

CHAPTER 1

Préciosité, Devout Humanism, and Honnêteté(i) Introduction

When Henrietta Maria came to England in 1625 as the bride of Charles I, she brought with her social and literary fashions which influenced court life and culture throughout Charles's reign. These fashions were long ago identified by J.B. Fletcher with the préciosité that was flourishing in France at the time of Henrietta's departure.¹ Préciosité was the set of manners and literary tastes that had developed in Parisian salons in the opening years of the seventeenth century, notably at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, but in other salons as well.² The salons formed a world outside the court (though with connections to it) that influenced French culture throughout the century. They came into being partly in reaction to the coarse manners and morals of Henri IV's court: some were led by people who were unreconciled to Henri's rule and still remembered the Valois court; most were concerned with cultivating the personal interests and social life that the comparative peace and stability of Henri's reign made possible once more. The salons were generally led by outstanding women, of whom Mme de Rambouillet became the best known, and were dominated by feminine tastes. The large rooms, or salons, of private houses became the meeting places for informal assemblies of people who shared similar interests; the groups were usually small, and exclusive not solely on the grounds of social rank, but on personal qualities of manners, wit, or learning as well. The emphasis of these assemblies was on elegant yet easy manners which

avoided the formality and showy luxury of the court, as well as whatever was thought to be common or coarse in behaviour or expression. They existed for the sake of conversation, which was regarded as an art; learning and knowledge were valued, but pedantry of any kind was laughed to scorn.

The salons brought together men and women who had a common interest in social diversion and rational discussion. Relations between the sexes were governed by an ideal of honnête amitié, founded on mutual respect, from which passion was excluded. Sexual attraction played its part within the group, adding interest to its relationships, but was firmly governed by a rigid code of courtship, a code which was conveniently set out for the group in L'Astrée, the contemporary romance by Honoré d'Urfé. L'Astrée established the elaborate rules of "Platonic love" in which women were venerated for their beauty and virtue. Men were expected to compliment and admire such women, calling them their "mistresses", but not to hope for any return except continued company and conversation. They were expected to overcome passion by exercising their wit in ways which might interest or entertain virtuous women, and, since all "honest" courtship was open to the inspection of the group, their efforts became public offerings, often in the form of poems, plays, and romances. From these, the group in turn learnt artistically refined forms of expression which it adopted as its own language, but which involved writers in finding ever more intricate and recherché ways of handling familiar subject matter. From this refinement and inbreeding of language and expression developed the characteristics of "précieux" style: a search for recondite and ingenious comparisons, which at the same time avoided archaic, pedantic, or vulgar expressions; and a dependence on antithesis, allegory, and abstraction, the aim of which was to communicate wittily

with the group in ways which avoided obviousness, and which often veiled the meaning from outsiders.³ At its best the style had distinction, at its worst it fell into affectation. All these features of manners and style were in full play at the Hôtel de Rambouillet and other Parisian salons when Henrietta left the French court for England in 1625.

Critical theory has established French préciosité as an influence on English literature from the late twenties, through the middle years of the century, and (in a sort of mirror image) into the Restoration. J.B. Fletcher discussed the influence on writers of the theory of Platonic love (which was the name by which English contemporaries knew the Queen's fashion, and which seemed to them to be its characteristic feature) and distinguished three different types at court: the salon type in which a great lady dispenses her beneficent influence to a côterie of "servants," who in turn praise her in verse; a more personal type between two people; and a "troubadour" type which imposes on the lover the obligation of constancy, humility, purity, and secrecy; all these types were treated, sometimes in serious and sometimes in mocking vein, by poets and dramatists of the thirties. The observations of Fletcher were confirmed by A.H. Upham,⁴ who gives an instance of Henrietta's probable contact with members of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and traces the influence of préciosité in English literature through to the Restoration. The work of Fletcher and Upham has been supplemented by studies on related aspects of literature in the period, notably by Kathleen Lynch,⁵ who gives an extensive analysis of L'Astrée, and of précieus conventions in Caroline court literature, as the background for her study of Restoration comedy; and by Alfred Harbage,⁶ who gives an important place to Henrietta's influence and précieus fashions in his discussion of Cavalier and Commonwealth drama. These works have given

a sound basis for considering the influence of Henrietta's fashions on the court and its literature from 1630 to 1640, but they have also given rise to some questions and contradictions.

Most critics, for instance, have distinguished different degrees of seriousness with which the fashion for Platonic love was taken at the English court, but they have not agreed about the seriousness with which it was taken by the Queen, nor about the moral tone of the works to which the fashion gave rise. Fletcher concluded that "the literature on the theme [of Platonic love] ranges in mood all the way from exalted mysticism through mere gallantry to mocking cynicism,"⁷ and Upham distinguished between the presence at court of the Platonic Pretender, the Pure Platonic, the Court Platonic, and the Anti-Platonic.⁸ These categories can, however, end by making nonsense of the term "Platonic love," which comes to cover almost every mention of love in literature of the period; both Fletcher and Upham, for example, class William Habington as a Pure Platonic, but both agree that he breaks every law of the code. What then is left of the notion of Platonic love? The difficulty has arisen partly because it has been uncertain whether Henrietta's own attitude to the fashion she introduced was serious or not. Fletcher thought that the phase of Platonic love she brought to England "seems to incline ... rather to the silly and dangerous side than to the sublime," and most critics have implicitly agreed.⁹ Kathleen Lynch is almost alone among earlier writers in implying a favourable judgment of the Queen's influence, which could encourage, "within a fashion so artificial and so dangerous as that of Platonic love, the not infrequent illustration of genuine idealism."¹⁰ Kenneth Richards, in a more recent study, adds that "her enthusiasm for the Platonic love cult ... may not necessarily be indicative of a shallow and frivolous mind."¹¹ Related to this uncertainty about Henrietta's

attitude is the uncertainty about the moral tone of the drama produced under her influence. This is a question on which critics, basing their judgment on the same court plays, have come to diametrically opposed conclusions. Harbage's study of Cavalier drama insisted on the characteristically moral tone of court plays, which he calls "decorous, indeed very solemn things" (p.28), and "astonishingly innocent productions" (p.45). Another critic, G.F. Sensabaugh,¹² has consistently maintained that the Queen's cult of Platonic love encouraged deeply immoral attitudes at court, and that these attitudes are reflected in the moral decadence of court drama, which, Sensabaugh says, "codifying cult standards of hollow compliment, worship of beauty, and promiscuity in marriage and love, brought into even sharper relief court behaviour."¹³

These differences of opinion have arisen partly through the failure to distinguish between different phases of préciosité in France, and to determine exactly which phase was adopted by the Queen at the time when she came to have a decisive influence at court, from about 1629 onward. Such a failure is hardly surprising, since préciosité, even in France, has proved notoriously difficult for critics to pin down and discuss. The latest study, by M. Lathuillère,¹⁴ was begun as a study of the language of the précieuses, but has grown to a volume of nearly seven hundred pages without going farther than defining the problem and tracing the origins of préciosité: the author promises another two parts, which will study the history of préciosité proper, and examine the characteristics of précieux language (see Avant-Propos). The difficulty of defining préciosité arises from the fact that the word, with its somewhat unfavourable connotations of affectation and over-refinement, has commonly been used to cover all the phases of préciosité, from its rise at the beginning of the seventeenth century to its development and decadence at the end, and to cover all the

characteristics of its literary productions, from L'Astrée to Le Grand Cyrus.¹⁵ The favourable and the unfavourable senses of the term, and hence its inherent ambiguity, are summed up in the contemporary definition of a "précieuse" given by Furetière (1620-88) in his Dictionnaire:

... épithète qu'on donnoit autrefois à des filles de grand mérite et de grande vertu, qui sçavoient bien le monde, et la langue: mais parce que d'autres ont affecté, et outré leurs manières, cela a décrié le nom, et on les a appellées fausses Précieuses, ou Précieuses ridicules: Molière en a fait une Comédie, et de Pures un Roman, pour faire sentir le faux mérite des Précieuses.¹⁶

In fact the term préciosité and its derivatives did not come into use to describe the social and literary fashions to which it refers until about the middle of the seventeenth century.¹⁷ To apply it with its present connotations to fashions of the first half of the century, as critics have often done, is therefore something of an anachronism, and often sets those fashions in a false perspective. In English criticism there has been a similar tendency to judge préciosité of the 1630's by looking at it, as it were, through the wrong end of a telescope, and to reach conclusions about it coloured by the ridicule of Molière, or the cynicism of the Restoration. In the present study, which applies to the development of préciosité before 1640, the word will be used without the value judgments (of affectation, over-refinement of manners and language, or even of "advanced" views on morals) which have been imposed on it by its development later in the century. Some of these qualities do apply to préciosité of the 1630's, but they are related to the social and historical circumstances of that period, and can only be judged by reference to them.

Allied to the difficulty of defining the word in general terms is the second difficulty in defining préciosité itself: namely, that it refers

to a social fashion, and social fashions (with their attendant influence on manners, morals, and art) will be different for each individual group, and for each period under study. As Lathuillère writes:

la préciosité, telle qu'elle a été, ne peut se comprendre qu'à partir des circonstances historiques dont elle est issue, à un moment précis, et qui ne se retrouvent identiques nulle part ailleurs: l'histoire ne se répète pas.¹⁸

Thus préciosité in England is not likely to be identical with préciosité in France, although critics have tended to assume that it was. J.B. Fletcher calls Henrietta "full alumna of the French school"¹⁹ and Kathleen Lynch says that to Henrietta, as to her French contemporaries, Platonic love meant "quite simply the social fashion interpreted with such elaborate fullness in D'Urfé's Astrée."²⁰ But a social fashion transported from France by a fifteen year old girl, and practised in another country, culture, and court, is unlikely to be quite like the fashion from which it originated. While L'Astrée and the Hôtel de Rambouillet unquestionably influenced the English court, it may be asked whether they were the only, or even the main, influences on Henrietta's préciosité and her view of Platonic love in the 1630's.

In France itself, préciosité by 1630 was no longer "simply" dependent on L'Astrée. The development of préciosité in the first quarter of the century paralleled the intense religious activity inspired in Paris by the Counter-Reformation; and in the more conservative salons and the French court (especially in the circles dominated by Marie de Medici, Henrietta's mother), the religious and précieux impulses are to some extent combined. The pervasive influence of St. François de Sales in polite society encouraged the development of Devout Humanism, which attempted to use the best of the current fashions, L'Astrée among them, to promote piety.²¹ Allied to Devout Humanism was the more secular concept

of honnêteté, an ideal of polite behaviour that was extremely important in the salons, in the French court, and in the whole development of préciosité during the century.²² In 1630 honnêteté was just coming to full flower, with the publication of L'Honnête homme in 1630, and of L'Honnête femme in 1632. L'Honnête femme was one of the most influential works of the period in helping to form an ideal of behaviour for women, and it was translated by Walter Montague, one of the leading figures in Henrietta's précieux circle.²⁴ This fact has not previously been recognised, and I believe that honnêteté supplies an important link with Devout Humanism that has previously been missing in the idea of Henrietta's préciosité. Walter Montague himself emerges as an important figure for understanding the ideas of the court. As a leading member of Henrietta's précieux circle, and from 1635 as a convert to Catholicism and Catholic priest, he links the social and the religious sides of Henrietta's cult. He is generally known for The Shepherd's Paradise, the "Platonic" pastoral which set the tone for subsequent court drama. His translation of L'Honnête femme, however, and his own devotional work, Miscellanea Spiritualia (which he dedicated to the Queen) show that his ideas followed closely the ideas of Sales and the writers of Devout Humanism, and that the concept of "Platonic" love was closely connected with religion.

The concept of honnêteté as a standard for women's behaviour, and an ideal of "Platonic" love that was backed by religion, helps to explain much about the characteristic tone (a kind of moralistic pleasure-seeking) of Charles's and Henrietta's court, and the quasi-religious aura that surrounded many court entertainments of the 1630's. In court plays (which will be discussed in section (iii) of this chapter) the religious and social elements are balanced, but in court masques I believe that the Queen's cult of Platonic love took on religious (and specifically

Catholic) associations. These associations will be the subject of later chapters.

The only previous investigation, to my knowledge, of the connection between the Queen's précieux fashion and her Catholicism is by George F. Sensabaugh. In his earliest paper "Love Ethics in Platonic Court Drama 1625-42" (1938)²⁵ he established a "code" of love, based on the Queen's fashions, which he saw as condoning deeply immoral attitudes in drama and court life, and he supported his conclusions by reference to Puritan charges of immorality against both. His second paper, "Platonic Love and the Puritan Rebellion" (1940), associated the cult of Platonic love in court drama with devotion to the Virgin Mary, and showed the way in which Puritan attacks connected them. Sensabaugh did not, however, recognise préciosité of the 1630's as a phase of the fashion that was connected with French Devout Humanism, and which therefore already had an innate connection with Catholicism. He concludes that the basis for the connection made by Puritans between the Queen's love fashions and her Catholicism was the immorality of both. I differ from Sensabaugh in seeing, not immorality, but, on the contrary, the moralistic theory of honnêteté as the basis for Henrietta's préciosité. Honnêteté was connected with French Devout Humanism and hence with religion, which, when translated to the English court, gave a Catholic emphasis to the Queen's fashions, and a strong motive for Puritan attacks. These were inspired not so much by immorality as by "irreligion," for which the Puritans saw Henrietta's love fashions as being a cover. Sensabaugh considerably exaggerated the "immorality" of Platonic court drama, as I shall show in discussing the plays in section (iii) of this chapter, and his findings led him to what I see as a mistaken emphasis on the immorality of the court, the cult of Platonic love, and of Catholicism. Sensabaugh

has been, however, the first (and only) critic to see a connection between the Queen's préciosité and Catholicism, and to recognise a religious motive in Puritan attacks on Platonic love. His ideas, which have received very little critical comment, deserve the test of critical debate, and I will take up detailed points of criticism at appropriate places in the course of this chapter.

The next section of the chapter will be concerned with tracing the development of préciosité and Devout Humanism as complementary influences in France in the first quarter of the century, and with their coming together in the thirties in the concept of honnêteté. The last section of the chapter will explore some of the ways in which préciosité and honnêteté mingled in the practice of the Queen, and in particular the way in which the "Platonic" ideal of love, reflected in court poetry and plays, was understood by Henrietta and her circle in the 1630's.

(ii) Préciosité and Devout Humanism

Préciosité in the early seventeenth century sprang from a moral rather than an immoral impulse. It originated at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, which became the meeting place for a circle of people who played a leading role in the development of French culture of the period.²⁶ The Marquise de Rambouillet, Catherine de Vivonne, withdrew from the court of Henri IV (where manners and morals left a good deal to be desired) soon after her marriage in 1600, and attracted to her a circle of cultivated people who shared her tastes and interests. At the Hôtel de Rambouillet they found a peaceful refuge where they could occupy themselves in conversation, writing, painting, and play-acting, and amuse each other

with poetry, protracted wooing, and even with practical jokes. It should not be imagined, however, that it was a refuge in which to practise "natural" manners or loose morals. Although précieux groups usually require a protected atmosphere in which to flourish, they do not grow out of a surfeit of peace or an over-refined society: as Odette de Mourgues has pointed out, they tend to appear at times and in places where established values and "civilized" standards are under threat.²⁷ They are generally characterised by a desire to improve manners and refine the arts, and they are governed, at least in their inception, by strict codes of moral conduct. The Hôtel de Rambouillet could hardly have stayed together for so long as a group if this had not been so. It continued to flourish from the early 1620's, through the 1630's and on into the 1640's, at first under the leadership of Catherine de Vivonne, and later under her daughter Julie; in the middle years of the century it continued as a conservative and aristocratic influence amongst the more bourgeois salons that had sprung up in its wake.

