque: as it was three times presented before their two Excellent Maiesties, within the space of eight dayes; In the presence of sundry Foraigne Ambassadors*. Twenty years after *The Sun's Darling*, Thomas Nabbes produced another "moral" masque, *Microcosmus: A Morall Maske*, this one for purposes of domestic entertainment in Salisbury Court. Within the larger scope of this study, these titles do nothing short of tease, for here are the hints about differing authors' generic conceptions, the international implications, and the potential religious and theological debates explored in detail in the "court" and "country" manifestations of the form. Why did these authors consider their creations masques and what can these texts tell us about the genre as a whole?

If the private/public dichotomy should be reconsidered and potentially revised, certainly the pre-1640, post-1640 divide that binds masque to the early Stuart throne should also be re-examined. Important work here has already been undertaken by Dale Randall in "Mungrell Masques and Their Kin," chapter 9 of his extended consideration of English drama during the Civil War and Protectorate years.³ Two "official" masques, both by James Shirley, survive from this time period, *The Triumph of Beauty* from 1646, which Shirley wrote for his pupils, and *Cupid and Death*, performed in both 1653 and 1659, the first time before the Portuguese ambassador, the second at the headquarters of the Military Company.⁴ Yet, in 1657, "Protector Oliver's court witnessed the revival, albeit in an extremely shadowy form, of those magnificent masques which helped to make the courts of the first two Stuarts among the most extravagant in Europe" during the marriage of his daughter Mary to Lord

Falconbridge (alternatively, Viscount Fauconberg);⁵ there is even speculation that the bride's father himself took the role of Menalcus or Jove during the performance, effectively echoing similar casting of the Stuart kings he had replaced.⁶ Country masques, too, continued, despite the war, including two Christmas productions authored by Sir Thomas Salusbury for James Stanley, Lord Strange, at his Knowsley estate in 1641.⁷

Yet the constraints of generic conventions prevent Randall from accepting, as I have done in this study, the self-titled masque that does not behave like a masque: "People who were actually creating and writing about what they called masques used the term to embrace a fairly broad spectrum of shows calling for the combined use of costume, dancing, and verse. In fact, after the great court masques vanished, these other masques and masquelike shows came on all the stronger."⁸ Randall's treatment of these texts is brief, intended to make a large point through summary rather than many nuanced ones through close reading; frequently he attributes formal irregularities to performance constraints (by schoolchildren, for instance), to the evasion of legal prohibitions against plays, or to the proto-operatic status of individual texts (a phenomenon also related to evading legal constraints). In the course of the chapter, though, he names as "mugrell masques" *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* by Shirley, *Ariadne Deserted by Theseus* and *The Mariage of Oceanus and Brittainia* by Richard Flecknoe, *Cupid His Coronation in a Mask* and *Fancy's Festivals* by Thomas Jordan, and several works by William Davenant. Also notable in this group are two texts directly related to the royal family: James Howell's English translation of *The Nuptialls of Peleus and Thetis*, which was originally performed in Paris and included ten-year-old Princess Henrietta Anne in the role of Erato, and Anthony Sadler's *The Subects Joy for the Kings Restoration, Cheerfully Made Known in a Sacred Masque*. Sadler was a clergyman and a royal apologist,

and his “sacred masque” draws explicit parallels with the eighteen-year rebellion of Jeroboam against the house of David, rightful kings of Israel.⁹ Although this text was published, but never performed, Sadler concludes with an action taken directly from masques staged at court, the presentation of a gift—in this case a written copy of the masque text—to the monarch seated on the dais. This fact, along with the text’s religious grounding, suggests an awareness that the diverse conventions and associations of masque were not extinguished during twenty years of war and Commonwealth. It can be no accident that Sadler arrives upon the precise confluence of dramatic action, political allegory, and secularized state ceremony operating in the Jacobean and Caroline court masques.