The group at Rambouillet found a model on which to base their lives and behaviour in L'Astrée, the pastoral romance by Honoré d'Urfé.²⁸ The first volume of this enormously long work was published in 1607, and the last (posthumously) in 1627, so that it developed side by side with the idea of préciosité, and each acted on the other. In the romance, Catherine de Vivonne's group seemed to see a reflection of themselves; it not only provided them with a model for behaviour, but began to incorporate in its stories romantic versions of their own lives, so that it is possible to say of that period "la société précieuse est la réalité dont L'Astrée donne le roman."²⁹ Part of the appeal of L'Astrée was the way in which it wove fact into fiction, and the present into a romantic past. It was a compendium of the materials of Greek, Spanish, Italian, and French romance,

distanced in time to the fifth century and set in the mythological kingdom of Forez, ruled in the time of the Celts by Queen Amasis; the pastoral setting was recognizable, however, as the country-side on the banks of the Lignon around d'Urfé's native home. The whole is put together with a lightness of touch and a story-telling ease that appealed to polite society, which credited its elegant form of expression with being able to teach manners to men, and philosophy even to women!³⁰

Probably the most important feature of L'Astrée was d'Urfé's Neoplatonic version of love,³¹ which managed to bring Renaissance idealism down to a human scale, and to place it in a social setting where it could exercise an influence on the everyday life of society. Plato's ideas in the Symposium and elsewhere had, of course, deeply influenced life and thought throughout the Renaissance; in the fifteenth century they had been harmonised with Christian doctrine by Marsilio Ficino and other writers of the Florentine Academy, notably by Girolamo Benivieni in his Canzona dello Amore Celeste e Divino, and by Pico della Mirandola in a further commentary on Benivieni's poem.³² In the sixteenth century both the Platonic theory and the religious idealism had been made available in a more courtly form, suitable for adoption in social life, by Castiglione's influential book, The Courtier.³³ In Book IV, Castiglione put into the words of Pietro Bembo a rhapsody on Divine Love, in which Bembo traces Plato's steps in the Symposium from experience (through the senses) of beauty and love in particular forms, to experience (through the understanding) of the universal Forms of Beauty and Love, and eventually to the direct perception (shared with the angels) of the heavenly vision of Beauty and Love, which is God. D'Urfé gives a similar background of Neoplatonic theory to his romance.³⁴ In his discussion of religion, he has Adamas, the High Priest of the "Druids," explain to the

hero Céladon that

all beauty proceeds from that sovereign goodness which we call God, a ray of which springs forth from him on all things created. Just as the earthly sun which we see illumines the air, the water and the earth with the same ray, so the eternal sun beautifies the angelic intelligences, the reasonable soul, and matter. (II, 78)³⁵

Adamas goes on to explain that the heavenly intelligences partake of this beauty as direct experience, whereas man must use his "reasonable soul," by which he is linked to the intelligences, to extract the principle of beauty from created matter. Through perfecting his intellectual and moral faculties, man may perceive a higher unity, in which spirit and form, soul and body, are one; out of the attraction of this unity grows love, which leads men back to its source in God.

Whereas The Courtier more or less ends with this vision, however, d'Urfé uses it as a background, and turns it in practice into much more courtly and human terms. Céladon not unreasonably complains that he cannot understand matters too abstract; but he need not be concerned for God has fortunately provided for human weakness by creating beautiful women, in whom corporeal beauty and human reason are joined. Sylvandre, the Platonist of the romance, explains that women are a link between the angelic intelligences and man, and that "God has placed them on earth to draw us by them" to Heaven (III, 512-3). Adamas can therefore assure Céladon that, although he may not understand the high mysteries of religion, he can take comfort from knowing that he is instinctively performing a religious duty by worshipping his mistress Astrée: "fear not ... my child, of falling short towards God, providing that you there honour this Astrée as one of the most perfect works that He has ever made visible to man" (II, 327). This is not to say that beautiful women are

perfect--Astrée herself is rather imperious and vain--but that man, in devoting himself to a higher principle, especially one which he can never quite hope to attain, refines his own moral nature. Critics have pointed out that d'Urfé's maxim for the true Platonic lover, "mourir en soy, pour revivre en autrui" (I, p.290) is an echo of the New Testament (Romans 6), the resurrection of the new man in Christ, and that the ideal of love in L'Astrée "has as its end the moral elevation of the soul rather than the hope of physical reward."³⁶ Not all the views of love put forward in the romance are, of course, so serious, but a Christian Neoplatonism is the ideal against which other kinds of love are measured, and by which the ideal lover measures himself.

The theory of Platonic love led in practice to certain conventions which the stories of the romance illustrate in almost endless variety. Since beauty in a woman was a sign of her moral virtue as well as of her connection with Heaven, a beautiful woman might have any number of "servants" whose allegiance to her could result only in the acquisition by her "lovers" of self-discipline, self-knowledge, and social grace. Strict moral restraints and the lady's own virtue guarded her from any improper advances, although within these restraints a high degree of social intimacy was permitted between men and women.³⁷ In the practice of Platonic love, desire was often sublimated in the form of art: the art of giving pleasure to the beloved, whether in a poem, an "artistic" arrangement of nature, a witty jest, or a graceful conversation. Among the lady's servants there might, of course, be one whose soul had an affinity with her own, and whose service was therefore destined to result in her one day favouring him with a sign that she approved his suit--but not until he had undergone untold suffering and hardships, all borne in secrecy and with admirable fortitude. Marriage is not the aim of these courtships: it is the nuances of love, the self-improvement of the hero, his adventures

(some not strictly moral) on the way to his ideal love, in which the interest lies. Possession of the beloved, passion and its fruition, are the death of ideal love: marriage can result only, at best, in friendship.

The attractive feature of d'Urfé's version of Platonic love for contemporaries was perhaps the way in which it related Neoplatonic ideals to everyday life without being either too solemn or too cynical. His ideas come from many sources: his idealism from Renaissance Neoplatonism, his veneration for women and the ideal of "service" for men from courtly love and chivalry³⁸ (or the reflection of these in the romances), his associating of human with divine love from Petrarch and the poets of the Pléiade,³⁹ but he places them all in a romantic pastoral setting which the members of Mme de Rambouillet's circle could any day recreate in their country outings.⁴⁰ He minimized the tensions between sense and spirit in the ideal of love. Plato had compared the ascent to God by means of beauty to a ladder or a stair, on which the original steps (the particular objects of love) drop out of sight as one ascends.⁴¹ Ficino and the writers of the Academy accepted the idea of the ladder, but made Platonic love also an intellectual bond between friends, based on the individual's love of God.⁴² Even when heterosexual love had entered the notion of Platonic love (partly through the influence of Dante and Petrarch), a distinction was generally made between procreative and spiritual love.⁴³ The Courtier, for instance, insisted that for the former, marriage is the proper goal; for the latter the lover must follow Plato, that is

take his love for a stayre (as it were) to climbe up
to another farre higher than it ... and thus shall he
behold no more the particular beautie of one woman,
but an universall, that decketh out all bodies.

(ed.cit., p.317)

D'Urfé's innovation was to allow the lover to linger on the stair.

Rather than leave his lady behind or marry her, he preferred to keep her before him as a constant reminder of his ideal, and a spur to virtuous behaviour. To the role of the saint or the knight he preferred the more humble role of the gentleman: if there were no longer dragons to be slain, there were the passions of anger and jealousy which he still had to subdue. Paradoxically, d'Urfé's version of Platonic love neutralised love by dwelling on it so much: by making it into an object to be talked about, written about, played with, he succeeded in drawing from love the thorn of passion; by bringing Platonic idealism into everyday life he turned mysticism into manners.

Popular as L'Astrée was, however, it did not stand alone as an influence on French polite society in the early years of the seventeenth century. Parallel and, to some extent, complementary to it was the religious movement which has been called French Devout Humanism.⁴⁴ Devout Humanism was based on an optimistic belief in the essential goodness of human nature, and the amenability of the human spirit to the will of God. It placed less emphasis on the strenuous side of religion, the Combat Spirituel of the Jesuits, than on the Via Affirmativa of the spiritual life, the way of gentleness, beauty and love, pursued by Orders like the Franciscans and Capucins. It shared the Counter-Reformation ideal of consecrating the objects of this world by devoting them to God, and of using what was popular in contemporary culture to aid in devotion. Whereas Christian Humanism had worked to synthesise the spiritual values of Christianity with the intellectual and material achievements of the Renaissance, Devout Humanism placed less emphasis on reason and intellect, and more emphasis on the senses, the emotions, and the imagination. Its ambition was to bring religion into everyday life by making it simpler, and to extend its influence through society and the court by making it attractive.

The early years of the seventeenth century in France were notable for their religious enthusiasms, all contributing to the stream of Devout Humanism. Paris was stirred by the Counter-Reformation zeal of Spain and Italy: women mystics like Mme Acarie became disciples of St. Teresa, setting up the first Carmelite convent in Paris in 1603; Pierre de Bérulle founded the French Oratory (1611) in imitation of the Oratory of Divine Love of Philip Neri in Italy. Bérulle was the Confessor and confidant of Marie de Medici (Henrietta's mother) who was the Patroness of the Carmelite convent, of which Bérulle was also the Director, and all these people were connected in various ways with St. François de Sales. Sales's personal influence dominated the spiritual life of the period,⁴⁵ going far beyond the two religious works that he wrote. He came to Paris in 1602 where his preaching became famous, and he was credited with making countless conversions by private interview. A contemporary biographer wrote of him:

His way was to draw Soules to God by loue, and sweetnesse, not that he did winke at vice, but that he knew, that where he could caste in, one sparke of the loue of God, thence he could soone cast out sinne.⁴⁶

He impressed Henri IV, who offered him the co-adjutorship of Paris, which Sales refused, but he remained attached to the court, and did not hesitate to criticise its morals.

Sales was influential in the French culture that centred round the salons and the court, particularly as he addressed his teaching in the first instance to women. Sales placed great reliance on women because, he said, they "are more easily drawne to piety and devotion than men,"⁴⁷ and are often the means of drawing men to God. Much of his writing was worked out from his experience with women disciples like Jeanne de Chantal, or in

response to particular situations where women sought his help. His best known work, L'Introduction à la vie dévote (1609)⁴⁸ was written at the request of a lady, Mme de Charmois, who wished to know how it was possible to live a devout life at court, and the book, with its clear and simple conversational style, became one of the most popular of the period. Philothée (the soul) is unmistakably a woman, and Sales leads his heroine gently through the stages of private devotion, as well as through the snares of public life. He does not advise retirement from the world or self-mortification, but rather participation in the normal activities of society. He emphasises the inner devotion that can be practised even in the midst of daily affairs, and his chapters on "The Practice of Virtue" (Ch. iii) and "Overcoming Temptations" (Ch. iv) deal with the recognising of small as well as great temptations. His advice comes down to specific items, all of moment to the court lady: true and false friendships, flirtations, proper attire, lawful recreations (which include walking, conversation, singing, music, hunting, and sports--all in moderation), respect in conversation, fidelity, and chastity. The one indispensable condition of virtue is the presence of God in the heart, from which all else flows. With the practice of inner devotion, there was no social activity in which a virtuous woman could not take part. Sales's ideas on women were liberal for a Churchman of his time, and the Introduction complemented the influence of L'Astrée in raising the social status of women, contributing to the rise of feminism in seventeenth-century France.⁴⁹

Sales's was a religion of love, and he placed love squarely at the centre of his social and religious concerns, saying, in the Introduction, "Love is the soul's dominant passion; it rules all the movements of the heart, making them its own, and making us like that which we love" (p.135).

His thinking, like d'Urfé's, was based on Renaissance Neoplatonism, and ideas of beauty and love form the basis of his mystical work Le Traité de l'amour de Dieu (1616).⁵⁰ He begins the work with a discussion of beauty, which appeals to the intellect, attracts the senses, and arouses desire. True beauty is associated with goodness, and between goodness and the human will there is a natural affinity like the attraction between magnet and iron. The will rules over the senses (p.8), and the "movement, outflowing and progression of the heart towards good" is what we call love (p.17). Whatever is good or beautiful is "the cause of all activity; all things are attracted to it, moved by it, gripped by it, because they love it" (p.283). God is the unique source of all that is good and beautiful. He, like the sun,

the Father of all that gives light ... in his beauty leads our minds to contemplate him, in his goodness leads our wills to love him. His beauty, delighting our minds, brings to birth in our wills a love for him; his goodness, filling our wills with love for him, stimulates our minds to contemplate him, love prompting contemplation, contemplation prompting love.
(p.284)

Sales states unequivocally that "one spark of this love [of God] is worth more, is stronger, more to be prized, than any other love a human heart can know" (p.408), and in all choices the "uncommitted man" will choose the harder (for example, will choose celibacy before marriage). But Sales recognised that most have not chosen the uncommitted life, and he not only accepted but placed a high value on chaste human love as a means of approaching the love of God.

Sales's ideas, based in Neoplatonism and concerned with the interests of women, had much in common with those of d'Urfé, and in fact the two men (who were almost exact contemporaries) shared many interests.⁵¹ Sales was an admirer of L'Astrée,⁵² and his own writing, with its emphasis on the

connection between human and divine love, made it easy for their influences to combine. In describing mystical experience in the Traité, Sales often uses the language of the love treatises and images of the sonneteers--of melting souls, wounded hearts and dying lovers⁵³--as analogies for religious experience, stating confidently that "all the terms I am using to describe love are derived from the similarity that exists between our spiritual emotions and our physical passions" (p.253). He makes Christ sometimes a knight, more often a shepherd, and his frequent references to the Canticles, in which, he says, Solomon,

with the idyllic love of a chaste shepherd and modest shepherdess for his theme ... gently lifts our minds to the spiritual romance [cet amour spirituel] between ourselves and God (p.22),

give his work a pastoral air in keeping with the pastoral images of love in L'Astrée.⁵⁴ Sales encouraged other Church writers to use the popularity of L'Astrée to help spread the influence of Devout Humanism.⁵⁵ The most successful was Sales's disciple and friend, Jean-Pierre Camus (1584-1652), Bishop of Belley, who determined to combine the good influences of d'Urfé and Sales in his own writing. In the early 1620's he inaugurated the religious romance, which enjoyed an enormous popular success.⁵⁶ Camus's works number over two hundred volumes, and between 1620 and 1630 alone he wrote over thirty novels and collections of short stories.⁵⁷ In everything he wrote his aim was to combine an interest in love and adventure with a moral elevation that would insensibly lift the heart towards God. In the Preface to Les Evénements singuliers (1628)⁵⁸ he shows a good knowledge of romance writers (Belleforest, Giraldi and Cervantes amongst others), but criticises them for their extravagances and their lack of moral aim. In their place he offers his own stories as being based on truth rather than art,

mettant des Relations chrétiennes, véritables et utiles en la place de celles qui sont profanes, fabuleuses et non seulement inutiles, mais pour la plus grandepart pernicieuses. (p.51)

In fact Camus based some of his stories on romance sources,⁵⁹ and all contain in plenty the ingredients of romance (disguises, love, horror, death), but Camus believed them to be edifying because true. One of the most popular, La Pieuse Julie (1625) was based on the story of a girl to whom Camus was Confessor, and was dedicated to the real person whose identity, Camus says, was concealed from the eyes of the curious, "but in such a wise as to be revealed to those who know as much as I do."⁶⁰ Camus's stories therefore were quite in the popular vein of d'Urfé, in placing topical events in a romance setting.