Perhaps Sadler’s generic savvy is the result of masque’s survival in another printed format, as inclusions in plays published during the Interregnum—much like Shakespeare’s use of the “play-within-a-play” decades earlier. Due to legal prohibitions against plays, these texts could only be published; staging of these “masques” was impossible, and a reader was required to imagine the performative aspects of these included masques.¹⁰ That a masque could be appreciated in the mind’s eye, rather than with the senses, relates directly to the questions of publishing and commodification raised previously in this discussion. Like the public stage masques, in the context of this study, the works reviewed by Randall tease, especially when he concludes the chapter, “we should recognize not only that individual texts are quite different from one another but also that they are shaped to serve a variety of disparate and more or less discernible ends. They do different kinds of cultural work.”¹¹ I have contended that masque was not understood along rigid formal lines in the seventeenth century, though it was understood as a genre capable of performing “cultural work” on many

interconnected levels. The work of Randall rightfully illustrates that the genre continued to flourish through the Civil War and Protectorate years.

Both *English Drama: Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, by Richard Bevis, and the *English Short Title Catalogue* confirm that interest in the form did not abate until well into the eighteenth century.¹² The *Gesta Grayorum*, written by Francis Davison in 1595 for the Inns of Court and featuring the important Elizabethan *The Mask of Proteus and the Adamantine Rock*, was republished in 1688; two editions of Thomas Carew's complete poetry, with his masque advertised prominently on the title page, appeared in 1670 and 1671; and Heywood's *Love's Mistress*, written for the Phoenix but also performed before Portuguese ambassadors in 1636, reappeared in 1661. New texts, difficult to characterize, also came to print: for instance *Calisto, or, The chaste nymph, the late masque at court as it was frequently presented there, by several persons of great quality: with the prologue, and the songs betwixt the acts*, by J. Crowne in 1675; *Beauties triumph a masque* by T. Duffett the following year; and *Love's a lottery and a woman the prize with a new masque call'd Love and riches reconcil'd: as it was acted by His Majesties servants at the theatre in Lincolns-Inn-Fields* by Joseph Harris in 1699. Certainly, their predominance on public stages relates to the appearance of public stage and inclusionary masques from earlier in the century. *A dialogue, and secular masque*, written by John Dryden for his substantive revision of Fletcher's comedy *The Pilgrim* in 1700, offers a glimpse of what these Restoration masques might have been like.¹³ Like a Jonsonian text, Dryden's masque is pared down and stage directs only entrances and moments of dancing; there is only the barest indication that his Janus, Chronos, Momus, Diana, Mars, and Venus sing rather than speak. During the brief action, the characters debate the benefits of previous ages—"Tis well an

Old Age is out,”—and anticipate a better to come—“And time to begin a New.”¹⁴ As with Anthony Sadler’s *The Subects Joy*, Dryden’s title, *Secular Masque*, hints that, as late as 1700, masques may have carried some vestiges of ceremonial or religious significance.

Some of these “secular masques” were no doubt the “proto-opera” or “English opera” described by Bevis: “any full-length *mélange* of drama, spectacle, dance, and music was apt to be labeled ‘opera’ (if shorter, it was called a masque)” but his vague classification underscores the incredible difficulty of putting precise labels on many of these Restoration-era productions.¹⁵ The primary reason for this difficulty centers on English refusal to abandon native traditions for Continental (especially Italian) forms; therefore, English “proto-opera” retained spoken dialogue in English, rather than the *recitative* of continental opera.¹⁶ But, as Bevis also notes, “heroic drama” also included “certain ‘operatic elements’: masque-like spectacle, the inclusion of music and dance, and the penchant for formal patterns of language and behaviour (e.g. heroic couplets, symmetrical plots, stylized gestures based on an artificial code of conduct).”¹⁷ Both Henry Purcell, with his 1692 *The Fairy Queen*, and George Frederic Handel, with his 1718 *Acis and Galatea*—described respectively as “a glorious revue hotchpotch” and something that “lies between masque and operetta”—worked in this English opera-masque hybrid.¹⁸ Eighteenth-century examples by less well-known artists no doubt include George Granville, Baron Lansdowne’s *Peleus & Thetis: a masque. In the comedy call’d The Jew of Venice* of 1701; Colley Cibber’s *Venus and Adonis: a masque* of 1715; Lewis Theobald’s *Decius and Paulina, a masque, to which are added, the other musical entertainments* of 1719; the provocatively titled *Albion: or, the court of Neptune. A masque* by Thomas Cooke of 1724; and Thomas Phillips’ *Love and glory: a masque* of ten years later.