Almost all Camus's romances are concerned with women's virtue, love, and religion, and all are designed as moral lessons. Their flavour can be glimpsed from some of the titles: PARTHENICE, ou Peinture d'une invincible chastete (1621); PALOMBE, ou La femme honorable (1625); L'HIACINTE ... où se voit la difference d'entre l'Amour et l'Amitié (1627); CASILDE, ou le bon-heur de l'honnestete (1628); AGATHONPHILE ... Histoire devote, où se descouvre L'ART DE BIEN AYMER, pour antidote aux deshonestes affections (1621). M. Bremond's discussion of the romances (from which the following quotations are taken) shows that for Camus, as for Sales, love was the central principle of Christian belief. In his stories all kinds of love are good: love of God, love between friends, and married love were rungs of the same ladder, and he does not hesitate to claim the highest religious ideal as love's end:

It is for shameful affections to seek the dark and to hide themselves, but for the pure to walk in the light of day and the radiance of holiness. Why should any blush to love? There is nought so holy, nought so beautiful, when it is pursued in lawful ways. The Christian law is all love and for love; not to love is death. (Les Evénements singuliers, q. Bremond, I, 241)

Although love of God is the ultimate goal, Camus is also interested in the effects of love further down the human scale. In Palombe he counsels moderation in love, for then it

awakes the soul, imparting to it an agreeable glow which is not without radiance, for, as says Plato, pure love is mother of comely behaviour, of delicacy, courtesy, and such-like virtues; whereas, when carried to excess, it becomes frenzy ... Pure love has not its eyes bandaged as has Passion, but like that other it too has its torch, its bow and arrows, and its quiver. (q. Bremond, I, pp.240-41)

"Such-like virtues" were those cultivated by the salons, and it is not surprising to find that Camus was a visitor at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, or that Parthénice was dedicated to Marie de Medici.⁶¹

Camus's writing brought Sales's morality more fully into the elegant social circles to which, by birth and temperament, Camus himself belonged. He delighted, in what he called his "historical meditations" (usually set in about the reign of Henri III), in creating idylls of court life where virtue and pleasure went hand in hand, and "the fashionable piety was delightful" (Hellénin, q. Bremond, I, p.220). This picture of the court was taken up by other writers in the 1620's. The ideal is best summed up in a quotation by Bremond from P. Alexis de Jésus, Miroir de toute sainteté (1627) in which Grace shows Theopneste a palace where the inhabitants exercise themselves in divers virtues and occupations, all under the sway of religion. Since these people are

gay and happy in an earthly paradise of the good things of this life, while in expectation of a better life above, Grace asks her disciple 'Is not a devout world better than a non-devout?' 'As a pearl surpasses a grain of sand,' returned he, 'but to me the best is that it is the same world in all but sin, that the Court, the Parlements, the Army, every lawful recreation and conversation are gilded by grace ... so much can a will conformed to the Will of God do'. (q. Bremond, I, pp.282-83)

Such a picture of a devout society is concerned as much with manners as with romance, and the ideal of a virtuous urbanity, in which pleasures were governed by religion, helped give rise to the concept of honnêteté which was coming to maturity throughout the 1620's, influencing the salons and the court.

The origins of honnêteté went back to the influence of The Courtier in France, and to earlier writings of the century,⁶² but its more immediate impetus was the current interest in manners and morals of a polite society under the influence of d'Urfé and Sales. Honnêteté was an attempt to make pleasure compatible with piety, and virtue compatible with social grace, by placing society under the guidance of religion. From 1630 onwards it became one of the most significant social trends of the period. In 1630 Nicolas Faret published L'Honnête homme: ou l'Art de plaire à la Cour, and in 1632 Jacques Du Bosc published L'Honnête femme, both books having an immediate success. L'Honnête homme was republished four times to 1640; L'Honnête femme was considerably augmented and republished in 1633, just one year after its initial publication, and second and third volumes were added in 1634 and 1636.⁶³ In testimony to the importance of these two books in the early 1630's François de Grenaille added a whole family between 1639 and 1642: L'Honnête fille (1639-40), L'Honnête mariage (1640); L'Honnête garçon (1642), and even L'Honnête veuve (1640). These exemplary personages were provided for by books like le sieur Bardin's Le Lycée ... d'un honnête homme (1632-34), and Grenaille's La Bibliothèque des Dames (1640), Les Plaisirs des Dames (1641), La Mode, ou caractère de la religion, de la vie, de la conversation, etc. (1642) and La Galerie des dames illustres (1643), all of which had a pious as well as a courtly purpose. These writers were bourgeois, but their works are addressed to the court (L'Honnête garçon was dedicated to the Dauphin) which they still

regard as "the world" rather than as "worldly." Magendie says of them:

ils participent tous à ce courant de moralité, qui avec François de Sales, Camus, Nervèze ... traverse le siècle naissant; ils donnent tous à la vertu, à la religion, une place prépondérante.... Dans leur conception, honnête homme est vraiment synonyme d'homme de bien.⁶⁴

Honnêteté later in the century developed as a bourgeois concept of morality, while the ideal courtier became more of an homme du monde, but at its inception in the 1630's the ideal was one in which religion and virtue were made to underpin the refinement and polish of the court, and in which the idea of a "courtisan vertueux" (Magendie, p.368) was not a contradiction in terms. The ideal had its effect on the court of Louis XIII (Henrietta's brother), which in many ways was not unlike that of its contemporary in England.⁶⁵

The concept of honnêteté was important for men, but possibly even more important for women. M. Magendie, in his monumental study of honnêteté, discussed the concept mainly from the point of view of men (reference to Du Bosc's L'Honnête femme, for example, is confined to a brief mention and a footnote), although he did give full weight to the contribution of women and of the salons to its development. Ian Maclean has more recently focused attention on the importance of the ideal for women in Woman Triumphant, his study of feminism in seventeenth-century France. In the important chapter on "Honnêteté and the Salons" (Ch. V) Maclean sees Du Bosc's book as summing up a new image of women, and the 1630's as representing a distinct phase of feminism in France, mid-way between the older moralists' notions of women and the more emancipated views of feminists later in the century. The honnête ideal for women stressed the traditionally feminine qualities of piety, chastity, compassion, beauty, and modesty, but at the same time insisted that women

take a lively part in the activities of society, helping to influence it by displaying both virtue and attractive grace. Moderation was its key note: it admired women for their good qualities, but took a more critical and rational attitude towards their behaviour than romances like L'Astrée. It counselled women strongly, however, against too austere a virtue, or a piety that was frighteningly dull: ideally women should be religious without austerity, amiable without lightness, elegant without affectation. Women had a special responsibility for the smooth running of society, and one of their main functions, according to Du Bosc, was to set an attractive example of virtue to men; Grenaille even went so far as to say that "l'honnête fille est une des principales causes de la perfection de l'honnête homme" (Magendie, p.382). In every way l'honnête femme was to be the companion and inspiration of l'honnête homme, but her responsibility was even greater than his for keeping the relationship chaste, while doing everything in her power to make it agreeable. The qualities that enabled her to do this were her beauty, which Du Bosc defines in Neoplatonic terms, and love, but love understood in such a way as to include the moral and religious principles introduced into Neoplatonism by writers like Sales and Camus.

Du Bosc's book is important for the present study because it was translated into English by Walter Montague as The Accomplish'd Woman (1656) (see Appendix A). The connection between Montague's translation and Du Bosc's work has not previously been noted, but in view of the importance of L'Honnête femme to the history of préciosité and feminism in France, the connection is very significant in helping to define the type of préciosité adopted by Henrietta in the 1630's. Montague was a favourite of Henrietta, whom he had known at the time of the marriage negotiations in 1624.⁶⁶ In the years after her marriage he travelled constantly on

confidential missions for the King and Queen between the English and French courts, where he also became a favourite of Henrietta's mother, Marie de Medici. Montague was at the French court in 1631, when he would certainly have heard of Faret's L'Honnête homme, and would probably have been in touch with the ideas that went to form Du Bosc's L'Honnête femme. The fact that he based his translation on the first, 1632 edition of L'Honnête femme (even though Du Bosc had published an amended and expanded version in 1633, and parts II and III in the later thirties) is significant: it suggests that Montague's interest in the book goes back to a time close to its first publication, which was also the time, during 1632, that he was helping to formulate the ideas of Henrietta's préciosité in his pastoral The Shepherd's Paradise.⁶⁷ Like the translation, The Shepherd's Paradise was not published until a much later date (1659). Certainly the translation must have been done years before its publication, since Montague dedicates it to the Duchess of Buckingham, who died in 1648; neither does Montague make any mention of another translation of Du Bosc, The Compleat Woman by N. N., that had been published in 1639.⁶⁸ The Accomplish'd Woman in fact bears all the marks of a translation done years before and published later without comment or revision. I believe that it had an important effect in shaping the ideal of feminine conduct at Henrietta's court in the 1630's, and that it linked religion with the "Platonic" triad of qualities for women: virtue, beauty, and love.

Du Bosc's book is a manual of virtue for aristocratic women, and he writes in the preface that his object is not to make rules for women, but to praise those qualities that will bring them success in society, and at the same time allow them the name of "honneste femme."⁶⁹ He dedicated his book to Mme de Combalet, Richelieu's niece, who was a regular guest at the Hôtel de Rambouillet.⁷⁰ Since Montague dedicated his translation to the

Duchess of Buckingham (who, he says, is a reflection of his subject), thereby transferring Du Bosc's ideas to an English setting, Montague's translation may conveniently be used here to discuss the concept of honnêteté, which will apply both to Du Bosc's L'Honnête femme, and to Montague's The Accomplish'd Woman. Du Bosc derived his principle of virtue for women from St. François de Sales, suggesting in a foreword to the second edition (1633) that the book may be read as "L'Introduction de l'Introduction à la vie Dévote." Like Sales, he makes "devotion" the key to a virtuous life. There is no activity or condition of life that is not made the better for it:

It makes the professed Religious more cheerfull and Lay men less insolent, moderating pleasures, and sweetning austerities; it makes Marriage the comlier, Warre the iuster, Commerce the faithfuller, and the Court the fuller of honour. (p.34)⁷¹

There is therefore every inducement to make devotion compatible with court life, and a section entitled "Of Inclination to Vertue, chiefly to the Devotion of the times" implies that, at the time of which he is writing, this has already been accomplished, at least as an ideal: "We have no need now adays to seek in Cloysters precepts for a Christian life; 'tis enough now to be a good Courtier, to be devout" (p.31). The implication is not simple flattery, but the high ideal implicit in the term "a good courtier."

If, as Du Bosc implies, the practice of devotion is already a reality at court, he is left free to concentrate on the social rather than the religious aspects of Sales's advice to women, and to help them make piety agreeable. Accordingly his work is largely an expansion of Sales's discussion of "The Practice of Virtue" and "Overcoming Temptations" (chapters three and four respectively of the Introduction). Most of the

topics touched on by Sales are discussed in full by Du Bosc under the headings of: Cheerfulness and Melancholy, Reputation, Chastity and Complacency, Courage, Constancy and Fidelity, Curiosity and Censure, Cloathes and Ornaments, Beauty, Gracefulness, and Jealousy. A bias toward the happy mean in virtue is reflected by the pairing of qualities in the headings: too much society leads to levity, but too much solitude leads to dullness; there must be a balance between complacency and austerity, between chattering and silence, between gallantry and modesty. He is at pains, however, to show that his ideal of woman is not the common domestic one. In a section headed "Of Knowledge and Ignorance" he warns that in speaking of this "accomplished woman" he does not mean merely the mother of a family who "can governe well her maids, and takes care to combe her children. Musick, History, Philosophy, and other such exercises, are more suitable to our designe" (p.67). Moreover the study of such subjects is justified on moral grounds, for "since dishonest love is the trade of those who do not spend their time in some commendable imployment," there is good reason to believe that "Chastity is preserved by occupation" (p.47).

Du Bosc relies on the premise that although there are certainly devout women who are not "accomplished," there is no accomplished woman who is not devout. His main concern therefore is to prescribe rules of conduct for court ladies that will help them to make religion pleasant and attractive, not drive men away from virtue by too much dullness and austerity. With perhaps a side-look at Jansenists (and Montague at Puritans) he declares:

I doe not approve of those that put their devotion upon the racke to make it scoul, as if one could not be saved without being ugly. When the grace of God is in the soul, the face is touch't over with the sweetness of it. (p.133)

He emphasises the so-called feminine qualities of "complacency," pity and grace, warning darkly that those who "think women cannot be vertuous and obliging, understand little the nature of Vertue" (p.38). To the subject of Beauty he devotes a whole section, defining it in Platonic terms:

In the opinion of Plato, it is a humane splendor, amiable in its own nature, that has the power to ravish the mind with the eyes ... it must be the mark of an inclination to good, since we seldom find beauty without vertue, as ugliness without mischief.
(p.102)

At the same time, beauty is linked with religion by ascribing it to its divine source, so that "those that adore or despise Beauty, either offer too much, or too little to the image of God." This lovely quality, he says, may challenge a command everywhere, and those that complain of it being the occasion of ill "do as idly, as if one should accuse the Sun for dazling his sight when he looks too fixedly on that glorious body" (pp.103-04). When handsome women are accused of being scornful "we shall find that their disdain proceeds rather from conscience than vanity" (p.104). He warns that all beauty has need of "wit and vertue" to defend it, but beauty properly used is a valuable possession that can only lead to good, for it is given "on purpose to please our eyes, and elevate our spirits to the love of him that is the head of all humane perfection" (pp.106-07).

The theoretical basis for this type of Christian Neoplatonism is set out in another work by Walter Montague, Miscellanea Spiritualia, or, Devout Essaies (Pt. I, London, 1648), which Montague dedicated to the Queen. The book was published in 1648 when Montague had just been released from prison (he spent the years from 1643 to 1647 in the Tower for carrying letters from France),⁷² so that the essays in it concerning court life

must refer to the happier days before 1640, when there was still a court in which to put them into practice. Montague addresses his work to Henrietta Maria, "Daughter of France, and Queen of Great Britain," and in it he places Neoplatonic ideas of beauty and love within a Christian framework. He had been converted to Catholicism in 1635 and taken Orders in 1636, so that in these "devout Essaies" he writes from the point of view of both courtier and priest, drawing on the ideas of Devout Humanists like Sales and Du Bosc, to show how religion and social grace complement each other to make possible a devout life at court.

Montague begins with treatises on Religion and Devotion, which he makes the foundation of court life, and in Treatise 5 takes up the question "whether sensible pleasures may consort with Devotion." Treatise 9 discusses "the condition of Courts, Princes, and Courtiers," and Treatise 10 deals at length with the question of "How a good conscience, and a good Courtier are comfortable with one another." Montague has some reservations on this issue, but he relies confidently on religion to regulate the pleasures, and overcome the temptations, of court life. He insists on the priority of religion, but at the same time calls for "an allowance of decent civilities in the exchanges of Courtship." He writes, he says, as one who knows courts and the ways of courts, and he knows that piety must wear a smiling face:

If Devotion coming to Court, should declare such a war to the world, as to prohibit our senses commerce with pleasures; which are the natives of this world, she would find but a small party, upon such a breach to follow her. (sig. F4^V)

He commends a piety that is suited to her surroundings, neither light nor frighteningly dull:

They never saw piety but in one dresse, that thinke she cannot sute her selfe according to occasions, and put her selfe so farre into the fashion, as may make her the easilier accostable, and yet retaine her dignity and decency. (sig. G3^V)

To show how this may be done Montague draws on Neoplatonic ideas of beauty and love. The first section of Treatise 5 deals with "Rectifying our affections, chiefly our love, in the sense of beauty," and, like St. François de Sales in the Traité, he uses the language of human love for religion. Speaking of devotion as a "Divine passion," he says he will "put it into the vulgar tongue of the Court, and so make it more familiar for apprehension," and he goes on to

propose the being devout, under the tearmes of being in love with Heaven, because it is the likeliest way of perswasion to the world, to propose not the putting away, but the preferring of their loves, and to transferre them to a fairer object, not extinguish the fervency of their act. (sig. E4-E4^V)

It is his serious belief, he says, that

hearts wrought into a tendernes by the lighter flame of nature, are like mettals already running, easilier cast into Devotion then others of a hard and lesse impressive temper. (sig. E4^V)

Conversely, piety helps to make human love virtuous and joyful. In writing of love Montague, like Sales, stresses the over-riding importance of religion, which

doth but reduce the wild multitude of humane affections and passions, under the Monarchall Government of the love of God, under which they may enjoy a more convenient freedome, then let loose in their owne confused Anarchy. (sig. F2)

Yet piety, he says, does not desire the death of the affections, but rather that they "may turne from their perversions and live" (sig. F3). To achieve this, Platonic ideas of beauty and love are of the utmost

importance. Beauty is "the readiest note our sense acknowledges of Divinity" (sig. F4), and when love is guided by devotion,

then is it so farre from being restrain'd, as it is continued in the command of all the power of our pieties, and is trusted so much, as it is allowed to hold faire correspondence with beauty, though that were the party, love had served under against grace. (sig. F4)

He concludes that "by these lights we see how the love of God is not only compatible, but requisite with our love of creatures" (sig. G^V). In arguing thus, Montague defends not only his use of the language of love for religious purposes, but the efficacy of human love in making the soul more responsive to divine love, and of divine love in freeing the affections for a fuller life on earth.