However, intriguing evidence from 1723 indicates that at least some in the eighteenth century did not consider proto-opera “masques” as true examples of the earlier form. A two page “Introduction” precedes Allan Ramsay’s *The nuptials: a masque*, written to commemorate the marriage of the Duke of Hamilton. Too briefly, this introduction reviews the history of masques as a genre: “*The present Poem being a Revival of a good old Form of Poetry, in high Repute with us, it may not be amiss to say something of a Diversion once so agreeable, and so long interrupted, or disused. [...] Coronations, Princely Nuptials, Public Feasts, the Entertainment of Foreign Quality, were the usual Occasions of this Performance [...]*.”¹⁹ Although the author claims that Milton’s *A Mask* was the last, and best, masque written before this “long interruption”—indicating some fault with either his information or understanding of the early-seventeenth-century form—he does understand the importance of “good old” masques as public markers of important state occasions. More importantly, this earnest author’s assertions suggest a change in self-titled masques occurred somewhere between 1660 and 1723, a change substantive enough for him to discount most contemporary “masques” as examples of the seventeenth-century genre. What exactly were these proto-operatic “masques”? How closely are they related to either early seventeenth-century masques at court and the country or to masques from the public stage? Is the allegory of these opera-masques of a type with Tudor and Stuart court entertainments? How do the elements of vocal music, dance, poetry, and spectacle function in them? Should they be defined according to the principle of aesthetic *variety* and brought into an extended consideration of masque as a genre? This study opened by articulating the generic slipperiness of Stuart-era masques; the appearance—perhaps even to a greater degree—of similar slipperiness in Restoration dramatic forms suggests that eighteenth-century authors’

inclusion of the term “masque” in the titles to their productions deserves extended and careful consideration.

Even if these proto-operas were simply for entertainment on the public stage—and I am certainly not suggesting this is the case—Ramsay’s 1723 creation sparked a renewed interest in the political and cultural importance of the genre. In 1740 George Lillo produced *Britannia and Batavia: a masque. Written on the marriage of the Princess Royal with his Highness the Prince of Orange*, and in the same year James Thomson prepared *Alfred* to honor a visit by the Prince and Princess of Wales to Clifffden, Wales, in 1740. Patriotic pieces, *The masque of patriotism and truth: or, the court fool* and *Britannia rediviva: or, courage and liberty*, were published in 1743 and 1746, respectively. Perhaps most interesting of these Georgian revival-masques is Robert Dodsley’s *The triumph of peace, a masque. Perform’d at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane. On occasion of the general peace, concluded at Aix la Chapelle, October 7th, 1748.*²⁰ In addition to shepherds and shepherdesses, there are allegorical characters: War, Power, Ambition, and Contention (male), and Peace, Justice, Liberty, Commerce, and Science (female). The text opens with the male allegories allied with War celebrating that “*Europe is the Field of Blood and Death*” through song and a “*Pyrric Dance*.”²¹ The pastoral figures enter to mourn the death and bloodshed that has driven them to hiding (with multiple songs and a “*rural Dance*”), until “*the Goddess of PEACE descends in a triumphal Car borne upon the Clouds, which breaking, she is discover’d in her Temple, [...]. War with his Hands fetter’d, stands in a dejected Posture before her.*”²² The shepherds and shepherdesses joyfully celebrate peace, including the arts, public improvements, commerce, and gratitude of the people throughout Europe as a result. And following the early Stuart model, after antimasque and allegory, after cloud

machine and celebration, “*the Whole concludes with a grand Dance.*”²³ While these revival masques reveal a great deal about the priorities and concerns of the mid-eighteenth-century society that produced them, they also reveal the heart of the genre as it was remembered one hundred years after its apparent cessation. During an exceptional period of optimism and empire making, the Georgian poets who self-consciously imitated the “good old form of Poetry” endowed early Stuart masque with a substantial—and surprising—amount of national and cultural relevance.