The "convenient freedome" allowed to the followers of Platonic love was one of the stumbling-blocks to acceptance of the doctrine by English courtiers and writers, who were not raised on the ideas of Sales nor reconciled to the attractions of the Queen's religion. Montague himself realises some of the possible abuses of the position he has been putting, and his Treatise 13 (very like Sales's section in the Introduction on recognising temptations in friendship) is devoted to the question "whether to be in love, and to be devout, are consistent." Under this heading he deals with such matters as "The nature of love and devotion compared" (Sect. 1); "Some subtle temptations detected, and liberties reprov'd" (Sect. 2); "The faultiness of flattery to women discovered, and dissuaded" (Sect. 5); "Some scruples resolved about the esteeme of beauty, and the friendship of Women" (Sect. 7). One can see that here was material in plenty for the involved discussions of love in The Shepherd's Paradise, for the debates on points of moral etiquette in court drama, and the opportunity for subtle distinctions in more private conversations between the ladies

of Henrietta's circle and their Platonic admirers. Montague himself gets over the difficulties he has raised by recommending the "sober passion" of friendship, which "hath all the spirit and cordiality of the wine of love, without the offensive fumes and vapours of it, and so doth the office of exhilarating the heart, without intoxicating the braine" (sig. Aa).

Montague's exposition of this "sober passion" has the characteristics associated with the idealistic side of Henrietta's doctrine of Platonic love. Placing beauty and love under the protection of religion, Montague praises a "spiritual" friendship with women, which, he says,

may find a sensible as well as a lawfull delight in the beauty and lovelynesse of the person ... whom we may love so spiritually as to consider nothing in the person, severed from the whole consistence and virtuous integrity of soul and body. (sig. Aa-Aa^v)

This "high Spirituall point of friendship with Women" is not without its dangers, and he admits that "many loves have stray'd that pretended to set out towards it," but the dangers may be avoided by the cultivation of a pious love, which always remembers that noble beauty is a reflection of the splendour of the Creator; and by the help of Grace, "which we may call in to our succour in all the violencies of our nature" (sig. 24^v). Above all, Montague depends in his treatment of love on the same kind of Christian interpretation that the followers of Devout Humanism gave to Platonic ideas: that

if God be rightly apprehended as the supreame good, and our Loves primarily directed to that union, then all our affections descend from that due elevation ... and repasse again upon the same gradations up to the Creator. (sig. V3^v)

Montague's application of a Christian Neoplatonism to the conduct of court life sums up, I believe, the theoretical basis of Henrietta Maria's

practice of Platonic love. Under the influence of Devout Humanism, Platonic love no longer depended on the extremes of courtly love (worship without hope of reward at one end of the scale, and appetite at the other), nor on the more traditional Platonism of, for example, Castiglione, that left the human beloved behind in passing to the more perfect love of God. Montague followed the Devout Humanists in arguing that religion embraced and validated all forms of virtuous human love, which depended on the practice of piety to keep it within the bounds of moderation, modesty, and chastity. Like Sales he placed religion at the centre of court life, but like Du Bosc he insisted that religion should "wear a smiling face," that pleasure and piety were not only compatible, but that each was necessary to the proper functioning of the other. This, I believe, was a view that sums up well Henrietta's beliefs and practice, and the kind of influence her love fashions had on the manners and literature of the court after 1630. Her ideal of love will be the subject of the next section.

(iii) Honnêteté, and the Queen's Ideal of Love

When Henrietta first arrived at the court in 1625, she undoubtedly brought with her a taste for the romantic ideas fostered by L'Astrée, and for the kind of activities that formed the pastimes of the Hôtel de Rambouillet and the French court.⁷³ She was certainly devoted to the plays and pastorals that were so popular with both. In the first years after her arrival at court there are constant references to her amusing herself with her maids in plays and pastorals.⁷⁴ She played the leading role in Racan's Arthénice in 1626,⁷⁵ and Gervais d'Amblainville dedicated a

pastoral to her under the title of La Princesse, ou L'Heureuse bergère in 1627.⁷⁶ The court saw French plays acted when troupes visited London in 1629 and again in 1635, the latter under the protection of the Queen.⁷⁷ In 1633 Henrietta took her first English-speaking role in The Shepherd's Paradise; she revived Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess in 1634, and supervised her maids-of-honour in a performance of Florimène for the King's birthday in 1635.⁷⁸ In the first two years at court she spent most of her time in the company of her French followers, maids-of-honour, and dancing masters. When most of her French retinue was dismissed in 1627 she took refuge in the activities she knew best--dancing, singing, and play-acting--to attract to her a group who could share her tastes and interests. To this group, the latest French fashions must have seemed a way of encouraging a higher (or at least more fashionable) standard for the arts, of improving the uncouth manners that had been acceptable under James, and of raising the status of women, which had sunk particularly low during the former reign.⁷⁹

Although Henrietta introduced the interests of the Hôtel de Rambouillet to the court, however, she cannot have had a very deep understanding of the cultural ideals on which they were based; nor, if she had understood them, did she have much English in which to communicate them. She had not been taught languages, and she herself regretted later in life her lack of formal education in matters like history;⁸⁰ she did not have the background of culture that could lend some foundation to the "games" played at the Hôtel de Rambouillet with language and ideas. She was only fifteen when she came to England,⁸¹ and it is hardly surprising that she lacked the maturity of a Catherine de Vivonne, who could attract people of real wit and intellect: in place of the gracefully turned phrases of a Voiture or Desportes, Henrietta attracted the leaden conceits

Thy sacred Lore shewes us the path
 Of modestie, and constant faith,
 Which makes the rude Male satisfied
 With one faire Female by his side.⁸⁵

Such poems are addressed, not to a Platonic mistress, but to a goddess of chaste love and marital fidelity, and they reflect a view of love closer to that of St. François de Sales than of d'Urfé.

If Henrietta did not have the qualities of a salon précieuse, she did have in abundance the qualities recommended for women by writers on honnêteté: she was devout, but without being severe; she knew how to be gay and obliging in company without being immodest; and she had the quality of complaisance so essential to the honnête femme in the role of creator of social harmony, of being able to put people at their ease and make social occasions run smoothly. A contemporary described her as being

rare company, and that, not only active, but passive. For besides that she speaks gently and sweetly, and replies readily, and aptly knows how to hold up a discourse, she hath a very patient ear to entertain and countenance anything which is well said by anybody else, and not to let it die in her hands.⁸⁶

Her obliging manner was invaluable in helping the more reserved Charles to create those appearances of social harmony by which he set so much store. Charles himself had many of the qualities of an honnête homme, being "temperate, chaste, and serious,"⁸⁷ and insisting on at least the appearance of moral virtue in those around him. Charles, however, lacked the ease which according to writers on honnêteté should accompany these qualities. A contemporary reported in 1625 that the new King

shows himself in every way very gracious and affable; but the Court is kept more strait and private than in the former time. He is very attentive and devout at prayers and sermons, gracing the preachers and assembly with amiable, cheerful countenance, which gives much satisfaction.⁸⁸

No doubt it also gave much discomfiture, but fortunately the court did not turn out to be quite such a devout and cheerless place as the portrait seemed to portend. Charles's natural taste in art and the serious attention he gave to court entertainments were enlivened by Henrietta's less discriminating taste, but more spontaneous enjoyment. She brought to Charles's morality the social graces which, in the concept of honnêteté, were able to combine piety with pleasure. In the early years of the marriage, Charles had disapproved of the frivolity of Henrietta's pastimes. Although she did not completely change her tastes in the 1630's, she did adapt them to a style more befitting her position as Queen, and in keeping with the moralistic tone of Charles's court.

The ideal of Platonic love practised at the Hôtel de Rambouillet in which a witty and beautiful woman attracts a number of followers in an essentially passionless relationship, did, of course, influence court manners and literature throughout the thirties. It seems, however, that it was Lady Carlisle rather than the Queen who became the central figure of such a cult. Lady Carlisle has been described by J.B. Fletcher as the typical "salon" précieuse: the beauty who dispenses her beneficent influence to a côterie of admirers, who in turn immortalize her in verse.⁸⁹ This description is borne out by the poetic tributes addressed to Lady Carlisle by contemporaries. Waller, for instance, seems to have intended an allusion to the Chambre bleue at Rambouillet in a poem entitled "Of her Chamber," and a comparison with Catherine de Vivonne when he declares that in her presence

No worthy mind but finds in her; there is
 Something proportioned to the rule of his;
 While she with cheerful, but impartial grace,
 (Born for no one, but to delight the race
 Of men) like Phoebus so divides her light,
 And warms us, that she stoops not from her height.⁹⁰

William Cartwright's "Panegyrick to the most Noble Lucy Countess of Carlisle" describes her physical and spiritual beauty in Neoplatonic terms, but is more exaggerated in its praise and impersonal in its tone than similar poems addressed to the Queen. Her physical beauty is nothing but the reflection of her "proportion'd Soul;" and the light "which we find / Streams in your Eye, is knowledge in your Mind" (ll.39-40). Wherever her virtues print Love, "they print Joy, and Religion too; / Hence in your great Endowments Church and Court / Find what t'admire" (ll.98-100).⁹¹ Lady Carlisle evidently had (also in contrast to the Queen) a quality that was indispensable to the salon précieuse, that of taking an intellectual rather than an emotional attitude towards love. According to Sir Toby Matthew's "portrait" of her, she could not love in earnest, "contenting herself to play with Love, as with a child. Naturally she hath no passion at all."⁹² This immunity from passion allowed the true précieuse very free manners, but (at least to believers) placed her morals above suspicion.

Ben Jonson may have had Lady Carlisle in mind in The New Inn (1629) when he mocks this kind of préciosité in the person of Lady Frampul.⁹³ Jonson implies that Lady Frampul's ideas of love are the new "in" fashion. Instead of citing classical or humanist authorities for the genealogy of Platonic love, as Jonson himself would have done, Lady Frampul makes up her own list of successors to Plato with Greek, English and French romance writers, "Heliodore, and Tatius, / Sydney, D'Urfé, or all Loves Fathers, like him" (III. ii. 204-05). Her use of the exaggerated language of the romances--

Where haue I liu'd, in heresie so long
Out o' the Congregation of Loue,
And stood irregular, by all his Canons?
(III. ii. 211-13)

perverts Lovell's original exposition of Platonic love, and her egocentricity makes a mockery of both love and religion. Early in the play Jonson refers to the "toyes" of French romance, which are sent out to "poison Courts, and infect manners" (I. vi. 128), and his final judgment seems to be, in the words of Pru, that Lady Frampul is one "runne mad with pride, wild with selfe-loue" (V. ii. 30). In this judgment, however, it should be noted that Lady Frampul is not accused of immorality. Jonson, satirically bent as he is, makes her only independent and eccentric,

of so bent a phant'sie,
As she thinks nought a happinesse, but to have
A multitude of servants! and, to get them,
(Though she be very honest) yet she ventures
Upon these precipices, that would make her
Not seeme so, to some prying, narrow natures.
(I. v. 51-6)

Like the true précieuse, Lady Frampul scorns such narrow natures, and is both "peevish" (derived from the word "frampul"), and spirited in living to "no other scale, then what's my own" (II. i. 59).

A similar independence of spirit seems to have characterised Lady Carlisle, and in fact she conforms closely to the description given by Ian Maclean of the typical French précieuse as one who has "a quality of wit, of levity, of delight in intrigue."⁹⁴ She was admired for her wit as well as for her beauty, and she was constantly at the centre of intrigue. Whether her political intrigue also involved her in amorous intrigue is not known, but poetic tributes in the form of Platonic gallantry, like Cartwright's, involved "gallantry" in its other sense as well. In the poem "Upon my Lady Carliles walking in Hampton-Court garden," Suckling conducts a dialogue with Carew, who sees "danger and divinity" in the Lady's face, while the other mentally undresses her.⁹⁵ Such debates became the basis for a literary game,⁹⁶ and the spice of gallantry in its double sense was

not inimical to the salons.⁹⁷ It would, however, have been unthinkable in relation to the Queen. It seems probable, therefore, that after about 1630 the type of "Platonic love" introduced by L'Astrée and practised in the salons, centred around Lady Carlisle, while the type influenced by Devout Humanism and summed up in the concept of honnêteté centred around the Queen. The difference between the two women,⁹⁸ and the two types of "préciosité," may be seen from the fact that, after the Civil War when both Lady Carlisle and the Queen were in France, Lady Carlisle became a member of the fashionable Parisian salons (her name appears in Somaize's Grand Dictionnaire des précieuses, published in 1661⁹⁹) whereas Henrietta's did not; she founded a convent where she took part in the religious observances of the nuns.¹⁰⁰

Previous descriptions of Henrietta's love fashions have made little distinction between the kind of "Platonic love" favoured by the Queen, and the kind favoured by people like Lady Carlisle. From this lack of distinction has arisen some of the confusion in judging the moral tone of the court, and the tone of court drama, on the evidence of which generalisations about the Queen's Platonic love have generally been made (see Introduction above, pp. 4-5). Much of the drama written for the court in the thirties shows the influence of Platonic love,¹⁰¹ and it displays in abundance the exaggerated compliment and hypocritical uses to which the kind of Platonic love made popular by L'Astrée could be put. Because critics have tended to assume that this was the type adopted by Henrietta, they have also assumed that the exaggerations and abuses were part of the fashion adopted by the court. The plays, however, differentiate between types of Platonic love, and they are strongly critical of the "wrong" uses to which the fashion could be put. Since these criticisms appear in plays that were performed for the King and Queen, and often

dedicated to them, it is likely that it was criticism sponsored by the Queen (or at least approved by her) against the hypocritical practices of Platonic love that had by the 1630's grown out of the love doctrines in L'Astrée. The plays themselves constantly make a distinction between the kind of love that is considered virtuous and that which is not, and they consistently criticise the "salon" variety, and the abuses to which it may give rise. These plays put forward the ideal of mutual love between individuals as the basis for marriage, and the type of "Platonic love" they praise is not that directed towards a witty mistress; it is rather an ideal of Christian charity, a magnanimous love which is drawn to admire and respect whatever is beautiful and virtuous in others, whether they be men or women. The heroines of court drama embody this kind of love. They are not remote Platonic goddesses, but are more like honnêtes femmes: they defend beauty and virtue, in themselves and in other women; they argue with husbands and lovers, setting them an example of good manners and moral behaviour. They are loved and admired for their personal beauty and goodness, and also for the connection these qualities give them with Heaven. Women in these plays become both the custodians of virtuous human love, and the vehicles of Divine Providence, which works through beauty to create universal harmony.

The play which more than any other set the tone for court drama in the 1630's was Walter Montague's The Shepherd's Paradise (performed 9 January 1633),¹⁰² and the fact that it was written for and acted in by the Queen suggests that the ideas on love reflected in it had a close association with her own. Montague's tortuous conceits and affected style made the pastoral something of a joke to his contemporaries,¹⁰³ and no one since has offered any real explanation of its meaning or of the reason for its importance to the Queen. I believe that it was in fact a romantically

allusive account of the Queen's own courtship (the argument for this view is set out in Appendix C), and that it was meant to expound to the court a chaste ideal of mutual love and marriage. If, as I believe, the pastoral is so closely connected with the events of the Queen's life, the rules of the society to which she is elected are likely to have had some similarity to the rules of the group over which she presided at court. These rules, which are set out concisely in the pastoral (sig. C3^V-C4) have a surprisingly matter-of-fact air: the Queen of the Order is to be elected by women, not men; she must be beautiful, and under thirty (Henrietta was still only twenty-three when the play was performed); the members of the Order must take a vow of chastity and single life for the time they remain in it, at least a year, before they may apply to retire "upon designe of Marriage." Members are admitted at the discretion of the Queen, upon a vow of chastity "which is not ever to be dispenced with," and the breach of which is punishable by death; they are to have community of riches and possessions; there is to be no detraction of a sister without proof. In contrast to these rather mundane rules, however, is the exalted tone of the society. The Paradise (which the Priest tells Moramente has been founded as "a peacefull receptacle of distressed minds, and a Sanctuary against fortune's severest executions" (sig. C5^V-C6)), resembles a religious society, with its vows, ceremonies, priests, altar, temple and prayers. Moramente comments "This order seems a match betweene love, and honour, and chastity, which you are happy sir in being Priest to" (sig. C6). When Bellesa is installed as Queen she vows to keep the laws "even as I hope to rise / From this, into another Paradise" (sig. C3).

To the Paradise are attracted Basilino, a Prince of noble birth, and his friend Agenor (disguised as Moramente and Genorio), both of whom are enchanted by Bellesa's beauty. The rest of the pastoral consists chiefly

of high-minded conversations between the inhabitants of the Paradise, at the end of which the Prince wins Bellesa's consent to marriage. In the course of these conversations almost every aspect of courtship and love is discussed, and it is rather a surprise to find that the commonly accepted ideal of "Platonic love" (that is, love without hope of reward, as in L'Astrée) is put forward, but only to be dismissed, and is in fact gently laughed at. D'Urfé's first "law" of love stated "Qui veut estre parfaict amant, / Il faut qu'il ayme infiniment" (Vol.II, p.181), which is interpreted to mean that the ideal lover must love without any hope of reward, certainly without hope of possession (II, p.670), and his love may even be more perfect in absence (II, p.201). In The Shepherd's Paradise, Martiro is the only spokesman for this kind of love, arguing that impossibility makes love rarer and more spiritual; he declares that his adoration of Bellesa never had "so low a thought as hope" (sig. G8^V), and he refuses to consider her suggestion that love should have an object level with itself. He exercises his wit, and bores the others, by producing a long poem on "impossibility" (sig. G7^V-G8) in which he declares his love is no material flame, but a lightning in the soul "which is / Kindled by an Antiperistatis."¹⁰⁴ Camena comments (sig. G6) that Martiro's love must live by its wits, for it has nothing else to live on. Martiro's views are used as a foil in several of the discussions on love, but always in order to defeat them. Bellesa, for example, expresses the fear that if a woman admits her love, the man will think himself master, and she asks Moramente how he reconciles his argument for mutual love with Martiro's belief that love between souls rules out physical union? Moramente replies that in true love, hearts are not made subject, but exalted by physical (as well as spiritual) union, and he dismisses Martiro's theory as "darke visions" engendered by privation (sig. F7^V). This is a

turning point in Moramente's courtship, for Bellesa acknowledges herself from now on his "pupil" in love. No one in the play shares Martiro's view, and he comes to admit by the end that he has wronged Bellesa in trying to part body and soul. It does not seem, then, that the fashion for "Platonic love" which the Queen is always credited with having fostered, had for her the usual meaning, of love without physical fruition or return.

D'Urfé's first law of love had as its corollary that all "médiocrité" in love is betrayal, but the ideal of love in The Shepherd's Paradise comes very close to the "mediocrity" that d'Urfé rejected. Montague's version of love does not reach d'Urfé's extreme of spirituality, but nor does it have his sly humour. In L'Astrée, d'Urfé allows a certain amount of human weakness to characters like the worldly Lycidas and Stelle, to the inconstant Hylas who is the constant foil to idealism, and even to the hero Céladon, whose disguise as a girl allows him a good deal of voyeurism and illicit freedom. Montague is much more moralistic. Misbehaviour in the company of the opposite sex is not given the slightest scope: Moramente's greatest misdemeanour is to kiss Bellesa's hand once while she is asleep, for which he is severely reproved; Agenor's wandering eye is rebuked, and every character firmly paired off or placed in his right moral niche by the end of the play. There is not even a satyr to enliven the action, and Agenor, who comes closest to being "inconstant," is certainly not humorous. Montague's emphasis is, first, on chastity, and then on the ability of true love to refine, not extinguish, the senses, so that the "undarken'd soul" (sig. H6^V-H7) may shine through them. Since pure love is "a Spirit extracted out of the whole masse of virtue" (sig. F7) it cannot rise to an excess, as does passion, and it finds its proper satisfaction in the union of body and soul.

For all the high-flown words, the ideal of love in The Shepherd's Paradise is a domestic one. One of the main debates, between Camena and Melidoro, is on the compatibility of pure love with marriage. Camena expresses the fear that love's flame may be put out by possession, and that marriage will end love. Melidoro replies that spiritual love is preserved by physical union. Pure love, he explains, enters through the senses and is preferred up into our thoughts, where "it is enthroned higher, than any mortall joy can reach up to depose it"; from this transcendent height "it may seem to look down on all things, and despise even enjoying." But when our thoughts, growing dizzy, begin to fall from such elevation, "then possession is a foundation to maintain Love at that height" (sig. E2). Far from ending love "Hymen's torches do imply ... love's flame is nourished, not put out: and may not love blaze as well in them, as Cupid's wild fires?" (sig. E2^V). In the love of Camena and Melidoro, which has passed through a stormy region, but has now arrived "at Love's supreamest region, where there is all serenity" (sig. G5), there is perhaps a reference to the frequently stormy relations between the King and Queen in the first years of their marriage. To Camena's question, whether some might not arrive at this peaceful region without the preceding storms, Melidoro answers that opposition is a necessary prelude to noble love:

There is a lower region Camena, where common unrefined lovers stay, and joy in flat security, whose pleasure is but an acquiescence. But all aspiring love that seeks to pitch it selfe in this sublimity of joy and glory, must passe through this middle region, where it findes a stormy opposition. (sig. G5-G5^V)

The love of Bellesa and Moramente, which in the pastoral passes from the sparring of courtship, to respect for each other's views, to mutual love, and finally to the prospect of a marriage which "fate itself" (sig. L7^V) has worked to achieve, looks forward to the sublime region at which the

King and Queen presumably had, by 1633, themselves arrived.

Such a view of love and marriage echoed the sentiments of the King and Queen concerning their own marriage, as well as of contemporaries like Clarendon, who described the King's love for the Queen as a combination of "all those noble affections which raise the passion to the greatest height ... so that they were the true idea of conjugal affection, in the age in which they lived."¹⁰⁵ It was certainly not a view typical of the "Platonic" ideal in L'Astrée, any more than it was of the views of précieuses a decade or so later in the century, who looked on marriage as "un esclavage."¹⁰⁶ It was, however, typical of the views of Devout Humanists, and of the concept of honnêteté in the 1630's. St. François de Sales had been influential in the early seventeenth century in heightening the prestige of marriage by devoting a section to it in his Introduction, insisting that "Marriage, in every way, must be held in honour" (p.184), and that "mutual love should be altogether holy, sacred and divine" (p.185). For Sales, love was the basis of happy marriage, just as it was the basis of all successful personal and social relationships, and he did not shrink from approving those physical expressions of affection which are "so necessary to the preservation of mutual love, for though they do not create this bond they are a delightful means of augmenting it" (p.188). A similar view seems to be summed up in the concluding couplet addressed to Bellesa in the pastoral: "May you have all the joyes of innocence / Injoying too all the delights of sence." The King and Queen's marriage was held up as an ideal for the rest of the court to follow, as Montague suggests in the concluding address:

your example doth to all declare
None innocent that love not, nay not faire.
For they can neither handsome be, nor true,
That may and yet refuse to be as you. (sig. M7^v)

The ideal put forward in The Shepherd's Paradise, of love as mutual fulfilment in marriage, was echoed in poetry and plays written for the court. William Habington's poems "To Castara"¹⁰⁷ were published just one year after the performance of the pastoral (in March 1634), and his poem "Vpon the mutuall love of their Majesties" refers to the Royal example, which would make even barbarians

by this precedent correct their life,
Each wisely chuse, and chastely love a wife.
Princes example is a law. Then we
If loyal subjects, must true lovers be. (p.57)

His poems celebrate, as he says, those "rites Love offers up to Chastity" (TO CASTARA, A Sacrifice, p.11), and he follows his portrait of "A Mistris" with that of "A Wife." Habington is usually credited with following a "serious" side of the fashion for Platonic love, but if, as his editor says, he "breaks its laws by marrying, and its spiritualization by celebrating married love" (Introduction, LIII-LIV), surely he is no longer following the code? His poetry is, rather, a criticism of the code of love in L'Astrée, of poets who make an "Idoll" of woman, and of poetry that "wantons too much according to the French garbe" (Author's preface, p.5). His Castara, on the other hand, is very much an honnête femme; his prose portrait of "A Mistris" (pp.8-10) could be read almost as a summary of The Accomplished Woman, both in the topics it deals with (ornament, modesty, "servants," conversation, dancing, singing, dignified behaviour), and in the characteristic pairing of qualities to suggest moderation. Habington perhaps leaned more to the sombre and religious side of honnêteté than the Queen, but his work makes far more sense if regarded in the light of honnêteté, than it does if regarded as an aberrant kind of "Platonic love."

The works of playwrights close to the Queen followed a pattern of "chaste love" similar to that put forward in The Shepherd's Paradise.

Joseph Rutter's The Shepherd's Holy-Day (1635)¹⁰⁸ was based on a version of a play by d'Urfé, which adapted d'Urfé to the times by the simple expedient of leaving out the indecent lines.¹⁰⁹ In the Epilogue addressed to the King and Queen, Rutter praises them for having brought "Virtue in fashion" (p.444), and his play reads like a guide-book, full of precepts and cautions, to conducting a virtuous love-affair. Men and women must both stick to the rules in wooing. For the man, "love one" is the rule, for "one is the only centre / The line of love is drawn to," provided that the one chosen has "all / Perfections in her, all that's good and fair" (p.383). The lover must be careful of his lady's honour, guarding it against "the malicious world, the censuring people, / That haste to caste dirt on the fairest things" (p.419). When Sylvia generously admits her love to Thyrsis, who seems to be of lower birth (and hence unsuitable in the eyes of society), he reminds her that her name and state "must needs / Receive a certain scandal and foul blot / If we be seen together" (p.416), and he high-mindedly refuses her offer to elope (p.418). A woman should never be too forward in love, even when, like Sylvia, she believes it "the greatest good" the Gods can bestow (p.417). When she does admit her love she must be careful to hedge the engagement about with conditions that safeguard her honour and "virgin chastity" (p.398); if the woman admit her love first the wooer may fall off in his affections, or think only of more "possession" (p.374). It is women's virtue that keeps men pure; even Mirtillus (the only vaguely libertine character in the play), who dreams of "a heavenly life of love" at court, cannot find any lady who will indulge his fantasy (p.433). The ideal of love presented by Rutter, however, is not Platonic. Although the hero and heroine resolve to gaze their souls out in each other's eyes when their love seems crossed by Fate (p.418), it is their marriage which is praised in the end as "the happiest

knot that e'er / Knit two such equal hearts and loves together." Marriage, if founded on true love, is superior to virginity: it is the greater good, "Perfection and womanhood" (p.441).

Side by side with the ideal of married love, the Queen did encourage an ideal of Platonic love, but it was connected more with Christian charity than with gallantry. Its principles are most clearly set out in William Cartwright's The Royal Slave (1636), a play which was particularly commended by the Queen, and which had an unprecedented "run," being performed on three separate occasions.¹¹⁰ In the play the hero Cratander is the "slave" who has been captured by the "Persians"; according to an old custom he is allowed a brief reign of freedom before being put to death. The nobility of his actions, however, attracts the attention of Queen Atossa, who is the virtuous wife of Arsammes. She recognises in the "slave" a noble spirit, which "dares preserve his own / Honour, and others too" (I. v. 271-2). She takes his part, even at the risk of her own reputation, and gradually wins the King and the rest of the court to her view.

Cratander and the Queen exchange exalted "Platonic" compliments, but they go to great trouble to make clear the kind of love that is regarded as truly Platonic. Cratander is inspired by the "cleare streames of Beauty" which he sees shining in the Queen, but would never presume "To trouble them with quenching of my thirst" (III. iv. 917-9). When she informs him that her "pure Affections" are "but an Engine of / The carefull Pow'rs, invented for the safety / And preservation of afflicted goodnesse" (III. iv. 934-36), he assures her in return that he "can distinguish betwixt Love, and Love"; if her affections, which belong to the realm of "refin'd Ideas," should "from the Circle of their chaster Glories / Dart out a beame," it is not his desert but their own goodness that makes them so "diffusive" (III. iv. 955-59; p.230). Atossa defends this "diffusive"

light of love. When her husband, Arsamnes, is jealous of her attention to Cratander, she asks if the sun does not "send beames to others than your selfe?" (III. v. 1003-05). Love, she goes on, "is as free as Fountaine, Aire, or Flower," yet like streams in nature that nourish different plants, it always runs "In a most faithfull course toward the bosome / Of the lov'd Ocean" (III. v. 1013-15). The Queen's long speech is the centre of the play (the entire passage is quoted by Kathleen Lynch (pp.67-69) as one of the best examples of the précieux habit of arguing by similitudes) and the King, though somewhat rueful, is convinced:

Thou art still vertuous my Atossa, still
Transparent as thy Crystall, but more spotless.
Fooles that we are, to thinke the Eye of Love
Must alwayes looke on us. (1045-48)

He is satisfied that her actions prove "Not the Offence, but Charity of Love" (1052).

The "Platonic" arguments in The Royal Slave, and passages like it from other plays, have sometimes been used to show that the Queen's love fashion, far from being moral or honnête, was deeply immoral.¹¹¹ G.F. Sensabaugh in particular has maintained in a number of studies that the Queen's cult of Platonic love encouraged immoral sexual practices at court, and that these are reflected in the moral decadence of the drama.¹¹² In his paper "Love Ethics in Platonic Court Drama" (the first of a series of papers which all draw on the conclusions reached in this early study), he deduces from court drama a code of Platonic love, which includes, principally, the ideas that fate rules all lovers (p.282); beauty and goodness are one (pp.282-86); beautiful women are saints to be worshipped (pp.286-88); and that true love seeks a spiritual union, which is approved by religion. So far, so good. Sensabaugh goes on, however, to show what he considers to be the twisted ethics that arise from these principles

(pp.291-99): that the laws of love, which according to him include individual whim, inconstancy, and a sexual freedom that verges on promiscuity, were more important than society's laws and the sanctity of marriage; and that Platonic lovers put "a halo of purity around mental adultery and incest" (p.291).

Sensabaugh has, I believe, misjudged the tone of court drama,¹¹³ largely because he has taken passages out of context, often ignoring both the dramatic situation and the characterisation. Both are particularly important in these plays, which have a characteristic dramatic patterning whereby the ideal of love is contrasted with more worldly, corrupt, or "satyric" interpretations which enhance the main theme and which are defeated in the course of the action. This patterning derived from the commedia grave and pastoral of sixteenth-century Italy, of which Guarini's Il Pastor fido was a prototype.¹¹⁴ Guarini established a pattern, with Mirtillo and Amarilli as the ideal pair of lovers, Silvio and Dorinda as less perfect, Corisca and the Satyr as largely corrupt. A similar patterning can be found in L'Astrée, with Adamas representing the religious, and Sylvandre the philosophical aspects of Platonism; Diane is the cultivated lady of the salon; Céladon, and Astrée herself, have many human failings, and Hylas is the humorous cynic. Similarly, in the court drama under discussion here, one pair of lovers (or sometimes the heroine alone) is idealistic, while other pairs play variations on the ideal, with attitudes ranging from the conventional and modest to the frivolous and debased. Thus in Rutter's The Shepherds Holy-day Thyrsis and Sylvia are the "purest pair"; others like Hylas and Nerina are modest; Dorinda is shameless in pressing her love where it is not returned; Daphnis is a "rich shepherd" who thinks any lady can be won with gifts, and Mirtillus is the "common lover" whose dreams of a "free" life of love at court are pure wish-

fulfilment. In William Berkley's The Lost Lady,¹¹⁵ Lysicles and Milesia demonstrate an ideal of devotion religious in its form and intensity. On a less exalted level, Hermione finds herself swayed from her absent lover, Eugenio, but fortifies herself with "some sad tale" which convinces her that the gods punish inconstancy. This high-minded love is relieved by sprightly pairs of minor characters. Ergasto and Cleon make fun of love compliment and declare there are "no greater libertines than married men" (I. ii. p.549). Phillida and Irene wittily discuss beauty and honour, and ask "What is to be got by this / Whining constancy?" (III. i, p.586). But Irene finally falls in love with Ergasto, and he ends by being constant to his sharp-tongued mistress. In Habington's The Queen of Aragon,¹¹⁶ the Queen's elevated and dignified attitude to her suitors is contrasted with that of the teasing and flirtatious Cleantha. But Cleantha is undoubtedly virtuous, and is won in the end, not by the ridiculous Sanmartino, who perverts the language of Platonic love, but by Oniate, a sober courtier. In The Royal Slave, the Queen and Cratander take the positive ideals of Platonic love very seriously indeed, while other characters show the way in which the term can be abused. In Davenant's The Fair Favourite,¹¹⁷ the two heroines support each other in a high-minded and altruistic view of love to bring the action to a moral conclusion.