I have argued that seventeenth-century masque was a culturally and artistically complex genre, one that contemporary critics have heretofore confined too narrowly by associating it predominantly with Ben Jonson and with the Whitehall throne. In this conclusion, I have pondered the likelihood that masque continued to hold cultural, artistic, political—perhaps even religious or theological—significance well beyond 1640 and *Salmacida Spolia*, well beyond even 1660 and *The Subjects Joy*. Reconstructing masque, in the end, means embracing, reveling in, the quirks and oddities of any given example of the form, for it is in those unique moments that each patron, each poet, each artist reveals precisely how and why masque as a genre was a vital and apropos mode of cultural and political self-expression. Reconstructing the “good old form of Poetry,” reveling in its *variety*, we come to see masque as those in the seventeenth century understood it, a genre embodying essential national debates through the elegant transience of music and art. If only all “toys” could do so much.

¹ Francis Bacon, “Of Masques and Triumphs,” *The Essayes of Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kirnan (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

² See Chapter 2, especially note 120.

³ Dale B. J. Randall, *Winter Fruit: English Drama 1642–1660* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995).

⁴ Randall, *Winter Fruit* 160–62. As Randall mentions, Cupid and Death included a cloud machine; however, with music composed by Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons, some musicologists regard it as a proto-opera.

⁵ Roy Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell* (Totowa N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977) 144. *Two Songs at the Marriage of the Lord Fauconberg to the Lady Mary Cromwell* was written by Andrew Marvell.

⁶ Randall, *Winter Fruit* 183 and Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell* 144.

⁷ Randall, *Winter Fruit* 25.

⁸ Randall, *Winter Fruit* 159.

⁹ Randall, *Winter Fruit* 179 and 369. The Biblical account of Jeroboam is found in 1 Kings 11–14; Sadler conveniently ignores the fact that Jeroboam was granted his kingship for the failure of David’s sons to keep covenant with God and instead focuses on the conclusion of the story, that Jeroboam himself was a wicked king, also punished by the Lord.

¹⁰ Randall, *Winter Fruit* 181. Perhaps most interesting of these included masques is the exceedingly political “anti” masque found in *The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I* where Cromwell, attempting to woo Mrs. Lambert, calls for a masque, and Ambition, Lust, Treason, and other vices dance as “six prime Westminsterian Senators” (181).

¹¹ Randall, *Winter Fruit* 182.

¹² Ricahrd W. Bevis, *English Drama: Restoration and Eighteenth Century, 1660–1789* (New York: Longman, 1988) and *English Short Title Catalogue*, 1981-2005, The British Library and ESTC/North America, February 21 2006.

¹³ John Dryden, “The Secular Masque,” *The Pilgrim a Comedy as It Is Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane Written Originally by Mr. [John] Fletcher and Now Very Much Alter’d with Several Additions* (London: 1700).

¹⁴ Dryden, “The Secular Masque,” 54.

¹⁵ Bevis, *English Drama: Restoration and Eighteenth Century* 103 and 179.

¹⁶ Bevis, *English Drama: Restoration and Eighteenth Century* ch. 6.

¹⁷ Bevis, *English Drama: Restoration and Eighteenth Century* 103–04.

¹⁸ Bevis, *English Drama: Restoration and Eighteenth Century* 180 and 182.

¹⁹ Allan Ramsay, *The Nuptials: A Masque, on the Marriage of His Grace James Duke of Hamilton, and Lady Anne Cochran* (London: 1723) 3–4.

²⁰ Robert Dodsley, *The Triumph of Peace, a Masque. Perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane. On Occasion of the General Peace, Concluded at Aix La Chapelle, October 7th, 1748* (London: 1749).

²¹ Dodsley, *The Triumph of Peace, a Masque* 5–7.

²² Dodsley, *The Triumph of Peace, a Masque* 8–12.

²³ Dodsley, *The Triumph of Peace, a Masque* 15.

Appendix A: Calendar of Seventeenth-Century Masques¹

Jan. 8, 1604	Samuel Daniel's <i>The Vision of Twelve Goddesses</i>
Jan. 6, 1605	Ben Jonson's <i>The Masque of Blackness</i>
Jan. 10, 1608	Ben Jonson's <i>The Masque of Beauty</i>
Jan. 5 and 6, 1606	Ben Jonson's <i>Hymenaei and Barriers at a Marriage</i>
Jan. 6, 1607	Thomas Campion's <i>The Lord Hay's Masque</i>
Feb. 9, 1608	Ben Jonson's <i>The Haddington Masque</i>
Feb. 2, 1609	Ben Jonson's <i>The Masque of Queens</i>
Jan. 6, 1610	Ben Jonson's <i>Prince Henry's Barriers</i>
Jun. 5, 1610	Samuel Daniel's <i>Tethys' Festival</i>
Jan. 1, 1611	Ben Jonson's <i>Oberon</i>
Feb. 3, 1611	Ben Jonson's <i>Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly</i>
Jan. 6, 1612	Ben Jonson's <i>Love Restored</i>
Nov. 6, 1612	Prince Henry Dies
Feb. 14, 1613	Prince Elizabeth marries Frederick, Elector Palatine
Feb. 14, 1613	Thomas Campion's <i>The Lord's Masque</i>
Feb. 15, 1613	George Chapman's <i>The Memorable Masque</i>
Feb. 16, 1613	Francis Beaumont's <i>The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn</i>
Apr. 27 and 28, 1613	Thomas Campion's <i>The Caversham Entertainment</i>
Dec. 26, 1613	Thomas Campion's <i>The Somerset Masque</i>
Dec. 27, 1613 and Jan. 1, 1614	Ben Jonson's <i>A Challenge at Tilt</i>
Dec. 29, 1613 and Jan. 4, 1614	Ben Jonson's <i>The Irish Masque at Court</i>
Jan. 12, 1614	anon. <i>The Masque of Flowers</i>
Jan. 6 and 8, 1615	Ben Jonson's <i>The Golden Age Restored</i>

¹ Although this list is not complete—it omits, for instance, the anonymous *Four Seasons Masque*, as well as masques presented on the popular stage—it does catalogue every seventeenth-century text used in this study.

Jan. 13, 1615	William Browne's <i>Ulysses and Circe</i>
Jan. 1 and 6, 1616	Ben Jonson's <i>Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court</i>
Nov. 4, 1616	Thomas Middleton's <i>Civitatis Amor</i>
Christmas 1616–1617	Ben Jonson's <i>Christmas His Masque</i>
Jan. 6 and 19, 1617	Ben Jonson's <i>The Vision of Delight</i>
Feb. 22, 1617	Ben Jonson's <i>Lovers Made Men</i>
Jan. 6, 1618	Ben Jonson's <i>Pleasure Reconiled to Virtue</i>
Feb. 2, 1618	anon. (Thomas Pestell?) <i>The Coleorton Masque</i>
Feb. 17, 1618	Ben Jonson's <i>For the Honor of Wales</i>
Mar. 2, 1619	Queen Anne Dies
Jan.–Feb., 1619	Thomas Middleton's <i>The Masque of Heroes</i>
Jan 17 and Feb. 29, 1620	Ben Jonson's <i>News From the New World Discovered in the Moon</i>
Jun. 19, 1620	Ben Jonson's <i>Pan's Anniversary</i>
Aug. 3 and 5, and Sept. 1621	Ben Jonson's <i>The Gypsies Metamorphosed</i>
Jan 6 and May 5/6, 1622	Ben Jonson's <i>The Masque of Augurs</i>
Jan. 6* and 19,** 1623	Ben Jonson's <i>Time Vindicated to Himself and to His Honors</i>
Jan. 6, 1624*	Ben Jonson's <i>Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion</i>
Aug. 24, 1624	Ben Jonson's <i>The Masque of Owls</i>
Jan. 6* and 9,** 1625	Ben Jonson's <i>The Fortunate Isles, and Their Union</i>
Mar. 27, 1625	King James Dies
c. 1625	anon. <i>The Theater of Apollo</i>