Sensabaugh, in the quotations brought to support his conclusions about the immorality of court drama, often draws on the cynical or witty attitudes of minor characters, whose opinions are far outweighed by the elevated presentation of constancy and love which is the main theme. Thus, in the plays mentioned above, he gives weight (p.298) to the opinions of the libertine dreamer Mirtillus; to Ergasto (p.293), whose cynical flattery is easy to see through; to Sanmartino (p.293, and footnote), who is a "half-witted Lord" in The Queen of Aragon; and to

Fredeline (p.300), an old roué in The Platonic Lovers. To say that minor characters express the true motives behind Platonic love in these plays is like saying that the Nurse in Romeo and Juliet expresses all that young love is "really" about. Sensabaugh equally ignores the context of his quotations. He uses the last passage quoted above from The Royal Slave (in which the King exonerates his wife) to show that

love, should it be true and Platonic, must seek satisfaction wherever passion may lead.... Has Atossa sinned by letting her love be 'communative,' by allowing her love to wander outside the conjugal bed? No, she is sure she has not. Even her husband condones.¹¹⁸

In the first place, Atossa has not allowed her love "to wander outside the conjugal bed"; in the second, she makes it clear that the kind of love they are talking about is not passion, but charity. Why, the Queen asks, should not such a feeling be shown publicly? If it were hidden, it might be presumed guilty, but "Who would stifle / An honest Fire? That flame's to be suspected / That hides it selfe" (III. v. 1029-31). In another passage from the same play, an attempted rape is excused by Leocrates as

A little Love-sport only; we were arguing
Pro, and Con out of Plato, and are now
Going to practise his Philosophy. (II. v. 511-13)

Sensabaugh suggests that this passage shows how "any kind of love may be argued on Platonic grounds" (p.281). But Leocrates and his swaggering companions are Ephesian captives pretending to be court gallants, and the ladies are rescued by Cratander, the Platonic hero of the play. Cratander's ability to see through the deception, to protect the ladies, and punish the offenders, is one of the actions that draws the sympathetic attention of the Queen, and the incident is clearly designed to show what does not pass as Platonic love, in the play or, presumably, in the court.

Exposure of the wrong sort of Platonic love is, in fact, one of the common themes of court drama in the 1630's. As early as 1629 Lodowick Carlell, a writer who was close to the King and Queen and knew their tastes, produced The Deserving Favourite,¹¹⁹ a play that looks forward to the tone of court drama in the 1630's, and reflects more clearly than Jonson's The New Inn (also performed 1629) the kind of préciosité coming into favour with the court.¹²⁰ Carlell's play, like Jonson's, criticises the exaggerated compliment of the romances, but Carlell, significantly, places the criticism in the mouth of a woman. The heroine Clarinda is wooed by the Duke, who uses just the kind of devotional language of love that Jonson puts into the mouth of Lady Frampul. The Duke is perfect in the code of the romances, declaring that he will lay his "bleeding heart" on the altar, "which now in thought, / And then in act, shall be a reall Sacrifice" (p.89). Clarinda undercuts his rhetoric, telling him in plain terms

if you will speake
Only what in reason is likely to be true,
I am no Infidell, I shall believe (p.86),

and to his compliments she replies "I hate flattery, though a woman" (p.88). When he declares "I offer up my life and Fortunes, / With a truer deuotion than ever lover did," she replies resignedly

I see I must allow you the Louers Phrases,
Which is to call their Mistris St. and their affection
Deuotion (p.86),

and she reflects that "there are many false ones here in Loues Religion" (p.94). Ten years later, in Habington's The Queen of Aragon, another play admired by the King and Queen, the sprightly Cleantha implies that Platonic compliment has long gone out of fashion. She tells the posturing Sanmartino, who practises the "Platonic" conventions for his own ends, to

practise if he must "in suburbs," where "ladies wait / To be deliver'd by your mighty hand" (p.332), but at court to "learn virtue" (p.379). She herself is tired of a love worn "so threadbare out of fashion" (p.329). Cleantha herself is a rather lively version of an honnête femme, firmly virtuous beneath her witty exterior, and another example of Habington's adherence to the honnête, rather than to the salon, version of Platonic love.

An understanding of honnêteté and its contemporary literature is essential to an understanding of the moderate kind of feminism which is characteristic of these plays. Honnêteté did not allow women the haughty manners of d'Urfé's heroines, nor did it allow them the emancipated views of précieuses who rejected marriage and all forms of domination by men later in the century. It did, however, expect them to preserve their own dignity as women, and to protect their own rights. Women often express impatience with men's harping on sex, and of double standards for men and women in courtship. When Castarina in Thomas Goffe's The Careless Shepherdess¹²¹ tells the importunate Lariscus:

You men, when you enjoy what you desire,
Cool in affection, and being married
We lose our price and value, while we keep
Our freedome, you poure forth your service to us
(I. ii, p.15),

she is not so much devaluing marriage (as Sensabaugh suggests, "Love Ethics," p.293), as evaluating the unequal role of the sexes within it. She goes on to ask, not for Platonic love, but for a little more courtesy and kindness in the wooer:

Me-thinkes that Lovers might content themselves
Sometimes to meet, and talk, and smile, and kiss,
Without desire of more possession. (I. ii, p.16)

The feminism of these plays is not employed on the side of "lawless

individualism," as Sensabaugh has maintained, but on the side of good manners, moderation, and good sense. Honnêteté also suggested that women be allowed a freedom of action similar to the freedom enjoyed by men, without having their actions misinterpreted, or being suspected of sexual intentions. It is, after all, a mark of anti-feminism to relate all a woman's actions to a preoccupation with sex, and the Queen in The Royal Slave claims for women the same freedom as men in showing an affection for what is noble and good. When rebuked for giving a chain to Cratander, she defends her action by pointing out that, when

a man of valour
 Graceth his Country with a good attempt,
 You give a Sword, an Horse, a Mannoure, nay
 Sometimes a whole Province for reward. We have
 A sense of Vertue too, as well as you:
 And shall we be deny'd the Liberty
 To shew we have that sense? (II. v. 1031-37)

The plays go beyond the defence of women's personal dignity, however, to the wider social implications of women's virtue and charity, again in a way typical of honnêteté. Davenant's play The Fair Favourite is a good example. The Fair Favourite has two equally beautiful and virtuous heroines, one of whom is married to the King, the other of whom is pursued by him. The story is not, however, one of simple "Platonic dalliance" as Harbage has described it (p.167). The plot rests on the fact that Eumena had long been the object of the King's honourable love; his politicians, wanting a rich marriage, hid her away for two years on pretence that she was dead, only releasing her on the day of the King's marriage to the equally beautiful Queen, whereupon the King refuses to consummate the marriage, and returns his affection to Eumena. The Queen, magnanimously recognising the claims of a prior attachment, makes no other claim to the King's love,

but what my patience and affection can
 Deserve. He that did join our hands did give
 Me but a formal interest, since to Eumena
 You dispos'd your heart before
 We knew those sacred rites. (p.264)

She admires Eumena's beauty and virtue, pities her position, and declares that "True love admits no jealousy" (p.264). Her husband's fault has been forced on him by circumstance, and she cannot believe that his love is anything but noble:

If it were low, and sinful love, I should
 Not think it worth my envy or my fear;
 If pure and noble, as my strictest faith
 Believes, it is too great a treasure to
 Be made particular and own'd by me
 Alone, since what is good doth still encrease
 In merit of that name, by being most
 Communative. (ed.cit., p.264)¹²²

These heroines do not countenance a "low and sinful love" as being connected with themselves or anyone they admire, and a solution is finally made possible because of honour between the two women. When the King demands of his wife

a liberty as is not fit
 For me to ask, nor thee to grant. Seal me
 A licence for each choice mine eyes shall make

she calmly replies "Take, Sir, the freedom you desire" (p.255). The King, of course, knows that the liberty can do him little good, for it "never can usurp" upon the virtuous Eumena's heart. Because of the two women's support of one another and "the care of Heaven" (p.278), the King's love is at last won by the patient Queen, a happy solution for which Eumena too has prayed. The suggestion is that if all women were virtuous, men would become so too.

The action of The Fair Favourite thus confirms a moral principle of honnête writers, that good women save men from men's own worst impulses by

somewhat passive, but correctly virtuous, behaviour. Du Bosc, for example, advises women against jealousy in love, saying that "an ingenuous liberty is a better guard than any restraint."¹²³ This is the principle on which the Queen acts in The Fair Favourite, and the argument which Atossa, too, puts to her husband, in The Royal Slave. Even if appearances are against the person concerned (as they are against the King in The Fair Favourite), it may still be better, Du Bosc argues, "to believe a miracle than a sin, and to acknowledge the power of God, rather than the weakness of the creature" (The Accomplished Woman, p.135), a policy followed by Davenant's Queen. If wives are deserted by their husbands, according to Du Bosc, they should go on loving them, as Octavia did Anthony, and by this means may win them back, as the King in The Fair Favourite is at last overwhelmed by the virtues of his wife. "Charitable" love of the sort shown by both Davenant's Queen and Atossa is an attribute of virtuous women, says Du Bosc, and can lead only to good. He defends such love against curiosity and slander (*médiance*), saying that "vertuous Women chase vice out of the world by their charity" (p.43). The behaviour of these high-minded heroines is modelled on that of heroines in the Greek romances, as Harbage has shown,¹²⁴ but they are no less honnêtes femmes for that. Camus modelled his exemplary heroines on the heroines of romance, and Du Bosc went to the ancient poets and historians, because he says the "Pagans" stole from the Prophets, and their stories "contain much excellent morality mixed with superfluous matter."¹²⁵ He uses examples from Greek, French, and Roman history to illustrate the generous actions taken by women for "the preservation of their countrey, for love of their husbands, and for the religion of their ancestors" (The Accomplished Woman, p.48), which might sum up the subject matter of much court drama.

The heroines of these plays invariably bring the action to a happy

conclusion which has been fore-ordained by Fate,¹²⁶ and in which virtuous love has gone hand-in-hand with religion. Sometimes the heroine's role is passive, as in The Shepherd's Holy-day, where Sylvia, "conducted by the power of simple love" alone, fulfils the oracle by marrying a Prince, to whom she had remained constant throughout the play when he seemed only a simple shepherd. Those who had opposed the lovers acknowledge being mistaken, and all repair to the temple that they may

With holy sacrifice appease the gods,
Whose great decrees, though we did strive to hinder,
Yet are they now fulfill'd. It is in vain
T'oppose the Fates, whose laws do all constrain.
(V. 4; Dodsley, p.444)

Sometimes the heroine's role is positive, and the action is given an explicitly religious dimension by the language used throughout the play. In The Fair Favourite the Queen has a religious belief in love that guides all her actions. She knows that

peculiar and distinct
Affections are but small derived parts
Of what we call the universal love;
And universal love, undoubtedly,
Must be the best, since 'tis ascrib'd to heaven. (p.255)

The love-plot unfolds as a religious progress: the Queen bears her sorrow with Christian stoicism; she seeks a nunnery where she may "expiate" with prayers her husband's "unwilling sin"; her patience is such that it seems to come "From Heaven, not men." She is called "this great type of virtuous love." Her rival Eumena also has her "prayers for the Queen ... observ'd above" (p.278), and is told "Thy causeless sufferings have rais'd / Thee to the dignity of Saints" (p.276). Religion and love together win back the King to a proper reconciliation with both women, and he calls on the court to "celebrate this miracle of love" (p.278). The Queen intones as a kind of chorus:

Who is it that will doubt
 The care of Heaven? Or think th'immortal
 Pow'rs are slow, because they take the
 Priviledge to chuse their own time when they
 Will send their blessings down. (p.278)

The investiture of Heaven's interests in a beautiful and virtuous woman and a trust in Providence that amounts to quietism, are distinguishing marks of Italian commedia grave, as Louise Clubb has pointed out in her paper "Woman as Wonder."¹²⁷ In sixteenth-century Italy, plays like L'amor costante, La donna costante, and La Pellegrina, exalted women to the position of saint, at first only in metaphor, but later in acknowledgment of love's power, and woman's own "conscious virtue or unconscious harmony" with Heaven (p.130). The heroine's constancy in love is enhanced by sets of secondary characters (a pattern similar to that of the plays discussed above), whose less idealistic views of love are shown to be false by the outcome of the action. The Neoplatonic identification of love with the first cause of all good enables the protagonists to celebrate the triumph of love in Christian terms, praising God for the happy outcome (p.119). The saintly beauty and virtue of the heroine is used to arouse moral and religious wonder, and the action typically ends in forgiveness and reconciliation, presenting a "theatrical image integrating the secular and religious" (p.123). Such a pattern is very close to the court drama under discussion here. Play after play points out the connection of the heroine's beauty with the Deity which has "let downe / Himselfe into those Rayes," and which would be injured if others should "Draw nigh without an awfull Adoration" (The Royal Slave, III. iv. 924-26). In The Queen of Aragon, the Queen's beauty is attributed to "that care / Heaven had to keep part of itself on earth" (p.358), and her suitors agree "there's miracle in such a beauty" (p.401). The connection between the heroine's beauty and

her virtue was, of course, a Neoplatonic common-place, but in these plays the Neoplatonic idealism is placed not simply in the context of love, but of love under the guidance of religion. In William Berkley's The Lost Lady, for instance, the minor characters practise (and make fun of) the usual Neoplatonic language of love compliment, but the main characters connect the religious themes of sacrifice, suffering and martyrdom (themselves favourite themes of contemporary religious drama¹²⁸) with virtuous love and its eventual triumph. Hermione is a "martyr" for her love, and regards opposition to her marriage as a field of suffering "to exercise / My faith and love" upon (p.582). Milesia, believed dead, is a "saint"; she returns disguised, is nearly poisoned, but is resurrected because her visible "divinity" shows through her dark disguise; the language is all of martyrdom, suffering, disguise for the faith, and a martyr's crown (see esp. pp.597-98).

In these plays, as in commedia grave, the heroine's constancy and the triumph of virtuous love evoke a religious sense of wonder that goes beyond the immediate occasion to a sense of universal harmony. In The Queen of Aragon, for instance, the fate of Aragon hangs on the Queen's choice of a suitor. She is torn between love, admiration, and policy, but she trusts in Heaven to direct her choice. In the final scene beauty and honour together work wonders. Decastro saves the city, but retires to fulfil a religious vow and turn hermit, both actions evoking expressions of wonder (p.407). Ascanio, who seems about to claim the Queen, through his magnanimity gives her back to her first love, Florentio, at which the Queen exclaims "This goodness grows even to a miracle," and Florentio declares "I am lost in wonder" (p.408). Even Cleantha, the witty court lady, is won by the sober and virtuous lord, who modestly observes "the court is full of wonders, madam" (p.404). The play ends on a note of "give"

and "forgive" as Ascanio pronounces the Valediction:

Join then your hands forever. He doth live
Mighty indeed, who hath power and will to give.

The Royal Slave ends in a similar scene of wonder: as the priest prepares to make sacrifice of Cratander at the altar, Heaven intervenes. The sun veils his face, and the sky sheds "tears" to put out the sacrificial fire. The Queen, who has taken Cratander's part from the beginning, congratulates the priest on his good sense in acknowledging a power greater than his own:

Thou hast now,
The voyce and visage of the Gods, good Priest.
The heav'ns were never more serene. The Gods
Have justify'd my care, Cratander,

and Arsammes declares

'tis not my hand
That spares thee, blest Cratander, 'tis some God.
(p.250)

The play ends in mercy, reconciliation, and peace. In Italy, commedia grave served the interests of the Counter-Reformation by presenting, Louise Clubb says, "tableaux of reconciliation made to radiate suggestions of Christian forgiveness and resurrection."¹²⁹ It is not coincidental that both The Royal Slave and The Queen of Aragon had stage sets by Inigo Jones, whose spectacular scenes were designed to evoke just the sense of wonder that is suggested by the text in the concluding scenes of these plays. Theatrical images of reconciliation and forgiveness were very welcome to Charles in the 1630's, and the Queen's ideal of love, with its religious overtones, made a fitting vehicle for them in plays produced for the court.

Thus the Queen's "Platonic love" seems to have been not entirely the kind of salon ideal introduced by d'Urfé, nor the kind of love without

physical fruition, and independent of marriage, that is usually understood by the term. Although it is based on the Neoplatonic premise of the connection between woman's beauty and virtue, it has far more in common with the ideas of Devout Humanism than with the préciosité practised by the Hôtel de Rambouillet. It emphasises chaste love and marriage as the proper goal of courtship, and it connects the Platonic ideal of Love with Christian charity. Particular women are the embodiment of Platonic Beauty and Virtue; they are also the instruments of a Christian Providence that achieves its ends through Love. This moralistic and quasi-religious view of love influenced the moral tone of the court, and the tone of poetry and drama associated with the Queen.