* Date of intended performance

** Date of actual performance

??	anon. <i>Le Subicet d'un Ballet</i>
Jan. 9, 1631	Ben Jonson's <i>Love's Triumph Through Callipolis</i>
Feb. 22, 1631	Ben Jonson's <i>Chloridia</i>
Jan. 8, 1632	Aurelian Townshend's <i>Albion's Triumph</i>
Feb. 14, 1632	Aurelian Townshend's <i>Tempe Restored</i>
Feb. 3, 1634	James Shirley's <i>The Triumph of Peace</i>
Feb. 18, 1634	Thomas Carew's <i>Coelum Britannicum</i>
Jul. 30, 1634	Ben Jonson's <i>Love's Welcome at Bolsover</i>
Sept. 29 1634	John Milton's <i>A Mask at Ludlow Castle</i>
Feb. 10, 1635	William Davenant's <i>The Temple of Love</i>
Feb. 27, 1636	anon. <i>Corona Minervae</i>
Feb. 24, 1636	William Davenant's <i>The Triumph of the Prince D'Amour</i>
Sept. 12, 1636	anon. <i>The King and Queenes Entertainment at Richmond</i>
Christmas, 1636/7	John Cayworth's <i>Enchiridion Christiados</i>
Jan. 7, 1638	William Davenant's <i>Britannia Triumphans</i>
Feb. 6, 1638	William Davenant's <i>Luminalia</i>
Jan. 12, 1639	Aston Cockayne's <i>A Masque Presented at Bretbie in Darbyshire</i>
Jan. 21, 1640	William Davenant's <i>Salmacida Spolia</i>

Appendix B: Ben Jonson's descriptions of the Masque Dances and Revels²

The Masque of Blackness (1605)

"Here the tritons sounded, and they danced on shore, every couple as they advanced severally presenting their fans.... Their own single dance ended, as they were about to make choice of their men, one from the sea was heard to call 'em with this charm.... Here they danced with their men several measures and corantos." (236–237; 265–266; 275)

The Masque of Beauty (1608)

"...and the river received them into the land by couples and fours, their Cupids coming before them.... These dancing forth a most curious dance full of excellent device and change, ended it in the figure of a diamond.... The song ended, they danced forth their second dance, more subtle and full of change than the former.... After which songs, they danced galliards and corantos, and with those excellent graces, that the music appointed to celebrate them showed it could be silent no longer...." (259–262; 273–274; 303–305)

Hymenaei (1606)

"The song ended, they danced forth in pairs, and each pair with a varied and noble grace, to a rare music full of twelve lutes.... By this time the ladies were paired with the men, and the whole sixteen ranked forth, in order, to dance, and were with this song provoked. ... Here they danced forth a most neat and curious measure, full of subtlety and device, which was so excellently performed as it seemed to take away that spirit from the invention which the invention gave to it, and left it doubtful whether the forms flowed more perfectly from the author's brain or their feet. The strains were all notably different, some of them formed into letters very signifying to the name of the bridegroom, and ended in the manner of a chain, linking hands.... The speech being ended, they dissolved, and all took forth other persons, men and women, to dance other measures, galliards, and corantos...." (244–245; 266–267; 279–285; 306–307)

The Haddington Masque (1608)

"After the song they came forth, descending in an oblique motion, from the zodiac, and danced their first dance; then the music interposed (but varied with voices, only keeping the same chorus), they danced their second dance. So after, their third and fourth dances, which were all full of elegance and curious device." (293–297)

The Masque of Queens (1609)

"Here they lighted from their chariots and danced forth their first dance; then a second, immediately following it; both right curious and full of subtile and excellent changes, and seemed performed with no less spirit than of those they personated. ... After

² All text for Appendix B is taken from Stephen Orgel, ed., Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969). Line numbers are included in parenthesis at the conclusion of each section of "stage directions."