Notes: Chapter 1

- 1 J[efferson] B[utler] Fletcher, "Précieuses at the Court of King Charles I," Journ. Comp. Lit., 1, No.1 (1903), 120-53; the essay is reprinted, and set in the context of a wider discussion of Platonic love, in Fletcher's The Religion of Beauty in Woman, and Other Essays on Platonic Love in Poetry and Society (1911; rpt. New York: Haskell House, 1966).
- 2 See Maurice Magendie, La Politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté en France au XVII^e siècle de 1600 à 1660 (1925; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), Pt.1, Ch.ix; also René Bray, La Préciosité et les Précieux de Thibaut de Champagne à Jean Giraudoux (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1948), Pt.2, Ch.i.
- 3 Odette de Mourgues, Metaphysical Baroque and Précieux Poetry (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953), discusses "Some Aspects of Précieux Poetry" in Ch.viii.
- 4 Alfred Horatio Upham, The French Influence in English Literature from the Accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration (1908; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1965), esp. Ch.vii "Seventeenth Century Précieuses and Platonists."
- 5 Kathleen M. Lynch, The Social Mode of Restoration Comedy (1926; rpt. New York: Frank Cass, 1967), esp. Ch.iii.
- 6 Alfred Harbage, Cavalier Drama: An Historical and Critical Supplement to the Study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage (1936; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), esp. Pt.1, Chs.i and ii, and Pt.2, Ch.1, which deal with the influence of the court and the Queen on the drama.
- 7 "Précieuses at the Court of King Charles I," p.139.
- 8 The French Influence, p.331.
- 9 "Précieuses at the Court of King Charles I," p.128. Other studies assume that Henrietta's practice was not only frivolous, but immoral: e.g., John Smith Harrison, in Platonism in English Poetry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1903; rpt. New York: Columbia College, 1930) takes the view that her Platonic Love was modelled on the practice of Marguerite de Navarre, who, he says, "had made Platonic love

known in France, and had shown how licentiousness of conduct was compatible with its practice.... It is probable that the young queen wished to follow such an example" (p.156); the same origin for Henrietta's Platonic love (though without the imputation of immorality) is given by Hugh M. Richmond, The School of Love: The Evolution of the Stuart Love Lyric (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1964), p.261. The movement which influenced Henrietta, however, grew up in reaction to the license of the earlier period: see Louis Clark Keating, Studies on the Literary Salon in France, 1550-1615, Harvard Studies in Romance Langs., 16 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1941).

10 The Social Mode, p.62.

11 "Queen Henrietta Maria as Patron of the Drama," Studia^{Neo}Philologica, 42, No.1 (1970), p.10.

12 George F. Sensabaugh, "Love Ethics in Platonic Court Drama 1625-1642," HLQ, 1 (April 1938), 277-304; "Platonic Love and the Puritan Rebellion," SP, 37 (July 1940), 457-81; "The Milieu of Comus," SP, 41 (April 1944), 239-49; The Tragic Muse of John Ford (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1944), Ch.iii; "Platonic Love in Shirley's The Lady of Pleasure" in A Tribute to George Coffin Taylor, ed. Arnold Williams (Univ. N. Carolina Press, 1952), pp.168-77.

13 "Platonic Love and the Puritan Rebellion," p.481.

14 Roger Lathuillère, La Préciosité. Etude historique et linguistique, 2nd ed., Publications romanes et françaises, 87 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1966), Tome 1.

15 Lathuillère, Ch.1, gives a critique of other attempts to define préciosité, notably of the broad view of the subject taken by René Bray in La Préciosité et les Précieux de Thibaut de Champagne à Jean Giraudoux. Odette de Bray's book remains valuable, however, for its broad range. Odette de Mourgues discusses "The Question of the Term Précieux" in Metaphysical Baroque and Précieux Poetry, Ch.vii.

16 Quoted by Lathuillère, La Préciosité, p.18.

17 Daniel Mornet, "La Signification et l'évolution de l'idée de préciosité en France au xvii^e siècle," JHI, 1 (1940), 225-31.

- 18 Lathuillière, p.14; see also p.28, where he points out that préciosité is "une réalité historique," and that the critic "doit commencer par être historien."
- 19 The Religion of Beauty, p.27.
- 20 The Social Mode, p.45.
- 21 The basic reference is Henri Bremond, Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France, depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1967), Vols. I-III. For quotations I have used the authorised translation, A Literary History of Religious Thought in France from the Wars of Religion down to our own Times, trans. K.L. Montgomery, S.P.C.K., 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1928-36).
- 22 The basic reference is Maurice Magendie, La Politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté en France au XVII^e siècle de 1600 à 1660.
- 23 For the importance of honnêteté in this period, and in French feminism in the 17th century, see Ian Maclean, Woman Triumphant: Feminism in French Literature 1610-1652 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977). An important study from a different angle, and dealing mainly with préciosité after 1650, is by Carolyn C. Lougee, Le Paradis des Femmes: Women, Salons, and Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century France (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976); see also Bronnie Treloar, "Some Feminist Views in France in the Seventeenth Century," AUMLA, 10 (May 1959), 152-59.
- 24 See Erica Veevers, "The Source of Walter Montague's The Accomplish'd Woman," in Notes and Queries, n.s., 30 (October 1983), pp.439-40 (included in thesis as Appendix A).
- 25 The conclusions reached in this paper became the basis for Sensabaugh's discussion of the subject in all his subsequent work listed in note 12 above.
- 26 Accounts of the Hôtel de Rambouillet may be found in René Bray, La Préciosité, Pt.2; M. Magendie, La Politesse mondaine, Pt.1, Ch.ix; or in most histories of French literature, e.g., Gustave Lanson, Histoire

- de la littérature française (Paris: Librairie Hachette, n.d.), p.372 et seq; or in Antoine Adam, Histoire de la littérature française au XVII^e siècle, tome 1 (L'époque d'Henri IV et de Louis XIII), (Paris: del Duca, 1962), passim. Accounts in English are given by Antoine Adam, Grandeur and Illusion: French Literature and Society 1600-1715, trans. Herbert Tint (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972); David Maland, Culture and Society in Seventeenth-Century France (London: Batsford, 1970), pp.45-53.
- 27 Metaphysical Baroque and Précieux Poetry, p.116.
- 28 The edition used throughout this study is L'Astrée, ed. M. Hugues Vaganay, 5 vols. (Lyon: Pierre Masson, 1925-28); numbers in brackets following quotations refer to volume and page numbers of this edition. For a discussion and summary of the romance, see Henri Bochet, L'Astrée: ses origines, son importance dans la formation de la littérature classique (1923; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1967). For its importance in the salons, see Magendie, La Politesse, pp.166-230.
- 29 Lanson, Histoire, p.375.
- 30 L'Astrée, I (Préface, p.xxiii).
- 31 See Bochet, Ch.iv, "La Théorie de l'amour platonique"; and Bray, La Préciosité, p.47 et seq., and Pt.2, Ch.iii: "L'Amour précieux." The most interesting study of d'Urfé's Neoplatonism for my purposes is that by Sister Mary McMahon, Aesthetics and Art in the Astrée of Honoré d'Urfé, Catholic Univ. of Amer. Studies in Romance Langs. and Lits., 1 (Washington, D.C., 1925), in which d'Urfé's Neoplatonism is related to the contemporary Catholicism in which he was educated: see esp. Chs. iii and iv.
- 32 For a history of Renaissance Neoplatonism and Platonic love, see Paul O. Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, trans. Virginia Conant (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1943), esp. pp.256-88; and John C. Nelson, Renaissance Theory of Love: The Context of Giordano Bruno's "Eroici furore" (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1958), Chs. i and ii. A concise history of Platonic love, from Plato to Castiglione, is given by John Vyvyan, Shakespeare and Platonic Beauty (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961), Chs.ii and iii.

- 33 Baldassare Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby, introd. J.H. Whitfield (London: Dent, 1974). For Divine Love, see esp. pp.303-22. Much of the discourse on Divine Love comes from Pietro Bembo's Gli Asolani (1505), Bk.iii; since Bembo revised The Courtier before it was published, he must have approved of the discourse attributed to him (ed. cit., p.303n.).
- 34 In the following quotations I have used the English translations given by Sister McMahon, Aesthetics and Art, but have supplied references to Vaganay's edition, which was not available when she published her study.
- 35 Cf. the passage from Ficino's De Amore, quoted by Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, p.266: "The goodness of all things is the one God Himself, through whom all things are good, but beauty is the ray of God ... penetrating all things from that source, first entering the angelic Mind, secondly, the world Soul and the other Souls, thirdly, Nature, fourthly, the Matter of the bodies."
- 36 Maclean, Woman Triumphant, p.161, and p.162; see also Bochet, L'Astrée, pp.63-64, n.1, for a similar view.
- 37 Critics have drawn attention to the indelicacies and ambiguities of d'Urfé's moral attitudes: see, for example, Magendie, La Politesse, pp.217-22.
- 38 Cf. C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition (1936; rpt. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967), Ch.i.
- 39 For Platonism in these poets, see Robert V. Merrill, Platonism in French Renaissance Poetry (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1957), Chs. i and ii.
- 40 The actual Hôtel was in rue Saint-Thomas du Louvre, but the Marquis's château at Rambouillet was surrounded by woods in which the company enjoyed outings, often in order to re-enact scenes from L'Astrée: see A. Adam, Histoire, p.265.
- 41 Plato, The Symposium, trans. W. Hamilton, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, 1951), p.94.

- 42 Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, p.276 et seq.
- 43 For discussion of Ficino's inconsistencies on this point, see Robert Ellrodt, Neoplatonism in the Poetry of Spenser (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1960), pp.27-28.
- 44 The term was given currency by Bremond, who used it as the title of the first section of his Histoire littéraire; see New Catholic Encyclopaedia, ed. Staff of Catholic Univ. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), Vol.7, s.v. "Humanism, Devout."
- 45 Bremond, Vol.1, Pt.1: "S. François de Sales. The Origins and Tendencies of Devout Humanism." For other details of religious life in Paris, see Vols.2 and 3 of Bremond's Histoire littéraire. See also Jean Calvet, La Littérature Religieuse de François de Sales à Fénelon in Histoire de la Littérature française, ed. J. Calvet, tome V (Paris: del Duca, 1956), Ch.1. The best known biography of Sales by his friend and disciple Jean-Pierre Camus is available as The Spirit of St. François de Sales, ed. and trans. C.F. Kelly (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1953).
- 46 Pedro de Ribadeneira, The Lives of the Saints [with a Life of St. François de Sales], trans. W[illiam] P[etre] (St. Omers, 1669), sig. B2.
- 47 Ribadeneira, sig. E2^v.
- 48 L'Introduction à la vie dévote is Vol.3 in the standard edition of Sales's Oeuvres Complètes, ed. Dom B. Mackey, 26 vols. (Annecy: J. Niérat, 1892-1932). For the following references and translation I have used St. Francis de Sales, Introduction to the Devout Life, trans. Michael Day, Everyman's Library (London: Dent, 1971), to which bracketed page numbers refer.
- 49 Magendie, La Politesse, Pt.2, Ch.vii, develops the idea that in this period "La religion est l'auxilaire du roman" (p.293). For the rise of feminism, see Ian Maclean, Woman Triumphant, Ch.v.
- 50 Vols.4 and 5 of the standard Annecy edition of Sales's works. I quote here from Vincent Kern's translation from this edition, The Love of God: A Treatise (London: Burns and Oates, 1962); bracketed page numbers following quotations in my text refer to Kern's translation. An English

translation by Miles Car, A treatise of the loue of God, was published at Doway in 1630.

- 51 Sales (1567-1622) and d'Urfé (1568-1625) both belonged to the Académie Florimontane, founded in 1607 to unite theologians, writers, and scientists, and the two men often met to talk: see McMahon, Aesthetics and Art, p.23. A general connection between d'Urfé and Sales has often been noted, although critics are divided over whether Sales had a direct influence on d'Urfé: for a summary of views for and against, see Bochet, L'Astrée, pp.63-64, n.1. Sister McMahon shows that a common basis for d'Urfé and Sales's ideas and expression lay in the Neoplatonism of contemporary Church teaching.
- 52 See Magendie, La Politesse mondaine, p.168, p.293.
- 53 E.g., some of the chapter headings in Bks.6 and 7 are: "Love melts the soul till it flows into God"; "Love wounds the heart"; "The wounded heart pines away with love"; "The crowning consequence of rapturous love--the death of the lovers"; "A remarkable story of the knight who died of love on Mount Olivet"; "The blessed Virgin, God's Mother, died of love for her Son" etc.
- 54 On Sales's imagery, see Henri Lemaire, Les Images chez saint François de Sales (Paris: Nizet, 1962), and Imbrie Buffum, Studies in the Baroque from Montaigne to Rotrou, Yale Romantic Studies, 2nd ser., 4 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1957), Ch.ii. Imbrie discusses Sales's images of love and of nature, which he links with d'Urfé's, pp.84-85.
- 55 In the Preface to his Treaty, Sales praised what he hoped would become "a stream of eloquence which will flow throughout France in Sermons and belles-lettres" (Preface, p.xxix) from the pen of writers like J.-P. Camus (see below).
- 56 See Bremond, A Literary History, 1, Ch.10, "The Religious Romance," which is the basis for much of the following discussion (Camus's works are not readily available). Mary E. Storer, "Jean-Pierre Camus, Evêque de Belley," in PMLA, 61 (1946), 711-38, gives the history of Camus criticism since his death, analyses some of his romances (pp.722-33), and gives a bibliography of Camus's works to be found in American

libraries; H.C. Lancaster publishes an addendum to Storer's list in "Jean-Pierre Camus," PMLA, 62 (1947), 572-73. John Costa, Le Conflit moral dans l'oeuvre romanesque de Jean-Pierre Camus (1584-1652) (New York: Burt Franklin & Co., 1974), includes an alphabetical list of full titles (with dates) of Camus's romances (pp.131-42). Magendie, La Politesse, analyses some of the plots, pp.299-304. Some of Camus's works were trans. into English in the 1630's, and will be noticed later.

57 Storer, p.715.

58 Trente nouvelles choisies et présentées par René Favret, in Textes et Documents de la Renaissance, dir. André Stegmann (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1977), a series of extracts and discussions, starting with Les Evénements singuliers. Camus's claim to write "true" stories and histories is discussed by Bremond, A Literary History, 1, pp.232-36.

59 Storer, pp.727-28.

60 Quoted by Bremond, 1, p.236, n.1.

61 Storer, p.733.

62 Magendie, La Politesse, Pt.2, Chs.viii-xiii, et passim.

63 Magendie, Bibliographie, gives the editions of all these works. L'Honnête homme is available in a modern edition by M. Magendie (1925; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970); it was translated into English as The Honest Man: or, the art to please in Court, trans. E[dward] G[rimstone] (London, 1632). Magendie discusses the concept of l'honnête homme in Pt.2, Ch.x (p.355 et seq.).

64 Magendie, p.384.

65 Magendie, p.16; see also Pt.3, Ch.1 on "Le costume, la bienséance, l'instruction, la galanterie, le langage, la religion," which gives a picture of Louis's court very like that of the "Cavaliers"; a "je ne sais quoi" of qualities--gallantry, elegance, ease, distinction, learning without specialisation--combined with a certain priggishness (Richelieu attempted to purify the theatre by banning farce, and excluding from tragedy all "obscene" language (p.442).