which they took out the men and danced the measures, entertaining the time to the space of an hour with singular variety.... After it, succeeded their third dance, than which a more numerous composition could not be seen, graphically disposed into letters, and honoring the name of the most sweet and ingenious prince, Charles, Duke of York.... After this, they danced galliards and corantos, and then their last dance, so less elegant in the place than the rest....” (489–492; 492–494; 505–507; 511–512)

Oberon (1611)

“There Oberon and the knights dance out the first masque dance, which was followed with this song. ...After which they dance forth their second masque dance, and were again excited by a song. ...Then followed the measures, corantos, galliards, etc., till Phosphorus, the day star, appeared and called them away....” (310–311; 323–324; 336–337)

Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly (1611)

“The masque dance followed. ...The measures and revels follow.” (290; 300)

Love Restored (1612)

“Dances.” (256)

The Irish Masque at Court (1613)

“Then the gentlemen dance forth a dance in their Irish mantles.... In this song the masquers let fall their mantles and discover their masquing apparel, then dance forth.” (125; 167–168)

Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court (1615)

“The first dance, after which this song. ...The main dance. Then dancing with ladies; then the last dance.” (196; 216)

The Golden Age Restored (1616)

“The first dance.... The main dance.... Dance with ladies. ...Galliards and corantos. The End.” (147; 166; 185; 225–226)

Christmas his Masque (1616)

“Here they dance.” (252)

The Vision of Delight (1617)

“Here they danced their entry.... They danced their main dance.... They danced with ladies, and the whole revels followed....” (204; 211; 220)

Lovers Made Men (1617)

“Here they dance forth their entry, or first dance.... Here they dance their main dance.... Here they take forth the ladies, and the revels follow....They dance their going out....” (89; 103; 114; 128)

Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue (1618)

“The first dance. ...The second dance. ...Here they danced with the ladies, and the whole revels followed.... After which, they danced their last dance....” (244; 267; 288; 318)

For the Honor of Wales (1618)

[Uses main masque of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*.]

News from the New World Discovered on the Moon (1620)

“The first dance follows. ...Main dance and revels. ...The last dance.” (302; 316; 333)

Pan’s Anniversary (1620)

“The masquers descend and dance their entry. ...The main dance. ...Revels.” (168; 182; 205)

The Gypsies Metamorphosed (1621)

“DANCE which is the entry of the captain with six more attendants. ...Dance 2. Strain 1. ...Dance 2. Strain 2. ...Dance 2. Strain 3. ...Dance 2. Strain 4. ...Dance 2. Strain 5. ... Dance 2. Strain 6. which leads into Dance 3. Dance 3. ...DANCE ...” (103–104; 253; 341; 391; 442; 471; 655–657; 1199)

The Masque of Augurs (1622)

“After which the augurs laid by their staves and danced their entry.... The main dance. ...THE REVELS ...This done, the whole scene shut, and the masquers danced their last dance. The End.” (319–320; 335; 352; 401–402)

Time Vindicated to Himself and to His Honors (1623)

“Here to a loud music they march into their figure and dance their entry or first dance.... Then follows the main dance.... The revels follow....” (274–276; 292; 366)

Neptune’s Triumph for the Return of Albion (1624)

“Here the masquers dance their entry. ...Then follows the main dance.... The revels follow. ...The last dance. The end.” (301; 309; 340; 377–378)

The Masque of Owls at Kenilworth (1624)

[no mention of dances]

The Fortunate Isles, and Their Union (1624)

“The masquers dance their entry or first dance. ...The measures. ...The revels follow. ...After which, their last dance. The End.” (382; 389; 420; 444–445)

Love’s Triumph Through Callipolis (1631)

“The Cupids [torchbearers] dance their dance, and the masquers their entry. ...After this they dance their going out, and end.” (129; 196)

Choridia (1631)

“Which ended, the goddess and her nymphs descend the degrees into the room and dance the entry of the grand masque. ...The masquers here dance their second dance. ...The masquers dance with the lords. The End.” (183–184; 196; 257–258)

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