- 66 DNB, s.v. Montague, Walter, for this and the following details.
- 67 Montague would not have seen a printed copy of L'Honnête femme when he was writing The Shepherd's Paradise, since the book was not finished printing until the 3rd Sept. 1632, and the Queen and her ladies were already practising the pastoral on 20th Sept. (see Harbage, Cavalier Drama, p.13). However, Du Bosc's book received its "Privilège du Roy" on 28th July 1632 (see Prefatory matter to 1632 ed. of Du Bosc), and it is possible that its ideas were in the air when Montague was at the French court. Certainly his method of presenting his material in The Shepherd's Paradise, which makes it read like "a conduct book in dialogue" (as Harbage comments, p.37), often sounds like Du Bosc's discussions, which he planned originally as the conversation of a "compagnie champêtre" (L'Honnête femme, Préface).
- 68 The Compleat Woman (1639; facs. rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968). This translation was based on the augmented 1633 edition of Du Bosc, and was in a sense more up-to-date than Montague's.
- 69 "La fin ... n'a pas esté de faire des regles aux Dames; mais de louer seulement les qualitez qui leur sont necessaires pour reussir dans les compagnies, & pour meriter le nom d'Honneste femme" (Au Lecteur). I have used the first edition of L'Honnête femme, Pt.1 (Paris: Pierre Billaine, 1632) because this was the part translated by Montague (see ff. discussion, and Appendix A). For other editions, see Ian Maclean, The Woman Triumphant, Bibliography, s.v. Du Bosc, Jacques (pp.278-87). The 2nd edition, "reueue corrigée et augmentée par l'autheur" (Paris: Jean Jost, 1633) was the one trans. into English by "N.N.". According to a note by C. Chesneau, "Un Précurseur de Pascal? Le Franciscain Jacques du Bosc," XVII^e siècle, no.15 (1952), 426-48, Du Bosc himself was a "rather indifferent Franciscan."
- 70 Maland, Culture and Society, p.46.
- 71 This and the following bracketed page numbers all refer to Montague's The Accomplish'd Woman, and the passages are translations of corresponding passages in the 1632 edition of Du Bosc.
- 72 DNB. The years in prison seem a likely time for him to have put together such a voluminous treatise; a dispute with John Bastwick

(later published) belongs to these years. Montague evidently had to change some passages concerning religion before Miscellanea Spiritualia could be licensed for publication: see William E. Axon, "The Licensing of Montagu's Miscellanea Spiritualia," in The Library, 2nd ser., 2 (Jan. 1901), 269-73.

- 73 For information on Henrietta's life I have consulted several biographies: of these the best documented is by Quentin Bone, Henrietta Maria: Queen of the Cavaliers (London: Peter Owen, 1972), which has a valuable "Bibliographical Essay" (pp.253-71), q.v. for sources to information, particularly of a political and historical nature. For information on Henrietta's upbringing and on more personal matters, see Elizabeth Hamilton, Henrietta Maria (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976); Carola Lenanton Oman, Henrietta Maria (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936) is a standard documented biography; Agnes Strickland's information on Henrietta in Lives of the Queens of England, 8 vols. (Boston: Brown & Taggard, 1860) tends, according to Bone (p.268), to be unreliable. I have also used two collections of Henrietta's letters: Charles, Comte de Baillon, Lettres de Henriette-Marie, Reine d'Angleterre (Paris: Didier et Cie., 1877), which includes an autobiographical sketch; and Mary Anne Everett Green, Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria (London: Richard Bentley, 1857), which translates the letters and intersperses explanatory notes.
- 74 E.g., Calendar of State Papers (Venetian) 1625-26, pp.179, 193, 345, 346; Historical Manuscripts Commission, 11th report, Appendix, Pt.1, Salvetti Correspondence (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1887), s.v. Henrietta Maria.
- 75 The ascription of Arthénice to Racan was made by Louis Arnold in his critical edition of the work, Les Bergeries (Paris, 1937), pp.v-vii [see the note by Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones, I, p.24 for correction of Bentley (VII, p.60)].
- 76 Henry C. Lancaster, A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century (Baltimore, M'dlands: Johns Hopkins Press, 1929), I, p.272; see p.157 et seq. for a description of plays by Racan, d'Amblainville, and other contemporary French dramatists.

- 77 The 1629 visit was the subject of popular criticism: see Gerald Eades Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford: Clarendon, 1941-68), VI, p.23, and pp.225-27. For special privileges granted the French troupe in 1635, see Margaret B. Pickel, Charles I as Patron of Poetry and Drama (London: Frederick Muller, 1936), pp.102-03.
- 78 For additional information on Florimène, see Stephen Orgel, "Florimène and The Ante-Masques," Ren. Dr., 4 (1971), 135-53. For other pastorals, see individual entries in Bentley, op.cit.
- 79 See, e.g., Robert Brustein, "The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Sources for the Satiric View of the Court Lady in English Drama" in Renaissance and Modern Essays Presented to Vivian de Sola Pinto, ed. G.R. Hibbard (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), pp.35-50.
- 80 Quentin Bone, Henrietta Maria, pp.11-12; ignorance of Latin led to the inclusion in University Miscellanies of poems in English to celebrate Royal occasions: see Alberta Turner, "Queen Henrietta Maria and the University Poets," N&Q (June 1948), 270-72.
- 81 Henrietta was born 26 Nov. 1609; arrived in England 12 June 1625 (Bone, p.3; p.39).
- 82 The Poems of Edmund Waller, ed. G. Thorn Drury (London: Routledge & Sons, 1893), I, 77-78. A good picture of the essentially moral devotion paid to Henrietta by her circle is given by Robert Malcolm Smuts in his Dissertation, The Culture of Absolutism at the Court of Charles I (Princeton Univ., 1976), Ch.V: "The Queen of Britain and the Queen of Love."
- 83 "To the Queene, entertain'd at night by the Countesse of Anglesey," in Sir William Davenant. The Shorter Poems, and Songs from the Plays and Masques, ed. A.M. Gibbs (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), p.28.
- 84 From Salmacida Spolia, in Davenant. The Shorter Poems, ed.cit., p.241.
- 85 The Poems of Thomas Carew, with his Masque Coelum Britannicum, ed. Rhodes Dunlap (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949), p.90.
- 86 M.B. Pickel, Charles I, pp.27-28, quoted from Harleian MS. 1950, British Museum Library.

- 87 Lucy Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, rev. ed. (London: J.M. Dent, 1968), p.67; she goes on to contrast the morality of Charles's person, and the court, with the immorality in the time of James I.
- 88 Quoted by Pickel, p.25, from Thomas Birch, Court and Times of Charles I, I, p.8.
- 89 J.B. Fletcher, "Précieuses at the Court of Charles I," p.130.
- 90 The Poems of Edmund Waller, I, p.26.
- 91 The Plays and Poems of William Cartwright, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Madison: Univ. Wisconsin Press, 1951), pp.441-45.
- 92 DNB, s.v. Hay, Lucy, Countess of Carlisle; the article includes reference to Sir Toby Matthew's "portrait," from which the quotation below is taken.
- 93 Ben Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1941), Vol.VI.
- 94 Maclean, Woman Triumphant, p.152.
- 95 The Non-Dramatic Works of Sir John Suckling, ed. Thomas Clayton (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), p.30. For discussion of Suckling's equivocal attitude to préciosité and Platonic love, see J.B. Fletcher, "Précieuses at the Court of Charles I," p.138, and F.O. Henderson, "Traditions of Précieux and Libertin in Suckling's Poetry," ELH, 4 (1937), 274-98.
- 96 E.g., Suckling's two poems "Against Fruition" (The Non-Dramatic Works, pp.37, 38) were answered in dialogue form by Waller, and in another two poems by Henry Bold (Appendix A, pp.181-84). This type of debate gave poets amusing material to play with, but Suckling adopts a much more respectful attitude to Platonism in his Letters to Aglaura, where his own feelings seem to have been involved.
- 97 L'Astrée was not free from indecencies (see Magendie, La Politesse, pp.217-30), and the character of Hylas, the humorous "anti-Platonic" contributed to its popularity. The idea of galanterie grew up side by

side with honnêteté: see Lathuillère, La Préciosité, pp.565-78 ("Le galant homme"); pp.578-92 ("L'honnête homme"). In French the ambiguity in the word "galant" was resolved by word order: "un galant homme marque un homme d'esprit, un homme enjoué, agréable. Mais homme galant marque un homme qui a de certaines passions qu'il ne devroit point avoir" (quoted by Lathuillère, p.567).

98 The two women were not always friends (Hamilton, Henrietta Maria, p.77), and Lady Carlisle at times intrigued on the side of Parliament, against the court (DNB, s.v. Hay, Lucy).

99 Carolyn Lougée, Le Paradis des Femmes, Appendix 1 (pp.215-22) lists all identifiable précieuses in Parisian salons, compiled from Somaize and other sources; No.30 is "Madame de Carly" whom Lougée identifies as "Lucy Percy, m. 1617 to James Hay I, Earl of Carlisle."

100 Hamilton, pp.136-37.

101 The plays to which I refer are those discussed by Harbage in Cavalier Drama, and all those referred to by G.F. Sensabaugh in his series of articles. My general comments come from a reading of all these plays, although I have space to discuss only three in detail (The Shepherd's Paradise, The Royal Slave, The Fair Favourite) which I have taken as representative of those favoured by the Queen. Other plays to which I shall refer are: Lodowick Carlell, The Deserving Favourite (1629); Joseph Rutter, The Shepheard's Holy-Day (1635); Thomas Goffe, The Careless Shepherdess (c. 1638); William Berkley, The Lost Lady (1639); William Habington, The Queen of Aragon (1640). Davenant's play, The Platonic Lovers (1635) was, I believe, atypical of the court fashion in the thirties (to which Davenant himself contributed in later plays). Because the play is usually taken as primary evidence in describing the Queen's fashion, however, I have included my interpretation of it in Appendix B.

102 References are to the copy printed by Thomas Dring (London, 1629). The printer's "1629" should be "1659": see W.W. Greg, A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration (Oxford: Univ. Press, 1951), II, p.797. The play was being rehearsed by the Queen in Sept. 1632, and was performed 9 Jan. 1632/3 (probably repeated 2 Feb. 1632/3):

see Harbage, Cavalier Drama, pp.13-14. Harbage discusses the effect of the play on succeeding drama, and contemporary reaction to it, pp.36-37, 42-45, and 93-95.

- 103 Suckling, in "A Session of the Poets" (The Non-Dramatic Works, p.75) calls Montague a "Monsieur," and has Apollo ask him "first of all / If he understood his own Pastoral" (11.83-84).
- 104 Martiro's poem, and his image of the planisphere (sig. L^V-L2), may have given Marvell the idea on which he exercised his much sharper wit; see Eleanor Withington, "Marvell and Montague: Another Source for 'The Definition of love'," RES, n.s., 4 (1953), 261-63.
- 105 Quoted by Pickel, Charles I, p.28.
- 106 Mornet, "La Signification ... de l'idée de préciosité," p.228. See also Lougée, Le Paradis, p.37 et seq. For the contrasting view of Devout Humanists, influenced by St. François de Sales, see Maclean, Woman Triumphant, p.91, and Ch.iv, "The Question of Marriage."
- 107 The Poems of William Habington, ed. Kenneth Allot (1948; rpt. Liverpool: Univ. Press, 1969). "Castara" was Lucy Herbert, whom Habington married about 1634 (Introduction, p.xxv); she was a cousin of the Countess of Carlisle, but, according to Habington, unlike her in behaviour, since she "sailes by that rocke, the Court," and prefers to spend the winter's night "without maske, or ball, or feast" (pp.51-52).
- 108 A Select Collection of Old English Plays, ed. Robert Dodsley, 4th ed. rev. and enl. by W. Carew Hazlitt (London: Reeves & Turner, 1875), XII, to which page numbers, after quotations, refer.
- 109 Kenneth Richards, "Joseph Rutter's The Shepherd's Holiday and the Silvanire of Jean de Mairet," Anglia, 85 (1967), 404-13. Silvanire (Paris, 1631) was a re-working of a play which d'Urfé had addressed in 1625 to Marie de Medici (Lancaster, History of French Dramatic Literature, pp.157-58), and it is probably no accident that a text found its way to Rutter, who was living in Sir Kenelm Digby's house when he wrote it, and to whom he dedicated it. Digby had contacts with the French court, and helped arrange Henrietta's entertainments.

- 110 The Plays and Poems of William Cartwright, ed. G. Blakemore Evans; the play was performed 30 Aug. at Oxford for the court, 2 Sept. for the University, and 12 Jan. 1636/37 at Hampton Court for the Queen.
- 111 The general question of the morality of court drama is too wide to discuss here. I do not want to suggest that all court drama was perfectly clean and wholesome: it has, in fact, an insipid preoccupation with love intrigue, and an amount of sexual innuendo that is unattractive (although some of this derives from French pastoral and Fletcherian tragi-comedy rather than from the Queen's préciosité). My object here is to judge the morality in the way indicated by the dramatic contexts.
- 112 Cf. my Introduction, n.12, for the list of Sensabaugh's works. My quotations from Sensabaugh in the following pages are from "Love Ethics in Platonic Court Drama" unless otherwise indicated.
- 113 Mark Stavig makes much the same criticism of Sensabaugh's findings in John Ford and the Traditional Moral Order (Madison and London: Univ. Wisconsin Press, 1968), pp.40-43. His conclusions, which he states in fairly general terms, complement mine.
- 114 See G.K. Hunter, "Italian Tragicomedy on the English Stage," Ren. Dr., n.s., 6 (1973), 136; Frank H. Ristine, English Tragicomedy: Its Origin and History (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1910), pp.34-37.
- 115 A Select Collection of Old English Plays, ed. Dodsley, Vol.12.
- 116 A Select Collection of Old English Plays, ed. Dodsley, Vol.13.
- 117 Sir William Davenant, The Dramatic Works, edd. J. Maidment and W.H. Logan (1872-74; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), Vol.4.
- 118 "Platonic Love and the Puritan Rebellion," p.459.
- 119 Lodowick Carliell: His Life and a Discussion of his Plays, ed. Charles H. Gray (Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1905) reprints the text of The Deserving Favourite from the original edition. See Gray's Introduction, pp.31 et seq., for Carlell's closeness to the Queen, whose interest in his plays, as well as the inspiration for them supplied by Charles, is hinted at in the Prologue and Epilogue of The Passionate Lovers (Pt.1, 1635), quoted by Harbage, Cavalier Drama, p.10 and p.23.

- 120 The ageing Jonson was growing out of touch with the court, and it is possible that his play doubly missed the mark because by 1629 neither the older type of Neoplatonism that he favoured, nor the salon type represented by Lady Frampul, was the new "in" fashion.
- 121 The Careless Shepherdess: A Pastorall Tragi-Comedy (London: Rogers and Ley, 1656) "acted before the King and Queen at Whitehall and at Salisbury Court" (t.p.). Bentley (IV, p.501) suggests it was revised about 1638.
- 122 This is one of the key passages which Sensabaugh takes to show the "twisted" nature of Platonic love ethics ("Love Ethics," pp.294-95); the word "communative" he applies in other contexts to mean open adultery, which he equates with "th' Platonick Law" when he quotes from the satire Lady Alimony: "Is this th' Platonick Law; all things in common?" (Sensabaugh, The Tragic Muse, p.139). The OED gives "communative" (obs.) as probably an anomalous formation of "communicative," its predominant associations being with religion; none of the OED examples have a physical connotation. As used in this passage from The Fair Favourite it is obviously intended to denote the same kind of religious and charitable love that Atossa describes in The Royal Slave.
- 123 The Accomplished Woman, p.133. That women deserted by their husbands can bring them back by patient virtue is also a theme in J.-P. Camus's religious romance: see summary of Palombe in Magendie, La Politesse mondaine, p.302.
- 124 Cavalier Drama, pp.39-40.
- 125 Preface to The Compleat Woman, trans. N.N., p.8 (Du Bosc's 1633 ed. of L'Honnête femme).
- 126 Perry J. Gethner, "Jean de Mairet and Poetic Justice: A Definition of Tragicomedy," Ren. Dr., n.s., 11 (1980), 171-87, points out Mairet's emphasis on poetic justice conceived as a divine power acting to enforce moral standards, a pattern similar to that in the drama under discussion here. Rutter's play was based on Mairet's Silvanire (note 37 above), which was significant for its preface in which the author took up again Guarini's debate on Tragicomedy.

- 127 "Woman as Wonder: A Generic Figure in Italian and Shakespearean Comedy," in Studies in the Continental Background of Renaissance English Literature: Essays Presented to John L. Lievsay (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1977).
- 128 Louise George Clubb, "The Virgin Martyr and the Tragedia Sacra," in Ren. Dr., 7 (1964), 103-26, points out the mingling of fashionable and religious subjects in Italian drama, and the interest in plays on "she-saints" (p.110).
- 129 "Woman as Wonder," p.123.